

## INTRODUCTION

Soon after he begins to narrate the events of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides lists the allies of the Lakedaimonians.<sup>1</sup> The Eleians are included among those who provided ships.<sup>2</sup> We are not, however, on the basis of this passage and the record of Eleian naval contributions during the Archidamian War, entitled to assume that a Lakedaimonian alliance was the normal state of Eleian foreign relations throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. At times the Eleians either did not support the Lakedaimonians or were actively hostile towards them, and there is good reason to believe that they entered the war against the Athenians in the late-fifth century B.C. because of concerns shared with the Corinthians rather than because of any obligations to the Lakedaimonians.

By recognising that periods of Eleian indifference or hostility were not simply an aberration, a momentary departure from their ‘default status’ as the loyal followers of the Lakedaimonians, but a significant and enduring feature of their policy, we are able to develop a more complex and accurate picture of Eleian foreign relations, one that involves on-going interaction with Peloponnesian states other than Sparta, such as Argos, Corinth and the Arkadian *poleis*. The citizens of Elis then appear not as unruly allies of the Lakedaimonians, but as members of an independent state with clearly-defined policy objectives of its own.

Applying the same principle to intra-state relations as to inter-state ones, we must not assume that the Eleians constituted a monolithic society. We need to consider the significance of the various communities and territorial divisions that existed within the region of Eleia and to investigate, as far as the available evidence allows, the political factions that contested for power among the Eleians themselves. Because no Greek *polis* appears to have been without internal political division, the foreign policy of each being determined by whichever party was dominant at the time, furthermore, we must also attempt to look ‘over the walls’ of those cities with whom the Eleians became involved.

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<sup>1</sup> Thuc. II.9.2-6.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. II.9.3.

*Some General Observations*

Since the inception of the nation-state in recent centuries, historians have generally seen political history as that of conflict between states, perceiving *raison d'état* as the fundamental motivation of political leaders. It is doubtful that this analysis is valid for modern times, when the nation-state is to be found everywhere, and even more doubtful that it can be applied to Archaic and Classical Greece, where the various *ethne* transcended the bounds of the *polis*. There was no such thing as a nation-state in ancient Greece, and we cannot expect to gain an accurate understanding of the political history of the Archaic and Classical periods if we treat the *poleis* as if they were 'micro-nations'. In some ways, it is more valid to conceive of the Hellenes themselves as a nation, within which conflicts between various groups and individuals were played out, and of the Greek *poleis* as units of a larger entity. It is best, however, to keep in mind that there was simply nothing in Archaic and Classical Greece, be it 'Elis' or 'Hellas', to which the term 'nation-state' can be equated. Historians have been slow to recognise the ramifications of this observation. 'No nation-state' may mean 'no national interest'. The interests of the supporters of aristocracy in Argos, for example, might have been more in line with the interests of the Lakedaimonian aristocracy than with those of the Argive *plethos*.

Marshall Sahlins is among the more recent scholars to have found among the Spartans 'a general and radical xenophobia, and a correlated disengagement from foreign political affairs and military ventures.'<sup>3</sup> Yet the historical record of the late-Archaic and Classical periods is full of instances of Lakedaimonian interference in other peoples' internal political affairs. Whereas the view has often been put forward that the Lakedaimonians supported oligarchy in the Greek states because dependent oligarchies were loyal to Sparta, it may be that this is a case of putting the cart before the horse. The supporters of aristocracy who were usually dominant at Sparta, we may find, used the Lakedaimonian state to further the cause of aristocratic government – even when that meant placing Spartan security at some degree of risk. This is not to suggest that influential Spartans deliberately set out to endanger their 'fatherland', but merely that their enthusiasm for a political cause might sometimes have led them to fail to consider its best interests to a sufficient depth.

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<sup>3</sup> Sahlins, M., *Apologies to Thucydides: Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa* (Chicago, 2004) 79.

In seeking to gain a more accurate understanding of Greek political history in the Classical period, we also need to be wary of the tendency to accept the ‘emplotment’<sup>4</sup> of ancient writers. The subject matter chosen by Thucydides, in particular, has greatly influenced our view of the period. Only a decade separates the swearing of the Thirty Years’ Peace from the beginning of the dispute over Epidamnos. Less time, moreover, separates the Korinthian War from the Dekeleian than the latter from the Archidamian War, and one might argue that the Lakedaimonian and aristocratic victory was not complete until 386 B.C., when the Lakedaimonians had defeated all of their rivals in Greece, including the resurgent Athenians.

Thucydides’ chronological boundaries, as must always be the danger in writing contemporary history, appear to have been determined more by his lifespan than by an objective assessment of the relationship between events. Although he attempts to justify his perception that the one war lasted twenty-seven years by arguing that the period following the Peace of Nikias was not one of actual peace,<sup>5</sup> much the same can be said of the interval between the Dekeleian and Korinthian Wars. Relations between the Lakedaimonians and two of their important allies, the Boiotians and Korinthians, were tense throughout the whole period.<sup>6</sup> In addition to their campaigns in the Aegean and Asia, the Lakedaimonians and their allies intervened in Athens in 403 B.C. and fought the Eleian War from 402 to 400 B.C.<sup>7</sup>

Again, the period of conflict among the Greeks might better be thought to have culminated in the Lakedaimonian defeat at Leuktra and the consequent outbreak of revolution in the Peloponnese. In this context, the Lakedaimonian and Theban hegemonies appear less as post-scripts to *the* ‘Peloponnesian War’ than as significant episodes in a larger struggle that included the ‘First Peloponnesian War’, the Archidamian War, the period of shifting alliances after the Peace of Nikias, the Dekeleian War, the Eleian and Korinthian Wars and the general revolt against the Lakedaimonian hegemony in the mid-fourth century B.C.

Syme writes of ‘the transformation of state and society at Rome between 60 B.C. and A.D. 14’,<sup>8</sup> but it could be argued that the process started much earlier. We

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<sup>4</sup> White, H., *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978) 83ff.

<sup>5</sup> Thuc. V.26.1-4.

<sup>6</sup> Xen. *Hell.* II.2.19, 4.1, 30; III.2.25; III.5.5, 17; Paus. III.9.2.

<sup>7</sup> Xen. *Hell.* II.29-39; for the Eleian War, see below, Ch. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Syme, R., *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939) vii.

should not be surprised if a political contest in Greece lasted as long. In the context of the struggle between the aristocratic and popular causes, moreover, the hegemonies of the Lakedaimonians and the Thebans appear not as two individual creatures of the same imperial species, but as different animals entirely, and the years of their respective dominance not so much as times when first one state and then another compelled the others to accept its supremacy, but as periods when very different ‘trans-politan’ causes were in the ascendancy.

Two general questions are implied above: To what extent were the interests of the state and the interests of parties determining factors in the political history of the Greek *poleis* in the Archaic and Classical periods? How might we most accurately ‘emplot’ the political and military history of Archaic and Classical Greece? This work is an attempt to approach some important general questions concerning the politics of the Classical Peloponnese by investigating specific issues relating to one particular state and its neighbours, near and far. In that sense, it is not so much a *History of Elis* as an investigation into the politics of the Peloponnese as a whole. Whilst starting out at all times from the Eleians, furthermore, it must take paths that lead not only to many of the other communities of the Peloponnese, but also beyond the Isthmos to the islands and to Asia, as well as to Epeiros, Sicily, the oasis of Siwah in Libya and the sanctuary of Amun at Karnak on the Nile. The Eleian region itself, nevertheless, with its dominant feature, the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, is our main concern.

#### *Eleia and the Eleians*

The region of Eleia as described by Strabo consists of three districts: Koile Elis, the extensive valley of the Peneios river with the city of Elis at its heart; Pisatis, in the valley of the Alpheios, including Olympia; and Triphylia, between the Alpheios and the Neda, beyond which lay Messenia (map 5).<sup>9</sup> Only at the end of the Archaic period, nevertheless, do the names ‘Pisa’ and ‘Pisatis’ appear in the literature, Thucydides is the earliest writer that we know of to distinguish ‘Koile Elis’ from the rest of the region, and ‘Triphylia’ is an invention of the turn of the fourth century B.C. For the greater part of the period under discussion, Eleia, apart

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<sup>9</sup> Strabo VIII.3.2f, p.336f.

from the distinction between the territory of the Eleians and that of their allies, was divisible only into the score or more communities located in the region.

In *IvO* 2, 9 and 14, none of which is dated any later than the mid-fifth century B.C., and on the serpent column at Delphi,<sup>10</sup> the Eleians are called *FAΛEIOI*. *Φαλεῖοι* is derived from Elis, originally *Φᾶλις*, *ῥΑλις* in the local dialect of the later Classical period, by which time the digamma had dropped out, and *ῥΗλις* in the Attic. In the Eleian dialect, this name, related to the Latin *vallis*, means ‘vale’. The Eleioi, originally the Faleioi, are thus the ‘valley people’,<sup>11</sup> and Eleia is the ‘land of the valley people’.<sup>12</sup> Although sometimes taken by modern scholars to refer exclusively to the inhabitants of the Peneios valley, the name ‘Eleioi’ may just as easily apply to those of the valley of the Alpheios. Perhaps it was first used to distinguish the ‘valley people’ from the mountain dwellers of neighbouring Arkadia.

The region of Eleia was bordered by Achaia in the north, Messenia in the south, and the high mountains of Arkadia in the east.<sup>13</sup> Yet from early in the Archaic period some of the southern districts of this region contained communities that were not considered Eleian. In addition to residence in the lowlands, there was another qualification for being Eleian: one had to belong to the Aitolian *ethnos*. In Herodotus’ time some of the communities between the Alpheios and the Neda were considered Minyan rather than Aitolian, and these districts might have contained members of other *ethne* as well.<sup>14</sup> All of the communities of the Eleians in both the Peneios and Alpheios valleys appear to have been the members of an Archaic *koinon* based at Olympia which, in the *synoikismos* of 471 B.C., was transformed into the *polis* of Elis. The non-Eleian communities within the boundaries of the region of Eleia, on the other hand, such as Lepreon, were the allies of the Eleians, their so-called *perioikoi*, and thus retained a measure of independence.

<sup>10</sup> See the illustration in Roehl, H. (ed), *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae* (Berlin, 1882) 28, no. 70.

<sup>11</sup> Swoboda, H., ‘Elis’ in *RE* V.2 2380f; Lafond, Y., ‘Elis’ in Cancik, H. and Schneider, H. (eds), *Der Neue Pauly* III (Stuttgart, 1997) 994; Eder, B. and Mitsopoulos-Leon, V., ‘Zur Geschichte der Stadt Elis vor dem Synoikismos von 471 v. Chr.: Die Zeugnisse der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit’ *JÖAI* 68 (1999) 4.

<sup>12</sup> An alternative etymology offered in some ancient texts, that the name ‘Elis’ is derived from the verb *ἀλίζω*, appears speculative: Leandros *FGrH* 492 F 13, *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *ῥΗλις*; Eust. *Parekbolai* 409, Müller, K.W.F., *Geographi Graeci Minores* II (Hildesheim, 1965) 292.38-43.

<sup>13</sup> Strabo VIII.3.1, p.336.

<sup>14</sup> Hdt. IV.148.4.

An archaeological guide published in 1968 encapsulates some misleading perceptions of Eleian history:

Though inhabited from early times Elis remained backward, a country of big landowners with very little taste for urban life, and it is fitting that the miserable remains of their capital city...are grown over again almost as soon as excavated.<sup>15</sup>

Excavations since then have revealed an extensive Classical and Hellenistic city. The *polis* of the Eleians was perhaps the sixth most significant on the Greek mainland.<sup>16</sup> Although it is significant that in the Classical period they regularly mustered around 3,000 hoplites, military capacity alone cannot be the measure of a state's importance. The Eleians enjoyed considerable fame because of their central religious role as custodians of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Their productive region, furthermore, supported a very large population, both rural and urban, and the occupations of the Eleians were numerous.

Besides the vast opportunities for many varieties of agriculture afforded by this particularly fertile and exceptionally well-watered region of Greece (fig. 1), the coastal lagoons which in ancient times existed all along the Eleian coast must have offered abundant fisheries. The two ports of Kyllene (where Alkibiades disembarked from a freighter on his way from Thourioi to Sparta in 415/14)<sup>17</sup> and Pheia provided a link between the Greek colonies of the west and the interior of the Peloponnese. Routes to the inland passed through both Elis and Olympia along the banks of the Peneios and Alpheios rivers respectively. Shipbuilding appears to have been important,<sup>18</sup> and the growth of the city of Elis after the synoikism might reflect the appearance of other industries. Fine flax was a favoured crop in this region,<sup>19</sup> so there might have been a textile industry. The most important feature of the life of the Eleians, however, is reflected in the perception of the Greeks that their land and its people were sacred and inviolable.

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<sup>15</sup> Cook, R. and Cook, K., *Southern Greece: An Archaeological Guide* (London, 1968) 171.

<sup>16</sup> This observation has its origin in a lecture given by Prof. Josiah Ober at the University of New England, Australia, on June 29, 2006.

<sup>17</sup> Thuc. VI.88.9.

<sup>18</sup> Thuc. I.27.2.

<sup>19</sup> Paus. V.5.2; VI.26.6.

*An Overview of the Thesis*

Part I of this thesis contains four chapters, each of which supports the view that Eleia was considered a holy land. The Eleians and the Lakedaimonians appear to have cooperated in the foundation of the Olympic festival and, after the conquest of Messenia and the defeat of Pheidon of Argos, who had seized Olympia, the Lakedaimonians assisted the Eleians in enrolling all of the non-Eleian communities north of the Neda river as their allies. We need not assume, however, that the Eleians joined a permanent military alliance headed by the Lakedaimonians. It is likely instead that by virtue of the responsibilities of the Eleians to the god at Olympia, the Lakedaimonians declared them sacred to Zeus, and that they were thus prohibited from taking part in offensive warfare.

Modern scholars generally reject the claim often made in the ancient sources that during the Archaic and Classical periods the Eleians and their territory were considered sacrosanct and thus immune from invasion and military responsibility. In Chapter One, this claim is found likely to be valid. In Chapter Two it is argued that the *manteis* who conducted the sacrifices at the altar of Zeus in the Altis were, along with the *Hellanodikai* who judged the Olympic contests, particularly esteemed among the Eleians. Both the veneration and proliferation of the members of the two mantic clans of the Iamids and Klytids in Eleia, like the reports of the *asylia* in the ancient texts, support the view that it was considered a holy land.<sup>20</sup>

Through their colonies in southern Epeiros, it is suggested in Chapter Three, the Eleians were able to maintain a close relationship with the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. They also appear to have been in contact with the shrine of Zeus-Ammon in Libya from its inception and with the highest religious authorities in Egypt from at least the early-sixth century B.C. Their custodianship of the most important shrine of the chief god of the Greeks, the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, appears to have invested the Eleians with a special religious importance among the Greeks and a widespread reputation for holiness in the Mediterranean world.

Chapter Four deals with the relations of the Eleians with the sanctuary of Zeus, perhaps the most important religious site in ancient Greece. They appear to have established the shrine early in the Archaic period and to have initiated the

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<sup>20</sup> As Rigsby, Kent J., *Asyilia: Territorial inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley, 1996) 12, points out, ἀσυλία is not to be confused with ἐπεχειρία. The two items, he says, ‘apparently were not felt to overlap or compete.’

Olympic festival. It seems that the Eleian communities of the valleys of the Alpheios and Peneios rivers, descendants of ethnically Aitolian immigrants of the early Iron Age, formed an amphictyony to maintain the sanctuary at Olympia and regulate relations among themselves. With time, this religious organisation developed into a political commonwealth, or *koinon*, empowered to deal with external affairs.

Part II of the thesis deals with political developments in Eleia in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C. Chapter Five casts doubt upon the generally-accepted chronology of the Archaic and early-Classical Peloponnese. Scholars, readily converting numbered Olympiads in the texts of Pausanias and other ancient writers to dates in the Julian calendar, have interpreted reports of conflict between the Eleians and the ‘Pisatans’ or ‘Pisaians’ as evidence of an early-sixth century Eleian conquest of the valley of the Alpheios. These reports, it is argued, are more likely to reflect a late-Archaic and early-Classical conflict between the main body of the Eleians and those of their number who had established their own, more centralised political organization within the Eleian *koinon*. In Chapter Six, it is proposed that these ‘Pisatans’ came into conflict with the other Eleians because of factional political differences rather than any ethnic distinction. Reports of violent conflict between the Eleians and Pisatans should not, despite the claims of many modern scholars, be seen as evidence of Eleian expansion.

It is maintained in the Appendix that the Lakedaimonians came into conflict with the Peloponnesian and neighbouring states during the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C. as they attempted to interfere in their constitutions in favour of aristocracy.<sup>21</sup> The members of a powerful faction at Sparta, it seems, were convinced that it was essential that aristocratic rule should be maintained in the Greek states. The Lakedaimonians, as a consequence, championed the aristocratic cause against

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<sup>21</sup> ‘Aristocracy’ is here taken to denote a type of oligarchy, participation in which is restricted to the members of established, traditionally land-owning families whose claim to power in ancient Greece was based upon their supposed superior quality, due to the nature of their presumed ancestors, the gods and heroes of myth: cf. Arnheim, M.T., *Aristocracy in Greek Society* (London, 1977) 11f; Wood, E.M. and Wood, N., *Class Ideology and Ancient Political Theory* (Oxford, 1978) 2. As Whibley explains, ‘constitutions in which power was transmitted by hereditary descent...were called aristocracies; and the rulers arrogated to themselves the titles of ‘best’ and ‘good’; and expected that their subjects should so regard and describe them: Whibley, L., *Oligarchies: their Character and Organization* (London, 1896) 27; cf. Greenidge, A.H.J., *A Handbook of Greek Constitutional History* (Buffalo, 2001 [1st edn, London, 1911]) 21ff, 60ff. Ostwald, M., *Oligarchia* (Stuttgart, 2000) 23, notes that ‘the earliest occurrences in Herodotus leave “oligarchy” indistinguishable from “aristocracy”, although it is never referred to as ἄριστοκρατία’. When ‘oligarchy’ is used in ancient texts, it may well indicate aristocracy.



popular movements for much of this period. In the light of the revised chronology mentioned above, Chapter Seven seeks to understand the conflict between the Pisatans and the other Eleians in the wider context of Peloponnesian affairs discussed in the Appendix. It is argued that reports of this conflict reflect a struggle between the members of a popular movement and the supporters of traditional aristocracy among the Eleians. This struggle led to the dramatic political reforms of the late 470s, when the various Eleian communities formed themselves into a single *polis* and adopted a democratic constitution.

Part III, the final part of the thesis, deals with the relationship between the Eleians and the Lakedaimonians in general and with the Eleian War in particular. Chapter Eight examines relations between the two peoples up to the Peace of Nikias. In the early Archaic period the Eleians and Lakedaimonians had cooperated in the foundation of the Olympic games and the Lakedaimonians appear to have declared the Eleians sacred to Zeus on account of their custodianship of his sanctuary. When the Eleians adopted a democratic constitution at about the time of the synoikism of 471 B.C., however, relations seem to have cooled. The Eleians, nevertheless, fought on the Peloponnesian side during the Archidamian War, but mainly because, like the Corinthians, they felt that their relations with their colonies in southern Epeiros were threatened by the expansion of Athenian influence in the north-west of Greece during the 430s B.C.

Chapter Nine considers the breakdown in relations between the two states that led to the Lakedaimonian invasion of Eleia in 402 B.C. and the events that followed. After the Peace of Nikias the Lakedaimonians had supported the revolt of Lepreon against the Eleians, who then joined in an alliance with the Argives, Mantineians and Athenians that aimed to resist Lakedaimonian interference in the internal affairs of the Peloponnesian states. After the defeat of the Athenians in the Dekeleian War, the Lakedaimonians invaded Eleia in order to break the region up into a number of separate political entities ruled by oligarchies.

It is argued in Chapter Ten that in 400 B.C. the victorious Lakedaimonians, having divided the territory of the Eleians and their allies into several states, created the conditions for the imposition of aristocratic rule upon what remained of Elis, and sponsored oligarchic government among the Triphylians, Akroreians, Letrinians, Amphidolians and Marganeians. Skillous appears to have been taken by the

Lakedaimonians and given over to Xenophon and, perhaps, the remnants of the 10,000 who had fought for Kyros, the Persian rebel. The Eleians had to agree to become allies of the Lakedaimonians, who then obliged them to take part in an aggressive war against the Corinthians and thus to abandon their long-standing *asylia*.

### *The Central Claim of the Thesis*

The central claim of this thesis is that when the Lakedaimonians invaded Eleia in 402 B.C. they transgressed a sacred inviolability that their ancestors had declared early in the Archaic period. The direct evidence for this *asylia* comes from four ancient writers: Polybios, Strabo, Diodoros of Sicily and Phlegon of Tralles. Modern scholars, beginning with Busolt in 1880, have generally disputed these texts, but much of what they say amounts to conjecture. Busolt's claim that the remaining record concerning the Eleians contradicts the evidence in favour of the *asylia*, nevertheless, must be addressed.

This thesis does not attempt to prove that the *asylia* existed – the evidence of the ancient texts suggests that it did – but merely that the remaining reports that we have concerning Eleian history do not contradict these texts. The onus of proof lies with those who wish to use indirect evidence from other sources to dismiss the direct statements of the writers cited above. An attempt is made here to show that the other evidence that we have of Eleian history does not preclude the existence of the *asylia*, and so to defend the ancient authors who record the *asylia* from the assaults of modern scholars who seek to establish that their testimony is false.

In the process of seeking to reconcile the remaining record with the evidence for the *asylia*, much is learned about other aspects of Eleian history. This is to be expected. It is methodologically sound to fully explore the possibilities of the evidence that we have before discarding any of it. An example is the apparent contradiction, noted by a number of modern scholars, between the report of Herodotus that the Eleians did not fight at Plataiai because they arrived late and that of Diodoros that it was because they were sent away before the battle.<sup>22</sup> As argued below, both might be correct, and there is no need to doubt the credibility of either

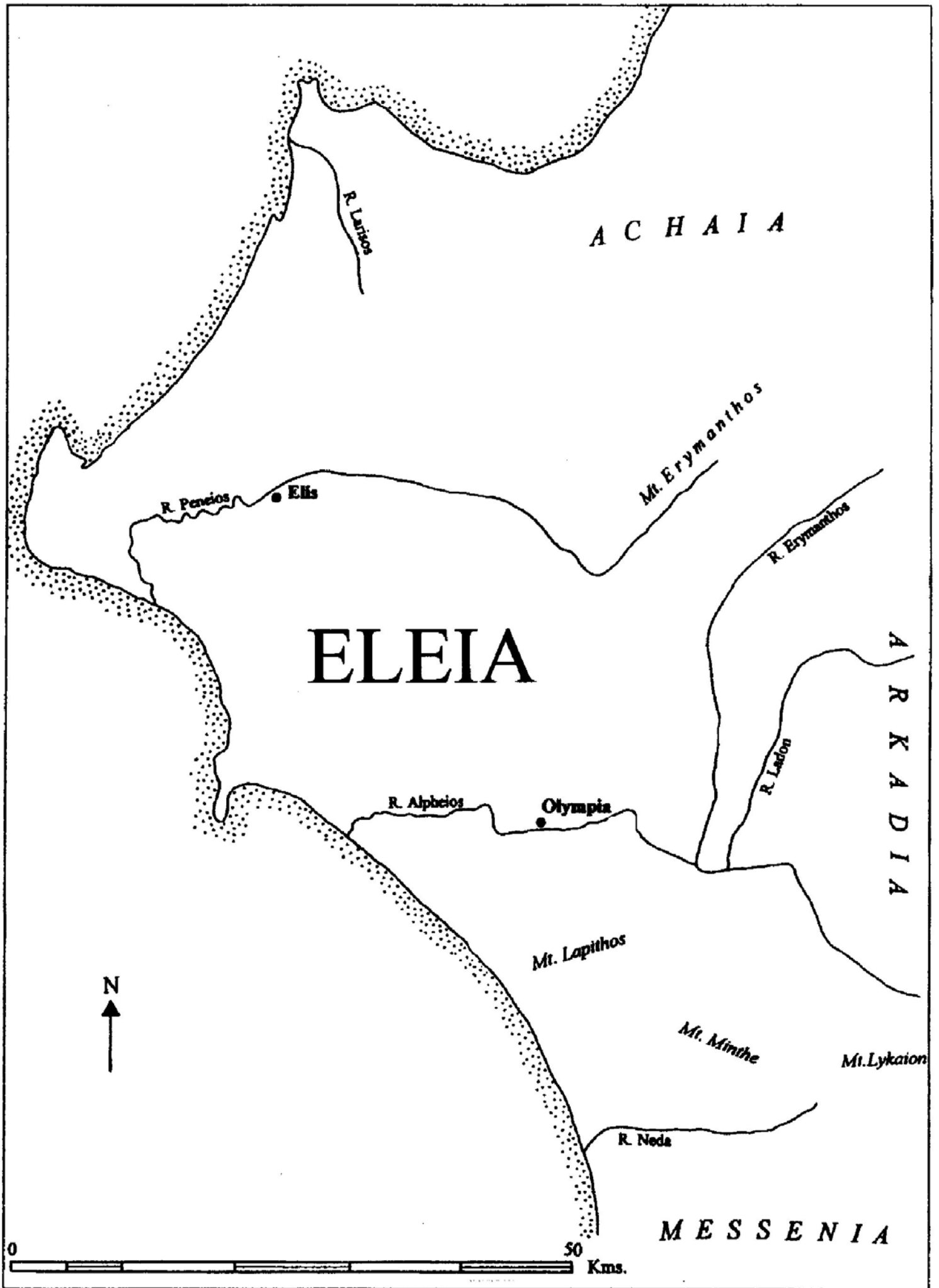
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<sup>22</sup> Hdt. IX.77.3; Diod. VIII.1.2f.

writer on this count.<sup>23</sup> In seeking to reconcile these apparently contradictory reports, moreover, we are able to attain a deeper understanding of events in Eleia in this period. Similarly, the attempt to understand the conflict between the Pisatans and the rest of the Eleians, once the premise is maintained that the Eleians were bound to refrain from aggressive warfare, leads us to a new, more complex and more accurate view of these events. Much the same can be said for Eleian history as a whole, and a revision of the history of a significant region of the Peloponnese ought to shed light on our understanding of the history of Greece in general during the Archaic and Classical periods.

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<sup>23</sup> See below, 220f.



Map 1 The region of Eleia and its neighbours (adapted from Roy, J., 'The *Perioikoi* of Elis' in Hansen, 1997, 305).

## PART I

### HELLENIC HOLY LAND

#### CHAPTER 1: THE *ASYLIA* OF THE ELEIANS

*The Textual Evidence for the asyilia – The Origin of the asyilia – The Population of Eleia in the Early-Archaic Period – A Pastoral Land – Coastal Change and Maritime Settlement – The Duration of the asyilia – The asyilia in the Classical Period – The Case Against the asyilia – G. Busolt and Eleian Propaganda – Ed. Meyer and Subsequent Scholars – Conclusion*

#### CHAPTER 2: THE ELEIAN *MANTEIS*

*The Eleian mantis Abroad – The Klytidai and the Iamidai – The Nature of the Mantic Clans – The Eleian manteis as Sacred Officials – The manteis and the Eleian State – The mantis at War – The mantis as Healer – Conclusion*

#### CHAPTER 3: THE ELEIANS OVERSEAS

*The Eleians in the West – The Eleians in Southern Epeiros – The Site of Pandosia – The Date and Purpose of the Colonies – The Oracle of Zeus at Dodona – The nekyomanteion of Ephyra – The Oracle of Zeus-Ammon – Conclusion*

#### CHAPTER 4: OLYMPIA AND THE ARCHAIC ELEIAN *KOINON*

*A Common Aitolian Heritage – Aitolians and Aiolians – The Amphictyony of Olympia – Olympia as the Centre of an Eleian koinon – The City of Elis – The Sanctuary of Zeus as a Political Centre – Conclusion*

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE ASYLIA OF THE ELEIANS

There are a number of passages in ancient texts that give us reason to believe that for much of the Archaic and Classical periods Eleia was thought to be a sacred and inviolable land, immune from invasion by other Greek states. This status, known as *asylia*, appears to have originated in the eighth century B.C. Even though archaeologists have doubted that Eleia was populated at that time, evidence of occupation continues to emerge and a recent coastal survey shows that the remains of maritime communities may be hidden from us. Several modern scholars reject the testimony of Polybios, Strabo, Diodoros and Phlegon that Eleia was considered sacred and inviolable in Archaic and Classical times. Contemporary scholars refer to the works of Georg Busolt and Eduard Meyer. Careful examination of Busolt's arguments, however, reveals that they are highly speculative, and neither Meyer nor contemporary scholars offer much in addition. Instances of Eleian warfare in the ancient sources, furthermore, are not the conclusive evidence against the *asylia* that they appear to be at first glance.

#### *The Textual Evidence for the asylia*

Polybios narrates the advance of Macedonian forces under the command of Philip V into Eleia during the 140<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, 220-216 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Philip first accepted the surrender of Lasion, near the Arkadian border, and then sacrificed at Olympia, where he rested for three days.<sup>2</sup> Advancing into Eleia, by which Polybios appears to mean the plain of the Peneios where the city of Elis was situated, Philip immediately sent out parties to gather plunder.<sup>3</sup> At this point in his narrative, Polybios describes a countryside with a unique settlement pattern. The Eleian *chora* was more full of people and *kataskеue*, by which he means moveable property of various sorts, than was the rest of the Peloponnese.<sup>4</sup>

This passage seems to echo the words of Xenophon who, describing the Lakedaimonian invasion of Eleia almost two centuries earlier, says that 'vast

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<sup>1</sup> Polyb. IV.73.4-75.8.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. IV.73.1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. IV.73.4f.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. IV.73.6: συμβαίνει γὰρ τὴν τῶν Ἑλείων χώραν διαφερόντως οἰκεῖσθαι καὶ γέμειν σωμάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον.

numbers of flocks and herds and vast numbers of slaves were seized from the countryside'.<sup>5</sup> It is clear that Eleia had the same abundance of rural wealth then as in Philip's time. We should picture a countryside full of farmsteads and all sorts of constructions for agricultural purposes, with a large population, both free and slave, living in substantial houses that were furnished in as rich a fashion as those in town and working well-stocked farms. Philip's army was loaded down with booty, despite the fact that the city of Elis itself had not been attacked. This plunder caused him such difficulty that he was compelled to withdraw his forces, now almost useless (δύσχωρηστος), back to Olympia.<sup>6</sup>

Polybios offers two explanations for why the Eleians should have such a well-occupied *chora*. The first of these, he says, is the magnitude of their country, but it was

mainly because of the sacred (ἱερός) life that once prevailed amongst them, when, having received a concession from the Greeks because of the Olympic gathering, they lived in an Eleia that was holy (ἱερά) and unravaged, being entirely without experience of danger or of any warlike circumstances.<sup>7</sup>

Polybios takes the opportunity offered by his narration of Philip's invasion of Eleia to urge the Eleians to attempt to recover their lost inviolability, their ἀσυλία.<sup>8</sup>

Strabo, in two quite separate passages, also mentions the inviolability of the Eleians. In the first of these, having claimed that there were but two *ethne* remaining in the Peloponnese, he offers an explanation for his belief that the speech of the Arkadians and the Eleians is more Aiolian and less Dorian than that of the other Peloponnesians. In the case of the Arkadians it is because they lived in the mountains, but in the case of the Eleians it is because they 'were acknowledged as

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<sup>5</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.26: καὶ ὑπέροππολα μὲν κτήνη, ὑπέροππολα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἠλίσκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

<sup>6</sup> Polyb. IV.75.7f: τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπεργεμούσης αὐτῷ παντοδαπῆς ὠφελείας βαρῶς ὄν καὶ δύσχωρηστος ἀνεχώρει διὰ ταῦτα.

<sup>7</sup> Polyb. IV.73.9f: τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸν ὑπάρχοντά ποτε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν βίον, ὅτε λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγκώρημα διὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἱερὰν καὶ ἀπόρθητον ἔκουν τὴν Ἠλείαν, ἀπειροὶ παντὸς ὄντες δεινοῦ καὶ πάσης πολεμικῆς περιστάσεως.

<sup>8</sup> Polyb. IV.74.1-8.

being sacred (ἱερός) to Olympian Zeus and, keeping to themselves, sustained peace for a long time.’<sup>9</sup>

In the second passage, Strabo tells of an agreement at the time of the return of the Herakleidai that

Eleia should be sacred (ἱερός) to Zeus, and anyone who set upon that country with arms should be under a curse, as should also be accursed anyone who did not defend it to the best of his ability.<sup>10</sup>

Diodoros too, also in two passages, makes mention of the sacred status of the Eleians. In the first of these he says that

since the Eleians were becoming numerous and governing themselves in accordance with laws, the Lakedaimonians viewed their growth with suspicion, and so they helped in establishing for them a neutral (κοινός) life, in order that they might enjoy peace and have no experience of the business of warfare. And they dedicated (καθιερώω) them to the god, with the agreement of nearly all of the Greeks.<sup>11</sup>

Here Diodoros also refers to the zeal of the Greeks for keeping ‘their countryside and their city sacred and inviolable’<sup>12</sup> and says that the Eleians did not take part in the wars which the Greeks fought in common.<sup>13</sup>

The second passage from Diodoros is written in the context of the Lakedaimonian invasion of Eleia led by king Pausanias at the end of the fifth century B.C.:

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<sup>9</sup> Strabo VIII.1.2, p.333: τοῖς δ’ ἱεροῖς νομισθεῖσι τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς καὶ καθ’ αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην ἄγουσι πολὺν χρόνον.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357f: τὴν Ἡλείαν ἱερὰν εἶναι τοῦ Διός, τὸν δ’ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ταύτην μεθ’ ὅπλων ἐναγῆ εἶναι, ὡς δ’ αὐτῶς ἐναγῆ καὶ τὸν μὴ ἐπαμύνοντα εἰς δύναμιν; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 155.

<sup>11</sup> Diod. VIII.1.1: καὶ καθιέρωσαν αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ; cf. Walbank, F.W., *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* I (Oxford, 1957) 526. In this translation, κοινός is taken to mean ‘neutral’, as, for example, in Thuc. III.68.1, where the Spartans claim that they had urged the Plataians to remain neutral: κοινούς εἶναι. The similar translation ‘impartial’ is common too: Thuc. III.53.2; V.102.1.

<sup>12</sup> Diod. VIII.1.2: τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν σπεύδειν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον φυλάττειν.

<sup>13</sup> Diod. VIII.1.3: Ὅτι οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τῶν κοινῶν πολέμων οὐ μετεῖχον. Connor, W.R., ‘Early Greek Warfare as Symbolic Expression’ *P&P* 119 (1988) 7, sees this as evidence that ‘festival centres (for example, Elis)...could enjoy protracted tranquillity’.



While Pausanias then raised the siege, seeing after this that the capture would be troublesome, he set upon the countryside, plundering and ruining it, although it was sacred (ἱερός), and gathered a whole multitude of supplies.<sup>14</sup>

Phlegon of Tralles, quoting a Delphic oracle, also specifically mentions the peaceful existence of the Eleians:

And after this the Eleians, wanting to help the Lakedaimonians when they were besieging Helos, sent to Delphi to consult the oracle. And the Pythia gave them this answer:

‘Temple servants of the Eleians, keeping the custom of your fathers,  
Protect their fatherland, refrain from warfare,  
Leading the Greeks in impartial friendship,  
Whenever, every five years, a kindly year comes.’

And when they had been delivered this oracle they stayed away from fighting, and took care of the Olympic festival.<sup>15</sup>

Some further pieces of evidence also suggest that Eleia was a sacred and inviolable land. There are seven Homeric references to Ἥλις δῖα, ‘divine Elis’, three each in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and one in the Homeric hymn to Apollo.<sup>16</sup> On

<sup>14</sup> Diod. XIV.17.11: ὁ δὲ Πausανίας τότε μὲν ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὄρῳ ἐργώδη τὴν ἄλωσιν οὔσαν, ἐπήει πορθῶν καὶ φθείρων τὴν χώραν ἱερὰν οὔσαν, καὶ παμπληθεῖς ὀφελείας ἤθροισεν; cf. Walbank, 1957, 526.

<sup>15</sup> Phlegon of Tralles *FGrH* 257 F 1.9: καὶ Ἥλεῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα βουλόμενοι βοηθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτε Ἔλος ἐπολιόρκουν, πέμψαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐμαντεύοντο. καὶ χρᾶι ἡ Πυθία τάδε:

Ἥλείων πρόπολοι, πατέρων νόμον ἰθύνοντες  
τὴν αὐτῶν ῥύεσθε πάτραν, πολέμου δ' ἀπέχεσθε,  
κοινοδίκου φιλίας ἡγούμενοι Ἕλληναςσιν,  
εὗτ' ἂν πενταετῆς ἔλθῃ φιλόφρων ἐνιαυτός.

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

This oracle is summarised by Fontenrose, J., *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley, 1978) 269: ‘Keep to your fathers’ law and protect your country. Keep out of war and lead the Hellenes in friendship every fifth year.’

<sup>16</sup> *Il.* II.615; XI.686, 698; cf. Strabo VIII.3.11, p.342; *Od.* XIII.275; XV.298; XXIV.431; *To Apollo* III.426.

only one occasion is a different epithet used in these works for Elis, by which the poet clearly means the region rather than the later city.<sup>17</sup> Although the epics deal with subject matter from a much earlier period, it is likely that the epithet ‘divine’ was introduced when they were first written down, probably within a hundred years of the mid-eighth century B.C., soon after the likely time of the declaration of the *asylia*. As Raaflaub and Wallace point out, the Homeric epics reflect the world of the eighth or early-seventh centuries B.C., ‘or that of a slightly earlier period that was still accessible by living memory and satisfied the poet’s archaizing tendency’.<sup>18</sup>

Strabo says that some believe that Pisatis did not take part in the Trojan War because it was regarded as sacred to Zeus.<sup>19</sup> This belief is clearly confused, since, as argued below, the district that later became known as Pisatis was an integral part of Eleia, and the name was unknown until the Classical period.<sup>20</sup> The Eleian *asylia*, according to Strabo, was declared upon the return of the Herakleidai, after the Trojan War, but it probably belongs to the eighth century B.C. The view that Pisatis was sacrosanct at the time of the supposed Trojan War, nevertheless, may dimly reflect a belief that Eleia had been declared sacred and inviolable at some early period.

To these passages we can add the otherwise perplexing custom that no mules were to be conceived in Eleia.<sup>21</sup> The reports of Herodotus and Pausanias, while presenting this as a physical impossibility, show that it was actually a prohibition, since the Eleians drove their asses and mares into nearby countries so that they could conceive. Perhaps the conception of sterile offspring, considered unnatural and impure, could not be carried out in a holy land. Pindar, too, says that the Eleians refer to their land as ‘the grove of Olympian Zeus’.<sup>22</sup> This is unlikely to be a reference to Olympia alone, since Pindar appears to emphasise that the Eleians are referring to ‘their own land’. He uses the expression ἄλσος, it seems, as a metaphor for the holy land of Eleia, sacred to Zeus.

<sup>17</sup> *Od.* XXI.347: πρὸς Ἥλιδος ἱπποβότοιο.

<sup>18</sup> Raaflaub, K.A. and Wallace, R.W., ‘“People’s Power” and Egalitarian Trends in Archaic Greece’ in Raaflaub, K.A., Ober, J. and Wallace, R.W. (eds), *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley, 2007) 24; cf. Raaflaub, K.A., ‘A Historian’s Headache: How to Read “Homeric Society”?’ in Fischer, N. and van Wees, H. (eds), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (London, 1998) 169-93.

<sup>19</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.355.

<sup>20</sup> See below, Ch. 6.

<sup>21</sup> Hdt. IV.30.1; Paus. V.5.2, cf. 9.2.

<sup>22</sup> Pind. *Isth.* II.27f: γαῖαν ἀνὰ σφετέρῃαν, τὰν δὴ καλέοισιν Ἰολυμπίου Διὸς ἄλσος.

*The Origin of the asyilia*

On the question of the origin of the Eleian *asyilia*, the four major pieces of evidence appear to contradict each other:

1. Polybios, when he writes of ‘the sacred life that once prevailed amongst them...[when they had received]...a concession from the Greeks because of the Olympic gathering’, seems to imply that it began either with the Olympic festival or at some later time.<sup>23</sup>

2. Strabo says that the Eleians were acknowledged as being sacred to Olympian Zeus because of ‘having received the army which returned after exile with Oxylos at about the time of the descent of the Herakleidai’.<sup>24</sup>

3. Diodoros says that the Lakedaimonians ‘dedicated ...[the Eleians]... to the god’ at a time when they were suspicious of their growth.<sup>25</sup>

4. Phlegon associates the origin of the *asyilia* with a time when the Eleians had been considering sending help to the Lakedaimonians in the conquest of Lakonia.<sup>26</sup>

We can resolve these apparent contradictions by putting aside the aetiological myth repeated by Strabo, while keeping in mind that such myths tend to arise only when there is some phenomenon to explain. Ephoros, whom Strabo acknowledges as his source, could easily have ascribed the declaration of Eleian sacrosanctity to the mythical time of the return of the Herakleidai.<sup>27</sup> A myth connecting the *asyilia* to this event might have been circulated in his time to emphasise the role of the ancestors of the Lakedaimonian kings Agis and Pausanias, who appear to have violated it in 402-400 B.C., in declaring Eleia sacrosanct.<sup>28</sup>

Both Diodoros and Phlegon mention the Lakedaimonians with respect to the *asyilia* of the Eleians: Diodoros says that they dedicated the Eleians to Zeus,<sup>29</sup> and Phlegon’s oracle says that it came about after the Eleians had offered to send help to

<sup>23</sup> Polyb. IV.73.10.

<sup>24</sup> Strabo VIII.1.2, p.333: δεδεγμένοις τὴν Ὀξύλοφ συγκατελθοῦσαν στρατιὰν περὶ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον; cf. VIII.3.33, p.357.

<sup>25</sup> Diod. VIII.1.1: καθιέρωσαν αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ.

<sup>26</sup> Phlegon of Tralles *FGH* 257 F 1.9.

<sup>27</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357f; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 115; cf. VIII.1.2, p.333.

<sup>28</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.23-30; Diod. XIV.17.5-12; Paus. III.8.3-5; see below, 259-62.

<sup>29</sup> Note that while Diodoros may be following Ephoros when he briefly reports at XIV.17.11 that the land of Eleia was sacred, he does not, with Strabo, repeat the claim that this status dated from the mythical time of the return of the Herakleidai (VIII.3.33, p.357f; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 115). Diodoros, it seems, prefers the more historical explanation offered above.

them in Lakonia. Both Polybios and Phlegon associate the origin of the *asylia* with the Olympic festival: Polybios says that the Eleians were to be left in peace because of the Olympic gathering, and Phlegon has the Pythia instruct them to refrain from fighting and take care of the Olympic festival. This fits well with Diodoros' claim that the Eleians were dedicated to the god. In his account, the dedication occurs at the very time when the Eleian state was beginning to be consolidated, when 'the Eleians were becoming numerous and governing themselves in accordance with laws'. Phlegon's oracle was given when the Spartans were besieging Helos, and so extending their domain to include the most fertile part of Lakonia.<sup>30</sup> These references to the Lakedaimonians and the association of the *asylia* with the festival of Olympian Zeus suggest that its establishment reflects, at a time when both states were growing in strength, Spartan recognition of Eleian inviolability and control over Olympia in return for an agreement by the Eleians to refrain from military expansion.

The consolidation of Eleia appears to have taken place at about the same time as the completion of the subjection of Lakonia. Cartledge supports the view that c.775 B.C. was an important turning point in Greek history, pointing to the return of literacy, the beginning of westward colonisation and a great advance in metal-working.<sup>31</sup> This view is strengthened by the analysis of Donlan, who sees 'the early decades of the eighth century' as a time when the warrior chiefdoms of the Dark Age, reflected in Homeric epic, were being transformed into the aristocratically governed city-states of the early-Archaic period.<sup>32</sup> According to Donlan, change occurred quite rapidly as in three to four generations the chiefly class 'was transformed from relatively small-scale farmers to a profit-motivated landed gentry'.<sup>33</sup> Donlan lists the foundation of the Olympic festival among the changes that occurred after 800 B.C.<sup>34</sup>

#### *The Population of Eleia in the Early-Archaic Period*

Morgan, too, sees the eighth century B.C. as a "Greek Renaissance", when 'major restructuring took place in most areas of cultural and political life.' More

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<sup>30</sup> Polyb. V.19.7; Diod. VIII.1.1; cf. Cartledge, P.A., *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History, 1300-362 B.C.* (London, 1979) 97.

<sup>31</sup> Cartledge, 1979, 102.

<sup>32</sup> Donlan, W., *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece and Other Papers* (Wauconda, Ill., 1999) 297.

<sup>33</sup> Donlan, 1999, 315, cf. 356.

<sup>34</sup> Donlan, 1999, 34, 291.

explicitly, she observes that ‘the eighth century saw the beginning of great change in many aspects of community organisation’.<sup>35</sup> Morgan’s analysis of bronze tripod and figurine dedications at Olympia, furthermore, makes it clear that there was an easily discernible change in the pattern of sanctuary activity at the beginning of the eighth century B.C. ‘From c.800,’ she concludes,

changes in dedicatory practice reflect an intensification of activity by the petty chiefs of the west [of the Peloponnese], combined with participation by the elites of neighbouring states. If athletic events did not already exist, it is possible that their institution coincided with this change in practice.

Morgan finds ‘a clear distinction between eighth-century and earlier tripod evidence, and a marked change in style, and increase in numbers, after 800.’<sup>36</sup>

Two other points made by Morgan, however, offer more specific support to the likelihood of Lakedaimonian cooperation with Elis concerning Olympia in the early eighth century B.C. The first of these is the evidence for Lakedaimonian participation at Olympia. While ‘the participation of Spartan craftsmen and visitors at Olympia was...an important factor in the maintenance and expansion of the sanctuary, especially during the earlier part of the eighth century’, Spartan figurines appear c.775.<sup>37</sup> This is very close indeed to the traditional date for the foundation of the Olympic games.

The second point made by Morgan is that Spartan intervention in the western Peloponnese can, in general, be dated c.775 B.C. Before that time, she observes, the Spartans busied themselves with Lakonia and the settlement at the five villages that were their home. After c.775 B.C., however, expansion within Lakonia began, an activity that would, we can presume from her work, have included the capture of Helos. ‘The beginnings of Spartan participation at Olympia,’ Morgan reminds us, ‘date to this phase also.’ Participation at Olympia must be seen as ‘an assertion of Sparta’s position of power in the west.’<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Morgan, C., *Athletes and Oracles: the Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century B.C.* (Cambridge, 1990) 1, 155.

<sup>36</sup> Morgan, 1990, 56, 62; cf. 6, 21, 31, 96, 192.

<sup>37</sup> Morgan, 1990, 192f, 62; cf. 31, 39, 92.

<sup>38</sup> Morgan, 1990, 101f.

There is, nevertheless, a particular sense in which Morgan's analysis challenges the concept of an arrangement between the Spartans and Eleians at this time concerning Olympia and the *asylia*. She repeatedly states that Eleia was virtually unpopulated until the late eighth century B.C., dating its resettlement c.725 B.C.<sup>39</sup> This claim requires further investigation on a number of grounds, not least that, if it is true, Eleia would have remained an empty backwater while complex developments were taking place elsewhere in the Peloponnese. The Corinthians, for example, in their rush to found Kerkyra and Syrakousai in 733 B.C., would have neglected to settle in one of the most fertile and productive regions of Greece, even though it was empty. It is highly unlikely that Eleia would have been unaffected in this era of expansion made possible, if not caused, by population growth elsewhere in Greece, unless it was already well inhabited. Morgan, furthermore, focuses too closely on the concept of 'marginality'. As she says, 'on several occasions in the course of this book, I have commented upon the significance of the marginal locations of most inter-state sanctuaries.'<sup>40</sup>

We may also object that the absence of 'settlement' does not mean that a territory must automatically be declared *terra nullius*. In the early eighth century B.C. the plains of the Peneios and the Alpheios might have been populated by seasonally migrating herders of horses and cattle, whose recognisable remains would now be thinly scattered over a wide area. In the *Odyssey*, Noëmon tells the suitors in Ithake that he keeps brood mares with mule foals in Elis, Eumaios says that Odysseus has twelve herds of cattle, twelve of goats and twelve of hogs ἐν ἠπείρῳ, and a cow and goats arrive from the mainland, perhaps Eleia, since the Ionian Islands are quite close offshore (fig. 2, map 6).<sup>41</sup> On the one occasion in the Homeric epics when Elis receives an epithet other than 'divine', it is called 'horse-pasturing Elis'.<sup>42</sup> In a sequel to the *Odyssey*, Odysseus 'sails to Elis to inspect his herds'.<sup>43</sup> Apollodoros tells us that the mythical king Augeas of Elis had many herds of cattle

<sup>39</sup> Morgan, 1990, 192; cf. 21, 29, 49, 56, 63.

<sup>40</sup> Morgan, 1990, 223.

<sup>41</sup> *Od.* IV.630-37; XIV.100-08; XX.185-88; cf. Johnston, P.J., 'Odysseus' Livestock' *CPhil.* 36 (1941) 273.

<sup>42</sup> *Od.* XXI.347.

<sup>43</sup> Eugammon of Kyrene *Telegony* fr. 1: εἰς Ἡλιν ἀποπλεῖ ἐπισκεψόμενος τὰ βουκόλια. The outline of the possibly early-sixth century B.C. *Telegony* is known through Photius' abridgement of the second-century A.D. Eutykhios Proklos' synopsis of each of the poems of the epic cycle: Evelyn-White, H.G. (transl.), *Hesiod, the Homeric Poems and Homerica* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974) xxix-xxx, 530-32.

and so accepted the offer of Herakles, in his fifth labour, to cleanse the land of their dung in one day.<sup>44</sup> These passages suggest that Eleia had once been a largely pastoral land.

Morgan's evidence is the archaeological equivalent of an argument from silence. She claims that a sharp decline following 'a relatively high level of LHIIIC and Submycenaean activity in Elis' has been revealed by 'both survey and excavation data', and explains this by population movement to Messenia 'in the wake of the breakdown of the Mycenaean palatial system'.<sup>45</sup> The date of the resettlement of the region is 'extrapolated' from ceramic material found at Agrapidochori, on the Peneios well above the site of ancient Elis. This material is compared with finds from the Pharai valley in Achaia to give an earlier terminal date of c.750 B.C., and with finds at Olympia to give a later terminal date of c.700 B.C. As Morgan admits, 'understandably, this must remain vague'.<sup>46</sup>

In a later work concerned with the late Archaic and early Classical periods, Morgan and Coulton lament that 'it is unfortunate that so few sites in what appears to have been a densely settled region have been excavated.' Then they observe that 'settlement at Elis, effectively continuous since prehistoric times, has been revealed through a long series of Greek and Austrian excavations', but go on to give examples of 'briefly excavated' sites.<sup>47</sup> If the one site, Elis itself, that they can claim to have been thoroughly excavated shows continuous settlement, we ought to wonder what other sites might reveal. As Inglis points out, 'it is suggestive that one of the few places where Geometric sherds have been found, a well on the plain below the acropolis of Elean Pylos, was excavated as part of a survey of the area to be inundated by the Peneios dam, the only such survey ever conducted in Elis'.<sup>48</sup>

The case that Eleia was depopulated in the early eighth century B.C., a circumstance that is already unlikely considering the situation in neighbouring regions, is far from proven by the lack of archaeological evidence from a few 'briefly excavated' sites. Two bodies of evidence, the archaeological publications of Siewert,

<sup>44</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* II.5.5; cf. Paus. V.1.9f; XI.11.6; Philostr. *Life of Apollonios* VIII.7.

<sup>45</sup> Morgan, 1990, 63, cf. 64.

<sup>46</sup> Morgan, 1990, 51.

<sup>47</sup> Morgan, C. and Coulton, J.J., 'The Polis as a Physical Entity' in Hansen, M.H. (ed), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community* (Copenhagen, 1997) 113f.

<sup>48</sup> Inglis, A., *A History of Elis, ca. 700-365 B.C.* (Harvard PhD Thesis, 1998) 53, n.90; cf. Coleman, J.E., *Excavations at Pylos in Elis* (*Hesperia* Supplement 21, Athens, 1986) 5f, 18-33. Coldstream, J.N., *Geometric Greece* (London, 1979) 181, reports that finds from Geometric cemeteries in both Olympia and Kyllene remained, at his time of writing, unpublished.

Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon and a comprehensive survey of coastal change, published in 2005, moreover, suggest that Eleia might have been well-occupied throughout the Dark Age.

#### *A Pastoral Land*

The work of Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon indicates that the continuous occupation of the city-area of Elis from early times is likely. Elis, according to both Diodoros and Strabo,<sup>49</sup> was established in 471 B.C as the principal city and focal point of the region. Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon point out that this evidence has led scholars to conclude that the city of Elis was founded in 471 B.C. through synoikism, and to ignore the report of a much earlier establishment by Oxylos.<sup>50</sup> ‘The archaeological investigation of the site contradicts...,’ they say, ‘the conception of a late genesis of the settlement and might meaningfully supplement the historical tradition.’<sup>51</sup>

Apart from finds of Early and Middle Helladic ceramics that prove occupation of the site of Elis during the third and early second millennia B.C., the oldest finds inside the city-area of Elis at their time of publication were post-Mycenaean. They come from graves found scattered in the area, lying so far from each other that they must have belonged to corresponding small settlements.<sup>52</sup> ‘While the history of the city at the end of the eleventh and in the tenth century B.C. is well-documented through the sub-Mykenaian and Protogeometric graves and their burial gifts, the ninth century B.C.,’ however, say Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, ‘is so far scarcely represented in finds.’<sup>53</sup> One *kantharos*, nevertheless, roughly dated to the ninth century by parallels from Achaia, shows that ‘the area of the earlier city of Elis was not abandoned.’<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Diod. XI.54.1; Strabo VIII.3.2, p.336.

<sup>50</sup> Strabo X.3.2, p.463; Paus. V.3.6f.

<sup>51</sup> Eder, B. and Mitsopoulos-Leon, V., ‘Zur Geschichte der Stadt Elis vor dem Synoikismos von 471 v. Chr.: Die Zeugnisse der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit’ *JÖAI* 68 (1999) 1f: ‘Die archäologische Erforschung der Stätte widerspricht jedoch der Auffassung von einer späten Entstehung der Siedlung entschieden und kann die historische Tradition sinnvoll ergänzen.’

<sup>52</sup> Eder, B., ‘Die Anfänge von Elis und Olympia: zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Landschaft Elis am Übergang von der Spätbronze– zur Früheisenzeit’ in Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. (ed), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes: Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier “100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen” Athen 5.3 – 7.3 1998* (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften Band 38, Athens, 2001) 237, 239; Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 7.

<sup>53</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 9.

<sup>54</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 9f.



Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon seem unconvinced that continuity of settlement in the city-area was broken: ‘Apart from the hope that grave and settlement remains of the ninth century B.C. are yet to be discovered, there is also reason for the supposition that the older traces of the settlement history were partly destroyed by the extension of the city centre from the fifth century B.C.’<sup>55</sup> They list ceramics and small finds from the Late Geometric II period (720-680 B.C.): the fragmentary remains of a *krater* and a *kantharos*, found during the Greek-Austrian excavations of the Hellenistic theatre; further ceramic fragments from the area of the theatre; and two isolated ceramic fragments from the area of the South Hall.<sup>56</sup>

More relevant to the ninth and early-eighth centuries B.C., however, is that sherds from the north-west foot of the akropolis ‘can be identified with the sub-Mykenaian to Protogeometric graves to the east of the city.’ In addition, a bronze statuette of a bull, which they say is to be ascribed to local workshops from the ninth to early eighth century B.C., might have come from the city area. If not, it seems likely to have come from nearby, and would thus indicate habitation of the surrounding countryside. The small bronze figure of a Geometric horse, found near the Propylon, belongs with examples from Olympia dated to the third quarter of the eighth century B.C. A wheel-shaped disc of bronze is dated to at least the eighth century B.C., and bronze beads from a wall of the West Hall seem to come from the eighth to seventh centuries B.C.<sup>57</sup>

Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon sum up this section of their work: ‘In view of the older burial places of the eleventh to ninth centuries B.C. and the later development into the principal city of the region, the interpretation of the Geometric and Archaic ceramics and small finds makes sense as evidence of a continuous settlement history.’<sup>58</sup> Despite this reasonable claim, the hard evidence for a *large* settlement in the city-area of Elis in the ninth and early eighth centuries B.C. is slim. This may suggest, rather than an overall lack of habitation, a population scattered

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<sup>55</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 1.10.

<sup>56</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 1.13f.

<sup>57</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 14-19.

<sup>58</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 24: ‘Im Hinblick auf die älteren Begräbnisstätten des 11.-9. Jh.s v. Chr. und auf die spätere Entwicklung zur Hauptstadt der Region ergibt die Interpretation der geometrischen und archaischen Keramik- und Kleinfunde als Zeugnisse einer kontinuierlichen Siedlungsgeschichte ihren Sinn’; cf. Siewert, P., ‘Zwei Rechtsaufzeichnungen der Stadt Elis’ in Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. (ed.) *Forschungen in der Peloponnes: Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier “100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen” Athen 5.3 – 7.3 1998* (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften Band 38, Athens, 2001) 246.

over the countryside and not heavily concentrated in the city-area. As Siewert argues, ‘the relatively small number of concrete settlement remains in early Elis – as might be foreseen from the possibly chance nature of the finds – can be explained, as with the Aitolians, by the predominance of stockbreeding, which requires a frequent change of pasture and a rarely stationary way of life.’<sup>59</sup>

Although the city of Elis was apparently not mentioned in the ancient sources before the synoikism of the early fifth century B.C., Elis is referred to in the Homeric epics as the region in which the Epeians dwell. ‘So the Eleians’, say Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, ‘enter the light of history as a community, and there is no mention of a single city of Elis.’<sup>60</sup> They point out that the name of the Eleians is derived from Elis, which in the local dialect means ‘vale’ (related to Latin *vallis*).<sup>61</sup> ‘This historical situation,’ say Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, ‘offers an explanation for the facts that within the community of the Eleians no single settlement is emphasised and that the city of Elis is not mentioned in the early sources.’<sup>62</sup>

Eder, noting that the simple pit and stone cistern or pithos graves of the ‘Dark Age’ would not be as conspicuous as the Mycenaean chamber tombs, argues that we ought to be cautious in equating the smaller number of iron-age *Fundplätze* with a dramatic population fall.<sup>63</sup> ‘Even if the number of find-places up to now is small,’ she says, ‘it can be shown that the countryside of Elis at the beginning of the Early Iron Age was not depopulated and unoccupied.’<sup>64</sup> Eder points to sub-Mycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric ceramics from graves found during agricultural work or road construction. She argues that the ‘extensive find-complexes from the city of Elis and the sanctuary of Olympia owe something to the systematic excavation of these historically significant sites.’ Despite the occasional claim, says Eder,

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<sup>59</sup> Siewert, 2001, 247.

<sup>60</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 3; cf. Siewert, P., ‘Staatliche Weihungen von Kesseln und Bronzegegeräten in Olympia’ *AM* 106 (1991) 81-84.

<sup>61</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon conclude that the name probably referred originally to the western Peneios valley down to the sea, but we can include the inhabitants of the valleys of both the Peneios and the Alpheios as Eleians, the ‘valley people’, in contrast to their mountain-dwelling Arkadian neighbours; cf. Swoboda, H., ‘Elis’ in *RE* V.2 2380f; Lafond, Y., ‘Elis’ in Cancik, H. and Schneider, H. (eds), *Der Neue Pauly* III (Stuttgart, 1997) 994; see above, 5.

<sup>62</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 4.

<sup>63</sup> Eder, 2001, 235f.

<sup>64</sup> Eder, 2001, 236.

‘Olympia during the early Iron Age did not lie within a no-man’s land’.<sup>65</sup> Snodgrass reminds us of the ‘urban bias of classical archaeology.’<sup>66</sup>

Eder and Mitsopolous-Leon, furthermore, discussing the appearance of animal figurines in Elis, note the importance of livestock in this region, as is made particularly clear in the Nestor-narration from the *Iliad*.<sup>67</sup> They point out that the thousands of animal votives found at Olympia have no parallel at Delphi and mention the description of Eleia in the *Odyssey* as ἰπποβότος noted above.<sup>68</sup> For them, too, the story of the dung that Augeas’ livestock produced, which ‘required no less than the hero Herakles and his super-human abilities in order to be removed’ is evidence of a pastoral Eleia.<sup>69</sup> In the early eighth century B.C., the fertile plains of Eleia appear to have been largely pastoral, perhaps containing scattered villages, one or more of which might have occupied the site of the later city of Elis. Much of the population seems to have been either permanently nomadic within the plain and its hinterland, or seasonally based in the villages.

#### *Coastal Change and Maritime Settlement*

The second body of evidence for population in Eleia during the early eighth century B.C., nevertheless, suggests that some of the Eleians were sustained by means other than stockbreeding. Kraft, Rapp, Gifford and Aschenbrenner show that there has been significant coastal change in Eleia during historical times.<sup>70</sup> Since the mid-Holocene period, sediment from the Alpheios has been entrained in littoral currents and deposited to form barriers, coastal lagoons and peripheral marshes. Three major surges formed a series of barrier island chains. Kleidhi (ancient Arene), along a former strategic pass by the sea, and Epitalion (Homeric Thyron), built on a headland at the mouth of the Alpheios, now lie one kilometre and five kilometres from the sea respectively, and other ancient sites have been similarly affected. In the Peneios valley, diversion of the river ‘has led to cycles of delta progradation and retrogradation that have both buried and eroded archaeological sites.’ In addition,

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<sup>65</sup> Eder, 2001, 236, 241f. and n.15.

<sup>66</sup> Snodgrass, A., *An Archaeology of Greece* (Berkeley, 1987) 67, cf. 68-92.

<sup>67</sup> *Il.* XI.671-681.

<sup>68</sup> *Od.* XXI.347.

<sup>69</sup> Paus. V.1.9f; Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 17f.

<sup>70</sup> Kraft, J.C., Rapp, G., Gifford, J.A. and Aschenbrenner, S.E., ‘Coastal Change and Archaeological Settings in Elis’ *Hesperia* 74 (2005) 1-40.

‘coastal changes continue in Elis today, resulting in areas of both erosion and deposition.’<sup>71</sup>

Having taken more than fifteen drill cores, Kraft *et al.* suggest that there has been ‘heavy occupancy of the western Elis coastal, delta lagoon, and barrier regions since Neolithic times.’<sup>72</sup> Before the eighteenth century A.D., they explain, the Peneios flowed north of the Chelmoutsi headland and emptied south-west of Kotiki lagoon. It now flows south into a deltaic swamp and dune region, burying a former lagoon-barrier coastal zone.<sup>73</sup> The current delta has been evolving since the eighteenth century A.D. as, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century A.D., they speculate, the inhabitants diverted the Peneios to create a less flood-prone plain to the north and/or a new floodplain to the south. The shoreline of the former Peneios delta ‘is one of marine transgression and coastal erosion’.<sup>74</sup>

Changes at Cape Katakolon and Aghios Andreas, ancient Pheia, the harbour in which an Athenian fleet took refuge in the first year of the Archidamian War,<sup>75</sup> are also of interest. Today, a small bay two kilometres north of Katakolon port is shielded by the tiny Tigani Island and its shoals. ‘Prior to the catastrophic earthquake of the sixth century A.D.,’ say Kraft *et al.*, ‘the island and its southern shoals had protected the harbour of ancient Pheia.’ Investigations on land and underwater show ‘occupation for most periods from Early Helladic through Roman, as well as Byzantine.’ Sherds from the Mycenaean to the Roman period have been recovered from the shallow sea.<sup>76</sup>

Kraft *et al.* conclude that

most Helladic to early modern archaeological sites in the region of the present Peneus delta were situated in a setting of a coastal lagoon-barrier accretion plain, very similar to the present region of the Agoulenitsa and Mouria lagoons to the southeast and the Kotiki Lagoon and coastal plain to the north, and that the major

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<sup>71</sup> Kraft *et al.*, 2005, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Kraft *et al.*, 2005, 2.

<sup>73</sup> Kraft *et al.*, 2005, 4.

<sup>74</sup> Kraft *et al.*, 2005, 10.

<sup>75</sup> Thuc. II.25.4.

<sup>76</sup> Kraft *et al.*, 2005, 26.

sedimentologic events of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries have compromised the search for those sites.

Evidence of occupation of the area northeast of the Chelmonisi peninsula has been covered in part by sediments of the Peneus River delta that were deposited prior to the 18<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>77</sup>

Of the Eleian region in general, they say, ‘the potential exists for future discovery of occupation sites of the past six millennia long buried or inundated under the present lagoons and their margins and along the transgressive shorelines of the Ionian Sea.’<sup>78</sup>

It would be surprising if the lagoons of the variegated Eleian coastline were not exploited in ancient times for their marine resources. The harbours of Pheia and Kyllene, too, might have been centres of trade and perhaps of industry. Eleia in the early eighth century B.C. might well have been a thriving region, with an economy based on open-range livestock rearing, coastal fisheries, trade and industry. We need not be concerned at the apparent paucity of material evidence for habitation of Eleia at that time. Nor should Morgan’s insubstantial claim that the region was but scarcely populated lead us to believe that Eleia was excluded from social and political developments that took place in the other regions of mainland Greece during the eighth century B.C. The archaeological record gives us no reason to doubt that the Eleians might have made an agreement at that time with the Lakedaimonians, whose power appears to have been expanding, that would have benefited the Lakedaimonians by neutralising a potential rival in the western Peloponnese, and the Eleians by allowing them to administer the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia in peace.

#### *The Duration of the asyilia*

Concerning the question of how long the *asyilia* lasted, we are again faced with evidence that appears at first glance contradictory.<sup>79</sup> Polybios, referring to the Eleian–Arkadian War of the mid 360s B.C., claims that ‘because of the dispute with the Arkadians about Lasion and the whole of Pisatis, [the Eleians] were forced to

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<sup>77</sup> Kraft *et al.*, 2005, 34.

<sup>78</sup> Kraft *et al.*, 2005, 35.

<sup>79</sup> cf. Shaw, P.-J., *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Chronological Problems of Archaic Peloponnesian History* (Stuttgart, 2003) 97.

defend their country and to change the manner of their lives'.<sup>80</sup> Strabo, on the other hand, we might be tempted to assume, places the end of the *asylia* at a much earlier period. Pheidon the Argive, who recovered the lot of Temenos and attacked the cities previously captured and held by Herakles, he says, claimed the right to all of the games that Herakles had instituted, including the Olympics, so he invaded Elis and celebrated the games. Because of this, the Eleians acquired arms and began to defend themselves. They were joined by the Lakedaimonians, who wanted allies against Pheidon because he had deprived them of their hegemony over the Peloponnese. The Eleians helped them to destroy the power of Pheidon, and they helped the Eleians to gain control of all the territory as far south as the Neda river.<sup>81</sup>

Strabo, however, does not say that the *asylia* ceased to exist after these events. Rather, in fact, he makes two statements that imply the opposite. Firstly, he says that because of its traditional inviolability 'those who later founded the city of Elis left it unwallled'.<sup>82</sup> If this was in 471 B.C., as is generally accepted, then we can assume that Ephoros, his source, believed that the *asylia* remained intact until at least the early fifth century B.C. Secondly, we find in the same sentence of Strabo that 'those who go through the country itself with an army, having handed over their arms, receive them back after leaving the boundaries'.<sup>83</sup> This need not be taken to indicate that the *asylia* remained in force during Strabo's time, but it does suggest that it was still considered valid when Ephoros wrote in the fourth century B.C.

Diodoros nowhere states directly when it was that the *asylia* came to an end, but reports its existence at quite late dates. He says not only that the Eleians 'did not join in the campaign against Xerxes, but were sent away because of their responsibility for the honour due to the god', but also that 'they kept to themselves during the internal wars of the Greeks' until many generations later when 'they also joined in campaigns and went on to fight private wars of their own'.<sup>84</sup> In another fragment, he repeats the claim that they 'were sent away from the campaign [against

<sup>80</sup> Polyb. IV.74.1: διὰ τὴν Ἀρκάδων ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ Λασιῶνος καὶ τῆς Πισάτιδος πάσης ἀναγκασθέντες ἐπαμύνειν τῆ χώρα καὶ μεταλαβεῖν τὰς ἀγωγὰς τῶν βίων; cf. Xen. *Hell.* VII.4.12ff; Diod. XV.78.2f.

<sup>81</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358.

<sup>82</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358; Ephoros *FGH* 70 F 115.

<sup>83</sup> τοὺς κτίσαντας τὴν Ἡλείων πόλιν ὕστερον ἀτείχιστος εἶσαι, καὶ τοὺς δι' αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας ἰόντας στρατοπέδῳ, τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας, ἀπολαμβάνειν μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὄρων ἔκβασιν.

<sup>84</sup> Diod. VIII.1.2: καὶ οὐτε ἐπὶ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας συνεστράτευσαν, ἀλλὰ ἀφείθησαν διὰ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις...ὕστερον δὲ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς καὶ συστρατεῦσαι τούτους καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολέμους ἐπανελέσθαι.

Xerxes] by the allies'.<sup>85</sup> According to Diodoros, moreover, the countryside was still considered sacred when the Lakedaimonian king Pausanias plundered and ruined it c.400 B.C.<sup>86</sup>

There is nothing in these passages of Strabo or Diodoros to contradict the statement of Polybios that the *asylia* did not come to an end until the mid-360s B.C. This date, nevertheless, might appear to stand in blatant contradiction of a considerable amount of other evidence that is available to us, not least, direct statements from Thucydides.<sup>87</sup> These include, for example, evidence of an Eleian presence in the Peloponnesian fleet during the Archidamian War, and Eleian participation in an attack on Epidauros during the period following the Peace of Nikias.<sup>88</sup> It might seem at this point that, faced with such an obstacle, it would be safest to concur with the curt statement of Walbank that 'in fact, the *asylia* never existed.'<sup>89</sup> There are, however, a number of passages in a variety of ancient texts that ought to give us pause for thought.

#### *The asylia in the Classical Period*

After a Messenian war that appears to have ended in 489 B.C.,<sup>90</sup> Pausanias reports, some Messenian refugees fled to the Eleian port of Kyllene.<sup>91</sup> They wintered there before accepting the offer of Anaxilas of Rhegion to help them to conquer Zankle in Sicily. In the meantime, the Eleians provided them with both a market and money to spend in it. Although there are reasons for believing that the people of Kyllene favoured their cause,<sup>92</sup> the inviolability of Eleia might also have provided the defeated Messenians with a convenient port where they could assemble with immunity from Lakedaimonian attack.

Herodotus records that the Eleians took part in building the wall across the Isthmos and that they were late for Plataiai and, as a consequence, banished their leaders.<sup>93</sup> They did not, however, contribute ships to the allied fleets at Artemision or

<sup>85</sup> Diod. VIII.1.3: ἀφείθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τῆς στρατείας.

<sup>86</sup> Diod. XIV.17.11.

<sup>87</sup> Thuc. I.46.1; II.9.2f, 25.3-5; III.29.2-31.1; V.17.2, 31.1-5, 34.1, 37.2, 43.3, 44.2, 45.3, 47.1-10, 48.2, 49.1-50.3, 58.1, 61.1, 62.1f; 75.5, 78.1.

<sup>88</sup> Thuc. III.29.2-31.1; V.75.5.

<sup>89</sup> Walbank, 1957, 526.

<sup>90</sup> For the chronology, see below, 122f.

<sup>91</sup> Paus. IV.23.1-10.

<sup>92</sup> See below, 206f, 272.

<sup>93</sup> Hdt. VIII.72; IX.77.2.

Salamis and seem to have fought in none of the battles against the forces of Xerxes.<sup>94</sup> Their name appears, nevertheless, among the victors on the serpent column from Delphi. Two fragments of Diodoros make it possible that the Eleians were considered to have done their part by attending to the god, as instructed by the commanders of the Greeks.<sup>95</sup> Even a willingness to fight against the Persians, however, might have been a consequence of the danger that they posed to the Eleian administration of the sanctuary of Zeus, itself the *raison d'être* of the *asylia*.<sup>96</sup>

The next passage is from Thucydides, where the Corinthians request only money and unmanned ships from the Eleians for the fleet that fought the Kerkyraians off Leukimme in 434 B.C.<sup>97</sup> While obviously willing to assist the Corinthians, the Eleians thus appear to have deliberately avoided the involvement of their personnel in this conflict. Apart from the ‘outrageous’ act of Pheidon in seizing control of the Olympic festival, the Kerkyraian raid on the Eleian port of Kyllene that followed Leukimme appears to have been the first recorded invasion of Eleia since the arrival of the Aitolians with Oxylos at the time of the return of the Herakleidai.<sup>98</sup> Only after this raid did the Eleians contribute manned ships to the Corinthian fleet that fought at Sybota in 433 B.C.<sup>99</sup>

Xenophon reports that in 401 B.C., when the Spartan king Agis II seems to have been unwilling to capture Elis, the city remained unwalled.<sup>100</sup> Agis, however, had no qualms about ravaging the Eleian *chora*, as his subsequent actions reveal.<sup>101</sup> This raises the prospect that it was perhaps only the city that was considered inviolate, but such a proposition does not tie in well with much of the evidence cited above, where it is the land that is specifically claimed to be sacrosanct,<sup>102</sup> or even with the evidence that the Eleians themselves were dedicated to the god.<sup>103</sup> We must allow here for the possibility that Xenophon was unwilling to tarnish the reputation

<sup>94</sup> Hdt. VIII.1.1f, 42.2-48.

<sup>95</sup> Diod. VIII.1.2f.

<sup>96</sup> See below, 220f.

<sup>97</sup> Thuc. I.27.2.

<sup>98</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* II.8.3, cf. I.7.7; Strabo VIII.1.2, p.333; 3.30, p.354; 3.33, p.357; cf. 8.5, p.389; X.3.2f, p.389; Paus. V.3.5-4.5, cf. V.9.4, 16.1, 18.6; VI.23.8, 24.9; see below, 94, 119f.

<sup>99</sup> Thuc. I.46.1.

<sup>100</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.27: τὴν δὲ πόλιν (ἀτείχιστος γὰρ ἦν) ἐνόμισαν αὐτὸν μὴ βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐλεῖν. This question is touched on by Cawkwell, G., Introduction to Warner, R. (transl.), *Xenophon, A History of My Times* (Harmondsworth, 1979) 156, n: Xen. *Hell.* VII.4.14ff; Diod. XIV.17.10f; XIX.87; cf. Paus. III.8.5; Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358; see below, 259.

<sup>101</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.29f.

<sup>102</sup> Polyb. IV.73.9f; Diod. XIV.17.11; Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357f.

<sup>103</sup> Polyb. IV.74.8; Strabo VIII.1.2, p.333; Diod. VIII.1.1.



of Agis, the brother of his close friend, Agesilaos II,<sup>104</sup> and so made no mention of the violation of the *asylia*. The lack of walls, on the other hand, adds substance to the report of Strabo that the city was left unwallled because Eleia was sacred to Zeus.<sup>105</sup>

Demosthenes expresses outrage at the attacks of Philip II on the Eleian colonies in southern Epeiros.<sup>106</sup> While this is part of a passage in which Demosthenes accuses Philip of violating the *eleutheria* and *autonomia* of the Greek cities, he draws attention to the fact that Pandosia, Boucheta and Elateia were Ἡλείων ἀποικίας. The violence of Philip's action, too, is emphasised (εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος). Demosthenes hoped, perhaps, that his argument would have more force because the Eleians had traditionally been considered inviolate.

Another passage from Diodoros is also of interest. When king Pausanias led an army of Peloponnesians against the Eleians in 401 B.C., the Boiotians and Korinthians, because they were unable to endure what the Lakedaimonians were doing, did not join in the campaign. If Eleia actually was ἱερός καὶ ἄσυλος, then their attitude is understandable.<sup>107</sup> The language that Diodoros ascribes to the Boiotians and Korinthians suggests a degree of revulsion on their part, which implies a religious rather than a political objection to the Lakedaimonian invasion of Eleia. It is reminiscent, too, of the reaction to Pheidon's violent seizure of Olympia, still felt in Herodotus' time to have been, as Hönlé says, an *ungeheurer Frevel*, 'a dreadful sin'.<sup>108</sup>

Soon afterwards, when Agesilaos was preparing to set out for Asia to campaign against the Persians, against their will the Korinthians remained behind because their temple of Olympian Zeus had suddenly caught fire.<sup>109</sup> Coming so soon after the Lakedaimonian violation of a land that had been declared sacred to Zeus of Olympia, this might have been seen by some Korinthians as an omen precluding cooperation with those who had so greatly offended the god.

These passages from Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Diodoros and Pausanias by no means constitute a proof of the existence of the *asylia*.

<sup>104</sup> Xen. *Anab.* III.1.5; V.3.7ff; *Ages.* 1.1, 7.7, 8.7; Cawkwell, 1979, 12f; see below, 264f.

<sup>105</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358.

<sup>106</sup> Dem. VII *Halonnesos* 32.

<sup>107</sup> Diod. XIV.17.6f: οὗτοι δὲ δυσχεραίνοντες τοῖς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων πρᾶττομένοις οὐ μετέσχον τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλίαν στρατείας.

<sup>108</sup> Hdt. VI.127.3; Hönlé, A., *Olympia in der Politik der griechischen Staatenwelt* (Bebenhausen, 1972) 36.

<sup>109</sup> Paus. III.9.2: κατακαυθέντος σφίσιν ἐξαίφνης ναοῦ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ὀλυμπίου, ποιησάμενος πονηρὸν οἰωνὸν καταμένουσιν ἄκοντες.

They do, however, suggest that it extended into the Classical period. They also lend further support to the direct testimony of Polybios, Strabo, Diodoros and Phlegon, already bolstered by the additional passages cited above from the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the Homeric hymn to Apollo, Strabo, Herodotus and Pindar, which suggest that Eleia was considered a holy land in the Archaic and early-Classical periods. Those scholars who care to comment on the four pieces of direct evidence, nevertheless, are unconvinced.

### *The Case Against the asyilia*

In recent years, Rigsby has asserted that ‘it has long been recognized that this claim of primitive Eleian neutrality is a fiction of the classical period, with a political motive.’ In support of this assertion, he invokes the references given in Walbank’s 1957 commentary on Polybios.<sup>110</sup> Walbank cites the late-nineteenth century arguments of Georg Busolt and those of Eduard Meyer in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries A.D. The reference to Busolt is Chapter I, Part 4, of his *Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte*, I of 1880, entitled ‘The Supposed Treaty between Sparta and Elis concerning the Position of the Former as Protector of Olympia’.<sup>111</sup> This work is the foundation upon which contemporary scholars reject the *asyilia* of Elis.

The scholarly reaction to Busolt’s *Forschungen I* when it was first published encourages doubt. Six reviews appeared.<sup>112</sup> Chambers says that although two of the reviews were ‘kinder’, that written by Wilamowitz was ‘cruelly sarcastic and could scarcely have been harsher.’<sup>113</sup> Wilamowitz finds the premise of Curtius, ‘that the Peloponnesian alliance was established and held together by the religious-political combination of Sparta and Olympia’, which Busolt had attacked, ‘untenable’ (*unhaltbar*), but the alternative presented by Busolt ‘far more trivial’ (*weitaus*

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<sup>110</sup> Rigsby, K.J., *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley, 1996) 43 and n.6; cf. Rice, J.D., *The Greek State of Elis in Hellenistic Times* (University of Missouri Dissertation, 1975); Walbank, 1957, 526.

<sup>111</sup> Busolt, G., *Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte I* (Breslau, 1880) 18-34: ‘Der angebliche Vertrag zwischen Sparta und Elis über die Stellung des Erstern als Schutzmacht von Olympia’; Meyer, Ed., *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte I* (Halle, 1892) 242, n.1; *Geschichte des Altertums III* (Stuttgart, 1937) 342, n.

<sup>112</sup> The references are listed in Chambers, M.H., *Georg Busolt: his Career in his Letters* (Leiden, 1990) 220.

<sup>113</sup> Chambers, 1990, 54.

*trivialer*). Busolt's work is 'cursory and uncritical' (*flüchtig und unkritisch*).<sup>114</sup> Wilamowitz makes no specific criticism of the arguments offered by Busolt in the part of his work that is under discussion here, but a close examination of this chapter reveals that the latter had indeed been hasty. Several objections can be raised concerning the validity of his 'proof' that the *asylia* never existed.

Busolt's main concern is to refute the claim of Curtius that a treaty with Elis had established for Sparta the position of protector of Olympia.<sup>115</sup> Busolt argues that this claim is based upon a 'dubious tradition' which asserted that, at the revival of the Olympics in the early eighth century B.C., and with the support of the Heraklids from all over Greece, the Eleians were promised under oath a constant inviolability and neutrality. This tradition, he says, is first found in Ephoros and probably made its way from there into Diodoros, and was thence passed on to Polybios.<sup>116</sup> The account of Strabo, however, apparently derived from Ephoros, is so different from the others that, as shown above, we can resolve the contradictions between the accounts only if the version recorded by Strabo is put aside. This makes it almost certain that both Diodoros and Polybios derived their information from sources other than that used by Strabo. Busolt's investigation suffers from his failure to recognise the contradictions in the sources and so to distinguish between them.

Secondly, Busolt claims that 'the tradition' could not have arisen until at least the end of the seventh century B.C., when the Olympics became panhellenic. Here it is important to distinguish the claims made by 'the tradition' from those of Curtius. Curtius proposes the existence of a formal treaty, agreed to by the members of the Spartan alliance, establishing Sparta as the protector of Olympia. What Busolt calls 'the tradition', that is, the report of Ephoros, Diodoros and Polybios,<sup>117</sup> however, makes no claim whatsoever for a formal treaty, a Spartan protectorate of Eleia, the existence of a Peloponnesian alliance or the use of Olympia as its federal shrine.

Thirdly, Busolt claims that 'this legend was first developed at the beginning of the fourth century and was circulated for the political purposes of the Eleians.'<sup>118</sup> They were, he says, agitating against the Lakedaimonians, who had invaded and

<sup>114</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von, review of Busolt, G., *Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte* I (Breslau, 1880) in *DLZ* 2 (1881) 971-73.

<sup>115</sup> Curtius, E., 'Sparta und Olympia' *Hermes* 14 (1879) 129-40.

<sup>116</sup> Busolt cites: Strabo VIII.3.33; Diod. VIII.1; Polyb. IV.73.

<sup>117</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357f; Diod. VIII.1.1-3; Polyb. IV.73.9f.

<sup>118</sup> Busolt, 1880, 21: 'diese Legende erst am Anfange des vierten Jahrhunderts ausgebildet und von den Eleiern zu politischen Zwecken geflissentlich verbreitet wurde.'

plundered Elis. He claims that in this period a constant and ancient inviolability of Elis ‘was neither legally recognised nor actually respected,’<sup>119</sup> since Athenian fleets had laid waste the Eleian coast during the recent Peloponnesian War.<sup>120</sup> This merely illustrates, however, that the Athenians, then at war with the Lakedaimonians, had declined to respect an inviolability that had been declared by their enemies and which would have been very much to the advantage of the Peloponnesian side at the time. Any supposed Eleian ‘agitation’ against the Lakedaimonians during the Eleian War, furthermore, might have been instead a valid cause of complaint.

Busolt refers to Ephoros, fragment 15, from Strabo,<sup>121</sup> who says that up to the invasion of Pheidon of Argos in the Archaic period, the Eleians had enjoyed an absolute peace, but then had to acquire arms to defend themselves. Busolt concludes that any neutrality would have been surrendered before the end of the seventh century.<sup>122</sup> This need not be the case. The Eleians seem to have been forced to defend themselves from Pheidon’s attack. The successful prosecution of a defensive war against an enemy who refuses to acknowledge one’s inviolability may do as much to confirm that status as to detract from it, and the Eleians appear to have returned to a peaceful existence after the defeat of Pheidon.

It is ‘obvious’, Busolt claims, that ‘an extremely spiteful move against the Lakedaimonians permeates this whole tradition, whereas it is favourable, on the other hand, to the Eleians.’<sup>123</sup> He prefers the explanation put forward by Herodotus for why the Eleians did not fight at Plataiai in 479 B.C. — that they came late through the fault of the Eleian generals, who were later prosecuted — over that of Diodoros, who says that it was because they were sent home by the Hellenic commanders, who thought it a sufficient contribution that they continue to honour the god.<sup>124</sup> No argument at all is presented to support this decision. This must lead us to treat his conclusion that the history of this episode shows ‘the tradition’ to have

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<sup>119</sup> Busolt, 1880, 21: ‘weder rechtlich anerkannt noch thatsächlich respectirt wurde.’

<sup>120</sup> Thuc. II.25.3-5.

<sup>121</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 115.

<sup>122</sup> Busolt, 1880, 21: ‘Denn vor dem Ende des siebenten Jahrhunderts konnte von einer Seitens aller Hellenen anerkannten Neutralität des eleiischen Gebietes nicht die Rede sein und nachher wäre sie ja von den Eleiern aufgegeben worden.’

<sup>123</sup> Busolt, 1880, 22: ‘Es leuchtet ohne Weiteres ein, dass sich durch diese ganze Tradition ein äusserst gehässiger Zug gegen die Lakedaimonier durchzieht, während sie andererseits den Eleiern günstig ist.’

<sup>124</sup> Hdt. IX.77.3; Diod. VIII.1.2.

been ‘tendentiously forged to the benefit of the Eleians’ with considerable scepticism.<sup>125</sup>

### G. Busolt and Eleian Propaganda

Busolt offers ‘proof’ of his claim that the Eleians had fabricated the *asylia*. Firstly, he positions them as aggressors, asserting that the period after the Persian wars was one of ‘greater ill will on the part of the Eleians against Sparta’, as shown by the history of the battle of Plataiai and ‘the spiteful anti-Lakedaimonian tone...[of the ‘tradition’]’.<sup>126</sup> He then dates the ill will from ‘about the Peace of Nikias’ and attempts to place the claim of an ancient *asylia* for Elis in the context of the early fourth century B.C.<sup>127</sup> After the end of the Peloponnesian War, the Lakedaimonian king Agis was about to invade Elis in order, says Xenophon, to ‘bring the Eleians to their senses’ following their opposition to Sparta during the period of the Peace of Nikias and because of other incidents that had occurred since.<sup>128</sup> The Eleians ‘sent embassies to the cities in which a hostile opinion towards Sparta prevailed’.<sup>129</sup> Busolt sees this as an attempt by Elis to disseminate propaganda for itself at this time, in order to discourage states hostile to Sparta from supporting Lakedaimonian moves against Elis.<sup>130</sup> He concludes this section of the chapter with the confident assertion that the tradition’s ‘exceptional unreliability’ has been proven.<sup>131</sup>

What Xenophon actually says, however, would rather lead us to conclude that the Eleians used *diplomacy* to discourage states that were suspicious of Spartan motives from taking part in the invasion. In the case of the Corinthians and the Boiotians, the Eleian envoys appear to have been successful.<sup>132</sup> Diodoros records the refusal of the Boiotians and Corinthians to take part in the campaign of Pausanias against the Eleians, saying that they were ‘unable to endure what was being done by

<sup>125</sup> Busolt, 1880, 22: ‘höchst unzuverlässigen, zu Gunsten der Eleier sogar tendenziös gefälschten’.

<sup>126</sup> Busolt, 1880, 23: ‘groszer Verstimmung der Elier gegen Sparta’; ‘der gahässige Ton gegen die Lakedaimonier’.

<sup>127</sup> Busolt, 1880, 23: ‘Diese Verstimmung datirt etwa vom Frieden des Nikias her.’

<sup>128</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.21f.

<sup>129</sup> Xen *Hell.* III.2.23f.

<sup>130</sup> Busolt, 1880, 23: ‘es schickte Gesandtschaften nach den Städten, in denen eine feindselige Stimmung gegen Sparta herrschte’.

<sup>131</sup> Busolt, 1880, 23: ‘ausserordentliche Unzuverlässigkeit’.

<sup>132</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.23f: ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Ἡλεῖοι πολὺ θρασύτεροι ἦσαν, καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὅσας ἤδεσαν δυσμενεῖς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὖσας. περιμόντι δὲ τῷ ἔνιαυτῷ φαίνουσι πάλιν οἱ ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλιν, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἄγιδι πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

the Lakedaimonians'.<sup>133</sup> If the Eleians were entitled to be considered 'sacred and inviolable', their envoys would have used this as an entirely credible argument in their attempt to convince the allies of the Lakedaimonians not to join in the invasion of Eleian territory. The reaction of the Corinthians and Boiotians tells in favour of the validity of the Eleian case. Busolt's supposed proof amounts to no more than the implausible suggestion that Eleian propaganda was able to convince such men as the Boiotians and Corinthians that Eleia had always been sacred and inviolable, even though this claim had no reality at all.<sup>134</sup> Neither Xenophon nor any other source says anything about any 'propaganda', and Busolt's 'proof' consists of nothing more than conjecture.

Busolt then summarises the conflict between Elis and Sparta, beginning from the *synoikismos* and establishment of democracy in Elis, usually assigned to 471 B.C.<sup>135</sup> The Lakedaimonians, he says, 'worked towards the weakening of these political factors, which were uncomfortable (*unbequem*) for them'.<sup>136</sup> So they supported Leprean autonomy, which ultimately led the Eleians to participate, as allies of the Argives, in campaigns against Sparta. Then, he claims, 'the Eleians evaded their duties as members of the Lakedaimonian alliance during the last period of the great Attic War'. After the defeat of Athens, the Lakedaimonians were finally able to 'move against their unruly (*widerspenstigen*) allies' and, as Xenophon says, to "bring to their senses" the Eleians.<sup>137</sup> Busolt appears here as something of an apologist for Lakedaimonian policy. The democratisation and *synoikismos* of Elis cannot be viewed as an aggressive move against the Lakedaimonians, however *unbequem* it might have made them feel. The Lakedaimonians cannot be portrayed as the victims of Eleian democracy, nor is our understanding of relations between the two states helped by seeing the Eleians as shirkers, 'unruly' or in need of being brought to their senses.

By taking such an unwarranted view of relations between the Eleians and the Lakedaimonians in the fifth to early fourth centuries B.C., nevertheless, Busolt makes it more convenient for us to accept that the *asylia* was constructed as a piece

<sup>133</sup> Diod. XIV.17.7: οἳτοι δὲ δυσχεραίνοντες τοῖς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων πραττομένοις.

<sup>134</sup> Walbank, 1957, 256.

<sup>135</sup> Busolt, 1880, 25.

<sup>136</sup> Busolt, 1880, 26.

<sup>137</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.23; Busolt, 1880, 27: 'Dann entzogen sich die Elier während der letzten Periode des grossen attischen Krieges ihren Verpflichtungen als Mitglieder der lakedaimonischen Symmachie'.

of malicious Eleian propaganda. If, on the other hand, the Lakedaimonians were to be seen as the aggressors, the Eleian claim to inviolability might easily be taken as a just and valid defence. At this point in his argument, Busolt is in danger of allowing us to suppose that the Lakedaimonians led by Agis might actually have transgressed a sacred inviolability that they themselves had declared. The remainder of his chapter, however, carefully leads us towards the conclusion that the Lakedaimonians were far too religious even to have contemplated such a course.

It may be, as Pausanias says,<sup>138</sup> that the Spartans had a reputation for religious scruple, but there are instances of them having been able to overcome their misgivings, either when an irresistible opportunity seemed to offer itself, or when there was such an urgent need for action that the likely repercussions of violating religious sanctions seemed less dangerous than the consequences of observing them. Herodotus lists the transgressions of king Kleomenes. Besides having corrupted the priestess at Delphi, he seems to have committed, along with the Lakedaimonians under his command, two other acts of sacrilege that are quite relevant to the question at hand. Firstly, he devastated the sacred land of the goddesses in the vicinity of Eleusis. Secondly, after having defeated the Argives in their own territory and finding that many of them had taken refuge in a sacred grove and refused to be lured out, he burnt it down.<sup>139</sup>

Further evidence comes from Thucydides. In response to the Lakedaimonian demand, just before the outbreak of the Archidamian War, that the Athenians drive out the ‘curse of the goddess’, the Athenians made two similar demands upon the Lakedaimonians.<sup>140</sup> The first was that they should drive out ‘the curse of Tainaros’. ‘For the Lakedaimonians,’ Thucydides explains, ‘having once raised up some Helot suppliants from the temple of Poseidon at Tainaros, led them away and killed them.’<sup>141</sup> The second demand of the Athenians was that the Lakedaimonians should drive out the curse of the Brazen House. Pausanias, having taken refuge in this temple of Athena at Sparta in order to avoid arrest, had been starved almost to death there by the ephors, and was dragged out just before he died.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Paus. III.5.8.

<sup>139</sup> Hdt. VI.75.3, 76.1-80.1

<sup>140</sup> Thuc. I.126.1-127.3.

<sup>141</sup> Thuc. I.128.1.

<sup>142</sup> Thuc. I.128.2, 134.1-4, cf. 128.3-133.1.

In 430 B.C., when a Peloponnesian army invaded their land, the Plataians sent envoys to Archidamos. They claimed that, after the defeat of the Persians, Pausanias and the allies had sacrificed to Zeus Eleutherios in their *agora* and declared that the Plataians were to hold and inhabit their city and their land as *autonomoi*, and that if anyone marched against them unjustly or in order to enslave them, the allies present were to defend them in force.<sup>143</sup> Plutarch reports that, at the proposal of Aristeides, the assembled Greeks at that time declared the Plataians to be ‘inviolable and sacred’.<sup>144</sup> Rigsby claims that Plutarch ‘used the formulae that had been made standard by Hellenistic recognitions’,<sup>145</sup> but if, as maintained here, Eleia had been declared sacred and inviolable long before, then there was a much older precedent.

Even without the evidence from Plutarch, however, it appears that the Lakedaimonians had violated a publicly-declared religious sanction when they invaded Plataiai. Rigsby argues that ‘as no one admits to waging an unjust war, the oath could have no practical effect.’<sup>146</sup> The Lakedaimonians, on the other hand, later regretted having invaded Plataiai. Although feeling quite justified in invading Attica at the beginning of the Dekeleian War in 413 B.C., they believed that ‘in the former [Archidamian] war, the transgression rather belonged to them, because the Thebans had entered Plataiai in time of truce’.<sup>147</sup> The same passage from Thucydides shows that the regrets of the Lakedaimonians were prompted by their later misfortunes, but they must have nurtured misgivings, since here was an unjust war waged against a people whom they had sworn to Zeus not to march against unjustly.

The need of the Lakedaimonians to be seen as upholders of religious orthodoxy cannot have seemed particularly urgent in the years following the fall of Athens, when their power and the ascendancy of aristocratic government were secure in much of Greece. This must have seemed an opportune time to deal with disaffected elements in the Peloponnese, in particular, the Eleian democrats who had defied them in the dispute over Lepreon. In such a climate, the members of a powerful faction at Sparta that included king Agis might have found it expedient to

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<sup>143</sup> Thuc. II.71.2.

<sup>144</sup> Plut. *Arist.* 21.1f: Πλαταιεῖς δ’ ἀσύλους καὶ ἱεροῦς ἀφίεσθαι τῷ θεῷ θύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

<sup>145</sup> Rigsby, 1996, 50.

<sup>146</sup> Rigsby, 1996, 51.

<sup>147</sup> Thuc. VII.18.2: ἐν γὰρ τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ σφέτερον τὸ παρανόμημα μᾶλλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι...ἐς Πλάταιαν ἦλθον Θηβαῖοι ἐν σπονδαῖς.



override an ancient *asylia* that stood between them and the fulfilment of a perennial political agenda.

Busolt's argument against the existence of the Eleian *asylia*, apparently unchallenged for well over a century, depends upon the dubious assumption that, had Eleia really been sacred and inviolable, the Lakedaimonians would never have invaded it. His assertion that the *asylia* was invented by the Eleians in the fourth century B.C. for malicious political purposes rests upon no greater foundation than an apparently naïve view of the Lakedaimonians as the innocent targets of the entirely imagined propaganda of a supposedly aggressive Eleian democracy. Busolt's objections to the *asylia* remain nothing more than speculation, apparently prompted by a rather emotional attachment to Sparta.

*Ed. Meyer and Subsequent Scholars*

The comments of Eduard Meyer do little to convince us that Busolt is right. Meyer says that

the association between Sparta and Elis (Strabo VIII.3.33; Diod. VIII.1), placed in the period after Pheidon, and the assertion that Elis should be recognised as a holy land and was thereby released from participation in wars (including the Persian War!) could go back to Hippias. A pro-Spartan Eleian patriot might have striven for such a position for his homeland after the Peloponnesian War.<sup>148</sup>

Indeed, it seems that Hippias of Elis was well received at Sparta and was often sent there on diplomatic missions.<sup>149</sup> Meyer also declares that

it could...very well be possible that Hippias projected the historical relationship between Elis and Sparta into primeval times and represented the Olympic games as the mutual work of Iphitos and

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<sup>148</sup> Meyer, 1892, 242, n.1: 'Eher mag die in die Zeit nach Pheidon gesetzte Verbindung zwischen Sparta und Elis (Strabo VIII 3, 33. Diod. VIII 1) und die Behauptung, Elis sei als heiliges Land anerkannt und daher von der Verpflichtung zur Theilnahme an Kriegen (auch am Perserkrieg!) entbunden, auf Hippias zurückgehen. Eine derartige Stellung mochte ein spartanerfreundlicher elischer Patriot nach dem peloponnesischen Kriege für seine Heimath erstreben.'

<sup>149</sup> Plato *Hippias Major* 281a-286a; Philostr. *Lives of the Sophists* 11; Meyer, 1892, 240.

Lykourgos – if only one piece of evidence at all were available for that.<sup>150</sup>

The same can be said for Meyer's suggestion that Hippias constructed the *asylia*.

In a later work, Meyer again touches on this question.<sup>151</sup> Here he suggests that Hippias, 'who first published the list of Olympic victors and wrote a commentary (Plut. *Numa* I)', fabricated the establishment of the games by the Idaian Daktyl Herakles 'in order to reconcile the traditions and hold on to the establishment by Herakles'.<sup>152</sup> While Plutarch says that Hippias published the list of victors, however, he does not report that he wrote a commentary.<sup>153</sup> Meyer then speculates that 'the bases of further embellishments also go back, perhaps, to him...as with the claim, contradicting its whole history, that Elis was to be recognised as a holy land and had waged no war'.<sup>154</sup> While Meyer's assertion that the claim contradicts the whole history of Elis must be answered, his assumption that it was fabricated by Hippias has no foundation at all.

No recent scholar has significantly added to the arguments of either Busolt or Meyer. Walbank claims that the passage in Polybios merely reflects his study of Ephoros.<sup>155</sup> As argued above, however, Strabo's source, apparently Ephoros, places the origin of the *asylia* at the time of the return of the Herakleidae. Polybios, Diodoros and Phlegon, on the other hand, allocate it to a later period, and thus appear to have derived their information from a different, apparently more historical, source.

Bauslaugh, too, finds that 'in the fourth century a story circulated, perhaps first told by Ephorus, that in the time of the return of the Heraclidae all of Elis

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<sup>150</sup> Meyer, 1892, 240.

<sup>151</sup> Meyer, 1937, 342, n.

<sup>152</sup> Herakles as founder of the Olympic games: Pindar *Ol.* III.21f; VI.67-70; X.43-48; Apollod. *Lib.* II.7.2; Diod. IV.14.1f; V.64.5-7; Paus. V.7.6-8.5. Pindar appears the first to assign the foundation of the games to Herakles, the son of Amphitryon and Alkmene. While Apollodoros and Diodoros (IV.14.1f) follow this tradition, Diodoros (V.64.5-7) also explicitly credits the Idaian Herakles. Pausanias incorporates an original foundation by Herakles of Ida with a refoundation by his descendant Klymenos and celebrations by Endymion, Pelops, Amythaon, Pelias, Neleus, Augeas and Herakles, the son of Amphitryon. Later Oxylos, who had led the Aitolians (whose descendants were called Eleians) into Eleia, celebrated the games, which were refounded by Iphitos. Meyer's implication seems to be that the belief in a mythical founding by the Idaian Herakles was fabricated by Hippias and passed on *via* Ephoros to Diodoros. It is difficult to see why Hippias, the friend of the Lakedaimonians, would want to fabricate a new tradition of an older foundation that diminished the role of the ancestors of their kings.

<sup>153</sup> Plut. *Numa* 1.4.

<sup>154</sup> Meyer, 1937, 342, n: 'so die aller Geschichte ins Gesichte schlagende Behauptung, Elis sei als heiliges Land anerkannt und habe keine Kriege geführt'.

<sup>155</sup> Walbank, 1957, 526.

acquired a status of inviolability (*asylia*). According to Bauslaugh, ‘this tale is plainly contradicted by the fact that Elis was (and seemingly always had been) an entirely normal city-state’.<sup>156</sup> ‘The Panhellenic sanctuary,’ he finds, ‘on the other hand, was by definition a sacred and inviolable entity, strictly demilitarised and formally aloof from interstate politics.’ Yet if Olympia could become the scene of a violent struggle, as indeed it did on several occasions, and still be considered inviolable, the fact that the *asylia* of Elis was sometimes violated is no argument against its possession of that status.<sup>157</sup> The question, again, is not so much one of whether or not the sources fabricated the *asylia*, but of the extent to which the Eleians behaved, as Bauslaugh puts it, like ‘an entirely normal city-state’.

Rigsby argues that the sources disagree on when the Eleian *asylia* was abandoned. Ephoros (in Strabo) and Phlegon, he claims, place the end of the *asylia* at the time of Pheidon.<sup>158</sup> As maintained above, however, that the Eleians took arms to defend their right to Olympia shows not that they had abandoned their sacred status, but only that Pheidon had failed to respect it, and we cannot conclude that the authors of these texts intended to indicate that the *asylia* lapsed at that time. There is nothing contradictory, furthermore, between Polybios’ placement of the end of the *asylia* in the fourth century B.C. and Diodoros’ statement that it ended ‘many generations’ after the Persian Wars. ‘More to the point,’ says Rigsby, however, ‘we know that Elis was not neutral in early times; we have the Eleians’ military alliance with Heraea in the sixth century...and in fact their involvement in the Persian Wars is (and was) well known...as is their participation in the Peloponnesian War.’<sup>159</sup> The question of the significance for their *asylia* of the involvement of the Eleians in military conflict during the Archaic and early-Classical periods is the subject matter of much of the present work.

### *Conclusion*

To argue that any particular text *might* have been contrived for political purposes is no proof that it *was*. The fact that the *asylia* is attested in a number of ancient texts has more force than any such speculation. This is especially true when

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<sup>156</sup> Bauslaugh, R.A., *The Concept of Neutrality in Classical Greece* (Berkeley, 1991) 42.

<sup>157</sup> Bauslaugh agreed with the author in Athens in 2005 that the violation of a declared *asylia* was no proof of its non-existence.

<sup>158</sup> Rigsby, 1996, 43.

<sup>159</sup> Rigsby, 1996, 43.

no explicit link between the sources can be revealed. The variations in detail between the texts should, in fact, lead us to doubt that they were derived from the work of a single ancient writer. No ancient author, it must be remembered, doubts the existence of the *asylia*.

This investigation is not so much a matter of deciding between contradictory reports as of determining whether or not the remaining body of evidence is compatible with the direct statements that we have in support of the *asylia*. What actually matters here is whether the testimony of Strabo, Polybios, Diodoros and Phlegon can be reconciled with the record of Eleian foreign relations in the period from c.776 to the 360s B.C. When we consider that, as Rigsby has shown for *asylia* in the Hellenistic period, a declared inviolability need not always have been respected,<sup>160</sup> it is clear that such a reconciliation is worth attempting. As Shaw points out, too, an investigation into chronological questions concerning the sacrosanctity of the Eleians ‘would surely prove rewarding.’<sup>161</sup> If the evidence for the *asylia* is accurate, then the attempt to reconcile it with the larger body of available evidence ought to yield considerable results for our understanding of the history of the Eleians during the Archaic and early-Classical periods.

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<sup>160</sup> Rigsby, 1996, 22.

<sup>161</sup> Shaw, P.-J., *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Chronological Problems of Archaic Peloponnesian History* (Stuttgart, 2003) 97.



Fig. 1 The plain of the Peneios near Elis.



Fig. 2 Zakynthos from Chelmoutsi headland.

CHAPTER TWO  
**THE ELEIAN *MANTEIS***

The holy status of Eleia, manifest in the declaration of the *asylia*, is further revealed in the residence there of the two most important mantic clans of the Greeks, and the high honour which some of their number attained at Olympia. The Eleians appear extraordinary among the Greeks in the extent to which such religious figures were both numerous and venerated, a state of affairs that supports the conclusion that their land was considered sacred to Zeus. Both of the Eleian mantic *gene*, the Klytidai and the Iamidai, appear to have come to Eleia with the Aitolian immigrants of the early Iron Age. At any given time during the Archaic and Classical periods, two of the Eleian *manteis* held an important official position at Olympia. Despite being held for life, it is likely that this office was elective rather than hereditary. Eleian *manteis* had widespread employment as military diviners during the late Archaic and Classical periods. Evidence from both mythological and historical texts suggests, however, that they were healers as well as diviners, and that even in the military sphere they contributed to the preservation of life.

*The Eleian mantis Abroad*

Several Iamid *manteis* are known to have worked abroad. An Iamid might have accompanied the Korinthian colonists of Syrakousai.<sup>1</sup> Theoklos, who attended the Messenian hero Aristomenes in the second Messenian War, was believed to be descended from Eumantis, ‘an Eleian of the Iamidai whom Kresphontes had brought to Messenia’.<sup>2</sup> His son Mantiklos was active late in the war and then participated in the Messenian colony at Sicilian Messana.<sup>3</sup> Kallias, ‘an Eleian *mantis* of the Iamidai’, aided the Krotonians in their late-sixth century war against Sybaris, and his descendants remained in Kroton up to Herodotus’ time.<sup>4</sup> Hagesias, an Olympic victor of 468 B.C., appears to have practised in Syrakousai.<sup>5</sup> In the late third century B.C.,

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<sup>1</sup> Pind. *Ol.* VI.4-11; Drachmann, A.B. (ed), *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina* I (Leipzig, 1903) 155f; see below, 70.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. IV.16.1, 5; Zoumbaki, S.B., *Prosopographie der Eleer bis zum 1 Jh. v. Chr.* (Paris, 2005) 419.3.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. IV.21.2, 12, 23.5, 9f; Zoumbaki, 2005, 419.4.

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. V.44.2; cf. 45.2; Zoumbaki, 2005, 207f.8. For the circumstances of Kallias’ move to Kroton, cf. Diod. XII.9.2-6, 10.1f.

<sup>5</sup> Pind. *Ol.* VI.4-11; Drachmann, 1903, 155ff.

the Eleian *mantis* Thrasyboulos, son of Aineos, one of the Iamids, divined for the Mantineians when they defeated the Lakedaimonians led by Agis, the son of Eudamidas.<sup>6</sup>

Others might have been either Iamids or Klytids. An unnamed ‘Eleian *mantis*’ had once attended Polykrates of Samos, but was found neglected among the slaves of Dareios in Susa by the physician Demokedes of Kroton.<sup>7</sup> Not long before the battle of Plataiai, Tellias, ‘a *mantis* of Eleia’, aided the Phokians against the Thessalians.<sup>8</sup> An Eleian *mantis* called Basias was among the 10,000 Greeks engaged by Kyros in the early-fourth century B.C. to aid his claim to the Persian throne.<sup>9</sup>

At Plataiai, the *manteis* of the opposing sides were both Eleian. Herodotus calls Hegesistratos ‘an Eleian man and the most noteworthy of the Telliadai’.<sup>10</sup> At some time before Plataiai the Spartans had captured and bound him, intending to put him to death because ‘they had suffered much that was untoward from him’, but Hegesistratos had escaped by cutting off a part of his own foot. He took refuge at Tegea, but later served as *mantis* to Mardonios at Plataiai. He must have eluded the Lakedaimonians again after the Persian defeat, since they later caught him carrying out mantic duties (μαντεύόμενος) at Zakynthos and killed him.<sup>11</sup>

In the early-fifth century B.C. Teisamenos emigrated from Elis, was granted Spartan citizenship and became the state *mantis*.<sup>12</sup> In this role he divined for the Greeks at Plataiai, and won a total of five victories for the Lakedaimonians.<sup>13</sup> His grandson Agias, who divined for Lysandros at Aigospotamoi, does not appear to have been the last of his line at Sparta, since Pausanias saw a tomb for τοῖς ἐξ Ἡλιδος μάντεσι there.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Paus. VI.2.4; VIII.10.5; Zoumbaki, 2005, 188f.21; cf. Roth, P.A., *Mantis: the Nature, Function and Status of a Greek Prophetic Type* (Bryn Mawr College PhD Dissertation, 1982) 229f. For a full account of the Iamids abroad, cf. Weniger, L., ‘Die Seher von Olympia’ *ARW* 18 (1915) 68-76.

<sup>7</sup> Hdt. III.132.1f.

<sup>8</sup> Hdt. VIII.27.3; Paus. X.1.3, 8; cf. 13.7; Zoumbaki, 2005, 331f.4.

<sup>9</sup> Xen. *Anab.* VII.8.10; Zoumbaki, 2005, 126f.4.

<sup>10</sup> Hdt. IX.37.1; Ἡγησίστρατον, ἄνδρα Ἡλεῖόν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδῶν ἐόντα λογιμώτατον; Zoumbaki, 2005, 177f.2. As argued below, 49f, the Telliadai were not an additional *genos*, and might have been a branch of one of the two clans that we know to have existed.

<sup>11</sup> Hdt. IX.37.1-38.1.

<sup>12</sup> Paus. III.11.5-8; Hdt. IX.33.1; Zoumbaki, 2005, 342f.30.

<sup>13</sup> Paus. III. 11.7f; Hdt. IX.35.1-36.1; Plut. *Arist.* 11.2.

<sup>14</sup> Paus. III.11.5, 12.8; cf. Weniger, 1915, 75; Roth, 1982, 229.

*The Klytidai and the Iamidai*

Pausanias records that Eperastos, the son of Theogonos,<sup>15</sup> was a *mantis* of the clan of the Klytids, and offers epigraphic evidence in the form of an inscription on Eperastos' victory statue at Olympia:

τῶν δ' ἱερογλώσσων Κλυτιδᾶν γένος εὐχομαι εἶναι  
μάντις, ἀπ' ἰσοθέων αἶμα Μελαμποδιδᾶν.

I profess to be a *mantis* of the clan of the sacred-tongued Klytidai,  
From the blood of the Melampodidai, equal to the gods.<sup>16</sup>

Pausanias explains that the eponym of the Klytids was descended from the mythical Melampos, and gives the line of descent from Amythaon to Melampos, Mantios, Oikles, Amphiaraios, Alkmaion and Klytios. Klytios, he says, was an immigrant to Elis. Pausanias must have thought that Klytios was alive before the return of the Herakleidai, since he says that his father Alkmaion took part in the campaign of the *Epigonoι* against Thebes.<sup>17</sup> He also appears to make him a contemporary of Orestes, whose son Teisamenos was overthrown by the Herakleidai.<sup>18</sup> Since Klytios is supposed to have arrived in Elis as a refugee from the banks of the Achelous, which runs between Akarnania and Aitolia,<sup>19</sup> it is likely that he or his clan came with the Aitolian Eleians, who were believed to have occupied Eleia at about the same time as the return of the Heraklids.<sup>20</sup>

Klytios' supposed grandfather, Amphiaraios, was known as a diviner at both Oropos and Phleious.<sup>21</sup> Of Oikles, we hear only that he was Amphiaraios' father and that he joined Herakles in a campaign.<sup>22</sup> Little appears known of Mantios, though the

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<sup>15</sup> Zoumbaki, 2005, 156.10.

<sup>16</sup> Paus. VI.17.6.

<sup>17</sup> Paus. II.20.5; X.10.4; Apollod. *Lib.* III.7.2-4.

<sup>18</sup> Paus. II.18.4-7.

<sup>19</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* III.7.5-7; Paus. VI.17.6; cf. VIII.24.7-10.

<sup>20</sup> Paus. V.3.6-4.4; Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357; X.3.2f, p.463f. There is no substantial reason to believe with Roth (1982, 227) that 'the Clytiadae represent an early Aeolic element, while the Iamidae are linked with the later Dorian presence in this area', or that 'each family represented a different geographical and tribal group'. The arguments of Weniger, 1915, 78f, upon which Roth depends, rely too much upon mythological accounts of Klytios' supposed ancestors. The question of an Aiolian element among the Aitolian Eleians is discussed below, 96-101.

<sup>21</sup> Paus. I.34.4; II.13.7.

<sup>22</sup> Paus. III.12.5; VI.17.6; VIII.2.4, 36.6, 45.7.



name is suggestive. Much, however, is said about Melampos, who was clearly thought to have had the powers of divination and purification.<sup>23</sup> His father Amythaon is said to have held the Olympic games, and to have been a contemporary of the sons of Pelops. The line goes back from Amythaon to Kretheos, Aiolos, Hellen and thence to Deukalion, the Greek Noah.<sup>24</sup>

Pausanias' genealogy is clearly faulty, since he says elsewhere that there were six generations from Melampos to Amphilochos, the son of Amphiaraos, whereas here there would be only five if we counted inclusively, four otherwise.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, as Frazer shows, Pausanias' version 'differs from the family tree of Melampus given by Homer'.<sup>26</sup> There might indeed have been men such as Melampos and Amphiaraos in earlier times. It seems reasonable, however, to suppose that the question of the actual descent of the Klytids of Eleia from such figures is of little historical value.

There is no need at all, nevertheless, to doubt the derivation of one or more Klytid progenitors from the region of the Achelous.<sup>27</sup> Akarnania appears to have been a common source of diviners. Megistias, the *mantis* with Leonidas at Thermopylai, also said to have been a descendant of Melampos, came from Akarnania.<sup>28</sup> The *chresmologos* Amphilytos, who prophesied to Peisistratos, was Akarnanian.<sup>29</sup> Some Boiotians told Pausanias that Hesiod, who wrote a life of Melampos and a poem called *Mantika*, with which Pausanias was acquainted, had learnt the art of divination (μαντικήν) from the Akarnanians.<sup>30</sup> It seems clear that the Akarnanians had a reputation for divination at an early period. Since these people

<sup>23</sup> Paus. I.44.5; IV.36.3; V.5.10; VIII.18.7f; IX.31.5; cf. I.43.5; VIII.47.3.

<sup>24</sup> Paus. V.8.2; Diod. IV.68.1-3; cf. Grimal, P., *The Penguin Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (Maxwell-Hyslop, A.R., transl., London, 1991) 125.

<sup>25</sup> Paus. II.18.4; VI.17.6.

<sup>26</sup> *Od.* XV.241ff; Frazer, J.G., *Pausanias' Description of Greece* IV (London, 1898) 54. The Homeric Kleitos, who was apparently taken to join the immortals at an early age, cannot be Pausanias' Klytios.

<sup>27</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* III.7.5-7; Paus. VI.17.6; VIII.24.7-10.

<sup>28</sup> Hdt. VII.221.

<sup>29</sup> Hdt. I.62.4; In Athens, at least, the terms μάντις and χρησμολόγος appear to have been interchangeable: Garland, R., 'Priests and Power in Classical Athens' in Beard, M. and North, J., *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World* (London, 1990) 82ff; cf. Dickie, M.W., *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London, 2001) 61ff. Dillery, J., 'Chresmologues and Manteis: Independent Diviners and the Problem of Authority' in Johnston, S.I. and Struck, P.T. (eds), *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination* (Leiden, 2005) 170, points out that although the two terms might have overlapped, they were not synonymous.

<sup>30</sup> Paus. IX.31.5.

dwelt across the Achelous River from the Aitolians, some *manteis* might easily have come to Eleia with the Aitolian immigrants of the early Iron Age.<sup>31</sup>

The Iamids, on the other hand, were supposed to have been descendants of Iamos, who had received the gift of divination from his father Apollo.<sup>32</sup> Apollo led the adult Iamos to the site of Olympia, where he was to wait for Herakles to come and found the festival.<sup>33</sup> Pausanias acknowledges Pindar as his source for this myth, and there is no mention of it in any other text. The poet's version appears, however, to have been influenced by the historical ties of Hagesias, the subject of the relevant Olympian ode, and is of little value for reconstructing the origin of the Iamids.<sup>34</sup> The attempt of Weniger to seat the Iamids in the valleys of the Alpheios and Eurotas, along with his claim that in contrast to the Klytids 'Olympia is their residence and homeland from the beginning', has its foundation in the same ode of Pindar and so is equally questionable.<sup>35</sup>

The residence in Eleia of this clan need not, in fact, have been older than that of the Klytids. Eumantis, the earliest 'Eleian of the Iamidai' of whom we hear,<sup>36</sup> is said to have been brought to Messenia by Kresphontes, one of the returning Herakleidai.<sup>37</sup> This would have been soon after the arrival in Eleia of the Aitolians led by Oxylos,<sup>38</sup> so the Iamidai, like the Klytidai, might have been recent arrivals in Eleia when one or more of their number moved on to Messenia.

### *The Nature of the Mantic Clans*

Despite the mention in some sources of the 'Telliadai', it is likely that, rather than constituting a third Eleian mantic clan, they were simply the pupils of Tellias, who was a member of either the Klytids or Iamids. Furthermore, although Herodotus describes Teisamenos as a Klytid of the Iamid clan,<sup>39</sup> we should not conclude that

<sup>31</sup> In Chios, too, there is epigraphical evidence for Klytids: Frazer, 1898, 55; cf. Weniger, 1915, 59; Dillery, 2005, 174, n.24. Roth, 1982, 231 and n.41, argues convincingly for the validity of this evidence. Roth assumes that evidence of certain names suggests that there were Klytids at Larissa, too, but they might have been other Melampodidai.

<sup>32</sup> As had Kalchas, the son of Thestor: *Il.* I.92f.

<sup>33</sup> Pind. *Ol.* VI. 29-77; cf. Paus. VI.2.5: λαβεῖν μαντικὴν.

<sup>34</sup> Pind. *Ol.* VI; Roth, 1982, 223f, cf. 227. Nilsson, M.P., *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1972) 77f, suggests that the insertion of Pitane, the eponym of the Lakonian town, into the Iamos myth originated in the wish of Teisamenos to connect his genealogy with Sparta.

<sup>35</sup> Weniger, 1915, 68, cf. 78. See further discussion of this evidence below, 70.

<sup>36</sup> Paus. IV.16.1, 5.

<sup>37</sup> Paus. III.1.5.

<sup>38</sup> Paus. V.3.6-4.4; Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357; X.3.2f, p.463f.

<sup>39</sup> Hdt. IX.33.1.

the Klytids were a subset of the Iamids, but rather that it was possible for a member of one clan to transfer to another. Weniger claims that Teisamenos, though born an Iamid, was adopted into the Klytids in order prevent them from dying out. It is more likely, however, that he moved from the Klytids into the Iamids rather than the other way round, that the mantic *gene* were guilds rather than kinship groups and that their members were widespread across Eleia.

Philostratos makes Apollonios include the Telliadai among the mantic clans along with the Iamids and Klytids.<sup>40</sup> Herodotus' statement that Hegesistratos was 'an Eleian man and the most noteworthy of the Telliadai' implies that there were other Telliadai.<sup>41</sup> They are unlikely, however, to have been members of an additional *genos*.<sup>42</sup> Weniger views them rather as 'einen selbständig gewordenen Seitenschößling eines der beiden gesetzmäßigen Sehergeschlechter von Olympia-Elis'.<sup>43</sup> As he points out, the 'one occasional remark' in Philostratos 'would indicate little'.<sup>44</sup>

The Telliadai appear in fact have been the pupils of Tellias rather than his sons. While Tellias had actively supported the Phokians against the Thessalians in the period between Thermopylai and Plataiai,<sup>45</sup> Hegesistratos worked for the Persians, the enemies of the Phokians and in league with the Thessalians.<sup>46</sup> Such opposing allegiances suggest that they were not members of the same family. We hear of no other Telliadai, they are not mentioned in any inscriptions from Olympia and Cicero mentions only the Iamids and Klytids.<sup>47</sup> We can conclude that there were only two clans of Eleian *manteis*, and that both Tellias and Hegesistratos belonged to one of them.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Philostr. *Life of Apollonios* V.25: 'οἱ δὲ Ἰαμίδαι,' εἶπε, 'καὶ οἱ Τελλίαδαι καὶ οἱ Κλυτιάδαι καὶ τὸ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶν μαντεῖον'; How, W.W. and Wells, J., *A Commentary on Herodotus* II (Oxford, 1912) 301.

<sup>41</sup> Hdt. IX.37.1.

<sup>42</sup> cf. Hdt. VIII.27.3; IX.37.1; *contra* Roth, 1982, 233f, who sees Tellias as another member of that clan. Pritchett, W.K., *The Greek State at War* III (Berkeley, 1985) 53, discerns 'three famous families of seers from Olympia'.

<sup>43</sup> Weniger, 1915, 79.

<sup>44</sup> Weniger, 1915, 66.

<sup>45</sup> Pritchett, W.K., *The Greek State at War* I (Berkeley, 1971) 110.

<sup>46</sup> Hdt. VIII.27.3; Paus. IX. 37.1; X.1.3, 8, cf. 13.7.

<sup>47</sup> Cic. *Div.* I.41.91; cf. Weniger, 1915, 66 and n.2.

<sup>48</sup> There may be another example of such a relationship. Herodotus expresses scepticism at the claim of Deiphonos, who was brought by the Corinthians to act as *mantis* for the Greek fleet at Mykale, to be the son of the Apollonian *mantis* Euenios: IX.95, cf. 93.1-94.3. This doubt about the origin of Deiphonos may indicate that he was in fact Euenios' pupil; cf. Dickie, 2001, 71.

Despite some confusion caused by a passage in Herodotus that at first glance appears to imply that the Klytidai were a sub-group of the Iamids, it is clear that the two *gene* were in fact quite separate. Herodotus describes Teisamenos as an ‘Eleian Klytid of the clan of the Iamidai’.<sup>49</sup> How and Wells find Herodotus’ description questionable, viewing the two as separate *gene*. ‘Κλυτιόδη here,’ they say, ‘is a late gloss, and does not occur in Paus. III.11.6, a passage obviously derived from this.’<sup>50</sup> ‘Further,’ say How and Wells, ‘Cicero plainly distinguishes the Iamidae and the Klytidae’.<sup>51</sup>

There are, it is true, grounds for doubt: Pausanias might easily have left out some information; his brief statement that *manteis* from Elis were called Iamidai might be taken to mean that they were all called so;<sup>52</sup> Cicero, who does not appear to have visited Olympia, might have been ill-informed.<sup>53</sup> Epigraphical evidence from a later period, nevertheless, suggests that How and Wells are in fact right to see the Iamidai and Klytidai as two discrete clans.<sup>54</sup> In thirty-eight of eighty-four inscriptions on marble found at Olympia, registers of Eleian officials headed Διὸς ἱερά dating from 36 B.C. to A.D. 265, the names of the *manteis*, at first two and later four, can be determined (fig. 4).<sup>55</sup> In every case where the document is sufficiently complete, the *genos* of the *mantis* follows his name. In *IvO* 64, for example, a particularly well-preserved inscription (fig. 4), the two *manteis* are Κάλλιτος Ἀντία Κλυτιάδης and Πausανίας Διογένους Ἰαμίδης. Although this is very late evidence, it is difficult to imagine how, if ‘Iamidai’ had once been a general term for the Eleian mantic houses of which the Klytids were one, they could ever have evolved into discrete and equivalent units.

Despite this, it is unnecessary to conclude with How and Wells that Κλυτιάδην in Herodotus IX.33.1 is a gloss.<sup>56</sup> It is possible either that while

<sup>49</sup> IX.33.1: τὸν ἑόντα Ἡλεῖον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην.

<sup>50</sup> How and Wells, 1912, 301; cf. Godley, A.D. (transl.), *Herodotus IV* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946) 198f, n.2.

<sup>51</sup> Cic. *Div.* I.41.91: Elis in Peloponneso familias duas certas habet, Iamidarum unam, alteram Clytidarum, haruspicinae nobilitate praestantes.

<sup>52</sup> Paus. III.12.8: τοῖς ἐξ Ἡλίδος μάντεσι, καλουμένοις δὲ Ἰαμίδαις.

<sup>53</sup> cf. the discussion of this issue in Roth, 1982, 229, n.27.

<sup>54</sup> *IvO* 58-141; Weniger, 1915, 53-66; Roth, 1982, 227.

<sup>55</sup> *IvO* 59, 62, 64, 65, 69, 75-77, 80, 81, 84-86, 90-93, 95, 99, 100, 102-4, 106-8, 110, 114-122. Weniger, 1915, 53-59, places the inscriptions in chronological order, but excludes *IvO* 108; cf. Taeuber, H., ‘Elische Inschriften in Olympia’ in Rizakis, A.D. (ed), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des I. Internationalen Symposiums Athen, 19-21 Mai 1989, Meletemata* 13 (Athens, 1991) 113.

<sup>56</sup> cf. Roth, 1982, 229, n.29, cf. n.27.

Teisamenos was born to a Klytid, it was the Iamids who discerned and nurtured his talent, or that he simply changed clans. Herodotus, in stating that Teisamenos was γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην, might have been remarking upon such an occurrence. Furthermore, the two *gene* might in fact have been guilds. ‘The patronymic termination,’ says Hastings, ‘often connotes no more than this; cf. Ὀμηρίδαι, Ἀσκληπιάδαι.’<sup>57</sup> Roth argues that myths concerning incubation and contact with snakes suggest ‘the early existence of initiation rites for seers’, and that the ordeal of Glaukos represents ‘a form of initiation into the guild of diviners’.<sup>58</sup> If this can be true of isolated mythological individuals, then it can also be true of the Eleian *gene*, who might indeed have been guilds which recruited talented youngsters to be trained as *manteis*.

Weniger explains Herodotus’ apparently anomalous description of Teisamenos as the result of a process of adoption from the Iamids into the Klytids, claiming that he was ‘geborener Iamide und von den Klytiaden adoptiert.’ Teisamenos is more likely, however, to have been a Klytid at first and an Iamid in later life.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, the evidence that Weniger presents from the Roman Imperial period further supports the conclusion that the mantic clans were guilds rather than kinship groups, and that adoption is unlikely to have taken place. The appearance of Biboullios Phausteinianos as an Iamid in *IvO* 113-117, but as a Klytid in *IvO* 121 and 122, claims Weniger, would be another case of adoption from the Iamids into the Klytids.<sup>60</sup> If this were so, however, one would expect Phausteinianos (whose *cognomen* already appears to indicate adoption) to have changed his *nomen* as well as his mantic ‘*genos*’. It seems more likely, as Weniger apparently allows is possible, that he simply moved from one guild to another.<sup>61</sup> This might have been done to correct the persistent imbalance, evident in the inscriptions cited above, in the representation of the two clans in office at Olympia. Such a difficulty was more probably brought about by a lack of talented Klytids resident in Eleia than by any danger of the Klytids, who were most likely not a kinship group, dying out.

The very fact that from at least A.D. 181 some Eleian *manteis* of the Imperial period had *nomina* that indicated that they were members of a Roman *gens* such as

<sup>57</sup> Hastings, J. (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1911) 798, col. 2, n.8.

<sup>58</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* III.3.1f; Roth, 1982, 236f.

<sup>59</sup> Roth, 1982, 229, n.30.

<sup>60</sup> Weniger, 1915, 64f; cf. Zoumbaki, S., *Elis und Olympia in der Kaiserzeit* (Paris, 2001) 249f.15.

<sup>61</sup> Weniger, 1915, 65: ‘durch Adoption oder auf anderem Wege’.

the Claudii, Antonii or Vibullii suggests, furthermore, that the mantic clan-name in the registers was not meant to indicate a *genos* in the sense of a kinship group. Nor were either of the mantic clans co-opted *en masse* into a Roman *gens*, since a single register can record, for example, both Claudian and Biboullian Iamidai.<sup>62</sup> We need not emend Herodotus' statement. Neither need we assume that the Eleian mantic clans were kinship groups, nor that adoption was ever necessary to ensure their survival.

### *The Eleian manteis as Sacred Officials*

The Greek *manteis* did not come from Eleia alone. Hekas' ancestral namesake had come to Sparta with Aristodemos.<sup>63</sup> Hippomachos of Leukas divined for the medising Greeks at Plataiai.<sup>64</sup> Deiphonos came from Apollonia in the Ionian Gulf.<sup>65</sup> There were *manteis* at Lebadeia in Boiotia,<sup>66</sup> and the progeny of the *mantis* Peripoltas were long settled in Chaironeia.<sup>67</sup> Silanos, an Ambrakian *mantis*, divined for the late-fifth century Persian rebel, Kyros, and then for the 10,000 under Xenophon.<sup>68</sup> His replacement was Arexion, from Arkadian Parrhasia.<sup>69</sup> At Lampsakos Xenophon met the *mantis* Eukleides of Phleious.<sup>70</sup> There were abundant Akarnanian *manteis*, such as Amphilytos, who prophesied to Peisistratos.<sup>71</sup>

Others in Athens, like Theainetos, who was Tolmides' *mantis*, Euphrantides, whom Plutarch says demanded a human sacrifice from Themistokles, and Lampon in Perikles' time, might also have been of foreign origin.<sup>72</sup> The tale of the *mantis* Skiros, who came from Dodona to Eleusis in the time of Erechtheos, may reflect the regular pattern of historical times, when *manteis* came 'almost invariably from the

<sup>62</sup> *IvO* 113-117.

<sup>63</sup> Paus. IV.16.1.

<sup>64</sup> Hdt. IX.38.2.

<sup>65</sup> Hdt. IX.92.2, 95.1.

<sup>66</sup> Paus. IX.39.5f.

<sup>67</sup> Plut. *Kim.* 1.1.

<sup>68</sup> Xen. *Anab.* I.7.18; V.6.16ff; VI.4.13.

<sup>69</sup> Xen. *Anab.* VI.4.13, 5.2, 7f.

<sup>70</sup> Xen. *Anab.* VIII.8.10.

<sup>71</sup> Hdt. I.62, 63.1; Paus. IX.31.5; see above, 47. Roth, 1982, 178ff, gives several further examples of 'peripatetic' *manteis*; cf. his Appendix A, 'A Prosopography of Greek *manteis*' 268-87. Teiresias in Thebes appears distant in time, since Odysseus consults his soul, and there is no sign of any followers: *Od.* X.492ff, XI.99ff, XII.267; Paus. IX.33.1f; X.28.1, 29.8; cf. VII.3.1; IX. 10.3, 11.3, 16.1, 18.4, 19.3; Eur. *Phoinissai* 765ff; Soph. *Oidipous Tyrannos* 300-447; Pritchett, 1985, 50-52.

<sup>72</sup> Thuc. VIII.1.1; Paus. I.27.5; Plut. *Them.* 13.2f, cf. *Arist.* 9.2; *Per.* 6.2; Garland, 1990, 83. The historicity of the human sacrifice is doubtful: Jameson, M., 'Sacrifice Before Battle' in Hanson, V.D. (ed), *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience* (London, 1991) 213, 216.

West'.<sup>73</sup> Of greater importance for us, however, as Dickie points out, is that 'a disproportionate number of them come from Elis.'<sup>74</sup>

In Eleia, significantly, we find *manteis* in high office. In an inscription from Olympia dated to the early-fifth century B.C.,<sup>75</sup> the Anaitians and Metapians make a fifty-years peace. Whichever of them breaks the oath is to be excluded from 'the altar' by the *proxenoi* and *manteis*. Kahrstedt reasonably assumes from this that the *proxenoi* formed an authority that managed the sanctuary of Zeus.<sup>76</sup> We can also regard the Eleian *manteis* as a collegiate group with particular cult functions at Olympia. The distinction between priest and *mantis* was not always clear, and the scholiast to Pindar *Ol.* VI points out that the Iamid *mantis* Hagesias was 'formerly a priest (ἱερεὺς) of the mantic altar in Pisa, devoted to Zeus.'<sup>77</sup> Roth says that this 'reflects the priestly role maintained by the *manteis* at Zeus' oracle at Olympia'.<sup>78</sup>

Furthermore, the registers of cult personnel at Olympia preserved from the period 36 B.C. to A.D. 265 show that at that period the *manteis* were the only officials who held long-term office.<sup>79</sup> If the registers were drawn up annually, as Taeuber suggests, the *theokoloi*, or 'priests', in contrast, might have been in office for only one year.<sup>80</sup> Alternatively, they might have held tenure for as little as a month.<sup>81</sup> There is no reason to believe that this was not the case in earlier times. In Archaic and Classical Greece in general, priests were amateurs with limited tenure, while *manteis* were professionals, although 'not usually connected to a specific cult'.<sup>82</sup> The Eleian *manteis*, in contrast, despite taking third place to the *theokoloi* and *spondophoroi* in almost every inscription,<sup>83</sup> appear to have been professionals who also had continuing official status in the cult of Olympian Zeus.

<sup>73</sup> Paus. I.36.4; Halliday, W.R., *Greek Divination; a Study of its Methods and Principles* (Chicago, 1967) 95.

<sup>74</sup> Dickie, 2001, 71; cf. Halliday, 1967, 95; for local origin of Greek divination, cf. 188-91.

<sup>75</sup> *IvO* 10; Olympia Museum 703; Michel 2; *IGA* 118; Jeffery, *LSAG* 218-220.12; van Effenterre, H. and Ruzé, F., *Nomina: Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec* I (Rome, 1994) 51; Rhodes, P.J. and Lewis, D.M., *The Decrees of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1997) 93.

<sup>76</sup> Kahrstedt, U., 'Zur Geschichte von Elis und Olympia' *Gött. Nachr. aus dem Jahre 1927* (Berlin, 1928) 160: 'Die Manteis sind technisches Kultpersonal, also müssen die Proxenoi eine den Tempel und den Kult verwaltende Behörde sein.'

<sup>77</sup> Drachmann, 1903, 155f, 6a, 7b, c.

<sup>78</sup> Roth, 1982, 141, cf. 140-42; 181ff; Weniger, 1915, 64, n.1, 104ff; Parke, H.W., *Oracles of Zeus* (Cambridge, 1967) 190.

<sup>79</sup> *IvO* 58-141.

<sup>80</sup> Taeuber, 1991, 113.

<sup>81</sup> Paus. V.15.10; Roth, 1982, 182.

<sup>82</sup> Dillery, 2005, 171; cf. Roth, 1982, 171-77.

<sup>83</sup> cf. Weniger, 1915, 59.

As is clear from *IvO* 10 (c.475-450? B.C.),<sup>84</sup> *manteis* acted in an official capacity in Olympia long before the first of the registers known to us, from 36 B.C., recorded their names.<sup>85</sup> Of the preserved inscriptions, the earliest securely dated that records four *manteis* is *IvO* 103 (Ol. 241 = A.D. 185),<sup>86</sup> whereas before that there were only two. *IvO* 10 refers to *manteis* rather than one *mantis*, so it is likely that there were two *manteis* in office in Olympia from at least early Classical times into the Imperial period. With Weniger, we can assume that it was customary for both the Iamids and the Klytids to be represented.<sup>87</sup> Yet this was not always the case. In *IvO* 80 there are only Iamids and in *IvO* 92 only Klytids.<sup>88</sup> Nor was strict parity maintained when the number was increased to four: in *IvO* 113-118 there are three Iamids and one Klytid.<sup>89</sup>

The *manteis* whose names appear on the official inscriptions from Olympia are unlikely to have been the only Iamids and Klytids in Eleia. Weniger assumes from the appointment of two Klytids in *IvO* 92 that no mature Iamid was available. He also observes, however, on the basis of a further letter placed after the statement of clan on the registers, that the Iamids and Klytids came from the various Eleian tribes and ‘had residences dispersed over the whole Eleian-Pisatan region’, but moved to Olympia when called to office.<sup>90</sup> There is no reason to believe that this was not also the case in the Archaic and Classical periods. Weniger explains the success of Iamid athletes in the games, despite the lack of leisure for training and travel to festivals other than that in Olympia, by suggesting that these were ‘unemployed members of the Iamid house’ who ‘were appointed to the altar service in later years.’<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, ‘individual members of both seer-houses also appear to have found employment in the other offices of the Olympic shrine.’<sup>92</sup> In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we must conclude that an unknown number of members of the two clans were to be found in several of the communities of the Eleians, and that only a few of these ever attained high office at Olympia.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Jeffery, *LSAG* 220.12.

<sup>85</sup> *IvO* 59: Ol. 186; Weniger, 1915, 55, I.

<sup>86</sup> Weniger, 1915, 57, XXII.

<sup>87</sup> Weniger, 1915, 61, 63.

<sup>88</sup> Weniger, 1915, 60.

<sup>89</sup> Weniger, 1915, 61.

<sup>90</sup> Weniger, 1915, 63.

<sup>91</sup> Weniger, 1915, 76.

<sup>92</sup> Weniger, 1915, 62. Weniger, 62f, gives several examples.

<sup>93</sup> Weniger, 1915, 63.



Citing the Homeric epics, Roth argues that the vocation of *mantis*, like hereditary kingship or priesthood, was limited to ‘a single living member’ of the clan.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that Iamids and Klytids, besides holding ‘a hereditary priesthood at Olympia’, worked in ‘a variety of locales’, he says, shows that ‘the earlier limitation restricting hereditary manticism to only one member of a prophetic family at a time was no longer valid in historical times.’<sup>95</sup> There is no need, however, to assume that the Eleian *manteis* had ever suffered such a limitation, just as there is no need to conclude with Weniger that there was ever any need for adoption between the two houses to ensure that neither died out.<sup>96</sup>

Weniger discerns the tendency for the same name to appear on the register in consecutive years, and so demonstrates that the position of *mantis* carried life tenure. *Manteis* like Tiberios Klaudios Olympos and Biboullios Phausteinianos held office for more than four decades.<sup>97</sup> Indeed, at no place in these inscriptions can it be shown that any *mantis* appears, drops out and then re-appears, as one should expect if the position were subject to appointment or election either annually or at each Olympiad, so it is likely that once a *mantis* attained office, he held it until death or disability took him from it.<sup>98</sup>

We need not assume, however, that there was no election process at all, nor agree with Weniger that ‘the office was passed from father to son.’<sup>99</sup> While the Ἴαμος Φιλικῶνος of *IvO* 80, 81 and 84-86 might indeed have been the son of Φιλικῶν Ὀλυμπιοδώρου of *IvO* 75-77 and 80,<sup>100</sup> and Κλεόμαχος Κλεομάχου the son of Κλεόμαχος Πολυβίου of *IvO* 102-04, 106-08 and 112,<sup>101</sup> Ὀλυμπος Ὀλύμπου of *IvO* 90-92 and Διόνεικος Ὀλύμπου of *IvO* 92 and 95 might just as

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<sup>94</sup> Roth, 1982, 220.

<sup>95</sup> Roth, 1982, 222f.

<sup>96</sup> Weniger, 1915, 64f; see above, 51f.

<sup>97</sup> Zoumbaki, 2001, 249f.15, 305f.68.

<sup>98</sup> Weniger, 1915, 60f; *IvOs* listed in n.55 above. The ‘Alexandros’ of *IvO* 107 is likely to have been the Aurelias Alexandros of later inscriptions rather than the Alexandros Alexandrou of the earlier *IvO* 103, who does not appear again; cf. Weniger, 1915, 57, XXI – XXVII. Weniger cannot explain why ‘the order of the names changed now and then.’ ‘Der Grund ist nicht,’ he says, ‘zu erkennen.’ Perhaps another body allocated degrees of responsibility to each of the *manteis*. Apparent variations in the way in which the names were recorded, such as Tiberios Klaudios (*IvO* 102), Tiberios Klaudios Olympos (*IvO* 100) and Klaudios Olympos (*IvO* 103), show that much was left to the inclination of the stone mason or his instructor, so changes in the order may be of little significance.

<sup>99</sup> Weniger, 1915, 60 and n.1; cf. Pritchett, 1985, 53.

<sup>100</sup> Zoumbaki, 2001, 283.3, 382f.11.

<sup>101</sup> Zoumbaki, 2001, 310.83, 310f.84.

easily have been brothers.<sup>102</sup> More importantly, however, there are a great many more cases where an incumbent is followed in office by a man who is clearly *not* his son. To cite just one example, Μικκίας Τίμωνος Κλυτιάδης and Ἄρισταρχος Κύρου Ἰαμίδης were followed in office by Κάλλιτος Ἄντία Κλυτιάδης and Πουσανίας Διογένους Ἰαμίδης of *IvO* 59, 62 and 64-65.<sup>103</sup> If a hereditary principle were in place, we would expect to find evidence of it in the great majority of cases, rather than in just two or three. Despite Weniger's conclusions, the Eleian *manteis* whose names are found on the documents from the Roman Imperial period headed *Dios hiera* must have been chosen from among those competent and available by some means other than inheritance, and we need not doubt that this was the case throughout Olympic history. Pritchett concludes that 'at Athens and in other city-states the mantis was at times elected'.<sup>104</sup> This might well have been true of the official *manteis* of the Archaic and Classical Eleians.

#### *The manteis and the Eleian State*

Parker, discussing *IvO* 10 in the context of the possibility that offenders were subject to 'penal consecration...in the holy land of Elis', finds that 'the power here accorded to the priests and other religious officials to intervene in the disputes of two communities is most singular.'<sup>105</sup> If, as made clear by this inscription, the *manteis* played a role in enforcing peace agreements sanctified by Olympia, we should also expect to find them mentioned in treaties of alliance. When the Eleians, Argives and Mantineians became allies of the Athenians in 420 B.C., the oath was sworn in Elis by οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐξακόσιοι and administered by οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ οἱ θεσμοφύλακες,<sup>106</sup> and the *manteis* are not mentioned. As argued below, however, the term *demiourgoi* seems to have signified amongst the Eleians the public officials in general rather than a discrete board,<sup>107</sup> so they might have included the official *manteis*. Furthermore, since the swearing of such oaths was as much a matter of

<sup>102</sup> Zoumbaki, 2001, 259.24, 340f.11. Zoumbaki, 341, assumes that there was a line of succession. Even such 'sons', nevertheless, might have been pupils who adopted their masters' names upon initiation into the 'clan'.

<sup>103</sup> Zoumbaki, 2001, 328.29, 223.122, 292.19, 347.13.

<sup>104</sup> Pritchett, 1985, 63.

<sup>105</sup> Parker, R., 'Law and Religion' in Gagarin, M. and Cohen, D. (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Law* (Cambridge, 2005) 75, n.40. A Spartan treaty with the Aitolian Erxadieis is also known to have involved a *mantis*: Dillery, 2005, 78.

<sup>106</sup> Thuc. V.47.9.

<sup>107</sup> See below, 198f.

religion as one of foreign relations, we would expect religious officials such as the *manteis* to have played a role.<sup>108</sup>

The importance of the *manteis* to the Eleian state may also be reflected in the silver staters minted at Olympia from 468 B.C. and stamped FA for ΦΑΛΕΙΩΝ, the ethnic of the Eleians.<sup>109</sup> As Kraay observes, ‘for most of the fifth century and the early fourth the obverse type shows the eagle of Zeus, usually in flight, grasping in its talons most commonly a snake’. Kraay adds that ‘in the Iliad (XII, 209) an eagle carrying a snake is described as an omen of Zeus.’<sup>110</sup> In this passage, the Trojans are about to attack the Greeks when an eagle flies overhead, carrying in its talons a struggling snake, which it then drops into the Trojan ranks. The Homeric text, however, makes it clear that it is not the eagle-and-snake combination that is the omen of Zeus:

Τρῶες δ’ ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄψιν  
 κείμενον ἐν μέσσοισι, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο<sup>111</sup>

The Loeb translation is as follows: ‘And the Trojans shuddered when they saw the writhing snake lying in the midst of them, a portent of Zeus that beareth the aegis.’ The natural inference from this rendition would be that the wriggling snake is itself the sign of Zeus, and the eagle merely its bearer. An alternative translation is offered here:

And the Trojans shuddered when they saw a wriggling snake  
 Being laid in their midst, a sign from aegis-bearing Zeus.

In this passage, it seems, the genitive is used in place of an ancient ablative.<sup>112</sup> This is likely, since ‘in *poetry*, the genitive occasionally denotes the agent after a passive verb’, and κείμαι is often used as a passive to τίθημι.<sup>113</sup> Διὸς

<sup>108</sup> Tomlinson, R.A., *Argos and the Argolid* (London, 1972) 195.

<sup>109</sup> Kraay, C.M., *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London, 1976) 103f; [author unacknowledged] *Coins of Olympia: The BCD Collection* (Auction Catalogue, Zürich, 2004) 9-12, 21-23; *Coins of the Peloponnese: The BCD Collection* (Auction Catalogue, Zürich, 2006) 164.

<sup>110</sup> Kraay, 1976, 104.

<sup>111</sup> *Iliad* XII.208f.

<sup>112</sup> cf. Goodwin, W.W., *Greek Grammar* (Bristol, 1894) § 1042.

<sup>113</sup> Goodwin, 1894, § 1131; *LSJ* κείμαι I.1.

τέρας can thus be rendered ‘a sign from Zeus’ rather than ‘a sign of Zeus.’ Since it is the eagle that has dropped the *teras*, we can deduce that the eagle rather than the snake alone or the snake-eagle combination represents Zeus. This is not unknown elsewhere. In another passage from the *Iliad*,<sup>114</sup> for example, Zeus sends forth an eagle as a sign, and in Plutarch’s *Alexander* an eagle alone is interpreted as a sign from Zeus.<sup>115</sup> Bronze statuettes from Dodona depict Zeus with an eagle, but no snake.<sup>116</sup> At the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in south-western Arkadia, two pillars stood before the altar, upon which were mounted two gilded eagles.<sup>117</sup> There is nothing surprising in a sanctuary of Zeus issuing coins depicting his omen, the eagle, but the snake on the Eleian coins must be otherwise explained.

Aelian states directly the belief that ‘divination is a peculiarity of snakes’.<sup>118</sup> Accordingly, the snake is prominent in myths about *manteis*. Pliny cynically illustrates this, commenting that ‘anyone who would believe that sort of thing would also surely not deny that snakes, by licking the ears of the augur Melampus, gave him the power to understand the language of birds’.<sup>119</sup> Melampus saved some young snakes who, upon reaching maturity, cleansed (ἐξεκάθαιρον) his ears with their tongues, whereupon he could understand the voices of birds. By this means he prophesied to people.<sup>120</sup>

Apollodoros also tells us that the mythical Polyidos learnt how to raise Glaukos from the dead by observing a snake.<sup>121</sup> Roth takes this to signify that contact with snakes, known for their powers of healing and renewal and ‘symbolic of the umbilicus’, suggests rebirth or resurrection.<sup>122</sup> A more prosaic explanation of the association is offered by the recent discovery in China that the behaviour of snakes, sensitive to the slightest tremor, can be used to predict earthquakes three to five days

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<sup>114</sup> *Il.* XXIV.314-21.

<sup>115</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 33.1f.

<sup>116</sup> See below, 80.

<sup>117</sup> Paus. VIII.38.7.

<sup>118</sup> Aelian *On the Characteristics of Animals* XI.16: “Ἴδιον δὲ ἦν ἄρα τῶν δρακόντων καὶ ἡ μαντική; cf. IX.1.

<sup>119</sup> Pliny *NH* X.137: Qui credat ista, et Melampodi profecto auguri aures lambendo dedisse intellectum avium sermonis dracones non abnuat.

<sup>120</sup> Hesiod *Great Eoiai* fr. 261; Apollod. *Lib.* I.9.11. The Hesiod reference is to Merkelbach, R and West, M.L. (eds), *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford, 1967) 127; cf. Halliday, 1967, 88, cf. 82-90.

<sup>121</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* III.3.2.

<sup>122</sup> Garland, R., *Introducing New Gods: the Politics of Athenian Religion* (London, 1992) 121, points out that ‘it is no surprise to learn that Asklepios was accompanied by his sacred snake, which was thought to embody his healing power.’

before their occurrence.<sup>123</sup> Cartledge, noting in 1976 similar successes with “pre-scientific” methods of divination in China, concludes that ‘we should not be too dismissive’ of the evidence of Cicero and Pliny that Anaximander predicted a major sixth-century earthquake in Sparta, ‘when a large chunk of Taygetos was wrenched away.’<sup>124</sup> Such serpentine behaviour would have been particularly frequent in the southern and western Peloponnese, where seismic activity is common, so it is possible that from quite early times snakes were associated with prophecy because their sensitivity to slight movements in the earth’s crust prior to quakes had been observed.<sup>125</sup>

An epigram for the *mantis* Kleioboulos of Acharnai found near the site of that Attic deme and dated c.370 B.C. is accompanied by a relief of an eagle with a snake in its talons.<sup>126</sup> According to Dillery, ‘the relief depicts the sort of omen a *mantis* was expected to interpret’.<sup>127</sup> This may be so, but the resemblance to the coins from Olympia must also be considered. Since we have here a combination of the symbol of Zeus and a reptile associated with *mantike* located on the monument of a *mantis*, it is not unreasonable to imagine that Kleioboulos, though now a citizen of Athens, was also a member of one of the Eleian mantic clans, and that the eagle-and-snake motif was its emblem.

Apollo, as a god of prophecy, is often associated with the snake. He sometimes appears in works of art with a snake.<sup>128</sup> The *Pythia* at Delphi is well known, and Aelian reports that the Epeirots held an annual festival in honour of Apollo at which it was considered a good omen if his pet snakes devoured the food offered to them by a virgin priestess. A similar prophetic ritual took place near the shrine of Argive Hera at Lanuvium.<sup>129</sup> Despite Pindar, however, who says that when abandoned by his mother the infant Iamos was nurtured by two snakes,<sup>130</sup> it seems that the Iamids were associated with the lizard rather than the snake.

<sup>123</sup> *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Dec. 30-31, 2006, 11.

<sup>124</sup> Cic. *Div.* I.112; Pliny *NH* II.191; Cartledge, P.A., ‘Seismicity and Spartan Society’ *LCM* 1 (1976) 26.

<sup>125</sup> Cook, A.B., *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* III (Cambridge, 1940) 1f; Cartledge, 1976, 25; Pritchett, 1985, 113f.

<sup>126</sup> *SEG* XVI.193: Exstat in stela anaglyphum aquilae serpentem unguibus rapiantis; cf. Pritchett, 1985, 57; Dillery, 2005, 202.

<sup>127</sup> Dillery, 2005, 202, citing *Il.* XII.200-07.

<sup>128</sup> See, for example, Gisler, J.-R., Müller, P. and Augé, C. (eds), *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* II.1 (Zürich, 1984) 230f.

<sup>129</sup> Aelian *On the Characteristics of Animals* XI.2, 16, cf. 17.

<sup>130</sup> Pind. *Ol.* VI.45-47.

Pausanias records that the Iamid Thrasyboulos was depicted in a statue at Olympia with a spotted lizard (γαλεώτης) on his right shoulder.<sup>131</sup> Depictions of small animals creeping towards the ear of a seer should indicate that he understood their signs and, as Weniger points out, because the lizard hatches out from the earth, ‘das macht ihre mantische Natur verständlich, wie bei der Schlange.’<sup>132</sup> Bouché-Leclercq observes that the lizard ‘had a symbolic meaning in the cult of Apollo’.<sup>133</sup> Apollo, the reputed ancestor of the Iamids, although often associated with the snake, is also regularly depicted as a youth contemplating a lizard on a tree-trunk.<sup>134</sup> One such representation is on a coin of Nikopolis, a later foundation in Kassopaia, the district of southern Epeiros where the Eleians had established colonies in the Archaic period.<sup>135</sup> Others include statues copied from an original by Praxiteles.<sup>136</sup>

Pliny assumes that in the work of Praxiteles the young Apollo is about to kill the lizard with an arrow that appears to have belonged to the original sculpture, and so calls the work ‘the σαυροκτόνος, or *Lizard-Slayer*’. This passage from Pliny, however, seems to be the only source for the use of this term, and Richter, despite accepting what Pliny says, notes that ‘we could not have a lovelier conception of a dreamy young boy in a completely relaxed attitude.’<sup>137</sup> One would think that if Apollo is meant to have done violence to the lizard, he would have been portrayed in the act, or at least in a posture of malicious intent. Praxiteles perhaps intended to indicate that at a first divine moment of prophetic revelation the boy Apollo had relented from slaying the lizard, a creature, like the snake, associated with prophecy.

Because of the apparent connection of the Iamids with lizards, it is more likely that Kleioboulos was a Klytid, claiming descent from Melampus, for whom we

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<sup>131</sup> Paus. VI.2.4. The comment of Frazer, that the clan of diviners in Sicily known as Γαλεῶται or Γαλεοί might have derived their name from the spotted lizard called a γαλεώτης or γαλεός (Cic. *Div.* I.20.39; Aelian *Various Histories* XII.46; *On the Characteristics of Animals* IX.19; Hesych. s.v. Γαλεοί; Steph. Byz. s.v. Γαλεῶται; cf. Thuc. VI.62.5; Paus. V.23.6) does not seem useful since, according to Pease, *Galeotai* ‘is very likely not Greek’ and, as Bouché-Leclercq points out, ‘γαλεοί est un mot sicilien qui signifie simplement “devin”’: Bouché-Leclercq, A., *Histoire de la Divination dans l’Antiquité* (Paris, 1879) 74; Frazer, 1898, 5; Pease, A.S. (ed), *M. Tulli Ciceronis de Divinatione* II (Darmstadt, 1963 [first published in parts, 1920, 1923]) 163, n.3.

<sup>132</sup> Weniger, 1915, 95.

<sup>133</sup> Bouché-Leclercq, 1879, 75: ‘avait dans le culte d’Apollon un sens symbolique’.

<sup>134</sup> Richter, G.M.A., *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven, 1950) 262f, 578 figs. 673, 675, 676.

<sup>135</sup> Richter, 1950, 578, fig. 673; see below, 71-87.

<sup>136</sup> Pliny *NH* 34.70; Richter, 1950, 262, 578 figs. 675, 676.

<sup>137</sup> Richter, 1950, 263.

have a reliable myth of association with snakes.<sup>138</sup> Interestingly, a silver Eleian drachm of the 95<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, 400 B.C., for the Olympiad celebrated just after the end of the Spartan-Eleian War, depicts an eagle with a lizard, though not in its talons (fig. 3).<sup>139</sup> If these motifs were indeed emblems of the mantic clans, then their depiction on the coins minted in Olympia is testimony to the importance of the *manteis* among the Eleians.

### *The mantis at War*

Seers were regular members of Greek armies.<sup>140</sup> The *mantis* held great prestige in the military, ‘the most conservative of spheres’,<sup>141</sup> but also the field of mantic operation most likely to have been reported by ancient historians. He was expected not only to predict events, but also to deliver victory, ‘to work success for his clients’<sup>142</sup> As Roth explains, ‘the mantis waged battle on the divine front while the army fought that same battle on the human plane.’<sup>143</sup>

The divine battle, nevertheless, often found a profane manifestation. This is apparent in the *Iliad*, where the *mantis* Kalchos, son of Thestor, not only advises the Achaians on the causes of a plague among them, but also guides their fleet to Ilion. Poseidon, in Kalchos’ guise, inspires the Greeks to battle.<sup>144</sup> In Pausanias’ account of the battle of the Boar’s Tomb, the φρόνημα of the *manteis* Hekas and Theoklos appears to lift both sides to greater enthusiasm for battle.<sup>145</sup> Theoklos is Aristomenes’ right-hand man at Eira, and sells his life dearly in the end,<sup>146</sup> whereupon his son (or pupil) Mantiklos takes his place.<sup>147</sup> Ἐλας ὁ μάντις devises the winning plan of the Lakedaimonians.<sup>148</sup>

The Spartans of the fifth century B.C. had such strong faith in the powers of Teisamenos that they allowed him to share their military leadership with the two kings, and apparently believed him responsible for five great victories at Plataiai,

<sup>138</sup> cf. Frazer IV, 1898, 5.

<sup>139</sup> *Coins of the Peloponnese*, 2006, 618, no. 632; 166, no. 631; 167, no. 632. The possible political significance of this is considered below, 274.

<sup>140</sup> Dillery, 2005, 204; Xenophon (*Hell.* II.4.18f.) refers to ‘the seer’.

<sup>141</sup> Halliday, 1967, 95.

<sup>142</sup> Pritchett, 1985, 58.

<sup>143</sup> Roth, 1982, 136; Hdt. IX.33.1-36.

<sup>144</sup> *Il.* I.92ff; XIII.69.

<sup>145</sup> Paus. IV.16.1.

<sup>146</sup> Paus. IV.20.1ff, 21.2ff, 10.

<sup>147</sup> Paus. IV.21.12, cf. 20.2.

<sup>148</sup> Paus. IV.21.7.

Tegea, Dipaia, Ithome and Tanagra.<sup>149</sup> Agias, Teisamenos' grandson, was thought to have been behind the capture of the Athenian fleet at Aigospotamoi, and his statue at Delphi was placed next to that of Lysandros himself.<sup>150</sup> Such statues were reserved for 'really great men'.<sup>151</sup>

Kallias was well rewarded for the part that he played in the Krotonian victory over Sybaris.<sup>152</sup> Tellias devised a plan for the Phokians and gave them their instructions,<sup>153</sup> acting as their supreme commander.<sup>154</sup> The Spartans appear to have believed that they had suffered much at the hands of Hegesistratos,<sup>155</sup> and both he and Teisamenos gave tactical advice in the form of divination at Plataiai.<sup>156</sup> Thrasyboulos took part in the victory of the Mantineians over the Lakedaimonians in the third century B.C., perhaps as their commander.<sup>157</sup> Other *manteis*, though not identified as Eleian, also took an active role in warfare. Kleandros of Arkadian Phigaleia persuaded the Argive 'slaves' at Tiryns to attack their 'masters' in Argos, the Akarnanian Megistias fell with Leonidas at Thermopylai, Theainetos was a leading figure in the escape of some of the Plataians in 428 B.C., and the *mantis* with the Athenian democrats in 403 B.C. 'led the charge'.<sup>158</sup> There can be little doubt that in late-Archaic and Classical times *manteis* were active in military affairs.<sup>159</sup>

Teisamenos at Plataiai appears to have repeatedly found the omens from Pausanias' sacrifice wanting in order to delay the Greek attack, despite Pausanias' growing frustration.<sup>160</sup> Present-day hunters determine the edibility of prey by examining the liver. Perhaps it has always been so, and the first diviners might have been responsible for deciding whether an animal was healthy enough to eat before dissecting and distributing the meat. Diviners of the historical period could have turned this procedure on its head by selecting a healthy-looking animal for sacrifice when they wished to deliver a positive omen.<sup>161</sup> A successful *mantis* might in such

<sup>149</sup> Hdt. IX.33.3: ἡγεμόνα; Paus. III.11.7f.

<sup>150</sup> Paus III.11.5; X.9.7; cf. Weniger, 1915, 73; Pritchett, 1971, 110.

<sup>151</sup> Pritchett, 1985, 53. Pritchett, 54f, gives examples of military and other *manteis* honoured with statues.

<sup>152</sup> Hdt. V.45.2, cf. 44.2.

<sup>153</sup> Hdt. VIII.27.3: οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι; προείπας αὐτοῖσι.

<sup>154</sup> Paus. X.1.8: τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔχων, cf. 10, 13.7: ἡγήσατο; cf. Weniger, 1915, 79.

<sup>155</sup> Hdt. IX.37.

<sup>156</sup> Hdt. IX.37, cf. 36.

<sup>157</sup> Paus. VIII.10.5: σφισι τοῦ ἔργου μετέσχευ.

<sup>158</sup> Hdt. VI.83.2; VII.228.4; Thuc. III.20.1; Xen. *Hell.* II.4.18f; cf. Jameson, 1991, 215f.

<sup>159</sup> cf. Burkert, W., *Greek Religion* (Harvard, 1985), 113; Pritchett, 1985, 56f.

<sup>160</sup> Plut. *Arist.* 18.1f; Pritchett, 1985, 78; Jameson, 1991, 207, 219ff.

<sup>161</sup> This appears to have been the most common, but not the only, choice: Jameson, 1991, 216.



ways have been able to make the omens fit his assessment of a given military situation.

If the γένη of μάντεις were guilds rather than clans, talented youngsters are likely to have been recruited for their apparent sagacity, the ‘wise and understanding heart, or at least something of the genius of successful opportunism’, as Halliday puts it.<sup>162</sup> These qualities might have been reflected by success in the agonistic sphere. Teisamenos had an impressive athletic record as both boy and man: he won the boys’ race at Olympia, and later narrowly failed to win the pentathlon.<sup>163</sup> Sporting prowess was apparently not unusual among Eleian *manteis*, as in the late-fourth century B.C. the Iamid Satyros, the son of Lysianax, won victories in boxing at Nemea, Delphi and Olympia and the Klytid Eperastos once won the race in armour.<sup>164</sup> The successful *mantis* required particular personal qualities, since ‘it is not to know a formal art but to be a certain kind of man that makes the seer.’<sup>165</sup> A particular perceptiveness, a charismatic nature or an imposing physical stature might have been observed at an early age and nurtured by one of the *gene*.

#### *The mantis as Healer*

The *manteis* in Olympia performed and interpreted the sacrifices at the altar of Zeus and the many others in the sanctuary.<sup>166</sup> They were most likely responsible for the oracle of Zeus, since Pindar refers to Hagesias as ‘a steward of the oracular altar of Zeus at Pisa’.<sup>167</sup> The scholiast explains that Pindar had gathered that he was ‘an administrator of the oracle of Zeus’.<sup>168</sup> Pindar seems to be implying that Hagesias divined by means of the sacrifices that he conducted at the altar.

The *manteis* generally interpreted dreams, the flight of birds and the entrails of sacrificial victims.<sup>169</sup> Herodotus says that sacrifice was the means of divination in Olympia, and the scholiast to Pindar also directly states that ‘the Iamidai in Eleia

<sup>162</sup> Halliday, 1967, 56; cf. Burkert, 1985, 112.

<sup>163</sup> Paus. III.11.6; VI.14.13; Moretti 462, 466, 530.

<sup>164</sup> Paus. VI.4.5, 17.6; cf. Weniger, 1915, 76f.

<sup>165</sup> Halliday, 1967, 56, 81.

<sup>166</sup> Paus. V.14.4-15.12. The general tendency towards conservatism in religious conventions makes it unlikely that there is any change in late sources from early practice in this respect: Roth, 1982, 227.

<sup>167</sup> *Ol.* VI.5: βωμῶ τε μαντείῳ ταμίας Διὸς ἐν Πίσα.

<sup>168</sup> Drachmann, 1903, 156, 7c: τοῦ μαντείου τοῦ Διὸς διοικητής. The oracle was consulted by the Lakedaimonian king Agesipolis as late as 388 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* IV.7.2; cf. Strabo VIII.3.30, p.353).

<sup>169</sup> Paus. I.34.1-5; Cic. *Div.* I.41.91; For details of and references on procedure see Frazer IV, 1898, 4ff; Halliday, 1967, 185-99; Burkert, 1985, 111-17; Garland, 1990, 83-89; Pritchett, 1971, 111ff; 1985, 74ff, 82f; Jameson, 1991, 197-227.

divined through sacrifices.<sup>170</sup> The most common practice was to examine the livers of goats, lambs and calves.<sup>171</sup> The fire itself, the arising aroma and the flow of blood from the victim were also observed.<sup>172</sup> The procedure is likely to have been similar to that used in τὰ ἱερά and τὰ σφάγια before battle, where it seems that the *mantis* both performed and interpreted the sacrifice.<sup>173</sup>

Divination by means of regular sacrifices to Zeus at Olympia is likely to have delivered pronouncements on a variety of matters. It is possible, furthermore, that the Eleian *manteis* both monitored and influenced diverse aspects of Greek political, social and religious life. According to Halliday, ‘the *mantis* is the direct descendant of the medicine man’, but other specialisations have stripped him of ‘much of his pristine splendour.’<sup>174</sup> Halliday explains that, even in historical times, ‘it is as much the business of the *mantis* to direct the future...as to tell his client what is going to happen.’<sup>175</sup> As Roth puts it, ‘the *mantis* was connected with not only prophecy and the clarification of the gods’ will, but also the effecting of man’s purposes through magical influence on the course of events.’<sup>176</sup>

The early *mantis* was not only a seer, but also a healer and purifier. He is typified by the mythical Melampus, who cured the daughters of Proitos of their madness and Iphikles of his impotence.<sup>177</sup> Apollodoros describes Melampus as μάντις ὄν καὶ τὴν διὰ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαροῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτος εὐρηκώς.<sup>178</sup> He is the mythical archetype of both seer and doctor. Two supposed great-grandsons

<sup>170</sup> Hdt. VIII.134; Drachmann, 1903, 155f, 7a: δι’ ἐμπύραων ἐν Ἥλιδι Ἰαμίδα ἐμαντεύοντο.

<sup>171</sup> Halliday, 1967, 185f, 192, 198f.

<sup>172</sup> Philostr. *Life of Apollonios* V.25; Eur. *Phoinissai* 1255-8; Jameson, 1991, 204f, 226f, n.49.

<sup>173</sup> Xen. *Anab.* VI.5.7f: ὁ Ἀθηξίων ὁ μάντις τῶν Ἑλλήνων σφαγιάζεται; Hdt. IX.41.4: τὰ τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησιστράτου; Eur. *Phoinissai* 1255-8: μάντις δὲ μῆλ’ ἔσφαζον; Jameson, 1991, 204, 207, 208, 217, 219. Pritchett, 1971, 110, cf. 111-115, distinguishes between ‘sacrifices involving divination and called τὰ ἱερά, accompanied usually by the verb θύομαι,...before setting out for battle’ and σφάγια, with the verb σφαγιάζομαι, which were ‘supplicatory and propitiatory’, performed just before battle and not for divination; cf. Roth, 1982, 137-139; Pritchett, 1985, 83ff. Jameson, 1991, 203, cf. 200ff, while retaining a distinction in the circumstances of the two kinds of sacrifice, maintains that both were used for divination. In Sparta alone, it seems, a king might perform sacrifices: Roth, 1982, 126f. Agesilaos at the time of the conspiracy of Kinadon made an official sacrifice which the *mantis* then interpreted (Xen. *Hell.* III.3.4: θύοντος): Pritchett, 1971, 111-15; 1985, 67ff; Jameson, 1991, 197, 208. Plutarch seems to imply that Kimon before his final campaign offered the sacrifice himself, but this is only a possible implication, and the passage may be either anachronistic or Lakonising (Plut. *Kim.* 18.4: θύσαντος).

<sup>174</sup> Halliday, 1967, 57, cf. 58ff.

<sup>175</sup> Halliday, 1967, 53, cf. 40-52, 57.

<sup>176</sup> Roth, 1982, 129; cf. 130-36: *Il.* I.106-08; Eur. *Phoinissai* 23; Hdt. IX.33.2-5.

<sup>177</sup> Hdt. IX.34.1; Apollod. *Lib.* I.9.12; II.2.2; Diod. IV.68.4; Paus. II.18.4; V.5.10; VIII.18.7f cf. Roth, 1982, 125.

<sup>178</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* II.2.2.

of Melampos were also healers: the oracle of Amphiaraos at Oropos was believed to have had healing power,<sup>179</sup> and Polyidos both raised Glaukos from the dead and came to Megara to purify Alkathous.<sup>180</sup>

As Halliday indicates, ‘Melampos was an ἰητὴρ κακῶν in the full sense of the word; the growth of medical science marks a first specialisation.’<sup>181</sup> This process might already have begun by the eighth century B.C. since, in the *Odyssey*, Eumaios lists the seer and the healer as separate vocations, but it does not appear to have been complete.<sup>182</sup> Perhaps, as Dillery remarks, mythical diviners such as Melampos are a creation of the historical period.<sup>183</sup> If so, then it would seem that their creators lived in an age when one figure could continue to combine aspects of the seer and the healer.<sup>184</sup>

As noted above, it is likely that a disproportionate amount of the evidence available to us concerning the activities of the Eleian *manteis* deals with military matters.<sup>185</sup> Yet even in this most violent of spheres there is an element in their behaviour that may indicate that their role was to preserve life as much as to destroy it. In Pausanias’ *Messenika*, Theoklos attempts to restrain the Messenian commander at the Boar’s Tomb. When the Lakedaimonian line breaks, Aristomenes pursues his enemies with great fury.<sup>186</sup> Theoklos, however, forbids him to go past a certain wild pear tree on the plain, on the grounds that he could see the *Dioskouroi* sitting in it. Although the Messenian leader ignores the warning, he loses time when he drops his shield, and the slaughter is mitigated.<sup>187</sup> At Eira Theoklos sacrifices his own life, thus allowing Aristomenes to save the remaining Messenians.<sup>188</sup> These lyrical anecdotes may faintly reflect some earlier reality.<sup>189</sup>

Later *manteis*, too, seem to have discovered omens that mitigated casualties, but usually on their own side. The Phokians looked to Tellias for salvation, but it was achieved at the cost of 4,000 Thessalian dead.<sup>190</sup> Teisamenos divined that the Greeks

<sup>179</sup> Paus. I.34.4.

<sup>180</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* III.3.1; Paus. I.43.5.

<sup>181</sup> Halliday, 1967, 61; cf. Roth, 1982, 124f.

<sup>182</sup> *Od.* XVII.384: μάντιν ἢ ἰητῆρα κακῶν.

<sup>183</sup> Dillery, 2005, 183.

<sup>184</sup> Dillery, 2005, 179ff.

<sup>185</sup> cf. Roth, 1982, 136.

<sup>186</sup> Paus. IV.16.4.

<sup>187</sup> Paus. IV.16.5.

<sup>188</sup> Paus. IV.20.10f.

<sup>189</sup> Paus. IV.21.10f.

<sup>190</sup> Hdt. VIII.27.3; Paus. X.1.8: τῆς σωτηρίας.

would do best to remain on the defensive at Plataiai, and Hegesistratos gave the same advice, neglected at a considerable price, to the Persians.<sup>191</sup> Theainetos planned and led, with one of the generals, the escape of many of the Plataians from the Lakedaimonians and their allies,<sup>192</sup> and might have saved them all.<sup>193</sup> The careful strategy pursued by Lysandros at Aigospotamoi, too, devised by the Iamid diviner Agias, resulted in a great victory with relatively few casualties.<sup>194</sup>

Other seers were ‘involved in the resolution of conflict and the maintenance of peaceful relations.’<sup>195</sup> The legendary Kretan Epimenides, said to have been ‘the first to purify houses and fields and to dedicate temples’,<sup>196</sup> purified Athens after Kylon’s attempt at tyranny and arranged friendship and alliance between the Knossians and Athenians.<sup>197</sup> Since Herodotus credits Teisamenos with the Spartan victory at Ithome,<sup>198</sup> it is likely that he arranged the terms of the Messenian surrender, allowing the rebels to depart under a truce.<sup>199</sup> The Delphic oracle that urged the Lakedaimonians τὸν ἰκέτην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἴθωμήτα ἀφιέναι suggests a role for this Iamid *mantis*, a devotee of Zeus.<sup>200</sup> Pausanias, moreover, directly states that it was the advice of Teisamenos, along with the oracle from Delphi, that brought about the agreement.<sup>201</sup>

The behaviour of *manteis* from Elis at Eira, in Phokis, at Plataiai and at Aigospotamoi may indicate a reorientation of the field of mantic responsibility for mitigating battle casualties to exclusively covering his own side. Perhaps this was a corollary to the growth of professionalism in an increasingly mercenary world. Teisamenos drove a hard bargain with the Spartans and Mardonios paid Hegesistratos well for his services.<sup>202</sup> Deiphonos of Apollonia contracted to do work all over Greece, and by the mid-fifth century B.C. Sophokles could have Kreon tell

<sup>191</sup> Hdt. IX.36, 37; Plut. *Arist.* 18.1f; cf. Pritchett, 1985, 78.

<sup>192</sup> Thuc. III.20.1-24.3.

<sup>193</sup> Thuc. III.20.2: ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις ἀπώκνησάν πως τὸν κίνδυνον μέγαν ἡγησάμενοι.

<sup>194</sup> Xen. *Hell.* II.1.22-32; Paus. III.11.5.

<sup>195</sup> Dillery, 2005, 201.

<sup>196</sup> Diog. Laert. I.112.

<sup>197</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 1.1; Plut. *Sol.* 12.7; Diog. Laert. I.110f.

<sup>198</sup> Hdt. IX.35.2.

<sup>199</sup> Thuc. I.103.1.

<sup>200</sup> Thuc. I.103.2.

<sup>201</sup> Paus. III.11.8: τότε δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους εἶσαν Τισαμενῶ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ πειθόμενοι; Weniger, 1915, 73.

<sup>202</sup> Hdt. IX.33.4f, 38.1.

Teiresias that the whole *genos* of *manteis* was φιλόργυρος.<sup>203</sup> Thrasyllus in fourth-century Athens appears to have exploited a little easily gained knowledge for pecuniary purposes.<sup>204</sup> Xenophon seems unimpressed by the motives of at least some *manteis*.<sup>205</sup> This appears to have been a late development, however, and there is good reason to believe that Archaic Eleian *manteis* generally performed a life-preserving function on the battlefield, as in other spheres.

### Conclusion

While later *manteis* might have had to strive ‘to maintain about them an aura of importance’,<sup>206</sup> Halliday points out that ‘the farther back the history of the mantis is traced, the more exalted is his position, and the greater his dignity and power.’<sup>207</sup> One may conclude from this that his obligations, too, were broader in earlier times. In the *Odyssey*, *manteis* are men of integrity.<sup>208</sup> Pindar, early in the Classical period, praises the Iamids for their perceptiveness, but also for their moral excellence: ‘honouring virtue, they go along a clearly-visible path’.<sup>209</sup> The information that we have about mythical figures such as Melampos, Amphiaros, Polyidos and Epimenides implies that the *manteis* were purifiers and healers in earlier times. The hints that we have of their remaining responsibilities in the historical period lead to the conclusion that they had also likely been men of peaceful intent, as would befit the origin of so many of them in a holy and inviolate land. The likely cause of the abundance of Eleian *manteis* found outside of Eleia in late-Archaic and early-Classical times is discussed below.<sup>210</sup> Their location there during the Archaic period suggests that Eleia had a special place in Greek religious life, as a land of both peace and healing, from early times. The sacred nature of the Eleians and their land, known from the literary sources that provide evidence of the *asylia*, is further revealed by the significant place among them held by these venerable and holy figures.

<sup>203</sup> Hdt. IX.95; Soph. *Ant.* 1055; Dillery, 2005, 197.

<sup>204</sup> Isok. I *Demonikos* 5f, cf. 45.

<sup>205</sup> Xen. *Hell.* V.6.16ff; VI.4.13; VII.8.10. On remuneration for victory, cf. Pritchett, 1985, 71f.

<sup>206</sup> Roth, 1982, 237, cf. 243; Pl. *Politikos* 290d.

<sup>207</sup> Halliday, 1967, 72.

<sup>208</sup> *Od.* IX.508: μάντις ἀνήρ ἡὺς τε μέγας τε; XI.99, 291: μάντις ἀμύμων; XXI.144-47. Despite his loyalty, Leiodes cannot escape the wrath of Odysseus: XXII.310-29.

<sup>209</sup> *Ol.* VI.72ff:

ἐξ οὗ πολὺ κλειτόν καθ’ Ἑλλανας γένος Ἴαμιδᾶν·

ὄλβος ἅμ’ ἔσπετο· τιμῶντες δ’ ἀρετὰς

ἐς φανερὰν ὁδὸν ἔρχονται

<sup>210</sup> See below, 199f.

Fig. 3 Eleian silver drachm from Ol.95 (400 B.C.), obverse, eagle's head and lizard: Coins of the Peloponnese: The BCD Collection (auction catalogue, Zurich, 2006) No. 632.



Fig. 4 IvO 64, officials sacred to Zeus for Ol.188, 28 B.C.

### CHAPTER THREE

## THE ELEIANS OVERSEAS

Although the evidence for Eleian participation in the colonisation of southern Italy and Sicily is unconvincing, it seems likely that the Eleians founded four colonies in Kassopaia, southern Epeiros, in Archaic times, and that their relations with these colonies remained close during the early-Classical period. The main purpose of these colonies, unlike those of the other Greeks, appears to have been religious. They were founded, it seems, to facilitate access to the oracle of Zeus at Dodona and the *nekyomanteion* of Ephyra. In addition, the Eleians were in regular contact, *via* Kyrene, with the oracle of Zeus-Ammon in Libya and the priests of Amun in Egyptian Thebes. These contacts appear to have placed the Eleian sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia at the core of a ‘Zeus-Ammon nexus’ that stretched from the banks of the Nile to the mountainous interior of Epeiros. This observation supports the view that Eleia was of special significance to the religious life of Greece and of lands beyond, and thus offers sufficient explanation for why the Eleians came to be regarded as a sacred people, inviolable from attack.

#### *The Eleians in the West*

In agreement with the ‘many scholars’ mentioned by Yalouris, we can consider reports of Eleian colonisation of Etrurian Pisa to be ‘*post hoc* fictions’.<sup>1</sup> Strabo sets the foundation of Pisa by τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Πισατῶν in the period following the Trojan War.<sup>2</sup> Pliny mentions both the Pelopidai, whose ancestor Pelops is mythically associated with Eleia, and an obscure Greek *genos* called the Teutanes in connection with Etrurian Pisa, but he does not name the Eleians.<sup>3</sup> Virgil says that Italian Pisa was founded from the Alpheios,<sup>4</sup> and Claudian, known as ‘the last poet of classical Rome’, also briefly associates Etrurian Pisa with the Eleian river.<sup>5</sup> These

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<sup>1</sup> Yalouris, N.F., *Ancient Elis: Cradle of the Olympic Games* (A. Doumas, transl., Athens, 1996) 31, 195f, n.78.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo V.2.5, p.222.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny *NH* III.8.50: Pisae inter amnes Auserem et Arnun ortae a Pelopidis sive a Teutanis, Graeca gente; cf. Paus. V.1.6f, 13.1; VI.21.11.

<sup>4</sup> Verg. *Aen.* X.179f: Hos parere iubent Alpheae ab origine Pisae, urbs Etrusca solo.

<sup>5</sup> Claudian *De Bello Gildonico* 483: quatitur Tyrrhena tumultu l ora nec Alpheae capiunt navalia Pisae; Platnauer, M. (transl.), *Claudian* I (London, 1963) 134.



references all appear to be *aitiai* for the ‘onomastic similarity’ of the two places.<sup>6</sup> Dionysos of Halikarnassos reports that Epeian refugees from Eleia colonised the Capitoline hill after Herakles had destroyed Elis, but this seems part of a fictitious attempt to implicate Greeks in the foundation of Rome, and is of little relevance here.<sup>7</sup> Asheri has convincingly dismissed the possibility of an Eleian colonisation of Agrigentum.<sup>8</sup>

Strabo, who considers Nestor’s Pylos to have been in southern Eleia, says that Pisatans from the Peloponnese who had sailed from Troy with Nestor and were all called Pylians founded both Pisa and Metapontion, and elsewhere straightforwardly that Metapontion was colonised by Pylians who sailed from Troy with Nestor.<sup>9</sup> Eusebios says that Italian Pandosia, near the Acheron River in Bruttium, was founded at the same time as Metapontion,<sup>10</sup> and Ps.-Skylax counts Bruttian Pandosia as a Greek colony.<sup>11</sup> Ps.-Skymnos, however, makes both Pandosia and Metapontion, along with Kroton and Thourioi (originally Sybaris), Achaian foundations.<sup>12</sup>

Leake assumes that Bruttian Pandosia was named after the Pandosia in Epeiros.<sup>13</sup> Both Pandosia and Acheron, however, have strong Eleian associations, since a River Acheron flowed into the Alpheios and Pandosia on the Acheron in Epeiros was an Eleian colony.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps it is because of this that Tsetskhladze lists Bruttian Pandosia as founded by ‘Achaean/Elis ca. 725-700’.<sup>15</sup> The textual evidence

<sup>6</sup> Vanschoonwinkel, J., ‘Mycenaean Expansion’ in Tsetskhadze, G.R. (ed), *Greek Colonisation* (Leiden, 2006) 88.

<sup>7</sup> Dion. Hal. *Roman Antiquities* I.34.1-5, 42.3, 60.3; II.1.4, 2.2.

<sup>8</sup> Asheri, D., ‘I Coloni Elei ad Agrigento’ *ΚΩΚΑΛΟΣ* 16 (1970) 83: ‘L’omofonia ‘Ελαῖοι-’Ηλεῖοι (Φαλεῖοι) è troppo evidente per non riconoscerli la causa di eventuali confusioni’; cf. 79-88.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo VIII.3.14, p.343f; V.2.5, p.222: οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ Μεταπόντιον, οἱ δ’ εἰς τὴν Πισᾶτιν, ἅπαντες Πύλιοι καλούμενοι; VI.1.15, p.264.

<sup>10</sup> Euseb. *Chron.* Schöne II, 78: ‘Ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Πανδοσία καὶ Μεταπόντιον πόλεις ἐκτίσθαι. According to Fischer-Hansen, T., Nielsen, T.H. and Ampole, C., ‘Italia and Kampania’ in Hansen, M.H. and Nielsen, T.H., *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford, 2004) 285, this reference may be to another Pandosia near Herakleia, but this is not certain, and they may be one and the same. Metapontion as Achaian: Hammond, N.G.L., *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (Oxford, 1967) 118, 660; cf. Dunbabin, T., *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948) 439.

<sup>11</sup> Ps.-Skylax *Periplus* 12: ‘Ἐν ταύτῃ πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες αἶδε: ...Πανδοσία: Müller, K.W.F., *Geographi Graeci Minores* I (Hildesheim, 1965 [1855]) 19f.

<sup>12</sup> Skymnos *Periegesis* 326f; 328f: μετὰ δὲ Κρότωνα Πανδοσία καὶ Θούριοι ὄμορον δὲ τούτοις ἐστὶ τὸ Μεταπόντιον. Ταύτας Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου κτίσαι ἀφικομένους λέγουσι πάσας τὰς πόλεις: Müller, 1965, 209; Smith, W., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* II (London, 1858) s.v. Pandosia.

<sup>13</sup> Leake, W.M., *Travels in Northern Greece* IV (London, 1835) 55f.

<sup>14</sup> Strabo VIII.3.15, p.344; Dem. VII *Halonnesos* 32; see below, 71.

<sup>15</sup> Tsetskhadze, G.R. (ed), *Greek Colonisation* (Leiden, 2006) lxxi.



cited above, nevertheless, would rather suggest that while both Pandosia and Metapontion might have originally been founded from the Mycenaean kingdom of Pylos, they were recolonised by the Achaians in Archaic times. Even if Strabo were right to claim that Nestor's kingdom of Pylos was located in southern Eleia, these colonies could not be considered Eleian in the period under investigation here.

On the basis of some lines from Pindar and the scholia,<sup>16</sup> Yalouris claims that 'for Syracuse...there is explicit testimony in Pindar that Eleians took part in its colonisation, led by Iamides, descendant of Iamus the seer'.<sup>17</sup> The evidence of Pindar, however, does not imply that any Eleians, apart from one or more of the Iamidai, accompanied the Korinthian Archias in the foundation of Syrakousai. According to the scholia, furthermore, Hagesias, the Iamid victor to whom the ode was composed, 'was formerly a priest of the mantic altar at Pisa of devotion to Zeus', so he might have only recently emigrated from Eleia.<sup>18</sup> The scholiast seems, in fact, to have further information that leads him to doubt Pindar's accuracy concerning Hagesias' status in Syrakousai.<sup>19</sup> Malkin concludes that the evidence for an Iamid presence at the foundation of Syrakousai is not straightforward enough, but gives other attested cases to show that divination 'probably accompanied Greek colonization and its leaders, in one way or another, from its early days'.<sup>20</sup> At most, these sources imply cooperation between the Korinthians and the Eleian Iamids at an early period. Further passages cited by Yalouris also suggest no more than a cultic connection between Eleia and Syrakousai.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Pind. *Ol.* VI.4-11: εἰ δ' εἴη μὲν Ὀλυμπιονίκας, βωμῶ τε μαντείῳ ταμίαις Διὸς ἐν Πίσσῃ, συνοικιστῆρ τε τᾶν κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν.

<sup>17</sup> Yalouris, 1996, 31, 196, n.79; Drachmann, A.B. (ed), *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina* I (Lipsiae, 1903) 155f, 6a-8b; cf. Pritchett, W.K., *The Greek State at War* III (Berkeley, 1985) 50, 53.

<sup>18</sup> Drachmann, 1903, 156, 7c: παρόσον ὁ Ἀγησίας ἱερεὺς ἦν τοῦ ἐν Πίσσῃ μαντικοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ τῷ Διὶ ἀνιερωμένου (while Pindar, lines 12, 77, has *Hagesias*, the scholion says *Agesias*).

<sup>19</sup> Drachmann, 1903, 156, 8b: τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀληθῶς.

<sup>20</sup> Malkin, I., *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden, 1987) 93-97; cf. Dillery, J., 'Chresmologues and *Manteis*: Independent Diviners and the Problem of Authority' in Johnston, S.I. and Struck, P.T. (eds) *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination* (Leiden, 2005) 193ff.

<sup>21</sup> Yalouris, 1996, 31 and nn.80-85. The existence of an Olympieion at Syrakousai (Thuc. VI.64.1, 65.3, 70.4, 75.1; VII.4.7, 37.2f, 42.6) may further support a cultic connection, but Korinth, the metropolis of Syrakousai, also had a temple of Olympian Zeus (Paus. III.9.2, cf. 5.5). Hornblower, S., *Thucydides and Pindar: Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry* (Oxford, 2004) 27, 184-86 assumes that this branch of the Iamids was Arkadian and concludes that there might have been an Arkadian element present at the foundation of Syrakousai. This at least illustrates the variety of interpretations to which this evidence lends itself.

*The Eleians in Southern Epeiros*

The Eleians did, however, found substantial colonies of their own in Kassopaia, southern Epeiros. Demosthenes, warning the Athenians that Philip had little concern for the freedom and autonomy of the Greek states, points out that ‘having burnt out the countryside and forced his way into the cities of the three *poleis* in Kassopaia – Pandosia, Boucheta and Elateia, colonies of the Eleians – he gave them to his kinsman Alexander for him to enslave’.<sup>22</sup> Harpokration, quoting this passage from Demosthenes, points out that ‘Theopompos (43), at any rate, says that there are four cities of the Kassopaians...Elateia, Pandosia, Bitia and Boucheta’.<sup>23</sup> Bitia, or Batiai, is thus also likely to have been an Eleian colony.<sup>24</sup>

Strabo, describing Kassopaia, mentions the location of Bouchetion, Elateia, Pandosia and Batiai.<sup>25</sup> Hammond shows that Strabo used a *paraplous* from north to south but inserted sentences from another source, likely Hekataios, the same fifth-century *periegesis* used by Thucydides.<sup>26</sup> He concludes that the territory of Buchetion, Elateia, Pandosia and Batiai extended from the Glykys Limen, the ‘sweet harbour’ at the mouth of the River Acheron, down to the north shore of the Ambrakian Gulf.<sup>27</sup> Hammond plausibly places Bouchetion, which Strabo says is μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, at Rogus (Kastro Rogon), ‘a little inland from the sea...beside the river Louiros, which is navigable for small boats up to this point.’<sup>28</sup> Elateia was probably near Paliorophoros and Bitia/Batai, ‘the least well-known of

<sup>22</sup> Dem. VII *Halonnesos* 32: τὰς δ’ ἐν Κασσωπία τρεῖς πόλεις, Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βούχετα καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, Ἡλείων ἀποικίας.

<sup>23</sup> Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 206f: Θεόπομπος γοῦν ἐν μγ τέττερας πόλεις φησὶν εἶναι τῶν Κασσωπαίων...Ἐλάτρειάν τε καὶ Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βιτίαν καὶ Βούχετα. ‘Elatreia’ is identical to ‘Elateia’ (Demosthenes) and ‘Elatria’ (Strabo); cf. Yalouris, 1996, 30 and n.74; *IACP*: Elateia, 344.94; Pandosia, 347f.104; Bitiai, 342.88; Boucheta, 342.90.

<sup>24</sup> *IACP*, 342.88.

<sup>25</sup> Strabo VII.7.5, p.324: ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Κιχύρου πολίχνιον Βουχέτιον Κασσωπαίων, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ὄν, καὶ Ἐλάττρια καὶ Πανδοσία καὶ Βατία ἐν μεσογαία.

<sup>26</sup> Thuc. I.46.4; Hammond, N.G.L., ‘The Colonies of Elis in Cassopaia’ in *Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς τὴν Ἡπειρον εἰς μνήμην Χρίστου Σουλῆ* (Athens, 1956) 26-28.

<sup>27</sup> Hammond, N.G.L., *Epirus* (Oxford, 1967) 475; Strabo VII.7.5, p.324; cf. Thuc. I.46.4; Skylax 30; Livy VIII.24.3; Hammond, 1956, 28-30; Lepore, E., *Ricerche sull’Antico Epiro* (Bari, 1962) 137; Leake, W.M., *Travels in Northern Greece I* (London, 1835) 232. Pliny seems confused in saying that the Acheron flowed into the Ambrakian Gulf: *NH* IV.1.4.

<sup>28</sup> Hammond, 1956, 33; cf. Lepore, 1962, 139; Hammond, 1967, 475, 7; Hammond, N.G.L., ‘Epirus and the Greek World of City-States c.750-700 B.C.’ in Sakellariou, M.B., (ed), *Epirus: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization* (Athens, 1997) 48; *IACP*, 342f.90.

the four cities', at the site near Thesprotiko on the plain of Lelovo (map 2).<sup>29</sup> His location of Pandosia, however, must be questioned.

### *The Site of Pandosia*

Pandosia must have been further north from the other colonies, on the River Acheron, since Strabo reports that Alexander, the Molossian king, mistook the Kassopaian River Acheron and Pandosia for those in Bruttium.<sup>30</sup> It is highly likely to have been located at present-day Kastri, a large hill in the middle of the Acherousian plain (fig. 5; maps 2, 4a, 4b). On the basis of Strabo's supposed description of Kassopaian Pandosia as τρικώρυφος, 'three-hilled', however, Hammond argues that Gourana, further upstream at the foot of the Acheron gorge and surrounded by high peaks, must be its site.<sup>31</sup>

His argument, nevertheless, is not convincing, as is shown by a close examination of the passage from Strabo, which concerns *Bruttian* Pandosia:

μικρὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης Πανδοσία φρούριον ἐρυμνόν, περὶ ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μολοττὸς διεφθάρη. ἐξηπάτησε δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ὁ ἐκ Δωδώνης χρησμὸς, φυλάττεσθαι κελεύων τὸν Ἀχέροντα καὶ Πανδοσίαν· δεικνυμένων γὰρ ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίᾳ ὁμώνυμων τούτοις, ἐνταῦθα κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. τρικώρυφον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ φρούριον, καὶ παραρρεῖ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων. προσηπάτησε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο λόγιον,

Πανδοσίη τρικώλωνε, πολὺν ποτε λαὸν ὀλέσσεις·  
ἔδοξε γὰρ πολεμίων φθοράν, οὐκ οἰκείων δηλοῦσθαι.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Hammond, 1956, 34; cf. Lepore, 1962, 140; Hammond, 1967, 477f; Funke *et al.*, 2004, 342.88, 344.94.

<sup>30</sup> Strabo VI.1.5, p.256; cf. Livy VIII.24.2f; Justin XII.2.3; Aulus Gellius XVII.21.9; Suidas s.v. Τόνος; Steph. Byz. s.v. Πανδοσία; cf. Leake, 1935 IV, 55.

<sup>31</sup> Hammond, 1956, 33, with map, 34. Hammond, 34f, n.2, notes a difficulty with the statement of Strabo that 'their territory extends as far as the Gulf' (VII.7.5: καθήκει δ' αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα μέχρι τοῦ κόλπου). The territory of Pandosia, since it must be on the Acheron, cannot have extended to the Gulf. As Hammond points out, however, this statement could refer to the cities collectively or, more likely, αὐτῶν could refer to the Kassopaians; cf. Lepore, 1962, 140; Hammond, 1967, 477f; 1997, 48, 51.

<sup>32</sup> Strabo VI.1.5, p.256. Πανδοσίη; Budé from Steph. Byz., s.v. Πανδοσία.

just above this is Pandosia, a fortified citadel, near which Alexander the Molossian was killed. An oracle from Dodona, urging him to be on his guard against Acheron and Pandosia, deceived him, too, for although places homonymous to these were pointed out in Thesprotia, he ended his life here [in Bruttium]. And the fortress [in Bruttium] is three-topped, and the River Acheron runs beside it. And another prediction also deceived him:

‘Three-hilled Pandosia, one day you will destroy many people.’

For he supposed it to mean destruction of the enemy, not of his own household.

When Strabo says that the fortress is ‘three-topped’, he is clearly referring to the one in Bruttium where Alexander met his fate. The second prediction mentioned by Strabo, which speaks of ‘three-hilled Pandosia’, also clearly refers only to the one in Italy, since Alexander in this case is deceived not by mistaking the country that it was in, but by thinking those who died there would be his enemies rather than his friends. Strabo’s next reference, to the Oinotrians, is Bruttian rather than Kassopaian, and in the following sentence he resumes his description by moving on from Consentia, above which was Bruttian Pandosia.<sup>33</sup> Livy, who is quite explicit about the three hills of Italian Pandosia, says nothing about any at Greek Pandosia.<sup>34</sup> Of the other sources cited above, only Stephanos of Byzantion mentions three hills, and only in a transcript of Strabo’s second oracle. Neither Strabo nor any other source says that there were three peaks at Kassopaian Pandosia, and their descriptions do not suggest that it was at Gourana.

Earlier scholars, accurately as it turns out, placed Pandosia at Kastri.<sup>35</sup> A difficulty for this identification has been that while modern Kastri is north of the Acheron (map 4b), the ancient sources place Pandosia to its south.<sup>36</sup> Dakaris, nevertheless, following Leake, argued that in ancient times the river must have

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<sup>33</sup> Strabo VI.1.5, p.256.

<sup>34</sup> Livy VIII.24.3, 5.

<sup>35</sup> Leake, 1835 IV, 55. Hammond, 1956, 35f, n, identifies this hill with Kikyros/Ephyra.

<sup>36</sup> Dem. VII *Halonnesos* 32; Strabo VII.7.5, p.324. Both Demosthenes and Strabo place it in Kassopaia, thus south of the Acheron. The country north of the Acheron was known as Elaiatis: Thuc. I.46.4; Hammond, 1967, 672f.

passed to the north of Kastri, and that the Acherousian lake lay to its south.<sup>37</sup> This view finds strong support in a recent regional archaeological survey, which shows that the landscape of the lower Acheron valley has altered significantly in the last few millennia.<sup>38</sup>

Noting signs that the sea had intruded further inland at some earlier time, and arguing that evidence from three sources showed that large fleets had anchored in the Glykys Limen in ancient and early medieval times,<sup>39</sup> Dakaris had concluded that ‘the accommodation of so many ships necessitated...the existence of a spacious harbor’ and that ‘the sea penetrated much deeper’.<sup>40</sup> Besonen, Rapp and Jing find that Dakaris’ observations ‘lack chronological control and thus cannot be used to verify the accuracy of the ancient literary and historical accounts.’<sup>41</sup> They point out, nevertheless, that while over the last 5,000 years the coast of this part of Epeiros has seen a relative sea-level rise of less than 2 m, ‘the rate of sedimentation at river mouths...has been much greater.’ Their thoroughly researched maps of the shoreline and valley floor of the lower Acheron verify that in the Archaic and Classical periods the Glykys Limen was far more extensive than in the modern era (maps 4a, 4b).<sup>42</sup>

As noted above, while the ancient texts place Pandosia to the south of the Acheron, further inland than Ephyra, which lay to the its north, modern Kastri is to its north.<sup>43</sup> Besonen *et al.* find, however, that ‘the Acheron River appears to have occupied a channel to the north of Kastri, and has only shifted to the south of that hillock in the last 500 years’ (maps 4a, 4b). They conclude that ‘the discrepancies between the ancient accounts and the modern landscape are not due to errors in the ancient sources, but are instead the result of a natural sequence of landscape evolution in the valley.’<sup>44</sup> Ephyra, which Hammond had placed at Kastri, may be identified with the remains of a fortified settlement just to the north of Mesopotamon, on the Xylokaastro ridge (map 2).<sup>45</sup> The findings of Besonen *et al.*

<sup>37</sup> Dakaris, S., *Cassopaia and the Elean Colonies* (Athens, 1971) 164; cf. *IACP*, 347.104. Dakaris, 164f, unnecessarily tries to explain how this site might be called ‘three-hilled’.

<sup>38</sup> Besonen, M.R., Rapp, G. and Jing, Z., ‘The Lower Acheron River Valley: Ancient Accounts and the Changing Landscape’ in Wiseman, J. and Zachos, K. (eds), *Landscape Archaeology in Southern Epirus, Greece I* (*Hesperia* Supplement 32, Athens, 2003) 199-234.

<sup>39</sup> Thuc. I.46.1-5; Dio Cassius L.12.2; Anna Komnena *Alexiad* IV.33.

<sup>40</sup> Dakaris, 1971, 5; cf. Hammond, 1967, 69.

<sup>41</sup> Besonen *et al.*, 2003, 202, cf. 201.

<sup>42</sup> Besonen *et al.*, 2003, 208f, 221-24, figs. 6.12-15.

<sup>43</sup> Thuc. I.46.4; Dem. VII *Halonnesos* 32; Strabo VII.7.5; Paus. I.17.4f; Besonen *et al.*, 2003, 204f.

<sup>44</sup> Besonen *et al.*, 2003, 234.

<sup>45</sup> Besonen *et al.*, 2003, 205; cf. Funke *et al.*, 2004, 345.96.

make it very likely that the ruins on the hill of Kastri are those of the Eleian colony of Pandosia, as claimed by Dakaris and earlier scholars.

*The Date and Purpose of the Colonies*

The Korinthian colonies of Ambrakia and Anaktorion on the Ambrakian Gulf were founded by Kypselos and his son Gorgos, probably about 630 B.C.<sup>46</sup> Hammond finds it ‘surprising that the much richer coasts opposite Actium, namely the olive-growing promontory of Prevéza and the fertile foreshore eastwards, were not occupied by the Korinthians.’ He explains this by concluding that ‘the Eleian colonies had already been planted in this area’, probably at the same time as their Achaian neighbours colonised southern Italy, c.720-c.650 B.C.<sup>47</sup>

Lepore, although agreeing with Hammond that the tyrants of Korinth would have found the Eleians already in possession of ‘il buon territorio dell’Epiro sud-occidentale’, concludes that the colonies might have been founded in Mycenaean times. The fact that there were four of them, he suggests, may reflect the tetrarchy implied by the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*.<sup>48</sup> This, however, is not a strong argument and it seems unlikely that Demosthenes would have called the colonies ‘Ἠλείων ἀποικίας’ if they had not received Eleian colonists in Archaic times. Yalouris chooses the Geometric period for the foundation of the Eleian colonies, while Dakaris sees the close of this period as the upper limit.<sup>49</sup> In a later work, Hammond appears to slightly down-date his estimates, assigning Bouchetion to c.700 B.C., Elateia to the seventh and Pandosia to the sixth century B.C.<sup>50</sup> Despite this lack of certainty, we can at least consider it likely that the Eleian colonies in Kassopaia were founded during the Archaic period, at the same time or a little earlier than the Korinthian colonies in the Ambrakian Gulf, which were established during the reign of Kypselos.

Hammond points out that the Kassopaian coast of the Ambrakian Gulf offered the fisheries of the Tsoukalio lagoon, pasture for cattle and horses, and the fine shipbuilding timber of the Preveza peninsula. With the increase in trade from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., the few ports on the Gulf became important.

<sup>46</sup> Strabo VII.7.6, p.325; X.2.8, p.452.

<sup>47</sup> *Il.* II.615-19; Strabo VIII.3.8, p.340; Hammond, 1956, 32.

<sup>48</sup> Lepore, 1962, 138f.

<sup>49</sup> Dakaris, 1971, 32; Yalouris, 1996, 30.

<sup>50</sup> Hammond, 1967, 427; 1997, 48.

There was shelter, too, at the mouth of the Acheron, and access to the *nekyomanteion* of Ephyra.<sup>51</sup> As shown above, the Glykys Limen was a far more significant harbour than previously thought, and is indeed likely to have facilitated trade (map 4a). Ancient metal rings for tying up ships indicate that there was a port on the north side of the Acherousian lake, ‘near the south wall of Pandosia’.<sup>52</sup> The mountainous interior of the Acheron valley once offered vast resources of cedar, pine, fir and oak, suitable shipbuilding timber.<sup>53</sup> In Dakaris’ view, the Eleians obtained control of the lower courses of the Acheron and the Louros, of the main trade routes and important harbours, and so ‘controlled the economy of the whole land’.<sup>54</sup> He concludes that ‘the basic aim of the colonists was the exploitation of the economic resources of Epiros.’<sup>55</sup>

Further evidence recorded by Dakaris indicates that the Eleians might also have had an industrial interest in acquiring these resources. Oak keels of ancient vessels have been found on the south side of what had been the Acherousian lake, not far from the site of Pandosia.<sup>56</sup> Near the site of Bouchetion (at Kastro Rogon: maps 2, 3), along the Louros, traces of ancient building may be ‘something to do with the wharf or shipyard of the navigable river.’<sup>57</sup> When we consider the resources of timber mentioned by both Hammond and Dakaris, there are good grounds for supposing that shipbuilding was a major industry of the Eleian colonies. In 435 B.C., moreover, when the Corinthians were preparing a fleet for the relief of Epidamnus, they requested manned triremes from most of their allies, but an unspecified number of empty ships, along with money, from the Eleians.<sup>58</sup> The sacred Eleians could not, perhaps, have been asked to man ships for an offensive war, but they might have been prevailed upon to provide the Corinthians both with vessels, their stock-in-trade, and money to pay the rowers.

In Hammond’s view, nevertheless, the Eleians probably chose the sites ‘mainly for their agricultural value’, since they were themselves ‘predominantly

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<sup>51</sup> Hammond, 1967, 427f, 478f.

<sup>52</sup> Funke *et al.*, 2004, 347.104.

<sup>53</sup> Dakaris, 1971, 13f, cf. 35.

<sup>54</sup> Dakaris, 1971, 32.

<sup>55</sup> Dakaris, 1971, 188.

<sup>56</sup> Dakaris, 1971, 170; cf. Funke *et al.*, 2004, 347.104.

<sup>57</sup> Dakaris, 1971, 182f; cf. Funke *et al.*, 2004, 343.90.

<sup>58</sup> Thuc. I.37.2.

agricultural'.<sup>59</sup> Dakaris, despite what he has said elsewhere, agrees that the colonists were mainly concerned with agriculture and cattle breeding, since, according to Polybios, 'the Eleians were distinguished by their attachment to agriculture.'<sup>60</sup> The view that the Eleian economy was almost entirely agricultural, however, is brought into question above.<sup>61</sup> Any extension of this view to encompass the Eleian colonies in Kassopaia is further cast into doubt by the findings of Besonen *et al.* in the Acheron valley, referred to above, and those of Jing and Rapp in the Ambrakian Gulf.<sup>62</sup>

As the maps of Besonen *et al.* make clear, there was considerably less agricultural land in the Acheron valley during the Archaic and Classical periods than there is now (maps 4a, 6).<sup>63</sup> Not only was the Glykys Limen many times larger than the present Phanari Bay, but the Acherousian lake and its attendant marshes took up much of what is now cropland. Some of what remained might have been suitable only for cattle. Dakaris believes that the Eleian colonists traded wheat and manufactured goods with the native Kassopiains for timber and other natural produce from the hinterland.<sup>64</sup> It seems, however, that the arable land around Pandosia might have been sufficient only to supply the needs of its inhabitants, and that manufactured or imported goods would more often have been exchanged than locally produced grain.

Hammond emphasises the importance to Eleian colonisation of the fertile agricultural land to the east of the Preveza peninsula.<sup>65</sup> On a more dramatic scale than the landscape changes in the Acheron valley, however, are those that have occurred in the Ambrakian Gulf. The work of Jing and Rapp reveals that the vast and fertile floodplain of the Louros River lay under the sea until, around A.D. 500, 'the rate of sediment supply from the rivers exceeded the rate of relative sea-level rise and the estuarine embayment began to fill in, moving the shoreline seaward.'<sup>66</sup> What is now farmland was a marine estuary during the period of maximum transgression,

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<sup>59</sup> Hammond, 1956, 32; cf. 1967, 427.

<sup>60</sup> Polyb. IV.73.7; Dakaris, 1971, 36.

<sup>61</sup> See above, 6, 26-28.

<sup>62</sup> Jing, Z. and Rapp, G., 'The Coastal Evolution of the Ambracian Embayment and its Relationship to Archaeological Settings' in Wiseman, J. and Zachos, K. (eds), *Landscape Archaeology in Southern Epirus, Greece I (Hesperia Supplement 32, Athens, 2003)* 157-98.

<sup>63</sup> Besonen *et al.*, 2003, 221-224, figs. 6.12-15.

<sup>64</sup> Dakaris, 1971, 35.

<sup>65</sup> Hammond, 1956, 32.

<sup>66</sup> Jing and Rapp, 2003, 195.



from 2,500 B.C. to A.D. 500 (map 3).<sup>67</sup> The 2,500 B.C. shoreline was more than 12 km north of its present position.<sup>68</sup> The fertile agricultural land referred to by Hammond simply did not exist during the period of Eleian colonisation.

The findings of Besonen, Rapp and Jing throw the importance of agriculture to these colonies into grave doubt. While we might once understandably have assumed that the Eleian colonists sought out wide and fertile plains so that they could pursue a life such as that lived in their homeland, we must now give greater emphasis to other possible motives for their having chosen Kassopaia for colonisation. A further implication of the work of Jing and Rapp is that the site of Bouchetion, now a considerable distance inland at modern Kastro Rogon, was in ancient times on an island off the coast (maps 2, 3). Aitolian envoys to Rome captured off Kephallenia by the Epirotes were first held at 'Boucheton'.<sup>69</sup> While Strabo places Elateia, Pandosia and Batiai ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, Bouchetion is 'just above the sea'.<sup>70</sup> Formerly, this seemed an exaggeration, but Jing and Rapp conclude from their study of coastal evolution that 'Kastro Rogon hill was an island in a marine estuary during the period of maximum transgression, from 4500 BP to 1500 BP.'<sup>71</sup>

Bouchetion lay on top of this island, 65-75 metres above sea level, across a narrow channel from the mountainous mainland, close to the mouth of the Louros River.<sup>72</sup> Like the earliest Greek colonists in the west, who settled originally on Pithekoussai, the Corinthians at Syrakousai, who first seized Ortygia, and the Therans, who persisted in occupying Platea before founding Kyrene, these early Eleian colonists seem to have preferred the security of an off-shore island base.<sup>73</sup> Bouchetion commanded the route inland to the north along the river valley, where the highway between Ioannina and Preveza runs today. As a twentieth century A.D. military manual makes clear, 'Epirus offers two great routes to the Balkan peninsula' and the second of these runs from 'Prevesa, via Yanina, Metzovo and Grevana, towards the lower Macedonian plain about Salonica'.<sup>74</sup> In 1912, this route was

<sup>67</sup> Jing and Rapp, 2003, 180.

<sup>68</sup> Jing and Rapp, 2003, 198; 159, fig. 5.2; 196, fig. 5.21b.

<sup>69</sup> Polyb. XXI.26.8.

<sup>70</sup> Strabo VII.7.5, p.325: μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης ὄν.

<sup>71</sup> Jing and Rapp, 2003, 180, cf. 190, fig. 5.19b; Wiseman and Zachos, 2003, 18, fig. 1.6. Hammond calls this hill 'Rogus'.

<sup>72</sup> Jing and Rapp, 2003, 189-95.

<sup>73</sup> Strabo V.4.9, p.247; Thuc. VI.3.2; Hdt. IV.156.1-57.3.

<sup>74</sup> British Admiralty War Office, *A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories* (Admiralty War Staff Intelligence Division, 1916) 21.

navigable for barges as far as Philippiada, six miles north of the ruins of Bouchetion, from whence it was possible to travel the thirty-five miles to Ioannina by coach in one day.<sup>75</sup> Dodona is closer, so we may imagine that the journey there from Bouchetion took two days by foot, one on horseback (fig. 6).

### *The Oracle of Zeus at Dodona*

The likely importance of these Eleian colonies for trade has been mentioned above. Hammond claims that the colonies ‘were well placed for strategic purposes. Pandosia controlled the entry into Kassopaia from the north, Bouchetion from the east’.<sup>76</sup> They also dominated the main routes from the south into central Epeiros, where the oracle of Dodona lay. Pilgrimage and trade alike require travel, and the Eleian colonies might just as well have been founded to facilitate access to the oracle of Zeus at Dodona and the *nekyomanteion* of Ephyra as for commerce. As Treadwell points out, the barrier of the Pindos Mountains to the east and south meant that ‘the Greek who wished to consult the oracle would generally approach from the southwest by way of the sea’.<sup>77</sup>

Hammond discerns an influence from the south at Dodona during the Geometric period, probably from late in the eighth century B.C. On a fibula with a large rectangular plate found at Dodona, ‘the design of the four fish is so exactly similar to one from Olympia that it must be due to close contact between the two sanctuaries.’ Bronze votives from the same period also closely resemble finds from Olympia.<sup>78</sup> The sacred area of Dodona was enclosed with bronze tripods, the earliest of which are late Geometric, from which time they are also common at Olympia. While bronze tripods such as those found at Dodona are known in many parts of Greece from the Archaic period, their arrangement into an enclosing circle is otherwise unknown, except at Olympia where they were also probably placed in an open area, enclosing the Altis, before the erection of the temple of Zeus in the fifth

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<sup>75</sup> British Admiralty War Office, 1916, 155.

<sup>76</sup> Hammond, 1956, 35; cf. 1967, 478.

<sup>77</sup> Treadwell, L., *Dodona: An Oracle of Zeus* (Western Michigan University MA Dissertation, 1983) 6. The British Admiralty War Office, 1916, 20, notes that the Pindos range ‘cuts off Epirus and NW Greece from the remainder of the Balkan peninsula. Moreover, this “cutting off” is no mere geographical expression, but is, owing to the very formidable character of the chain, a stern reality.’

<sup>78</sup> Hammond, 1967, 429.

century B.C.<sup>79</sup> In Dodona, similarly, there was no temple of Zeus before the fourth century B.C., only an altar surrounded by tripods.<sup>80</sup>

Hammond also notes that there are relatively few bronze statuettes from the seventh century at Dodona, but ‘very many from the sixth’.<sup>81</sup> These bronzes, he concludes, cannot have been made or even purchased by the native Epeirotes, so they are likely to have been made and dedicated by southern Greeks, either from the colonies or the homeland. Although there were no games at Dodona until the third century B.C., the finds of bronze statuettes include girl athletes and horses with riders. The dress of one girl athlete ‘is exactly that described by Pausanias...as worn in the girls’ race in honour of Hera at Olympia’.<sup>82</sup> Hammond also cites numismatic and epigraphical evidence for believing that ‘the Elean colonies had a particularly close connection with Dodona and with Olympia in the sixth century and later.’<sup>83</sup>

In addition to the evidence brought forward by Hammond, the finds from Dodona in the National Museum at Athens include a bronze figurine of Zeus Keraunios from the sixth century B.C. with an eagle sitting on his left hand,<sup>84</sup> the earliest examples of which come from Olympia and nearby Lykaion in Arkadia. This does not appear to be an isolated instance, since there are more eagle figurines from the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C. which might have belonged to similar statues of Zeus.<sup>85</sup> There is, moreover, one find from the same period that seems to indicate contact with the Eleian mantic clan of the Klytiads, a miniature shield with a relief of an eagle holding a snake.<sup>86</sup>

Hammond concludes that ‘the colonial enterprise of Elis brought Dodona and Olympia into fairly close relations from the eighth century onwards.’<sup>87</sup> This is too early for the Eleian colonies if they were founded at around the time of Kypselos. It

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<sup>79</sup> Hammond, 1967, 433. Pedley, J., *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World* (Cambridge, 2005) 122, maintains that at Olympia an early temple, built perhaps ca.650 B.C., was replaced in ca.590 B.C. by ‘the so-called Temple of Hera (most likely of Zeus, though discussion continues), whose remains can be seen today’. Even if a temple of Zeus had existed earlier than the one built in the early-fifth century B.C., however, the arrangement of the cauldrons could still have been passed between Olympia and Dodona at an even earlier time.

<sup>80</sup> Treadwell, 1983, 51f, cf. 44-50. Cook, A.B., ‘Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak’ *CR* 17 (1903) 271-78; *CR* 18 (1904) 87, observes further signs of cultic similarity between Dodona and Olympia, such as the existence of an original oracular tree-cult at both sanctuaries.

<sup>81</sup> Hammond, 1967, 430.

<sup>82</sup> Paus. V.16.3; Hammond, 1967, 432.

<sup>83</sup> Hammond, 1967, 432; cf. Dakaris, 1971, 33.

<sup>84</sup> National Museum at Athens no. 16546.

<sup>85</sup> National Museum at Athens no. Καο. 70, 1211.

<sup>86</sup> National Museum at Athens no. Καο. 87; see above, 57-61.

<sup>87</sup> Hammond, 1967, 436.

seems more likely that while contact between the Eleians and Dodona from the eighth century B.C. created the need to found the colonies, relations expanded afterwards, as shown by the increased number of finds of southern provenance in the sixth century B.C. Eusebios places the first use of the *manteion* of Dodona by the Greeks in the first year of the thirty-sixth Olympiad.<sup>88</sup> As argued below, we cannot rely on a ready conversion of Olympiads to dates in the Julian calendar,<sup>89</sup> but it is significant that Eusebios also places the beginning of the reign of Periander, the son of Kypselos, in Olympiad 37.4, seven years later. Since it is likely that the Eleian colonies were founded during the reign of Periander's father, the notice of Eusebios may signify that the use of Dodona became common among southern Greeks upon the foundation of the colonies.

Although conceding that the general similarities between the dedications at Dodona and Olympia may be due to 'the fashion of the times', Hammond rightly insists that 'the beginning of southern influence at Dodona must have followed a definite channel.' The best route was, of course, that *via* the Eleian colony at Bouchetion.<sup>90</sup> The landscape archaeology of Jing and Rapp cited above shows that Bouchetion lay on an offshore island at the very beginning of this route. It is likely to have been the point of disembarkation for pilgrims, who perhaps took to smaller craft to carry them some distance up the river and then continued north along the Louros gorge, the easiest overland journey to Dodona. The finds at Dodona cited above suggest, particularly from the sixth century B.C., ongoing relations between the colonies and the homeland. Furthermore, the Eleian presence in the Korinthian and allied fleet that anchored in the Glykys Limen in 433 B.C. 'is a strong indication of the extreme interest of Elis for its colonies' well into the fifth century B.C.<sup>91</sup>

The archaeological evidence indicates the adoption at Dodona of cult goods and practices also known at Olympia. It clearly seems likely that the Eleian colonies brought the southern Greeks in general and Olympia in particular into increasingly regular contact with Dodona, providing a link between the two shrines of Zeus.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Euseb. *Chron.* Schöne II, 88: Δωδώνης τῷ μαντείῳ κατὰ τούτους Ἕλληνας τοὺς χρόνους ἐχρήσαντο.

<sup>89</sup> See below, 121-28.

<sup>90</sup> Hammond, 1967, 433; cf. 1997, 48.

<sup>91</sup> Thuc. I.46.1-5; Dakaris, 1971, 202, n.126.

<sup>92</sup> Hammond, 1997, 48.

There is, furthermore, textual evidence that they stood in a cultic relationship to each other.

In an inscription observed by Pausanias, the Klytid Eperastos claims to be ‘of the blood of the Melampodidai’, and Pausanias says that the Klytids were descended from Melamos.<sup>93</sup> In addition, Philostratos’ fictional Apollonios mentions ‘the Iamidai and the Telliadai and the Klytidai and the oracle of the Melampodidai’,<sup>94</sup> so we can assume that the Melampodidai were also the members of a mantic clan aside from those known at Olympia.<sup>95</sup> In the *Iliad*, Achilles, invoking ‘Lord Zeus of Dodona’, refers to the god’s interpreters, the Σελλοί, as ‘men with unwashed feet, sleeping on the ground’.<sup>96</sup> The Melampodidai, ‘the black-footed ones’, might have been the *manteis* of the oracle of Zeus at Dodona.

Parke points to several incidents of priests who are reminiscent of the *Selloi*. These include the *Flamen Dialis* in Rome, a priest of Jupiter, who slept with mud on his feet, and a priest at Antioch who slept on the ground.<sup>97</sup> Malalas records that at Antioch in A.D. 211/2 ‘the Olympic festival was celebrated for the first time’, having been bought ‘from the Pisaians of Hellas’. At the same time, ‘an alytarch was created in Antioch...who was honoured during his period in office and received obeisance as if he were Zeus himself.’ He slept ‘on the ground in an open courtyard’, albeit in comfortable circumstances that ensured that his white robe and sandals would not be soiled.<sup>98</sup> At Olympia, too, there was an official called the alytarch,<sup>99</sup> and Parke reasonably supposes that ‘the rite was borrowed from Olympia by the authorities of Antioch in the same way in which they borrowed the title Alytarch’.<sup>100</sup> The comfort might have been a late innovation, but the rite of sleeping on the ground could easily have been much older. This, with the evidence from the *Iliad* cited above, suggests that ritual known from Dodona was also observed at Olympia.

<sup>93</sup> Paus. VI.17.6:

τῶν δ’ ἱερογλώσσων Κλυτιδᾶν γένος εὐχομαι εἶναι  
μάντις, ἀπ’ ἰσοθέων αἶμα Μελαμποδιδᾶν.

<sup>94</sup> Philostr. *Life of Apollonios* 5.25.

<sup>95</sup> ‘οἱ δὲ Ἰαμίδαι,’ εἶπε, ‘καὶ οἱ Τελλιᾶδαι καὶ οἱ Κλυτιάδαι καὶ τὸ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶν μαντεῖον’.

<sup>96</sup> *Il.* XVI.233-35: ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι; Parke, H.W., *Oracles of Zeus* (Cambridge, 1967) 1.

<sup>97</sup> Aulus Gellius X.15.14; Malalas XII, p.286f; Parke, 1967, 23-25.

<sup>98</sup> Translation from Jeffreys, E., Jeffreys, M. and Scott, R., (transl.) *The Chronicle of John Malalas* (Melbourne, 1986) 152.

<sup>99</sup> Lucian *Hermetimos* 40: ὁ ἀλυτάρχης οἶμαι ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνοδικῶν; *IvO* 59, 435, 437.

<sup>100</sup> Parke, 1967, 26, 164.

We need not doubt that Pausanias, in adding that the Klytids were descended from Melampos, reported genuine mythology.<sup>101</sup> He seems, nevertheless, to have mistaken the significance of the inscription that he records, and his Μελαμποδιδῶν, the Μελαμποδιδῶν of Philostratos and the Σελλοί of Zeus at Dodona, the ‘men with unwashed feet’ are likely to have been one and the same. If so, Eperastos’ inscription, cited above, is evidence that the Klytid *manteis* of Eleia claimed that they had originated in Dodona, and so supports the archaeological evidence of ritual contact between the two shrines.

Melampos, whose name means ‘blackfoot’, is the earliest individual prophet in Greek mythology.<sup>102</sup> He ‘may be connected with the strange practice of the primitive Selloi’, and seems to have ‘observed the same ritual taboo’.<sup>103</sup> Parke demonstrates that later versions of legends about Melampos originate in older folklore, and points out that in Apollodoros he is able to prophesy by means of understanding the voices of birds. This method of divination is closely associated with Dodona, where legends of the origin of the oracle involve doves.<sup>104</sup> The myth in which Melampos cures the impotency of Iphiklos confirms his connection with the Selloi and ‘their primitive system of prophesy’, which involved understanding the language of creatures.<sup>105</sup>

Perhaps one or more of the individuals upon whom the myths about Melampos were based was a wandering member of the Selloi of Dodona, while the Klytidai were a branch of that ‘clan’ who had migrated through Akarnania and Aitolia to Eleia. Belief in the descent of the Klytiads from Melampos would then be a later accretion. There is much room for speculation. Whatever the case, however, there seems to be sufficient reason to believe that the Eleian *manteis* were in contact with their counterparts at Dodona from an early period, and that such contact might have led to, and in turn have been considerably facilitated by, the foundation of the Eleian colonies in Kassopaia, particularly Bouchetion. The archaeological evidence confirms that from the late Geometric period there was cultic interaction between

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<sup>101</sup> Parke, 1967, 165f, 169f, 170-75, while pointing out the likely connection between the mythical figure of Melampos and the Selloi of Dodona, rejects the claim of the Klytid Eperastos in the inscription quoted at Pausanias VI.17.6 to be ‘of the blood of the Melampodidai’, apparently on no grounds other than the observation that ‘Clytius is otherwise entirely without legendary setting.’

<sup>102</sup> *Od.* XV.225-43; cf. XI.291; *Great Eoiai* 261; Hesiod *Melampodia* 270-79; Merkelbach, R. and West, M.L., *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford, 1967) 127, 133-38.

<sup>103</sup> Parke, 1967, 165.

<sup>104</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* I.9.11; Parke, 1967, 34-43.

<sup>105</sup> Parke, 1967, 169f.

Olympia and Dodona, and the increased volume at Dodona of bronze votives of Peloponnesian type from the sixth century B.C. implies that the presence of the Eleian colonies further strengthened the relationship between the two shrines of Zeus.

*The nekyomanteion of Ephyra*

The identification of Elateia with contemporary Palaiorophoros and of Batai/Bitia with Kastro Rizovouni near Thesprotiko on the plain of Lelovo seems reasonable (map 2).<sup>106</sup> Neither the steep island upon which Bouchetion lay nor the mountainous coast opposite could support agriculture, and the Eleian colonists must have sought arable land, such as that which surrounds Palaiorophoros, to sustain themselves. We can assume that these two foundations were subsidiary ones, made to support the base for trade, manufacture and pilgrimage at Bouchetion.

Pandosia, at modern Kastri (map 2), on the other hand, appears to have dominated an alternative route into the interior to that from Bouchetion. Aside from the Louros valley commanded by Bouchetion, the next best way to Dodona was to follow the Acheron between Mounts Soliou and Thesprotika towards its source and then to take the pass to the south of Mount Tomaros and meet the Louros route from Bouchetion a few kilometres south of the sanctuary. Alexander, king of the Molossi, seems to have come this way down into the Acheron valley in 334 B.C.<sup>107</sup> Ali Pasha in A.D. 1792 attacked Suli (further up the Acheron) from the plain of Glyky (where the Glykys Limen had once been) and retreated to Ioannina (near Dodona) when repulsed.<sup>108</sup> Not long before Leake visited Epeiros, the Turkish Vezir built 'a good paved horse road from Suli to Glyky', providing communication from Glyky to the Louros and Ioannina.<sup>109</sup> There is no reason to doubt that such a road existed in ancient times, providing a secondary route to the *manteion* of Zeus at Dodona that would have allowed pilgrims also to visit the *nekyomanteion* of Ephyra.

Herodotus says that the Korinthian tyrant Periander, the son of Kypselos 'sent messengers to the oracle of the dead on the Acheron River in Thesprotia'.<sup>110</sup> This

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<sup>106</sup> Wiseman and Zachos, 2003, 3, fig. 1.2; Hammond, 1956, 34: 'Palaioroforo'; cf. Lepore, 1962, 140; Hammond, 1967, 477f.

<sup>107</sup> See above, 72f.

<sup>108</sup> Leake I, 1935, 237.

<sup>109</sup> Leake I, 1835, 231.

<sup>110</sup> Hdt. V.92η2.

also appears to be the site at which Odysseus is said to have consulted the dead Theban *mantis* Teiresias and to have spoken to the souls in the underworld.<sup>111</sup> The goddess Kirke instructs Odysseus to journey to the δόμος of Hades, perhaps a temple, where the Pyriphlegethon and the Kokytos flow into the Acheron, and there is a rock where two roaring rivers meet.<sup>112</sup> The landscape where he is to beach is level, with tall poplars and willows, ‘the groves of Persephone’.<sup>113</sup> Dakaris observes ‘an undoubted similarity between Homer’s description and the landscape of the Acherousian Lake and the Acheron’, also noted by Pausanias,<sup>114</sup> and introduces further evidence to suggest that the *nekyomanteion* of Ephyra was indeed located in the lower Acheron valley.<sup>115</sup>

At the urging of Spyros Moyselimis, ‘a fanatic for the soul of Epiros’, in 1958 Dakaris began excavation of a site near Mesopotamo, to the north of the lower Acheron, downstream from Kastri, the site of Pandosia.<sup>116</sup> Beneath the ruins of the eighteenth-century A.D. monastery of Saint John the Baptist, he uncovered the remains of an ancient polygonal building with a subterranean chamber, which Leake had identified as ‘probably the site of Cichyrus, or the Thesprotian Ephyre’.<sup>117</sup> Dakaris believed that the remains were those of the *nekyomanteion*. On the basis of the finds there, he elaborately reconstructed the ritual associated with consultation of the oracle.<sup>118</sup>

It seems highly likely, however, that this building served a different purpose. As Wiseman points out, ‘skepticism about the identification of the Nekyomanteion has grown over the decades.’<sup>119</sup> Bronze rings identified by Dakaris as components of machinery used to raise images of the dead have been shown to be parts of third-century B.C. catapults, the building complex is ‘similar to fortified farmsteads known in many parts of the Greek countryside’ and many of the finds were ‘more appropriate for a farm than a sanctuary’. The underground chamber, says Wiseman,

<sup>111</sup> *Od.* X.480-XI.640.

<sup>112</sup> *Od.* X.510-15.

<sup>113</sup> *Od.* X.509f.

<sup>114</sup> Paus. I.17.5; cf. X.28.1, 4; Dakaris, S., *The Nekyomanteion of the Acheron* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Athens, 1996) 8f. The Gurla, or river of Suli, by which names it was then known, is convincingly identified by Leake as the Acheron: Leake I, 1835, 231f; IV, 1935, 53, 55f.

<sup>115</sup> Dakaris, 1996, 27ff.

<sup>116</sup> Moyselimis, S., *The Ancient Underworld and the Oracle for Necromancy at Ephyra* (Ioannina, 1989) 76-92; Makis, V., in Moyselimis, 1989, 95.

<sup>117</sup> Leake IV, 1835, 53.

<sup>118</sup> Dakaris, 1996, 13-30.

<sup>119</sup> Wiseman, J., ‘Rethinking the “Halls of Hades”’ *Archaeology* 51 (1998) 15.



might well have been a water reservoir or storage room.<sup>120</sup> Baatz has since shown that the building was an aristocratic residence of the late-fourth to late-third centuries B.C.<sup>121</sup>

As Wiseman acknowledges, the site excavated by Dakaris remains valuable and, moreover, the *nekyomanteion* may yet be identified in the vicinity.<sup>122</sup> Dakaris himself points out that ‘very ancient popular beliefs have been linked with the tradition that lakes and rivers, which often disappear underground and mysteriously reappear from its bowels, were roads leading to the Underworld and followed by the spirits of the dead.’<sup>123</sup> Despite the apparently false identification of the building excavated by Dakaris as the site of the oracle of the dead, we need not abandon the belief that it was located in the Acheron valley. It might, indeed, have been at the foot of the hill below that very building.<sup>124</sup>

When Odysseus consults the dead, he beaches his ship near the groves of Persephone and goes εἰς Ἴδην...δόμον.<sup>125</sup> The god of the underworld was known by various names among the ancient Greeks, including Plouton, Zeus Chthonios, Zeus Eubouleus, Zeus Skotitas ‘and, very rarely, Hades.’ Ἴδης is known in Homer as the brother of Zeus and the husband of Persephone.<sup>126</sup> Farnell considers it likely that ‘as the living had their high god, so the religious need would be felt of a high god for the world of souls; and as Zeus ruled above, a shadow of Zeus might rule below.’<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, as Cook demonstrates, Ἴδης is a by-form of Ζεύς, since it means ‘Zeus of the earth’, αἶα. He points out that ‘the termination of Ἴδης is not the suffix –ίδης, but the substantive –Δης.’ Hades is Ζεὺς Χθόνιος.<sup>128</sup> We should expect that a people dedicated to Zeus would also worship Hades.

Pausanias says that ‘the Eleians are the only people that we know of who honour Hades’ and locates his temple near the centre of the city of Elis.<sup>129</sup> Strabo places another on the Eleian Acheron River, which flowed north into the Alpheios

<sup>120</sup> Wiseman, 1998, 15ff.

<sup>121</sup> Baatz, D., ‘Wehrhaftes Wohnen: ein befestigter hellenistischer Adelssitz bei Ephyra (Nordgriechenland)’ *AntW* 30 (1999) 151-55; cf. Funke *et al.*, 2004, 345.

<sup>122</sup> Wiseman, 1998, 17.

<sup>123</sup> Dakaris, 1996, 12.

<sup>124</sup> Baatz, 1999, 151-55.

<sup>125</sup> *Od.* X.509, 512.

<sup>126</sup> Farnell, L.R., *The Cults of the Greek States* III (London, 1907) 280.

<sup>127</sup> Farnell, 1907, 284.

<sup>128</sup> Cook, 1903, 175f; cf. *Il.* IX.457; Paus. II.24.4.

<sup>129</sup> Paus. VI.25.2: ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνοι τιμῶσιν Ἴδην Ἡλεῖοι.

from Mt. Lapithos.<sup>130</sup> Pandosia, perched on the hill of Kastri, dominated the valley of the Kassopaian Acheron, the likely site of the *nekyomanteion* consulted by Periander, the *domos* of Hades reputedly visited by Odysseus. In addition, it was on the second-best route from southern Greece to Dodona and accessible by sea, so it offered pilgrims the opportunity to visit the chthonic counterpart of Zeus *en route* to his sanctuary in the world of the living. Once again, it seems likely that an Eleian colony was founded primarily for cultic purposes. Their apparently exclusive reverence for Hades and their management of his shrine in Epeiros further suggest a special place in Greek religious life for the Eleians.

### *The Oracle of Zeus-Ammon*

The oracle of Zeus-Ammon was located in the oasis of Siwah, which is now within Egypt, close to the Libyan border and about 250 km from the Mediterranean coast. Since the cartouche of Amasis has been found in the temple that housed the oracular shrine, it can be dated at least as far back as the reign of that Pharaoh, 570-526 B.C.<sup>131</sup> It is not mentioned in Homer or Hesiod, and so is unlikely to have been established before the mid-eighth century B.C.<sup>132</sup> This sanctuary appears to have had regular contact with both Dodona and the shrine of Zeus at Olympia.

Herodotus records a legend concerning the foundation of the oracle.<sup>133</sup> He says that the priests ‘of Theban Zeus’ in Egypt had told him that two priestesses had been carried off from Thebes by Phoenicians and sold in Libya and Greece. In these two countries they became the first to found oracles.<sup>134</sup> In addition, the prophetesses (οἱ προμόντιες) of Dodona told Herodotus that two black doves had flown from Egyptian Thebes. One settled on an oak tree (sacred to Zeus) at Dodona, whereupon, using human speech, it instructed the inhabitants to establish a *manteion* of Zeus. The other flew to Libya, where it called upon the Libyans to make a *chresterion* of Ammon, which was also sacred to Zeus.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Strabo VIII.3.15, p.344.

<sup>131</sup> Holmes, A.M., *The Cult of Zeus Ammon and its Dissemination in the Greek World* (University of Melbourne MA Thesis, 1979) 17. The Siwah oasis is likely to have come under Egyptian control for the first time not long before the reign of Amasis, who appears to have built the temple of the oracle: Lloyd, A.B., ‘The Late Period, 664-323 B.C.’ in Trigger, B.G., Kemp, B.J., O’Connor, D. and Lloyd, A.B., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983) 345.

<sup>132</sup> Parke, 1967, 197, 200.

<sup>133</sup> It might already have been mentioned by Pindar: Parke, 1967, 58f.

<sup>134</sup> Hdt. II.54.1.

<sup>135</sup> Hdt. II.55.1-3.

Herodotus takes these stories to signify that the Phoenicians had carried off the priestesses from Thebes and sold one in Libya and the other in Thesprotia, part of Epeiros, and that the one in Greece had then established a shrine of Zeus under an oak tree and practised divination.<sup>136</sup> He imagines that the women were called ‘doves’ because their strange speech sounded like that of birds and adds that the mode of divination in Egyptian Thebes was like that of Dodona.<sup>137</sup> Herodotus had been to both Thebes and Dodona and so is unlikely to have been mistaken about their similarity.<sup>138</sup> At Karnak (‘Thebes’) there was a ‘temple of Amun-who-hears-prayers’. Here Egyptians could petition the god by leaving a small stele at the gate, a practice that bears considerable similarities with Dodona, where petitions were written on lead tablets.<sup>139</sup>

Strabo says that Dodona and Zeus-Ammon gave oracular responses in the same way, *διὰ τινῶν συμβόλων*, ‘through certain omens’ or, perhaps, ‘through certain tokens’.<sup>140</sup> A bronze head of Zeus-Ammon, believed to be from Dodona and dated to the fifth century B.C., gives some indication of contact with the shrine at Siwah.<sup>141</sup> Cook notes several similarities between the cult of Zeus-Ammon and that of Zeus at Dodona, such as connections with doves and the oak tree, a myth of foundation by a shepherd, the existence of miraculous springs and pairing with a consort.<sup>142</sup> He concludes that ‘the cult of Zeus in the Oasis was, as Herodotus declared, really akin to the cult of Zeus at Dodona. I submit,’ says Cook, ‘that it was a relic of an early Graeco-Libyan occupation of north Africa.’<sup>143</sup>

As noted above, however, the oracle of Zeus-Ammon is unlikely to have been founded before the mid-eighth century B.C., and might have been established as late as the early-sixth century B.C., when the temple was built.<sup>144</sup> Holmes convincingly concludes that ‘Cook’s reasons for deciding that the source of the Ammon practices was Dodona are not very cogent.’<sup>145</sup> Yet we may find a more compelling explanation

<sup>136</sup> Hdt. II.56.1-3.

<sup>137</sup> Hdt. II.57.1-3.

<sup>138</sup> Parke, 1967, 56. For oracular practice at Dodona see Dillon, M., *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece* (London, 1997) 94-97.

<sup>139</sup> Watterson, B., *Gods of Egypt* (London, 1984) 146.

<sup>140</sup> Strabo VII, fr.1a: *συμβόλων* is the genitive plural of both *σύμβολον*, ‘sign’ or ‘token’ and *σύμβολος*, ‘omen’.

<sup>141</sup> Parke, 1967, 208, cf. fig. 4, facing 169.

<sup>142</sup> Cook, 1903, 403f; *Zeus I* (Cambridge, 1914) 361-71.

<sup>143</sup> Cook, 1914, 371.

<sup>144</sup> Holmes, 1979, 18, 33; Lloyd, 1983, 345.

<sup>145</sup> Holmes, 1979, 23, cf. 19-22.

for the passage from Herodotus, the find in Epeiros, the statement of Strabo and the similarities noted by Cook.

Pausanias says that the Eleians at Olympia did not sacrifice to the Greek gods alone, ‘but also to the one in Libya as well as to Hera Ammonia and to Parammon’.<sup>146</sup> He explains that Parammon, which means ‘associate of Ammon’, is a surname of Hermes.<sup>147</sup> This is secure evidence of a cultic relationship between Olympia and the Libyan shrine, but it need not necessarily date very far back from the time of Pausanias. In the same passage, nevertheless, Pausanias provides further evidence concerning the relationship of the Eleians with Ammon:

φαίνονται δὲ χρώμενοι ἐκ παλαιοτάτου τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντείῳ, καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἑλείων ἐν Ἄμμωνός εἰσι βωμοί· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὅσα τε ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἑλεῖοι καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ παρὰ τὸν Ἄμμωνα ἦλθον ἐξ Ἑλίδος. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἄμμωνος.<sup>148</sup>

and they appear to have consulted the oracle in Libya from earliest times, and altars are dedicated in the sanctuary of Ammon by the Eleians; and written on them are both all that the Eleians have enquired and all of the replies of the god, and the names of the men who went from Elis to Ammon. These are in the sanctuary of Ammon.

Parke takes this as evidence that ‘Olympia and Ammon must have established their mutual relations on a firm basis over a considerable period of time.’<sup>149</sup> It reveals, however, much more than this: the Eleians had not only consulted the oracle *from earliest times*, but dedicated altars there, and so contributed towards the development of the cult of Zeus-Ammon itself.

Bernal seems correct in claiming that ‘archaeology has confirmed remarkable parallels between Dodona and Siwah.’ We need not agree with him, however, that this is evidence that the cult of Zeus at Dodona originated in the Libyan oasis, nor

<sup>146</sup> Paus. V.15.11.

<sup>147</sup> Parke, 1967, 211.

<sup>148</sup> Paus. V.15.11.

<sup>149</sup> Parke, 1967, 211.

assume that the name ‘Dodona’ was that of a deity called *Ddwn* at Siwah.<sup>150</sup> As Lloyd points out, the Greeks tended ‘to connect similar phenomena in a causal sequence. It would thus be natural to relate the three great oracles of Zeus at Dodona, Olympia and Siwa.’<sup>151</sup> On the other hand, the worship by the Eleians of the trinity of Ammon, Hera Ammonia and Parammon, unusual in Greek religion, appears to parallel that of Amun, Mut and Chunsu at Egyptian Thebes, and so is likely to have been carried from Thebes to Ammon and thence to Olympia.<sup>152</sup> As Holmes points out, ‘the Egyptian origin [of the oracle of Ammon] has been accepted by most scholars.’<sup>153</sup> The most reasonable conclusion appears to be that innovations in cultic practice travelled in both directions along a ‘Zeus-Ammon nexus’ that stretched from Thebes to Siwah, and thence to Olympia and Dodona.

Contact between the Eleians and Siwah is likely to have passed through Kyrene, the Theran colony on the Libyan coast. Kyrene had at first been primarily devoted to Apollo, but in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. the head of Zeus-Ammon, recognisable from the ram’s horns on the bearded head of Zeus, first appeared on its coinage.<sup>154</sup> The temple of Zeus-Ammon there, built between 520 and 490 B.C., was on the same scale as that of Zeus Olympios erected at Olympia a generation later,<sup>155</sup> and might have been the inspiration for that monumental construction. From Kyrene, it seems, the cult spread to the Greek mainland.<sup>156</sup>

Considering the evidence from Pausanias cited above, Holmes suggests that the Eleians, ‘like the Spartans, took part in the Peloponnesian contingent which went to make up the second Cyrenean contingent in Herodotus IV.161.3.’ Indeed, it appears that new settlers arrived during the reign of Battus the Fortunate, which began fifty-six years after the foundation of the city,<sup>157</sup> thus in about the second quarter of the

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<sup>150</sup> Bernal, M., *Black Athena: the Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (London, 1987) 74. The refusal of Herodotus to believe that the Egyptians took any customs from the Greeks appears in a speculative passage, II.49.1-53.3, and reveals only that he observed cultic similarities: *contra* Bernal, 1987, 100. The name might just as easily have come from either Egyptian Thebes or Dodona itself. Cook, 1903, 179, plausibly suggests that, in Δωδώνη, -δών was a suffix meaning ‘town’, so that Dodona means ‘town of Zeus’.

<sup>151</sup> Lloyd, A.B., *Herodotus Book II: Commentary 1-98* (Leiden, 1976) 253.

<sup>152</sup> Parke, 1967, 211.

<sup>153</sup> Holmes, 1979, 19. The Pharaoh Amasis, who ruled from 570-526 B.C., appears to have made an alliance with the Kyrenaian, who had defeated an army sent by his predecessor: Lloyd, 1983, 343-45. This rapprochement might have been the occasion of the construction of the temple at Siwah.

<sup>154</sup> Parke, 1967, 202-04; cf. Hdt. II.32.1.

<sup>155</sup> Parke, 1967, 204.

<sup>156</sup> Parke, 1967, 208-36; Holmes, 1979, 110.

<sup>157</sup> Hdt. IV.159.1-4.

sixth century B.C.<sup>158</sup> If there were colonists from Eleia, it is likely that they included some of the *manteis*. A reform in Kyrene after the arrival of the new settlers and the subsequent civil strife reserved certain priesthoods for the king, but opened others to the *demos*.<sup>159</sup> This apparent liberalisation might easily have been introduced to accommodate those among the new arrivals who were competent in cultic practice, including *manteis* from Eleia. Kyrene lay directly south on the open sea route from Eleia, so communications cannot have been difficult. From Siwah, too, a trade route ran along a chain of oases to reach the Nile not far below Karnak.<sup>160</sup> If there were Eleian colonists in Libya they are likely to have had the same purpose as those in Kassopaia: to facilitate the flow of religious personnel, cultic innovation and oracular pilgrims of Zeus and Amun between Dodona, Olympia, Ammon and Thebes.

Given that there appears to have been mutual recognition of the identification of the supreme deity of both the Greeks and the Egyptians,<sup>161</sup> we should expect to find some evidence of high-level conference, and we do. The Eleian embassy to the Pharaoh Psammis recorded by Herodotus might have been a delegation to one of many such meetings.<sup>162</sup> Herodotus implies that the Eleians came to seek approval for their administration of the Olympic games. This should not surprise us. The games themselves were a religious devotion, dedicated to the mutually acknowledged father of the gods, and so the Egyptians might have claimed some voice in their organisation. Herodotus says that upon the arrival of the ἄγγελοι of the Eleians the Pharaoh ‘called to council those said to be the wisest of the Egyptians’.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Dobias-Lalou, C., *Le dialecte des inscriptions grecques de Cyrène* (Paris, 2000), 293, finds evidence in the Kyrenaian dialect of ‘un compromis entre le dorien sévère de Crète et de Laconie et le dorien moyen de Thèra et de Rhodes.’ This is consistent with an addition of Peloponnesian elements to the population. It does not preclude an Eleian contingent, which might have had little discernible impact on the dialect of the otherwise Doric-speaking settlers.

<sup>159</sup> Hdt IV.161.3; cf. 160.1-4.

<sup>160</sup> Lloyd, 1983, 344, fig. 4.10, 345.

<sup>161</sup> Herodotus says that ‘the Egyptians call Zeus Amun’ (II.42.5: Ἄμοῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία); cf. Diod. I.12.2, 97.9; Strabo XVII.1.46, p.816, 47, p.817; Plut. *Mor.* 354C. The supremacy of the temple of Amun in the Egyptian religious hierarchy at this time, along with the association of his priests with divination, is suggested by the likelihood that the office of ‘chief of temples and of all of the prophets of the entire country...could be held by the priests of Amen-Ra at Karnak during the New Kingdom’: Lloyd, 1983, 306. The cult of Amun was prominent from 1505-525 B.C., during which period a daughter of the reigning Pharaoh was made ‘the divine wife of Amun’: Hayes, M., *The Egyptians* (Sydney, 1997) 28, 96-99; cf. Watterson, 1984, 145. In the White Chapel of Senwosret I, Dynasty XII, Amun is called ‘king of the gods’: Hart, G. *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London, 1986) 6; cf. Lloyd, 1976, 190.

<sup>162</sup> Hdt. II.160.1-4; cf. Diod. I.95.2. Lloyd, A.B., *Herodotus Book II: Commentary 99-182* (Leiden, 1988) 165-67, is unnecessarily sceptical about the historicity of this event.

<sup>163</sup> Hdt. II.160.2: συγκαλέεται Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους.

The Eleian delegation and the Egyptian council appear to have been made up of the highest religious authorities in Greece and Egypt. There is reason to believe that much of the business of major shrines concerned direction on proper religious observance: of the nine tablets found at Dodona that deal with the petitions of states, for example, at least five concern matters of cultic practice.<sup>164</sup> Even private consultations often concern matters of ritual. As Dillon points out, ‘a common phrasing of questions at Dodona is “by praying to which gods?” will a desired result be achieved’.<sup>165</sup> The Eleians appear not to have heeded the advice of the Egyptians to cease competing in the Olympic contests themselves if they were to judge them fairly,<sup>166</sup> but the conference might have considered other matters, perhaps of further significance for the development of religious ritual in both Greece and Egypt.

### *Conclusion*

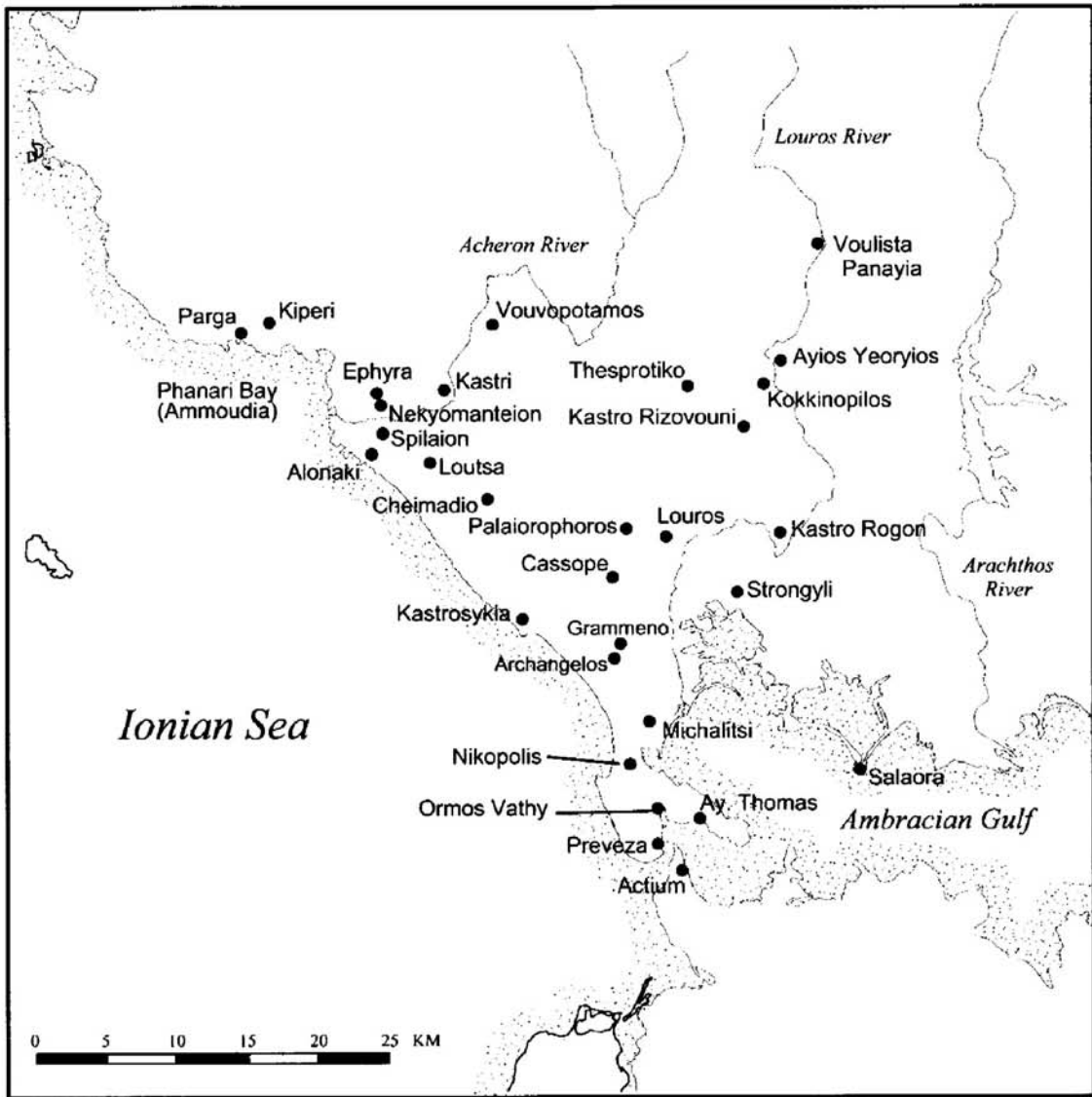
The myths concerning the foundation from Egyptian Thebes of the oracles at Dodona and in the Siwah oasis recorded by Herodotus are evidence that in his time it was possible to discern cultic similarities between these shrines. Despite the absence of Olympia from his report, the apparent cultic interaction of the Eleians with all three of these centres suggests an explanation for the similarities between them that is more acceptable than the mythical *aitiai* reported by Herodotus, the anachronistic speculation of Cook or the unnecessarily extreme position taken by Bernal. The Eleians, through their colonies, controlled the approaches to Dodona from the south. They administered the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, perhaps had colonists among the Kyrenaians, had contributed to the establishment of the oracle of Zeus-Ammon in the Siwah oasis and sat in council with the wisest of the Egyptians. They thus appear to have been at the heart of a ‘Zeus-Ammon nexus’ that stretched from Egypt to Epeiros. Such a role is in keeping with the status of Eleia as a holy and inviolable land.

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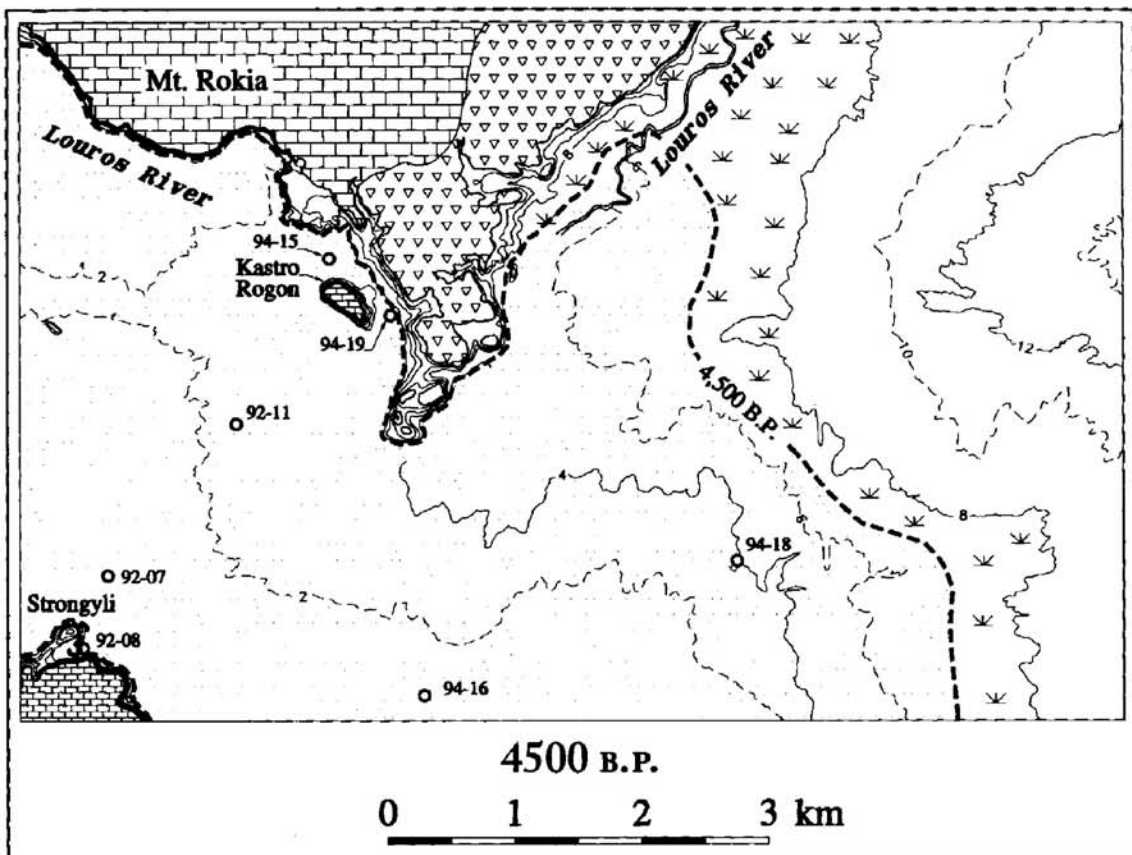
<sup>164</sup> Treadwell, 1983, 76-80.

<sup>165</sup> Dillon, 1997, 97.

<sup>166</sup> Ἀπελλαῖος Ἡλεῖος, for example, won the stadion at the sixtieth Olympiad (Euseb., *Schöne I*, 201f); Zoumbaki, S.B., *Prosopographie der Eleer bis zum 1 Jh. v. Chr.* (Paris, 2005) 91.78. Slowikowski, S.S., ‘The Symbolic *Hellanodikai*’ *Aethlon* 7 (1989) 136, speaks of ‘the *Hellanodikai*’s traditional prerogative to govern the Olympics in an honest manner.’ The religious aura of the *Hellanodikai*, it seems, was in part generated by the honesty that they maintained *despite* the opportunity to favour their own.

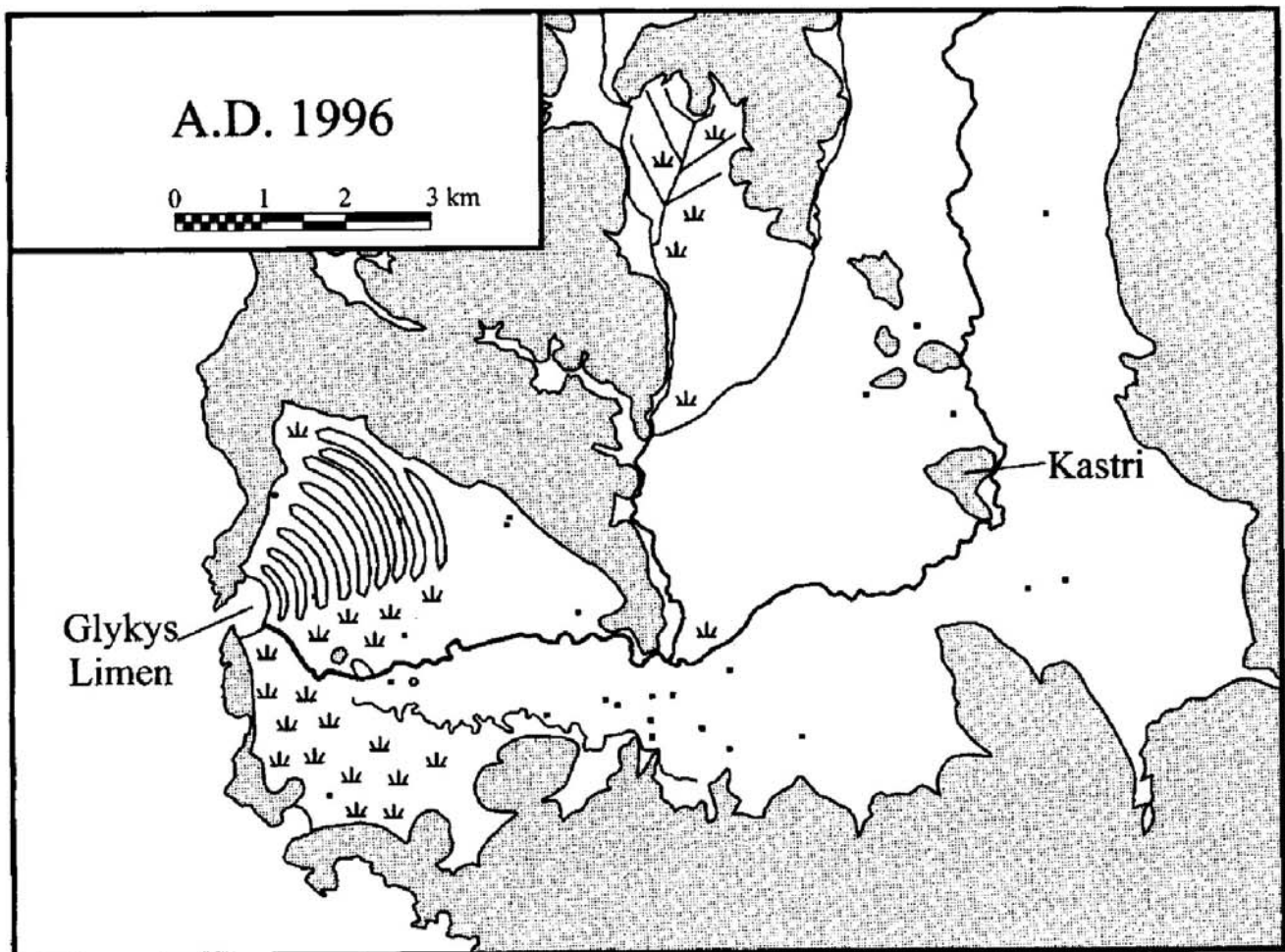
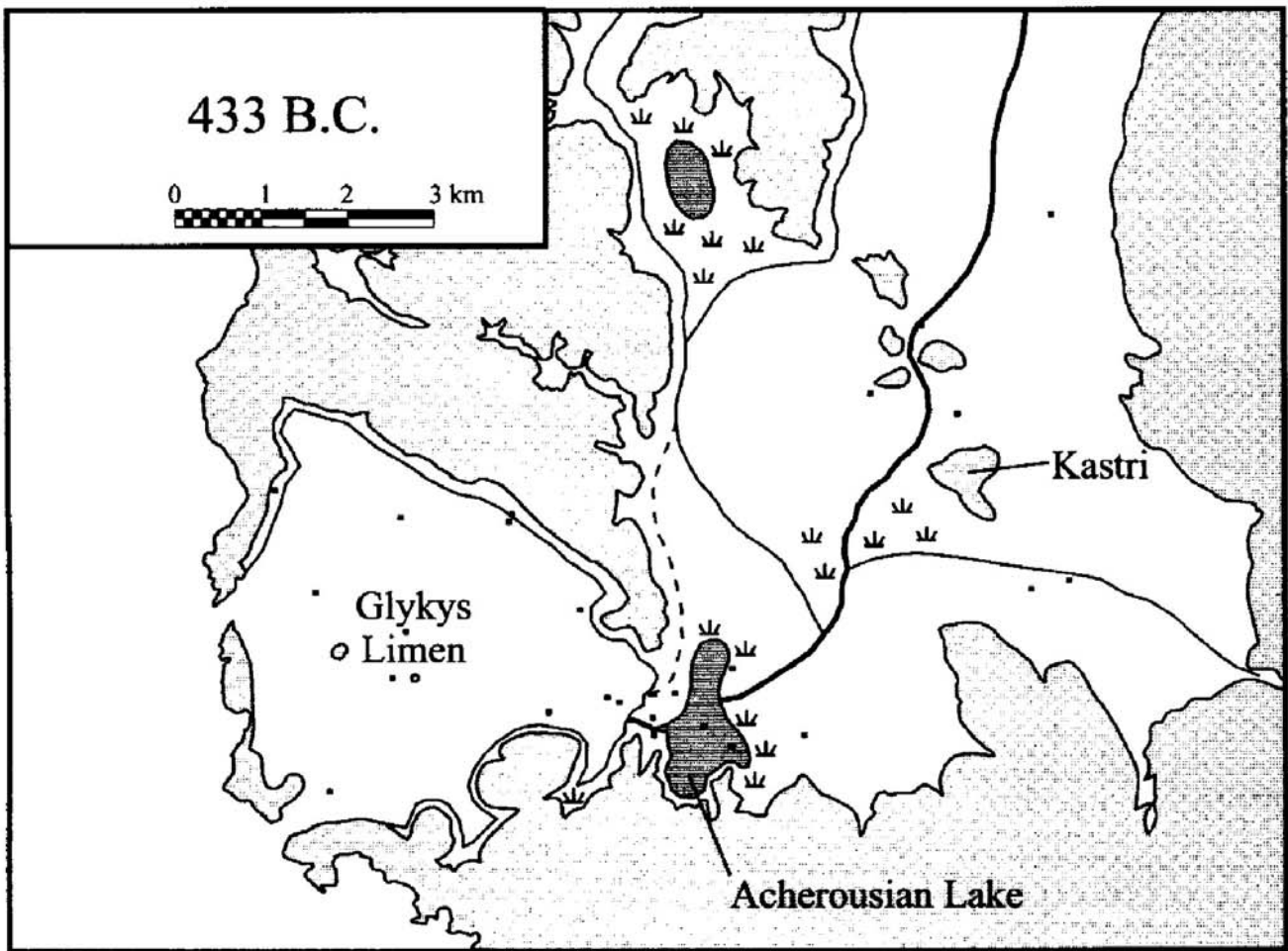


Map 2 Southern Epeiros (from Wiseman, J. and Zachos, K., *Landscape Archaeology in Southern Epirus, Greece 1*, Athens, 2003, 3).



Map 3 The probable coastline of Kastro Rogon and vicinity c.2,500 B.C. (from Wiseman and Zachos, 2003, 190).





Maps 4a and b Paleogeographic reconstructions of the lower Acheron valley for 433 B.C. and A.D. 1996 (from Besonen, Rapp and Jing, 2003, 222, 224).



Fig. 5 Kastri and the Acheron valley from the supposed Nekyomanteion.



Fig. 6 Northwest from the Preveza-Ioannina road towards the likely route to Dodona.

CHAPTER FOUR  
**OLYMPIA AND THE ARCHAIC ELEIAN *KOINON***

The Eleians of Archaic and Classical times appear to have been the descendants of early Iron Age immigrants from Aitolia. Despite the claims of some scholars, there is no need to believe that these Aitolian Eleians kept a surviving pre-Aitolian, Aiolian element in subjection. The Aitolians settled in the Peneios and Alpheios valleys, establishing a common cult centre at Olympia. The sanctuary of Zeus there was managed by an amphictyony composed of the various Eleian *poleis* scattered throughout the two valleys. When, in the early-sixth century B.C., this amphictyony was transformed into a *koinon* of Eleian states, Olympia became its administrative and financial centre. The community that occupied the site of the later city of Elis was but one member of this commonwealth. During the early-sixth century crisis that helped to forge the *koinon*, however, this community became a temporary administrative centre. The few *poleis* within Eleia that had non-Aitolian populations were enrolled in an Eleian symmachy that also had its headquarters in Olympia.

*A Common Aitolian Heritage*

There is strong textual evidence for the belief that the Eleians were of Aitolian origin and that they were the only people of the Peloponnese who belonged to this *ethnos*. Pindar refers to the Ἑλληνοδίκας who crowns a victor at Olympia as ‘Aitolian’.<sup>1</sup> Bacchylides, too, speaks of ‘the wreaths of Aitolian olive’ won by Olympic victors.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, writing after the synoikism of 471 B.C., says that while the Dorians had many considerable *poleis* in the Peloponnese, the Aitolians had only one, Elis.<sup>3</sup> Strabo records that Aitolian immigrants organised the first contests in Olympia and Pausanias states that the Eleians crossed over from Kalydon and the rest

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<sup>1</sup> Pind. *Ol.* III.12.

<sup>2</sup> Bacchyl. VIII.28f.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. VIII.73.2: Δωριέων μὲν πολλὰ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ ἓ Ηλῆς μούνη.

of Aitolia.<sup>4</sup> The Byzantine scholar Tzetzes also associates the Eleians and Aitolians in the management of the Olympic games.<sup>5</sup>

The evidence of Pindar, Bacchylides, Herodotus, Strabo, Pausanias and Tzetzes is supported by mythology, cultic practice and linguistics, and is consistent with both geography and archaeology. ‘By the fourth century,’ Inglis observes, ‘we find an explicit connection being drawn between the arrival of the “descendants of Herakles” and the Aitolians of Elis.’ He refers to ‘Ephoros, as reported by Strabo’, who gives details of the mythical relationship between the Eleians and the Aitolians.<sup>6</sup> Strabo records epigraphic evidence presented by Ephoros to support his claim concerning the Aitolians and Eleians that ‘each people was the founder of the other’. Ephoros had explained that while Aitolos conquered Aitolia from Elis, his descendant Oxylos, ten generations later, crossed over from Aitolia and settled Elis.<sup>7</sup> Pausanias tells how Oxylos came to rule Elis after the return of the Herakleidai.<sup>8</sup>

The epigraphic evidence that Ephoros witnessed might have post-dated the assistance sent to the Eleians from Aitolia during their resistance to Lakedaimonian attacks at the turn of the fourth century B.C.<sup>9</sup> and so have been embellished to help to cement an alliance. Such myths, nevertheless, often have their origin in *aitiai* for observed phenomena.<sup>10</sup> The Aitolians and Eleians of the fourth century B.C. must have found the claim that they were of the same *ethnos* credible. The evidence of Pindar, Bacchylides and Herodotus, moreover, pre-dates the alliance of the Eleians and Aitolians. We ought to conclude that there was in fact an ethnic relationship between the Eleians and the Aitolians such that the people of the north-west Peloponnese could be called Aitolians up to at least Classical times, and that mythology sought to explain this connection. The cultic practice of the Eleians in the *prytaneion* at Olympia, too, supports the view that the Eleians believed that they were

<sup>4</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.354; Paus. V.1.3.

<sup>5</sup> Tzet. *Chiliades* 12.368f; cf. Siewert, P. ‘Symmachien in neuen Inschriften von Olympia. Zu den sogenannten Periöken der Eleer’ in Foresti, L.A. *et al.* (eds), *Federazioni e federalismo nell’Europa antica* I (Milan, 1994) 258. The evidence from Tzetzes is discussed further below, 107.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 115; Inglis, A., *A History of Elis, ca. 700-365 B.C.* (Harvard PhD Thesis, 1998) 51f; cf. Siewert, Milan, 1994, 258f. and n.6.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo X.3.2f, p.463f; Skymnos 437-77.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. V.3.6-4.4.

<sup>9</sup> Diod. XIV.17.9f.

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of the aetiological element in Greek mythology see Kirk, G.S., *The Nature of Greek Myths* (London, 1974) 53-59.



related to the Aitolians. They poured libations to all of the heroes who were honoured both in Eleia and among the Aitolians, as well as their wives.<sup>11</sup>

Scholars are generally inclined to view both the Aitolians and Eleians as speakers of a north-west Greek dialect. Thomson says that north-west Greek was spoken in the north-west of the Peloponnese, the Ionian islands and central Greece, introduced by the Aitoloi and the Thessaloi c.1000 B.C., and Palmer concludes that in Elis ‘a kind of bridge dialect between NWG and Doric’ was spoken.<sup>12</sup> For Kiechle, Aitolian was the dominant element in the Eleian dialect.<sup>13</sup> It seems, however, that not all agree. Both Thumb and Bechtel include Aitolian among *die nordwestgriechischen Dialekte* – but not Eleian, which has its own separate category. According to Grainger, ‘the Aitolians spoke the same North-West Greek as the Epeirotes and the Akarnanians’.<sup>14</sup> Buck, on the other hand, lists Eleian with Phokian and Lokrian among the north-west Greek dialects, but does not mention Aitolian in this context. He also notes, nevertheless, that during the Aitolian domination of Delphi in 278-178 B.C. ‘a new element is added...[to inscriptions]..., that of the Northwest Greek  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ ’, and elsewhere speaks of an Aitolian invasion of Elis.<sup>15</sup> Most recently, Minon has demonstrated ‘the basic affiliation of Elean with the other NW-Greek dialects’.<sup>16</sup>

There is clearly an element of uncertainty on this matter, but the reluctance of some scholars to classify Aitolian and Eleian together can easily be understood. As Hall observes, ‘structural correspondences between dialects...may have resulted from a far more complicated series of linguistic processes than mere descent from a common proto-dialect.’<sup>17</sup> Eleian might have become differentiated from Aitolian in response to contact with neighbouring dialects such as Doric and Arkadian. Thucydides, furthermore, implies that there was considerable variation in speech among the Aitolians themselves, referring to the tribe of the Eurytanes, ὄπερ

<sup>11</sup> Paus. V.15.12.

<sup>12</sup> Thomson, G., *The Greek Language* (Cambridge, 1960) 32; Palmer, L., *The Greek Language* (London, 1980) 73.

<sup>13</sup> Kiechle, F., ‘Das Verhältnis von Elis, Triphylien und der Pisatis’ *Rh. Mus.* 103 (1960) 365.

<sup>14</sup> Thumb, A., *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte I* (Heidelberg, 1932) xv-xvi, 234-351, 299-311; Bechtel, F., *Die griechischen Dialekte II* (Berlin, 1963 [1914]) vii, 3-161, 827-66; Grainger, J.D., *The League of the Aitolians* (Leiden, 1999) 29f.

<sup>15</sup> Buck, C.D., *The Greek Dialects* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Chicago, 1955) xii, 157, cf. 155-160; 5f; cf. Osborne, R., *Greece in the Making, 1200-479 B.C.* (London, 1996) 36.

<sup>16</sup> Colvin, S., review of Minon, S., *Les Inscriptions Éléennes Dialectales (VI-II siècle avant J.-C.)* (two vols., Geneva, 2007) in *BMCR* 2007.11.07. It has not been possible to obtain a copy of Minon’s work, which Colvin says ‘will now become the standard reference for Elean’, in time for the submission of this thesis.

<sup>17</sup> Hall, J.M., *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1997) 170, cf. 143-81.

μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν.<sup>18</sup> The willingness of many scholars to place Aitolian and Eleian together, despite the difficulties in identification that are likely to have been brought about by these two factors, leads to the conclusion that the Eleians had originally spoken the same dialect as at least some of the Aitolians.<sup>19</sup>

The map of these regions suggests that geography offers no obstacle to the belief that the Aitolians and Eleians were related. While the two territories of Aitolia and Eleia might easily have been settled at the same time by invaders from the Adriatic who called themselves ‘Aitolians’, the distance between them by sea is very short, so cross-settlement in various periods cannot be precluded. Eder finds, furthermore, that changes in local settlement patterns in the region of Elis at the end of LH IIIC ‘may be understood in connection with the traditional immigration of the Aitolians.’<sup>20</sup>

#### *Aitolians and Aioliens*

The belief that a kinship existed between the Aitolians and Eleians seems secure. What is more important for us here, however, is the likelihood of a common ethnic origin for the people of both the Peneios and Alpheios valleys. Herodotus’ statement that the Aitolians had only one ‘considerable’ (δόκιμος) *polis* in the Peloponnese does not preclude the possibility that some communities in the Peloponnese other than Elis, although relatively unimportant, might also have been Aitolian.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, Herodotus wrote after the synoikism of 471 B.C. by which the various communities of the Eleians formed themselves into a single *polis*. By then Elis is very likely indeed to have been the only Aitolian *polis* in the Peloponnese.<sup>22</sup>

Buck sufficiently explains ‘the existence of an Aiolian element in the dialect of Elis, like the dative plural in –εσσι’ by assuming that the Aitolians who invaded

<sup>18</sup> Thuc. III.94.4; Grainger, 1999, 29.

<sup>19</sup> cf. Ruggeri, Claudia, *Gli stati intorno a Olimpia: Storia e costituzione dell’Elide e degli stati formati dai perieci elei (400-362a.C)* (Stuttgart, 2004) 87.

<sup>20</sup> Eder, B., ‘Die Anfänge von Elis und Olympia: zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Landschaft Elis am Übergang von der Spätbronze– zur Früheisenzeit’ in Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. (ed), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes: Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier “100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen” Athen 5.3 – 7.3 1998* (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften Band 38, Athens, 2001) 243.

<sup>21</sup> Hdt. VIII.73.2.

<sup>22</sup> See above, 93.

Elis were the descendants of those who had earlier invaded Aitolia. After occupying Aiolian-speaking Aitolia, although speakers of West Greek, ‘they had nevertheless adopted certain characteristics of the earlier Aeolic Aetolian and brought them to Elis.’<sup>23</sup> The apparent presence of this Aiolian element in the otherwise Aitolian dialect of Eleia, nevertheless, gives scholars such as Kiechle reason to doubt that all of the communities of the Alpheios valley in the Archaic period were ethnically Aitolian.

Observing the linguistic features of inscriptions from Olympia, Kiechle writes of ‘the endeavour of the Aitolian Eleians to press their stamp on the shrine of Olympia’.<sup>24</sup> While he accepts that Aitolian was the dominant element in Eleian, Kiechle seeks to distinguish an Aiolian element that came from ‘dem Dialekt der Perioiken am Alpheios’.<sup>25</sup> ‘The apparent Aiolisms in the Eleian inscriptions from Olympia,’ he claims, ‘do not stem from a concealed substratum of north-west Greek immigrants in the original Elis, but from a surviving, self-contained, strongly Aiolian-coloured dialect area in Pisatis, and probably also in Triphylia’.<sup>26</sup> The late appearance of certain forms in inscriptions from Olympia is, according to Kiechle, due to the fact that in the fourth century B.C., when the Eleians had lost Triphylia, they attempted to retain Pisatis and so integrated it into their state, stressing this reform by mixing the dialects in official inscriptions.<sup>27</sup>

Striano, on the other hand, examines various forms claimed by Kiechle and others to have been marks of a Triphylian dialect, but concludes that ‘du point de vue strictement linguistique il n’y a aucune raison pour soutenir l’existence d’un sous dialect “triphylien”’.<sup>28</sup> Considering six features from the four documents that have been claimed as ‘Triphylian’,<sup>29</sup> the use of Z for /dd/ (standing perhaps for \*dj),

<sup>23</sup> Buck, 1955, 5f.

<sup>24</sup> Kiechle, 1960, 365: ‘das Bestreben der aitolischen Elier, dem Heiligtum von Olympia ihren Stempel aufzudrücken’.

<sup>25</sup> Kiechle, 1960, 365.

<sup>26</sup> Kiechle, 1960, 363: ‘die in den eleischen Inschriften von Olympia erscheinenden Aiolismen nicht einem von nordwestgriechischen Einwanderern überdeckten Substrat im eigentlichen Elis entstammen, sondern einem in der Pisatis und wohl auch in Triphylien...erhaltenen geschlossenen, stark aiolisch gefärbten Dialektgebiet.’

<sup>27</sup> Kiechle, 1960, 363-66.

<sup>28</sup> Striano, A., ‘Remarques sur le prétendu sous-dialect de la Triphylie’ in Rizakis, A.D. (ed), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums Athen, 19-21 Mai 1989, Meletemata* 13 (Athens, 1991) 142.

<sup>29</sup> *IvO* 16 (an inscription of the Skillountians dated at from 450-425 B.C.); *SEG* XV.253 (Lepreon, fifth century B.C.); *SEG* XXXI.356 (Kombothekra, 550-500 B.C.); Siewert, P., ‘Die neue Bürgerrechtsverleihung der Triphylier aus Mási bei Olympia’ *Tyche* 2 (1987) 275 (Alpheios valley, fourth century B.C.).

notation of the initial aspiration, absence of rhotacism in the final position, the dative plural ΜαντίνΕσι,<sup>30</sup> the nominative μευς and γεγραμμενοι used as the perfect participle of γράφω (omission of accents is Striano's),<sup>31</sup> he determines that 'only the presence of the initial aspiration mark in two inscriptions of our corpus...could possibly be assignable to a supposed sub-dialect.'<sup>32</sup>

Siewert, furthermore, concludes that an inscribed decree of the Triphylians found at Mázi (four kilometres south of the Alpheios) from the early-fourth century B.C. shows that 'an essentially uniform north-west Greek dialect was spoken' from the Peneios valley to 'the Triphylian south bank of the Alpheios'.<sup>33</sup> This is illustrated by dialect features such as rhotacism and the accusative plural -οις instead of -ους.<sup>34</sup> 'The carriers of the northwest Greek dialect,' he concludes, 'must therefore have been successful in the acquisition of land in the Peloponnese in the entire lower Alpheios area and have reached as far as the mountain border of the Lapithos (today the Kaiápha Mountains) between northern and southern Triphylia.'<sup>35</sup>

The two documents that display the presence of initial aspiration marks, which Striano concludes are the only features that may be assigned to a sub-dialect, are also singled out by Siewert, who says that compared to the Eleian dialect they 'reveal other dialect features, such as the spelling of h-sounds and the lack of rhotacism.'<sup>36</sup> As Ruggeri points out, the existence of these two inscriptions is *un fenomeno importante*.<sup>37</sup> One of these two inscriptions,<sup>38</sup> dated to the second quarter of the fifth century B.C., comes from Lepreon, in the extreme south of Eleia (map 5). Since Lepreon is among the six towns listed as 'Minyan' rather than Aitolian by

<sup>30</sup> cf. Palmer, 1980, 74, who finds that the appearance of regular north-west Greek datives in -οις along with an example of -εσσι shows that the 'Dorian' migrations involved west-Greek tribes speaking two related but different dialects.

<sup>31</sup> Striano, 1991, 140-42.

<sup>32</sup> Striano, 1991, 142: 'seule la presence de la marque de l'aspiration initiale dans deux inscriptions de notre corpus...pourrait être assignable au prétendu sous-dialecte'; cf. Ruggeri, 2004, 87f.

<sup>33</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 258f; *SEG* XXX.422; XXXV.389: the inscription on a bronze plaque is a citizenship decree of the Triphylians from 399-369 B.C.; cf. Siewert, 1987, 275-77.

<sup>34</sup> Siewert, 1987, 275; cf. Walker, K., *Archaic Eretria* (London, 2004) 55-57, who suggests that the appearance of rhotacism in Euboeia might have been due to the influence of immigrants from Makistos.

<sup>35</sup> Siewert, 1987, 276.

<sup>36</sup> Siewert, 1987, 275f: 'Inschriften von südlicheren Orten Triphyliens außerhalb des Alpheios-Tales, etwa von Lepreon (*SEG* 15.253, gefunden in Olympia) oder Kombothekra (*SEG* 31.356), zeigen andere Dialektmerkmale, wie die Schreibung des h-Lautes und das Fehlen des Rhotazismus.'

<sup>37</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 89.

<sup>38</sup> *SEG* XV.253; cf. Jeffery, *LSAG* 220.14.



Herodotus,<sup>39</sup> we need not be surprised to find a variation in dialect there. The sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Kombothekra, the find-place of *SEG XXXI.356*,<sup>40</sup> dated to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., is also in southern ‘Triphylia’.<sup>41</sup> Ruggeri finds, in addition, that a recently-published inscription from Prasadáki, even further south than Lepreon, also shows forms that differ from Eleian.<sup>42</sup>

None of these inscriptions is evidence of a separate dialect-region on the Alpheios. While it is probable that the dialect of the Lepreans and other Minyans differed from that of the Eleians, the linguistic unity of Eleia aside from these towns seems assured. As Ruggeri concludes, ‘even in the valley of the Alpheios and in the north of Triphylia, in the territory neighbouring Olympia...the same dialect was used that we know from the Eleian inscriptions, whereas in the centre and the south of Triphylia a different dialect is attested’.<sup>43</sup>

At least one Minyan community appears to have adopted the Eleian dialect. Herodotus names Makistos among the six towns that the Minyans had won from the Paroreatians and Kaukonians.<sup>44</sup> Yet, as Siewert shows, a decree of citizenship from Makistos, dated to the fourth century B.C., is written in north-west Greek.<sup>45</sup> This probably came about because of the proximity of Makistos to Olympia and the Eleian communities of the Alpheios.<sup>46</sup> The Eleians plundered or perhaps destroyed most of the six Minyan cities in the lifetime of Herodotus,<sup>47</sup> including Makistos,<sup>48</sup> but it is unlikely that the Makistians suffered a permanent loss of their city, since it does not appear to have been Eleian when it was incorporated into the Triphylian federation at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.<sup>49</sup> In the Archaic period, it seems, Lepreon,

<sup>39</sup> Hdt. IV.148.4.

<sup>40</sup> cf. Jeffery, *LSAG* 450.B.

<sup>41</sup> Siewert, 1987, 275f. *SEG XXXI.364* calls Kombothekra ‘this hill near Olympia’, but it is situated on the Lapithos range rather than in the Alpheios basin (map 5); cf. Zoumbaki, S.B., *Prosopographie der Eleer bis zum 1 Jh. V. Chr.* (Paris, 2005) 8; Ruggeri, 2004, 89. Nor should it be confused with the place, also known as Δάφνη, about two kilometres north of the Peneios dam, less than a kilometre from the modern border with Achaia: Hellenic Military Geographical Service, 1:100,000 map, *Pyrgos*.

<sup>42</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 90: *SEG XLIX.489*.

<sup>43</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 92.

<sup>44</sup> Hdt. IV.148.4; cf. Strabo VIII.3.16-19, p.345.

<sup>45</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 258f; *SEG XXXV.389*; cf. 1987, 275-7; Nielsen, T.H., ‘Triphylia: An Experiment in Ethnic Construction and Political Organisation’ in Nielsen, T.H. (ed), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart, 1997) 149.

<sup>46</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 92f.

<sup>47</sup> Hdt. IV.148.4: τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ’ ἐμέο ἠλεῖται ἐπόρθησαν; Siewert, Milan, 1994, 258f; see below, 134.

<sup>48</sup> Paus. VI.22.4.

<sup>49</sup> See below, 292.

Makistos and the other four cities listed by Herodotus were Minyan rather than Aitolian settlements. The Minyans were reputedly descended from the Argonauts and so were apparently speakers of Aiolic.<sup>50</sup> They cannot, therefore, have been considered Aitolian, and so it seems certain that *some* of the communities of the Alpheios valley were not of Aitolian *ethnos* during the Archaic period.

This must not, however, be seen as evidence of an ‘indigenous’, pre-Aitolian, Aiolian element in Eleia. Herodotus makes it clear that the Minyan conquests in the western Peloponnese were believed to have taken place during the reign of kings Eurysthenes and Prokles, the sons of Aristodemos and the first of the returning Heraklids to reign over the Lakedaimonians.<sup>51</sup> This would place the Minyan settlements in Eleia *after* the return of the Heraklids and so at about the same time as the arrival of Oxylos, the descendant of Aitolos, in Eleia. The Minyans appear, according to this tradition, to have arrived in Eleia concurrently with or soon after the Aitolians, so we may conclude that at a time of considerable disruption, as the Aitolians arrived in the Peneios and Alpheios valleys, some speakers of Aiolian arrived in the area between the Alpheios (above Olympia) and the Neda.

There is no evidence that the Minyans inhabited any more than these six communities, of which we know that three were in the Alpheios valley and at least one was not. Nor is there any indication in mythology (or elsewhere) that significant numbers of an earlier population had survived either as a sub-class or as members of subject communities. Oxylos, it is claimed, won Eleia after his champion defeated that of the previous king. He then allowed the Epeians, τοὺς ἀρχαίους, to keep what they had, but gave Aitolian settlers a share of the land.<sup>52</sup> Strabo points out that in the *Iliad* the Epeians ‘lived in divine Elis’ (Ἡλιδα δῖαν ἔναιον), and adds simply that ‘later they were called Eleians instead of Epeians’.<sup>53</sup> He says, in addition, that the Aitolians, having returned to Eleia under Oxylos, lived with the Epeians ‘on account of an ancient kinship’.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Hdt. IV.145.3; Strabo VIII.3.19, p.347; Buck, 1955, 5; but see Tausend, K., *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie* (Stuttgart, 1992) 20f, who suggests that the Minyans might have come from an Ionian border area of Boiotia.

<sup>51</sup> Hdt. IV.147.1-148.4; Paus. III.1.5-7.

<sup>52</sup> Paus. V.4.3.

<sup>53</sup> *Il.* II.615; Strabo VIII.3.8, p.340: ὅσπερον δ’ ἀντ’ Ἐπειῶν Ἠλεῖοι ἐκλήθησαν; cf. VIII.3.9, p.341, where he defends this view against Hekataios.

<sup>54</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.354: κατὰ συγγένειαν παλαιάν.

Strabo also records, without comment, Ephoros' claim to the contrary that 'the Aitolians occupied the land and expelled the Epeians'.<sup>55</sup> This makes it difficult to determine whether the Epeians were driven out or integrated with the Aitolian immigrants into the new nation of 'the Eleians', 'the valley people'.<sup>56</sup> Whatever the case, however, none of these sources says that the pre-Aitolian population became subject in any way, and in each of the two versions, that of Pausanias and Strabo on the one hand and that of Ephoros on the other, one homogeneous population of Eleians emerges in the historical period.

Reporting on excavations at the site of Pylos, on the Peneios above the site of Elis, Coleman notes that 'the Archaic pottery has very close ties with that found at Olympia; taken together, the two sites allow us to recognize a local Elean school of Archaic pottery which developed in its own way from the preceding Geometric'.<sup>57</sup> The analyses of Siewert and Striano, which show that the Eleian dialect was virtually universal in the entire region of Eleia, taken with the information provided by Strabo and Pausanias and the archaeological evidence presented by Coleman, make it appear certain that the bulk of the population of both the Peneios and the Alpheios valleys was in fact Eleian throughout the Archaic and Classical periods.

#### *The Amphictyony of Olympia*

At the arrival of the Aitolians on the Peneios and Alpheios, the north-west Greek-speaking communities of both valleys appear to have established a common shrine at Olympia. The common ethnic origin of by far the greater number of the communities of Eleia seems to have been the basis of the establishment of an amphictyony for the management of this sanctuary. Despite the assumption of some scholars that 'the Eleians' referred to in inscriptions from Olympia constituted but one of the members of this amphictyony, it is likely that this term denotes all of the Aitolian communities in the entire region of Eleia.

Kahrstedt convincingly identifies the magistrates called *proxenoi* in a number of inscriptions from Olympia as the representatives of the various communities who

<sup>55</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 115: καὶ κατασχεῖν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς τὴν γῆν, ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς Ἐπειούς.

<sup>56</sup> cf. Walter, U., *An der Polis Teilhaben* (Stuttgart, 1993) 117; above, 5.

<sup>57</sup> Coleman, J.E., *Excavations at Pylos in Elis* (*Hesperia* Supplement 21, Athens, 1986) 6.

participated in the amphictyonic management of this sanctuary.<sup>58</sup> In *IvO* 10, for example, when the Anaitians and Metapians make a fifty-years' peace, they agree that whichever of them breaks the oath is to be excluded from the altar of Zeus by the *proxenoi* and *manteis*. Kahrstedt argues that 'the *manteis* are cult personnel, so the *proxenoi* must be a managing authority of the temple and cult.'<sup>59</sup> In *IvO* 13, the *proxenoi* again appear in such a role.<sup>60</sup>

In *IvO* 11, when the Chaladrians award a certain Deukalion the citizenship, he becomes *wisoproxenos* and *wisodamiorgos*.<sup>61</sup> The latter, Kahrstedt plausibly assumes, means that he has the right to become an official in Chaladrion. Although Kahrstedt does not give reasons for this conclusion, without the dialectical feature of the initial digamma  $\text{F}\iota\sigma\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omega\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  appears as a compound of  $\text{ἴσος}$ , and so implies an equal right to the office of *damiorgos*.  $\text{F}\iota\sigma\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  would then signify that Deukalion had the right to represent his new homeland in the management of the sanctuary of Zeus.<sup>62</sup> The usual interpretation of *IvO* 10 and 11 is that the Anaitians, Metapians and Chaladrians constituted demes of Elis, and that a *polis* of Elis was 'so loosely organised that its demes could have made war and could bestow civic rights.' This, Kahrstedt rightly points out, is *eine ganz unmögliche Vorstellung*. He concludes that 'Chaladrion sent one or more members to a college of *proxenoi* sitting in Olympia.'<sup>63</sup> These communities were not merely demes of a united Eleian *polis*, which had not yet come into existence, but, until the synoikism of 471 B.C., independent *poleis* enrolled in an amphictyony.

Kahrstedt seems mistaken, however, in concluding that the Eleians constituted but one of these amphictyonic communities. *IvO* 9, he says, records a 100-year treaty between 'Elis' and Arkadian Heraia, where penalties for infringement are payable to

<sup>58</sup> Kahrstedt, U., 'Zur Geschichte von Elis und Olympia' in *Gött. Nachr. aus dem Jahre 1927* (Berlin, 1928) 157-76, esp. 160-63.

<sup>59</sup> 475-450 B.C.?: Jeffery, *LSAG* 220.12; Kahrstedt, 1927, 160: 'Die Manteis sind technisches Kultpersonal, also müssen die Proxenoi eine den Tempel und den Kult verwaltende Behörde sein.'

<sup>60</sup> Kahrstedt, 1927, 160. This inscription is not dealt with by Jeffery, and Rhodes, P.J. and Lewis, D.M., *The Decrees of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1997) 93, give only a question mark for the date. Wallace, M.B., 'Early Greek *proxenoi*' *Phoenix* 24.3 (1970) 195f. views the *proxenoi* in the inscriptions from Olympia as equivalent to the representatives of the interest of the citizens of one state among those of another, as found elsewhere in Greece. The use of the plural in *IvO* 10 and 13, however, suggests a college, and Kahrstedt appears to be right about this.

<sup>61</sup> Dated to 500-475? by Jeffery, *LSAG* 220.8 and c.500? by Rhodes and Lewis, 1997, 93; cf. Guarducci, M., *Epigrafia greca* I (Rome, 1967) 203.2.

<sup>62</sup> cf. Ruggeri, 2004, 91. Wallace, 1970, 195f, n.1, assumes that the decree made Deukalion a citizen and gave him the position of a *proxenos*, but on deme rather than *polis* level.

<sup>63</sup> Kahrstedt, 1927, 161: 'der zu einem in Olympia amtierenden Kollegium der Proxenoi ein oder mehrere Mitglieder entsendet.'

Olympia.<sup>64</sup> This would be ‘a plain absurdity’, *eine reine Unsinnigkeit*, claims Kahrstedt, if the Eleians controlled the treasury there, so it must have been under amphictyonic management. Yet the treaty does not actually refer to ‘Elis’, but to ‘the Eleians’.<sup>65</sup> Kahrstedt, without good reason, assumes that the expression ‘the Eleians’ in this inscription signifies the *polis* of ‘Elis’, just one member of an amphictyony. No *polis* of this name seems to have existed, however, until the synoikism of 471 B.C., and it appears that until then ‘the Eleians’ lived in various separate *poleis*.<sup>66</sup>

The inhabitants of the site later called ‘Elis’, along with the Anaitians, Metapians and Chaladrians, seem to have been counted among the members of an Olympic amphictyony. These were not demes of an Eleian *polis*, but independent Eleian *poleis* entitled to conduct affairs amongst themselves until the *synoikismos* of the early-fifth century B.C. At the same time, the Eleians as a whole could make arrangements with outsiders. This, it is true, would leave Kahrstedt’s ‘plain absurdity’ intact, since the Ἐλεῖοις in *IvO* 9 would still have been obliged to pay any penalty arising from their treaty to a treasury in Olympia controlled by the Eleians. A large grouping of communities, nevertheless, could easily impose such conditions upon a small and perhaps needful neighbour, and the prestige of the sanctuary might have been perceived as a sufficient deterrent to inappropriate use of temple funds.

Siewert says that Kahrstedt’s reconstruction of the amphictyony is supported by the recent observation ‘that (except for Sparta) only the Eleians and places neighbouring Olympia donated cult implements to the shrine of Zeus.’<sup>67</sup> Ten non-military state dedications found at Olympia, ranging in date from the mid-sixth to the early-fourth centuries B.C., all appear to have been used for the consumption of wine in connection with the cult of Zeus. Apart from one by the Spartans,<sup>68</sup> all of the donations came from communities near Olympia. The Eleians made five of the

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<sup>64</sup> Dated c.500 by Jeffery, *LSAG* 220.6 and to the second half of the sixth century by Guarducci, 1967, 202.1. On the identity of the supposed ‘Heraians’ see Roy, J. and Schofield, D., ‘*IvO* 9: A New Approach’ *HOPOΣ* 13 (1999) 155-65; cf. Tod, M.N. (ed), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions I* (Oxford, 1946) 5; Buck, 1955, 62; Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D.M., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1969) 17; Michel, C., *Recueil d’inscriptions grecques* (Hildesheim, 1976); Jeffery, *LSAG* 408, Plate 42.6; van Effenterre, H. and Ruzé, F., *Nomina: Recueil d’inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l’archaïsme grec I* (Rome, 1994) 52; Rhodes and Lewis, 1997, 93.9, 95.

<sup>65</sup> Kahrstedt, 1927, 162; Guarducci, 1967, 202.

<sup>66</sup> Diod. XI.54.1; Strabo VIII.3.2, p.336; Walter, 1993, 118; see below, 174-82.

<sup>67</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 259; Kahrstedt, 1927, 157-76; cf. Eder, 2001, 243.

<sup>68</sup> The relationship of the Spartans to Olympia is discussed below, 211-18.

dedications, while the Amphidolians, the Ledrinians, the Skillountians and the Alasyes and Akroreians together made one each.<sup>69</sup>

This evidence seems at first glance to imply that the amphictyony included non-Eleian members. If the Amphidolians, Alasyes, Akroreians, Ledrinians and Skillountians were all Eleians, we must explain why they made donations to Olympia in their own names, while half of the donations listed by Siewert were made by ‘the Eleians’.<sup>70</sup> There are three credible explanations. Firstly, that each of the communities that belonged to the amphictyony made donations in its own name, and ‘the Eleians’ in this case refers to the town of Elis, but one of the communities of the Eleians. This seems unlikely, however, since Elis appears to have been created as such only by the synoikism of 471 B.C., and the dedications by ‘the Eleians’ are all dated to the mid- and late-sixth century B.C.<sup>71</sup> Secondly, it is possible that while some dedications were made by the Eleians as a whole, individual Eleian *poleis* could also donate cult equipment. The dates that Siewert assigns to three of the four inscriptions made by communities other than the Eleians or Spartans,<sup>72</sup> however, suggest a third alternative.

The dedications of the Amphidolians, the Alasyes and Akroreians, and the Skillountians,<sup>73</sup> all from the fifth to early-fourth centuries B.C., may date from the period after the Eleian War, when the Spartans had separated the Amphidolians, Akroreians and Skillountians, among others, from the Eleian state.<sup>74</sup> Although now independent of the unified Eleian *polis* that had been founded in 471 B.C., they would have remained members of the amphictyony, inclined to proclaim by making dedications in their own names that their relationship with the shrine had not been extinguished. Of the states that made dedications, the Alasyes alone are *not* said to have been made independent at that time, but since they made a dedication in common with the Akroreians, it is possible that they, alone of the demes that remained part of the Eleian *polis*, had undertaken this venture with another state. Aside from these three, we have a dedication by no other community of Eleians during this period.

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<sup>69</sup> Siewert, P., ‘Staatliche Weihungen von Kesseln und Bronzegegeräten in Olympia’ *AM* 106 (1991) 81-84; cf. *SEG* XLI.396.

<sup>70</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 81f.

<sup>71</sup> *SEG* XI.1204, XXXI.364; Olympia Invoice nos. B4639, B4574, B8347.

<sup>72</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 81f.

<sup>73</sup> *IvO* 257, 258, 390.

<sup>74</sup> *Xen. Hell.* III.2.30f, cf. 25; IV.2.16; VI.5.3.

The donation of the Ledrinians, nevertheless, presents a difficulty for this explanation. The inscription, carved onto the handle of a wine-sieve, clearly reads ἰαϱὸν τῷ Διὶ λεδρινῶν (breathing and accents are as given by Kunze).<sup>75</sup> The lack of the sign of the initial aspiration indicates that this inscription is in the Eleian dialect.<sup>76</sup> Kunze notes the similarities of the otherwise unidentifiable *ledrinon* to the ‘Letrinioi’ mentioned by Xenophon and Pausanias.<sup>77</sup> He points out that since the spelling Λεδρίων for the genitive plural is used in all of the manuscripts of *Hellenika* IV.2.16, the λεδρινῶν of the inscription should itself be read as the genitive plural, and indicates that the ‘Letrinians’ mentioned in the other literary references were the donors of the wine-sieve.<sup>78</sup>

Since Xenophon invariably mentions the Ledrinians in company with the Amphidolians and Marganeians as having been made independent after revolting from the Eleians to the Lakedaimonians in 402 B.C., it might seem at first that this dedication, too, was made in that period. The retrograde script and the forms of the letters, nevertheless, speak against such a late date, and while Kunze assigns the dedication to the first half of the fifth century B.C., Siewert places it even earlier, in the second half of the sixth.<sup>79</sup> This problem can be solved by synthesising the second and third explanations considered above. In times of unity, it seems, ‘the Eleians’ as a whole donated cult equipment at Olympia, while in the early fourth century B.C., after the Lakedaimonians had separated off sections of the Eleian state, the newly independent Eleian communities made dedications on their own behalf. The dedication of the Ledrinians, dating from the late-sixth or early-fifth century B.C., was also made during a period when, as argued below, the Eleian body-politic had been severely ruptured.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Kunze, E., ‘Ausgraben in Olympia 1963/4’ in *ArchDelt* 19 (1964) B2, 169; Plate 173 a, b; cf. *SEG* XXV.462.

<sup>76</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 91.

<sup>77</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.25, 30; IV.2.16; Paus. VI.22.8-11.

<sup>78</sup> Kunze, 1964, 169: ‘Sollte daher nicht vielmehr Λεδρίων zu lesen und als Genitiv Pluralis des Ethnikon aufzufassen sein?’; cf. Daux, G. ‘Olympie’ *BCH* 90 (1966) 817-19, pl. XII.2. The inscription should thus be translated ‘sacred property of Zeus, from the Ledrinians’. Robert, J. and Robert, L. in *REG* 80 (1967) 493, no. 279, point out that Ledrinioi must have been a ‘ville’ rather than, as Daux says, a ‘village’.

<sup>79</sup> Kunze, 1964, 169; Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 82; cf. Jeffery, *LSAG* 206, fig. 40 (Arkadia, Elis), 216-221, plates 42, 43.

<sup>80</sup> See below, 128-38, 163-65, 191-96, 201-09.

*Olympia as the Centre of an Eleian koinon*

While the amphictyony of Olympia appears to have been established long before the sixth century B.C., it seems that during that period it took the first steps towards transformation into a unified political community. Kahrstedt concludes from the inscriptions that mention *proxenoi* that the amphictyonic management of Olympia ‘must still have existed not too long before 470.’<sup>81</sup> Siewert believes, on the other hand, that by the late-sixth century B.C. the amphictyony had been transformed into an alliance headed by ‘Elis’.<sup>82</sup> While Kahrstedt appears correct, it is also likely that during the sixth century B.C. the amphictyony of Olympia, while continuing to manage the sanctuary, had become an Eleian *koinon*, and that the *symmachia* noted by Siewert was an alliance of this *koinon* with a handful of non-Eleian *poleis*.

A bronze tablet found in Olympia, inscribed with letters of the end of the sixth century B.C. in the Eleian dialect, mentions men and women of ‘the Eleians and their *symmachia*’ in relation to wrestling rules.<sup>83</sup> This implies, says Siewert, that ‘these confederates had a similar relationship to the shrine and to the referees as the Eleians themselves,’ and, he claims, accords with the reports of Pindar and Tzetzes that the *Hellanodikai* were not drawn from the Eleians alone.<sup>84</sup> Siewert deduces that the ‘*symmachia*’ of this bronze tablet meant ‘states that had concluded a military agreement with Elis and whose citizens stood in a close relationship to Olympia and the *Hellanodikai* incumbent there.’<sup>85</sup> The phrase ‘the Eleians and their *symmachia*’ denoted an alliance headed by Elis, a ‘hegemonial *symmachy*’ like those of Sparta and Athens.<sup>86</sup> He argues that ‘towards the end of the sixth century all members of the cult community had also become members of the Eleian *symmachy*.’<sup>87</sup>

The alliance referred to by Siewert seems, however, to have been something quite apart from the amphictyony of Olympia. Rather than implying that they were members of the amphictyony, the close relationship of the Eleian *symmachoi* to the Olympian shrine may reflect the privileges that they were entitled to as allies of the

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<sup>81</sup> Kahrstedt, 1927, 166, cf. 160.

<sup>82</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 262.

<sup>83</sup> Ebert, J. and Siewert, P., ‘Eine archaische Bronzeurkunde aus Olympia mit Vorschriften für Ringkämpfer und Kampfrichter’ in Mallwitz, A. (ed), *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia XI* (Berlin, 1999) 391-412; cf. Thuc. V.47.1f.

<sup>84</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 258f.

<sup>85</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 259: ‘Es sind demnach unter der ‘Sym(m)achia’ Staaten zu verstehen, die mit Elis ein militärisches Abkommen geschlossen haben und deren Bürger in einem Nahverhältnis zu Olympia und den dort amtierenden Hellanodiken stehen.’

<sup>86</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 259-61.

<sup>87</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 262.



Eleians. Despite Siewert's interpretation, Pindar does not say that some of the *Hellanodikai* were not Eleians, but simply that they were all Aitolians.<sup>88</sup> Tzetzes says that 'there were *hellanodikai* from the Amphiktyons, especially the Aitolians, and Eleians together with them'.<sup>89</sup> On the basis of this passage, Siewert deduces that the *Hellanodikai* were Aitolians, 'mainly Eleians'.<sup>90</sup> The passage from Tzetzes implies, rather, that there were Aitolian *Hellanodikai* on the one hand and Eleian *Hellanodikai* on the other.

This evidence from Tzetzes, nevertheless, must not be given too much credence, since he also has Herakles handing the management of the games over to Oxylos,<sup>91</sup> apparently fusing two myths, one where Herakles is the original founder of the Olympic games,<sup>92</sup> and another where the returning Heraklids assign Eleia to Oxylos and the Aitolians.<sup>93</sup> In the same way, it appears, Tzetzes combines evidence that the *Hellanodikai* were Aitolians with evidence that they were Eleians, but misses two points: that the Eleians *were* Aitolians; and that the *Hellanodikai* were all Aitolians, as implied by Pindar. No evidence suggests that the *Hellanodikai* originated anywhere other than in the Eleian communities scattered across the Peneios and Alpheios valleys, one of which occupied the site of the later city of Elis.

It appears, nevertheless, that before the end of the sixth century B.C. the Aitolian amphictyony of Olympia had been transformed into a *kind* of confederacy, a *koinon*, whose members were the Eleians of both the Peneios and Alpheios valleys, for whom Aitolian ethnicity was claimed. As Larsen points out, 'the tribal or ethnic state or society is commonly regarded as the fore-runner of the city-state.' 'If several cities grew up within the territory of a tribe and did not become completely independent but retained some tie with each other,' he says, 'the natural result was a federal state.'<sup>94</sup> The Greeks used the term *koinon*, which can best be translated as 'commonwealth' or 'confederation', to describe combinations of states.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Pind. *Ol.* III.12: Ἐλλανοδίκας... Αἰτωλὸς ἀνήρ.

<sup>89</sup> Tzetz. *Chiliades* 12.368f.

<sup>90</sup> Ἦσαν ἐλλανοδίκαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων,

οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἥλεῖοι.

<sup>91</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 258: 'die Hellanodiken aus den Umwohnern ('Amphiktyonen') stammten und Aitolier waren und zwar unter ihnen hauptsächlich Eleer.'

<sup>92</sup> Tzetz. *Chiliades* 12.370-74.

<sup>93</sup> Pind. *Ol.* III.21f; VI.67-70; X.43-48; Apollod. *Lib.* II.7.2; Diod. IV.14.1f; V.64.5-7; Paus. V.7.6-8.5.

<sup>94</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357; X.3.2f, p.463f; Skymnos, 437-77; Paus. V.3.6-4.4.

<sup>95</sup> Larsen, J.A.O., *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Berkeley, 1955) 22.

<sup>96</sup> Larsen, 1955, 23-25; cf. *Greek Federal States: their Institutions and History* (Oxford, 1968) xivf.

Larsen discusses, in particular, the example of the ‘Ionian League’. The Ionians had set aside for themselves in common (κοινῆ) the Panionion, a temple of Poseidon in Mykale, and regularly gathered there for the festival of the Panionia.<sup>96</sup> Although this suggests an amphictyony, ‘a federal sanctuary with festivals and meetings held in connection with them is possible even in a highly developed federal state.’ As Shipley points out, ‘the Ionian *koinon* mainly appears wearing its religious hat in the inscriptional evidence...but this does not mean it had no political significance.’<sup>97</sup> Larsen is correct to conclude that the Ionians appear to have constituted ‘a loose or incipient federal state’, the communities within which sent *probouloi* to meetings at the Panionion, where external relations were the most important topic.<sup>98</sup> Thales of Miletos, moreover, advised the Ionians to establish a single Ionian *bouleuterion* at Teos, and to consider the other *poleis* as demes.<sup>99</sup>

Although Larsen does not discuss the Eleians, certain parallels are obvious. The Aitolians of the north-west Peloponnese, like the Ionians of the eastern Aegean, constituted an *ethnos*, and had established a common cult centre administered by an amphictyony. As with the Ionians at the Panionion, the amphictyony of Olympia continued to operate and the member-states retained internal autonomy, but meetings came to be held at which relations with states outside of what now became a *koinon* were decided upon. In the case of the Ionians, such meetings appear to have resulted from a crisis in external relations, the threat from Persia,<sup>100</sup> while the Eleian *koinon* came about, it seems, because of a similar danger.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Hdt. I.148.1.

<sup>97</sup> Shipley, G., *A History of Samos 800-188 B.C.* (Oxford, 1987) 177, n.61.

<sup>98</sup> Hdt. VI.7; cf. I.141.4, 170.1-3; V.108f; Larsen, 1955, 27ff; Roebuck, C., ‘The Early Ionian League’ *CPhil.* (1955) 26-28; Caspari, M.O.B. (a pseudonym of Cary, M.: see Roebuck, 1955, 36, n.2), ‘The Ionian Confederacy’ *JHS* 35 (1915) 176-78. Hall, J.M., *Hellenicity* (Chicago, 2002) 67, notes ‘scholarly disagreement as to whether the league was primarily a religious or a political association’. This disagreement may be explained by its tendency towards transformation from the former into the latter.

<sup>99</sup> Hdt. I.170.3: ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέφ...τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκειομένας μηδὲν ἧσσον νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περὶ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν; Larsen, 1955, 28. For the league centred on the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios as an expression of the ethnic consciousness of the Ionians cf. Roebuck, 1955, 29-36. Hall, 2002, 70f, suggests that Ἴωνες, the name of the Ionians, might have been contracted from an original Πανίωνες, meaning ‘all those who dwell in Ionia’, and that the territory might have been named by the Assyrians or perhaps the Hittites.

<sup>100</sup> cf. Roebuck, 1955, 27, 31, 36. Caspari (Cary), 1915, 177, sees the league as a result of rivalry with the Aioliens and believes that ‘the Cimmerian invasion...would seem a suitable occasion for the consolidation of the Ionian League.’ Shipley, 1987, 29-31, suggests that the Panionion and the league might have been founded after the war against Melia, dated to a time from the mid-seventh century B.C. On the unreliability of such arguments see Hall, 2002, 67f. It is uncertain, in fact, whether the amphictyony was transformed into a political league in any sense before the Ionian revolt. In Tausend’s view, ‘erst als im Ionischen Aufstand eine für alle ionischen Städte existenzbedrohende

Although Larsen believes that the measures advised by Thales would have led to the establishment of a federal state, the proposal to relegate the constituent *poleis* to the status of δῆμοι would in fact have amounted to the synoikism of the Ionian communities into one unified *polis*.<sup>102</sup> While, as Roebuck points out, the development of the Ionians ‘in the direction of political unity was cut short by the Ionian revolt,’<sup>103</sup> no such hindrance prevented the Eleians from forming a single *polis* in 471 B.C.<sup>104</sup> What is most striking here, however, is that while the sanctuary of Poseidon at Mykale was considered to be suitable as the focus of an Ionian amphictyony and later of a commonwealth (*koinon*), the political centre of the new state planned by Thales was to be in a different location, at Teos, the site of one of the communities that made up the Ionian League.<sup>105</sup> Similarly, the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia appears to have remained the focus of the Aitolian amphictyony and Eleian *koinon*,<sup>106</sup> but when a unified *polis* was created in 471 B.C. a new political centre was established at the site of one of the communities that had belonged to the Eleian commonwealth.<sup>107</sup>

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Gefahr entstanden war, wandelte sich der Bund von der rein kultische Belange wahrnehmenden Amphiktyonie zur politisch-militärischen Symmachie’: Tausend, K., *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie* (Stuttgart, 1992) 57. Even if we accept this extreme view, nevertheless, the revolt can still be seen as a response to an external force in that the Ionians sought to throw off Persian rule.

<sup>101</sup> See below, 140-42.

<sup>102</sup> Larsen, 1955, 28; cf. Caspari (Cary), 1915, 179; Roebuck, 1955, 29. Larsen, 27, has already referred to the Ionian League as a ‘federal state’, albeit a ‘very loosely organized’ one. Since, 25, he has declared his preference for the expression ‘league’ to describe symmachies, ‘Ionian League’ is, according to his own nomenclature, a misnomer. He does begin his analysis, however, by declaring, 27, that ‘it is a little difficult to know how to classify this organization.’ It is viewed here as a *koinon*.

<sup>103</sup> Roebuck, 1955, 33.

<sup>104</sup> cf. Diod. XI.54.1; Strabo VIII.3.2, p.336.

<sup>105</sup> Hdt. I.142.3. Teos was apparently chosen because its inhabitants had fled to Abdera to escape Persian rule (Hdt. I.168).

<sup>106</sup> There are further examples of *ethne* establishing common cult centres at shrines of Zeus. The Achaian *koinon* held meetings at the temple of Zeus Homarios ‘at least as early as the middle of the fifth century’, and ‘may at the outset have been a religious amphictyony [sic]’: Larsen, 1968, 27f, 84f; Strabo VIII.7.5, p.387; cf. Dowden, K., *Zeus: Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World* (London, 2006) 67. The sanctuary of Zeus Lykaeos ‘was once the great centralising festival of the local Arcadians’ and later ‘found a purpose as a focus for all Arcadians’, and the Boiotians appear to have found ‘a major focus for their identity’ at the shrine of Zeus Laphystios, near Koroneia: Dowden, 2006, 69f. For further information concerning this shrine, cf. Schachter, A., *Cults of Boiotia* III (London, 1994) 107f.

<sup>107</sup> A unified Ionian *polis* was not able to be created, apparently because each of the member-states of the Ionian *koinon* were themselves important *poleis*, used, as Larsen, 30, observes, to ‘going their own way.’ Larsen, 28, dates the plan of Thales to ‘fairly early in the sixth century’, but if it came after the Persian conquest of Ionia that followed the capture of Sardis in 546 B.C., it can be assigned to the latter half of the century. Thales’ proposal remained in Greek memory at least until the time of Herodotus, who approves of it (Hdt. I.170.3: χρῆστη δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθορῆσαι Ἴωνίην Θάλασσαν), though not as enthusiastically as that of Bias (I.170.1f). It may reflect an influential current of political thought in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C., the same current, perhaps, that led the Eleians to establish a unified *polis* in 471 B.C. As argued below, Ch. 7, this was not achieved without conflict involving Eleian communities apparently bent on ‘going their own way’.

In the late Archaic period, as shown above, donations of cult equipment at Olympia were normally made by ‘the Eleians’ as a whole. This implies something more than an amphictyony, where we should expect donations by individual members. *IvO* 9, furthermore, suggests that by the late-sixth century B.C. ‘the Eleians’ were able to conclude alliances with individual *poleis*, and had thus at some time before this taken on a role that went beyond that of a religious amphictyony, even though they had not yet formed a single *polis*.<sup>108</sup> At some time prior to 431 B.C., perhaps considerably earlier, the Lepreans, too, had made an alliance with ‘the Eleians’ and paid tribute to Olympian Zeus.<sup>109</sup> From the middle of the sixth century B.C., documents in Eleian script and dialect which in part concerned ‘the management or politics of the Eleian state’ were placed in Olympia.<sup>110</sup> These documents must be those of an Archaic *koinon* rather than of the unified *polis* that was not created until 471 B.C.<sup>111</sup>

We should not conclude, however, that this *koinon* was identical to ‘the Eleians and their *symmachia*’ twice mentioned in the bronze document found in Olympia and dated by Siewert to the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.<sup>112</sup> The other members of the alliance referred to here must be people who could not be called ‘Eleians’, since the symmarchy is mentioned *in addition* to them. None of the communities south of the Alpheios designated Minyan by Herodotus (Lepreon, Makistos, Phrixai, Pyrgos, Epeion and Noudion) are among the donor states of cult equipment to the sanctuary of Zeus listed by Siewert.<sup>113</sup> This is not surprising, since it would have been unusual for an ‘Aitolian’ amphictyony of Olympia to have been expanded to include them. It seems, furthermore, that the Minyan communities had established their own amphictyony around the sanctuary of Poseidon at Samikon, on the Eleian coast between the Alpheios and the Neda, at some time before the seventh century B.C.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Walter, 1993, 122.

<sup>109</sup> Thuc. V.31.2.

<sup>110</sup> Siewert, P., ‘Eine archaische Rechtsaufzeichnung aus der antiken Stadt Elis’ in Thür, G. (ed), *Symposium 1993. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte, Graz-Andritz, September 1993* (Köln-Weimar-Wien, 1994) 27: ‘die Verwaltung oder Politik des elischen Staates’.

<sup>111</sup> *contra* Siewert, Köln, 1994, 17-32; Eder, B. and Mitsopoulos-Leon, V., ‘Zur Geschichte der Stadt Elis vor dem Synoikismos von 471 v. Chr.: Die Zeugnisse der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit’ *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 68 (1999) 29-31.

<sup>112</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 257f; 2001, 249.

<sup>113</sup> Hdt. IV.148.4; cf. Strabo VIII.3.19, p.347; Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 81ff.

<sup>114</sup> Strabo VIII.3.13, p.343; Tausend, 1992, 20. See the full discussion in Ruggeri, 2004, 96-108.

The Minyan cities appear to have constituted the *symmachia* of the Eleians, in company for a time perhaps, as *IvO* 9 may indicate, with some communities in the loosely-defined border area between Eleia and Arkadia.<sup>115</sup> Lepreon, at least, paid tribute to the treasury at Olympia.<sup>116</sup> In this respect the allies of the Eleians appear, as we should expect, to differ from the communities of the Eleians themselves. There is no evidence of tribute payment by any of the states known to have donated cult equipment to the sanctuary. We ought to conclude that the ‘Aitolian’ members of the amphictyony of Olympia constituted ‘the Eleians’, and were quite apart from the members of the Eleian *symmachia*, who must have been the non-Aitolian (and therefore non-Eleian) communities of Eleia and, perhaps, its border regions.

Siewert assumes that ‘the Pisatans’ mentioned in a number of ancient texts were a separate group of ‘non-Eleian’, but Aitolian, members of the amphictyony of Olympia. He believes that they had become the subject allies of the Eleians,<sup>117</sup> and so made up the membership of the *symmachia*. This cannot be sustained since, as argued below, those called ‘Pisaians’ or ‘Pisatans’ were themselves Eleians.<sup>118</sup> The Eleian *koinon*, rather, appears itself to have been the centre of an alliance, the other members of which included the small number of non-Eleian, non-Aitolian *poleis* within the region of Eleia.

### *The City of Elis*

Whatever its name, the community that occupied the site of the later city of Elis before the synoikism of 471 B.C. was a significant member of the Aitolian amphictyony of Olympia. It seems likely, too, that during the early-sixth century B.C. this community became the temporary centre of the Eleian *koinon*. This commonwealth is likely to have first arisen among a number of members of the amphictyony who had temporarily been excluded from access to the Olympic shrine.

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<sup>115</sup> Roy, J., ‘The Frontier between Arkadia and Elis in Classical Antiquity’ in Flensted-Jensen, P., Nielsen, T.H. and Rubinstein, L. (eds), *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History* (Copenhagen, 2000) 133-56.

<sup>116</sup> Thuc. V.31.2; Strabo VIII.3.30, p.355.

<sup>117</sup> Siewert, Milan, 1994, 259. Siewert’s conclusions imply a three-tiered system consisting of Eleians, many amphiktyonic, Aitolian allies and a few non-amphiktyonic, non-Aitolian allies. This is unnecessarily complex.

<sup>118</sup> See below, Ch. 6. Note that while Strabo refers to ‘Pisatai’, Pausanias has ‘Pisaioi’. Pindar calls the mythical king Oinomaos ‘Pisatan’ (*Ol.* I.70) and Xenophon (*Hell.* VII.4.28f) refers to the ‘Pisatai’. The earlier references must be preferred, and it seems that Pausanias calls these people ‘Pisaians’ because he wishes to emphasise his dubious claim that there had once been a city of Pisa.

Eder points out that chance archaeological finds from the neighbourhood of Olympia indicate ‘scattered permanent settlements in the Alpheios valley’, and make it likely that Olympia was a ‘cultic focal point’ for the inhabitants of these villages from the early Iron Age.<sup>119</sup> ‘In place of a separate political centre,’ she says, ‘the shrine of Olympia took on the function of regulating the relations between the individual settlements of the region.’<sup>120</sup> If, as argued above, the entire group of Aitolian communities in Eleia were members of an amphictyony of Olympia, then the settlement later known as ‘Elis’, along with the other communities of the Peneios valley, is likely to have been associated with the sanctuary of Zeus in this way from the same period.

From the early-sixth century B.C., buildings similar to those from Olympia were constructed in Elis. The oldest architectural members found in the area of the Archaic *agora*, which appears to have been in the southern part of the later *agora*, are dated to between 580 and 560 B.C. Decorative similarities with buildings in Olympia imply that they come from the same workshop as that which produced the treasuries of the southern Italian and Sicilian cities. Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon point out that these similarities ‘illustrate the specially close contacts which developed between city and shrine in the early-sixth century B.C.’<sup>121</sup> They reasonably conclude that a west-Greek craftsman who had worked in Olympia on a west-Greek treasury also began work in Elis. There is no reason at all, however, to suppose with them that this followed an Eleian takeover of Olympia in 570 B.C., since such a craftsman might have moved on from Olympia for any number of reasons.<sup>122</sup>

An isolated archaeological find suggests, too, that Eleians from the site of the later city of Elis were involved in Olympia from at least the third quarter of the eighth century B.C. The features of the bronze figure of a little Geometric horse found near the *propylon* in the agora of Elis leads to the conclusion that it was a local imitation of numerous examples of Argive-Olympian horses from that time. ‘Accordingly’, say Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, ‘one would allocate the little horse from Elis to a local workshop which operated in both Olympia and Elis.’<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Eder, 2001, 242.

<sup>120</sup> Eder, 2001, 243.

<sup>121</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 26: ‘Die Ähnlichkeiten der Blattstabsimien von Elis und Olympia illustrieren die besonders engen Kontakte, die zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum im frühen 6. Jh. v. Chr. entstanden’.

<sup>122</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 29. Financial incentive is one possible motive.

<sup>123</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 16.

Public building continued in the *agora* of Elis from the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. This and other evidence leads Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon to the cautious conclusion that, long before the *synoikismos* of 471 B.C., ‘some few prestigious buildings of administrative and religious function probably stood on a central place...which served as a location for political meetings, as a market and as a place of law.’<sup>124</sup> There is no need to deduce from this, however, that the city of Elis before the *synoikismos* had ‘a central political function in the community of the Eleians’.<sup>125</sup> We should expect that all of the *poleis* of the Eleians had political institutions of their own, and that this was no exception. While it is quite likely that even in the sixth century B.C. this was the largest and fastest-growing of the Eleian communities, we must keep in mind that because of its later size and importance, the site of Elis has been excavated more thoroughly than any other in Eleia aside from Olympia itself. If the sites of the other *poleis* were excavated, we might find the remains of public buildings there as well.<sup>126</sup>

Despite this, it is probable that in the sixth century B.C. the site upon which Elis was later built took on a central administrative function for a period of time. A significant piece of the evidence from which Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon deduce such a function for the group of public buildings at Elis is an Archaic bronze inscription published by Siewert.<sup>127</sup> Less than 10cm square, it was found by the Austrian excavators in 1914 in the southern *agora* near the *propylon*. Siewert concludes that the height and width of the lettering, the choice of letters and the strong punctuation ‘correspond best to the Peloponnesian boustrophedon inscriptions of the first half of the sixth century B.C.’ This makes the tablet older than any document known from Olympia and probably ‘one of the first pieces of written evidence for the Eleians.’<sup>128</sup> It concerns either procedures for reaching a verdict or regulation of the competence of judges, in either case apparently coordinating judicial activity with the functions of

<sup>124</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 29f, 35.

<sup>125</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1999, 35.

<sup>126</sup> The only other site in Eleia that has been thoroughly excavated is that of Pylos, on and around the hill of Armatova near the confluence of the Ladon and Peneios Rivers. During the excavations, unfortunately, ‘no evidence came to light to suggest that the hilltop was occupied between the Geometric period and the Classical period,’ so we cannot draw any conclusions about public building in Eleian communities of the Archaic period from the report on these excavations: Coleman, 1986, 6, cf. 34-65.

<sup>127</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 24f.

<sup>128</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 19-24; cf. Siewert, P., ‘Zwei Rechtsaufzeichnungen der Stadt Elis’ in Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. (ed), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes: Akten des Symposiums anlässlich der Feier “100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen” Athen 5.3 – 7.3 1998* (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften Band 38, Athens, 2001) 245.

another authority. The bronze tablet appears to have been installed in the nearby shrine of a female divinity, perhaps Aphrodite.<sup>129</sup>

This document, says Siewert, shows that ‘the early legal records of the Eleians were kept not in Olympia, but in Elis’.<sup>130</sup> He concludes that the keeping of such a document near the *agora* implies that Elis ‘performed a capital-city function in the community of the Eleians in the early-sixth century.’<sup>131</sup> Since the document names ‘the Eleians’ rather than a local community, we appear to have solid evidence of a capital city function, but there is no reason to assume from this one document that the site of Elis performed this function for any more than a brief period of time.

### *The Sanctuary of Zeus as a Political Centre*

In the middle third of the sixth century B.C., Eleian state documents were placed in Olympia, and it appears that the shrine also became ‘a kind of state treasury of the Eleians.’<sup>132</sup> Siewert at first believed that the Eleians, having taken Olympia from the Pisatans, provided it with several *Hauptstadtfunktionen*, and perhaps at this time built the Archaic *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion* there. It was unnecessary, however, for him to assume that at that time the Eleians had taken the shrine from any supposed previous owners.<sup>133</sup> It had been the cultic centre of the Aitolians of the Peneios and Alpheios valleys from the time of their arrival in Eleia, and the archaeological evidence cited above suggests that the community that occupied the site of the later city of Elis had a relationship with Olympia that reached back to the eighth century B.C. Siewert concluded that the legal document found in the Eleian agora could be limited to the period c.600-570 B.C., that is, before Eleian state documents were placed in Olympia.<sup>134</sup>

Siewert appears to have been right to point out that Olympia was an administrative and financial centre of the Eleians from the mid-sixth century B.C. In a later article, nevertheless, he questions this view, arguing that ‘the use of a shrine as a publication place for documents or as a depot for public funds...does not appear to be

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<sup>129</sup> Paus. VI.25.1; Siewert, Köln, 1994, 24-26; cf. 2001, 245f. The temple of Aphrodite described by Pausanias may be later, since the statue of the goddess is the work of Pheidias, but this does not preclude an earlier temple standing on the same site. It certainly appears from Pausanias’ description that it stood near an open area.

<sup>130</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 19.

<sup>131</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 26.

<sup>132</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 27: ‘eine Art Staatskasse’; cf. Thuc. V.31.2; Siewert, 2001, 246f.

<sup>133</sup> The identity of the *Pisaioi* or *Pisatai* is discussed below, Ch. 6.

<sup>134</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 28.



a capital city function'.<sup>135</sup> 'In foreign policy,' Siewert observes, referring to the bronze document discussed above that twice mentions the Eleians and their symmarchy, 'there is an outstanding parallel' between the Eleians and the Athenians. The so-called *perioikoi* of the Eleians, he says, were in fact subject allies who paid tribute and fines not to Elis, but to Olympia, just as the treasury of the Delian league was initially located not in Athens, but in Delos.<sup>136</sup> The *prytaneion* and *bouleuterion* at Olympia, Siewert believes, might have been erected solely for the purpose of administration of the shrine and the games, rather than of the Eleian state. Practical grounds, he says, speak against the likelihood that the Eleians transferred their capital to Olympia ca.570 B.C. and then transposed it back again in 471 B.C.<sup>137</sup>

There is no need, however, to reject the belief that Olympia was the centre of an Eleian *koinon* in the sixth century B.C. on the grounds that it did not fulfil a central administrative function in the same way that Athens did in relation to Attica. The same early-sixth century B.C. crisis that appears to have made the site of Elis the temporary focus of political activity seems rather to have transformed the amphictyony into an Eleian *koinon*. The creation of a unified *polis* centred on Elis came later, in the synoikism of 471 B.C. When the sixth-century crisis was over and the focus had returned to Olympia, written documents, first produced, as Siewert points out, as a response to political crises,<sup>138</sup> continued to be published by the Eleians, but were now placed in the sanctuary of Zeus.

From the approximately three hundred and twenty certain Eleian inscriptions from Olympia, Taeuber selects forty official documents that extend 'from the middle of the sixth century to the end of the fifth century B.C. Among these documents,' he says, 'are to be distinguished those which concern the whole Eleian state and those which only regulate the interests of the shrine or the course of the games.'<sup>139</sup> As Walter rightly concludes, 'it is clear that before the synoikism the shrine of Zeus in

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<sup>135</sup> Siewert, 2001, 247.

<sup>136</sup> Siewert, 2001, 248f; Xen. *Hell.* III.2.23, 23, 30f.

<sup>137</sup> Siewert, 2001, 247f.

<sup>138</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 28; cf. Eder, W., 'The Political Significance of the Codification of Law in Archaic Societies: an Unconventional Hypothesis' in Raaflaub, K.A., *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Malden, Mass., 2005) 259f, who proposes that Archaic codification of laws aimed to defend aristocracy.

<sup>139</sup> Taeuber, H., 'Elische Inschriften in Olympia' in Rizakis, A.D. (ed), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums Athen, 19-21 Mai 1989, Meletemata* 13 (Athens, 1991) 111.

Olympia was regarded as the centre of the Eleian state'.<sup>140</sup> While it might indeed seem difficult to believe that the Eleians would willingly have moved their capital twice in a century, they might, perhaps, have felt obliged to move it away from Olympia as a temporary measure during a period of crisis.<sup>141</sup>

Siewert's belief that the *prytaneion* and *bouleuterion* at Olympia could have been erected solely for the purpose of administration of the shrine and the games also requires discussion. It is true that many of the important magistrates of the Eleians were associated with the games.<sup>142</sup> Apart from the arrangement of the quadrennial festival, the on-going management of the shrine itself was demanding. The priests of Pausanias' day made daily sacrifices to Zeus, monthly sacrifices at sixty-two altars, and poured libations to some foreign gods and to what appears to be a large number of heroes and their wives.<sup>143</sup> A number of Eleian magistrates were based in the *prytaneion*, where they poured libations, hymns were sung and feasts were held.<sup>144</sup> Although the procedure was perhaps less extensive before the Imperial period, during which Pausanias visited Olympia, the administration of the shrine may easily account for the existence of the *prytaneion*.

As Hansen and Fischer-Hansen point out, however, the festival would have required some administrative buildings, 'but hardly a regular *prytaneion* and a *bouleuterion*, and we do not hear about a *boule* in connection with the festival until the Roman period'.<sup>145</sup> As shown above, the *prytaneion* was used not only during the festival, but in the administration of the shrine on a regular basis. No evidence of such a function, nevertheless, can be found for the *bouleuterion*. While Pausanias says that τὸ πρυτανεῖον δὲ Ἡλείοις ἐστὶ...τῆς Ἄλτρεως ἐντός, the *bouleuterion* of the Eleians is in one of the gymnasiums in Elis.<sup>146</sup> From this Hansen and Fischer-Hansen reasonably conclude that 'the Elean *boule* first met in the *bouleuterion* in Olympia, but at the synoikism of 471 (or somewhat later) the *boule* of the Eleians was moved to

<sup>140</sup> Walter, 1993, 119: 'deutlich ist, daß vor dem Synoikismos das Heiligtum des Zeus in Olympia als Mitte des eleischen Staates galt'; cf. Hansen, M.H. and Fischer-Hansen, T., 'Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Historical Significance' in Whitehead, D. (ed), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius: Sources for the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart, 1994) 87.

<sup>141</sup> See below, 141.

<sup>142</sup> Yalouris, N.F., *Ancient Elis: Cradle of the Olympic Games* (A. Dumas, transl., Athens, 1996) 79, mentions the *Hellanodikai*, *Mastroi*, *Manteis*, *Hiaromai*, *Theokloi*, *Nomophylakes*, *Alytarches*, *Alytai*, *Thesmophylakes*, *Spondophoroi* and *Telestai*.

<sup>143</sup> Paus. V.14. 4-9, 11f.

<sup>144</sup> Paus. V.15.11f.

<sup>145</sup> Hansen and Fischer-Hansen, 1994, 87.

<sup>146</sup> Paus. V.15.8; VI.23.7.

a *bouleuterion* in the city of Elis.’<sup>147</sup> The *bouleuterion* in the Altis, built (or rebuilt) at some time between 550 and 500 B.C., might have accommodated the council of an Eleian *koinon*, composed of the *proxenoi* of its constituent *poleis*.

### *Conclusion*

The members of the Aitolian amphictyony that managed Olympia are most likely to have been the Eleian communities of both the Peneios and the Alpheios valleys, some of whom were later known as ‘Pisatai’, others of whom were not. In the early-sixth century B.C., they became the constituent *poleis* of an Eleian *koinon*. The arguments used to support this conclusion rest upon several propositions that are best discussed in subsequent chapters: that there was a political crisis in Eleia during the early-sixth century B.C.; that expressions like ‘Pisa’ and ‘the Pisatans’ denote certain of the Eleians; and that until a further crisis in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C. there was no *polis* of ‘Elis’. These matters, however, cannot be properly considered until the question of Eleian chronology in the sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C. has been dealt with.

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<sup>147</sup> Hansen and Fischer-Hansen, 1994, 88.

## PART II

### POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ELEIA

#### CHAPTER 5: ELEIAN CHRONOLOGY TO THE SYNOIKISM OF 471 B.C.

*Pheidon of Argos – Archaic Peloponnesian Chronology – Elis and Pisa – A Chronology for the ‘Pisatan Wars’ – The Date of Pheidon’s Coup – Eleia in the Archaic and Early Classical Periods – The Pisatan Revolt*

#### CHAPTER 6: PISA

*Pisa in the Early Poets and Archaic Epigraphy – Pisa in the Classical Historians – Pisa in Strabo and Pausanias – B. Niese’s View of the Reports of a Conflict between Elis and Pisa – E. Meyer’s Opposition to Niese – The Late Archaic Origin of the Pisatans – P. Siewert: the Pisatans as Subject Allies of Elis – J. Roy: the Forcible Incorporation of the Pisatans into the Eleian State – C. Ruggeri: the communis opinio – Conclusion*

#### CHAPTER 7: THE SYNOIKISM AND DEMOCRACY OF ELIS

*The Textual Evidence for the Synoikism – The Epigraphic Evidence for Democracy in Eleia – Further Late-Archaic and Early-Classical Inscriptions from Olympia – Before the Synoikism – The Synoikism and the Establishment of Democracy – The Pisatans and their Allies – Conclusion*

CHAPTER FIVE  
**ELEIAN CHRONOLOGY TO THE SYNOIKISM OF 471 B.C.**

Eleian control of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia appears to have been challenged on two occasions during the Archaic period. On the first of these, Pheidon of Argos is said to have assumed control from the unarmed Eleians, who then cooperated with the Lakedaimonians in bringing about his defeat. Later, the Πισᾶται under their leader Pantaleon seized control of the festival. This event is often assumed to have taken place in 644 B.C., but it is argued below that discrepancies in Olympiad dating urge a radical revision of Archaic Peloponnesian chronology, and give more credence to evidence that compels us to place it late in the sixth century B.C. Pheidon's coup can be dated to early in that century. The dispute with the Pisatans continued when they came under the successive leadership of Pantaleon's sons, and culminated in the defeat of the second of these shortly before the Eleian synoikism of 471 B.C. The struggle with Pisa was an internal rather than an external one, and so cannot be considered a violation of the *asylia*.

*Pheidon of Argos*

Herodotus reports that Pheidon, the tyrant of Argos, 'made measures for the Peloponnesians and, since he acted most outrageously of all of the Greeks, expelled the judges of the Eleians and himself held the contest in Olympia'.<sup>1</sup> Strabo says that Pheidon, claiming for himself the right to celebrate all of the games that Herakles had founded, including the Olympic festival, 'forced his way in and celebrated it, since the Eleians, because of the peace, did not have arms to stop him..., but because of this they also procured arms and began to defend themselves'.<sup>2</sup> Later, he adds, the Eleians also joined the Lakedaimonians in putting down Pheidon, 'and...[the Lakedaimonians]...joined the Eleians in establishing their control in both Pisatis and

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<sup>1</sup> Hdt. VI.127.3: Φεΐδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε. Although ὑβρίζω may be translated 'to act violently', 'to act outrageously' more accurately reflects the implication that Pheidon's action was not only violent, but highly disrespectful of a religious sanctuary.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358: καὶ δὴ βιασάμενον ἐπελθόντα θεῖναι αὐτόν, οὔτε τῶν Ἡλείων ἐχόντων ὅπλα, ὥστε κωλύειν, διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην...ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπλα κτήσασθαι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρξαμένους ἐπικουρεῖν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

Triphylia'.<sup>3</sup> Pausanias records that at the eighth Olympiad the Pisatans 'brought in Pheidon the Argive, who was especially outrageous among the Greek tyrants, and they held the games in common with Pheidon.'<sup>4</sup>

In the passages cited above, both Herodotus (ὕβρισαντος) and Pausanias (ὕβρισαντα) use aorist participles of ὑβρίζω to describe the behaviour of Pheidon. Herodotus (ἔθηκε), Strabo (θεῖναι) and Pausanias (ἔθεσαν) all use forms of τίθημι for his action in holding the festival. Their common use of ὑβρίζω and τίθημι suggests a relationship between these accounts.<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, however, adds to the account of Herodotus only the apparently anachronistic assumption, perhaps suggested by his account in the same passage of a 'Pisaian' takeover one hundred and four years later, that the 'Pisaians' had invited Pheidon to Olympia.<sup>6</sup> Strabo, on the other hand, includes much additional information and appears to have combined elements of Herodotus and at least one other text. There is no reason to doubt what he says about the reaction of the Eleians. As argued above, nevertheless, a defensive war in which the Eleians protected their role in Olympia from Pheidon's violent assumption of control, even if it extended to helping the Lakedaimonians to overthrow his power in the Peloponnese, need not be seen as an abandonment of their *asylia*.<sup>7</sup> Pheidon seems to have laid claim to all of the cities that Herakles was reputed to have captured.<sup>8</sup> Since these included Elis,<sup>9</sup> the Eleians might justifiably have feared that Pheidon's occupation of Olympia was the prelude to an attack on the rest of their country. They appear to have taken up arms against his forces in defence of their role in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia and of their entire homeland. This cannot, however, be seen as an abandonment of their sacred status, nor as proof that it never existed. The fact that Pheidon of Argos chose not to respect the *asylia* of the Eleians, if anything, tends to add force to the belief that it had been declared by his enemies, the Lakedaimonians.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358: καὶ δὴ καὶ συγκαταλῦσαι τὸν Φεῖδωνα· τοὺς δὲ συγκατασκευάσαι τοῖς Ἡλείοις τὴν τε Πισᾶτιν καὶ τὴν Τριφυλίαν.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. VI.22.2: τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐπηγάγοντο Φεῖδωνα τυράννων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι μάλιστα ὑβρίσαντα καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθεσαν ὁμοῦ τῷ Φεῖδονι.

<sup>5</sup> τίθημι does not appear to have been standard idiom for holding the festival, since Diodoros, who dates events by Olympiads, uses in books XI-XIV only ἄγω or γίγνομαι in this context, while Thucydides (V.49.1) uses γίγνομαι and Xenophon (*Hell.* VII.4.28) ποιέω.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. VI.22.2; see below, 134.

<sup>7</sup> See above, 35.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358.

<sup>9</sup> Paus. V.3.1; VIII.15.5, 25.10; Apollod. *Lib.* II.7.2f; Dion. Hal. *Roman Antiquities* I.34.1-5, 42.3, 60.3; II.1.4, 2.2.

*Archaic Peloponnesian Chronology*

The record of these events does, nevertheless, raise the important issue of the date and circumstances of Pheidon's assumption of control at Olympia,<sup>10</sup> and of its consequences for the development of the Eleian *koinon* and its relationship to the neighbouring communities. Pheidon's dates may be facilitated by a consideration of his chronological relationship to Pantaleon of Pisa, who also seems to have taken control of Olympia.<sup>11</sup> Pausanias separates the two Olympian takeovers by twenty-six Olympiads, or one hundred and four years, but since numbered Olympiads are unreliable because they may begin from different starting points,<sup>12</sup> there is no compelling reason to retain even the chronological interval offered by Pausanias for Pheidon and Pantaleon. It seems clear, nevertheless, that Pausanias found it credible that they should be separated by a considerable period of time. Pausanias places Pantaleon's seizure of the Olympic festival at Olympiad 34.<sup>13</sup> This is often readily converted to 644 B.C. in the Julian calendar, but there are reasons to doubt this date. Pantaleon also appears to have commanded the Pisatan forces in the second Messenian War.<sup>14</sup> We can establish the approximate time of Pantaleon's assumption of control at Olympia by determining the correct dates for that war.

Parker distinguishes two separate chronologies for the Messenian Wars.<sup>15</sup> The first of these is based on Pausanias' Olympiad numbers, readily converted to dates in the Julian calendar.<sup>16</sup> Pausanias places the first war from Olympiads 9.2 to 14.1 (743-724 B.C.).<sup>17</sup> He says that the second war went from Olympiads 23.4 to 28.1 (685-668 B.C.).<sup>18</sup> An alternative chronology, says Parker, is based on the claim of Epaminondas, recorded by Plutarch, 'that he had liberated Messenia after 230 years of subjection.'<sup>19</sup> On the basis of this statement, he deduces, one may guess ca.620-600 B.C. for the second Messenian War and, interpreting literally Tyrtaios'

<sup>10</sup> For a bibliography see Kōiv, M., 'The Dating of Pheidon in Antiquity' *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* 1 (2000) 2f, n.13. Kōiv, 1-21, discusses the reasons for the apparent disagreement in antiquity on the subject of Pheidon's chronology.

<sup>11</sup> Paus. VI.22.2.

<sup>12</sup> Shaw, P-J., *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Chronological Problems of Archaic Peloponnesian History* (Stuttgart, 2003) 47-99.

<sup>13</sup> Paus. VI.22.2.

<sup>14</sup> Strabo VIII.4.10, p.362.

<sup>15</sup> Parker, V., 'The dates of the Messenian wars' *Chiron* 21 (1991) 25 and n.2; Paus. IV.5.10, 13.7.

<sup>16</sup> A simple formula for this is  $y = 780 - 4o$ , where 'y' is the Julian date and 'o' is the Olympiad number.

<sup>17</sup> The use of italics here follows Shaw, who indicates in this way that a numbered Olympiad has been readily converted to an uncertain Julian date: see below, 123, n.30.

<sup>18</sup> Paus. IV.15.1, 23.4.

<sup>19</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 194B.

statement that the first war was fought by the ‘fathers of our fathers’,<sup>20</sup> ‘ca.690-670 for the earlier war.’<sup>21</sup>

Arguing on the basis of a revision of the conventional dates for Tyrtaios’ poetry, Parker claims that ‘Tyrtaeus lodges the Second Messenian War firmly in the second half of the seventh century.’<sup>22</sup> He concludes that the dates for the first war are ca.690-670 B.C., while the second began ca.635-625 and ended ca.610-600 B.C.<sup>23</sup> Parker convincingly discounts some common arguments in favour of the ‘high chronology’,<sup>24</sup> but his ‘low chronology’ may not be low enough. While he is prepared to accept that Pausanias had the dates wrong, furthermore, he does not try to explain how this confusion might have come about.

Shaw, on the other hand, in a work of major significance for many aspects of Hellenic studies, questions Olympiad dating in general and proposes a fundamental reform of our understanding of Archaic and early Classical Peloponnesian chronology. As Walter puts it, ‘the radical revisions in the chronology of Peloponnesian history that Shaw then seeks to justify...rest epistemologically – in short – on a liberation from Olympiad numbering and the constructions connected with it.’<sup>25</sup> Shaw notes in particular the ‘Anaxilas discrepancy’,<sup>26</sup> which throws into question the value of Pausanias’ Olympiad notices for the second Messenian War.

Pausanias says that after the fall of Eira in Olympiad 28.2, some of the Messenians fled to Anaxilas of Rhegion, himself the descendant of earlier Messenian refugees. In Olympiad 29 they assisted him in the conquest of Zankle, where he then allowed them to settle.<sup>27</sup> The Olympiad numbers given by Pausanias for these events do not sit well with other evidence. ‘Herodotus’, Shaw points out, ‘sets Anaxilas’ dealings with Zankle after the fall of Miletus’.<sup>28</sup> Thucydides says that Samians and other Ionians fleeing from the Persians seized Zankle, but were soon expelled by

<sup>20</sup> Paus. IV.15.2; Tyrtaios, fr. 5 West.

<sup>21</sup> Paus. IV.5.10, 13.7; Parker, 1991, 26; West, M.L., *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* II (Oxford, 1972) 152f.

<sup>22</sup> Parker, 1991, 35.

<sup>23</sup> Parker, 1991, 42.

<sup>24</sup> Parker, 1991, 26, 27-34.

<sup>25</sup> Walter, U., review of Shaw, P.-J., *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Chronological Problems of Archaic Peloponnesian History* (Stuttgart, 2003) at <http://www.historicum.net/sehepunkte/2005/09/5969.html>: ‘die radikalen Revisionen in der Chronologie der peloponnesischen Geschichte, die Shaw dann zu begründen sucht, ruhen also epistemologisch...auf einer Befreiung von der Olympiadenzählung und den mit ihr verbundenen Konstruktionen.’

<sup>26</sup> Shaw, 2003, 13-16, 100-11.

<sup>27</sup> Paus. IV.23.4, 6-10; Shaw, 2003, 13; Wallace, W.P., ‘Kleomenes, Marathon, the Helots, and Arkadia’ *JHS* 74 (1954) 32.

<sup>28</sup> Hdt. VI.22.1-24.1; VII.164.1.



Anaxilas who colonised it and renamed it Messana after his own homeland.<sup>29</sup> Shaw reasonably concludes from this that Anaxilas' conquest must have come after the Ionian Revolt, conventionally placed at Olympiad 70, '500-497 B.C.'. She refers to Robinson, who adds numismatic evidence to the passage from Thucydides to conclude that Anaxilas' conquest of Zankle took place in 489 B.C., conventionally Olympiad 72. 'There is, therefore, a discrepancy of 43 Olympiads, or about 170 years, between the conventional value assigned to the Olympiad number 29 (664-661 BC) and the date of Anaxilas' conquest.'<sup>30</sup>

Discussing past scholarship in relation to the 'Anaxilas discrepancy', Shaw notes that none of the scholars whom she mentions has considered the possibility that the Olympiad numbers in Pausanias may have different chronological values, that is, that some such numbers may have starting points other than 776 B.C. 'Since the phrase "the first Olympiad" may have several meanings, to express it as a calendar date – '776 BC' – is to introduce a fixed point that may be, and probably is, spurious.'<sup>31</sup> There really is no way to adequately summarise the arguments that Shaw uses in support of this claim, and the reader is referred to her work, but one particularly illustrative section can be dealt with briefly here.

According to Pausanias, the Olympic victory of the Eleian Koroibos, who always appears at the top of lists of Olympic victors, was the first when the games were 'revived' by Iphitos and Lykourgos.<sup>32</sup> While Kallimachos says that there were thirteen unrecorded Olympiads from the time of Iphitos until Koroibos won in the fourteenth, however, Aristodemos of Elis is reported as saying that Koroibos won in the twenty-eighth, after twenty-seven unrecorded victories, and that 'this was fixed as the first Olympiad, from which the Hellenes reckon dates.'<sup>33</sup> Huxley explains this chronological discrepancy succinctly when he says that Shaw 'is in principle correct in claiming that an Olympiad number may be represented by  $x$  in one system,  $x + 13$  in a second, and  $x + 27$  in a third'.<sup>34</sup> As Shaw goes on to make clear, furthermore,

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<sup>29</sup> Thuc. VI.4.5f.

<sup>30</sup> Shaw, 2003, 13 (Shaw uses italics for Julian dates readily converted from Olympiad numbers to indicate that these dates, although often accepted, are not to be assumed accurate); Robinson, E.S.G., 'Rhegion, Zankle-Messana and the Samians' *JHS* 66 (1946) 13-20 and pl. V.

<sup>31</sup> Shaw, 2003, 242.

<sup>32</sup> Paus. V.4.5.

<sup>33</sup> Shaw, 2003, 68f. (translation and underlining are Shaw's).

<sup>34</sup> Huxley, G.L., review of Shaw, P.-J., *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Chronological Problems of Archaic Peloponnesian History* (Stuttgart, 2003) in *CR* 56 (2006) 149; cf. Shaw, 2003, 66-71.

this problem appears to have been compounded when some recorders combined the figures and ended up with more than forty unrecorded Olympiads.<sup>35</sup>

Shaw concludes that ‘numbered Olympiads in Pausanias’ *Messenika* have exerted a disproportionate influence on the chronology of the Messenian Wars, and...the conventional interpretation of their chronological value may be seriously inflating the antiquity of those wars.’<sup>36</sup> The Anaxilas discrepancy suggests that the second Messenian War should have ended, not in 668 B.C., as we would conclude from a ready conversion of the Olympiad numbers given by Pausanias, but c.490 B.C.<sup>37</sup> Shaw’s discussion of additional chronological problems further illustrates the danger of readily converting Olympiad numbers to dates in the Julian calendar.<sup>38</sup>

In a concluding chapter, Shaw presents ‘a radically revised view’ in which ‘the so-called First and Second Messenian Wars...may be identified as the conflicts occurring at the beginning and end of the sixth century’ that scholars incorrectly distinguish from the wars of the eighth and seventh centuries. She refers here to the testimony of Plato that the Lakedaimonians arrived too late for Marathon because they were fighting a war against the Messenians, Strabo’s apparently confused reference to *four* Messenian wars, and an inscription on the base of a substantial Lakedaimonian dedication at Olympia dated by Meiggs and Lewis to ‘(?) 490-480 B.C.’, which Pausanias appears to assign to the second Messenian War.<sup>39</sup>

If Shaw is right, then Pantaleon, who aided the Messenians in the second war, was alive at the end of the sixth century B.C., since his seizure of Olympia must have occurred within an active life-span of the second Messenian War. Pheidon’s coup might then, as she claims, have been associated with a first Messenian War at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.<sup>40</sup> This, of course, places Pheidon where Herodotus has him, contemporary with Kleisthenes of Sikyon and Kroisos of Lydia.<sup>41</sup>

Shaw’s claim that we cannot readily convert Olympiad notices to calendar years is convincing, and her arguments concerning the chronology of Pheidon and the

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<sup>35</sup> Shaw, 2003, 70.

<sup>36</sup> Shaw, 2003, 100.

<sup>37</sup> Shaw, 2003, 100-44.

<sup>38</sup> Shaw, 2003, 146-238.

<sup>39</sup> Plato *Laws* III, 692D, 698E; Strabo VIII.4.10, p.362; *IG* V.i, 1562 = ML 22; Paus. V.24.3; Shaw, 2003, 244f; Wallace, 1954, 32; Jeffery, L.H., ‘Comments on some Archaic Greek Inscriptions’ *JHS* 69 (1949) 26-30.

<sup>40</sup> Shaw, 2003, 250; cf. 61, 82f, 91-99.

<sup>41</sup> See below, 138-140.

Messenian wars are persuasive. Huxley, nevertheless, finds several ‘causes of hesitation’, the most important of which appears to be that while ‘Taras and Satyrion are said to have been founded as a consequence of political trouble at Sparta soon after the first Messenian war’, the Greek material found in the earliest stratum at Satyrion cannot possibly be dated after c.600 B.C. This evidence, he claims, ‘enables us to place the victor of the first Messenian War, king Theopompus, in the second half of the eighth century.’<sup>42</sup> Yet Huxley makes no claim that this ‘Greek material’ is Lakedaimonian, and there might easily have been an earlier Greek settlement at the site. Parker, furthermore, has shown that we need not connect the foundation of Taras with the first Messenian War.<sup>43</sup>

Huxley’s further argument that ‘placing the first Messenian war in the second half of the eighth century explains the absence of Messenian victors from the Olympic list after Ol. 11, conventionally 736 B.C.’<sup>44</sup> does nothing to discredit Shaw, whose thesis is that such ready conversions of Olympiad numbers are unreliable. If the evidence that the last Messenian victor won in Ol. 11 is derived from the same system of numbered Olympiads that places Pheidon’s Olympic coup in Ol. 8,<sup>45</sup> it may simply indicate that the Messenians were not defeated until at least twelve years after that event. Pheidon, as argued below, should be dated much later than the eighth century B.C.

Another possible objection to Shaw’s view, though not raised by Huxley, is that if the second Messenian War took place in the last decade of the sixth and the first decade of the fifth centuries B.C., much of it would have been in progress during Kleomenes’ reign, yet we hear nothing of that Lakedaimonian king in this war.<sup>46</sup> Rhianos, nevertheless, whom Pausanias says covered only the events of the second war and only after the battle of the Great Trench, had Leotychides as king during that time.<sup>47</sup> Leotychides became king with the deposition of Demaratos towards the end the reign of Kleomenes, who appears to have died not long before Marathon.<sup>48</sup> Much of the action of the war recorded by Pausanias takes place before the battle of the

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<sup>42</sup> Huxley, 2006, 149f.

<sup>43</sup> Parker, 1991, 28-31.

<sup>44</sup> Huxley, 2006, 150.

<sup>45</sup> Paus. VI.22.2.

<sup>46</sup> For Kleomenes’ reign, see Appendix, 331-42.

<sup>47</sup> Paus. IV.6.2, 15.2.

<sup>48</sup> Hdt. VI.67.1f, 74.1-75.3.

Great Trench,<sup>49</sup> but Rhianos appears to have dealt only with its final phase, the siege of Eira.<sup>50</sup> Rhianos apparently said nothing about the other Lakedaimonian king at the time, but this is understandable, since Kleomenes had gone into voluntary exile before his death and soon after Leotychides became king.

Pausanias rejects Rhianos' naming of Leotychides as king during the second Messenian War, declaring that Anaxander and Anaxidamos were kings then. He does so on the basis of a passage of Tyrtaios that made Theopompos king in the first war and a king-list that made Anaxidamos reign second after Theopompos.<sup>51</sup> Tyrtaios had implied that the grandfathers of those who fought in the second war had fought the first.<sup>52</sup> Because a Lakedaimonian king-list might have been constructed to reflect chronological systems based on Olympiad dating, in severe disarray by Pausanias' time, however, the record of Rhianos is preferred here over Pausanias' revision.<sup>53</sup>

Further evidence links an event in Kleomenes' reign with the second Messenian War. Around 494 B.C., Kleomenes, having given up on attacking Argos by land because the border sacrifices were unfavourable, took to the sea and landed in 'the district of Tiryns and Nauplion', where he is likely to have been well received.<sup>54</sup> The Messenians of Pylos and Mothone, we also learn, had maintained control of their coastal districts during the second Messenian War, but fled to Kyllene after the Messenian defeat.<sup>55</sup> Theopompos reports that, at some uncertain time, the Argives forced the inhabitants of both Tiryns and Nauplion to flee, and while the former migrated to Epidauros, the latter settled in Messenia.<sup>56</sup> After the end of the second Messenian War, says Pausanias, the Lakedaimonians gave Mothone to the Nauplians,

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<sup>49</sup> Paus. IV.15.4-17.10.

<sup>50</sup> Paus. IV.18.1-24.3.

<sup>51</sup> Paus. IV.6.5.

<sup>52</sup> Paus. IV.15.2.

<sup>53</sup> cf. Shaw, 2003, 132. Scholars who rely on Olympiad chronology often postulate the existence of an earlier Leotychides: see, for example, Forrest, W.G., *A History of Sparta* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn, London, 1995) following 189. This 'earlier' Leotychides, cited by Parker, 1991, 36, as evidence that the war was not fought in the 490s B.C., might well have been inserted into a king-list in order to resolve a problem associated with Olympiad dating.

<sup>54</sup> Hdt. VI.76.2-77.1. Tiryns appears soon afterwards to have become a haven for pro-Lakedaimonian aristocrats who had been driven out of Argos by the democrats: see Appendix, 318-29.

<sup>55</sup> Paus. IV.18.1, 23.1.

<sup>56</sup> Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 383 from Strabo VIII.6.11, p.373. The Spartans also appear, after the first Messenian War, to have settled the Dryopes of Argolid Asine at what now became Messenian Asine: Hdt. VIII.73.2; Paus. III.7.4; IV.8.3, 14.3, 15.8, 24.1, 4, 27.8, 34.9; Strabo VIII.6.11, p.373; cf. *IACP* 313; Luraghi, N., 'Becoming Messenian' *JHS* 122 (2002) 67; Shipley, G., 'The Other Lakedaimonians': The Dependent Periokic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia' in Hansen, M.H. (ed), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community* (Copenhagen, 1997) 243f.

because they had been dispossessed by the Argives.<sup>57</sup> Pausanias further says that they were expelled because of their lakonism.<sup>58</sup> It is likely that the Nauplians had welcomed Kleomenes c.494 B.C., but had been driven out soon afterwards,<sup>59</sup> and so, when the Mothonaians fled their city c.490 B.C., the Lakedaimonians handed it over to the Nauplians.<sup>60</sup>

Huxley objects that ‘we are not doomed to the circularity of dating Theopompus from Tyrtaeus, and Tyrtaeus from Theopompus.’<sup>61</sup> Strabo acknowledges Tyrtaios as the source of the passage in which he records that Pantaleon led a Pisatan contingent that aided the Messenians in the second war.<sup>62</sup> If Tyrtaios were to be placed in the early seventh century B.C., then so must be Pantaleon and the second Messenian War. Parker convincingly maintains that Tyrtaios should not be dated so early, but allocates him to the second half of the seventh century B.C.<sup>63</sup> It seems, however, that the linguistic criteria that have been used to place Tyrtaios are of little chronological value,<sup>64</sup> and his date may ultimately depend upon his association with the second Messenian War. He cannot be used to date that war.<sup>65</sup>

Huxley is not entirely dismissive of Shaw’s conclusions, finding that she is ‘stronger in exposing weak foundations than in creating new structures’.<sup>66</sup> The main value of her work is, indeed, that it challenges us to make new assessments of chronological issues by giving greater emphasis to a consideration of how events appear to fit together rather than by simply converting numbered Olympiads to dates in the Julian calendar. Walter’s concluding comment on Shaw’s work is instructive:

Two things should now therefore happen: the specialists should not lay Shaw’s book to one side, despite the difficulties inherent in the subject

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<sup>57</sup> Paus. IV.24.4, cf. 27.8; *ICAP* 319; Shipley, 1997, 234f; Luraghi, 2002, *JHS*, 67.

<sup>58</sup> Paus. IV.35.2: ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ.

<sup>59</sup> See Appendix, 325f.

<sup>60</sup> cf. Kelly, T., ‘The Traditional Enmity between Sparta and Argos: The Birth and Development of a Myth’ *AHR* 75 (1970) 999; Hall, J.M., ‘How Argive was the “Argive” Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900-400 B.C.’ *AJA* 99 (1995) 583f; Shaw, 2003, 117f.

<sup>61</sup> Huxley, 2006, 150; cf. Shaw, 2003, 125.

<sup>62</sup> Strabo VIII.4.10, p.362.

<sup>63</sup> Parker, 1991, 35.

<sup>64</sup> Shaw, 2003, 125-33.

<sup>65</sup> As, for example, in Arnheim, M.T.W., *Aristocracy in Greek Society* (London, 1977) 74: ‘the date of the Second Messenian War, depending as it does on the date for Tyrtaeus himself, can hardly be later than 650.’

<sup>66</sup> Huxley, 2006, 151.

and the often unwieldy form of the communication; and the persuasiveness of the new picture of Greek history...should be tested, while an alternative reconstruction and narrative in full format is produced.<sup>67</sup>

Scholars, it is clear, have presented several conflicting chronological schemes for the Messenian wars. Three of these have been considered above: the ‘conventional’ scheme where Pausanias’ Olympiad notices are readily converted to dates in the Julian calendar; the scheme of Parker, where Pausanias’ Olympiad numbers are simply wrong and the second war is down-dated to the late-seventh century B.C.; and that of Shaw, who shows how Pausanias’ dates are the result of different values for Olympiad numbers and places the second war at about the time of the Ionian revolt and Marathon. There can be no doubt that Shaw has demonstrated that the accepted chronology is unreliable. A consideration of the evidence for the conflicts involving Elis and Pisa in the late Archaic and early Classical period shows how we might plausibly reconstruct Eleian chronology in the light of her work.

#### *Elis and Pisa*

In the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C., a dispute seems to have developed among the Eleians, the members of the *koinon* that had developed out of the Aitolian amphictyony of Olympia.<sup>68</sup> Such a late chronology for this conflict, it is argued below, appears likely once the practice of readily converting Pausanias’ Olympiad numbers to dates in the Julian calendar has been abandoned. The construction of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which began soon after the resolution of this internal dispute, is most likely to have commenced after the synoikism of 471 B.C. Inscriptions from Olympia mentioning just one *Hellanodikēs*, furthermore, appear to originate from a time far later than that conventionally suggested by Pausanias’ Olympiad 50 (580 B.C.) for the change to two. The implications of this evidence are more compelling than dates determined in the conventional manner.

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<sup>67</sup> Walter, 2005, 3f: ‘Zwei Dinge sollten deshalb jetzt geschehen: Die Spezialisten sollten Shaws Buch trotz der dem Thema inhärenten Schwierigkeiten und der oft sperrigen Form der Mitteilung nicht achselzuckend beiseite legen, und die Überzeugungskraft des am Ende nur skizzierten neuen Bildes der griechischen Geschichte...wäre zu testen, indem eine alternative Rekonstruktion und Erzählung im Vollformat vorgelegt wird.’

<sup>68</sup> See above, 105-11.

This conclusion adds weight to Shaw's case for a radical revision of the dates for the Messenian Wars and Pheidon of Argos.

A passage in Pausanias records a conflict between 'Pisa' and the Eleians in the early fifth-century B.C.:

ἐποιήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἥνικα Πίσαν οἱ Ἑλεῖοι καὶ ὅσον τῶν περιόικων ἄλλο συναπέστη Πισαίοις πολέμῳ καθεῖλον. Φειδίαν δὲ τὸν ἐργασάμενον τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι καὶ ἐπιγραμμά ἐστιν ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς γεγραμμένον τοῖς ποσὶ· Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖός μ' ἐποίησε<sup>69</sup>

The temple and the statue in honour of Zeus were made from spoils when the Eleians put down Pisa in war, along with all of the *perioikoi* who had joined with the Pisaians in revolt. An epigram written under the feet of Zeus is also witness to the fact that Pheidias worked on the statue: 'Pheidias, son of Charmides, an Athenian, made me.'

The temple of Zeus is likely to have been built in the early 460s B.C. According to Barringer, 'the temple is securely dated to ca. 470-456 B.C.'<sup>70</sup> It must have been completed, at the latest, soon after the victory of the Lakedaimonians at Tanagra in 457 B.C., since they dedicated a golden shield there from the spoils.<sup>71</sup> A gilt image of victory was set κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἔστηκε τὸν αἰτόν, and the golden shield under that.<sup>72</sup> As Barringer makes clear, 'because the Spartans placed the shield in the centre of the temple's apex, the temple had to have been finished by that time.'<sup>73</sup> Shaw seems justified in concluding that 'the construction of...[the temple]...commenced soon after Ol. 77', conventionally 472 B.C. This appears to have followed 'general improvements to the site...in the 470s' and innovations to the

<sup>69</sup> Paus. V.10.2.

<sup>70</sup> Barringer, J.M., 'The Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Heroes and Athletes' *Hesperia* 74 (2005) 213f. and n.6, cf. 211.

<sup>71</sup> Paus. V.10.4; cf. Thuc. I.108.1-3; Diod. XI.80.2, 6; Barringer, 2005, 213; cf. Roy, J., 'The Synoikism of Elis' in Nielsen, T.H. (ed), *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart, 2002) 260; Jacquemin, A., in Casevitz, M., Pouilloux, J. and Chamoux, F. (eds), *Pausanias, Description de la Grèce V, L'Élide (I)* (Paris, 1999) 147.

<sup>72</sup> Paus. V.10.4.

<sup>73</sup> Barringer, 2005, 213f.

games ca.472,<sup>74</sup> and would place its commencement not long after the Eleian synoikism of 471 B.C.<sup>75</sup>

Further evidence supports the view that the temple was completed some years before 457 B.C. Jeffery reports that the names of the sculptors Atotos and Argeides son of Ageladas of Argos ‘are inscribed on a statue base overlain by the foundations of the temple’. She notes that the lettering shows that the base is ‘clearly older than the grave-stele of the Argives who fell at Tanagra c.458.’<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, ‘the fresh state of the tufa foundation suggests that it had not been erected for many years before its burial under the building-rubbish’, and ‘a date c.480-475 would be suitable for the base.’<sup>77</sup> The sculpture is thus likely to have been executed not long before the Eleian synoikism of 471 B.C., and must have been moved or destroyed when the temple was built soon after. This suggests that the planning direction taken by the managers of the sanctuary took a sharp turn at about the time of the synoikism, and supports the view that the conflict with the Pisatans, which Pausanias says supplied the finance for the temple, ended just prior to these two contemporaneous events.

Pausanias says that the temple and statue of Zeus were both created from the spoils of the conflict with the ‘Pisaians’,<sup>78</sup> so it appears that they were made at about the same time as each other. Strabo confirms the report of Pausanias that Pheidias created the statue of Zeus.<sup>79</sup> Pheidias’ brother or nephew Panainos painted mythical narratives onto screens on the sides of the throne of Zeus, and Strabo refers to him as

<sup>74</sup> Barringer, 2005, 214.

<sup>75</sup> cf. Morgan, C., *Athletes and Oracles: the Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century B.C.* (Cambridge, 1990) 18, who dates the temple c.470 B.C.

<sup>76</sup> Jeffery, *LSAG* 160.

<sup>77</sup> Jeffery, *LSAG* 161. An Ageladas of Argos, also a sculptor, was active when the Messenians were settled at Naupaktos (Paus. IV.33.2) and during the great plague in Athens (Schol. Aristoph. *Frogs* 504: τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἄγαλμα ἔργον Γελάδου τοῦ Ἀργείου, τοῦ διδασκάλου Φειδίου. ἡ δὲ ἴδρουσις ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν μέγαν λοιμὸν); Dübner, F., *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem* (Paris, 1877) 290, col. 2, lines 27-30; Shaw, 2003, 61. This Ageladas was a contemporary of Onatas of Aigina, who made a statue for the nephew of Gelon of Syrakousai, a contemporary of Xerxes (Paus. VIII.42.7f, 10). Pliny, furthermore, places the *floruit* of Ageladas in Ol. 87, 432-429 B.C. (*NH* XXXIV.19.49: et deinde olympiade LXXXVII Hagelades, Callon, Gorgias Lacon). Pausanias, however, assigns to an Ageladas of Argos the victory statues at Olympia of athletes who appear to have won in the late-sixth century B.C. (Paus. VI.8.6, 10.6, 14.11); cf. Jones, W.H.S. (transl), *Pausanias, Description of Greece* II (London, 1955) 352f, n.1. The Ageladas who was working at Olympia before Isagoras’ capture of the Athenian akropolis (Paus. VI.8.6) is unlikely to have been he who sculptured a Herakles at Athens during the great plague (Schol. Aristoph. *Frogs* 504). On the basis of the Olympiad numbers assigned to the victories of Ageladas’ subjects at Olympia, Jeffery rejects the claim that the later work was his: *LSAG* 161 and n.2. Perhaps, however, there were three generations of Argive sculptors, Ageladas, Argeides and another Ageladas. Whatever the case, there is no reason to doubt that a son of Ageladas could have been active at Olympia in the 470s B.C.

<sup>78</sup> Paus. V.10.2.

<sup>79</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.353f.



Pheidias' συνεργολόβος, his fellow-workman.<sup>80</sup> He was also responsible for the scenes from Marathon on the Stoa Poikile in Athens.<sup>81</sup> Panainos is likely to have begun work in Athens towards the end of 459 B.C., after the battle of Oinoe,<sup>82</sup> but before Tanagra. If Panainos was in Athens by 459 B.C., he and Pheidias might have been in Eleia during the 460s B.C. Their work would have taken a considerable amount of time to complete, so we could assume that they spent much of the 460s there, and that both the cult statue and the temple were commenced soon after 470 B.C.<sup>83</sup>

A difficulty with this view is that scholars have tended to date the statue of Zeus to the 430s B.C. rather than the 460s.<sup>84</sup> Although conceding that it was 'the general practice' to finish a cult statue at about the same time as the temple in which it was installed, Richter points to other instances of cult statues having been dedicated long after completion of the temple, and speculates that an older *Zeus* was used in the interim. Representations of Zeus on later coins apparently based on Pheidias' statue, she says, show stylistic features that 'suggest a considerably later date' than the pediments and metopes of the temple. Richter doubts that the Eleians could have commissioned the *Zeus* of Pheidias from the spoils of the Pisatan war alone, and suggests that funds must have been contributed later by the whole of Greece.<sup>85</sup>

Plutarch asserts that after he had completed his *Athena Parthenos* Pheidias was condemned because of his friendship with Perikles and died in prison in Athens.<sup>86</sup> This would leave no time for him to have gone to Eleia late in life, so one may assume that the *Zeus* was done earlier in the fifth century B.C. On the other hand, he might have gone to Eleia in 438 B.C. and returned to Athens in 432 B.C., where he was then convicted and died. We can give little credence to Plutarch's assertion, however, since the report of Pausanias that the Eleians honoured Pheidias' descendants with the privilege of maintaining the statue seems to contradict the claim that he died in Athens.<sup>87</sup> It is far more likely that Pheidias' progeny lived in Eleia

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<sup>80</sup> Paus. V.11.4-6; Strabo VIII.3.30, p.354.

<sup>81</sup> Paus. V.11.6; Pliny *NH* XXXV.37.

<sup>82</sup> See Appendix, 317, n.60.

<sup>83</sup> Paus. V.10.2f, 8, 11.1-9, 15.1; VI.25.1, 26.3; Strabo VIII.3.30, p.353f.

<sup>84</sup> Morgan, 1990, 18; Lawrence, A.W., *Greek and Roman Sculpture* (London, 1972) 134; Richter, G.M.A., *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven, 1950) 215-27; Gardner, E.A., *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (London, 1929) 280-85.

<sup>85</sup> Richter, 1950, 226f.

<sup>86</sup> Plut. *Per.* 31.5.

<sup>87</sup> Paus. V.14.5; Richter, 1950, 222.

when he was alive and remained there than that they moved from Athens after his death. A further piece of evidence, moreover, suggests that Pheidias did not die in Athens after his conviction, but was exiled to Eleia.

The most direct evidence that Pheidias executed the *Zeus* late in life is the report of Philochoros that ‘they say’ that he was exiled after making the *Athena Parthenos* in Athens and went to Eleia where he then made the *Zeus*.<sup>88</sup> Philochoros, nevertheless, also records the belief that after Pheidias had completed the *Zeus* the Eleians put him to death.<sup>89</sup> This, like the claim of Plutarch, appears to be contradicted by the report of Pausanias that the Eleians honoured his descendants, so we cannot lean too heavily on the evidence of Philochoros. None of the other arguments presented by Richter, however, are compelling enough to cause us to reject the statement of Pausanias that both the temple and its cult statue were made from the spoils of the conflict with the Pisatans.<sup>90</sup> An argument based on the supposed stylistic features of a Classical Greek statue, assumed from coins of the Roman period and other late representations, can hold little weight, since subsequent artistic developments might have influenced the style of the representations.<sup>91</sup> Nor does any evidence compel us to believe that the Eleians, after the Pisatan conflict, could afford to pay for the temple but not the statue of Zeus.

Considering the contradictions in the evidence concerning the life of Pheidias, the politics of the age allows the following alternative reconstruction of events: Pheidias and Panainos worked on the statue of Zeus at Olympia during the early 460s B.C. When the democratic reforms of Ephialtes had been carried out and Kimon was ostracised, they returned to Athens in time for Panainos to work on the Stoa Poikile in 459 B.C. The Lakedaimonians placed the golden shield from Tanagra on the newly-completed temple in 457 B.C. After carrying out his work on the akropolis, including the *Athena Parthenos*, Pheidias was prosecuted by the political enemies of Perikles in 438 B.C., whereupon he fled to Eleia, where both he and his progeny were held in honour.

<sup>88</sup> Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 121.13f.: καὶ φυγὸν εἰς Ἴηλιν ἐργολαβῆσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ λέγεται; Dübner, 1877, 189, cf. 190.

<sup>89</sup> Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 121.14f, Schol. Aristoph. *Peace* 605: τοῦτο δὲ ἐξεργασάμενος ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἰηλείων; cf. Richter, 1950, 223.

<sup>90</sup> Richter, 1950, 222-24.

<sup>91</sup> Richter, 1950, 221, 552-54, figs. 606ff.

Because the names of the archons by which Philochoros dates the flight of Pheidias to Elis are corrupt, it is unclear whether he left Athens in 438 or 432 B.C., but the same scholiast who records this passage also says that this incident concerning Pheidias occurred seven years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>92</sup> Another political consideration adds further weight to the case for the earlier date for the flight of Pheidias. By 432 B.C. the Eleians had taken the Korinthian side in the dispute with the Korkyraians,<sup>93</sup> thereby placing themselves in opposition to Perikles' Athens, so it seems unlikely that an associate of Perikles would have fled to them at that time. In 438 B.C., however, there was no such hostility, and there can have been no obstacle to the Eleians giving refuge to the creator of their renowned *Olympian Zeus*. It seems natural for Pheidias to have fled to a land with which he was familiar and where his achievements were respected, and where he could expect to be welcomed as a fellow-democrat fleeing persecution at the hands of the political enemies of Perikles.<sup>94</sup>

This proposition also allows us to accommodate some of the other evidence that suggests that Pheidias was in Eleia late in life. Pausanias says that Pheidias loved the Eleian Pantarkes, who won the boys' wrestling in Ol. 86.<sup>95</sup> Since such late Olympiad numbers are generally more reliably converted to Julian dates than earlier ones, Pantarkes is likely to have won his victory in 436 B.C. There is no need to assume that some of the further works of Pheidias in Eleia, which Richter says are 'certainly not pre-Parthenon in type' and 'probably...represent his last works', were made during the same period as the *Zeus*, since they might have been produced during a later sojourn there.<sup>96</sup>

No interpretation of the contradictory sources on the life of Pheidias can be secure, but that presented above incorporates a great deal of the evidence, including the report of Pausanias that the temple and the *Zeus* were both built from the spoils of the conflict with the Pisatans and their allies. It contradicts none of the passages in Pausanias, which can be given some priority because they appear to have originated

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<sup>92</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Peace* 605: ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτεσι πρότερον τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἀρχῆς τῶν περὶ Φειδίαν γεγομένων; Dübner, 1877, 189.52f.

<sup>93</sup> Thuc. I.46.1.

<sup>94</sup> On Eleian democracy, see below, 182-202. The family connection with the Eleians might have been on-going, since Pheidias' brother Panainos appears to have been working in Elis in 448 B.C. (Pliny *NH* XXXV.34, cf. XXXVI.55).

<sup>95</sup> Paus. V.11.3; Richter, 1950, 222.

<sup>96</sup> Paus. VI.4.5, 25.1; Richter, 1950, 224.

among the Eleians themselves, albeit at a later period. If correct, such an interpretation supports the view that the temple of Zeus and its cult statue were both produced earlier rather than later in the period 470-456 B.C., and that the Pisatan conflict ended shortly before 470 B.C.

Some scholars have argued that here Pausanias ‘also refers to the sixth-century war.’<sup>97</sup> He says elsewhere that in the thirty-fourth Olympiad

στρατὸν οἱ Πισαῖοι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Πανταλέων ὁ  
 Ὀμφαλίωνος παρὰ τῶν προσχώρων ἀθροίσαντες ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ  
 Ἡλείων τὰ Ὀλύμπια<sup>98</sup>

the Pisaians and their king Pantaleon the son of Omphalion gathered together an army from their neighbours and held the Olympic festival in place of the Eleians.

Some time later, in Ol. 48 according to Pausanias, fearing that Damophon, the first of Pantaleon’s sons, was planning ‘a revolutionary movement against them’ (τινα...νεώτερα ἐξ αὐτοῦς βουλεύειν), the Eleians armed themselves and invaded ‘Pisaia’, but agreed to withdraw after Damophon offered prayers and oaths.<sup>99</sup> When Pyrrhos, the second of Pantaleon’s sons, became their leader, the ‘Pisaians’, having now been joined in revolt against the Eleians by some neighbouring allies, took the offensive, but were defeated. As a result, the Eleians devastated ‘Pisa’ and its allies, capturing and sacking those among the six cities of the Minyans who had joined in the revolt.<sup>100</sup> It is likely to have been after this that reconciliation was agreed upon by a panel consisting of one woman from each of the sixteen cities of Eleia.<sup>101</sup>

Scholars have generally believed that this ‘sixth-century war’, assigned by Pausanias to some time after Ol. 48 (conventionally 588 B.C.), was fought c.570 B.C.<sup>102</sup> As noted above, however, we need not rely on a ready conversion of Pausanias’ Olympiad numbers to dates in the Julian calendar. It seems unlikely that

<sup>97</sup> Roy, ‘Synoikism’, 2002, 260; Kahrstedt, U., ‘Zur Geschichte von Elis und Olympia’ in *Gött. Nachr. aus dem Jahre 1927* (Berlin, 1928) 169f.

<sup>98</sup> Paus. VI.22.2; cf. 21.1.

<sup>99</sup> Paus. VI.22.3, cf. 2.

<sup>100</sup> Hdt. IV.148.4; Paus. VI.22.4.

<sup>101</sup> Paus. V.16.5f.

<sup>102</sup> See below, 145, n.1.

the treasure used to build the temple of Zeus would have been kept for a century, and Pausanias' use of ἠνίκαι suggests that the building commenced immediately after the war.<sup>103</sup> Most of the Minyan cities to the south of the Alpheios were plundered during Herodotus' lifetime, and they include Makistos.<sup>104</sup> Pausanias says that among the allies of the Pisatans, all of whom were later driven from their homes (ἀνάστατος), were the Makistians.<sup>105</sup>

The war that Pausanias implies began soon after Ol. 48 must be the same as the one that provided the spoils from which the temple of Zeus was built in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. The only alternative would be to postulate an additional war, and thus to say that while the Eleians plundered or destroyed the Pisaians and all of their allies early in the sixth century B.C.,<sup>106</sup> they built the temple of Zeus from the spoils when they did the same to Pisa and its allies early in the fifth century B.C.<sup>107</sup> It is highly likely that the Eleians defeated the Pisatans just once, early in the fifth century B.C. All that appears to stand against such a conclusion is a misguided faith in the Olympiad numbers assigned by Pausanias to these events.

Inscriptions from Olympia support Shaw's contention that a reform of the management of the games, assigned by Pausanias to Ol. 50, conventionally 580 B.C.,<sup>108</sup> is in fact likely to have occurred in 472 B.C. Shaw considers it 'possible that the Eleian archivist who set the appointment of the two Ἑλληνοδίκαι in Ol. 50 may not have included the 27 unrecorded Olympiads referred to by other Olympic historians – Aristodemus and Phlegon. Added to Ol. 50,' she observes, 'these 27 then yield Ol. 77, the period when, according to Pausanias, the games were reordered.'<sup>109</sup> This would place the change to two *Hellanodikai* in 472 B.C. Jeffery dates to the early-fifth century B.C. an Eleian document, *IvO* 2, that refers to just one *Hellanodikes*.<sup>110</sup> If this is correct, then the reordering referred to by Pausanias cannot have occurred any earlier than that period.

According to Kahrstedt, the script of both *IvO* 2 and 14, which mention a single *Hellanodikes*, varies little from that of *IvO* 3 and 7. Since the latter documents

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<sup>103</sup> Paus. V.10.2.

<sup>104</sup> Hdt. IV.148.4.

<sup>105</sup> Paus. VI.22.4; cf. Shaw, 2003, 95 and n.180.

<sup>106</sup> Paus. VI.22.4.

<sup>107</sup> Paus. V.10.2.

<sup>108</sup> Paus. V.9.4

<sup>109</sup> Shaw, 2003, 96.

<sup>110</sup> Jeffery, *LSAG* 218, 220.15.

refer to a council of 500 and the δᾶμος πλαθῶν or πληθῶν (the latter ‘ein Eindringen der κοινή in den Dialekt, also sicher nicht alt’) and so use the phraseology of the Athenian democracy, he says, they are likely to originate from a time after the *synoikismos*. Although, as argued below, these documents may come from an earlier time, but certainly not from the early-sixth century B.C.,<sup>111</sup> Kahrstedt appears right to conclude that with the former documents, the ones that mention a single *Hellanodikes*, ‘on no account can we go back long before 470 with the text.’<sup>112</sup> Kahrstedt’s arguments make it most likely that the change to two *Hellanodikai*, which Pausanias assigns to Ol. 50, belongs not to 580 B.C., but to the first third of the fifth century B.C. This agrees with Jeffery’s dating of *IvO 2*, and it accords with Shaw’s adjustment of Pausanias’ Olympiad number for the reform.

The conclusion of the conflict with the Pisatans provides a credible context for the reform of the administration of the Olympic games, and a change to two *Hellanodikai* may reflect the reconciliation mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>113</sup> The construction of a new temple in the sanctuary of Zeus, too, seems to sit well with a reform of the games and sanctuary after a period of conflict. If the war that provided the spoils from which the temple of Zeus at Olympia was built was indeed the same war that was fought against Pyrrhos, the son of that Pantaleon who had led Pisatan forces to the aid of the Messenians,<sup>114</sup> then it seems that we have further reason to believe that the Lakedaimonians fought the second Messenian War at around the turn of the fifth century B.C. Furthermore, we can now work back from the commencement of the temple of Zeus to discuss the chronology of the ‘anolympiads’ of both Pheidon and Pantaleon’s Pisatans.

#### *A Chronology for the ‘Pisatan Wars’*

If, as seems likely, the temple of Zeus at Olympia was begun soon after the *synoikismos* of Elis in 471 B.C., then the defeat of Pyrrhos,<sup>115</sup> in consequence of which the spoils that were used to build the temple were acquired,<sup>116</sup> is likely to have taken place just before the synoikism, perhaps as late as c.472 B.C. Pausanias, however, gives no Olympiad for the defeat of Pyrrhos, and thus no indication of how

<sup>111</sup> See below, 183.

<sup>112</sup> Kahrstedt, 1927, 166: ‘Lange vor 470 können wir mit dem Text auf keinen Fall hinaufgehen.’

<sup>113</sup> Paus. V.16.5f.

<sup>114</sup> Strabo, VIII.4.10, p.362; Paus. VI.22.2.

<sup>115</sup> Paus. VI.22.4.

<sup>116</sup> Paus. V.10.2.

much earlier the Eleian stand-off with his elder brother Damophon might have taken place.

We would not, nevertheless, want to push Pantaleon too far back if he was active during a Messenian war that did not end until c.490 B.C.<sup>117</sup> In the record of Pausanias, fourteen Olympiads, or fifty-six years, already separate Pantaleon's takeover of Olympia and his son Damophon's stand-off with the Eleians, and Pyrrhos, too, was Pantaleon's son. Another passage in Pausanias indicates that peace was made not too long after Damophon's death.<sup>118</sup> Eight years or a few less seems a reasonable period of time in which to fit the death of Damophon, the succession of his brother Pyrrhos, the outbreak of war, the defeat of the forces led by Pyrrhos and the plundering of the cities. Damophon's stand-off then, which Pausanias assigns to Ol. 48,<sup>119</sup> cannot have been much earlier than c.480 B.C., and was perhaps a little later.

The activities of Pantaleon's sons in the generation after Anaxilas' conquest of Zankle in 489 B.C., argues Shaw, provide a context for the Eleian synoikism of Ol. 77.2 and the change from one *Hellanodikēs* to two, in Ol. 77 rather than Ol. 50.<sup>120</sup> If Pausanias' Ol. 50 is Diodoros' Ol. 77 (472-469 B.C.), then his Ol. 48 for the standoff with Damophon should be Diodoros' Ol. 75 (480-477 B.C.). This accords perfectly well with the possibility raised above, that the Eleians overawed Damophon c.480 B.C. In addition, it adds an extra significance to Diodoros' report that the allies sent the Eleians away from Plataiai so that they might fulfil their responsibility to honour the god at Olympia.<sup>121</sup> If 'honouring the god' could include dealing with those who had usurped his sanctuary, then the Lakedaimonians might have excused the Eleians for this very purpose.

If we were to retain Pausanias' chronological intervals for these events, Pantaleon's takeover in Ol. 34, as he records,<sup>122</sup> would have occurred fifty-six years before the standoff with Damophon, which would put it at c.536 B.C. This is considerably earlier than a Messenian war that was over by 489 B.C. While it is conceivable that Pantaleon took over Olympia when he was a young man, led a force into Messenia a quarter-century later and had sons who were active a few decades

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<sup>117</sup> Strabo VIII.4.10, p.362.

<sup>118</sup> Paus. V.16.5.

<sup>119</sup> Paus. VI.22.3.

<sup>120</sup> Diod. XI.54.1; Shaw, 2003, 96.

<sup>121</sup> Diod. VIII.1.2f.

<sup>122</sup> Paus. VI.22.2.

after that, it must be kept in mind that we need not expect too much precision from the Olympiad numbers given by Pausanias, especially for such an early period. Shaw thinks it likely that Pantaleon ‘brought off his Olympic *coup* closer to the period suggested by Ol. 26 in a scheme where Anaxilas’ conquest of Zancle is assigned to Ol. 29.’<sup>123</sup> This would place it at about twelve years earlier than 489 B.C., and thus in c.501 B.C. A Messenian war that kept the Lakedaimonians occupied seems to provide a reasonable context for a move on Olympia, so although Pantaleon’s takeover might have occurred at any time in the last third of the sixth century B.C., the later part of this period is to be preferred.

### *The Date of Pheidon’s Coup*

Herodotus says that one of the suitors of Agariste, the daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon, was Leokides, the son of the same Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, who seized control of the Olympic games.<sup>124</sup> The successful suitor was Megakles of Athens, whose father Alkmaion had visited Kroisos, the Lydian king, before his defeat at the hands of Kyros of Persia in 546 B.C.<sup>125</sup> This means that Herodotus saw no difficulty in making Pheidon the contemporary of both Kleisthenes of Sikyon, the grandfather of Kleisthenes of Athens, and Kroisos, whom Kyros conquered. Yet Ephoros says that Pheidon was tenth in descent from Temenos, the first of the returning Heraklids to rule Argos,<sup>126</sup> and, as Andrewes explains, ‘on almost any estimate of the length of a generation the tenth from Ephoros’ Temenos will come somewhere in the eighth century’.<sup>127</sup> Pausanias places Pheidon’s assumption of control at the eighth Olympiad,<sup>128</sup> conventionally converted to 748 B.C.

The establishment of a likely period for Pantaleon’s assumption of control over Olympia, unfortunately, does not allow us to date precisely Pheidon’s Olympic coup. Pausanias places Pheidon’s seizure of Olympia twenty-six Olympiads, or 104 years, earlier than Pantaleon’s. If Pantaleon did preside over the games c.501 B.C., and Pausanias’ chronological interval between these two events were to be retained, then Pheidon’s coup would be dated c.606 B.C. Pausanias’ numbered Olympiads,

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<sup>123</sup> Shaw, 2003, 94.

<sup>124</sup> Hdt. VI.127.3.

<sup>125</sup> Hdt. VI.125.1-5, 127.4; cf. I.84.1-5.

<sup>126</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358.

<sup>127</sup> cf. Andrewes, A., ‘The Corinthian Actaeon and Pheidon of Argos’ *CQ* 43 (1949) 72.

<sup>128</sup> Paus. VIII.22.2.



however, even when used only to establish chronological intervals, are particularly unreliable for such remote periods.

Pheidon's coup might have occurred during the first Messenian War, which presents the most likely context for an Argive incursion into the western Peloponnese.<sup>129</sup> The Argives are listed as allies of the Messenians in the first war.<sup>130</sup> Pausanias records that the first Messenian War began in the second year of the ninth Olympiad and places Pheidon's coup in Ol. 8.<sup>131</sup> He also says, however, perhaps consulting a source that used a different numbering system, that the trouble began while the Eleians were holding the fourth Olympiad.<sup>132</sup> If the Messenian War had not actually begun when Pheidon took control of Olympia, it might at least have been simmering, though the twenty-one years from Ol. 4 to Ol. 9.2 seems a long prelude to war.

Tyrtaios says that the first Messenian War was fought by the grandfathers of those who fought the second war, which we have found is likely to have ended c.490 and, since it lasted twenty years, probably began c.510.<sup>133</sup> Although this could mean that the first war occurred two generations before the first, it is unclear how many years a generation is meant to represent. Tyrtaios might have meant to indicate a gap of two generations of no more than forty years each, which would place the end of the first war no earlier than c.590 B.C. Shorter generations would place it somewhat later. We need not, however, take Tyrtaios' 'fathers of our fathers' too literally, so his statement does not get us far in precisely dating the first Messenian War.

According to Plutarch, Epaminondas claimed 'that he had liberated Messenia after 230 years of subjection'.<sup>134</sup> Since the second Messenian War was seen as a failed attempt to regain a freedom already lost, Epaminondas appears to have been referring to the first rather than the second Messenian War. This would make Parker's guess for the second Messenian War, ca.620-600 B.C., more reasonable for the first war.<sup>135</sup> Epaminondas' figure would put the beginning of the subjection at 230 years

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<sup>129</sup> Similarly, Pantaleon appears to have assumed control during the second Messenian war, and the only other takeover, by the Arkadians, occurred soon after the collapse of Lakedaimonian power in the early 360s B.C. When the Lakedaimonians failed to eject the usurpers, the Eleians suffered a defeat and temporarily had to accept the loss of the sanctuary: Xen. *Hell.* VII.4.14, 20-32.

<sup>130</sup> Paus. IV.11.1.

<sup>131</sup> Paus. IV.4.10; VI.22.2.

<sup>132</sup> Paus. IV.4.5.

<sup>133</sup> Paus. IV.15.2; Diod. XV.66.4.

<sup>134</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 194B.

<sup>135</sup> Parker, 1991, 26.

before 369 B.C., and he would thus have thought that the first Messenian War ended in 599 B.C.<sup>136</sup> Yet this figure may reflect a calculation of ten generations of twenty-three years each, just as Isokrates' Archidamos gives a figure of 400 years for the Messenian subjection that appears to be based on ten generations of forty years each.<sup>137</sup> The choice of ten generations might itself have been arbitrary, so we cannot expect much precision from this evidence either.

It is possible, nevertheless, to establish some approximate dates. Pheidon, as we have seen, appears to have been a contemporary of both of the grandfathers of Kleisthenes of Athens, Kleisthenes of Sikyon and Alkmaion of Athens. Both Pheidon's son Leokedes and Alkmaion's son Megakles were suitors for the hand of Kleisthenes' daughter Agariste.<sup>138</sup> Alkmaion had visited Kroisos of Lydia before his defeat at the hands of Kyros of Persia in 546 B.C.<sup>139</sup> The suitors appear to have gone to Sikyon several years before the fall of Kroisos, so perhaps in the late 550s B.C.<sup>140</sup> Since there is no reason to assume that Pheidon had fallen from power in Argos immediately after his defeat in the western Peloponnese, it remains possible that he was still tyrant at that time. Whether this is so or not, if his son was still young enough in the 550s B.C. to have been as fit as one of the other suitors, Hippokleides, who could stand on his head on a table and vigorously wiggle his legs to music,<sup>141</sup> Pheidon might have been born in the last decades of the seventh century B.C.<sup>142</sup> His Olympic coup would then seem likely to have been carried out no earlier than the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and the first Messenian War to have ended some years after 600 B.C.

After the defeat of the Messenians, the Lakedaimonians and Eleians cooperated in defeating Pheidon and placing the territory south to the River Neda under Eleian control. Strabo reports that the Eleians helped the Lakedaimonians to destroy the power of Pheidon, and the Lakedaimonians helped the Eleians gain control of both Pisatis and Triphylia.<sup>143</sup> In a summary of Eleian relations with

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<sup>136</sup> Diod. XV.66.1.

<sup>137</sup> Isok. VI *Arch.* 27; Shaw, 2003, 32.

<sup>138</sup> Hdt. VI.127.3; cf. VI.126.1-3, 130.2-131.1.

<sup>139</sup> Hdt. VI.125.1-5, 127.4; cf. I.84.1-5.

<sup>140</sup> Shaw, 2003, 232.

<sup>141</sup> Hdt. VI.129.1-5.

<sup>142</sup> Robinson, E.W., *The First Democracies: Early Popular Government Outside Athens* (Stuttgart, 1997) 83, concludes that Pheidon should be dated to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

<sup>143</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358.

Olympia and its neighbours, he also says that μετὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην κατάλυσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων, ‘after the outermost defeat of the Messenians’, the Lakedaimonians assisted the Eleians, who had been their allies, in taking control of Pisa and of the country as far as Messenia, all of which then came to be called Eleia.<sup>144</sup> Although, when used temporally, ἔσχατος can be taken to mean ‘last’, it seems unlikely that Strabo is referring to the great earthquake revolt here. It is doubtful, too, that he is referring to the second Messenian War, for which he does not list the Eleians as allies of the Lakedaimonians, but rather of the Messenians.<sup>145</sup> This ‘middle’ war, moreover, is least likely of all to have been τὴν ἐσχάτην. It seems best to take ἔσχατος here to mean ‘outermost’ in the sense of being furthest from Strabo in time. In both of these passages Strabo appears to be referring to events following the first Messenian War.

The defeat of Pheidon and the subjection to the Eleians of the communities as far south as the Neda was probably accomplished in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. Siewert believes that the bronze legal document of the Eleians found at the site of the later city of Elis and dated to the first third of the sixth century B.C. shows that Elis was already the political capital of the Eleians by that time.<sup>146</sup> There appears, however, to have been only a temporary relocation of the political centre of the Eleians at that time. Pheidon’s assumption of control at Olympia is likely to have constituted the early-sixth century crisis referred to above, by which the Eleians were obliged to find an emergency capital.<sup>147</sup> The Eleian *koinon* was forged, it seems, when in response to the aggression of Pheidon the Eleians ‘procured arms and began to defend themselves’.<sup>148</sup>

### *Eleia in the Archaic and Early Classical Periods*

We can now use evidence from Herodotus, Strabo and Pausanias, along with the archaeological record, to begin a reconstruction of events in Eleian military and political history of the Archaic and early Classical periods:

<sup>144</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.355.

<sup>145</sup> Strabo VIII.4.10, p.362.

<sup>146</sup> Siewert, P., ‘Zwei Rechtsaufzeichnungen der Stadt Elis’ in Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. (ed), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes: Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier “100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen” Athen 5.3 – 7.3 1998* (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften Band 38, Athens, 2001) 245; cf. ‘Eine archaische Rechtsaufzeichnung aus der antiken Stadt Elis’ in Thür, G. (ed), *Symposium 1993. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte, Graz-Andritz, September 1993* (Köln-Weimar-Wien, 1994) 24f.

<sup>147</sup> See above, 111, 115-17.

<sup>148</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358.

1. In the early-Archaic period, the various *poleis* of the valleys of the Peneios and Alpheios shared a common Aitolian heritage and were members of an amphictyony that managed the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.<sup>149</sup> They lived in peace, having been declared sacred to Zeus by the Lakedaimonians, whose allies had also sworn to keep them inviolate.<sup>150</sup> Lepreon and the other cities called ‘Minyan’ by Herodotus stood outside of the ‘Aitolian’ amphictyony of Olympia.<sup>151</sup>
2. In the early-sixth century B.C., Pheidon of Argos took control of Olympia and held the games himself.<sup>152</sup> At first the Eleians, who had lived in peace, could do nothing to stop him. Nevertheless, they formed a *koinon* to organise their resistance, established a temporary political centre at the site of the later city of Elis, acquired arms and, joining with the Lakedaimonians, defeated him.
3. The Lakedaimonians, eager that Olympia should remain in the hands of their allies, and possibly to prevent future aid coming to the Messenians, helped the Eleians to gain control of all of the territory to the south as far as the Neda River.<sup>153</sup> This river formed the border with Messenia, which the Lakedaimonians claimed as their own sphere.
4. When the war was over, the Eleians returned their administrative centre to the sanctuary of Zeus. The practice of publishing state documents, adopted during the crisis produced by Pheidon’s Olympic coup, was now also carried out in Olympia for the first time. The Eleians continued to live in a number of *poleis*, though now united in a confederation, or *koinon*, the political centre of which was Olympia.
5. The Lepreans sided with the Eleians against Pheidon and were rewarded with an expansion of their territory.<sup>154</sup> They and the other independent *poleis* between the Alpheios and the Neda became allies, but not members, of the Eleian *koinon*. They constituted the *symmachia* of the Eleians, and appear to have paid tribute to Olympia,<sup>155</sup> which was thus the centre of the alliance as well as of the *koinon* based on the amphictyony.

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<sup>149</sup> See above, 101-05.

<sup>150</sup> See above, 13-19.

<sup>151</sup> Hdt. IV.148.4; see above, 110.

<sup>152</sup> Hdt. VI.127.3; Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358; Paus. VI.22.2.

<sup>153</sup> Strabo VIII. 3.30, p.355, 3.33, p.358.

<sup>154</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.355. On this and subsequent relations between the Lepreans and Eleians during the Archaic and early-Classical periods, see below, 204-06.

<sup>155</sup> Thuc. V.31.2; Strabo VIII.3.30, p.355.

6. In the late sixth century B.C. the Eleian *koinon* based on Olympia was severely ruptured when the Pisatans led by Pantaleon took control of the festival. ‘Pisa’ seems to have maintained some independent identity under two successively-influential sons of Pantaleon. In c.480 B.C., fearing that Damophon, the first of these, was plotting against them, the Eleians overawed him, and then withdrew.<sup>156</sup>
7. Led by Pyrrhos, the second of Pantaleon’s sons, the Pisatans and their allies revolted against the Eleians. The Eleians then devastated ‘Pisa’, capturing and sacking those among the six cities of their Minyan allies who had joined in the revolt.<sup>157</sup>
8. Soon afterwards, as a response to this crisis, the *synoikismos* of the Eleians took place, and the city of Elis was established as the political centre of the new *polis*.<sup>158</sup> With the spoils of the war against Pyrrhos, the temple of Zeus at Olympia was built during the early 460s B.C.<sup>159</sup>

#### *The Pisatan Revolt*

The nature of Pisatan identity is dealt with more fully in the following two chapters, which deal with political issues within Eleia during the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C. The claim made in the introduction to the present chapter, that the struggle with the Pisatans was an internal rather than an external one, is supported by the reconstruction presented above. The available evidence suggests that the Eleians managed Olympia before Pheidon’s assumption of control, and that they resumed its management after his defeat.<sup>160</sup> The Pisatans led by Pantaleon and his sons appear to have revolted from the Eleians. Once this internal difficulty had been resolved, the administration of the sanctuary once again returned to the *status quo ante*.

Herodotus’ report that Pheidon ‘expelled the judges of the Eleians’ implies that the latter controlled the festival before his takeover.<sup>161</sup> Strabo says that Pheidon was successful because ‘the Eleians...did not have arms to stop him’, implying that

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<sup>156</sup> Paus. VI.22.3, cf. 2.

<sup>157</sup> Hdt. IV.148.4; Paus. VI.22.4.

<sup>158</sup> Diod. XI.54.1; Strabo VIII.3.2, p.336.

<sup>159</sup> Hdt. IV.148; Paus. V.10.2.

<sup>160</sup> The view of Karhstedt, 1927, 170, cf. 169-76, that the record of an early Eleian control of Olympia is ‘extremely Eleian-orthodox and a long way from historical truth’ is not accepted here, since it rejects too much of the available evidence. His claim, 175, that Hippias deleted Pisaian victors from the Olympic victor list, and that this shows that the list was altered in order to fabricate an Eleian establishment of the games, is easily answered: as argued above, the Pisaians *were* Eleians, and so would have appeared as such on the list.

<sup>161</sup> Hdt. VI.127.3.

he had taken control from them.<sup>162</sup> Pausanias, too, implies that Pheidon had taken the games from the Eleians rather than from the Pisatans.<sup>163</sup> We can conclude, too, that the evidence for Pheidon's takeover of Olympia, rather than providing proof that the *asylia* did not exist, actually gives us further reason to believe that it did, since it reveals that the Eleians were at first unable to resist.

Pausanias says that Pantaleon had put to death an opponent at the time when *he was planning to revolt* from the Eleians.<sup>164</sup> Allies 'joined together *in revolt*' with the 'Pisaians' from the Eleians.<sup>165</sup> The temple of Zeus was built by the Eleians out of spoils from when they defeated 'Pisa' and those 'who had joined with the Pisaians *in revolt*'.<sup>166</sup> In finally putting an end to the revolt of the *Pisaioi* and their allies, led by Pantaleon and his sons, it is clear that the Eleians had dealt with an internal matter.

This episode in their history, furthermore, cannot be viewed as evidence of military expansionism on the part of the non-Pisatan Eleians, who rather appear as conciliatory. When Damophon, the son of Pantaleon, 'provided the Eleians with the suspicion that he planned a revolutionary movement against them', they confronted him with arms, but allowed themselves to be persuaded to return home.<sup>167</sup> Only when actually attacked by the forces of his brother Pyrrhos did they finally respond with force.<sup>168</sup> Even after such violent disputes, the Eleians were prepared to lay aside their grievances and to seek a reconciliation.<sup>169</sup> This evidence, of course, all comes from Pausanias, but that is inescapable since, apart from one mention by Herodotus,<sup>170</sup> he is our only source for the conflict involving the Pisatans. If there is nothing in Pausanias' account to indicate that the Eleians had taken the initiative in behaving aggressively, then these events give us no reason to doubt that Eleia remained a sacred and inviolable land throughout the Archaic period and into the early Classical, despite internal discord.

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<sup>162</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358.

<sup>163</sup> Paus. VI.22.2.

<sup>164</sup> Paus. VI.21.1: ἀπόστασιν βουλευόντι.

<sup>165</sup> Paus. VI.22.4: συναπέστησαν.

<sup>166</sup> Paus. V.10.2: συναπέστη.

<sup>167</sup> Paus. VI.22.3: νεώτερα ἐς αὐτοὺς βουλεύειν.

<sup>168</sup> Paus. VI.22.4.

<sup>169</sup> Paus. V.16.5f

<sup>170</sup> Hdt. IV.148.4.

## CHAPTER SIX

## PISA

Scholars often assume that the Eleians took Olympia from the ‘Pisatai’ or ‘Pisaioi’ of the Alpheios valley in the sixth century B.C. and either forced the so-called Pisatan communities of the Alpheios valley to become their subject allies or incorporated them into the Eleian state.<sup>1</sup> It seems more likely, however, that the conflicts reported by Pausanias,<sup>2</sup> upon whose narrative this claim is founded, were episodes in a late-sixth and early-fifth century political struggle within the Eleian *koinon* based at Olympia. Where texts from earlier than 476 B.C. that mention ‘Pisa’ are specific about its nature, it always appears as a river rather than a town or locality, and even in sources from after this date ‘Pisa’ seems to indicate the tiny valley of the Kladeos rather than a rival polity. The ‘Pisatans’ are more likely to have been members of some kind of movement among the Eleians than a separate people.

*Pisa in the Early Poets and Archaic Epigraphy*

Although a number of ancient texts mention ‘Pisa’ or ‘Pisatis’ and people called ‘Pisaioi’ or ‘Pisatai’, there are no direct references that date from earlier than

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<sup>1</sup> Ruggeri, C., *Gli stati intorno a Olimpia: Storia e costituzione dell’Elide e degli stati formati dai perieci elei (400-362a.C.)* (Stuttgart, 2004) 15, 66; Roy, J., ‘Elis’ in Hansen, M.H. and Nielsen, T.H., *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford, 2004) 489; ‘The Pattern of Settlement in Pisatis. The “Eight Poleis” ’ in Nielsen, T.H. (ed) *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart, 2002) 238; ‘Les cités d’Élide’ in *Le Péloponnèse. Archéologie et histoire, textes rassemblés par Josette Renard* (Rennes, 1999) 153; ‘The Perioikoi of Elis’ in Hansen, M.H. (ed), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community* (Copenhagen, 1997) 282; Siewert, P., ‘Zwei Rechtsaufzeichnungen der Stadt Elis’ in Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. (ed), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes: Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier “100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen” Athen 5.3 – 7.3 1998* (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften Band 38, Athens, 2001) 247; ‘Symmachien in neuen Inschriften von Olympia. Zu den sogenannten Periöken der Eleer’ in Foresti, L.A. et al. (eds), *Federazioni e federalismo nell’Europa antica I* (Milan, 1994) 262; ‘Eine archaische Rechtsaufzeichnung aus der antiken Stadt Elis’ in Thür, G. (ed), *Symposium 1993. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte, Graz-Andritz, September 1993* (Köln-Weimar-Wien, 1994) 29; ‘Die Frühe Verwendung und Bedeutung des Ortsnamens “Olympia” ’ *AM* 106 (1991) 69; Eder, B. and Mitsopoulos-Leon, V., ‘Zur Geschichte der Stadt Elis vor dem Synoikismos von 471 v. Chr.: Die Zeugnisse der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit’ *ÖJh* 68 (1999) 28; Walter, U., *An der Polis Teilhaben: Bürgerstaat und Zugehörigkeit im archaischen Griechenland* (Stuttgart, 1993) 117; Höhle, A., *Olympia in der Politik der griechischen Staatenwelt* (Bebenhausen, 1972) 18; Meyer, E., ‘Pisatis’ *RE* XX.2 (1950) 1751f; Ziehen, L., ‘Olympia’ *RE* XVII (1937) 2531; Viedebant, O., ‘Forschungen zur altpeloponnesischen Geschichte 2. Elis und Pisatis’ *Philologus* 85 (1930) 34; Kahrstedt, U., ‘Zur Geschichte von Elis und Olympia’ in *Gött. Nachr. aus dem Jahre 1927* (Berlin, 1928) 173.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. VI.22.2-5.

476 B.C. Siewert lists several texts in connection with poets of the Archaic period.<sup>3</sup> The first is a summary in a scholion to Euripides' *Phoinikian Women* 1760 of an epic by the possibly seventh-century B.C. poet Peisandros of Kameiros in Rhodes.<sup>4</sup> There is, indeed, a mention of Pisa in the scholion (ἀπὸ τῆς Πίσσας), but this can hardly be said to prove that Peisandros himself had used this expression. The second reference is to a group of fragments relating to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. These texts, from the Oxyrhynchos papyri, scholia to Homer and the fragments of papyri collected in *PSI*,<sup>5</sup> concern matters in Eleia during the time of the mythical Pelops, but none actually contains the term 'Pisa'. Siewert's third reference is to three fragments relating to the *Great Eoiai* of Hesiod. One of these is from Pausanias, another from a scholion to Pindar, and the third is a fragment in the Oxyrhynchos papyri.<sup>6</sup> Siewert acknowledges, however, that in none of these is Pisa actually mentioned.<sup>7</sup> We can conclude that there is no compelling evidence that Hesiod ever used the term 'Pisa'. Since it is unknown in Homer as well, it seems unlikely that either poet had ever heard of such a place.<sup>8</sup>

Siewert's next reference is to Stesichoros.<sup>9</sup> This passage consists of the report of Strabo that 'some' (τινὲς) say that when Stesichoros calls Pisa a city, he means it only in a poetic sense.<sup>10</sup> We cannot tell, however, what the 'some' thought that Stesichoros believed that Pisa really was, or whether they were right to think so. It might have been a district or, as the next passage cited by Siewert, a river. Xenophanes mentions Pisa twice in one elegy.<sup>11</sup> In both cases, he refers to 'the river Pisa'. The *temenos* of Zeus is 'beside the river Pisa in Olympia' (Διὸς τέμενος πὰρ Πίσσας ῥοὰς ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ), and athletes contend for victory 'beside the banks of Pisa' (Πίσσας παρ' ὄχθας). It is possible that Stesichoros referred to Olympia as 'the city of Pisa' and meant, like Xenophanes, that it was beside a river of that name, but the 'some', writing after the name 'Pisa' had begun to be used for a district of Eleia,

<sup>3</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 67, n.11.

<sup>4</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 67, n.11: 'Inhaltsangabe eines Oidipus-Epos (?)'; Bernabé, A. (ed) *Poetae Epici Graeci (Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum): Testimonia et Fragmenta I* (Leipzig, 1987) 17f.

<sup>5</sup> Merkelbach, R. and West, M.L., *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford, 1967) nos. 190-93.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. VI.21.10f; Pind. *Ol.* I.127b; Merkelbach and West, 1967, nos. 259a, b.

<sup>7</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 67, n.11: 'ohne (erhaltene) Nennung von Olympia oder Pisa.'

<sup>8</sup> Niese, B., 'Drei Kapitel eleischer Geschichte' in *Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910: Genethiakon* (Berlin, 1910) 31; Viedebant, 1930, 27.

<sup>9</sup> Stesichoros, Page, D.L. (ed), *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962) no. 263; Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 67, n.11; cf. Edmonds, J.M., *Lyra Graeca II* (London, 1924) 74.91.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo VIII.3.31, p.356: Στησίχορον δὲ καλεῖν πόλιν τὴν χώραν Πίσσαν λεγομένην.

<sup>11</sup> Xenophanes, 2.3, 21, Gentili, B. and Prato, C. (eds), *Poetarum Elegiacorum / Poetae Elegiaci: Testimonia et Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1979) 169f; cf. Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 67, n.11; Niese, 1910, 27.



wrongly assumed that this is what he had meant. Stesichoros, furthermore, may belong to a later period than formerly believed, since the Parian Marble has him in Greece during the reign of Xerxes, in the year of Aischylos' first victory and the birth of Euripides.<sup>12</sup>

Siewert then refers to four fragments relating to Simonides' odes.<sup>13</sup> In the first, a genitive form of 'Pisa' is discernable (Πίσ[α]ς).<sup>14</sup> Another of these is a passage from the *Declamations* of the fourth century A.D. rhetorician Himerius, who tells of an episode in the life of Simonides: 'When Simonides went to Pisa to honour Zeus with a hymn, the Eleians took hold of his lyre and a public official called upon him to sing to the *polis* of Zeus before Zeus.'<sup>15</sup> A scholiast to Pindar *Ol.* I.28 says that both Pindar and Simonides kept the first syllable of Πίσας short to preserve the 'antistrophic correspondence'.<sup>16</sup> Finally, the fourteenth century A.D. *Planudean Anthology* quotes two lines of Simonides in which Milon wins six victories at the river Pisa.<sup>17</sup>

Strabo's information about Stesichoros indicates only that he made some kind of figurative use of the expression 'Pisa'.<sup>18</sup> The late-sixth and early-fifth century Xenophanes speaks only of a river. Neither the fragment of Simonides' poetry cited above nor the reference to him in the scholion to Pindar gives any indication of how he used the term. In the quotation from the *Planudean Anthology*, nevertheless, it is clear that Simonides uses 'Pisa' as the name of a river. A report in the Suidas *Lexicon* that Simonides lived until *Ol.* 78 (468-465 B.C.) is supported by abundant evidence.<sup>19</sup> He wrote, for example, an epitaph for a *mantis* who died at Thermopylai, and the 'new Simonides' concerns the battle of Plataiai, so he was still active at least as late as 479 B.C.<sup>20</sup> The '*polis* of Zeus' in the anecdote recorded by Himerius, if it has any

<sup>12</sup> *Marm. Par. FGrH* 239 A 50, cf. 49; Shaw, P.-J., *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Chronological Problems of Archaic Peloponnesian History* (Stuttgart, 2003) 127, n.269, 191.

<sup>13</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 67, n.11.

<sup>14</sup> Simonides, Page, 1962, no. 519, fr. 1.6.

<sup>15</sup> Simonides, Page, 1962, no. 589: Ἡλεῖοί ποτε τῆς Σιμωνίδου λύρας λαβόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Πίσαν ἔσπευδεν ὕμνῳ κοσμησαὶ τὸν Δία, δημοσίαι φωνῆ τὴν Διὸς πόλιν πρὸ Διὸς ἄδειν ἐκέλευον; cf. Siewert, *Köln*, 1994, 30, n.70. Edmonds, 1924, 272.1 records a variant text that has simply πόλιν in place of τὴν Διὸς πόλιν.

<sup>16</sup> Simonides, Page, 1962, no. 633; Edmonds, 1924, 310.50.

<sup>17</sup> Simonides fr. 153D; cf. Edmonds, 1924, 396.185: ποτὶ Πίσσα.

<sup>18</sup> Niese, 1910, 31, believes that 'Pisa' was used in poetry to represent Elis, but offers no substantial evidence.

<sup>19</sup> Suidas *Lexicon* s.v. Simonides, 439; cf. Edmonds, 1924, 248.

<sup>20</sup> *Hdt.* VII.228.4; Hornblower, S., *Thucydides and Pindar: Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry* (Oxford, 2004) 22; for a full record of the fragments of this long elegiac poem see

substance, is likely to have been the new *polis* of the Eleians, created by the *synoikismos* of 471 B.C. Himerius' reference to 'Pisa' in relation to Simonides need not be dated any earlier than that time and might itself have originated in later usage.

There is no evidence in any of these texts to suggest that in the Archaic period the name 'Pisa' was applied to anything other than the stream that ran past the sanctuary of Zeus. This is more likely to have been the creek later known as the 'Kladeos', which runs between the present town of *Archaia Olympia* and the archaeological site, than the Alpheios, since while the Kladeos runs right next to the sanctuary, the Alpheios is a few hundred metres away.<sup>21</sup> In the odes of Bacchylides and Pindar cited below, moreover, Pisa and Alpheios appear as separate entities, so they are unlikely to have been one and the same. If it is not the Alpheios, then the 'river Pisa' must be the Kladeos.

Pausanias calls the tributary of the Alpheios that runs to the west of the sanctuary the Κλάδεος.<sup>22</sup> He also reports a relief of Kladeos on the pediment of the temple of Zeus and an altar of the river Kladeos in the Altis.<sup>23</sup> The earliest recorded use of this name for the river appears to be that found in Xenophon's *Hellenika*. Xenophon calls it the Κλάδαος in connection with his record of the Arkadian celebration, in company with the Pisatans, of the games of 364 B.C.<sup>24</sup> It is possible that this name was not used for the river until the brief establishment of a Pisatan state at that time. The relief described by Pausanias on the pediment of the temple of Zeus, built soon after the *synoikismos* of 471 B.C., however, may indicate that the new name had begun to be used for the river soon after the rebellion of the Pisatans in the early-fifth century B.C. According to Strabo, some said that while there had never been a city called 'Pisa', the spring near the unlocated Pisatan city of Kikysion, called 'Bisa' in his time, might have been the origin of the name 'Pisa'.<sup>25</sup> The name of the spring could in fact have been a relic of the more ancient name of the Kladeos. Even at places quite close to its confluence with the Alpheios, the Kladeos, in summer at least, is narrow enough to jump over (fig. 7: the Kladeos trickles into the Alpheios

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Sider, S. 'Fragments 1-22 W<sup>3</sup>: Text, Apparatus Criticus, and Translation' in Boedeker, D. and Sider, D., *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire* (Oxford, 2001) 13-29.

<sup>21</sup> Siewert, 1991, 67, asks 'anstelle des Alpheios?'.  
<sup>22</sup> Paus. V.7.1; VI.20.6, 21.3.

<sup>23</sup> Paus. V.10.7, 15.7.

<sup>24</sup> Xen. *Hell.* VII.4.28f.

<sup>25</sup> Strabo VIII.3.31, p.356.

from the bottom left). The ‘river Pisa’ appears to have been quite small, and the valley that surrounded it to have been no more than a few kilometres square.

Pindar refers to Pisa in his *Olympian* XIV, ‘probably composed in 488 B.C.’.<sup>26</sup> Here, however, the victor is crowned ‘beside the honoured hollows of Pisa’ (κόλποις παρ’ εὐδόξοις Πίσας), and again we cannot be sure that the poet does not refer to the river. Bacchylides, nevertheless, mentions Pisa in an ode to the victory of Hieron of Syrakousai in the horse race at Olympia.<sup>27</sup> In a clear reference to Pisa as a place, he sings of Zeus, of Alpheios, and of Pisa, where Pherenikos had won a footrace. Hieron’s victory in this ode is also celebrated by Pindar in *Ol.* I, dated to 476 B.C.<sup>28</sup> While Pindar’s reference to ‘the grace of Pisa’ may still signify only a river,<sup>29</sup> he also describes the mythical Hippodameia’s father, king Oinomaos, as ‘Pisatan’.<sup>30</sup> In two further *Olympian* odes that were also composed in 476 B.C., Pindar refers to Pisa as the place where the Olympic festival was held.<sup>31</sup> We can conclude that the earliest certain literary references to a person as Pisatan, that of Pindar, and to Pisa as a place, those of Pindar and Bacchylides, belong to 476 B.C., the penultimate Olympiad to the synoikism of Elis in 471 B.C.

Pindar mentions Pisa, the Pisatans or Pisatis in seven later odes.<sup>32</sup> In *Ol.* X.43-5, c.474 B.C., Herakles collects his army and booty ‘in Pisa’ (ἐν Πίσᾳ), where he measures out the Altis for Zeus. In *Ol.* VI.5, composed in 466 B.C., Zeus’ oracular altar is ἐν Πίσᾳ. *Ol.* IX.68 mentions οἱ Πισᾶται alongside the Arkadians in a pre-Trojan War context. In two odes from 464 B.C., Pisa possesses the most important of the games, which had been ordained by Herakles,<sup>33</sup> and we hear of ‘the plain of Pisa’.<sup>34</sup> In *Ol.* VIII.9, 460 B.C., Pindar addresses the ‘well-wooded grove of Pisa near Alpheios’ (ὃ Πίσας εὐδενδρον ἐπ’ Ἀλφεῖ ἄλλος). In an ode from 452 B.C., an athlete is crowned ‘with Pisatan olive’ (fig. 8: the olive grove is in the valley of the Kladeos, but the hills are across the Alpheios).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Pind. *Ol.* XIV.23; Bowra, C.M. (transl.), *The Odes of Pindar* (Harmondsworth, 1969) 33.

<sup>27</sup> Bacchyl. V.182.

<sup>28</sup> Bowra, 1969, 69.

<sup>29</sup> Pind. *Ol.* I.18.

<sup>30</sup> Pind. *Ol.* I.70.

<sup>31</sup> Pind. *Ol.* II.3; III.9; Bowra, 1969, 78, 84.

<sup>32</sup> Pind. *Nem.* X; *Ol.* IV, VI, VIII, IX, X, XIII.

<sup>33</sup> Pind. *Nem.* X.32: ὕπατον δ’ ἔσχεν Πίσᾳ Ἡρακλέος τεθμόν.

<sup>34</sup> Pind. *Ol.* XIII.29: πεδίον... Πίσας.

<sup>35</sup> Pind. *Ol.* IV.15: ἐλαία στεφανωθεὶς Πισάτιδι. For the dates of these odes see Bowra, 1969, 69, 78, 84, 110, 127, 156, 175, 180, 213, 228.

Of a total of twelve references, Pindar appears to refer to the river or the immediate vicinity of the shrine in nine cases and to the people twice,<sup>36</sup> and describes the victor's olive wreath in one.<sup>37</sup> He gives us no reason to believe, however, that the name 'Pisa' signifies anything more than the tiny district of the valley of the Kladeos. His references to king Oinomaos as 'Pisatan' and to the 'Pisatai' in a pre-Trojan War context,<sup>38</sup> on the other hand, seem to reveal that by 476 B.C. a mythology had begun to circulate that included references to this people, unknown in any earlier source.

Nor does there appear to be any epigraphic evidence for a place called Pisa before the early-fifth century B.C. Siewert finds that inscriptions on dedications indicate that in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. the name 'Olympia' stood for 'the sacred precinct, i.e. for the shrine and, from time to time, for the god himself'. 'Pisa', on the other hand, like 'Delphoi', indicated 'the profane, inhabited vicinity of the shrine'.<sup>39</sup> After the supposed subjugation and disappearance ('nach der Unterwerfung und dem Verschwinden') of an Archaic state of Pisa, Siewert assumes, there was no need to distinguish the sanctuary of Zeus from that state. Cups found in Olympia from the fifth and early-fourth centuries B.C. inscribed  $\delta\alpha\mu\sigma\iota\alpha$  rather than  $\text{Ὀλυμπία}$ , which appears on others, he says, indicate that by that period a change had occurred: the shrine needed to be distinguished from the 'the profane damos of the ruling Eleians', rather than from Pisa.<sup>40</sup> He brings forward no example, however, of any equipment inscribed with 'Pisa' or names derived from it.

While it seems possible that at around the beginning of the fifth century B.C., perhaps from the time of the synoikism, a need arose to distinguish between the property of the god and that of the Eleian people, we need not assume that the *damos* who owned the cups found at Olympia was alien to the sanctuary. As seen above, Siewert's claim that 'Pisa or events there are occasionally mentioned in the literary sources of the seventh and sixth centuries, in the epic writers, pseudo-Hesiod and lyricists' cannot be sustained.<sup>41</sup> There is no mention of 'Pisa' in literature from the seventh century B.C., in late-sixth century sources the term signifies a small stream

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<sup>36</sup> Pind. *Ol.* I.70, IX.68.

<sup>37</sup> Pind. *Ol.* IV.15.

<sup>38</sup> Pind. *Ol.* I.70, IX.68.

<sup>39</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 66, cf. 68f.

<sup>40</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 69.

<sup>41</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 67: 'In den literarischen Quellen des 7. u. 6. Jh., bei Epikern, Pseudo-Hesiod und Lyrikern, werden gelegentlich Pisa oder dortige Ereignisse erwähnt'.

near the sanctuary of Zeus, and not until 476 B.C. can we be sure that the name ‘Pisa’ is given to a place rather than a stream.

Siewert refers to only one inscription containing names related to ‘Pisa’ that is any earlier than the fourth century B.C., and the other inscriptions and the coins that he refers to all appear to date from the period of the creation of a short-lived independent state of Pisa after the Arkadians had defeated the Eleians in the mid-360s B.C.<sup>42</sup> The exception is *IvO* 11, dated by Jeffery to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C.<sup>43</sup> Here, the Chaladrians appear to grant a certain Deukaleon their citizenship and to guarantee his right to land ‘in Pisa’. This document belongs to the period when a place called ‘Pisa’ is first mentioned in the odes of Bacchylides and Pindar. While Siewert seems correct in maintaining that from the time of Pindar and Herodotus the names ‘Olympia’ and ‘Pisa’ are ‘often synonymous and interchangeable’,<sup>44</sup> he produces no evidence of the existence of a place called ‘Pisa’ or ‘Pisatis’ or a people called ‘Pisatans’ or ‘Pisaians’ that derives from a time earlier than 476 B.C.

#### *Pisa in the Classical Historians*

Herodotus offers a precise calculation of the distance between Athens and Pisa, by which he simply means the sanctuary of Zeus.<sup>45</sup> Thucydides says nothing of Pisa, Pisatis, the Pisaioi or the Pisatai. The Pisatans first appear in Xenophon’s *Hellenika*, where the Arkadians hold the Olympic festival of 364 B.C. together with the Πισᾶται, who claim to have been the first to manage the sanctuary.<sup>46</sup> The Pisatan claim recorded by Xenophon seems, furthermore, also to reveal the identity of those who laid claim to Olympia upon the Eleian defeat at the hands of the Lakedaimonians in 400 B.C.<sup>47</sup> The Lakedaimonians had decided to leave to the Eleians the management of the shrine of Olympian Zeus, ‘even though it did not belong to them of old, because they considered those who contended for it to be rustics, and not good

<sup>42</sup> Xen. *Hell.* VII.4.12-35; Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 68, n.25; *IvO* 36; *SEG* XX.339; Mallwitz, A., ‘Neue Forschungen in Olympia’ *Gymnasium* 88 (1981) 99-101, fig. 1a; Meyer, 1950, 1754.

<sup>43</sup> Jeffery, *LSAG* 220.8.

<sup>44</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 67f: ‘synonym und austauschbar’.

<sup>45</sup> Hdt. II.7.1f.

<sup>46</sup> Xen. *Hell.* VII.4.28f: τοῖς πρώτοις φάσκουσι προστῆναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

<sup>47</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.31.

enough to be placed in charge.<sup>48</sup> We can assume that the rival contenders were those whom Xenophon later identifies as the Pisatai.<sup>49</sup> This need not indicate, nevertheless, that the Lakedaimonians believed that Olympia had once belonged to Pisa. According to Pindar's *Olympian* X.43-63, Herakles founded the Olympic festival. Such stories, says Strabo, one must disregard.<sup>50</sup> To the Lakedaimonians, however, whose kings claimed descent from Herakles, this belief must have had some appeal. Perhaps, to their minds, the festival belonged to neither the Eleians nor the Pisatans.

Discussing the usefulness to contemporary historians of ancient Greek mythology about the past, Hall says that 'the Greeks were simply not interested in retaining a historical memory of the past for its own sake. The purpose of these tales was invariably to explain circumstances and to justify actions in the present'.<sup>51</sup> Hornblower points out that myths can be used to deny historical claims 'by giving coverage to a mythical version while passing over historical...claims in silence. A good example of this,' he points out, 'is the way Pindar treats the heroes of myth as having founded the great Panhellenic games'.<sup>52</sup> The account in *Olympian* X, says Hornblower, of Herakles' foundation of the Olympic games, 'can be seen as a hit at the pretensions of the Eleians'.<sup>53</sup> This exposition of the way in which myth can be made to serve the wider purposes of the poet has great value. Yet the so-called 'pretensions' of the Eleians may in fact be among the historical claims that Hornblower believes that myth-makers sometimes pass over in silence. Strabo is emphatic that whatever might be found in *ta palaia*, the Aitolians founded the games.<sup>54</sup>

Another myth of such character might be the identification, first encountered in Pindar's *Olympian* I, of king Oinomaos as 'Pisatan'. By the beginning of the fourth century B.C. this identification, which we do not encounter in texts older than Pindar's, was, nevertheless, already at least three-quarters of a century old. It might

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<sup>48</sup> καίπερ οὐκ ἀρχαίου Ἡλείοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιποιουμένους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἰκανοὺς προεστάναι. While Xenophon might simply mean that the Lakedaimonians considered these people too incompetent to manage the sanctuary, he perhaps also implies that it would have been demeaning for men of the sort who attended the festival to be placed under their jurisdiction.

<sup>49</sup> Xen. *Hell.* VII.4.28f; cf. Ruggeri, 2004, 65.

<sup>50</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.355.

<sup>51</sup> Hall, J.M., *Hellenicity* (Chicago, 2002) 47.

<sup>52</sup> Hornblower, 2004, 113.

<sup>53</sup> Hornblower, 2004, 113f.

<sup>54</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.355. For Eleians as Aitolians, see above, 93-96.

have been the basis of the claim of the Pisatans to the Olympic festival in 365/4 B.C. Diodoros' comment suggests that this claim was founded upon mythology:<sup>55</sup>

Πισᾶται μὲν ἀνανεωσάμενοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα τῆς πατρίδος καὶ  
τισι μυθικαῖς καὶ παλαιαῖς ἀποδείξεσι χρώμενοι, τὴν θέσιν τῆς  
᾽Ολυμπικῆς πανηγύρεως αὐτοῖς προσήκειν ἀπεφαίνοντο.<sup>56</sup>

The Pisatans, recalling to mind the ancient honour of their fatherland and using some mythical and antiquarian arguments, gave evidence that the management of the Olympic festival should belong to them.

Apollodoros makes three mentions of myths concerning Pisa. One involves Daidalos and Herakles,<sup>57</sup> and so seems to follow the same line as Pindar's *Olympian* X.43-63. In the remaining two references we find a similarity with Pindar's *Olympian* I.70. While Pindar calls the father of Hippodameia 'Pisatan', in Apollodoros the same Oinomaos, the father of Hippodameia, is the king of Pisa.<sup>58</sup> Strabo, too, records that Oinomaos had ruled 'Pisatis', succeeded by Pelops, and that Salmoneus was also said to have ruled there. The geographer, however, also warns us against certain writers who claim that Oinomaos and Salmoneus had ruled over Eleia, not Pisatis, and others who combine the two *ethne* into one.<sup>59</sup> Later he says that Ephoros calls Salmoneus 'the king of both the Epeians [the older inhabitants of Eleia] and the Pisatans',<sup>60</sup> so we can assume that Ephoros was among those who thought that Oinomaos had ruled both Eleia and Pisatis. Clearly, not everyone in fourth-century Greece found an historical basis in the myth of an independent Pisatis under king Oinomaos. It would seem strange, too, that the Eleians had Paionios carve the image of Oinomaos by the side of Zeus on the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, as Pausanias reports,<sup>61</sup> if they did not claim him for their own.

Xenophon is non-committal on the claim of the Pisatans to Olympia. We need not assume that the fourth-century Spartans accepted it, Ephoros clearly did not

<sup>55</sup> cf. Niese, 1910, 45.

<sup>56</sup> Diod. XV.78.2.

<sup>57</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* II.6.3.

<sup>58</sup> Apollod. *Epitome* 2.4, cf. 9.

<sup>59</sup> Strabo VIII.3.31, p.356.

<sup>60</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357.

<sup>61</sup> Paus. V.10.6.

believe it and Diodoros seems sceptical. The only piece of evidence that could have been used in favour of it appears to be the claim that an independent Pisa had once been ruled by the mythical king Oinomaos. This proposition, first found in Pindar, is followed by Apollodoros and Strabo, and is also found in Pausanias.<sup>62</sup> If Pindar can have created the myth of Herakles' foundation of the games to discredit the claim of the Eleians, as proposed by Hornblower,<sup>63</sup> then he can have made Oinomaos the king of the Pisatans for the same purpose. We need not assume that there is any historical basis to the myth of an independent Pisatis that had managed Olympia in prehistoric times, nor that the Eleians had ever conquered such a state and taken control of the sanctuary of Zeus from its people.

#### *Pisa in Strabo and Pausanias*

Strabo deals with Pisatis and the Pisatans in some detail.<sup>64</sup> After a lengthy discussion of the situation in Eleia during the period described in the Homeric epics,<sup>65</sup> he introduces the next part of his work with the observation that 'it remains to tell about Olympia and about the change-over of everything to the Eleians'.<sup>66</sup> The temple at Olympia, he says, was famous in the beginning because of the *manteion* of Olympian Zeus.<sup>67</sup> The Aitolians had returned under Oxylos, lived with the Epeians, enlarged their territory to include Pisatis and taken control of Olympia. These Aitolians, he says, celebrated the first Olympic festival.

According to Strabo, it is clear, the Aitolians had conquered the territory that by his time was known as Pisatis before the foundation of the games, so certainly not in the sixth century B.C., as often claimed by modern scholars.<sup>68</sup> By 'Aitolians', he clearly means the Eleians, whom he soon afterwards says had control of both the temple and the games from the first Olympiad. He adds that the Πισάται, after the twenty-sixth Olympiad, took back their homeland, continuing to celebrate the games that the Aitolians had established. Later the Eleians regained Pisatis and the games.<sup>69</sup> These events appear to constitute a different version from that found in Pausanias of

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<sup>62</sup> Apollod. *Epitome* E.2.4, 9; Strabo VIII.3.31, p.356; Paus. V.1.6.

<sup>63</sup> Hornblower, 2004, 113f.

<sup>64</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30-33, pp.353-58.

<sup>65</sup> Strabo VIII.3.23-29, pp.349-53.

<sup>66</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.353: τῆς εἰς τοὺς Ἡλείους ἀπάντων μεταπτώσεως.

<sup>67</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.353.

<sup>68</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.354; see above, 145, n.1.

<sup>69</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.355.



Pantaleon's takeover and the subsequent period of conflict. The fact that Pausanias ascribed that event to the thirty-fourth rather than the twenty-sixth Olympiad need not concern us too greatly,<sup>70</sup> since, as argued above, Olympiad numbers may have varying values. What is significant about Strabo's report is that, like that of Eusebios, who says that the Pisatans held the games from Ol.30 to Ol.51, it records a prolonged period of Pisatan control over Olympia rather than a momentary episode, as in Pausanias.<sup>71</sup>

There is disagreement among writers, Strabo points out, concerning the derivation of the name 'Pisatis'. Some say that it was named after a city in Thessaly. Others, however, maintained that there had never been a *polis* of Pisa in the Alpheios valley, arguing that if there had been, it would have been counted among 'the eight' (μίον τῶν ὀκτώ), an apparently well-known list. There was, however, a spring called 'Bisa' near Kikysion, 'the greatest of the eight cities'.<sup>72</sup> Although Stesichoros, 'they' argue, did use the term '*polis*' for the territory of Pisa, Strabo explains that this was meant euphemistically, as Stesichoros' usage in other instances reveals. For Strabo, Pisa was a locality rather than a city, a belief that is in accord with the passages from the poets discussed above.<sup>73</sup>

'Pisatis', on the other hand, was used by Strabo's time to indicate a larger entity than the Kladeos valley, extending down to the coast on both banks of the Alpheios.<sup>74</sup> Much had changed since late Archaic and early Classical times, so what the geographer calls 'Pisatis' appears to differ from the land of the 'Pisatans' mentioned by Xenophon or that of the 'Pisaians' found in Pausanias.<sup>75</sup> While Pisatai are 'men of Pisatis', Pisaioi means 'men of Pisa', and in this subtle difference, perhaps, the key to understanding their identity is to be found. While a separatist group of Eleians might have adopted the name 'Pisaioi' from the stream that flowed past Olympia, in Xenophon the Pisatai appear to be the inhabitants of a district of Eleia around Olympia called 'Pisatis'. By Strabo's time a larger area had come to be known by that name.

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<sup>70</sup> Paus. VI.22.2.

<sup>71</sup> Euseb. *Chron.* Schöne I, 197f, 201f; cf. Niese, 1910, 39.

<sup>72</sup> Strabo VIII.3.31, p.356.

<sup>73</sup> See above, 145-49.

<sup>74</sup> Strabo VIII.3.12, p.342f, 31f, p.356f; Niese, 1910, 33f.

<sup>75</sup> In a later passage, as noted above, Strabo lists the Pisatans among the allies of the Messenians during the second Messenian War, in which they were led by Pantaleon: VIII.4.10, p.362.

Strabo seems to have accepted as historical the mythical description of Oinomaos as king of Pisa, which we have seen probably dates from the time of Pindar, and so he anachronistically describes the country around Olympia at the time of the Aitolian immigration as ‘Pisatis’. In his narrative, the historical Pisatans first appear when they ‘take back’ their homeland. Strabo, it seems, encountered textual or oral historical evidence of the conflicts in Eleia during the end of the Archaic period and the first decade of the Classical.<sup>76</sup> When he considered this with the myths found in the early poets of an independent, prehistoric Pisa under Oinomaos, the events of the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C. must have appeared to him to have been a ‘revival’ of the ancient kingdom of Pisatis, which is in fact unheard of until the period when it was supposed to have been revived.

Pausanias, like Strabo, discusses Pisa and the ‘Pisaians’ at some length.<sup>77</sup> He records some mythology: Oinomaos is the ruler of Pisa and Herakles spares the ‘Pisaians’, even though they had helped in the attempt of the Eleians to defend Elis from him.<sup>78</sup> He mentions the struggles of the Eleians with the Arkadians and ‘Pisaians’ for control of the Olympic contests, but appears to be referring to the events around 364 B.C.<sup>79</sup> A bone of Pelops is brought from Pisa to the Greeks at Troy.<sup>80</sup> These pieces of information, however, add little to the search for the identity of the Pisatans.

The border between the country of the Arkadians and that of the Eleians, Pausanias tells us, ἐξ ὀρχῆς divided the Arkadians and ‘Pisaians’.<sup>81</sup> Pausanias believes in the existence of a ‘land of Pisaia’.<sup>82</sup> Within this land are the ruins of Phrixa and Harpina. In his description, the landscape of Pisaia is inseparable from the myth of the victory of Pelops in the courtship of Hippodameia, the daughter of Oinomaos.<sup>83</sup> Pausanias acknowledges Hesiod’s *Great Eoiai* as the source of his information about these mythological events. Although he makes eight mentions of Oinomaos,<sup>84</sup> however, ‘Pisa’ only appears later, when he is clearly using sources

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<sup>76</sup> The Classical period is here taken to have begun in 480 B.C.; cf. Davis, J.L. (ed), *Sandy Pylos: An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino* (Austin, 1998) 308.

<sup>77</sup> Paus. V.1.6f, 3.1, 4.7, 13.4, 16.5f; VI.21.1-5, 22.1-4.

<sup>78</sup> Paus. V.1.6f, 3.1.

<sup>79</sup> Paus. V.4.7; see below, 302.

<sup>80</sup> Paus. V.13.4: ἐκ Πίσσης.

<sup>81</sup> Paus. VI.21.3f.

<sup>82</sup> Paus. VI.21.5: γῆς...τῆς Πισαίας.

<sup>83</sup> Paus. VI.21.6-22.1.

<sup>84</sup> Paus. VI.21.10.

other than Hesiod.<sup>85</sup> This suggests that while Hesiod made an early record of the myth in which Oinomaos was the ruler of the Eleians, a later poet, probably Pindar, first made him the king of Pisa. Ephoros, attempting to make sense of the contradiction, makes him ruler of both.<sup>86</sup> This may be close to the truth, since it is likely that, except for a few years in the mid-fourth century B.C., what later became known as ‘Pisatis’ was always a part of Eleia.

Despite having described the land of the ‘Pisaians’ and having witnessed the ruins of two of the cities in it, Pausanias shows that he believes that a city of Pisa had actually existed, since he describes its site, and can name a founder.<sup>87</sup> We might be tempted to think that he had stood on the site of Kikysion, described by Strabo as ‘the greatest of the eight cities’,<sup>88</sup> believing it to be that of ‘Pisa’. The problem with this is that Pausanias says that he saw no remains of a wall, nor of any other buildings, but that vines were planted all over the district.<sup>89</sup> ‘Pisa’, again, seems likely to have been the name of a fairly restricted locality.

The remaining passages of Pausanias concerning Pisa consist of his record of the historical events shown above to be likely to have occurred in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C.<sup>90</sup> Here Pausanias appears to be confused as to the identity of the Pisatans.<sup>91</sup> The army of the ‘Pisaians’ under Pantaleon, he believes, was mustered ‘from their neighbours’, other cities around Pisa. Some of these, the Makistians and Skillountians, whom he anachronistically calls ‘Triphylians’, and ‘of the other *perioikoi*, the Dyspontians’ (τῶν δὲ ἄλλων περιόικων Δυσπόντιοι), later join in revolt with the ‘Pisaians’ against the Eleians. Pausanias says of the Dyspontians merely that they were closely related to the ‘Pisaians’.<sup>92</sup> Since he appears to have mistakenly believed that a city of Pisa had once existed, however, it seems likely that

<sup>85</sup> Paus. VI.21.11: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπαριθμοῦσι.

<sup>86</sup> Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357.

<sup>87</sup> Paus. VI.22.1.

<sup>88</sup> Strabo VIII.3.31, p.356.

<sup>89</sup> Paus. VI.22.1.

<sup>90</sup> Paus. V.10.2; 16.5f; VI.21.1f, 22.24; see above, 128-38.

<sup>91</sup> Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 66, cf. 68f; Roy, J., ‘The Pattern of Settlement in Pisatis. The ‘Eight *Poleis*’ ’ in Nielsen, T.H. (ed), *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart, 2002) 233. As Arafat, K., *Pausanias’ Greece* (Cambridge, 1996) 18, points out, Pausanias’ ‘recording of history is necessarily at a different remove from his recording of the objects, temples and cults that he observed for himself.’ The history that he includes is meant ‘to give the reader the context of the object that he is describing.’ While we can conclude from Arafat’s investigation that Pausanias’ descriptions of what he saw are accurate, the historical background may be coloured by the perceptions of his times.

<sup>92</sup> Paus. VI.22.4. This myth could have arisen as part of a later attempt to link Dyspontion to Pisatis: Roy, ‘Pisatis’, 2002, 242.

some of those whom Pausanias describes as their allies might in fact themselves have constituted the ‘Pisaians’.

There is no reliable historical evidence for an independent Pisa in early times, and the conflicts reported by Pausanias give no reason to believe in an early-sixth century Eleian conquest of such a state. Xenophon’s report that the ‘Pisatai’ celebrated the games with the Arkadians in 364 B.C., however, makes it clear that there were people who went by that name at that time.<sup>93</sup> They might already have had a separate local identity by 400 B.C.<sup>94</sup> Like the ‘Pisaioi’ in Pausanias’ record of conflict in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C., nevertheless, these people are likely to have been counted among the Eleians.

#### *B. Niese’s View of the Reports of a Conflict between Elis and Pisa*

Both Benedikt Niese and Ernst Meyer comment in some detail on the question of an early-Archaic Pisatan administration of Olympia. Niese believes that no Pisatan community existed before the establishment of a Pisatan state, with the support of the Arkadian confederation, in the mid-360s B.C. and that the story that Olympia had originally belonged to the Pisatans was constructed at that time. Meyer, on the other hand, maintains that the Eleians, having taken Olympia from the Pisatans in the early-sixth century B.C., sought to give the false impression that the sanctuary and games had always been theirs. While Niese seems correct to argue that the myth of Pisatan control of the festival was fabricated at a late period, this is more likely to have occurred in the early-fifth than the mid-fourth century B.C.

Niese rightly rejects the *allgemeiner Ansicht* that the Pisatans were a separate people from the Eleians.<sup>95</sup> In his view, reports about a struggle between Pisa and Elis over Olympia are founded on later invention, *eine Geschichtskonstruktion*. He concludes that only in 365 and 364 B.C., when the Arkadians had defeated the Eleians, was there an independent community of Pisatis.<sup>96</sup> ‘Pisa’, he argues, signified a locality in Elis. There were no ruins, Pisa was not included among the eight cities of Pisatis known to Strabo, even the ancients disputed its existence and *IvO* 11 proves that Pisa was merely a locality within the territory of the *demos* of the Chaladrians

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<sup>93</sup> Xen. *Hell.* VII.4.28f.

<sup>94</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.31.

<sup>95</sup> Niese, 1910, 26.

<sup>96</sup> Niese, 1910, 27.

and was thus part of Elis.<sup>97</sup> Because Pisa was the best-known part of Elis up until the *synoikismos*, claims Niese, the terms ‘Pisa’ and ‘Elis’ were synonymous in poetry. Furthermore, the Eleians’ right to Olympia is not disputed by Pindar,<sup>98</sup> the Lakedaimonians,<sup>99</sup> Herodotus or Ephoros.<sup>100</sup>

Although post-Homeric poets and scholars such as Pindar place the realm of Nestor in Messenia, *die alexandrischen Grammatiker* had argued, says Niese, that the Alpheios flowed through his kingdom.<sup>101</sup> Strabo, accordingly, considers Nestor’s realm to have included the two territories known by his time as Pisatis and Triphylia, and thus distinguishes Pylian Pisa from Elis.<sup>102</sup> Although Strabo criticises ‘die Nachhomeriker, die νεώτεροι’ for combining Pisa with Elis, Niese points out, ‘Pisa or Pisatis, with Olympia, remains completely unmentioned in Homer’.<sup>103</sup>

Pausanias, like Strabo, follows the Homeric scholars of Alexandria in distinguishing Pisa and Elis and has Oinomaos reigning in Pisa.<sup>104</sup> He differs from them, nevertheless, in reporting the mythical pre-history of Olympia as if it were authentic and in placing Pisa opposite Olympia. On the conflict of the Pisatans with the Eleians over Olympia, Niese observes, Pausanias differs even more greatly from Strabo and Eusebios, who believe that the Pisatans held a number of Olympiads in succession.<sup>105</sup> Pausanias knows of only three isolated occasions when the Pisatans held the Olympic festival, in Ols. 8 (with Pheidon), 34 (led by Pantaleon) and 104 (with the Arkadians). Although Herodotus, whom Pausanias follows, and Ephoros also record that Pheidon had seized the games, they mention nothing of the Pisatans. No other source, Niese points out, mentions the Pisatan seizure of Ol. 34.<sup>106</sup> The 104<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, celebrated with the Arkadians in 364 B.C., is the only one that we can be certain that the Pisatans presided over. The accounts of Strabo, Eusebios and Pausanias, all of which contradict each other,<sup>107</sup> are arbitrary reports that arose as historians attempted ‘to account for the claims of the Pisatans to Olympia in the past’.

<sup>97</sup> Niese, 1910, 28f.

<sup>98</sup> Pind. *Isth.* II.23f.

<sup>99</sup> Niese, 1910, 32 and n.1.

<sup>100</sup> Niese, 1910, 31-33: Hdt. II.160.1-4; VI.127.3; Strabo VIII.3.33, p.357f; *FHG* I 236.

<sup>101</sup> *Il.* V.544f: ποταμοῖο Ἀλφειοῦ, ὅς τ’ ἐρὺν ῥέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης.

<sup>102</sup> Niese, 1910, 34.

<sup>103</sup> Niese, 1910, 35: ‘Pisa oder die Pisatis mit Olympia bleiben ja bei Homer vollkommen unerwähnt’.

<sup>104</sup> Niese, 1910, 36. Niese has Paus. V.1.4ff, 25.5; VI.22.11, but see V.1.6f, 22.6; VI.21.11.

<sup>105</sup> Niese, 1910, 37f.

<sup>106</sup> Niese, 1910, 41.

<sup>107</sup> Niese, 1910, 43: ‘sie ebenso sehr der älteren Anschauung widersprechen, wie sie untereinander in einem Gegensatz [sic] stehen, der weder durch starke noch durch sanfte Heilmittel beseitigt werden kann.’

These claims originated in ‘the events of 365 and 364 B.C., the incorporation of Olympia and Pisa into the *Arkadikon* and the violently enforced celebration of the 104<sup>th</sup> Olympiad by the freshly-baked Pisatans and the Arkadian league.’<sup>108</sup>

After peace had been made, the claims of the Pisatans to the games lived on in the literature.<sup>109</sup> Because the first numbered Olympiads belonged to the Eleians, the Pisatans in 365 B.C. were compelled, as Diodoros says, to use arguments based upon mythology.<sup>110</sup> These myths made their way into the literature, and evidence for the further history of Pisatis came from the poets and historians of the Eleians.<sup>111</sup> In this way, Pheidon was introduced into the supposed history of Pisa, along with Pantaleon, who in Herakleides is a tyrant of the Eleians.<sup>112</sup> Thus, in Pausanias’ reconstruction, Pantaleon, actually a tyrant of Elis, becomes a tyrant of Pisa who drives the Eleians from Olympia. We can assume, says Niese, that Damophon and Pyrrhos were also figures from Eleian rather than Pisatan history.<sup>113</sup>

#### *E. Meyer’s Opposition to Niese*

Ernst Meyer agrees with Niese that the late sources are contradictory. He accounts for this, nevertheless, by speculating that they are all, to varying degrees, ‘*elischorthodoxer*’. In his view the Eleians, rather than the Pisatans, were responsible for obscuring the historical facts. The Eleians ‘could obviously not simply deny the fact of an earlier management of the games by Pisa,’ he maintains, ‘and seek thereby to diminish this tradition, disagreeable for Elis.’<sup>114</sup> While Apollodoros (followed by Strabo) makes the Pisatan period shorter than that of Eusebios, ‘the most extreme is the version of Pausanias. Here these non-Eleian Olympiads are cut down to the smallest possible size’.<sup>115</sup> Pausanias, furthermore, makes the Pisatans into ‘alien intruders’, *fremde Eindringlinge*, ‘rebels against Elis from the outside’.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Niese, 1910, 43: ‘die Ereignisse von 365 und 364 v. Chr., die Einverleibung Olympias und Pisas in das Arkadikon und die gewaltsam erzwungene Feier der 104. Olympiade durch die neugebackenen Pisäer und den arkadischen Bund.’

<sup>109</sup> Niese, 1910, 45.

<sup>110</sup> Diod. XV.78.2.

<sup>111</sup> Niese, 1910, 46.

<sup>112</sup> Herakl. Pont. *Peri Politeion* VI ΗΑΕΙΩΝ, *FHG* II 213.6.

<sup>113</sup> Niese, 1910, 47.

<sup>114</sup> Meyer, 1950, 1748.44-48: ‘Man konnte offenbar die Tatsache einer früheren Leitung der Spiele durch P. nicht einfach leugnen und suchte daher diese für Elis unangenehme Überlieferung abzuschwächen.’

<sup>115</sup> Meyer, 1950, 1748.66-1749.2.

<sup>116</sup> Meyer, 1950, 1749.16-19.

In Meyer's opinion, 'the former political independence of Pisa is not to be doubted.' He finds Niese's view that the Pisatan claim to Olympia originated in the few years around 364 B.C. *undenkbar*.<sup>117</sup> Instead, the events of 402/1 B.C. and from 365 B.C., recorded by Xenophon, show that a valid and ancient Pisatan claim was not forgotten. Furthermore, on the Iphitos disk (located in the Heraion at Olympia) according to Phlegon's version, the Pisatan Kleosthenes is named next to the Eleian Iphitos and the Spartan Lykurgos as one of the founders of the Olympic games.<sup>118</sup> Some sources describe Pisos, the *eponym* of Pisa, as the oldest mythical founder of the Olympic games.<sup>119</sup> Contemporary evidence that is 'above suspicion', *unverdächtiges zeitgenössisches Zeugnis*, claims Meyer, is the depiction of Pisos on the Kypselos chest at Olympia as a contestant in the chariot race at the funeral games of Pelias. This, Meyer is certain, proves the existence of an independent Pisa during the period of the Kypselid tyranny at Korinth. Nothing on the chest, he points out, indicates a relationship between Elis and Olympia.<sup>120</sup>

Niese, nevertheless, has already countered two of Meyer's three objections. The report in Xenophon's *Hellenika* of rival claimants to Olympia after the Eleian War can be attributed, he says, to an attempt by Xenophon to flatter the Spartans,<sup>121</sup> and the Pisatan Kleosthenes appeared on the disk reported by Phlegon only later, when historians attempted to explain the claim of the Pisatans to Olympia.<sup>122</sup> As Inglis points out, Meyer's third objection can also be easily answered. The appearance of the 'Pisaian' *eponym* Pisos on the Archaic chest of Kypselos is unconvincing, since the 'possibilities for the intrusion of post-Archaic interpretation and conjecture are numerous.'<sup>123</sup>

The identity of the other competitors in Pelias' funerary games depicted on the chest suggests, moreover, that even if Pisos was depicted there he need not have been considered the *eponym* of an independent Pisa at the time. The other charioteers include Ἄσπεριών Κομήτου. Pausanias observes that he was said to have been one of the Argonauts,<sup>124</sup> but his name, which may mean 'Starman, son of Comet',

<sup>117</sup> Meyer, 1950, 1749.57f, 62.

<sup>118</sup> Phlegon of Tralles *FGrH* 257 F 1.2; Meyer, 1950, 1750.1-7.

<sup>119</sup> Meyer, 1950, 1750.7-11; Niese, 1910, 46.

<sup>120</sup> Paus. V.17.9; Meyer, 1950, 1750.11-15; cf. Siewert, *AM*, 1991, 67, n.11.

<sup>121</sup> Niese, 1910, 44.

<sup>122</sup> Niese, 1910, 46, n.3.

<sup>123</sup> Paus. V.17.9; cf. 5f; VI.22.2; Inglis, A., *A History of Elis, ca. 700-365 B.C.* (Harvard PhD Thesis, 1998) 66.

<sup>124</sup> Paus. V.17.9.

suggests an even more profoundly mythological origin. Polydeukes (Pollux), one of the Dioskouroi, is also among the charioteers. Those remaining are Admetos, who married Pelias' daughter, and Euphemos, son of Poseidon, both Argonauts.<sup>125</sup> It is possible that Pisos was the anthropomorphic incarnation of the river of Pisa, later known as the Kladeos,<sup>126</sup> and in this way became the *eponym* of the district that was named after that river. His appearance on an Archaic chest, even if authentic, can hardly be said to prove that an independent state called Pisa existed in that period.

Meyer also refers to local myths that include Oinomaos and Pelops as kings of Pisa, and points out that Pausanias identifies the palace of Oinomaos within the Altis at Olympia.<sup>127</sup> Niese, once again, has already attributed the origin of these myths to the brief period of Pisatan independence in 365/4 B.C.<sup>128</sup> The palace of Oinomaos, moreover, might just as easily have been that of a king of the Eleians as of a king of Pisa. Meyer also refers to Ovid's mention of a Milon, tyrant of Pisa, but Ovid does not date him.<sup>129</sup> Ultimately, Meyer's arguments appear to rest on an acceptance of the historicity of myths that we first encounter in the epinikian poetry of the beginning of the Classical period.

Meyer claims, too, that the names of the last kings of Pisa, which he says that Niese has described as fabricated, 'sicher historisch sind'. Niese, nevertheless, has not doubted their historicity, but simply claims that they were 'figures from Eleian history' rather than kings of Pisa.<sup>130</sup> Meyer also argues that the Eleian embassy to the Egyptians that enquired about their management of the Olympic festival 'is too uncertain for it to be used as evidence of an earlier conquest of Pisa.'<sup>131</sup> Neither Niese nor the present author, however, suggests an earlier conquest of Pisa, but rather that no independent Pisa existed until long afterwards. While unnecessarily sceptical about the visit of the Eleians to Egypt, Niese observes that Herodotus had no qualms about accepting that it could have taken place soon after the beginning of the sixth century B.C.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Grimal, P., *The Penguin Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (Maxwell-Hysop, A.R., transl., London, 1991) 13, 63, 146, 363. Another Asterion, the son of Doros, married Europa and adopted her children, who included Minos, from Zeus.

<sup>126</sup> See above, 148f.

<sup>127</sup> Paus. V.14.7, 20.6ff; Meyer, 1950, 1750.41-49.

<sup>128</sup> Niese, 1910, 30.

<sup>129</sup> Ovid *Ibis inimicus* 325; Meyer, 1950, 1750.49-51.

<sup>130</sup> Niese, 1910, 47.

<sup>131</sup> Hdt. II.160.1-5; Diod. I.92.2; Meyer, 1950, 1752.8-15.

<sup>132</sup> Niese, 1910, 32.



Meyer's belief that 'Elis stepped into the place of Pisa in the amphictyony of Olympia and in the course of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. undertook the management of the shrine and the games alone' must be seriously questioned.<sup>133</sup> His faith in the existence of a prehistoric state of Pisa that originally managed the Olympic shrine and festival is not well founded. None of the evidence that he presents compels us to dismiss the thesis of Niese that the myth of an original Pisatan management of Olympia was fabricated at a later period. Some aspects of Niese's argument, nevertheless, are not entirely convincing, and the available evidence suggests that the Pisatans first appeared more than a century before the Arkadian victory over Elis in 365 B.C.

*The Late Archaic Origin of the Pisatans*

Inglis, following Niese, considers the division of the region between two kingdoms in early times to be 'most unhistorical'. If we discard this distinction, he concludes,

The Pisans can then be seen...as the Eleioi themselves, conducting their common affairs at Olympia, as the evidence suggests they did prior to the *synoikismos*. Their transformation into rebellious Pisans was the work of later narrators accustomed to identifying the name Elis with the *polis* Elis in the north of the country. Under the new circumstances, the notion of Elean tyrants resident in the south no longer made sense, and so the story was modified to reflect the new reality.<sup>134</sup>

There is much of value in the conclusions of Niese and Inglis. While Niese seems correct in identifying the Pisatans as Eleians, however, his interpretation of the report in Xenophon of rival claimants to Olympia c.400 B.C. is unconvincing and he does not sufficiently explain the appearance of Pisa and the Pisatans in the epinikian poetry of the early-Classical period.

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<sup>133</sup> Meyer, 1950, 1752.38-41.

<sup>134</sup> Inglis, 1998, 68f.

Niese accepts that when Xenophon mentions rival claimants to Olympia in connection with the war of 402-400 B.C. he probably means the Pisatans.<sup>135</sup> Xenophon, nevertheless, he argues, adds this in order to show the Spartans in a more favourable light than the Arkadians.<sup>136</sup> While the Arkadians in Xenophon's report seem to have committed 'a sinful offence against sacred justice...a godlessness', the Spartans, by leaving their defeated enemies in control of the sanctuary, appear to behave with magnanimity.<sup>137</sup> We need not doubt that Xenophon was keen to place the Lakedaimonians in a good light, but the two passages are widely separated in the *Hellenika* and he says nothing in the latter passage to remind the reader of the former.<sup>138</sup> There is no evidence to contradict Xenophon's direct statement that rival claimants existed in 400 B.C., and there are no other possible candidates than the Pisatans.

Niese argues that Pisa, as the site of the Olympic games, was the best-known part of the Eleian region and, before the synoikism, the only famous place in it. As a result, the terms 'Pisa' and 'Elis' were interchangeable in the poetry of Pindar. Strabo, Niese points out, says that this in 'den nachhomerischen Dichtern und Schriftstellern, den sogen. νεώτεροι geschah'.<sup>139</sup> Pindar mentions Oinomaos as 'Pisatan' but means 'Eleian', and in another ode the expression 'Pisatans' is 'only another name for Eleians or Epeians.'<sup>140</sup> Niese, nevertheless, also demonstrates that among these writers Pisa was known as a *part* of Elis.<sup>141</sup> While Oinomaos, as Niese points out, 'who lives in Pisa and is thus a Pisatan, lives at the same time in Elis',<sup>142</sup> this does not necessarily suggest that the poets used 'Pisa' to signify the *whole* of Elis.

As shown above, on the other hand, at no time before 476 B.C. is it clear that any poet uses the expression 'Pisa' to denote anything other than a river near Olympia, very likely the Kladeos.<sup>143</sup> For this reason, it appears that 'Pisa' was first used to describe a district of Eleia early in the fifth century B.C. Pindar's description

<sup>135</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.31.

<sup>136</sup> Niese, 1910, 44: 'um die Haltung der Spartaner...gegenüber den Arkadern in ein vorteilhaftes Licht zu rücken'.

<sup>137</sup> Niese, 1910, 44: 'als eine frevelhafte Verletzung geheiligter Rechte, als eine Gottlosigkeit angesehen'.

<sup>138</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.31; VII.4.28.

<sup>139</sup> Strabo VIII.3.31, p.356; Niese, 1910, 30.

<sup>140</sup> Pind. *Ol.* I.70; *Ol.* IX.68.

<sup>141</sup> Pind. *Ol.* IX.7: ἀκρωτήριον Ἴαλιδος; Polemon *FHG* III 121.19.

<sup>142</sup> Pind. *Ol.* I.67ff, 77; Niese, 1910, 30.

<sup>143</sup> See above, 146-48.

of Oinomaos as ‘Pisatan’ dates from this period, so it seems more likely that the myth of an original Pisatan stewardship of Olympia first appeared then rather than, as Niese proposes, in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. Late in the Archaic period, some of the Eleians appear to have taken on an additional, separate identity as ‘Pisaians’ in the land of ‘Pisa’, so called because of the stream that ran past Olympia. It was perhaps at this time that they adopted Pisos, hitherto a river-deity, as their eponymous hero.

Niese’s rejection of the notion of a conflict within Eleia, which he sees as a fabrication of later narrators, leads him to neglect to attempt an understanding of the true nature of the events that Pausanias, under the influence of later developments, records as a clash of states.<sup>144</sup> Pindar and Bacchylides are unlikely to have created the notion of a place called Pisa and a people called Pisatans out of thin air. On closer examination, the conflicts recorded by Pausanias appear to have constituted a period of prolonged factional struggle within the Eleian *koinon*, a struggle that culminated in the synoikism of 471 B.C.

*P. Siewert: the Pisatans as Subject Allies of Elis*

Contemporary scholars tend to accept the conclusions of Meyer and reject those of Niese, and many would dispute the proposition that the Pisatans are to be counted among the Eleians. Although it is not possible to consider the work of all of them here, some of the more recent will be addressed. The most eminent and productive contemporary Eleian scholars are Peter Siewert and James Roy, and a recent publication by Claudia Ruggeri also demands attention.<sup>145</sup>

Siewert gives a straightforward account of his view of Eleian history in a paper published in 1994.<sup>146</sup> He begins by claiming that ‘around about 570 B.C. the Eleians conquered Pisatis and undertook the management of the Olympic games.’<sup>147</sup> In Siewert’s opinion, the immigrating Aitolians had established two separate kingdoms, but the Eleian kingdom had later extinguished that of the Pisatans.<sup>148</sup> The inhabitants of those communities on the Alpheios that were not annexed by the Eleians and which are described by ancient historians as *perioikoi* actually became

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<sup>144</sup> Niese, 1910, 47.

<sup>145</sup> See above, 145, n.1.

<sup>146</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 27-31.

<sup>147</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 27: ‘Etwa um 570 v.Chr. eroberten die Eleer die Pisatis und übernahmen die Leitung der olympischen Spiele.’

<sup>148</sup> Siewert refers to Meyer, 1950, 1751f; Siewert, Köln, 1994, 27, 29.

their subject allies, and ‘are not to be regarded formally as subordinate δᾶμοι of the Eleian state, but as constitutionally independent but compulsorily loyal polities.’<sup>149</sup> While the hilly topography of the Alpheios valley, he claims, had led to the appearance of a number of small states, this was not known in Koile Elis, the open plain of the Peneios, where the ‘“Großpolis” mit zahlreichen Landgemeinden’ of Elis alone was to be found.<sup>150</sup>

This view has the advantage that it makes the Pisatans Aitolians rather than the remnants of a surviving pre-Aitolian population, so it takes into account the epigraphic evidence that suggests that the people of the Peneios and Alpheios valleys spoke the same dialect.<sup>151</sup> Nor does it contradict the explicit statement of Strabo that the Aitolians, having conquered both Pisatis and the lands to the north, founded the Olympic games.<sup>152</sup> It does, nevertheless, ignore the further report of Strabo that the Eleians had control of the temple and games from the first Olympiad.<sup>153</sup> As indicated above, no source from earlier than 476 B.C. mentions any Pisatans, and until then Pisa does not securely appear in the literature as anything more than a small stream. Siewert justly maintains that the Aitolian settlements on the Alpheios were neither *perioikoi* nor subordinate *damoi* of the Eleian state. Nor are they likely to have been, as he claims, its subject allies. Rather, until the synoikism of 471 B.C., they appear to have been equal and independent *poleis* of an Eleian *koinon*.<sup>154</sup>

Siewert’s argument from topography is not convincing. While it is true that the land on both sides of the Alpheios is hilly compared to the broad plain of the Peneios, there is no significant barrier to communication between the two valleys. If we are to divide the region of Eleia in two, then it must be the imposing range of Mt. Lapithas, the southern limit of the Alpheios basin, rather than the sandy hills to the north of the Alpheios, that provides the boundary (figs. 9, 10).<sup>155</sup> Siewert argues that the plain of the Peneios was conducive to the formation of a single *polis*, but acknowledges that it was composed of numerous settlements. The topography of Eleia offers no obstacle to the belief that the *poleis* of both the Peneios and Alpheios

<sup>149</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 29: ‘staatsrechtlich selbständige, aber gefolgschaftspflichtige Gemeinwesen’.

<sup>150</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 30.

<sup>151</sup> See above, 96-99.

<sup>152</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.354f.

<sup>153</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.355: ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης...τὴν προστασίαν εἶχον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος Ἡλεῖοι.

<sup>154</sup> See above, 106-11.

<sup>155</sup> Hellenic Military Geographical Service 1: 100,000 map, *Tropaia* (1978).

valleys might have constituted independent members of a *koinon* in the Archaic period and have become demes of a unified *polis* of Elis in the Classical.

One of Siewert's key arguments is that while several inscriptions found in Olympia mention communities in the Alpheios valley, none demonstrably refers to any in the valley of the Peneios. Yet this is to be expected. All of the inscriptions that mention the independent communities of the Alpheios come from either the period of conflict in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries B.C., or the period after the Spartan-Eleian War of 402-400 B.C., when the Eleian state had been dismembered. During these periods, it seems, the communities of the broad plain of the Peneios remained part of the *koinon* and later of the *polis* of the Eleians. At other times, we hear only of 'the Eleians'. This suggests no more than that the communities of the Peneios valley, as far as we can tell, were loyal to the Eleian *koinon* during the disturbances recorded by Pausanias.<sup>156</sup>

Siewert's claim that the Eleian state was a single 'great *polis*' in the Archaic period is far from secure. He argues that the bronze legal document of the Eleians from the early sixth century B.C. (discussed in the publication now under consideration) shows that Elis was the centre of a *polis* from at least that time. As pointed out above, however, this document, the one example of its kind, shows only that the site of the later city of Elis is likely to have been used as a temporary capital while Pheidon had control of Olympia.<sup>157</sup> The Simonides anecdote recorded by Himerius in which the Eleians appear to constitute a '*polis* of Zeus', implies Siewert, refers to an Archaic *polis* centred on Elis. This poet, nevertheless, was active until the early 460s B.C.<sup>158</sup> The report of Himerius may refer to the synoikised Eleian *polis* of 471 B.C., and the song to 'the *polis* of Zeus' that he was asked to sing on this visit might well have been requested on the occasion of its foundation.<sup>159</sup>

Siewert proposes, on the grounds of the ritual and songs associated with it, that the worship of Σωσίπολις, 'the saviour of the *polis*' at Olympia during Pausanias' time shows that it goes back to the Archaic period. Pausanias reports, however, that the worship of Sosipolis commemorates a victory over invading Arkadians.<sup>160</sup> The earliest known historical context for an Arkadian invasion is in the

<sup>156</sup> See above, 128-38.

<sup>157</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 19-25, 30; see above, 111, 115-17, 141.

<sup>158</sup> See above, 147f.

<sup>159</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 30; Simonides, Page, 1962, no. 589; see above, 147f, n.15.

<sup>160</sup> Paus. VI.20.2-6; 25.4.

360s B.C.<sup>161</sup> Xenophon reports a battle during the Arkadian invasion of Eleia at that time in which the Eleians win a surprising victory, charging across the Kladeos and driving the Arkadians back into the sanctuary of Zeus itself.<sup>162</sup>

The details in the report of Pausanias referred to by Siewert show that it is likely to concern the same battle as that related by Xenophon. Although Sosipolis is also honoured in a small shrine in Elis,<sup>163</sup> the actual temple of Sosipolis and his mother Eileithuia is between the Olympic treasuries and the hill of Kronos.<sup>164</sup> The temple was built near the site of the battle, and the Arkadians are buried on the other side of the Kladeos from the Olympian sanctuary, just as we would expect from Xenophon's account.<sup>165</sup> The mythical element in Pausanias' report in which the infant Sosipolis is transformed into a snake need not imply an Archaic context, since Pausanias is far enough removed in time for the story to have acquired mythical characteristics, and this manifestation may rather suggest the involvement of a Klytid *mantis*.<sup>166</sup> The worship of Sosipolis, it seems, originated in a victory of the *polis* of the Eleians in the fourth century B.C., and cannot be used as evidence for the existence of a *polis* of Elis in the Archaic period, no matter how Archaic the ritual might appear from Pausanias' report.

Like many other scholars, Siewert readily converts the numbered Olympiads for events recorded by Pausanias into dates in the Julian calendar, and so deduces that the Pisatans were overcome by the Eleians c.570 B.C.<sup>167</sup> This leads him to give too little significance to the evidence of Herodotus, Strabo and Pausanias that the Eleians controlled Olympia before the time of Pheidon.<sup>168</sup> He also ignores both the passages of Pausanias that indicate that the Pisatans had rebelled from the Eleians and the explicit statement of Strabo that the Eleians were the first to hold the Olympic festival.<sup>169</sup> The arguments that Siewert presents in favour of the existence in the Archaic period of a *polis* based on Elis and of an independent Pisa that controlled Olympia before an Eleian takeover in the early-sixth century B.C. are not convincing.

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<sup>161</sup> Xen. *Hell.* VII.4.12-33.

<sup>162</sup> Xen. *Hell.* VII.4.28-31.

<sup>163</sup> Paus. VI.25.4: ἐν οἰκίματι οὐ μέγαλον.

<sup>164</sup> Paus. VI.20.2.

<sup>165</sup> Paus. VI.20.5f.

<sup>166</sup> See above, 57-61; Roy, 1999, 153, finds that such conflicts were 'sans doute mythiques'.

<sup>167</sup> Siewert, Köln, 1994, 29.

<sup>168</sup> Hdt. VI.127.3; Strabo VIII.3.33, p.358; Paus. VI.22.1.

<sup>169</sup> Strabo VIII.3.30, p.354f; Paus. V.10.2; VI.21.1, 22.4.

*J. Roy: the Forcible Incorporation of the Pisatans into the Eleian State*

Roy, too, is prepared to believe that the Eleians had their original homeland in the Peneios valley alone.<sup>170</sup> Although he is less explicit about the details, he assumes that the Eleians had conquered Pisatis in the Archaic period, claiming that ‘the early phases of expansion, down into the fifth century, are obscure, probably involving fluctuating fortunes in a conflict of which we know very little.’ He finds that Eleian domination of Pisatis and other neighbouring districts had been achieved ‘probably by a date in the sixth century’, and that this allowed the Eleians to control the sanctuary at Olympia.<sup>171</sup>

Roy points out, nevertheless, that the Pisatans do not appear to have been included among the ‘*perioikoi*’ of the Eleians, but to have been incorporated into the Eleian state. While the Spartans before the war of ca.400 demanded that the Eleians allow autonomy to their perioikic communities,<sup>172</sup> and the peace settlement actually made Triphylia, Akroreia, the Letrinioi, Amphidolia, Margana and Lasion independent,<sup>173</sup> the Pisatan communities, he says, remained an integral part of the Eleian state. ‘It is notable,’ he says, ‘that Pisatis is clearly not included in the perioikic category.’<sup>174</sup> Furthermore, in 365 B.C. the Arkadians took so much territory from them that the Eleians reduced the number of their tribes from twelve to eight.<sup>175</sup> Because ‘the purely Eleian territory that was lost was Pisatis...Pausanias’ report can be taken to refer to Pisatis.’<sup>176</sup>

Discussing the status of the Pisatan communities, Roy considers two possibilities. They were either ‘*demoi* within the Eleian state’ or ‘subordinate *poleis* within’ its territory. He points out that Pausanias refers to the communities in the lost territory as *demoi* rather than *poleis*.<sup>177</sup> Inconsistencies in the terminology used by Pausanias and Strabo, he concludes, nevertheless, mean that ‘it is not clear whether these communities were *demoi* of Elis or subordinate *poleis* within Elis.’<sup>178</sup> What is clear, however, is that by 365 B.C. the Pisatai were members of the Eleian *phylai*.

<sup>170</sup> Roy, 1997, 282; 1999, 152: ‘Les Éléens étaient originaires de la vallée du Pénée, l’Élide Creuse (Koilé Elis)’; 2004, 489.

<sup>171</sup> Roy, 1997, 282; 1999, 154; 2004, 489.

<sup>172</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.23; Diod. XIV.17.5; Paus. III.8.3.

<sup>173</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III.2.30f, cf. IV.2.16.

<sup>174</sup> Roy, 1997, 283.

<sup>175</sup> Paus. V.9.6.

<sup>176</sup> Roy, ‘Pisatis’, 2002, 242.

<sup>177</sup> Roy, ‘Pisatis’, 2002, 243.

<sup>178</sup> Roy, ‘Pisatis’, 2002, 245, cf. 243f.

They took part in the selection of the *Hellanodikai* and so had political rights within the structure that made the selection. The same variation in terminology that is used in the ancient texts to describe their communities can be seen in the description of those synoikised in 471 B.C. Strabo calls them *demoi*, while Diodoros calls them *poleis*.<sup>179</sup> This would tend to indicate that the communities of Pisatis were just as much a part of the Eleian state as were those of the Peneios valley. The Pisatan communities, it seems, were Eleian communities. Roy's argument that what Strabo calls 'Pisatis' was an integral part of the Eleian state in Classical times is conclusive. Despite the lack of evidence, however, he insists that this came about because the Eleians 'avaient incorporé la Pisatide dans le territoire de l'État éléen' and concludes that 'une politique d'expansion a permis aux Éléens de dominer les cités au nord de l'Alphée depuis le VIe siècle'.<sup>180</sup> Roy does little to support this view in the works cited here,<sup>181</sup> except to say that 'a notion of Pisatan identity presumably lay behind both its brief statehood and antiquarian attempts to record the Pisatans' struggle with the Eleians in the archaic period.'<sup>182</sup> This identity is, however, unlikely to have first appeared until the late Archaic period.

### C. Ruggeri: *the communis opinio*

Although the starting point of Ruggeri's work is 400 B.C, she finds it necessary to give an outline of the earlier history of Eleia and to consider the question of the status of the Pisatan communities in regard to the Eleian state.<sup>183</sup> For her, too, the Eleians, whose homeland was the Peneios valley, embarked upon a policy of expansion from at least the seventh century B.C. and conquered the neighbouring population, 'cioè i cosiddetti perieci elei.' In Ruggeri's view, these *perioikoi* included 'i Pisati che abitano intorno a Olimpia', who had finally submitted to Elis c.570 after a long period of warfare.<sup>184</sup> She agrees with Siewert that, as shown by the bronze legal document from the sixth century B.C. found there, the site of Elis was the political and religious centre of the Eleians long before the synoikism.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>179</sup> Strabo VIII.3.2, p.336f; Diod. XI.54.1.

<sup>180</sup> Roy, 1999, 155, 171.

<sup>181</sup> See above, 145, n.1.

<sup>182</sup> Roy, 1997, 291.

<sup>183</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 16: 'Il punto di partenza dell'indagine é fissato dunque al 400 a. C.'; cf. 15-19, 65-67.

<sup>184</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 15.

<sup>185</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 17 and n.5; *SEG* XLII.375; XLVI.463; XLIII.541; Siewert, Milan, 1994, 257-64; Ebert, J. and Siewert, P., 'Eine archaische Bronzeurkunde aus Olympia mit Vorschriften für



Noting that the Pisatans were not among the *perioikoi* made independent from the Eleian *polis* in 400 B.C., Ruggeri considers it probable that they had nevertheless desired independence at that time, since ‘it is not possible to believe that the Pisatans would be able to administer by themselves the sanctuary of Olympia and contemporaneously be subject to the hegemony of the Eleians.’<sup>186</sup> In order to establish the nature of the relationship of the Pisatans to the Eleian state, Ruggeri looks back to ‘the age of the war between the Eleians and the Pisatans, and to the conquest of Pisa on the part of the Eleians’, which she dates, ‘according to the opinions generally followed by modern scholars to around 570 B.C., with the definitive victory of the Eleians over the Pisatans and the control of the Eleians over the sanctuary of Olympia.’<sup>187</sup>

Ruggeri rejects the hypothesis of Roy that the Pisatans were synoikised into the Eleian state, along with the communities of the Peneios valley, in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.<sup>188</sup> The Pisatans, she says, at the end of the Eleian War appear ‘nella condizione di una popolazione sottomessa e subordinata agli Elei.’ For proof of this she offers an inscription published by Siewert from the second third of the fifth century B.C. It contains a decree of the Eleians that shows that they were ‘able to take decisions relating to the territory or to the magistracies of [the Pisatan community of] Kikysia, which was therefore under their control.’<sup>189</sup> Only in 365/4 B.C., just before their brief period of independence under Arkadian patronage, do we find evidence that the Pisatans had become citizens of Eleia, a process that Ruggeri therefore assigns to the first third of the fourth century B.C.

In support of the assumption that the Eleians had originally inhabited the Peneios valley alone, from which they then conquered Pisatis, Ruggeri presents only their name, Φαλαεῖτοι. This name, which she points out means ‘gli abitanti della valle’, however, may just as well refer to the inhabitants of the valleys of the Peneios and

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Ringkämpfer und Kampfrichter’ in Mallwitz, A. (ed), *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia XI* (Berlin, 1999) 391-412.

<sup>186</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 66: ‘perché non è possibile pensare che i Pisati potessero amministrare da soli il santuario di Olimpia e contemporaneamente essere sottomessi all’egemonia degli Elei.’

<sup>187</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 66.

<sup>188</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 66; Roy, 1997, 283f.

<sup>189</sup> Ruggeri, 2004, 66f. and n.141: ‘dall’iscrizione risulta tuttavia che gli Elei potevano prendere delle decisioni relative al territorio o all’insediamento di Kikysia, che pertanto si trovava sotto il loro controllo’; *SEG* L.460, LI.532, LII.478; Siewert, P., ‘Die wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Bronze-Urkunden aus Olympia (mit der Erstedition einer frühen Theorodokie-Verleihung als Beispiel)’ in Kyrieleis, H., *Olympia 1875-2000, 125 Jahre Deutsche Ausgrabungen* (Mainz, 2002) 359-70.

Alpheios in contrast to their neighbours, the mountaineers of Arkadia, as to the population of one valley alone,<sup>190</sup> so this evidence does not support her argument. The claim that the Eleians had finally conquered Pisatis c.570, a common view, ultimately rests upon the uncritical assignment of dates in the Julian calendar to the Olympiad numbers recorded by Pausanias, and seems unlikely in the light of the revised chronology offered above.<sup>191</sup>

It seems quite possible, as Ruggeri maintains, that a people calling themselves ‘Pisatans’ desired independence, as later under Arkadian sponsorship, when the Lakedaimonians defeated the Eleians in 400 B.C. As argued below, nevertheless, their reasons for desiring independence, and those of the Lakedaimonians for refusing it, might have had more to do with the politics of the time than with a separate identity that stretched back into the prehistoric period.<sup>192</sup> The Eleian inscription relating to Kikysia published by Siewert and referred to by Ruggeri certainly illustrates that in the late-fifth century B.C. the Eleians had authority in the area later known as Pisatis.<sup>193</sup> It seems unlikely, nevertheless, that the Kikysians stood in a relationship to the synoikised Eleian state that differed in any respect from that of any of its other constituent demes. It appears that after the synoikism the Eleians as a whole regulated the affairs of their demes, independent *poleis* beforehand, and that their new *polis* extended throughout the valleys of the Peneios and the Alpheios, excluding only the handful of non-Eleian communities who constituted their *symmachia*.

### *Conclusion*

The overview presented by Ruggeri reflects, in general, the prevailing *communis opinio* on the question of the relations of the Eleians to Pisa and Olympia. The work of Siewert, Roy and Ruggeri rests heavily on Meyer’s *RE* entry on Pisatis.<sup>194</sup> Meyer’s claim that Olympia belonged to an independent Pisa until its conquest by Eleians from a state of Elis c.570 B.C., however, must be rejected on the grounds presented above, and because it ultimately relies upon a flawed

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<sup>190</sup> See above, 5.

<sup>191</sup> See above, 128-38.

<sup>192</sup> See below, 269, 285-88.

<sup>193</sup> See above, 171, n.189.

<sup>194</sup> Meyer, 1950, 1732-55; Siewert, Köln, 1994, 27, n.41, 29, n.61; Roy, 1997, 315, n.60; 2002, 232, n.9, 233; 2004, 489; Ruggeri, 2004, 66 and n.138.

chronology.<sup>195</sup> Niese appears essentially correct in concluding that the Pisatans were Eleians, and that the myth of an independent Pisa that originally administered the Olympic shrine and festival was fabricated at a later date. This mythology, nevertheless, is more likely to have emerged during a period of conflict within the Eleian *koinon* in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries than in the mid-fourth century B.C. From 476 B.C., we begin to hear of Pisa and the Pisatans in the poems of Pindar and Bacchylides, and Pisa is mentioned in *IvO* 11, which dates from the first quarter of the fifth century B.C.

There is much positive evidence to suggest that Pisa was a district of Eleia and that the Pisatans, like the other inhabitants of the Alpheios valley and those of the Peneios, were Eleians. When Ephoros offers epigraphic evidence to prove that the Eleians were the founders of the Aitolians,<sup>196</sup> he provides Aitolos' credentials for being considered Eleian: he had been born on the banks, not of the Peneios, but of the Alpheios. *Manteis* from Olympia are invariably called 'Eleian'.<sup>197</sup> Apollodoros records that in order to get rid of the dung of the cattle of the mythical king Augeias of Elis, Herakles diverted the waters of both the Peneios and the Alpheios.<sup>198</sup> This suggests that, at the time when this myth was constructed, it was believed that the two rivers had flowed through the one kingdom. When the *Pisaioi* and the *Eleioi*, as Pausanias records,<sup>199</sup> decide on reconciliation after the death of Damophon, they choose a woman from each of the sixteen *poleis* of Eleia to make peace. Most unfortunately, Pausanias' list of these cities is lost, apart from the first, Elis.<sup>200</sup> Despite the loss of this part of the text, however, we may assume that the Pisatan *poleis* were not excluded from what would otherwise hardly have been a bi-partisan commission, and that some of the communities on his missing list of Eleian cities were those of the Pisatans.<sup>201</sup> 'Pisa' in the time of Pantaleon and his sons, it is likely, was considered part of Eleia. The 'Pisaioi' of Pausanias, then, appear to have been members of some kind of Eleian movement that made its appearance only towards the end of the Archaic period.

<sup>195</sup> See above, 128-38; Meyer, 1950, 1751f.

<sup>196</sup> Strabo X.3.3, p.463. For the mutual founding of one people by the other, see above, 94.

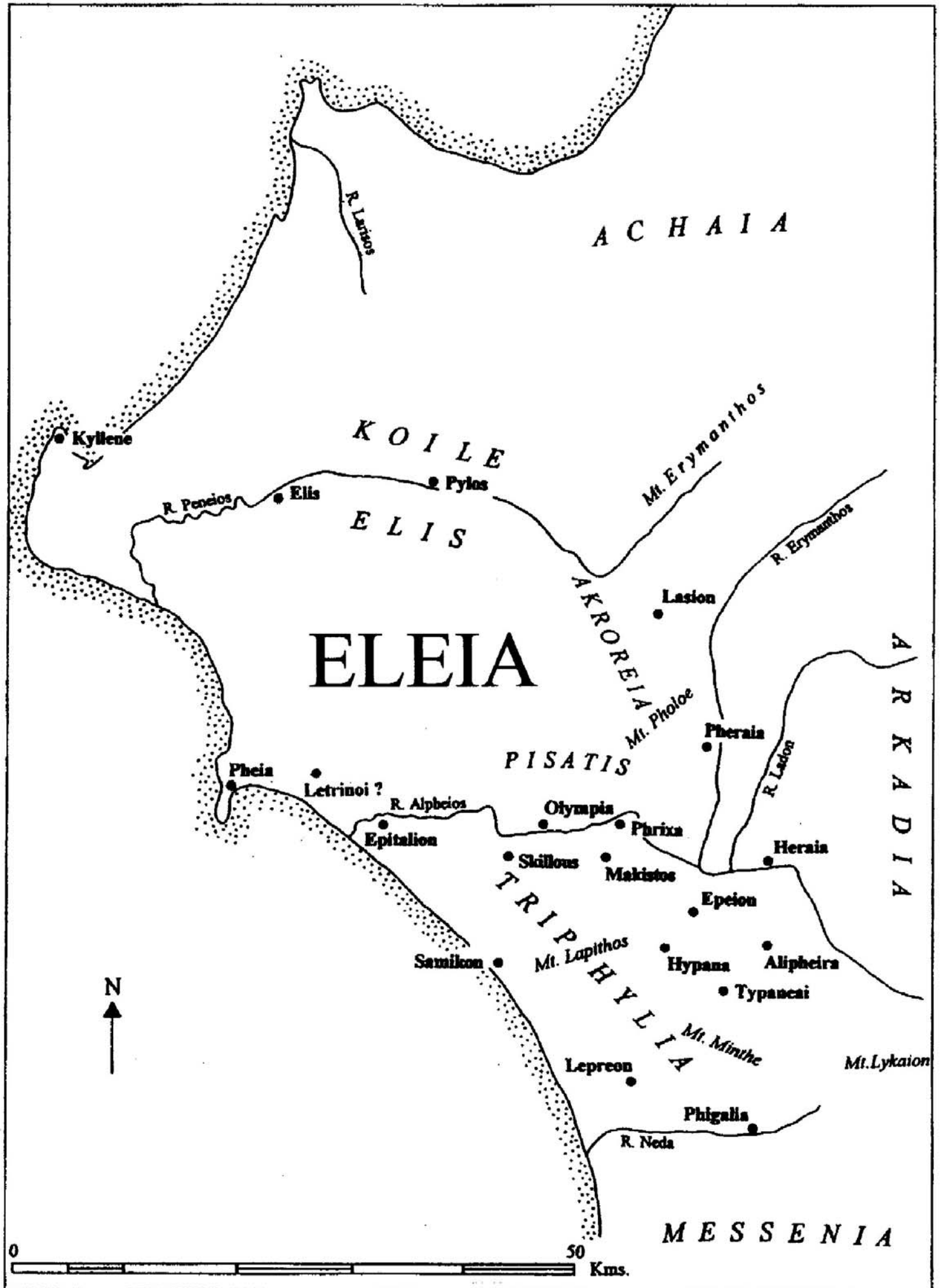
<sup>197</sup> See above, 44f.

<sup>198</sup> Apollod. *Lib.* II.5.5.

<sup>199</sup> Paus. V.16.5f.

<sup>200</sup> Pausanias must anachronistically have expected a city to exist under that name at the time, just as he expected to find the ruins of a city called 'Pisa': VI.22.1.

<sup>201</sup> cf. *SEG* LII.483.



Map 5 The region of Eleia, showing the districts named by c.400 B.C. and the principle communities of the Eleians and their allies (adapted from Roy, J., 'The *Perioikoi* of Elis' in Hansen, 1997, 305).



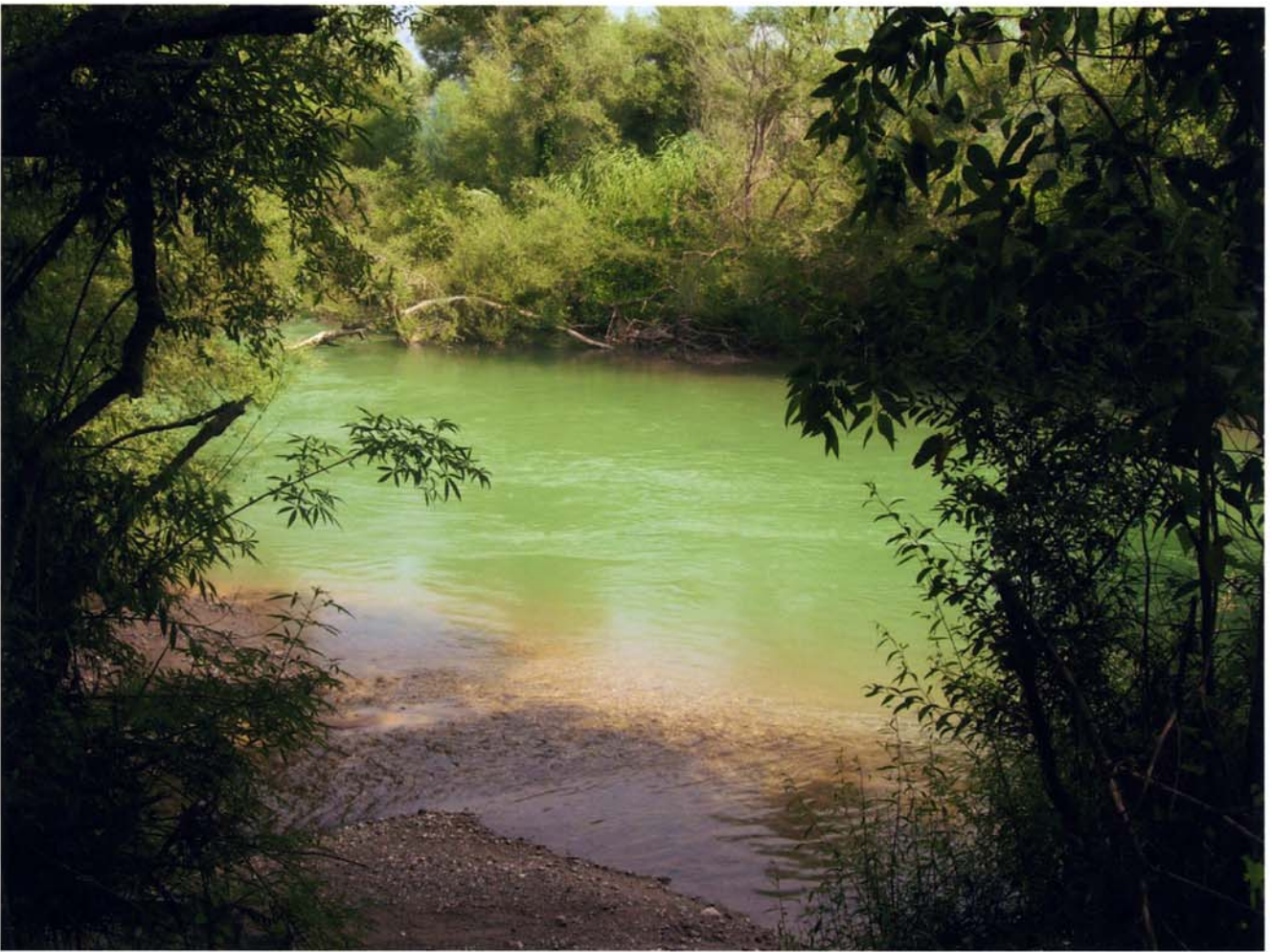


Fig.7 Confluence of the Kladeos (bottom left) with the Alpheios.



Fig. 8 Olive grove near Olympia.





Fig. 9 Looking north from the temple of Athena near modern Skillountia to Mt. Erimanthos.

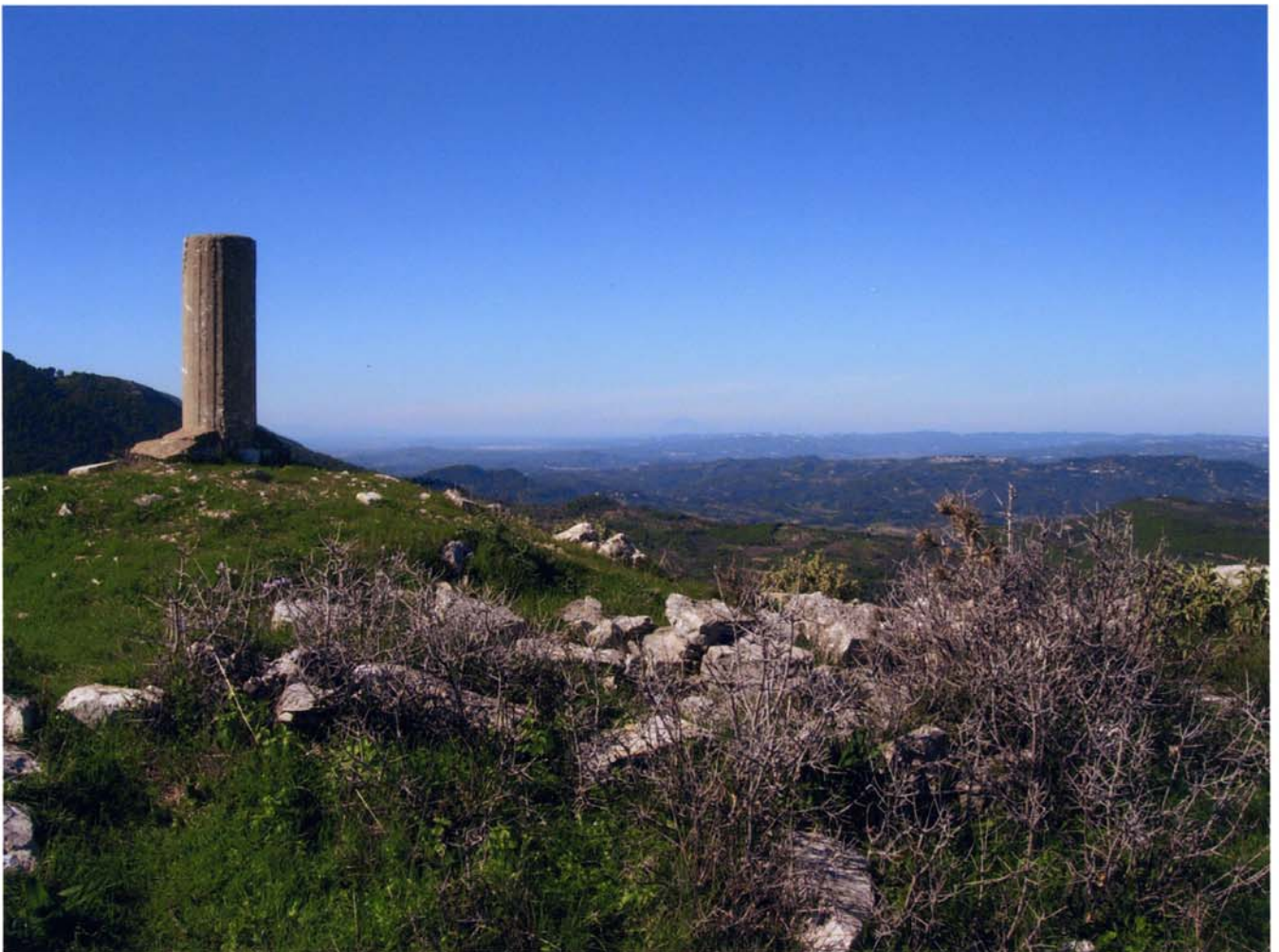


Fig. 10 Looking north across the valleys of the Alpheios and Peneios from Mt. Lapithos.