Delphi and Olympia

Most people think about the sanctuary of Delphi as the seat of the famous oracle and of Olympia as the site of the Olympic games. The oracle and the games, however, were but two of the many activities ongoing at both sites. This book investigates the physical remains of both sanctuaries to show how different visitors interacted with the sacred spaces of Delphi and Olympia in an important variety of ways during the archaic and classical periods. It examines how this fluid usage impacted upon, and was itself affected by, the development of the sanctuary space and how such usage influenced the place and relationship of these two sites in the wider landscape. As a result, this book argues for the re-evaluation of the panhellenic roles of Delphi and Olympia in the Greek world and for a rethinking of the meaning and usefulness of the term ‘panhellenism’ in Greek politics, religion and culture.

MICHAEL SCOTT is an Affiliated Lecturer at the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge, as well as the Moses and Mary Finley Fellow in Ancient History at Darwin College, Cambridge. He has recently published From Democrats to Kings: The Brutal Dawn of a New World from the Downfall of Athens to the Rise of Alexander the Great (2009).
Delphi and Olympia
The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods

MICHAEL SCOTT
Contents

List of figures [page vii]
Acknowledgements [x]
Key to text, appendices and figures [xi]
List of abbreviations [xvi]

Introduction [1]
1 Athletes and oracles – but what else? [5]
2 Dedicating at Olympia and Delphi [29]
3 Delphi 650–500 BC [41]
4 Delphi 500–400 BC [75]
5 Delphi 400–300 BC [111]
6 Olympia 650–479 BC [146]
7 Olympia 479–300 BC [181]
8 Comparing spaces [218]
9 Panhellenic sanctuaries and panhellenism in context [250]

Bibliography [274]
Appendices [309]
Index [348]
Figures

Fig. 1.1 Synchronic 2D map of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [page 19]
Fig. 1.2 Synchronic 2D map of the Athena sanctuary at Delphi [19]
Fig. 1.3 Synchronic 2D map of the sanctuary of Olympia [20]
Fig. 1.4 3D model of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [25]
Fig. 1.5 3D image of the Athena sanctuary at Delphi [26]
Fig. 1.6 3D model of the sanctuary of Olympia [27]
Fig. 1.7 Views of a 3D model of the sanctuary of Delphi [28]
Fig. 2.1 The post-548 bc peribolos wall of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [38]
Fig. 3.1 The Athena sanctuary at Delphi 650–550 bc [42]
Fig. 3.2 The Apollo sanctuary at Delphi 650–550 bc [43]
Fig. 3.3 3D reconstruction of some of the dedications around the temple terrace of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi in 550 bc [45]
Fig. 3.4 The Apollo sanctuary at Delphi 550–500 bc [57]
Fig. 3.5 The Athena sanctuary at Delphi 550–500 bc [58]
Fig. 3.6 The corner of a pre-548 bc structure in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [58]
Fig. 3.7 The foundations of the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi [63]
Fig. 3.8 The Siphnian treasury at Delphi as seen from the west [64]
Fig. 3.9 The Siphnian treasury at Delphi as seen when approaching from the southeast [65]
Fig. 4.1 The Apollo sanctuary at Delphi 500–450 bc [76]
Fig. 4.2 The Athenian treasury as seen from the southeastern stretch of the sacred way in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [79]
Fig. 4.3 Map of dedications made during the Persian wars in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi 500–450 bc [83]
Fig. 4.4 3D model of the temple terrace of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [86]
Fig. 4.5 3D model of the temple terrace of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [93]
Fig. 4.6 The Athena sanctuary at Delphi 500–450 bc [95]
List of figures

Fig. 4.7 Map of dedications engaging in spatial opposition on the temple terrace of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [99]
Fig. 4.8 The Apollo sanctuary at Delphi 450–400 BC [102]
Fig. 4.9 3D drawing of the southeast corner of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [104]
Fig. 4.10 Map of spatial opposition against Athenian dedications in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi 450–400 BC [106]
Fig. 5.1 The Apollo sanctuary at Delphi 400–350 BC [112]
Fig. 5.2 The Athena sanctuary at Delphi 400–350 BC [113]
Fig. 5.3 3D computer reconstruction of the tholos and temple in the Athena sanctuary at Delphi [113]
Fig. 5.4 3D model of the southeastern stretch of the sacred way in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [116]
Fig. 5.5 The northern half of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi [119]
Fig. 5.6 The Apollo sanctuary at Delphi 350–300 BC [128]
Fig. 5.7 The Athena sanctuary at Delphi 350–300 BC [130]
Fig. 5.8 3D computer reconstruction of the treasuries in the Athena sanctuary at Delphi surrounded by stelai [131]
Fig. 5.9 Map of Athenian dedications spread throughout the Apollo and Athena sanctuaries at Delphi by 300 BC [136]
Fig. 5.10 Map of popular areas for locating dedications associated with military commemoration in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi during the fourth century BC [141]
Fig. 6.1 The sanctuary of Olympia and the black ash layer [148]
Fig. 6.2 The sanctuary of Olympia in 650 BC [149]
Fig. 6.3 Map of the eastern half of the Olympia sanctuary [151]
Fig. 6.4 The sanctuary of Olympia after the early sixth century BC [156]
Fig. 6.5 The line of treasuries in the northeastern corner of the Altis [164]
Fig. 6.6 3D model reconstruction of the line of treasuries in the sanctuary of Olympia [164]
Fig. 6.7 The sanctuary of Olympia in 479 BC [166]
Fig. 7.1 The sanctuary of Olympia after the building of the temple of Zeus in the mid-fifth century BC [182]
Fig. 7.2 3D drawing of the temple of Zeus at Olympia [183]
Fig. 7.3 3D model of the sanctuary of Olympia and temple of Zeus from the west [186]
Fig. 7.4 3D model of the west stadium bank at Olympia [188]
List of figures

Fig. 7.5 3D model reconstruction of the area between the Bouleuterion and the temple of Zeus at Olympia [190]
Fig. 7.6 Reconstruction of the Nike of Paionius [197]
Fig. 7.7 The sanctuary of Olympia after 350 bc [206]
Fig. 7.8 3D drawing of the Metron at Olympia [208]
Fig. 7.9 3D model of the sanctuary of Olympia as seen from the northwest entrance [212]
Fig. 8.1 3D drawing of the sanctuary of Apollo surrounded by the Delphic polis [220]
Fig. 8.2 3D drawing of the sanctuary at Olympia [222]
Fig. 8.3 Map showing divinities worshipped in and around the Apollo and Athena sanctuaries at Delphi [225]
Fig. 8.4 The sanctuary of Isthmia c.500 bc [241]
Fig. 8.5 The sanctuary of Isthmia c.400 bc [242]
Fig. 8.6 The sanctuary of Isthmia [244]
Fig. 8.7 The sanctuary of Nemea [246]
Acknowledgements

This project began as my doctoral thesis, supervised by Prof. Robin Osborne at the University of Cambridge and supported by the AHRC, the Faculty of Classics and Magdalene College. I express my gratitude to all of these institutions and most of all to Prof. Osborne, who has been a witty, provocative and caring supervisor and colleague. Much of the research was carried out in Greece, both in Athens and on site at Delphi and Olympia. I would like to thank the British School at Athens, the Ecole française d’Athènes, the Deutsches Archäologisches Instituts and the seventh and tenth Greek Ephorates for their financial and academic support. Parts of this book were written as a visitor in the Institut für Klassische Archäologie at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, and I offer my thanks for the institute’s warm welcome. Many of the ideas were discussed with colleagues in Cambridge, London, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Strasbourg, Munich, Heidelberg and Athens. To all of these people I express my sincerest thanks for their guidance and interest. Since 2007, I have been working as the Moses Finley Fellow at Darwin College, Cambridge, and I thank the college for their welcome and support in the writing of this book. My thanks go also to Michael Sharp, Elizabeth Hanlon, Fiona Sewell, and the rest of the team at Cambridge University Press for their patience and skill in bringing this book to fruition. Finally I would like to express my deepest thanks to my family and friends, who have been on hand with constant encouragement when it was most needed.
Key to text, appendices and figures

Text

Numbers in bold with bold brackets, e.g., (121), in the text are reference numbers for particular monumental dedications or structures within the sanctuary of Delphi. They are listed in chronological order, with full comparanda and information, in the appendices (A–F).

Numbers in bold without brackets are reference numbers for Delphic sanctuary structures from previous corpora. The corpora to which they refer accompany the number in italics.

Appendices

The chronological list of Delphic monumental dedications and built sanctuary structures during the archaic and classical periods is represented in the accompanying appendices (A–F). They are divided into fifty-year periods (due to the lack of dedications and dating accuracy for the second half of the seventh century, the first appendix covers a longer period: 650–550 BC). Such a chronological list is not without its difficulties, because of questions about the validity and nature of the evidence for dating in each particular case. Several dedications have well-fixed dates. Others are within certain ranges. Still others can only be dated to a century or half century and others are heavily disputed. The appendices offer two to three dating options for each dedication, taken from the critical catalogues of Delphic monumental dedications, with an indication of the basis on which the date was chosen.

From this a relative, although certainly not absolute, chronological list of dedications can be produced which, when split into fifty-year periods, offers both ease of use and a good degree of accuracy. Where there is strong debate over a particular date, the text will indicate why one date is preferred. Dedications with dates within a half century or century are, when there is strong evidence, chronologically associated with very similar offerings made in a particular period. If no such comparison exists, they are simply included as having been dedicated by the end of that half century or century.
Key to text, appendices and figures

ease of use and further reading, I have also included within the appendices the previous reference numbers for each offering from the major catalogues published up to 2005.

Type

The dedication is labelled a **building** if its use or architecture above the foundation levels is uncertain, or if known only by roof fragments.

A dedication is called a **treasury** if its architectural form or use is generally similar to the ‘typical’ treasury.

A dedication is called an **offering** if it is smaller than a building, but of uncertain form.

References

Jacq: Reference number in Jacquemin 1999b

GdeD: Reference number in Bommelaer 1991

Other (date and previous reference number)

**Appendix A (650–550)**

Latin numerals: de La Coste-Messelière 1969

Letters: Courby 1927

**Appendix B (550–500)**

Latin numerals: de La Coste-Messelière 1969

Letters: Courby 1927

**Appendix C (500–450)**

Latin numerals: de La Coste-Messelière 1969

Letters: Amandry 1987

**Appendix D (450–400)**

Latin numerals: de La Coste-Messelière 1969
Key to text, appendices and figures

Appendix E (400–350)

Latin numerals: de La Coste-Messelière 1969

Appendix F (350–300)

A–C: Bommelaer 1973
H–K: Amandry 1987

A Dated due to archaeological/sculptural interpretation
L Dated due to literary sources (specified if only source of identification)
H Dated due to 'historical' event
I Dated due to inscription
U Unknown
D Disputed
ApS Apollo sanctuary
AthS Athena sanctuary

All dates are bc unless otherwise specified.

Figures

A Chronological maps

The chronological maps constructed for this project were initially based on existing maps of the Apollo and Athena sanctuaries. The Athena sanctuary maps were based on Bommelaer (1991: fig. 4). The Apollo sanctuary maps were based on both de La Coste-Messelière (1969: figs. 1, 3, 4) and Laroche and Nenna (1993: fig. 3). The Olympia sanctuary maps are based on Herrmann (1972: figs. 74 and 115).

Olympia maps

The maps of the Olympia sanctuary (figs. 6.1, 6.2, 6.4, 6.7, 7.1, 7.7) are focused on particular periods of change within the sanctuary’s spatial development (650 bc, early sixth century bc, 479 bc, 450 bc and 350 bc). Dedications of particular importance for the argument are marked on the maps by the name of their dedicator or, if a group, of their polis. Please note that the spelling of names may differ from that in the main text (some names
Key to text, appendices and figures

remain in German and some are different due to varied spelling conventions). Please note also that the placement of these dedications, in all but a very few instances, can only be guaranteed to a particular area.

Delphi maps

The numbers on the Delphi maps and models (figs. 1.4, 1.5, 3.1, 3.2, 3.4, 3.5, 4.1, 4.3–4.10, 5.1, 5.2, 5.4, 5.6, 5.7, 5.9, 5.10) refer to dedications and structures built within the Apollo and Athena sanctuaries, listed by their number with full comparanda in the appendices. In each of these maps, new areas of building, new dedications or significant changes to existing dedications within a particular chronological period are numbered in bold. The numbers of unchanged areas are tinted grey.

Dedications that are destroyed completely at a particular date are removed from the map. Dedications which are partially damaged but still standing are marked on the map with a line through their number (e.g. 109, 110, 132, 136, 188, 190).

Destroyed 548 BC: 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20.

Destroyed fourth century (373 BC or at time of Phocian takeover, 356 BC): 8, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 82, 100, 109, 110, 114, 115, 128.

In each of the maps, numbers are distinguished depending on the information known relating to their placement (see key on each map). More detail on these categories is provided below.

Placement within a particular area: the area in question varies according to the data available for each dedication. Please cross reference with the appendices and other bibliography for more information.

Placement associated with a known structure, disputed or find spot: varies according to the data available for each dedication. Please cross-reference with the appendices and other bibliography for more information.

For many dedications, we simply have no idea of placement or find spot and thus cannot place them on the maps:

650–550 BC: 4, 22, 26
550–500 BC: 37, 52, 63, 66, 67, 76, 78, 79
500–450 BC: 85, 86, 91, 92, 101, 120, 137, 143, 157, 158, 159, 161, 164
450–400 BC: 171, 176, 179, 191, 194, 195, 199, 201, 204, 205, 207, 210
B  Images from three-dimensional models

In order to help visualise the sanctuary from the visitors’ viewpoint (and to complement the 2D chronological maps produced in this project), I have included photos and drawings of 3D scale models of the Apollo and Athena sanctuaries at Delphi and of the sanctuary at Olympia. In particular, I have used three different scale models of Delphi and two different scale models of Olympia.

Delphi

1. Scale model of the Apollo sanctuary built by the Delphic ephoria for the relaunch of the Delphi museum in 2004/5 (fig. 1.4).
2. Scale model of the Apollo sanctuary built by the University of Strasbourg (under the supervision of D. Laroche) in 1992, now to be found in the town hall of the modern city of Delphi (figs. 1.7, 4.4, 5.4).
3. Scale model of the Apollo sanctuary built by H. Schlief, now to be found in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 4.5).

Olympia

1. Scale model of the Altis made by A. Mallwitz (figs. 6.6, 7.5, 7.9).
2. Scale model of the Altis made by H. Schlief (figs. 7.3, 7.4).

Both models were constructed as part of a collaboration between the Deutsches Archäologisches Instituts and the Olympia museum, where they are now held.

These scale models display both Delphi and Olympia in the second century AD. While this is not entirely satisfactory (especially when making a chronological point about what the viewer might see at a particular point in time), I hope to have indicated in the figure description what is important to notice each time.
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Archäologischer Anzeiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSA</td>
<td>Annual of the British School at Athens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>Antiquité Classique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ael</td>
<td>Aelian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>On the Characteristics of Animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesch.</td>
<td>Aeschylus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eum.</td>
<td>Eumenides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeschin.</td>
<td>Aeschines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Ctes.</td>
<td>Against Ctesiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Tim.</td>
<td>Against Timarchus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agora</td>
<td>The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Princeton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIA</td>
<td>Archaeological Institute of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AION(archeol)</td>
<td>Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJPh</td>
<td>American Journal of Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>Antike Kunst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>Archaeological Reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td>Aristophanes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eq.</td>
<td>Knights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lys.</td>
<td>Lysistrata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace</td>
<td>Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archil.</td>
<td>Archilochus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arist.</td>
<td>Aristotle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oec.</td>
<td>Oeconomica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pol.</td>
<td>Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh.</td>
<td>Rhetoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arr.</td>
<td>Arrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anab.</td>
<td>Anabasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASNAP</td>
<td>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ath.</td>
<td>Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AW</td>
<td>Antike Welt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BABesch</td>
<td>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacchyl.</td>
<td>Bacchylides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCH</td>
<td>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BICS</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJ</td>
<td>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C&amp;M</td>
<td>Classica et Mediaevalia: Revue Danoise de Philologie et d'Histoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cic.</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tusc.</td>
<td>Tuscan Disputations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ClAnt</td>
<td>Classical Antiquity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPh</td>
<td>Classical Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CQ</td>
<td>Classical Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRAI</td>
<td>Comptes-Rendus des Séances: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem.</td>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHA</td>
<td>Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dio Cass.</td>
<td>Dio Cassius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diod. Sic.</td>
<td>Diodorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diog. Laert.</td>
<td>Diogenes Laertius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dion. Hal.</td>
<td>Dionysius of Halicarnassus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lys.</td>
<td>On Lysias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFA</td>
<td>Ecole française d’Athènes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eur.</td>
<td>Euripides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ion</td>
<td>Ion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or.</td>
<td>Orestes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FD</td>
<td>Fouilles de Delphes. Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G&amp;R</td>
<td>Greece and Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GeorgAnt</td>
<td>Geographia Antiqua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRBS</td>
<td>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hdt.</td>
<td>Herodotus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hes.</td>
<td>Hesiod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op.</td>
<td>Work and Days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hom.</td>
<td>Homer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il.</td>
<td>Iliad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of abbreviations

- Hom. Hymn: Homeric Hymn to Apollo
- HSPh: Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
- IG: Inscriptiones Graecae
- Isoc.: Isocrates
- JDAI: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
- JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies
- JRGZ: Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums
- JRS: Journal of Roman Studies
- JS: Journal des Savants
- Lucian: Lucian
- Her.: Herodotus
- Pro. Imag.: Essays in Portraiture Defended
- MDAI(I): Istanbuler Mitteilungen (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)
- MedArch: Mediterranean Archaeology
- MEFRA: Mélanges de l’Ecole Française de Rome (Antiquité)
- NC: Numismatic Chronicle
- Olforsch: Olympische Forschungen
- PAA: Praktika tes Akademias Athenon
- Paus.: Pausanias
- PBSR: Papers of the British School of Rome
- PCPS: Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
- Philostr.: Philostratus
- Pind.: Pindar
- Isthm.: Isthmian Odes
- Nem.: Nemean Odes
- Ol.: Olympian Odes
- Pae.: Paeanes
- Pyth.: Pythian Odes
List of abbreviations

Pl. Plato
   Leg. Laws
   Resp. Republic
   Symp. Symposium
Plin. HN Pliny, Natural History
Plut. Plutarch
   Mor. Moralia
   Vit. Alex. Life of Alexander
   Vit. Arist. Life of Aristides
   Vit. Lys. Life of Lysander
   Vit. Nic. Life of Nicias
   Vit. Per. Life of Pericles
   Vit. Sol. Life of Solon
   Vit. Them. Life of Themistocles
   Vit. Tim. Life of Timoleon
Polyb. Polybius
RA Revue Archéologique
RE Revue Epigraphique
REA Revue des Études Anciennes
REG Revue des Études Grecques
SCI Scripta Classica Israelica
SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SIG Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, 3rd edn
Soph. Sophocles
   OT Oedipus the King
TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association
Thuc. Thucydides
Tod Tod, M. (1946) A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century bc. Oxford
Xen. Xenophon
   An. Anabasis
   Hell. Hellenica
   Mem. Memorabilia
ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik