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978-0-521-19126-5 - Delphi and Olympia: The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods

Michael Scott

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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).

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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. For

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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

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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

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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

400–350 BC: 214, 216, 219, 231, 235, 236, 237

350–300 BC: 241, 243, 245, 247, 248, 254, 256, 257, 272, 276, 284, 294, 302, 305, 307, 308, 311, 314

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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. Schlieff, 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. Schlieff (figs. 7.3, 7.4).

Both models were constructed as part of a collaboration between the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut 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.

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Abbreviations

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

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Ath.	Athenaeus, <i>The Deipnosophists</i>
AW	<i>Antike Welt</i>
BABesch	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving</i>
Bacchyl.	Bacchylides
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BJ	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums</i>
C&M	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia: Revue Danoise de Philologie et d'Histoire</i>
Cic.	Cicero
<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tuscan Disputations</i>
CID	<i>Corpus d'Inscriptions de Delphes vols. I–IV.</i> Paris
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes-Rendus des Séances: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
Dem.	Demosthenes
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne</i>
Dio Cass.	Dio Cassius
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
Dion. Hal.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>On Lysias</i>
EFA	Ecole française d'Athènes
Eur.	Euripides
<i>Ion</i>	<i>Ion</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orestes</i>
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes.</i> Paris
FGrH	Jacoby, F. (1923–58) <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.</i> Berlin
G&R	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
GdeD	Bommelaer, J. F. (1991) <i>Guide de Delphes: le site.</i> Paris
GeorgAnt	<i>Geographia Antiqua</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hes.	Hesiod
<i>Op.</i>	<i>Work and Days</i>
Hom.	Homer
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>

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List of abbreviations

<i>Hom. Hymn</i>	<i>Homeric Hymn to Apollo</i>
<i>Apollo</i>	
HSPh	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
Isoc.	Isocrates
IVO	Dittenburger, W. and Purgold, K. (1896) <i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> (Olympia V). Berlin
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRGZ	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JS	<i>Journal des Savants</i>
LSAG	Jeffrey, L. H. (1969) <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> . Oxford
LSCG	Sokolowski, F. (1969) <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Paris
LSS	Sokolowski, F. (1962) <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques, supplément</i> . Paris
Lucian	Lucian
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Herodotus</i>
<i>Pro. Imag.</i>	<i>Essays in Portraiture Defended</i>
MDAI(I)	<i>Istanbul Mitteilungen</i> (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)
MedArch	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome (Antiquité)</i>
ML	Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D. (1988) <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> . Oxford
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>OlForsch</i>	<i>Olympische Forschungen</i>
PAA	<i>Praktika tes Akademias Athenon</i>
Paus.	Pausanias
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School of Rome</i>
PCPS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
Philostr.	Philostratus
Pind.	Pindar
<i>Isthm.</i>	<i>Isthmian Odes</i>
<i>Nem.</i>	<i>Nemean Odes</i>
<i>Ol.</i>	<i>Olympian Odes</i>
<i>Pae.</i>	<i>Paeanes</i>
<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythian Odes</i>

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Pl.	Plato
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Laws</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Republic</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
Plin. <i>HN</i>	Pliny, <i>Natural History</i>
Plut.	Plutarch
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Vit. Alex.</i>	<i>Life of Alexander</i>
<i>Vit. Arist.</i>	<i>Life of Aristides</i>
<i>Vit. Lys.</i>	<i>Life of Lysander</i>
<i>Vit. Nic.</i>	<i>Life of Nicias</i>
<i>Vit. Per.</i>	<i>Life of Pericles</i>
<i>Vit. Sol.</i>	<i>Life of Solon</i>
<i>Vit. Them.</i>	<i>Life of Themistocles</i>
<i>Vit. Tim.</i>	<i>Life of Timoleon</i>
Polyb.	Polybius
RA	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
RE	<i>Revue Epigraphique</i>
REA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
RO	Rhodes, P. and Osborne, R. (2003) <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> . Oxford
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SIG	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn
Soph.	Sophocles
<i>OT</i>	<i>Oedipus the King</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Thuc.	Thucydides
Tod	Tod, M. (1946) <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> . Oxford
Xen.	Xenophon
<i>An.</i>	<i>Anabasis</i>
<i>Hell.</i>	<i>Hellenica</i>
<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>