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Abbreviazioni

Autori antichi

Sono state adottate, di norma, le abbreviazioni dell'*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford-New York 1996³ o del dizionario di H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, Oxford 1968⁹, ad eccezione dei seguenti casi: ARISTOPH., DEMOSTH., DIOD., HESYCH., MOSCHION, PLATO, Ps. HIPPOCR., STRABO, TIM.

Opere generali

AE = *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris 1888-

BMC = *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*.

BTCGI = *Bibliografia Topografica della Colonizzazione Greca in Italia e nelle Isole Tirreniche* (fondata da G. Nenci e G. Vallet, diretta da C. Ampolo), Pisa-Roma 1977-1994, Pisa-Roma-Napoli 1996-

BullEp = *Bulletin Épigraphique*, pub. in *Revue des Études Grecques*.

CEG = P.H. HANSEN, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*, Berlin-NewYork 1983-1989, I-II.

CID = *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*, Paris 1977-

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin 1828-1877, I-IV.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1863-

CIS = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris 1881-

DGE = E. SCHWYZER, *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*, Lipsiae 1923³.

EAA = *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica ed Orientale*, Roma 1958-

FGrHist = F. JACOBY, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923-

GGM = C. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Parisiis 1855-1861.

IDélos = *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1926-1972, I-VII.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editae*, Berolini 1873-

IGASMG = R. ARENA, *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia*, I-V, 1989- (I² 1996).

IGCH = M. THOMPSON, O. MRKHOLM, C.M. KRAAY (eds.), *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York 1973.

IGDGG = L. DUBOIS, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Grand Grèce*, Genève 1995-2002, I-II.

IGDS = L. DUBOIS, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile: contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire grec colonial*, Rome 1989.

ILLRP = A. DEGRASSI, *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*, Firenze 1957-1963, I-II; 1965², I-II.

- ILS = H. DESSAU, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin 1892-1916.
Inscr. Ital. = *Inscriptiones Italiae*, Roma 1931-
 I^vO = W. DITTENBERGER, K. PURGOLD, *Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin 1896.
 LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich-München 1981-
 LSAG² = L. JEFFERY, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A Study of the Origin
 of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries
 B.C.*, revised edition with a supplement by A.W. Johnston, Oxford 1990.
 LSJ = H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1968⁹ [reprint
 of the 9th ed. (1925-1940) with a new supplement edited by E.A. Barber
 and others].
 OMS = L. ROBERT, *Opera Minora Selecta*, Amsterdam 1969-1990, I-VII.
 PGM = K. PREISENDANZ *et al.* (hrsgg.), *Papiri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen
 Zauberpapyri*, Stuttgart 1973-1974², I-II.
 PMG = D.L. PAGE (ed.), *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962.
 POxy. = B.P. GRENFELL, A.S. HUNT (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*, London 1898-
 RE = G. WISSOWA (hrsg.), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertums-
 wissenschaft* (neue bearb.), Stuttgart-München 1893-1972.
 SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, 1923-
 SGDI = F. BECHTEL *et al.*, *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (hrsg.
 von H. Collitz), Göttingen, 1884-1915, I-IV.
 Syll.² = W. DITTEMBERGER, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Lipsiae 1898-
 1901², I-III.
 Syll.³ = W. DITTEMBERGER, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig 1915-
 1924³, I-IV.
 TLE = M. PALLOTTINO, *Testimonia linguae etruscae*, Firenze 1954; 1968².
 TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (electronic resource), Irvine, University of
 California, 1999.
 TrGF = B. SNELL, R. KANNICHT, S. RADT (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum
 Fragmenta*, Göttingen 1971-1985, I-IV; 1986², I.

Periodici

Sono state adottate, di norma, le abbreviazioni dell'*Année Philologique*, ad eccezione delle seguenti e dei titoli riportati per esteso:

- AMuGS = Antike Münzen und Geschnittene Steine.
 ArchMed = Archeologia Medievale.
 ASSir = Archivio Storico Siracusano.
 BCASicilia = Beni Culturali ed Ambientali. Sicilia.
 BollArch = Bollettino di Archeologia.
 GiornScPompei = Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei.
 JAT = Journal of Ancient Topography. Rivista di Topografia Antica.
 JbHambKuSamml = Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen.
 JbZMusMainz = Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums
 Mainz.

IncidAnt = Incidenza dell'Antico: dialoghi di storia greca.

OpArch = Opuscula archaeologica ed. Inst. Rom. Regni Suaeciae.

QuadAMessina = Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Messina.

QuadIstLingUrbino = Quaderni dell'Istituto di Linguistica dell'Università di Urbino.

QuadMusSalinas = Quaderni del Museo Archeologico Regionale «A. Salinas».

SicA = Sicilia Archeologica.

War and Greek sanctuaries in Pausanias' description of Greece

In this article, I have concentrated almost exclusively on Pausanias himself, rather than on how his writings and attitudes compare with those of other authors, both contemporary and otherwise. This is not to under-estimate the importance of the other authors, nor to forget how many other authors' writings are reflected in, or copied by, Pausanias, but simply a recognition that I can only make a start on this subject here.

The association between the Greek sanctuary and warfare is too obvious to need documenting. It is manifest in many forms, such as substantial buildings or offerings of armour, or cult titles such as Warlike Athena ('Areia'), who had a sanctuary at Plataea (9,4,1), built from the booty of the battle of Marathon and decorated with paintings by Polygnotus and Onasias, the latter showing the «expedition of the Argives, under Adrastus, against Thebes». Similarly, Warlike Aphrodite had a sanctuary in Sparta (3,17,5), where Pausanias tells us there were wooden statues «as ancient as any in Greece». Also at Sparta, Pausanias describes «a sanctuary of the Muses, because the Lacedaemonians used to march out to battle, not with trumpets blowing, but to the melody of flutes and the harping of lyres and lutes» (3,17,5). At Olympia, Pausanias tells us of Warlike Zeus, to whom some Eleians say Oenomaus sacrificed before his races with Hippodameia's suitors (5,14,6). A final example is Apollo of the Borders at Hermione in the Corinthia, a title which Pausanias speculates may result from a war over a boundary dispute (2,35,2).

One need only walk through Olympia or Delphi, both site and museum, to be surrounded by evidence of warfare. This evidence appears so abundantly in Pausanias' writings partly because he was, in my view at least, a generally thorough and accurate recorder of what he saw, and partly because his

prime interest was in the city and its sanctuaries¹. The sanctuary is a very specific type of site at which one would expect to find correspondingly specific types of art, communal symbols of state religion and therefore of state identity. And state identity was often defined, defended and asserted by warfare, as indeed it still is today.

Pausanias' interest in sanctuaries leads to a corresponding interest in symbols of community identity, which inevitably involved antiquity and concentrated particularly on sanctuaries, which were the focus of the community *par excellence*. If the citizens of a town were interested in their community's history, they would go to the sanctuary to see the manifestations of that history. Antiquity legitimizes a site, and in dealing with sanctuaries Pausanias would inevitably be dealing with antiquities and their significance, and with manifestations of antiquity, such as trophies from often long-distant victories. To give one example, he saw in Tegea the chains brought by the Spartans in expectation of enslaving the Tegeans during the so-called battle of the fetters in the early sixth century, but in fact used to chain Spartan prisoners after the Tegeans' surprise victory (8,47,2). The power and significance of the chains seem, from Pausanias' account, to have been undiminished even seven hundred years or so later.

Pausanias' interest in religious matters is in part an inescapable consequence of his interest in civic identity and its manifestations, since it is within cult buildings (and especially temples) that so many such symbols were stored. This does not, however, result in a mere catalogue of cult buildings: other structures in sanctuaries and civic centres which had little or no religious function are also described, perhaps for their importance in communicating civic identity, government and history (the Painted Stoa in the Athenian Agora is a case in point, with

its paintings of the battle of Marathon). It would, therefore, be unwise to deduce from the number of shrines described that Pausanias' prime interest was in religion. Equally, however, it is necessary to be sensitive to the complex of personal, religious and cultural interests which might have been combined with such historical concerns to determine the choice of sites and monuments and the manner of their description.

In a sense, I have put my conclusions before the evidence because I think it is very easy to get lost in the mass of detail that Pausanias gives us and lose the wider picture. I now turn to specific examples which will, I hope, illustrate the range of manifestations of warfare and its effects in Greek sanctuaries in Pausanias' *periegesis*.

The obvious starting point is the substantial series of buildings put up to celebrate military victory, often with money from military spoils. The treasures at Delphi come first to mind, for example the Athenian treasury which Pausanias tells us was built from the spoils of the battle of Marathon (10,11,5), although this is much disputed in modern scholarship². A comparable example is the sanctuary of Athena of War at Plataea (mentioned above for the cult title and the wall-paintings) which Pausanias tells us was also built from spoils from Marathon, given to the Plataeans by the Athenians (9,4,1); this was disputed in antiquity by Plutarch, who connects it instead with Plataea (*Aristides*, 20,3). Returning to Delphi, further examples include the Theban treasury, built from the spoils of the battle of Leuctra, and the Syracusan treasury, built with spoils from the defeat of the Athenian expedition in 413. Not all treasuries had a military origin, however, and Pausanias is careful to tell us, for example, that the Potidaeans put theirs up «out of reverence for the god» (10,11,4); this motive is undoubtedly an exception among those he gives. Money from military spoils was also used to put up buildings other than treasuries, like the Athenian stoa at Delphi (10,11,6), whatever its real date and the occasion of its construction³.

Statues, often groups, are frequently recorded as celebrating victories and as being from military spoils: the Plataean tripod at Delphi is one of the

best-known examples (10,13,9), and among the many groups we might think of that of the victorious Argive generals put up at Delphi «from the spoils of the victory which the Argives and their Athenian allies won over the Lacedaemonians at Oenoe in Argos» (10,10,4); or the statues put up by the people of Lipara «for a naval victory which they won over the Tyrrhenians» (10,11,3; also 10,16,7; *Diod.*, 5,9), a statue of Apollo for every ship they took from the Etruscans (10,16,4; *Diod.*, 5,9). Perhaps most famous was the Marathon group of Pheidias at Delphi, made from a tithe of the spoils of the battle, which combined statues of the gods (Athena and Apollo) and Athenian heroes (including Erechtheus and Cecrops), with the victorious general at Marathon, Miltiades (10,10,1-2). Individual generals were also honoured with statues: for example, there were two statues of Pausanias, the victor of Plataea, beside the altar of Athena Chalchioecus at Sparta (3,17,7).

The list is very extensive indeed, and leaves no reader of Pausanias in doubt as to the crucial role that military spoils played in Greek sanctuaries. Nor need it surprise us that buildings and statues funded by military spoils were put up in sanctuaries alongside physical reminders of glorious victories: not only did this express gratitude to the god, but the sanctuary was, as I mentioned earlier, the place where one could best assert one's national identity and make that identity clear to other states, particularly in a major international sanctuary like Delphi or Olympia. There is, however, another aspect to this practice: Pausanias records several occasions when Greek sanctuaries played a role in military success. In one striking passage (3,11,7-8), derived from Herodotus (9,33-6), Pausanias tells how Tisamenus, a prophet of the Iamid family from Olympia, moved from Elis to prophesy for the Spartan people, and prophesied successfully for them in five battles, including Plataea against the Persians in 479 and Tanagra against the Athenians and Argives in 457. Nor was this ancient history, since we know that Iamids settled in Sparta in the Classical period, and that their descendants – and we must remember that the gift of prophecy was hereditary – gave prophecies at religious ceremo-

nies in Sparta from the period of Augustus to the middle of the third century A.D.⁴. In other words, they would have been prominent in Sparta in Pausanias' time. Indeed, he tells us that at Sparta he saw the «tomb of the Iamids, the soothsayers who came from Elis» (3,12,8).

The emphasis in Pausanias' account of Olympia on its oracle and oracular families is perhaps surprising to a modern reader who associates Olympia with athletics and oracles with Delphi, but it should be remembered that the oracle at Olympia was celebrated by, for example, Pindar in the eighth Olympian Ode, dated 460:

Mother of the gold-crowned Games,
Olympia, mistress of truth,
Where seers interpret burnt offerings
And test the bright thunderer Zeus
(*Ol.*, 8,1-3, tr. M. Bowra, Penguin edn., London 1969)

The oracle at Olympia was, of course, always overshadowed by the oracle at Delphi, but it was working in Herodotus' time, as he compares the method of divination at Olympia, namely sacrifice, with that at the oracle of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes (8,134). In fact, the oracle at Olympia continued to be consulted in Pausanias' day, although from the fourth century B.C. it was consulted only by private individuals, and its oracles subject to a second opinion from Delphi⁵.

Although gaining military success with the aid of an oracular family is most closely and extensively associated with Olympia, the role of the oracle at Delphi is, of course, significant: to choose just one example, in his account of Messenia, Pausanias records two oracles, otherwise unknown (4,12,4,7), concerning war between the Messenians and the Spartans; similarly, at 4,9,3-4, the Messenians employ a prophet in their war against the Spartans⁶. Other examples include the use of the oracle of Ammon by the Spartans, who had a sanctuary of Ammon and whose oracle «is known to have been consulted by the Lacedaemonians more frequently than by the rest of the Greeks», according to Pausanias (3,18,3), who also notes Elean dedications at the sanctuary of Ammon in Libya (5,15,11).

While buildings and statues are the most obvious physical reminders of glorious victories, other such manifestations are crucial to the assertion of a state's identity, and Pausanias gives us an indication of the variety he saw in Greek sanctuaries and the varied ways in which they could be displayed. For example, he notes that in the temenos of Athena and Zeus at Piraeus «is a painting of Leosthenes and his sons by Arcesilaus. It was Leosthenes who, at the head of the Athenians and all the Greeks, defeated the Macedonians in Boeotia and again outside Thermopylae» (1,1,3), a depiction reminiscent of the Marathon painting in the Painted Stoa in Athens. In the Painted Stoa, the battle of Marathon is depicted alongside battles from the mythical past, such as that of Theseus and the Athenians against the Amazons (1,15,1-3). Thus the recent victory, Marathon, is linked with a victory by Theseus, the mythical founder of Athens. And if the victory of Theseus over the Amazons is used as an analogy for Athenian victory of the Persians in the Painted Stoa, so we may read it in the sanctuary of Theseus in the Agora (1,17,2). Thus Pausanias' descriptions show how mythical warfare is linked with historical warfare.

Temples, the centrepieces of sanctuaries, could be used for prominent display of military victory: for example, according to Pausanias, Mummius dedicated 21 gilded shields on the architrave of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, as well as other dedications there (5,10,5; 5,24,4,8). And the temple of Zeus carried reminders of another, unrelated, victory, that of the Laconians and their allies in the battle against the Athenians and the Argives in 457. That battle was won with the aid of the Elean seer Tisamenus and commemorated, according to Pausanias, in an inscription on a golden shield at the apex of the pediment of the temple (5,10,4). Similarly, Pausanias tells us that the temple of Apollo at Delphi was used to commemorate more than one victory: «on the architrave are golden shields: some of them were dedicated by the Athenians from the spoils of the battle of Marathon; but the shields at the back and on the left are Gallic shields, dedicated by the Aetolians: in shape they closely resemble the Persian buck-

lers» (10,19,4). And there are many other such examples, including those not mentioned by Pausanias, such as the dedication by Alexander after the battle of the Granicus in 334 of «three hundred Persian panoplies to be set up to Athena in the Acropolis» (ARR., *Anab.*, 1,16,7) and shields on the architrave of the Parthenon. Such prominent dedications associated the dedicator with an ancient site, and were no doubt an attempt to gain legitimacy from the association. Hence, for example, the Macedonian rulers' close association with Olympia, exemplified, above all, by the construction of the Philippeion (5,20,9-10).

Indeed, Pausanias records other Macedonian dedications in perhaps less likely places, such as Gortys in Arcadia where, he tells us «the natives say that the cuirass and spear were dedicated to Aesculapius by Alexander, son of Philip; and in my time the cuirass and the point of the spear were still to be seen» (8,28,1). The dedication of such ancient relics was of particular interest to Pausanias as illuminating the nature and purpose of a sanctuary, and the use to which it had been put in the past. His primary interest was in ancient objects – the older the better. Two examples which he describes as «worthy of mention» (*axia logou*) were dedicated inside the temple of Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis, namely «the corselet of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataea, and a sword said to be that of Mardonius» (1,27,1). Pausanias says no more of the breastplate, but we may safely assume it was the one referred to by Herodotus (9,22), who describes it as «a corslet of golden scales», and the reason why the Athenians had such difficulty in killing Masistius. It may also be noted that Pausanias' interest in materials (manifest primarily in his frequently telling us of what stone, marble or wood a particular statue is made) leads him to mention breastplates made of linen (which, he explains, are vulnerable to iron in battle, but useful for hunting) displayed at the sanctuary of Apollo at Gryneum in Asia Minor (1,21,7).

Pausanias brackets with the spoils from the Persian wars on the Acropolis a wooden Hermes «said to be an offering of Cecrops» and «a folding-chair, made

by Daedalus», and refers to them all as *archaia*. While the folding stool is by a legendary artist, the military spoils are within the historical period as we understand it and, perhaps more importantly, are relics of a conflict whose authenticity and date were beyond dispute (unlike the Trojan war, from which he saw the spear of Achilles preserved in the sanctuary of Athena at Phaselis and Memnon's sword in the temple of Asclepius in Nicomedia). Although the era of the Trojan war blends into the period leading up to the Persian wars, Pausanias had a firm enough idea of the date of the Persian wars (if only through reading Herodotus) to dismiss the idea that a statue by Alcamenes had been damaged during them (1,1,5)⁷.

The reference to Daedalus brings one other topic to mind, namely rhetoric. Rhetorical display was central to the sophistic writings of many of Pausanias' contemporaries: some lines from the third century A.D. writer Menander Rhetor give a flavour of how rhetoricians would have been expected to write about ancient objects: «You should describe the statue of the god, compare it with Zeus at Olympia and Athena on the Acropolis at Athens. Then add: «what Pheidias, what Daedalus fashioned such an image! Perhaps this statue fell from heaven» (*On Epideictic*, 445,15-19). In this case, Pausanias does identify a work as being by Daedalus, and elsewhere he sees works by, for example, Hephaistus, but I would argue that his approach is far from that of the sophists, as he always gives reasons why the attributions are secure, and explains any doubts he has. Never is attribution used to heighten the reader's interest, nor are manifestly false claims employed. It is hard, for example, to imagine a sophist missing the opportunity to describe a breastplate with golden scales.

There are, of course, many other examples of military equipment dedicated in temples, of which I note two representative cases: the three linen corselets dedicated in the Carthaginian treasury at Olympia by Gelon and the Syracusans following a victory against the Phoenicians (6,19,7); and in the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea the chains from the so-called battle of the fetters ca. 580-560, referred to above. The assertion of Tegean

identity and independence which these antique chains represent – and they were already well over 700 years old by the time Pausanias saw them – is further strengthened by the shrivelled hide of the Calydonian boar which Pausanias says hung beside them. The story of the Calydonian boar had considerable local significance and was represented on the east pediment. The hide links the historical past of the early sixth century with the era of mythical heroes in the same way as the dedication by Cecrops in Athens and the spear of Achilles at Phaselis mentioned above.

Pausanias' account of Tegea brings up one further, related, issue, namely looting⁸. Relics were obvious targets for looters for their historical and symbolic value. Pausanias tells us that «the ancient image of Athena Alea, and with it the tusks of the Calydonian boar, were carried off by the Roman emperor Augustus, after he had defeated Antony and his allies, among whom were all the Arcadians except the Mantineans» (8,46,1). It is repeatedly clear from Pausanias' narrative that his view of Augustus was favourable, and equally clear that he feels some unease at Augustus' looting the statue and the tusks of the Calydonian boar. Nonetheless, his mission as an objective recorder obliges him to tell us what Augustus had done. However, he follows it up by adding «It is known that Augustus was not the first to carry off votive offerings and images of the gods from his vanquished foes, but that he only followed a long-established precedent» (8,46,2), giving a list which begins with the Greeks dividing the spoils after the fall of Troy, and includes Xerxes taking dedications from Athens and the statue of Artemis from Brauron (8,46,3) and many other examples. He concludes by repeating, rather defensively, that «Thus the emperor Augustus merely practised an ancient custom, which is observed by Greeks and barbarians alike» (8,46,4). Here Pausanias clearly feels an awkwardness which he faces by means of a long justificatory 'digression'. His particular difficulty is not looting in itself, but looting from a sanctuary, something he normally condemns without a second thought, but which here needs to be portrayed as an exception to the normally correct behaviour of Augustus,

all the more so as the objects looted included an «ancient image». Pausanias' method of legitimizing Augustus' actions is to give them deep roots in the past of Greeks, Dorians and Persians, appealing primarily to the most ancient conflict of all, the Trojan war.

While sanctuaries are regularly looted, Pausanias says that Delphi has been particularly subject to attack, citing five attempts to sack it, including by Pyrrhos son of Achilles, the forces of Xerxes, and the Gauls. Interestingly, he follows this list by telling us of «the all-comprehensive disdain of Nero, who robbed Apollo of five hundred bronze statues of gods and men» (10,7,1). In other words, what primarily angers him is looting from sanctuaries as such, rather than simply looting as a result of war. Hence his condemnation of Nabis, dictator of Laconia around the 220s B.C., of whom he says that «not content with robbing men, Nabis rifled sanctuaries, and soon amassed a large hoard, by means of which he mustered an army» (4,29,1).

From looting, I turn now to warfare and the gods, specifically to statues of martial deities. For example, Warlike Athena and Aphrodite and Zeus, whom I referred to above, and armed statues such as those of Aphrodite at Sparta (3,15,10) and Cythera (3,23,1), both wooden; and on Acrocorinth (2,5,1). On occasion, a statue is said to take an active role, as at Elateia in Phocis, where Pausanias tells us that «At the right hand extremity of the city there is a theatre and an old bronze image of Athena. They say that this goddess helped them against Taxilus and his barbarians» (10,34,6). Similarly, another bronze armed statue, that of Artemis in Messene, apparently dropped its shield when it became clear that Messenia would fall to the Spartans (4,13,1). Perhaps the most familiar example is Athena Nike in Athens. Ira Mark says the attributes of the *xoanon* of Athena Nike «show the goddess' primary interests to be military victory and fertility»⁹. Pausanias does not explain the epithet «Nike», although it is hard to believe that he thought it meant anything other than military victory. He draws a parallel between the statue of Athena Nike and that of Enyalios in Sparta, as follows: «Opposite this temple is an ancient image of Enyalios in fetters. The

notion of the Lacedaemonians about this image is that, being held fast by the fetters, Enyalios will never run away from them; just as the Athenians have a notion about the Victory called Wingless, that she will always stay where she is because she has no wings» (3,15,7). A further parallel is the wingless victory by Calamis at Mantinea, made in imitation of Athena Nike (5,26,6).

There are other examples which could be added to illustrate Pausanias' treatment of war in Greek sanctuaries, but I make just one last observation: peace appears very little in his narrative compared to war. While Pausanias has a clear preference for peace over war, praising Hadrian because «he never made war of his own free will» (1,5,5), and Antoninus Pius because, similarly, «he never voluntarily involved the Romans in war» (8,43,3), his writings fully reflect the fact that Greek sanctuaries contained many reflections of war, but few of peace. Probably the most familiar example is the statue of Plutus and Eirene which Pausanias saw near the statue of the Eponymous Heroes in the Agora of Athens (1,8,2) and which he tells us was made by Cephisodotus (9,16,2), probably to be identified with a statue known through Roman copies and Athenian prize Panathenaic amphorae¹⁰. Pausanias also refers to a statue of Peace in the Prytaneum at Athens (1,18,3). At Argos, he saw a seated statue of Zeus of Placation (Zeus Meilichios) made from white stone by Polycleitos. He adds: «I was told that it was made for the following reason. For the time that the Lacedaemonians first turned their arms against the Argives, there was no cessation of hostilities till Philip, the son of Amyntas, compelled them to stay within their original boundaries» (2,20,1).

The notion of Zeus of Placation brings to mind Pausanias' seeing in Olympia «a bronze tablet containing a thirty years' treaty of peace between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians» dated to the 83rd Olympiad, i.e. 445 B.C. (5,23,4). The association with Olympia is appropriate since, although it played a role in many military victories through its prophets, as was mentioned above, and the sanctuary itself displayed many monuments related to war, it did, nonetheless, at one point, play a role in resolving disputes between Greeks, in a

way reminiscent of the aim of stopping civil wars mentioned by Pausanias as one of the reasons for Iphitos' re-founding the games (5,4,5-6). He adds that Iphitos «arranged the games at Olympia and revived the Olympic festival and truce, which had been discontinued for a time, how long I cannot say». The re-establishment of the games was closely linked to peace: «As Greece just at that time was sorely wasted by pestilence and civil strife, it struck Iphitos that he would pray to the god at Delphi for deliverance from these evils; and they say that the Pythian priestess enjoined him and the Eleans to renew the Olympic games».

Pausanias also tells us that he saw in the temple of Hera at Olympia the discus of Iphitos on which «is inscribed the truce which the Eleans proclaim at the Olympic festival: the inscription is not in a straight line, but the letters run round the discus in a circle» (5,20,1). This is probably not a competitive discus, but one of many on which the rules of the competition would be written, and which would be taken to Greek cities as a means of announcing the games every four years¹¹. The discus would also carry the proclamation of the truce which enabled participants and spectators to travel safely to Olympia. I have discussed the evidence for the Olympic truce elsewhere¹², and here I simply draw attention to an inscription found on a bronze sheet at Olympia and dated probably 476-472, and in any case soon after the Persian wars, which indicates that a court was set up at Olympia to resolve disputes between Greek states¹³. The court appears to have been an attempt to foster a spirit of reconciliation and panhellenism following the Persian wars, and it may well have been connected with the visit of Themistocles to the Olympics of 476, which we know from Plutarch (*Them.*, 17,1), who tells us that when «Themistocles entered the stadium, the audience neglected the contestants all day long to gaze on him, and pointed him out with admiring applause to visiting strangers, so that he too was delighted, and confessed to his friends that he was now reaping in full measure the harvest of his toils on behalf of Hellas». Similarly, Pausanias (8,50,3) says that the entire audience in the theatre at Olympia stood in his honour.

Thucydides (3,8-15) apparently refers to a case in 428, during the 88th Olympiad, when envoys of Mitylene «went to Olympia during the festival so that they could put their case to the Laconians and their allies». Thucydides does not refer directly to the court, and it is surprising that it has such a low profile in our sources if it proved at all successful. It does not feature in Pausanias' narrative at all, and it appears to have been long-forgotten by his time. Indeed, the notion of an Olympic truce, or of peace during the games, was shattered in 364, if it had not already been beforehand, when, according to Xenophon (*Hell.*, 7,4,28-32), the Arcadians seized the sanctuary during the games and a battle took place in the Altis, with fighters standing on the roofs of the stoas, the bouleuterion and the temple of Zeus itself. Pausanias says that «The largest of all the bronze images of Zeus in the Altis was dedicated by the Eleans themselves from the spoils of the war with the Arcadians: its height is 27 feet» (5,24,4), an indication of how important the Eleans thought this victory.

Pausanias may have confused his sources when he tells us (5,20,4-5) that Aristarchos, an *exegetis*, or sacred guide, at Olympia «said that in his time, when the Eleans were repairing the dilapidated roof of the Heraeum, the wounded corpse of a foot-soldier was found between the ceiling and the roof, and that this soldier had taken part in the battle which the Eleans fought against the Lacedaemonians in the Altis. For the Eleans defended themselves from the roofs of the sanctuaries and from every high place ... Aristarchus added that they carried the dead man out of the Altis and buried him with his arms». Pausanias later adds (5,27,11): «Under the plane-tree in the Altis, just about the middle of the close, is a bronze trophy, and on the shield of the trophy is an inscription declaring that the Eleans erected it for a victory over the Lacedaemonians. It was in this battle that the man lost his life who was found lying in his armour when the roof of the Heraeum was being repaired in my time».

Elis and Laconia were at war from 401 to 399, during which time the games continued uninterrupted. In another passage referring to this war (5,4,8), Pausanias says that «the Eleans won a battle at

Olympia, routed the Lacedaemonians, and chased them out of the sacred enclosure». This is our only evidence for a battle in the Altis between Elis and Lakonia, so Pausanias is either telling us something otherwise unknown, or is perhaps confusing this with the battle of 364 attested by Xenophon.

Given the nature of the history of Olympia, of Greek sanctuaries as a whole, and of the dedications made at them, it should not surprise us that Pausanias' account of them tells us much more about war, its manifestations and its consequences, than it does about peace.

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I would like to express my warm gratitude to the organizers of the Workshop G. Nenci for their kind invitation to give the paper on which this article is based. Talking about Pausanias in Italy is rather like taking owls to Athens, so many are the Italian scholars to whom any student of Pausanias owes a debt. I am, therefore, all the more honoured to have been invited. Translations of Pausanias are from FRAZER 1898.

¹ SNODGRASS 1987, 77.

² HARRISON 1965, 9-11; FRANCIS, VICKERS 1982; COOK 1989, 168; COOPER 1990.

³ WALSH 1986.

⁴ CARTLEDGE, SPAWFORTH 1989, 164.

⁵ PARKE 1967, 164-93, esp. 187-189. Note also Parke's observation (242) that Olympia is not referred to as oracular by Roman authors (meaning Latin authors, as Strabo, an author of the Roman period writing in Greek, refers to it (8,3,30). Also on the oracle, SINN 2000, 15-22; ID. 1991.

⁶ These passages are discussed by PARKE, WORMELL 1956, II, 146-148, nn. 362, 364-365.

⁷ On perceptions and use of the Persian wars in the Roman empire, SPAWFORTH 1994.

⁸ I discuss references to looting in Pausanias, and his attitude to it, at greater length in ARAFAT forthcoming.

⁹ MARK 1993, 126; on the sources for the statue, 93-99.

¹⁰ STEWART 1990, 173; RIDGWAY 1997, 259-260.

¹¹ JEFFERY 1990, 217-218.

¹² ARAFAT 2003.

¹³ SIEWERT 1981.

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