

TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 12, 1997

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WILHELM FUNK



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ANDREW FARRINGTON

Olympic Victors and the Popularity of the Olympic Games in the Imperial Period*

I. Introduction

Archaeologists and other scholars have devoted considerable attention to the archaic and classical periods of the stephanic games of Greece. They have, however, been less interested in the hellenistic and imperial periods. In particular, nobody has so far examined in detail the reputation and status of the Olympic games during the imperial period, although it has long been acknowledged that the Olympic games underwent a renaissance in the second cent.¹ In the present paper, I concentrate on

* Previous versions of this paper were given at seminars held at the British School at Athens and in the Classics Department of Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand and at the Australian Society for Classical Studies Conference, at Canberra, 1992. I am particularly grateful to Dr. V. Chryssanthopoulou, Dr. J. J. Coulton, Dr. J. Davidson, Dr. A. Giesecke, Dr. O. van Nijf, Dr. T. Parkin, Dr. A. Pomeroy and Dr. S. Zoubaki for their valuable comments.

All dates are A.D., unless otherwise indicated. The terms „archaic“, „classical“, „hellenistic“ and „imperial“ are used in a purely chronological fashion. The title of periodicals and of some books are referred to by the abbreviations given at AJA 95 (1991) 4–16. Other works frequently referred to are denoted by the abbreviations given in the following list.

- Cameron, *Factions* = A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*, Oxford 1976.
- Coulson, Kyrieleis, *Olympic Games* = W. Coulson, H. Kyrieleis (eds.), *Proceedings of an Internat. Symposium on the Olympic Games*, 5.–9. September 1988, Athens 1988.
- Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* = W. Dittenberger, K. Purgold, *Olympia: Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung V: Die Inschriften*, Berlin 1896.
- Duncan-Jones, *Economy* = R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, Cambridge²1982.
- Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports* = E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, London 1910.
- Gardiner, *Olympia* = E. N. Gardiner, *Olympia: Its History and Remains*, Oxford 1925.
- Humphrey, *Circuses* = J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing*, Berkeley 1986.
- Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* = J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford 1972.
- Mallwitz, *Olympia* = A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, Munich 1972.
- Moretti, *Iscrizione* = L. Moretti, *Iscrizione agonistiche greche*, Rome 1953.
- Moretti, *Olympionikai* = L. Moretti, *Olympionikai: I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*, Rome 1957.
- Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest* = M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, Munich 1988.

¹ Popularity of games in second cent.: Gardiner, *Olympia* 158.

one aspect of the popularity of Olympia during this period, namely its popularity as a sporting centre. To this end, I examine the changing catchment areas of Olympic victors during the classical, hellenistic and imperial period. Such an examination of Olympic victors provides a possible index as to how the popularity of competition in the Olympic games may have changed at various times in various areas of the Greek world and how perceptions of Olympic victors changed over time.

II. The Evidence

Material on Olympic victors and victories is drawn from a wide variety of literary and epigraphic sources. I shall deal with the nature of this evidence in detail below. Here it is enough to note that most, if not all, of this material was collected by Luigi Moretti at various times. In his *Olympionikai*, of 1957, he gives a total of 944 Olympic victories that he considers datable to within, it seems, about 50 years. In the same work, he also gives a further 43 victories that he terms „Olimpionici di data molto dubbia“, plus a further 40 victories that he terms „Olimpionici dubbi“, that is, he thought that these 40 victories were gained in local games entitled Ὀλύμπια. Moretti updated this list three times², listing between 30 and 34 new victors and between 25 and 39 new victories datable to within a period of about 50 years. Thus, thanks to Moretti's invaluable work, we know of between 969 and 983 victories that are firmly dated to within about 50 years or less. Of these victories, something over half are dated firmly to a particular Olympiad, although numbers of such firmly precisely dated victories naturally vary over time. As for the rest, Moretti attempts to date these, too, to a particular Olympiad. Although he certainly acknowledges that these attempts are guesses, his method tends at times to produce a misleading impression of precision. Nevertheless, if we plot by century those of the 979 recorded Olympic that fall between 500 B.C. and 300 (Fig. 1), we find that there is a sharp fall in numbers of victories between 500 B.C. and 100 B.C., thereafter a rise to a much lower peak in the first cent., and thereafter another steep decline.

We turn now a brief survey of the origins of Olympic victors as they are recorded in Moretti's material. In late archaic and classical times, southern Italy and Sicily are the chief sources of recorded victories, although numbers of recorded victories from these regions declines fairly soon, never to appear on anything like the same scale again. As for the states of Greece itself, the Peloponnese produced most of its recorded victories between the middle of the sixth cent. B.C. and about 300 B.C. Of the individual regions of the Peloponnese, Elis produced 51 recorded victories between ca 500 B.C. and 200 B.C., Sparta produced 39 between ca 700 B.C. and 350 B.C., and the cities of Arcadia produced 28 between between ca 500 B.C. and 180 B.C.³. As for

² Updating of victor list: L. Moretti, *Supplemento al catalogo degli Olympionikai*, *Klio* 52 (1970) 295–303; L. Moretti, *Nuovo supplemento al catalogo degli Olimpionici*, *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 12 (1987) 69–91; L. Moretti, *Nuovo supplemento al catalogo degli Olympionikai*, in: Coulson, Kyrieleis, *Olympic Games* 122–128.

³ Victories by victors from Elis and region between ca 500 and ca 180 B.C.: Elis: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 114, 183, 248, 284, 310, 318, 323, 337, 350, 353, 364, 365, 367, 369, 374, 375, 383, 391, 401, 402, 404, 412, 413, 452, 462, 466, 476, 480, 489, 494, 497, 501, 505, 506, 522, 530, 531, 536, 540, 544, 560, 562, 563, 564, 570, 577, 583, 585, 587, 588, 601; Lepreum:

the rest of Greece, Athens produced 27 recorded victories between the mid to late sixth cent. B.C. and *ca* 300 B.C.⁴, Thessaly, 20 victories between *ca* 500 B.C. and *ca* 250 B.C.⁵. On the part of all states of Greece, however, there is an almost complete drop in the number of recorded victories certainly by 200 B.C., if not earlier, and the number of recorded victories never reaches anything like the same level again. Within the Peloponnese, during hellenistic and imperial times, only Elis produces any number of recorded victories, namely 20, mostly in equestrian events, between about 120 B.C. and 50 B.C.⁶. There are a few recorded victories won by Sicyonian victors over the second cent.⁷. Apart from this, however, Corinth and the states of Arcadia and Messenia, which previously produced so many recorded victories, produce no more. Outside the Peloponnese, the situation is the same. During the whole of the imperial period, only Aegina, Athens, Phocis, perhaps Macedonia, Tenos and Crete produce among themselves a total of only 11 recorded victories.

The chronological spread of recorded victories won by victors from the eastern Greek world is noticeably different. Overall, there are fewer victories recorded for victors from the eastern Greek world than from Greece and the western Greek world during the fifth and fourth cent. B.C.⁸. A general drop in recorded victories by victors

Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 267, 276, 309, 331, 338, 360, 405, 426. From Sparta, between *ca* 700 and *ca* 350 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 22, 24, 30, 32, 35, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 55, 57, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 72, 76, 78, 80, 91, 108, 110, 113, 117, 157, 160, 195, 211, 216, 237, 304, 305, 311, 315, 324, 327, 332, 339, 342, 373, 381, 386, 396, 418. From cities of Arcadia, between *ca* 550 and *ca* 200 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 529. Cleitor: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 395, 406, 456, 520. Corone (?): Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 118. Dipaea: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 314. Heraea: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 132, 138, 189, 200, 205, 313, 317, 344, 394, 483. Mantinea: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 163, 193, 202, 254, 256, 265. Maenalum: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 253, 336, 343, 362, 377, 393, 408. Methydrum: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 410, 411. Oresthasium: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 231. Parrhasia: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 243, 359. Pheneus: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 380. Stymphalus: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 188, 199. Tegea: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 366 486, 593, 600. Thelpousa: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 249.

⁴ Victories by victors from Athens, between *ca* 550 B.C. and *ca* 300 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 81, 103, 120, 124, 124, 127, 164, 169, 176, 242, 245, 262, 275, 320, 345, 357, 368, 382, 414, 419, 424, 440, 446, 451, 458, 460, 467, 484.

⁵ Victories by victors from Thessaly, between *ca* 500 B.C. and *ca* 250 B.C.: Thessaly: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 291, 316, 384, 523, 546, 558. Crannon: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 547. Larissa (?): Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 150, 156, 175, 184, 258, 348, 351, 367a, 456. Pharsalus: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 107, 190, 192, 534. Scotussa: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 348.

⁶ Victories by victors from Elis between *ca* 120 B.C. and *ca* 50 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 639 (?), 663, 664, 670, 671, 672, 674, 677, 678, 679, 680, 691, 692, 693, 694, 697, 698, 705 (?), 707, 715.

⁷ Sicyonian victories between *ca* 100 and 150: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 848, 850, 851, 852, 856 (all by Aelius Granianus, between 133 and 141 [?]), 858.

⁸ Victories won by victors from south-east Aegean and south-west Asia Minor, sixth cent.–fourth cent. B.C.: Ephesus, between *ca* 400 and 300 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 414, 431, 438. Magnesia, between *ca* 500 and *ca* 300 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 329, 449, 454, 500, 507, 511, 521. Miletus, between *ca* 450 and *ca* 300 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 225, 316, 320, 385, 470, 488, 518. Samos, between *ca* 540 and *ca* 320 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 123, 226, 399, 471.

from the eastern Greek world after *ca* 200 B.C., at the latest, parallels the drop presented by the record from the western Greek world. There are, however, records of victories won by victors from Aeolis, Mysia and the Troad, up to about 150 B.C.⁹ With the onset of the imperial period, however, numbers of recorded victories won by victors from states in the eastern Greek world rise dramatically, in a manner unparalleled by the record from Greece and the western Greek world. Victories won by victors from Magnesia on the Maeander and from Miletus begin to appear in later hellenistic times. Victories by victors from Ephesus begin to appear at the very end of the first cent. B.C.¹⁰ In imperial times, the main catchment areas of recorded Olympic victors remain in part in the western coastlands of Asia Minor, but also spread east into Bithynia, Phrygia, Lydia, Caria and Cilicia¹¹. Syria, too, produces some recorded victories¹². Most striking is the number of recorded Olympic victories won by athletes from northern Egypt and Alexandria, in particular. Between *ca* 200 and *ca* 100 B.C., there are a mere four recorded victories, two of which were won by the same athlete. Thereafter, to *ca* 230 there are 26 recorded victories won by Alexandrian athletes¹³,

⁹ Victories by victors from Aeolis, Mysia, Hellespontine Phrygia, Troad: Mytilene, between *ca* 480–*ca* 300 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 209, 482, 503. Pergamon, between *ca* 300–280: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 538. Tenedos, between *ca* 230 and 200 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 596. Assos, *ca* 220–*ca* 200: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 597. Alexandria Troas, between *ca* 220 and *ca* 200: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 603. Troad, between *ca* 220 and 200: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 590. Cyzicus, 192 B.C.: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 606.

¹⁰ Victories by victors from Ionia, *ca* 100 B.C.–*ca* 200: Ephesus, *ca* 30 B.C.–*ca* 200: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 731, 736, 800, 802, 804, 810, 816, 822, 838, 844, 877, 892, 899, 901, 916. (800, 802, 804, 810, 816 by same victor). Magnesia ad Maeandrum, *ca* 100–200: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 666, 667, 742, 751, 753, 756, 912. Miletus, *ca* 150–*ca* 200: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 641, 681, 682, 683, 726, 728, 729, 731, 735, 749, 839, 862, 921. Smyrna, *ca* 50–230: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 808, 872, 890, 891, 924, 927.

¹¹ Victories by victors from Bithynia, Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Cilicia: first cent.–third cent.: Bithynia, Apamea: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 857 (141 ?), 859 (145 ?, both by same athlete). Nicaea: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 650 (112), 651 (116, both by same athlete). Prusa: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 746 (13). Lydia, Daldis: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 937 (249 ?). Magnesia ad Sipylum: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 880 (177 ?). Philadelphia: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 764 (37 ?), 785 (61 ?), 787 (67 ?, by same athlete as 785), 788 (67), 875 (169 ?), 888 (185 ?), 943 (369 ?). Sardis: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 860 (149), 878 (173 ?), 881 (177 ?, by same athlete as 878). Thyatira: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 908 (209 ?). Caria, Ceramus: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 796, 797, 798, (all dated to 69, all by same athlete). Iasus: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 814 (85 ?). Nysa: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 902 (201 ?). Stratonicea: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 747, 748 (both 13). Cilicia, Adana: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 815 (85 ?), 819 (89 ?, both by same athlete). Aegeae: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 762, 763 (both 37, both by same athlete). Tarsus: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 811 (85), 873 (165 ?).

¹² Victories won by victors from Syria, first cent.–third cent.: Antioch: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 754 (25 ?), 757 (29 ?, by same athlete as 754), 774 (49 ?), 779 (53 ?), 784 (57 ?, by same athlete as 774, 779), 828 (97) (Perhaps, after the first cent., Antiochene athletes competed at their own Olympic games, rather than travel to Olympia). Seleucia: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 861 (149).

¹³ Egypt, victories between *ca* 100 and *ca* 230: Alexandria: Moretti, *Olympionikai* 829 (101), 830 (101), 831 (105), 832 (105), 836 (117), 840 (125), 843 (129, by same athlete as 840), 847 (133), 849 (137), 855 (141), 65 (153 ?), 870 (165), 874 (169), 883 (181), 884 (181), 886 (185), 893 (193), 894 (193 ?), 896 (197, by same athlete as 893), 898 (197 ?, by same athlete as

most of which are victories in the stadion. All but two of the victories that are dated to a particular Olympiad fall before 270¹⁴.

Such, then, is the spread of Olympic victories in geographical and chronological terms. At first sight, this data suggests two points. First, it suggests that there was a general shift in the catchment area of Olympic victors from the western Greek world and Greece itself, in the fifth to third cent. B.C., to the eastern Greek world in the late hellenistic and imperial period. Second, it suggests that there was an overall decline, with a slight rally in the early imperial period, in the number of Olympic victors, and thus, one posits, a decline in the interest in competition at the Olympic games. Before, of course, we are in a position to accept or reject any of this, we must look more deeply at the nature of the evidence amassed by Moretti. The first question to ask of this evidence, because the answer to this question decides whether it is worth pursuing our investigation, is how far these 979 known and fairly precisely dated victories represent the full record of Olympic victories. Any effort to answer this question, however, means that we shall have to attempt a calculation of the total number of victors over the life of the Olympic Games, so that we can set the number of recorded victories against the total number of victories, or at any rate against an approximation to the total number of victories won over the life of the Olympic games. The Olympic Games, at least as an organized, regularly recurring athletic festival, was founded in 776 B.C., and seems not to have continued beyond the two hundred and ninety third Olympiad, of 393¹⁵. Yet it is impossible to work out the life span of individual events, and the best we can do is to calculate possible upper and lower limits to the total quantity of victories won over the life of the Olympic Games, within which the true figure must lie¹⁶.

Pausanias, Philostratus and Eusebius present more or less the same precise information over the foundation dates of individual events¹⁷. Philostratus does not give dates for the introduction of any equestrian, or related, events, but the focus of his work is, after all, only athletics. Otherwise, he disagrees with Pausanias and Eusebius

894), 900 (201), 909 (213), 913 (217, by same athlete as 909). Arsinoite Nome: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 841 (125). Naucratis: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 907 (209 ?).

¹⁴ Victories after 270: Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 942 (277 ?), 944 (369 ?).

¹⁵ Life span of Olympic games: Gardiner, *Olympia* 174. Gardiner, *Olympia* 174 also mentions the tradition that the Olympic Games lingered on till the decree of Theodosius II was passed in 426.

¹⁶ Difficulty of calculating life span of individual events at Olympia: Neither N. B. Crowther, *Studies in Greek Athletics: Part I*, CW 78 (1984–1985) 497–558 nor N. B. Crowther, *Studies in Greek Athletics: Part II*, CW 79 (1985–1986) 73–135 lists any work that seems to deal with the question of the lifespan of the various events, perhaps because the very fragmentary evidence, which prevents any but the most tentative conclusion, has discouraged investigation.

¹⁷ Modern doubts on reliability of information on date of introduction of events to Olympic games: See N. B. Crowther, CW 78 (1984–1985) 519–520, for a list of modern articles on the 'Olympic register' of information regarding the date of introduction of various events to the Olympic curriculum, and a summary of the diverse opinions expressed therein. Dates of introduction of various individual events to Olympic games: Pausanias 5.8.5–5.9.1; Philostratus, *Περὶ Γυμναστικῆς* 12–13; Eusebius, *Χρονικά* col 159 ff. Also, Syll.³ no 1056, lists foundation dates of various events at Olympic games, before ca 264 B.C.

over the date of the introduction of the boys' stadion, which he places in 596 B.C., instead of 632 B.C., and he also suggests that the boys' boxing may have been introduced in 450 B.C., instead of 616 B.C., the date given by Pausanias and Eusebius. Pausanias disagrees slightly with Eusebius, in placing the date of the introduction of the race for the two-colt chariot in 264 B.C., instead of 268 B.C. In contrast to these dates proffered by Pausanias, Philostratus and Eusebius, Pindar's *Olympian* 10, 60–74 reflects a clearly different tradition, by placing the stadion race, wrestling, boxing, javelin, discus and the four-horse chariot race in the first Olympiad. Funeral games from before the time of the Olympic games traditionally included these events, particularly the chariot race¹⁸. Certainly, given the prestige with which the four-horse chariot race, and equestrian events in general, and the group of heavy events were regarded in archaic and classical times, it seems highly likely that the events in Pindar's list were held right from the beginning, in 776 B.C.

These, then, are some of the difficulties inherent in any attempt to establish the date of the introduction of individual events. When we come to consider the end of the lifetime of individual Olympic events, inscriptions referring to Olympic victory at least give us a *terminus post quem*. There is a sharp decline in numbers of victories inscriptions after *ca* 260–270. The last of the victories of Valerius Eclectus is dated by Dittenberger and Purgold to 261, the year of the 260th Olympiad¹⁹. Thereafter one victory may possibly fall in the late third cent. and there is nothing else recorded before a cluster of victories in the late fourth cent.²⁰ Likewise, the latest known inscription recording office holders at Olympia is dated to 265.

Mrozek, in 1973, was the first to point to the phenomenon of a general rise in certain types of Latin inscriptions, from the time of Augustus, to a peak under Septimius Severus, before a steep decline down to the reign of Decius. He was also the first to adumbrate the notion that what the inscriptional timeline reflected was not so much fluctuation in the activities that the inscriptions recorded, as a fluctuation in the habit of recording the activities. The notion was amplified and elaborated by Ramsey MacMullen, who gave the phenomenon the convenient label of „the epigraphic habit“, and concluded in the first of his papers on the subject that there was no obvious eco-

¹⁸ Authenticity of dates of introduction of events in Pausanias, Philostratus, Eusebius: Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports* 51–52. Also, W. Decker, *Zum Wagenrennen in Olympia: Probleme der Forschung*, in Coulson, Kyrieleis, *Olympic Games* 129–139 mentions that chariot racing existed in Mycenaean times, and finds it highly unlikely that the Olympic games did not include the four-horse chariot from 776 B.C.

¹⁹ Victories of Valerius Eclectus: Dittenberger, *IvO* no 243; Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 940.

²⁰ Olympic victories after 261: Victory of Dionysius Samenmys, of Alexandria (Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 941). Victory of Aurelius Sarapammon, perhaps of Oxyrhynchus (Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 942), whose victory Moretti dates to perhaps 277. Victory of Philoumenos, of Lydia (Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 943), whose victory, in boxing or pancration, Moretti dates to 369. Victory of Varazdates (Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 944), whose victory Moretti dates to 369, whilst Gardiner, *Olympia* dates it to 385. A recently discovered bronze plate (U. Sinn, G. Ladstätter, A. Martin, T. Völlig, *Olympia während der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Nikephoros 7 [1994] 229–250, especially 238–241) refers to two victories, one won by M. Aurelius Eukarpides, in the boys' pancration, in 381 (= Old. 290) and one won by his brother, M. Aurelius Zopyros, in the boys' boxing, in 385 (= Old. 291).

nomic or political explanation to account for the marked decline for almost all types of inscriptions from *ca* 250. Nobody, apart from Laum, very early in this century, and MacMullen, in his brief *ZPE* article of 1986, has looked in detail at the trends and timelines that characterize the various types of Greek inscriptions from the eastern part of the empire, probably because the majority of Greek inscriptions from the eastern part of the empire are so poorly dated. Yet the findings that emerge from studies of much better dated Latin inscriptions clearly do suggest that the absence of epigraphic attestation in the eastern part of the empire, too, does not necessarily imply that the activity recorded by the inscription ceased²¹. Thus it is possible that at least the events that are frequently recorded in inscriptions at Olympia up to *ca* 260, that is, in very great part, athletic events, did indeed continue after this date. In fact, there are three indications, of varying trustworthiness, that this was the case. First is the evidence afforded by the recently discovered bronze inscription mentioned above that records the two victories in boys' events in the 380s. The second is that the „Baths south of the Leonidaeum“, which now seem to be some type of athletic establishment

²¹ Literature on „epigraphic habit“: S. Mrozek, in: *A propos de la repartition chronologique des inscriptions latines dans le haut-empire*, *Epigraphica* 25 (1973) 113–118, looked, first, at the timelines of inscriptions dated by reigns to emperors from Augustus to the period 268–284, and noted that there was a peak under Septimius Severus. He then looked at the timeline from the first cent. to the third cent. of two groups of inscriptions, one relating to imperial administration, army and religion, and the other, to private buildings, finance and freedmen. He noted the sharp decline, in the case of both groups, after a peak in the second half of the second cent. The decline of inscriptions in the second group, however, is even more precipitous than that in the first. He suggested that this may have occurred because the middle and lower levels of society, who produced this second group of inscriptions, were harder hit by the inflations and invasions of the period after 250 than the elite, who managed to produce proportionally more inscriptions during this time, although also in declining numbers. R. MacMullen, in *The Epigraphic Habit*, *AJP* 103 (1982) 233–246 compares the timelines of public and private documents from Egypt, both of which peak between 120–160. He compares these with the timelines of North African epitaphs, and of Mrozek's collection of inscriptions that are dated by reigns, both of which peak in the late second and early third cent. Mrozek, in: *Munificentia privata in Bauwesen und Lebensmittelverteilungen in Italien während des Prinzipates*, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 233–240 examined the timeline over the first to third cent. of building inscriptions from Italy and inscriptions relating to handouts. He finds that the proportion of inscriptions relating to building declines over this period, whilst the proportion of inscriptions relating to handouts rises. This rise, he notes, is in accord with the general timeline of dedicatory inscriptions. He suggests that building inscriptions cease in Italy because cities there were now equipped with all the buildings their civic life required, and money was now diverted to handouts. D. Johnston, in: *Munificence and Municipia: Bequests to Towns in Classical Roman Law*, *JRS* 75 (1985) 105–125 briefly looks at the inscriptional evidence collected in Duncan-Jones, *Economy relating to bequests in towns in Italy and Africa*. He points out that hardly any material from Africa dates to before 100, which, he proposes, suggests that *municipia* that developed later Africa had the right to recover legacies. R. MacMullen, in: *Frequency of Inscriptions in Roman Lydia*, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 237–238 notes inscriptions from Lydia, which are in Greek, peak in about 180 and decline to zero, in 280. Mrozek, in: *A propos de la repartition chronologique des inscriptions latines dans le haut-empire*, *Epigraphica* 50 (1988) 61–64 employs yet more data to defend the findings of his 1973 article against the criticisms of Duncan-Jones, *Economy* 351. E. Meyer, in: *Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs*, *JRS* 70 (1990) 74–96, looks at Latin epitaphs, particularly from North Africa, as an index of the fluctuating prestige of the Roman citizenship

with a bath attached, were rebuilt in the later third cent. after the earthquake²², which suggests that athletic activity certainly continued at Olympia past the middle of the third cent. A.D. Thirdly, papyrus evidence from elsewhere²³ suggests that gymnastic life and traditions in general have come to an end by the middle, or even latter half, of the fourth cent.. Yet the last recorded victory at Olympia fell in the last years of the fourth cent., which may mean too that athletic life at Olympia continued at least some way into the fourth cent. in some form or another. What is indisputable, however, is that the presence up to *ca* 260 of inscriptions recording fairly constantly athletic victories guarantees that these events continued up to that date, if not beyond.

The epigraphic record concerning equestrian events allows slightly more speculation on the details of their lifespan. There are signs that chariot events continued through the first cent. B.C., although most of the competitors seem to have been Eleans. Around the beginning of the century, there is a cluster of six equestrian victories of various types, including chariot events, won, apparently, by various members of the same Elean family²⁴. Moretti tentatively places another two chariot victories in 72 B.C.²⁵, and one in 36 B.C.²⁶ At some time, probably between 20 B.C. and 8 B.C., however, Tiberius is recorded as having won a victory in the four-horse chariot race²⁷. Yet, whatever the popularity and frequency of conduct at Olympia of the equestrian events in general over the first cent. B.C., there is little positive indication that equestrian events continued to be popular there during the imperial period. Cameron points out that there are only eight known victors in chariot events at Olympia for the whole of imperial period²⁸, and that there is only one charioteer *periodonikes* from the same time²⁹. Moreover, there are only two recorded victories, both won by Eleans, in non-chariot equestrian events at Olympia³⁰. When set beside the comparatively much greater quantity of known victories in the athletic events of Olympia dated to imperial times, this very small quantity of recorded equestrian

²² Baths south of the Leonidaeum: U. Sinn, *Das Auftreten der Athleten in Olympia in nachklassischer Zeit*, in: Coulson, Kyrieleis, *Olympic Games* 45–59 (45–46 on date of Baths south of Leonidaeum).

²³ Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* 140, 140 nn 2–4 states that the last known reference to ephebic training is dated to 323, and the last known reference to a gymnasium, to *ca* 370. The ephebate at Antioch was apparently abolished even before the mid third cent.

²⁴ Group of Elean equestrian victories at beginning of the first cent. B.C.: Dittenberger, *Purgold, IvO* no 198–204; Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 670, 671, 672, 677, 674 (Theodota — Dittenberger, *Purgold, IvO* 203 — does not seem to be included by Moretti, *Olympionikai*).

²⁵ Chariot victories, 27 B.C. (?): Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos 693, 697.

²⁶ Συνωρίς victory, 36 B.C.(?): Dittenberger, *Purgold, IvO* no 216; Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 720.

²⁷ Victory of Germanicus: Dittenberger, *Purgold, IvO* no 221; Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 750; also Gardiner, *Olympia* 160, n 3. This picture of equestrian activity at Olympia throughout at least the first half of the first cent. B.C., casts doubt on Africanus' comment, preserved by Eusebius, who speaks, in connection with Germanicus' victory of 17, of the τέθριππον race as πάλαι κωλυθείς, although of course he is referring merely to the τέθριππον race.

²⁸ Chariot victories at Olympia in imperial times: Cameron, *Factions* 204, 204 n 5.

²⁹ Sole known charioteer 'Ολυμπιονίκης; Cameron, *Factions* 205, 205 n 3, referring to Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 932 (= Moretti, *Inscrizioni* 89), dated by Moretti to *ca* 241.

³⁰ Two non-chariot equestrian events from imperial Olympia: Moretti, *Olympionikai* 781, κέλης, dated to 53; Moretti, *Olympionikai* 782, πάλος κέλης, dated to 41–54.

victories leads one to suppose that there must have been long periods when no equestrian events were held at Olympia, although we have no idea as to when or how long these periods may have been. This contrasts strikingly with the picture presented over the imperial period by another set of stephanic games, the Isthmian games, where chariot racing was apparently popular until the late second cent. at least³¹.

Such is the nature of the evidence at our disposal if we wish to calculate upper and lower limits on the total number of Olympic victories won over the lifetime of the festival. Now we calculate these limits³², commencing with the upper limit. If the events that Pindar describes in *Olympian* 10 took place right from the beginning of the games in 776 B.C., and if the rest of the events were founded at the dates about which Pausanias, Philostratus and Eusebius are very nearly in agreement, and, finally, if all the events continued to be celebrated every Olympiad (except for those events, of course, which are said in the sources to have been discontinued) until 393, then the

³¹ Popularity of equestrian events at imperial Isthmian games: Cameron, *Factions* 204, 204 n 3. Unfortunately, consideration of the rest of the archaeological record at Olympia does not help very much in determining the lifespan of events at Olympia. Two of the three main areas where sporting activity took place, namely the stadium and the eastern half of the Altis, apparently remained in use for some purpose until the end of the life of sanctuary, although we cannot tell whether this purpose included provision of an arena for sporting activity (Mallwitz, *Olympia* 313 fig. 239, gives a synoptic chart concerning the periods over which facilities at Olympia were used). Of the third of the three areas used for sporting activity, the hippodrome, we know next to nothing (Mallwitz, *Olympia* 99, 297 n 69 professes ignorance over the life of the hippodrome, but, despite this professed ignorance, Mallwitz, *Olympia* 313 fig 239 suggests that the hippodrome remained in use until the end of the fourth cent.), let alone how long it remained in use, although we hear of a victory in a four-horse chariot race as late as perhaps 241 (Moretti, *Olympionikai* no 932).

³² Upper limit on total number of Olympic victories: I assume here that all events were celebrated up to the last Olympiad, the 293rd, of 393 (and, for the purposes of argument, here ignore the possibility that Sulla may have denuded the games of 80 B.C. of all except the stadion race — Appian, *Civil War* 1.99), except for the πένταθλον παιδῶν, held only in 628 B.C. (Paus., Phil., Euseb.), the ἀπήνη, held only to 444 B.C. (Paus., Euseb.), and the κάλπη, also held only to 444 B.C. (Paus., Euseb.). I also assume that events for the javelin and discus, on the evidence of Pindar, *Olympian* 10, 64–73, were founded in 776 B.C., but I also assume that these two events were absorbed into the πένταθλον, when, according to the testimony of Pausanias, Philostratus and Eusebius, it was founded in 708 B.C. (= 18th Ol.). The date given in the list below beside the name of the event denotes a date supported by Pausanias, Philostratus and Eusebius, unless otherwise stated. Following the name of the event is the number of Olympiads that the event ran for, on the basis of the assumptions I make here. Foundation dates: 776 B.C., ἄκων, (Pindar, *Ol* 10. 64–73), 18 Olds. 776 B.C., πάλη ἀνδρῶν, (Pindar, *Ol* 10. 64–73), 293 Olds. 776 B.C., στάδιον, 293 Olds. 776 B.C., τέθριππον, 293 Olds. 724 B.C., δίαυλος, 279 Olds. 720 B.C., δόλιχος, 270 Olds. 708 B.C., πένταθλον ἀνδρῶν, 275 Olds. 688 B.C., πυγμὴ ἀνδρῶν, 270 Olds. 648 B.C., κέλῃς (Paus., Euseb.), 260 Olds. 648 B.C., παγκράτιον ἀνδρῶν, 260 Olds. 632 B.C., πάλη παιδῶν (Paus., Euseb.), 256 Olds. 632 B.C., στάδιον παιδῶν (Paus., Euseb.), 256 Olds. 628 B.C., πένταθλον παιδῶν, 1 Old. 616 B.C., πυγμὴ παιδῶν, 252 Olds. 520 B.C., ὀπλιτοδρόμος, 278 Olds. 500 B.C., ἀπήνη (Paus., Euseb.), 15 Olds. 496 B.C., κάλπη (Paus., Euseb.), 14 Olds. 408 B.C., συνωρίς (Paus., Euseb.), 200 Olds. 396 B.C., κῆρυξ (Euseb.), 197 Olds. 396 B.C., σάλπιγξ (Euseb.), 197 Olds. 384 B.C., πῶλων ἄρμα (Paus., Euseb.), 194 Olds. 268 B.C., πῶλων συνωρίς (Euseb.), 165 Olds. 256 B.C., παγκράτιον παιδῶν, 148 Olds. 256 B.C., πῶλος κέλῃς (Paus., Euseb.), 162 Olds. If we add the number of Olympiads for the lifespan of each event, we thus have a total of 4 447 victories.

total number of victors would have been 4 447. As for the lower limit, this time we assume again that the remaining events were indeed introduced at the dates about which Pausanias, Philostratus and Eusebius are more or less in general agreement. In the light of our conclusions above regarding the life of athletic and equestrian events, however, we now assume (probably wrongly) that no athletic events were held after 261, except for the three after 261 of which we have records, and that no equestrian events were held after 17 (again probably wrongly), except for the ten of which we have record. We also assume, again probably unrealistically, that all equestrian events continued unbroken till 17³³. On these assumptions, the smallest possible number of total victories turns out to be 3 902. If we divide 979, the lowest number of recorded victories by these two figures, 4 447 and 3 902, we find that we have records of between about 22% and 25% of all Olympic victories.

Of course, one should be very wary of the apparent precision of these figures, since — as is obvious — they are based upon such unverifiable assumptions. On the other hand, these figures do presumably offer rough boundaries between which the true figure must lie. Furthermore, our 979 recorded victories, if they represent between a fifth and quarter, thus represent a comparatively large volume of the evidence in a field that can, in theory, at any rate, be clearly delimited. Ancient historians usually have far less to go on, and our volume of evidence is encouraging, encouraging enough for us to want to explore in further detail the evidence listed by Moretti. This evidence is exclusively literary and epigraphic (that is, in the form of inscriptions on stone), and we look at the literary side first. Athletes and festivals impinge upon Greek literature in two main ways. First, the glamour and excess of ancient sporting life makes athletes an object of wide, if often tangential, interest. Admiration for athletic prowess that leads to victory in the games, and all it represents, lies behind, most obviously, the epinician poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides, together with their attendant scholia. This admiration also informs the principles which Pausanias employs to compile his list of victor statues and inscriptions at Olympia. He chooses, he tells us, only to consider those who have achieved a real victory, rather than include, too, those who won Olympic contests thanks to byes³⁴. Such admiration is likewise equally evi-

³³ Lower limit on total number of Olympic victories: I assume here that all of the athletic (including herald and trumpeter's events) ran to 261 (= 260th Old.), except for the three recorded victories dated thereafter. I assume that all equestrian events ran to 17 (= 199 Olds.), except for the 10 recorded thereafter. As for the foundation dates of individual events, these are the same as those given in the preceding note, except for the *πάλη ἀνδρῶν* (708 B.C. [= 18th Old.], Paus., Phil., Euseb.), *τέθριππον* (680 B.C. [= 25th Old.], Paus., Euseb.), *στάδιον παιδῶν* (596 B.C. [= 46th Old.], Phil.), *πυγμὴ παιδῶν* (540 B.C. [= 60th Old.] Phil.) and two-colt chariot race (264 B.C. [= 129 Old.], Paus.). The list below gives the name of each event, and the number of Olympiads over which it was held, on the assumptions made in this footnote. ἀπήνη, 15. δίαυλος, 246. δόλιχος, 245. κάλπη, 14. κέλης, 166. κήρυξ, 164. ὄπλιτοδρόμος, 195. παγκράτιον ἀνδρῶν, 227. παγκράτιον παιδῶν, 115. πάλη ἀνδρῶν, 242. πάλη παιδῶν, 223. πένταθλον παιδῶν, 1. πένταθλον, 242. πυγμὴ ἀνδρῶν, 237. πυγμὴ παιδῶν, 200. σάλπιγξ, 164. στάδιον παιδῶν, 200. στάδιον ἀνδρῶν, 214. στάδιον, 260. συνωρίς, 106. τέθριππον, 174. πῶλων ἄρμα, 100. πῶλων συνωρίς, 71. πῶλος κέλης, 68.

To the total of 3 889 victories must be added the 10 recorded victories in equestrian events and three recorded victories in various athletic events, giving a total of 3 902 victories.

³⁴ Pausanias' principles in compilation of victor list: Pausanias 6.1.1.

dent in the motivation that compelled Philostratus to write a whole book about various athletic physiques and techniques that will lead to agonistic victory. It was surely also at least one of the driving forces that led to the compilation of full Olympic victor lists, of which we possess a few fragments, covering the Olympiads of 480 to 448, and of 396. Beyond this interest in athletes as competitors and creators of records, there is an interest in athletes as generally remarkable characters and workers of remarkable deeds of more than human dimensions³⁵. Thus they provide handy illustrations of extremes for writers of a moralizing tendency, whilst the bizarre stories that cling to the figures of athletes (cp. the end of Milon, caught in a tree and devoured by beasts) appeal to more anecdotal writers, such as Pliny or Aelian.

Secondly, the regularity with which the main stephanic festivals occurred, particularly the Olympic Games, provided a handy chronological framework in a world lacking this historical tool. This accounts for the existence of the list of victors in the Olympic stadion race from 776 B.C. to 217, embedded in Eusebius' *Χρονικά*, and all its forerunners³⁶ and presumably, at least in part, for the fuller victor lists just mentioned. Olympiads and their stadion victors are used as a chronological framework by Diodorus. Thucydides, when his narrative takes him to Olympia and an Olympiad, employs a victor from the Olympiad in question as a chronological landmark³⁷.

Chronologically speaking, these literary sources provide a far from even coverage. Most strikingly, the evidence provided by Pindar and his scholia cluster around the middle of the fifth cent. B.C. To a lesser extent, scholiasts to Aristophanes and Demosthenes offer information on victors contemporary with, respectively, the late fifth and the mid fourth cent. B.C. Two important writers, however, do not concern themselves with the athletic records of their own time. Pausanias, of the later second cent. is generally uninterested in anything later than about the middle of the second cent. B.C. Philostratus' *Περὶ Γυμναστικῆς*, written in the late second cent. or early third cent., draws nearly all of its examples of sporting prowess from the seventh and sixth cent. B.C., almost to the exclusion of all other periods. Then, on the other hand, there are patches of untypically full information for the periods that are covered by the odd surviving fragments of victor lists, namely, the second quarter of the fifth cent. B.C. and the very early fourth cent. Generally, for the period 500 B.C. to 300, most of the literary evidence applies to the fifth and fourth cent. B.C. From the third cent., to the middle of the second cent. B.C., the sources are mainly the writings of Pausanias and Eusebius' victor list, but thereafter only Eusebius' victor list, which ceases in 217. Thus, from the middle of the second cent. B.C. onwards, the literary evidence provides mainly only victors in the stadium race.

³⁵ Athletes' superhuman status: U. Sinn, *Das Auftreten der Athleten in nachklassischer Zeit*, in: Coulson, Kyrieleis, *Olympic Games* 45–49, at 47–48 points out that from the Hellenistic period, successful athletes are conventionally identified with heroes.

³⁶ Previous Olympic victor lists: Jüthner, *Philostratus* 60–70.

³⁷ Thucydides' chronological use of Olympic victors: e. g. 3.8.1., where the second victory of Dorieus is used to date the Olympiad, at which the Mytileneans spoke to the Spartan allies, or 5.49.1, where the victory of Androstheneis is used to date the Olympiad of 420, from which the Spartans were excluded.

Now the epigraphic evidence: Victory inscriptions at Olympia furnish knowledge of probably slightly more than 100 victories. Inscriptions originating outside Olympia provide knowledge of about 75 to 80 victories. By far the greatest number of these inscriptions were found in Greece and Asia Minor. In the western part of the Greco-Roman world, inscriptions pertaining to victories have been found only at Rome (where ten have been found) and at Naples (where only two have been found), from a total of 90 inscriptions pertaining to Olympic victories. Inscriptions pertaining to Olympic victories in some way thus offer information on something slightly under 20% of the total of known victories. Pausanias, however, bases his account of the statues of victors at Olympia upon the statues and their inscriptions³⁸. There is a certain amount of overlap between the inscriptions reported by Pausanias and the inscriptions that have been found by the excavators. Pausanias, however, reports approximately another 100 victories that are not included in the information provided by the surviving inscriptions. Thus, thanks to Pausanias, we know from inscriptions of about 280 victories, that is, of between a quarter and a third. We now look at the nature of this inscriptional evidence.

Fig. 2 shows the timeline of victory inscriptions (by which I mean inscriptions whose chief role is to commemorate a victory, or series of victories, rather than inscriptions that happen in passing to describe, say, the honorand as an *olympionikes*) found at Olympia. Fig. 3 shows the timeline of victory inscriptions reported by Pausanias, but not so far found. Fig. 2, although it presents considerably less data than Fig. 3, is thus in effect a random sample of the total number victory inscriptions from Olympia, and is thus probably more representative of the real state of epigraphic affairs than Fig. 3, whose graph is the fruit of Pausanias' selectivity, expressed or otherwise. At the beginning of his catalogue of Olympic statues and inscriptions, Pausanias makes it clear, as we have said, that it is his intention to notice the statues of athletes who have achieved a notable victory, rather than also include victors who won in virtue of a bye. Still less, he says, is it his intention to offer a full list of victors, for records of these are available³⁹. Together with this goes Pausanias' unexpressed, but obvious, concentration throughout his work on the period up to 146 B.C.⁴⁰ Moreover, Pausanias does not distribute his attention evenly over the period before *ca* 146 B.C.

It is this tendency to ignore the period after *ca* 146 B.C. that clearly accounts for the almost complete absence of victories in Fig. 3 after *ca* 100 B.C. Yet, despite these open, and hidden, agendas of Pausanias, it is noticeable that the curve of the graph in Fig. 3 for the period up to *ca* 100 B.C. echoes the curve of the graph in Fig. 2, albeit much more steeply. Thus, the chronological distribution of the items in Pausanias' list

³⁸ Precise number of victory inscriptions noted by Pausanias: H. V. Herrmann, *Olympia: Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte*, Munich 1972, 244 n 438 referred to by Habicht, *Pausanias* 65 n 4, is certain that the number of victor statues examined by Pausanias at Olympia is 203, and is dismissive of previous reported figures. I myself have been able to count only 189.

³⁹ Pausanias' expressed principles behind his catalogue of victors: Pausanias 6.1.1.

⁴⁰ Pausanias' concentration on pre-146 history: C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*, Berkeley 1985, 82–105. Fuller exploration of Pausanias' attitude to the past given by K. Arafat, *Pausanias' Attitude to Antiquities*, BSA 87 (1992) 387–409.

probably also represent the proportions of the real situation, although perhaps not as closely as the graph in Fig. 2 probably does. On the other hand, the number of victory statues that Pausanias reports is presumably nearer the real number of statues standing at the time of Pausanias' visit. Fig. 4 gives the timeline of victory inscriptions that record Olympic victories and that were found in Greece, but outside Olympia, and in the Aegean islands. Fig. 5 gives the timeline of victory inscriptions that record Olympic victories found in Asia Minor. Since, however, very little such inscriptional evidence is available from other areas of the Greek east, I cannot offer graphs of Olympic victory inscriptions for anywhere else in the region.

To put the timelines of victory inscriptions from Olympia and from elsewhere in perspective, we should also look at the rest of the epigraphic record at Olympia. The inscriptions published by Dittenberger and Purgold that do not refer to victories consist of inscriptions recording dedications by communities, inscriptions recording dedications by individuals, honorific inscriptions, inscriptions recording sanctuary personnel and a few other miscellaneous documents. Nor are these inscriptions, apart from honorific inscriptions and inscriptions recording sanctuary personnel, anything like as numerous as the victory inscriptions. There are nine inscriptions recording dedications made at Olympia by communities, mainly from the Peloponnese and Magna Graecia, dated from the late sixth cent. B.C., to 393 B.C.⁴¹. As for dedications by private individuals, there are only five, all dating to the fifth cent. B.C., and made by individuals from Melos, Sparta, Syracuse and Rhegion⁴². Honorific inscriptions from statue bases, nearly 200 of which are recorded, begin to appear in noticeable, but not great quantities, from the the third cent. B.C. Three Spartan honorands were commemorated by Spartans between about 300 B.C. and 250 B.C.⁴³. There are four Ptolemaic inscriptions, some to Spartan honorands⁴⁴, and 12 individuals are honoured by κοινὸν Ἀχαιῶν, from the mid second cent. B.C. into the imperial period, most of whom were league officers or benefactors, or both, including the occasional Elean⁴⁵. Although inscriptions erected by various other communities and persons other than Eleans have been found⁴⁶, by far the greatest number of such statue inscriptions, however, were inscribed by the Eleans, either as private individuals, or in their capa-

⁴¹ Dedications by communities: Sparta, sixth cent. B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* nos 244, 253. Argos, ca 500–450 B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* nos 250–251. Sicyon, fifth cent.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 245. Syracuse, 474 B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 249. Taras post-440 B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 254. Elis, 363 B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 260.

⁴² Dedications by private individuals: Sparta, sixth cent. B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 263. Syracuse, Rhegion, post-440 B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 267. Melos, 480–416 B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* nos 272–273.

⁴³ Spartan honorands: Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* nos 298, 308, 309.

⁴⁴ Ptolemaic honorific statues: Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* nos 296, 308, 309, 313.

⁴⁵ Honours from κοινὸν Ἀχαιῶν: Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 57, record of honours offered to Hadrian by κοινόν.

⁴⁶ Origin of erectors of honorific statues other than Eleans: Macedon, mid second cent.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 325; Messenia, first cent.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 428, 445–447. Messenia, early second cent.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 449, 465; Phigaleia, first cent.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 402. Phigaleia, first cent.–second cent.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 442. Tegea, second cent. B.C. (?); Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 398.

city as the People of Elis, or, from about the first cent., as members of the Ὀλυμπικὴ βουλὴ. Honorific inscriptions and statues erected by Eleans appear from the middle of the first cent. B.C. and continue until the middle of the third cent. The honorands are mostly local, sometimes of the same family as the erector of the inscriptions, such as a son or a father. Honorands also occasionally include Roman officials and members of the imperial family. These data are presented in Fig. 6. Sanctuary personnel lists appear in 36 B.C. and continue to 265⁴⁷. Recording the sanctuary personnel both for each Olympiad and for the intervening period, these lists present a more or less constant set of offices. The offices are held exclusively by Eleans, usually drawn from the same restricted circle of families, and the same person occasionally appears from list to list, holding different offices. Finally, there is the small miscellaneous group of documents. This consists of five records of settlements of boundary disputes among southern and western Peloponnesian communities, dating to the second cent. B.C.⁴⁸, and of three honorific decrees, one of which was erected by Byzantium and another by Cos⁴⁹.

The data concerning Olympic victors will certainly overrepresent some periods and some sites, because some periods and some sites have received more attention than others. This unevenness of coverage may account, for example, for the absence of victory inscriptions from Alexandria, whence came significant numbers of stadion victors, as Eusebius' list shows. One should also bear in mind how far the epigraphic trends suggested by the timelines of the various types of inscriptions that we have considered may, or may not, be part of any set of general epigraphic trends. It is difficult, however, to go beyond simply bearing this in mind, for, as has been pointed out, so far there has been very little detailed examination of the timelines of inscriptions from the eastern part of the empire. Many years ago, Laum⁵⁰, in his work on foundations, published two graphs, one of which depicted simply the chronological distribution of inscriptions relating to foundations, and the other, both the chronological and geographical distribution. Unfortunately, both these graphs lack scales indicating the absolute quantities of inscriptions that they represent, and this limits their usefulness. On the other hand, they give interesting relative information pertaining to one manifestation of the epigraphic habit. The second graph indicates that the level of such inscriptions relating to foundations found in mainland Greece remained low, but fairly constant, between the fifth cent. B.C. and the end of the third cent., although such

⁴⁷ Sanctuary personnel lists: Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* nos 59–124.

⁴⁸ Inscriptions recording settlement of boundary disputes: Megalopolis, Messene, 189–167 B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 46. Megalopolis, Sparta, 164 B.C. (?); Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 47. Messene, Sparta, with Milesian arbitration, 135 B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 52. Heraea, Aliphera, second cent. B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 48. Tegea, Caphyae, second cent. B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 50.

⁴⁹ Honorific decrees: Decree of Elis, in honour of Tenedian athlete, 323–300 B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 39. Decree of Byzantium, in honour of Antigonus I, 306–301 B.C.; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 45. Decree of Cos, in honour of Augustus; Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 53. Cp. also record of decrees offered by κοινὸν Ἀχαιῶν to Hadrian (Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 57, in note 45 above).

⁵⁰ Graphs on foundations: B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike I*, Berlin 1914, 8–10. I am grateful to Dr. O. van Nijf for pointing these graphs out to me.

inscriptions do not finally disappear until the end of the fourth cent. The level of such inscriptions in Asia Minor, however, likewise remained low, but fairly constant over the classical and early hellenistic period, dipped in the first cent. B.C., and then rose sharply to a peak at the end of the second cent., before declining steeply, but constantly, to an end at the end of the fourth cent. The only other investigation of the epigraphic habits of Asia Minor was undertaken by MacMullen⁵¹, who looked briefly at the chronological spread of inscriptions from imperial Lydia. He found that they peak in about 180 and decline gradually until *ca* 280, when they disappear.

These two pieces of evidence, slight as they are, show a significant difference from the situation presented by the much fuller study of epigraphic timelines from the Latin-speaking provinces of the empire, in that almost all, if not all, epigraphic activity in the Latin-speaking provinces seems to be over by about 250. They likewise show interesting parallels and contrasts with what the timelines of inscriptions from and concerning Olympia show. Victory inscriptions from Greece outside Olympia and from the Aegean remain at a low, but constant, level throughout the period 500 B.C.–300, apart from a dip in late Hellenistic times (Fig. 4), in a fashion similar to inscriptions relating to foundations found in Greece. On the other hand, victory inscriptions from Olympia decline after the middle of the first cent. (Fig. 2), victory inscriptions from Asia Minor, after a peak in the first half of the second cent., apparently disappear after *ca* 250, and numbers of honorific inscriptions from Olympia go into decline after *ca* 150 (Fig. 6). Since these epigraphic timelines are so varied, the most useful conclusion to be drawn at present, and one which does not directly affect our view of victory inscriptions, is that the eastern Imperial epigraphic habits are less uniform in terms both of geography and of types of inscriptions in question.

One should also consider what exactly a statue and an inscription recording a victory signifies. Certainly, it is not directly the numbers and origins of all those winning in the Olympic games that the data offered by inscriptions provide. We would know that inscriptions do not tell us this, at least directly, even without MacMullen's (and others') warnings over the vagaries of the epigraphic habit, and its local variations, for we have already noted that Pausanias⁵² tells us that not all Olympic victors put up statues and inscriptions. What the timelines of Olympic victory inscriptions presumably tell us more directly about is the status and meaning at different times in different places of an Olympic victory. When an Olympic victor erected a statue and an inscription to himself at Olympia, or perhaps in some city other than his own, he was presumably seeking admiration, first and foremost, as a panhellenic victor, an exceptional, all-conquering individual. When he erected his statue in the agora or gymnasium of his home city, he was no doubt stressing his achievement as a victor in a supreme competition, but also presenting himself as a member, albeit exceptional, of his own community.

Fig. 2 suggests that the prestige involved in commemorating at Olympia itself one's victory in the Olympic games declined over the period 500 B.C. to *ca* 100 B.C.,

⁵¹ Lydian inscriptions: R. MacMullen, *Frequency of Inscriptions in Roman Lydia*, ZPE 65 (1986) 237–238.

⁵² Pausanias on principles behind catalogue: 6.1.1.

before it rose again to reach a peak in the first half of the first cent.. This is not the same as saying that the prestige attaching to an Olympic victory declined, or rose, absolutely everywhere at the same time. It may indeed have been the case that in South Italy and Sicily the prestige attaching to an Olympic victory declined. Victory inscriptions erected by victors from South Italy and Sicily disappear from the epigraphic record at Olympia by the mid fifth cent. B.C. (and victors from South Italy and Sicily disappear from the literary record, also, at the same time, even though the literary record is much more extensive during the fifth cent. B.C.). The absence of victory inscriptions at Olympia, however, has not so far been compensated for by the discovery of victory inscriptions in South Italy and Sicily, although Italy and Sicily have certainly been well investigated. This thus suggests that, for the inhabitants of South Italy and Sicily, an Olympic victory lost the prestige it had up to the fifth cent. On the other hand, Fig. 4 suggests that mainland Greece maintained a constant interest in the local commemoration of Olympic victories between the fourth cent. B.C. and the first half of the second cent. B.C., and again from the second half of the first cent. A.D. to the end of the third cent.. The graph in Fig. 5, which records only one victory inscription before 50 B.C., shows a notable rise during the second cent. This, together with the fall after 50, recorded in Fig. 2, suggests that for the cities of Asia Minor it was now actually more important to record the fact of an Olympic victory locally, usually in one's home city, than at Olympia itself. This increasing desire to commemorate Olympic victories locally is presumably connected with the rise, from the early second cent., to a peak in Severan times, of local agonistic festivals, particularly in Asia Minor. Festivals gradually eclipsed public building as the chief activity from which a city derived status and pride⁵³. In such a climate, an athlete, by putting his statue and inscription up in his own city, rather than at Olympia, presumably gained more prestige from a city that was now more than ever sensitive to and appreciative of athletic prowess, particularly prowess displayed in a festival that symbolized hellenic identity so strongly. The same link between games and civic prestige accounts for the appearance, in about the third cent., of coins commemorating local festivals. It perhaps also accounts for the habit, observable from perhaps about the late second cent.⁵⁴, from victory inscriptions of bestowing, in increasing numbers, citizenships and councillorships, upon a successful athlete, in an attempt to acquire for the city itself some of the prestige of a sporting superstar.

We now return to the results suggested by our swift survey of Moretti's data. The chief characteristic of this data is that there is gradual decline from the fifth cent. B.C. to the third cent. or second cent. B.C. in the quantity of the literary evidence, leaving us, by the late Hellenistic period, with only epigraphic evidence, which is much sparser. This gradual thinning of the evidence perhaps accounts for the general

⁵³ Rise of local festivals in second cent. Asia Minor: S. Mitchell, *Festivals, Games and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor*, JRS 80 (1990) 183–193, particularly 189–191.

⁵⁴ Citizenships and councillorships recorded in victory inscriptions: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* no 79, dated to ca 200, is the first in that collection of victory inscriptions to display more than two citizenships. Increasing civic interest in games over the second and third cent.: Such interest may account for the addition of ll. 1–5 to the beginning of the CIG I no 1513 from Tegea, if indeed these lines were added in imperial times (see note 68 below).

sharpness of the decline in numbers of recorded victories, in the graph in Fig. 1. On the other hand, there is still a decline, however shallow in reality the graph that depicts it should be. Thus it seems more likely that numbers of victors, and thus, presumably, numbers of competitors gradually declined over the period 500 B.C. to 300, albeit with perhaps a relative rise in the early Imperial period. It also thus becomes difficult to say whether there was indeed a general swing over time in the catchment areas of athletes to Asia Minor. Certainly South Italy and Sicily had ceased to produce victors by the fourth cent. B.C. Unless the standard of South Italian and Sicilian athletes had declined so suddenly and catastrophically by the fourth cent., that they were unable to win any more at Olympia, competitors from South Italy and Sicily apparently did not think it was worth taking part in the Olympic games. The low, but fairly constant, level of the epigraphic record of locally recorded Olympic victories by competitors from mainland Greece suggests that in fact mainland Greece did continue to be interested in competition in the Olympic games through imperial times. What, however, remains undeniable, because there is no trace of it in the comparatively full record of Olympic victors from the hellenistic period, is that from the beginning of the Imperial period, the cities of the areas of Asia Minor conquered by Alexander begin to take part in the Olympic games.

Yet this expansion of interest in Olympia to central Asia Minor, and Syria and Egypt, too, is not apparent in any other area of the epigraphic or archaeological record at Olympia or elsewhere. In fact, what the rest of the epigraphic record suggests is a general contraction of interest in Olympia as a panhellenic cult site. As for the origin of Olympic victors up to about 200 B.C., the origin of communities and of private individuals who make dedications and erect honorific inscriptions, in so far as the rather fragmentary inscription allows any conclusions, generally parallels the origin of Olympic victors. Thus, over the sixth and fifth cent. B.C., dedications from the Peloponnese and the west Greek world occur. In the third cent. B.C., the Ptolemies erect statues, and this interest parallels the interest shown by Alexandrian athletes in Olympic competition over the third cent. B.C. The presence of two honorific decrees from the third cent. B.C., one from Byzantium, and another recording honours granted by the Eleans to an athlete from Tenedos, and an inscription of 135 B.C., recording Milesian moderation in a dispute between Messene and Sparta⁵⁵, small though this evidence is, may mirror the interest shown in competition at Olympia on the part of the states of the eastern Aegean and western Asia Minor that continued apparently to about the middle of the second cent. B.C. From the first cent. B.C., however, most non-victory inscriptions are either inscriptions recording the Elean-manned sanctuary personnel, or are inscriptions on statues erected by Eleans, usually in honour of other Eleans. Thus, although, probably, mainland Greece, and, definitely, Asia Minor produce victors, and *a priori* athletes, only the north-west corner of the Peloponnese thought it of importance to erect statues and non-victory inscriptions at Olympia. There are no more interstate treaties and certainly no more dedications from states

⁵⁵ Agreement between Messene and Sparta: Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 52. Cp. also Dittenberger, Purgold, *IvO* no 39, the decree in honour of the Tenedian athlete, in which the secretary of the Elean βουλή is to make sure that the decree is to be given to the θεωροί, who will be sent to Miletus, to present it at the Didymeia.

outside the north-west Peloponnese. The curve of the graph in Fig. 6 suggests, furthermore, that this habit of erecting non-victory honorific statues and inscriptions peaks as early as the second half of the second cent., and goes into fairly steep decline thereafter. Perhaps Olympia was losing its importance even to the statue-erecting elite of Achaia and Elis by the latter half of the second cent.

III. Ὀλύμπια in the rest of the hellenistic and imperial Greek world.

The prestige of the Olympic games is to be seen in the numerous references to the games in the Greek literature of the period, produced mainly by writers from the eastern Greek world⁵⁶. Perhaps an even firmer, because perhaps geographically and chronologically more extensive, indication of the prestige of the Olympic games in the imperial eastern Greek world is to be found in the number of festivals celebrated in imperial times that bear the title Ὀλύμπια in some form or another. As the dating of such festivals has apparently never been dealt with synoptically, I attempt in the appendix below briefly to establish the chronological and geographical spread of such games. Here it is enough to note that, since the publication of Moretti *Iscrizioni*, in 1953, it has been possible to identify at least 33 sets of local Ὀλύμπια that were probably founded in imperial times. It is difficult, however, to be more specific over the date of foundation of the majority of this games, whilst geographically speaking, they are restricted mainly to Asia Minor and Syria.

As regards the curriculum of such Ὀλύμπια, in so far as we can tell at all, it seems usually to have included some or all of the „heavy“ events, that is, wrestling, boxing and the pancration, as well as contests for heralds, which perhaps increase in number over the first and second cent. References to equestrian events, however, are almost completely absent from epigraphic evidence regarding events held at local Ὀλύμπια. Among the sites of local Ὀλύμπια of western and coastal Asia Minor, there are only two known that possess possible hippodromes, and the identification of one of these is not at all secure. Humphrey suggests that the so-called „stadium“ at Pergamon may have been a hippodrome⁵⁷, although he does not offer a date for it. At Sardis, a hippodrome is mentioned by Polybius, when dealing with the events of 215 B.C.⁵⁸. This has not been located, and Humphrey suggests that it was therefore never monumentalised. Otherwise, as Humphrey points out, stadia are much more in evidence in western Asia Minor than hippodromes. As regards sites of local Ὀλύμπια in western Asia Minor, stadia are found at Aphrodisias, of probably the first cent., at Ephesus, dated to between 54 and 68, and at Magnesia, of perhaps the first or second cent. Among sites of local Ὀλύμπια in eastern Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, there is a monumental hippodrome, of unknown date, at Anazarbos⁵⁹, there is a literary reference to a hippodrome of the first cent. B.C. at Damascus⁶⁰, and Tyre possesses a

⁵⁶ Popularity of Olympic games in imperial Greek literature: Gardiner, *Olympia* 167.

⁵⁷ Pergamon, „stadium“: Humphrey, *Circuses* 526.

⁵⁸ Sardis, hippodrome: Humphrey *Circuses* 526.

⁵⁹ Anazarbos, hippodrome: Humphrey *Circuses* 527. Humphrey links this with the possibly Hadrianic Ὀλύμπια of Anazarbos.

⁶⁰ Damascus, hippodrome: Humphrey, *Circuses* 504, 678 n 78, referring to Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 13.389.

hippodrome, dated to between the mid second cent., and the mid fourth cent.⁶¹, Alexandria appears to have had at least one hippodrome by the time of Strabo, in the late first cent. B.C. and early first cent.⁶². It is thus possible that local Ὀλύμπια, especially in western Asia Minor, possessed equestrian events which were held in unmonumentalized hippodromes built from banked earth, on the pattern of the hippodrome at Olympia, and these have not survived. Moreover, equestrian events are the most expensive of events in the Olympic curriculum, and they may not have been held regularly at local Ὀλύμπια, as they do not seem to have been at Olympia itself. So small is the volume of evidence relating to events at local Ὀλύμπια, that it is perhaps not surprising if evidence of a set of possibly infrequently held events does not appear in so fragmentary a record. The small volume of evidence relating to the actual events may also account for the absence of events involving παίδες.

On the other hand, we hear of events at local Ὀλύμπια which were not contained in the original Olympic curriculum. Of sets of Ὀλύμπια dated to imperial times, the Ὀλύμπια at Antioch at some time contained a contest for τραγωδοί, and during the time of Libanius, in the mid fourth cent., had a contest for orators and perhaps poets⁶³. There may also have been contests for flute playing at Adana, Anazarbos and at Tarsus, in the early third cent.⁶⁴.

The administrative structures of local Ὀλύμπια, as far as we can tell, seem even less to have imitated the administrative structures of the original Olympics. We certainly hear of Ἑλληνοδίκαι, in imitation of the officers of the original Olympics, for example in inscriptions referring to Ὀλύμπια at Ephesus⁶⁵, but of few, if any, of the other posts in the original administrative hierarchy of the original games. Instead, for example, we hear of an ἀλυτάρχης, rather than a board of Ἑλληνοδίκαι, as chief organizer of the Ὀλύμπια at Antioch⁶⁶. At Tegea, perhaps in pre-imperial times, the Ὀλυμπιακοὶ ἀγῶνες may have been directed by simply an ἱερός (i.e. ἱερεύς)⁶⁷. As for the gods honoured by later Ὀλύμπια, Olympian Zeus seems to have had no monopoly on games with the title Ὀλύμπια. Presumably it was Asclepius, who at Epidaurus was honoured with a set of Ἀσκληπεία Ὀλύμπια, whilst at Tegea,

⁶¹ Tyre, hippodrome: Humphrey, *Circuses* 462.

⁶² Alexandria, hippodrome mentioned by Strabo: Humphrey, *Circuses* 505.

⁶³ Antioch, Olympics, contests for orators; Libanius, *Epistle* 1133. Contests for poets; Libanius, *Oration* 54.56. Both passages are mentioned by Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* 138, 138 nn 6, 7.

⁶⁴ „Musical“ events at Olympia: L. Moretti, *Supplemento al Catalogo degli Olympionikai*, *Klio* 52 (1970) 302–303 mentions a victory won by a κιθαρωδός at what seem to be the Olympic games, rather than at a set of local Ὀλύμπια, although he admits that he cannot offer a satisfactory explanation for this apparent anomaly.

⁶⁵ Ἑλληνοδίκαι at Ephesus: L. Robert, *Les hellénodiques à Éphèse*, in: *Hellenica* V, Paris 1948, 59–63. On Olympic games at Ephesus; M. Lämmer, *Olympien und Hadrianeen in antiken Ephesos*, Diss. Köln 1967, which I have not had the opportunity to examine.

⁶⁶ Ἀλυτάρχει at Antioch Olympics: Malalas uses the word ἀλυτάρχης (286, 5 [first celebration after the refoundation by Commodus], 417, 5). Libanius, who avoids technical titles, uses the word ἀγωνοθέτης, in relation to cycles of the Antiochene Olympics held during the mid fourth cent., apparently to describe any liturgy holder connected with the festival. The usage of John Chrysostom is equally vague (G. Downey, *The Olympic Games at Antioch in the Fourth Century A. D.*, *TAPA* 70 [1939] 431 n 16).

⁶⁷ Tegea, ἱερός: *CIG I* no 1513; *IG V/2*, 36.

perhaps in pre-imperial times, it is Ζεὺς Κεραυνοβόλος who is honoured with Ὀλύμπια⁶⁸. At Tarsus, a local hero, deified as Apollo, is given Ὀλύμπια.

All this clearly attests to the popularity of local games, Ὀλύμπια and otherwise from the second cent. onwards. What may have been the reason for such a change in euergetic habits? The haphazardly executed public buildings of the imperial Greek city that we hear of in the pages of Pliny and Dio Chrysostom come to grief so frequently because of political and personal rivalries. These rivalries and jealousies were provoked, perhaps, because a building project left few chances for the display by a wide number of people of individual prestige. By comparison, at least to judge from the only sizeable surviving inscription that describes the execution of a local festival, the Δημοσθένεια at Oenoanda, founded in Hadrianic times⁶⁹, a local festival offered many more chances, in a more regulated framework, for the competitive display of personal and civic prestige. Indeed, the broadness of the participatory base upon which at least the Δημοσθένεια of Oenoanda rested presumably reflects the broadness of demand in the community for participation in local festivals. This change from public buildings to festivals suggests an actual increase in the strength of civic tradition and engagement, in notable contrast to the view that the Greek city was in civic decline from the second cent. onwards. Since local festivals were now the chief means for the expression of personal and civic prestige, it was natural that they be given the most prestigious names possible, that is Ὀλύμπια and Πύθια. The renaming by the Nicaeans of a local river as the „Alpheus“ and of local mountains as the „Olympic mountains“⁷⁰ illustrates the power of the term Ὀλύμπια, in particular, to Greeks of the less Hellenized hinterland of Asia Minor. Moreover, the successful establishment of an ἀγῶν ἱερὸς καὶ στεφανίτης implied imperial favour and approval towards the city in question. In hellenistic times, recognition of a city's new Ὀλύμπια by neighbouring kings carried with it the implicit recognition of the city's territory as „sacre et asyle“⁷¹. This, in theory, was no longer necessary in imperial times, but no doubt, if a city enjoyed enough imperial favour to acquire the right to hold Ὀλύμπια, this gave it a useful tool in the prosecution of the perpetual interstate bickering, in particular over territory, that characterizes the imperial history of Greek states.

⁶⁸ Tegea, Ὀλύμπια: CIG I no 1513; IG V/2, 37. Ll. 1–5 of CIG I no 1513, which are published by Hiller as IG V/2, 37, refer to the Ὀλύμπια at Tegea, whilst the rest of the inscription (ll. 6ff.) comprises simply a list of names. Hiller dates these lines to the late imperial period („seriorem imperatorum romanorum aetatem“). Nevertheless, even if ll. 1–5 are indeed later than the inscription that they preface, it is still possible that local collective memory in imperial times ensured that ll. 1–5 correctly introduce ll. 6ff. See also note 54 above.

⁶⁹ Δημοσθένεια at Oenoanda: Wörle, *Stadt und Fest* passim, inscription describing festival, with German translation, at 4–12.

⁷⁰ Renaming of local topography by Nicaeans: Eustathius, *Ad Dion. Perig.* 409 (*apud C. Müller* [ed.], *Geographici Graeci Minores* II 292).

⁷¹ Games and territorial integrity of city: L. Robert in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Ι' διεθνoῦς συνεδρίου ἐλληνικῆς καὶ λατινικῆς ἐπιγραφικῆς*, Ἀθῆναι, 3–9 Ὀκτωβρίου 1982, Athens 1984, 41.

IV. Conclusions

The evidence that I have marshalled shows, I hope, that up until about the middle of the hellenistic period, Olympia retained all the traditional functions of a Greek sanctuary. Athletes apparently from all over the Greek world, but mainly from Greece and the western Greek world, competed at the Olympic festival, whilst communities and individuals continued to make dedications and lodge interstate treaties at the sanctuary. During the later hellenistic period, however, interest in Olympia both as an agonistic centre and as a panhellenic shrine remains low. From the first cent., however, throughout the imperial period till the middle of the third cent., at least, the Olympic festival attracted athletes from the eastern Greek world, in addition, probably, to athletes from the areas of Greece itself that had traditionally supplied athletes. Commemoration of victories at Olympia by victors from the eastern Greek world, however, begins to decline in the second cent., although it appears correspondingly to rise in the cities themselves of Asia Minor. This suggests that Olympic victories acquired more prestige when commemorated in the victor's city, than when commemorated at Olympia. This habit may be connected with the rise, in Asia Minor in particular, of local festivals as the chief source of civic pride and prestige. Yet this interest in Olympia on the part of the eastern Greek world apparently did not extend into other aspects of activity at the shrine. The rest of the epigraphic record, which consists mainly of honorific inscriptions of various types, dedicated by and to mostly Eleans, suggests that the shrine, as opposed to the athletic festival, was of considerably less importance to the wider Greek world, east or west, than it had been up to the middle of the hellenistic period.

Appendix: Dating and Spread of local Ὀλύμπια.

The article on „Olympia“ in Daremberg-Saglio refers to 19 sets of Ὀλύμπια⁷². The section of the article in Pauly-Wissowa dealing with local Ὀλύμπια⁷³ refers to 23 sets of local Ὀλύμπια, including a doubtfully attested set of yearly Ὀλύμπια at Olympia. The index on 278 of Moretti, *Iscrizioni* mentions a further 14 or 15⁷⁴ different sites as holding Ὀλύμπια, excluding Olympia itself. On the basis of the rest of

⁷² Ὀλύμπια in DarSag: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 177-196.

⁷³ Section of Pauly-Wissowa article on Olympia dealing with local Ὀλύμπια: L. Ziehen, RE XIV 1 (1939) cols. 45-48.

⁷⁴ DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196 refers to a set of Ὀλύμπια held by the κοινὸν Μακεδονίας. This set of Ὀλύμπια it claims are separate from those which were held at Aegae, Beroia, Dion and Thessaloniki, and it does not specify where they were actually held. On the other hand, Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 263 no 90 l. 18 refers to a set of Ὀλύμπια ἐν Βεροίᾳ and these Moretti seems to identify, on 265, as the games of the κοινὸν Μακεδονίας, although his wording is ambiguous. DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196 also refers to a set of Ὀλύμπια at Epidaurus in Dalmatia, which the writer thinks IG III 129 refers to. This inscription also appears as Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 263-264 no 90, and on 265 Moretti rejects the hypothesis that it refers to Epidaurus in Dalmatia. The reference to Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ at IG III 129 follows a reference to games at Nicopolis. The writer of DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196 may have thought that the list of games in the inscription was organized on a geographical basis, rather than on any basis involving the prestige of the games listed.

the information supplied by Moretti, at least 36 sets of Ὀλύμπια can be identified at sites other than Olympia itself, and more Ὀλύμπια may certainly have come to light since Moretti gathered his information. Dates of varying precision and trustworthiness can be offered for eight of these Ὀλύμπια. The remainder can be dated only in very general terms. The games which can be dated with any precision at all are, in chronological order, as follows.

1. The games at Aegae⁷⁵, mentioned in an inscription dated to 212–217 by Moretti. These may perhaps be the games mentioned by Arrian⁷⁶, which Alexander διέθηκε in 335 B.C.

2. The Olympic games at Antioch⁷⁷ founded, according to Malalas, under Augustus by Sosibius, a local councillor who left a legacy. By Claudian times, the money was subject to depredations by local magistrates, and the Antiochenes successfully petitioned Claudius for the right to buy permission from the people of Pisa to hold Olympic games. They were reorganised by Commodus⁷⁸. They were later apparently removed from Antioch to Cilicia by Septimius Severus, in or after 194⁷⁹. Malalas states that they were restored to Antioch by Diocletian, but it is possible that they were restored by Caracalla. The games survived until 520⁸⁰.

3. The games at Smyrna, known as Ὀλύμπια ἐν Σμύρνῃ⁸¹ or Ὀλύμπια τῆς συνόδου⁸². As Moretti notes, victory in the 16th Olympiad of these games is mentioned in an inscription⁸³ which also refers to the Ἀσκληπεία Κομμοδέια of Pergamon. Since this inscription refers to a set of games in honour of Commodus, it cannot be earlier than 180. The question then raised is that of how soon after the victory in the 16th Smyrniot Olympiad the inscription was erected. If the inscription records the feats on an athlete at the end of his career, as is possible, and perhaps likely, he was perhaps about 30, or even older, when he erected it⁸⁴. A career in athletics

⁷⁵ Aegae, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 245 No 84.

⁷⁶ Aegae, games founded by Alexander: Arrian 1.11.1.

⁷⁷ Antioch, Olympic games: These (perhaps together with the Olympic games of Ephesus (see n 66 above) are the most fully explored set of local Ὀλύμπια. See Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford 1972, 136–140, which deals with the games during the time of Libanius. See also P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioch au IV^e siècle après J.-C.*, Paris 1955, 122–136. G. Downey, *The Olympic Games at Antioch in the Fourth Century A.D.*, TAPA 70 (1939) 428–438.

⁷⁸ Antioch, Olympic games, foundation: Malalas 244. Refoundation by Commodus: Malalas 284.

⁷⁹ Antioch, Olympic games, removal to Cilicia and restoration to Antioch: G. Downey, *Malalas on the history of Antioch under Severus and Caracalla*, TAPA 68 (1937) 141–156.

⁸⁰ Antioch, final Olympiad: Malalas 417. G. Downey, TAPA 68 (1937) 147–148.

⁸¹ Smyrna, Ὀλύμπια ἐν Σμύρνῃ: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 224 no 77.

⁸² Smyrna, Ὀλύμπια τῆς συνόδου: *GIBM* 615.

⁸³ Victory in 16th Smyrniot Olympiad: *IGR* IV 1432, mentioned at Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 225.

⁸⁴ Length of athletic careers: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 229 no 79 l. 36, dated to 200, records the retirement of an athlete at the age of 25, although this seems to be early retirement as a result of professional jealousy. The oldest ancient athlete that I have come across is the 35-year old, whose death in the ring is recorded on an inscription, translated by M. I. Finley, H. W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games: The First Thousand Years*, London 1976, 124. Finley and Pleket do not give a date for this inscription, but as it commemorates an Alexandrian, it perhaps belongs to

could start at the age of twelve, and so a career could last about 20 years. It is possible that the athlete in question won his victory at the 16th celebration of the Smyrna Ὀλύμπια at the very beginning of his career. Thus, if he erected his inscription at the end of a twenty-year career in 180, the 16th Smyrniot Olympiad could have taken place in 160. Thus, on these assumptions, the earliest possible date for a victory in the 16th Smyrniot Olympiad is (180–20), namely 160. If the 16th Smyrniot Olympiad happened to take place in 160, and if it took place on a four-yearly cycle, then it was founded perhaps in 100.

As for latest date for the founding of the Smyrniot Ὀλύμπια, the Ἀσκληπεία Κομμόδεια may not have been held under that title after 192, for Commodus suffered a *damnatio memoriae* (although admittedly this may not have stopped an athlete from recording his glories in an inscription in the old terms, even after the official style of the festival had changed). Thus the victory in the 16th Smyrniot Olympiad could have been as late as 192. If so, then the first Smyrniot Olympiad may have been held as late as 132. If the inscription is in fact later than 192, then it is possible that the first celebration of the Smyrniot Olympiad may have been even later than 132. I thus offer very tentative dates of *ca* 100–135 for the date of the founding of the Smyrniot Ὀλύμπια. Perhaps this set of games was founded in honour of Hadrian, who visited Asia in 123, and again in 129.

4. The games at Smyrna, known variously as Ἀδριάνια Ὀλύμπια⁸⁵ or Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια⁸⁶. The name suggests that these, too, were founded, or re-founded, as a result of one of Hadrian's visits to Asia Minor. They are perhaps to be dated to after Hadrian's assumption of the title Ὀλύμπιος, in 129.

5. The games at Pergamon, Ὀλύμπια⁸⁷, which Moretti wishes to place after 129, and the assumption of the title Ὀλύμπιος by Hadrian, on the grounds that the cult of Zeus Olympios was late in coming to Pergamon. He also wishes to identify these games with the Ὀλύμπια Ἀσκληπεία which later became the Ὀλύμπια Ἀσκληπεία Κομμόδεια⁸⁸.

6. The games at Cyzicus, variously styled Ἀδριάνεια Ὀλύμπια, Ἀδριάνεια or simply Ὀλύμπια⁸⁹, which were apparently founded in 135.

7. The Ὀλύμπια at Alexandria⁹⁰, whose sixth celebration may possibly be dated to 196, which then suggests that they were founded in 176. It has been suggested that they were founded in honour of Marcus Aurelius.

the second cent. or early third cent., the period of Alexandria's greatest apparent sporting activity at Olympia.

⁸⁵ Smyrna, Ἀδριάνια Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 229 no 79 l.27.

⁸⁶ Smyrna, Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 264 no 90 l.26; 238 No 81 l.25.

⁸⁷ Pergamon, Ὀλύμπια: references at Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 198.

⁸⁸ Pergamon, Ὀλύμπια Ἀσκληπεία, Ὀλύμπια Ἀσκληπεία Κομμόδεια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 198.

⁸⁹ Cyzicus, Ὀλύμπια: references at Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 266.

⁹⁰ Alexandria, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 230 no 79: refs at 231–232.

8. The games at Beroia, in Macedon, variously styled Ὀλύμπια ἐν Βεροίᾳ⁹¹ or Ἀλεξάνδρεια Ὀλύμπια⁹², which Moretti first of all dates to the reign of Gordian III (238–244) and then, more precisely, to 242⁹³.

9. The games at Tralles, which were re-founded in 60⁹⁴.

For the dating of the rest of the games, we have to rely mostly upon evidence from coins or simply on the names of the festivals. The Ἔκτια were created by Augustus at Nicopolis in 28–27 B.C. from an original set of Ἔκτια, which were an ἀγὼν Ὀλύμπιος to begin with⁹⁵. Two festivals, the Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια⁹⁶ or Ἀδριάνειος ἱερός⁹⁷, or Ἀδριάνος οἰκουμηνικός⁹⁸ at Anazarbos, and the set of games at Tarsus, known variously as Ἀδριάνεια Κομμόδεια Οἰκουμηνικά, or the Κομμόδεια Οἰκουμηνικά or the ἰσολύμπιον οἰκουμηνικὸν Κομμόδειον⁹⁹, to judge from their name, were presumably founded, or re-founded in the time of Hadrian, 117–138. Coins from the time of Septimius Severus (193–211) and Caracalla (211–217) refer to a set Ὀλύμπια at Tarsus¹⁰⁰, which may, or may not, refer to this set of games. At Damascus were held Ὀλύμπια Σεβάσμια¹⁰¹, and at Tyre were held the Ἡράκλεια Ὀλύμπια Καισάρεια¹⁰². The name of the former suggests founding, or re-founding, in imperial times (if again, like the festivals at Anazarbos and Tarsus, it was not already an existing festival to which the title Σεβάσμια was added). The name of the latter suggests re-founding in imperial times, for the cult of Heracles was extremely old. Evidence from coins shows that Ὀλύμπια at Side were in existence by 222¹⁰³ and at Miletus by the same date¹⁰⁴, at Sardis by 235¹⁰⁵, at Thessaloniki by 244¹⁰⁶, at Hierapolis¹⁰⁷ perhaps by 249, at Thyateira, under the name of Αὐγούστεια Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια or Αὐγούστεια Πύθια Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια¹⁰⁸ and, apparently as a rotating

⁹¹ Beroia, Ὀλύμπια ἐν Βεροίᾳ: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 264 no 90 l.19.

⁹² Beroia, Ἀλεξάνδρεια Ὀλύμπια: *IGR* 1 802.

⁹³ Dating of Ὀλύμπια at Beroia: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 248.

⁹⁴ Tralles, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 226 no 78 l.16; 229.

⁹⁵ Nicopolis, Ἔκτια: Strabo 7.325; Dio Cassius 51.1.

⁹⁶ Anazarbos, Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 257 no 87 l.23.

⁹⁷ Anazarbos, Ἀδριάνειος ἱερός: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 253 no 86 l.11.

⁹⁸ Anazarbos, Ἀδριάνος οἰκουμηνικός: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 210, for evidence from coins.

⁹⁹ Tarsus, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 228.

¹⁰⁰ Tarsus, coins with inscription Ὀλύμπια: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196, 196 n 23.

¹⁰¹ Damascus, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 209.

¹⁰² Tyre, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 209.

¹⁰³ Ὀλύμπια at Side: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196 196 n 19, coin of Heliogabalus (218–222).

¹⁰⁴ Ὀλύμπια at Miletus: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196, 196 n 12 refers to a coin of Julia Soemia. She was the mother of Heliogabalus, and was killed in 222 (RE X 1 col 951).

¹⁰⁵ Ὀλύμπια at Sardis: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia, 196 n 18, coins of, inter alios, Severus Alexander (222–235).

¹⁰⁶ Ὀλύμπια at Thessaloniki: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196, 196 n 26, „médaille de Gordien le Pieux“, that is Gordian III (238–244).

¹⁰⁷ Ὀλύμπια at Hierapolis: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196, 196 n 7 „médaille de Philippe fils“, that is, M. Iulius Severus Philippus (Caesar, 244, Augustus, 247, d. 249). Other references to coin evidence at Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 193.

¹⁰⁸ Ὀλύμπια at Thyateira: Head, *Catalogue Greek Coins Lydia* cxxvii–cxxviii mentions inscriptions referring to Πύθια, found on a coin dated to Caracalla, to Αὐγούστεια Πύθια, on a

set of games, at Attaleia and Aspendos by 260¹⁰⁹ and at Prusa ad Olympum¹¹⁰, at Aphrodisias¹¹¹, possibly at Magnesia¹¹² and Taba, in Caria¹¹³, by 268. Literary evidence shows that Ὀλύμπια were in existence at Aramea as late as 361¹¹⁴.

Still less can firm dating be proffered for the Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἀδάνοις¹¹⁵, the set of Ὀλύμπια at Anazarbos¹¹⁶ and the Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ or Ἀσκληπεία Ὀλύμπια¹¹⁷, although they are recorded as still functioning in the early third cent.. The Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ are recorded as functioning in the late first cent., the mid second cent., and the mid third cent.¹¹⁸ What may be a reference to Ὀλύμπια at Prusias ad Hyprium occurs in an inscription of the mid second cent.¹¹⁹ The games at Adana, Anazarbos, Epidaurus, Ephesus, Prusias ad Hyprium and Hierapolis are not mentioned in any of the evidence assembled by Moretti that dates from hellenistic times. This, combined with references to them in various pieces of imperial material assembled by Moretti, may perhaps mean that all these games are imperial.

At least two other sets of games may have been founded in hellenistic times. As for the Ὀλύμπια of Thessaly, a comment by a scholiast on a line of the *Argonautica* mentions that Apollodorus said that there were a set of Ὀλύμπια in Thessaly¹²⁰. It is not known to what work by Apollodorus this scholium refers, but Apollodorus is dated to the first half of the second cent. B.C. If the scholiast was right, it seems likely

coin dated to Elagabalus, and to the Αὐγούστεια Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια or Αὐγούστεια Πύθια Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια, on a coin dated to Valerian. These, Head thinks, refer to the same set of games, which are also known as Τυρίμνια or οἱ Σεβαστοὶ Τυριμναῖοι ἀγῶνες. These latter two sets of games were instituted in honour of the local hero, Tyrimnos, who was deified as Ἥλιος Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων Τυριμναῖος.

¹⁰⁹ Ὀλύμπια at Attaleia, Aspendos: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 195, 195 nn 16–17; P. Le Bas, W. H. Waddington, P. Foucart, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et Asie Mineure*, Paris 1847–1873, no 1367; W. M. Ramsay, *Unedited Inscriptions of Asia Minor*, BCH 7 (1883) 258–278, esp. 263ff., an G. Radet, P. Paris, *Inscriptions d'Attaleia*, BCH 10 (1886) 148–161, esp. 160f.

¹¹⁰ Ὀλύμπια at Prusa ad Olympum: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196, 196 n 16 refers to „médailles de Valérien père“ (that is Valerian I [253–260]) „et de Gallien“ (who was appointed Augustus in 253, and died in 268).

¹¹¹ Ὀλύμπια at Aphrodisias: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 195, 195 n 15, coin of Gallienus (253–268).

¹¹² Ὀλύμπια at Magnesia: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196, 196 nn 9–11, coin of Gallienus with disputed reading of ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ.

¹¹³ Ὀλύμπια at Taba: DarSag 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196, 196 n 22 refers to a „médaille de Salonine“. RE I A 2 s. v. Saloninus (2) mentions two possible Salonini, both sons of Gallienus, who died violently in 268. It is unlikely that coins featuring the name of his son or sons are to be placed after this date.

¹¹⁴ Aramea, Ὀλύμπια: Libanius, *Epistle* 636, referred to by Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* 138, 138 n 3, as the only other set of athletic games, apart from the Antioch Olympics, known to be in existence by the fourth cent.

¹¹⁵ Adana, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 238 no 81 I.31.

¹¹⁶ Anazarbos, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 238 no 81 I.33

¹¹⁷ Epidaurus, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 257 no 87 ll. 9–11; 263 no 90 ll. 17–18.

¹¹⁸ Ephesus, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 181 no 66; 196 no 70; 224 no 79; 264 no 90.

¹¹⁹ Prusias ad Hyprium, Ὀλύμπια: Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 207 no 72 I.36; 208.

¹²⁰ Scholiast's comment on *Argonautica*: C. Wendel (Ed.), *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera*, Berlin 1958, 52, on 1.598–599 of the *Argonautica*.

that somewhere in Thessaly, perhaps Larissa, the capital of the κοινὸν Θεσσαλίας after 196 B.C., Ὀλύμπια were being held by the mid second cent. B.C. From Tegea there survives what may be a list of victors from five celebrations of a set of Ὀλυμπιακοὶ ἀγῶνες¹²¹. There is no indication of date, although in what survives of the list nobody has a Roman citizen name, which suggests a preimperial date for the foundation of these games. One further set of games was founded even earlier. The Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Δίῳ, recorded in an inscription of 100 B.C., were founded by Archelaus, „towards the end of the fifth cent. B.C.“¹²².

Finally, a word needs to be said about the Ὀλύμπια, or Ὀλυμπίεια, as they were originally spelt, at Athens. Kyle¹²³ suggests that they were instituted by Peisistratus, perhaps on the foundation of the Olympieion. Victors were awarded prizes in this set of games, and so the games were not ἀγῶνες στεφανίται. Hadrian refounded the games on a five-yearly basis. As for the remaining Ὀλύμπια, lack of evidence forbids the offering of possible dates for the foundation of games in Macedonia¹²⁴, and at Nicaea¹²⁵ (Table I below summarises these datings for local Ὀλύμπια).

It would thus seem that only three festivals are definitely to be dated to pre-imperial times, namely those at Aegae, Athens and Dion, whilst the festival at Tyre may also perhaps date from pre-imperial times in its original form. There is, furthermore, a cluster of five games whose foundation is dated, with varying degrees of firmness, to Hadrianic or Trajanic-Hadrianic times. As regards the continuity of these games, little meaningful can be said at the moment. At least four sets of games, those at Aegae, Cyzicus, the Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια at Smyrna and the games at Tarsus continue to be held, at least on occasion, in the third cent., whilst those at Cyzicus and Smyrna continue, again at least on occasion, into the mid third cent. at least. There are also numerous games recorded over most of the third cent., although there is no information over their foundation dates. These games are the sets of games at Side (222), Miletus (222), Sardis (235), Thessaloniki (244), Hierapolis (249), Thyateira (260), Attaleia (260), Prusa, Aphrodisias, Magnesia and Taba (268). The games at Alexandria also may perhaps have continued into the third cent. As regards longevity, if we assume that no games were refounded, and that all the games continued to be held from the time of their foundation, the two longest lived sets of games are those at Aegae, which continued for at least about 550 years, and those at Athens, which continued for at least 400 years. Those at Dion, which are not recorded in Moretti's collection of data as lasting into the imperial period, thus survived for 300 years. As for the sets of games founded in imperial period, the set of games at Antioch, followed by those at Tarsus, may perhaps be the most long lived.

As for geographical location, at present the sites of the games break up into three general areas. The first consists of Greece, with a certain number situated in the north of Greece (Athens, Aegai, Beroia, Epidaurus, annual games at Elis, Dion, Nicopolis,

¹²¹ Tegea, victor list: *CIG* I no 1513; *IG* V/2, 36/37. See also notes 54, 68 above.

¹²² Moretti, *Iscrizioni* 141 no 54 l.1; 141 for dating.

¹²³ Dating of Ὀλύμπια at Athens: D. G. Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, Leiden 1987, 46.

¹²⁴ Ὀλύμπια in „Macedonia“: *DarSag* 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196, 196 n 8.

¹²⁵ Ὀλύμπια at Nicaea: *DarSag* 4.1 s. v. Olympia 196, 196 n 13.

Tegea, Thessaloniki and Thessaly). The second consists of the west and southwestern edge of Asia Minor (Aphrodisias, Attaleia, Cyzicus, Ephesus, Hierapolis, Magnesia, Miletus, Pergamon, Sardis, Side, Smyrna, Taba and Tralles). The third consists south-eastern Asia Minor and Syria (Adana, Anazarbos, Antioch, Damascus, Tarsus, Tyre). Apart from this, we have a mention of Nicaea, Prusa ad Olympum, Prusias ad Hypium, Thyatira and one of Alexandria.

It may be worth noting that, on the basis of this patchy evidence, such Ὀλύμπια are restricted to the Greek east, although they are found both in the deeply Hellenized areas of the west of Asia Minor, and in Syria. Given this meagre evidence, it is risky to go further and correlate foundation date with geographical area, yet it may also be worth noting that Ὀλύμπια dating from Trajanic-Hadrianic times are to be found in both these areas.

As regards the *curriculum* of local Ὀλύμπια, Table 2 presents a summary of known events.

Table 1 : Dates of Local Ὀλύμπια

City	Name of Game	Foundation Date
Adana	Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἀδάνοις	1 st cent. or later ?
Aegae	Ὀλύμπια	335 B.C. ?
Alexandria	Ὀλύμπια	176 ?
Anazarbos	Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια / Ἀδριάνειος Ἱερὸς / Ἀδριανὸς Οἰκουμενικός	117–138 ?
Anazarbos	Ὀλύμπια	1 st cent. or later ?
Antioch	Ὀλύμπια	27 B.C.–14
Apamea	Ὀλύμπια	361 or before
Aphrodisias	Ὀλύμπια	268 or before
Athens	Ὀλύμπια	6 th cent. B.C. ?
Attaleia	Ὀλύμπια	260 or before
Beroia	Ὀλύμπια ἐν Βεροίᾳ/ Ἀλεξάνδρεια Ὀλύμπια	242
Cyzicus	Ὀλύμπια / Ἀδριάνεια Ὀλύμπια / Ἀδριάνεια	135
Damascus	Ὀλύμπια Σεβάσμια	after 27 B.C. ?
Dion	Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Δίῳ	ca 420–400 B.C.
Ephesus	Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ	1 st cent. or later ?
Epidaurus	Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἐπιδάυρῳ / Ἀσκλήπεια Ὀλύμπια	1 st cent. or later ?
Hierapolis	Ὀλύμπια	249 or before ?
Magnesia	Ὀλύμπια	268 or before ?
Nicaea	Ὀλύμπια	?
Nicopolis	Ἄκτια	27 B.C. or before
Pergamon	Ὀλύμπια Ἀσκλήπεια/ Ὀλύμπια Ἀσκλήπεια Κομμόδεια	129 or after ?
Prusa ad Olympum	Ὀλύμπια	268 or before ?
Prusias ad Hypium	Ὀλύμπια	1 st cent. or later ?
Sardis	Ὀλύμπια	235 or before
Side	Ὀλύμπια	222 or before
Smyrna	Ἀδριάνια Ὀλύμπια	117–138
Smyrna	Ὀλύμπια ἐν Σμύρνῃ	ca 100–135 ?

Taba	Ἰολύμπια	268 or before
Tarsus	Ἰαδριάνεια Κομμόδεια Οἰκου- μενικά / Κομμόδεια Οἰκουμενικά / Ἰσολύμπιον Οἰκουμενικὸν Κομμόδειον	117–138 ?
Tegea	Ἰολύμπια	1 st cent. B.C. or before ?
Thessaly	Ἰολύμπια	mid 2 nd cent. B.C. or before
Thessaloniki	Ἰολύμπια	244 or before
Thyateira	Αὐγούστεια Ἰαδριανὰ Ἰολύμπια / Αὐγούστεια Ἰαδριανὰ Πύθια Ἰολύμπια	260 or before
Tralles	Ἰολύμπια	60
Tyre	Ἰράκλεια Ἰολύμπια Καισάρεια	refounded 27 B.C. or after ?

Table 2 : Events in Local Ἰολύμπια

City	Title of Games	Events	Date recorded	References
Adana	Ἰολύμπια ἐν Ἰαδά- νοις	Πυθικὸς ἀθλητῆς (?)	early 3 rd cent.	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 238 no 81 I.1
Aegae	Ἰολύμπια	πανκράτιον, πυγμῆ? musical contests ?	217–212 B.C. 335 B.C.	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 245 No 84 I.13; 248. Arrian I.11.1
Alexandria	Ἰολύμπια	ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιον	200 ?	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 230 no 79
Anazarbos	Ἰαδριανὰ Ἰολύμπια Ἰολύμπια	ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιον ? Πυθικὸς ἀθλητῆς (?)	165 ? early 3 rd cent.	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 210 no 72 Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 238 no 81
Antioch	Ἰολύμπια	πανκράτιον, πυγμῆ? πάλη, races, tragedy oratory, poetry	110 180–192 364	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 187 no 68 i.23(?) Malalas 10.378. Libanius <i>Epistle</i> 1183, <i>Oration</i> 54.46 (at Liebe- schutz <i>Antioch</i> 138, 138 nn 6, 7
Athens	Ἰολύμπια	ἀνθιπασία πένταθλον πανκράτιον, πυγμῆ ?	before 267 B.C. 150–200 212–217	<i>IG</i> II-III ² 3079 at Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 67 Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 219 no 75 Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 244 no 84 I.10
Beroia	Ἰολύμπια ἐν Βεροία / Ἰαλεξάνδρεια Ἰολύμπια	κῆρυξ	253–257	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 263 no 90
Cyzicus	Ἰαδριάνεια Ἰολύμπια / Ἰαδριάνεια / Ἰολύμπια	κῆρυξ	253–257	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 263 no 90
Damascus	Ἰολύμπια Σεβάσμια	ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιον	ca 165	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 207 no 72
Dion	Ἰολύμπια τὰ ἐν Δίῳ	ἀνδρῶν ὄπλι- τόδρομος	ca 100	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 141 no 54

Ephesus	'Ολύμπια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ	δόλιχος ?	ca 90	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 182 no 66
		κῆρυξ	ca 140	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 196 no 79
		πάλη	ca 150–200	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 224 no 77
		πανκράτιον	ca 200	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 229 no 79
		κῆρυξ	ca 253–257	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 264 no 90
Epidaurus	'Ολύμπια ἐν Ἐπι- δαύρῳ / Ἄσκληπεία	κῆρυξ	ca 253–257	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 264 no 90
Smyrna	'Αδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια	κῆρυξ	ca 140	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 264 no 90
		πανκράτιον	ca 200	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 229 no 79
		κῆρυξ	early 3 rd cent.	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 238 no 81
		κῆρυξ	ca 253–257	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 264 no 90
		'Ολύμπια ἐν Σμύρνῃ	πάλη	ca 150–200
Tarsus	'Αδριάνεια Κομμό- δεια Οἰκουμενικά,	Πυθικὸς ἀγλητῆς (?)	early 3 rd cent.?	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 238 no 81 l.33
Tralles	'Ολύμπια	δόλιχος	after 180	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 226 no 78 l.16
Tyre	'Ηράκλεια Ὀλύμπια Καيسάρεια	ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιον?	ca 165	Moretti <i>Iscrizioni</i> 207 no 72, 209

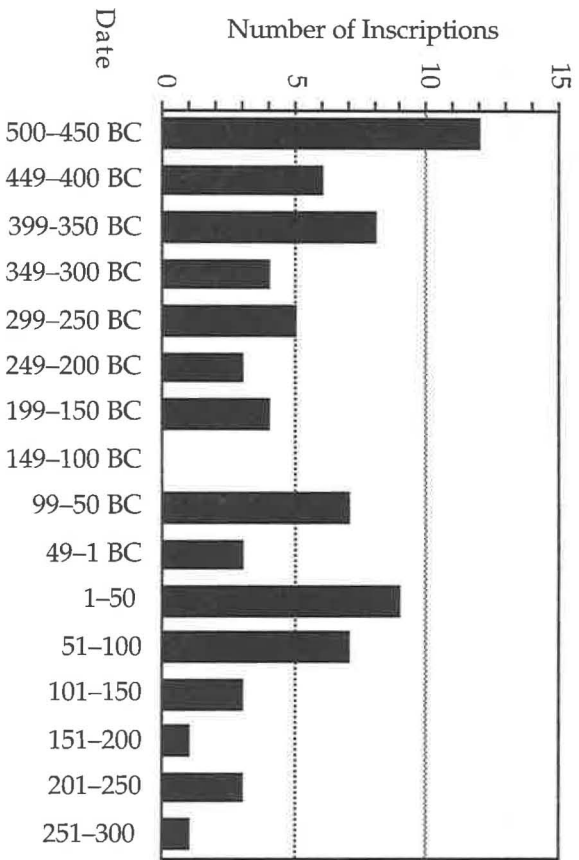


Fig. 2 : Victory Inscriptions found at Olympia

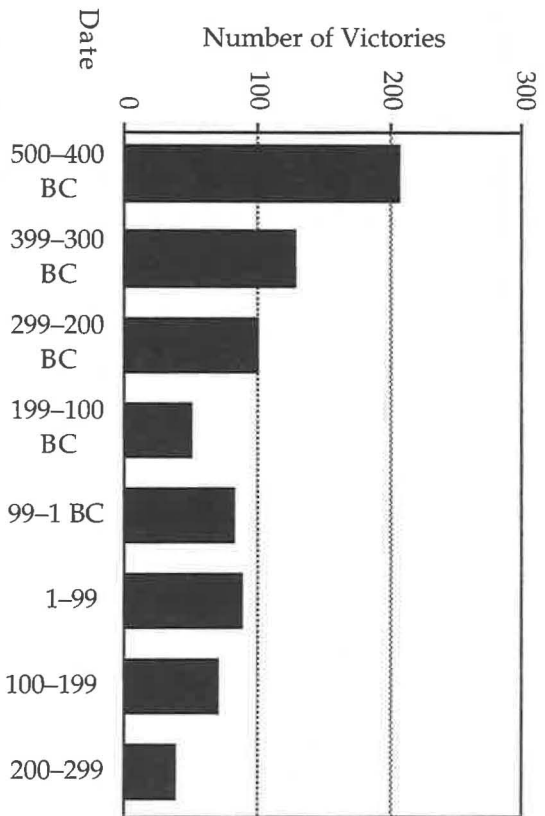


Fig. 1 : Number of Victories, 500 B.C. - 300

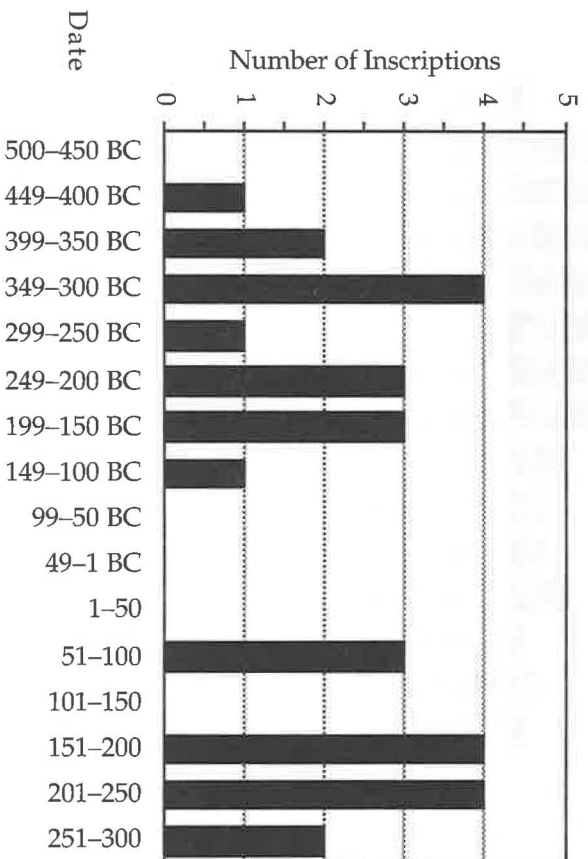


Fig. 4 : Inscriptions from Greece (excluding Olympia) and the Aegean recording Olympic Victories

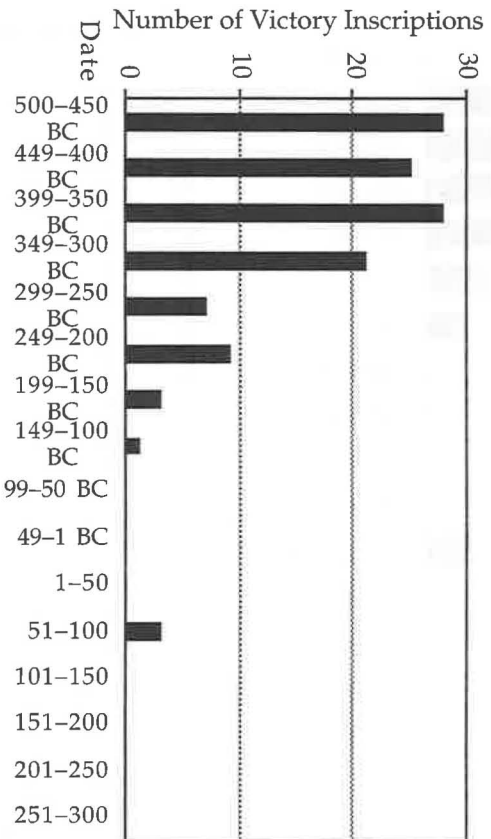


Fig. 3 : Victory Inscriptions from Olympia mentioned only by Pausanias

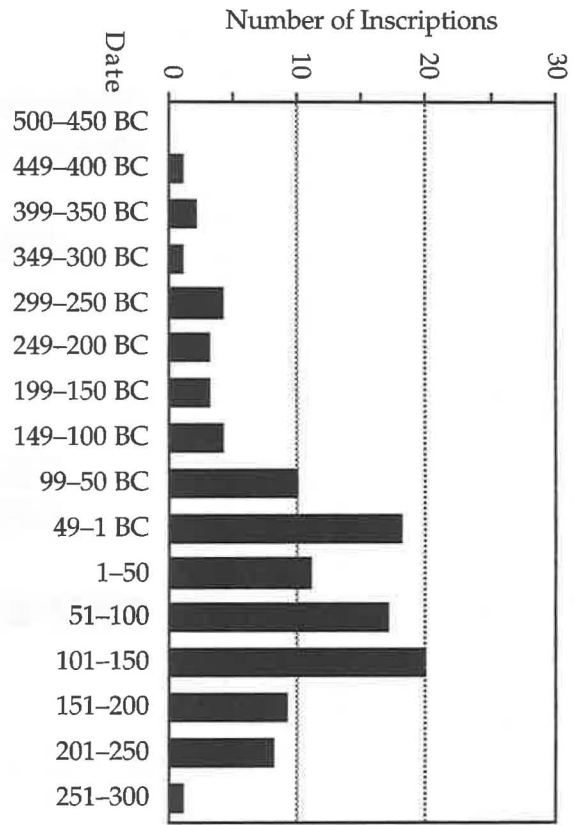


Fig. 6 : Honoric Inscriptions from Olympia

