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Judith M. Barringer, *Olympia. A Cultural History*. pp. xvii + 336, Princeton University Press 2021. ISBN 9780691210476, hardcover US $39.95, £35.

++Disclaimer: Professor Barringer (Edinburgh University) is a member of the editorial board of the JGA.

When the modern iterations of the Summer Olympics come round, there is often detectable a string of publications, more and less scholarly, on the ancient (summer-only) quadrennial Games and their original, unique and immovable, site. Professor Barringer's severely scholarly and academic volume is no exception, if only by accident. It first appeared in the same year that the Tokyo Olympics (officially XXXII) actually occurred, though – thanks to the covid-19 pandemic – that was not the year for which they had been scheduled. The ancient version of the Games lasted for over 1100 years without a single break (give or take a couple of reorganizations and Emperor Nero's gross interference in CE 66/67), but celebrations of the modern version running since 1896 have been either totally omitted several times (1916, 1940, 1944) or (2020) postponed. That very fact should give rise to

the thought that maybe the modern Olympics really aren't very much like the ancient, notwithstanding the wishes and claims of its founding father, Pierre Baron de Coubertin (1863-1937).

Happily, in a way, that's not a concern to Prof. Barringer, for whom the legacy of the ancient Games is a matter of no consequence. Nor indeed are the ancient Games her primary focus and concern, despite 'cultural' appearing in her subtitle, suggesting misleadingly that her overriding interest would be to put the site of Olympia and its evolution into all its many cultural contexts – political, religious, gender-construction, etc – as well as the archaeological and art-historical. As it is, despite the claim on p. 241 to have 'endeavored to illuminate the site, its monuments, and its activities from a variety of angles – religious, military, athletic, political, mythological, social', the book is framed very clearly and sharply in terms overridingly of those two latter approaches, as applied almost exclusively to the site and its extant remains (including patrons' intentions and viewer response) as preponderantly recorded by religious pilgrim Pausanias of Magnesia in the third quarter of the second century CE. For which we can and must be duly grateful: this is the first book of any depth or breadth written in English that does the whole field from the seventh century BCE to the seventh CE proper scholarly justice, rendering the 'greatest Panhellenic sanctuary of them all' in all its 'dazzling, overwhelming, magical, and awe-inspiring' (1) grandeur.

The site of Olympia was definitively rediscovered in 1766 – after a long desuetude and oblivion of a millennium or so - by an Englishman, Richard Chandler, working on behalf of the Dilettanti Society. It had been overwhelmed and obliterated – but also preserved - by a combination of earthquakes and floodings in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era: see A. Vött, Neue geoarchäologische Untersuchungen zur Verschüttung Olympias (2013, not cited by B.). But since the German Archaeological Institute made its groundbreaking (pun intended) agreement with the then Greek Government and began excavations in 1875, German-language scholarship has held sway. The five books that most anticipate Professor Barringer's – A. Mallwitz, Olympia und seine Bauten (1972), H.-V. Herrmann, Olympia: Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte (1972), J. Ebert, Olympia: Von den Anfängen bis zu Coubertin (1980), U. Sinn, Das antike Olympia: Götter, Spiel und Kunst (2004), and H. Kyrieleis, Olympia: Archäologie eines Heiligtums (2011) – were all written in German and published in Germany.

Put it another way, Olympia is for German archaeologists and classical archaeology what Delphi is for the French, and what Knossos is for British prehistoric archaeology. Professor Barringer's extensive bibliography – if not quite as complete as it might have been (see the prodigiously detailed, if also somewhat too self-regarding, review by Andras Patay-Horváth, Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae 74.1 [2023]187-9, esp. n. 7 – renders due tribute to that exemplarity. She herself has been preparing this book actively since 2006. In an informative interview (with Charis Gambon, 20 February 2022) she doubles down on the 'holistic' nature of her enterprise: 'you cannot just look at sport, art, or history. You need everything to understand how the humans ... lived there and how they used it' (see also her 'Olympia: More Than Meets the Eye', Classics Ireland 19-20 [2012-13] 26-49). True – but see above for the in fact well less than holistic cultural treatment (and see also the useful review by Stephan Lehmann, AJA 126.4 [2022] 125-7).

For a longish book there are only six chapters, following a Prologue (pp. 13-33), viz: 'The Shape of the Altis and Practical Matters' (ch. 1, 34-62); 'The Archaic Period, *c.* 600-480 BC' (ch. 2, 63-103); 'The Fifth Century BC' (ch. 3, 104-55); 'The Fourth Century and Hellenistic Period' (ch. 4, 156-204); 'Roman Olympia' (ch. 5, 205-36); and 'The Last Olympiad' (ch. 6, 237-44). There is no Epilogue – and only the briefest, if informative, summative conclusion (241-4). The chapter divisions are somewhat chronologically fuzzy, inevitably (despite the seeming clarity of the Chronology given on p. xvii), but more surprising is the placement of and/or discussion of artefacts clearly belonging to one archaeologically defined period in a different chapter: examples include the Zeus-Ganymede acroterion of *c.* 470, possibly from the rebuilt Sicyonian Treasury, which is placed in the Archaic chapter (86-7, with 155 n. 226, and Plate 15); and a datable inscribed base of *c.* 365-3 BCE (Paus. 5.24) situated in the Fifth Century chapter (148-9, with Fig. 3.31). Also surprising, but in a very pleasant way, is a generously subsidized wodge of some 45 colour plates placed between chapters 5 and 6, following p. 236 (not, as designated on p. xi, 204). However, that splash of excellence does rather serve to point up the difference in quality of reproduction between the colour plates and the 136 or so murky, half-tone, in-text figures (the inscription on Fig. 2.7, for instance, is close to invisible). An imperious, 23-page Bibliography precedes a useful, mainly Pausanian, Index Locorum, and a workmanlike General Index. The text, footnotes, bibliography and general index are not error-free (what book ever is?): in addition to those lapses identified by Patay-

Horváth (ibid. n.6), and those mentioned in the main body of the review below, I append a selection of errata, corrigenda and detailed comments at the very end.

Turning to the book's substantive contents, I am surely not the only reader who misses a properly full account of the site and its artefacts before 600 BCE, where Chapter 2 begins. The Prologue, which ends with a series of questions, is largely methodological, regarding the nature of the available evidence, rather than focused on the earliest, post-prehistoric material culture, for example, of the 8th century that has produced the largest number of votives; and Chapter 1, vital though it is for setting the scene and providing readers with a virtual map of the Altis, merely notes in passing, for example, that there is a sharp rise detectable in the number of wells in use between 700 and 600 BCE (45). Thus origins - the early-historical origins of religious worship, including the foundation of the Games - are left without much description, let alone attempted explanation. To give just a taster of what we are missing, the wonderful D.A.I. Olympische Forschungen series (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olympische_Forschungen) contains several monographs devoted specifically to publishing what are clearly in some sense religious votive dedications that were offered from long before 600, but only Heilmeyer's 1972 OF work on the early terracottas is included in the Bibliography. Spoiler alert: a longform 'essay' on 'Archaic' Olympia is due to appear shortly from the hand of a recent site Director, Professor Reinhard Senff, in the Oxford History of the Archaic Greek World series (O.U.P., New York).

Practical matters are, however, very fully dealt with. Water-supply; market and food; dining venues; accommodation; day-to-day - as opposed to occasional, ritually prescribed and predetermined – operations; and, not least, animals and their sacrifice (including the logistics of effecting a hecatomb) – for most of these there is some archaeological as well as written evidence. Yet, as Professor Barringer ends the Chapter, and as she had ended her Prologue and reverts to in her final text page (244), there remain at least as many questions as there are issues to which more or less confident answers can be supplied.

With Chapter 2 Professor Barringer hits the ground running, since *c.* 600 BCE marks the start of the site's first monumental architecture period. It's mildly confusing that her 'Archaic' eats well into her 'Fifth Century', but, if most people's 'Archaic' begins well before 600, for most – unlike for, say, Anthony Snodgrass (Archaic Greece: the age of experiment, 1980) - it is usually brought to an end as here in 480 or 479 BCE. I found it a little disconcerting therefore to be presented with so bare a plan of the Altis in *c.* 470 (64, Fig. 2.1) placed opposite a very crowded but undated (certainly fourth-century BCE in part) plan of Delphi (Fig. 2.2). The Heraion, Ash Altar and Pelopion are naturally accorded pride of place, though the discussion necessarily in places strays well into the post-Archaic fifth century.

The Stadion (structure, not event or measure of length) gets a relatively brief treatment (75-6, anticipated on pp. 44-5 of Chapter 1); Stadion II was constructed in *c.* 500, before the major overhaul the Eleians gave the Games after the Graeco-Persian Wars. It would have been worth adding (e.g. to 131 n. 98) that the winner of the stade race gave his name to the entire Olympiad, even though that bare-naked dash was not an event with any obvious or direct connection to the warfare represented by the display of helmets, shields, and tropaia and symbolized in the paramilitary heavy-combat events, devoted to the worship of Almighty Zeus. It was also in the early 6th century that the periodos or Circuit of the four greatest panhellenic festivals was inaugurated, very relevant to the 'sense of Panhellenism' raised but not problematized on p. 113: to be a periodonikês or Circuit-victor was the greatest glory-bringing athletic accolade. By contrast, the Treasuries are very fully, indeed admirably, discussed, and the Western Greek presence is given its special due (even if it is stretching things to call Epidamnos 'western Greek' as opposed to 'from northwest mainland Greece' (properly so marked on Fig. 1).

With Chapter 3 and the Fifth Century we arrive at one of the two best documented periods of Olympia's site history (the other is the Roman imperial period, Chapter 5): 'an extraordinary time for Olympia and its monuments', inasmuch as they 'closely interacted with each other and reflected religious and historical events' (155). The Chapter is divided into four Parts, without a Conclusion: I: Votive Statue Bases In Situ; II. The Temple of Zeus; III. Zeus, Warfare, and Olympia in the Classical Period; and IV. Other Votive Monuments. Part II, over a third of the chapter's length (see already Barringer 2005), duly reflects the mega political and economic significance as well as the aesthetic uber-accomplishment of the Zeus Temple designed by Libon of Elis containing what was to be adjudged a Wonder of the Ancient World, Pheidias' chryselephantine Zeus.

Later in the book, much later (243), the question is raised of whether there was any sort of spiritual trend away from straightforward piety to self-

promotion in the location of monuments, but this thought is not connected, as I think it profitably could have been, to discussion of a similar, quasi-secular shift detected (by Herrmann) in Stadion III's displacement in the 450s from the Altis (104 n.1, which surely should have been in the main text). What most concerns Prof. Barringer is a change she plausibly detects in the representational attitude of Zeus from an active Zeus Keraunios to a disengaged, overseeing, arbiter Zeus: a Zeus for the 470s following the massively disuniting Graeco-Persian Wars, and for an Olympia less ridden with votive weapons and armour. Among the 'other' votive monuments it's worth singling out those for 'the illustrious family of Diagoras of Rhodes' (a periodonikês boxer, 154-5); but it was a pity not to mention female member Pherenike/Kallipateira's involuntarily scandalous self-exposure.

Chapter 4 somewhat controversially brings together the fourth century and the Hellenistic period, as if the game-changing career of Alexander III of Macedon made next to no difference to the aura and facies of the Olympia site. Professor B. confesses that what she has given is a 'somewhat breathless overview' (203); roughly half each in terms of pages is allocated respectively to the fourth century and to the Hellenistic period as far as the mid-first century BCE. The chapter's overall message is that, contrary to certain modern claims, there was no diminution in appeal or frequentation of Olympia in this era but rather an 'ongoing vibrancy' (157). Instead there was a 'shift', a change of trend, towards different kinds of building activity and of monuments, such as an increase in honorific statues (161). It is suggested that the Hippodrome, which a (mis) reading of Pausanias had indicated should lie south of the Altis, may have reached its final form during this epoch, but surely B. should have cited the pretty convincing claim by Norbert Müller and members of the University of Mainz to have finally located its actual whereabouts, east of the Altis, in 2007: www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2008/07/080714145253.htm.

Pride of location and space is rightly accorded the – monstrously un-traditional – Philippeion: commissioned by the eponymous Philip II, completed some time after his assassination in 336 (165-72). Here if anywhere is the stark proof that Alexander's reign did make and mark a difference, almost a sea-change. Sculpted by Leochares of Athens, most famous perhaps for his earlier work on the Maussolleion, the five chryselephantine sculptures set within a divinity-aping tholos represented Alexander's paternal grandparents and parents and, at dead centre, himself. Barringer's account of the structure as such is exemplary, a model. All that's missing is a tie-in with the highest of high panhellenic politics, the promulgation in 324 at Olympia of what's known for short as Alexander's Exiles Decree (Diodorus 18.8.2-7), a profound intrusion into and derogation of the sovereignty and independence of autonomous Greek poleis conducted under the umbrella of his father's and his League of Corinth (a modern term) or Hellenic League (but to say that the Hellenic League of 224 was 'first formed by Philip, II, Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes' [176 n. 88] is at best profoundly misleading).

A further derogation of a different kind, indeed sacrilege – Philip V's violation of Olympia's sanctity in 217 (Polyb. 4.73, somewhat misreported) - deserves better than a brief mention in a footnote (ibid.). Ptolemaic and Sicilian monuments among others receive lengthy treatment, followed by a number of sculptural dedications including such athletic or hippic victory statues as that of twice-running, pioneer female equestrian victor Kyniska of Sparta (197-8, with Fig. 4.24). The allegedly Praxitelean Hermes holding baby Dionysus in Parian marble is, rather against the scholarly grain, accounted a genuine original rather than either a Roman copy or a Hellenistic creation or copy (200-01, 218, 219; cf. 36-7).

And so, penultimately, to Chapter 5, on Roman Olympia, from the late third century BCE to the late fourth CE, when the Roman conquerors, captured culturally by conquered Greece, cease to be barbarians and become honorary Hellenes. Again, as in the preceding period there was both significant change and some continuity: no longer were individual Olympic victories and victories by poleis the primary reasons for statues being erected in the Altis but rather 'public service as statesman, public benefactor, or military leader' (236). Spatially too it is noticeable and noteworthy that two important Roman-period buildings added to the Altis, the theatrical Nymphaeum (third quarter of the second century CE, 220-5, with Fig. 5.10-11) and the Metroon, were both constructed in the north of the sacred area (243).

The Nymphaeum is notable too for having been dedicated by a woman, Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus and a priestess of Demeter Chamyne (225, Fig. 5.16), but no less for being just one of that pair's extraordinary 'back-to-the-future' contributions to the province of Achaea in the second century BCE: see A. Kouremenos ed., The Province of Achaea in the Second Century CE: the past present (2022): rev. W. Havener, BMCR 2022:10.14; E. Strazdins, Fashioning

the Future in Roman Greece. Memory, Monuments, Texts (2023). According to Roman religious ideology, living mortals were not to be granted divine worship - but not so in the Greek East, where at Olympia, Hellenic site supreme, Augustus (Sebastos, 'the revered one', in Greek) and his family could be made the beneficiaries of the romanization of the originally Hellenic Metroon into a Sebasteion (206, 211, with Fig. 5.4), and Augustus could be hailed and portrayed as Iuppiter/Jupiter (218).

Finally, Chapter 6, rather misleadingly entitled 'The Last Olympiad', since that occurred some time in the penultimate or last decade of the fourth century (236; cf. 30, Fig. 15), but Prof. Barringer takes her story on into the seventh century and indeed beyond even that. Here the major cultural innovation is of course the gradual arrival since the third century (208) of the eventually triumphant form of Roman Catholic Orthodox Christianity and with it the removal and reuse (a.k.a. the plundering, dismantling and reconfiguring) of 'pagan' structures to create, most tellingly, the so-called 'Spolienhaus' of the early fifth century BCE (240, Fig. 6.2). That was also, not coincidentally, the period when Pheidias's wondrous Zeus was transported as a desacralized trophy to Constantinople and his workshop transformed into a church. It seems apt to end on a somewhat dismal note: even if Roman Olympia did not witness a(ny) 'decline' (236), the Late Roman/ early Byzantine site certainly was finally occluded by a series of natural disasters, of which there is a long catalogue (230).

In conclusion, two endnotes: first, a 'sic transit gloria' metamorphosis. Baths established near the fourth-century BCE Leonidaion hostel were in the first half of the 5th century CE transformed into and repurposed as a wine-press and wine-cellar – water into wine. Next, and finally, a point of comparative cultural history: De Coubertin conjured up, appealed to, dreamed of something he and his supporters dubbed the 'Olympic ideal' or 'Olympic spirit', expressive he thought/hoped of amity between the comity of nations. If nothing else, Professor Barringer's massively meritorious study will at least have done serious, fact-based damage to the notion that sport and politics can ever in brute actuality be kept separate: for at ancient Olympia, as in all modern Olympic celebrations, politics 'always played a critical role at the site, as poleis, tyrants, monarchs, and rulers left their mark at Olympia and strove to outdo each other with monuments – their placement and form' (242).

Appendix: errata, corrigenda, detailed comments

Spoiler alert: a longform 'essay' on 'Archaic' Olympia is due to appear shortly from the hand of a recent site Director, Professor Reinhard Senff, in the Oxford History of the Archaic Greek World series (O.U.P., New York).

Fig. 1 Map of Mediterranean: very selective – e.g. both Taras and Thouria/Thourioi could have been included, not least because of the inscribed spear-butts taken by the latter from the former and dedicated to Zeus at Olympia: J. McK. Camp II, 'A Spear Butt from the Lesbians' Hesperia 47.2 (1978) 192 & n. 4. And it is stretching things to call Epidamnos 'western Greek' as opposed to 'from northwest mainland Greece'. Page 22 & n. 43: Lydian king Croesus's offerings at Delphi are said to be 'well known', but artefactually it's only an inference that, say, the silver-gilt bull illustrated – without contextual reference - in colour Plate 18 was offered by Croesus. Page 22 n. 49: add C.A. Morgan Athletes and Oracles: the Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century BC (Cambridge, 1990) for the possible early significance at the site of the Zeus oracle. Page 28, para 1, line 6: Thesmophorion misspelt. Pages 32, 83: clear opportunities for mentioning/discussing the inscribed hoplite helmet dedicated either by or in the name of Miltiades (why at Olympia, not Athens, say?) are not taken. Page 37: B. rightly dismisses a modern fancy that 'Baedeker' Pausanias was merely an armchair traveller; that should be read in conjunction with p. 218 describing his account of the Heraion (5.17.1-20.3) as reading 'like a modern museum guide' (see also Hubert Vögele's Plan of his route, Fig. 1.2). Page 109, bis: Idomeneus misspelt. Page 113: for 'Plataians' read 'Persians'. Pages 115-16: the unmentioned fact that Eretria had been destroyed (by a Persian armament) in 490 has a strong bearing on an official dedication by that city of a bronze steer in *c.* 480-479. Page 121, Fig. 3.8, caption: should specify that this is the Zeus Temple's East Façade (the reconstruction shown is one of over 70 known to B.: 126). Page 122 para 2 line 6: Peirithous or Pirithous but not 'Perithous'. Page 134 para 3 line 6: for 'were' read was. Page 137 para 2 lines 4 (Alexander I) and 7 (Lysander): for 'portrait' (which suggests verisimilitude) read image/representation. Page 157 n.10: Ptolemy II is proleptically assigned to and considered a possible patron of a project dated to the 'fourth' century BCE. Page 176 n.88: Polybius 4.73 is both somewhat misreported here and omitted from the Index Locorum. Page 229 para 3 line 2: the ancient Greek for council is sunedrion, not 'synedros'.

Bibliography (pages 245-67): one might consider adding, say, A. Böttischer, Olympia: Das Fest und seine Stätte (1893), J. Ebert, Olympia: Von den Anfängen bis zu Coubertin (1980), A. Vött, Neue geoarchäologische Untersuchungen zur Verschüttung Olympias (2013), and G. Bourke, Elis: Internal Politics and Extern Policy in Ancient Greece (2017), but it seems ungrateful to ask for more when so much has been given. E. Hall 2002 (Greeks and Barbarians, Edinburgh), however, is an outright anomaly: a volume of (reprinted) essays under that title edited by T. Harrison was indeed published by the Edinburgh University Press in 2002, and it contains a (1992) essay by Edith Hall, but it's not clear how or where her discussion/demolition of Martin Bernal's 'ancient model' could easily be referenced in this work. A repeated typo: in Bringmann *et al.* 1995, Miller 2019 and Schmidt-Dounas 2000 Heiligtümer has an intrusive 'n' printed before the 'g'. We eagerly still await J. Barringer *et al.* eds, Logistics in Greek Sanctuaries, cited as forthcoming under M. Trümper-Ritter. Roll on the corrected paperback reprint.

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N.B. Papadopoulou (ed.), *Molottis. Archaeological Atlas of the ancient settlements in the municipal region of Ioannina*. pp. 340, 196 figures (162 colour), 3 maps. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports. Ephorate of Antiquities of Ioannina, 2022. ISBN 978-618-5445-05-08, softcover £45.

This book is effectively a gazetteer of ancient sites in the municipal area of Ioannina, which was the centre of the territory of the Molossoi (in some later sources Molottoi), a landlocked people who were the most prominent among the tribal groups of Epirus in Classical antiquity; their territory extended to include the famous oracle of Zeus at Dodona by historical times. It is a collaborative work by many archaeologists working at the Ephorate of Ioannina, aiming to shed light on this poorly known region, and is entirely in Greek. It covers both excavated sites and those identified in various ways, often simply by the appearance of some casual find, from remote prehistory (there are some well-known Palaeolithic sites) to the end of the Roman period.[1]

After a discussion of the natural geography of the region, which is a very fertile part of Epirus, there is an account of the first travellers within Epirus in the 18th and 19th centuries AD and the growing interest in trying to identify sites named in the ancient sources, including Dodona. There follows a series of short accounts of the different periods of human occupation in the region; first is an extensive discussion of the Palaeolithic remains (over 80 sites have been identified, but very few have been excavated), followed in turn by shorter comments on the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, 6th-4th centuries BCE (all subsequent dates cited will be BCE unless otherwise stated), Hellenistic and Roman periods. General accounts follow of the region's settlement pattern, road network and fortified acropolis sites, sanctuaries, cemeteries and burial customs, and finally there is a survey of all ancient sources referring to the region (many specifically to Dodona). The bulk of the text consists of the gazetteer, which contains brief accounts of all sites identified, in alphabetical order, with photographs of notable finds or structures at some, including some fine views of the Dodona theatre. This is followed by the extensive bibliography and some maps showing the distribution of the major modern centres referred to and of the prehistoric, Classical and Hellenistic sites. There is no index.

Epirus is a strange region. Its name, meaning simply 'the mainland', obviously represents the viewpoint of islanders, and does not appear in the earliest references, although peoples listed later as among the peoples of Epirus do, the Thesprotoi figuring several times in the Odyssey; yet when these formed a federation in the 4th century, the Apeiros, they adopted the common name of Epirotoi. By that time a form of Greek seems to have been spoken or at least used formally, but society was basically 'tribal' and several peoples including the Molossoi were ruled by kings, those of the Molossoi claiming descent from Neoptolemos son of Achilles and acting as leaders of the federal army when this was established. To judge from Thucydides's accounts in Book II of the campaigns in northwest Greece in the first years of the Peloponnesian War, even those peoples in close contact with the Corinthian-founded city of Ambracia do not seem to have been regarded as Greeks (in Thuc. II.68 the people of Amphilochian Argos speak Greek, but the rest of the Amphilochian people have a different language, and throughout his account he refers to the various peoples of the region as *barbaroi*). This may have been partly because their way of life was very unlike that of the average Greek *polis*; though practising the

[1] The reviewer would like to acknowledge the help of Dr D. Sambatakou in preparing this review.