# The Etruscan Thesauroi in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi

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# Introduction

I met Robert Rollinger in 2008 at the University of Innsbruck, when I was called to the chair of pre- and protohistory as successor of the late Konrad Spindler. I noted immediately his open and expansive character, similar to mine, and we become good colleagues. I remember a shared week in Lecce as teachers in the framework of an Erasmus exchange, the organization of the conference *Waffen für die Götter. Waffenweihungen in Archäologie und Geschichte* 2013 at Innsbruck and a conference about *The Orientalizing cultures in the Mediterranean* 2016 in Rome. Finally, Robert wrote a chapter about haruspicy in the handbook *Etruscology* which I edited. Dear Robert, I hope the topic of the Etruscan  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rhooi$  at Delphi will interest you.

# The Literary Tradition

From the seventh century BC onwards the Etruscan cities played a significant role in the Mediterranean. Greek literary sources as well as Etruscan finds in the sanctuaries at Olympia and Delphi, reveal the Etruscan presence in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> The  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rhooi$  built by the most important Greek cities at Olympia and Delphi permitted those sanctuaries to be defined as panhellenic; a specific circumstance caused the building of each  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rhooi$  in one of the two sanctuaries and there the  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rhooi$  were used as shrines

<sup>\*</sup> It is my pleasure to thank Ch. J. Smith, which was kind enough to improve my basic English languagez

<sup>1</sup> The relationship between Etruscans and Greeks has been assessed by Naso 2014; the relevant literary sources have been reviewed by Capdeville 2016. Regarding Delphi, see Briquel 1998 and d'Agostino 2000.

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to preserve the valuable ἀναθήματα offered by the originating city and eventually by allied cities.<sup>2</sup> According to the ancient literary sources listed at the end of this text, the Etruscan cities of Caere and Spina built their own θησαυροί in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi and they were the unique non- Greek communities to have this honor.<sup>3</sup> This fact underlines the high prestige the two Etruscan cities had in that sanctuary: foreigner kings such as Midas of Phrygia or Gyges and Croesus of Lydia offered rich ἀναθήματα to Apollo at Delphi, but written sources about Phrygian or Lydian monuments at Delphi are missing and one can exclude the existence of Phrygian or Lydian θησαυροί at Delphi.<sup>4</sup> In the sanctuary of Apollo the remains of Etruscan  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\sigma$  have been not identified on the ground, and their chronology is also disputed among the modern scholars; according to P. de La Coste Messelière the  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  of Caere is specifically connected to the years following the consultation of the Delphic oracle by the inhabitants of Caere mentioned by Herodotus (Hdt. 1. 167, ed. C. Hude, 1927). According to the Greek historian, the Etruscan supplicants asked how they could relieve the bad *portenta* arising in the site near Caere where they had stoned to death the Phocaean prisoners captured in the battle of the Sardinian Sea. The priestess Pythias answered they had to offer sacrifices to the deities or Manes of the murdered prisoners and to establish gymnastic and equestrian competitions. In the opinion of modern scholars, the building of the θησαυρός would be a grateful response related to the consultation of the oracle.<sup>5</sup> The battle of the Sardinian Sea was fought around 540-535 BC and furnishes a good chronological reference point for the event. However, we miss any reference point for the construction of the  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  of Spina: Spina had its *floruit* in the second quarter of the fifth cent. BC and a date after 475 BC can be assumed. Although different suggestions have been made about the chronology of the foundation of the Etruscan θησαυροί, here we adopt the sixth century BC chronology for the θησαυρός of Caere and a date after 475 BC for Spina, according to the dates suggested by G. Colonna.<sup>6</sup> The notices about the circumstances of the offering of the θησαυρός of Caere make it sensible to concentrate our research on this monument.

The issue of the Etruscan  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho oi$  in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi deserves special attention. The property of  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho oi$  was strictly connected to the Greek ethnicity of

<sup>2</sup> Mari 2006 reviewed the sources about θησαυροί at Delphi and Olympia. A general table of the θησαυροί in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi is in Jacquemin 1999, pl. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Jacquemin 1999, 73–74, 309, no. 012-Caere (with a too late chronology into the fifth cent BC); 352 no. 443-Spina: Colonna 2000, 49 (Caere); Naso 2013 (Spina); Capdeville 2016, 32–34. The Καρχηδονίων θησαυρός described at Olympia by Pausanias (Paus. 6. 19. 7) was property of Syracuse

<sup>4</sup> Mari 2006, 62–63. Dorandi 2006, 458–461 for the literary sources about Croesus. Among the Lydian offerings in Greek sanctuaries a special role is played by the columns gifted by Croesus in the Artemision at Ephesus (Leloux 2018; Kerschner 2020, 235–236).

<sup>5</sup> Cristofani 1987, 251 (540-530 BC); Briquel 1998, 152-153; Colonna 2000; Musti 2008, 27; Capdeville 2016, 34. G. Colonna (in Belelli Marchesini / Biella / Michetti 2015, 7-10, with previous literature), followed by M. Torelli (Torelli 1981) and D. Briquel (Briquel 2012, 92-102), suggested to identify in the tumulus at Monte Tosto and in the neighboring sanctuary the archaeological traces of the killing of the Phocaeans.

<sup>6</sup> See supra footnotes 1 2.

the cities: when Herodotus describes the peculiarities of the Greekness, he stresses sharing the same blood (*homaimon*) and the same cults (Hdt. 8.144, ed. C. Hude, 1927).<sup>7</sup> How was it possible for two cities of non-Greek origin to build proper  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\sigma$  as if the owners were Greek?<sup>8</sup>

It is not surprising that these two Etruscan cities are represented: the aristocracies of both Caere and Spina played a significant role in the trade routes in the Tyrrhenian and in the Adriatic seas respectively.<sup>9</sup> Thanks to their huge estates, the powerful families of the two cities were among the most important producers of land resources such as grain, semi-finished metals in the form of ingots, and in the trade of surpluses, one in southern Etruria and the other in the Po plain. These resources, invisible goods for us, were in high demand in the Greek world.<sup>10</sup>

In the literary sources both Caere and Spina as well as other cities in Italy are mentioned as  $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma \Xi\lambda\eta\nui\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  although they were Etruscan foundations. One might ask if the legends regarding the Greek origins of Caere and Spina had been developed respectively in the sixth and in the fifth cent. BC to give both cities a Greek label and so to enable the construction of the  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\sigmai$  in the sanctuary at Delphi: may the legends of the Greek origins for Caere and Spina as  $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma \Xi\lambda\lambda\eta\nui\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  be an *escamotage* developed or allowed by the city of Delphi or by the Delphic amphictyony to permit non-Greek cities to build a  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi?<sup>11</sup>

Archaeological finds and literary sources show the strict connection between Caere and Greekness: Caere as well other Etruscan cities are said to have had Pelasgic origins and the Pelasgians were  $\beta lpha \beta \alpha \rho oi$  (Hdt. 1. 57, ed. C. Hude, 1927).<sup>12</sup>

From the time of Herodotus onwards Caere was named Agylla in the Greek world (Hdt. 1. 167, ed. C. Hude, 1927). Strabo declares this name as prior to the city name *Kairéa* and *Kairéa* had local origins (Strabo 5.2.3, ed. A. Meineke, Leipzig 1877). The Greek geographer explains the Etruscan poleonym as being derived from the Greek greeting *chaire* ( $\chi \alpha i \rho \epsilon$ ). The explanation is fragile, applicable only to Greek speakers, sounds forced and according to modern scholars it is a pseudo-etymology. The two city names have different origins. J. Desanges saw Agylla as having semitic connections and a neglected hypothesis claimed local pre-Etruscan origins.<sup>13</sup> The Greek name *Kairéa* mentioned by Strabo be-

<sup>7</sup> Ampolo 2021, 69.

<sup>8</sup> Briquel 1998, 163.

<sup>9</sup> Harari 2002 provided an overviewe of the relationship between the Tyrrhenians and the Adriatic seas.

<sup>10</sup> Athenian presence in western Mediterranean is evaluated by Raviola 1999 and Braccesi / Govi 2010. The topic of the goods of archaic trade is huge and needs further researche.

<sup>11</sup> Caution is required also in this case: as Massimo Pallottino wrote "Nessuno dovrebbe scivolare per gradi, nel corso del ragionamento, dal possibile al probabile e dal probabile al certo" (Pallottino 1985, 16).

<sup>12</sup> On Pelasgians see Briquel 1984, 3–30 (Spina), 169–224 (Caere) and Briquel 1998 regarding Delfi. For the literary sources about the origins of Caere: D. Briquel, in Caere 2014, 72–74. Alfieri 1989 and Gulletta 2005, 526–533 discussed the literary sources about Spina.

<sup>13</sup> According to a suggestion by F. Roncalli, referred to by di Gennaro 1986, 94 footnote 91. Desanges 1969, followed by Colonna 2010, 183 and D. Briquel, in Caere 2014, 75–76 classified Agylla as se-

come Caere in Latin language. The transition to the Latin form was probably influenced by the Greek pronunciation, and the aforementioned pseudo-etymology played a role too.<sup>14</sup> In a study of Etruscan inscriptions G. Colonna suggested that the original Etruscan poleonym was pronounced in the archaic period \*Kaisu-ra-ie, "the (city) of those of Kaesu,". The unknown personal name Kaesu, could be identified with the founder of Caere and of the community. A comparison could be Tarchon, the well-known founder of Tarquinia,  $Tar_{\mathbf{y}}(u)na$  "the (city) of Taryu".<sup>15</sup> The Etruscan cityname Caere become \*Kaisurie in late archaic period and \*Caisrie in later period. The literary sources mention different figures as founders of Caere and this is true for several cities. Pelasgus, Telegonus and Tyrrhenus son of Telephus (Serv. Dan., Ad Aen. 8.479, ed. G. Thilo, 1887) were named as founders of Caere in different periods, according to different needs and various requirements. Several versions have been mixed together: in the early hellenistic age Lycophron mentioned Tyrrhenus as son of Telephus of Misia and not as son of Atys of Lydia (as was more usual), and Tyrrhenus was the old brother of Tarchon, the founder of Tarquinia (Lykoph., Alex., 1248–1252, ed. L. Mascialino, 1964).<sup>16</sup> The strict connection between Caere and the Greek world includes also its main harbor, whose Etruscan name is unknown. The ancient sources mention the Greek form Πύργοι, adopted in Latin language as Pyrgi.17

The Pelasgic origins connecting Caere to Greek origins (although the Pelasgians were  $\beta \dot{\alpha} \rho \beta \alpha \rho \sigma t$ ), the Greek names of the city and of its main harbor, and the close relationship with the Greek world together stress the clear willingness of the Etruscans of Caere over time to be assimilated to Greeks. This desire was symbolized and realized by the building of the  $\theta \eta \sigma \alpha \nu \rho \phi \varsigma$  at Delphi, thanks to the concession by the authorities of the Greek sanctuary. Regarding the legend of the Pelasgic origins one can add that some cases of completely invented origins are testified in the literary sources. Mixing together verisimilitude and invention, notices have been created and modern scholars become unable

mitic city name. M. Sordi analyzed minutely the excursus in Strabo on Caere (Sordi 1960, 41–49, followed by D. Briquel (Briquel 1984, 171–221) and D. Musti (Musti 2008, 32–34). According to Sordi, Strabo's sources were Timaeus and an unknown author.

<sup>14</sup> The connection between Greek and Etruscan words for Caere has been presumed by de Simone 1976, 180, followed by Colonna 2004, 84–87 and Colonna 2014, 91–92, with further literature.

<sup>15</sup> M. Torelli suggested that a statue reproducing Tarchon as mythical founder of Tarquinia was erected in the main sanctuary at Ara della Regina in Roman imperial times, on the basis of the lost Latin inscription mentioning [Tar]cho[n] (Torelli 2019, 15–19 e 56–59, with previous literature). The role assigned to Tarquinia as the cradle of the Etruscan civilization is underlined by the figure of Tages, the prophet of the Etruscan religion, located in that city (Pfiffig 1975, 352–355).

<sup>16</sup> For the literary sources about these topics: Maras / Michetti 2011, 47 and particularly Ampolo 2021, 60–71. Several versions existed in Greek mythology about the figures mentioned here: Telegonus was the son of Circe and Odysseus, but Callias of Syracuse (late fourth.-third cent. BC), called him son of Rhome from Troy and Latinus king of the Aborigenes (*FGrHist* 240 F 29), as Ampolo reports, 2021, 56.

<sup>17</sup> A common feature of Caere and Delphi were the roads connecting each cities to its harbour respectively Pyrgi and Cirrha or Kirra (Musti 2008, 28, 44). Colonna 2004, Gentili 2004 and V. Bellelli, in Caere 2014, 286–287 valued the presence of Greeks at Caere.

to distinguish allusions and similarities from pure fantasy.<sup>18</sup> According to Thucydides a mythical relationship was created for the Thracian royal family when Athens made an alliance with Thracia around 431 BC (Thuc. 2.29.2–3, ed. H. Stuart Jones, 1938).<sup>19</sup> The construction of Greek origins for the Etruscans of Caere and Spina could be explicated as a *syngheneia* created and used for political goals.

The willingness of the Etruscans of Caere to be assimilated to Greeks was at the base of the legend of Caere as a  $\pi\delta\lambda\iota\varsigma$  Έλληνίς. One can presume that thanks to the role played by Caere in the Mediterranean and to the close contacts with Delphi this was accepted by the city of Delphi or by the Delphic amphictyony in order to allow a non-Greek city to build its own  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  in the Apollo sanctuary. The interpretation of Caere as  $\pi\delta\lambda\iota\varsigma$ Eλληνίς on this reading was created at Delphi in the sixth century BC and later developed in the literary sources. If this is true, after several centuries we can still see the consequences of the Delphic choice in our difficulty to explain the description of an Etruscan city as a  $\pi\delta\lambda\iota\varsigma$  Έλληνίς. Presumably a similar process took place for the  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  of Spina: this was probably built in the first half of the fifth cent. BC and the earliest mention of Spina as  $\pi\delta\lambda\iota\varsigma$  Έλληνίς is datable to the fourth cent. BC (ps.-Scyl. 17, ed. A. Peretti, 1980).<sup>20</sup>

## The Archaeological Evidence

The two Etruscan  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho oi$  at Delphi belong to different times. The connection with the battle of Sardinian Sea (540–535 BC) and with the oracle consultation at Delphi allow us to date the monument of Caere in the second half of the sixth cent. BC. The general knowledge we have of Spina suggests for that monument a chronology in the second quarter of the fifth cent. BC.<sup>21</sup> Although the two buildings are unidentified inside the sanctuary of Apollo, at least one Delphic find could derive from the  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  at Spina. The *fasses de l'Aire* are two contexts, which were closed around 420 BC and included significant  $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\theta\dot{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  in the sanctuary such as the three chryselephantine statues of the Delphic deities and a silver reproduction of a bull. They also yielded two bronze feet, belonging to an Etruscan folding footstool, a  $\delta i \phi \rho \rho \varsigma$  (Fig. 1).<sup>22</sup> Two side rods, now broken, are on the top and each was ended by a palmette. Similar artefacts with palmettes are preserved in two tomb groups at Bologna, graves 27 and 406<sup>23</sup> of the Certosa cemetery, dated respectively to the late sixth-early fifth century BC and to the late sixth-mid fifth century

<sup>18</sup> Recently C. Ampolo provided the best-informed overview about these topics (Ampolo 2021).

<sup>19</sup> Ampolo 2021, 68.

<sup>20</sup> Skepticism towards the definition used by Strabo for Spina as πόλις Έλληνίς has been expressed in the collective volume Berti / Guzzo 1993 by several scholars as L. Braccesi / A. Coppola, G. Colonna, G. Sassatelli, and M. Torelli. The identification of the πόλις Έλληνίς along the Adriatic coast between Ancona and the Venetic people (ps.-Scyl. 17) with Spina is the earliest mention, still datable to the fourth cent. BC (Uggeri 2009).

<sup>21</sup> According to Colonna 2000, 49; later Capdeville 2016, 32–34.

<sup>22</sup> Delphi, Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. 10862–10863: Naso 2013; Aurigny 2016, 164.

<sup>23</sup> Grave Certosa 406: Bologna, Archaeological City Museum, inv. nos. 29121–29124: Naso 2006, fig. 20.



Delphi, sanctuary of Apollo



Fig. 1: please insert a figure caption

BC.<sup>24</sup> The comparisons allow us to date the Delphic artefacts and to connect them to the Etruscan Po Valley: they may have belonged to a footstool offered in the fifth cent. BC in

<sup>24</sup> For the grave Certosa 27: Govi 1999, 109–111. For the grave Certosa 406 a date after 450 BC has been suggested (Sassatelli 1989, 938 n. 24); E. Govi, who is working on the entire Certosa cemetery, suggests an earlier chronology for this grave on the basis of the disturbed conditions at the moment

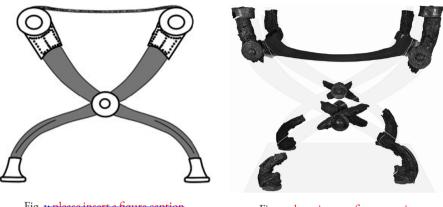


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the  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  of Spina at Delphi by an Etruscan of the Po Valley. This type of stool was used in Etruria by magistrates (Fig. 2) and perhaps a magistrate offered it to Apollo.<sup>25</sup> In a folding stool from Caere dated to the first half of the sixth century BC the feet are different and have the form of a lion paw (Fig. 3).<sup>26</sup> Also the inscription and the *cippus* of the Tyrrhenians belonged to the Etruscan monuments in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi, but they need still further research.<sup>27</sup>

## Conclusions

After the battle of the Sardinian Sea (540–535 BC) Etruscan aristocrats of Caere consulted the Delphic oracle and to show their thanks built their own  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  in the sanctuary of Apollo. The building needed a special decree, because only Greek cities could have their own  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  in sanctuaries. The Etruscans of Caere needed to become Greeks. Thanks to the close relationship with the Greek world in the sixth century BC, legends and myth were developed in the sanctuary at Delphi and Greek origins were created for the Etruscans of Caere. We do not know the chronological duration of this building, which is unknown on the ground. The construction of the  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi is close to another important event in the history of Caere. The construction of a new temple in the sanctuary at Pyrgi was around  $\frac{510}{510}$  BC. It was solemnly dedicated

of the discovery and the presence of pottery belonging to the late sixth cent. BC (E. Govi, pers. comm.).

<sup>25</sup> For the bronze feet of the Etruscan *diphroi* see Bonadies / Zinni 2020, 128, figs. 5, 31–34, with previous literature. The Etruscan folding stool become the Roman *sella curulis* (Schäfer 1989).

<sup>26</sup> Tomb Bufolareccia 170: Cerveteri, Archaeological Museum inv. no. 67659: Naso 2019, 97 no. 2.8.3.

<sup>27</sup> About the cippus of the Tyrrhenians see Colonna 2002, 201 and Capdeville 2016, 29-31.

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with Etruscan and Punic inscriptions inscribed on gold tablets<sup>28</sup>. The constructions of the  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$  in the sanctuary of Apollo at Caere and of the new temple at Pyrgi are surely connected and they show the important role the Etruscans of Caere were playing in the Mediterranean.

In the second quarter of the fifth cent. BC a similar action was undertaken in the sanctuary of Apollo for the Etruscans of Spina, which become also a  $\pi \delta \lambda \iota \varsigma \Xi \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \varsigma$ . This building is also unknown on the ground, but a votive offering may be assigned to an Etruscan of the Po Valley, the rests of a folding stool, a seat used in Etruria by magistrates.

# Literary Sources

# Thesauros of Caere

1. Strab. 5. 2, 3, 14-18 (C 220) ed. A. Meineke, Leipzig 1877

παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἕλλησιν εὐδοκίμησεν ἡ πόλις αὕτη διά τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην· τῶν τε γὰρ λῃστηρίων ἀπέσχετο καίπερ δυναμένη πλεῖστον, καὶ Πυθοῖ τὸν Ἀγυλλαίων καλούμενον ἀνέθηκε θησαυρόν.

Among the Greeks, however, this city was in good repute both for bravery and for righteousness; for it not only abstained from all piracy, but also set up at Pytho what is called "the treasury of the Agyllaei" (transl. H.C. Hamilton<del>, W. Falconer</del>).

# Thesauros of Spina

2. Polémon, in Ath., Deipn. 13.84.39–46 (ed. G. Kaibel, Leipzig 1890, Stuttgart 1966) Πολέμων δὲ ἢ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον Ἑλλαδικὸν (fr. 28 Pr) ἐν Δελφοῖς, φησίν, ἐν τῷ Σπινατῶν θησαυρῷ παῖδές εἰσιν λίθινοι δύο, ὧν τοῦ ἑτέρου Δελφοί φασι τῶν θεωρῶν ἐπιθυμήσαντά τινα συγκατακλεισθῆναι καὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας ... καταλιπεῖν στέφανον. φωραθέντος δ΄ αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν χρωμένοις τοῖς Δελφοῖς συντάξαι ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπονδεδωκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν μισθόν.'

And Polemo, or whoever the author of the book called Helladicus is, says—"At Delphi, in the treasury of the inhabitants of Spina, there are two boys wrought in marble; one of which, the Delphians say, was so fallen in love with by some one who came to see it, that he made love to it, and shut himself up with it, and presented it with a crown; but when he was detected, the god ordered the Delphians, who consulted his oracle with reference to the subject, to dismiss him freely, for that he had given him a handsome reward (transl. C.D. Yonge).

3. Strab. 5. 1. 7. 29-32 (C 214) ed. A. Meineke, Leipzig 1877

... καὶ ἡ Σπίνα, νῦν μὲν κωμίον πάλαι δὲ Ἑλληνὶς πόλις ἔνδοξος. θησαυρός γοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς Σπινητῶν δείκνυται, καὶ τἆλλα ἱστορεῖται περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς θαλασσοκρατησάντων. ... and also Spina, which though now only a small village, long ago was a Greek city of

28 Baglione / Michetti 2015.

repute. At any rate, a treasury of the Spinetae is to be seen at Delphi; and everything else that history tells about them shows that they were once masters of the sea (transl. H.C. Hamilton<del>, W. Falconer</del>).

4. Strab. 9. 3. 8. 16-21 (C 421)

ἀποκεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐν θησαυροῖς, ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἀνατεθέντα, ἐπιγραφὰς σώζοντα ἐν αἶς καὶ οἱ ἀναθέντες: "Γύγου" γὰρ καὶ "Κροίσου" καὶ "Συβαριτῶν" καὶ "Σπινητῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν," καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

For there were deposited in treasure houses offerings dedicated from spoils of war, preserving inscriptions on which were included the names of those who dedicated them; for instance, Gyges, Croesus, the Sybarites, and the Spinetae who lived near the Adriatic, and so with the rest (transl. H.C. Hamilton, W. Falconer)

5. Dion. Hal. 1. 18. 4 (ed. C. Jacoby, Lipsiae 1885)

εὐτύχησάν τε μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον οἰκούντων θαλαττοκρατοῦντες ἄχρι πολλοῦ, καὶ δεκάτας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνῆγον τῷ θεῷ [καὶ] τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὠφελειῶν, εἶπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, λαμπροτάτας.

These people attained to a greater degree of prosperity than any others who dwelt on the Ionian Gulf: for they had the mastery at sea for a long time, and out of their revenues of the sea they used to send tithes to the god at Delphi, which were among the most magnificent sent by any people (transl. E. Cary).

6. Plin., Nat. Hist. 3. 120 (ed. G.B. Conte, Torino 1982)

hoc ante Eridanium ostium dictum est, ab aliis spineticum ab urbe Spina, quae fuit iuxta, praevalens, ut Delphicis creditum est thesauris, condita a Diomede. This mouth, which was formerly called by some the Eridanian, has been by others styled the Spinetic mouth, from the city of Spina, a very powerful place which formerly stood in the vicinity, if we may form a conclusion from the amount of its treasure deposited at Delphi; it was founded by Diomedes (transl<sub>3</sub>J. Bostock, H.T. Riley).

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