

ENTRETIENS SUR L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE

Publiés par Olivier Reverdin et Bernard Grange

TOME XXXVII

LE SANCTUAIRE GREC

HUIT EXPOSÉS SUIVIS DE DISCUSSIONS

PAR

A. SCHACHTER, EMILY KEARNS, BIRGITTA BERGQUIST,
FRITZ GRAF, MADELEINE JOST, F. VAN STRATEN,
ROLAND ETIENNE, RICHARD A. TOMLINSON

Entretiens préparés par Albert Schachter
et présidés par Jean Bingen

FONDATION HARDT
POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE
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Les XXXVII^e Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt s'aventurent audacieusement dans un domaine qui relève tout à la fois de l'archéologie et du cadre matériel qu'animaient les rites du culte public et de la dévotion privée. Ils ont été organisés par M. Albert Schachter, professeur à McGill University (Montréal), qui en avait proposé le thème; et, selon la coutume, le Comité scientifique de la Fondation a chargé un de ses membres, le professeur Jean Bingen (Bruxelles), de les présider.

Le sanctuaire est par excellence le lieu de rencontre de l'humain et du divin. Il est donc conçu et aménagé en vue de cette rencontre, qui s'effectue par les rites, les offrandes, les sacrifices et les repas sacrés, et aussi, parfois, par le truchement de la mantique, des fêtes et des jeux.

Dans un exposé introductif, Albert Schachter examine le cas de six cités et d'une colonie pour établir des repères quand aux parties du territoire réservées aux sanctuaires, à leur attribution aux principales divinités et aux cultes dont ils sont le cadre.

Les héros, eux aussi, ont leurs sanctuaires, objets d'une dévotion particulièrement intense, et d'une nature civique souvent prononcée, ce que met en évidence Mme Emily Kearns (Oxford).

En étudiant les temenos archaïques de six colonies de Sicile et de trois de Grande-Grèce, Mme Birgitta Bergquist (Stockholm) apporte un complément précieux à son livre de 1967, qui n'envisageait que la Grèce proprement dite.

Dès l'époque classique, les sanctuaires d'Asclépios se multiplient dans le monde grec comme dans l'Occident romain. Ces sanctuaires ont une fonction et une typologie particulières, que le professeur Fritz Graf (Bâle) s'emploie à démontrer.

Une enquête qui se limiterait aux grandes cités et aux sanctuaires panhelléniques ne suffirait pas à saisir ce que représente un sanctuaire: Mme Madeleine Jost (Université de Lille) s'interroge sur les lieux de culte du monde grec non urbanisé, celui de l'Arcadie, où foisonnent les sanctuaires ruraux.

Le professeur Folkert van Straten (Leyde) examine la nature matérielle des monuments et des offrandes votives qui encombrèrent les sanctuaires et leur confèrent la structure que l'on connaît.

C'est sur la typologie des autels, déterminée par les rites et sacrifices auxquels ils étaient destinés, que le professeur Roland Etienne (Lyon II) concentre son intérêt. Quant au professeur Richard Tomlinson (Birmingham), il analyse le développement, au cours des siècles, d'un sanctuaire très caractéristique, celui d'Héra Akraia à Pérachora.

Ces huit exposés et les discussions qu'ils ont suscitées forment la matière du présent volume.

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PRÉFACE

Ces trente-septièmes Entretiens diffèrent sensiblement de ceux qui les ont précédés. Ils n'ont pour thème ni la philologie grecque ou latine, ni l'histoire ancienne, ni celle de la philosophie classique ou des religions du monde antique. Jamais, jusqu'ici, la Fondation Hardt ne s'était aventurée si audacieusement dans un domaine qui relève tout à la fois de l'archéologie et du cadre matériel qu'animaient les rites du culte public et de la dévotion privée.

Cette incursion dans le secteur archéologique a eu pour conséquence qu'à la différence de tous ceux qui l'ont précédé, et qui étaient rédigés en latin, les index de ce trente-septième tome sont en français (voir, à ce propos, la remarque qui les précède).

C'est sur la proposition et avec le concours de M. Albert Schachter, professeur de philologie classique et la McGill University (Montréal), que ces Entretiens ont été organisés; et, selon la coutume, le Comité scientifique de la Fondation Hardt a chargé un de ses membres, le professeur Jean Bingen (Bruxelles), de les présider. Archéologue, historien et philologue, il réunissait toutes les compétences requises!

Le sanctuaire est par excellence le lieu de rencontre de l'humain et du divin. Il est donc conçu et aménagé en vue de cette relation, qui s'effectue généralement par les rites, les offrandes, les sacrifices et les repas sacrés, et aussi, parfois, par le truchement de la mantique, des fêtes et des jeux. Ainsi, pour parler comme Diotime dans le Banquet de Platon (202 e), le sanctuaire est situé μεταξύ θεοῦ καὶ θνητοῦ.

L'ouvrage commence par un exposé introductif d'Albert Schachter, qui examine le cas de six cités (Argos, Corinthe, Erétrie, Thèbes, Athènes et Sparte) et d'une colonie (Thasos), et établit des repères quant aux parties du territoire réservées aux sanctuaires, à leur attribution aux principales divinités et aux cultes dont ils sont le lieu.

Les héros, eux aussi, ont leurs sanctuaires, objets d'une dévotion particulièrement intense, et d'une nature civique souvent très marquée, ce que met en évidence Mme Emily Kearns (Oxford).

Le livre désormais classique de Mme Birgitta Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos* (Lund 1967), ne prenait en considération que la Grèce proprement dite. Aussi Mme Bergquist a-t-elle profité de l'occasion pour le compléter par l'étude des temenos archaïques de six colonies de Sicile et de trois de Grande-Grèce.

Dès l'époque classique, les sanctuaires d'Asclépios se sont multipliés non seulement dans le monde grec, mais aussi dans l'Occident romain. Ces sanctuaires ont une fonction et une typologie particulières, que M. Fritz Graf, professeur à l'Université de Bâle s'emploie à démontrer.

Il ne suffit pas, pour comprendre ce qu'est un sanctuaire, de limiter son enquête à Athènes et à quelques grandes cités, ainsi qu'aux sanctuaires panhelléniques: il convient de s'interroger également sur ceux qui abondaient dans les parties non urbanisées du monde grec. C'est ce que fait Mme Madeleine Jost (Université de Lille) pour l'Arcadie, où foisonnaient et les sanctuaires de quelques cités (Orchomène, Mantinée, Tégée et, plus tard, Mégalopolis) et les sanctuaires ruraux, disséminés dans les montagnes et les fonds de vallées.

M. Folkert van Straten, du Centre archéologique de Leyde, examine la nature des monuments et des offrandes votives qui encombrèrent les sanctuaires et leur donnent, par leur foisonnement, la structure que l'on connaît.

C'est sur la typologie des autels, déterminée par les rites et sacrifices auxquels ils étaient destinés, que M. Roland Etienne, professeur à l'Université de Lyon II, concentre son intérêt.

Enfin, le professeur Richard A. Tomlinson (Birmingham) analyse le développement, au cours des siècles, d'un sanctuaire très caractéristique, celui d'Héra Akraia à Pérachora.

Ces huit exposés et les discussions auxquelles ils ont donné lieu forment la matière du présent volume, qui n'aurait pu paraître sans l'aide financière efficace de Montres Rolex S.A., Genève, qui voudra bien trouver ici l'expression de la reconnaissance de la Fondation Hardt.

Olivier Reverdin

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I

A. SCHACHTER

POLICY, CULT, AND THE PLACING OF GREEK SANCTUARIES*

Introduction¹

In this paper I examine the relationship of a sanctuary to the people who used it and to the deity worshipped at it. I limit the investigation mainly to that period when sanctuaries first became identifiable as such, namely the end of the so-called Dark Age, and the Archaic period, which coincides with the emergence and early development of the polis on the one hand, and with the development of looser interstate associations on the other. This was the time when not only the political but also the religious landscape became more or less fixed for the rest of antiquity.

* I wish to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the award of a partial Research Time Stipend, and the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at McGill University, and Dean Michael P. Maxwell of the Faculty of Arts, for grants in aid of travel and research. Special thanks are owed, and gladly given, to the Interlibrary Loans section of the Reference Department of the McLennan-Redpath Library at McGill, for their help in obtaining material not available here.

¹ Notes appear at the end of each section.

The investigation is also limited geographically, to the Greek mainland and the Aegean. The western colonies present a different set of problems, not least those which arose from the need to adapt to a foreign milieu and to a developed local population. These problems have in any case been addressed by Ingrid Edlund and Irad Malkin.

The greater part of this paper is a review of the major sanctuaries of seven poleis, followed by a discussion of the deities involved in relation to their sanctuaries, with a view to determining how the needs of the worshipping community and the nature of the god matched each other, and resulted in the combination of god and sanctuary at a given place. This review and discussion are preceded by three short sections, the first of which looks at the problem of continuity at Greek sanctuaries between the Bronze Age and the aptly called Greek renaissance at the end of the Dark Age; the second deals with oracular and mystery sanctuaries, the third with sanctuaries as used by loosely grouped communities, *ethne* and *amphiktyonies*.²

Continuity-Discontinuity

Continuity of cult activity is difficult if not impossible to prove. Continuity of belief is another matter: the names of

² I.E.M. EDLUND, *The Gods and the Place* (Stockholm 1987); I. MALKIN, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden 1987); «La place des dieux dans la cité des hommes», in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 104 (1987), 331-352. Standard general works: J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Geometric Greece* (London 1977); A.M. SNODGRASS, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971); *Archaic Greece* (London 1980). See also C. RENFREW, *The Archaeology of Cult* (London 1985), 440-441, for a re-consideration of the «Dark Age», and Y. GRANDJEAN, *Études Thasiennes* 12 (Paris 1988), 470, on the difficulties of dealing with material attributed to the «époque archaïque».

familiar gods and goddesses in the Linear B tablets confirm this. On the other hand, there are enough unfamiliar names in these documents to show that there was also much discontinuity.

The documents in Linear B are a notoriously erratic source of information, particularly those which deal with cult. The absence of any deities from the archives is not an argument for their absence from the pantheon. Furthermore, the relative importance of the deities in the archives is distorted by the fact that these documents reflect the preoccupations of a small ruling class, and not necessarily the interests of the entire population.

After the collapse of Mycenaean civilization, many sites, palace and otherwise, were abandoned. As town life revived, many of the old sites were used again, but it has never been possible to be absolutely certain whether the new communities, in establishing their sanctuaries, were continuing an existing cult, or introducing a new one. Sanctuaries were built over secular buildings or tombs, often with complete indifference to their predecessors. In a few cases, like Ayia Irini on Keos, at Tiryns and Mycenae, and perhaps at the Argive Heraion, Bronze Age remains were incorporated into later sanctuaries, but even here it would be dangerous to claim conscious continuity, unless one were to postulate a period of completely biodegradable offerings, which have left no discernible trace.

Knowledge of, belief in, and worship of many of the gods of the Bronze Age persisted in folk memory; when communities reached the point at which it was desirable to focus worship at specified places, the old gods were among those to whom sanctuaries were assigned. But the new forms of society required a grouping of gods rather different from what had served before, and some of the old gods vanished, while others were created or adapted to suit new needs. It should always be remembered that, at the level of cult at least, it is the worshipper who creates the

god, and not the other way around. The needs of the community, as they developed and altered, dictated which sanctuaries should be set up, where, and to whom.³

Functional Sanctuaries: Oracles, Mysteries

These are sanctuaries in which the kind of activity performed dictated the choice of site. The identity of the deity and the convenience of the worshipper were to a certain extent of secondary importance.

Oracles

I deal here only with sanctuaries where the oracle was the principal function, rather than a subsidiary one as at Olympia, and only with sites where there is some knowledge of how divination was conducted. This in effect excludes places like Korope, Klaros, and Didyma, and does not leave very much, but there is still enough to produce a pattern.

See, for example, W. BURKERT, transl. J. RAFFAN, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985), 43-46 (Mycenaean gods and Linear B); 47-53 (the «Dark Age» and continuity). Gods in Linear B: J. CHADWICK, *The Mycenaean World* (Cambridge 1976), 84-101; A. HEUBECK, *Aus der Welt der frühgriechischen Lineartafeln* (Göttingen 1966), 96-106; E. VERMEULE, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (Chicago and London 1964), 291-297. Ayia Irini: M.E. CASKEY, *Keos II 1* (Princeton 1986), 39-41, and in R. HÄGG and N. MARINATOS (edd.), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Stockholm 1981), 127-135; K. FAGERSTRÖM, *Greek Iron Age Architecture* (Göteborg 1988), 73. Tiryns: J.C. WRIGHT, in *JHS* 102 (1982), 195-197; A. FOLEY, *The Argolid 800-600 B.C.* (Göteborg 1988), 145-146. Mycenae: A. FOLEY, 143. Argive Heraion: J.C. WRIGHT, 197-200; A. FOLEY, 137.

The purpose of an oracle is to elicit divine sanction for an intended course of action, particularly when there is disagreement over which course to take. The site of the oracle, therefore, must meet two requirements. It must not only provide direct access to the divine will, but should also be located well beyond the influence of the petitioning parties. No small part of the attraction of Delphi and Dodona was their distance from many of their consultants' homes. Most other, more locally based, oracular sanctuaries were in the *chora* of their respective poleis, often if not always nearer to the margin than to the centre. This is true of Klaros, Korope, Didyma, the Nekiymanteion of Ephyra, and the group of oracular sanctuaries clustered around the Kopais basin in Boiotia.

The means by which a person might hope to gain access to the divine will were by tapping emanations from below the earth or from the sky. The latter is exemplified by Dodona, where one of the ways of transmitting the will of Zeus was by interpreting sounds from the sacred oak. Oracles which depended on underground sources for the message were more numerous, and can be subdivided into three, not entirely distinct, categories. Direct contact could be obtained by incubation, where one lay on the ground and dreamed a dream in which the wishes of the god were expressed. This is the method employed at some healing sanctuaries, and is possibly one of the earlier means used at Dodona. It does not need any special type of site for the sanctuary other than a place to lie down and touch the earth. Again, one could approach the deity physically by descending underground, as at the Trophoneion outside Lebadeia, at the Nekiymanteion near Ephyra, and perhaps at Didyma. For this, a site with a chasm of some kind large enough to admit the consultant was needed. Third, the oracular source might be tapped by drinking the water of a spring, usually one which came forth at the foot of an eminence, such as the Ptoion and Tilphossa in Boiotia, and typically, at Pytho. In such cases,

the message was first received by a medium, who drank the water of the spring, and it was ultimately transmitted to the consultant by an interpreter. At Delphi, the neutrality of the medium was ensured by appointing to the post a woman, a «non-person», who would, in theory, have no personal or political interest in the message, and nothing to gain by falsifying it. Dodona too came to rely on women, perhaps for the same reason.

The oracular sanctuary, in which the young male oracular deity represents the mountain at whose foot the spring issues, was the kind taken over by Apollo, chief god of the adjoining polis of Delphi. This combination of the youthful god and his new oracle proved irresistible to many of the aristocratic rulers of emerging poleis, who adopted it eagerly, as the wide distribution of the epithet Pythios and its variants shows. The actual type of cult and sanctuary predated the combination of oracle and Apollo: this is clear from the group of Boiotian sanctuaries which I have mentioned and analysed elsewhere.⁴

Mysteries

Literary sources say very little about the sanctuaries where mysteries were celebrated, and it is necessary to rely on archaeology, and on what archaeologists notice and think deserves to be transmitted.

Initiation is rather like having oneself admitted into an extended family. Those who were initiated were enclosed

⁴ C. MORGAN, *Athletes and Oracles* (Cambridge 1990), 107-113 (the settlement at Delphi); 153-158 (on the nature of divination); 183-184 (on the importance of marginality). The Boiotian oracles: A. SCHACHTER, in *BICS* 14 (1967), 1-16.

within a group, from which all who did not belong were kept out. The secretive nature of initiation developed out of this, for the basis of the process was not exclusion, but inclusion with others under the protection of a deity who was the guarantor of fertility, prosperity, and well-being to members of the communion.

Mystery sanctuary sites were, accordingly, selected not because they guaranteed privacy — very few, if any, did — but because they possessed physical features which partook of both the upper world, our own, and the underworld, where the goddess at the heart of the cult resided. At the Theban Kabirion this was a natural rock formation which was the focal point of the sanctuary and was preserved and maintained untouched throughout the history of the cult. At Eleusis there was the «Mirthless Rock»; at Lykosoura the living rock into which the telesterion was cut; while at Samothrace, both the location of the sanctuary in a narrow gully between two streams and the presence of several rock formations reflect a similar preoccupation with ensuring contact with the underworld.⁵

⁵ W. BURKERT, *Ancient Greek Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1987), esp. 7-11. Theban Kabirion: A. SCHACHTER, *Cults of Boiotia II* (London 1986), 74. Eleusis: G.E. MYLONAS, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961), 145-146 and 200. N.J. RICHARDSON (ed.), *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974), 219-221. Lykosoura: M. JOST, *Sanctuaires et Cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris 1985), 177; I. and E. LOUCAS, in *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* 2 (1988), 25-34. Samothrace: K. LEHMANN, *Samothrace. A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum* (Locust Valley, N.Y. 1975), 43-44 (with fig. 22 on p. 42); S.G. COLE, *Theoi Megaloi* (Leiden 1984), 6-9; 16; 61-63.

Ethnos-Amphiktyony

The polis was bound to the land it occupied, and its gods were accordingly tied to the spot. There were other, looser, forms of union, based on ethnic identity and mutual self-interest. These grew up around sanctuaries whose allegiance to any one state was often superseded by the demands of the participating groups. Several of these interstate sanctuaries were in marginal areas, in the north and west of the mainland: Thermos, Delphi, Dodona, Dion, Olympia. The last three were low-lying sanctuaries of Zeus, located in places accessible to farmers and herdsmen, who did not live in towns, but would gather regularly at suitable seasons. The Olympian and Pythian games, for example, were celebrated in mid- or late summer, when people could get away from their more pressing agricultural duties. Olympia, indeed, developed as a sanctuary of panhellenic standing at a time when Elis was relatively underpopulated: there would have been no need for a large population concentrated in towns to support Olympia or for that matter any other outlying sanctuary of Zeus. Outside interest at Olympia, in the form of dedications originating in Messenia, Lakonia, and Argos, reflects the discovery and use by people of these regions of overland routes to the west coast of the Peloponnese and beyond, which crossed at Olympia.

As for Delphi, the position of the town was strategic, since it controlled access to and from a north-south land bridge. It is no wonder that Delphi attracted the attention of the Amphiktyons of Anthela, who controlled a competing north-south route, and elected to take over rather than compete with their southern rival.

Delphi and Olympia may have grown into interstate sanctuaries more or less by accident, but others were purposely developed as such: the amphiktyonic sanctuaries of Poseidon at Kalaureia and the Panionion, of Apollo at Delos, of Athena and

Zeus in Boiotia, and of the so-called Aiolian goddess at Messon on Lesbos, were focal points of political and ethnic unions, which co-existed with the polis throughout antiquity⁶.

The Polis

Every sanctuary belonged to a community, bound by common parentage, occupation, interest, or background. From the eighth century B.C. on, the dominant linking force in much of the Greek world was the polis, an institution which united the inhabitants of a specified geographical area within a single independent governmental structure. Although places of worship existed before the emergence of the polis as a fixture in the landscape, and although there were sanctuaries that were not tied to specific poleis and others whose functional significance remained predominant, it is not possible to discuss the Greek sanctuary outside of the context of the polis. On the whole, and with few exceptions, sanctuaries became visible as such at the same time as the polis came on the scene, and the conclusion

⁶ In general, see C. MORGAN (above, note 4) (with particular reference to Olympia and Delphi). Date of the Olympia: S.G. MILLER, in *AM* 90 (1975), 215-231; of the Pythia: A. MOMMSEN, *Delphika* (Leipzig 1878), 154-163; 176-177. Amphiktyony of Anthela: H.W. PARKE and D.E.W. WORMELL, *A History of the Delphic Oracle I* (Oxford 1956), 101-103; G. ROUX, *L'Amphictionie, Delphes et le Temple d'Apollon au IV^e Siècle* (Lyon and Paris 1979), 1-2. North-south routes: N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Migrations and Invasions in Greece and adjacent Areas* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1976), 25. Kalaureia and Panionion: see below, at note 21. Delos: Thucydides III 104; A.M. MILLER, *From Delos to Delphi* (Leiden 1986), 57-65. Boiotia: P. ROESCH, *Études Béotiennes* (Paris 1982), 217-224. Messon: L. ROBERT, in *REA* 62 (1960), 300-311 (*OMS* II 816-827); I.D. KONTIS, Λέσβος καὶ ἡ Μικρασιατικὴ τῆς περιοχῆ. *Ancient Greek Cities* 24 (Athens 1978), 350-357.

imposes itself that the appearance of the former is indivisible from and contemporary with the emergence of the latter. This is, roughly speaking, the burden of François de Polignac's *La naissance de la cité grecque*. More recently, Catherine Morgan, in *Athletes and Oracles*, has traced the development of ethnic and amphiktyonic sanctuaries, in particular Delphi and Olympia. This paper owes much to both of these works.

My purpose in this section is to consider the urban and rural religious landscape of the pre-classical polis. In order to avoid distortion, this could best be done by examining every sanctuary in every polis. This is not possible, and I have selected a group of seven poleis, which are reasonably representative of different kinds of state, and for which the archaeological record is adequate for the purposes of the investigation. The states are Argos, Corinth, Eretria, Thasos, Thebes, Athens, and Sparta. Argos is de Polignac's paradigm, and on that account alone could not be omitted, but it is also included as an example of an aggressive state which grew at the expense of its near neighbours. Corinth was a major centre in the Archaic period, its significance lying not only in its internal development, but also in its foreign relationships. Both Argos and Corinth were established as poleis from the coalescence of groups of neighbouring populations. Eretria seems to have started virtually from nothing, at least on its present site, and is included for that reason. Thasos is included because it was a colony, and provides a contrast not only with the long-standing and recently developed settlements, but also with the newly-founded polis of Eretria. Thebes is a town-site which was a major Bronze Age city and was inhabited more or less continuously. As for Athens, although it might have been tempting to do as others have done and leave it out of the equation, any scheme which does not account for Athens within it is flawed from the outset. Finally, Sparta must be included not only for its own sake but also because it is so different from the others that it permits the similarities among the rest to stand out more sharply.

For the record, I state what is common knowledge, that a *polis* is a self-governing state consisting of an urban centre, the *asty*, and its dependent countryside, the *chora*, with or without dependent towns, villages, and homesteads.

The establishment of a polis involved taking certain steps, not necessarily all or always in the same order: an agreement to cohabit, resulting in *synoikismos*, the bringing together of the constituents of the new community, under the guidance or direction of a leading person or group; the establishment of a common strong point, on a height if possible, an acropolis; of a common meeting, rallying, and training ground, the agora; the establishment of the territory, the *chora*, and its boundaries; the defence and protection of the centre and its periphery, and in some cases, the extension of the territory at the expense of others; the bonding together of urban and rural factions of the population into a single community. The devices employed for this were threefold: the creation of extended families; the definition of rights of enfranchisement, residence, and property; the establishment or confirmation of common sanctuaries at critical places, namely, in the town, where the town joins the country, in the countryside, at the edges of the territory.

My concern here is with the last of these means, the development of sanctuaries in the interests of the state.⁷

⁷ F. DE POLIGNAC, *La naissance de la cité grecque* (Paris 1984); «Argos entre centre et périphérie: l'espace culturel de la cité grecque», in *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 59 (1985), 55-63; (as F. BOHRINGER) «Mégare: traditions mythiques, espace sacré et naissance de la cité», in *AClass* 49 (1980), 5-22. C. MORGAN: see above, note 4. See also J.N. COLDSTREAM, *The Formation of the Greek Polis* (Opladen 1984); I. MORRIS, *Burial and Ancient Society* (Cambridge 1987); W. DONLAN, «The Pre-State Community in Greece», in *Symbolae Osloenses* 64 (1989), 5-29; R. OSBORNE, in *BSA* 84 (1989), 297-322; M.B. SAKELLARIOU, *The Polis-State. Definition and Origin* (Athens 1989).

Argos

The acropolis of Argos has two peaks, Aspis on the north, Larissa on the south, linked by a ridge, the Deiras. On the Deiras, near Aspis, were two adjoining sanctuaries, of Apollo Pythaeus or Deiradiotes, and Athena Oxyderkes. The Larissa contained sanctuaries of Athena Polias and Zeus Larissaios, and part way up, of Hera Akraia. On this peak, but in no particular context, was found a dedication to Enyalios.

Below Larissa, in the agora, was another sanctuary of Apollo, called Lykeios. Public decrees were posted there. Southwest of the agora was a sanctuary of Aphrodite, which goes back to the seventh century B.C. Near the agora were one or two sanctuaries of Demeter: her epithet, Pelasgia, was no doubt meant to imply that she was an ancient goddess. The urban area has produced a number of other archaic sanctuary sites, as yet unidentified, most of them in the western and southern parts of the town.

The east gate of the city was named after the sanctuary of Eileithyia situated near it. Not far away was a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, its location confirmed by inscriptions of the sixth century, in which they are referred to as Anakes.

At Kourtaki, about four kilometers east, and Kephalaria, five kilometers south-west, of Argos, are sanctuary sites going back to the Geometric and Archaic periods respectively. These are unidentified but may have been sanctuaries of Demeter.

In the northeast corner of the Argive Plain, ten kilometers north-east of Argos, is the sanctuary of Argive Hera. This was the principal sanctuary of the polis. Here the Argives celebrated the Heraia, preceded by a procession from the city. Possession of this sanctuary was used by Argos to declare its dominion over the intervening and surrounding territory, a claim reinforced by the removal to the Heraion of the old cult image of Hera from Tiryns.

Tiryns to the south and Mycenae to the north of the Heraion both retained vestiges of independence. At Mycenae two unidentified sanctuary sites, one built over the megaron possibly early in the sixth century, the other in an apsidal building of the Late Geometric or early Archaic period, attest to local activity, as do two outlying sanctuaries, one about one kilometer north of the town, where finds beginning late in the eighth century include a bronze helmet dedicated to Enyalios, the other at the same distance southwest of the town, where a sanctuary of Agamemnon was founded in the Late Geometric period.

At Tiryns, foundations built over the Mycenaean megaron have been variously identified either as a temple of Hera, or as a Late Helladic reconstruction of the megaron after its initial destruction. More certain evidence of cult activity comes from a pit to the east of the megaron building, containing votive objects ranging from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the seventh centuries B.C. A Tirynthian inscription from about the end of the seventh century confirms the existence of cults of Athena, Zeus, and Herakles.

At Asine, which was traditionally destroyed by Argos at the end of the seventh century, there was a sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus, which continued in use at least throughout the Archaic period. This was built, not on the acropolis of the Bronze Age settlement, but to the north, on the neighbouring Barbouna hill.⁸

⁸ General: F. DE POLIGNAC, cited above, note 7; A. FOLEY (above, note 3), especially 135-158 (Sanctuaries); T. KELLY, *A History of Argos to 500 B.C.* (Minneapolis 1976), esp. 51-72; R.A. TOMLINSON, *Argos and the Argolid* (London 1972); P. AUPERT, «Argos aux VIII^e-VII^e siècles: Bourgade ou métropole», in *Annuario* 44 (1982 [1984]), 21-32; E. PROTONOTARIOU-DEILAKI, «'Από τό Ἄργος τοῦ 8ου καί 7ου Αἰ. Π.Χ.», in *Annuario* 44 (1982 [1984]), 33-48. Apollo Pythaeus: A. FOLEY, 140 (G. sherds and archaic votives from the area); B. BERGQUIST, *The*

Corinth

The polis of Corinth was created by the union of a group of homesteads or villages, scattered loosely in the area north of Acrocorinth, and later enclosed within the orbit of an extensive city wall.

One of the chief deities of the city was Aphrodite, whose sanctuaries in the urban centre were distributed among strategic points: on Acrocorinth itself, to the south and above the settlement; in the grove of Kranion, just inside the later city wall on the east; at the south-west corner of the later Roman forum; at Anaploga, by the wall at the west, at Lechaion on the north. Evidence in situ from the early periods is found only at the forum site and at Anaploga, but Corinth was well-known for its devotion to Aphrodite by the early Classical period. On Acrocorinth she bore the name Ourania, and her cult image, depicted in armour, was flanked by statues of Helios and Eros. The origins of the practice of sacred prostitution at Aphrodite's

Archaic Greek Temenos (Lund 1967), 18-19; G.P. LAVAS, *Altgriechische Temenos* (Basel 1974), 104. Larissa: A. FOLEY, 140 (votives of 8th and 7th centuries); 142 (Enyalios). Apollo Lykeios: A. FOLEY, 139-140 (5th century altar); Thucydides V 47, 11; *IG* IV 559; *SEG* XIII 240, 241 (posting of decrees). Aphrodite: A. FOLEY, 141. Demeter Pelasgia: Pausanias II 22, 2-4; R.A. TOMLINSON, 212. Other Sites: A. FOLEY, 141-142. Eileithyia: Paus. II 22, 7. Dioskouroi: Paus. II 22, 6-7; *IG* IV 561, 564, 566; *SEG* XXVI 428. Kourtaki: A. FOLEY, 150 (Demeter Mysia?: Paus. II 18, 3). Kephalaria: A. FOLEY, 151. Heraion: see above, note 3; B. BERGQUIST, 19-22; G.P. LAVAS, 58-59; Paus. II 17, 5 (removal of cult image). Mycenae: A. FOLEY, 143 and 144. Tiryns: see above, note 3; K. FAGERSTRÖM (above, note 3), 28-29; *AE* 1975, 150-205 (the inscription, and see *SEG* XXX 380; XXXIV 296; XXXV 275; XXXVI 347; L.H. JEFFERY, revised A.W. JOHNSTON, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* [Oxford 1990], 443, 9a and pl. 74. 7). Asine: A. FOLEY, 142-143; K. FAGERSTRÖM, 27-28; B. WELLS, in *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 157-161.

sanctuary at Corinth have been attributed to contacts with the east and the cult of Astarte.

Another hint of eastern cult connections is to be found in the epithet *Phoinike* of Athena, and it has been suggested that this epithet, or the name of a month derived from it, appears on an early sixth century inscription found on the ridge bearing the Archaic temple. This temple is usually identified as that of Apollo, but its attribution is uncertain. Both Hera and Athena have been suggested as the incumbent. Athena was certainly an important goddess in Corinth during the Archaic period, for it is her head which appears on Corinthian coins of the sixth century.

In the hollow between the temple ridge and Acrocorinth were several installations of the Archaic period, private houses, a race course, heroa, and sacred springs. Other early monuments of the city are difficult to identify, since the Roman town plan was radically different from what went before. It is not even certain where the pre-Roman agora was.

However, it is possible to identify other early sanctuaries which were established in or near the city with the clear intention of attracting rural worshippers to them. One was the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, on the lower north slope of Acrocorinth, to which the women of the Corinthia came, and conducted their rites in the safety of the city. Here there were pits carved out to be the *megara* for the Thesmophoria, a theatral area, and *oikoi*. Outside the later city wall, on the road to Sikyon, was a temple of Zeus Olympios, perhaps the one built by Periander.

Hera and Poseidon, whose major sanctuaries were in the chora to the east, had subsidiary sanctuaries at or near Corinth. Hera had two inside the city, surnamed Bounaia and Akraia. Neither has been identified, but one ought to have been near the Phliasian Gate. The sanctuary of Poseidon was on the ridge of Penteskouphia, two kilometers southwest of Acrocorinth,

located along a route between Kleonai and the sea. It probably consisted of a grove, as at Boiotian Onchestos, and its function, like that of the latter, would have been to proclaim and exercise control over north-south traffic at this point.

There are no identifiable boundary points between Corinthian territory and Sikyon. Legendary traditions, and the appearance of Sikyonians among the dedicators of votive offerings at Perachora, confirm that there were good relations between the two states.

The southwestern limit of Corinthian territory was marked by Mount Apesas, on the upper slopes of which was the sanctuary of Zeus Apesantios, and which overlooked on the south Kleonai and Nemea. The actual boundary is uncertain.

On the south, the land of Corinth was separated from its neighbours by mountainous terrain. Toward the southeast, in the direction of Epidauria, there was, at Solygeia, a sanctuary of a goddess on a low ridge overlooking the sea. Both Demeter and Hera have been suggested as the deity.

On the east and north Corinth extended its holdings at the expense of Megara. At least two major sanctuaries marked the presence of Corinth in these parts. At Isthmia the sanctuary of Poseidon, which later developed into a panhellenic sanctuary under Corinthian ownership, controlled the Isthmos and the Saronic Gulf. Overlooking the northern side of the Isthmos, and protruding into the Gulf of Corinth, is the peninsula of Perachora. Near its western tip was the sanctuary of Hera Akraia/Limenia. Here, from the eighth century on, was a major site of the worship of Hera, which Corinth controlled for most of its history. In its earliest stages, Perachora surpassed Delphi in the wealth of its offerings.

Both Isthmia and Perachora affirmed Corinthian ownership of the territory in which they were located, but the actual boundary between Corinth and Megara lay farther to the east. The exact line cannot be traced, but at its northern end it hovered

around Lake Gorgopis. This name, the gorgon-faced, calls to mind Artemis, whose archaic temple at the Corinthian colony of Korkyra was adorned with gorgon heads, and who was one of the first gods to be venerated at the Corinthian colony of Syracuse, at Ortygia. She may, therefore, have been a more important goddess at Corinth in its early stages than is immediately apparent.⁹

⁹ General: J.B. SALMON, *Wealthy Corinth: a History of the City to 338 B.C.* (Oxford 1984); J. WISEMAN, «Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.-A.D. 267», in *ANRW* II 7, 1 (Berlin and New York 1979), 438-548, esp. 439-447; 462-491; 536-538; 540-541; C.K. WILLIAMS II, *Pre-Roman Cults in the Area of the Forum of Ancient Corinth* (University of Pennsylvania, PhD 1978); J. WISEMAN, *The Land of the Ancient Corinthians* (Göteborg 1978); M. SAKELLARIOU-N. FARAKLAS, *Corinthia-Cleonea. Ancient Greek Cities* 3 (Athens 1971); G. ROUX, *Pausanias en Corinthie* (Paris 1958); C.K. WILLIAMS II, «The Early Urbanization of Corinth», in *Annuario* 44 (1982 [1984]), 9-20; C. ROEBUCK, «Some Aspects of Urbanization in Corinth», in *Hesperia* 41 (1972), 96-127. Aphrodite: C.K. WILLIAMS, in M.A. CHIARO (ed.), *Corinthiaca: Studies in Honor of Darrell Amyx* (Columbia, Mo. 1986), 13-24; C.W. BLEGEN, in *Corinth III* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1930), 3-28. Temple Hill: C.K. WILLIAMS, in *ADelt* 33 (1978 [1985]) B', 63-67; H.S. ROBINSON, in *Hesperia* 45 (1976), 203-239. Athena: J. WISEMAN (1979), 530. Archaic coins: B.V. HEAD, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford 1911), 400-401; C.M. KRAAY, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976), 80-81. Thesmophorion: N. BOOKIDIS and R.S. STROUD, *Demeter and Persephone in Ancient Corinth: Corinth Notes* 2 (Princeton 1987); *Hesperia* 37 (1968), 303 (demotic incised on a marble hydria). Zeus Olympios: J. WISEMAN (1978), 84; J.B. SALMON, 202 and 208; G. ROUX, 137. Hera: Paus. II 4, 7 (Bounaia, near the Thesmophorion); Eur. *Med.* 1379 and *schol. ad. loc.* (Akraia, on the akropolis); Plut. *Arat.* 21 and 22 (by the Phliasian Gate); J. WISEMAN (1979), 466; 475; 530. Penteskouphia: J. WISEMAN (1978), 82 and fig. 105 on p. 83. Border with Sikyon: J. WISEMAN (1978), 106. Sikyonians at Perachora: L.H. JEFFERY, in *Perachora II* (Oxford 1962), 393, and as cited above, note 8, p. 141. Mount Apesas: J. WISEMAN (1978), 106-108. Solygeia: J. WISEMAN (1978),

Eretria

At its greatest extent, Eretria controlled most of east-central Euboia. Its territory was divided into fifty demes, called *choroi*, of which several were named after sanctuaries. Two of these, that of Apollo at Tamynai, and of Artemis at Amarynthos, were the most important sanctuary sites in the chora.

Eretrian influence also extended across the Euboian Strait, to Oropos, which it controlled temporarily, and to the Tanagraia, where traces survive in the story of the Gephyraioi who worshipped Demeter Achaia, in the Tanagran tradition of an Eretrian invasion, and possibly at the coastal sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis at Delion.

It is generally believed that the city was founded in the eighth century B.C. Its tutelary god was Apollo Daphnephoros, whose sanctuary occupied what later became the geographical centre of the walled town. It dominated a cluster of small buildings midway between the sea on the south and the acropolis hill on the north. The main centre of habitation was at the sea shore. About two hundred metres west of this agglomeration was a necropolis; to the north of this, about four hundred metres northwest of the central cluster, was another necropolis, perhaps connected with this part of the settlement, which became the site of a hero cult. This is the so-called Heroon of the West Gate, named after the west gate of the later city wall.

56-58; J.B. SALMON, 27; 49-50. Isthmia: J. WISEMAN (1978), 50-52; (1979), 490. Perachora: J.B. SALMON, in *BSA* 67 (1972), 159-204; C.A. MORGAN, in *BSA* 83 (1988), 313-338; K. FAGERSTRÖM (above, note 3), 38-40. Gorgopis: J. WISEMAN (1978), 24-27. Korkyra: E. KIRSTEN and W. KRAIKER, *Griechenlandkunde* (Heidelberg 1967), 728-730 and 901. Ortygia: I. MALKIN (above, note 2), 176-177; H.-P. DRÖGEMÜLLER, in *RE* Suppl.-Bd. XIII (1973), s.v. «*Syrakusai*», 816-817 and 819-820.

The separation of the two original settlement nuclei probably reflects a distinction of status, with the inland group of houses and its cemetery belonging to the ruling family or families, and the coastal group to the lower classes. It was at the former that the most important urban sanctuary was placed, and it was here within the city that public documents were posted.

On the southern slopes of the acropolis were two sanctuaries, neither identified. The disposition of the later one, which begins in the fourth century B.C., resembles somewhat the Thesmophorion at Corinth; the earlier one includes a small building in a terraced temenos. Votive terracottas at the latter, to judge from the range in ages which the female figurines depict, seem appropriate to Artemis; the location of both, on a slope within the urban area, is compatible with either Demeter or Artemis.

Over to the west, just above the west gate, is the theatre, and at its foot, a temple of Dionysos. These are later installations. The acropolis itself seems not to have had any sanctuary.

Two other early sanctuaries have been found in the city. In the western quarter, south of the west gate, are traces of a Geometric structure underneath an archaic apsidal building. The associated pottery ranges from about 800 to 710/700 B.C. Above them is an *oikos* identified by a graffito as belonging to Aphrodite, and dated to the fourth century B.C. An archaic graffito from the site has been restored to give a reference to Enyalios.

The other sanctuary is down by the harbour, east of the main settlement complex, and in the vicinity of the later Iseion. Here three bull figurines, one imported from Cyprus, were found.

Amarynthos, the site of the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, predated Eretria by several centuries, appearing in Linear B documents from Thebes. It is impossible to know when Eretria took over Amarynthos. The eastern boundary of Eretria must

originally have been much closer to the settlement, perhaps at Ayia Paraskevi, about one kilometer to the east, which tallies, incidentally, with the seven stades which Strabo gives as the distance between Eretria and Amarynthos. Perhaps there was a sanctuary of Artemis here too, marking the original border. This would not be unprecedented: for example, at Miletos, the sacred road to Didyma passed through a sanctuary on the ridge of Stephanía, which is thought to have marked the original southern limit of Milesian territory; and in Attika, the sacred way to Eleusis passed through a staging point at the Rheitoi, which may have been the old limit of Athenian territory.

Copies of public documents displayed at the Daphnephorion were also posted at Amarynthos for inhabitants of the *chora* to see. The two sanctuaries were linked, at least in later antiquity, by way of the Delian triad, but their early relationship is uncertain. We know little about the cult of Apollo beyond what can be deduced from the epithet, and nothing about the connections between his sanctuaries at Eretria and Tamynai. As for Artemis, her worship is widespread throughout the country areas of Euboia, from Cape Artemision in the north, to Amarynthos and neighbouring sites in the south-east, and the Amarysia was among the most important festivals of the polis of Eretria.

It has been suggested, although no trace of it has been found, that there was a large federal sanctuary near Lefkandi, at the frontier between Chalkis and Eretria, and that it was dedicated to Hera, who was worshipped at Eretria too. It would certainly be gratifying to find a liminary sanctuary between Eretria and Chalkis, if only because it might help clarify the tradition of a war over the Lelantine Plain. The significance of the so-called Hero of Lefkandi in regard to this war and to the two poleis is not clear either. As it is, the only positive evidence, in the form of a boundary stone found at Eretria of a *temenos* belonging to Kothos, the mythical founder of Chalkis and brother of Aiklos, founder of Eretria, suggests friendship rather than enmity,

although, to be sure, this inscription is much later than the date of the war.¹⁰

¹⁰ General: *Eretria, Ausgrabungen und Forschungen/Fouilles et Recherches (Bern)* — 7 volumes published to date; P. AUBERSON and K. SCHEFOLD, *Führer durch Eretria* (Bern 1972). K. FAGERSTRÖM (above, note 3), 54-57; H.J. GEHRKE, in *Boreas* 11 (1988), 15-42; A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, in *AKunst* 30 (1987), 3-23; Cl. BÉRARD, in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine* (Paris and Rome 1983), 43-59; Cl. KRAUSE, in *Architecture et société...* (Paris and Rome 1983), 63-73; Cl. KRAUSE, in *AKunst* 25 (1982), 137-144; Cl. KRAUSE, in *Annuario* 43 (1981 [1983]), 175-186; Cl. KRAUSE and others, in *AKunst* 24 (1981), 70-87; L. KAHIL, in *Annuario* 43 (1981 [1983]), 165-173; L. KAHIL, in *Στήλη* (Athens 1980), 525-531; A. ALTHERR-CHARON and C. BÉRARD, in A. SCHNAPP (ed.), *L'archéologie aujourd'hui* (Paris 1980), 229-249; S.C. BAKHUIZEN, *Chalcis-in-Euboea. Iron and Chalcidians Abroad* (Leiden 1976), esp. 78-82. Eretrian expansion across the Strait: J. WIESNER, in *RE* XVIII 1 (1939), s.v. «Oropos» (1), 1173-1174 (Oropos); J.K. DAVIES, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971), 472-473 (Gephyraioi); A. SCHACHTER (above, note 5), II 48 (invasion of Tanagraia); I 44-47 (Delion). Class distinction in settlements: A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN (1987), 20. Posting of documents at Daphnephorion: *IG* XII 9, 191, 202, 204, 208, 210, 212, 215, 216, 220, 225, 229, 230, 245-248. Aphrodite: A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, 14. Enyalios: P. AUBERSON and K. SCHEFOLD, 97-98. Harbour sanctuary: A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, 14. Location of Amarynthos: H.J. GEHRKE (1988), 27-29; D. KNOEPFLER, in *CRAI* 1988, 382-421. Amarynthos in Linear B at Thebes: J. CHADWICK, *The Thebes Tablets II: Minos Supplement* 4 (1975), 94, 98, 104 (tablet Of 25); in *Minos* 20-22 (1987), 37 and *BCH* 114 (1990), 121 and 153 (Wu 58). Temenos between Miletos and Didyma: *AA* 1989, 143-217. Rheitoi: G.E. MYLONAS (above, note 5), 23 and 246. The sanctuary at Amarynthos: D. KNOEPFLER (1988), 383-391. Delian Triad: *IG* XII 9, 191, 266, 267 (Eretria); 140-143, 276-278 (Amarynthos); 97-99 (Tamynai). Federal sanctuary of Hera: D. KNOEPFLER, in *BCH* 105 (1981), 326-327. Hera at Eretria: *IG* XII 9, 189 (l. 27); *IG* XII *Suppl.* 549. Lefkandi: K. FAGERSTRÖM (above, note 3), 59-60. Kothos: *IG* XII 9, 406 (*SEG* XXVI 1037; XXXII 855).

Thasos

Thasos was colonized from Paros early in the seventh century B.C. The main centre of Parian settlement was the town of Thasos, at the north-east corner of the island, founded on the site of a pre-existing settlement. Throughout antiquity this was the polis, on which other settlements on the island were dependent. It was from here that the Thasians made their incursions on to the mainland.

The colonists, who arrived in two or three waves, came in family groups, *patrai*, and seem to have settled from the first in more or less distinct sectors, at least two of which have been identified to date, one in the northern part of the town, the other in the south, around the Herakleion. Towards the end of the sixth century B.C., the city was surrounded by a wall, several of whose gates are identified with specific deities.

The northern peak of the acropolis housed the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, the central peak that of Athena Poliouchos. On the northern slope of the southern peak there was a small sanctuary of Pan, a relatively late foundation. The other two, however, date from the beginnings of the colony; it was at these sanctuaries, and at the Herakleion and Dionysion, that public decrees were posted.

The earliest public installations were laid out below the central peak of the acropolis. A roadway led from the acropolis down to the harbour, passing on its way the Artemision, a large rectangular temenos, which also dates from the beginnings of the colony. Adjoining the Artemision on its west was a space which contained a succession of altars and wells, and later housed a building which may have been sacred to Alexander the Great. This was the intersection of the two major thoroughfares of the early town, that which linked the acropolis and the harbour, and another leading from the Dionysion on the north in a southerly direction, skirting the base of the acropolis hill,

passing along the inland edge of the agora, in the direction of the Herakleion. The early crossroads and the agora were later connected by a processional way, the so-called passage of the theoroi, the walls of which carried public inscriptions and votive reliefs. At the northern end of the passage was an altar of Athena Propylaia, at the southern end the earliest surviving monument at Thasos, the tomb of Glaukos, which was at the northeast corner of the agora. The presence here of the tomb of a man who had died fighting in the early years of the colony, suggests to me that the crossroads to the north, with its presumed Alexandreion, may originally have harboured the tomb or heroon of the Archegetes himself, which is mentioned by Hippokrates.

Above and to the north of the Dionysion, an enclosure whose existing remains date largely from the fourth century B.C. and later, was the theatre. Between the Dionysion and the sea was the Poseideion, at the entrance to which was an inscription relating to the cult of Hera Epilimenia. Presumably the sanctuary of Hera, which is also mentioned by Hippokrates, was in this general area. Near the southwest corner of the Poseideion is a gate with a scene in relief showing a goddess standing in a chariot, its two horses led by a god identified as Hermes. The goddess has been called Artemis or Hera, but Aphrodite would also suit: she, both alone, and with Hermes and Hestia, receives dedications from various groups of Thasian magistrates. No sanctuary of Aphrodite has been found.

The gate north of this has a relief depicting Hermes and the Charites, and gives access to an early residential quarter.

At the northern tip, the peninsula now called Evraïokastro, there was a sanctuary shared by Demeter and Kore and the Theoi Patroioi, the gods of the homeland or of the patrai. When the city wall was built, this point was left outside it. This was probably the place where the Thesmophoria, the Apatouria, and the festival of All the Gods were celebrated.

The agora was reconstructed at the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century B.C., but walls of the sixth century probably belong to its original stage. In the northwest quarter of the agora is the temenos of Zeus Agoraios Thasios, enclosing a temple or altar, with a round enclosure, itself surrounding a rectangular altar, inset into its northeast corner.

The road from the Dionysion links it to the Herakleion, a large sanctuary dating back to the beginnings of the colony. It was situated at the south-western foot of the acropolis. The earliest permanent structure within the temenos was an oikos; in its fully developed form, the sanctuary contained a series of oikoi facing north to a temple. Before the construction of the city wall, the Herakleion and its surrounding settlement were the most southerly concentration of habitation, somewhat isolated from the other parts of the town.

More or less due south of the Herakleion, about two hundred metres away, there was a gate in the city wall dedicated to Herakles and Dionysos, whom an inscription calls the *phylaqoi* of the polis. Somewhere near here, at a later date, were a garden belonging to the Herakleion and next to it, an Asklepieion.

West of the gate of Herakles and Dionysos, is a gate with reliefs of Zeus and Hera. The road leading to it may have passed the sanctuaries of these gods.

East of the gate of Herakles and Dionysos is the gate of Silenos, so-called from the relief carved on it showing a Silenos holding a kantharos. About two hundred metres south of this, outside the walls, on the lower slopes of the hill Arkouda, are the remains of an Archaic sanctuary, a terraced enclosure above a paved semi-circular area with an altar in the middle of it. The proximity of the gate of Silenos may offer a clue to its purpose. Silenos, who was associated with the entourage of Dionysos from at least the sixth century B.C., is traditionally connected with choral dancing. One of the festivals in the Thasian cult calendar was the Choreia, a festival of choruses. The sanctuary

at Arkouda could have been a dancing ground around a thymele, and the festival may have been celebrated there: the location, outside the settlement area, would have made it accessible not only to townspeople but also to those living in the country, colonists and natives alike. Perhaps the rites were connected with the motif on coins of Thasos and other places which show a Silenos seizing or making off with a woman or nymph. It may be this sanctuary that prompted the description of Dionysos as one of the two *phylaqoi* of the polis, for it and the Herakleion, being in the most exposed positions, guarded the town on its most vulnerable side.

The existence of other sanctuaries in and about the town can be deduced from literary and epigraphical sources, but they have not yet been found.

At Alikí, at the southeast corner of the island, there was a sanctuary in use from about 650 B.C. Towards the end of the seventh century an *oikos* was built, and a little later, an identical one next to it. Adjoining the site is a grotto sacred to Apollo. The *oikoi* preserve a variety of erotic graffiti in praise of women and boys. This may have been the site of the Komaia, celebrated under the patronage of Apollo Komaíos, and bringing together the inhabitants of the villages in this part of the island.

An inscription found at Alikí mentions a Diasion in Demetrian, in the southwest part of the island. The list of Thasian festivals refers to Diasia, probably celebrated there, and to Demetrieia, which, if not held to honour Demetrios Poliorketes, may have been celebrated at Demetrian.¹¹

¹¹ General: *Études Thasiennes* (Paris) — 12 volumes published to date; *Guide de Thasos* (Paris 1967); D. LAZARIDIS, *Thasos and its Peraia. Ancient Greek Cities* 5 (Athens 1971); R. MARTIN, in *CRAI* 1978, 182-197. For individual monuments I cite material only to supplement the *Guide*. For the description of early remains I follow Y. GRANDJEAN, *Études Tha-*

Thebes

Thebes is almost the only major Mycenaean city which both continued to be important in later centuries, and for which an adequate record of its Bronze Age period survives, particularly

siennes 12 (Paris 1988), 461-489, although the suggestions about the sanctuary of the Archegetes and the sanctuary at Arkouda are my own. Posting of documents: *IG* XII 8, 262 (Dionysos); 267 (Athena); 268 (?); XII *Suppl.* 358, 362 (Apollo), 350 (Apollo and Herakles). Fines were payable to Apollo (*IG* XII 8, 263; 267; XII *Suppl.* 350, 355, 358, 362; *SEG* XVIII 347; XXXVI 790); Herakles (*IG* XII *Suppl.* 350), Athena (*SEG* XVIII 347; XXXVI 790). Artemision: Y. GRANDJEAN, 312-316; N. WEILL, *Études Thasiennes* 11 (Paris 1985), 3-9. Crossroads: Y. GRANDJEAN, 483-484; F. BLONDÉ, A. MULLER, D. MULLIEZ, in *RA* 1987, 25-39. Epitaph of Glaukos: Y. GRANDJEAN, 483; *SEG* XXIX 777; L.H. JEFFERY (above, note 8), 307, 61. Hippocrates, *Epid.* I 26, 29 (Archegetes); III 17, 1 (Artemision); I 21, 10 (Dionysion); III 1, 1 (Ge); I 21, 6, I 26, 171, III 17, 72 (Herakles); I 26, 333 (Hera); I 15, 12, I 17, 9 (Silenos). Gate of Hermes and Goddess: *LIMC* II 1 (Zürich and Munich 1984), 716 n° 1228 (Artemis, perhaps Hera); IV 1 (1988), 697 n° 330 (Hera, perhaps Artemis); compare II 1, 127 n° 1329 from Lokroi: Aphrodite and Hermes. Festivals: *BCH* 82 (1958), 193-267 (F. SOKOLOWSKI, *LSS* 69). Early Agora: Y. GRANDJEAN, 480-483. Herakleion: B. BERGQUIST, *Herakles on Thasos* (Uppsala 1973); J. des COURTILS and A. PARIENTE, in R. HÄGG, N. MARINATOS, G.C. NORDQUIST (edd.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm 1988), 121-123; B. BERGQUIST (above, note 8), 49-50; G.P. LAVAS (above, note 8), 76. Garden of Herakles: *IG* XII 8, 365 (F. SOKOLOWSKI, *LSCG* 115; and Asklepieion); *IG* XII *Suppl.* 353 (*SEG* XXVI 1029, XXIX 768). Gate of Herakles and Dionysos: *IG* XII 8, 356 (P.A. HANSEN, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* [Berlin 1983], 415). Arkouda: others have suggested that it was the megaron of Demeter and Kore: *BCH* 82 (1958), 249-250 (with references) and 83 (1959), 385. Ch. PICARD, cited in both places, suggested it might be the Βαχχέϊον πρὸ πόλεως of *IG* XII *Suppl.* 447, but the dates are wrong. Silenos and Dionysos: A. HARTMANN, in *RE* III A 1 (1927), s.v. «Silenos und Satyros», 43-47; A. VENERI, in *LIMC* III 1 (1986), 416, and C. GASPARRI, at 448-450 (nos 253-280) and 451 (nos 285-293). Coins: B.V. HEAD,

in the form of Linear B tablets and seals. The tablets deal with the distribution of wool to various recipients, some religious. One refers to the Oikos of Potnia, while two others mention Hera and Hermes. The area controlled by Mycenaean Thebes was much larger than that controlled by the later Greek polis, and stretched eastward at least as far as Euboia. The Hera and Hermes on the tablets need not therefore be sought at Thebes itself, but perhaps to the south and east, where they were the main deities of the later poleis of Plataia and Tanagra.

The polis of Thebes, as opposed to the Mycenaean palace-centred city, seems to have been founded in the Late Geometric period. A sanctuary of Apollo was located on the Ismenion hill, about two hundred and fifty metres southeast of the main entrance to the Kadmeia. The earliest reference to Apollo at Thebes is on the rim of a bronze vessel said to have come from Thebes, dated in the first quarter of the seventh century, and calling the god Pythios.

Just outside the Elektran gate, at the easiest point of access from the south, was the sanctuary of Herakles and his warrior sons. He displaced one of a pair of divine champions, represented by Amphitryon and Iolaos, who had a common tomb, presumably in this area. Northern access to the Kadmeia was guarded by the supposed tomb of Amphion and Zethos. The major burial area of Thebes during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods was concentrated northwest of the Kadmeia,

Historia Numorum (Oxford 1911), 263-264; C.M. KRAAY, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976), 148-150; G. LE RIDER in the *Guide de Thasos*, 185-187. Alikí: SEG XXXI 761-772 (grafiti); J. SERVAIS, in *Études Thasiennes* 9 (Paris 1980) (the sanctuary); BCH 88 (1964), 267-287; 89 (1965), 966; M. GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca* II (Rome 1970), 441-443, L.H. JEFFERY (above, note 8), 466, 7a and plate 78, 4 (inscription from Alikí).

with a smaller necropolis to the northeast, both apparently at some distance from the main centres of habitation.

In historical times the principal deities of the Kadmeia were Demeter Thesmophoros and Dionysos Kadmeios, who had matching sanctuaries south of the city at Potniai. The sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros recalled, if it did not actually continue, the Bronze Age cult of Potnia. The presence of Dionysos, Herakles, and Amphiion and Zethos at Thebes is attested in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Also on the Kadmeia was a sanctuary of Aphrodite, whose three wooden cult images, Ourania, Pandemos, and Apostrophia, were said to have been dedicated by Harmonia, her daughter by Ares. This Aphrodite was the divine patron of the Theban polemarchs.

The new polis, based upon a collection of new or newly named monuments, the Herakleion, the Ismenion, the Amphiion, and the agora in the valley east of the Kadmeia, was formed by the synoikismos of five founding families, the Spartoi. During the Mycenaean period, the city on the Kadmeia was called Theba. The new city was aptly situated to go by the name of Hypothebai.

The expansion of Theban territory to its later limits is marked in part by Theban sanctuaries. The Teneric Plain, to the west, was named after the seer who became the incumbent of the Ismenion; in the hills south of this plain was the Kabirion, where cult activity began in the Geometric period. At the western end of the plain was the pass and sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos, a liminary sanctuary of the towns around the Kopais, dominated by Orchomenos. Just to the east of it was a Theban sanctuary of Herakles, its foundation connected with the war against the Minyans, which probably took place in the sixth century and ended with the Thebans in control of both Onchestos and Akraiphia, the small polis which owned the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoieus. Northeast of Thebes, at the eastern end of the Aonian Plain, is Mount Hypaton. On it was a

sanctuary of Zeus Hypatos, for which there are two possible recorded counterparts in the city itself: Zeus Hypsistos, near the Elektran Gate, and Zeus Karaïos, the mountain god of the Boiotoi, on the Kadmeia. Theban territory on the east seems to have been marked by the low hills of Teumessos, which, like those to the west, housed an immigrant cult, that of Athena Telchinia. To the southeast the boundary with Tanagra was marked by hilly country.

On the south, Theban ambitions went as far as Mount Kithairon, and are reflected by the location of incidents in Theban legend and of sanctuaries of Dionysos and Herakles. However, the natural and normal boundary was the river Asopos, where, at Skolos, there was a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Upstream at the eastern end of the field of Leuktra, is the prehistoric settlement mound of Eutresis, resettled during the Archaic period, whence came a kouros, a later dedication to Apollo, and the tradition that Amphion and Zethos had lived there before coming to Thebes.

Theban rituals binding town to chora included the Daphnephoria procession to the Ismenion, where tripods were dedicated by participating groups of the community; processions to the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, and to a sanctuary of Zeus, perhaps on Mount Hypaton; the Thesmophoria, held partly on the Kadmeia, partly at Potniai; the mystery rites of the Kabirion, which belonged to Thebes; the Herakleia, a celebration of Theban youth and military might; and the *oreibasía* of the Theban mainads.

The inhabitants of the new polis did not particularly cherish memories of their city's legendary past. They took over the prehistoric tombs to the north and south of the Kadmeia and assigned them to their own heroes, unconnected with the Kadmeian line; they built their temple of Apollo on the Ismenion hill with complete indifference to the Bronze Age tombs below them, they even assigned the spectacular funereal mounds

east of the Kadmeia to their legendary Argive enemies, the Seven against Thebes.

The women of Thebes, on the other hand, maintained the traditions of the past, with their worship of Dionysos of the Kadmeia, and Demeter Thesmophoros, who was the poliouchos of the city.¹²

¹² General: J.M. FOSSEY, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* (Chicago 1988), 199-249; A.D. KERAMOPOULLOS, in *ADelt* 3 (1917); A. SCHACHTER (cited above, note 5), cults up to Poseidon; S. SYMEONOGLOU, *The Topography of Thebes* (Princeton 1985). Linear B at Thebes: J. CHADWICK (above, note 10), 89, 91, 102, 106 (Potnia on Tablet Of 36); 91, 99, 105 (Hera on Of 28); 91, 100, 105 (Hermes on Of 31). Apollo Pythios: L.H. JEFFERY (above, note 8), 94, 2, 402, and pl. 7, 2. Hypothebai: the name may be Mycenaean. Compare *Minos* 20-22 (1987), 34 (Au-to-te-qa-jo), 36 (Pa-ro-te-qa-jo), 35, 36 (Te-qa), and see *BCH* 114 (1990), 152, 154. A. BARTONĚK, in 'Επετηρίς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βοιωτικῶν Μελετῶν 1, 1 (Athens 1988), 139-140 and 144 (Autoteqajos: «a Theban proper»; Paroteqajos: «a newcomer in Thebes», or «a man living near Thebes»). Theban Synoikismos: A. SCHACHTER, «Kadmos and the Implications of the Tradition for Boiotian History», in *La Béotie antique* (Paris 1985), 143-153, esp. 150-151. War between Thebes and Orchomenos: A. SCHACHTER, «Boiotia in the Sixth Century B.C.», in H. BEISTER and J. BUCKLER (edd.), *Boiotika* (Munich 1989), 80. Zeus Hypatos: Paus. IX 19, 3; Hypsistos: Pind. *N.* I 60-62; Paus. IX 8, 5; Karaïos: so I would interpret the statue identified as Zeus Ammon (Paus. IX 16, 1). Teumessos: A. SCHACHTER, «Kadmos», 148 and note 20. Hymn to Zeus: Pind. *Fr.* 29-35, 87, 88, 145, 147, 178, 216. Tombs of the Seven: Pind. *Ol.* VI 15-16; *N.* IX 21-24; Aristodemos, *FGrH* 383 F 10; Armenidas, *FGrH* 378 F 6 (This was the Theban tradition, transmitted through Pindar. Eur. *Phoen.* 159-160, is the first to identify the site, which was called Seven Pyres, as the tomb of the children of Niobe and Amphion).

Athens

The size of the polis and the complexity of its organization make Athens a special case. On the one hand, the enclosed nature of the territory, combined with the ethnic and dialectal unity of the population, made political union feasible; on the other, the predominance of a single large urban centre created a risk of alienation among the different elements of the people, and those who created the polis were at pains to bind them together by a variety of means. These included the fostering of cults and positioning of sanctuaries which stressed, by helping to create, the unity of the polis. Much of this nation-building was done by the Peisistratids, but the process began long before then.

In this brief survey I shall deal with only a few of the more important sanctuaries, those used as instruments of policy to bring about the fusion of the polis.

The acropolis itself housed the sanctuaries of the state's main tutelary gods. Athena, the *poliouchos*, was given the olive tree as an additional attribute, to mark her patronage of the countryside and its produce. Erechtheus, the *genius loci*, represented the ancestral inhabitants of the land, real or imagined. He was, at least later, identified with Poseidon, who shared his sanctuary on the acropolis. This god, whose principal Attic sanctuary was at the southern tip of the country at Sounion, was placed on the acropolis to represent the state's interest in the sea. Zeus Polieus was the urban focal point for the rural worshippers of Zeus, while in the southwestern quarter of the acropolis the Braurion was built as an urban centre for the cult of the main sanctuary at the ancestral home of the Peisistratids.

The sanctuaries on the acropolis were originally grouped in relation to the main entrance on its north side, which remained in use until the sixth century. The approaches to this entry were guarded by the sanctuary of Aglauros, at the eastern foot of the

acropolis. The pre-Peisistratid agora, which contained the Theseion, Anakeion, and other public buildings, must have been east of the acropolis too, where it would have been overlooked by the eastward facing temple of Athena. Later, the Peisistratean rebuilding shifted the emphasis, not only to the northwest, where the new agora was laid out, but to the west in general in the direction of the sea and the outer world, to which the new propylaia faced. The original grouping of sites, however, reflects an interest in the consolidation of control over the immediate territory rather than expansion beyond it.

Two ceremonies celebrated on the acropolis tried to blend both urban and rural communities into one. One was the Bouphonia, an agrarian ritual, performed after the harvest in honour of Zeus Polieus, but conducted on the acropolis. The other was the Panathenaia, celebrated in the following month, the first of the Attic year, when a new robe was brought to Athena by a procession which began at the Kerameikos gate. The fire to light the sacrificial altar was brought from even farther away, the sanctuary of Akademos beyond the Dipylon gate, and participation in the procession was open to non-citizens.

According to Thucydides, the oldest sanctuaries in Athens, aside from those on the acropolis, were those of Zeus Olympios, Apollo Pythios, and Dionysos in the Marshes. The first two were near each other by the north bank of the Ilissos, which probably formed an early southern boundary of the town. The sanctuary of Dionysos, not yet identified, was the central point of the Anthesteria, in which the life of the countryside was linked symbolically to that of the town by two processions, one bringing Dionysos to the sanctuary in a chariot shaped like a ship, the other escorting the wife of the king archon from the same sanctuary to the Boukoleion, the seat of the king archon in the old agora, where a sacred marriage was celebrated between the woman and the god, a crude but effective symbol of

the union of town and contryside under the auspices of the polis.

Two other sanctuaries on the slopes of the acropolis linked town and chora: on the northwestern slope, the Eleusinion; on the southern slope, the sanctuary and theatre of Dionysos Eleuthereus. Elsewhere near the acropolis, perhaps at the Pnyx, was the Thesmophorion, where the women of Athens encamped during the festival.

We can see how sanctuaries at the extremities of Attic territory, that is, Eleusis, Eleutherai, Brauron, Sounion, and gods representing the concerns of the inhabitants of the Mesogeia, Zeus Olympios and Polieus, Dionysos in the Marshes, Demeter Thesmophoros, were given a place in the urban centre of the polis. It was conscious, blatant, and artificial, but it worked well enough to help create a sense of Athenian identity, in combination with the common dialect, an interlocking system of government, and the fiction of autochthony.¹³

¹³ General: W. JUDEICH, *Topographie von Athen* (Berlin 1931); J. TRAVLOS, *Picture Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971). Acropolis: B. BERGQUIST (above, note 8), 22-25; G.P. LAVAS (above, note 8), 30-32, 107. Erechtheus: E. KEARNS, *The Heroes of Attica* (London 1989), 113-115, 160; 110-112, 161 (Erichthonios); U. KRON, in *LMC IV* 1 (1988), 923-928. Aglaurion, early Agora: G.S. DONTAS, in *Hesperia* 52 (1983), 48-63; N. ROBERTSON, in *Historia* 35 (1986), 158-168. Rites: H.W. PARKE, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977), 162-167 (Bouphonia), 33-50 (Panathenaia). Early sanctuaries: Thuc. II 15, 3-4. Apollo: C.W. HEDRICH, Jr., in *AJA* 92 (1988), 185-210. Anthesteria: H.W. PARKE, 107-109. Thesmophorion: H.A. THOMPSON, in *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 156-192, esp. 182-192.

Sparta

The political constitution of Sparta puts it in a class apart. Where other poleis tried to bind the different elements of their populations together, the Spartans were concerned to keep them apart. The sanctuaries we know about are mostly those of the ruling class and represent its overriding concern with military and political supremacy.

The city itself began as an agglomeration of four separate villages, focussed on two sanctuaries: that of the poliouchos, Athena Chalkioikos, on the acropolis, and that of Artemis Orthia, at Limnai, the marshy land bordering the west bank of the Eurotas. The latter was the state's major religious centre. Here the youths of Sparta underwent the gruelling physical trials before the gaze of their elders, which led them through into manhood and warrior status. Pausanias describes as ancient the sanctuary of Aphrodite, whose cult image was armed. It has not yet been discovered.

South of Sparta a fifth village, Amyklai, attached itself to the original four. Here the god was Apollo, his worship superimposed on that of a local hero, Hyakinthos. Between them they represented the Spartan ephebeia, and formed a counterpart to Artemis Orthia.

Also south of Sparta, about two kilometers from Amyklai, was the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia. Most of the material found there is hellenistic and later, but a fragmentary terracotta figurine and a Lakonian potsherd indicate activity in the sixth century. A Spartan inscription of the second half of the fifth century refers to victories at the Eleusinia, while inscriptions from the site show that the cult was directed by women. It has been suggested that the rites performed there were a Spartan equivalent of the Thesmophoria.

At the same time as the first temple to Orthia was built, that is, about the end of the eighth century B.C., the first signs of

worship appear at the Menelaion, across the river from Sparta. Here the Homeric king Menelaos and his wife Helen were worshipped: Helen was the more important of the two, and probably a descendant of the local Bronze Age Potnia, for the Menelaion is the most important Bronze Age site in this region. Also on the east side of the river, its location not yet identified, was Therapne, the burial place of the Dioskouroi, the twin champions.

The main liminary sanctuaries of Lakonia were devoted to Artemis. They were at Karyai on the north and at Limnai on the west, and were shared, or rather disputed, with the Arkadians and Messenians respectively. Typically, where in other poleis Artemis represents the community in a defensive, uncertain mode, at Sparta she is the divine embodiment of the state's military aggressiveness.¹⁴

¹⁴ General: P. CARTLEDGE, *Sparta and Lakonia. A Regional History 1300-362 B.C.* (London 1979), esp. 102-130 and 357-361; R. PARKER, «Spartan Religion», in A. POWELL (ed.), *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind Her Success* (Norman, Oklahoma and London 1989), 142-172. Class distinctions: R. OSBORNE, *Classical Landscape with Figures* (London 1987), 121-123. Artemis Orthia: R. DAWKINS, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia* (London 1929); E. KIRSTEN, in *Bonner Jahrbücher* 158 (1958), 170-176; J. BOARDMAN, in *BSA* 58 (1963), 1-7; B. BERGQUIST (above, note 8), 47-49; G.P. LAVAS (above, note 8), 80; K. FAGERSTRÖM (above, note 3), 31-32; Cl. CALAME, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Roma 1977), 276-297. Aphrodite: Paus. III 15, 10-11. Eleusinion: R. PARKER, in R. HÄGG-N. MARINATOS-G.C. NORDQUIST (above, note 11), 101-103. Karyai: Cl. CALAME, 264-276. Limnai: Cl. CALAME, 253-264; C.A. ROEBUCK, *A History of Messenia* (Chicago 1941), 119-121; and D. LEEKLEY and R. NOYES, *Archaeological Excavations in Southern Greece* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1976), 119, s.v. «Artemision» (location).

The Polis: Summary

The typical early polis contained many of the following sanctuaries: in the city, the sanctuary of a tutelary goddess, usually but not always Athena; an urban or suburban sanctuary of Apollo, often with the epithet Pythios; a sanctuary of Aphrodite, at or near the city centre; an open-air sanctuary of Dionysos, in the city; sanctuaries of heroes, singly, or in pairs or groups, in the city centre, at the points where town and country met, and at the limits of the chora; sanctuaries of Zeus and Demeter in the countryside near the homes of their principal adherents, and at matching urban or suburban branches; sanctuaries of Hera or Poseidon, delineating the territorial claims of the state; and sanctuaries of Artemis in disputed borderlands, in grey zones between town and country. In colonies the disputed area, in the early stages of settlement, is the city itself.

The Gods

After having noted the occurrence and distribution of sanctuaries in the emergent phase of the polis, I proceed now to consider briefly each of these deities separately, with a view to finding out what it was, within the context of the early polis, in the perceived character or function of each, which singled them out and determined the assignment of their sanctuaries.

The order in which I discuss the deities reflects their respective rôles within the period in question. They fall into four groups: those who were primarily urban — Apollo, Athena, Aphrodite; those who were mainly rural — Zeus, Demeter; those who marked out territorial rights — Hera and Poseidon; those who were both urban and rural — Dionysos, Artemis, and the Heroes.

Apollo

An urban or suburban sanctuary of Apollo is the virtual hallmark of many early poleis. At Eretria, the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros grew out of a group of dwellings clustered together in the centre of the city, obviously the houses of the head of the community and those closest to him. The Daphnephorion continued to be the urban focal point of political life, its rural counterpart being the sanctuary of Artemis at Amarynthos. It was at these two sanctuaries that public documents were posted, because, we may assume, this was where people were accustomed to assemble. This fits well with the theory which sees Apollo, at least in part, as the god of *apellai*, public assemblies. It is probably no coincidence that at Eretria, Corinth, and Argos, of the cities in my survey, there were sanctuaries of Apollo at or near the agora, the principal gathering place of the community. And while at Sparta the major sanctuary of Apollo was at Amyklai, in the city itself there were statues of Apollo Pythaeus, Artemis, and Leto at the agora, where the ephebes performed their dances in the god's honour at the Gymnopaidiai.

In the city of Argos there were two principal sanctuaries of Apollo, of Lykeios near the agora, and of Pythaeus on the Deiras. The Pythian Apollo had his sanctuary in a similar position at Thasos.

At Athens and Thebes, however, as at Asine, the main sanctuaries of Apollo were suburban, at Athens by the Ilissos, at Thebes on the Ismenion, at Asine on Barbouna Hill. All three of these cities had been important Bronze Age settlements, and I deduce that the leaders of these newly constituted poleis deliberately chose to erect the focal sanctuaries of the new states in a place apart from the site of the old palace complex.

In many places Apollo carried the name Pythios or Pythaeus. It can be attested early at Thebes and Thasos from

contemporary sources, and we may assume that the god of Pytho was adopted as a model when the polis was at an early stage of its development and an urban religious focus was being sought. The patron god of the gatherings of peoples, who continued to be worshipped as such throughout antiquity, at Thermos, Delphi, Delos, throughout the Aegean as Komaïos or Epikomaïos, was adapted to suit the more restricted needs of the polis, an assembly of people bound by allegiance to a defined territory. This may have happened by coincidence, as some of the points of assembly came to be surrounded by permanent dwellings, but in some cases at least it must have been an act of conscious policy.

The swift and phenomenal rise in the popularity and influence of the sanctuary at Delphi can be attributed to two main factors: first, its location was strategic; second, the traditions which made Delphi the first ever oracle of Apollo may be right. It is not impossible that the sanctuary of the young aristocratic god, who presided over regular gatherings of people related by more or less loose bonds of kinship, expanded to absorb the nearby oracular site, which was also inhabited by a youthful god. Apollo then became the god of divination par excellence, his renown spreading all over the Greek world through the lines of communication and common interest which bound the aristocratic class together.

However it came about, Apollo's main function in the period under study was to represent the interests, aims, and ideals of the ruling cadre. As their god, he embodied their self-image: he was young, beautiful, courtly, mighty in war, successful in love. He was the knight who slew monsters and evil men, but who also exercised the *droit du seigneur* over countless nymphs and girls, and the occasional boy. In this respect he was the aristocratic counterpart of Herakles, his rival for possession of the Delphic tripod. Unlike Herakles, Apollo never aged, he was always young, but wise beyond his years, the very picture

or self-portrait of the aristocratic ideal. Apollo may also be contrasted with Artemis, for in many ways their functions come together, particularly with regard to the initiation of the young. She, however, protected the disadvantaged and vulnerable elements of society and nature: women, children, societies at risk, hunted animals.¹⁵

Athena

In the seven poleis surveyed, Athena was the poliouchos of four, possibly five. She is, nevertheless, the definitive poliouchos, the goddess whose armed cult image stood on the acropolis and watched over the security and well-being of the city. This is how she appears in Homer, even when the city which she protects is Troy.

In many cases, Athena took over the urban functions of the Mycenaean Potnia, without this necessarily implying that there was direct continuity at any given site. Indeed, in the case of colonies, where an Athena poliouchos is often found, this was clearly not so.

The major sanctuaries of Athena were on or near the acropolis. As representative of the city's defence, she was tied to her position near the defensive heart of the state. She was as closely bound to the urban centre as were those of her worshippers whose means of livelihood required them to live and work

¹⁵ Apellai: W. BURKERT, in *RhM* 118 (1975), 1-21; (above, note 3), 144-145; K. FAGERSTRÖM (above, note 3), 151-154. Apollo Pythaeus at Sparta: Paus. III 11, 9. Thermos: W.J. WOODHOUSE, *Aetolia* (Oxford 1897), 281-282; FIEHN, in *RE* V A 2 (1934). *s.v.* «Thermos», 2423-2444; E. KIRSTEN and W. KRAIKER (above, note 9), 762-766 and 903. Apollo Komaios/Epikomaioi: F. GRAF, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome 1985), 185-189.

there rather than in the rural parts of the polis. She was their special patron.

As the goddess who guaranteed the physical security of the state and the prosperity of its townsfolk, Athena was particularly closely identified with the state. The presence of her cult image on the acropolis was vital to national security, and its removal, as in the case of the Palladion from Troy, a particularly serious matter. The secrecy and close security arrangements which attended the cleansing of her cult image and garments at Athens reflect a concern to protect the image when it was in a vulnerable state.

Athena's urban sanctuaries were fixed points for the population to turn to for reassurance and protection. As long as she was in possession of the polis, safety and security were, it could be hoped, ensured.¹⁶

Aphrodite

The importance of Aphrodite in the formative stages of the Greek polis is not generally appreciated. Attention is usually focussed on her Eastern origins and her functions as a goddess of fertility. However, her presence was much more widespread than is realized, and she, no less than Apollo and Athena and the others, was an important element in the religious underpinning of the emergent polis.

Where Athena was *poliouchos* and Apollo the divine representative of the new ruling class, Aphrodite seems to have been adopted as the patron goddess of those involved in the day-to-day government of the state. This is best exemplified at Thebes, where she was the special patron of the polemarchs, the

¹⁶ Kallynteria and Plynteria: R. PARKER, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983), 26-28.

committee of three who directed the daily government of the polis. Her three cult images, surnamed Ourania, Pandemos, and Apostrophia, show her as uniting under her care the three basic elements of the state: the gods, the people, the warriors. Theban tradition bound Aphrodite to Ares, and was probably related both to her patronage of the polemarchs there and her common appearance as an armed goddess. At Eretria too, her sanctuary was connected with Ares, as Enyalios.

The constitution of Thebes, according to Aristotle, was revised by the Corinthian Bacchiad Philolaos, possibly in the seventh century. It may be that this revision included the institution of the polemarchia and the introduction of the triple Aphrodite on the Corinthian model. At Roman Corinth, her cult image on Acrocorinth was armed, bore the name Ourania, and stood between statues of Helios and Eros. If we take Helios and Eros to represent her heavenly and popular sides, we can see here the three aspects which made up her nature at Thebes.

We know that Aphrodite was the goddess of magistrates not only at Thebes, but also at Thasos and elsewhere. On Keos, an inscription of the fifth century records a dedication to Aphrodite by a former magistrate, and there are many examples in literature and art of the armed Aphrodite, which may conceal references to this function. The location of her sanctuaries in the early stages of the polis is suitable for it: at Thebes, at Eretria, and Argos she was near the centre, at the seat of government, while at Corinth her sanctuaries were placed at strategic points throughout the city.

How and why this came to be, and what the relationship was between this aspect of Aphrodite and her Eastern forerunners and models, is beyond the scope of this paper. I merely observe and note. It is a subject that will repay close attention.¹⁷

¹⁷ Aphrodite at Thebes: A. SCHACHTER (above, note 5) I 38-41. Philolaos: Arist. *Pol.* II 21, 1274 a-b. Keos: *IG* XII 5, 552. Aphrodite and magis-

Zeus

The major sanctuaries of Zeus are in the country, on mountain tops and at the bases of mountains.

In Attica he was worshipped as Ombrios on the top of Mount Hymettos, where evidence for the cult begins in the tenth century, reaching its peak in the seventh. The sanctuary itself, in its simplest form, consisted of an altar. Not far away from it was another sanctuary based on a bothros, at which the deity worshipped was called the Hero or Herakles. There is no large settlement within the immediate vicinity, and it may be assumed that this Zeus served the interests of the farming folk of the neighbouring countryside. The epithet Ombrios tells what he was intended to provide: rain, and plenty of it.

In southwest Arkadia is Mount Lykaion, with the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios. This Zeus is associated with traditions of human sacrifice, which may have persisted into historical times. On the slopes of the mountain, not yet discovered, but apparently not far away, was a sanctuary of Pan, the shepherd's god. This was said to have been the original site of the Lykaia.

The motif of human sacrifice pervades two other mountainous sanctuaries of Zeus. Near Halos in Thessaly, on Mount Pelion, and in Boiotia on Mount Laphystion between Lebadeia and Koroneia, Zeus Laphystios, the «gobbling one», is associated with the story of the sacrifice of the children of Athamas. Herakleides refers to a cave of Cheiron and sanctuary of Zeus Aktaios or Akraios on the top of Mount Pelion, to which there was a ritual procession in the summer by men dressed in sheepskin. At the Boiotian sanctuary Zeus Laphystios was

trates: F. SOKOLOWSKI, in *HThR* 57 (1964), 1-8; J. and L. ROBERT, in *Bull. épigr.* 64, 82; F. CROISSANT and F. SALVIAT, in *BCH* 90 (1966), 460-471; F. GRAF (above, note 15), 263-264.

probably the god worshipped by the Boiotoi as Keraios or Karaaios. Near the temenos of Zeus was the sanctuary of Herakles Charops, which marked the spot where Herakles had brought Kerberos back up. We should therefore imagine a cave or hole of some kind.

This mountainous Zeus is the weather god, who is approached in the hope of obtaining timely rain. He also has a near neighbour linked with the underworld, so that this Zeus of the mountain top is not only Olympian, but may also have had a chthonic side, as if his worshippers were seeking to ensure fertility at both ends of the scale, from the earth as well as from the sky.

At the foot of Mount Laphystion at Lebadeia, and at the foot of Lykaion, surrounding peoples and states celebrated festivals and athletic agons in honour of the god of the mountain top. We may identify as similar gathering places, Dion below Olympos, Dodona below Tomaros, Nemea below Apesas, and Olympia below Kronion.

Zeus was a country man's god, not bound to any single polis to the same extent as other gods were. He was more often associated with ethne, like the Selloi, the Makedones, the Hellenes, the Boiotoi, than with tighter political groups. His chief worshippers were farmers and herdsmen, and he was brought into the urban setting primarily as a means of binding the inhabitants of the chora to those of the town, and making the former feel part of the state. Thus we find sanctuaries of Zeus Olympios on the outskirts of Athens and Corinth, of Zeus Thaulios outside Pherai, while inside the town itself, Zeus as Agoraios finds a place in the central meeting spot of the polis, or as Polieus at its military and defensive centre.¹⁸

¹⁸ Hymettos: M.K. LANGDON, *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos*, *Hesperia*, Supplement 16 (1976) (with a summary of other mountain-top sanctuaries on pp. 100-112). Lykaion: M. JOST (above, note 5), 179-185;

Demeter

The agricultural rites of Demeter were directed at the preservation of the seed corn throughout the dry weather between reaping and sowing, and the successful sowing of that seed in the autumn. These rites were entrusted to the women of the community, perhaps from a time when men were exclusively concerned with the procurement of meat by hunting, and later herding. Women too, being the sex through whom life is transmitted, might be regarded as more suitable for stimulating the earth to reproduce its own forms of life.

From being rites performed solely by women, these eventually turned into rites that could be attended only by women, in order to ensure their efficacy. The need to be apart conflicted with the need for the site of the ritual to be easily defended, since women were vulnerable and the matter with which they dealt concerned the very survival of the community. This placed constraints on the siting of the sanctuaries, which were resolved in one of two ways: they could be situated extramurally, but near a town, or, for greater security, but corresponding inconvenience, at or near the urban citadel. In some cases, this put the sanctuaries on the slope of the acropolis, as at Corinth and Eretria, or near it, as at Athens, or on it, as at Thebes and Mytilene. Provision was made and space provided for the women from the countryside to spend the requisite time in the town, during which men were not allowed near. At Athens, during the

249-269 (Zeus); 474-476 (Pan). Mounts Pelion and Laphystion: A. SCHACHTER (above, note 5), II 4 and note 2; Heraclid. Crit. Fr. II 8 with F. PFISTER's commentary. Zeus Thaulios: Y. BÉQUIGNON, *Recherches archéologiques à Phères* (Paris 1937); E. KIRSTEN, in *RE Suppl.-Bd. VII* (1940), s.v. «Pherai», 997-999 (suggesting that it was a temple of Ennodia); *ADelt* 32 (1977 [1984]), B', 119-125, and *AAA* 10 (1977), 174-187 (excavation of 1977).

Thesmophoria, a banner was raised to warn the men away, while at Thebes men were required to clear out of the Kadmeia, with disastrous effects in the summer of 382 B.C.

Occasionally there was a compromise between the need for security and the requirements of the rite, which was, after all, agricultural and rural. So, at Athens and Thebes for example, part of the ritual was conducted at Skiron and Potniai respectively.¹⁹

Hera

The Argive Heraion, lying on a more or less direct line between Mycenae and Tiryns, did not so much fix the limits of Argive territory, as establish Argive control over it. It did so directly at the expense of Tiryns, from which the Argives removed the ancient cult image.

A similar situation pertained at Corinth, where the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora dominated the eastern end of the Gulf of Corinth and manifested Corinthian control over access to the Isthmos from the north.

The Heraion at Plataia reflects the same concern with the expression of territorial control, although here the sanctuary itself was by the city. The principal rite, however, the Daidala, culminated in a fire festival on Mount Kithairon, and the procession to the mountain began, not at the city, but at the northern limit of Plataian territory, the river Asopos, where ritual bathing of the images took place. The cult of Hera Kithaironia

¹⁹ Acropolis Demeter: Y. BÉQUIGNON, in *RA* 1958, 2, 152-154. Mytilene: C. and H. WILLIAMS, in *Classical Views* 32 (1989), 167-181 (with references to earlier reports). Thesmophoria, at Athens: H.W. PARKE (above, note 13), 82-88; A.C. BRUMFIELD, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year* (Salem, N.H. 1981), 70-103. At Thebes: A. SCHACHTER (above, note 5), I 165-168. Skiron: A.C. BRUMFIELD, 167.

covered not only Plataia, but other towns in southern Boiotia, Thespiiai and its dependents Chorsiai and Siphai. Thespiiai and Plataia were traditionally reluctant adherents to Theban leadership, and this cult and its sanctuaries helped to express their political independence.

The ritual cleaning of the cult image was the central act in the festival of Hera on Samos. Here, the sanctuary was near the sea, on the coastal plain some four kilometers from the city. Its focal point was a lygos tree, where sacrifices were made, in the presence not only of the human participants but also of the cult image, which was set up temporarily on a special pedestal in the open air. The location of this sanctuary is comparable to those of Argos and Perachora, in that it permitted the polis to assert its control over the coastal plain and the island.

These sanctuaries of Hera reflect not only their respective states' assertion of sovereignty over their territory, but also their claim to the control of more extensive territory than was originally theirs. It was a question both of establishing existing rights and of demanding new ones at the expense of others.²⁰

Poseidon

The major sanctuaries of Poseidon are so situated as to control rights of way, either by land or sea.

At Onchestos in Boiotia, the sanctuary is astride the main route from eastern Boiotia and the south to western and

²⁰ Plataia: A. SCHACHTER (above, note 5), I 243-250. Thespiiai, Chorsiai, Siphai: A. SCHACHTER, 251 and 238-239; R.A. TOMLINSON, in *BSA* 75 (1980), 221-224. Samos: H. WALTER, *Das Griechische Heiligtum: Heraion von Samos* (München 1965); *Das Heraion von Samos* (München 1976); G. SHIPLEY, *A History of Samos 800-188 B.C.* (Oxford 1987), 25-28; B. BERGQUIST (above, note 8), 43-47; G.P. LAVAS (above, note 8), 35-43; 93-96; K. FAGERSTRÖM (above, note 3), 85-86.

northern Greece. The state which possessed Onchestos controlled the main artery for wheeled traffic through central Greece, and it was, at various times, the object of interstate rivalry or the centre of a more or less amicable amphiktyony, in which ownership was shared by the major competing poleis.

On the Isthmos of Corinth, that polis owned the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, which controlled the land route across the Isthmos near its southern end, and also controlled traffic between the north and the Peloponnese. Inland, west of the city of Corinth, was a grove of Poseidon at Penteskouphia. This controlled the overland route between the sea and Corinth's neighbour, Kleonai.

Off the eastern coast of the Argolid, on the island of Kalaureia, was a sanctuary of Poseidon which served as the centre of an amphiktyony in the Archaic period, drawing its members not only from nearby states, but also from other places in the Peloponnese and even from Minyan Orchomenos. This last was, incidentally, one of the states which laid claim to Onchestos, and it is worth noting that both at Onchestos and Kalaureia Poseidon was served by a woman, a non-person, whose access to the god would not jeopardize or favour the interests of any of the participating states. The location of the sanctuary at this place was intended, I suppose, to represent the interests of these states in free passage along and control of the sea lanes.

More or less opposite Kalaureia at the southern tip of the Attic mainland is Sounion, where the sanctuary of Poseidon overlooks traffic entering Athenian waters from south and east.

Another terminal promontory with a landmark sanctuary of Poseidon was Geraistos in southern Euboea, which overlooked the passage between the Aegean and the Euboian Strait.

The sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios near Miletos does not seem to have become a rallying point for the Ionian Greek states until the Archaic period, presumably in response to the

perceived threat from their non-Greek neighbours. Its early history is not clear, nor is the origin of the epithet.

Poseidon, as his sanctuaries suggest, not only controlled passages at critical points on land and sea, but also embodied the sovereignty or claims to it of the states in whose territory the sanctuaries were located. This is entirely consistent with the impression given by the Linear B archives of Pylos, where Poseidon is one of the major deities of the state, or rather, of the governing class, through whose eyes we perceive that state. On occasion, as we have seen, that sovereignty might be shared, permanently or temporarily, by way of compromise between states which purported to have claims to a sanctuary and the territory it controlled.²¹

Dionysos

The worship of Dionysos took contrasting forms in urban and rural settings. In the town, the worshipper's role was basically passive. He participated by watching and listening to what was done at and around the altar, rather than by performing the action himself. For this, an appropriate physical setting was essential: a place to act, and a place from which to watch. Originally, one must suppose, the urban sanctuary setting did not offer any special facilities. The religious centre of the cult of Dionysos at Thebes, for example, was the so-called *sekos* of Semele, an open-air enclosure on the Kadmeia, where a sacred flame burned and around which grapevines grew. There was a

²¹ Kalaureia: A. FOLEY (above, note 3), 148-149; B. BERGQUIST (above, note 8), 35-36; G.P. LAVAS (above, note 8), 77. Geraistos: *Hesperia* 37 (1968), 184-199; *ADelt* 28 (1973 [1977]), B', 305-306; *AAA* 7 (1974), 28-32. Panionion: G. SHIPLEY (above, note 20), 30 and 267 n° 4303.

similar enclosure at Chaironeia, sacred to the god's nurse and aunt Ino; at Athens and Thasos, for example, there were temene of Dionysos distinct from the later theatres, and at Ayia Irini on Keos, the sanctuary of Dionysos, which used the ruins of a Mycenaean sanctuary, may also have been an open enclosure. I suspect that, as the dramatic element of the ritual outstripped the choral, more and more space was needed simply for watching, and suitable locations, distinct from the original sanctuaries, had to be developed.

The dramatic performances which developed out of the rituals of Dionysos were a male preserve, and, as I have noted, put the worshipper himself into the passive mode. In the countryside, the situation was otherwise, because the worshipper was, in the first place, active, to say the least, and, in the second, because the principal participants in the ritual were women. And, whereas in the town the nature of the rites demanded a fixed setting, in the countryside all that was needed was space. Even the cult image, in the form of a mask that could be attached to any convenient tree, was portable.²²

Artemis

Artemis is in some ways the most interesting and problematical of the Greek gods. She is one to whom individuals and states turned in difficult, stressful, and uncertain situations.

She is the goddess to whom the young of humans and animals were entrusted to bring them to terms with their own destinies by seeing them through the crises of their lives: it was

²² Sekos: A. SCHACHTER (above, note 5), I 187-188 (Thebes); II 62 (Chaironeia). Mask: W. WREDE, in *AM* 53 (1928), 64-95, esp. 81-95; C. GASPARRI, in *LIMC* III 1 (1986), 424-428 (nos 6-48).

the destiny of girls to become women and mothers, of boys to become hunters and citizen soldiers, of wild animals to become the prey of hunters, of cattle to become food for the community. She protected them all as they passed from unreadiness to readiness, that is, when they were at their most vulnerable. This is reflected in her myths: she punishes those who rape virgins and those guilty of the untimely slaughter of animals; she protects communities in danger of annihilation. She functions between the wild and the civilized, the known and the unknown. She is, as others have noted, a goddess of margins and of transition from childhood to adulthood.

This element of transition can in fact be discerned in all her functions, at the social and physical levels. These transitions are from nothingness to birth, from life to death, from one stage of life to another, into and out of crisis. This same goddess who presided over the grey zone between life and death of the individual, both animal and human, was also at home in the grey, ill-defined transitional areas between one element and another, and between one community and another. It may be observed that her sanctuaries, different as they may at first sight appear to be, also share the same common feature of being in areas of transition: near the juncture of land and water, as at Aulis, Halai Araphenides, Delos, Cape Artemision, Amarynthos; in marshy land which shares the characteristics of both land and water, as at Sparta, Stymphalos, Brauron, Ephesos; in ill-defined and disputed boundary areas, as at Gorgopis, Hyampolis, Karyai, Limnai; on high ground in far reaches of the chora, as at Lousoi and Kombothekra; in neutral territory, as at Amarynthos and Patrai; between city and chora, as at Kalydon and Sparta; in the centre of newly-founded colonies, which are themselves at the uncertain edge of the extended territory of the mother city, as at Thasos, Korkyra, and Ortygia; between the sacred and profane, at the gateways of larger sanctuaries, as at Eleusis, Didyma, and Epidauros.

The function, location, and other topographical characteristics of individual sanctuaries of Artemis can be matched with sanctuaries of other gods. There are interesting similarities shared by the Samian Heraion and the sanctuaries of Artemis at Delos and Aulis. Artemis is not the only deity with sanctuaries in low-lying marshy areas; she is not the only liminary god, or the only one to control mountain passes. However, the accumulation of the kinds of sanctuary at which she was worshipped, and of her cults and related myths, combines to produce a final characterization which is peculiar to her and no other.

These observations reinforce recent and current redefinitions of Artemis as a goddess of transitions and marginal zones; the places where she was worshipped, varied as they may be, are in keeping with the kind of goddess she was.²³

²³ Transition to adulthood: F. FRONTISI-DUCROUX, in *RHR* 198 (1981), 25-56; C. SOURVINOU-INWOOD, *Studies in Girls' Transitions* (Athens 1988). Communities in danger: P. ELLINGER, in *Quaderni Urbinati* 29 (1978), 7-35; M. SARTRE, in *Ktema* 4 (1979), 213-224; P. ELLINGER, in *Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard* 9 (Naples 1984), 51-67; *AA* 1987, 88-99; J.P. VERNANT, in *REG* 101 (1988), 221-239. Aulis, Halai, Brauron: M.B. HOLLINSHEAD, in *AJA* 89 (1985), 419-440. Brauron: L. KAHIL, in *CRAI* 1988, 799-813. Delos: P. BRUNEAU and J. DUCAT, *Guide de Délos* (Paris 1983), 154-158; B. BERGQUIST (above, note 8), 26-30; G.P. LAVAS (above, note 8), 43-44; K. FAGERSTRÖM (above, note 3), 67-68. Artemision: H.G. LOLLING, in *AM* 8 (1883), 7-23, 200-210; W.K. PRITCHETT, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* II (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969), 12-18. Stymphalos: M. JOST (above, note 5), 101-102; 398-400. Ephesos: A. BAMMER, *Das Heiligtum der Artemis von Ephesos* (Graz 1984); K. FAGERSTRÖM, 97. Hyampolis/Kalapodi: *AA* 1987, 1-99 (with references to earlier reports). Lousoi (Arkadia): M. JOST, 47-51, 419-425. Kombothekra (Triphylia): U. SINN, in *AM* 93 (1978), 45-82; 96 (1981), 25-71. Patrai: Pausanias VII 19, 1 and VII 23, 7. Kalydon: B. BERGQUIST, 36-38; G.P. LAVAS, 78. Eleusis: G.E. MYLONAS (above, note 5), 167-168. Didyma: K. TUCHELT, in *Ist. Mitt.* 34 (1984), 193-344. Epidauros:

Heroes

Sanctuaries of heros begin to be identifiable at the same time as those of gods. They appear both independently or in connection with sanctuaries of gods, and with the same pattern of distribution: at strategic points within the city, at the outskirts of the city, in the chora, and in the outlying areas of the state.

It is easy enough to identify gods: they are immortal, they never age, they operate each within a fairly limited range of functions, they are basically indifferent to the fate of humankind, and man approaches them with caution, humility, and apprehension. They are, finally, ubiquitous.

Two things distinguish heroes from gods. First, heroes began their existence as mortals, becoming immortalized after death; second, their sphere of influence is limited territorially.

Having said this, I must add that there are few hard and fast rules, and that such as there were, were inconsistently followed. The worship of Herakles, for example, transcended local boundaries. Like his divine and aristocratic counterpart, Apollo, Herakles usurped the place of local heroes, and by so doing, took on the nature of a god, while retaining that of a hero. It is no coincidence that his consort on his apotheosis was Hebe, the embodiment of being at the peak of one's powers, that quality which particularly separates god from man. Asklepios too began as a mortal, became a hero, and was ultimately translated.

Within the context of the emergent polis, the role of the hero was directed toward protection of the territory on the one hand,

R.A. TOMLINSON, *Epidaurus* (London 1983), 75-78. Gorgopis, Korkyra, Ortygia: above, note 9. Artemis and margins: J.P. VERNANT, *La mort dans les yeux* (Paris 1985), 15-24; *Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard* 9 (Naples 1984), 13-27; *contra*: J. POUILLOUX, in *RA* 1986, 160-161.

and consolidation of the population on the other. Within the city, founders, ancestors, and other champions were stationed where people were likely to congregate, at the agora, on the acropolis, at crossroads. At the point where town and chora met, and where, at a later stage, there would be gateways, sanctuaries of heroic champions were placed. These were not there to defend the city: the borders of a polis were not to be found at the edge of the city, but at the edge of its chora. The presence of hero sanctuaries at these places is, rather, another device to bring the people of town and country together under the tutelage of common deities. In this case, these heroes, closely identified with the polis that worshipped them, oversaw the training of the young men of the state who were to be its defenders and champions in time of war. This function was performed by pairs and larger groups of heroes as well as individuals like Akademos, whose sanctuaries outside urban centres were used as mustering and training grounds. Truly liminary hero sanctuaries did exist, but they seem to have been less numerous than those of gods: the so-called tomb of Agamemnon may have been one.

There were a limited number of gods, but any number of heroes. A state or any community could create a hero to suit an immediate need. An interesting example of a hero sanctuary created to make a political point is the Hero Ptoios of Akraiphia. In the course of the sixth century, this small city became dependent on Thebes, which took control of the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoieus, and incorporated it into the religious framework of the greater polis. The Akraiphians continued to worship at the sanctuary of Apollo, but established a sanctuary of their own local hero, Ptoios, at the eastern tip of a ridge leading from Akraiphia, two kilometers away, and looking across the valley to the sanctuary of Apollo. A processional way led from the temenos entrance to a sanctuary on two levels. This way was lined with monumental tripods, dedicated annually by

the Akraiphians. On the upper level of the sanctuary was a small temple devoted to a goddess, presumably the hero's mother; the heroon proper was on the lower level, with remains of an altar and what looks like an oikoi complex: this resembles the Herakleion of Thasos in its early stages. The citizens of Akraiphia, which in the sixth century was among the most prosperous towns in Boiotia, clearly devoted much of their surplus wealth to the glorification of their community, by founding, honouring, and embellishing the sanctuary of their local hero, and placing it where it could be seen by visitors to the sanctuary of Apollo.

As with the gods, the sudden appearance of sanctuaries of heroes at the end of the Dark Age does not necessarily mark the beginning of their worship. The presence of a least one hero identified as such in the Linear B tablets makes this clear, and, indeed, one might ask how many of the unidentified deities in the tablets would in later times have been called heroes. Finally, the simultaneity of the appearance of hero sanctuaries throughout the Greek world suggests an underlying and pre-existing belief in the concept.²⁴

Gods and Heroes: Summary

The evidence suggests that the sanctuaries of any given deity reflect her or his major spheres of influence and perceived

²⁴ General: H. ABRAMSON, *Greek Hero-Shrines* (University of California/Berkeley, PhD 1978); C.M. ANTONACCIO, *The Archaeology of Early Greek «Hero Cult»* (Princeton University, PhD 1987); E. KEARNS (above, note 13). Hero Ptoios: A. SCHACHTER (above, note 5), I 56-58; «Boiotia in the Sixth Century B.C.» (above, note 12), 75. Mycenaean hero (Trisheros): see above, note 3.

character. So, for example, in disputed border areas, where a community felt threatened by its neighbours, the liminary deity was more likely to be Artemis than any other, as at Karyai, Limnai, and Hyampolis/Kalapodi; on the other hand, if a community was aggressive and expansionist, the deity it adopted might be Hera, as at Argos and Perachora. Sanctuaries of Poseidon tend to be along trade and travel routes, as at Isthmia and Onchestos, as an expression of the sovereignty claimed by the owner state, or as representing the pooled resources of sovereign powers, at central meeting places, like Kalaureia and the Panionion. Athena, Apollo, and Aphrodite, the three deities, who, representing defence, power, and government respectively, most vividly symbolized the growing influence of the urban centre of the polis, were, whenever possible, housed as close to that centre as they could be. The main exception occurs in several cities where a long pre-polis history led the new rulers to put Apollo at an outlying site which could not be confused with the seat of power of any predecessor. Demeter and Zeus, basically rural gods, were worshipped mainly in the countryside, with urban and suburban sanctuaries built to draw people from the country to the town; while Dionysos, whose cult represented the community's efforts to harness the irrational in all of us, was worshipped with equal emphasis but quite contrasting facilities, in both town and country. The distribution of hero sanctuaries paralleled and occasionally overlapped that of the gods, with the added character in many cases of being indissolubly linked with the territory they were held to protect.

An apparent paradox: of the gods of the polis, those who are most closely identified with the emergence and early years of the institution — Apollo, Aphrodite, Artemis — support the Trojans against the Greeks in the Trojan War. The position of the other symbol of the polis, Athena, is ambivalent: while she generally supports the Greeks, she is also the *poliouchos* of Troy. Is it possible that the other three supported the Trojans

precisely because they were the gods who embodied and protected the institutions of the polis, and Troy was a polis under attack?

Conclusion

A sanctuary is a place where a person or people expects to come into contact with a supernatural force or being. The expectation may be pleasant or otherwise. The basic activity at a sanctuary was the establishment of contact with a deity for the benefit of the worshipper, which might range anywhere from the averting of divine anger to the granting of a divine favour. For this no building was necessary, merely a space left vacant for the purpose. Contact could be facilitated, however, by natural features, such as rocks and heights, clefts in the earth, springs, trees, and at critical points such as passes, areas of transition from one element to another, and later, from one jurisdiction to another, or at the centre of a community's living space. My concern in this paper has been with the sanctuary as a mutually agreed place of worship, the agreement being one made by a community, bound together by ties of kinship, or ethnic identity, or political allegiance. For most of this paper I have concentrated on a limited number of these communities at the early stages of their development. Those who organized and ruled them used the worship of gods and heroes both to obtain divine sanction for themselves, and to foster the allegiance of the people they sought to lead. There was nothing haphazard about their selection of sanctuary sites, or about what kinds of sanctuary were deemed desirable, or about the deities with whom the individual sanctuaries were associated. Each deity was pressed into service in accordance with the benefits that could

be derived from the exercise of her or his special *moira*, or sphere of influence. It was a balance, sometimes delicate, sometimes crude, between the needs of policy and the needs of cult.²⁵

²⁵ Definitions: M. CASEVITZ, in G. ROUX (ed.), *Temples et Sanctuaires* (Lyon and Paris 1984), 81-95; K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, in *Die Antike* 7 (1931), 11-48 and 161-180. Genesis and development of architectural elements: A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, in *AClass* 54 (1985), 5-48. A god's *moira*: A.W.H. ADKINS, in *JHS* 92 (1972), 1-3. Site selection as policy: see I. MALKIN (above, note 2).

DISCUSSION

M. Graf: Aus dem sehr reichen Beitrag möchte ich einen kleineren Punkt herausheben: er betrifft die Lage der Demeter-Heiligtümer. Sie erklärten ihre Lage mit dem Schutzbedürfnis der feiernden Frauen. Nun feiern schutzbedürftige Gruppen auch in anderen Heiligtümern, die dennoch ausserordentlich exponiert sind — vor allem die vielen Mädchengruppen in den Artemisheiligtümern, etwa in Brauron direkt am Meer und in Reichweite der Seeräuber (Hdt. VI 138, 1) oder in Karyai im Grenzland (M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* [Leipzig 1906], 198). Das weist darauf, dass diese Erklärung zu wenig tief greift: man müsste wohl auch die Eigenart des Kultes der Demeter, besonders seine Liminalität berücksichtigen.

M. Schachter: The liminary and rural sanctuaries of Artemis which have been excavated have produced traces of the presence, not only of female worshippers, but also of males, particularly of warrior status (e.g. Brauron, Kombothekra, perhaps Lousoi — see my note 23, p. 51). Even at Karyai and Limnai (between Lakonia and Arkadia, and Lakonia and Messenia respectively), which have not been discovered, the traditions hint at Spartan transvestism (see note 14, p. 35). One might wish to add the case of Dionysiac mainadism, but I do not think there are any recorded examples of assault during *oreibasia* (this may have had to do with the season). As for Demeter, I suggest that the emphasis should be put, not on protecting women *qua* women, but rather as the persons performing rituals dealing with a matter of vital importance.

Mme Kearns: In general terms, I'm very much in sympathy with your approach, but on a point of detail I wonder if you may not be defining the role

of Zeus as «country god» too exclusively. Undoubtedly he has such a role, both as weather god and as a patron of agriculture, often in company with Demeter, but is this his only or even his primary role? In more specific terms, what is the evidence that the urban cult-places are secondary derivations from rural sanctuaries? And is it correct for the geometric or even archaic periods to make a distinction between town and country which excludes agriculture from the former? It seems to me that some of the functions we might classify as «urban» are basic to the nature of Zeus: I think for instance of his frequent appearance as ἀγοραῖος and his association with justice both divine and human. Perhaps indicative is the well-known simile (*Il.* XVI 384-392) where Zeus combines the functions of weather god and «political» god, sending storms to wash away the (agricultural) ἔργα ἀνθρώπων as punishment for «crooked judgements in the agora». This close connexion is also typical of the world of the *Odyssey*, where the land which is governed with justice brings forth crops in abundance (*Od.* XIX 109-114).

M. Schachter: I emphasized the «country god» aspect of Zeus for two reasons: first, the evidence of worship on Mount Hymettos predates by several centuries the organization of the Athenian polis; second, his principal panhellenic sanctuaries — Olympia and Dodona — are rural, and ethnospherically rather than polis-based. Note also the fact that Olympia came to prominence while Elis was relatively underpopulated. The examples from Homer do not run counter to my argument.

This being said, both interventions are correct in taking Zeus as something more than a purely rural god. My point was merely that the rural aspect of Zeus' nature was consciously used as an instrument of a policy which sought to bind the rural elements of the population to the polis.

M. Graf: Ich möchte hier anschliessen: Zeus als Gott der Chora, der Landbevölkerung, ist zu einseitig. Vor allem bleibt so völlig unerklärt, weswegen der Gott so zentral mit der Gerechtigkeit verbunden ist — das heisst mit dem Ausgleich der verschiedenen Interessen der einzelnen Gruppen und Individuen, welche die Polis konstituieren. Ich würde umgekehrt gerade hier ansetzen wollen: muss nicht der Gott, der die Gerechtigkeit schützt, über

den Parteien stehen, und sollte man dann nicht diese Position des Gottes sozusagen ausserhalb der Polis damit verbinden?

Mme Bergquist: You pointed out the lack of a Demeter sanctuary at Eretria. But as far as I know, a Demeter sanctuary has been found on the slope of the akropolis.

M. Schachter: There is some doubt about the identity of the sanctuaries on the slopes of the akropolis. See the review of *Eretria* VII by Arthur Muller in *Revue Archéologique* 1989, 165-169.

Mme Bergquist: I am also curious how you have made your selection. You get a neat fit of your variables. With a larger, at least different, selection, there would perhaps appear some diversification.

M. Schachter: The point is well taken, and I hope that I have made my own hesitations clear in the text (Introduction to the Polis).

Mme Jost: Le lien très étroit que vous établissez entre l'apparition des cités et l'apparition des sanctuaires est d'autant plus net que vous avez pris comme exemples sept cas de cités très urbanisées, dont la croissance s'accompagne d'un développement de l'architecture religieuse. Il convient aussi, à mon avis, d'insister — en contrepartie — sur l'existence, dans des régions plus rurales (Grèce centrale, Epire ou Arcadie), de sanctuaires qui sont antérieurs à une véritable organisation en *poleis*; ils ont été ensuite intégrés, selon des modalités diverses, par les cités.

M. Schachter: This is so, but I do not claim that the results of my investigation are valid for anything other than *poleis* which developed during the archaic period.

M. van Straten: In your introduction, where you listed the minimal requirements for various kinds of sanctuary, you mentioned that incubation-sanctuaries did need very little, since the worshipper seeking contact with the

god would just sleep on the ground, possibly on the skin of a sacrificed animal.

I agree that not much else is needed, but if you imply, as I think you do, that in these cases it was *essential* to sleep directly on the ground in order to be in immediate contact with a supposedly chthonic deity, then I have my doubts. At least in the classical period, which is not that much later than the period covered by your paper, votive reliefs from the Amphiareia of Oropos and Rhamnous, and the Asklepieia of Piraeus and Athens regularly show incubants lying down *on benches*, which may or may not be covered with an animal skin. In fact, in the stoa at the Oropian Amphiareion many benches still are preserved. Therefore I wonder whether perhaps a bit too much is made of this «direct contact with the earth».

M. Schachter: I was thinking really about Dodona. As far as the Amphiareion of Oropos is concerned, we simply do not know what (ἐγ)χαταχοιμηθῆναι (Hdt. VIII 134) involved *before* it became a healing sanctuary.

M. Graf: Nur um zu ergänzen, möchte ich daran erinnern, dass — etwa nach der pergamenischen *lex sacra* von der Hallenstrasse (*Altertümer von Pergamon* VIII 3, Nr. 161) — die Inkubanten auf der στῖβάς liegen. Was immer die στῖβάς in kaiserzeitlichen Pergamon gewesen ist: jedenfalls verhindert sie den direkten Kontakt mit dem Erdboden.

M. Tomlinson: I can see the argument in terms of the developed city states, where special functions of the gods reflect the needs of the synoikised community, but I feel we should also consider the relationship between the process of synoikismos, and the cults of the local communities which are new incorporated into the larger state. Presumably these communities already had their own cults before they were united into the polis. I suspect you can see this particularly in complex cities such as Athens, where the proto-historical information makes it clear that we are dealing with the incorporation of recognisable states, and where you have deities with a local significance, such as Demeter at Eleusis, and Artemis at Brauron.

And turning to the question of the cult of Zeus, I would draw attention to the sanctuary, recently discovered by the Laconia Survey of the British School, of Zeus Messapeus near Sparta, which is clearly a cult belonging to the local, non-Spartiate community.

Mme Kearns: On Professor Tomlinson's first point, I'm sure no-one would want to deny the existence of smaller, local cults at a date before synoecism or the formation of the polis proper, or that these cults were often influential in forming the pattern of the religious structure of the polis. But I'd like to draw attention also to the work of, among others, Robin Osborne (*Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* [Cambridge 1985], 72-83, and especially *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander*, ed. by O. Murray and S. Price [Oxford 1990], 265-294), suggesting that, at least in Attica, the reverse may also be the case: the smaller group models itself and its activities, both political and religious, on the larger group — the polis. From the cultic point of view this would seem to be confirmed by the sacrifice calendars of the demes, for instance that of Erchia, which alongside festivals celebrated by the demesmen ἐν ἄσται contains others which appear to be local versions of central, Athenian rites such as the Plynteria.

M. Etienne: Je voudrais demander deux précisions à M. Schachter. Il a en effet tenté de répartir les divinités entre *polis* et *chôra*. Dans quelle mesure cette répartition est-elle légitime? Il me semble que l'on rencontre les mêmes divinités à l'intérieur du centre urbain et dans la «campagne»; la règle me paraît être même la duplication des cultes (Artémis Brauronia sur l'Acropole et à Brauron, Dionysos sur l'Acropole et *en limnais*).

L'autre précision concerne un problème de vocabulaire: Que signifie la notion de «contrôle» et quel est le rapport entre le sanctuaire et ce «contrôle»? Je doute que le Poséidon du Sounion ait quelque rapport avec un contrôle des voies commerciales; la localisation du sanctuaire peut n'avoir aucun lien avec la politique de la cité et remonter à un état antérieur au synécisme. En revanche, la construction du temple rentre, elle, dans le programme «impérialiste» du milieu du V^e siècle av. J.-C.

M. Reverdin: A l'appui de votre thèse relative à l'emprise de la cité sur son territoire, vous mentionnez le sanctuaire de Poséidon du Cap Sounion. L'exemple me paraît contestable. En revanche, le sanctuaire d'Athéna, tout proche, au pied du promontoire, me semble plus probant. C'était un sanctuaire fort important, mais qu'on ne remarque guère, tant ses restes sont à ras du sol, alors que les colonnes du temple de Poséidon forment une des images classiques de la Grèce touristique. Mais ce sanctuaire pourrait bien attester le souci qu'Athènes a eu de marquer, en un lieu très significatif, sa personnalité, en y exaltant sa déesse poliaide.

M. Schachter: In the section entitled «The Polis: Summary» I made a preliminary distinction of the different spheres of activity of the individual gods during the period and in the circumstances concerned.

By «control» I mean control by the state. «Sovereignty» might have been better.

The sanctuary of Athena at Sounion in a sense confirms my contention that Athens was publicly asserting its ownership of Attika by the collocation of these two sanctuaries at a visible, prominent point.

M. Graf: Ein grundsätzliches Problem, das wohl auch mitbedacht werden muss, ist die Spannung zwischen lokaler und panhellenischer Form einer Gottheit. In gewisser Weise gingen Sie jetzt davon aus, dass die Erscheinungsform und Funktion der einzelnen Gottheiten in allen griechischen Städten etwa dieselbe war — das dem nicht so ist, mag vielleicht besonders deutlich der Fall der Persephone zeigen, die ja in Locri die Funktionen hat, welche im Mutterland Aphrodite zukommen. Dasselbe liesse sich für Apollon zeigen, der manchenorts (z.B. in Paros oder Naxos) als Akropolisgottheit in Funktionen der Athene einzutreten scheint. Es gilt also, auch diese grosse Spannung mitzubedenken: sie mag helfen, sonst aberant scheinende Züge zu erklären.

M. Schachter: I certainly agree that local deities had their characters, not all of which were assimilated to a panhellenic counterpart. On the other hand, I was repeatedly struck, while preparing this paper, by the degree of

homogeneity during the period under investigation, throughout the Greek world, transcending differences of ethnic background, dialect, and political allegiance.

M. Etienne: Je voudrais insister sur la complexité des sanctuaires, notamment des grands sanctuaires. Ils réunissent en fait de nombreuses divinités (Olympie, Delphes, Délos...). Ces divinités entretiennent entre elles des rapports que l'on connaît par des mythes — c'est le cas de la triade apollinienne à Délos —, mais ces mythes peuvent manquer; il est alors difficile d'expliquer la présence de cultes conjoints ou les rapports apparentant des sanctuaires proches. De même que l'on raisonne sur des familles de mythes, il faut raisonner sur des familles de sanctuaires.

M. Graf: Stellen die Kultkomplexe wirklich andere Probleme? Im Falle von Delos etwa liegt eine deutliche Hierarchisierung vor: im Zentrum steht Apollon, wie Mythos und Kult zeigen; Leto und Artemis sind sekundär, weitere Gottheiten auch — und am Endpunkt der Skala steht die private Dedikation einer beliebigen Gottheit, die mit der Gottheit, der das Heiligtum gehört, nichts zu tun hat. Nun ist — zum Verständnis eines einzelnen Heiligtums — die Analyse der Kult- und Mythenkomplexe sicher ganz zentral und unabdingbar, sozusagen als Blick von innen — doch für die Aufgabe, die Herr Schachter sich stellte, die politische Bedingtheit von Heiligtümern und ihre Lage, scheint mir der Blick von aussen, der die Hierarchisierung betont und Hauptgottheiten herausstellt, auch sehr wichtig.

II

EMILY KEARNS

BETWEEN GOD AND MAN: STATUS AND FUNCTION OF HEROES AND THEIR SANCTUARIES

1. Forms of the sanctuary

There is a paradox which is more than merely semantic which is evoked when we speak of «hero-sanctuaries». Starting from first principles, one might think that many of the enclosures connected with heroes could hardly be *sancta*, ἱερά, in any normal sense, for the close connexion with death would ordinarily place them far apart from the holy. When Sophocles makes Oedipus speak of his «holy tomb», ἱερός τύμβος, he is using a startling oxymoron to underline the puzzle of his character's end. Pausanias, summarising an important part of his subject-matter, speaks rather of θεῶν ἱερά καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τάφοι. Yet ἱερόν, without an added word for «tomb», is commonly used of the places where heroes receive cult, and even if this were not so, such places have clearly enough in common with divine sanctuaries to be considered beside them. This paradox — that the hero-sanctuary may be both like and opposed to the divine sanctuary — must be central to an investigation of the dynamics of these places of cult.

While many hero-shrines are identified as tombs, the status of others is more ambiguous, and the traditions of some even

deny that the hero is physically present. There is a wide range of vocabulary used to refer to heroic cult-places. Τύμβος and τάφος are clear enough; more problematic is μνημα, which is often used to refer to a heroic tomb but also includes monuments with no claim to the hero's bones — perhaps a κενός τάφος, a structure made to look like a tomb but not fulfilling the tomb's main function. This form of monument evokes the idea and the paraphernalia of death without death's primary evidence, the corpse; noteworthy is the case of Achilles at Elis, where cenotaph is opposed to altar, and the most conspicuous feature of ritual is the lament.¹ Other words, of a more neutral flavour, seem to cover both the tomb-monument and other forms of cult-place where the fact of death is less emphasized: thus ἡρώϊον, but also the two words most commonly used for divine cult-space, ἱερόν and τέμενος. Again, as with gods, the place may be referred to by the neuter form of an adjective derived from the hero's name: Achilleion, Herakleion. Such nomenclature clearly suggests something more elaborate than a simple tomb. Thus Herodotus (IX 116) speaks of Πρωτεσίλειω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, and Pausanias, recording the μνημα of Kastor in Sparta, remarks: ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερόν πεποιήται (III 13, 1).² A «heroon» may also be constructed «on» a tomb (Hdt. V 47). In such cult-places, the tomb may still be the centre, literally or figuratively, but there is a wider area of more generally defined sacred space, so that the actual site of the dead body is not the only area connected with the hero. The tomb and the temple — normally incompatible — are held in

¹ Paus. VI 23, 3.

² Hdt. V 47; Strab. VI 3, 9, p. 284: ἱερόν may be roughly equivalent to τέμενος but may also be used in distinction to it, in which case, as here, it refers to a building; cf. *JG* II² 2499, 2501.

equal balance, and as such a hero-sanctuary contains elements of both human grave and divine place of worship.

A hero may also have a *ἱερόν* or *τέμενος* without any grave at all, the clearest example being perhaps Aiakos at Athens (Hdt. V 89), and the most widespread the many Herakleia where heroic, not divine, honours were paid. The cult of Herakles exhibits also small buildings evidently designed primarily for banquets, in which the hero was perhaps symbolically present, but certainly not entombed.³ A particularly striking case, however, is that of Pelops at Olympia, where the ancient and well-known sanctuary did not evidently claim to possess the hero's bones — those were kept in a chest in a small building near the temple of Artemis Kordax at Pisa.⁴ The Pelopion at Olympia, in Pausanias' account anyway (V 13, 2), was set apart by Herakles, the great-grandson of Pelops in the maternal line, who also made the first sacrifice. Despite the emphatically heroic elements in the cult — the black victim sacrificed into a pit, the ritual opposition to the worship of Zeus — this story-pattern corresponds exactly to the mythical and indeed real foundations of divine sanctuaries. In these heroic cult-places without tombs, the essential element would seem normally to be an altar; where a tomb was present, the tomb itself would often, though not always, function as the place of sacrifice. Typical of heroic sacrifice, though also of sacrifice to chthonic deities, was the altar in the form of a low *ἑσχάρα*, barely raised from the ground, or even simply of a pit. I say «typical» with some care, because these forms were far from universal, perhaps

³ On these buildings, see O. WALTER, in *AM* 62 (1937), 41-44; F. DE VISSCHER, *Herakles Epitrapezios* (Paris 1962). Compare also the meal prepared for the Anakes (Dioskouroi) in the Athenian prytaneion (Chionides, Fr. 7, in *PCG* IV; Athen. VI 235 b), and *θεοξένια* elsewhere.

⁴ Paus. VI 22, 1; cf. *schol. ad* Pind. *Ol.* I 149.

even far from the norm; numerous votive reliefs dedicated to heroes depict a more conventional upstanding altar, even if scarcely a monumental one. Where the tomb was absent, the altar would normally be the central feature of the *ἱερόν*, though here too there were probably exceptions; the plan of the Amyneion at Athens suggests that it was the well, often an ancillary feature, which was here central. This was an open-air shrine; other heroa possessed buildings of more or less elaboration. As with gods, statues of the hero seem to have been quite usual, at least in Attica, where Lykos in *Wasps* is the best-known example.⁵ A spring or well, and a grove of usually fruit-bearing trees, are common natural features which are shared by heroic and divine sanctuaries. No sharp distinction, then, was necessary between the physical forms used in the two types of sanctuary, nor in the myths of their foundation. Heroes are diverse creatures, and often it is the individual cult which is important, rather than general categories and relative status of superhuman beings; some heroa show features which tend to point up the difference between hero and god, while others are almost indistinguishable from the divine sanctuary. There is one rather obvious distinction between the two which is often present, which is of course the question of size; the sanctuaries of heroes are commonly smaller than those of gods, in keeping with their lesser status (as it is usually perceived). This is a distinction which is all-important in cult complexes where the hero is linked to a particular god, since in these cases the hero is largely defined by that relationship. But a relative criterion is less significant to the «independent» hero, and in any case large heroa and small divine sanctuaries furnish numerous exceptions.

⁵ Ar. *Vesp.* 819-823; cf. Harpocr. s.v. *δεκάζων*. Compare also Paus. I 35, 2; Hesych. s.v. *Πάνοψ*; outside Attica, Paus. I 44, 11; II 11, 7.

2. Siting: natural features

It is not only the form of the cult-place which is significant, but also its location. Whether there are discernible principles behind the siting of sanctuaries in general is one of the most debated questions in the study of Greek cult-places, and the evidence is as ambivalent for heroes as it is for gods. In fact, taken as a whole, hero-sanctuaries do not seem to display a radically different pattern from divine complexes. Both types of sanctuary are commonly sited at springs or wells, and surrounded by the trees which accompany the water; the water-supply has a clear practical importance at a place of worship, while the trees, which may also be a source of revenue, punctuate the landscape and emphasize the special nature of the space. Sometimes the water-source is important enough to the cult to receive special mention, and this is true not only of divine sanctuaries like that of Poseidon Erechtheus on the Athenian acropolis or the sacred complex at Delphi, nor indeed of the shrines of quasi-heroic figures like Asklepios or the nymphs, but also of unambiguous heroes of varying degrees of fame: Panops in Athens, Dorkeus in Sparta, Opheltes at Nemea.⁶ Less universal, but still common, is the siting on a prominent hill or indeed in the midst of mountains. Near the two divine temples of Sou-nion, there was apparently also the heroon of Phrontis, and if the mountains of Arcadia can show the sanctuary of Demeter and Despoina at Lykosoura, they exhibit also the temenos of Telephos.

As with the form of the sanctuary, this coincidence of natural setting and features seems to suggest that there is more which unites divine and heroic cult than separates them. But the

⁶ Panops: Plato, *Lysis* 203a; Hesych. s.v. Πάνοψ. Dorkeus: Paus. III 15, 1. Opheltes: Paus. II 15, 2.

meanings attached to such features were often different in the two cases. Divine cult on a wild mountain peak may carry a number of meanings: perhaps it indicates the sublimity of the God (Zeus Hypatos/Hypsistos), his closeness to the sky and weather phenomena (Zeus Hyetios or Ombrios), or rather a link with the wild, disordered world outside the city (Zeus Lykaios, for instance). Some of these meanings may be present in the case of the hero who is worshipped on a mountain, but the primary connotation will likely be different. The temenos of Telephos on mount Parthenion was said to be the place where as an infant he was exposed by his mother, the *παρθένος* Auge, and where he was suckled by a deer.⁷ Rather than commanding the wild domain like a God, the hero is here shown as pathetically vulnerable to it, even if in the end he survives.

A similar disjunction holds in the case of springs (which I consider here without regard to attestation of a formal sanctuary, since it is true to say that springs are intrinsically holy places). When divine associations are present at springs, the connotations are generally positive, suggesting the benefits which can reach the worshippers. The god's power caused the stream to flow or the well to appear — thus frequently with Poseidon. The spring itself possesses healing or oracular powers attributed to the deity in whose sanctuary it is situated. But for heroes and still more often heroines springs have often a lugubrious tone. Peirene's tears at the death of her son cause her metamorphosis into a spring; Glauke leaps into a well; Makaria's spring is connected with her self-sacrifice, or the severed head of Eurystheus, or both; the river Lophis springs from the body of a nameless sacrificed boy.⁸ It does not matter that such stories may not

⁷ Paus. VIII 54, 6.

⁸ Paus. II 3, 2; II 3, 6; I 32, 5; Strab. VIII 6, 19, p. 377; Paus. IX 33, 4.

belong to the older mythopoeic strata; whatever their date, they conform among themselves. Similarly, sexual encounters at springs are only rarely positively depicted, as with Amymone; more often the woman is a victim of rape, like Auge or Alkippe, while Alope became a spring when killed by her father, angry at her giving birth. Different is the case of Amphiaraios, whose spring at Oropos is connected not with his death but with his *ἄνοδος* — but Amphiaraios is a figure whose status between hero and god is problematic, and it is precisely this status which is underlined by the tradition of the *ἄνοδος*. The healing and oracular spring was linked with the transitional event in the story of the the cult-figure.⁹

3. Siting: the human landscape

Enough has been said to indicate some of the ways in which natural features could alter their meaning in accordance with the status or type of being receiving cult. I shall turn now to some features of the human landscape, primarily that is to objects connected with the life of the polis. If, as I believe, the phenomenon of the hero is closely linked with the development of the polis, it would seem that such features would be very prominently marked with hero-shrines. Yet it is not really surprising that, just as *πολιοῦχοι θεοί* are conspicuous beside heroic city-protectors, so agoras, acropoleis, gates, and other areas of significant civic space display cults both divine and heroic. This is most obviously demonstrable in the case of the agora, where cults such as those of Zeus Agoraios, Hermes Agoraios and so

⁹ Amymone: Eur. *Phoen.* 188; Apollod. II 1, 4. Auge: Paus. VIII 47, 4. Alkippe: Hellanicus, *FGrH* 323a F 1; Paus. I 21, 3-4. Alope: Hyginus, *Fab.* 187, perhaps ultimately from Euripides. Amphiaraios: Paus. I 34, 4.

on are commonplace, and so too are heroic cults, often though not always of founders or figures otherwise central to the city's traditions. Here there seems less scope for a difference between heroes and gods in the setting's «meaning» than was the case with natural features, in part because the mythical dimension is very much less. Heroes are buried in the agora because it is the agora, the civic centre; or alternatively, as at Megara, civic buildings are so placed as to incorporate heroic burials (Paus. I 43, 3). The meaning is clear enough, and not all that different from most of the agora's divine cults — Zeus who presides over its civilising, justice-dispensing functions, Artemis Eukleia who combines a strictly military function with an interest in childbirth as the process which produces the city's protectors, and so on. The major difference is simply that whereas the agora cult is one of the god's many manifestations, for the hero, citizen of one city in death as in life, it is generally unique. In other respects, the situation in the agora actually approximates the hero to the Gods and distances him from the ordinary human, at least in cities where extramural burial is the norm.

Although unlike the entirely manmade agora the acropolis, where it exists, is a natural feature, comparison of the divine and heroic cults of acropoleis yields similar results to the agora cults. There are some cults which apparently resemble forms found on mountains outside towns (Zeus Larisaios at Argos), some where the significance of the acropolis setting is unclear (Ganymeda at Phlious), and also cults like the widespread Athena Polias where the defensive aspect of the mountain seems to be important. Given the typical interests of heroes, we might expect them to be well represented in the last category, yet in fact we have convincing exemplification only in the case of Athens — and the Athenian acropolis is untypical in other respects. Kekrops, served by the suggestively-named *genos* of the Amyndridai, and even more Erechtheus, the warrior-king, have certainly some connexion with the military aspects

of the acropolis, yet they stand closer to gods than does the «typical» hero. Narrative patterns go some way towards separating hero and god: Athena and Poseidon compete for sovereignty of the acropolis, in a story-type known in many places outside Athens, while Erechtheus is killed by Poseidon himself, to whom he stands so close in cult, and among the daughters of Kekrops, at least Aglauros dies a spectacular death.¹⁰ The hero is set apart from the god by the fact of his death, and in several versions the death is closely connected with the military and defensive aspects of the citadel. Yet the forms of cult suggest that these heroic elements may be secondary to the position on the acropolis among, and like, the gods.

More widely attested are the defensive functions of heroes at gates — periphery rather than centre. While the proximity of some heroa to gates may be coincidental, other cases are sufficient to reveal a pattern, exemplified for instance by the dead of Plataia.¹¹ Both one of the Amazons and those who fought against them had tombs near gates in Athens, for the defeated enemy-turned-protector can also take part in this pattern.¹² That the pattern was well understood is shown by the case of Menoikeus in Thebes — if we believe that this figure is a back-formation from literature; the tomb of the boy whose willing sacrifice assured victory was pointed out by the Νηί(σ)ται

¹⁰ Athena and Poseidon: Hdt. VIII 55. Parallels outside Athens: Paus. II 1, 6 (Corinth); II 15, 5; 22, 5 (Argos); II 30, 6 (Troizen). Erechtheus: Eur. *Erechtheus* fr. 65, 60; *Ion* 281-282. Aglauros: Eur. *Ion* 267-274; Amelesagoras, *FGrH* 330 F 1; Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F 105.

¹¹ Paus. IX 2, 5; cf. Thuc. III 58, 4.

¹² Thus Onesilos at Amathous, Hdt. V 114; see in general M. VISSER, «Worship your enemies: aspects of the cult of heroes in ancient Greece», in *HTbR* 75 (1982), 403-428.

πύλαι.¹³ On the other hand, divine sanctuaries near gates seem to be a more random bunch where situation is of less importance. An exception to this might be the sanctuaries of Eileithuia found beside gates in both Corinth and Argos — Eileithuia is the goddess who presides over the production of future soldiers, and her close connexion with matters defensive is seen for instance in her double temple shared with Sosipolis at Elis (Paus. VI 20, 2). But on the whole it is the hero, not the god, who protects the gate; the Gods' defensive power is perhaps more generalised, indeed the god has always the option of leaving the city. One reason for the clustering of heroes at gates may lie in the ambivalent status of the hero, who is both human and more than human. Of course, the heroic tomb is normally exempt from the polluting effect of ordinary burial-places, and as we have seen tomb-based heroa are commonplace within the city walls. Still, the normal place for tombs in most cities was along the roads leading away from the town area, and in most cities intramural burial remained anomalous. A burial position situated actually at the transition from outside the walls to the inner habitational area would perfectly express the peculiar status of the hero as a being situated between the divine and hence permanently pure, and the human and hence subject to pollution. Hence the gate as simple entrance and exit relates to the *status* of the hero, whereas in its role as city defence it is aligned with the typical *function* of the heroes situated near it.

4. Hero-sanctuary and group

So far I have been considering the sanctuary purely as a special area in relation to its setting. But much of its real

¹³ Paus. IX 25, 1; cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 911 ff.; 985 ff.

significance comes from what is done there, from the cult acts which place the sanctuary in its setting in relation to other sanctuaries and cult complexes, to the passage and perception of calendrical time, and to the life of the city and its sub-groups. We might begin by looking at the heroon as the meeting-place of a group. Such a function is well-attested for Athens, where the shrines of the tribal eponymoi acted to some extent as a kind of tribal centre — indeed, it was perhaps precisely this physical location which enabled a sense of tribal loyalties to be created *ex nihilo*. We can get some idea of what this involved from fourth-century tribal inscriptions, which taken together create a picture in which members of the tribes assemble for a larger, city festival where «their» hero plays a part (as Pandion in the Pandia).¹⁴ Sacrifice is performed at the heroon, after which the *φυλῆται* hold a meeting; to us, the most visible business of the meeting is the promulgation of honorary decrees, since the record is then inscribed on stone and placed in the heroon, which thus reinforces group consciousness as sacrificial space, as agora, and as archive.

Outside Attica the relative paucity of documentation does not permit such detailed knowledge of the role of the sanctuary, but where we know of the existence of shrines of heroes eponymous to particular groups within the city, it is not hard to imagine that something roughly similar may have taken place. The Athenian tribal heroes are of course in a peculiar position as the eponyms of artificially created divisions, and it may well be that both in Athens and elsewhere the «heroic» eponyms of the older-established tribes and other groups had a much less definite existence in cult. But it seems unlikely that, for instance, the tomb of Hyrnetho in Argos had no special connexion with

¹⁴ E.g. *IG* II² 1138-1155, and see E. KEARNS, *The Heroes of Attica*, BICS Suppl. 57 (London 1989), 81 n. 3.

the non-Dorian tribe Hyrnathioi, whose periodic lack of political privileges might in fact make a heroic focus of identity all the more appealing. Still clearer is the case of the Aigeidai or Aigidai in Sparta, linked by Herodotus (IV 149) with the hero Aigeus (a descendant of Kadmos, not the Athenian hero of the same name); it is stretching credulity to suppose that this group never met at the tomb of Aigeus which is mentioned in Pausanias (III 15, 8) as forming part of a cluster of heroa near the Lesche Poikile, where the complicated genealogical links between the heroes seem particularly suggestive of an interested descent-group, real or supposed.

But it is Attica again which furnishes our only detailed knowledge of «unofficial» groups whose activities centre on hero-sanctuaries. While tribes, genē, phratries and so on can be considered important if not in every respect comparable divisions of the citizen body, the groups of orgeones are small, more informal organisations, loosely but not exclusively based on kinship, whose essential purpose is simply to meet together to worship a hero or heroes, and which apparently have no reference to the city in general. This meeting, however, seems to take place only once a year and to last for no more than two days; documents drawn up by two different groups (*IG* II² 2499, 2501) record the leasing out of their *τεμένη* imposing, it is true, the obligation to «use it *ὡς ἱερῶι*» — meaning, presumably, to avoid introducing polluting objects and activities — but apparently demanding access only at the time of the festival, when the lessee had also to make certain preparations. Without exaggerating the importance of cult and sanctuary, which were thus in full operation for only a brief, though regularly recurring, period of time, we can still see that they had a special if limited importance for the orgeones; particularly by contrast with the lessee, who was obliged to preserve the special character of the sacred space but whose participation in the rites which were its *raison d'être* was, presumably, limited to the preparation.

These privately-owned sanctuaries, then, contrast with the sanctuaries of heroes connected with tribes and other such groups, where access seems to have been unrestricted, either by religious or by practical considerations. Further, the sanctuaries of the tribal heroes in Athens were not the exclusive property of the *φυλῆται*, but as the repositories of a state cult were of potential interest to any citizen, and the same was probably true as a general rule of the sanctuaries, whether divine or heroic, with a particular relationship to other groups as well.¹⁵

5. Hero-sanctuary and divine sanctuary

It is convenient to consider together the spatial and temporal aspects which link the activities performed in the hero-sanctuary with a wider sacred and civic canvas. At the simplest and most frequent level, where two cult acts are performed on the same day or as part of the same festival, a connexion is generally perceived between the two areas of space where the acts take place. If the two are not contiguous and hence permanently linked, they will normally be joined by a procession which articulates a link given expression during the period when the areas display their greatest significance.¹⁶ The general

¹⁵ I should like here to correct my statement in *Crux: Essays presented to G.E.M. de Ste Croix*, *History of Political Thought*, 6 (Exeter 1985), 205-206, and *The Heroes of Attica*, 39, n. 139, that there is no evidence for cults exclusive to a *genos* in Attica; Hdt. V 61 is a clear example (the *Gephyraioi*). However, in view of Herodotus' emphatic language I still think it possible that this is very much the exception.

¹⁶ One example of such a procession is that held at the *Oschophoria*, moving between the sanctuaries of Dionysos and of Athena Skiras at Phaleron. See in general M.P. NILSSON, *Opuscula selecta* I (Lund 1951), 172-174.

principle is the same whether heroes or gods are involved, but the appearance of heroes in the pattern allows the cultic links in space and time more easily to be underlined with links in myth or narrative (Greek mythology, or at least its more public parts, being of course predominantly a heroic mythology). Heroes, then, may be linked either with other heroes or with gods.

By far the better attested pattern is the link with the god. The phenomenon of the heroic cult-area either close to or enclosed by the divine sanctuary is such a widespread and complex one that its treatment here can no longer be postponed. Typically the cult pattern combines spatial proximity and, usually, subordination, with a temporal relation formed through sacrifice or other cult-acts, — often lesser and preliminary, sometimes identical — taking place on what is perceived as the same occasion, and equally typically the cult goes hand in hand with a narrative tradition linking hero or heroine to deity, most frequently as first priest or *πρῶτος εὐρετής* taught by the God. In very general terms, this is a pattern which confirms the view of the hero as intermediate — in more than one sense — between god and man. The independent heroon may to some extent do the same, in that while its form and function is in many, if not all, respects analogous to a divine place of worship, it is frequently smaller and less elaborate than a «typical» divine sanctuary; but where worship of a hero is carried out independently of divine cultus, the «meaning» of the heroic cult is obviously generated by reference to the whole background of cult activity, rather than receiving a special emphasis by juxtaposition. Where a small heroon exists alongside a large divine temple, where the sacrifice of a piglet precedes that of an ox, there can be no quarrelling with the relative ranking of the honorands. Heroes receive sacrifice — they are *κρείττονες*, greater than men — but they belong to a lower rank than gods. Yet proximity tends to express more than just status. The relationship between hero and god is not

one merely of comparative ranking, for since shrines do not move around it is necessarily one particular hero who is honoured next to one god, and this point is very often underlined by an appropriateness in myth. Thus the eponymous heroine of Plataia, linked with Zeus by the tradition of a mock wedding at the Daidala festival, had her heroon near the statue and altar of Zeus Eleutherios (Paus. IX 2, 7; cf. Plut. Fr. 157, 6); the tomb of Aphrodite's real lover Anchises was near her mountain sanctuary between Mantinea and Orchomenos; and beyond the extramural sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Argos were the shrines of his wife Eriphyle and of his charioteer Baton (Paus. II 23, 2). The heroon might be outside the divine sanctuary or actually within the precinct wall (in both cases, of course, connected sacrifices could be made) — thus a rather complicated sacred space at Argos, identified as a temple of Cretan Dionysos, contained the burial place of Ariadne (Paus. II 23, 7). Mythologically, the role of all these heroes and heroines lies in their human closeness to divinity, and the same is true of perhaps the commonest mythological link of all, the hero as institutor of a form of divine worship and founder of the sanctuary.

Almost every sanctuary seems to have a tradition of its foundation, and though the tradition does not always relate that the founder died and was buried on the spot — sometimes one person is responsible for several foundations in one locality, sometimes an alternative mythological tradition is too strong — it is safe to assume that the «evidence» for the tradition, in more cases than we know, would have included a nearby heroon. Indeed, the strength of the pattern is such that in some cases it is likely that an originally quite independent hero was drawn into the cultic and mythical orbit of the deity, simply by the accident of physical proximity. Certainly, it was not possible on every occasion to produce a convincing mythological link between the two; the fact that the bones of the eponymous hero of the Arcadians rested near the altar of Hera, at a place called

«Altars of the Sun», in Mantinea could only be explained by invoking an oracle. But the hero as cult-founder seems to be represented in every part of the Greek world, and indeed at a general level supplies a parallel to the better-investigated phenomenon of the hero as founder of a political grouping. Like the political founder, the cult founder establishes a pattern which will be followed by posterity, but unlike him in so doing he establishes a link between god and man. An equivalent role to founder is that of first priest or priestess (thus Orestes founds the cult of Artemis at Halai Araphenides, and Iphigeneia is her first priestess at Brauron: Eur. *IT* 1449 ff.), and there are several cases where it is clear that the main hero in a divine sanctuary in a sense represents and supplies the model for the priest (or more rarely, other cult personnel). This is a pattern particularly well seen in Attica, where such heroes are both priestly archetype and ἀρχηγέτης of the *genos* which supplies the priest.¹⁷ We might expect that the cult focus of priest or founder would be situated inside the sanctuary, since in these cases the connexion between hero and God is explicitly cultic and the sanctuary is the locus of that connexion. There are indeed examples of such a situation, often incorporating something on a smaller scale than a full heroon — Boutes, ἀρχηγέτης of the Eteoboutadai in Athens, has his altar inside the Erechtheion, Alexanor the founder of the Asklepieion of Titane has his statue established there — but again, a separate heroon of this type of hero is as often found just outside the divine sanctuary. The unnamed hero who «led Dionysos to Sparta» has his sanctuary only «near» Dionysos Kolonatas, Palasgos who founded Demeter Pelasgis at Argos is again located near the divine cult

¹⁷ An extra-Attic example is provided by Euangelos, *archegetes* of the Euangelidai who were the announcers of oracles of Branchidai as he had been (Conon, *FGrH* 26 F 1, 44).

area. In many, perhaps most, of these cases, the connexion through a founding myth is no doubt simply a response to this physical location, but the historical sequence does not affect the later picture: founding and priestly heroes are not necessarily worshipped within the divine sanctuary. On the other hand, there are a few instances of heroes within the sanctuary who have very little mythical or structural connexion with the God: the heroised Demosthenes in the precinct of Poseidon at Kalaureia, for instance (Paus. II 33, 3).

So we are forced to conclude that proximity is as significant as enclosure and seems to have a similar, if not necessarily identical, meaning. The significance perhaps lies not so much in the relative position of hero and god as it might be plotted on a map, but in the fact that the worshipper moves from one to the other. At festivals, it is common practice to prescribe a lesser *πρόθυμα* to one or more heroes before the god is given his due, so that the rite which from the hero's point of view is complete, at the same time forms an introductory stage in the whole act, viewed as centred on the god. As in myth the founding hero mediates between god and man by establishing the cult and thus setting up a form of communication, so in cult the sacrifice to the hero, situated at the beginning of the rite, provides a link between ordinary, profane time and the climactic sacred moment of the divine sacrifice. A similar effect can be seen in spatial terms particularly where the heroon is outside the precinct, although a situation just inside the wall would be equivalent; on non-festival days, too, the hero must be passed before the god is reached, and even on such less formal occasions it may well have been considered proper at least to greet the hero, perhaps to make a small offering.¹⁸ Thus in many cases a liminal position

¹⁸ Although the lexicographical/scholiastic tradition asserts that heroa were passed in silence (e.g. Hesych. s.v. *χρίττονας*), it is clear that this is an

in both space and time is fundamental to the hero's role as part of a larger, god-centred complex.¹⁹

Thus far the generalities. But we do have a few scraps of information which can give us some idea of the kind of variations possible in the pattern of the hero connected with the divine sanctuary. First and most obviously, perhaps, there are cases where the hero stands very close to the god and may seem more like a doublet or a consort than a votary — the sort of hero who gave rise to the once popular and not perhaps totally invalid idea of the «faded god». Thus for instance the sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia at Hermion contained as well as the temple of Demeter a temple dedicated to Klymenos, whom the local tradition available to Pausanias identified as a typical founding hero, though Pausanias himself, surely rightly in view of the scale of the construction and the style of sacrifice,²⁰ suggests

inaccurate extension into a general rule of what applied to the shrines of heroes considered to be dangerous. Many heroes were greeted on passing, as were gods: thus Pindar, *Pyth.* VIII 56-60, and see J. RUSTEN, Γεΐτων ἥρωες, in *HSCP* 87 (1983), 289-297.

¹⁹ *IG* IV 768 and *IG* IV² 297, third century altars from Troizen and Epidauros respectively, attest the title ἥρωος κλειχοφόρος, making it likely that the hero could also have been seen as the doorkeeper or guardian of the sanctuary (cf. W.D. O'FLAHERTY, in C. BERKSON, *Elephanta: the cave of Shiva* [Princeton 1983], 27-31); a role of this sort would have obvious connexions with the prominence of heroes at city gates. Another possible heroic doorkeeper is known in the shape of Herakles the Idaian Dactyl, said to open and close the temple of Demeter at Boeotian Mykalessos every morning and evening — but here there is no sign of a cult, and as A. SCHACHTER (*Cults of Boeotia* I [London 1981], 157) suggests all this may indicate is an admission that the sanctuary had no regular cult personnel.

²⁰ Paus. II 35, 4; 9-10. The building sacred to Klymenos is described as ναός and is mentioned second after that of Chthonia, and while Pausanias is precise on the distinction between θυσία and ἐναγισμός here he says

that he is rather a form of the underworld god. Here a common divine cult combination has partially given way to the pattern of the subordinated hero; a similar ambiguity clings to the equally Demetriad figure Euboulos/Eubouleus. More complex — perhaps because we have more data — is the case of Erechtheus on the Athenian acropolis. In the long history of this cult, two distinct traditions on the nature of the relationship between Poseidon and Erechtheus are discernible, yet the chronological distinction between the two is not clear-cut, and there may have been several other versions current at one time or another. In Pausanias' description (I 26, 5 ff.) the building is called the Erechtheion, and sacrifice to Poseidon and to Erechtheus is performed on the same altar, in accordance with an oracular response not otherwise mentioned. We can also deduce that it is Boutes, not Erechtheus, who occupies the typical role of the priestly hero, and even if this description were our only source of knowledge for this cult it would be clear that the relationship between god and hero is unusually close. Fifth century evidence in fact suggests that at that date no separation was made in cult, since the title used is Poseidon Erechtheus,²¹ and though «Poseidon *and* Erechtheus» appears as early as the first half of the fourth century (*IG* II² 1146), the earlier form survives alongside it. Originally no doubt Poseidon Erechtheus belonged to a pre-heroic class of beings and might best have been described as an ἐπιχώριος δαίμων²²; his cult was closely connected with that of Athena, as is clear already from the Iliadic Catalogue (*Il.* II 547 ff.), and as continues to be the case in the plan of the fifth-century building. But his selection as one of the

that the people of Hermion θύουσιν to Klymenos. The existence of an associated χάσμα γῆς is also suggestive.

²¹ Thus *IG* I² 580 and Eur. *Erechtheus*, fr. 65, 93-4 Austin.

²² The phrase used by Pausanias (VI 20, 2) to characterise Sosipolis of Elis.

Cleisthenic eponymoi guarantees a position at least in some respects like that of a normal hero, and the tradition of his death was thus presumably familiar by this stage.²³ Here then we have a complex quasi-heroic figure who is both paired in some way with Athena, and linked with Poseidon both by identification and by traditions of hostility. The form of the sanctuary perfectly reflects what we can glean from other sources; a double temple, its two parts concerned respectively primarily with Poseidon Erechtheus and with Athena Polias, and a single altar for Poseidon and Erechtheus, reflecting either their identity or their very close connexion.

The original relationship between the Arcadian heroine Kallisto and the goddess Artemis Kalliste is generally thought to have been similar to that between Erechtheus and Poseidon: the two were once either identical or nearly so. But Pausanias' description of the cult-place at Trikolonoi (VIII 35, 8) suggests a different development; the major structure is a large mound of earth, known as the grave of Kallisto, containing a grove of various types of trees and topped by a shrine of Artemis Kalliste. There is no sign that the heroine received regular sacrifice, but the layout alone is a striking inversion of the norm making the heroic cult-place a smaller and subordinate part of the divine. It is possible that the identification of the tumulus as a tomb is relatively late, and that the heroine Kallisto at no stage had any «real», that is cultic, existence; yet as the mother of Arkas she ought clearly to be an important figure in myth, and once the

²³ It is often stated in modern works that Erechtheus had a tomb in the Erechtheion or temple of Athena Polias, assuming them to be the same thing; but what Apollodorus (III 14,7) and Clement (*Protr.* III 45, 1) actually say is that *Erichthonios* was buried in the temple of Athena Polias. The relationship between these two figures is certainly close, though they were not identical in myth; they *may* have been identified in cult, but this is far from certain.

separation of divine and heroic figures had occurred, the form of the relationship between the two must be considered significant.

But a more straightforward example, perhaps, of apparent subordination of the divine to the heroic is the case of the sanctuary of Hippolytos at Troizen. The large precinct contained besides the main temple of Hippolytos temples dedicated to Apollo Epibaterios, Damia and Auxesia, and Aphrodite Kataskopia, as well as a stadium, appropriate to Hippolytos' interests and ephebic status, and other structures, including the tomb of Phaidra and in some versions that of Hippolytos.²⁴ What is remarkable about this complex is how neatly it falls into the pattern of a major divine sanctuary, containing buildings for the cult of the main deity honoured and of subordinate, closely related gods and heroes (Aphrodite Kataskopia, Phaidra), as well as attracting other cults apparently not integrally connected (Apollo, Damia and Auxesia). In fact the sanctuary plan taken on its own would once more lead us to conclude that Hippolytos was not a hero at all, but a local divinity, and something of this sort appears to be confirmed by Pausanias' report of the local tradition that Hippolytos had no tomb, but was bodily translated to the aither. He is apparently like Erechtheus a pre-heroic figure later partially assimilated to the class of heroes, although unlike Erechtheus he is not also approximated to an Olympian God. However, the transformation to heroic status is not merely formal, since it is clear that in some versions Hippolytos had a tomb: «they know it but they do not show it» says Pausanias (III 32, 1, cf. 4), referring to a tumulus crowned with myrtle, near that of Phaidra, and the scholiast to Euripides

²⁴ Paus. II 32, 1-4. Hippolytos may have had a similar, if less elaborate, cult complex in Athens; Eur. *Hipp.* 31-32 links him in cult there with both Aphrodite and Phaidra, and *IG I³* 369, 66, Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Ἱππολυ[τείῳ], may suggest that as at Troizen the deity was topographically subordinated to the hero.

also records a tomb at Troizen; the use of the unusual word ἥριον may suggest a local tradition actually using that word for the tomb. As with the Erechtheion, then, the cult buildings express two clashing concepts, the hero and the divine figure, and in both cases the difficulty seems to have been felt: but whereas in Athens the mortal component came to predominate in people's minds, in Troizen Hippolytos seems to be viewed not quite as a god, it is true, but certainly as more than an ordinary hero.

These last-discussed cases also demonstrate that the mythological connexion between hero and god is not always a straightforward or expected one. Erechtheus defeats Poseidon's son in the Eleusinian war, and is killed by a blow from his trident: «he will be called Poseidon after the one who killed him», says Athena in Euripides (*Erechtheus*, fr. 65 Austin). And in one version Kallisto's destroyer was not Hera, but Artemis (Kalliste) herself.²⁵ Hippolytos of course rejects Aphrodite, and she retaliates by destroying him. Yet if any of these cult-complexes includes a ritual opposition corresponding to the mythical hostility, we do not hear of it. Such «negative links» are found in two well-known cases: Pelops and Zeus at Olympia, and Telephos and Asklepios at Pergamon. Pausanias, who makes the comparison (V 13, 3), tells us that in each case some type of participation in the cult of the hero renders the worshipper unfit to come before the god. Here, by contrast, a mythological dimension is lacking and the point seems to be an opposition between the *status* of hero and that of god, stressed to an unusual degree.²⁶ But whatever meaning is attached to such prohibi-

²⁵ [Hesiodus], Fr. 163 M.W.

²⁶ Elsewhere (III 26, 10) Pausanias tells us that the name of Telephos' son Eurypylos was not to be spoken in the Asklepieion, since he had killed

tions, they clearly establish a negative version of the link between sanctuaries formed by sacrificial processions. In the simple case, sacrifice at sanctuary A is followed by sacrifice at sanctuary B, as part of the same series of cult acts, part of the same festival; the throng of worshippers moves from one to the other. One testimony (*Schol. ad Pind. Ol. I 149*) even makes the sacrifice to Pelops a *πρόθυμα* to that for Zeus, but if this is true the movement is one marked out with conditions and incompatible with complete participation in the first rite. In fact generally in the negative pattern, the move to the God is the one direction marked out as forbidden to the worshipper, unless certain conditions are met. Other types of ritual opposition are known in non-heroic contexts, as for instance the rule requiring the absence of the priestess of Demeter at sacrifice to the mysterious Eleusinian figure Daeira; a possible parallel to this might be the remarkable ritual of the Asklepieion at Titane, where the statue of Koronis is removed from the sanctuary at the time of the greatest sacrifice to the god, and given honours instead in the temple of Athena.²⁷

Clearly this last case must have had more significances than it seems now possible to recover. But when we simply consider the times and places at which the cult acts take place, it is equally clear that this sequence of events generates both a connexion and an opposition. In one sense, a positive connexion is established between two sanctuaries — but this is not the simple case where procession and sacrifice link A and B, hero and god: rather, the procession moves from sanctuary A to sanctuary B for the purpose of transporting a *tertium quid* — in other words, the

Asklepios' son Machaon; but since Telephos' own name occurred in the hymn used to Asklepios, this can hardly be the origin of the prohibition.

²⁷ Eust. *ad Hom. Il. VI 648*. Cf. also Plut. Fr. 157, 2 on ritual opposition between Hera and Dionysos at Athens.

heroine Koronis forms a link between two divine sanctuaries, between the cult complex of Asklepios and that of Athena. Further, the two climactic actions — the sacrifice to Asklepios and the honours paid to Koronis — are indissolubly connected, for they happen simultaneously, and the one cannot take place without the other. Still, this very simultaneity guarantees an incompatibility. This is not the widespread case of preliminary sacrifice to hero(ine) followed by sacrifice to god; rather, the two must be opposed, since their physical separation is emphasized and it is clearly impossible for the same person to participate in both sacrifices. Here, the presence of the heroine in the same sanctuary seems to be motivated by the need for her periodic absence.²⁸

The ritual transportation of a cult statue, though not the norm of the Greek procession, is not uncommon,²⁹ and frequently serves to link two sanctuaries, perhaps drawing attention to former settlement or worship patterns, perhaps underlining a mythological connexion. Yet Koronis is, I think, the only case we know of a heroic statue being taken in procession between two sanctuaries. Of their nature, heroes are very much less freefloating than gods and in any one locality are normally worshipped in one place only. Indeed, the hero as link between two gods is, as we might expect, very much rarer than the hero connected with one deity. From mythological data,

²⁸ There seems to be no explanation for such an action in terms of myth or otherwise, unless we are to invoke an obscure tradition making Koronis the lover, not the mother, of Asklepios (*Schol. ad Hom. Il. IV 195*; Hyg. *Fab. 97* — explained by U. v. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Isyllos von Epidauros* [Berlin 1886], 49 n. 12, as resulting from a lacuna). If this is a genuine tradition it is possible that at Titane Koronis was thought to have betrayed Asklepios as elsewhere she did Apollo.

²⁹ See M.P. NILSSON, «Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult», in *Opuscula selecta I* (Lund 1951), 174-175.

indeed from the apparent staging requirements of Euripides' play, we might expect that Hippolytos would act as a link between the loathed Aphrodite (with whom he *is* connected in cult) and the loved Artemis, but neither in Troizen nor in Athens is there an incontrovertible sign of a cultic connexion with Artemis.³⁰ In fact, the two best candidates for «link heroes» both come from Patrai; I do not know whether this is coincidence. The less definite case is that of Preuges (Paus. VII 20, 8-9), credited in myth as a typical founder-figure who brought a statue from Sparta and established the cult of Artemis Limnatis. In the city as it was in Pausanias' day, this goddess had two cult centres, one in Mesoa, where Preuges was said to have established the statue and where for most of the year it reposed, and the second opposite the agora, where the ancient statue was brought for the duration of the festival. This second centre was typical of the larger cult complex, being overall sacred to one deity — Artemis Limnatis — but containing as well as her temple the temples of assorted others, conspicuously Asklepios and Athena. It was in the stoa in front of Athena's temple that the tomb of Preuges was to be found, yet he received sacrifice not, apparently, in close connexion with that goddess but at the festival of Artemis Limnatis herself. Perhaps his juxtaposition with Athena was pure accident, but even so it might seem that the presence of the Artemisian hero next to Athena would have helped to integrate the other goddess within the cult complex.

At any rate, in the case of Eurypylos (Paus. VII 19, 1-10) we have enough information to see that there is nothing accidental

³⁰ The temple of Artemis Lykeia at Troizen was said to have been founded by Hippolytos (Paus. II 31, 4), but this would be an almost inevitable consequence of the classic form of the myth; it is not in itself evidence of cult.

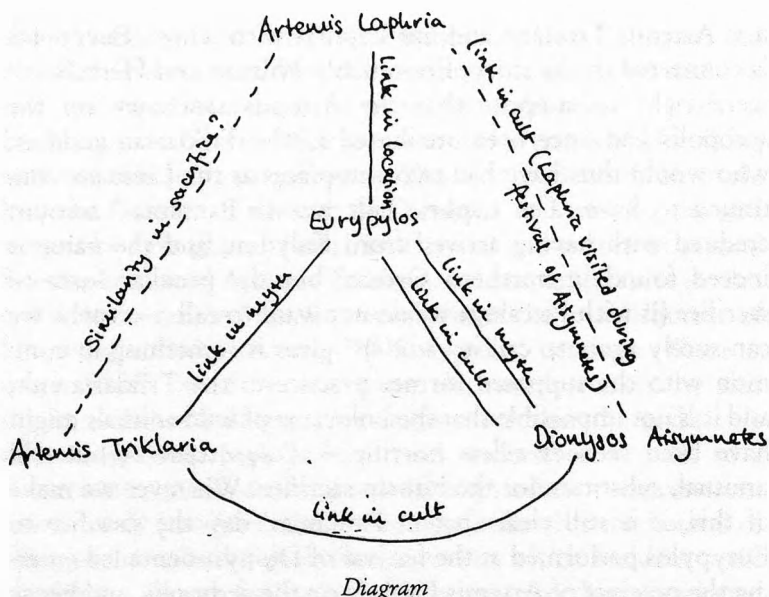
about this important hero's connexion with both Dionysos and Artemis. These two deities are not uncommonly associated in cult and have in common a prominence in the cultic life of Patrai, but the figure of Eurypylos is also prominent in making sense of this joint prominence. The mythical tradition made him the founder of the cult of Dionysos Aisymnetes, the god whom he brought to Patrai in a chest, and a sort of second founder of that of Artemis Triklaria, for human sacrifice in that cult came to an end simultaneously with the establishment of Dionysos and the cessation of Eurypylos' madness. There is much which could be said about the motifs evoked by this myth; as far as cult goes, we might note that the god's title αἰσυμνήτης could perhaps have been understood to refer to a «correction» in the Artemis cult (though other interpretations are certainly possible), and less conjecturally that the festival of Dionysos involved a preliminary rite in which children were prepared as though for the Artemisian sacrifice, then abandoned their garlands of wheat to the goddess, whose temple was on the banks of the Meilichos, bathed and put on fresh crowns of ivy before proceeding to the temple of Dionysos. This would obviously be taken to refer to the superseding of the old form of the Artemis cult by the agency of the new cult of Dionysos (similarly the river was said to have been renamed, having previously been Ameilichos) and no specific reference to the hero Eurypylos is necessary in the ritual. Eurypylos does have a place in the festival, though, receiving annual ἐναγισμός at this time in the typical manner of the founding hero. What makes this rite unusual is the topographical position of his shrine and hence of the sacrifice. We would expect that Eurypylos would have his tomb at the sanctuary of Dionysos Aisymnetes, situated between the agora and the sea, but in fact it is on the acropolis — between the temple and the altar or Artemis Laphria. The position could hardly be more pointed, joining Artemis with Dionysos, but the complexity does not end here:

it is Artemis Triklaria and not Laphria with whom Eurypylos is connected in the story. Presumably Nilsson and Herbillon³¹ were right to suppose that the Artemis sanctuary on the acropolis had once been attributed to the Triklarian goddess, who would thus have had two cult-places as the Limnatis continued to have. The Laphria cult was in Pausanias' account credited with having arrived from Kalydon, and the name is indeed found in northern Greece; but the peculiar form of sacrifice (if with Piccaluga we do not want to call it «cruel», we can surely agree to call it «wild»)³² gives it something in common with the supposed former practice in the Triklaria cult, and it is not impossible that the holocaust of wild animals might have been seen as a less horrific — ἐλαφρότερον — but still unusual, substitute for the human sacrifice. Whatever we make of this, it is still clear that in Pausanias' day the sacrifice to Eurypylos performed at the festival of Dionysos entailed entering the precinct of Artemis Laphria on the acropolis, and hence for some at least of the participants involved the processional link between these two divine sanctuaries. At least three areas of the city were visited in the course of the festival, and Eurypylos has some connexion with all of them.

Thus the link which Eurypylos provided between the two Artemis sanctuaries is not a direct one, since he is connected by myth to one, and by location and hence cult-act to the other. The hero as link between two or more sanctuaries of what is perceived as the same divinity is a not uncommon pattern, but it is much more usually expressed in myth than in cult. So for

³¹ M.P. NILSSON, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906), 217; J. HERBILLON, *Les cultes de Patras* (Baltimore 1929), 41.

³² The form of sacrifice and its implications are discussed by G. PICCALUGA, in *Le sacrifice dans l'Antiquité*, Entretiens Hardt, 27 (Genève 1981), 243-287.



instance three sanctuaries near Megalopolis, of which at least two and possibly all three were dedicated to the Maniai (goddesses resembling the Eumenides), were said to have been founded by Orestes, and the contrasting cult prescribed in each of them was explained in terms of his madness and recovery (Paus. VIII 34, 1). But there is no sign of any worship of Orestes himself, though it may at one time have existed. There is, I think, one example of a genuine heroic cult connexion between two sanctuaries of Herakles, who in this context should be regarded as a god. This is the case of Diomos, the founder of the famous Herakleion at Kynosarges in Athens, who was claimed to have been the first to pay Herakles divine honours. We would expect him to have cult at Kynosarges, and yet his priest turns up in an inscription relating to the Herakleion at Bate (*IG* II² 1247), a sanctuary closely associated with the cult group

known as the Mesogeioi. It is possible that here we have an anomaly like that of Eurypylos, with Diomos linked in myth to one sanctuary and in cult to another; but a more elegant solution, as I have suggested elsewhere,³³ is to suppose that the celebrations of the Mesogeioi involved a procession (a πομπή is mentioned in this inscription and the related 1245) from the Kynosarges temple to that at Bate, in which the priest of Diomos took part. We could even conjecture that like Koronis Diomos might have been taken in statue form from one place to the other. What would seem to follow from this hypothesis is that the Mesogeioi were in a sense validating their own special sanctuary by associating it with one of the two best-known Herakleia in central Athens, the one with which the first perception of Herakles as god was connected. Perhaps it was intended to represent the Bate sanctuary as a direct offshoot of Kynosarges, or as connected in the founding myth. In any case, the presence of Diomos would be a distinctive and symbolic feature of the Kynosarges cult, and hence his worship in whatever form by the Mesogeioi would be an effective way of making the connexion between the two Herakleia.

6. Links between hero-sanctuaries

The basic form, then, of the hero and his sanctuary characterised by a connexion with a divine sanctuary was clearly capable of many variables — no doubt we can reconstruct only a fraction. But cult could also link two heroic sanctuaries, with

³³ *The Heroes of Attica*, 98 n. 92. In support of a link between two sanctuaries, we could further adduce the lexicographical tradition s.v. Κυνόσαργες: when Diomos made the sacrifice (at Bate?), a white dog ran off with the bones, and where it dropped them (at Kynosarges) an altar was founded.

or without divine reference. Whenever hero sanctuaries appear in a pair or a group, there is always the possibility that there is a cultic significance in the physical proximity; but it is only a possibility, unless confirmed by other evidence. Some of the pitfalls are illustrated by Plutarch's *forty-eighth Greek Question*: «Why is the heroon of Odysseus near that of the Leukippides at Sparta?» The question presupposes that some people will assume that proximity denotes connexion, but the answer indicates that in the view of Plutarch or his source the juxtaposition of the two heroa is accidental. Rather, Odysseus is present in the area because it is also near the Palladion, which an oracular response declared should be guarded by one of the original thieves. For the originator of this opinion, then, proximity may be significant, or it may not; the Leukippides had evidently a conspicuous shrine (unlike that of Odysseus, it is mentioned in Pausanias' description, III 16, 1), which is used here simply as a direction-marker. What we are not told is whether any cult practice linked whatever was taken to be the Palladion with the heroon of Odysseus, still less how many Spartans felt a connexion of any sort to exist.

Evidently Sparta was crammed full of heroa in the roman period, so the problem of significant/non-significant proximity is particularly acute here. Fortunately some other cities prove less intractable. Argos, for instance, displayed two sets of juxtaposed graves of homonyms: «Linos the son of Apollo and Psamathe, and Linos the epic poet», «Hypermetra the mother of Amphion, and Hypermetra the daughter of Danaos» (Paus. II 19,8; 21, 2). No doubt this represents a mythological rationalisation of some earlier cult complex, but the association must obviously have persisted in the minds of citizen and sightseer. A similar if not identical case preserves a connexion closer than the apparent coincidence of name: Perseus' daughter Gorgophone was buried near the mound which covered Medea's severed head, giving us Gorgon and Gorgophone

(Paus. II 21, 6-7). In none of these cases is cult actually attested, which is not of course to say that it never occurred. The more varied and earlier testimony available to us in the case of Attica, however, enables us to see some connected heroic sacrifices and hence connected heroa. The surviving sacrifice calendars of the state and of various groups within the state — whatever the scope of these calendars may have been — do suggest the existence of such groups, although normally the linked heroes are part of a pattern including divine sacrifice also. The most frequent difficulty in dealing with these documents is the ambiguity in the demarcation of sacrifice groups; often only the month rubric is actually expressed, and within this limit the reader is intended to be able to separate the festivals or cult groupings himself, sometimes but not always assisted by strategically placed spaces. Thus on many occasions we can only be sure of a connexion between heroic sacrifices when there is an obvious link anyway, whether mythological or other. So for instance the Thorikos calendar³⁴ begins the entry under Elaphebolion with sacrifices to Herakles (or the Herakleidai), Alkmene, the Anakes, Helen, Demeter... Alkmene's connexion with the circle of Herakles is obvious from myth, and confirmed with cult in three other regions of Attica. Helen's worship in Attica together with her brothers the Dioskouroi or Anakes is referred to by Euripides (*Hel.* 1666-1669) and plainly spelled out in Pausanias Atticista (*ap.* Eustath. *ad* Hom. *Od.* I 399). But the calendar does not reveal to us whether these two pairs are further connected with each other, or with Demeter and the following deities. A second major problem in using these documents to investigate the mutual relations of hero sanc-

³⁴ G. DAUX, «Le calendrier de Thorikos au musée J. Paul Getty», in *AC* 52 (1983), 150-174.

tuaries is that of getting a clear locality out of the truncated references in the calendars; the few toponyms we have from Marathon and Erchia are not really sufficient to enable us to construct a sacred geography of those demes, and even when we are presented with sacrifices taking place on the same day in different parts of Erchia we cannot know whether the link is of the «positive» or «negative» nature, whether the two take place consecutively and are linked by a procession, or whether they are opposed and mutually exclusive.

Simple location is not, of course, the only ingredient in the linking of heroa. They might in addition, or instead, be linked by each having a special connexion with a cult association, as for instance the orgeones of Asklepios, Amynos and Dexion at Athens took a special interest in two sanctuaries and placed their decrees in both (*IG* II² 1252; but only ἐ[ν] τῷ[ι] ἱερῷ in 1253). This may have been quite a common state of affairs among the Attic orgeones, another example being apparently the case of Echelos and the heroines. This case was perhaps more complex, involving the partial transfer of one of the heroic parties to the original sanctuary of the other — or perhaps, as Ferguson suggests, the worship of both in a precinct which originally belonged to neither. Here, then, the link involves the multiplication of cult-places in order to create proximity.³⁵

As adjacent hero-shrines may lack any real connexion, so we might suppose that even quite distant sanctuaries depended for part of their significance on each other. One well-known example even crosses polis boundaries, and demonstrates also that hostility can be quite as important a link between hero and hero as between hero and god. This is the case of the tumulus of Amphion and Zethos in Thebes and that of Antiope and

³⁵ B.D. MERITT, in *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 282-287 = *LSS* 20. See W.S. FERGUSON, «The Attic Orgeones», in *HTHR* 37 (1944), 73-79.

Phokos at Tithorea in Phokis (Paus. IX 17, 4-7). The hostility is acted out not by means of the honours which one normally associates with the word «cult», but by a fight between the Tithoreans attempting to steal earth from the Theban tomb to place on their monument and the Thebans trying to prevent them. Ritual fighting is of course not unknown elsewhere in the Greek world, but this form, which has clear affinities with the «talisman» approach to some sets of heroic bones, notably those of Orestes, seems to be unique. Phokos is clearly eponymous to Phokis, but it is especially during the period of the year when the conflict takes place that the two tombs become symbolic of their whole districts, since whichever side is successful (and one can imagine that in these circumstances both might have claimed victory) not only vindicates its honour but causes a good harvest in the city's territory. In mythological terms, of course, the hostility is unexpected; Antiope was the mother of Amphion and Zethos, and one might rather have expected a ritual enactment of hostility between the two brothers and their wicked stepmother Dirke. Heroic enmities are the lifeblood of myth, and elsewhere we see them reflected in cult in a more straightforward manner: Herodotus' account (V 67) of the attempt of Cleisthenes of Sikyon to drive out or at least dishonour Adrastos by introducing a cult of Melanippos is the *locus classicus*, and a literal, spatial element was certainly involved in the contrast between two heroa, even if we cannot see all the details. Elsewhere the hostility finds expression in taboos, such as that which forbids the entry of a flute-player or the mention of the name Achilles in the sanctuary of Tenes at Tenedos, which again has a justification in myth.³⁶ Whether or not two actual cult-places are involved, what these cases have in common is the sense of a dichotomy between aggressor and

³⁶ Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 28; cf. 27 and Paus. III 26, 10.

victim, potential or actual. The heroic aggressor evidently desires contact, of a hostile type of course, with his victim; the victim, not surprisingly, shuns it. The concepts involved in cult acts or taboos of this sort are simple and naturalistic.

For my final example, however, I return to a more friendly kind of proximity, and I return to Sparta, where opposite the theatre the two graves of Pausanias son of Pleistoanax and of Leonidas the general of Thermopylae, his great-great-uncle, were to be seen (Paus. III 14, 1). The graves are not stated to have been elaborated into *ἱερά*, but cult certainly took place in connexion with them: every year they witnessed honorific speeches and games, presumably in addition to heroic *ἐναγισμός*. What is interesting here is the precise nature of the connexion between the two heroes, for it was Pausanias who was said to have brought back the bones of Leonidas from Thermopylae, and thus instituted his cult in Sparta. In other words, Pausanias is an institutor-hero parallel to the more widespread founders of divine cults, and like them he himself receives cult in connexion with the foundation. A similar case retrojected to the mythical period is that of the graves of Sisypheos and Neleus (Paus. II 2, 2); both were buried at the Isthmos, Neleus by Sisypheos who alone kept the secret of the grave's whereabouts, while the grave of Sisypheos himself was also known to few. The distinctive quality of the first cult, its secrecy, is thus extended to the cult of the founder, just as the ritual for Pausanias is apparently identical to that which he established for Leonidas. In distinction to divine foundations, the founder-hero is of potentially equal rank to the hero whose cult is founded; this is what the ritual expresses.

Yet in other respects, these examples show hero in the same relation to hero as elsewhere hero is in to god. In terms of function, the two groups of founding heroes are exactly equivalent; in terms of status, the two types of case differ in the relationship between founder and founded. Neither equivalence nor dif-

ference is left to be inferred from abstract principles; they are expressed in terms of the dynamic of sanctuary and ritual. Heroic *status* — between man and god, but also serving in some sense to define the difference between man and god — and heroic *function* — a much more variable factor, defined by each individual's particular relation to forms of human and divine activity — together form a sort of matrix in which each individual hero can be located. And in this the spatial metaphor is not an accident, nor merely a metaphor, since the space occupied by the sanctuary and its associated rituals plays a crucial role in defining and expressing the hero's meaning.

DISCUSSION

M. Tomlinson: In considering the relationship between the hero and the type of sanctuary, it may be worth considering the reverse process, with the debased hero cults of the Hellenistic period, where the creation of the appropriate type of sanctuary is used as a means of establishing hero-status for an individual. I think in particular of two examples, at Kalydon where an individual called Leon is given a heroon, with dining room, a vaulted place of burial and so forth, and where he is worshipped as «The New Herakles» (and so associated with the cult of Herakles); the other, which is not known from archaeological evidence, but epigraphic (*IG XII 3, 330*), is the will of Epikteta, who set up a sanctuary of the Muses, again complete with a feasting ritual, in order to heroize her dead husband and her sons.

M. Graf: Ich frage mich, ob die Stiftung der Epikteta wirklich einfach als Heroenkult bezeichnet werden darf. Epikteta stiftet ja einen Kult der Musen, der kombiniert ist mit dem von vier Verstorbenen: ihr Mann, ihr Schwiegervater, ihr Sohn, sie selber. Im Grunde handelt es sich also um die geläufige Kombination von Gottheit plus Heros, wobei in diesem Fall der Götterkult als Stütze und Legitimation der Heroenkulte dient, die so allein also wohl undenkbar oder wenigstens schwieriger realisierbar gewesen wären; der Komplex von Μουσείον und ἡρώια hingegen ist akzeptiert. Vielleicht kann man also sogar gewisse Bedenken mithören, einen Kult allein von Verstorbenen zu stiften.

Mme Kearns: I agree that the two cases are not quite parallel, in that the first «hero», Leon, is formally identified with an established figure of cult, while in the case of Epikteta's inscription the new heroes are associated with

the Muses but subordinated to them, more in the usual earlier manner of the hero worshipped in association with a divinity. But they are clearly comparable, in that in both heroisation is legitimated by some kind of approximation to established divinity, as Professor Graf says. Such forms are of course extremely common in the hellenistic and later periods, but there are also apparent examples of heroisation without such divine reference, parallel to what I have called the «independent» hero of an earlier period. In such cases, as Professor Tomlinson suggests, we would have to look for legitimation to the use of the appropriate architectural forms in the sanctuary itself, or else — more difficult to establish — to the use of appropriate ritual. But of course the longer the heroisation of ordinary people had been established, the more it would be possible to diverge from the norm.

Mme Bergquist: You have described various properties characteristic of heroa. Would you be kind enough to indicate which, in your opinion, are the minimum criteria of a heroon?

Mme Kearns: The absolute minimum would I think be an enclosure of some sort, which need not of course be so permanent as a stone wall. One would expect also a place for sacrifice, whether altar, tomb, or simply a pit; but there is evidence to suggest that some heroes did not expect regular offerings and preferred to be left alone (e.g. Babrius, *Fab.* 63, part of a tradition which can be traced at least to Aristophanes, "Ἡρώες, *PCG* III 2 F 322, and perhaps Eur. *Heraclid.* 1040 ff.; see my *Heroes of Attica* [London 1989], 10-13, 49), so it is possible to imagine that in some cases a simple ἄβατον precinct could have been all that existed of a hero's abode. On the other side, it is also easy to suppose that sporadic, irregular heroic offerings could have been made at tombs and other places without a formal enclosure. But one could equally well argue that these two types of case do not constitute heroa.

Mme Jost: J'ajoute une hypothèse à celles que vous formulez à propos de Téléphe, sur les cultes héroïques dans les montagnes sauvages: l'isolement du héros-enfant que l'on cache sur le mont Parthénion a son parallèle chez les dieux (Hermès, né sur le mont Cyllène, ou Zeus, sur le mont Lycée), et l'on

peut se demander s'il ne s'agit pas dans les deux cas d'élever loin des hommes des êtres qui sont de nature différente.

Mme Kearns: Yes, the case of the hero seems to have more in common with that of the god than I allowed for, especially in the Arcadian context. Perhaps I could modify my statement and say simply that the mountain cult, mythologically connected with a human birth, is a factor setting the hero apart from the normal run of human beings. The difference may be positively or negatively construed — or, given the hero's paradoxical nature, both. Telephos is the bastard child of a disgraced priestess, born outside normal social structures, placed outside society, only just avoiding death; but he is also the son of Herakles, and a hero. Just so — if we set aside an actual mountain cult, for which there is no evidence — in Sophocles, Oedipus, exposed on mount Kithairon, is both the child disgraced (*ἀρχαῖον κακόν*, OT 1033) and put away at birth, and the hero, both the saviour and (nearly) the destroyer of Thebes. Before the revelation, Kithairon has the positive connotation of an exceptional birth, both to Oedipus (1080) and to the chorus (1086-1109), but by the end of the play it is the sign of misfortune and rejection.

M. Bingen: Il est légitime de chercher les raisons qui ont pu suggérer le choix de l'emplacement d'un hérôon en fonction de la spécificité du héros et du contexte géographique et religieux. Mais il y a certainement eu des cas où il faut inverser le processus: c'est le site qui crée le culte héroïque et fait identifier le héros. Ainsi, à Thorikos, la fouille d'une tombe à coupole de l'Helladique récent a révélé la présence d'un lieu de culte de la fin de l'époque archaïque et du début de l'époque classique: on y a laissé des offrandes, mais, surtout, on avait aménagé le passage des libations dans la fosse. D'autre part, quand on lit la description d'Argos dans le livre II de Pausanias, la multiplicité des tombes attribuées à des héros et des héroïnes jusque dans l'agora frappe d'autant plus que les fouilles ont mis au jour de nombreuses grandes tombes *intra muros* d'époque géométrique. Ici aussi on peut penser que, dans de nombreux cas, on est passé, par amplification progressive, de la tombe inconnue sur laquelle on était tombé, au culte d'un héros identifié en fonction du contexte mythique argien.

M. Tomlinson: There is also the Menelaion at Sparta. I remember discussing this problem with Hector Catling when he was excavating there. In this case, it seems that the Spartans were actively looking for a tomb at which to establish the cult, and chose a mound which appeared to be a tomb, though careful archaeological investigation has revealed absolutely no evidence that there ever was a tomb there.

Mme Kearns: I agree entirely with M. Bingen's point. Even if we don't want to ascribe the origins of hero-cult as a whole phenomenon to the discovery of Mycenaean tombs, the archaeological evidence from all over Greece leaves no doubt that there were many instances of the process described for Thorikos. Some idea of the thought-processes involved can be gained from Plutarch's description (*De genio Socratis* 5, 577 E-F) of the opening of Alkmene's tomb: a late source, admittedly, but one which must throw light on the original heroic identification of a presumably Bronze Age burial. With the account of Pausanias (I 43, 3) relating that the Megarians built their bouleuterion over «heroic» graves (rather than establishing heroa in the civic centre) we move one stage further on. Professor Tomlinson's example is a stage further still, but one which is already tending to return towards my original proposition that heroa are established at appropriate places. In the case of real tombs, I think it is possible that there is some selectivity exercised, no doubt at an unconscious level. Mycenaean and even later tombs become heroa, yes, but not all of them — it is mainly perhaps those which fit into a predetermined pattern of spatial organisation which are selected.

M. van Straten: On the subject of the ranking of heroes in relation to gods, where you referred to *leges sacrae* listing cheap and expensive sacrificial animals for heroes and gods respectively, I wonder how we may establish the relative importance of a deity to the ancient worshippers. Would not it depend on whom we asked and on what occasion? It appears that in *private* worship (as opposed to the communal cults reflected in the sacred laws) heroes were no less revered than gods. The votive reliefs dedicated to heroes are not smaller, nor less in number, than those given to the most popular gods. And in sacrificial representations on those privately dedicated reliefs,

the heroes' sacrificial animals are not cheaper, on average, than those given to the gods.

Mme Kearns: I suspect it may have depended more on what occasion than on whom. There is abundant evidence that heroes, as a class, ranked lower than gods: the sequence «gods, heroes, men» is standard. On the other hand, when one is sacrificing to heroes alone, their inferiority to gods is irrelevant — it is their superiority to human beings which is important. In the case of individual heroes it was also often no doubt the case that their specific function guaranteed them an importance and a ranking, in the view of either individual or group, higher than the general status of «hero», viewed in connexion with that of «god», would suggest.

M. Schachter: The preliminary ritual at the oracle of Trophonios, as described by Pausanias, provides an interesting example of sacrifices offered indifferently to both heroes and gods before the actual consultation of the hero. On the other hand, Trophonios, in the hellenistic period and later, was sometimes called Zeus Trophonios, so perhaps in this case too he is to be regarded as a god rather than a hero.

Mme Kearns: *Prima facie* Trophonios seems to be a case not unlike Hippolytos at Troizen, that is a figure who does not correspond particularly closely to a panhellenic deity and who is therefore identified as a hero, despite the fact that his importance seems on all occasions to outstrip the rank normally attributed to a hero, and despite the lack of a full heroic mythology. This leads to an apparent anomaly whereby divine figures are subordinated to a «hero» in the sanctuary at Lebadeia. The alternative identification with Zeus, comparable at least formally to «Poseidon Erechtheus», shows that this was not felt as entirely satisfactory.

M. van Straten: Are not we perhaps overexerting ourselves in trying to define a clear cut distinction between gods and heroes, considering the fact that the Greeks themselves were perfectly content to refer to the ἥρωες ἱετρός, in one and the same official inscription, alternately as a ἥρωας and as a θεός? (IG II² 839, which is admittedly post-classical, but not by much.)

Mme Kearns: There are also earlier examples of figures we would expect to be described as ἥρωας who are instead θεός: Hypodektes, apparently a typical «orgeonic» hero (IG II² 2501), the deme-hero Kolonos (Soph. OC 65), but your example is particularly clear in that both words are used. All the same, the *title* is clearly ἥρωας ἱατρός, never θεός ἱατρός, so there is a distinction of some sort. The problem is to discover in what circumstances a distinction is important.

M. Graf: Kann nicht die Unschärfe der Terminologie verstanden und die notwendige Differenzierung erreicht werden, wenn man auf die Verehrer schaut? Trophonios oder Asklepios, die als Zeus enden, der ἥρωας ἱατρός, der auch θεός ist — dies sind von Individuen verehrte Wesenheiten, und der Einzelne wünscht sich für seinen übermenschlichen Helfer möglichst grosse Machtfülle. Demgegenüber ist es die Polis (oder ihre Untergruppen), welche die *leges sacrae* mit ihren säuberlich differenzierten Hierarchien erlässt: bei diesen kollektiven Opfern sind keine individuellen Gefühle und Probleme im Spiel, es geht vielmehr um die Bestätigung der traditionellen Ordnung der Polis. Dass im Psephisma des Ἡρώας Ἱατρός die Grenze durchlässig ist, widerspricht nicht notwendig: es ist ja keine Opfervorschrift, sondern ein Antrag eines Einzelnen zu einem Problem der sakralen Administration, und hier kann sich durchaus die Terminologie der individuellen Verehrung halten.

Ein anderer Punkt betrifft das Temenos des Hippolytos von Troizen. Darf hier wirklich die Dominanz des Hippolytos aus einer hypothetischen Vorstufe — ein «Vor-heros», der ein lokaler δαίμων sei — abgeleitet werden? Primär ist doch die Feststellung, dass Troizen ein Temenos besass, in dem Götter (Apollon, Aphrodite) und Heroen (Hippolytos, Phaidra; Damia und Auxesia) vereint waren, wobei die lokalen Verehrer die Emphase auf den einen Heros Hippolytos legten und vom Ἱππολύτου τέμενος (Paus. II 32, 1) sprachen; ein Grund für die Emphase mag die Bedeutung des vorhochzeitlichen Haaropfers gewesen sein (Paus. *ibid.*) — jedenfalls ändert dies nichts an dem im Mythos explizierten Status des Hippolytos als Heros. Gleich diachronische Schlüsse zu ziehen, halte ich für voreilig.

Die Frage führt auch sehr generell zum darin implizierten Problem nach der Entstehung des Konzepts ἥρως. Die mykenische Religion mag es bereits gekannt haben, wie der vielberufene τρισήρως von Pylos (*ti-ri-se-ro-e*) nahelegt — jedenfalls aber ist es methodisch riskant, anzunehmen, mit dem archäologisch dokumentierten Einsetzen so vieler Heroenkulte im 8. Jhdt. sei auch das Konzept des Heros als eines kultisch verehrten Ahnen (im westen, bald panhellenischen Sinn) erst entstanden, und dann seien vorher undefinierte lokale δαίμονες zu Heroen geworden.

Mme Kearns: To the first point: The distinction between polis and individual is obviously a valid one, but how sharp is it? In particular, where is the dividing-line between a sub-group of the polis and a group of individuals? In my view also, the distinction lies in the type of document under consideration, but I would lay more stress on the worshipped than on the worshippers. The sacrificial inscriptions are normally concerned with a great variety of superhuman beings, gods as well as heroes, and in this context it is important that heroes should keep to their proper place and terminology. In the case of a single heroic cult, what matters is only that a hero is greater than a human being — his relationship to undisputedly divine figures is irrelevant, and may find expression only in a formal title.

To the second point: My I take the general aspect first? I agree completely that the eighth-century evidence cannot indicate the rise of a phenomenon *ex nihilo*. On the other hand, I am not sure that we can draw any definite conclusions from the *ti-ri-se-ro-e* of the Pylos tablets; the fact that it appears in a religious context does not prove that the concept is close to what is later understood by ἥρως, especially if we consider that Ἡρᾶ may also be etymologically related. The question is partly a semantic one — I was really, perhaps incautiously, using «hero» to denote not anything which the Greeks at any time might have called ἥρως, but to indicate the kind of being prominent in the archaic and classical periods, in the formation of which the Mycenaean phenomenon — whatever it was — presumably played a part, but which perhaps starts to become fully recognisable only in the eighth century. This kind of hero, characterised by a close association with death, is generally thought of as an exceptional human being on whom death has conferred a

status analogous to that of a god, if usually with more limited powers. Of course a diachronic, historicising explanation is not the only way to account for anomalies such as Hippolytos, Erechtheus and Trophonios existing within this category in the classical period, but I assume the concept will have seen some development, especially given that there is no very close equivalent to a class of heroes in other societies.

On the matter of Hippolytos in particular, I would suppose that his predominance in the *τέμενος* should be interpreted in connexion with the simultaneous existence of two traditions on his fate and whereabouts — both death and apotheosis. This to me suggests some difficulty in placing him in the category of a «normal» hero, which coincides with one possible explanation for the unusual prominence of a hero in a sacred complex.

Mme Jost: Une question générale: comment interpréter la *proximité* de deux sanctuaires? Quels critères peuvent autoriser à parler de *parenté* religieuse? Légendes (mais elles peuvent être étiologiques)? Culte commun?

Mme Kearns: The question is as important as it is difficult to answer. My example from Plutarch may console us by showing that the answer was not always obvious in the ancient world either; still, we would have an undoubted advantage if it were possible to «monitor» the movements of worshippers from sanctuary to sanctuary, instead of relying on scanty and chance scraps of information. From the theoretical point of view, it is worth stating that cult and myth (though often the two will go together) can establish different types of relationship, and that a mythological connexion is not necessarily on a lower plane of «reality»: an aetiological link can still have importance in the minds of those who frame it, and of others. Also we must recognise that a connexion may have a validity among one group of people but not another. But given our disadvantage looking back over this distance to antiquity, I think we must settle for a pragmatic approach, making use of such literary and archaeological evidence as we have, but bearing in mind the theoretical complexities involved.

III

BIRGITTA BERGQUIST

THE ARCHAIC TEMENOS IN WESTERN GREECE A SURVEY AND TWO INQUIRIES

The exclusion of Western Greek sanctuaries from my *Temenos* book has been deplored or censured by some scholars. Having devoted some time to (re)acquainting myself with the evidence and the documentation available, I have come to realize that, even if I were willing to add a Western Greek chapter after a quarter of a century, this would not be feasible.

Only about a third of the roughly a score and a half of the Archaic Greek colonies in Southern Italy and Sicily has been preserved, excavated and published to any extent. A third of these is located in Southern Italy. The sites of many other colonies are covered by later settlements or alluvial deposits, or have been robbed or otherwise destroyed or are only sparingly excavated in connection with rescue measures. Although many sites have been identified, the argument on the Western Greek colonies is to a very large extent on the textual evidence, as some recent works testify.¹

* See the list of abbreviations below, p. 150.

¹ MALKIN; F. CORDANO, *Antiche fondazioni greche. Sicilia e Italia meridionale*, 1986; F. DE POLIGNAC, *La naissance de la cité grecque. Cultes, espace et société VIII^e-VII^e siècles avant J.C.*, 1984, Chap. 3.

From the point of view of method, I have noticed a regrettable dichotomy in the frequent studies of Sicilian sanctuaries, temples, architecture and *sacelli*² and Italiote architecture, temples and sanctuaries,³ although it is in both areas a question of manifestations of the Greek presence due to the colonizing movement in Western Greece. And as the Sicilian instances outnumber the Italiote ones, Sicilian tends to stand for Western Greek. I suppose this deplorable state of things is to some extent due to the regional division of the themes and the excavation reports in the series of conferences at Taranto and Palermo, respectively. There are, however, exceptions.⁴ It has also struck

² Belvedere; M.-Th. LE DINAHET, «Sanctuaires chthoniens de Sicile de l'époque archaïque à l'époque classique», in *Temples et sanctuaires. Séminaire de recherche 1981-1983* (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient, 7), 1984, 137-152; G. GULLINI, «L'architettura templare greca in Sicilia dal primo archaismo alla fine del V secolo», *Tempio greco*, 21-42; idem, «L'architettura», in G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI et al. (eds.), *Sikanie. Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca*, 1986, 415-491; I. ROMEO, «Sacelli arcaici senza peristasi nella Sicilia greca», in *Xenia* 17 (1989), 5-54; A. DI VITA, «Town planning in the Greek colonies of Sicily from the time of their foundations to the Punic wars», in J.-P. DESCŒUDRES (ed.), *Greek colonists and native populations* (Congr. Sydney, July 1985), 1990, 343-363.

³ G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, «Santuari extramurani in Magna Grecia», in *PP* 17 (1962), 241-246; D. MERTENS, «Zur archaischen Architektur der achäischen Kolonien in Unteritalien», in U. JANTZEN (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*, 1976, 167-196; idem, «Per l'urbanistica e l'architettura della Magna Grecia», in *Megale Hellas. Nome e immagine* (Atti 21 Taranto), 1982, 95-141.

⁴ E.g. D. MERTENS, *Der Tempel von Segesta und die dorische Tempelbaukunst des griechischen Westens in klassischer Zeit* (DAI Rome, Sonderschriften 6), 1984; C. PARISI PRESCICCE, «La funzione delle aree sacre nell'organizzazione urbanistica primitiva delle colonie greche (alla luce della scoperta di un nuovo santuario periferico di Selinunte)», in *ArchClass* 36 (1984), 19-132.

me that, as an outcome of the pronounced lopsidedness in the direction of urbanistics and the relationship between *apoikia* and *chora*, the non-urban, peripheral sanctuaries and their siting have apparently come into focus at the expense of the urban, colonial sanctuaries.⁵

It seems best to begin by taking stock of the available evidence, meagre though it is, from the Archaic Western Greek sanctuaries — not mere temples — that are as entire as possible.⁶ First, the Chalkidian colony of **Naxos** (Fig. 1)⁷ on Sicily, founded in the 730's. In the SW. corner of the city hillock, a slightly trapezoidal, W.-E.-extending temenos of late-7th-century date was dedicated to Aphrodite or Hera. The temenos, the E. boundary of which has not been established, was bordered in the S., W. and N. by a peribolos wall in a polygonal

⁵ E.g. G. VALLET, «La cité et son territoire dans les colonies grecques d'Occident», in *La città e il suo territorio* (Atti 7 Taranto), 1968, 81-94; idem, «Urbanisation et organisation de la chora coloniale grecque en Grande Grèce et en Sicile», in *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes* (Actes du coll. de Cortone, May 1981; Coll. EFR, 67), 1983, 937-956, *passim*; idem, «Le fait urbain en Grèce et en Sicile à l'époque archaïque», in *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-1985), 149-151; F. DE POLIGNAC (*supra* n. 1); C. PARISI PRESICCE (*supra* n. 4).

⁶ E.-oriented temples and E.-W.-oriented altars (more or less nominally) are not specified.

⁷ *Bibliography*. Naxos: G.V. GENTILI, in *BdA* 41 (1956), 331; P. PELAGATTI, in *BdA* 49 (1964), 153-161, fig. 4; eadem, in *Kokalos* 14-15 (1968-1969), 352 f.; eadem, in *BdA* 57 (1972), 215-218; eadem, in *Kokalos* 18-19 (1972-1973), 181 f. (intervento); eadem, in *Kokalos* 22-23 (1976-1977), 542; eadem, Tempio greco, 46-48; eadem, Insediamenti, 136-138; eadem, in *Gli Eubei in Occidente* (Atti 18 Taranto), 1979, 154-156 (intervento); eadem, Atti Atene 1, 295-303; N. VALENZA MELE, «Hera ed Apollo nella colonizzazione euboica d'Occidente», in *MEFRA* 89 (1977), 504-506; M. GUARDUCCI, «Una nuova dea a Naxos in Sicilia e gli antichi legami fra la Naxos siceliota e l'omonima isola delle Cicladi», in *MEFRA* 97 (1985), 15-19.

technique of late-7th- to mid-6th-century date, which first had an entrance in the S. wall and later a propylon in the N. one. Roughly in the middle between the S. entrance and the W. peribolos wall and in the middle of the S. half, the sanctuary contained an altar and, N. of the altar, temple A, while in the third quarter of the 6th century after a submersion the temple was replaced at a higher level but on the same spot by the larger temple B.

In the Korinthian colony of **Syrakousai** (Fig. 1)⁸ on Sicily, founded in the 730's, there is precious little in the way of sanctuaries to record. In the N. part of the island of Ortygia, a peripteral temple, dedicated to Apollon, was erected in the early/mid 6th century in a restricted, E.-W.-extending temenos, the SW. corner of the peribolos wall of which is known 8 m and 5 m, respectively, from the temple. The altar, the entrance and the rest of the sanctuary (mainly to the N.?), however, are not known.

In the S. half of the island, Orsi excavated the pitiful remains of an Archaic (6th-century?) temple, dedicated to Artemis or Athena, and, E. of it, a square altar, surrounded by a rich, sacrificial débris, dating from the late 8th or 7th century but long retained and raised in level. In the late 6th century, a peripteral Ionic temple was erected above and slightly N. of this temple and later, S. of it, a Classical Doric temple. The extension, the boundaries and the entrance of the sanctuary are completely unknown, except for Orsi's brave attempts concerning the E. side.

⁸ *Bibliography. Syrakousai*: G. CULTRERA, in *MonAnt* 41 (1951), 733-760; G.V. GENTILI, in *Palladio* 16, N.S. (1967), 61-84; 61-84; P. PELAGATTI, in *DialArch* 2 (1968), 141-144 (intervento); eadem, in *Kokalos* 22-23 (1976-1977), 548 fig. 5; eadem, *Insedimenti*, 119-130; eadem, in *Kokalos* 26-27 (1980-1981), 707-711; and eadem, *Atti Atene* 2, 117-138.

Next, although it may not appear to be quite appropriate, we have **Megara Hyblaia** (Fig. 1),⁹ the colony founded by Megara Nisaia on Sicily in the 720's. In the E. part of the N. plateau, a large, trapezoidal agora/temenos of roughly square shape was formed in the place where two sets of streets with different orientations met at an intersection. In the second half of the 7th century, two temples in a row were built in the centre of the S. half, while the adjoining quarters in the S. were curtailed, but no altars have been found, and a stoa was erected along the N. side of the agora/temenos and another one along the E. side. The W. side of the agora/temenos consisted of structures on the far side of the street that bordered this side: from about 630, a «heroon» opposite the N. stoa, from about 600, a temple c with a walled-in court (with an altar?) in front opposite the centre of the open area and, from about 530, a S.-facing, three-roomed hestiatorion with a preceding court opposite the row of temples. In the quarter opposite the N. side of the agora/temenos, a temple j with an open area in the S. towards the street and, along the street S. of the quarter S. or the agora/temenos, a temple l were erected in the second half of the 7th century.

⁹ *Bibliography. Megara Hyblaia*: G. VALLET & F. VILLARD, in *MélRome* 81 (1969), 12-33; G. VALLET, in *Kokalos* 14-15 (1968-1969), 468-475; G. VALLET *et al.*, in *Annales* 25 (1970), 1102-1113; G. VALLET, in *Kokalos* 18-19 (1972-1973), 437-443; idem, «Espace privé et espace public dans une cité coloniale d'Occident (Mégara Hyblaea)», in M.I. FINLEY (ed.), *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Civilisations et sociétés, 33), 1973, 83-94; idem, *Insedimenti*, 23-25; G. VALLET *et al.*, *Megara Hyblaea*. 1. *Le quartier de l'agora archaïque* (MélRome, Suppl. 1), 1976; G. GULLINI [rev. of prev.], in *PP* 183 (1978), 427-469; G. VALLET *et al.*, *Megara Hyblaea*. 3. *Guide des fouilles* (MélRome, Suppl. 1), 1983; G. VALLET, in *Kokalos* 26-27 (1980-1981), 796-804.

In the Achaian colony of **Metapontion** (Fig. 1)¹⁰ in Southern Italy, founded in the early 7th century, a vast sanctuary extending slightly E.-W. and dating from the late 7th century was situated along the middle of the N. limit of the city plain. The original boundaries and entrance are not known, but simple stelai or cippi were raised in great numbers at an early date W. of the later temples A and B and E. of altar B. The first building was a small oikos temple and altar C I in the SW. corner of the SW. quadrant, which date from around 600. In the second quarter of the 6th century, a peripteral temple A I was begun N. of oikos C. It was never finished. Further N., temple B I, which was dedicated to Herā, was begun some decade(s) later with a different orientation. It was succeeded on the spot some decade(s) later by temple B II, repeating this orientation. About 540, temple A II, which was dedicated to Apollon Lykeios, was erected on the same spot as temple A I but with the same orientation as temple B II. Altars A and B to the E. of temples A II and B II were then erected, both with axes differing from that of the temples in the W. and approaching instead that of altar and oikos C I. Around 500, temple and altar C II replaced the earlier oikos and altar, repeating their orientation. About 470,

¹⁰ *Bibliography. Metapontion*: D. ADAMESTEANU, in *RA* 1967, 5-16; idem, «ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΟΝ», in *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua. Miscellanea Gregorio Novak dicata*, 1970, 307-324; idem, in *Metaponto* (Atti 13 Taranto), 1974, 177-184; D. MERTENS, *ibid.*, 197-216; D. ADAMESTEANU, in *Metaponto I* (NSc 29 Suppl.), 1975 (pr. 1980), 15-311; D. MERTENS, *ibid.*, 313-353; D. ADAMESTEANU, in U. JANTZEN (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*, 1976, 151-166; idem, in *Thèmes de recherches sur les villes antiques d'Occident* (Coll. Strasbourg October 1971; Coll. intern. du CNRS, 542), 1977, 350-358; idem, in *PP* 34 (1979), 296-312; idem, *Atti Atene* 2, 308-313; D. MERTENS, in *BdA* 67 (1982), 1-57; idem, in *AA* 1985, 648-664.

an Ionic temple and altar D were erected in the NW. corner of the NW. quadrant of the sanctuary with an orientation similar to that of temples C I and II, which orientation was also repeated in Post-Archaic times in oikos and altar E in the NE. quadrant of the sanctuary.

Some kilometres to the NE. of the city, at present known as **Tavole Palatine**,¹¹ a large Heraion on a plain also existed from the end of the 7th century. It is reported to have contained an altar 25 m E. of a peripteral temple of about 530 and, 16 m N. of the temple, a wall and, still further N., remains of oikoi, but no plan seems to exist. Consequently, it is not possible to determine how they are situated in relation to the temple.

In the Creto-Rhodian colony of **Gela** (Fig. 1)¹² on Sicily, founded in the 680's, the E.-W.-extending akropolis plateau housed a sanctuary of Athena Lindia, the boundaries and entrance of which are unknown. Possibly from about the mid 7th century, the sanctuary contained a small temple A in the centre (?). The remains of what was claimed to be an altar are disputed, as being rather those of a thesauros. In the middle of the 6th century, a possibly peripteral temple B replaced temple A on the same spot. Mainly S.-facing oikoi were erected in the late 7th and the mid 6th century along the N. border (?). Around 500, these buildings and temple B were destroyed, a fortification wall was built along the N. border, inside which new oikoi were built, and in the first half of the 5th century, a possibly peripteral, Doric temple, probably also dedicated to Athena, was erected some 10 m E. of temple B.

¹¹ F.G. LO PORTO, in *Xenia* 1 (1981), 26-44.

¹² *Bibliography*. Gela. L. BERNABÒ BREA, in *ASAtene* 27-29, = N.S. 11-13 (1949-1951) (pr. 1952), 8-21; P. ORLANDINI, in *RivIstArch* 15, N.S. (1968), 20-30; E. DE MIRO & G. FIORENTINI, in *Kokalos* 22-23 (1976-1977), 430-437; iidem, *Insedimenti*, 91-93; G. FIORENTINI, *Tempio greco*, 105-112; eadem, *Atti Atene* 3, 55-70.

In the Achaian colony of **Lokroi Epizephyrioi** (Fig. 1)¹³ in Southern Italy, founded in the 670's, at modern Marasà in the E. corner of the city plain, a sanctuary existed from the mid or late 7th century. It was dedicated to an unknown deity. The extension and the boundaries are unknown, except for an entrance and a section of peribolos/late fortification wall along the N. side. In the late 7th century, a simple temple was erected parallel to the peribolos wall and presumably also an altar on the same site as its successor. The temple was repeatedly rebuilt during the 6th century and finally equipped with a peripteros. Various Archaic altars and bases were to be found just S. of the temple and the altar. Around 480-470, an Ionic, peripteral temple with the same orientation as the earlier bases and altars replaced the earlier temple on the same spot, and an altar was built almost axially. It remains an open question whether the intriguing feasting complex at Centocamere (200 or 320 m!?) to the S. along the seashore had any connection with the sanctuary at Marasà. In the end of the 7th century, with a mid-6th-century addition, an U-shaped portico in front of two opposite aisles with first six and later 11, paratactic oikoi in each was erected.

¹³ *Bibliography. Lokroi Epizephyrioi*: A. DE FRANCISCIS, in *Archaeology* 11 (1958), 206-212; E. LISSI, *Atti 7 congresso*, 109-115; G. FOTI, in *Locri Epizefirii* (Atti 16 Taranto), 1977, 348-351; M. BARRA BAGNASCO, *ibid.*, 378-380 and 398-404; eadem, in AA. VV., *Locri Epizefiri* I, 1977, 3-49; eadem, in *Quaderni de «La ricerca scientifica»* 100:2 (1978), 555-579; A. DE FRANCISCIS, *Il santuario di Marasà in Locri Epizefiri*. I. *Il tempio arcaico* (Centro di studi sulla Magna Grecia dell'Univ. di Napoli; Monumenti antichi della Magna Grecia, 3) [1979]; G. GULLINI, *La cultura architettonica di Locri Epizefirii. Documenti e interpretazioni* (Ist. per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia; Magna Grecia, 1), 1980; C. SABBIONE, *Atti Atene* 2, 287-288; M. BARRA BAGNASCO, in *Quaderni de «La ricerca scientifica»* 112:2 (1985), 181-194.

In the mid 6th century, a long retaining wall M/ later fortification wall with an Archaic, monumental entrance was erected behind stoa-ad-U and, further S. along the seashore, in front of which in Post-Archaic times two parallel rows of oikoi succeeded the oikoi of stoa-ad-U.

The Zanklean sub-colony of **Himera** (Fig. 2)¹⁴ on Sicily, founded in the 640's, had from the outset in the NE. corner of the city plateau a trapezoidal, E.-W.-extending Athenaion, the Archaic entrance and boundaries of which in the W. and S. are unknown. An originally open-air cult is assumed to have centred around a cubic stone block («dado»). In the late 7th century, a simple temple A, dedicated to Athena, with a rich foundation deposit was erected in the centre of the sanctuary and immediately in front of the stone block. A larger temple B was erected in the mid 6th century literally around the stone block and the foundations of temple A, and, 25 m to the E., an altar on the same axis. In the third quarter of the 6th century, temple D, dedicated to Athena (?), was built S. of temple B with a

¹⁴ *Bibliography. Himera*: N. BONACASA, in *Kokalos* 14-15 (1968-1969), 211-227; AA. VV., *Himera. I. Campagne di scavo 1963-1965*, 1970, 51-90; 122-133; 215-219 and 230-232; *Himera. II. Campagne di scavo 1966-1973*, 1976, 121-126 and 476-491; N. BONACASA, in AA. VV., *Quaderno Imerese* (Ist. di archeologia, Univ. di Palermo; Studi e materiali, 1), 1972, 6 f.; idem, in *Kokalos* 18-19 (1972-1973), 208-226; idem, in *Archaeology* 29 (1976), 42-51; idem, *Tempio greco*, 125-131; O. BELVEDERE, *Insedimenti*, 75 f., 78; N. BONACASA, in *Kokalos* 22-23 (1976-1977), 702-709; idem, in *Quaderni de «La ricerca scientifica»* 100:2 (1978), 609-618; idem, in *Gli Eubei in Occidente* (Atti 18 Taranto), 1979, 158-160 (intervento); idem, in *Misc. Manni* I, 1980, 257-269; idem, in *Kokalos* 26-27 (1980-1981), 854 f.; idem, in AA. VV., *Secondo quaderno imerese* (Ist. di archeologia, Univ. di Palermo; Studi e materiali, 3), 1982, 47-60; idem, *Atti Atene* 1, 319-337; idem, in *Quaderni de «La ricerca scientifica»* 112:2 (1985), 132-134.

different orientation. In the early 5th century, temple C was erected N. of temple B with a similar orientation.

In the Syrakusan military sub-colony of **Kasmenai** (Fig. 2)¹⁵ on Sicily, founded in the 640's, a roughly square sanctuary (unknown deity) has been identified in the NW. corner of the city plateau. Remains of peribolos walls are reported from the E. and S. sides, but no entrance. In the first half of the 6th century, a temple was erected roughly in the centre of the sanctuary. No altar is reported. The published plans feature unknown structures in the sanctuary, which are not described in the text.

Selinous (Fig. 2),¹⁶ the sub-colony of Megara Hyblaia, founded in the 650's/620's, is a very tricky site, owing to the

¹⁵ *Bibliography. Kasmenai*: A. DI VITA, «La penetrazione siracusana nella Sicilia sud-orientale alla luce delle più recenti scoperte archeologiche», in *Kokalos* 2 (1956), 186-196; idem, *Atti 7 congresso*, 69-77; G. VOZA, in *Kokalos* 14-15 (1968-1969), 359 f. (intervento); idem, in *Kokalos* 22-23 (1976-1977), 561 f.

¹⁶ *Bibliography. Selinous*: E. GABRICI, in *MonAnt* 32 (1927), 5-406; idem, in *MonAnt* 33 (1929), 62-111; and idem, in *MonAnt* 43 (1956), 205-408; I. MARCONI BOVIO, *Atti 7 congresso*, 11-20; A. DI VITA, in *Palladio* 16, N.S. (1967), 3-60; R. MARTIN, «Rapport sur l'urbanisme de Sélinonte», in *Kokalos* 21 (1975), 54-67; D. THEODORESCU, «Remarques préliminaires sur la topographie urbaine de Sélinonte», *ibid.*, 108-120; J. MASSENET DE LA GENIÈRE et R. MARTIN, in *SicArch* 9 (1976), 9-14; R. MARTIN, «Histoire de Sélinonte d'après les fouilles récentes», in *CRAI* 1977, 46-56; G. GULLINI, *Insedimenti*, 52-61; R. MARTIN, in *Kokalos* 26-27 (1980-1981), 1009-1016; J. DE LA GENIÈRE et D. THEODORESCU, «Contribution à l'histoire urbanistique de Sélinonte», *ibid.*, 973-988; J. DE LA GENIÈRE, in *Misc. Manni* IV, 1980, 1293-1299; A. DI VITA, «Contributi per una storia urbanistica di Selinunte», *ibid.*, III 801-829; idem, «L'urbanistica più antica delle colonie di Magna Grecia e di Sicilia: problemi e riflessioni», *Atti Atene* 1, 75-78; idem, «Selinunte fra il 650 ed il 409: un modello urbanistico coloniale», in *ASAtene* 62 (1984) (pr. 1988), 7-53.

conflicting Italian and French views. The main point of difference is urbanistic — the date of the E.-W. artery across the akropolis. Even those who do not accept an Archaic date assume a preceding passage, which presumably must have run below a retaining/peribolos wall.

Roughly in the middle of the E. half/SE. quadrant of the akropolis plateau, either several separate temene close by each other or one large sanctuary housing several cults was established from the foundation of the city. An E.-W.-extending, polygonal temenos/N. half of a sacred zone, which was bordered by a peribolos/internal border following the configuration of the ground along the E. edge of the akropolis and along the N. and S. sides E.-W. streets/passages and had an entrance in the E. part of the S. side, enclosed in the first phase at least four small temples, viz. one in the NE., dating from the late 7th century, a hypothesized one in the NW. below temple D, a hypothesized one below temple C and a «megaron» S. of temple C, dating from about 580. No altar is preserved from this phase, except maybe an altar (or naiskos) in the NW. destroyed by the later N.-S. main artery (and one in the NE. (?), de La Genière & Theodorescu, fig. 1). A four-roomed, W.-oriented, oikoi complex was situated to the right of the entrance and a two-roomed, E.-oriented one S. of the small temple in the NE.

The second phase began in the mid 6th century with the building in the centre of the S. half of the temenos/N. half of the sacred zone of a large peripteral temple C and an altar some 30 m to the E., which necessitated a great enlargement to the E. of the ground taken up by an enormous terracing supported by a stepped retaining wall. Against the S. peribolos/retaining wall, to the left of the entrance, a N.-S.-oriented altar was built. Peripherally W. and S. in the N. half of the temenos/N. half of the sacred zone, a peripteral temple D was erected around 525 with an altar slightly obliquely touching its SE. corner. The W. peribolos wall dates from the early 5th century (the N.-S. artery

along it overlaid the NW. altar or naiskos of the previous phase). Along the new E. border and a part of the S., a huge, angled, broad-room hall with a portico in front of the E. section was erected in the last quarter of the 6th century. N. of the L-shaped building, a corner of short stoas existed, according to Di Vita (1984), at an entrance in the NE.

Outside the city some 800 m to the NW. on the E. slope of the Gaggera hill, the sanctuary of **Malophoros** (Fig. 2) also existed from the outset of the colony's life. A roughly rectangular, E.-W.-extending temenos was surrounded by straight, peribolos walls. The entrance was situated somewhat off-centre on the E. side. The temenos enclosed in the first phase a small megaron dating from the late 7th century with a small court (?) in front. In the middle of the sanctuary, but somewhat off-centre, a heap of rubble stones surrounded by sacrificial deposits formed the core of the first altar. Around 580, a larger megaron without a court in front replaced the earlier one on the same spot, and a new, larger, N.-S.-extending, E.-W.-oriented altar was built above the earlier one.

Outside the city some 800 m to the NE. on the E. **Marinella** hill (Fig. 2), a peribolos wall with an entrance in the E. part of the S. wall enclosed an E.-W.-extending, rectangular temenos with a temple in antis E1 of early-6th-century date in the centre (?) on the site of the later Archaic (from about 500) and Classical, peripteral temples E. An altar some 10 m E. of the E. side of the temple is reported but not illustrated on any plan, and therefore its relation to the other elements is impossible to determine. Nothing is known, except the temple structures of the other temples further N., F of mid-6th-century date, and the colossal G, begun in the late 6th century.

In the Sybarite sub-colony of **Poseidonia** (Fig. 3),¹⁷ founded

¹⁷ *Bibliography. Poseidonia*: P.C. SESTIERI, in *MélRome* 65 (1955), 35-48;

in the early/mid 7th century, a huge, N.-S.-extending Heraion, the precise locations of the boundaries (except one stretch in the SW.) and of the entrance of which have not been determined, was established, quite likely since the foundation of the city, in the S. half of the middle section of the city plain. In view of the lack of exhaustive publications of the excavated material, there is precious little that can be stated about the contents of the sanctuary in different periods. In the mid 6th century, the peripteral «Basilika», which may have been preceded by some small oikos temple, and the altar to the E. were erected in the middle of the S. third of the sanctuary. In addition to a larger, Late Archaic temple in antis at the N. boundary (?), quite a number of Archaic, small oikos temples or oikoi, some with and some without an altar, (a) to the S. and NE. of the «Basilika», (b) N. of the peripteral, Classical, «Poseidon» temple, which may have been preceded by an Archaic oikos temple together with one now lost between the two peripteral temples, and (c) in the N. third, has been recovered. All minor buildings had E. orientations, varying from the SE. one of the «Basilika» (and the «Poseidon» temple) to a NE. one, and most had varying front and rear alignments. Altars also abounded, separate as well as in rows, e.g. the impressive row NE. of the «Poseidon» temple, all having, like the minor buildings, E.-W. orientations varying from SE. to NE. A broad-room hall NE. of the «Basilika», at the E. boundary (?) of the S. third forms a salutary exception, thanks to the efforts of Lauter and his group, who date it to the third

B. NEUTSCH, in *AA* 1956, 374-380; 383-386, fig. 115; E. GRECO & D. THEODORESCU, *Poseidonia-Paestum* I-II (Coll. EFR, 42), 1980-1983; *idem*, «Continuité et discontinuité dans l'utilisation d'un espace public: l'exemple de Poseidonia-Paestum», in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine* (Actes du coll. organisé par le CNRS et l'EFR, December 1980), 1983, 93-104; H. LAUTER *et al.*, in *RM* 91 (1984), 23-45.

quarter of the 6th century and interpret it as a *bouleuterion/prytaneion* facing the altar and the sacrificial area. At the W. boundary (?) in the N. third, an E.-oriented broad-room with a bathros and in the NE. a stoa-like structure are reported, but we lack documentation about the buildings.

Also probably since the foundation of the city, an Athenaion, the locations of the boundaries and entrance of which are unknown, was established in the N. half of the middle section of the city. It contained in the middle (?) a peripteral, late-6th-century temple, which may have been preceded by an earlier temple, and an altar to the E. North of the altar was a thesauros and in the NW. two bases. Southeast of the temple, remains of an earlier temple (?) were found.

Some 7 km N. of Poseidonia, a Heraion at what is now **Foce del Sele** (Fig. 2)¹⁸ was established on a plain in the mid/late 7th century. In the N.-S.-extending sanctuary, the entrance and boundaries of which are only partially imaginable, a S.-facing, stoa-like building was erected in the late 7th century along a section of the N. border (?). In the mid 6th century, a prostyle temple was erected in the middle of the sanctuary (?). SE. of it, not axially, an altar has been found. In the early 5th century, a peripteral temple was erected S. of the prostyle one and an altar E. of it and S. of the earlier altar (E. of a third, now lost temple?). Some 50 m to the S. of the largest altar and temple, a S.-facing, stoa-like building was erected in the mid 6th century.

In this survey, I have ordered the sanctuaries according to the foundation date of the colony from the earliest colony to the latest one. Their mutual order is different, if the temene are

¹⁸ *Bibliography.* Foce del Sele: P. ZANCANI MONTUORO e U. ZANOTTI BIANCO, *Heraion alla foce del Sele* I-II, 1951-1954; P. ZANCANI MONTUORO, in *AttiMGrecia* 5, N.S. (1964), 57-95; eadem, in *AttiMGrecia* 6-7, N.S. (1965-1966), 26 fig. 1; eadem, in *AttiMGrecia* 8, N.S. (1967), 7-18.

sorted according to the dates of their major structures, usually those of the temple buildings.¹⁹ The akropolis of Gela from the mid 7th century (if the date holds?!) in that case comes first, then Naxos, Megara, Lokroi, Himera, Selinous (the akropolis and the Malophoros sanctuary) and Foce del Sele from the late 7th century, then Metapont from about 600 and finally from the 6th century the Apollonion of Syrakousai, Kasmenai, Poseidonia and Tavole Palatine. In other words, sanctuaries in very old colonies, such as Naxos and Megara Hyblaia, come to stand side by side with temene in a more recently founded sub-colony, such as Selinous, simply because of the fact that sanctuaries regarded as architectural ensembles are a fairly contemporaneous phenomenon, irrespective of whether the city was a colony of long standing or a recently founded sub-colony.

This set of evidence may need some comments as to the sanctuaries excluded. With entire sanctuaries in focus, the paradox is that the most cherished, architectural monuments in Western Greece are excluded, because they constitute instances of isolated temples (even if the altars in some cases remain). The sanctuary context was lost, when they were «excavated» in the 19th century, viz. the peripteral temples on the Marinella hill E. of Selinous and the impressive row of temples in the S. at Akragas (for most practical purposes, this applies to the Poseidonia sanctuaries too, because, although excavated in the

¹⁹ Although I am quite aware of the fact that major wars are waged about the chronology of certain structures, esp. temples, I have as a rule simply followed the stated dates. In my perspective of a kind of bird's-eye view of the Archaic Western Greek sanctuaries as entities, in which at the most different periods are of significance, the dating differences of some decades between the high and the low chronology of individual structures are usually of minor importance, albeit they may entail enormous consequences for specific sequences of ceramics, architectural terracottas, temple construction and profiles, etc.

1950's, they have not been properly published). Also several, more recently excavated temene have been excluded, because only an Archaic temple (or parts of it) have been recovered without any indication of the sanctuary context (destroyed by later constructions or not yet (sufficiently) explored).²⁰ The extra-urban sanctuaries of Kroton, the Heraion at Lakinion and the Apollonion at Krimisa, with more of the temenos areas uncovered, also preserve only Archaic temples, the other remains published being post-Archaic in date.²¹ I have deliberately excluded very much disputed evidence, like San Biagio at Akragas, Tempio M on the W. hill of Selinous²² and the notorious sanctuary of the chthonic divinities at Akragas,²³ as well as all the extra- and sub-urban Demeter sanctuaries, where nothing indicates that a cult with burnt-animal sacrifice took place.

In my opinion two integral parts of a study of any set of sanctuaries — in this case, Archaic temene in Western Greece — ought to be a critical review of their archaeological remains, which enables periods to be distinguished, and an analysis of a minimum of the essential elements, i.e. temenos boundary, entrance, altar and temple. However, in the first place, the state of preservation, the accessibility and the conditions of excavation and publication (substantial final publications are scarce), of the Western Greek sanctuaries surveyed above rarely allow of a

²⁰ Cf. for Sicily the material collected by I. ROMEO (*supra* n. 2).

²¹ Lakinion: P. ORSI, in *NSc* 8 Suppl. (1911), 78-89; and F. SEILER, in *Crotone* (Atti 23 Taranto), 1984, 231-242. Krimisa: P. ORSI, in *AttiMGrecia* [4], 1932, 7-11, 15-19, 42-53.

²² A. SIRACUSANO, *Il santuario rupestre di Agrigento in località S. Biagio*, 1983; C. MASSERIA, «Ipotesi sul 'tempio M' di Selinunte», in *Ann-Perugia* 16-17 (1978-1980), 61-88.

²³ D. PANCUCCI, «I Temenoi del santuario delle divinità ctonie ad Agrigento», in *Misc. Manni* V, 1980, 1663-1676.

true critical review of the archaeological remains. Too much of the documentation from the excavations is provisional, i.e. mainly summary, current reports of excavation activities with a deficiency of illustrations at conferences. This state of things has discouraged me from even attempting an archaeological scrutiny of the material. In the second place, the sanctuaries in question usually do not have the minimum of essential elements in one and the same period. Naxos and Selinous, both the sanctuary on the akropolis in the second phase and the Malophoros sanctuary, are the only cases that meet all my requirements as to the same phase. Too few cases are thus sufficiently complete to admit of a full, systematic analysis of the interrelations of the elements of the sanctuaries. Consequently, only a partial, restricted analysis is feasible for the rest of the sanctuaries included. I have actually tabulated the sanctuaries listed above according to the categories of my *Temenos* book, but the result was a most frustrating profusion of question marks. This result has deterred me from even endeavouring to make a systematic analysis of the sanctuaries.

Belvedere has in an article applied my method of structural analysis, though without the basic descriptive analysis, to four Sicilian sanctuaries of Archaic and Classical date. It is to be regretted that his basis was so restricted, that his effort was not preceded by a critical review of the archaeological remains and that his analysis was not based on chronologically sifted evidence. I agree with him that, in so far as it is possible to establish their features, the Western Greek sanctuaries appear to conform very much with the Greek temene. To take the most often establishable feature, the relation between temple and altar, a somewhat wider grasp not only yields a confirmation that, just as in Greece, the sacrificial area tends to decrease, but also points to the intriguing existence — unlike the situation in the mother country — of vast temene with multiple sets of temple and altar, viz. Metapont and Poseidonia, in addition to

Selinous. He emphasized with great justification that the Western Greek sanctuaries were urbanistically conditioned, which rarely occurred in Greece, and to such an extent that this influenced also the orientation of the elements within the temenos. If this point is taken a bit further to include the relation to the E. cardinal point, it can be shown that the temples and altars of Western Greece tended to adhere more strictly to that point.

Instead, I have settled for presenting two inquiries into matters that have caught my interest during my (re)encounter with the Western Greek temenos material.

(a) *The first appearance and early development of the temene.* In view of the early date of the first wave of Western Greek colonization, the colonies were founded at a time when simple altar temene, i.e. an altar roughly in the middle of a roughly square, temenos area set off by a peribolos wall or fence, must have predominated at Greek cult sites. The testimony of Thukydides (VI 3, 1) of the Chalkidians' founding of Naxos and setting up of the altar of Apollon Archegetes confirms such an assumption. However, the excavators have unfortunately not yet found this altar. It is thus most surprising that there are no more instances of Western Greek altar temene, like that of Apollon Temenites outside Syrakousai remaining until Hellenistic times,²⁴ or of temple-and-altar sanctuaries having developed from original altar temene.²⁵ In the mother country, there were few precedents of Late Geometric date (Apollonion at Eretria, Heraion on Samos and at Perachora), which could have served as models for the appearance of temple-and-altar temene, i.e. for

²⁴ B. NEUTSCH, in *AA* 1954, cols. 604 f., figs. 72-76.

²⁵ R. MARTIN & G. VALLET, in E. GABBA & G. VALLET (eds.), *La Sicilia antica* I 2, 1980, 286-294, treat original altar temene and their transformation quite briefly and generally.

the interrelation of the elements as regards axes, angles, and sizes and shapes of volumes of buildings and spaces. The layout of an architectural ensemble is not so easily transmitted as mouldings by way of templates or decorative motifs by way of ceramics or textiles. A traveller to Greece in the late 7th or 6th century could, of course, have narrated what a temple-and-altar temenos looked like, but this would have lacked all visual perspicuity. To me, it is a more likely conclusion that the similarity between the Greek temene and the Western Greek temene, as far as the latter are known, is due to the basic, generic features of Greek sanctuaries, rooted in their common religion and civilization, features operative, whether in Greece or later in Western Greek colonies or sub-colonies, in the creation of fully-fledged, temple-and-altar temene.

When the cult of Athena or Artemis was established in Syrakousai (Fig. 1) on the height of Ortygia, in the late 8th century judging by the sacrificial débris, was there an altar situated in a simple temenos around the altar or in a prudently vast temenos, large enough to accommodate later in the W. the 6th-century temples and the parallel, Classical, peripteral temple? The mother city of Korinth had not yet in this period received a peripteral temple. Was the first altar at Metapont (Fig. 1) raised in an altar temenos or in a large temenos foreseeing the addition of a quadruple temple-and-altar set? In the latter case of an ample temenos area from the outset, I wonder which multiple temple-and-altar temene the Achaian colonists had seen before the early 7th century. Or were the size and layout due to basic, generic features? In the former case of an original, restricted, altar temenos, how were the temples subsequently accommodated? What was the relation between the sacred and the private area?

In the evidence surveyed initially, there seem to be three instances of sanctuaries whose appearance appears to betray the original status of a restricted, altar temenos. The sanctuary of Aphrodite or Hera in the SW. corner of Naxos (Fig. 1) is one

of them. In the first, late-7th-century phase, the W. peribolos wall bounded the temenos with the slightly NW.-SE.-oriented altar roughly in the middle of the S. half. The line of the wall was later continued in the W. fortification wall of the city. The first NE.-oriented temple A of early 6th-century date at the latest was, however, not placed axially W. of the altar but N. of it, so to say, parallel to it, if it were not for their slightly off-E. orientations. The subsequent temple B succeeded temple A on the same spot. This non-axial addition of the temple to the altar with a densely occupied, sacrificial area in the W. was probably due to the circumstance that the location of the W. peribolos, like that of the later defence wall, was very likely dictated by a road along the Santa Venera river running N.-S. nearby, which precluded a westward extension, when the temple was to be added to an original altar temenos.²⁶

On the akropolis of Selinous (Fig. 2), a corresponding situation in the Early Archaic phase appears to have given rise, irrespective of whether or not the early akropolis housed one large temenos with altars of several cults or several, minor, altar temene close to each other, to the not parallel but extremely compressed (and yet the W. peribolos wall cut the krepidoma) and highly unorthodox relation between temple D and the slightly differently oriented altar (location derived from its predecessor?) touching its SE. corner, in front of which there was no sacrificial area, except where the altar projected S. of the temple.²⁷ The enigmatic N.-S.-oriented altar immediately W. of the S. entrance must, I am afraid, remain an enigma in view of the lack of documentation. To Gabrici, it was the first altar of

²⁶ P. PELAGATTI, in *BdA* 57 (1972), 215-218. My analysis differs from that of BELVEDERE, 129, who believes that the non-axial relation of temple and altar indicates a multiple temenos with elements dedicated to different divinities.

²⁷ *Supra* n. 16: E. GABRICI, 1956, 283 fig. 3; A. DI VITA, 1967, 38; 1984, figs. 18, 27.

temple C before the completion of the E. enlargement of the temenos. Di Vita (1967) ascribed it to a *paredros* deity (i.e. a third one), Belvedere to the second divinity of the temenos before temple D and its altar was built, and Di Vita (1984) calls it the S. altar of temple C.²⁸ To me, it looks rather as if, after the erection of temple C, there simply was no other space for a monumentalized altar, like those E. of temples C and D, E. of the so-called megaron, unless it was placed against the border with the ritually abnormal, N.-S. orientation.

In the Malophoros sanctuary (Fig. 2) on the Gaggera hill W. of Selinous, the earlier and later altars on the same site are lengthwise roughly centrally situated in the part of the sanctuary which is enclosed by straight walls, while the earlier and later megarons are located in the W. part of the temenos enclosed in the S. by a parallel wall joined at an obtuse angle. This appears to indicate that the W. «temple part» of the temenos is a secondary addition to an original altar temenos.²⁹

One instance gives a peculiar indication, but not much more, of *not* having begun as a restricted altar temenos in the Greek sense around an original altar, viz. the Athenaion in the NE. corner of Himera (Fig. 2). I assume that the altar considered coeval with temple B just replaced an earlier, now lost predecessor dating from the last quarter of the 7th century and, like Bonacasa, I assign a similar date and a function of great cultic significance, i.e. support for something made of wood symbolizing the divinity (if covered in some perishable material, in fact, an early variety of «temple») to the «dado» carefully preserved between the back wall of temple A and a crosswall of temple B (the excavator has, however, suggested the centre of an open-air

²⁸ *Supra* n. 16: E. GABRICI, 1956, 214 n. 1, 225, 283; A. DI VITA, 1967, 40; BELVEDERE, 129; A. DI VITA, 1984, 34.

²⁹ E. GABRICI, in *MonAnt* 32 (1927), 5-406, esp. 16-73.

cult or basis of altar table).³⁰ The sanctuary would then from the beginning have had something corresponding to a «temple»-and-altar set, which may account for the E.-W. extension of the temenos, where the set is length- and crosswise centrally situated with temples D and C later «intruding» into the surrounding space in the S. and N. (no true multiple set), even though the W. and S. boundaries actually derive from the 5th-century re-orientation of the street grid. The entire temenos area may thus have been set off from the beginning.

After these cases, it is time to consider the relation between the sacred and the private area, viz. the probable addition to an original altar temenos by «expropriation» of the private area. Recent excavations at Syrakousai (Fig. 1) inform us that roads and houses have been found very close to the Apollonion and even below the Ionic temple (preceded by a small temple) near the altar and the late-8th-century débris of sacrifices to Athena or Artemis. This indicates that the sacred character of these areas was secondary and that not earlier than the early 6th century a private area was altered into sacred ground.³¹ This history of «expropriation» may perhaps explain the narrowness, at least in the SW., of the temenos space around the Apollon temple, as witnessed by the peribolos wall in the S. (8 m distance, $< \frac{1}{3}$ temple width) and W. (5 m distance, $> \frac{1}{5}$ temple width). The

³⁰ *Supra* n. 14: N. BONACASA, 1968-1969, 220; 1970, 69-90; 1980, 261; 1982, 334. Cf. the Late Geometric, rectangular, column-encircled basis in the Artemision at Ephesos, A. BAMMER, in *ÖJhBeibl* 58 (1988), 13-17.

³¹ *Supra* n. 8: P. PELAGATTI, 1968, 141-144; 1976-1977, 548 fig. 5; *Insediamenti*, 119-129; 1980-1981, 707-711; *Atti Atene* 2, 117-138. Incidentally, I cannot follow R. MARTIN & G. VALLET (*supra* n. 25), 289, when they put the Athenaion/Artemision at Syrakousai on a par with the akropolis of Selinous and the Malophoros sanctuary as cases showing the transformation of «recinto semplice in santuario a carattere monumentale».

peribolos wall S. and W. (< 20 m distance, > twice the temple width) of temple E1 on the Marinella hill (Fig. 2) E. of Selinous indicates a less narrow, temenos space around the temple.³² On the whole, this aspect of temenos space in relation to building volume remains an unknown factor in the Western Greek sanctuaries, since the original boundaries are so rarely established.

At Kasmenai (Fig. 2) too, the temenos area seems to have come into being at the expense of the previously private area, as remains of houses are reported N. and E. of the temple, although it must be remembered that this site has been very summarily investigated and reported.³³

The private area was also made use of at Megara Hyblaia (Fig. 1). In the quarter on the far side of the street along the W. side of the agora/temenos, temple c, built upon an earlier house, was added, about 600, W. of a walled-in court with an altar (?) at the border of the street. The façade of this temple formed a kind of backdrop to the altar (?) temenos in front,³⁴ i.e. the ground needed for the temple building was «expropriated», but not the ground surrounding it, so that the earlier altar temenos was not enlarged into a true temple-and-altar temenos with temenos space around the temple building. S. of the altar (?) temenos, a S.-facing, three-roomed hestiatorion with a preceding court was erected upon an earlier building in the last quarter of the 6th century.³⁵ In the third quarter of the 7th century, the E.-oriented temples g and h were built in a row in the S. half of the agora, with the consequence that the N. portion of the quarters S. of the agora/temenos was curtailed.³⁶ At Megara

³² G. GULLINI (*supra* n. 2), 1986, pl. 2.

³³ G. VOZA (*supra* n. 15), 1976-1977, 561.

³⁴ *Supra* n. 9: G. VALLET *et al.*, 1976, 57, 204-206, 391; 1983, 62.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 198-202, and 62-69, respectively.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 222-229, and 48 f., 69 f., respectively.

Hyblaia previously private areas seem thus unhesitatingly to have been claimed for sacred buildings,³⁷ although an actual temenos area has not been identified, except for the altar (?) temenos in front of temple c, nor have any altars in connection with the other temples (this applies also to temple j in the N. and to temple l in the SE.).³⁸ An altar or several altars with no connection with a temenos area or a temple existed, however, since the late 7th and 6th century NW. of the agora/temenos along the W. and E. sides, respectively, of the continued W. street.³⁹

Let us finally consider some instances of the reverse transfer of ground. Sacred ground was given up at Naxos («tempietto» C and others), when the new urban plan was laid out in the early 5th century.⁴⁰ At Himera, the urban sanctuaries (in the NW. and E. (the lower city); no separate plans) were, however, inserted in the new quarters, when a re-oriented, urban plan was laid out about the same time.⁴¹ In the early 5th century, residential quarters in a street grid occupied the N. section of the sanctuary on the akropolis of Gela with an E.-W. plateia S. of and N.-S. stenopoi between the oikoi along the N. border.⁴²

A couple of instances appear, however, to be vast/huge temene reserved initially. First, the vast sanctuary of Apollon

³⁷ G. VALLET (*supra* n. 9), 1973, 92 f.

³⁸ *Supra* n. 9: G. VALLET *et al.*, 1976, 230-232, 238-240; 1983, 44 f.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 66 f. and 21, respectively.

⁴⁰ *Supra* n. 7: P. PELAGATTI, Tempio greco, 46-48; Insedimenti, 137-138; in *Gli Eubei in Occidente* (Atti 18 Taranto), 1979, 155; Atti Atene 1, 301 f.; E. GABBA & G. VALLET (eds.), *La Sicilia antica* I 3, 1980, 627.

⁴¹ *Supra* n. 14: N. BONACASA, 1968-1969, 225 f.; 1972-1973, 213, 218 f.; 1979, 159; in *Misc. Manni* I, 1980, 267 f.; *Himera* II, 1976, 121-126, 476-491.

⁴² *Supra* n. 12: E. DE MIRO e G. FIORENTINI, 1976-1977, 433 f.; G. FIORENTINI, Tempio greco, 110.

and Hera at Metapont (Fig. 1). It has, on the one hand, been maintained that the sanctuary, which dated from the foundation of the city in the early 7th century, was at first situated outside the original urban plan.⁴³ This opinion may, of course, be influenced by the re-orientations of temples A II, B I and B II in relation to that of an assumed street grid of mid-6th-century date. On the other hand, finds have been made in the sanctuary of sacrificial débris from the second half of the 7th century and of stelai, «argoi lithoi» and cippi, W. of temples C I, B I and II and E. of altar B. The stones probably date from around 600 and among them horoi may be included. These finds seem to indicate that a vast temenos area was set off from the outset, maybe in connection with the agora in the E., although structures were at first erected only in the SW. corner.⁴⁴ On the latest model and plan published, there are around the later temple E in the NE. and E. of the altars NE. of it markings similar to the stelai in the W. half.⁴⁵ If they indicate stelai or horos stones of early date, this would mean that the entire enormous sanctuary was originally conceived of as a set-off temenos area. Personally, I also find it very difficult to assume that the vast sanctuary (21,000 sq.m.) with four, roughly parallel, temple-and-altar sets in the W. half of it, three of which are peripteral, could have come into being by a piecemeal enlargement at the expense of private habitations from the earliest structures (temple and altar C I) in the SW. corner.

Finally, the case of Poseidonia (Fig. 3), which, in view of the deficient documentation, will probably remain an enigma.

⁴³ D. ADAMESTEANU, in *RA* 1967, 8; *Atti Atene* 2, 309; 312.

⁴⁴ *Supra* n. 10: D. ADAMESTEANU, 1970, 307-324; 1974, 182-184; 1975, *passim*; *Atti Atene* 2, 307-312; D. MERTENS, 1985, 649-654.

⁴⁵ *Supra* n. 10: D. ADAMESTEANU, 1979, 302; D. MERTENS, 1982, fig. 39; 1985, fig. 2.

Unlike the case of Metapont, where the Roman castrum was located E. of the agora and the temenos, in Poseidonia the huge Heraion and in the N. the Athenaion *plus* the agora are situated in the middle section of the Roman street grid.⁴⁶ If the Greek city in any way corresponded to the Roman castrum, it is so unlikely that an original, altar-temenos area was successively enlarged at the cost of private houses into the huge Heraion (35-40,000 sq.m.?) that I feel obliged to assume that also here a vast public area was originally set off, although this was done in the middle of the city. With this, we may contrast not only Metapont but also Himera with their peripheral sanctuaries and (possibly) adjoining agoras, and Naxos, Lokroi, Kasmenai, Gela and the akropolis of Selinous with peripheral sanctuaries, although the locations of their agoras are unknown. Only at Syrakousai on Ortygia, where the agora is just divined,⁴⁷ and at Megara Hyblaia, if my heresy below is accepted, are non-peripheral temene to be found.

It seems appropriate to raise here the issue of the original status of the large, reserved area at Megara Hyblaia (Fig. 1), on which I would like to argue along different lines. Was this area from the outset the public space specifically of an agora, and was the S. half of it after about a century given over to cult, as expressed in the two temples g and h? Or was the area from the outset a non-specific, public space serving cult and political purposes, and was the S. half of it after about a century differentiated into a temenos area in a more restricted sense with temples g and h and the hestiatorion opposite the W. street, at about the same time as temples c and j with open areas in front were erected opposite the W. and N. streets, while the N. half became the

⁴⁶ *Supra* n. 17: E. GRECO & D. THEODORESCU, 1980-1983; 1983.

⁴⁷ P. PELAGATTI, *Atti Atene* 2, 137; G. VALLET, in *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-1985), 144.

agora proper with the «heroon» as an enlargement opposite the W. street? In other words, I would, in this line of argument, take Megara Hyblaia as an indication that in the early colonies the reserved spaces were not necessarily agoras or temenos areas specifically but rather public areas, as opposed to the private areas of the colonists, which could be used either as agora areas or as temenos areas or as both and could be altered as time passed.

The other line is more outspokenly heretical. Considering what the excavations have yielded, a large, set-off area, two temples in the middle of the S. half, a hestiatorion opposite the W. street, minor (subsidiary?) temples opposite the W. and N. streets, and stoas along the N. and E. borders, I have come to ask myself what warrants the interpretation as an agora and not as a temenos? The French excavators, conscious of the lack of parallels, have expressed the need for caution.⁴⁸ It seems that the location of the set-off area in a place where two sets of differently oriented streets converged at an intersection and the existence of the «heroon»-building opposite the NW. corner of the area have been decisive. A point of intersection and converging streets is, in my opinion, simply the most likely place for any set-off area, sacred or civic. The «heroon» interpretation, to which I will return below, then becomes crucial.

I submit these two alternatives concerning the original status of the reserved area at Megara Hyblaia in the hope that they may further future discussion.

In trying to summarize after this scrutiny of the evidence, my conclusion is that, as regards the first appearance and early development of the temene in the Western Greek colonies, the evidence is very contradictory. I hope future studies will bring forward more clear-cut evidence. We have, on the one hand, some instances of original altar temene and of temples or areas

⁴⁸ G. VALLET (*supra* n. 9), 1968-1969, 475.

laid out over previous, «expropriated» houses⁴⁹ (also cases of sacred ground altered into private area!), but, on the other hand, we also have a few probable instances of original, vast/huge, temple-and-altar temene. It is perhaps not without significance that these belong to the truly particular, vast/huge, Western Greek sanctuaries with multiple temple-and-altar sets. It is quite impossible to prove, but I have often asked myself whether the profusion of Hera (and Poseidon?) altars and temples at Poseidonia (Fig. 3) and the many altars and temples in the sanctuary of Apollon and Hera at Metapont (Fig. 1) are due to groupings among the Achaian colonists⁵⁰ — an expression of the wish of groups from specific but different districts to have at least an altar and perhaps a temple, however small, to their variant of the deity in the sanctuary. The SE. part of the akropolis of Selinous, if indeed it was from the outset one single temenos, also contained several sets of altars and temple buildings, but this instance appears to be different. The city ultimately derived from the single mother city of Megara Nisaia, and the inscription of temple G testifies to a multitude of deities at Selinous.⁵¹

(b) *The scarcity of non-essential buildings.* Buildings serving the needs of the worshippers are scarce, if not rare, in general, but instances exist of such buildings of a highly advanced and most ambitious character at a surprisingly early date.

I begin with the category of stoa. Being heretical and treating the agora/temenos of Megara Hyblaia (Fig. 1) as a kind of sanctuary, I start with the two long stoai from the second half of the 7th century along its N. and E. borders. The former has the

⁴⁹ Cf. BELVEDERE, 127 f.

⁵⁰ G. VALLET, in *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes* (coll. EFR, 67), 1983, 947, has stressed the mixture of people among the colonists.

⁵¹ R. MEIGGS & D. LEWIS, 38 (= SIG³ 1122).

unusual and intriguingly advanced feature of openings in the rear wall to admit a passage from the street which was blocked by the stoa structure.⁵²

In the Heraion at Foce del Sele outside Poseidonia (Fig. 2), a S.-facing, stoa-like building was erected in the second half of the 7th century along a section of the N. boundary, judging by the adjoining later buildings. It is oriented more strictly to the cardinal points than the later altars and temples in the SW. The building had short walls returning on the front and was rather a very long, narrow broad-room with several openings.⁵³ According to Kuhn, the adjoining, later buildings in the NE. corner of the sanctuary (?) (another, very similar, S.-facing stoa-like building (4th century successor?) and at a right angle a W.-facing, Hellenistic dining-room of broad-room shape with a hearth in the middle) enclosed a secondary festal area with facilities for spectators and feasters around a small altar.⁵⁴ A very similar, also S.-facing, stoa-like building, strictly oriented according to the cardinal points, was erected not later than the mid 6th century some 50 m S. of the larger altar.⁵⁵ It either delineated and opened towards another secondary festal area in the S. of the sanctuary or, if it was situated outside a S. boundary and entrance (?), opened towards a road along such a side of the sanctuary.

In his latest contribution about the akropolis of Selinous (Fig. 2), Di Vita presents a corner of short stoas as a columnar hall at a NE. entrance.⁵⁶ In the Heraion at Poseidonia (Fig. 3),

⁵² *Supra* n. 9: G. VALLET *et al.*, 1976, 212-216 and 218-220; 1983, 24 f. and 39.

⁵³ P. ZANCANI MONTUORO & U. ZANOTTI BIANCO (*supra* n. 18), 1951, 25-28; COULTON, 30, 283.

⁵⁴ KUHN, 264-266; COULTON, 30, 283.

⁵⁵ *Supra* n. 18: P. ZANCANI MONTUORO, 1965-1966, fig. 1; 1967, 7-18.

⁵⁶ A. DI VITA (*supra* n. 16), 1984, 39-41, figs. 18, 27.

Neutsch listed a «griechische Hallenanlage»⁵⁷ along the N. part of the E. border (?), but that is absolutely all the information we have.

On the akropolis of Gela (Fig. 1), a number of small oikoi, mainly S-facing broad-rooms or rooms joined in S-facing broad-buildings, built in the late 7th, mid 6th and early 5th centuries along the N. limit, have been uncovered in two different excavation periods.⁵⁸ The line of the limit is indirectly indicated by the fortification wall, dating from about 500, and it may previously have taken the form of a fence or horos boundary. I combine Orlandini's buildings 2 and 3 of mid-6th-century date, which seem to be due to the succeeding buildings B and C, as I do not see why the four preserved, separate stretches of walls built with a similar technique and width (there is no mention of separate floors) should be partitioned into two different buildings instead of a very long, S-facing broad-room, similar to the nearby building 1, or a stoa. Two or maybe three of Orlandini's oikoi of early-5th-century date, A-C, are S-facing long-rooms, slightly deeper than the preceding broad-rooms. The most fragmentary oikoi of the new excavations, I (late 7th century), VI, V and VII (6th century) are probably all S-facing broad-buildings. The two easternmost oikoi of these excavations, II (7th century, a square room (part of a broad-building?)) and VIII (6th century, a long-room), are stated to have been E-facing. For these most distant oikoi, the view from the E. end of the akropolis may have taken precedence over the activities

⁵⁷ B. NEUTSCH, in *AA* 1956, 379, fig. 115, no. 11.

⁵⁸ *Supra* n. 12: P. ORLANDINI, 1968, 22-24 pl. 2; E. DE MIRO e G. FIORENTINI, 1976-1977, 430-434, pl. 28; G. FIORENTINI, *Tempio greco*, 105-110; I. ROMEO (*supra* n. 2), 16-20. The most ambitious plan of the latest excavations, which, however, lacks topographical indications, unfortunately does not relate the location of the new buildings to those of the previous excavations.

in the centre of the sanctuary. Because of the bases for an internal row of supports, VIII is compared with the «megaron» on the akropolis of Selinous, although the dimensions and proportions are different, and is viewed as a small temple. However, the subsequent history of the building, with early-5th-century rebuildings in the same urbanistic context as the other oikoi, and its extremely peripheral location make a temple interpretation unlikely to me. Figurines, pottery, animal bones, ashes and traces of burning have been found inside and, in particular, outside several of these buildings. Somewhat arbitrarily, they are alternately designated as «sacelli» or «thesauroi». In my opinion, we are able to follow here a long tradition of about 150 years — unique for Western Greece — of mainly broad-room oikoi situated perpendicularly at a boundary of the temenos accommodating the worshippers in connection with their feasting, which left some refuse, during the festivals in the temenos.

Gela is the only temenos site with oikoi documented. It is stated that «thesauroi» have been found in the Heraion at Tavole Palatine outside Metapont, but no plans have been presented. Among the numerous minor buildings in the Heraion at Poseidonia, some may be oikoi, but in view of the deficient documentation, we have no means of distinguishing them.

A welcome exception, which takes us over to the category of large oikoi, is formed by building 22 (Fig. 3).⁵⁹ It has been investigated and extensively documented by Lauter and his group. This very ambitious, oikos building with a concealed bothros constitutes a squarish, two-aisled, broad-room hall with an open, W.-front long-side, having an eschara in the middle. It is situated NE. of the altar E. of the «Basilika» at the E. boundary of the Heraion (?) (the rear wall is about as distant from

⁵⁹ H. LAUTER *et al.*, in *RM* 91 (1984), 23-45.

the altar as the rear side of the «Basilika» is distant from the stretch of temenos wall in the W.).⁶⁰ The building is dated to the third quarter of the 6th century by Lauter *et al.*, who interpret the oikos as a building where the people of some cult association had meals together, perhaps a bouleuterion/prytaneion. No. 8, described as a Greek building with a bothros,⁶¹ which is a longer and narrower, E.-facing broad-room at the NW. border (?) of the temenos, could be another dining-room, but we lack documentation.

Next, I turn to oikoi complexes. The sanctuary on the akropolis of Selinous (Fig. 2) contained since the Early Archaic period two oikoi complexes.⁶² One consists of two contiguous oikoi, adjoining and rear-aligned with the temple in the NE. The S. wall of the S. oikos adjoins a stretch of wall, which was either an internal retaining wall or, if we follow Gabrici, a part of the peribolos of an original, separate, altar temenos. It was thus located, as befits an oikoi complex, at the boundary/internal border but was parallel to it, not perpendicular, and the oikoi were E.-facing, like the temple. The other oikoi complex is similar but, so to say, its double, as it includes a room in front of each of the two contiguous oikoi. Situated immediately E. of the entrance in the S., the building adjoins the S. wall, which, whatever its date, must have been preceded by some kind of earlier boundary/retaining wall. Like the other Selinountine oikoi complex, the building was situated at the boundary/

⁶⁰ *FA* 6 (1951), No. 1974.

⁶¹ B. NEUTSCH, in *AA* 1956, 378, fig. 115 no. 8.

⁶² *Supra* n. 16: E. GABRICI, 1929, 81 f. pls. 2, 4; 1956, 217 figs. 2 f.; A. DI VITA, 1967, 38; 1984, 20 figs. 5, 18.

internal border and parallel, not perpendicular to it, facing W. towards the road just inside the entrance.⁶³

Let us then consider for a while the *oikoi* complex at Megara Hyblaia (Figs. 1, 2), viz. the «heroon».⁶⁴ This building, dating from the last quarter of the 7th century, consists of two parallel, elongated long-rooms facing the W. street along the agora/temenos with open, E., short sides. The only distinguishing features were two hearths in the S. room (one in the middle of the W. half and one (probably displaced?) somewhat off-centre in the E. half) and one hearth in the middle of the W. half of the N. room (the corresponding one in the E. half probably being lost?), a crushed SOS amphora with ashes in the SE. corner of the N. room and six pits in the threshold of the S. room (the corresponding level in the N. room being lost). These pits are compared with votive stones found at the agora of Kyrene and with pits carved in the Herakleion at Thasos. Malkin, who accepts this interpretation as probable but not certain, is worried by the scantiness of the comparative material,⁶⁵ and so am I, above all, because I find it incomparable. The Kyrene material consists actually of loose finds of hollowed and stuccoed, votive stones, which belong to a substantial votive deposit in a temple preceded and succeeded in the area over centuries by various altars and temples close to a long, venerated tomb (sc. that of Battos) in the E. side of the agora.⁶⁶ The Thasos material consists of two rows of irregular pits cut in the rock E.

⁶³ Cf. BELVEDERE, 131, who stated that the two (?) *oikoi* complexes adjoined the peribolos orthogonally (?).

⁶⁴ *Supra* n. 9: G. VALLET & F. VILLARD, 22; G. VALLET *et al.*, 1976, 208-211 («hypothèse d'un hérôon»); *ibidem*, 1983, 61 f.

⁶⁵ MALKIN, 172.

⁶⁶ S. STUCCHI, *L'agorà di Cirene. I. I lati nord ed est della plateia inferiore* (Monografie di archeologia libica, 7), 1965, 32-252, *passim*, esp. 44 fig. 23; see also MALKIN, 214-216.

of the rock core of a raised altar. I have previously interpreted them as bothroi intended for non-burnt offerings.⁶⁷ In a private letter of April 2, 1974, Homer Thompson objected, stating that, in his opinion, the pits had been taken too seriously and that they looked like holes for wooden posts «probably to be associated with some sort of canopy such as those attested for the altars at Perachora and at Halieis». I am inclined to agree that too much has been made of these pits. In my opinion, the important thing here is that neither the Kyrene material (hollowed-out, votive stones in a deposit near a tomb), nor the Thasos material (rock-cut pits near a raised altar), however these are to be interpreted (post holes or bothroi), actually gives any support to the «heroon» interpretation of building d at Megara Hyblaia. Are mere cavities an adequate ground for the Kyrene comparison? What are the criteria for a heroon?

What was the function of the building? Hearths, ashes and amphora give an immediate association with feasting. The two hearths in each half of the S. room remind me of the Archaic dining-room A near Megara Nisaia in Greece (Fig. 2) and the Hellenistic andreion at Agia Pelagia on Crete, although these are elongated broad-rooms.⁶⁸ In spite of the elongated long-rooms in building d, I rather fancy this building as a complex of dining-rooms, in view of its date probably not for reclining but seated banquets, accommodating two sympotic sub-groups in each room around each hearth, i.e. a kind of predecessor to the three-roomed hestiatorion-building erected further S. a century later.

⁶⁷ B. BERGQUIST, *Herakles on Thasos. The archaeological, literary and epigraphic evidence for his sanctuary, status and cult reconsidered* (Boreas, 5), 1973, 39-41 and 56.

⁶⁸ A. MÜLLER, «Megarika. X. Le sanctuaire de Zeus Aphésios», in *BCH* 107 (1983), 157-176, esp. 168-176; B. BERGQUIST, «Sympotic space. A functional aspect of Greek dining-rooms», in O. MURRAY (ed.), *Symptotica. A symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford 1990), 45 f.

The altar (?) temenos in the S. or the altar(s) in the N. along the street may be the sacrificial sites with which this hestiatorion was associated. The function of the pits is anybody's guess. The notables dining in the rooms opening in the E. short sides might have found some kind of screen or the like pleasant to have towards the street. Such a contraption could have been supported in the pits and laterally on a higher level in the long walls framing the open E. sides.

I submit this alternative interpretation of building d at Megara Hyblaia in the hope that it may further future discussion.

Finally, I shall consider the buildings which combine oikoi and porticoes. In the late 7th century, with a mid-6th-century addition, the U-shaped portico in front of two opposite aisles of first six, later 11, paratactic oikoi was erected in the Centocamere area at Lokroi (Fig. 1), enclosing a court with 371 bothroi. Their contents inform us that the oikoi served for sacred feasting.⁶⁹ This building was situated outside the city, later in front of a long retaining wall M along the seashore, in which an Archaic monumental entrance was erected. Considering its early date, it presents a surprisingly large scale and advanced structure of oikoi and porticoes in combination.⁷⁰ The building was later succeeded by two long rows of paratactic oikoi, along wall M and in a parallel row in front. It has been suggested, although it cannot be proved without extensive excavations, that this vast feasting complex by the sea outside the city had some connection with the Marasà sanctuary some hundred metres to the NW., but we do not know if this was the case or what formal expression it took.

⁶⁹ *Supra* n. 13: E. LISSI; M. BARRA BAGNASCO, 1977 I; 1978, 562-569; G. GULLINI, 111-127.

⁷⁰ KUHN, 266 and n. 628, doubts with reason the early date of the portico.

In the last third of the 6th century, a S.-facing building b consisting of three paratactic oikoi with off-centre doors preceded by a portico and a court was erected at Megara Hyblaia (Fig. 1) in the quarter on the far side of the W. street along the agora/temenos.⁷¹ The building was parallel to the street and situated roughly on a line with the temples in the S. half of the agora/temenos. Because the dimensions and the off-centre doors make the rooms suitable for seven couches, the building has been interpreted as a prytaneion.⁷² It could also be regarded just as a hestiatorion with three seven-couch dining-rooms in a sanctuary appendage to the altar (?) temenos near temple c N. of it or to the «temenos» of the «agora» or of its S. half.

On the akropolis of Selinous (Fig. 2) as the climax of the monumentalizing efforts in the last quarter of the 6th century, an L-shaped building containing a huge, extremely long, angled, broad-room hall with three + one doors and a portico in front of the long E. part was erected upon the stepped retaining wall along the E. and a part of the S. boundary/internal border, i.e. framing the festal area connected with altar C. With reference to the drain from the S. part of the long, angled room and the paving, this hall has been convincingly interpreted as a dining-hall.⁷³

The non-essential buildings, the stoai, oikoi and oikoi complexes, in the Western Greek sanctuaries are, as in Greece,

⁷¹ *Supra* n. 9: G. VALLET et F. VILLARD, 22-25; G. VALLET *et al.*, 1976, 198-202.

⁷² G. VALLET *et al.*, 1983, 62-69. Cf. *idem*, 1976, 198-202 (interpretation of hestiatorion).

⁷³ *Supra* n. 16: A. DI VITA, 1967, 3-31; COULTON, 32 (no portico in front of S. wing); KUHN, 261-264 (portico only E. wing; dining-hall); to A. DI VITA, 1984, 17-23, the drain is only a dating argument; *idem*, 1967, 39-40, adopting my terminology, inappropriately described the building as situated in a secondary area of a composite temenos.

situated peripherally with the rear wall against the boundary, with the exception of the oikoi complexes on the akropolis of Selinous, which are parallel and of which the NE. one may, in fact, be a very simple, early, temple building. All in all, the non-essential buildings are, however, comparatively few. The rarity of stoai has been commented on previously,⁷⁴ but, on the other hand, the few stoas which exist include at an early date such an outstanding instance as the N. stoa at the agora/temenos of Megara Hyblaia. As the limitations on space prohibit a detailed comparison with the stock of Archaic oikoi, both small and large ones, and with the oikoi complexes in Greece, I can only give general references to studies covering this rich evidence on a broad basis.⁷⁵ But the few instances that exist in Western Greece include the unsurpassed, angled, broad-room dining-hall (< 700 sq.m.) at Selinous (Fig. 2) and, at the surprisingly early

⁷⁴ COULTON, 8, 30; KUHN, 260 with n. 607 *ad fin.*; P. PELAGATTI, in *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984/1985), 684 f.

⁷⁵ E.g. B. BERGQUIST, *The Archaic Greek temenos. A study of structure and function* (ActaAth-4°, 13), 1967, 57 (list 10); eadem (*supra* nn. 67 f.); eadem, «Primary or secondary temple function: the case of Halieis», in *OpAth* 18 (1990), 23-27; M.S. GOLDSTEIN, *The setting of the ritual meal in Greek sanctuaries: 600-300 B.C.*, Ph.D. diss. Berkeley 1978; Ch. BÖRKER, *Festbankett und griechische Architektur* (Xenia, 4), 1983; KUHN, *passim*; R.A. TOMLINSON, «Two buildings in sanctuaries of Asklepios», in *JHS* 89 (1969), 106-117; idem, «Perachora: The remains outside the two sanctuaries», in *BSA* 64 (1969), 164-172 and 238-240; idem, «Ancient Macedonian symposia», in B. LAOURDAS & Ch. MAKARONAS (eds.), *Ancient Macedonia* [1]. Papers read at the first international symposium, Thessaloniki 1968, Institute for Balkan studies (Thessaloniki 1970), 308-315; idem, «The upper terraces at Perachora», in *BSA* 72 (1977), 197-202; G. ROUX, «Salles de banquets à Délos», in *Etudes déliennes* (BCH, Suppl. 1), 1973, 525-544; idem, «Problèmes déliens», in *BCH* 105 (1981), 41-78; N. BOOKIDIS, «The priest's house in the Marmaria at Delphi», in *BCH* 107 (1983), 149-155; V. HEERMANN, «Banketträume im Leonidaion», in *AM* 99 (1984), 243-250.

date of the late 7th century, the advanced, U-shaped complex (six + six paratactic oikoi) at Lokroi (Fig. 1), even though Kuhn's doubts about the early date of the portico seem to be warranted, and the paratactic complex of two large, long-room dining (?) -halls at Megara Hyblaia (Fig. 1). With these, we can only compare the earliest ambitious structure in Greece, the peristylar West Building at the Argive Heraion, of late-6th-century date (but not undisputed) and the oikoi complexes of two and three rooms at the most until the late 6th century.⁷⁶

The scarcity is thus hardly due to lack of competence, and we seem to be entitled to assume that there was a genuine difference from the situation in the motherland. Both stoai and small and large oikoi are to be expected in distant, extra-urban sanctuaries like the Heraion at Lakinion and the Apollonion at Krimisa, but unfortunately the only remains reported, priests' houses (*sic!*), seem to be Hellenistic or Roman, like the only ones investigated, viz. the Late Classical, dining-building complexes at some distance in Lakinion.⁷⁷ In distant, extra-urban sanctuaries like Tavole Palatine (oikoi but no plan), Foce del Sele (two stoai) or the E. Marinella and W. Gaggera hills at Selinous, we do not find any profusion of non-essential buildings for the comfort of the worshippers. Judging by the evidence available at present, early, non-essential buildings were more abundant (in number, size and ambition) in some urban sanctuaries. The Western Greek colonies seem simply to have spent less on the worshippers' comfort in the sanctuaries. This may be the case because attendance at sacrifices and festivals in these sanctuaries, most of which were after all urban, took place

⁷⁶ On size as a general claim to monumentality in Western Greek architecture (temples), see D. MERTENS, «Some principal features of the West Greek colonial architecture», in J.-P. DESCŒUDRES (ed.) (*supra* n. 2), 377 f.

⁷⁷ See n. 21.

under different circumstances than in Greece, and this may have established a tradition valid also in their extra-urban sanctuaries.

I have searched my mind to find explanations. Were there no οὐ φορά regulations in Western Greece, except at Megara, Gela, Lokroi and Selinous? As a matter of fact, the handbooks on Greek religion never include any instances beyond Greece. Sokolowski has given us no collection of *Lois sacrées de la Grèce de l'Ouest*. I have also considered all the sub- and extra-urban Demeter sanctuaries that have been identified. Did they house not only Thesmophorion festivals for women but also various other cults, which both sexes attended? In that case, all or the major part of the feasting and the social aspect of religion in the Western Greek colonies could have been focussed on such sanctuaries.

A possible explanation is also the circumstance that the boundaries along which the non-essential buildings were usually situated have so frequently not been found. Another explanation, which I hesitate to bring up, because I do not want any shadow to fall on the indefatigable Orsi, whom I admire greatly, is the fact that, at many early sites, afflicted by many subsequent, ancient and later constructions, excavations began a very long time (more than a hundred years) ago, when little less than peripteral temples counted as architectural remains. Is it not possible that remains of simple buildings, slight stone footings, post-holes, etc. may have escaped notice? We may just ponder upon the latest Gela excavations, which would scarcely have been feasible a century ago.

In addition to the abbreviations in *AJA* 90 (1986), 384-394, the following are used:

Atti Atene 1-3: 1 = *ASatene* 59 (N.S. 43), 1981; 2 = 60 (N.S. 44), 1982; 3 = 61 (N.S. 45), 1983 (Atti del convegno internazionale *Grecia, Italia e Sicilia nell'VIII et VII secolo a. C.*, Athens, October 1979) (pr. 1983-1984).
Atti 7 congresso: *Atti del 7 congresso internazionale di archeologia classica* 2, 1961.

Atti 7 Taranto: *Atti del 7- convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Taranto, October 1967-.

BELVEDERE: O. BELVEDERE, «I santuari urbani sicelioti: preliminari per un'analisi strutturale», in *ArchClass* 33 (1981), 122-136.

COULTON: J.J. COULTON, *The architectural development of the Greek stoa*, 1976.

Insedimenti: «Insedimenti coloniali greci in Sicilia nell'VIII e VII secolo a.C.» (Atti della 2a riunione della scuola di perfezionamento in archeologia classica dell'Università di Catania, Siracusa, November 1977), = *Chronache di archeologia* 17 (1978).

KUHN: G. KUHN, «Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Säulenhalle in archaischer und klassischer Zeit», in *JdI* 100 (1985), 169-317.

MALKIN: I. MALKIN, *Religion and colonization in ancient Greece* (H.S. VERSNEL & F.T. VAN STRATEN (eds.), *Studies in Greek and Roman religion*, 3), 1987.

Misc. Manni I-V: *φιλικὰς χάριν. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di E. Manni* I-V, 1980.

Tempio greco: «Il tempio greco in Sicilia. Architettura e culti» (Atti della 1a riunione scientifica della scuola di perfezionamento in archeologia classica dell'Università di Catania, Siracusa, November 1976), = *Chronache di archeologia* 16 (1977) (pr. 1985).

In view of the limitations on space, I have excluded all titles of articles amounting to excavation reports.

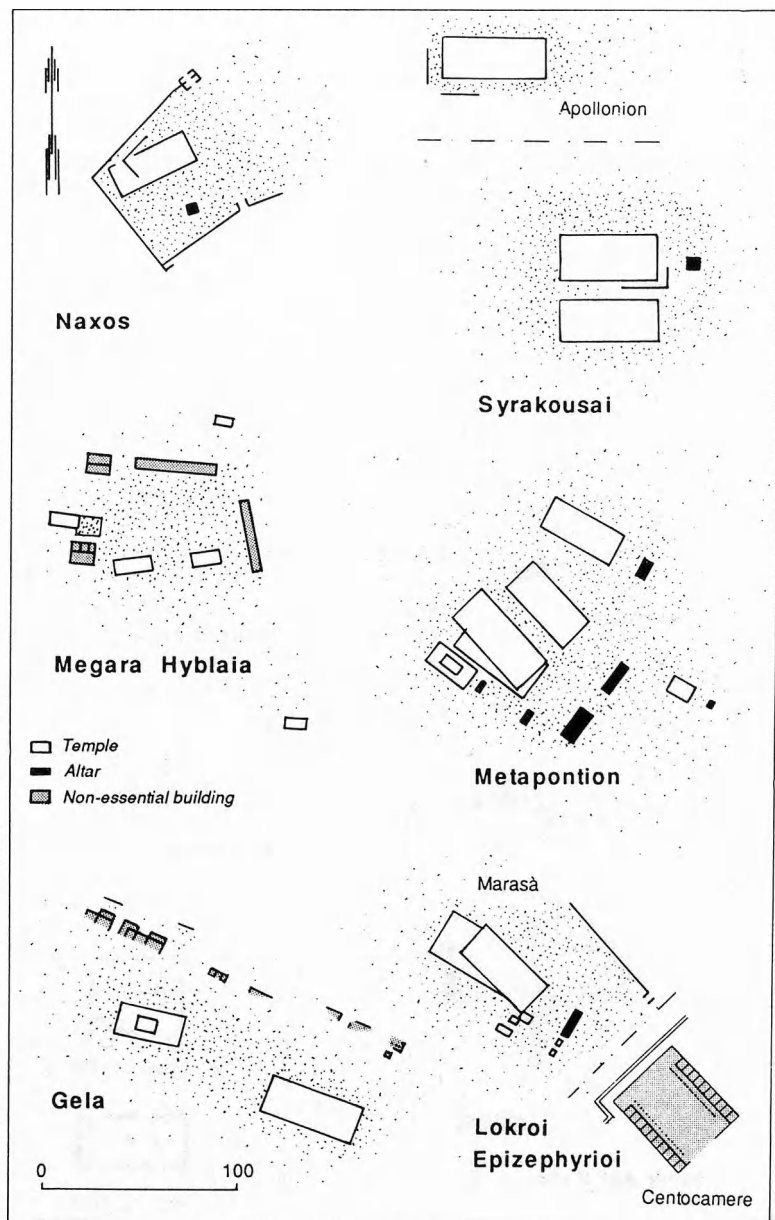


Fig. 1

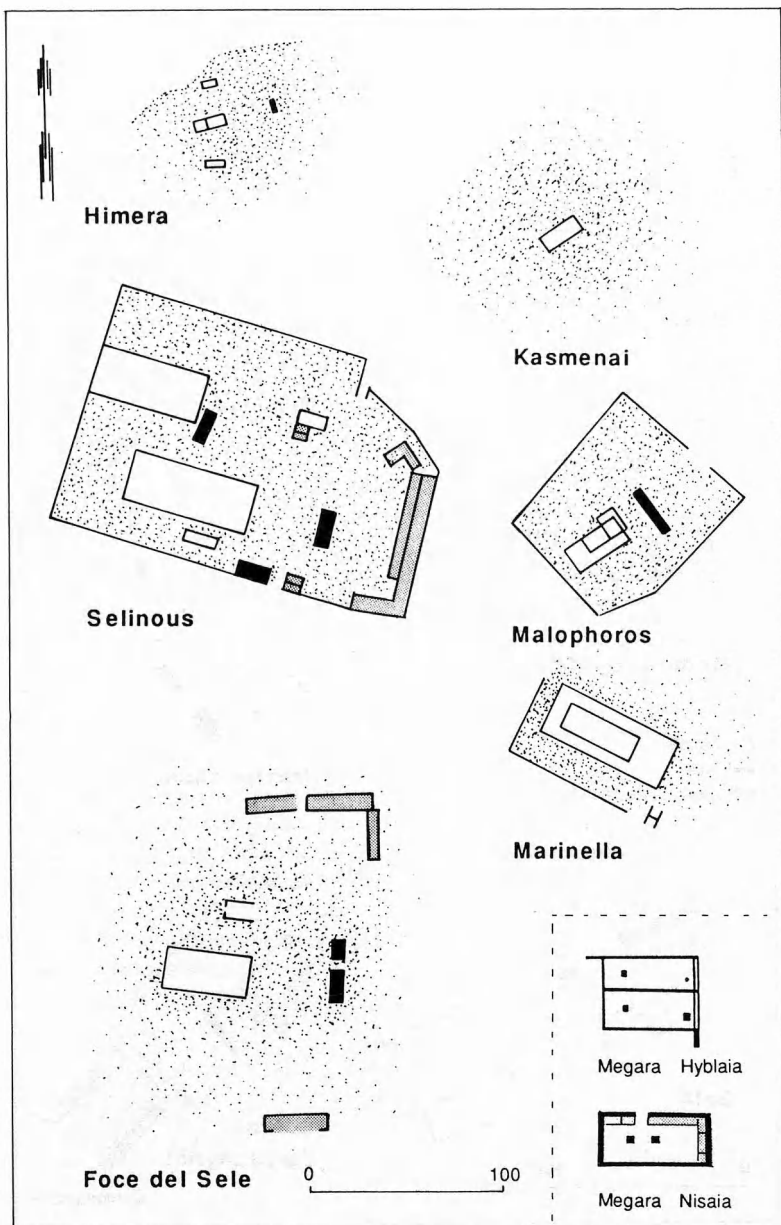


Fig. 2

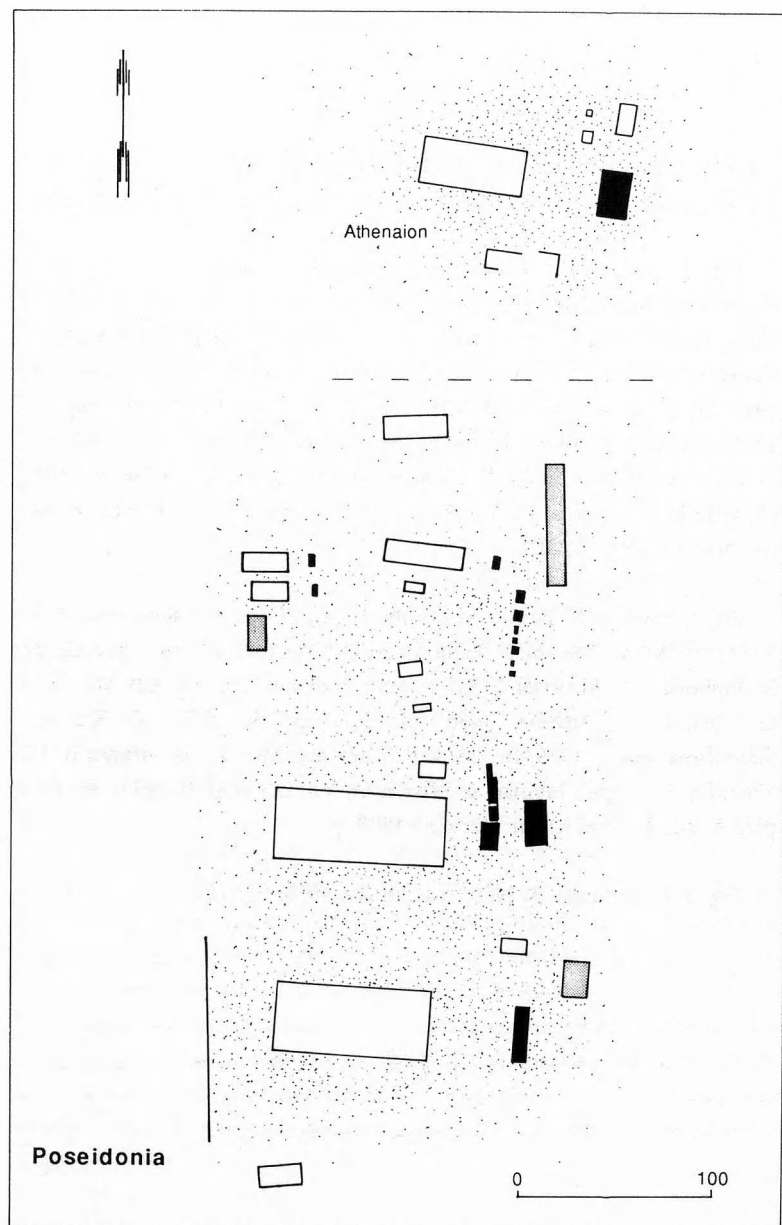


Fig. 3

The plans drawn (by Maria Elliott) in Figs. 1-3 on a scale of 1:400 approximately are based on the following illustrations:

Fig. 1. Naxos: P. PELAGATTI, in *BdA* 57 (1972), fig. 2; Syrakousai: P. PELAGATTI, *Insedimenti*, fig. 3, and *ibid.*, pl. 29, + E. GABBA & G. VALLET (eds.), *Sicilia antica* I 3, 1980, plan 15, + (*supra* n. 8), 1976-1977, fig. 5, + I. ROMEO (*supra* n. 2), pl. III 4; Megara Hyblaia: G. VALLET *et al.* (*supra* n. 9), 1983, fig. 3; Metapontion: D. MERTENS, in *AA* 1985, fig. 2; Gela: *supra* n. 12: P. ORLANDINI, 1968, pl. 2, + E. DE MIRO & G. FIORENTINI, 1976-1977, pl. 28, + A. DI VITA, in G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI *et al.* (eds.), *Sikanie*, 1986, pl. 4; Lokroi: *supra* n. 13: A. DE FRANCISCIS, 1979, pl. 5, and M. BARRA BAGNASCO, 1985, fig. 1.

Fig. 2. Himera: N. BONACASA (*supra* n. 14), 1985, fig. 2; Kasmenai: A. DI VITA, in *Sikanie*, 1986, pl. 5; Selinous: A. DI VITA (*supra* n. 16), 1984, fig. 27; Malophoros: R. MARTIN & G. VALLET (*supra* n. 25), fig. 12; Marinella: G. GULLINI, in *Sikanie*, 1986, pl. 2; Foce del Sele: E. KIRSTEN, *Südtalienkunde* 1, 1975, fig. 58 + P. ZANCANI MONTUORO (*supra* n. 18), 1967, fig. 1; Megara Hyblaia & Nisaia: G. VALLET *et al.* (*supra* n. 9), 1976, plan 5, and D. PHILOS, in *ArchEph* 1890, pl. 4.

Fig. 3. Poseidonia: B. NEUTSCH, in *AA* 1956, fig. 115.

DISCUSSION

M. Tomlinson: We should also consider the nature, and their expectations in religious matters of the settlers in the Greek colonies, in comparing West Greek sanctuaries with those of the mainland. If we take the heyday of Greek colonisation in the West to be the hundred years from c. 730 to c. 630 B.C., it is necessary to remember that most Greek sanctuaries at that time were relatively undeveloped. In addition, it is necessary to take into account the form of the sanctuaries already in existence in the founding cities other than Corinth, which of course would have been exceptionally progressive at this time. It is also important to consider the political implications, the reasons for sending out the colonies, what sort of people were sent out, and how likely they were to have differed from the élites who not only dispatched the colonies but were also responsible for the development of the sanctuaries at home. If I can anticipate one of the points I will make about Perachora, I would argue that there the original sanctuary is simple, and it is not until well into the 7th century that we find the provision of amenity buildings (the «temple of Hera Limenia») which should be the work of the ruling élite. Secondly, there is the political development in the colonies, particularly the rise of the tyrants, who might seek to emulate the peripteral temples as prestige buildings, but may not have been so interested in the lesser structures. I think it is a good point to observe the feasting buildings in the Western sanctuaries, which also surely reflect political circumstances.

Finally, we should also take into account the generally poor quality of the stone available for building in the West Greek colonies, adequate for the massively built temples, but less so for minor structures. This may well explain the failure or early archaeologists to notice less substantial buildings.

Mme Bergquist: You have given us a valuable reminder about the difference between the ruling élites in the mother country, which dispatched the colonies, and the colonists, who were presumably a heterogenous bunch of social outcasts. Naturally, it would take some time before a social stratification could develop in the colonies and an élite, on which it was worth while to bestow «amenity» buildings, was formed. This is nicely complementary to all the arguing about the time needed to develop the skills and the organization of the building artisans. Both the one and the other explanation may partly account for the scarcity of non-essential or «amenity» buildings. But then it is also all the more remarkable that at Megara and Lokri we find advanced buildings at an earlier date than in the mother country.

The Western Greek tyrants are mainly a Post-Archaic phenomenon, at the most Late Archaic, which I have tried to avoid by restricting myself to the Archaic period.

I am afraid that I do not understand your remark about the quality of the stone material available in Western Greece. The complex of the problems of the stone material is frequently treated, incl. the need to import stone suitable for ashlar and mouldings for prestigious buildings like temples. The stone footing of a non-essential or «amenity» building need not have raised greater demands on the quality of the stone than those of ordinary private houses.

M. Graf: Das Fehlen von οὐ φερά — Geboten und von *leges sacrae* allgemein ist doch auch aus denselben Materialproblemen zu erklären: die Westgriechen hatten keine guten Steine und schrieben entsprechend vor allem auf die viel leichter zerstörbare Bronze — irgenwelche weitergehenden Schlüsse sind wohl unzulässig.

Doch dies nur am Rand. Viel wichtiger und grundlegender ist, was Sie zur Möglichkeit sagten, dass Heiligtümer über privatem Grund erweitert werden oder aber — noch aufregender — profaniert werden könnten. Wir pflegen ja doch sakralen Boden als unabänderlich und seit jeher existent anzusehen — das ist offenbar falsch. Nun gibt es Beispiele zur Sakralisierung früher privaten Raums (mir fällt das kleine Heiligtum der Kybebe im Goldarbeiterviertel von Sardis ein, das über Privathäusern errichtet wurde; cf. A. Ramage, in *BASOR* 199 [1970], 16 f.) — gibt es andere Beispiele? Und vor

allem, gibt es Informationen, wie man genau vorzugehen pflegte bei solchen Transformationen?

M. Schachter: The phenomenon of enlarging τεμένη at the expense of secular buildings is not unknown in Greece, an outstanding example being the expansion of the sanctuary at Delphi. The reverse — returning a temenos to secular use — is, as you point out, rare. The only possible example that comes to mind is the building complex over the Heroon at the West Gate in Eretria.

M. Graf: Die Heiligtümer des griechischen Westens sind weit schwieriger zum Leben zu erwecken als diejenigen des Mutterlandes oder des kleinasiatischen Griechenlands einfach schon deswegen, weil so viel weniger schriftliche Zeugnisse vorhanden sind. Versucht man beispielsweise, die grossen extraurbanen Heiligtümer aus ihrem Kult heraus zu verstehen, stösst man sehr rasch an die Grenzen der Dokumentation — Rituale sind eben vor allem durch Beschreibungen in literarischen Texten oder Inschriften überliefert; beides ist im Westen knapp. Ganz ausnahmsweise kann man präzise (und sorgfältig ausgegrabene) archäologische Befunde mit Inschriften kombinieren und durch ausgreifendes Vergleichen zu — provisorischen — Schlüssen kommen — etwa im Falle der Cippi und Stelen von Metapont und dem Malophorion, die über einer (einmaligen?) Opferstelle errichtet worden sind und deren Inschriften auf Kult junger Menschen verweisen: versuchsweise kann man das mit den Stelen der thasischen πατρίαι oder der γένη aus dem koischen Asklepieion verbinden (*Proceedings 7th Intern. Congr. Epigr.* [Athens 1987], II 242-5). Doch es ist eine weit aufwendigere Methode als für das Mutterland, mit unsicheren Resultaten — deswegen eben ist der Versuch wichtig, auf anderem Weg zu allgemeineren Strukturen zu gelangen.

Mme Bergquist: It is my pleasure to thank Professors Graf and Schachter for the Sardes and Delphi (I suppose this is a reference to the residential quarter «expropriated» by the Attalos stoa?) instances of private ground transformed into sacred ground both for myself and on behalf of the excavators, who generally do not seem to have paid much attention to this

phenomenon, not to speak of its reverse. Lack of time has precluded my searching for parallels outside Western Greece and for literary and epigraphical evidence that could throw light upon the procedure. The excavators, who as a rule do not appear to have recognized the religious significance of such transformations, merely report their findings without any comment. I have simply come to these conclusions by reading their unvarnished accounts of the remains from earlier and later periods. Thus, to my regret, I cannot answer the question about how such changes were brought about.

I am not quite sure that the building over the heroon at the West gate in Eretria is a true parallel to the changes in Naxos and Gela. In Eretria, it is a question of a «family tomb» precinct, not a sanctuary, and the later feasting palaces above replaced earlier feasting buildings close to the tomb precinct (P. Auberson & K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria* [Bern 1972], 75-90).

Unlike Professor Graf, I do not want to overplay the notorious lack of appropriate stone in order to explain the lack of ritual laws in Western Greece, in view of the number of stone inscriptions from Western Greek colonies that are after all to be found in L.H. Jeffery, *The local scripts of Archaic Greece. A study of the origin of the Greek alphabet and its development from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C.* (Oxford 1961) and M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca I-IV* (Roma 1967-1978).

I do, however, agree with you that the regrettable scarcity of literary texts and inscriptions leaves us in the dark concerning Western Greek rituals. To the fascinating cases you bring up of sacrificial deposits *plus* stelai at Metapont and Selinous (Meilichios sanctuary), I would like to add the «*thysiai*», sacrificial deposits crowned by stelai, found in the sanctuary at Naxos (briefly reported in *BdA* 57 [1972], 215, and in *Kokalos* 18-19 [1972-1973], 181). This is a topic I would like to return to (see my forth-coming article, «A particular Western Greek cult practice? The significance of *stele*-crowned sacrificial deposits», in *OpAth* 19, *ActaAth*-4°, 41 [1992]).

M. Etienne: Les propositions de B. Bergquist concernant Mégara Hyblaea me semblent intéressantes, et je n'ai pas personnellement d'objections à opposer à la nouvelle interprétation de l'hérôon comme «hestiatorion» (il me paraît toutefois que les six *pits* apparaissant sur le seuil de la pièce Sud peuvent

difficilement servir à maintenir une fermeture). En revanche, dans le débat relatif au caractère de la place — agora ou téménos, agora et téménos —, je voudrais rappeler quelques faits et défendre l'hypothèse de l'agora, qu'ont adoptée P. Auberson, G. Vallet et F. Villard :

1. La position de cet espace dans le réseau urbain au centre géométrique de la cité est conforme à l'idée que les Grecs se faisaient d'une agora. Dès les premiers moments de l'installation (vers 750 av. J.-C.), ce lieu est réservé et laissé libre de constructions profanes ou sacrées: c'est ce que l'on attend d'une *meeting place* archaïque.
2. La configuration de cet espace à partir de 650 av. J.-C. me semble confirmer ce caractère. Les bâtiments publics ou sacrés qui sont alors construits le sont à la *périphérie*, aucun n'occupant une position dominante, comme ce devrait être le cas dans un *téménos*. Cette position périphérique est conforme à ce que l'on trouve sur l'Agora d'Athènes. Surtout, cet espace est un espace de circulation, sur lequel débouchent des rues, notamment au Sud. Sur ce point aussi, la comparaison avec Athènes, où l'Agora est un carrefour de voies, me semble être pertinente.
3. Lors de la reconstruction de Mégara Hyblaea au IV^e siècle, l'« agora » est réduite au Sud, mais on ne l'aménage pas plus qu'avant en *téménos*: lorsqu'on construit un nouveau temple, on l'établit au Nord de cet espace, au-delà du portique qui borde la place.

Dans une civilisation où le sacré et le public interfèrent, il est difficile que les espaces « publics » n'aient pas un caractère « sacré ». Mais, pour l'histoire de l'urbanisme, sinon même de la civilisation grecque, je crois important, quand on le peut, de reconnaître une agora.

Mme Bergquist: I am most pleased to find that you are prepared to accept my suggested re-interpretation of building d, i.e. the « heroon », at Megara Hyblaia as a hestiatorion. You object, however, to the second of my two alternative interpretations of the reserved space, viz. as temenos instead of agora. Personally, I find that you have taken your arguments a bit too far.

(1) The reserved area is not in the «geometric centre» of the city but of the excavated area: actually it is located in the NE. quadrant of the city (see H. Broise *et al.*, «Chronique d'une journée mégarienne», in *MEFRA* 95 [1983], fig. 14). (2) Temples g and h were in the late 7th century not erected peripherally, but rather centrally in the S. half of the area, thanks to the suppression of previous habitation in the S. (*supra* n. 36). (3) This is a circulation area, into which several streets open. That is a fact, I agree, but, just as there is no instance of an Archaic colonial agora to compare it with (*supra* n. 48), so there is no non-peripheral temenos to compare it with. As I pointed out in my lecture, most Western Greek temene are peripherally situated (probably or possibly in connection with the agora). As their original boundaries have, as a rule, not been established, we do not know to what extent the temene had entrances corresponding to the contemporaneous streets. The huge middle section with two sanctuaries and agora at Poseidonia and the Apollonion and the Athenaion/Artemision at Syrakousai are the only non-peripheral temene. As regards Poseidonia, we do not know the original street grid nor much about the boundary and, as regards the Apollonion at Syrakousai, we know only one corner of the boundary and, as regards the Athenaion/Artemision, nothing about the boundary or the entrance(s).

On second thoughts, I have myself come to favour rather the first alternative of the reserved space having been a public area serving both as agora and temenos.

IV

FRITZ GRAF

HEILIGTUM UND RITUAL DAS BEISPIEL DER GRIECHISCH-RÖMISCHEN ASKLEPIEIA

1. Einleitung

Jedes Heiligtum, vom einfachen Temenos bis zum repräsentativen Tempelbezirk oder zur gotischen Kathedrale, ist ein ausgegrenzter und durch Menschenhand geformter Raum, welcher der Verehrung einer oder mehrerer übermenschlicher Wesenheiten geweiht ist; als solches ist jedes Heiligtum Brennpunkt von Mythen und Ort von Riten. Seine Ausgestaltung hängt mit der Art der Riten unmittelbar zusammen (etwa damit, ob ein olympisches Opfer mit Altar oder eines an die Unterirdischen mit einem Bothros üblich ist). Doch die Riten ihrerseits fügen sich in einen grösseren Zusammenhang ein: denn wie jedes Produkt menschlichen Schaffens kann der sakrale Raum verstanden werden als ein Zeichensystem, das etwas darüber aussagt, wie die Menschen den hier ablaufenden Kult und seinen Kultempfänger verstanden. Die Elemente, aus denen sich dieses Zeichensystem zusammensetzt, sind vielfältig: am wichtigsten ist die *Anlage* in ihren einzelnen Teilen, doch bereits die *Lage des Heiligtums* ist aussagekräftig (liegt es in der Polis oder in der freien Natur, an der Grenze des Territoriums oder in seinem politischen und

sakralen Zentrum?).¹ Und schliesslich kommen dazu eben Riten und Mythen, die in sich wieder Zeichensysteme sind.

Wie dieser Komplex zusammenwirkt, um einen spezifischen Typus von Heiligtum zu definieren, möchte ich im Folgenden für die antiken Asklepieia näher untersuchen. Die Asklepieia bieten sich deshalb an, weil sie oft ihre Gestalt erst relativ spät und unter dem formenden Einfluss besonders von Epidauros erhielten: so steht ein vergleichsweise reiches und homogenes, sich gegenseitig ergänzendes Material zur Verfügung. Gegenläufig — und nicht zu unterschätzen — wirkt sich freilich aus, dass häufig bereits lokale Ansätze in den Asklepieia fortwirkten, über die wir nur schlecht unterrichtet sind; idealiter können sie freilich zur Kontrolle und als Folie für das Gemeinsame dienen².

2. Das römische Asklepieion «inter duos pontes»

Als Ausgangspunkt für unsere Überlegungen eignet sich die Einrichtung des Asklepioskultes durch den römischen

¹ Arbeiten zu dieser Fragestellung sind selten, vgl. die kritische Übersicht zu einem Problemkreis bei David ASHERI, «A propos des sanctuaires extra-urbains en Sicile et Grande Grèce. Théories et témoignages», in Marie-Madeleine MACTOUX — Evelyne GENY (Hrsgg.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque* I (Paris 1988), 1-15; etwas enttäuschend John N. COLDSTREAM, «Greek temples: Why and where?» in P.E. EASTERLING — J.V. MUIR (Hrsgg.), *Greek religion and society* (Cambridge 1985), 67-97.

² Vgl. Emma J. und Ludwig EDELSTEIN, *Asclepius. A collection and interpretation of the testimonies* (I: Collection of the testimonies; II: Interpretation of the testimonies) (Baltimore 1945); Roland MARTIN — Henri METZGER, *La religion grecque* (Paris 1976), 62-109; einen umfassenden, wenn auch nicht immer befriedigenden Katalog gibt Alessandra SEMERIA, «Per un censimento degli Asklepieia della Grecia continentale e delle isole», in *AnnSNPisa* 16 (1986), 931-958; die Bilddenkmäler bei Bernard HOLTZMANN, in *LIMC* II 1 (1984), 863-897.

Staat im Jahre 293; seine Übernahme von Epidauros ist durch Livius und spätere Autoren gut bezeugt und in der Forschung auch ausführlich diskutiert³. Der Gott wurde in der Gestalt seiner heiligen Schlange nach Rom geholt; im Tiber liess diese sich ins Wasser gleiten und suchte die Insel *inter duos pontes* auf, womit der Kultort durch den göttlichen Willen festgelegt war. Der Kult behielt in Rom seine griechische Form bei, wie Festus ausdrücklich mitteilt⁴; andere Informationen, die dies bestätigen könnten, fehlen zwar, doch haben wir keinen Grund, daran zu zweifeln: dasselbe Festhalten an der fremden Form bezeugt Festus für die Kulte von Magna Mater und Ceres, wo andere Quellen die Bestätigung geben⁵.

Grabungen haben zwar auf dem Gebiet der *Insula* und ihres Asklepieions nie stattfinden können: seit dem 12. Jh. steht an seiner Stelle die Kirche des S. Bartolomeo; Bartholomäus gilt

³ Vgl. Maurice BESNIER, *L'île Tibérine dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1902), bes. 135-244; Ernst SCHMIDT, *Kultübertragungen*, RGVV VIII 2 (Giessen 1909); Joël LE GALL, *Recherches sur le culte du Tibre* (Paris 1953); Margherita GUARDUCCI, «L'Isola Tiberina e la sua tradizione ospitaliera», in *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 26 (1971), 267-281, repr. in *Studi scelti sulla religione greca e romana e sul cristianesimo* (Leiden 1983), 180-197; Paul ROESCH, «Le culte d'Asclépios à Rome», in G. SABBAH (Hrsgg.), *Médecins et médecine dans l'antiquité*, Centre Jean Palerne, Mém. 3 (Saint-Etienne 1982), 171-179.

⁴ Fest. p. 268 L.: *Peregrina sacra appellantur quae aut evocatis dis in oppugnantibus urbibus Romam sunt + conata +, aut quae ob quasdam religiones per pacem sunt petita, ut ex Phrygia Matris Magnae, ex Graecia Cereris, Epidauro Aesculapi: quae coluntur eorum more, a quibus sunt accepta.* — Vgl. M. VAN DOREN, «Peregrina Sacra», in *Historia* 3 (1954/1955), 488-497.

⁵ Ceres: Cic. *Balb.* 55, vgl. Henri LE BONNIEC, *Le culte de Cérès à Rome. Des origines à la fin de la République* (Paris 1958), 381-399; Magna Mater: Dion. Hal. II 19, 4; Liv. XXIX 14, 11 (fremde Priester); Serv. in Verg. *Georg.* II 394 (griechische Kultlieder).

seinerseits als Krankenheiler⁶. Die Elemente des Heiligtums wenigstens sind bekannt⁷: ein Tempel, der am 1. Januar 291 dediziert wurde⁸, mit einer Kultstatue, auf die Ovid anspielt⁹; Säulenhallen, in denen sich die Kranken aufhielten¹⁰; wohl eine heute ausgetrocknete Quelle, jedenfalls stellt ein Relief eine Quellgottheit dar und ist in S. Bartolomeo vor der Treppe zum Altarraum ein Brunnenschacht, dessen Wasser eine Inschrift als gesundbringend empfiehlt¹¹; schliesslich ein Hain¹²: es sind dies die gängigen Bestandteile eines Asklepieions, die etwa auch in Epidauros wichtig sind. Wie in Epidauros, im kretischen Lebena oder in Pergamon wurden auch in Rom wunderbare Heilungen nach der Inkubation inschriftlich festgehalten¹³; wie an vielen Orten Griechenlands und Italiens dedizierten die Geheilten Votivbilder der betroffenen Organe: bei der grossen Tiberkor-

⁶ Legenda Aurea zum 24. August.

⁷ M. BESNIER, *L'île* (Anm. 3), 184-202; vgl. auch Donatella DEGRASSI, «Interventi edilizi sull'Isola Tiberina nel 1° sec.a.C. Nota sulle testimonianze letterarie, epigrafiche ed archeologiche», in *Athenaeum* 65 (1987), 521-527.

⁸ Georg WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (München 1912), 307.

⁹ Ov. *Met.* XV 654-656 (*qualis in aede esse solet*).

¹⁰ Liv. II 5, 4: *area firma templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis*; vgl. Plut. *Publ.* 8, 6.

¹¹ M. BESNIER, *L'île*, 200 f., nach F. VON DUHN, in *RM* 1 (1886), 167-172; die mittelalterliche Inschrift lautet *Qui sitit ad fontem veniat potumque salubrem hauriat ex vena* [...]

¹² Unten Anm. 107.

¹³ Übersicht über die Heilungsberichte mit Lit. bei Margherita GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca. IV. Epigrafi sacre pagane e cristiane* (Roma 1978), 143-166, wichtig noch immer Rudolf HERZOG, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros*, *Philologus Supplbd.* 22, 3 (Leipzig 1931); die bisher einzige pergamenische Inschrift ist ausführlich besprochen von Helmut MÜLLER, «Ein Heilungsbericht aus dem Asklepieion von Pergamon», in *Chiron* 17 (1987), 193-233.

reaktion 1881-1890 wurden grosse Mengen solcher anatomischer Votive aus Terrakotta gefunden, die wenigstens zu einem bedeutenden Teil aus dem Asklepiosbezirk auf der Insel stammen müssen¹⁴.

Wenn mithin Architektur und Kultpraxis, soweit nachprüfbar, sich an jene der grossen Asklepieia Griechenlands, insbesondere des Mutterheiligtums von Epidauros eng anschliessen¹⁵, bleibt doch die Lage auf der Flussinsel isoliert. Die Legende sah und beantwortete das Problem — und unterstreicht damit zugleich die Besonderheit: der Wille des Gottes, manifestiert in der heiligen Schlange, habe sich die Insel ausgelesen; wenigstens für Ovid ist dabei die Schlange identisch mit dem Gott¹⁶. Überführung des Kultes durch die Schlange ist nicht ganz selten: nach Athen und nach Sikyon kommt sie per Wagen¹⁷; nach Epidau-

¹⁴ Publiziert wurden sie erst jüngst, Patrizio PENSABENE — Maria Antonietta RIZZO — Maria ROGHI — Emilia TALAMO, *Terracotte votive dal Tevere* (Roma 1980); die Probleme bei der Auffindung ebenso wie bei der Aufbewahrung lassen freilich eine präzise Zuordnung der damaligen Funde auf einzelne Fundplätze nicht mehr zu. — Zu den anatomischen Votiven allgemein die (unvollständigen) Übersichten von Folkert T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts for the gods», in Hendrik S. VERSNEL (Hrsg.), *Faith, hope and worship. Aspects of religious mentality in the ancient world* (Leiden 1981), Appendix 105-151 (zu Griechenland); Mario TABANELLI, *Gli ex-voto poliviscerali etruschi e romani. Storia, ritrovamento, interpretazione* (Firenze 1962); vgl. auch die wichtige Übersicht von Annamaria COMELLA, «Complessi votivi in Italia in epoca medio- e tardo-repubblicana», in *MEFRA* 93 (1981), 717.

¹⁵ Wie Fregellae zeigt, tritt wenigstens in der Architektur neben Epidauros bald das Vorbild von Kos, Filippo COARELLI, *Fregellae 2. Il santuario di Esculapio* (Roma 1986), 7 f.

¹⁶ *Ov. Met.* XV 655-744; zu Beginn verwandelt sich der Gott in die Schlange, ohne freilich den Priester zu täuschen («en, deus est, deus est!...» dixit 677), am Ende wandelt sie sich in den Gott zurück (*specie caeleste resumpta* 743).

¹⁷ Athen: das Telemachos-Monument, das Luigi BESCHI, «Il monumento di Telemachos, fondatore dell'Asklepieion ateniese», in *AnnSAA* 29/30

ros Limera wird sie wie nach Rom zu Schiff über das Meer gebracht und sucht sich den Ort ihres Altars am Strand¹⁸; auch in Pergamon wurde eine solche Sage erzählt¹⁹. Der römische Mythos verwendet also ein geläufiges Motiv, um die seltsame Lokalisation zu erklären.

Dass bereits die Antike sich über die Lage wunderte, erfahren wir auch sonst; neben der des Mythos stehen andere antike Erklärungen²⁰. Für den älteren Plinius war die Insellage Ausdruck des Misstrauens der Römer der griechischen Medizin gegenüber; das braucht wohl keine Widerlegung²¹. Für Festus war das Wasser als Heilmittel ausschlaggebend: das passt eher zu einer Heilquelle als zum Tiber²². Plutarch schliesslich — der allerdings bloss die extraurbane Lage problematisiert — verweist auf die Lage griechischer Asklepieia ausserhalb der Städte an gesunden und erhöhten Orten²³ — wie gesund die Lage im Tiber war, ist zweifelhaft, besonders erhöht jedenfalls war sie nicht. So kann keine der antiken Antworten wirklich befriedigen. Weiter schien erst Joël Le Gall zu kommen, der zwei Gründe verknüpfte²⁴: fremde Götter werden in Rom prinzipiell ausser-

(1967/1968), 381-436 rekonstruiert hat, mit der Inschrift IG II² 4960 + 4961 (Elpis MITROPOULOU, *A new interpretation of the Telemachos monument* [Athen 1975], gibt wenig Neues); Sikyon: Paus. II 10, 3.

¹⁸ Paus. III 23, 6 f.; das Elementare bereits bei Sam WIDE, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig 1893; repr. Darmstadt 1973), 189 f.

¹⁹ Paus. II 26, 8 ist zu knapp, Münzbilder bewahren aber die traditionelle Form der Legende auf, Louis ROBERT, *Etudes Anatoliennes* (Paris 1937), 162 Anm. 7.

²⁰ P. ROESCH, «Le culte d'Asclépios à Rome» (Anm. 3), 173.

²¹ Plin. *Nat.* XXIX 16.

²² Fest. p. 98 L.: *in insula Aesculapio facta aedes fuit, quod aegroti a medicis aqua maxime sustentur*; dasselbe gilt für Vit. I 2, 7, unten Anm. 34.

²³ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 94, 286 D, s. unten Anm. 35.

²⁴ J. LE GALL, *Le culte* (Anm. 3), 103.

halb des Pomerium verehrt, und die Insel lag bis in augusteische Zeit draussen; dass dabei unter den vielen möglichen Orten gerade die Insel gewählt wurde, lag daran, dass bereits im 4. Jh.v.C. auf ihr ein Heilkult, wohl des Tiberinus, bestanden habe. Diesen Kult, den keine literarischen oder epigraphischen Quellen kennen, sieht Le Gall durch einige anatomische Votive belegt, welche älter als das frühe 3. Jh. sein müssten. Das Argument überzeugt nicht: die ersten sicher datierten Votive von der Insel kommen aus dem mittleren 2. Jh.; eine beträchtliche Höherdatierung der wenig spezifischen Masse der anatomischen Votive, die allein aus stilistischen Gründen zu erfolgen hätte, ist äusserst problematisch. Dazu kommt die Fundproblematik der Ex-Voto aus dem Tiber²⁵: die Herkunft auch nur von der Insel ist für kein einziges Stück gesichert, da die Fundbücher zwar Fundorte und allgemeine Charakteristiken verzeichnen, sie aber nicht mit den uns erhaltenen Stücken verknüpfen. Umgekehrt wissen wir gerade dadurch, dass anatomische Ex-Voto auch weit tiberaufwärts, am Ponte Garibaldi und neben der Engelsburg (Via di Monte Brianzo) gefunden wurden: an der These von Le Gall sind alle möglichen Zweifel möglich. Doch selbst wenn er Recht hätte, erklärt er die Insellage nicht wirklich: unerklärt bleibt, weswegen Asklepios sich nicht an einen andern Heilkult angeschlossen hat, insbesondere nicht an den des Apollo Medicus, dessen Bezirk sich ja ebenfalls ausserhalb des Pomerium

²⁵ Ausführlich dargestellt bei P. PENSABENE — M.A. RIZZO — M. ROGHI — E. TALAMO, *Terracotte* (Anm. 14), 5-19. — Aus dem hier präsentierten Material will Joël LE GALL, «Des Romains demandaient au Tibre la guérison de leurs maux», in *Archéologie et médecine. 7es rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes (23-24-26 octobre 1986)* (Juan-les-Pins 1987), 531-536, umgekehrt schliessen, dass alle anatomischen Votive vom Tiberufer dem Tiber, nicht dem Asklepios auf der Insel geweiht waren. Nichts zwingt zu diesem Schluss.

befand²⁶ — doppelt seltsam angesichts der engen Beziehungen, die nicht bloss den epidaurischen Asklepios mit Apollon verbanden.

Die Sache wird noch interessanter, wenn man sich die in ihrer Ursprungslegende ausgedrückte Besonderheit der Tiberinsel klarmacht; Maurice Besnier hat diese Mythologie ausführlich besprochen²⁷. Die Insel, so heisst es etwa gleichlautend bei Livius, Dionysios von Halikarnass und Plutarch²⁸ — nach einer annalistischen Quelle — sei entstanden, als die Römer die Tarquinier vertrieben und den Landbesitz der Familie auf der Halbinsel nördlich der Stadt dem Mars geweiht hätten (weswegen jene Halbinsel hinfort *Campus Martius* geheissen habe): man hätte dabei das eben reife Getreide abgeerntet, sich dann aber nicht getraut, es zu benutzen, da es ja Mars geweiht und damit menschlichen Zugriff entzogen gewesen sei²⁹; also habe man die Getreidegarben in den Fluss geworfen. An einer Untiefe seien sie hängengeblieben und hätten sich zur Insel geformt, die durch angeschwemmten Sand und Lehm sich rasch verfestigt hätte³⁰.

Die Tiberinsel als Resultat einer seltsamen Ernte: das beantwortet die Frage nach dem unklaren religiösen Status der Insel: zwar Teil des Flusses, ist sie doch Land und mit Brücken an das

²⁶ Vgl. Jean GAGÉ, *Apollon romain. Essai sur le culte d'Apollon et le développement du «ritus Graecus» à Rome des origines à Auguste* (Paris 1955), 27; 99-110.

²⁷ M. BESNIER, *L'île* (Amn. 3), 15-31; J. LE GALL, *Le culte* (Anm. 3), 103 bringt nichts Neues, seine historisierende Lesung des Mythos («il est très courant que des îles naissent de cette manière») überzeugt nicht.

²⁸ Liv. II 5, 1-4; Dion. Hal. V 13; Plut. *Publ.* 8, 1-5.

²⁹ Liv. II 5, 3: *campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere*, ähnlich Dion. Hal. V 13, 3 (ἐξαγιστόν).

³⁰ Die bei Plut., *l.c.*, mitgeteilte Variante, dass das Marsfeld nicht Tarquinius Superbus, sondern der Vestalin Tarquinia gehört habe, ändert nichts Grundlegendes.

übrige Land angebunden³¹. Der Status des Flusses ist demgegenüber eindeutig: er wird rituell als ein Bereich verstanden, der ausserhalb menschlicher Verfügbarkeit steht; der Tiber empfängt, was die Römer aus ihrer Stadt religiös aussondern wollen: *portenta*, die man beseitigen muss, den *parricida*, die *purgamina Vestae*, schliesslich die Puppen der *Argei*³². Der Mythos schafft Klarheit: auch die Insel, entstanden aus den Mars geweihten Getreidebündeln, ist ein Bereich jenseits menschlicher Verfügbarkeit, genau wie der Fluss.

Die übrigen Kulte auf der Insel, soweit sie kenntlich sind, bestätigen diese Analyse: der Flussgott selber, der ein *sacellum* besass, daneben Faunus, der römische Gott des Draussen, der in keinen urbanen Raum passt³³; unklarer sind die Schwurgötter Semo Sancus und Iupiter Iurarius, die ebenso Kult auf der Insel hatten.

Aesculapius erhielt in Rom also nicht einfach einen Raum ausserhalb des Pomerium, sondern einen prononciert aus der Menschenwelt ausgegliederten Raum. Zu klären bleibt, ob dies römische Eigenheit ist, mithin Eigenes aussagt über die Rezeption des griechischen Gottes in Rom (Festus' Nachricht, dass der griechische Charakter rituell bewusst blieb, könnte dafür sprechen) oder ob schon Asklepios Ansatzpunkte bot dazu, auch wenn keines der vielen griechischen Asklepieia auf einer Insel liegt.

³¹ Wären die *pontifices* ursprünglich zuständig gewesen für die beiden Brücken zur Insel?

³² J. LE GALL, *Le culte* (Anm. 3), 83-95.

³³ Faunus ist «der deus agrestis schlechtweg», G. WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 210; mehr Georges DUMÉZIL, *La religion romaine archaïque* (Paris 1966).

3. Die Lage der griechischen Asklepieia

Auskunft über die antike Auffassung, wo Asklepieia liegen sollten, geben Vitruv und Plutarch. Der römische Architekt stellt sie dabei mit andern Heiligtümern zusammen: allgemein gelte, dass Tempel an gesunden Orten (*saluberrimae regiones*) und besonders bei guten Quellen (*aquarum fontes... idonei*) liegen müssten; namentlich verweist er dann auf die Tempel von Aesculapius und anderer Heilgötter, wo diese Lage im Interesse der dort Genesung Suchenden sei: da wird Griechisches und Römisches zusammengesehen, die Lage ausserhalb der Stadt schon deswegen nicht thematisiert, weil Vitruv allgemein von *templa* spricht³⁴. Plutarch seinerseits will Antwort gerade auf die Frage geben, weswegen das römische Asklepieion ausserhalb der Stadt lag: auch bei den Griechen pflegten diese Heiligtümer an reinen und erhöhten Orten zu liegen³⁵.

Die Feststellung Plutarchs, im Fall des römischen Heiligtums etwas unpassend, hat für andere italische Heiligtümer des Aesculapius durchaus Gültigkeit, wie die Grabungen in Fregellae haben zeigen können, wo der Bezirk tatsächlich erhöht und abseits der Siedlung liegt³⁶. Und vor allem gilt sie im Ganzen für die griechischen Asklepieia, die in den allermeisten Fällen wenn vielleicht nicht immer erhöht, so doch extraurban gelegen sind,

³⁴ Vitr. I 2, 7 *naturalis autem decor sic est, si primum omnibus templis saluberrimae regiones aquarumque fontes in iis locis idonei eliguntur, in quibus fana constituentur, deinde maxime Aesculapio, Saluti et eorum deorum, quorum plurimi medicinis aegri curari videntur. cum enim ex pestilenti in salubrem locum corpora aegra translata fuerint et e fontibus salubribus augurum usus ministrabuntur, celerius convalescent.*

³⁵ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 94, 286 D.

³⁶ Vgl. F. COARELLI, *Fregellae* 2 (Anm. 15), 11: «il sito... è una altura isolata, esterna ed antistante l'altopiano di Opri su cui si estendeva la colonia latina di Fregellae»; auch die Lage vor der Stadt ist damit gegeben.

nicht bloss die bekannten grossen Asklepieia von Epidauros, Kos, Pergamon; insbesondere die Grabungsbefunde, seltener bereits die meist sehr knappen Angaben des Pausanias³⁷, belegen dies. Manche liegen ausserhalb der Siedlung am Meer, teilweise erhöht im Uferhang (Delos³⁸, Paros³⁹, Lebena⁴⁰, Epidauros Limera⁴¹, Munichia⁴², vielleicht Antium⁴³), andere über einem Flussufer (Troizen⁴⁴, ein Heiligtum bei Therapne am Eurotas, ein anderes in Elis über dem Alpheios⁴⁵, das jüngere Asklepieion im arkadischen Gortys⁴⁶; landschaftlich besonders eindrücklich das kleine Asklepieion von Krounoi bei Naupaktos⁴⁷), wieder

³⁷ Zusätzliche Schwierigkeiten ergeben sich dadurch, dass Pausanias oft unpräzise ist: das korinthische Asklepieion etwa liegt «bei dem Gymnasium» (II 4, 5), erst die Grabungen zeigten, dass es in einiger Distanz zum Gymnasium direkt an der Stadtmauer liegt; entsprechend können etwa die wichtigen und rituell seltsamen Asklepieia von Sikyon (II 10, 2) und Titane (II 11, 5) durchaus wenigstens am Siedlungsrand liegen.

³⁸ Fernand ROBERT, *Trois sanctuaires sur le rivage occidental*, Délos, Bd. 20 (Paris 1952), 51-107.

³⁹ Otto RUBENSOHN, «Paros III. Das Asklepieion», in *AM* 27 (1902), 199-238.

⁴⁰ Luigi PERNIER — Luisa BANTI, *Guida degli scavi italiani di Creta* (Roma 1947), 68-75.

⁴¹ Paus. III 23, 6 f.

⁴² Belege bei A. SEMERIA, in *AnnSNPisa* 16 (1986) (oben Anm. 2), 943; am Hafen liegt das Asklepieion auch in Kenchreiai, Paus. II 2, 3.

⁴³ Val. Max. I 8, 2: auf der Fahrt von Epidauros nach Rom macht die Asklepios-Schlange in Antium Station.

⁴⁴ Gabriel WELTER, *Troizen und Kalaureia* (Berlin 1941), 25-36.

⁴⁵ Zwischen Therapne und Amyklai am Eurotas, Paus. III 19, 7; Elis: VI 21, 4.

⁴⁶ Zusammenfassend Madeleine JOST, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris 1985), 205-210.

⁴⁷ Zusammenfassend Lucien LERAT, *Les Locriens de l'Ouest* (Paris 1952), I (Topographie et ruines) 93 f.; II (Histoire, institutions, prosopographie) 154.

andere im Hang des Burgbergs, ausserhalb der Befestigungen (das ältere Heiligtum in Gortys⁴⁸, Aliphera⁴⁹, Amphissa⁵⁰); das aiginetische Asklepieion, bekannt durch Aristophanes' *Wespen*, liegt beim Bezirk der Aphaia, weitab der Stadt am Berghang⁵¹. Manchmal ist bloss die Lage am Burgberg, aber nicht ihr Verhältnis zur Stadt klar (Titane⁵², Phlius und Patrai⁵³); doch im Falle des athenischen Asklepieions oberhalb des Dionysostheaters, also innerhalb der Stadt, haben wir genügend Material, um zu sehen, dass er in einem liminalen Raum zwischen Stadt und Burg liegt, wo Pan und die Nymphen, Ge Kouroutrophos, Demeter Chloe zuhause sind⁵⁴. Archäologisch sind im Innern der Stadt demgegenüber bloss die Heiligtümer von Korinth — freilich direkt an der Mauer des 4. Jahrhunderts⁵⁵ —, vielleicht des boiotischen Orchomenos, das am Burgberg, doch in der Nähe von hellenistischen Häusern liegt⁵⁶, und von Messene

⁴⁸ M. JOST, *Sanctuaires* (Anm. 46), 202-204.

⁴⁹ Anastasios K. ORLANDOS, 'Η ἀρχαδική Ἀλίφειρα καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα της (Athen 1967/1968), vgl. Paul ROESCH, «Le sanctuaire d'Asclépios à Alipheira d'Arcadie», in *BSABR* 3 (1985), 22-32.

⁵⁰ L. LERAT, *Les Locriens* (Anm. 47), II 154 f.

⁵¹ Ar. *Vesp.* 122 f.; Gabriel WELTER, *Aigina* (Berlin 1938), 121; vgl. Chr. BENEDUM, in *JdI* 101 (1986), 152.

⁵² Paus. II 11, 5; das Asklepieion liegt unterhalb des Athena-Heiligtums auf der Burg, doch vermutlich nicht allzuweit entfernt, wenn die Koronisstatue im Ritual in das Athenaion hinaufgebracht wird (unten Anm. 66), vgl. Ernst MEYER, in *RE* VI A 2 (1937), 1489 f.

⁵³ Phlius: Paus. II 13, 5; Patrai: VII 21, 14.

⁵⁴ Zu den Heiligtümern des Südhangs vgl. John TRAVLOS, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen* (Tübingen 1971), 8 (Ge und Demeter); 138 (Nymphen); 417 (Pan).

⁵⁵ Carl ROEBUCK, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Corinth, Bd. 14 (Princeton 1951).

⁵⁶ DE RIDDER, in *BCH* 19 (1895), 137-144, mit den Korrekturen von

nachgewiesen, dessen Komplex Orlandos ergraben und erst für die Agora gehalten hat⁵⁷; in Argos, fügt Pausanias an, liege ein Asklepieion nahe bei der Agora⁵⁸, im spartanischen Boiai wenigstens in der Stadt, ebenso in Sparta und Sikyon⁵⁹.

Asklepieia liegen mithin selten im Weichbild einer Stadt, gar an ihrem politischen Zentrum, dem Marktplatz; sie liegen vor der Stadt, oft weitab an der Grenze des Gebiets, am Flussufer, am Meer, oder hart an der Stadt- oder Burggrenze⁶⁰. Als Grund für diese extraurbane Lage geben Vitruv und Plutarch übereinstimmend die Suche nach einem gesunden Ort an; und für das pergamenische Heiligtum — das auch ausserhalb der Stadt in einem kleinen Tal liegt — betont Aristeides diese gesunde Lage⁶¹. Und doch überzeugt dies nicht, wirkt es vielmehr wie eine späte Rationalisation. Zum einen sind nicht alle Orte gesund, wie wir schon im Fall von Rom sahen: das delische Asklepieion liegt in einer sumpfigen Bucht, und die Gegend von Troizen galt in der Antike als so ungesund, dass Welter gerade

Albert SCHACHTER, *The Cults of Boiotia*. I: *Acheloos to Hera*, BICS Suppl. 38, 1 (London 1981), 108 f.

⁵⁷ Zusammenfassend Anastasios K. ORLANDOS, «Νεώτεροι έρευναι έν Μεσσήνη (1957-1973)», in Ulf JANTZEN (Hrsg.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern* (Tübingen 1976), 9-38.

⁵⁸ Argos: Paus. II 21, 2 (ein weiteres neben dem Amphiaräion, II 23, 2). — Zur Identifizierung Pierre AUGERT, «Pausanias et l'Asclépieion d'Argos», in *BCH* 111 (1987), 511-517; allerdings hatten Marcel PIÉREART und J.P. THALMANN, in *BCH* 110 (1986), 764 Anm. 1 gegen eine frühe Arbeit von Augert, wo dieselbe Identifizierung vertreten wurde (*CRAI* 1985, 172-174), protestiert; die Frage ist noch unentschieden.

⁵⁹ Boiai: III 22, 13; Sparta: III 14, 2 (in der Nähe der Agora); Sikyon: II 10, 2 (Stadtrand?).

⁶⁰ EDELSTEIN (Anm. 2), II 234 («in reality, the sanctuaries of Asclepius... were situated in all places which pious reverence considered sacred») ist zu wenig differenziert.

⁶¹ Aristid. *Or.* XXXIX 4.

dies als Grund für die Notwendigkeit eines Asklepieions ansah⁶²; vor allem aber erklärt die antike Theorie die Doppelheit von Asklepieia in und ausserhalb der Städte nicht. Die Lage vor der Stadt und oft an Grenzen muss mit der Opposition zwischen Drinnen und Draussen, zwischen Polis und *agrós* zu tun haben⁶³, und dies ihrerseits muss sich aus der Eigenart des Kults herleiten.

Ein Ritual, das Pausanias für das Asklepieion von Titane belegt, bestätigt diese Spannung des Asklepioskultes zur Polis: «wenn man dem Gott Stier, Schaf und Schwein opfert, bringt man die Koronis ins Heiligtum der Athena hinüber und verehrt sie dort; was aber von dem Geopferten (*θυομένων*) verbrannt wird (*καθαγίζουσι*), davon darf man sich auch die Schenkelstücke nicht ausschneiden, man verbrennt alles auf der Erde, ausser den Vögeln, die aber auf dem Altar»⁶⁴. Das Opfer, das für Asklepios stattfindet (*suovetaurilia*), ist umfassend, ein besonders grosses und bedeutsames Opfer — so, wie beim Eid auf dem Areopag *Suovetaurilia* dargebracht werden als besonders wirksam. Pausanias' Knappheit erlaubt immerhin, zwei Stufen des Opfers zu unterscheiden: ein Teil der *θυόμενα* wird als *ἐνάγισμα* dargebracht — der Rest dann wohl im Normalopfer. Die vollständige Verbrennung der Tiere auf dem Boden pervertiert das olympische Opfer, markiert so einen Bruch der normalen Ordnung; dass das sonst übliche Ausschneiden der Schenkel verboten ist,

⁶² G. WELTER, *Troizen* (Anm. 44), 36.

⁶³ Vgl. (mit Lit.) Jean-Pierre VERNANT, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs. Etudes de psychologie historique* I (Paris 1965), 156 f.

⁶⁴ Paus. II 11, 7. Martin P. NILSSON, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* (Leipzig 1907), 410 f. hat das mit den «Jahresfeuern» der Laphrien u.a. verbunden, EDELSTEIN (Anm. 2), II 183 ein Neujahrsritual «with the wish of incurring the god's benevolence for the coming year» daraus gemacht; weiter verkürzend Chr. BENE-DUM, in *JdI* 101 (1986), 149.

betont dies noch, und auch Vogelopfer sind ungewöhnlich⁶⁵. Man spielt also in diesem Ritual eine Ausnahmezeit durch, beendet sie im Normalopfer; zur Ausnahmezeit gehört auch, dass Koronis das Heiligtum verlässt und im Athenaion verehrt wird. Das Athenaheiligtum liegt oben, auf der Burg, das Asklepieion tiefer, wohl ausserhalb der Mauern; da wird das Spiel der Gegensätze aufgenommen. Athena muss wie anderswo die Stadtgöttin von Titane sein, die sich so in Opposition zu Asklepios stellt⁶⁶. — Dass diese Opposition nicht hindert, dass Asklepios in manchen Städten — insbesondere in Epidauros — auch von der Polis als Schutzgott angerufen und zur politischen Propaganda herangezogen werden kann, ändert am Befund nichts⁶⁷.

Die Fälle, wo demgegenüber ein Asklepieion im Stadttinnern liegt, sind nicht einheitlich erklärbar. Oft wird man differenzieren müssen zwischen Heiligtümern, in denen Krankenheilung durch Inkubation und Wasser praktiziert wurde (meist den älteren einer Siedlung), und den kleineren Schreinen, welche Einzelne oder Gemeinden zu Ehren des Heilgottes in den Städten errichteten und in denen zwar Opfer und Dedikationen dargebracht, aber keine komplexen Heilungsrituale abgehalten wurden — so etwa, wie im sizilischen Scornavacche eine Töpfersiedlung auch einen kleinen religiösen Bezirk enthielt, den eine Dedikation als Asklepieion auswies⁶⁸. Es fällt jedenfalls auf, dass

⁶⁵ Vgl. Walter BURKERT, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977), 101.

⁶⁶ Paus. II 12, 1 erwähnt das Hieron mit seinem alten, vom Blitz getroffenen Bild; es liegt auf einem Hügel (λόφος), man bringt die Koronis hierher hinauf, ἀνάγουσιν: das sieht nach der üblichen Akropolis aus.

⁶⁷ Vgl. besonders den polemischen Artikel von V.K. LAMBRINOUDAKIS, «Staatskult und Geschichte der Stadt Epidauros», in *Archaiognosia* 1 (1980), 39-63.

⁶⁸ Antonio DI VITA, «I χαννοτριβονες in una dedica ad Asclepio da Scorna-

oftmals dort, wo Asklepieia in Stadtzentrum belegt sind, sich auch draussen vor der Stadt ein Bezirk des Heilgottes findet — in Pergamon liegt das bekannte Asklepieion vor der Stadt, in der Stadt drinnen wird derselbe Gott im Gymnasion verehrt⁶⁹; im spartanischen Boiai sah Pausanias neben dem Asklepieion drinnen auch ein anderes, «nicht unbeachtliches Heiligtum von Asklepios und Hygieia»⁷⁰; in Rom traten in der Kaiserzeit zum alten Tempel *in insula* weitere Aesculapius-Heiligtümer in der Stadt⁷¹.

In andern Fällen fehlen uns Erklärungsmöglichkeiten, gerade bei den kleineren peloponnesischen Heiligtümern; angesichts der schwierigen Frühgeschichte besonders des peloponnesischen Asklepios ist hier vieles noch unklar. Und schliesslich gibt es den Fall, wo Asklepios tatsächlich nicht im Gegensatz zur Polis zu stehen und so *e contrario* unsere Hypothese zu bestätigen scheint. In Messene gruppieren sich um ein Asklepieion im Innern der Stadt⁷², dem Lokalitäten zur Inkubation zu fehlen scheinen, Institutionen des politischen Lebens, Buleuterion und Halle des Kaiserkults, sind im von Pausanias hervorgehobenen reichen Statuenwald Bilder der Polis Theben und des Epameinondas zu finden, deren politische Bedeutung klar ist: sie sind Dank für die Hilfe der Thebaner und des Epameinondas bei der Befreiung von Sparta und der Gründung der Stadt Messene⁷³.

vacche», in *Aparchai. Nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di Paolo Enrico Arias* (Pisa 1982), 537-545.

⁶⁹ Erwin OHLEMUTZ, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (Würzburg 1940; repr. Darmstadt 1968), 128-130.

⁷⁰ Paus. III 22, 1; 3.

⁷¹ *RE* II 2 (1896), 1676.

⁷² Nicht an der Agora, jedenfalls trennt Pausanias die Agora (IV 31, 6) vom Asklepieion (IV 31, 10).

⁷³ Paus. IV 31, 10; zur Gründung von Messene durch Epameinondas Diod. XV 66; Plut. *Pelop.* 24, 9; Paus. IV 27, 5-8.

Nun hat Messene auch seine eigene Asklepiosmythologie, welche im Heiligtum der Messene gemalt war, zusammen mit den Bildern der messenischen Urkönige; aus Pausanias' Beschreibung geht nicht deutlich hervor, ob dieser Tempel räumlich eng mit dem Asklepieion zusammengehörte; zu vermuten ist es⁷⁴. Jedenfalls waren hier neben Leukippos und seinen Schwestern Hilaeira und Phoibe seine Tochter Arsinoë, deren Sohn Asklepios und die Heilheroen Machaon und Podaleirios dargestellt. Zwar lehnt Pausanias einen messenischen Anspruch auf eine eigene Genealogie unter Berufung auf ein delphisches Orakel ab — die Verse Hesiods, wo dieser Mythos sich finde, seien entweder unecht oder von Hesiod selber den Messeniern zuliebe eingelegt worden⁷⁵. Das ändert nichts daran, dass die Genealogie in den hesiodeischen Katalogen bezeugt ist. In vollem Umfang ist der messenische Mythos nicht mehr zu fassen⁷⁶; entscheidend ist aber, dass Asklepios eine messenische Deszendenz erhält, im Gegensatz zur geläufigen thessalischen. Arsinoë ist eine blasse Gestalt, der Name passt jedenfalls in den Hexameter; wichtiger ist, dass über Leukippos Asklepios mit dem Zentrum der politischen Mythologie Messeniens verbunden ist: Leukippos' Vater, Perieres, Sohn des Aiolos, ist einer der grossen Urkönige Messeniens⁷⁷. Asklepios hat entsprechend nicht bloss in der Stadt Messene, sondern auch im Grenzgebiet zwischen Lakonien und

⁷⁴ Paus. IV 31, 11.

⁷⁵ Paus. II 26, 7; Hes. Fr. 50 M.-W.; Asklepiades Trag. *FGrHist* 12 F 32. Martin L. WEST, *The Hesiodic catalogue of women. Its nature, structure, and origins* (Oxford 1985), 69-72 zeigt, dass diese Genealogie Teil der Atalante-Ehoie ist und dass (gegen die *opinio communis*, die ausführlich Giannina SOLIMANO, *Asclepio. Le aree del mito* [Genova 1976] verfochten hat) keine Koronis-Ehoie existieren kann.

⁷⁶ Vgl. die Übersicht bei EDELSTEIN, *Asclepius* (Anm. 2), II 22-53 und vor allem G. SOLIMANO, *Asclepio*.

⁷⁷ Apollod. I 87; Paus. IV 2, 2; vgl. Hes. Fr. 10 M.-W.

Messenien, in Leuktra, das ursprünglich messenisch gewesen sein soll, zentralen Kult⁷⁸. Unsicher ist, ob der Mythos auch, wie im nahen arkadischen Thelpusa, von der Aussetzung des Asklepioskindes und seinem Aufwachsen in der Wildnis gesprochen hat⁷⁹, und ob die Messenier wie ihre unmittelbaren arkadischen Nachbarn von Gortys auch sein Grab zeigten⁸⁰ — damit würde Asklepios weit mehr zu einem traditionellen Lokalhe-roen als in der panhellenisch gewordenen thessalischen Tradition: Mythos und Verehrung an der Agora, im Kontext des Polis-Kultes, würden noch stärker zusammengehen.

Versteht man den Gegensatz zwischen Polis und Draussen in dem Sinn, dass die Asklepieia bewusst das Draussen suchen und sich absetzen von Heiligtümern in der Stadt, kann man einige Besonderheiten dazustellen, welche den Raum des Temenos selber als ungewöhnlich gegenüber anderen Heiligtümern kennzeichnen — wobei die Informationen etwas zufällig sind und nicht beliebig von einem Lokalkult auf einen andern übertragen werden können; dennoch ergibt sich ein Gesamtbild, lassen sich gemeinsame oder konvergierende Grundstrukturen aufweisen.

Nicht besonders auffällig ist, dass im Temenos von Epidau-ros nicht gestattet war zu gebären oder zu sterben⁸¹ — zwar ein beunruhigendes Paradoxon an einem Ort der Krankenheilung, das aber gewöhnlich ist in griechischen Temene; ungewöhnlich ist höchstens, wenn im Falle von Delos das Verbot auf die

⁷⁸ Paus. III 26, 4; Leuktra habe einst zu Messenien gehört, berichtet Paus. III 26, 6.

⁷⁹ Paus. VIII 25, 11; auch hier ist Bindung an die politische Mythologie gegeben, indem Autolaos, ein Sohn des Arkas, das Kind fand und aufzog.

⁸⁰ Cic. *Nat. deor.* III 57.

⁸¹ Paus. II 27, 6.

gesamte Insel ausgedehnt wird, die damit wie die Asklepiosinsel in Rom zur «Heiligen Insel» wird⁸².

Etwas auffälliger ist, dass es an verschiedenen Orten — Epidauros, Lissos auf Kreta, einem Privatkult in Athen — vorgeschrieben war, das Opferfleisch im Heiligtum zu verzehren⁸³. Diese Vorschrift findet sich in einer ganzen Reihe von Heiligtümern nicht nur des Asklepios, und drückt immer eine erhöhte Sakralität aus: das Opferfleisch, das gewöhnlich profanem Verzehr ausserhalb des Temenos dienen darf, bleibt hier fest eingebunden in den Raum des Temenos⁸⁴.

Noch extremer als besonderer Raum wird das Temenos markiert, wenn zu Boden gefallene Gegenstände nicht mehr aufgehoben werden dürfen, weil sie dem Gott verfallen sind, wie dies die Pythagoraslegende für ein süditalienisches Asklepieion, vielleicht Kroton, erzählt⁸⁵.

Möglicherweise gehören ausführliche Reinigungsrituale vor dem Betreten des Temenos ebenfalls hieher. Belegt sind sie freilich bloss für ein Asklepieion in Athen in einer umstrittenen Stelle von Aristophanes' *Plutos*, wo Plutos ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ gebadet wird; die natürliche Auffassung ist, hier das Meer zu verstehen und das Asklepieion von Munichia anzunehmen, nicht ein Becken vor dem städtischen Asklepieion, wo eine solche Instal-

⁸² Überblick (einschliesslich den Fall von Delos) bei Robert PARKER, *Miasma. Pollution and purification in early Greek religion* (Oxford 1983), 33 f.; zur Insula Tiberina als heiliger Insel M. BESNIER, *L'île* (Anm. 3), 11.

⁸³ Epidauros: Paus. II 27, 1; Athen: LSCG 54, ein Privatkult; Lissos: SEG XXVIII 750, frühhellenistisch. — Nicht aber in Kos, Herond. IV 92 f.; freilich handelt es sich um das Dankopfer eines Hahns.

⁸⁴ Beispiele: Ada THOMSEN, in *ARW* 12 (1909), 466-472; W. BURKERT, in *GRBS* 7 (1966), 103 Anm. 36; vgl. ders., *Religion* (Anm. 65), 103.

⁸⁵ Iambl. *VP* 126.

lation nicht belegt und dafür auch kaum Platz ist⁸⁶. Zahlreiche weitere Asklepieia liegen am Meer, können also solche Rituale auch dort gekannt haben; so haben die Ausgräber des delischen Asklepieions aus dem Fehlen von Wasch- und Badeanlagen auf ein vorbereitendes Lustralbad im Meer geschlossen⁸⁷. Das athenische Ritual erinnert an das Bad der Mysteren im Meer, mit dem sie sich auf den Weg nach Eleusis vorbereiten: dieses Bad markiert (neben andern Riten) die Trennung vom athenischen Alltag; es muss im Asklepios-Kult eine vergleichbare Trennung bezeichnet haben.

4. Quelle und Hain

Neben die mögliche Aussagekraft der Lage des Heiligtums tritt die rituelle und semantische Funktion der konstitutiven Elemente der Anlage, der Bauten und Kulteinrichtungen als Teile des Gesamtheiligtums. Für einen Teil der Problematik kann man dabei auf ausführliche Vorarbeiten zurückgreifen.

Wie insbesondere Roland Martin und Henri Metzger gezeigt haben, ist das Wasser in allen Asklepieia sehr wichtig⁸⁸. Vitruv

⁸⁶ Ar. *Plut.* 656-658. — *Contra*, mit Überblick über die Diskussion, René GINOUVÈS, *Balaneutiké. Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris 1962), 355-357; vgl. seither Sara B. ALESHIRE, *The Athenian Asklepieion. The people, their dedications, and the inventories* (Amsterdam 1989), 13.

⁸⁷ F. ROBERT (oben Anm. 38), 102 f.

⁸⁸ R. MARTIN, H. METZGER, *Religion* (Anm. 2), 62-109. — Vgl. auch Susan GUETTEL COLE, «The uses of water in Greek sanctuaries», in Robin HÄGG, Nanno MARINATOS, Gullög C. NORDQUIST (Hrsgg.), *Early Greek cult practice. Proceedings of the fifth international symposium at the Swedish institute at Athens (26-29 June 1986)* (Stockholm-Göteborg 1988), 163; zu den Brunnenbauten die typologische Studie von Franz GLASER,

hatte gute Quellen für alle Heiligtümer als nötig erachtet⁸⁹; freilich geht er dabei vor allem von Rom aus, wo der rituelle Wassergebrauch so eng mit dem Tempel verbunden ist, dass man *delubrum* überhaupt von *deluere* herleiten kann⁹⁰; im griechischen Raum ist die Verbindung lockerer, wenn auch in Griechenland eine rituelle Waschung vor dem Betreten jedes Heiligtums ebenfalls üblich war⁹¹; doch ist die Betonung des Wassers vor allem auf jene Kulte beschränkt, wo der rituelle Wassergebrauch zentral und nicht auf einfache vorbereitende Waschungen beschränkt ist — das eleusinische Heiligtum etwa, das Kabirion bei Theben, oder eben die Asklepieia.

Wasser konnte hier in ganz verschiedener Weise verwendet werden — zum einen rituell oder aber medizinisch zweckgebunden, zum andern für Waschungen, Bäder, Trinkkuren. Wie im Verlauf des Hellenismus sich manche Asklepieia zu eigentlichen Thermalzentren entwickelten, ist besonders von René Ginouvès untersucht worden⁹²; man muss betonen, dass dort, wo das Wasser genauer beschrieben ist, es seine besonderen Qualitäten hat, nicht bloss in Kos oder Epidauros, sondern auch in Troizen⁹³ oder Paros⁹⁴; in Athen lobt wenigstens Sokrates

Antike Brunnenbauten in Griechenland, Denkschriften Wien Bd. 161 (Wien 1983). — Wenig ergiebig Gilbert ARGOUD, «L'utilisation médicale de l'eau en Grèce et le plan des sanctuaires d'Asclépios», in *Archéologie et médecine. VII^{es} rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes (23-24-25 octobre 1986)* (Juan-les-Pins 1987), 531-536.

⁸⁹ Vitr. I 2, 7, oben Anm. 34.

⁹⁰ Cincius, *ap. Serv. in Verg. Aen.* II 225: *delubrum esse locum ante templum, ubi aqua currit, e deluendo*; G. WISSOWA, *RKR*, 469.

⁹¹ Dazu R. GINOUVÈS, *Balanéutiké* (Anm. 86), 299-310.

⁹² R. GINOUVÈS, *Balanéutiké* (Anm. 86), 360 f.; vgl. auch seine ausführliche Untersuchung *L'établissement thermal de Gortys d'Arcadie* (Paris 1958).

⁹³ G. WELTER, *Troizen* (Anm. 44), 35.

⁹⁴ O. RUBENSOHN, in *AM* 27 (1902), 199-238.

die Wärme des Wassers im Asklepieion⁹⁵; auch in Italien kann sich Aesculapius gelegentlich an Heilquellen einpflanzen, manchmal im Gefolge Apollons, so im südetrurischen Vica-rello, dem antiken *Aquae Apollinares*⁹⁶, in Chiusi⁹⁷, vielleicht auch in einem der römischen Aesculapius-Bezirke⁹⁸. Apollon ist auch bereits gelegentlich mit griechischen Heilquellen verbunden, etwa auf Paros oder in der Lerna bei Korinth, vielleicht auch schon auf Kos; fester ist die Verbindung des Gottes mit mantischen Quellen⁹⁹. Das bedeutet, dass die Existenz von Heilquellen für die Anlage von Asklepieia ein wichtiger Faktor war, freilich nicht der einzige, sonst hätten alle derartigen Quellen dem Asklepios heilig sein müssen¹⁰⁰.

Bemerkenswert ist die Art, wie in einigen Asklepieia diese Quellen gefasst wurden. Im athenischen Asklepieion liegt die heilige Quelle im Osten der Hauptstoa; von Anfang an war sie in einer zu einem kreisrunden Raum ausgehauenen, überwölbten künstlichen Grotte gefasst worden; diese künstliche Grotte war zusammen mit der Haupthalle erbaut worden und von ihr aus durch eine Türe zugänglich: sie gehörte mithin zum Kern der ersten Anlage¹⁰¹. Völlig künstlich war der grottenähnliche

⁹⁵ Xen. *Mem.* III 13, 3. — Unklar ist, welches Asklepieion gemeint ist; Plin. *Nat.* II 225 ist im Lichte von *Schol. ad Ar. Vesp.* 1694, und *Lys.* 913 problematisch.

⁹⁶ *CIL* XI 3294; Jean GAGÉ, *Apollon romain. Essai sur le culte d'Apollon et le développement du «ritus Graecus» à Rome des origines à Auguste* (Paris 1955), 6.

⁹⁷ *CIL* XI 2092 f.; Apollo: *ibid.*, 2094.

⁹⁸ *CIL* VI 5, Basis des *T. Aurelius Augusti libertus Dioscurus*, gefunden in einer Gegend, wo einst eine Heilquelle war.

⁹⁹ Vgl. Susan G. COLE, in *Early Greek cult practice* (oben Anm. 88), 162 f.

¹⁰⁰ R. GINOUVÈS, *Balanentiké* (Anm. 86), 370 f. übertreibt.

¹⁰¹ R. MARTIN, H. METZGER, in *BCH* 73 (1949), 321-323; nicht zugehörig ist aber der alte Schöpfbrunnen auf der Westterrasse mit eigenem Grenz-

Raum in Korinth mit einem Wasserbecken im Südflügel der Halle gegen die Lerna hin, ein schmalrechteckiger, in den anstehenden Felsen gehauener Raum, in dem sechs Stufen hinab zu einem Becken führten, das von der Quelle genährt wurde¹⁰². In einer künstlich erweiterten Grotte lag auch in Lebena die Mineralquelle des dortigen Asklepieions, die vor dem Gott bereits den Nymphen und Acheloos heilig gewesen war¹⁰³. Schliesslich berichtet Pausanias, dass das Asklepieion im spartanischen Kyphanta überhaupt die Form einer Grotte (*spelaeion*) gehabt habe¹⁰⁴, und in einer Grotte (mit Hain) bei Pharsalos wurde, neben den Nymphen, Pan, Hermes, Herakles und Apollon, auch Asklepios verehrt¹⁰⁵.

Zur Grotte tritt der Hain, ein Element der Asklepieia, das wenig beachtet wird, auch wenig fassbar ist: gewöhnlich hinterlassen Haine kaum archäologisch erkennbare Spuren¹⁰⁶. Am besten bezeugt ist der epidaurische Hain: Pausanias nennt das gesamte Temenos innerhalb seiner Grenzsteine τὸ ἐρὸν ἄλσος

stein, vgl. die jüngste Zusammenfassung von S.B. ALESHIRE, *Asklepieion* (Anm. 86), 21-32.

¹⁰² C. ROEBUCK, *Asklepieion* (Anm. 55), 46-50.

¹⁰³ L. PERNIER, L. BANTI, *Guida* (Anm. 40), 68 f.; *ICr* I: XVI Nr. 7; vgl. Margherita GUARDUCCI, «I predecessori di Asclepio», in *SMSR* 8 (1932), 215-229.

¹⁰⁴ Paus. III 24, 2.

¹⁰⁵ *SEG* I 249, 4. Jh.v.Chr. (Stiftung eines Privatmannes auf Veranlassung der Nymphen).

¹⁰⁶ Vgl. die Übersicht bei Darice E. BIRGE, *Sacred groves in the ancient Greek world* (Diss. Berkeley 1982, Microfilm), 219; Lampsakos (Appendix Nr. 334 = *LSAM* 8) muss allerdings gestrichen werden, es handelt sich um die Bereitstellung von Kränzen, die nicht zwingend aus dem eigenen Hain kommen müssen, vgl. die Beispiele bei L. ROBERT, in *BCH* 52 (1928), 160 f.

τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ¹⁰⁷; in einem der Wunderberichte der frühhellenistischen Zeit ist davon die Rede, dass ein Mädchen im *also* von einer heiligen Schlange erschreckt und durch den Schock von angeborener Stummheit geheilt worden war¹⁰⁸; da im frühen ἀφίδρυμα von Epidauros Limera Ölbäume wuchsen, der Ölzweig von Isyllos mit dem epidaurischen Asklepios und überhaupt mit dem Gott verbunden wird, mag es sich um einen Ölbaumhain handeln¹⁰⁹. Ebenso gut belegt ist der Hain des Asklepieions von Kos: die bekannte *Lex sacra* aus der Mitte des 4. Jh. verbietet hier das Abholzen von Zypressen¹¹⁰, und als im Vorfeld von Actium ein Offizier des Antonius sich nicht darum kümmerte, rächte sich die Gottheit¹¹¹. Andere Haine sind belegt für Gortys in Arkadien¹¹², Titane¹¹³, Epidauros Limera¹¹⁴, Antium¹¹⁵ und Athen¹¹⁶, vielleicht auch Kyparissia¹¹⁷. In

¹⁰⁷ Paus. II 27, 1; 7.

¹⁰⁸ Nr. 44 bei R. HERZOG, *Wunderheilungen* (oben Anm. 13); ein besserer Text bei Werner PEEK, «Fünf Wundergeschichten aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros», in *Abh. Leipzig, Phil.-hist.Kl.* 256, 3 (Berlin 1963), 2; ebenso die Nrn. 11 und 18, wo von den Bäumen im Temenos die Rede ist.

¹⁰⁹ Epidauros Limera: Paus. III 23, 7; Ölbäume in Epidauros: Isyllos, in *IG* IV² 1, 128, 19; in Lampsakos: *LSAM* 8, 20; Pergamon: *LSAM* 14, 9; allg. Liban. *Ep.* 1303, 2, vgl. Michael BLECH, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin-New York 1982), 312.

¹¹⁰ *LSCG* 150 A (4.Jh.); die Seite B stammt aus dem 3. Jh.v.Chr., zu den Datierungen Susan SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Kos* (Göttingen 1978), 55 Anm. 132 und 335 Anm. 397.

¹¹¹ Val. Max. I 1, 19; Dio Cass. LI 8, 3; Lact. *Inst.* II 7, 17.

¹¹² Cic. *Nat. deor.* III 57: *sepulcrum et lucus*.

¹¹³ Paus. II 11, 5: Zypressen wie in Kos.

¹¹⁴ Paus. III 23, 7.

¹¹⁵ Val. Max. I 8, 2: Palme und Myrten.

¹¹⁶ Telemachosmonument, sowohl das Relief (L. BESCHI, in *AnnSAA*

Pergamon stand im Zentrum des Heiligtums, neben der ersten alten Quelle, eine ebenso alte Platane¹¹⁸; in Rom zeigt ein Medaillon des Antoninus Pius einen Baum, der aus dem Asklepieion auf der Insel ragt, darstellerische Chiffre für einen Hain¹¹⁹.

Baum und Quelle, Hain und Quellgrotte sind Grundbestandteile einfach-ländlicher Heiligtümer, wie man sie etwa für Pan und die Nymphen kennt; sie sind Chiffren für die unberührte, dem Menschen entzogene Welt des Waldes. Apollon, an den sich der Kult des Asklepios oft anschloss, ist nicht weit, auch er ist mit den Nymphen verbunden, auch er hat Heiligtümer mit Quelle und Hain; Apollon ebenso wie die Nymphen sind auch Heiler¹²⁰. Asklepios selber trägt wenigstens in Spuren auch im Mythos die Züge eines Wesens aus dem Draussen des Waldes. Der durch Pindar bekannte Mythos von der Rettung des Asklepioskindes aus dem Körper seiner toten Mutter wird konkurrenziert durch einen Aussetzungsmythos vom bekannten Typos, wo das Entscheidende aber nicht, wie bei den Mythen von Städte- und Dynastiengründern, die Ankunft dessen, der das Neue bringt, vom Rande her ist, sondern die Bindung des

29/30 [1967-1968], 387 Abb. 4) wie die Inschrift IG II² 1460, 28 (Bepflanzung des Temenos).

¹¹⁷ Paus. IV 36, 7.

¹¹⁸ Aristid. Or. XXXIX 6. — Einen Abriss der frühen Baugeschichte gibt *Die Altertümer von Pergamon XI. Die Anlagen des Asklepieions in hellenistischer und frühbrömischer Zeit* (Berlin 1968), 1975.

¹¹⁹ M. BESNIER, *L'île* (Anm. 3), 200, das Bild: 176 Abb. 19.

¹²⁰ Apollon braucht wohl keine Belege, zu den Nymphen, oben Anm. 103; vgl. etwa auch Paus. V 5, 10, oder die Inschrift aus Pharsalos SEG I 248, IV. Jh.v.Chr.; zur Deutung des epidaurischen Reliefs Athen, EM 1426 (Asklepios, seine Söhne, Demeter, Nymphen), Chr. BENEDUM, in *JdI* 101 (1986), 140 Anm. 12.

Asklepios an die Wildnis¹²¹: der Mythos, ursprünglich wohl arkadisch (oder auch messenisch)¹²², wurde auch von Epidauros übernommen, wohl auch, um den Makel, der an Koronis' Tod hängt, zu vermeiden¹²³. Hier erzählte man, Koronis habe das Kind auf der Durchreise geboren und in den Hügeln hinter dem Heiligtum ausgesetzt, wo es von einer Ziege genährt und von einem Hund bewacht worden sei — letzteres aitiologische Begründung für die Anwesenheit von Hunden im Temenos und für das Verbot, Ziegenfleisch zu essen¹²⁴. Wenn dabei Apollodor von Athen dazu setzt, Jäger hätten das Kind gefunden und gleich zu Cheiron gebracht, kennt wenigstens er eine spätestens hellenistische Version, in der Asklepios beständig im Wald festgehalten wird¹²⁵. Damit hängt die vom Heilgott her unverständliche Nachricht zusammen, Asklepios sei von Cheiron in der Jagd, nicht bloss in der Heilkunde, unterrichtet worden¹²⁶: Asklepios ist nicht bloss der Heilheros, er ist mit dem Draussen des Waldes fest assoziiert — im Kult kann sich dies dann einmal so niederschlagen, dass im Heiligtum im Piräus Voropfer unter anderem

¹²¹ Dazu Gerhard BINDER, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes. Kyros und Romulus* (Meisenheim 1964).

¹²² Vgl. oben Anm. 79.

¹²³ Vgl. EDELSTEIN (Anm. 2), II 67. — Das (den Edelsteins noch unbekannte) Vasenbild des Meidias-Malers von ca. 420 (*LIMC* II 868 Nr. 1) kann keinem Kultort sicher zugeordnet werden.

¹²⁴ Paus. II 26, 2, ähnlich Theodoret. *Graec. aff. cur.* VIII 19, nach Apollodor *FGrHist* 244 F 118; kaiserzeitliche Münzbilder (mit Hund) *LIMC* II, 868 Nr. 4. — Zu den Hunden im Temenos von Epidauros Sanatio Nr. 20, 26, zu den Ziegen Michael WÖRRLE, in *AvP* VIII 3, 179 Anm. 57; Fritz GRAF, *Nordionische Kulte. Religionsgeschichtliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Kulturen von Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai und Phokaia* (Roma 1985), 256.

¹²⁵ Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 138.

¹²⁶ Xen. *Cyn.* I 1-6; Apollod. III 10, 3, 8; Philostr. *Her.* 9.

den Hunden und die Kynegetai, die heroischen Hundeführer und Jäger, ausgerichtet werden¹²⁷ (als Hundeführer werden gelegentlich auf Weihreliefs die Söhne abgebildet)¹²⁸; in der Architektur spiegelt sich das darin, dass der Artemistempel im epidaurischen Temenos Hundekopfwasserspeier hat¹²⁹.

Das bringt uns zu Artemis, deren Kult mehrfach mit demjenigen des Asklepios verbunden ist, nicht bloss in Epidauros¹³⁰. Zum Bezirk des Asklepios von Messene gehört ein seltsam quereckteckiger Kultraum für Artemis¹³¹; im Asklepieion von Sikyon wurde der Eingang von einem Pan- und einem Artemisbild flankiert¹³²; in Pergamon erhält unter anderem Artemis (als Prothyraia und in einer verlorenen Epiklese) das Voropfer vor der Inkubation¹³³; in Delos wurde eine Dedikation an Artemis Soteira gefunden¹³⁴; Pausanias belegt die Verbindung auch für

¹²⁷ LSCG 21 A 9 f.

¹²⁸ Etwa Athen, EM 1426, aus Epidauros, abg. bei Ulrich HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum. Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Asklepiosreliefs* (Potsdam 1948), Abb. 10 Nr. 85; hundegestaltige Unterweltsdämonen, wie Sokolowski nach Wilamowitz will, müssen demgegenüber fernbleiben.

¹²⁹ Richard STILWELL (Hrsg.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976), 311.

¹³⁰ Hier ist Artemis seit der Lex LSCG 60 (Ende 5. Jh.) zusammen mit Apollon und Leto belegt; ihr Tempel (Paus. II 27, 5) wurde 330/310 gebaut, ohne einen Steinvorgänger zu haben, Alison BURFORD, *The greek temple builders at Epidauros* (Liverpool 1969), 70-72.

¹³¹ Ausführlich G. DAUX, in *BCH* 87 (1963), 771-774; wichtig die hexametrische Dedikation einer Mädchenstatue durch ihre Eltern.

¹³² Paus. II 10, 2. — Vgl. bereits Per ODELBERG, *Sacra Corinthia, Sicyonia, Phliasia* (Uppsala 1906), 97 f.

¹³³ *AvP* VIII 3, Nr. 161, 4; M. WÖRRLE möchte in seinem Kommentar die Prothyraia als Geburtsgöttin verstehen, 173 f.

¹³⁴ F. ROBERT, *Trois sanctuaires, Délos*, Bd. 20 (Anm. 38), 103.

Sparta und Mantinea¹³⁵. Artemis ist nicht einfach als Schwester Apollons zu dieser Bedeutung gekommen, sondern vor allem als Heilgöttin der Frauen: im Mythos ist sie es, die die schwangere Koronis auf Apollons Wunsch tötet — doch wer Tod bringen kann, kann auch heilen, und so ist Artemis auch weibliche Heilgöttin¹³⁶. Wenn so die Rolle der Artemis als Göttin des Draußen weniger wichtig scheint, zeigen doch die Hundewasserspeier von Epidauros, dass auch dieser Aspekt nicht ganz unwichtig ist.

5. Der Inkubationsraum

Neben Quelle und Hain zentral in den Asklepieia ist weiterhin der Ort, wo die Inkubation stattfand; die architektonische Bestimmung dieses Raumes war dabei schwieriger als die Benennung. Die Forschung spricht gewöhnlich von «Abaton»; die Texte und Inschriften überliefern drei lokal verschiedene Namen. Rein deskriptiv ist ἐγκοιμητήριον «der Ort, in dem man schläft» — so der gewöhnliche kaiserzeitliche Terminus in Pergamon¹³⁷, der einmal auch in Beroia¹³⁸ und in einem späten

¹³⁵ Hypsis in Lakedaïmon: Paus. III 24, 8; Mantinea (alle Letoiden): VIII 9, 1; vgl. auch die Inschrift IG V 1, 602 (3.Jh.n.C.).

¹³⁶ Mythos: Pi. *Pyth.* III 10; Pherecyd. *FGrHist* 3 F 3a; Paus. III 26, 4; bei Ovid, der in elegischer Manier Apollon zum affektgeleiteten Liebhaber macht, tötet Apollon in einem Anfall von Eifersucht, den er dann bereut, *Met.* II 600-614 (602 *animus tumida fervebat ab ira*; 612 *paenitet heu sero poenae crudelis amantem*). — Artemis als Heilerin: Hippocr. *Virg.* 22 (VIII p. 468 Littré) bei Hysterie von jungen Frauen. — Zu Asklepios und den Frauen vgl. auch Christa BENEDUM, «Asklepios und Demeter. Zur Bedeutung weiblicher Gottheiten für den frühen Asklepioskult», in *JdI* 101 (1986), 137-157.

¹³⁷ *IvP* 264 = *LSAM* 14; *AvP* VIII 3, Nr. 161, 11, beide 2.Jh.n.C.

¹³⁸ *BSA* 18 (1911/1912), 144.

Text aus Epidauros¹³⁹ auftaucht; die epidaurischen Sanationes bezeichnen den Vorgang der Inkubation gewöhnlich als ἐγκαθεύδειν, gelegentlich ἐγκοιτάζειν oder ἐγκοιμάζεσθαι¹⁴⁰. Daneben stehen ἄβατον, das in Epidauros übliche Wort¹⁴¹, und ἄδυτον, das Isyllos für Triikka, die lokalen Sanationes für Lebena verwenden¹⁴².

Der Raum, in dem die Inkubation stattfindet, ist also «unzugänglich»: ἄβατον ist etwa der Ort, in den der Blitz geschlagen hat, und der als Ort des Gottes menschlicher Nutzung entzogen wird¹⁴³, oder ein Bereich am Lykaion-Gebirge, der jedem, der ihn betritt, Mensch und Tier, Tod bringt¹⁴⁴; ἄδυτον ist der Raum im Tempelinneren, zu dem bloss der Priester Zutritt hatte — *de facto* können beide Ausdrücke derartige bloss vom Priester betretbare Räume bezeichnen¹⁴⁵. Wie ein Heilungsbericht zeigt, war es bereits eine Beleidigung des Gottes, nachts in das Abaton hineinsehen zu wollen¹⁴⁶. Beide Termini stehen also für Räume mit ganz besonderer Sakralität, die sie aus dem übrigen Temenos-Bereich ausgliedert.

¹³⁹ IG IV² 1, 127.

¹⁴⁰ ἐγκοιτάζειν Nr. 12, ἐγκοιμάζεσθαι 49, 65, 67; Plut. *Cons. ad Ap.* 14, 109 C.

¹⁴¹ IG IV² 1, Index s.v.

¹⁴² Isyll: IG IV² 1, 128, 29; Lebena ICr I: XVI Nr. 9, 1; 15, 7, einmal ἀδυτον, 11 b2, ohne Kontext.

¹⁴³ F. GRAF, *Kulte* (Anm. 124), 22.

¹⁴⁴ Die Quellen bei Walter BURKERT, *Homo Necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen* (Berlin-New York 1972), 99. — Vom Eumenidenbezirk in Kolonos Soph. OC 167; metaphorisch Plat. *Lach.* 183 b.

¹⁴⁵ Abaton vom Innern des Tempels in Jerusalem Porph. *Abst.* IV 11.

¹⁴⁶ Sanatio Nr. 11; die Parallelen bei R. HERZOG, *Wunderheilungen* (Anm. 13), 129 f. — Demeter- und Persephonekult, ägyptische heilige Schlange — sind bezeichnend.

Entsprechend ist der Zugang dem Einzelnen allein nach ausführlicher ritueller Vorbereitung möglich. Bestimmte Fastengebote, üblich für manche Inkubationsheiligtümer¹⁴⁷, sind für Asklepiosheiligtümer ausdrücklich nur für Pergamon bezeugt: die Lex von der Hallenstrasse befiehlt dreitägige Reinhaltung von Aphrodisia, Ziegenfleisch und Käse, anderes, wohl elementareres, ist verloren¹⁴⁸; weitere Vorschriften gibt eine etwa zeitgleiche, weit stärker fragmentierte Lex¹⁴⁹. Enthaltung von Aphrodisia — also Ausscheren aus dem normalen Gang menschlicher Biologie — ist nicht selten; Enthaltung von Ziegenprodukten — Fleisch und Käse — ist verbreitet im Asklepioskult¹⁵⁰.

Der Eintritt in den Inkubationsraum erfolgt nach einer langen Reihe von Opfern; am ausführlichsten informiert wieder die pergamenische Lex von der Hallenstrasse. Doch bereits Aristophanes kennt im Asklepieion von Munichia das Verbrennen von Opferkuchen und Voropfer (πόπανα καὶ προθύματα)¹⁵¹. In Pergamon sind es — nach Opfern, die tagsüber an Zeus Apotropaios, Zeus Meilichios, Artemis [...], Artemis Prothyraia, Ge und Asklepios ausgerichtet werden mussten — am Abend, unmittelbar vor dem Eintritt, Tyche, Mnemosyne und Themis, die Kuchen erhalten: Tyche trägt in hellenistisch-

¹⁴⁷ Vgl. Ludwig DEUBNER, *De incubatione capita quattuor* (Leipzig 1900), 14-17; P.R. ARBESMANN, *Das Fasten bei den Griechen und Römern*, RGVV 21, 1 (Giessen 1929), 100-103.

¹⁴⁸ *AvP* VIII 3, 161 Z. 11-14; verloren sind früher erwähnte Einzelheiten, die vielleicht die Reinheit vor dem Eintritt in das Temenos überhaupt betrafen.

¹⁴⁹ *LSAM* 14; die Ergänzungen von Sokolowski sind, wie immer, mit grosser Vorsicht zu benutzen; Z.1 ist in keinem Fall zu halten, es muss vom Eintritt ins ἐγκοιμητήριον, nicht allgemein in das Hieron die Rede sein.

¹⁵⁰ Oben Anm. 124.

¹⁵¹ *Ar. Plut.* 660 f. — Etwa zeitgleich die Lex *LSCG* 21 A, die aber nicht sicher von den Voropfern vor der Inkubation handelt.

kaiserzeitlicher Auffassung entscheidend zu jedem Unternehmen bei; Mnemosyne hilft, den Traum nicht zu vergessen; Themis soll dafür sorgen, dass auch bei der kritischen Begegnung mit der Gottheit die göttliche Ordnung gewahrt bleibt¹⁵². Alle drei Göttinnen wurden auch in Epidauros verehrt¹⁵³, Mnemosyne ist auch sonst öfters mit Asklepios verbunden¹⁵⁴, Themis steht auch in Athen nahe beim Asklepieion¹⁵⁵; das Unternehmen der Traumsuche läuft nicht ohne vielfachen göttlichen Schutz ab.

Im Inkubationsraum selber trägt man besondere Kleidung — ein weisses Gewand und einen Ölbaumkranz, keine Ringe, Gürtel oder Schuhe; offenes Haar wird man ergänzen dürfen: die ordentlichen Bindungen des Alltags sind gelöst, die Buntheit alltäglicher Kleider abgelöst durch einheitliches Weiss. Fast selbstverständlich ist, dass man nicht auf gewöhnlichen Betten ruht, sondern auf der Stibas, dem Zweiglager, das Draussen und Vorzeit assoziiert¹⁵⁶.

Zwei athenische Weihreliefs klassischer Zeit lassen den Inkubanten auf einer Tierhaut auf der Kline liegen¹⁵⁷: das erinnert an dieselbe Praxis im Amphiarraion von Oropos ebenso wie in den beiden apulischen Orakeln am Drion, die mit Podaleirios

¹⁵² *AvP* VIII 3, Nr. 161; neben dem Kommentar von M. WÖRRLE vgl. zu Themis Marinella CORSANO, *Themis. La norma e l'oracolo nella Grecia antica* (Galatina 1988), 107 f. et *passim*.

¹⁵³ M. WÖRRLE, *AvP* VIII 3, 117.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 117 Anm. 49.

¹⁵⁵ M. CORSANO, *Themis*, 109 Anm.

¹⁵⁶ Zur Stibas in der Inkubation Ar. *Plut.* 663 (Munichia, 389/388); *AvP* VIII 3, Nr. 161, 15 (Pergamon, 2.Jh.n.C.); zur Stibas allg. W. BURKERT, *Religion* (Anm. 65), 175 f.; F. GRAF, *Kulte* (Anm. 124), 95.

¹⁵⁷ U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilium* (oben Anm. 128), 166 Nr. 1 (*LIMC* II, Nr. 105), vom Piräus; 181 Nr. 173 (*LIMC* II, Nr. 112), aus dem Stadtheiligtum.

und Kalchas verbunden werden, wo (wenigstens für Amphiaraios und Kalchas) klar gesagt ist, dass das Tier — in beiden Fällen ein Widder — vor der Inkubation geopfert werden muss; im Fall des Kalchas ist von ἐνάγισμα die Rede, das Tier wird also ganz verbrannt¹⁵⁸. Das Schlafen auf der frisch abgezogenen Haut des Opfertiers stellt den Kontakt zwischen Opferer und Opfer her, identifiziert beinahe Opferer und Opfer, stellt den Menschen jedenfalls hinein in den Bereich des Sakralen, den das Opfertier markiert: auch wenn die attische Praxis vom Amphiaraiion ange-regt sein sollte, und sogar, wenn diese Darstellung blosser ikonographische Variante ist, ist sie nicht bedeutungslos.

Der Inkubationsraum ist mithin in dem bereits durch eine Reihe von Zeichen aus der gewohnten Welt gelösten Temenos ein Raum von noch grösserer Liminalität und Sakralität, der Brennpunkt des Heiligtums sozusagen, auf den alles hinzielt. Der Grund dafür liegt in der besonderen Art der Begegnung mit dem Göttlichen, die darin stattfand. In der Inkubation trat der Einzelne dem Gott gegenüber, der persönlich (wenn auch im Traum) erschien. Skurril übertreibend berichtet der Sklave des Plutos bei Aristophanes von dieser Begegnung: der Gott kam mit Gefolge und Medizinkasten¹⁵⁹. Zwar übertreibt Aristopha-

¹⁵⁸ Amphiaraios: Paus. I 34, 5 (θύουσιν κριόν); Podaleirios: Lycophr. 1050 f.; vgl. Tzetz. *ad loc.* (kein Opfer erwähnt); Kalchas: Strab. VI 3, 9, p. 284 (ἐνάγιζουσι μέλανα κριόν). — Verg. *Aen.* VII 81-95 und Ov. *Fast.* IV 651-654 berichten dieselbe Praxis (Schafoffer und Inkubation auf ihren Häuten) vom Orakel des Faunus; schwer zu entscheiden ist, ob es dichterische Erfindung nach realer Kultpraxis der Griechen oder Italiker ist (so Franz BÖMER, *P. Ovidius Naso. Die Fasten. Band 2: Kommentar* [Heidelberg 1958], 265), oder ob tatsächliches Ritual an der Quelle Albunea bei Tibur (Margherita GUARDUCCI, «Albunaea», in *Studi Gino Funaioli* [Roma 1955], 120-127) dahintersteht.

¹⁵⁹ Ar. *Plut.* 696-736; dabei agiert er gegenüber Neokleides als Arzt (716-725), als Wunderheiler gegenüber Plutos (726-737); zum Nebeneinander beider Heilungstypen, die man nicht historisch hintereinanderstel-

nes, doch das Grundsätzliche wird durch die epidaurischen Wunderberichte bestätigt: immer wieder geht es darum, dass der Gott persönlich erscheint und helfend eingreift; er redet mit den Kranken, gibt Ratschläge, verschreibt Rezepte oder nimmt medizinische Handlungen vor, deren Resultate — ein entfernter Blasenstein, eine Blutlache am Boden¹⁶⁰ — am Morgen dann die Anwesenheit des Gottes bestätigen können. Bedeutsam ist dabei, dass der Ratsuchende als Vereinzelter der Gottheit begegnet, vollständig losgelöst ist von seinem sozialen Verband, von Polis, Dorfgemeinschaft oder Familie. Die epidaurischen Iamata ebenso wie Pausanias bezeichnen die Patienten regelmässig als *ixétai*, «rituell Schutz suchende»¹⁶¹: kann man den Terminus in seiner vollen Bedeutung nehmen¹⁶², bezeichnet er (wie John Gould gezeigt hat) jemanden, der sich vollständig ausserhalb seiner vertrauten sozialen Ordnung befindet und sich in Verletzung gewöhnlichen Verhaltens selbst erniedrigt¹⁶³: das Asklepieion und insbesondere sein Inkubationsraum sind mithin Orte ausserhalb der Ordnung, wo alltägliches Verhalten sich radikal verkehrt.

Angesichts der besonderen Wichtigkeit des Inkubationsraums erstaunt vorerst, dass gerade hier die besondere architektonische Form fehlt: das Abaton, Adyton, Enkoimeterion ist kein Raum, der eine besondere, auffallende Struktur besitzt, wie

len darf, George E. TINKER, *Medicine and miracle. A comparison of two healing types in the late Hellenistic world* (Diss. Berkeley 1983).

¹⁶⁰ Stein: Sanatio Nr. 14; Blutlache: Nr. 27 (nach Bauchoperation durch den Gott, doch s. R. HERZOG, *Wunderheilungen* [Anm. 13], 83).

¹⁶¹ Der Terminus ist in den Sanationes geläufig; bei Paus. II 27, 2 (Epidauros) und X 32, 12 (Tithorea).

¹⁶² Wofür spricht, dass noch Philodem, *De ira* col. 14, 25, seine Missachtung als Religionsfrevel wertet.

¹⁶³ John GOULD, «Hiketia», in *JHS* 93 (1973), 74-103.

etwa das Telesterion von Eleusis; gewöhnlich, so nimmt man an, handelt es sich um eine einfache Stoa, einen grossen Raum mit Säulen an einer Seite, einer Wand und einem Dach darüber, um die Schlafenden zu schützen; man konnte in Epidauros ins Abaton schauen, wenigstens wenn man auf einen Baum stieg¹⁶⁴. Doch fügt sich gerade dieses Fehlen einer besonders artikulierten architektonischen Form ins Gesamtbild eines Temenos, das von Hain und Quelle, also stilisierter wilder Natur, charakterisiert ist und das von einer Gottheit bewohnt wird, deren Züge als Wesen des Waldes und des Draussen deutlich sind: Ort der Begegnung ist idealiter die Waldlichtung an der Quelle, wie dies Vergil und Ovid für die Befragung des Faunus durch Aeneas und Numa darstellen¹⁶⁵, doch die Notwendigkeit des Heiligtumsbetriebs zwingt dann doch zu einer architektonischen Formung, wenn auch der einfachsten und gängigsten. Es fügt sich dazu, dass tatsächlich mehrere Abaton-Stoen eng mit dem Brunnen verbunden sind — am deutlichsten diejenige in Athen, wo die Brunnengrotte durch eine Türe in der Hallenrückwand erreichbar ist¹⁶⁶. Doch auch die ionische Stoa in Epidauros («portique ionique») ist mit einem alten Brunnen verbunden¹⁶⁷, und diejenige von Korinth enthält unter demselben Dach ein als künstliche Grotte gestaltetes Wasserbassin¹⁶⁸. Es fügt sich auch

¹⁶⁴ Sanatio Nr. 11.

¹⁶⁵ Verg. *Aen.* VII 81-91 (Quelle Albunea mit mephitischen Dämpfen, Hain); Ov. *Fast.* IV 649-660 (*silva vetus nullaue diu violata securi*; Quelle); vgl. auch die Gefangennahme von Faunus und Picus durch Numa *Fast.* III 295-299 (*lucus... niger umbra*; Quelle); Hdt. VIII 138, 3 tönt für die Befragung des Seilenos durch Midas eine ähnliche, freilich idyllischere Umgebung an.

¹⁶⁶ Roland MARTIN, Henri METZGER, «Recherches d'architecture et de topographie à l'Asclépieion d'Athènes», in *BCH* 73 (1949), 321-323.

¹⁶⁷ R. MARTIN, H. METZGER, in *BCH* 66/67 (1942/1943), 328-333.

¹⁶⁸ C. ROEBUCK, *Asklepieion* (Anm. 55), 42-51.

dazu, dass Tempel in den Asklepieia eine Nebenrolle spielen¹⁶⁹, sie sind gewöhnlich klein, bloss unpräntiöse Behausung des Kultbildes, das auch im Freien stehen konnte¹⁷⁰.

6. Rites d'agrégation

Die Begegnung mit dem Göttlichen, deren Ort das Temenos des Asklepios ist, wird wie jedes vergleichbare religiöse Erlebnis — und, wie Gould zeigte, auch die Hikesie¹⁷¹ — im Dreischritt des «rite de passage» vollzogen. Während jedoch die Riten der Trennung und — wenigstens zum Teil — der Liminalität (Inkubation) gut bezeugt sind, sind die Informationen für die abschliessenden Riten der Wiedereingliederung in den Alltag weit spärlicher. Wie die Inkubation beschlossen wird, ist unklar: die pergamenische Lex von der Hallenstrasse schreibt immerhin vor, das man den Ölkranz, mit dem man während des Heilschlafs bekränzt war, auf der Stibas zurücklassen solle — Zeichen offenbar dafür, dass die liminale Phase zurückgelassen, der kranzlose Alltag wieder erreicht werden soll¹⁷²: das respondiert der Bekränzung als Beginn von Ritualen¹⁷³.

¹⁶⁹ Der grosse Tempel beim Fluss von Gortys wurde nie vollendet, im Gegensatz zur grossen Thermenanlage, R. GINOUVÈS, *Balaneutiké* (Anm. 86), 360 f.

¹⁷⁰ In Pellene steht es an der Quelle, Paus. VII 27, 11, in Panopeus in einer einfachen Kapelle, Paus. X 4, 4.

¹⁷¹ J. GOULD, in *JHS* 93 (1973), 102 f.

¹⁷² *AvP* VIII 3, Nr. 161, 13 f.

¹⁷³ M. BLECH, *Kranz* (Anm. 109), 302-307. — Vergleichbar ist der Kranzwechsel in gewissen Ritualen, mit dem verschiedene Phasen markiert werden: in Andania sind die verschiedenen Stufen der Initiation durch verschiedene Kränze gekennzeichnet (erst die metallene Stlengis, dann Lorbeer), *LSCG* 65, 14; während des Festes des Dionysos Aisymnetes in

Wichtig müssen auch gemeinsame Mahlzeiten gewesen sein, an denen man das Fleisch der vor der Inkubation dargebrachten Opfertiere verspeiste: zwar kann man weder die Opferszenen der Weihreliefs noch die Lex des kretischen Lissos sicher mit solchen Voropfern verbinden, doch weist eine epidaurische Lex auf solche Voropfer hin¹⁷⁴, berichtet vor allem Philostrat über solche Opfer gleich bei der Ankunft im Asklepieion von Aigai¹⁷⁵, und das mehrfache Verbot, Opferfleisch wegzutragen, weist auch andernorts auf derartige Opfer und darauffolgende Mahlzeiten, für die in manchen Asklepieia mehrere Speiseräume eingerichtet wurden¹⁷⁶. Diese Speiseräume liegen oft am Rand des sakralen Bereichs — in Korinth etwa auf dem Niveau der tiefer gelegenen und allgemein als Brunnen zugänglichen Lerna, nicht dem höhergelegenen des Asklepieions, doch waren beide

Patrai ziehen die *paides* mit einem Ährenkranz bekränzt von der Polis hinaus zum Bezirk der Artemis am Fluss Melichos; dort lassen sie ihre Kränze, baden, setzen sich Efeukränze auf und gehen zurück in das Heiligtum des Dionysos (Paus. VII 20, 1 f.); vgl. M. BLECH, *Kranz*, 312.

¹⁷⁴ LSS 22 (4. Jh.v.Chr.) (Hinweis van Straten); demgegenüber betrifft LSCG 60 (Ende 5. Jh.v.Chr.) mit seinen aufwendigen Rinderopfern den Staatskult; Weihreliefs etwa U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst* (Anm. 128), Nrn. 142 und 146 (Athen); LIMC II, Nrn. 66; 202; das Problem ist zum einen, ob es sich um Voropfer oder Dankopfer handelt, zum andern auch — im Licht der oben Anm. 46 zusammengestellten Reliefs — ob etwa ein Widder, wenn er Voropfer war, nicht etwa ganz verbrannt wurde.

¹⁷⁵ Philostr. *VA* I 10; zur Quelle Philostrats F. GRAF, «Maximos von Aigai. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferung über Apollonios von Tyana», in *JbAC* 27/28 (1984-1985), 65-73.

¹⁷⁶ G.R. TOMLINSON, «Two buildings in sanctuaries of Asklepios», in *JHS* 89 (1969), 106-112 erweitert die Liste der bekannten Räume um Epidaurios und Athen; zu Delos G. ROUX, in *BCH* 105 (1981), 57-59; allgemein Ernest WILL, «Banquets et salles de banquet dans les cultes de la Grèce et de l'Empire romain», in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (Lausanne 1976), 353-362.

Ebenen durch Freitreppen verbunden¹⁷⁷; in Delos lag der Speiseraum gleich neben dem Propylon¹⁷⁸, in Troizen etwas abgesetzt im Osten des Bezirks¹⁷⁹, und ähnlich in Epidauros, wenn er wirklich mit dem sogenannten Gymnasium zu identifizieren ist¹⁸⁰. Die Häufigkeit solcher Banketräume weist auf die Bedeutung gemeinsamer Mahlzeiten: näher als blosse Bedürfnisse des Sanatoriumsbetriebs, für die ausserhalb der Temene mit Pilgerhäusern gesorgt war, liegt eine rituelle Funktion: schon Carl Roebuck hatte für Korinth vermutet, dass der Besuch des Heiligtums mit einer Mahlzeit abgeschlossen wurde¹⁸¹, und tatsächlich macht es Sinn, dass eine extrem individuelle Liminalität, in welcher der Einzelne allein der Gottheit gegenübertrat, beendet wurde mit der gemeinsamen und Gemeinsamkeit stiftenden Mahlzeit: man ist an Eleusis erinnert, wo die Tage der Mysteria mit einem frohen Festmahl endeten¹⁸².

7. Parallelen

Die jetzt aufgezeigten Grundstrukturen sind nicht allein bei den Asklepieia zu fassen. Längst ist aufgewiesen, dass sich die Asklepiosheiligtümer nicht grundlegend von andern Inkuba-

¹⁷⁷ Für Athen rekonstruiert G.R. TOMLINSON, in *JHS* 89 (1969), 112-115 die Speiseräume auf der Westterrasse im ionischen Porticus; er hat sich freilich damit nicht durchgesetzt, vgl. S.B. ALESHIRE, *Asklepieion* (Anm. 86), 32 mit Anm. 1.

¹⁷⁸ G. ROUX, in *BCH* 105 (1981), 55-61.

¹⁷⁹ G. WELTER, *Troizen* (Anm. 44), 31-34.

¹⁸⁰ G.R. TOMLINSON, in *JHS* 89 (1969), 106-111; eine Übersicht bei A. BURFORD, *Temple builders* (Anm. 130), 79.

¹⁸¹ C. ROEBUCK, *Asklepieion*, Corinth, Bd. 14 (Anm. 55), 51.

¹⁸² Vgl. George E. MYLONAS, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961), 279; W. BURKERT, *Homo Necans* (Anm. 46), 321 f.

tionsheiligümern unterscheiden, dem Amphiaräion von Oropos etwa mit Hain, Quelle, κοιμητήριον und eng verwandten Riten¹⁸³: das überrascht nicht, zeigt, wie sehr die architektonische Struktur sich vom Ritual herleitet.

Wichtiger aber ist eine andere Verwandtschaft, diejenige mit einigen Apollonorakeln, denjenigen von Didyma, Klaros, Gryneion. Hain und Quelle sind allen gemeinsam¹⁸⁴, ein dem Inkubationsraum vergleichbares Adyton ist in Didyma wie in Klaros nachgewiesen¹⁸⁵ (Grabungen in Gryneion wurden keine gemacht, da das Temenos noch nicht sicher lokalisiert ist¹⁸⁶): Zugang hatte jeweils bloss der Prophet, der durch seine Initiation permanent ausgesondert war¹⁸⁷. An den Hainen hängt jeweils die Topik des Goldenen Zeitalters und des Elysiums, Signal dafür, wie anders, ausgesondert aus der Alltagswelt diese

¹⁸³ Zum Amphiaräion V. Chr. PETRAKOS, 'Ο Ἄρωπος καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου (Athen 1968); zum Ritual auch L. DEUBNER, *De incubatione* (Anm. 147), 14-28.

¹⁸⁴ Didyma: Doppelhain und Quelle Call. Fr. 229; Strab. XIV 1, 5, p. 634. — Klaros: Hain Nicander, Fr. 31 Schneider; Quelle Iambl. *Myst.* III 11, p. 123 (der Priester trinkt daraus). — Gryneion: Hain und Quelle Serv. in Verg. *Ecl.* VI 67 *arboribus multis iucundus, gramine floribusque variis omni tempore vestitus, abundans etiam fontibus*. — Zum ganzen Komplex vgl. mein Referat über «Bois sacrés et oracles dans l'Asie Mineure», in den Akten des Kolloquiums *Les bois sacrés* (Neapel, November 1989) (im Druck).

¹⁸⁵ H.W. PARKE, *The oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* (London 1985), 50-52 (Didyma); 138 f. (Klaros).

¹⁸⁶ Vgl. Giuseppe RAGONE, «Il tempio di Apollo Gryneios in Eolide. Testimonianze anticharie, fonti antiche, elementi per la ricerca topografica», in B. VIRGILIO (Hrsg.), *Studi Ellenistici* III (Pisa 1990), 9-112; RAGONE zeigt, dass auch dieses Temenos ausserhalb der Siedlung liegen musste.

¹⁸⁷ Zur Initiation des didymeischen Propheten vgl. den Mythos bei Varro, *Rer. divin.* fr. 252 Cardauns; Conon, *Narr.* 44.

Temene empfunden wurden¹⁸⁸. Diese Sonderstellung erklärt sich daraus, dass der Hain eben der Ort war, an dem die direkte Kommunikation zwischen Mensch und Gottheit, zwischen Apollon und seinem Orakelpriester, stattfand. Dabei orakelt der klarische Priester nach einem Trunk Wasser aus der heiligen Quelle — so, wie die Traumsuchenden aus den Quellen der Asklepieia (oder des Amphiaräion) auch tranken; die didymische Prophetin taucht ihre Füße ein oder atmet den Wasserdunst¹⁸⁹.

Diese Beziehung ist strukturell und historisch bedeutsam. Zum einen zeigt sie, wie funktionell die Struktur des Temenos ist: der unmittelbare Kontakt mit der Gottheit findet nicht im Raum der Polis statt, sondern in einem Draussen, das durch Hain und Quelle als Natur markiert, durch die Topographie auch fast immer deutlich von der Polis abgesetzt ist: Orakel- und Inkubationskult, so intim verwandt, dass auch Asklepios als Orakelgott bezeichnet werden konnte¹⁹⁰, distanzieren sich so ganz deutlich vom Kult im Innern der Polis, der die Gemeinschaft als Ganze und ihre direkten Probleme angeht und wo die Kommunikation mit dem Göttlichen durch die Vermittlung des gemeinsam dargebrachten Opfers stattfand.

Die Beziehung zeigt auch, wie die Nähe von Asklepios und Apollon, die sich ja in vielen Heiligtümern hat aufweisen lassen und die im Mythos Apollon zum Vater des Asklepios macht, auf rituellen Gegebenheiten aufruht: Kulthandlungen und Konzepte des Apollonkultes wurden auf denjenigen des Asklepios

¹⁸⁸ Die Nachweise in meinem oben genannten Referat.

¹⁸⁹ Klaros: Tac. *Ann.* II 54, 3; Iambl. *Myst.* III 11 (p. 124, 11). — Didyma: Iambl. *Myst.* III 11 (p. 127, 4). — Amphiaräion: Paus. IX 39, 8. — Allg. zum Wassertrinken bei apollinischen Orakeln: Philostr. *VA* II 37.

¹⁹⁰ Das Material bei Auguste BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* III (Paris 1880), 271 f.

übertragen oder waren in beiden sich so nahe, dass die beiden Kultempfänger in enge Beziehung gesetzt werden konnten.

8. Schlussbemerkungen

Blickt man abschliessend noch einmal zurück auf Rom, von wo wir ausgegangen sind, wird die Lage des ersten Aesculap-Heiligtums auf der Tiberinsel verständlicher. Die Insel, die ihre Entstehung als Raum jenseits menschlicher Verfügbarkeit erklärt hatte, entspricht auch der Lage der meisten griechischen Asklepieia ausserhalb der Poleis, wie dies ja auch Plutarch festgehalten hatte; die Anwesenheit des Faunus auf derselben Insel erinnert an diejenige des Pan in Sikyon¹⁹¹. Und doch hat Plutarch nicht scharf genug geschaut: denn die Insellage verschärft die Lage im Draussen noch, besonders wenn man in Rechnung stellt, dass im hellenistischen Griechenland der Gott auch in die Poleis eindrang: in Rom ist er durch den Flussraum radikal von der Stadt getrennt. Dazu kommt, dass seine Verehrung die fremde, griechische Form beibehielt, so noch an die Fremdheit des Gottes erinnerte, nicht anders als im Fall etwa der Magna Mater. Dahinter steht, dass die individuelle Gotteserfahrung, die der Heilschlaf brachte, der Religion der republikanischen Römer im Ganzen fremd und wohl auch durchaus etwas suspekt waren: man denke daran, mit welchen Problemen später auf der individuellen Gotteserfahrung in der Ekstase beruhende Kulte zu kämpfen hatten: die ekstatische Bacchusverehrung wurde zu Beginn des 2. Jh. auf lange Zeit drastisch eingeschränkt, der Kult der Magna Mater, die doch als Mater Idaea Roms Urmutter war, wurde hinter feste Mauern verbannt, und die ägyptischen Götter hatten bis in die frühe Kaiserzeit Verbote

¹⁹¹ Paus. II 10, 2.

zu überstehen. Eine ähnliche Ambivalenz wie gegenüber der Magna Mater spürt man Aesculapius gegenüber: zwar rettete er Rom aus der Pest, zugleich aber wurde sein Kult isoliert auf der Isola Tiberina.

Im übrigen ist in den griechischen Asklepieia eine allmähliche Entfernung von der radikalen Liminalität der Inkubation zu spüren. Wie der alte Heilheros seine heroischen Züge langsam verliert und sich in Charakter und Ikonographie immer mehr an Zeus annähert, bis er schliesslich in der Kaiserzeit überhaupt zu Zeus Asklepios verschmilzt, ist längst gezeigt¹⁹². Das geht Hand in Hand mit der Entwicklung der Asklepieia: je mehr die Heiligtümer zu Bäderorten und Sanatorien werden, mit allem, was zu einem längeren Aufenthalt gehört, einschliesslich Theater und Gymnasien, so dass manche kaiserzeitliche Asklepieia lokale intellektuelle Zentren wurden¹⁹³, desto stärker verliert sich das Gefühl eines Heiligtums im Draussen: um Quelle und Hain entstehen immer aufwendigere Bauten, und schliesslich ist es auch durchaus möglich, im Inneren der Polis dem Gott Asklepios einen Schrein zu errichten.

¹⁹² Eine Übersicht über die Ikonographie bei Christa BENEDUM, «Asklepiosmythos und archäologischer Befund», in *Medizinhist. Journal* 22 (1987), 48-61.

¹⁹³ Für das kilikische Aigai aufgezeigt von Louis ROBERT, «De Cilicie à Messine et à Plymouth avec deux inscriptions errantes», in *JournSav* 1973, 183-204.

DISCUSSION

M. Schachter: I am struck by the use of the terms ἄβατον and ἄδυτον to describe the place where the incubation occurred, and should like to have your views on this.

(Addendum: The fact that no special facilities were developed for Asklepieia as such need not surprise us, given the relatively late appearance of the god on the scene. They simply used the kind of building available and most appropriate to the purpose.)

M. Graf: Zu ἄβατον und ἄδυτον: Sie bezeichnen, wie ich zu zeigen versuchte, den Raum, der dem Menschen gewöhnlich nicht zugänglich ist — die etymologische Bedeutung der völligen Unzugänglichkeit hat sich mithin verschoben zu derjenigen einer Zugänglichkeit, die an rituelle Vorbedingungen geknüpft ist. Der Priester, der ein ἄδυτον oder ἄβατον betreten darf, hat einen Sonderstatus, in den er durch eine Initiation gelangt ist; der Kranke, der bei Asklepios schlafen möchte, hat sich analog rituell auszusondern. Der Raum, in dem die Gottheit sich manifestiert, ist eben kein einfach zugänglicher Raum — extrem wohl im ἐνγύσιον, dem Ort, wo Zeus sich im Blitz manifestierte, wodurch der Ort ἄβατον geworden ist.

Zur Frage der Architektur: Ihr Versuch der historischen Erklärung ersetzt ja die semantische nicht: es bleibt erklärungsbedürftig, weswegen gerade der Inkubationsraum nicht architektonisch herausgehoben wurde; hätte man gewollt, so wäre es ja auch möglich gewesen.

M. Tomlinson: It is very noticeable that no special architectural form developed for the ἄβατον building in Greek sanctuaries of Asklepios, despite the significance of the name. One would surely have expected a closed

building for privacy. Instead an established architectural form, the stoa, was used. Granted that stoas are general purpose buildings, one would still expect something more specialised. Could it be because in his early sanctuaries, those of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., Asklepios normally takes over the sanctuary of an established deity; that there is a desire for his sanctuaries not to differ markedly in their architecture from those of other gods?

M. Graf: Ich teile Ihr Erstaunen; ich habe ja auch eine Erklärung vorgeschlagen. Dass wirklich Asklepios zuerst *in* den Heiligtümern anderer Gottheiten verehrt wurde, gilt nicht allgemein: es trifft wohl für Lebena zu, wo Acheloos und die Nymphen in einer frühen Inschrift genannt sind, vielleicht auch in Kos — sicher aber nicht in Epidauros, wo das Temenos des Asklepios in einiger Distanz von dem des Apollon Maleatas lag, oder in Paros, wo die beiden Bezirke durch eine hohe Felswand radikal getrennt sind, ganz zu schweigen von Fällen wie dem athenischen Asklepieion ἐν ἄστει, wo ich meine, es sei kein anderer Kult vorangegangen.

Mme Kearns: In addition to the practical reasons which conduce to the siting of major healing sanctuaries outside towns, and in addition to the structural connexions of Asklepios himself with outer areas and the wild, there may perhaps be psychological factors involved in the selection of sites away from major habitational areas. Patients/worshippers in search of healing from superhuman sources commonly make great efforts to obtain their wishes, perhaps in the hope that the greater the effort, the greater the likelihood of reward, perhaps in order that the cure may be dramatised and appear more significant. In the modern world, we have the example of pilgrimages from far afield to such healing shrines as Lourdes and Tinos, and in the ancient world certainly Epidauros attracted a clientèle from well outside the immediate locality. In the case of less well-known extramural sanctuaries, the distance might be more symbolic, but we would still have in many cases a separation from the location of everyday life.

M. Graf: Ich stimme dem Gedanken völlig zu, dass die Strukturen, die ich aufgewiesen habe, durch psychologische Faktoren bedingt oder wenigstens

gestützt werden; die modernen Parallelen mögen hier auf allgemeinere Verhaltensweisen deuten. Vielleicht kann man auch darauf weisen, dass etwa Römer nach Epidauros und v.a. Pergamon pilgerten, obwohl sie ihr Asklepieion zuhause hatten. — Nebenbei: wie die Reise nach Lourdes als ekstatisches Erlebnis (und das heisst: als Weg in einer andere Welt ohne die Bindungen der Normalität) aufgefasst werden kann, hat Leonardo Sciscia in *Candide* packend dargestellt.

M. Etienne: Je souhaite intervenir sur le problème de l'*alsos* et de la source. Je ne pense pas que ce soit là un caractère particulier des Asclépieia. En effet, le Poséidon de Ténos possédait, d'après Strabon, un *alsos*, et les fouilles du sanctuaire ont mis en évidence une fontaine monumentale qui captait les eaux d'une source (R. Etienne, «Ténos I. Le sanctuaire de Poséidon et d'Amphitrite», *BEFAR* Fasc. 263 [Paris 1987], pp. 73-91). Certes, le Poséidon de Ténos est dit *iatros* par Philochore et son sanctuaire s'apparente aux Asclépieia; mais il n'est pas le seul dieu à bénéficier d'un bois et d'une source. Aussi, je doute que ces deux éléments permettent de situer Asclépios du côté de la *Wildnis*. Mais M. Graf a probablement d'autres arguments, notamment mythologiques, pour appuyer sa démonstration.

M. Graf: Ich bin mir der Problematik um die Zuordnung besonders des Hains zu einer bestimmten Gottheit bewusst — eines der Ergebnisse des Kolloquiums von Neapel über «Le bois sacré» war gerade, dass anscheinend jede Gottheit ihren Hain haben kann. Hain und Quelle allein genügen also nicht als Zeichen eines Draussen: immerhin sind manche Quellen des Asklepios als Grotten konzipiert, was bereits wichtig ist; dazu kommen aber die Indizien von Ritual und Mythos, um eine präzisere Semantik zu schaffen.

M. van Straten: You have shown that the location of the Asklepieion on the Tiber island fits into a pattern, insofar as «island» is part of a broader concept. If taken strictly as an island, however, it is unique. The foundation of a sanctuary, I would suggest, could well be a combination of a unique occurrence on the one hand and a standardized ritual on the other. In Athens, for instance, according to Telemachos' inscription, Asklepios first came to the

city from Piraeus (of his own accord, apparently, though we can only guess how he manifested his presence), and only then Telemachos set into motion the usual procedure of consulting an oracle, having a snake brought from the sanctuary at Epidauros, etc. Would it be too far fetched to consider the possibility that in the case of the Roman Asklepieion the story of the snake slithering overboard has an element of truth in it, and that this incident contributed to the location of the sanctuary?

M. Graf: Sie werfen ein schwieriges Methodenproblem auf: einmalige, zufällige Ereignisse sind äusserst schwer zu fassen, wenn eine Erzählung vorliegt, die so deutlich mit *topoi* arbeitet. Nicht bloss die Überführung der Schlange ist üblich in den Berichten über epidaurische ἀφιδρύματα, auch die eigenwillige Landung der Schlange findet sich mehrmals: das sieht nach Legende aus (was das einmalige Ereignis nicht völlig ausschliesst). Auf der Gegenseite versuchte ich herauszustellen, dass auch die Insel sich in eine feste Struktur einfügt: auch das, scheint mir, macht ein tatsächliches Ereignis unwahrscheinlich. Aber völlige Sicherheit ist mit unseren Mitteln nie zu gewinnen. Letztlich ist meine Deutung lediglich die ökonomischste Hypothese.

V

MADELEINE JOST

SANCTUAIRES RURAUX ET SANCTUAIRES URBAINS EN ARCADIE

L'étude des sanctuaires ruraux et des sanctuaires urbains¹ dans le monde grec permet de dégager quelques traits généraux valables en tous lieux², mais se présente en fait de manière assez différente selon les régions. En milieu colonial, l'attention des savants s'est depuis longtemps portée sur la *chôra*³; l'établissement de sanctuaires ruraux est conçu en termes de «prise de possession de la terre» par la cité. Dans une région comme

¹ La documentation qui sert de base à cette étude se trouve rassemblée, jusqu'en 1984, et discutée dans mon ouvrage, M. JOST, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris 1985), abrégé ci-après: JOST, *Sanctuaires*. Afin d'alléger les notes, je me permettrai d'y renvoyer pour chaque site, en ajoutant, le cas échéant, la bibliographie postérieure à 1984.

² Voir, par exemple, F. DE POLIGNAC, *La naissance de la cité grecque. Cultes, espaces, cités* (Paris 1983), dont j'ai rendu compte dans la *REA* 89 (1987), 178-180. Voir aussi R. OSBORNE, *Classical Landscape with Figures. The Ancient Greek City and his Countryside* (London 1987), 165-192.

³ Voir, par exemple, les interventions de G. VALLET au VII^e congrès de Tarente (*La città e il suo territorio* [Napoli 1968], 81-95) et au colloque de Cortone de 1981 (*Modes de contact et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes* [Pise-Rome 1983], 356). Cf. aussi R. MARTIN, dans *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris-La Haye 1973), 107-108.

l'Attique en revanche, l'épanouissement de la civilisation urbaine a longtemps fait négliger le reste du territoire: n'opposait-on pas, dans l'antiquité déjà, la religion de la ville, celle des gens cultivés, et celle des rustres de la campagne⁴? La complexité réelle des rapports entre les sanctuaires d'Athènes et ceux des dèmes n'a fait l'objet que d'études partielles⁵.

L'Arcadie à son tour présente des conditions particulières: l'urbanisation y a été tardive et, sauf exception, les cultes les plus anciens sont localisés dans la *chôra*, dont le rôle est essentiel dans le développement des cités. On remonte ici, comme dans le reste de la Grèce, aux VIII^e/VII^e siècles⁶. Réfléchir sur les sanctuaires ruraux et les sanctuaires urbains en Arcadie consistera pour nous, après une tentative de définition et de classement des données connues, à analyser le mode de complémentarité des deux types de sanctuaires, dans leur répartition géographique d'abord, puis dans leur relation à la vie de la cité.

1. Typologie des sanctuaires arcadiens

Le caractère rural de l'Arcadie impose de considérer en premier la *chôra*. Les sanctuaires y étaient à coup sûr très nombreux; malheureusement, beaucoup d'entre eux ne sont connus que par des documents littéraires laconiques ou déduits de la représentation d'une divinité sur le monnayage de la cité, sans

⁴ Cf. Ph. BORGEAUD, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan* (Genève 1979), 258.

⁵ R. OSBORNE, *Demos: the Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge 1985), 154-182. D. WHITEHEAD, *The Demes of Attika, 508/7-ca. 250 B.C.* (Princeton 1986), 176-222.

⁶ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 549; voir aussi l'index sous les noms de «Bassai», «Kotilion», «Lousoi», «Orchomène, Hékatompédon», «Tégée, Aléa Athéna», «Mavriki», «Manthyreis, sanct. d'Artémis», «(mont) Lycée», «Stavros», «(mont) Boreion», «Pétrovouni», «Glanitsa».

aucune localisation précise. On s'en tiendra donc aux exemples les mieux connus.

En ce qui concerne la morphologie des sanctuaires, notons d'emblée que le paysage religieux de la campagne arcadienne ne répond guère au premier abord à la réputation de rusticité de ses habitants. On est frappé, en parcourant la région, par la fréquence des temples de plan tout à fait normal qui y furent élevés. Le temple de Bassai faisait déjà l'admiration de Pausanias pour «la beauté de la pierre et l'harmonie des proportions»⁷. D'autres édifices, moins raffinés dans la conception, n'en sont pas moins remarquables par le soin apporté à la construction: ainsi le temple de Périvolia, ceux du mont Boreion, du mont Kandréva, du mont Psili Korphi ou du mont Aphrodision, ceux de Pétrouvouni, de Divritsa, ou de Bérékla, ceux de Lousoi et de Lykosoura⁸. Certains sont plus rudimentaires, comme au lieu-dit Kotilon⁹. Ajoutons que huit temples sont explicitement cités

⁷ Cf. Paus. VIII 41, 8. L'orientation principale au Nord se retrouve pour les temples d'Alipheira, du sommet du mont Kotilion, du mont Boreion et de la colline de Gourtsouli (pente occidentale), la porte percée dans le long côté se retrouve à Lykosoura et Tégée (cf. l'index de JOST, *Sanctuaires*, sous les noms cités).

⁸ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, dans l'index sous le nom des sites; voir aussi le temple récemment découvert près du village de Ménalon (*ibid.*, 201 n. 1 bis, et «Chronique des fouilles» du BCH 108 [1984], 768). Aux références indiquées ajouter: pour Lousoi, la note topographique de M. PETROPOULOS, dans *Horos* 3 (1985), 67-72 et les rapports des fouilles récentes menées par l'Ecole autrichienne (cf. V. MITSOPOULOS-LEON et F. GLASER, «Lousoi 1985/1986» in *Ojh* 57 [1986], Grabungen, 17-22, et *ArchReports* 34 [1987/1988], 24); pour le sanctuaire du mont Aphrodision, voir la publication de Chr. KARDARA, 'Αφροδίτη Ἐρυκίνη ἱερὸν καὶ μαντεῖον, Bibl. de la Soc. archéol., n° 106 (Athènes 1988); pour les sanctuaires de la Mégalopolitide méridionale, voir I. PIKOULAS, Ἡ νότια Μεγαλοπολιτικὴ χώρα (Athènes 1988), 191-198.

⁹ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 96-97. Voir aussi divers vestiges de sanctuaires ruraux apparus depuis 1984 à Tripichi et à Gourtsouli en Mantinique,

par Pausanias dans la *chôra*, qui n'ont pas été retrouvés¹⁰. D'autres édifices du même type peuvent enfin être compris dans la rapide mention que fait le Périégète d'un *hiéron* campagnard, surtout lorsqu'il mentionne une statue¹¹. La conclusion s'impose: en Arcadie, les temples sont loin d'être réservés aux villes; disséminés sur le territoire, ils ne sont pas plus associés aux paysages de plaine qu'à ceux de montagne.

Quand les sanctuaires ruraux ne comportent pas de temple, il s'agit d'aires consacrées avec un autel: ainsi, sans doute, pour la majorité des *hiéra* cités sans autre précision dans la *Périégèse*. L'autel seul parfois a été retrouvé, comme pour Pan Lykeios près de Tégée¹². Le sanctuaire de Glanitsa est très représentatif de ce type de lieux sacrés. Installé sur le versant d'une colline, aux confins septentrionaux de la Mégalopolitide, il est limité par un mur de *téménos* qui fait soutènement à l'Ouest, au Nord et au Sud; à l'intérieur de l'enclos, un autel bas, de 7 m sur 2,50 m, construit avec soin, fut pendant longtemps le seul édifice, avant la construction d'un portique tardif¹³.

près de Kaphyai et près d'Orchomène: cf. Th. SPYROPOULOS, in *Arch-Delt* 37 (1982; paru en 1989), 114-116 et 119.

¹⁰ Temple d'Apollon Pythios et temple d'Hermès sur le Cyllène en Phénéatide (Paus. VIII 15, 9 et VIII 17, 1-2), temple d'Athéna Korai près de Kleitor (Paus. VIII 21, 4), de Déméter Erinys et de Déméter Eleusinia en Thelpousie (Paus. VIII 25, 4-7), temple d'Asklépios en Tégéatide (Paus. VIII 54, 5) et de la Mère des Dieux près d'Aséa (Paus. VIII 44, 3). Pour les sanctuaires qui appartiennent à la *chôra* de Mégalopolis, mais se trouvaient au départ dans des agglomérations plus tard abandonnées, cf. ci-dessous, pp. 226-227.

¹¹ Exemples: sanctuaire de Déméter Eleusinia en Thelpousie (cf. Paus. VIII 25, 3 et JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 69-70); sanctuaire du mont Boreion (cf. Paus. VIII 44, 6 et *ibid.*, 195-197).

¹² Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 157.

¹³ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 218, avec référence. Voir aussi le sanctuaire de Lykochia (*ibid.*, 191).

Il arrive, comme souvent dans la campagne grecque, qu'un lien particulier existe entre la structure d'un sanctuaire et le lieu où il se trouve. Plusieurs lieux de culte sont associés à l'existence d'une source¹⁴ ou comportent un bois sacré¹⁵. Plus original, le sanctuaire d'Artémis Kédréatis près d'Orchomène consiste dans un grand cèdre creux, à l'intérieur duquel se trouve placé le *xoanon*¹⁶. D'autres sanctuaires utilisent cette enclave naturelle dans le paysage qu'est la grotte. Le meilleur exemple est celui de Déméter Mélaina, situé d'après Pausanias au Sud-Ouest de Phigalie: il s'agit d'une grotte isolée dans la montagne; «un bois sacré de chênes entoure la caverne, et de l'eau froide jaillit du sol.» La caverne abrite une statue de Déméter à tête de cheval; l'autel est devant la grotte, comme à l'Antre corycien de Delphes¹⁷. Certains paysages d'Arcadie, en Phénéatide, en Mantinique et dans la région de Trikolonoï en Mégalopolitide présentent enfin des buttes considérées comme des tombes héroïques, dont certaines étaient encore honorées à l'époque de Pausanias¹⁸.

¹⁴ Exemples: source des Méliastes et source Alalkoména en Mantinique (cf. Paus. VIII 6, 5 et VIII 12, 7); source de Déméter Mélaina près de Phigalie (cf. Paus. VIII 42, 12).

¹⁵ Exemples: bois sacré d'Apollon Onkeiatis en Thelpousie (Paus. VIII 25, 9, d'après Antimaque); bois sacré de Déméter sur le mont Alésion (cf. Paus. VIII 10, 1); bois sacré de Despoina dans le sanctuaire suburbain de Lykosoura (cf. Paus. VIII 37, 10); bois sacré de Pan sur le mont Lycée (cf. Paus. VIII 38, 5); bois de Déméter «au marais» près de Mégalopolis (cf. Paus. VIII 36, 6).

¹⁶ Cf. Paus. VIII 13, 2.

¹⁷ Paus. VIII 42, 4-5; JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 89 et 92. Pour l'antre corycien, cf. P. AMANDRY, *L'Antre corycien I*, BCH Suppl. VII (Paris 1981), 91.

¹⁸ Tombe d'Iphiklès en Phénéatide (monument sur une colline: cf. Paus. VIII 14, 9); tombe de Pénélope en Mantinique (tertre: cf. Paus. VIII 12, 5); tombe de Kallisto près de Trikolonoï (tertre: cf. Paus. VIII 35, 8).

Au total, l'apparence des sanctuaires ruraux est éminemment variable selon l'histoire locale: l'histoire politique qui peut être à l'origine d'une construction de prestige, ou l'histoire religieuse qui, conservatrice, conduit à garder leur forme première aux sanctuaires.

La localisation des sanctuaires dans tel site particulier de la campagne résulte elle aussi le plus souvent de facteurs impossibles à définir. On peut cependant noter certaines constantes, qui sont à interpréter en relation avec les divinités honorées dans chaque type d'endroit.

La distinction adoptée pour les colonies grecques d'Italie méridionale et de Sicile entre les sanctuaires «suburbains», d'intérêt local, et les grands sanctuaires «extra-urbains», très liés à la vie de la cité¹⁹, ne vaut guère pour l'Arcadie: le sanctuaire suburbain le plus connu, celui de Poseidon Hippios, près de Mantinée, joue précisément le rôle de sanctuaire poliade²⁰. On doit, en revanche, parmi les sanctuaires «extra-urbains», distinguer ceux qui sont dans les régions cultivables et ceux qui sont dans la montagne, en particulier aux *eschatiai* montagneuses.

Dans les plaines hautes qui peuvent être mises en culture ou fournir des pâturages, on trouve sur les premières collines, dans les fonds de vallées, ou sur les terrasses aménagées le long des pentes, des sanctuaires consacrés aux divinités qui protègent la fertilité du sol et la végétation. Elles varient d'une région à l'autre. En Azanie, Déméter prédomine. Son nom recouvre des divinités diverses, comme Déméter Kidaria, Déméter Thesmia

¹⁹ Cf. note 3. Sur la notion de *proastion* et ses attestations en Grèce, cf. G. AUDRING, *Zur Struktur des Territoriums griechischer Poleis in archaischer Zeit* (Berlin 1989), 15-29.

²⁰ Sur le sanctuaire de Poseidon Hippios, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 132-133 et 290-292; Th. Spyropoulos pense avoir retrouvé les vestiges du temple près de Mylia (fouille encore inédite). Autres sanctuaires suburbains essentiels dans la vie de la cité à Lousoï et Lykosoura.

en Phénéatide, voire opposées, comme Déméter Erinyes et Déméter Lousia près de Thelpousa; mais elles ont en commun d'être liées à la nature végétale. Une Déméter Eleusinia issue d'Eleusis est parfois voisine²¹. Dans les secteurs exposés aux inondations, c'est tantôt Artémis²², tantôt Poseidon Hippios, le maître des eaux souterraines et le protecteur des chevaux à Mantinée²³, qui sont honorés dans le *pédion*. Enfin en Mégapolitide, à côté de la Déméter Eleusinia de Basilis, héritière peut-être d'une vieille déesse locale, ce sont surtout des couples de déesses liées à la prospérité de la campagne qui se rencontrent, à Bathos (Grandes Déesses), sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne Zoitia (Déméter et Artémis), au pied de la cité de Lykosoura (Despoina et Déméter)²⁴. D'autres divinités apparaissent dans un rôle similaire de manière occasionnelle, comme ce protecteur local de l'Abondance qu'est Arès Aphneios en Tégéatide²⁵.

Le caractère proprement arcadien de ces sanctuaires liés à la vie productive se manifeste surtout dans les cultes qui y sont célébrés: l'apparence thériomorphique de Déméter dans le logos sacré de Thelpousa, les rites de flagellation des «habitants du monde infernal» en Phénéatide, les danses avec masques d'ani-

²¹ Sur l'Azanie et les panthéons régionaux, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 25-27 et 552. Pour les différents cultes de Déméter, voir le tableau, *ibid.*, 299 et le chapitre sur cette déesse, 296-355, *passim*.

²² Cf. Stymphale (Paus. VIII 22, 7-9) et le tableau des cultes d'Artémis, JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 393-395.

²³ Pour Poseidon, cf. ci-dessus note 20.

²⁴ Basilis: cf. Paus. VIII 29, 5; Zoitia: cf. Paus. VIII 35, 7; Lykosoura: cf. Paus. VIII 37, 1-12.

²⁵ Paus. VIII 44, 7-8. Sur la localisation de ce sanctuaire, voir désormais I. PIKOULAS, dans les *Mélanges A. Gritsopoulos* (en grec) (Athènes 1985-1986), 590-592.

maux dans le sanctuaire de Despoina, les concours de beauté à Basilis sont autant de rites originaux²⁶.

Passons aux sanctuaires de montagne. Rarement situés au sommet précis, trop venteux et inhospitalier, ils sont en général implantés un peu au-dessous, sur une terrasse naturelle²⁷ ou plus ou moins aplanie²⁸. Le *hiéron* de Zeus Lykaïos fait figure d'exception, avec son autel constitué d'un tertre artificiel greffé au point le plus élevé du mont Saint-Elie: la personnalité de Zeus Lykaïos, qui est, entre autres aspects, un dieu des phénomènes atmosphériques, peut expliquer ce cas²⁹. Un bon nombre des sanctuaires de montagnes sont sur les pentes, voire sur les contreforts des massifs; ainsi le temple de Bassai sur le versant méridional du mont Kotilion, celui de Déméter Mélaina dans une grotte du mont Elaion ou le sanctuaire de Bérékla sur un des contreforts Sud du mont Lycée³⁰. Les cols, et en particulier ceux qui sont à la frontière entre deux cités, constituent des lieux privilégiés pour l'installation de sanctuaires qui sont fréquentés par les gens des deux versants. Pausanias cite plusieurs de ces lieux sacrés³¹ et les trouvailles de l'archéologie permettent d'allonger sensiblement sa liste³².

²⁶ Analyse de ces traditions dans JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 302-303 (Thelpousa); 319-320 (Phénéos); 332-333 (Lykosoura); 338-339 (Basilis).

²⁷ Exemple: sanctuaire du mont Kandréva (cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 200-201).

²⁸ Exemple: sanctuaire du mont Psili Korphi, près de Mavriki (cf. *ibid.*, 159-161).

²⁹ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 179-183 et 268-269.

³⁰ Bassai: cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 92-96; sanctuaire de Déméter Mélaina: *ibid.* 89 et 92; sanctuaire de Bérékla: *ibid.*, 187.

³¹ Sanctuaire d'Artémis sur le mont Krathis (cf. Paus. VIII 15, 9); sanctuaire d'Artémis Hymnia dans la *chôra* d'Orchomène (cf. Paus. VIII 13, 1); sanctuaire d'Athéna Sôteira et Poseidon sur le mont Boreion (cf. ci-dessus, note 11).

³² Sanctuaire du mont Aphrodision (voir ci-dessus, note 8); sanctuaire de

L'étude des offrandes recueillies dans divers sanctuaires de montagne donnent une idée de leur clientèle et de leur fonction. A Glanitsa, une feuille de plomb figure un chasseur coiffé du pilos qui court avec son chien. Dans le sanctuaire de Pan voisin de Bérékla, des statuettes de bronze figurent des bergers coiffés du pilos et drapés dans de lourds manteaux³³. Dans les deux cas, il s'agit d'objets d'artisanat local, certainement consacrés par les chasseurs et les bergers de l'endroit. D'autres offrandes, moins typées, émanent sans doute en partie des habitants de la ville. Quoi qu'il en soit, si l'on met à part le sanctuaire panarcadien du mont Lycée et certains sanctuaires de col, il est vraisemblable que, comme les sanctuaires de la plaine, les sanctuaires de la montagne avaient pour fonction de favoriser les activités de ceux qui vivaient là.

C'est ce que montre aussi la liste des divinités concernées. Mis à part les cas trop particuliers de Zeus Lykaïos et de Déméter Mélaina, Artémis, Hermès et Pan sont de loin les divinités les plus fréquentes. Artémis domine, non pas, comme l'imagine J. Fossey à propos de l'Argolide³⁴, par l'effet d'une influence laconienne, mais parce que sa personnalité est à sa juste place dans les montagnes, à la fois comme déesse du monde animal et comme déesse des confins; les trouvailles de fouille³⁵ confirment sur ce point ce que suggère la localisation de ses sanctuaires.

la passe d'Anémomilo (cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 108); sanctuaire sur la route de l'Echelle entre Argos et Mantinée (*ibid.*, 140).

³³ Sanctuaire de Glanitsa: cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 217-219 (avec référence); sanctuaire de Bérékla, *ibid.*, 87. Voir aussi au sanctuaire du mont Boreion des plaques de bronze découpées représentant un berger et une chèvre (cf. *ArchEph* 1957, 157-158 fig. 51 et 53).

³⁴ J. FOSSEY, «The Cults of Artemis in Argolis», in *Euphrosyne* 15 (1987), 71-88. Sur la personnalité d'Artémis en Arcadie, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 393-425.

³⁵ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 304 et tableau des pages 393-395.

Hermès, présent lui aussi en divers points-frontières du territoire³⁶, exerce son influence la plus grande en Arcadie du Nord-Est, principalement à partir de son sanctuaire du mont Cyllène où il est honoré en tant que dieu rustique des bergers. Plusieurs statuettes de bronze le représentent en criophore; il protège les moutons, bœufs et brebis, mais aussi les bovins dans leur transhumance, comme en témoignent les monnaies de Phénéos³⁷. Quant à Pan, dieu arcadien par excellence, il est omniprésent dans les montagnes d'Arcadie³⁸; partiellement thériomorphe lui-même, il vit au milieu des animaux comme berger et comme chasseur. Il protège les pâtres et les troupeaux (les ovins surtout) en les mettant à l'abri des animaux prédateurs et il patronne la chasse du petit gibier³⁹.

La vie paysanne dans les montagnes est ainsi entourée d'un réseau de protection serré. En revanche, les aspects qui sont liés à la protection de la cité, défense du territoire ou initiations rituelles, sont rarement essentiels dans la définition du sanctuaire. Tout au plus pourrait-on citer les relations de l'Apollon Epikourios de Bassai avec la guerre ou celles d'Athéna Korai de Kleitor avec les jeunes filles⁴⁰. Il est vrai que les très nombreuses épiclèses toponymiques que portent les divinités dans la *chôra* recouvrent sans doute des fonctions multiples qui peuvent inclure de tels aspects.

³⁶ Frontières avec l'Argolide et la Laconie (cf. Paus. II 38, 7 et VIII 30, 6); avec la Messénie (cf. Paus. VIII 34, 6 et 35, 2). Sur les sanctuaires et les autres divinités de frontière, voir en dernier lieu G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *Frontiera e confini nella Grecia antica* (Roma 1988), 54-57.

³⁷ Pour l'Hermès du Cyllène, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 444-449. Monnaies de Phénéos: cf. BMC, *Peloponnesos*, pl. 1 à 6 et 13.

³⁸ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, tableau des pp. 457-458.

³⁹ Iconographie et activités de Pan, *ibid.*, 464-473.

⁴⁰ Apollon Epikourios et la guerre: *ibid.*, 487-488; Athéna Korai et les jeunes filles, *ibid.*, 389-390.

La *chôra* arcadienne contient donc une grande densité de sanctuaires; ceux-ci sont pour la plupart en rapport avec la vie de la campagne; néanmoins, il n'y a pas d'opposition typologique radicale à établir avec les sanctuaires urbains.

Sans atteindre à la variété qu'autorisent les paysages du territoire, les sanctuaires de ville offrent à leur tour une diversité de configurations remarquable.

Certes, le nombre des temples connus par Pausanias, par les inscriptions et par les fouilles est considérable⁴¹. Le temple d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée, auquel est attaché le nom de Scopas, «l'emporte de loin, selon le Périégète, sur tous ceux du Péloponnèse par sa structure et, en particulier, par sa taille»⁴². Une petite cité comme Héraia ne comporte pas moins de trois temples répertoriés, Alipheira, deux, et plusieurs des bourgades qui contribuèrent à la fondation de Mégalopolis en possédaient au moins un⁴³. Ils sont établis un peu partout dans la ville, sans préférence affirmée pour le sommet de l'acropole lorsque la ville en comporte une: ainsi à Orchomène, le temple d'Artémis Mésopolitis occupe une terrasse aménagée sur la face Sud de l'acropole et un temple archaïque a été retrouvé dans la ville basse⁴⁴.

Comme dans la campagne, on note l'existence de *hiéra* plus modestes comportant un simple autel; celui-ci peut être accompagné d'une effigie en plein air, statue ou statue-pilier, une forme

⁴¹ Il dépasse la cinquantaine, ce qui interdit d'en dresser ici la liste; voir l'index de JOST, *Sanctuaires*, sous les noms de sites.

⁴² Paus. VIII 45, 5.

⁴³ Héraia: cf. Paus. VIII 26, 1-2; Alipheira: cf. Paus. VIII 28, 6-7. Autres exemples avec les bourgades de Zoitia (cf. Paus. VIII 35, 7) ou Mainalos (cf. Paus. VIII 36, 8).

⁴⁴ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 117-118 (Orchomène). On ferait des remarques analogues pour les temples de Pallantion (*ibid.*, 197-199, et, depuis, E. ØSTBY, in *Hellenika* 39 [1987], 3-6 et «Chronique des fouilles» du BCH 109 [1985], 763-764).

que les Arcadiens affectionnent particulièrement⁴⁵. Des éléments naturels comme les sources⁴⁶ et les bois sacrés⁴⁷ sont également attestés.

Mais le plus frappant dans les villes, c'est la proportion qui s'établit, pour chaque panthéon local, entre les divinités proprement urbaines et celles dont les fonctions sont liées à la *chôra*.

La défense de la cité et de son territoire sont aux mains des divinités habituelles en Grèce: divinités éponymes⁴⁸ et divinités poliades⁴⁹, héros locaux⁵⁰, divinités de la guerre⁵¹ et divinités du salut et de la paix⁵², auxquelles s'ajoute Tyché, attestée par de nombreuses monnaies et qui avait un temple à Mégalopolis⁵³. L'agglomération urbaine est placée sous l'égide des divinités propres à protéger la vie politique, celle des groupes humains, la

⁴⁵ Exemples: le sanctuaire d'Athéna Polias, son autel et sa statue, à Tégée (*ibid.*, 146-147); l'autel et la statue pilier de Zeus Tèleios à Tégée (cf. Paus. VIII 48, 6).

⁴⁶ Exemple: à côté du temple d'Aléa Athéna de Tégée (cf. Paus. VIII 47, 4).

⁴⁷ Exemple: dans le péribole des Grandes Déeses à Mégalopolis (cf. Paus. VIII 31, 4).

⁴⁸ Il s'agit souvent d'Artémis, que sa double compétence politique et chasse-resse rend particulièrement polyvalente: plus de dix cas (cf. le tableau de JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 393-395).

⁴⁹ Avant tout Athéna, dont la fréquence comme divinité poliade se constate surtout grâce aux monnaies: *ibid.*, tableau des pp. 362-363. A l'occasion Héra (voir le cas d'Héraïa: *ibid.*, 358) et Poseidon à Mantinée (*ibid.*, 290-292).

⁵⁰ Sur le transfert des os d'Arkas du Ménale à Mantinée, cf. Paus. VIII 9, 3-4 et JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 536; pour les héros orethasiens à Phigalie, cf. ci-dessous, p. 220.

⁵¹ Ainsi Enyalios et Arès, *ibid.*, 514-517. Pour Arès Gynaikothoinas, ajouter à la bibliographie F. GRAF, in *ZPE* 55 (1984), 245-254, en particulier 251-252.

⁵² Ainsi Zeus Sôter, Artémis Sôteira, Zeus Philios, Homonoia (cf. l'index de JOST, *Sanctuaires*, sous les noms cités).

⁵³ Cf. Paus. VIII 30,7 (pour Mégalopolis) et JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 529-530.

santé et le bon développement physique des individus, ajoutons, pour les cités les plus urbanisées, les techniques et les arts⁵⁴.

Le culte de ces divinités se conforme généralement aux usages communs. Notons toutefois une particularité significative: à Tégée, Apollon Agyieus est célébré par un vieux rite agraire, avec déploration du héros Sképhros, en relation avec le thème de la végétation qui meurt⁵⁵; un rite rural sert à honorer une divinité urbaine. Certes, le fait n'est pas unique, et l'on sait la place des fêtes agraires dans le calendrier athénien; mais en Arcadie, plus qu'ailleurs peut-être, cité et *chôra* sont complémentaires. La ville tire largement sa subsistance de la *chôra*; aussi abrite-t-elle *intra muros* de nombreuses divinités ordinairement attachées à la campagne.

Le phénomène est particulièrement net dans les petites agglomérations. Les bourgades antérieures au synoecisme de Mégapolis étaient, comme l'a montré J. Roy⁵⁶, un peu plus que des villages et un peu moins que des cités; cela explique sans doute que Déméter et Artémis à Zoitia, Artémis à Oresthasion et Lykoa, Pan à Péraitheis, Hermès à Akakésion soient les divinités majeures⁵⁷. A Stymphale, la dépendance matérielle de la ville par rapport aux inondations du lac, lorsque les émissaires sont mal

⁵⁴ Ainsi Zeus Sôter, Zeus Téleios, Zeus Patrôos, Zeus Epidotès, Zeus Pasios, Héra Téleia, Athéna Korai pour la cité et les groupes humains, Asklépios et Hygie pour la santé, Athéna Ergané pour l'artisanat. Pour l'étude de ces différentes divinités, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, à partir de l'index sous les noms cités. D'après la «Chronique des fouilles» de Kernos 3 (1990), 367, un temple de Zeus «Erkeios» (*sic*) aurait été récemment fouillé à Vaklia (territoire de Kleitor).

⁵⁵ Cf. Paus. VIII 53, 1-3 (analysé dans JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 483-484).

⁵⁶ J. ROY, in *ActAntHung* 20 (1972), 43-51 et M. JOST, «Villages de l'Arcadie antique», in *Ktêma* 11 (1986; paru 1990), 146-158.

⁵⁷ Zoitia: cf. Paus. VIII 35, 7; Oresthasion: cf. Paus. VIII 44, 2; Lykoa: cf. Paus. VIII 36, 7; Péraitheis: cf. Paus. VIII 36, 7; Akakésion: cf. Paus. VIII 36, 10.

entretenus, fait d'Artémis Stymphalia, déesse des eaux stagnantes, la divinité essentielle⁵⁸. Ailleurs on est frappé de voir installées dans un temple — monument qui implique un sanctuaire de quelque ampleur — Déméter et Koré Karpophores à Tégée, les Grandes Déeses à Mégalopolis, Artémis à Orchomène, Koré à Mantinée⁵⁹. Il n'est pas jusqu'à Pan, le dieu qui va de montagne en montagne, qui n'ait un temple à Héraia et une chapelle dans un des portiques de l'agora de Mégalopolis⁶⁰. A l'époque romaine enfin, de nombreux témoignages mentionnent Dionysos dans les villes⁶¹.

La distinction entre dieux des villes et dieux des campagnes en Arcadie est en réalité assez ténue.

Une fois analysés les différents types de sanctuaires, c'est-à-dire les composantes du paysage religieux arcadien, on peut examiner comment et selon quel équilibre, différent pour chaque cité, se sont répartis les sanctuaires entre la ville et la *chôra*.

2. Répartition des sanctuaires entre la chôra et la ville

Le réseau de sanctuaires ne peut pas s'expliquer uniquement en Arcadie par les personnalités divines: on l'a vu, peu d'entre elles sont uniquement rurales ou uniquement urbaines. Deux facteurs sont en revanche essentiels: la géographie physique et

⁵⁸ Paus. VIII 22, 7-9 et JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 398-400. Nouvelles recherches et hypothèses sur la topographie religieuse de Stymphale: Fl. SEILER, *Die griechische Tholos* (Mainz 1986), 120-129; H. WILLIAMS, in *Praktika* 1985 (1989), 245.

⁵⁹ Tégée: cf. Paus. VIII 53, 7; Mégalopolis: cf. Paus. VIII 31, 1-7; Orchomène: BCH 38 (1914), 464-466; Mantinée: IG V 2, 265 et 266.

⁶⁰ Héraia: cf. Paus. VIII 26, 2; Mégalopolis: cf. Paus. VIII 30, 6.

⁶¹ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 425-427.

humaine des régions, qui modèle le paysage religieux; l'histoire des cités (en particulier leur formation par synoecisme) qui le remodèle éventuellement.

La topographie religieuse varie en fonction de la géographie physique et humaine des territoires: en simplifiant, on peut distinguer en Arcadie deux ou trois cadres naturels, auxquels correspond une implantation religieuse particulière. Considérons d'abord la montagne, je veux dire les cités dont l'essentiel de la superficie est occupée par des massifs montagneux. Ce sont des cantons de terres arides et inhospitalières, qui connaissent un climat rigoureux. Certes, il y a toujours un peu de sol arable au fond des vallées ou sur les terrasses aménagées le long des pentes: là s'établit la ville; mais l'agriculture n'occupe qu'une faible partie de la population qui, pour l'essentiel, vit dispersée sur le territoire de l'élevage des brebis, des moutons et des chèvres, ainsi que de la chasse.

L'exemple le plus caractéristique est celui de Phigalie. La ville est installée au bord de la vallée encaissée de la Néda, «sur une hauteur abrupte presque de tous côtés» (Pausanias)⁶², entourée de massifs montagneux (mont Elaion, mont Kotilion). Plusieurs points du territoire sont difficiles à atteindre⁶³ et, au total, les zones cultivables sont rares; Pausanias mentionne comme offrandes ordinaires à Déméter «le produit des arbres cultivés (et en particulier les raisins), le miel et la laine»⁶⁴, c'est sans doute là l'essentiel des ressources. La culture du blé, évoquée par un oracle de Delphes rendu aux gens de Phigalie, est donnée pour précaire, et les Phigaliens sont toujours menacés d'être réduits pour leur subsistance aux glands et au gibier⁶⁵. On imagine une

⁶² Paus. VIII 39, 5.

⁶³ Paus. VIII 41, 4.

⁶⁴ Paus. VIII 42, 11.

⁶⁵ Paus. VIII 42, 5-7.

bonne partie de la population à l'instar du dieu Pan qui vit près de Bassai en berger «sous une hutte de branchages» et «chassant tantôt sur une montagne et tantôt sur une autre»⁶⁶. La structure même de la ville confirme cette dispersion de l'habitat: le tracé de l'enceinte fortifiée est sans rapport avec la surface habitée; il inclut une place de refuge où les populations campagnardes avoisinantes pouvaient trouver protection avec leurs troupeaux⁶⁷.

Dans ces conditions, il n'est pas étonnant que les sanctuaires les plus importants se trouvent dans la *chôra*. Dans la ville, on honore une divinité poliade, sans doute Athéna, Hermès, protecteur du gymnase de la cité, Asklépios et Hygie, ainsi que Dionysos Akratophore, dieu de l'orgie que l'on célèbre dans des mystères et aussi lors de représentations théâtrales capables de regrouper, le temps de Dionysies, tous les Phigaliens; les héros orethasiens morts pour Phigalie reçoivent des sacrifices annuels⁶⁸. Enfin le sanctuaire d'Artémis Sôteira sert de «point de départ pour les processions»⁶⁹. Situé au Sud-Est de la ville, il était le lieu de rassemblement des cortèges vers la *chôra* où se trouvaient les sanctuaires essentiels. Vers le Nord-Est du territoire, à une douzaine de stades au-dessus de la ville, au confluent du Lymax et de la Néda, Pausanias cite d'abord le sanctuaire d'Eurynomé, entouré d'une masse serrée de cyprès; vénéré depuis une lointaine antiquité, il était ouvert une fois par an, pour la fête qu'y célébrait la cité. La vieille statue en bois, thériomorphe, terminée en queue de poisson et retenue par des chaînes d'or, d'une ancienne maîtresse des eaux et de leur faune apparen-

⁶⁶ Cf. *Anthol. Palat.* VI 253 et Paus. VIII 42, 3.

⁶⁷ Cf. les remarques de R. MARTIN, à propos de l'Acarnanie, dans *l'Urbanisme dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1974), 37.

⁶⁸ Pour leurs sanctuaires, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 84-85.

⁶⁹ Paus. VIII 39, 5.

tée à Artémis, témoigne de la vocation des sanctuaires les plus reculés à entretenir l'existence de divinités archaïques⁷⁰. Tel est aussi le cas de Déméter Mélaina, honorée, on l'a vu, dans une grotte du mont Elaion; le *xoanon* de cette déesse protectrice de la végétation avait une tête de cheval avec les cheveux entremêlés de serpents⁷¹. Le long de la route qui mène au mont Kotilion, les citoyens devaient s'arrêter au temple de Périvolia, qui semble avoir fait partie d'un sanctuaire assez vaste, dont le propriétaire n'est pas encore connu. Sur le mont Kotilion enfin se trouvaient regroupés plusieurs lieux de culte: le sanctuaire d'Apollon Epikourios, attesté dès le VIII-VII^e siècle, dont j'ai déjà évoqué le temple classique de Bassai, et, à quelque cent mètres sous le sommet, au lieu-dit Kotilon, deux petits temples plus modestes, dont l'identification exacte fait problème: les textes évoquent pour ce site Aphrodite, Pan, Orthasia, Artémis⁷². L'importance numérique des ex-voto trouvés sur le mont Kotilion témoigne de l'afflux de la clientèle vers ces sanctuaires.

Il est clair que pour les Phigaliens les sanctuaires de la *chôra*, dont les divinités protégeaient la nature végétale et animale, comme la vie personnelle et la sécurité du territoire, étaient les centres religieux les plus importants; paysans, bergers et chasseurs les honoraient dans le cadre où ils vivaient, c'est-à-dire dans la nature sauvage.

Une organisation religieuse similaire, avec prépondérance de la *chôra* sur la ville, se retrouve dans la plupart des districts montagneux de l'Azanie, en Arcadie occidentale, avec des variantes dues à la diversité du paysage naturel: à Thelpousa, par exemple,

⁷⁰ Paus. VIII 41, 4. Pour le sanctuaire et la personnalité de la déesse, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 89 et 411-414.

⁷¹ Cf. ci-dessus note 17. Pour la statue et la personnalité de Déméter, *ibid.*, 312-317.

⁷² Pour les sanctuaires de Périvolia et du mont Kotilion, *ibid.*, 90-97.

les lieux de culte essentiels s'égrènent le long des axes de circulation d'un vaste territoire et sont sans doute d'un accès plus facile⁷³, mais le poids relatif de la *chôra* et de la ville est à nouveau en faveur de la *chôra*.

La situation est autre dans les hautes plaines d'Arcadie orientale qui impliquent un type de vie différent. L'agriculture y tient davantage de place dans l'économie. Elle demande des efforts particuliers, car le sol, calcaire, est couvert d'argile et de limon imperméables; la mise en culture implique un entretien attentif des «katavothres», c'est-à-dire des fissures dans le calcaire qui drainent les eaux de pluie et permettent seules d'éviter l'inondation des bassins. Si l'agriculteur veille à l'évacuation des eaux en curant soigneusement les émissaires, les zones cultivables peuvent être relativement étendues. Les villes, souvent installées — Mantinée et Tégée mises à part — sur des acropoles, sont généralement placées vers le centre du territoire, les zones cultivables étant autour des villes. Comme les distances sont rarement considérables, les propriétaires des champs habitent le plus souvent à la ville, dont ils assurent le fonctionnement politique; ils laissent l'essentiel du travail de la terre à des esclaves et à des ouvriers. En Mantinique, quelques villages antérieurs au synoecisme subsistent de plus dans les secteurs où la culture requiert un soin particulier, comme l'Argon Pédion⁷⁴.

Dans des cas comme ceux-là, il est normal que la *chôra* ne soit pas nécessairement le lieu des sanctuaires les plus importants ni même les plus nombreux. L'exemple de Tégée est significatif. Avec sa cinquantaine de cultes attestés *intra muros* et son

⁷³ Etude des sanctuaires de Thelpousie: JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 60-69; ajouter M. JOST, in *BCH* 110 (1986), 633-645.

⁷⁴ Cf. S. et H. HODKINSON, in *BSA* 76 (1981), 239-296 et M. JOST, *art. cit.* (note 56). Sur la vie du citoyen aux champs et à la ville, cf. Plut. *Philop.* 5, 3-4.

sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna, la ville est le pôle essentiel de la vie religieuse de la cité. Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna est attesté par l'archéologie à partir des VIII/VII^e siècles. Il a d'abord appartenu au dème des Apheidantès avant le synoecisme de Tégée; puis celui-ci l'a intégré dans la nouvelle ville de manière à conforter sa propre unité⁷⁵; dès lors, les sanctuaires de la ville furent les plus importants, même lorsqu'il s'agissait de protéger la vie rurale. Tégée représente, il est vrai, une des cités les plus urbanisées d'Arcadie; mais ce facteur ne semble pas être déterminant à lui seul.

A Mantinée, qui connut elle aussi un réel développement urbain, le sanctuaire de Poseidon Hippios, sous la protection duquel la cité s'installa lors de son synoecisme, est resté hors de l'enceinte, à un peu plus d'un kilomètre: le dieu se plaît davantage au voisinage des bois et des eaux courantes, et ce facteur a dû jouer. En même temps, Mantinée profitait ainsi de la proximité du sanctuaire d'une divinité très populaire et propre à sceller l'union entre les citoyens; le sanctuaire profitait quant à lui d'un nouveau statut de premier sanctuaire de la cité⁷⁶. Au total, le nombre des cultes attestés dans les murs de Mantinée étant supérieur à celui de la *chôra*, on peut dire qu'il y existe une sorte d'équilibre complémentaire entre les sanctuaires de la ville et ceux de la campagne.

Dans les hautes plaines, les situations sont donc diverses d'une cité à l'autre. Une prépondérance du pôle religieux urbain s'observe à Stymphale ou à Orchomène⁷⁷. Les sanctuaires ruraux prédominent en revanche à Phénéos: aux portes de cette petite ville le rôle de la plaine dans la vie productive se traduit

⁷⁵ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 145-146 et 151-154.

⁷⁶ Pour ce sanctuaire, cf. ci-dessus, note 20.

⁷⁷ Cf. l'étude des sanctuaires de ces cités dans JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 101-106 (Stymphale) et 113-122 (Orchomène).

par une importance particulière des sanctuaires de Déméter proches de la cité; le sanctuaire majeur, celui d'Hermès, est près de la frontière du territoire, sur le mont Cyllène⁷⁸. La petite cité de Kaphyai a aussi une de ses divinités principales, Artémis Knakalésia, sur une hauteur, à l'écart de la ville⁷⁹. Mais dans les deux derniers cas, il y a dans la ville des «doublets» des sanctuaires en question⁸⁰; il faudra voir comment s'articulent alors le pôle rural et le pôle urbain dans la vie religieuse de la cité.

Auparavant, un autre type de territoire, qui associe montagnes, plaines, collines et vallées, mérite notre attention: celui de Mégalopolis. Mais, dans cette région, une organisation en cité par synoecisme et une véritable urbanisation ne se sont développées qu'après 370 av. J.-C.⁸¹. Or s'il est en réalité assez peu d'événements historiques qui influent de manière significative sur la topographie religieuse d'une région, les synoecismes, par les déplacements de population qu'ils impliquent, entraînent quant à eux un remodelage partiel du paysage religieux. Il convient donc d'étudier, en s'aidant des fouilles et des textes, l'implantation des sanctuaires sur le territoire de Mégalopolis en relation avec l'histoire.

Un principe est attesté pour d'autres synoecismes arcadiens par deux textes épigraphiques du début du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.: celui du respect des cultes locaux. Le traité qui fixe les termes d'un accord de synoecisme partiel entre Orchomène et Euaimon précise que «les cérémonies du culte d'Euaimon, chaque mois, seront célébrées à Euaimon dans la forme accoutumée»⁸². De

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 27-37.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 111-112.

⁸⁰ Cf. Paus. VIII 14, 10 et VIII 23, 3.

⁸¹ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 168 et références.

⁸² Lignes 6-7; cf. en dernier lieu, L. DUBOIS, *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien*, II: *Corpus dialectal* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986), 146-163 (avec la bibliographie antérieure).

même, la convention de synoecisme entre Mantinée et Héliston laisse certaines prérogatives religieuses à Héliston : « que les sacrifices d'Héliston soient accomplis et que l'on accueille les théories selon les coutumes ancestrales »⁸³. Une politique semblable paraît avoir déjà été observée par Mantinée et Tégée lors de leur synoecisme archaïque, car une continuité existe dans l'activité de lieux sacrés de la *chôra* comme les sanctuaires de Gourtsouli en Mantinique, d'Haghios Sostis et de Mavriki en Tégéatide, en dépit de l'éloignement du dernier⁸⁴. Une telle vitalité reflète à la fois l'intérêt de la *polis* pour ces lieux de culte qu'elle entretient et le respect qu'elle porte aux divinités ancestrales des paysans des anciens villages et dèmes.

En Mégalopolitide, la date exacte du synoecisme, entre 371/370 et 368/7, et la liste exacte des participants restent un sujet de désaccord entre les historiens⁸⁵, mais il est sûr qu'il concerne une vaste région aux traditions religieuses réputées particulièrement anciennes, en Parrhasie surtout; il a pour objectif l'unité politique de la nouvelle cité, Mégalopolis, et de son territoire, où subsistent certains villages. Pour adoucir l'obligation qui était faite à la plupart des Arcadiens de la région de quitter leur « petite patrie » pour la Grande Ville⁸⁶, les dirigeants de la

⁸³ Lignes 9-10; cf. G.J.M.J. TE RIELE, « Héliston entre en syntélie avec Mantinée: une nouvelle inscription d'Arcadie », in *BCH* 111 (1987), 167-188.

⁸⁴ Sanctuaire de Gourtsouli: cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 136-137; sanctuaire d'Haghios Sostis, *ibid.*, 154-155; sanctuaire de Mavriki: *ibid.*, 159-161. L'abandon du sanctuaire d'Athéna Alalkoméni en Mantinique est sans doute antérieur au synoecisme et lié à la concurrence d'Aléa (cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 387). Sur la naissance comme cités, au début du V^e siècle, de Mantinée et de Tégée, cf. L. BURELLI BERGESE, in *ASNP* 17 (1987), 603-610.

⁸⁵ Cf. ci-dessus, note 81.

⁸⁶ Cf. Paus. VIII 28, 1-8.

cit   men  rent une v  ritable politique d'union religieuse, s'effor  ant d'  viter un d  racinement total    la fois par le maintien des vieux sanctuaires de la *ch  ra* et par des cr  ations urbaines adapt  es    la population transplant  e. Voici quelques traits essentiels du syst  me ainsi obtenu.

Mis    part Lykosoura qui garde son statut de cit   «en raison de son sanctuaire de Despoina»⁸⁷, seules quelques agglom  rations demeurent avec le statut de *k  mai* de M  galopolis; elles conservent leurs sanctuaires urbains et extra-urbains: l'exemple le plus int  ressant est celui de Gortys, une bourgade qui servait de d  fense   loign  e    la Cit  , o   l'on constate une prosp  rit   nouvelle des sanctuaires au IV^e si  cle av. J.-C.⁸⁸. Mais on pourrait citer aussi Thisoa et son sanctuaire du Grand Dieu, M  thydrion et le temple suburbain de P  trovouni, dont l'arch  ologie atteste la vitalit   religieuse apr  s le synoecisme⁸⁹.

Dans les anciennes villes syst  matiquement d  peupl  es lors du synoecisme, les sanctuaires continuaient souvent      tre entretenus par M  galopolis, alors m  me que le reste de l'agglom  ration tombait en ruines: Pausanias en t  moigne par exemple pour Basilis, en Parrhasie, dont le culte de D  m  ter Eleusinia est encore attest   au II^e si  cle de notre   re, et pour Akak  sion, o   la statue d'Herm  s Akak  sios   tait rest  e en place⁹⁰. Pris en charge par la cit  , ces sanctuaires chang  rent seulement de statut, pour devenir des sanctuaires de la *ch  ra* de M  galopolis, sur le m  me plan d  sormais que les anciens sanctuaires ruraux. Le cas de Trap  zonte dont les *xoana* furent transf  r  s dans la capitale

⁸⁷ Cf. Paus. VIII 28, 6.

⁸⁸ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 202-210.

⁸⁹ Thisoa: *ibid.*, 212; P  trovouni: *ibid.*, 215.

⁹⁰ Basilis: cf. Paus. VIII 29, 5; Akak  sion: cf. Paus. VIII 36, 10. Voir aussi Trikolono  : cf. Paus. VIII 35, 6; Zoitia: cf. Paus. VIII 35, 7; Bathos: cf. Paus. VIII 29, 1; Maniai: cf. Paus. VIII 34, 1; D  m  ter «aux marais»: cf. Paus. VIII 36, 6.

doit être regardé comme une exception, provoquée par la rébellion de cette cité contre le synoecisme⁹¹.

Les anciens sanctuaires ruraux continuent généralement à être honorés. L'archéologie a même permis de déceler un renouveau au IV^e siècle pour un petit sanctuaire reculé comme celui de Glanitsa, aussi bien que pour le grand sanctuaire parrhasien, celui de Zeus Lykaïos, qui devient le lieu de culte majeur de la Confédération arcadienne⁹². Rares sont les lieux de culte qui furent désertés: si, au sanctuaire de Pan à Bérékla, les témoignages archéologiques ne vont guère au-delà du V^e siècle, cela s'explique sans doute par son éloignement de Mégalopolis, et d'ailleurs de toute agglomération⁹³.

Au total, la restructuration religieuse de la *chôra* de Mégalopolis consiste davantage dans le changement de statut des anciens lieux de culte que dans une nouvelle répartition topographique. La modification essentielle apportée au paysage religieux de la région réside en fait dans la création de sanctuaires urbains dans la ville de Mégalopolis. Les uns répondent aux préoccupations de la ville qui ont été définies plus haut; les autres reprennent des cultes de la *chôra*, de manière à fonder dans la ville un ensemble de type traditionnel le mieux apte à éveiller chez de nouveaux citoyens la conscience d'appartenir à une communauté. Il s'agit tantôt de «doublets» des lieux les plus sacrés du territoire, tantôt de cultes syncrétiques qui réunissent de vieilles composantes des cultes de la région. L'analyse de ces procédés consti-

⁹¹ Cf. Paus. VIII 28, 6 et VIII 31, 5. Ajoutons le cas de Pan Skoleitas: son sanctuaire était sur la colline à l'emplacement de la future Mégalopolis; il fut installé sur l'agora de la ville sous le Portique des archives (cf. Paus. VIII 30, 7-8).

⁹² Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 218 (Glanitsa) et 184 (mont Lycée); la remarque vaut aussi pour le sanctuaire du mont Kandréva (*ibid.*, 200).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 187. Pour le sanctuaire du mont Boreion, voir ci-dessus, note 11.

tue, avec l'étude des moyens mis en œuvre par les cités pour gérer les sanctuaires de la *chôra*, deux approches essentielles pour comprendre quelques-uns des rapports complexes qui ont existé entre sanctuaires ruraux et sanctuaires urbains.

3. Relations entre les sanctuaires de la ville et ceux du territoire

Le cas de Mégalopolis a permis, grâce à la création *ex nihilo* d'une cité, de signaler certains traits de politique religieuse particulièrement nets. Le moment est venu de replacer les phénomènes dans l'ensemble des données arcadiennes et, en même temps, d'en préciser les modalités.

Commençons par les «doublets cultuels». D'une manière générale, la politique des «doublets cultuels» — souvent signalée pour l'Attique et ses sanctuaires d'Eleusis et de Brauron — dérive apparemment de deux sentiments contradictoires: 1) L'idée que le sanctuaire principal, lorsqu'il est dans la *chôra*, a des caractères propres qui sont liés au lieu où il se trouve, et qu'il n'est pas possible de les transposer ailleurs; 2) L'envie d'établir dans la ville un rappel du sanctuaire rural: il ne s'agit pas de rivaliser avec son prestige, mais plutôt de reconnaître son importance et le «manque» que créerait son absence totale dans la ville. Parler de «mainmise» de la ville sur les cultes de la *chôra* paraît en tout cas excessif; c'est ce que je voudrais montrer.

Les cas de Phénéos et de Kaphyai sont malheureusement peu documentés. A Phénéos, il est clair que le sanctuaire d'Hermès, sur le mont Cyllène, aux limites de la Phénéatide et de la Stymphalie, est le lieu de culte qui a connu le plus grand rayonnement en Arcadie du Nord-Est. L'*Hymne homérique à Hermès* mentionne un *téménos* d'Hermès, Pausanias un temple en ruines. Le culte est rapporté à des temps immémoriaux par le scholiaste d'Aristophane; Hygin l'attribue, comme le culte du mont

Lycée, à Lykaon. Le *xoanon* était remarquable par sa taille (2,40 m) et par sa matière, le thuya⁹⁴. Les Phénéates n'ont jamais cherché à revendiquer pour leur ville même la gloire du dieu: né sur le mont Cyllène, il fut toujours universellement le dieu «Kyllénios» et, à l'époque de Géminos encore, au I^{er} s. ap. J.-C., il était honoré d'une procession annuelle et de sacrifices sanglants⁹⁵. Les concours des *Hermaia* se déroulent, depuis le V^e siècle au moins, dans la plaine (peut-être faute de place sur le mont Cyllène), mais c'est le dieu Kyllénios qu'ils honorent; le temple que signale Pausanias à proximité de Phénéos avec une statue sculptée par Eucheir au III^e s. av. J.-C. n'est, selon toute vraisemblance, qu'un «rappel» du mont Cyllène, destiné à matérialiser la présence du dieu lors des jeux et à recevoir les témoignages de la piété quotidienne. Il n'est pas chargé du passé légendaire de la naissance d'Hermès qui auréole le mont Cyllène⁹⁶.

Kaphyai offrait sans doute un cas de figure analogue. Pausanias cite un sanctuaire d'Artémis Knakalésia consacré par les gens de Kaphyai et ajoute: «il y a aussi chez eux un mont Knakalos où ils célèbrent tous les ans des rites d'initiation en l'honneur d'Artémis»⁹⁷. Il y avait deux lieux de culte distincts dans la cité; celui de la ville rappelait celui de la montagne, où était célébrée, à l'écart des hommes comme il est normal pour une initiation, la cérémonie essentielle.

L'existence de tels «doublets culturels» se caractérise par le fait que la ville n'est que le pôle religieux secondaire. Pour Mégalo-polis, les sources sont plus détaillées. Le «pérbole de pierres avec un sanctuaire de Zeus Lykaïos» dont parle Pausanias est particu-

⁹⁴ Sur ce sanctuaire, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 33-35.

⁹⁵ Etude du thème de la naissance d'Hermès dans JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 441-444. Pour le sacrifice du mont Cyllène, cf. ci-dessous, note 111.

⁹⁶ Sur le sanctuaire de Phénéos, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 29-30.

⁹⁷ Paus. VIII 23, 4.

lièrement caractéristique. «On n'y entre pas; aussi bien l'intérieur se laisse-t-il embrasser d'un coup d'œil: il y a des autels du dieu, deux tables, des aigles en même nombre que les tables et une statue en marbre de Pan. Ce dernier est qualifié de Sinoeis et cette appellation viendrait du nom de la nymphe Sinoé»⁹⁸. La structure du sanctuaire, les interdits dont il est frappé et les objets de culte qu'il enferme montrent bien que l'on a affaire à une transposition du complexe cultuel de Zeus Lykaïos sur le mont Lycée, dont Pausanias donne ailleurs la description⁹⁹. L'*abaton*, ici un enclos à mur bas, est la réplique de celui du Lycée; des autels remplacent le tertre de cendre du mont Saint-Elie (et des tables sont réservées aux offrandes); les aigles, sans doute moins monumentaux que sur le mont Lycée, rappellent les deux colonnes couronnées d'aigles qui encadraient la voie sacrée sur cette montagne. Au total, les principaux éléments du sanctuaire de Zeus sont présents, adaptés au cadre urbain et regroupés dans l'espace plus réduit d'un péribole. La présence de Pan dans cet enclos renvoie elle aussi au mont Lycée où les deux divinités avaient des sanctuaires voisins (l'épiclèse Sinoeis indique une contamination avec un autre culte sans doute originaire de la région de Bassai-Phigalie)¹⁰⁰.

La mise en place de ce «doublet» cultuel, lors du synoecisme, n'implique donc aucun transfert de culte; il répond au contraire à la volonté de respecter le berceau du culte de Zeus Lykaïos. Le sanctuaire du mont Lycée connaît d'ailleurs au IV^e siècle une période de grande prospérité et un afflux de pèlerins: loin de dépouiller le site, comme l'avait cru K. Kourouniotis à propos des aigles d'or¹⁰¹, la cité y dépose de nouveaux ex-voto et fait élever plusieurs édifices dans le vallon de Kato-Kambos; des

⁹⁸ Paus. VIII 30, 2-3.

⁹⁹ Paus. VIII 38, 6-7.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 222.

¹⁰¹ K. KOUROUNIOTIS, in *ArchEph* 1904, col. 177.

inscriptions provenant du secteur de l'hippodrome témoignent par ailleurs du rayonnement des *Lykaia* dans cette période où le sanctuaire de Zeus sur la montagne est devenu le centre religieux de la nouvelle Confédération arcadienne¹⁰². A Mégalopolis même, il n'est pas question de jeux, et encore moins de ces «curiosités» du Lycée que relève Pausanias (perte de son ombre pour qui pénètre dans l'*abaton* et rituel de la source Hagno); pas question non plus de sacrifices humains comme ceux célébrés au sommet du Lycée¹⁰³, dont la pratique semble attachée au caractère d'«ensauvagement» d'un lieu où violence et cruauté primitives affleurent d'une manière qui ne serait pas en situation dans la ville.

Bref, il ne faut voir dans le sanctuaire-douplet de Mégalopolis aucune intention de rivaliser avec le sanctuaire de la *chôra*. Au contraire, la nouvelle cité cherche à se placer sous la protection du dieu qui, dès l'époque archaïque, avait déjà su constituer un centre d'union politique et religieuse pour les Parrhasiens, avant de symboliser, au V^e siècle, l'aspiration au panarcadisme¹⁰⁴.

Pour cimenter l'union entre les nouveaux citoyens, Zeus Lykaios s'imposait donc. Mais il fallait aussi que fussent évoquées par les sanctuaires de la cité les légendes régionales. Un temple d'Hermès Akakésios fut construit sur l'agora de Mégalopolis, à l'imitation de celui de la bourgade d'Akakésion; la statue originale fut laissée sur place, dans la ville désertée, et une copie fut exécutée pour Mégalopolis (il n'en restait, à l'époque de Pausanias, que la tortue de marbre rappelant l'invention de la lyre)¹⁰⁵. L'importance donnée au dieu à Mégalopolis est très caractéristique de la volonté des dirigeants de la Confédération

¹⁰² Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 184-185.

¹⁰³ Cf. Paus. VIII 38, 4 et 6-7, et, sur ces rites, JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 251-267.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Paus. VIII 30, 6.

de conforter la nouvelle unité de l'Arcadie du Sud-Ouest en l'appuyant sur des traditions religieuses: faisant fi de la légende largement répandue en Grèce qui situait la naissance d'Hermès sur le Cyllène, ils voulurent donner force à une version parrhasienne; en raison peut-être d'une ressemblance entre l'épiclèse toponymique du dieu et l'épithète homérique *akakèta*, l'obscur village d'Akakésion devint dépositaire de la tradition officielle arcadienne concernant la petite enfance d'Hermès: le dieu aurait été le fils d'un Akakos, fils de Lykaon¹⁰⁶. Pas plus que dans le cas précédent il ne s'agit de dépouiller Akakésion; bien au contraire le temple de Mégalopolis glorifiait l'importance religieuse de ce site.

Reste à considérer la façon dont les gens de Mégalopolis créèrent un sanctuaire qui n'était pas au juste la reproduction d'un lieu sacré de la *chôra*, mais un *hiéron* rassemblant des cultes qui rappellent plusieurs sanctuaires de la *chôra* en même temps. Le sanctuaire des Grandes Déesses illustre cette intention complexe. Le nom des Déesses pourrait venir de Bathos et leur identification avec Déméter et Koré-Sôteira indique un couple peu banal; leur environnement cultuel (les Dactyles de l'Ida) laisse imaginer des caractères indigènes anciens; leur personnalité diffuse — et, à vrai dire mal connue¹⁰⁷ — donnait à chaque citoyen la liberté de penser à la déesse du bourg qu'il avait laissé. Par ailleurs, les rites étaient, selon Pausanias¹⁰⁸, la réplique de ceux d'Eleusis, une référence qui reparait ailleurs en Arcadie¹⁰⁹ et

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Paus. VIII 36, 10.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Paus. VIII 31, 1-7, et, pour la personnalité des Grandes Déesses, cf. R. STIGLITZ, *Die Grossen Göttinnen Arkadiens* (Wien 1967) et JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 340-345.

¹⁰⁸ Paus. VIII 31, 7.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. les cultes de Déméter Eléusinia de Phénéos (Paus. VIII 15, 1) et Thel-pousa (Paus. VIII 25, 2).

dont l'influence est indéniable sur la conception des déesses de Lykosoura¹¹⁰. «Grandes» comme la nouvelle ville, mais aussi éclectiques, les Déesses devaient apporter à tout un chacun la protection dont il avait besoin.

La vénération par les centres urbains des cultes de la *chôra* tient au caractère particulier de sacralité que revêt souvent la campagne arcadienne, ainsi qu'à la réelle ancienneté des sanctuaires qui structurent le territoire le long des grands axes et en marquent les limites. Mais on peut préciser davantage, avec le peu de données dont on dispose, comment la cité a concrétisé le rattachement cultuel à la ville. Je pense aux processions.

La mobilisation de la population rurale et urbaine pour des fêtes périodiques dans les grands sanctuaires de la campagne était en Grèce, on le sait, un moyen de souder le groupe social par la démarche commune qu'elle impliquait. En Arcadie, de longues processions montaient chaque année de Phénéos au mont Cyllène ou de Phigalie à la grotte de Déméter Mélaina et au mont Kotilion; à l'arrivée, les sacrifices étaient effectués sur l'autel. Sur le Cyllène, des sacrifices sanglants étaient offerts à Hermès et, nous dit Géminos¹¹¹, «lorsqu'au bout d'un an, on remonte là-haut..., on trouve les os des victimes et les cendres du foyer dans le même état qu'on les avaient laissés, sans nulle altération due aux vents ni aux pluies, parce que les nuages et tous les états venteux se produisent plus bas que le sommet des montagnes». A Déméter Mélaina, «ce sont les produits des arbres cultivés, en particulier les raisins, et puis des rayons de miel et des laines quand elles n'ont encore subi aucune espèce de travail et restent tout imprégnées de suint, que l'on pose sur l'autel devant la grotte; après les avoir posés on les arrose d'huile. Tels sont les

¹¹⁰ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 327, à propos de l'iconographie du groupe cultuel.

¹¹¹ Gem. *Elem. astr.* XVII 3.

usages, tant pour les sacrifices individuels que pour le sacrifice annuel offert par la communauté des Phigaliens»¹¹².

Un sacrifice offert en Mégalopolitide témoigne tout particulièrement de la volonté qu'avait la nouvelle Cité de vivre en symbiose avec les sanctuaires de la *chôra*. «Lors de la fête annuelle d'Apollon Parrhasios, rapporte Pausanias, on sacrifie sur l'agora de Mégalopolis un sanglier à Apollon Epikourios; aussitôt après, on porte la victime au sanctuaire d'Apollon Parrhasios, au son des flûtes et en cortège; on lui coupe les cuisses qu'on fait brûler et on consomme les chairs de la victime sur place»¹¹³.» Apollon Parrhasios avait un sanctuaire «dans la partie orientale du massif du Lycée»¹¹⁴; son épiclèse dérive du nom ancien du territoire où s'était implantée Mégalopolis, la Parrhasie, et l'existence d'un culte annuel témoigne du souci de maintenir les traditions religieuses antérieures au synoecisme, pour ne pas couper la région de son passé. La cérémonie a un caractère tout à fait exceptionnel, puisque les différentes phases du sacrifice se déroulent dans deux sanctuaires d'Apollon distants de plusieurs kilomètres: l'égorgeage de la victime a lieu à Mégalopolis, le partage des portions entre les dieux et les hommes et le banquet ont lieu dans la *chôra*. Ainsi se trouvent étroitement associés un lieu sacré urbain — qui tient lui même sa sacralité du sanctuaire rural d'Apollon Epikourios à Bassai, d'où venait la statue du dieu¹¹⁵ — et un sanctuaire dont le dieu évoque l'ancienneté de la région.

Dans les exemples envisagés, il est clair que la cité finançait l'organisation des fêtes annuelles (telle devait être la règle sur

¹¹² Paus. VIII 42, 11. Cf. L. BRUIT, «Pausanias à Phigalie. Sacrifices non-sanglants et discours idéologique», in *Métis* 1 (1986), 71-96.

¹¹³ Paus. VIII 38, 8.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* et cf., pour le sanctuaire, JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 180 et 186-187.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Paus. VIII 30, 3-4 et JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 222-223.

l'ensemble du territoire, villages exceptés, je vais y venir); sans doute en allait-il de même pour l'entretien des lieux sacrés.

Cette charge dépendait normalement de la cité comme le montre un épisode cultuel de Phigalie: les Phigaliens, punis pour avoir négligé le culte de la grotte de Déméter Mélaina, consultent la Pythie; à la suite de quoi, ils se montrent assidus envers la déesse et font venir le sculpteur Onatas pour remplacer la statue qui avait brûlé¹¹⁶. On constate du reste sur plusieurs sites que les périodes de prospérité de la cité sont aussi celles du développement de l'architecture religieuse: ainsi à Tégée, à Mantinée et à Mégalopolis au IV^e siècle¹¹⁷.

Le sort de certaines agglomérations secondaires de Mégalopolitide est moins clair. Une histoire analogue à celle de Phigalie concerne Teuthis avant son entrée dans le synoecisme de Mégalopolis¹¹⁸. Ayant été maintenue ensuite comme village, Teuthis dut conserver, comme les autres *kômai*, une large autonomie religieuse¹¹⁹. Pour certains établissements de la région, on peut toutefois se demander si la Cité n'a pas aidé à la réalisation des programmes architecturaux de leurs sanctuaires.

Dans la petite cité de Lykosoura, les édifices liés au culte de Despoina revêtent, à une époque que l'on est tenté de situer à la fin du IV^e ou au début du III^e siècle avant J.-C., un caractère monumental¹²⁰. Il n'est pas impossible, à mon avis, que Mégalopolis, dans son désir de conserver sur place les cultes les plus prestigieux de l'ancienne Parrhasie, dont Lykosoura faisait

¹¹⁶ Cf. Paus. VIII 42, 5-7.

¹¹⁷ Cf. leur participation à la fondation de Mégalopolis: Paus. VIII 27, 2. Pour les monuments religieux de ces cités, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, première partie.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Paus. VIII 28, 4-6.

¹¹⁹ Cf. M. JOST, in *Ktema* 11 (1986), 146-156.

¹²⁰ Cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 173-178.

incontestablement partie, ait contribué à financer les travaux: leur ampleur étonne au regard de la modestie de Lykosoura; les analogies certaines qui existent entre le temple de Zeus Sôter et le temple de Lykosoura pourraient d'ailleurs refléter une conception commune¹²¹.

La même question se pose à propos de Gortys. Devenue *kômè* de Mégalopolis et point de défense avancé de la cité à l'entrée du territoire, elle développe considérablement les installations consacrées à Asklépios, qui connaissent alors leur apogée¹²². L'intérêt de Mégalopolis pour cette bourgade est largement stratégique, mais on peut aussi penser que la Grande Ville souhaitait être associée à son prestige religieux, dont la notoriété toucha même Alexandre le Grand¹²³. Là encore une aide matérielle n'est pas exclue. Un argument *a contrario* en faveur d'une telle intervention est fourni par la brutale décadence et l'abandon du sanctuaire du mont Boreion au IV^e siècle¹²⁴; il se trouvait pourtant sur l'axe routier principal entre Mégalopolis et Tégée, mais il dépendait d'Aséa, dont la politique vis-à-vis du synoecisme fut très fluctuante; sans doute la bourgade n'avait-elle plus le dynamisme suffisant pour entretenir elle-même le sanctuaire du mont Boreion, et Mégalopolis, déçue par la politique incertaine d'Aséa, ne prit pas le relais¹²⁵.

Concluons. La complémentarité entre sanctuaires ruraux et sanctuaires urbains va en Arcadie jusqu'à la symbiose. C'est sur l'ensemble de ces lieux sacrés et sur leurs relations que repose la vie religieuse de chaque cité. Ajoutons que certains sanctuaires ruraux ont un rôle qui dépasse le cadre de la cité. Les sanctuaires de frontière, en particulier, sont un lieu de contacts et de heurts

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 202-210.

¹²³ Cf. Paus. VIII 28, 1.

¹²⁴ Pour ce sanctuaire, cf. JOST, *Sanctuaires*, 195-197.

¹²⁵ Cf. Sl. DUŠANIĆ, *Arkadski savez IV veka* (Belgrade 1970), 322-323.

entre cités. On sait par Pausanias que le sanctuaire d'Artémis Hymnia appartenait à la fois aux gens de Mantinée et à ceux d'Orchomène¹²⁶; un statut identique peut avoir existé plusieurs fois, et il n'est pas exclu que le *hiéron* du mont Aphrodision ait été à la limite de trois cités¹²⁷. La fréquentation d'un même site et la dévotion à une même divinité créaient des liens entre cités voisines; et des échanges commerciaux devaient avoir lieu lors des grandes panégyries. Par ailleurs, la tendance à exprimer la spécificité de l'*ethnos* arcadien dans une structure fédérale a conduit à privilégier le vieux sanctuaire parrhasien de Zeus Lykaïos, comme lieu de culte commun, dès le V^e siècle, d'un groupe de cités arcadiennes, puis au IV^e siècle de la Confédération arcadienne. Le choix de ce site tient à des raisons religieuses et à la personnalité de Zeus, qui figure au droit des monnaies de la Confédération¹²⁸; mais ce n'est pas un hasard s'il s'agit d'un lieu isolé dans la haute montagne, et la procession qui l'atteignait après une longue marche était créatrice à elle seule d'un élan collectif.

Si l'Attique, comme le dit Plutarque¹²⁹, retient par la «beauté et la grâce inimitable» des monuments élevés pour Athéna sur l'Acropole, en Arcadie c'est la campagne plus que la ville qui est imprégnée de sacré: le mont Ménale tout entier, qui résonne de la syrinx de Pan, est consacré à ce dieu¹³⁰, et lorsque Pausanias se rend à Phigalie, c'est avant tout dans l'intention de sacrifier devant la grotte de Déméter Mélaina sur le mont Elaion¹³¹. Le rôle des centres urbains dans la vie religieuse des cités n'est pas

¹²⁶ Paus. VIII 13, 1.

¹²⁷ Entre Thelpousa, Psophis et Kleitor: cf. la carte de Chr. KADARA, *op. cit.* (note 8), pl. 2.

¹²⁸ Cf., en dernier lieu, D. GERIN, in *Rev. Suisse de Numism.* 65 (1986), 13-31.

¹²⁹ Plut. *Per.* 13, 1.

¹³⁰ Cf. Paus. VIII 36, 8.

¹³¹ Cf. Paus. VIII 42, 11.

pour autant négligeable: la ville, à laquelle sont rattachés les sanctuaires de la *chôra*, est l'élément unificateur, le lieu d'où partent les processions vers le territoire. En cela, l'Arcadie est loin d'être unique; mais les particularités religieuses qu'on y connaît, le caractère très typé des données géographiques et l'évolution souvent tardive de la structure des cités en font un cas privilégié pour saisir comment s'équilibre entre la campagne et la ville une vie religieuse aux composantes originales.

Topographie de l'ARCADIE ANTIQUE

0 10 20 km

Legend:

- limite du territoire
- des cités antiques
- **Αλφα** cités et bourgades antiques.
- sanctuaires de la «chora»
- sites antiques non identifiés
- ▲ localités modernes
- Asée gom officiel
- (Kandréva) nom usuel

Table:

Cours d'eau	Relief	
THEIDIS	noms antiques	ASTRAS
Xéridis	noms actuels	Lampéira
Alphée	noms antiques	Lycée
	adoptés dans la toponymie actuelle	

Scale: 1:100,000

(d'après M. JOST, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris, 1985, pl. A.).

DISCUSSION

M. Etienne: Je voudrais poser une question préalable concernant les sources. Connaît-on pour une cité arcadienne la totalité du panthéon? Et quelle est la part de Pausanias et de l'archéologie dans la reconstitution de ces panthéons?

Mme Jost: Pausanias ne donne que des indications partielles, limitées au II^e siècle après J.-C. Elles sont à compléter par les données de l'épigraphie, de la numismatique et des fouilles. Le panthéon de Tégée, pour lequel on dispose de ces différents types de données, est, de ce fait, un des mieux connus. Pour le reste, il faut tenter de tenir compte de la spécificité de chaque source. Ainsi, les monnayages classiques privilégient Athéna poliadé, presque absente chez Pausanias, qui montre une prédilection pour Déméter et pour les cultes étranges. Par ailleurs, la fouille ne permet pas toujours de nommer la divinité à qui est dédié le sanctuaire. Le tableau est donc forcément partiel, ... comme c'est partout le cas en Grèce.

M. Graf: In Ihrem Versuch, Gottheiten und Lage der Heiligtümer in Arkadien zu einem dreistufigen Schema — Stadt, Kulturland, Wildnis — zu verstehen, hat mich die fraglose Zuordnung von Artemis und teilweise Demeter etwas überrascht. Aus zwei Gründen: einerseits ist ja Demeter weit mehr als die Schutzgottheit des Ackerbaus; sie hat ihre Bindung an eine Reihe anderer Probleme (insbesondere des Mädchen- und Frauenlebens); andererseits ist Artemis' Verbindung mit See und Sumpf vom Kulturland scharf zu trennen. Müsste man nicht noch stärker die Kulpraktiken heranziehen, um die gesamte Funktion der Gottheiten zu verstehen, was dann vielleicht die Einteilung doch verschieben würde?

Mme Jost: J'ai limité les indications sur les personnalités divines et les cultes pour m'en tenir au thème des *Entretiens*: les sanctuaires. Mais il est certain que, si Déméter est associée à la nature végétale — c'est le point qui m'importait ici —, il est exclu de la réduire à cette fonction (cf. mes *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, 297-356, en particulier pour Déméter Kidaria); sa relation avec les femmes est toutefois peu marquée en Arcadie. En ce qui concerne Artémis, son lien avec le *pédion* de Stymphale tient à ce que, sans son intervention bénéfique, la plaine, inondée, devient stérile (cf. l'épisode rapporté par Pausanias VIII 22, 8-9).

M. Schachter: I am interested in the examples you give of urban sanctuaries which embody elements more appropriate to a rural setting, namely groves and springs, and wonder what significance you attach to them.

Mme Jost: Ces éléments «ruraux» dans les villes montrent surtout, à mon avis, qu'il ne faut pas opposer aussi radicalement qu'on le fait parfois paysage rural et paysage urbain. Les agglomérations arcadiennes, d'ailleurs, devaient souvent se réduire à un petit nombre de bâtiments regroupés dans un cadre de nature.

Pour éviter néanmoins de simplifier les faits, il faut dire aussi que dans certains cas les éléments «ruraux» préexistaient à l'urbanisation; ils ont été ensuite inclus dans la ville (par exemple, la fontaine d'Aléa à Tégée). A Mégalo polis, l'existence de bois sacrés (entre autres, celui de Zeus Philios) reproduit un usage attesté à la fois dans des bourgades dépeuplées (Trikolono i) et dans la *chôra*.

Mme Kearns: What criteria are we to use in order to determine the importance of a sanctuary? I can see that in one direction it could be the most unusual and distinctive cults which are the most important, because these may help in the creation of a sense of a distinctive polis identity, but there may be other kinds of importance which we could take into account. In the case of Phigaleia, as you point out, Pausanias actually tells us that the cult of Demeter Melaina was the chief reason for his visit — and like him, we too perhaps find this cult and that of Eurynome the most «important» here

because we attach importance to what appears strange and exceptional. But still in Phigaleia you mention also for instance an urban cult of Asklepios and Hygieia — less interesting to us and to Pausanias, no doubt, but which might very well have interested the Phigaleians. There is also the cult of the heroes from Oresthasion who died in a sort of *devotio* to save Phigaleia from the Spartans (Paus. VIII 39, 4-5; 41, 1); we know that their monument was situated in the agora, which suggests a cult of both civic importance and urban emphasis; its rôle in binding the community together seems clear if we accept the connexion often made between this particular cult and the βουθυσία μεγάλη for «the heroes» attested by Harmodios of Lepreon in his work «On the customs of the Phigaleians» (*FGrHist* 319 F 1).

Mme Jost: Ce n'est pas l'étrangeté d'un culte qui détermine l'importance d'un sanctuaire. Est important un sanctuaire qui est fréquenté par une clientèle importante. La fréquentation d'un lieu sacré est connue par des textes (mentions de sacrifices privés et publics périodiques chez Pausanias) ou par les fouilles (abondance des ex-voto retrouvés dans le sanctuaire).

M. Reverdin: La question que je vais poser n'a probablement pas de réponse. Je la pose néanmoins. Il y a eu certes, de tout temps, des bergers en Arcadie. Mais si vous examinez les listes de mercenaires des armées hellénistiques — celles qu'a publiées M. Launey, par exemple —, vous constaterez que l'Arcadie a été une des régions qui en a fourni le plus grand nombre.

Avez-vous repéré une influence quelconque, dans les sanctuaires que vous avez étudiés, de ces mercenaires? J'ajouterai que mon pays — la Suisse — a fourni, du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle, des mercenaires en abondance; et que, rentrés au pays, ces mercenaires en ont fortement influencé la mentalité, non seulement politique et économique, mais aussi culturelle et religieuse.

Mme Jost: Je n'ai pas trouvé en Arcadie de connexion particulière entre l'existence des mercenaires et les pratiques cultuelles. Seul le sanctuaire d'Apollo Epikourios a été mis en relation avec les mercenaires par F.A. Cooper (*The Temple of Apollo at Bassai* [New York/London 1978], 20-28); mais les données n'autorisent aucune certitude (cf. M. Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 488).

Mme Bergquist: You stated that the Arcadian, rural sanctuaries were not rustic, rather advanced instead, e.g. Bassai. To my mind this needs a chronological qualification. As I see it, Bassai may be advanced as regards finds in the Archaic period, but architecturally I would not call it advanced before the Classical period. In other words, I am curious, whether you have made any chronological distinctions in your study.

Mme Jost: La plupart des temples que j'ai cités pour la *chôra* sont effectivement d'époque classique (noter pourtant le temple du mont Boreion, élevé dans le premier quart du VI^e siècle avant J.-C.). Mais certains de ces monuments ont sûrement été précédés par un édifice archaïque (cf. Bassai, Pétrovouni). L'existence d'une véritable architecture religieuse dans la *chôra* arcadienne me paraît donc assurée dès l'archaïsme.

Mme Bergquist: A propos rural sanctuaries being maintained after synoikisms, I am asking you, if the country was literally depopulated after the synoikisms. Would there not be any people about cultivating the fields and keeping the herds? If so, it seems to me that it would be in their interest that the rural sanctuaries were maintained and in the interest of the centralized poleis to keep them maintained.

Mme Jost: Si Pausanias (VIII 27, 1-8) parle d'un réel dépeuplement de la région à l'occasion de la fondation de Mégalopolis, un récent *survey* mené par une équipe d'archéologues des Universités de Sheffield et Swansea conduit effectivement à penser qu'un habitat rural dispersé a dû subsister dans la *chôra* après le synoecisme (cf. la communication de J. Roy, au XI^e Congrès d'archéologie classique, à paraître).

M. Tomlinson: With regard to the relationships between city and countryside in Arcadia, it is important that we have there evidence for the reverse process to synoikismos, the dismemberment of organised poleis and the return of the population to the constituent communities, whether these are to be regarded as villages or towns. There is the instance of Mantinea, broken up by the Spartans (briefly) in the 4th century B.C., and the eventual disinte-

gration in the Roman period of Megalopolis. In both instances (particularly, I think, in the case of Mantinea) it was possible for citizens to return to their ancestral communities, of which, presumably, they were aware. Religious continuity, an awareness of local and traditional cults which were particularly relevant to the various groups must have contributed to this, irrespective of whether we are talking about the smaller communities, such as Phigaleia, the more complex synoikised cities or the federal league created by the Boeotians. It is noticeable that Pausanias is able to describe local cults, presumably still flourishing, after the collapse of city state order.

Mme Jost: Le dioecisme de Mantinée est effectivement un cas intéressant de retour de la cité dans la *chôra*; je l'ai étudié dans « Villages de l'Arcadie antique », in *Ktèma* 11 (1986; paru en 1990), 146-158.

M. Rudhardt: Il est difficile de faire la part entre doublets et syncrétismes ou même de postuler leur existence. Plus particulièrement, qu'est-ce qui pourrait permettre de préciser la figure des Deux Déesses et de dire que chacun pouvait y retrouver son propre couple de déesses?

Mme Jost: Je reconnais que ma formule sur les Deux Déesses de Mégalopolis n'est pas heureuse, car les données qui les concernent se limitent à Pausanias, VIII 31, 1-8. Je renverrai plutôt aux conclusions de mon ouvrage (*Sanctuaires*, 343), où je dénonçais le caractère arbitraire de ce type de construction (cf., en particulier, R. Stiglitz, *Die Grossen Göttinnen Arkadiens* [Wien 1967]). Je laissais ouverte la question de l'origine de l'appellation des Déesses comme de leur nature; je suggérais seulement que, d'après le texte de la *Périégèse*, les Déesses gardent sans doute une vague teinte arcadienne (dont l'appellation locale de Mégalai Théai ou la présence d'Héraklès-Dactyle à leur côté peut être un indice), mais que, par la seule force des rites, elles ont été entraînées dans la sphère d'Eleusis (cf. VIII 31, 7).

M. Graf: Die sehr schöne Analyse der Heiligtümer von Megalopolis hat eine Struktur aufgezeigt, über die zu reflektieren verlockt. Die Verdoppelung von Heiligtümer — primäres und bedeutendes Temenos des Zeus Lykaïos am

Lykaion, sekundäres Temenos in der Stadt — und ihre Verbindung durch eine Prozession erinnert ja an Eleusis und Athen, wie Sie selber hervorhoben. Zwei Fragen dazu: inwiefern ist die Doppelheit in Athen wirklich vergleichbar? Und, wichtiger: lässt sich etwas aussagen über die Art von Gottheit, deren Temene verdoppelt werden konnten? Sind es eventuell Gottheiten, in deren Kult die Opposition von Drinnen-Draussen schon immer eine Rolle spielte? In Athen hat man ja doch diesen Eindruck, denkt man an Demeter (Eleusis) und Artemis (Brauron).

Mme Jost: Je suis favorable aux études régionales, parce qu'elles permettent de dégager, par l'analyse du contexte local, les aspects spécifiques de chaque contrée. Le phénomène des «doublets» en Arcadie ne peut donc pas s'appliquer tel quel à l'Attique, dont les conditions historiques sont fondamentalement différentes (ancienneté de la ville d'Athènes, tendance impérialiste de cette cité et modalités de la célébration des mystères, avec une procession d'Eleusis à Athènes).

Quant au choix des divinités qui ont un «doublet» dans la ville, il me paraît surtout lié, en Arcadie du moins, à l'ancienneté et au prestige d'un sanctuaire et de ses traditions.

M. Bingen: Au fond, on pourrait, en guise de conclusion, souligner que du modèle si particulier de l'Arcadie, avec son paysage géographique unique, ses redistributions de population au fil des synécismes ou de leur dilution, se dégage comme élément universel le rôle existentiel du sanctuaire, qui apparaît dans le maintien du culte sur place même après l'abandon (lien avec son espace traditionnel) et dans la création du doublet (lien avec son public traditionnel au-delà des transferts).

VI

FOLKERT VAN STRATEN

VOTIVES AND VOTARIES IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

Greek votive offerings of the classical period (including some material that may be slightly earlier or later) are studied in this paper. I have not intentionally restricted myself to the Attic material, but there probably is a certain Attic bias in what follows, as a large proportion of the more interesting material happens to be from that area. The restriction to private votive offerings, however, is intentional.

In the first part we shall look into the placement and arrangement of votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries, basing ourselves on the monuments themselves, as we have them and as they were found. In the second part we shall attempt to view the *ex votos* through the eyes of the ancient worshippers. Finally, in the third section of the paper, we shall focus on the worshippers as they present themselves through their votive offerings.

* *Abbreviations*: the abbreviations used in the notes are those of the *Archäologische Bibliographie*.

1. Placement and arrangement of votive offerings

The most common words in ancient Greek for «votive offering» and «setting up a votive offering in a sanctuary», ἀνάθημα and ἀνατιθέναι, suggest that they were preferably placed at a certain height from the ground. They could be mounted on a pedestal, nailed to a wall, or suspended from the branches of a tree.

Various types of columns and pillars were used as support for votive offerings. Among the archaic dedications from the Athenian Akropolis, which represent a fair sample, we find small pillars with rectangular or hexagonal cross sections¹, fluted columns², and smooth unfluted columns such as the one dedicated by Telesinos, which still preserves the bronze base plate of the statuette it once supported (probably a statuette of Athena of roughly the same type as the often illustrated dedication of Meleso)³.

One particular type of pillar, however, which already occurred in the archaic period, was to become the most common type of support for votive sculpture in classical times⁴. It

¹ E.g. A.E. RAUBITSCHKE, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge Mass. 1949), nr. 191, dedicated by Philea; nr. 290, dedicated by Lyson.

² E.g. A.E. RAUBITSCHKE, *Dedications*, nr. 10, dedicated by Epiteles.

³ A.E. RAUBITSCHKE, *Dedications*, nr. 40: Telesinos' dedication. — The Athena statuette dedicated by Meleso is Athens NM 6447: A. DE RIDDER, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes* (Paris 1896), 312 ff. nr. 796; W. LAMB, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London 1929), 144; H.G. NIEMEYER, «Attische Bronzestatuetten der spätarchaischen und frühklassischen Zeit», in *Antike Plastik* III (Berlin 1964), 7-31, esp. 21 and pl. 11; C. ROLLEY, *The bronzes, Monumenta Graeca et Romana* V 1 (Leiden 1967), 4 nr. 42; *IG* I² 426.

⁴ Some late archaic examples: A.E. RAUBITSCHKE, *Dedications*, nr. 233, dedicated by Hierokleides; nr. 294, dedicated by Euthydikos.

has a rectangular cross section, and tapers slightly from the bottom to the top, where there is a sort of rectangular capital, somewhat wider than the upper part of the shaft, from which it is offset by a cavetto moulding. A typical example is the votive offering of Lysikleides from the sanctuary of Themis at Rhamnous, dating from around 420 B.C.⁵ It consists of a small marble statue of a youth, Lysikleides himself one assumes, mounted on a pillar of the type just described. The dedication, as is often the case, is inscribed on the capital of the pillar.

Similar pillars were used to support votive reliefs. Some good examples of reliefs and pillars having survived together are the dedication of Xenokrateia found in Phaleron, and the double-relief from the same sanctuary.⁶ In a few exceptional instances, relief and pillar were made of one piece. This is the case with an Athenian votive relief dedicated to Zeus Philios by a club of *eranistai*⁷ and a votive relief of the banquet type dedicated to the hero Bouthon and the heroine Eudisia.⁸ Normally, however, the supporting pillar was made separately, and the votive relief was provided with a tenon which was inserted in a hole in the top of the pillar. This apparently was so much the usual tech-

⁵ V. STAIS, in *AEphem* 1891, 55 pl.6; S. KARUSU, «Das 'Mädchen vom Piräus'», in *AM* 82 (1967), 158-169, esp. 160 and Beil. 89; B.Ch. PETRAKOS, in *Prakt* 1976, 51 nr. 3; *IG* I² 828.

⁶ O. WALTER, «Die Reliefs aus dem Heiligtum der Echeliden in Neu-Phaleron», in *AEphem* 1937, I 97-119.

⁷ Athens Epigr. Mus. 8783: J.N. SVORONOS, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* (Athens 1908-1937), 668 pl. 219; O. WALTER, «Kniende Adoranten auf attischen Reliefs», in *ÖJh* 13 Beibl. (1910), 229-244 fig. 143; F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Did the Greeks kneel before their gods?» *BABesch* 49 (1974), 164 fig. 7; *IG* II² 2935; dated at 324/3 B.C.

⁸ Present whereabouts unknown; it was seen at an Athenian art dealer's and a photograph was published in *Πολέμων* 1 (1929), 241; the inscription is *IG* II² 4591.

nique that even one of the smallest marble votive reliefs found in the Athenian Agora, which is less than 10 cm high and little more than 10 cm wide, has a tenon for mounting it on a separate pedestal.⁹ An unfortunate consequence of the practice of making votive sculpture and support of separate pieces is, that only a small minority have survived together. In sanctuaries such as the Athenian Asklepieion or the sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron we can still see considerable clusters of pillars which have lost their votive offerings. Since they usually bear the votive inscriptions, they are largely confined to the epigraphical literature. Most of the votive statues and reliefs that we have, on the other hand, are now without their bases or pedestals, and without the inscriptional evidence these might have provided.

Some types of votive offerings naturally lent themselves to being nailed to a wall. An inventory-inscription from Delos mentions a temple key dedicated in the Artemision, and describes it as «unweighed, because it is nailed to the wall».¹⁰ Small terracotta votive plaques, which were quite popular in some sanctuaries, were regularly hung on the wall or suspended from the branches of a tree. They often are provided with suspension holes for that purpose. An early example (ca. 700 B.C.) comes from Sounion and is decorated with a painting of a war ship.¹¹ In Athens several painted votive plaques have come to

⁹ Athens Agora Mus. S1939; E. MITROPOULOU, *The kneeling worshipper in votive reliefs* (Birmingham 1972), nr. 20 fig. 18; F.T. VAN STRATEN, in *BABesch* 49 (1974), 168 nr. 10.

¹⁰ *IDélos* 1444 Aa 47-8 (inventory of 141/0 B.C.: [--- κλειῖδα] κλειδουχικήν σιδηρᾶν ἔχουσαν προτόμην λέοντος ἀργυ[ρ]ᾶν [ἐφ' ἧς ἐ]πιγραφὴ [--- Στρατονίκη Ἀντιφῶντος ἐγ Μυρρινούτ]της ὑφίερεια γενομένη, ἄστατον [διὰ] τὸ καθηλωθῆαι.

¹¹ Athens NM 14935; *AEphem* 1917, 209; J. BOARDMAN, «Painted votive plaques and an early inscription from Aegina», in *BSA* 49 (1954), 183-201; 198 nr. 1; D. WACHSMUTH, ΠΟΜΠΙΜΟΣ Ο ΔΑΙΜΩΝ. *Unter-*

light in the sanctuary of Nymphe on the south slope of the Akropolis.¹² The most spectacular collection, however, of such pinakes was found at Penteskouphia, near Corinth, more than a century ago.¹³ They all date from the archaic period, and must have come from a sanctuary of Poseidon. As many of these pinakes from Penteskouphia have a painted representation on both sides, it would seem probable that they were intended to hang free.

One terracotta plaque, singularly unimpressive in itself, deserves special mention, as it may well be the cheapest votive offering ever to have been hung in an ancient Greek sanctuary. It is a small rectangle (3.6×4.1 cm) with rounded corners and pierced by a single hole at the top. The painting, in Attic red figure technique of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., represents the upper part of a woman carrying a wool basket.¹⁴

suchungen zu den antiken Sakralhandlungen bei Seereisen (Diss. Berlin 1967), 142 note 246; J.S. MORRISON and R.T. WILLIAMS, *Greek oared ships* (Cambridge 1968), 73 nr. 2, pl. 8b; G. NEUMANN, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs*, Tübinger Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 3 (Tübingen 1979), 13 pl. 11b.

¹² J. TRAVLOS, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen* (Tübingen 1971), 361-4 with bibliography.

¹³ O. RAYET, «Plaques votives en terre cuite trouvées à Corinthe», in *Gazette Archéologique* 6 (1880), 101-107; M. COLLIGNON, «Tablettes votives de terre cuite peinte trouvées à Corinthe (Musée du Louvre)», in *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Etudes Grecques en France*, Vol. 2, nos 11-13 (1882-4), 23-32; A. FURTWÄNGLER, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin 1885), 47-105; *Antike Denkmäler* I pl. 7-8 and II pl. 23-24, 29-30, 39-40; E. PERNICE, «Die korinthischen Pinakes im Antiquarium der Königlichen Museen», in *JdI* 12 (1897), 9-48; H.A. GEAGAN, «Mythological themes on the plaques from Penteskouphia», in *AA* 1970, 31-48; G. ZIMMER, *Antike Werkstattbilder*, Bilderheft der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 42 (Berlin 1982).

¹⁴ Frankfurt Liebieghaus Li. 555: CVA Frankfurt 2, pl. 85, 9; F. ECKSTEIN & A. LEGNER, *Antike Kleinkunst im Liebieghaus* (Frankfurt am Main

Beazley, after careful study of this piece, concluded that it was not originally manufactured as a plaque, but that it must have been a fragment of a vase, which was trimmed into shape and thus had a secondary use as votive pinax.¹⁵

Another class of votive offering, which was hung in the same manner as terracotta plaques, consists of painted wooden pinakes. There are several indications that these were very popular and occurred in large numbers in many Greek sanctuaries. Owing to the perishability of the material, however, only a few have survived.¹⁶ Conversely, for the small gold and silver plates with representations in repoussé relief (τύποι ἔγμακτοι or κατάμακτοι), which resembled the *táματα* still found in many Greek churches, it was precisely the intrinsic value of the material that made their chances of survival very slim. So far only one excavated sanctuary, in Thracian Mesembria, has yielded a number of such τύποι. Often they were eventually melted down and the gold and silver put to other uses.¹⁷ Fortunately, however, in some cases we still have a record of the τύποι that have themselves disappeared, in the form of inventories inscribed on stone. Thus we know that the Athenian Asklepieion in the 4th and 3rd century B.C. had hundreds of them.¹⁸

As we saw above, stone reliefs — even small ones — were not normally hung but rather set on a pillar of some sort. There are

1969), nr. 80; P.C. BOL, *Liebieghaus — Museum alter Plastik. Führer durch die Sammlungen. Antike Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main 1980), 55 fig. 63.

¹⁵ J.D. BEAZLEY, *apud* CVA Frankfurt 2, pl. 85, 9.

¹⁶ F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts for the gods», in H.S. VERSNEL (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship — Aspects of religious mentality in the ancient world*, Studies in Greek and Roman Religion, 2 (Leiden 1981), 65-151, esp. 78-79.

¹⁷ F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 79-80.

¹⁸ S.B. ALESHIRE, *The Athenian Asklepieion. The people, their dedications, and the inventories* (Amsterdam 1989), 39: in all the inventories taken together, records of 1347 dedications are fully or partially preserved; F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 108-113.

some exceptions. A limestone plaque from Golgoi (Cyprus), for instance, has two suspension holes in the top centre. This plaque, which dates from the 4th century B.C., is of modest dimensions, though not extremely small (31×47 cm), and it is decorated in shallow relief with a representation of people worshipping, dancing and banqueting in a sanctuary of Apollo.¹⁹

Sometimes hanging may have been regarded as a more convenient method of display even for larger objects, if they were of an irregular shape. Thus, most of the approximately life-size terracotta votive limbs from the Asklepieion of Corinth have suspension holes.²⁰

Finally a vast group of small votive offerings remains to be considered, such as the charming bronze figurines from the Arcadian sanctuaries and the Theban Kabirion, or the omnipresent terracotta figurines, which must have overcrowded many a Greek sanctuary.²¹ Excavations seldom tell us anything

¹⁹ O. MASSON, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Recueil critique et commenté* (Paris 1961), 287 nr. 268; J.-M. DENTZER, *Le motif du banquet couché dans la Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII^e au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.*, BEFAR Fasc. 246 (Paris 1982), 281-2, 570 R27, fig. 208; F. GHEDINI, «Un rilievo da Golgoi e il culto di Apollo Magirios», in *AM* 103 (1988), 193-202.

²⁰ C. ROEBUCK, *The Asklepieion and Lerna, Corinth XIV* (Princeton, N.J. 1951); M. LANG, *Cure and cult in ancient Corinth. A guide to the Asklepieion, Corinth Notes 1* (Princeton, N.J. 1977); F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 123-4.

²¹ W. LAMB, «Arcadian bronze statuettes», in *BSA* 27 (1925/1926), 133-148; M. JOST, «Statuettes de bronze archaïques provenant de Lykosoura», in *BCH* 99 (1975), 339-364; M. JOST, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie, Etudes Péloponnésiques* 9 (Paris 1985); B. SCHMALTZ, *Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben V* (Berlin 1975); B. SCHMALTZ, *Metallfiguren aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben. Die Statuetten aus Blei und Bronze*, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben VI* (Berlin 1980); B. ALROTH, *Greek gods and figurines*, *Boreas* 18 (Uppsala 1989).

about their original position.²² When they were first dedicated, the dedicants (subject of course to the permission of the persons in charge of the sanctuary) would tend to put them in a more or less prominent position, close to the altar or the cult image. This is what we read in Herondas' *Fourth mimiambus*: the poor woman who has come to the Asklepieion of Kos to thank the god for having cured her, tells her friend to set her votive offering to the right of Hygieia, that is, close to the image of the deity.²³ One suspects that eventually the temple personnel may have found another place for this humble offering.

In any case, it was not unusual that from time to time, during a clean up operation or a reorganization of a sanctuary, many of the older and smaller *ex votos* were buried within the sacred precinct.²⁴ In this way they had a much better chance of being recovered more or less intact by modern archaeologists, but any information concerning their original position was lost.

2. The worshippers' view of the votive offerings

Obviously it is not really possible for us to look at the votive offerings through the eyes of the ancient worshippers, but we

²² There are some exceptions. In the «Provisorischer Kultraum» at Kalapodi (Phokis), which was in use between the destruction of the archaic shrine by the Persians in 480 and the building of the monumental classical temple about the middle of the 5th century B.C., the excavators discovered a «Votivbank», on which various votive offerings were found *in situ*: i.a. a small bronze kouros, a terracotta mask, and a terracotta cock. See R.C.S. FELSCH *et alii*, «Apollon und Artemis oder Artemis und Apollon? Bericht über die Grabungen im neu entdeckten Heiligtum bei Kalapodi 1973-1977», in *AA* 1980, 38-123. At Kommos in Crete a terracotta bull was found *in situ* on an altar: J.W. SHAW, in *Hesperia* 47 (1978), 142 ff., pl. 40-41.

²³ Herondas IV 19-20: ἐκ δεξιῆς τὸν πίνακα, Κοκχάλη, στήσον | τῆς Ὑγίης μοι.

²⁴ B. SCHMALTZ, *Metallfiguren aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, 4-5.

may try to come close by studying the representational evidence. There is, fortunately, a considerable number of reliefs and vase paintings, mostly from Attika, in which votive offerings are depicted. The most interesting among these are votive reliefs which, in a roughly self-referring manner, include in their scene a small representation of a votive tablet on a pillar.

A good example is the monument of Telemachos of Acharnai, the founder of the Athenian Asklepieion, which has been painstakingly reconstructed from its *disiecta membra* by L. Beschi.²⁵ The two sides of this amphiglyphon show the interior and the exterior of the newly founded sanctuary. On the side with the exterior there is also, on the right, an indication of the Asklepieion in Piraeus, whence Asklepios had come to Athens.²⁶ The nature of this Piraeus sanctuary is suggested, among other things, by a small representation of a votive relief on a pillar, and enough of this miniature votive relief remains for us to recognize the theme. It is an incubation scene: a patient lying on a couch in the *enkoimeterion* is visited by the healing god.

The iconography of the Telemachos monument as a whole is quite unusual, owing to the unique nature of the event to which it refers. Representations of votive tablets on pillars, however, also occur on a number of regular votive reliefs. An incompletely preserved one from the Athenian Asklepieion shows Hygieia leaning against a tall pillar which supports a

²⁵ L. BESCHI, «Il monumento di Telemachos, fondatore dell' Asklepieion Ateniese», in *ASAtene* 45-46 (1967-1968), 381-436; L. BESCHI, «Il rilievo di Telemachos ricompletato», in *AAA* 15 (1982), 31-43. The foundation of the Athenian sanctuary is accurately dated at 420/419 B.C.; Telemachos' monument was probably made about a quarter of a century later.

²⁶ According to the inscription on the pillar of Telemachos' monument: [ἀ]νεῳκτὸν Ζεῦθ[εν], see L. BESCHI, in *ASAtene* 45-46 (1967-1968), 412.

votive tablet.²⁷ The tablet itself is bordered at top and bottom by a raised band, but otherwise it is plain, not carved with a relief of its own. This, in fact, is the case with most of the classical examples. As it was not unusual for details on votive reliefs to be added in paint, these tablets may originally have been painted with a suggestion of a relief representation.²⁸ An exceptionally well preserved relief from the same sanctuary, now in the Louvre, depicts a family sacrificing to Asklepios and Hygieia.²⁹ Again, Hygieia is leaning against a votive offering on a pillar. The shape of the tablet, a thick flat circular disc, is unusual here. One is reminded of the painted marble disc of the doctor Aineas, of late archaic date, but that almost certainly was a sepulchral monument, and in any case can never have been mounted on a pillar in this fashion.³⁰

²⁷ Athens NM 2557: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, pl. 171; H.K. SÜSSEROTT, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts v. C. Untersuchungen zur Zeitbestimmung* (Frankfurt am Main 1938), 119, pl. 22, 2; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum — Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Asklepiosreliefs* (Potsdam 1948), 177 nr. 143. Second half of the 4th century B.C.

²⁸ See S. KARUSU, «Bemalte attische Weihreliefs», in *Studies P.H. von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley, N.Y. 1979), 111-116.

²⁹ Paris Louvre 755: H.K. SÜSSEROTT, *Griech. Plastik*, 123, pl. 25, 4; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, 178 nr. 146, fig. 5; J. CHARBONNEAUX, *La sculpture grecque et romaine au Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1963), 119; O. PALAGIA, «A colossal statue of a personification from the Agora of Athens», in *Hesperia* 51 (1982), 99-113, pl. 34c; F.T. VAN STRATEN, «The god's portion in Greek sacrificial representations: Is the tail doing nicely?», in R. HÄGG, N. MARINATOS, G.C. NORDQUIST (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986*, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Series in 4°, 38 (Stockholm 1988), 51-67, esp. 53, fig. 6. Late 4th century B.C.

³⁰ Athens NM 93, unknown provenance (confiscated in Piraeus), inscription: $\mu\eta\mu\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\delta' \ \text{A}\iota\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\ \sigma\phi\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \lambda\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$. E. BERGER, *Das Basler Arztrelief. Studien zum griechischen Grab- und Votivrelief um 500 v. Chr. und zur vorhippokratischen Medizin* (Basel 1970), 155 ff., fig. 164-5; IG I² 1019.

The Amphiareion near Oropos, another healing sanctuary which, like the Asklepieia, enjoyed an increasing popularity during the later fifth and fourth century B.C., has produced two votive reliefs that are relevant in this context. The first is the well known dedication of Archinos.³¹ The main scene shows what Archinos experienced when he slept in the *enkoimeterion*: on the left, as he himself saw it in his dream, his shoulder is being treated by Amphiaraos; on the right, as the same event was witnessed by outsiders, a snake is licking Archinos' shoulder while he is asleep on a couch. In the background stands a plain rectangular votive panel on a pillar. The other relief from Oropos has a depiction of an *apobates*-race and, again, a plain tablet on a pillar.³² Similar plain votive tablets occur on a relief from the Amphiareion at Rhamnous, with a family preparing the sacrifice of a pig,³³ and another votive relief from the Amphiareion in Athens.³⁴ In the latter instance, the tablet is framed all round with a raised band.

³¹ Athens NM 3369: U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, 169 nr. 31, fig. 2; F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 124-5 nr. 16.1, with bibliography. First half 4th century B.C.

³² Berlin 725 (K80): C. BLÜMEL, *Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin 1966), 72 nr. 85, pl. 121; B.X. ΠΕΤΡΑΚΟΣ, *Ὁ Ὀρωπὸς καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου* (Athens 1968), 121, pl. 38. Early fourth century.

³³ Athens NM 1384: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 329, pl. 39, 2; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, 181 nr. 181; B.Ch. PETRAKOS, in *Prakt* 1976, 57 nr. 34; *IG II²* 4426. Mid 4th century B.C.

³⁴ Athens NM 1383: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 328, pl. 38, 4; H.K. SÜSSEROTT, *Griech. Plastik*, pl. 22, 5; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, 171 nr. 74. Late 4th century B.C. This relief was found near the Hephaisteion, during the construction of the Piraeus railway, together with Athens NM 1396, which is a honorary decree with a relief representation of Amphiaraos, Artikleides and Hygieia, all three with their names inscribed.

From the Athenian Akropolis comes a broken votive relief, dedicated by victorious torch racers, which features the by now familiar tablet on a pillar.³⁵ Possibly of the same provenance is a fragment of a relief dedicated to Athena, which has a tablet bordered by a moulding at top and bottom, but otherwise similarly undecorated.³⁶

Next we turn to four representations of votive tablets that are decorated with relief scenes. They were all part of votive reliefs, but unfortunately in all four instances only a small fragment is preserved, containing little more than the tablet and part of its pillar, so that we have no way of knowing what their iconographical context was. On the tablet in the first fragment, from Athens, tree female figures are depicted dancing hand in hand.³⁷ If the traces of an inscription on the capital of the pillar supporting this tablet have been correctly interpreted by Peek as Δή[μωι καὶ] Χάρ[ισιν], they must be the Charites.³⁸ The date of this relief is difficult to determine; it may still be 4th century, but quite possibly it belongs to the Hellenistic period, as the next three fragments certainly do. One from the Athenian Agora preserves part of a tablet with a Nymph relief (or Charites),³⁹ a fragment from Chios depicts Hygieia and

³⁵ Athens Akr. Mus. 3012 and London BM 813: O. WALTER, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* (Wien 1923), nr. 213 and 213a; A.H. SMITH, *A catalogue of sculpture in the department of Greek and Roman antiquities*, British Museum I (London 1892), nr. 813. Late 4th century B.C.

³⁶ Athens NM 1389: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 349, pl. 58. Inscription: [-] Ἀθηνάαι ἀνέθ[ηκεν or εσαν].

³⁷ Athens NM 2354: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, pl. 141.

³⁸ W. PEEK, «Attische Inschriften», in *AM* 67 (1942), 1-217, esp. 58 nr. 97.

³⁹ Athens Agora Mus. S1527: E.B. HARRISON, *Archaic and Archaistic sculpture*, The Athenian Agora XI (Princeton, N.J. 1965), 84 nr. 132, pl. 31.

Asklepios,⁴⁰ and finally on one in Corinth we have Apollo, Leto and Artemis.⁴¹

Some reliefs have votive tablets that are not mounted on pillars, but attached to the background, which in these cases, one imagines, should be understood as a wall in the sanctuary. A votive relief from Piraeus with a scene of a hero banquet has in its upper left corner a framed relief panel depicting a horseman.⁴² Frequently such hero banquet reliefs have a similar panel with only a horse's head. In fact, we have here an interesting example of the flexibility of votive iconography. In a dedication to a hero, some indication of his horsemanship was desirable,

⁴⁰ Bonn Akad. Kunstmus. B68: U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, 168 nr. 27; Idem, in *AM* 69/70 (1954-1955), 131, 144-5, Beil. 53; H. KYRIELEIS, in *Antiken aus dem Akademischen Kunstmuseum, Bonn* (Düsseldorf 1971), 21 nr. 15, fig. 11; P. KRANZ, «Bemerkungen zum Bonner Asklepios-Pinax», in *Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik. Festschrift für N. Himmelmann*, Bjb Beih. 47 (Mainz 1989), 289-295. Hausmann suggested a date in the 4th century B.C., but Kyrieleis and Kranz argue for the 2nd century B.C. There are traces of an inscription which may be tentatively restored as [- Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ὑγίαι | [- κατ' ἐπιτα]γήν.

⁴¹ Corinth S2567: B.S. RIDGWAY, «Sculpture from Corinth», in *Hesperia* 50 (1981).— Yet another Hellenistic example of a votive tablet on a pillar, in a relief with a Dionysiac scene: Volos 421, see D.R. THEOCHARIS, in *ADelt* 17 (1961-1962), 171 pl. 190a. — Reliefs with depictions of statues on pillars: Athens NM 3867, see M. KYPARISSIS & W. PEEK, in *AM* 66 (1941), 228-232 nr. 4, pl. 75-76; Thebes Mus., see *ADelt* 10 (1926), Par. 11 nr. 6, fig. 3.

⁴² See J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 536, fig. 243; J.-M. DENTZER, *Banquet couché*, 594 R226, fig. 481. In a fragment of a similar relief, also from Piraeus, the miniature tablet even has the conventional more elaborate architectural frame of the later classical votive reliefs, see J.N. SVORONOS, *ibid.*, fig. 244. See also the Hellenistic banquet relief from Pergamon: E. PFUHL & H. MÖBIUS, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* II (1979), nr. 1917, pl. 277.

though not absolutely indispensable. One could choose to depict the hero as a horseman, on horseback or dismounted. But if, for some reason, one preferred the other most popular type of heroic votive relief, the banquet, then one could add either a life-size full picture of a horse or rider, or just a horse's head looking in over a wall or through a window, or a horse's head in a frame (window or framed relief panel?), or a relief tablet with a horseman on a reduced scale.⁴³

In addition to votive tablets, other types of votive offerings may also be depicted in votive reliefs. For instance the relief of Telemachos of Acharnai depicting the interior of the temple of Asklepios shows a couple of surgical instruments, hanging on the wall between Hygieia and Asklepios.⁴⁴ They are a forceps, which may be compared to the *καρχίνοι ιατρικοί* mentioned in an inventory of ex votos in the Asklepieion in Piraeus,⁴⁵ and a cupping instrument (*σιχύη*).⁴⁶ Other votive reliefs to healing gods have depictions of anatomical ex votos, seemingly hanging on the background of the relief (which here again may be thought of as a wall in the sanctuary), or suspended from the upper part of its architectural frame.⁴⁷ In an often illustrated relief from the Amyneion in Athens, the dedicant, Lysimachides, is seen actually placing his offering, a huge replica of a leg with

⁴³ F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Unclassical religion in Classical Greece: The archaeological angle», in *Πρακτικά του XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας, Αθήνα, 4-10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1983* (Athens 1988), 288-292. For the hero banquet reliefs (for the votive reliefs of this type I prefer this term to the conventional but misleading «Totenmahl» or «funeral banquet»), see R.N. THÖNGES-STRINGARIS, «Das griechische Totenmahl», in *AM* 80 (1965), 1 ff.; J.-M. DENTZER, *Banquet couché*.

⁴⁴ See note 25.

⁴⁵ *IG* II² 47.

⁴⁶ See E. BERGER, *Basler Arztrelief*, 63 ff.

⁴⁷ F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 105-151, nrs. 1.1, 1.2, 9.1, 10.2.

a varicose vein, in the sanctuary; on the left, in a recessed panel, stand a pair of votive feet.⁴⁸

It seems most likely that the votive leg that Lysimachides is handling represents his own votive offering. But this raises the broader question, whether an *ex voto* depicted in a votive relief is always to be understood as specifically the votive offering of the dedicant of this relief, or as a more general indication of the nature of the locality, i.e. a sanctuary. The answer to this question may have varied from case to case. When someone ordered a votive relief in connection with a cure, and he wanted to make clear the nature of the sanctuary concerned by including a representation of an anatomical votive offering, then it stands to reason that he would choose that part of the body that had ailed him. In the case of the votive relief from the Athenian Asklepieion, however, which presents a fairly complete collection of all the parts of the human body, I think we should take this as an indication of the comprehensive healing power of the god, rather than the manifold complaints of the woman dedicant.⁴⁹

The votive tablets on pillars depicted in votive reliefs, which were discussed above, are probably just general indicators of the nature of the place. There is no good reason to assume that they are self-referring in the strict sense, i.e. that the votive tablet in a relief is a representation of that relief itself. Whenever it is itself decorated with a relief, it is always of a most general, impersonal type: just a picture of the deities and no special reference to any worshippers in particular. In the Telemachos relief, the pillar surmounted by a relief of an incubation, clearly serves to indicate that there was a sanctuary, and that it was a healing

⁴⁸ Athens NM 3526: F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 113 nr. 2.1, with bibliography. Second half of the 4th century B.C.

⁴⁹ Athens Akr.M. 7232: O. WALTER, *Beschreibung*, nr. 108; F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 106 nr. 1.1. 4th century B.C.

sanctuary. And certainly in later times, in Neo-Attic reliefs, pillars supporting votive panels were a stock component, used as a general indication of a sanctuary. In one version of the so-called «Ikarios relief», now in the British Museum, there even are two of those.⁵⁰ And in the series of reliefs with Nike and warrior on either side of a Palladion, one replica has the pillar and tablet as an alternative to the Palladion.⁵¹

The opinion that in the classical period too, representations of votive offerings on pillars could be used as a general indication of the sacred surroundings, finds support in the fact that they also occur in vase paintings. For instance, an Attic red figure crater with a sacrificial scene features a votive tablet on a column next to the altar.⁵² There is no good reason to connect this votive offering with any specific person.

There are some other vase paintings with votive panels or statues on pillars.⁵³ One Boeotian vase painting has a represen-

⁵⁰ London BM 2190: on the various versions and their genealogy see C. WATZINGER, «Theoxenia des Dionysos», in *Jdl* 61/62 (1946/1947), 76-87; W. FUCHS, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, *Jdl* Ergänzungsheft 20 (Berlin 1959), 157.

⁵¹ Mantua Pal. Ducale: A. LEVI, *Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova* (Roma 1931), 36 nr. 52 pl. 38b; on the type in general see V.H. POULSEN, «A late-Greek relief in Beirut», in *Berytus* 2 (1935), 51-56; W. FUCHS, *Vorbilder*, 123-126. — Another Hellenistic relief type which includes a pillar and votive tablet represents a Muse and a Satyr chorus in a sacred precinct (replicas in Rome and in Naples): M. BIEBER, *The history of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton, N.J. 21961), 85, fig. 308. — See also E. SCHMIDT, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* (München 1922), 62 note 19, pl. XIX 3 (relief fragment in Rome MN); G.M.A. RICHTER, «A Neo-Attic crater in the Metropolitan Museum of Art», in *JHS* 45 (1925), 201-209.

⁵² Athens NM 12491: H. METZGER, *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne*, Publications de la Bibliothèque Salomon Reinach 2 (Paris 1965), 116 nr. 35; pl. XLVIII 2.

⁵³ E.g. Cologne Arch. Inst.: A. RUMPF, «Ein etruskischer Krater», in *Bjb* 158 (1958), 253-261. — New York MMA 08.258.25: *ARV*² 776/3 The

tation of anatomical ex votos.⁵⁴ Much more common, however, on vases, are representations of painted votive pinakes, to be taken as either terracotta or wood. Fragments of an Attic red figure crater of the second half of the 5th century B.C. preserve a picture of Herakles sacrificing in the sanctuary of Chryse.⁵⁵ This is a mythical picture, a scene imagined in the remote past, so the sanctuary is depicted as a simple sacred grove, with a cult statue on a pillar, a rustic altar, and three pinakes suspended from the branches of a tree. On a roughly contemporary chous a similar open air sanctuary is depicted, with two pinakes hanging from a tree, next to an altar.⁵⁶ On the left are two women, one holding a phiale and an oinochoe, facing them on the right is a youth standing beside his horse. Since this iconographical pattern closely resembles a typical class of votive reliefs to heroes, we may perhaps imagine that the vase painter had some Attic hero shrine in mind.

On an Attic red figured fragment in Bucarest, also of the second half of the 5th century, we see Apollo playing the kithara

Group of Berlin 2415; G. NEUMANN, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin 1965), 82, fig. 41 (statue of Athena on a column, perhaps cult statue rather than votive statue). — Paris Louvre L63 (S1662): ARV² 858/8 The Trophy Painter; G. VAN HOORN, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden 1951), 169 nr. 828, fig. 11; B. LAMPRINOUDAKES, in *AAA* 9 (1976), 111, fig. 2 (statue of a boy on a column set in a base; inscription painted on the base: [Τε?]στάς | [ἄ]νέθηνεν).

⁵⁴ Athens NM 1393: F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 125 nr. 17.2 with bibliography.

⁵⁵ London BM E494: ARV² 1079/3 The Painter of London E494; F.T. VAN STRATEN, in R. HÄGG *et al.* (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm 1988), 63-4 nr. 17 with bibliography.

⁵⁶ Paris Louvre L64: *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Le Musée du Louvre* III (Paris 1938), 29; G. VAN HOORN, *Choes*, 169 nr. 829, fig. 32.

outside a temple.⁵⁷ The temple is rendered in the abbreviated form, usual in vase paintings, consisting of a Doric column and architrave. Suspended from the architrave or from the capital of the column is a pinax with a picture of Herakles.

Painted votive plaques occur in several other vase paintings, both Attic⁵⁸ and South Italian.⁵⁹ Most frequently we find them in combination with a herm and an altar. A red figure amphora of the first half of the 5th century has a rare picture of pinakes being brought to a sanctuary: a man and a youth each carry a forked branch from which a painted plaque is suspended, and a vessel.⁶⁰

If we look back for a moment, and survey the representations of votive offerings in both votive reliefs and vase paintings, an interesting difference appears. The sculptors of votive reliefs

⁵⁷ Bucarest NM 03207: CVA Bucarest pl. 32, 1.

⁵⁸ Column crater, once Basel: *Münzen und Medaillen*, Sonderliste N (1971), nr. 8. — Bell crater Brussels A725: CVA Brussels 3, IVe/IVc, pl. 2; H. METZGER, *Recherches sur l'imagerie*, 83 nr. 20, pl. 31, 1. — Pelike Leningrad 4515: *Paralip* 514; A.A. PEREDOLSKAJA, *Catalogue of Attic red figure vases in Leningrad* (in Russian, Leningrad 1967), nr. 133, pl. 95, 3-4. — Lekythos London BM E585: ARV² 685/162 Bowdoin Painter. — Column crater Naples MN 3369: ARV² 523/9 Orchard Painter; J. BOARDMAN, *Athenian red figure vases. The Classical period* (London 1989), fig. 42. — Cup Oxford 305: ARV² 416/3 Painter of Louvre G265; CVA Oxford 1, pl. 2, 3; 7, 1-2. — Skyphos Paris Cab. Méd. 839: ARV² 367/97 Triptolemos Painter. — Lekythos private collection: ARV² 685/164 Bowdoin Painter; E. SIMON, *Götter der Griechen* (Darmstadt 31985), 308 fig. 294.

⁵⁹ A Sicilian red figure skyphos in Gela, of the second half of the 4th century B.C., shows Herakles and Silenus sacrificing at an altar. Behind the altar is a pillar, and a considerable number of painted pinakes hanging on the wall, nicely overcrowding the picture. See A. CALDERONE, in *ArchCl* 29 (1977), 267-276, pl. 56-7.

⁶⁰ *Münzen und Medaillen*, Auktion 40 (Basel 1969), nr. 95.

(and their patrons?) had a distinct preference for the inclusion of votive sculpture of a more or less monumental nature, whereas the majority of votive offerings depicted by vase painters are pinakes such as, at times, they might paint themselves. Every man to his trade, apparently.

Let us now return to the votive reliefs. Although no one would begrudge the dedicant the pleasure of regarding the ex voto depicted in his votive relief as his own, to the general public visiting the sanctuary it was just another element in the representation that referred to the material surroundings of the sanctuary. It is of the same class, then, as the altars that we see in many (though certainly not all) votive reliefs, and the not too numerous indications of the architecture, to which we shall now turn.

Fourth century votive reliefs often have an architectural frame consisting of a bottom ledge, two antae, and an architrave topped by something like the lateral edge of a tiled roof (the antae seem to occur from ca. 420 B.C., the complete architectural frame somewhat later). This frame has been variously interpreted as a reflection either of temple architecture, or of the stoa which formed part of so many sanctuaries.⁶¹ This opinion seems to find support in a curious votive monument from the Athenian Asklepieion.⁶² It was carved out of a single block of marble, and consists of a relief depicting the usual procession of worshippers in an architectural frame, and, attached to it at right angles on the left, a higher naiskos containing the deities. It may be that the sculptor of this monument was exceptionally liter-

⁶¹ G. NEUMANN, *Probleme griech. Weihreliefs*, 51.

⁶² Athens NM 1377: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 294, pl. 48; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, 167 no. 11; B.S. RIDGWAY, «Painterly and pictorial in Greek relief sculpture», in W.G. MOON (ed.), *Ancient Greek art and iconography* (Madison 1983), 193-208, fig. 13.4 a-b.

ally minded, and that in general we should not take the conventional architectural frame as reflecting any specific type of building, but rather as an indication that the scene depicted was set within the architecturally defined space of the sanctuary. At least we may agree, I think, that it is not an unmistakable and exact representation of any real building. Still, at least in some cases it was felt by the sculptor as a piece of architecture, so that he could let Hygieia lean against the anta of the architectural frame.⁶³

In votive reliefs to the Nymphs the same effect of setting the scene within the space of the sanctuary may be achieved by an irregular frame suggesting the mouth of a cave, which occurs from about the middle of the 4th century. Before that time, in the late 5th and early 4th c., we sometimes see a small stylized cave of Pan in the upper part of the relief field.⁶⁴

That we should beware of taking these frames too literal, is emphasized by the fact that sometimes they are, rather illogically, combined. For instance, in a fourth century votive to the Nymphs, found in Piraeus,⁶⁵ and in a Thessalian dedication to Artemis of the second century B.C.,⁶⁶ the irregular mouth of the cave is set within the conventional architectural frame.

There are some other indications of architectural elements in votive reliefs. Telemachos' relief, which shows both the interior and the exterior of the sanctuary of Asklepios in Athens, is a rather special case. It is not an ordinary votive relief, but a

⁶³ Athens NM 1383, see note 34.

⁶⁴ C.M. EDWARDS, *Greek votive reliefs to Pan and the Nymphs* (Diss. New York 1985); G. NEUMANN, *Probleme griech. Weihreliefs*, 54.

⁶⁵ Berlin 710 (K84): C. BLÜMEL, *Klass. griech. Skulpt.*, 78 nr. 91, fig. 130; C.M. EDWARDS, *Greek vot. rel. Pan and the Nymphs*, 540 nr. 31.

⁶⁶ P. ARNDT & W. AMELUNG, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen* 3401b; LIMC II 1, s.v. «Apollon», nr. 959.

monument commemorating the founding and construction of the sanctuary.⁶⁷

Two votive reliefs from the same Asklepieion, both incomplete and with a very battered surface, give us a slight hint of the architectural environment. In one three girls are descending three steps.⁶⁸ The other has, in the background behind the worshippers, two isolated columns close together.⁶⁹ A fragment from the Athenian Agora shows a herm standing in front of a vertical edge, offset in the background, probably indicating the entrance of a sanctuary.⁷⁰ Rather indistinct pillars or pilasters occur in the background of some other fragmentary votive reliefs.⁷¹

An exceptionally explicit rendering of a special type of sacred building connected with the cult of Herakles, the so-called «Säulenbau», is encountered on some ten votive reliefs and on a series of Attic red figure vase paintings.⁷² It is probably not one specific sanctuary, but rather a specific *type*, for the votive reliefs come from various parts of Greece. The construction (wood or

⁶⁷ See note 25.

⁶⁸ Athens NM 1366: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 285, pl. 45; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, 182 nr. 188.

⁶⁹ Athens NM 2417: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 641, pl. 150; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, 176 nr. 130.

⁷⁰ Athens Agora Mus. S1154: E.B. HARRISON, *Archaic and Archaistic sculpture*, The Athenian Agora XI (Princeton, N.J. 1965), 174 nr. 233, pl. 61. 4th century B.C.

⁷¹ Athens NM 1507: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 626, pl. 127; J.-M. DENTZER, *Banquet couché*, 613 R388, fig. 619. — Chalkis 913: E. MITROPOULOU, *Horses' heads and snake in banquet reliefs and their meaning* (Athens 1976), 15 nr. 1.

⁷² A. FRICKENHAUS, «Das Herakleion von Melite», in *AM* 36 (1911), 121-127; S. WOODFORD, «Cults of Heracles in Attica», in *Studies presented to G.M.A. Hanfmann* (Mainz 1971), 211-225; F.T. VAN STRATEN, «The lebes of Herakles. Note on a new decree stele from Eleusis», in *BABesch* 54 (1979), 189-191.

stone?) consists of four columns placed at the corners of a square foundation and supporting an epistyle. On festive occasions this permanent framework was decked with boughs and thus transformed into a pleasant shady pavilion, where Herakles could enjoy the banquet prepared for him by his worshippers.

To summarize what we have found so far: it would seem that for the worshippers in general votive offerings were a typical component of a sanctuary. Representations of *ex votis* could serve to identify the space, in which a scene was set, as a sanctuary, much the same as a depiction of an altar or a specific architectural element would. Some further insights into the appreciation of the Greek worshippers for votive offerings may be gained from literary and epigraphical texts.

Some key words that are often found in connection with votive offerings, are ἄγαλμα⁷³ and κόσμος (κοσμεῖν): they are something to be enjoyed, something beautiful, an ornament for the sanctuary. Around the middle of the 5th century B.C. a priestess of Demeter and Kore dedicated a votive ἄγαλμα in the Athenian sanctuary of her goddesses, which, in her own eyes, was an adornment of their portal (προθύρο κόσμον).⁷⁴ A pillar of a lost votive relief, found in the Athenian Agora, bears the dedication of a cobbler and his sons to the hero Kallistephanos. With this dedication he adorns the hero (ἥρω κοσμεῖ).⁷⁵ In

⁷³ F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 75.

⁷⁴ Athens Agora I 5484: SEG X 321; M.L. LAZZARINI, *Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica*, *MemLinc* VIII, XIX 2 (1976), nr. 715.

⁷⁵ Athens Agora I 7396: J.M. CAMP II, in *AJA* 77 (1963), 209; *The Athenian Agora. A Guide to the Excavation and Museum* (Athens 1976), 208 f., fig. 107; M.L. LANG, *Socrates in the Agora*, *Excavations of the Athenian Agora*, Picture Book no. 17 (Princeton, N.J. 1978), fig. 12; J.M. CAMP II, *Gods and heroes in the Athenian Agora*, *Excavations of the Athenian Agora*, Picture Book no. 19 (Princeton, N.J. 1980), 28, fig. 56; J.M. CAMP II, *The Athenian Agora. Excavations in the heart of Classical Athens* (London 1986), 147 fig. 126. Second quarter of the 4th century B.C.

Cyrene a certain Hermesandros set up a votive offering and two almost identical inscriptions, commemorating his exceptionally rich contribution to the festival of Artemis: τῶν τάδε κεῖται κόσμος καὶ μνᾶμα καὶ κλέος εὐδόκιμον.⁷⁶

In an inscription from a fourth century choregic monument, found near Vari (Attika), the monument is referred to as a gift to the god in remembrance of the victory, an ornament for the deme: μνημόσυνον δὲ θεῶι νίκης τόδε δῶρον [ἔθηκα], δήμῳ μὲν κόσμον, etc.⁷⁷

But not only did the dedicants regard their own dedications as κόσμος and ἄγαλμα, they were also objects of sightseeing, tourist attractions almost, for the general visitors. This is charmingly illustrated in Euripides' *Ion*, in the conversation between Ion and the handmaidens of Kreousa who have accompanied their mistress to Delphi (184-232). That Ion is well accustomed to sightseers is also clear from his question to Kreousa: «Has your husband accompanied you to come sightseeing, or for consultation» (301: πότερα θεατῆς ἢ χάριν μαντευμάτων;). In Herondas' 4th *mimiambus*, the women who have come to the Asklepieion to make a thank offering and set up a votive pinax, are amazed at the beautiful statues: μᾶ καλῶν, φίλη Κυννοῖ, ἀγαλμάτων (20-21). And they take the opportunity to have a good look around.

⁷⁶ G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, «Supplemento epigrafico cirenaico», in *ASAtene* 39-40 (1961-1962), 219-339; 312-313, nos 161-162. 4th/3rd century B.C.

⁷⁷ *IG II²* 3101. According to D. WHITEHEAD, *The demes of Attica 508/7-ca. 250 B.C. A political and social study* (Princeton, N.J. 1986), 234-5, δήμῳ κόσμον, which he translates «honor for the deme», refers to the victory. I think that it is much more likely that it refers to the δῶρον, i.e. the concrete monument on which this dedication was inscribed. — Some further occurrences of κόσμος, κοσμεῖν in connection with votive offerings: *SEG XXVIII* 509 = W. PEEK, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften aus Thessalien* (SBHeidelberg 1974, 3), 11-12 no. 7 = B. HELLY, «Quarante épigrammes thessaliennes», in *RPh* 104 (1978), 121-135; esp. 124. Pind. *Isthm.* I 18-23; Plut. *Per.* 12.

In the normal course of their lives, and even more so when abnormal events occurred, the ancient Greeks had many occasions on which it was usual to make a dedication to a god. When generation upon generation of worshippers brought their votive gifts, a sanctuary might eventually become so full of them, that they would be an impediment as much as an adornment. This is certainly the impression we get from the number of surviving votive offerings, which surely only forms a small percentage of the original number, and those attested in the inventories, of, for instance, the Athenian Asklepieion in the first couple of centuries after its foundation. The situation in many sanctuaries, as described by some later authors such as Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and Pausanias, was probably not unlike that in some modern Greek churches, where especially the more thaumaturgical icons are largely blocked from view by thick clusters of *támata*.⁷⁸

This custom of cluttering up the sanctuaries with dedications, set up for every conceivable reason, was a major irritation to Plato: «To establish gods and temples is not easy; it's a job that needs to be very carefully pondered if it is to be done properly. Yet look at what people usually do — all women in particular, invalids of every sort, men in danger or any kind of distress, or conversely when they have just won a measure of prosperity: they dedicate the first thing that comes to hand, they swear to offer sacrifice, and promise to found shrines for gods and spirits and children of gods. And the terror they feel when they see apparitions, either in dreams or awake — terror which recurs later when they recollect a whole series of visions — drives them to seek a remedy for each individually, with the result that on open spaces or any other spot where such an incident has occurred they found the altars and shrines that fill every home and village.»⁷⁹

⁷⁸ See references in F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 78.

⁷⁹ Plato, *Lg.* X 909 e-910 a (translation Saunders).

Even the authorities in charge of the sanctuaries, who would not — one imagines — have shared Plato's prejudices, would for practical reasons sometimes find it necessary to lay down certain rules restricting the placement of *ex votos*. A Rhodian decree of the 3rd century B.C., concerning the Asklepieion, stipulates, «that no one is permitted to request that an image or some other votive offering be set up in the lower part of the sanctuary (---) or in any other spot where votive offerings prevent people walking past».⁸⁰ In an inscription of the same period from Miletus we read, «that it is forbidden to fasten to the woodwork of the new stoa in the sanctuary of Apollo either a votive tablet or anything else, to prevent the woodwork from being damaged, nor to the columns. And if someone wishes to place any votive offering in the new stoa, he must place it against the plastered sections of the walls, underneath the stone course supporting the beams».⁸¹ In a very damaged inscription from Athens, dating from the 2nd century B.C., the priest of a sanctuary is authorized to remove various votive tablets which block the cult image of the god from view, and whatever else is deemed

⁸⁰ F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément* (Paris 1962), nr. 107: (---) μη ἐξέστω μηθενὶ αἰτήσας-

[θαὶ ἀνά]θεσιν ἀνδριάντος μηδὲ ἄλλου
[ἀναθ]ήματος μηδενὸς ἐς τὸ κάτω μέρος
[τοῦ τ]εμένους (---)
ἢ ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τόπον ἐν ᾧ στα-
θέντα τὰ ἀναθήματα κωλύσει τοὺς περι-
πάτους (---).

⁸¹ F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*, nr. 123: (---) πρὸς τὴν ξύλωσιν τῆς στοιῆς τῆς καινῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος | μη ἐξεῖναι πίνακα ἀναθεῖναι μηδὲ ἄλλο μηδέν, ὅπως μη βλάβηται ἡ ξύλωσις, μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς κίονας· <ἦ>ν δέ τις | βούληται ἀναθεῖναι τι εἰς τὴν στοιὴν τῆς καινῆς, ἀνατιθέτω πρὸς τοὺς τοίχους τοὺς ἀλειφομένους ὑποκάτω | τοῦ ἀντιδοκίου τοῦ λιθίνου (---). See also F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, nr. 43 and 111.

unworthy of the sanctuary, from the temple to the stoa. And in the future, no one is to set up any votive offering in the sanctuary without consulting the priest.⁸²

Votive offerings, once they were placed in a sanctuary, were the property of the god, and there could be no doubt about their inalienability. Yet, sometimes it was considered useful explicitly to restate this fact, as in an inscription from Loryma on the Rhodian Peraia (3rd century B.C.): «It is forbidden to remove votive offerings from the sanctuary or to damage any of them.»⁸³ The remainder of the inscription, which is very fragmentary, probably prohibited the introduction of votive offerings and any alterations in their arrangement without the permission of the priest.

Deisidaimonia, if not common decency, would probably prevent most people from stealing votive offerings.⁸⁴ Regrettably, there is always the odd exception. Aelian has a fascinating story about a temple-thief and a dog in the Asklepieion of Athens, which (whatever one may think of its historicity) is too good to be left out. «A temple-thief who had waited for the midmost hour of night and had watched till men were deep asleep, came to the shrine of Asklepios and stole a number of offerings (ὑφείλετο τῶν ἀναθημάτων πολλά) without, as he supposed, being seen. There was however in the temple an excellent watcher, a dog, more awake than the attendants, and it gave chase to the thief and never stopped barking, as with all its might it summoned others to witness what had been done. (---) Since

⁸² F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969), nr. 43.

⁸³ F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1955), nr. 74: ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ | μὴ ἐκφέρειν | τῶν ἀν[α]θ[η]μά[τ]ων | μηδὲ βλ[ά]πτ[ε]ι[ν] | μηθέν (---).

⁸⁴ Cf. Diod. Sic. V 63, 3 (concerning the sanctuary of Hemithea in Kastabos): διὸ καὶ πολλῶν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων σεσωσμένων πεπλήρωται τὸ τέμενος ἀναθημάτων, καὶ ταῦτα οὐθ' ὑπὸ φυλάκων οὐθ' ὑπὸ τείχους ὄχυροῦ φυλαττόμενα, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους δεισιδαιμονίας.

however the dog continued to bark when the thief came to the house where he lodged and when he came out again, it was discovered where the dog belonged, while the inscriptions and the places where the offerings were set up lacked the missing objects (ἐγνώσθη μὲν ὁ κύων ἔνθεν ἦν, τὰ λείποντα δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐπόθουν αἱ γραφαί τε καὶ αἱ χῶραι ἔνθα ἀνέκειντο). The Athenians therefore concluded that the man was this thief, and by putting him on the rack discovered the whole affair. And the man was sentenced in accordance with the law, while the dog was rewarded by being fed and cared for at the public expense for being a faithful watcher and second to none of the attendants in vigilance.»⁸⁵

The question of inalienability might also crop up, though in a less embarrassing fashion, when a decision was taken to melt down old gold and silver *ex votos*, in order to use the material for one more impressive *anathema*, or for some useful cult implement. As this could easily be construed as tampering with the god's possessions, an official decision was required of the worldly powers that were in charge of the sanctuary. There are several inscriptions which deal with just such an operation and inform us about the procedure that was to be followed. One of the better known examples comes from the Athenian sanctuary of the Heros Iatros, north of the Agora (221/0).⁸⁶ The boule decrees that the demos shall appoint a select committee. The members of this committee shall take down the metal reliefs (τύποι) and any other silver or gold objects and the coins that are kept as votive offerings in the sanctuary, they shall weigh these

⁸⁵ Ael. NA VII 13 (translation A.F. Scholfield).

⁸⁶ IG II² 839; F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, nr. 41. For the location of the sanctuary see F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Gifts», 114 nr. 3; also S. DOW, «The cult of the Hero Doctor», in *BAmSocP* 22 (1985), 33-47. — See also F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, nr. 42.

and then make them into an ἀνάθημα for the god as beautiful as they can. The members of the committee must inscribe the names of the dedicants and the weight (of their ex votos) on a marble stele which they must set up in the sanctuary. They must also offer a propitiatory sacrifice to the god worth fifteen drachmae.

This inscription very clearly illustrates, that votive offerings constituted a sort of permanent link between the worshipper and his god. Therefore, if votive offerings are interfered with, both parties, dedicant and god, have to be given satisfaction.

3. The worshippers

Votive offerings may contribute to our understanding of the ancient worshippers: how they saw themselves and how they wanted to be seen. On the one hand there is the iconographical evidence, in particular the votive reliefs with representations of worshippers in the sanctuary. Let us take a closer look at one example, from the Amphiareion at Rhamnous.⁸⁷ In the sanctuary, indicated by the familiar votive tablet on a pillar, a couple with three children have come to offer sacrifice. They are accompanied by one male and one female servant. The names are inscribed above the figures (except, of course, the servants). On the left, at the head of this small gathering, the *pater familias* is taking something from the sacrificial basket (κανοῦν), which is held by the male servant. In the background a glimpse can be seen of the pig which is about to be sacrificed. On the right, behind the man, stand his wife and children, and the maid carrying a cylindrical basket (the χίστη) on her head.

⁸⁷ Athens NM 1384, see note 33.

On the other hand, there is the relevant epigraphical material, such as votive inscriptions, and inventories of votive offerings. Notably the inventories from the Athenian Asklepieion and from the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, offer a wealth of information, made accessible by the valuable studies of Sara Aleshire and Tullia Linders.⁸⁸ With their large number of records they offer the possibility of a quantitative study of, for instance, the sex of the dedicants. It turns out that in the inventories of the Athenian Asklepieion 51.39 percent of the dedicants is female and 45.82 percent male (the remaining 2.79 percent are couples, two men, two women, the Athenian demos).⁸⁹ So there is a hardly significant predominance of women. In the inventories of the *epistatai* of Artemis Brauronia, the dedicants (apart from a couple of possible exceptions) are all female, which is only to be expected, given the particular character of Artemis Brauronia as protectress of pregnant women, women in child bed, etc.⁹⁰

In this context, it might seem to be interesting to compare the proportion of male and female worshippers represented on votive reliefs from the same sanctuary, or pertaining to the cult of the same god. On closer inspection, however, things are not as clear cut as one might expect. Let us look at a couple of fourth-century votive reliefs from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron.

In the first one, apart from the servants leading the sacrificial animal and carrying the kiste, there are 12 worshippers:

⁸⁸ S.B. ALESHIRE, *The Athenian Asklepieion. The people, their dedications, and the inventories* (Amsterdam 1989); T. LINDERS, *Studies in the treasure records of Artemis Brauronia found in Athens*, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Series in 4°, 19 (Stockholm 1972).

⁸⁹ S.B. ALESHIRE, *Ath. Asklepieion*, 45.

⁹⁰ T. LINDERS, *Artemis Brauronia*, 38 and 40 f.

4 couples each with one child.⁹¹ According to the inscription on the architrave, however, this is the dedication of one woman: Ἀρτέμίδι εὐξαμένη ἀνέθηκεν Ἀριστονίκη Ἀντιφάτους Θοραϊέως γυνή. In all likelihood Aristonike is the woman of the first couple; but she, the dedicant, does not even walk up front. Another votive relief from Brauron was dedicated, according to the inscription on the architrave, by the woman Πείσις.⁹² Again in the representation the woman dedicant takes second place behind her husband. They are followed by a woman, probably a nanny, accompanying four children.

If we only look at the epigraphical evidence of the inventories, it seems as though the Athenian women by themselves, independently, could make their own dedications. But if we incorporate the iconographical material, we get a substantially different picture: women's dedications there appear as basically a family affair.

Votive reliefs with single female worshippers, or in which a woman at least is depicted in front of the family group, do occur, but they are very rare. There is a small series of reliefs with women kneeling directly in front of the god.⁹³ And there are a few reliefs in which a woman with both hands raised (normally worshippers in votive reliefs only raise their right hand)

⁹¹ Brauron 1151 (5): *Ergon* 1958, 35 fig. 37; I. KONTES, «Artemis Brauronia», in *ADelt* 22 A' (1967), 195, pl. 104a; S. KARUSU, «Bemalte attische Weihreliefs», in *Studies P.H. von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley, N.Y. 1979), 111-116, pl. 33, 2; *LIMC* II 1, s.v. «Artemis», nr. 974; J. TRAVLOS, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie der antiken Attika* (Tübingen 1988), 72 fig. 77. Second half 4th century B.C.

⁹² Brauron 1152 (83): I. KONTES, in *ADelt* 22 A' (1967), 195, pl. 104b; *LIMC* II 1, s.v. «Apollon», nr. 957; s.v. «Artemis», nr. 1127; J. TRAVLOS, *Bildlexikon Attika*, 72 fig. 78. Second half 4th century B.C.

⁹³ F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Did the Greeks kneel before their gods?», in *BABesch* 49 (1974), 159-189.

is either alone or precedes the rest of the family. One example, where the woman is accompanied by her family, is a hero banquet from the west slope of the Akropolis.⁹⁴ In an incomplete relief in Chalkis, the woman dedicant is the only human figure, but this is an unusual dedication insofar as the woman is a priestess.⁹⁵

In another votive relief from the sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron, the woman, by whom or on whose behalf this dedication was set up, precedes her family, with a small child standing in front of her, closest to the goddess. She is followed by three bearded men, a youth and two smaller children.⁹⁶

This brings us to those few votive reliefs where a child is represented in front of the other worshippers, closest to the god. Some probably are connected with the introduction of the child into the *phratRIA*. Apparently children were introduced twice over, once when they were very small, and again when they reached the ephebic age. The ceremonies could be accompanied by the offering of votive gifts to Zeus Phratrios or Athena PhratRIA. Connected with the ephebic εἰσαγωγή was the ceremony of the οἰνιστήρια celebrated in honour of Herakles.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Athens NM 3527: O. WALTER, «Ein Totenmahlrelief aus Samos», in *Studies D.M. Robinson I* (Saint Louis, Missouri 1951), 594-605, esp. 600 ff., pl. 58a; R.N. THÖNGES-STRINGARIS, in *AM* 80 (1965), 78 nr. 69, Beil. 10, 1; J.-M. DENTZER, *Banquet couché*, 590 R192, fig. 450. Late 4th century B.C.

⁹⁵ Chalkis 337: G. DAUX, «Le relief éleusinien du musée de Chalcis», in *BCH* 88 (1964), 433-441. Late 4th century B.C. — See also the relief fragment from Pergamon: O. DEUBNER, *Das Asklepieion von Pergamon. Kurze vorläufige Beschreibung* (Berlin 1938), 13, fig. 5.

⁹⁶ Brauron 1153 (32+32a): *Ergon* 1958, 34 fig. 36; I. KONTES, in *ADelt* 22 A' (1967), 195, pl. 105a; *LIMC* II 1, s.v. «Artemis», nr. 673; J. TRAVLOS, *Bildlexikon Attika*, 73, fig. 79. Mid 4th century B.C.

⁹⁷ O. WALTER, «Die heilige Familie von Eleusis», in *ÖJh* 30 (1937), 50-70, esp. 60; O. WALTER, «Die Reliefs aus dem Heiligtum der Echeliden in

The first introduction may be represented on a votive relief from the Athenian Akropolis.⁹⁸ Another Athenian relief which shows Herakles next to his «Säulenbau», and a boy in front of him, probably refers to the *oinisteria* and the ephebic introduction.⁹⁹

Apart from these more or less official occasions, children could, of course, be commended to the special care of whatever deities, whenever their parents felt that might be helpful. The large votive relief of Xenokrateia from Phaleron was dedicated, so the inscription on the pillar tells us, to Kephisos and the gods who shared his altar, as a gift for the upbringing of her son Xeniades (διδασκαλίας τῷδε δῶρον).¹⁰⁰ Xenokrateia is depicted with her little son before her, stretching out his hand to Kephisos, who is attentively bending over towards his worshippers. They are standing in the midst of a dozen other gods and goddesses, the *ξύνβωμοι θεοί* of the inscription.

Neu-Phaleron», in *AEphem* 1937, I, 97-119, esp. 103; F.T. VAN STRATEN, «The lebes of Herakles. Note on a new decree stele from Eleusis», in *BABesch* 54 (1979), 189-191; Idem, «Gifts», 89-90.

⁹⁸ Athens AkrM 3030: O. WALTER, *Beschreibung*, nr. 46; N. KONTOLEON, in *AEphem* 1974, 17, pl. 4.

⁹⁹ Athens NM 2723: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 379, pl. 101, 121; H.K. SÜSSEROTT, *Griech. Plastik*, 110 f., pl. 16, 4; J. TRAVLOS, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen* (Tübingen 1971), 276; F.T. VAN STRATEN, in *BABesch* 54 (1979), 189-191.

¹⁰⁰ Athens NM 2756: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 493 ff., pl. 181; O. WALTER, «Die Reliefs aus dem Heiligtum der Echeliden in Neu-Phaleron», in *AEphem* 1937, I 97-119; H.K. SÜSSEROTT, *Griech. Plastik*, 97 ff.; U. HAUSMANN, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin 1960), 63 f., fig. 33; A. LINFERT, «Die Deutung des Xenokrateiareliefs», in *AM* 82 (1967), 149-157; M. GUARDUCCI, «L'offerta di Xenokrateia nel santuario di Cefiso al Falero», in *Phóros — Tribute to B.D. Meritt* (Locust Valley, N.Y. 1974), 57-66; E. MITROPOULOU, *Corpus I: Attic votive reliefs of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.* (Athens 1977), no. 65; C.M. EDWARDS, *Greek vot. rel. Pan and the Nymphs*, 310 nr. 3. Ca. 400 B.C.

It is not surprising that among the votive reliefs of Asklepios we should also find some, in which small children are placed in a prominent position. In an Athenian one we have a man and woman followed by five daughters, neatly lined up according to size. The sixth and smallest child, also a girl, stands in front of them, close to Asklepios and Hygieia.¹⁰¹ It is an exceptionally large family, which may have something to do with the fact that all children are female.

What about the civil status of the families of worshippers depicted in the votive reliefs? If they are from Athens, can we determine whether they are citizens, metics or slaves? If we are to believe the Old Oligarch, the citizens in Athens were no better dressed than the slaves and metics, nor did they look any better.¹⁰² And indeed, if there is no inscription, it is impossible to distinguish between metics and citizens in votive reliefs on the grounds of visual evidence only. Whether there are any slaves among the dedicants of votive reliefs is doubtful. It is perhaps unlikely that they could afford such a rather expensive gift.

Servants or slaves do occur, however, as accessories in votive reliefs with families offering sacrifice. Typically they are a relatively small (not necessarily very young) male figure leading the victim and carrying the *kanoûn*, and a female figure carrying

¹⁰¹ Athens AkrM: O. WALTER, *Beschreibung*, 55 nr 96. 4th century B.C. — Other Asklepios reliefs with children in front: Athens NM 1356: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 276, pl. 50; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, 171 nr. 62. — Brocklesby Park (from Athens): A. MICHAELIS, *Ancient marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge 1882), 228 nr. 10; B. ASHMOLE, «An Attic relief of the late fifth century», in *Antike Plastik. [Festschr.] W. Amelung* (Berlin/Leipzig 1928), 13-15; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, 166 nr. 3. — A hero banquet relief with children in front: Vienna I 1074: J.-M. DENTZER, *Banquet couché*, 523 R431, fig. 653.

¹⁰² Pseudo-Xenophon, *Ath.* I 10: ἐσθῆτά τε γὰρ οὐδὲν βελτίων ὁ δῆμος αὐτόθι ἢ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι, καὶ τὰ εἶδη οὐδὲν βελτίους εἰσίν.

the *kíste* on her head. They are only there as an inevitable extension of the things that are essential to the sacrifice: the animal and the sacrificial implements. Consequently, if the composition so demands, they may be represented disproportionately small or almost invisible in the background. In a votive relief from the Asklepieion in Piraeus, four couples are preparing the sacrifice of a bull.¹⁰³ In the background, almost wholly obscured by the other worshippers, is the maid carrying the quite prominently displayed large *kíste*. In another votive relief to Asklepios, found in Thyreatis on the estate of Herodes Atticus (who propably brought it there from Athens), both the dedicant and the god brought their family, making the relief very crowded.¹⁰⁴ So the sacrificial pig, hardly visible in the background, must make do without the usual servant carrying the *kanoûn*. The *kíste* is carried by an all but invisible maid. However, bringing up the rear of the procession of worshippers (two bearded men, a woman, two children), but clearly visible in the foreground, there is a female figure that can almost certainly be identified as a slave girl by her hair style, dress, and the box she holds in her hands. On classical grave reliefs women are often accompanied by similar handmaidens (e.g. on the well known Hegeso

¹⁰³ Athens NM 1429: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 434, pl. 37; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilium*, 181 nr. 179; F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Greek sacrificial representations: livestock prices and religious mentality», in T. LINDERS & G. NORDQUIST (eds.), *Gifts to the gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, Boreas 15 (Uppsala 1987), 159-170, fig. 4. 4th century B.C.

¹⁰⁴ Athens NM 1402: J.N. SVORONOS, *Ath. NM.*, 351, pl. 35; H.K. SÜSSEROTT, *Griech. Plastik*, 114; U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilium*, 166 nr. 7; S. KARUSU, «Die Antiken vom Kloster Luku in der Thyreatis», in *RM* 76 (1969), 253-265; Π.Β. ΦΑΚΛΑΡΗΣ, *Αρχαία Κυνουρία. Ανθρωπινή δραστηριότητα και περιβάλλον*, Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου 43 (Athens 1990), 96-104 and 192-3. Second quarter 4th century B.C.

stele). There and here their primary purpose probably is to serve as a status indicator.

Next, I would like to include some observations on the composition of family groups in classical Greek votive reliefs. There is sufficient material for a cautious statistical analysis. It would probably be best to base such a statistical research on all surviving votive reliefs, but for various practical reasons that is not easily feasible. Limiting the field to one particular sanctuary would seem to be a promising alternative. However, apart from other practical problems, the number of surviving votive reliefs (with worshippers that are identifiable as to their sex and age) from any one sanctuary, is generally too small to produce statistically interesting results. I have tried to steer a middle course, by choosing one specific class of votive reliefs, the hero banquet type, which in the classical period is as good as restricted to hero cult. Heroes had a broad range of functions. They could be invoked on all sorts of occasions, by people from all walks of life, so there is a reasonable chance that whatever picture emerges may not be too much different from the average.

The total number of classical banquet reliefs with worshippers that I have found is a little less than 200.¹⁰⁵ Of these ca. 15% have only one single male worshipper. There is some margin for error, due to the state of preservation of some reliefs, and if we include all the doubtful but possible ones, the single males would amount to ca. 17%. Single female worshippers there are none. Couples are found in ca. 74% (maybe 78%) of the reliefs; this includes all couples, with or without children or other

¹⁰⁵ I have used the lists in R.N. THÖNGES-STRINGARIS, «Das griechische Totenmahl», in *AM* 80 (1965), 1 ff. and J.-M. DENTZER, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII^e au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris 1982), augmented with some stray specimens that for some reason or other were not included in those lists.

additional figures.¹⁰⁶ Approximately 70% of these couples have children. In other words, in more than half of the reliefs with worshippers (ca. 55%), these worshippers are couples with children.¹⁰⁷ There are a few single parents: 3 or 4 single men, and 3 or 4 single women, with a child or children, which amounts to roughly 2% each. Finally, there are 3 or 4 reliefs with rather larger groups of worshippers, consisting of adult male figures only. These, clearly, are not family groups, but probably some sort of clubs or religious associations such as ὀργεῶνες.¹⁰⁸ That there are so few of these among our banquet reliefs reemphasizes the fact, that the bulk of this material is really of a private nature.

So what we may conclude (with due caution) from the quantitative breakdown of the iconographical material, is this: 1) Private dedications by men could be regarded as an entirely individual matter. This, however, is only the case in a not too impressive minority of the dedications. 2) Private dedications of women were always regarded as a family affair; they are always portrayed together with their family, or, at the very least, their children. If we look through other types of votive reliefs, we will come across the odd single female worshipper, so instead of «always» we should rather, more prudently, say «almost always».¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ For the present purpose I have defined «couple» as an adult male and female figure standing next to each other.

¹⁰⁷ The number of children per couple is as follows: 36% of the couples have 1 child, 46.5% have 2 children, 14.9 have 3, and 2.6% have 4 children. On average this works out at a bit more than 1.5 children per family. For another type of votive relief with a larger number of children, see note 101.

¹⁰⁸ W.S. FERGUSON, «The Attic Orgeones», in *HThR* 37 (1944), 62-140; W.S. FERGUSON, «Orgeonika», in *Hesperia* Suppl. 8 (1949), 130-163.

¹⁰⁹ See e.g. note 95.

It is clear from the above that the dedicants of the classical votive reliefs preferably viewed and represented themselves as members of a family. What, finally, can we learn from these reliefs with regard to their behaviour, their activities in the sanctuary? Even on a cursory perusal of the material it soon emerges, that the repertoire of activities depicted is extremely limited.

There is one activity, performed in sanctuaries of healing gods, that is depicted not infrequently: *incubation* (ἐγχοίμησις, ἐγκαταχοίμησις), i.e. the patient is seen lying on a couch, being visited by the god. Here again the patient is regularly accompanied by his family.¹¹⁰ But otherwise, the only things we see worshippers do in the scenes on their votive reliefs are worshipping, praying, with one hand raised (sometimes two hands raised or kneeling), and offering sacrifice. The sacrificial scenes usually include an animal. Sometimes only sacrificial cakes (πόπανα) are offered, brought to the sanctuary in a *kiste*. But even of the sacrificial ritual, which encompassed a whole range of consecutive activities, only the initial stage is represented: the presentation of the animal at the altar, and occasionally the deposition of the ὀλαί.¹¹¹ Subsequently the animal had to be killed and slaughtered, parts of it were burnt on the altar, most of it was eaten by the worshippers. These interesting and enjoyable activities are (almost) totally absent in votive

¹¹⁰ U. HAUSMANN, *Kunst und Heilum*, Kapitel II; F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Mens en ziekte. De genezingsinscripties van Epidauros», in *Hermeneus* 55 (1983), 181-195.

¹¹¹ F.T. VAN STRATEN, «Greek sacrificial representations: livestock prices and religious mentality», in T. LINDERS & G. NORDQUIST (eds.), *Gifts to the gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985* (Uppsala 1987), 159-170; Idem, «The god's portion in Greek sacrificial representations: Is the tail doing nicely?», in R. HÄGG, N. MARINATOS, G.C. NORDQUIST (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm 1988), 51-68.

iconography.¹¹² Another activity which must have occurred quite frequently in sanctuaries, dancing, is also very rarely depicted on votive offerings.¹¹³

Why is it that we see so few representations of dancing and banqueting on votive offerings? Some considerations which may have played a part in this iconographical selectivity, are the following. Dancing is mainly a collective activity, whereas the votive offerings are predominantly private dedications. And the votive offerings play an essential part in the *do ut des* relationship between men and gods. Therefore perhaps it is understandable that the worshippers, in the representations on their votive offerings, would rather emphasize the fact that they *give*, *offer* a sacrifice, than that they *eat* most of it themselves. These may be relevant points, but I have a feeling that they are, at best, only part of the answer. Perhaps it is wiser, for the moment, to leave the question open.

¹¹² Banquets on later votive reliefs: E. MITROPOULOU, «Feasting and festivals», in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (1990), 472-474. See also the relief from Cyprus, note 19.

¹¹³ E.g. in the pediment of the pinax of Niinnion from Eleusis, Athens NM 11036: A. PESCHLOW-BINDOKAT, «Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts», in *JdI* 87 (1972), 60-157, esp. 105 ff. with bibliography.

DISCUSSION

M. Schachter: The illustration you showed of the votive supports at Brauron makes we wonder whether the number of votive reliefs dedicated there was unusually high.

M. van Straten: The number of votive reliefs *found* at Brauron is not particularly high. But then we should not forget that the pillars could support other types of votive offerings as well.

M. Tomlinson: Another interesting point about the Brauron stelai is the way in which they are carefully placed, in neat order, in relation to the stoa, that is, they are treated almost as if they were part of the architecture. I wonder about the extent to which it is possible to see such deliberate arrangement of votives in sanctuaries rather than a free-for-all. I know the references to *χόσμος* refer to the beauty and appearance of individual offerings but can there also be *χόσμος* in terms of their arrangement and relationship to the lay out of the sanctuary? Is this, perhaps, a feature that developes later in the history of sanctuaries?

It is noticeable that offerings of more monumental character — like exedrai, for instance, at Epidauros — may be deliberately and carefully placed; there, of course, round the open space in front of the temple.

M. van Straten: From the, unfortunately largely restored, final part of the inscription from Loryma mentioned in my paper, it would appear that the arrangement of the votive offerings was supervised by the priest (3rd century B.C., F. Sokolowski, *LSAM* 74).

More to the point, I think, is the passage in the *psephisma* from the Rhodian Asklepieion stipulating that the stele on which this inscription was to be inscribed should be placed ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐς ὅν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων ἀποδεί [ξει τόπον...] (3rd century B.C., F. Sokolowski, *LSS* 107, 24-26). A similar concern is expressed in more general terms in an inscribed stele from the Amphiareion at Oropos, which was to be set up οὗ ἂν δοκῇ ἐν | καλλίστῳ εἶναι (3rd century B.C., F. Sokolowski, *LSCG* 70, 46-47).

One assumes that the location of monumental votive offerings would be given equal care.

In two Athenian inscriptions regarding the melting down of votive offerings of the Heros Iatros, among the members of the committee that is to supervise this operation ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά is mentioned (3rd and 2nd century B.C., F. Sokolowski, *LSCG* 41, 29-30; 42, 12 and 21-22).

M. Schachter: Is there any evidence from surviving supports of their re-use to carry new reliefs?

M. van Straten: From memory I don't know of such a case. There are one or two votive reliefs, however, from the Athenian Asklepieion that appear to have been reused within the lifetime of the sanctuary, which is unexpected as, in a way, this amounts to tampering with the god's property.

M. Graf: Haben Sie in Ihrem reichen Material Weihreliefs, auf denen ein Weihrelief und eine Gottheit zusammen dargestellt sind (ausgenommen das Telemachos-Relief, das ein Sonderfall ist)? Wenn nicht, würde dies doch nahelegen, dass Darstellung der Gottheit und Darstellung des Weihreliefs funktionell äquivalent sein können, dass also die Darstellung eines Weihreliefs auf einem Weihrelief keine individuelle, sondern eine generelle Bedeutung hat zur Angabe des sakralen Ortes beziehungsweise (wenn man an die Darstellung des Reiterheros denkt) der verehrten Gottheit?

M. van Straten: In votive reliefs that have a representation of a pillar supporting a votive relief (*vel sim.*), either the deities are depicted or the part of the relief where we would normally expect them is missing. So it does not

appear that the depiction of the votive offering mounted on a pillar is interchangeable with the representation of the deities.

M. Rudhardt: Y a-t-il dans l'espace sacré des lieux privilégiés pour placer les πίνακες?

M. van Straten: From Herondas, *Mime* IV, one gets the impression that the closer the votive offering was placed to the divine image (or, to put it more generally, to the focus of worship), the better it was considered to be. It is difficult, however, to substantiate this general impression with much archaeological evidence.

M. Bingen: Les ex-voto qui représentent le dédicant avec ou sans sa famille, qu'il y ait préparation au sacrifice ou non, s'opposent aux ex-voto qui sont de simples offrandes, un échange de bons procédés avec le dieu ou le héros. Mais ces ex-voto figurés se divisent en deux groupes à la signification différente. Les uns représentent un acte d'adoration collective, que perpétue l'offrande figurée; les autres, le moment de la présentation et de l'acceptation du sacrifice, où l'offrande n'est plus qu'un acte secondaire. Souvent, pour l'Egypte hellénistique, on oppose, d'une manière qui m'apparaît un peu simpliste, la représentation égyptienne de l'offrande ou de la prière comme une répétition continue de l'acte représenté, là où la représentation grecque n'aurait qu'une valeur de commémoration. Ne peut-on pas trouver dans ces représentations votives du groupe familial ou de l'association religieuse un même besoin de prolonger l'acte d'adoration ou le bénéfice du sacrifice au-delà de la présence du groupe dans le sanctuaire? Au fond, créer un espace individualisé du groupe dans les rapports généraux existant entre les hommes et une divinité, ce qui correspondrait à l'évolution générale de la religiosité grecque à partir de l'époque classique, chose que ne réalisait qu'en partie l'individualisation de l'offrande votive par l'inscription du nom du donneur?

M. van Straten: I am entirely in agreement with you. The neat opposition between the Egyptian and the Greek view is, in my opinion, altogether too artificial. In fact, in my article on «Gifts for the gods», in H.S. Versnel (ed.),

Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of religious mentality in the Ancient World, Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 2 (Leiden 1981), esp. p. 112, I have suggested a similar interpretation for those cases where an anatomical ex voto is combined with a representation of the entire worshipper.

Mme Bergquist: What is the proportion of votive reliefs per deity? From your slides, I get the impression that those to Asklepios predominate. Is that correct? It would fit my picture of the socio-economic place of these votives. To have a relief cut did, of course, cost money, and I presume the ancient Greeks were most prepared to accept that cost with regard to Asklepios and healing deities in general.

You also brought up a question which you did not answer, viz. why are only the initial, processional stages represented and not the feasting and dancing stages of a festival or a sacrifice? My suggestion is that it might not have appeared seemly or decent to represent on a votive relief to the deity the pleasures of the worshippers in connection with the sacrifice.

M. Schachter: Perhaps worshippers were depicted at the point where they could all be drawn together.

Mme Jost: Pour revenir sur l'emplacement des ex-voto dans les sanctuaires, peut-être faut-il distinguer les offrandes de pierre, souvent placées en vue (cf. les traces sur l'Acropole d'Athènes), et les offrandes plus fragiles (par exemple, le tableau peint cité par Pausanias à Lykosoura), abritées dans des portiques ou d'autres monuments.

M. van Straten: I am grateful for the suggestions of Professors Bergquist, Schachter, Jost, Rudhardt, Bingen on the question of why votive reliefs with sacrificial representations almost without exception show only the initial phase, consisting of the presentation of the victim at the altar. An additional point might be, as I have argued elsewhere, that it was considered important that the species (and thus the value) of the sacrificial animal should be clear, which would hardly be the case after it had been slaughtered (see: «The god's portion in Greek sacrificial representations: Is the tail doing nicely?», in



R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, G.C. Nordquist [eds.], *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June 1986* = *Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae*, Ser. in 4°, 38, 1988, pp. 51-68). With regard to the proportion of votive reliefs per deity, brought up by Professor Bergquist: it is true that among the surviving votive reliefs from Classical Greece those of Asklepios are particularly numerous. Votive reliefs to heroes, however, form an equally large (or possibly even larger) group, and the Eleusinian goddesses come in for a considerable number as well. Perhaps it is not just healing deities, but the somewhat broader class of *helping* deities (*theoi epekooi*), who received the most numerous and the most sumptuous votive offerings.

Mme Kearns: Social conditions would no doubt account in all cases for the very low proportion of solitary women worshippers depicted on votive reliefs; except in a few cases of 'women's illnesses' the woman defines herself in terms of her membership of an immediate family. All the same it occurs to me that the case of the hero-banquet, admittedly one of the commonest types of relief in Attica, may show a slight deviation from the norm. Apart from the case of healing heroes, in general the interests of heroes, where they are specially defined, seem oriented towards the masculine, to the life of the polis, that is fighting and counsel. The presence of the horse, even perhaps the banquet itself — despite the frequent presence of the heroine, in a subordinate role of course — are again suggestive of a rather exclusively masculine setting. Would a woman on her own have felt comfortable in such a context?

M. van Straten: I doubt whether in the context of hero worship women would feel more uncomfortable than usual. Surely, judging from the presence of the heroine in most hero reliefs, and from the participation of women in the more pleasant aspects of hero worship as we know it from the *orgeônes*-inscriptions, this should not be called an exclusively masculine setting? But you are right, of course, in underlining that the position of women was no more prominent here than in society in general.

M. Tomlinson: To introduce what is perhaps a red herring of an argument, but a point I shall bring up in the case of Perachora. Should we define all objects deposited in sanctuaries as votive? Are, for example, the suits of armour given to Athena on the Acropolis by the members of the Athenian Empire votive offerings?

M. van Straten: It would seem justified to define all non-consumable objects given to a deity and kept in the sanctuary on a permanent basis as ἀναθήματα: things that ἀνακείνται. Whether 'votive offerings' always is the perfect translation, is another matter.

VII

ROLAND ETIENNE

AUTELS ET SACRIFICES

Le thème que l'on m'a demandé de traiter a fait l'objet récemment de publications importantes. S'est tenu à Lyon en 1988 un colloque sur «L'espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations du Bassin méditerranéen»¹, où il a été beaucoup question d'autels et un peu du sacrifice. Par ailleurs, des livres récents ont renouvelé l'approche du sacrifice grec: un *Entretien* de la Fondation Hardt a été consacré en 1980 au sacrifice²; en 1986, Robin Hägg a réuni un colloque à l'Institut suédois d'Athènes pour traiter certains aspects du sanctuaire et, comme il se doit, il y fut aussi question d'autel et de sacrifice³. Enfin des livres comme celui de J.-L. Durand prolongent les recherches pionnières de J.-P. Vernant et du centre de recherches comparées sur les sociétés anciennes⁴. A cause du caractère récent de cette bibliographie, il me semble que ma contribution doit plutôt faire le point sur l'état de nos

¹ Ce colloque est cité ci-dessous: *L'espace sacrificiel* (éd. R. ETIENNE-M.Th. LE DINAHET [Lyon 1991]).

² *Le sacrifice dans l'Antiquité*, Entretiens Hardt, 27 (Vandœuvres 1981).

³ *Early Greek Cult Practice*, edd. R. HÄGG, N. MARINATOS, G.C. NORDQUIST (Stockholm 1988).

⁴ *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* (Paris 1979); J.-L. DURAND, *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1986) (= *Sacrifice et labour*).

connaissances et mettre en valeur les problèmes en suspens. Il n'est pas possible de faire le tour de toutes les questions, mais celles que je souhaite aborder sont bien mises en valeur par la longue description que Pausanias donne des autels de l'Altis.

1. Pausanias et les autels de l'Altis

(*Description de la Grèce*, V 13-15)

Le Périégète se lance tout d'abord dans une description détaillée du célèbre autel de cendres de l'Altis: ce dernier comprend deux parties, un socle construit en dur — crépis ou prothysis — de 37 m de pourtour, et, au-dessus, le corps proprement dit de l'autel, un amas de cendres formant une ellipse de 9,50 m à la base pour une hauteur totale de 6,50 m (fig. 1). A la différence de Délos, où il est clair maintenant que l'autel de cornes a été inclus dans une architecture⁵, l'autel n'a reçu aucune forme architecturale particulière; on montait au sommet par des marches taillées à même la cendre; cette cendre avait été traitée de façon spéciale, puisqu'on l'avait mélangée à l'eau de l'Alphée pour obtenir «miraculeusement» une véritable argile. Ce n'est pas le seul caractère extraordinaire de cet autel: les milans n'ont pas coutume de venir voler les parts de victime, depuis un célèbre sacrifice d'Héraclès à Zeus «qui chasse les milans» (si jamais l'un de ces oiseaux touche aux victimes, c'est alors un présage défavorable). Pausanias signale aussi qu'il n'est fait usage que du peuplier blanc comme bois du bûcher. Quant au sacrifice proprement dit, deux détails méritent attention: les bêtes sont sacri-

⁵ En attendant la publication définitive du monument à abside par Ph. Bruneau et Ph. Fraisse, on trouvera une mise au point sur les discussions concernant l'autel des Cornes (Kératon) dans Ph. BRUNEAU & J. DUCAT, *Guide de Délos*³ (Paris 1983), 42 (cité désormais GD).

fiées (*thuein*) sur la crépis, et l'on fait ensuite brûler (*katagizein*) les parties dévolues au dieu au sommet de la construction. A ce sommet les femmes — qui sont par ailleurs admises à Olympie — n'ont pas accès.

Ce récit met en valeur plusieurs points qui intéressent l'autel et notre propos:

- le monument d'Olympie fait partie en tant que tel des *mirabilia*. Il a un intérêt en soi et n'a pas seulement une valeur religieuse. Pausanias lui oppose l'autel de Samos, pas plus intéressant, dit-il, que les autels — *escharai* — que les Athéniens appellent «*autoschedoi*», c'est-à-dire improvisés, à la fois grossiers et faits à la hâte. Dès le II^e s. de notre ère, il y a donc une classification des autels en fonction de leurs qualités techniques;
- Pausanias lie à l'autel une série de mythes qui expliquent éventuellement sa nature (cendre et eau de l'Alphée), mais qui, surtout, mettent en place le paysage religieux et les éléments du rituel;
- ainsi, ce sont des oiseaux qui déterminent ce qui est ou qui n'est pas *aisios*, et le bois de sacrifice fait aussi l'objet d'interdit, puisqu'on ne peut utiliser que le peuplier blanc apporté par Héraclès de l'Achéron en Thesprotide. Le monde animal — sauvage — et le monde végétal sont soigneusement conjoints dans le rituel sacrificiel;
- enfin, la répartition des rôles entre les hommes et les femmes introduit la dimension sociale de la *thysia*.

Pourtant l'intérêt du passage n'est pas tant de mettre en valeur ces faits: on en connaît ailleurs de comparables. Par contre, les indications contenues dans le chapitre 14 (4) sont exceptionnelles. Par un vigoureux *φέρε δὲ* Pausanias invite ses lecteurs à le suivre dans une longue tournée des autels de l'Altis:

«mon discours suivra l'ordre selon lequel les Eléens ont coutume de sacrifier sur les autels», et, un peu plus loin, il précise que les Eléens sacrifient tous les mois ἀρχαῖόν τινα τρόπον, c'est-à-dire d'une façon ancienne, traduisons, non-sanglante: ils font brûler de l'encens sur les autels en même temps que des galettes de blé mélangées à du miel; ils mettent sur l'autel des branches d'olivier et font des libations de vin. Pourtant le vin est exclu sur les autels des Nymphes, des Despoines et sur l'autel de tous les dieux.

Même si l'on ne connaît pas parfaitement la topographie des autels de l'Altis, le texte permet de reconstituer avec une précision suffisante l'itinéraire de la *pompè* et donne même des indications sur l'organisation de la procession: la liste des prêtres que cite Pausanias (15, 10) pourrait bien en effet reproduire l'ordre hiérarchique du cortège, avec, en tête, le *théékolos* mensuel, les *manteis*, les *spondophores*, l'*exégète*, l'*aulète* et le *xyleus*, celui qui a la charge de fournir le bois. Ce cortège faisait le tour des 69 ou 70 autels de l'Altis en partant d'un autel d'Hestia, différent de celui du Prytanée, qui devait se trouver dans le sanctuaire⁶ (fig. 2). Il sacrifie ensuite sur l'autel de Zeus Olympien qui est situé avec précision dans le *naos*. Jusqu'au paragraphe 9, les prêtres restent apparemment à l'intérieur du téménos; puis ils passent au stade pour allumer le feu sur les autels d'Hermès Enagônios et de Kairos⁷; immédiatement après est cité un autel

⁶ Le plan de la fig. 2 se contente de replacer les 'stations' du cortège devant les autels qui ont été repérés par rapport à des monuments connus. Ces stations sont numérotées conformément à l'ordre d'exposition de Pausanias dans son exposé, qui, rappelons-le, suit le cheminement du cortège. Lorsque les repères topographiques ne sont pas sûrs, on a ajouté un point d'interrogation à côté du chiffre.

⁷ Ce sacrifice pratiqué dans le stade donne l'occasion de nuancer les propos de B. BERGQUIST, *The Archaic Greek Temenos* (Lund 1967), 40: le stade n'est pas «en dehors du sanctuaire». D'une part, sa position a varié: à l'origine, la ligne de départ était proche de l'autel de cendre; enfin, le stade a toujours été intégré dans l'espace sacré par le parcours de la *pompè*.

d'Héraclès près du trésor de Sicyone, c'est-à-dire sur la plateforme au Nord de l'Altis; on retourne près du «grand autel» pour honorer Zeus Katabaitès; enfin c'est le Pélopie qui est pris comme référence. Le cortège sort à nouveau du téménos pour sacrifier sur les autels de l'atelier de Phidias, il passe devant le Léonidaion et rentre à nouveau par l'entrée des processions, avant de se diriger «en dehors de l'Altis et à droite du Léonidaion» vers l'autel d'Artémis Agoraia; il se rend ensuite à l'Hippodrome. Jusque-là, le parcours s'est déroulé d'une façon assez cohérente et a été effectué en sens inverse des aiguilles d'une montre — quel que soit le point de départ. Le cortège rentre une nouvelle fois dans l'Altis, puis revient vers l'Ouest, passe par le Théékoléon et achève son parcours au Prytanée devant l'autel d'Hestia.

L'intérêt de ce passage est de nous faire suivre une *pompè*. Le parcours répond sûrement à des nécessités rituelles que révèlent au moins deux détails: les célébrants vont d'un autel d'Hestia à l'autre⁸ et empruntent une porte qui est privilégiée pour l'entrée des processions (*pompikè eisodos*). Pourtant, les raisons qui organisent plus précisément le déroulement de l'itinéraire échappent totalement à notre connaissance, mais elles ne relèvent pas, en tout cas, d'une logique simple qui aurait pu se soumettre à la topographie. Les prêtres cheminent en décrivant un cercle complet autour du sanctuaire et en liant concrètement par un sacrifice égalitaire, réservé aux seuls dieux grecs, les membres disparates d'un panthéon et les parties éclatées d'un espace monumental.

Dans ce panthéon, il n'y a vraiment pas de grandes surprises, comme il est naturel pour un centre du panhellénisme. Tous les

⁸ Sur le rôle central d'Hestia, cf. J.-P. VERNANT, «Hestia-Hermès: sur l'expression religieuse de l'espace et du mouvement chez les Grecs», in *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs I* (Paris 1965), 97-143.

dieux sont représentés: Zeus est cité treize fois, Artémis dispose de cinq autels, Apollon en a quatre, alors que, pour Héra, il n'est fait état que de deux, moins que Pan qui dispose de trois *bômoi*. Les Eléens ont soin d'honorer tous les dieux et même ceux dont on ignore le nom, les *agnostoi theoi*. Pausanias mentionne aussi des autels de Zeus Ammon, d'Héra Ammonia et d'Hermès Parammon; mais ces lieux de cultes étrangers ne sont pas desservis par le cortège mensuel, qui ne visite que les dieux grecs (de même les héros sont laissés en dehors de cette célébration). Certaines de ces divinités relèvent de la mythologie locale comme l'Alphée et le Cladéos, ou les plus énigmatiques Despoines⁹; de nombreuses épiclèses ont rapport avec les concours et avec les chevaux; ainsi, à l'entrée du stade, on sacrifiait sur les autels d'Hermès Enagônios et de Kairos.

Quant aux autels eux-mêmes, Pausanias est, comme à l'accoutumée, avare de détails: un autel d'Artémis est dit τετράγωνος ἀνήκων ἡρέμα ἐς ὕψος; doit-on entendre par là que la table parallélipédique était «surélevée» sur une crépis ou qu'elle était «plus haute» que les autres pour mériter cette mention? L'autel des Moires était ἐπιμήκης, «allongé», ce qui n'est certainement pas une caractéristique rare au point d'être signalée dans une périégèse. Pausanias note systématiquement les autels de cendre à cause, sans doute, de leur ancienneté, réelle ou supposée (à côté de celui de Zeus Olympien sont cités ceux d'Héra et de Gê); inversement, il signale qu'un autel de Dionysos est une consécration récente. L'autel de Zeus Katabaitès est entouré d'une clôture et celui de Thémis se trouve sur le Stomion, sans doute une faille dans le rocher comme à Delphes. Comme à Delphes aussi, il y avait un autel dans le temple.

⁹ Sur les Despoines de l'Arcadie, cf. M. JOST, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris 1985), s.v. *Despoina*.

Ces descriptions sont insuffisantes pour que l'on puisse fonder une typologie des autels qui serait conforme à celle des utilisateurs; le texte de Pausanias permet néanmoins de poser tous les problèmes relatifs aux autels: leur forme, leur place dans l'espace, leur lien, leur utilisation, les mythes qui y sont liés, les rituels sanglants ou non dont ils sont le siège. Ce sont certains de ces problèmes que nous aborderons.

2. Typologie des autels

Hormis l'autel de Zeus, le sanctuaire n'offrait guère de *bômoi* sortant de l'ordinaire, selon du moins les critères d'appréciation de Pausanias: le temps, la forme, l'importance, la situation; c'est ce que confirme l'archéologie, qui n'a, que je sache, rien mis au jour d'exceptionnel¹⁰. C'est ailleurs, comme à Tégée, qu'il faut aller chercher des autels sortant de l'ordinaire dans le Péloponnèse¹¹.

Sur les autels grecs, la synthèse de Yavis en 1949 est encore le seul ouvrage d'ensemble¹²; mais ce livre, souvent cité et fort utile, mériterait pourtant d'être aujourd'hui remplacé, au moins pour deux raisons:

- le matériel disponible a beaucoup augmenté en quarante ans, et, ce qui revient au même, des monuments connus depuis longtemps ont été soumis à révision: c'est le cas des autels

¹⁰ On ignore jusqu'à l'emplacement exact de l'autel de cendre: deux nouveaux autels d'Artémis ont été découverts en 1963-1964, cf. H. GROPEN-
GIESSER, «Two altars of Artemis at Olympia», in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, 125-126.

¹¹ Sur l'autel de Tégée, cf. Paus. VIII 47, 5 et M. JOST, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, 145-146 et 153-154.

¹² C.G. YAVIS, *Greek Altars* (St. Louis 1949).

de Samos, de Pergame ou de Magnésie, qui sont les têtes de série des *Monumentaltäre*¹³.

- plus que l'augmentation du matériel, c'est la méthode de classement qui justifierait une révision du livre. Je me contente ici de résumer des critiques que j'ai développées lors du colloque de Lyon¹⁴. Le classement de Yavis se fait en suivant trois critères: l'histoire, la géographie, la typologie. Pourtant la périodisation est trop lâche pour être vraiment intéressante; les groupements géographiques sont, par ailleurs, mal exploités, sauf pour Chypre, et la typologie adoptée fait que des autels de même époque et construits sur les mêmes principes sont distribués dans des catégories différentes.

Depuis le livre de Yavis, quelques études d'ensemble sur une partie du matériel ont été publiées, mais ce sont, soit des travaux de seconde main, comme le livre de M.Ç. Şahin, soit des recherches qui n'intéressent qu'une région, comme celui de D.W. Rupp¹⁵. Je voudrais montrer sur un exemple que l'analyse des types n'est pas un exercice formel, mais intéresse l'histoire de l'architecture et l'histoire des religions.

Une série d'autels mérite une attention particulière, parce que le matériel a été renouvelé récemment. Ce sont des autels que, sans doute à tort, j'ai appelés «autels à antes», et que R. Ginouvès préfère qualifier d'«autels à table en pi», sans doute à

¹³ Sur Samos, cf. H. KIENAST, in *Espace sacrificiel*, 99-102; sur Magnésie et Pergame, cf. W. HOEPFNER, in *AA* 1989, 601-634; et, pour Pergame, M. KUNZE, in *Espace sacrificiel*, 135-140, qui exprime des critiques sur la restitution précédente.

¹⁴ R. ETIENNE et al., *Espace sacrificiel*, 267-269.

¹⁵ M.Ç. ŞAHIN, *Die Entwicklung der griechischen Monumentaltäre* (Bonn 1972); D.W. RUPP, *The Greek Altars of the Northeastern Peloponnese* (Diss. Bryn Mawr. Pa. College 1974).

juste titre¹⁶ : en effet l'ante doit être l'aboutissement marqué d'un mur par épaissement et, de fait, les murs de flanquement de la table ne remplissent pas toujours cette condition. L'autel monumental de Ténos permet de dégager les caractéristiques de cette série (fig. 3)¹⁷ :

- les murs de flanquement dépassent la table vers l'avant (c'est-à-dire du côté de la prothesis);
- cette table est surbaissée par rapport aux murets qui bordent le plateau.

Est-ce que ces autels ont été construits à l'imitation de trônes? C'est ce que soutient N. Stampolidis par les arguments suivants¹⁸ :

- a) une analogie formelle entre ces bâtiments du culte et des trônes ou des exèdres;
- b) leur décoration (lion, sphinges, volutes ou frises en barrière) «rappellent une série de trônes dans les reliefs assyriens ou archaïques ou dans la peinture à figure rouge»;
- c) la barrière en forme de Pi se retrouve sur des autels rupestres qui sont certainement taillés en forme de trône;
- d) le fait que ces «autels-trônes» soient associés le cas échéant à des tables lui semble un bon argument pour en faire un objet de mobilier.

¹⁶ R. GINOUVÈS, in *Espace sacrificiel*, 280.

¹⁷ *Ténos I: Le sanctuaire de Poséidon et d'Amphitrite*, par R. ETIENNE & J.P. BRAUN, BEFAR Fasc. 263 (Paris 1986), 107-125; 170-175.

¹⁸ L'argumentation que nous présentons a été développée par N. STAMPOLIDIS, «Βωμοί-θρόνοι», in *AAA* 1985 (publié en 1988), 231-245; mais l'auteur a composé une trilogie sur ce type d'autel; on ajoutera à l'article cité: N. STAMPOLIDIS, «Ο βωμός του Διονύσου στην Κω (Athènes 1987) et «Altar Krateutes and Acroteria», in *Espace sacrificiel*, 291-296.

N. Stampolidis tire alors de cette assimilation trône-autel des conclusions en matière d'histoire des religions. Il signale qu'il y a depuis les Hittites et les Minoens un culte du «trône-vidé», comme l'avait vu Ch. Picard. Il enrichit les mentions de ce culte du trône en versant au dossier pour l'époque mycénienne la fête désignée comme *thornoegertérion* ou *thornoekcheutérion*. D'autres témoignages de ce culte sont attestés pour les siècles suivants: ainsi, sur une monnaie d'Ainos, est gravé un trône sur lequel est dressé un Hermès; à l'époque romaine, les insignes de l'empereur divinisé étaient déposés sur un trône vide; finalement, à l'époque byzantine, le Métropolitain s'asseyait sur le trône du Christ.

J'ai dû développer cette démonstration pour bien mettre en évidence les dangers du raisonnement et le risque que l'on prend à faire intervenir sans critique suffisante ou de façon naïve un terme comme celui de trône dans une modeste typologie des autels. Peut-être N. Stampolidis serait-il prêt à abandonner une catégorie qu'il a sans doute trop vite créée, si j'ai bien compris ce qu'il en a dit au colloque de Lyon; mais le terme «autel-trône» risque pourtant de faire son chemin¹⁹. Il n'est donc pas inutile de montrer que cette notion ne repose sur aucune réalité matérielle et qu'elle entraîne des confusions dangereuses.

Il est dit (a) que ces autels ressemblent à des trônes ou à des exèdres; n'est-ce pas introduire une première confusion, car la référence à l'exèdre n'a pas lieu d'être puisque ce genre de bâtiment n'apparaît qu'au IV^e siècle av. J.-C., alors que le pseudo-autel-trône existe depuis longtemps. Que les mêmes ornements

¹⁹ L'étude de N. Stampolidis est citée sans critique — ni approbation — par W. HOEPFNER, *art. cit.* (n. 13), 634. L'archéologue allemand fait intervenir un nouveau terme, «Prunkaltäre», qui n'est ni plus juste — ni moins — que les autres (autels «d'apparat»), mais que l'on serait bien venu d'éviter pour ne pas multiplier les fausses catégories.

se retrouvent sur les trônes et les autels ne fait pas avancer la démonstration, puisque, aussi bien, ce genre de décor est utilisé dans la grande architecture et sur des types d'autels que l'on ne peut revendiquer comme trônes: le décor ne peut donc créer un lien spécifique entre les deux séries. Qu'à cela ne tienne: N. Stampolidis considère qu'avec le temps, la forme ou la fonction premières sont oubliées: «With the results that some of its elements are now missing (the backrest), others remained as decoration (the armrests or couch endboards) and others acquired new forms». Si je comprends bien l'auteur, les autels en simple table sont des dérivés de l'autel-trône par suppression du dossier. N'est-on pas conduit, dans ce cas, à céder à tous les mirages du transformisme? Pourquoi ne dirait-on pas, à ce titre, qu'un cercueil n'est rien d'autre qu'un pétrin sans pieds? L'argument (c) n'est guère plus recevable, mais, cette fois-ci, pour des raisons historiques: les «autels-trônes» rupestres sont un type phrygien à haute époque et rien ne prouve qu'il y ait un rapport quelconque avec les monuments dont nous discutons; en tout cas, en Grèce, ce type d'autel rupestre n'existe pas, si bien que la chaîne qui conduirait du rupestre au monumental reste à établir. Le dernier argument est enfin des plus curieux: l'autel finit par être un meuble du type trône parce qu'on lui adjoint une table. Comment s'en étonner et comment recourir à un tel argument, alors que la *trapeza* d'offrande ou de découpe accompagne *toujours* l'autel de sacrifice, quelle que soit sa forme?

Concluons clairement: les autels «à table en pi» constituent une catégorie particulière d'autels, dont la forme s'explique pour des raisons à la fois pratiques (protéger le foyer) et esthétiques. Ce n'est pas parce que l'on peut éventuellement s'asseoir sur un autel que l'on en fait un trône, pas plus que n'est un fauteuil une cuisinière, même si l'on peut éventuellement l'utiliser en ce sens, quand elle est éteinte. Cette série d'autels trouve certainement son origine en Ionie et comporte une version plus proprement

cycladique²⁰. Il y a peut-être une valorisation du trône vide dans la religion grecque — ce qui reste à mon sens à prouver —, mais, si c'est le cas, elle est totalement indépendante de la nature et de l'histoire de l'autel «à table en pi». Histoire de l'architecture et histoire religieuse ne se rejoignent pas autour d'un trône vide ou d'un autel occupé. La rigueur qui est requise dans l'analyse des catégories d'autels doit s'appliquer aussi à l'étude de ces monuments dans l'espace.

3. Les autels dans l'espace

Dans son grand livre de 1967, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, B. Bergquist a apporté de la clarté dans l'organisation des sanctuaires archaïques. Toute une partie de son travail concerne la place de l'autel dans le téménos et sa localisation par rapport, notamment, au temple et à l'entrée: sur ces deux points, qui me paraissent les plus importants, je reprends les conclusions de l'ouvrage avant de les confronter au cas que je connais le mieux, c'est-à-dire à Délos.

1) *Rapport temple-autel*

B. Bergquist a établi que la concordance des axes entre temple et autel représente le cas le plus fréquent: en règle générale, le temple est orienté à l'Est et l'autel axé Est-Ouest²¹.

Si l'autel est disposé parallèlement au temple, c'est, en général, qu'ils ne sont pas dédiés à la même divinité, comme c'est le cas à Délos, à Olympie et à Kalydon.

Une position perpendiculaire des axes du temple et de l'autel est due à une déviation de l'axe du temple, qui doit être expliquée par des circonstances locales.

²⁰ Sur cette version cycladique, cf. R. ETIENNE, *Ténos II* (Paris 1986), 170-175, et *Espace sacrificiel* (Paris 1986), 75-84.

²¹ B. BERGQUIST, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, 80.

2) Rapport entre l'entrée du sanctuaire et le couple temple-autel

De façon générale, l'entrée du téménos est située perpendiculairement à l'ensemble temple-autel. Les cas de déviation par rapport à la règle s'expliquent par des circonstances locales. De façon tout à fait exceptionnelle, dans le cas de l'Héracleion de Thasos, l'entrée est en face, du côté Ouest de l'autel.

Ces conclusions paraissent encore aujourd'hui globalement justes, et, en même temps, l'histoire de l'espace sacrificiel ne se laisse pas facilement ramener à des schémas aussi simples quand on peut la restituer dans le détail, comme c'est le cas à Délos (fig. 4).

On doit rendre hommage à B. Bergquist pour la perspicacité avec laquelle, il y a trente ans, elle a tenté d'interpréter les données archéologiques de Délos. Sans doute aussi, avec la même perspicacité, a-t-elle douté qu'il y eût un temple d'Apollon avant le milieu du VI^e siècle av. J.-C. Je serais volontiers de son avis, malgré les discussions récentes auxquelles ce premier temple d'Apollon a donné lieu²². Pourtant, les plans et les conclusions donnés dans *The Archaic Greek Temenos* méritent d'être profondément révisés.

Contrairement à ce qu'indiquent les dessins 9 et 10, il n'y a pas un seul hiéron à Délos, mais plusieurs sanctuaires: celui d'Artémis a dû être séparé assez tôt de celui d'Apollon; le sanctuaire de Létô ne devait guère être plus récent. On sait aussi maintenant à peu près sûrement, grâce aux recherches de Ph. Bruneau et de Ph. Fraisse, que l'autel d'Apollon est placé dans

²² On trouvera un résumé commode des débats dans *GD* 6; il faut sans doute tirer un trait sur le 'pré-oikos' des Naxiens, car des arguments assez solides ont été donnés pour nier l'existence d'un tel bâtiment; cf. Th.E. KALPAXIS, «Naxier-Oikos I' und andere Baugerüste», in *AA* 1990, 149-153.

le bâtiment à abside (*GD* 39)²³, ce qui condamne l'oïkos des Naxiens (*GD* 6), bien trop loin, comme temple d'Apollon, et redonne vraisemblance à une interprétation de ce bâtiment comme salle de banquet. Artémis avait son propre autel, dès le milieu du VI^e s., comme nous avons pu le montrer avec Ph. Fraisse²⁴. Nous pouvons alors tirer des réalités déliennes des conclusions qui enrichissent les schémas établis par B. Bergquist.

1) *Rapport temple-autel*

A Délos, où que soit le *Kératinos Bômos* (en *GD* 39 plutôt qu'en *GD* 42), sa localisation suffit à expliquer l'absence d'autels particuliers pour les trois temples d'Apollon, et l'orientation à l'Ouest de ces trois temples.

Dès l'époque archaïque, des autels ont été disposés suivant un axe Nord-Sud, comme le prouvent deux exemples sûrs, dont celui de l'Artémision: dans ce dernier cas, l'axe du temple est perpendiculaire à celui de l'autel; on trouve une disposition comparable à l'Héraion, mais l'autel est plus récent que le temple de près d'un siècle²⁵. Dans les Cyclades, une disposition orthogonale des axes du temple et de l'autel apparaît donc comme un mode normal de composition des éléments d'un sanctuaire. La concordance des axes entre le temple et l'autel n'est attestée que tardivement par rapport aux autres régions de la Grèce.

²³ Ces recherches sont encore inédites; sur l'emplacement du *Kératinos Bômos*, cf. pour l'instant *Guide de Délos*³ (1983), 42.

²⁴ R. ETIENNE & Ph. FRAISSE, «L'autel archaïque de l'Artémision de Délos», in *BCH* 113 (1989), 451-466.

²⁵ Pour l'Artémision, cf. note 24; sur l'Héraion, cf. A. PLASSART, *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du mont Cynthe*, Exploration archéologique de Délos XI (Paris 1928), 145-214.

2) *Rapport entre l'autel et l'entrée du sanctuaire*

Les orientations Nord-Sud des autels de Délos s'expliquent sans doute par la présence d'une entrée au Sud, face à l'autel. On soulignera une disposition intéressante entre un autel et une entrée monumentale: il s'agit du Pylône au Sud-Est du hiéron contre le Prytanée et l'autel (GD 25), où j'ai quelques raisons de reconnaître l'Autel des rois, construit par Antigone le Borgne et Démétrios Poliorcète à la fin du IV^e siècle ou au début du III^e siècle²⁶. L'autel se dressait face à l'entrée monumentale. Il est à noter que la création d'un tel «axe sacralisant», unissant une entrée et un autel, a pu exister, dès l'époque archaïque, entre les Propylées et l'Autel des Cornes, s'il s'agit bien de GD 39. Mais, dans ce cas, l'évolution des constructions est venue perturber la clarté du projet initial. Les autels sont bien, en tout cas, les points forts autour desquels s'organise toute la topographie du hiéron délien.

A la différence de B. Bergquist, je ne pense pas que le couple temple-autel soit un élément primordial — au sens fort — dans l'aménagement d'un sanctuaire; les éléments qu'elle appelle «secondaires», arbres, sources, sinon même *oikoi*, me paraissent tout aussi importants, rituellement, et ce sont eux qui définissent l'espace sacré. Pour reprendre l'exemple de Délos, ce qui semble primordial, ce sont les rites qui concernent l'Autel des Cornes et qui déterminent les parcours sacrés: danses des Déliades, ronde des marins qui se flagellent ou flagellent l'autel avant d'aller mordre l'olivier de l'Artémision²⁷. Nous n'avons pas la

²⁶ Sur la localisation de cet autel: R. ETIENNE, «Deux notes de topographie délienne», in *Hommages à G. Roux* (Lyon 1989), 45-47.

²⁷ Sur ces rites et leur localisation, Ph. BRUNEAU, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris 1970), 19-38.

chance, à Délos, d'avoir un témoignage, comme c'est le cas à Olympie, sur le cheminement de la *pompè* qui allait allumer le feu sur les autels du sanctuaire; on ne peut douter qu'il en allait chez Apollon comme chez Zeus et que l'espace sacré tel qu'il était vécu dans le rite n'obéissait en rien à l'esprit de géométrie et n'était même pas strictement circonscrit par des périboles²⁸. Il va sans dire que cet esprit de géométrie intervient pour ordonner les Trésors en arc de cercle ou pour donner des angles droits à un mur d'enceinte qui n'en comportait pas auparavant; pourtant ces tentatives de régularisation ne font que superposer l'ordre du géomètre à l'organisation du sacré, qui n'obéit pas à la même rationalité. C'est à une lecture moins formelle de l'aménagement d'un sanctuaire que nous conduit tout l'effort des anthropologues de la Grèce qui se sont intéressés aux autels et aux sacrifices.

4. Autour du Sacrifice

Les éléments que nous venons d'évoquer — l'autel et son environnement — sont conjoints dans le sacrifice. Le sacrifice — comme acte constitutif de la religion — a toujours retenu l'attention des savants. Son étude a progressé récemment dans une triple direction: la mise en ordre des mythes du sacrifice, l'utilisation des images, l'attention au rituel, gestes et pratiques concer-

²⁸ L'étude de la *pompè* d'Olympie montre que le parcours sacré traverse le péribole à plusieurs reprises (fig. 2); le cheminement de la procession n'est pas défini par un «dedans», le téménos proprement dit, et un «dehors», au-delà du péribole. On aurait pu penser, «en bonne logique», que l'on allumait le feu sur les autels à l'intérieur de l'Altis, puis sur ceux du dehors. Force est de constater que ce n'est pas l'ordre choisi, et que l'on ignore tout des raisons qui ont fixé le parcours.

nant l'abattage et la préparation des viandes²⁹. Il est hors de propos de passer en revue tout l'apport, dans ces dix dernières années, de l'anthropologie, surtout française, mais je voudrais souligner les acquis les plus importants, et, dans la mesure de mes compétences, indiquer les lacunes qui pourraient fournir des pistes de recherche ou de discussion.

C'est sur le sacrifice sanglant qu'a porté essentiellement la recherche, le sacrifice non-sanglant n'étant envisagé qu'en rapport avec le précédent. Dès l'Antiquité, la *thusia* non-sanglante est considérée comme un état antérieur au sacrifice sanglant : Pausanias parle à Olympie, comme je l'ai indiqué, d'un *palaion tropon* pour l'oblation de l'encens et des gâteaux de miel. Il est évident qu'il ne s'agit pas là d'un savoir sur l'histoire de la pratique, mais d'une donnée de l'anthropologie antique de la *thusia*. Le sacrifice non-sanglant appartient par ailleurs en propre à des sectes particulières qui refusent de faire couler le sang et de manger la viande, tels les Pythagoriciens dans leur volonté de différenciation³⁰.

Le rituel du sacrifice comprend trois moments importants, si l'on néglige la préparation proprement dite, c'est-à-dire l'achat des bêtes, la confection des couronnes, la réunion du matériel (couteau, corbeille, vases). La *pompè*, la procession, réunit les participants, fixe leur ordre dans le cortège et décrit un parcours rituel, comme on l'a vu à Olympie. Il manque une bonne étude de tous les aspects de cette *pompè*, que J.L. Durand pourrait nous révéler. C'est à lui et à M. Détiénne que l'on doit des études remarquables sur la deuxième phase du sacrifice, qui se déroule

²⁹ Cf. la bibliographie citée ci-dessus notes 1-4 et particulièrement J. SVENBRO, «Bibliographie du sacrifice grec», in *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* (Paris 1979), 309-323 (cité *Cuisine*).

³⁰ M. DÉTIENNE, «La cuisine de Pythagore», in *Archives de sociologie des religions* 29 (1970), 141-162; *Cuisine*, 13-15.

autour de l'autel et sur l'autel. Ils ont minutieusement distingué les différents moments de la liturgie: rituel du consentement de la bête, obtenu par l'eau et les graines, abattage, découpe, séparation des parts pour les dieux et pour les hommes, cuisson des *splanchna* en brochettes, alors que les autres parties consommables sont mises dans le chaudron à bouillir ou mises à la vente; on connaît maintenant parfaitement non seulement le déroulement du rituel, mais la justification des différentes phases de la liturgie³¹; G. Berthiaume a écrit une étude intéressante sur un personnage à la fois central — mais pourtant pas indispensable —, le *mageiros*, sacrificateur, boucher et cuisinier³². Les représentations du sacrifice sur les vases, ioniens ou attiques, rendent sensible ce que les Grecs tenaient à valoriser dans le processus sacrificiel.

Des différents moments qui viennent d'être évoqués, il n'y en a qu'un qui soit marqué d'un interdit, c'est le temps de l'égorgement proprement dit, c'est-à-dire le temps de la violence; on est avant ou après. Ce n'est pas peur du sang, puisque ce sang marque les autels ou coule des blessures à la guerre. Si l'on occulte le meurtre, c'est que sa représentation mettrait en avant des valeurs contraires au sens du sacrifice, où tout tend à établir un équilibre entre hommes et dieux, et où les bêtes mêmes sont consentantes pour participer à cette juste distribution dont elles sont comme les vecteurs. Tout est fait dans l'image, ou le rituel, pour éliminer la violence du meurtre³³.

³¹ M. DÉTIENNE, «Dionysos orphique et le rôti bouilli», in *Dionysos mis à mort* (Paris 1977), 161-217; J.-L. DURAND, «Bêtes grecques», in *Cuisine*, 133-157, et *Sacrifice et labour*. Sur la difficulté à identifier exactement la part du prêtre, cf. B. LE GUEN-POLLET, in *Espace sacrificiel*, 13-23.

³² G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros. Etude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne* (Leiden 1982).

³³ Cf. notamment J.-L. DURAND, *Sacrifice et labour*, qui étudie les mythes non prométhéens du sacrifice sanglant.

Si elles cachent la violence, les images donnent à voir les éléments fixes — autels et tables — autour desquels s'organise l'espace du sacrifice, et les éléments mobiles ou outils que l'on introduit dans cet espace³⁴: *canoun* avec *machaira* et graines d'orge mêlées au sel, *chernips* pour l'eau, *sphageion* pour récupérer le sang des victimes; découpage et cuisines, rôtiage des *splanchna* évoquent ce qui est le temps fort du rituel, le repas en commun. Pourtant, la scène du repas elle-même, ou la distribution des chairs dans le public, ne sont pas représentées. Est-ce que les scènes de banquets privés, bien souvent figurées sur les vases, ont épuisé le thème des réunions conviviales, ou peut-on, à la rigueur, penser que certaines de ces scènes pourraient être en rapport avec un sacrifice public?³⁵

Les mythes viennent expliquer le sens des rituels, comme l'a montré J.-P. Vernant en étudiant Prométhée, voleur de feu et fondateur du sacrifice où les dieux semblent recevoir la moins bonne part³⁶. En fait, le processus du sacrifice, qui unit le monde du végétal, par les céréales, le monde animal, par la victime, enfin hommes et dieux sous le signe d'un juste partage, exprime les conditions requises pour un bon fonctionnement de la communauté civique. D'autres mythes donnent réponse à ce qui reste tout de même un acte de violence fondamental: le meurtre d'animaux domestiques. J.-L. Durand, qui vient d'étudier ces récits, en conclut: «La cité grecque est une société pacifique; le sacrifice, malgré le sang qui coule, est, comme le labour, un acte pacifique et le groupe qui se fonde par le bœuf mangé et labou-

³⁴ Sur ces éléments, J.-L. DURAND, *Sacrifice et labour*, 103-127, et *Espace sacrificiel*, 45-55.

³⁵ C'est une hypothèse que se propose d'examiner P. PANTEL-SCHMITT, *La cité du banquet. Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques* (Thèse inédite Univ. de Lyon II-Lumière, 1987).

³⁶ J.-P. VERNANT, «À la table des hommes», in *Cuisine*, 37-132.

reur ne se fonde pas sur la violence.»³⁷ Il ne manque pourtant pas de récits pour exprimer cette violence et la situer en marge de la cité: mythe orphique des Titans dévoreurs de Dionysos enfant; pratiques de sacrifice aberrantes chez les Scythes; sacrifice humain chez les Egyptiens, dont Héraclès faillit être la victime³⁸. Pour comprendre ce qu'est le sacrifice, il faut parcourir toute la chaîne des récits qui disent ce qu'il n'est pas. On aimerait sans doute une étude d'ensemble de tous les mythes en rapport avec le sacrifice: malgré le désastre de toute une littérature perdue, on perçoit la multiplicité des histoires locales à Athènes, à Thèbes, à Lindos ou à Chypre³⁹.

Sur les Thesmophories, M. Détiénne réclamait aussi une synthèse. La «race» des femmes ne se détermine-t-elle pas par rapport au sacrifice? A Olympie, les femmes accompagnent les victimes jusqu'à la crépis de l'autel de Zeus, mais elles ne montent pas au sommet porter les offrandes au dieu. C'est une façon d'exprimer leur place à part dans le rituel sanglant, comme l'a bien souligné M. Détiénne en étudiant les récits concernant les Thesmophories: «il ne s'agit de rien d'autre que de maintenir le privilège masculin de verser le sang, quand il semble le plus menacé par un ordre rituel, celui des Thesmophories, qui prescrit à la fois l'éviction des mâles et l'instauration d'une société de femmes, sacrifiant souverainement des victimes animales.»⁴⁰

Après avoir évoqué les images mentales du sacrifice, par définition a-historiques, je voudrais, en conclusion, dire un mot

³⁷ J.-L. DURAND, *Sacrifice et labour*, 195.

³⁸ Sur Dionysos, cf. M. DÉTIENNE, *Dionysos mis à mort*; sur les Scythes, Fr. HARTOG, «Le bœuf 'autocuisseur' et les boissons d'Arès», in *Cuisine*, 251-269; sur Héraclès, J.-L. DURAND, *Sacrifice et labour*, 118-122.

³⁹ Ce sont ces récits «locaux» qui sont étudiés par J.-L. DURAND, *Sacrifice et labour*.

⁴⁰ M. DÉTIENNE, «Violentes 'eugénies'», in *Cuisine*, 208.

d'histoire. L'un des problèmes qui restent ouverts est celui de la mise en place de la *thusia* grecque, comme banquet communautaire ritualisé. Il est clair, d'un côté, que les textes homériques font état d'un plein épanouissement de la pratique, mais il est bien difficile de définir dans le temps la société à laquelle renvoie l'épopée. En fait, autour de l'archéologie du sanctuaire, se renoue, comme on le voit dans le colloque de 1986, le problème de la continuité entre Mycènes et l'Âge du Fer, et, autour d'une question d'autel, risquent encore de s'obscurcir les débats. B. Bergquist a développé à l'occasion de cette réunion des idées fort intéressantes sur la façon d'interpréter l'archéologie du sanctuaire de Katô Symi en Crète et d'Apollon Maléatas à Epidaure⁴¹. Je suis d'accord avec notre collègue suédoise sur la thèse d'ensemble — la continuité de l'espace sacré entre Mycènes et l'Âge du Fer n'implique pas l'identité des rites — même si je n'adhère pas à tous les aspects de la démonstration. Je me contenterai de souligner trois faits:

- a) les sacrifices d'animaux, et même sans doute des repas plus ou moins sacrés, sont attestés à l'époque mycénienne, si, comme cela semble être le cas, il y a bien une permanence de lieu sacré à Katô Symi comme à Epidaure;
- b) comme on ne sait ni qui consomme, ni sous quelle forme, ni s'il y a partage entre les hommes et les dieux, on ne peut porter que des jugements hasardeux sur la continuité entre Mycènes et l'Âge du Fer. De même que les tombes à crémation, ou l'usage de fer, n'étaient pas inconnus dans le monde mycénien, de même le repas sacrificiel a pu être pratiqué. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'il présentait la même forme et qu'il revêtait la même valeur qui furent les siennes au VIII^e siècle av. J.-C.;

⁴¹ B. BERGQUIST, «The Archaeology of Sacrifice: Minoan-Mycenaean versus Greek», in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, 21-34.

- c) deux éléments me paraissent par contre décisifs pour «dater» le rituel grec: l'apparition d'autels «bien construits», c'est le terme même d'Homère, à la fin de l'époque géométrique à Katô Symi (je laisse de côté les autels de Samos, dont la chronologie est mal assurée), et l'exaltation de la broche à cuire qui est consacrée dans les sanctuaires ou dans les tombes, de même, à la fin du VIII^e siècle⁴². La présence d'*obeloi* semble la preuve indubitable que le rituel est en place. D'aventure l'archéologie pourrait bien aider à régler un problème d'histoire, où se rejoignent les origines de l'autel et du sacrifice.

⁴² Quelle que soit la signification de certains *obeloi*, la plupart des broches trouvées dans les sanctuaires devaient servir pour les repas sacrificiels: cf. P. COURBIN, «Obéloi d'Argolide et d'ailleurs», in *The Greek Renaissance of the eighth century B.C. Tradition and Innovation* (Stockholm 1983), 149-156, et K. KILIAN, «Weihungen aus Eisen und Eisenverarbeitung im Heiligtum zu Philia (Thessalien)», in *op. cit.*, 131-146.

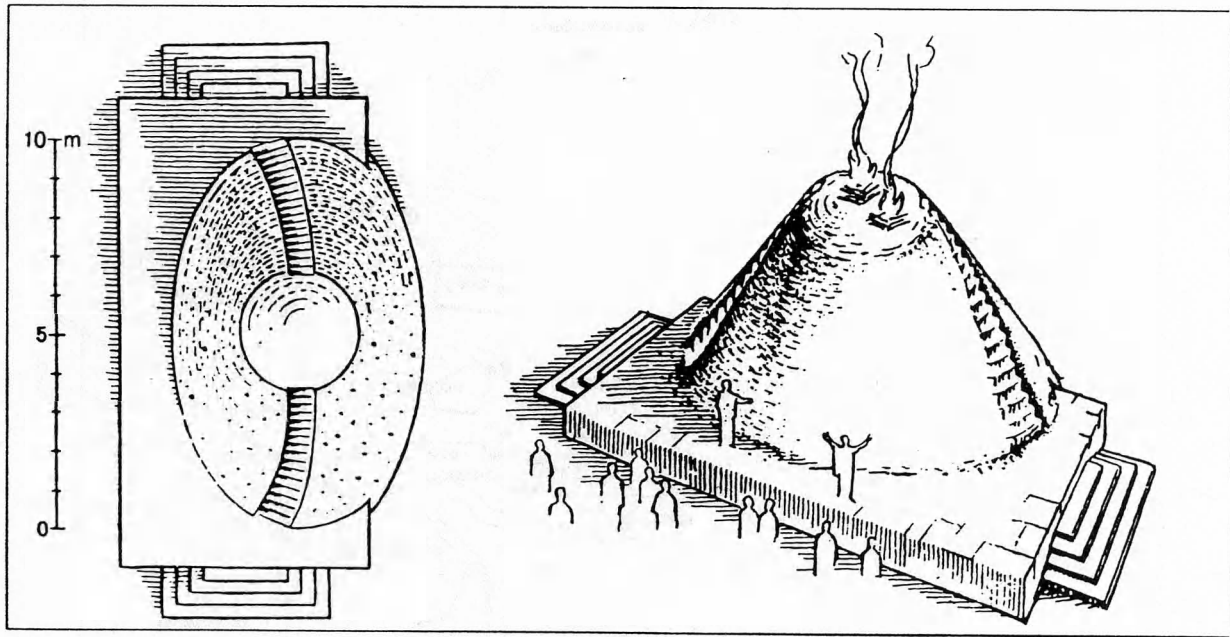


Fig. 1: Olympie, Autel de cendre (Restitution dans N. Papahatsis, *Pausanias*, 1979).

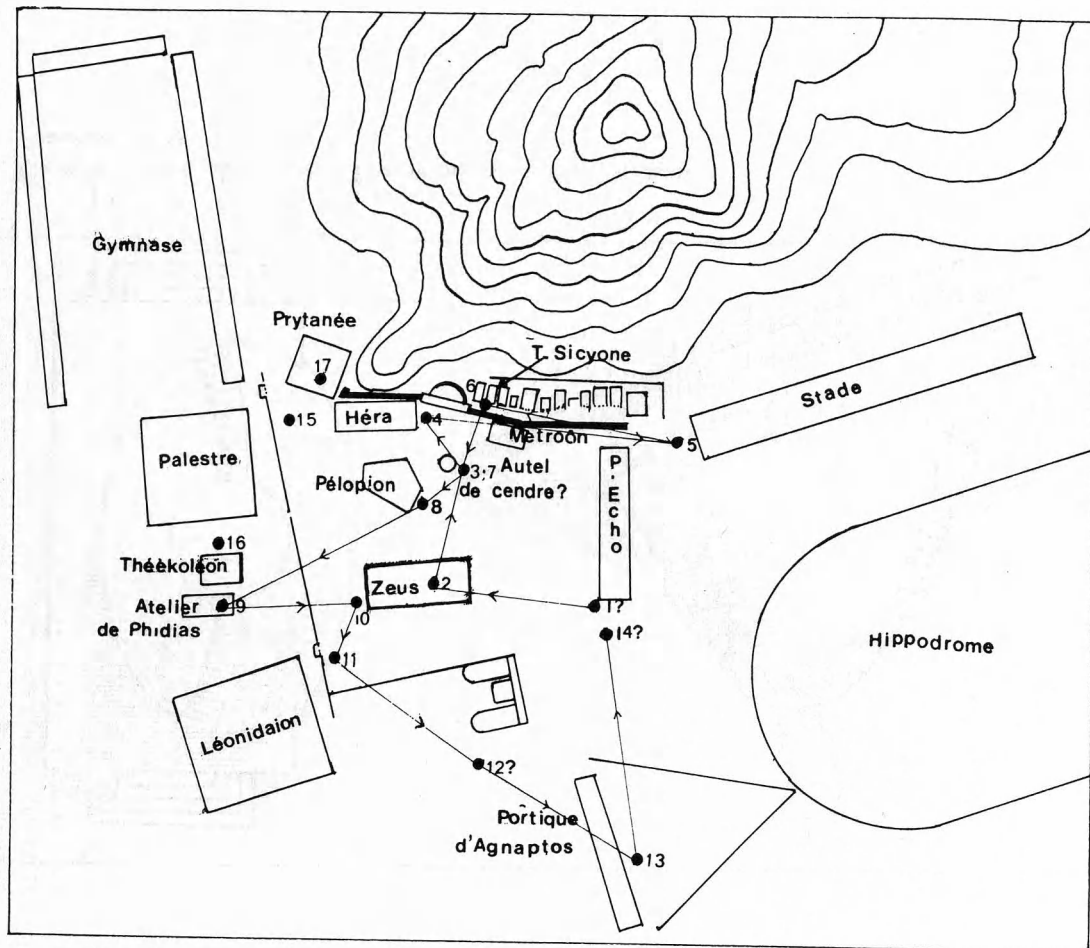


Fig. 2: Olympie, parcours de la *pompè* mensuelle.

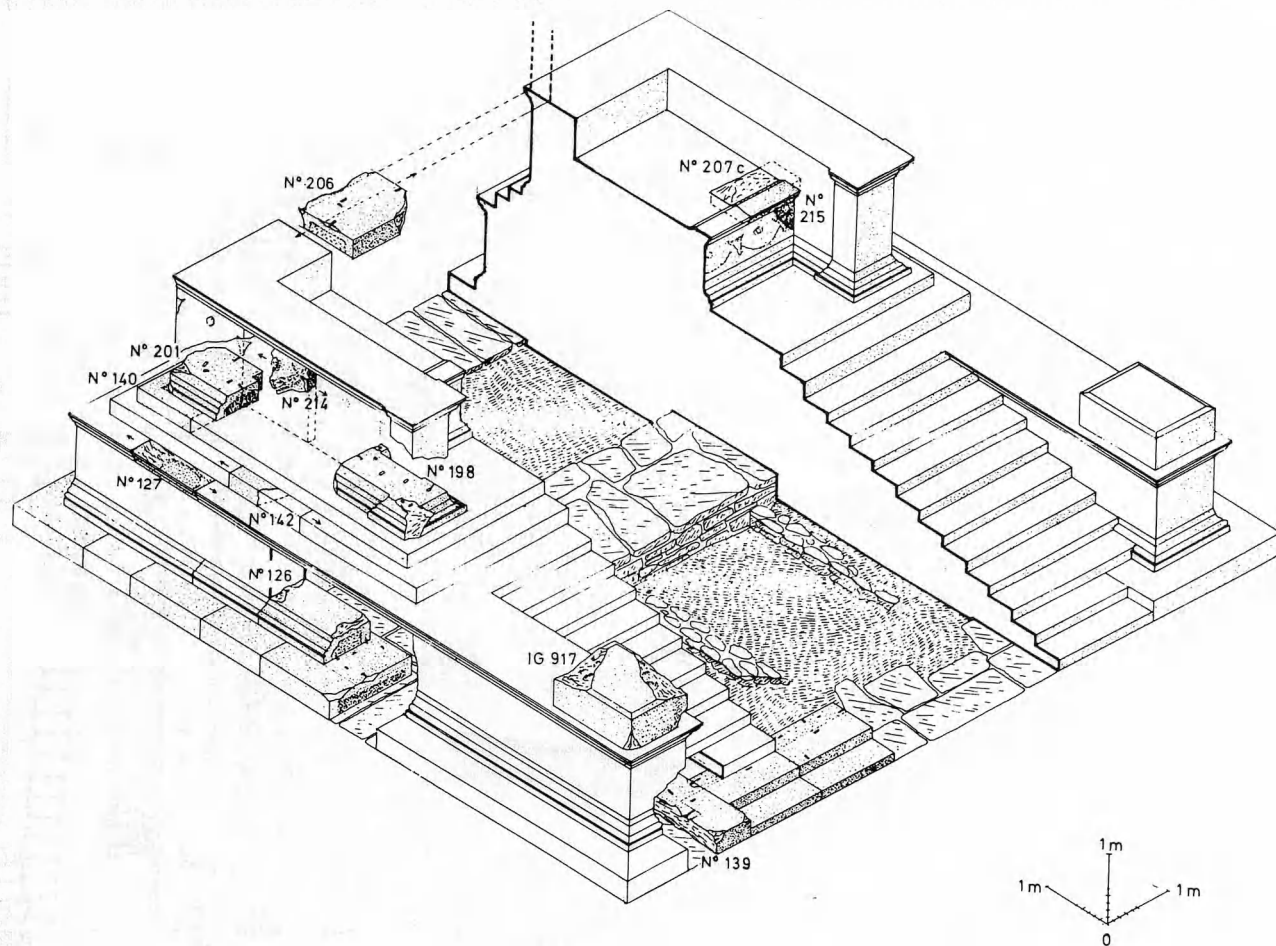


Fig. 3: Ténos: autel de Poseidon et d'Amphitrite.

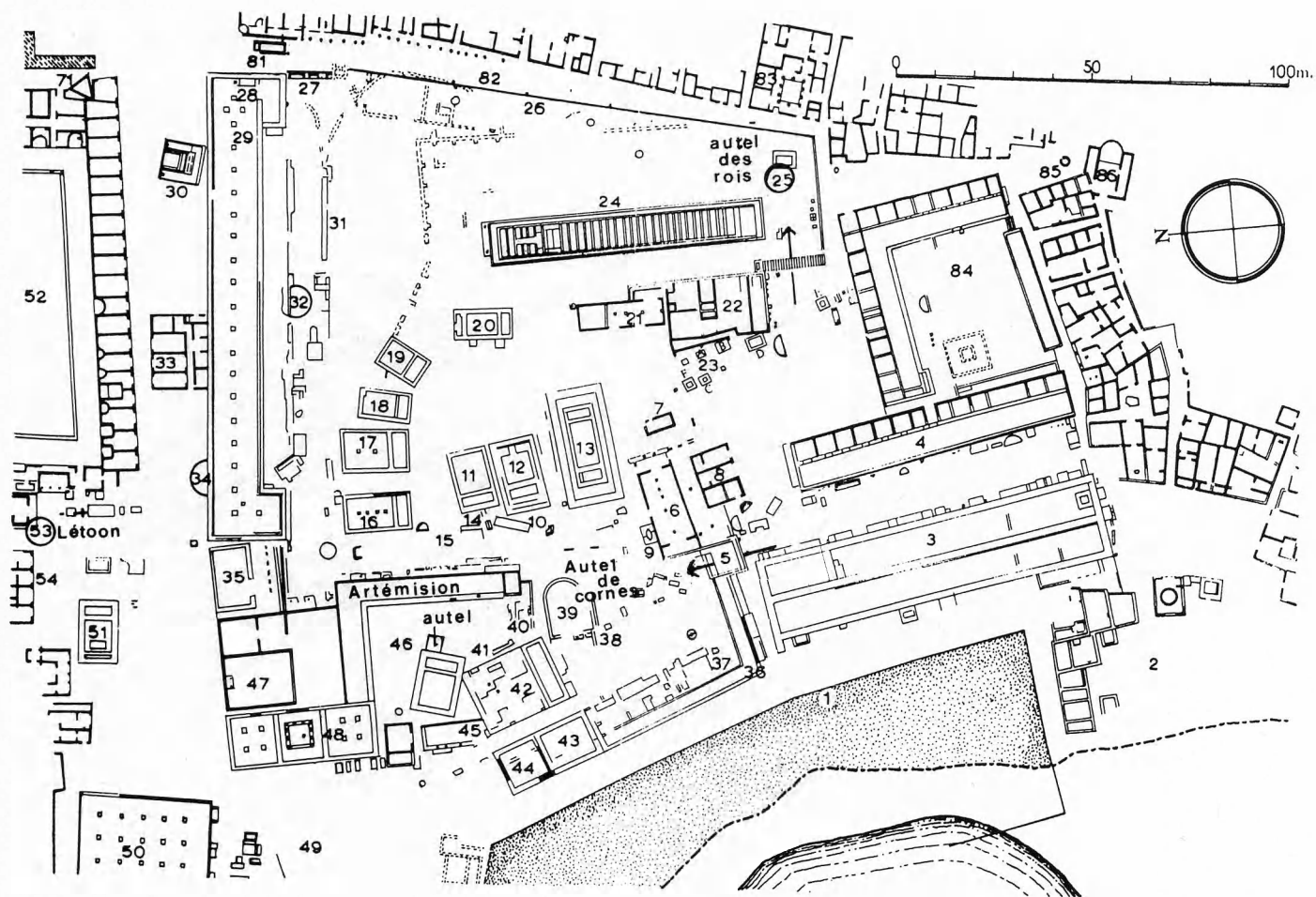


Fig. 4: Délos: plan du hiéron (d'après *Guide de Délos*, 1983).

DISCUSSION

Mme Jost: Suppose-t-on pour les autels monumentaux une utilisation particulière (mis à part les cas où ce sont des monuments de prestige, ils apparaissent aussi dans de petits sanctuaires isolés, par exemple Glanitsa d'Arcadie)?

M. Etienne: Je n'ai pas de réponse sûre à cette question. Il se peut que l'on ait allumé plusieurs foyers pour cuire les brochettes. Il faudrait retrouver des autels qui auraient été abandonnés après usage pour obtenir des indications précises, et ce n'est pas jusqu'à présent le cas. Je citerai pourtant deux exemples: à Cyrène, S. Stucchi a mis en évidence un autel dont la longue table était divisée en plusieurs compartiments («L'espace sacrificiel», dans les *Civilisations méditerranéennes*, Colloque Lyon 1988 [1991], 175-178.). D'un autre côté, B. Alroth a émis l'hypothèse raisonnable que des figurines votives pouvaient se trouver sur l'autel au moment même de la combustion (*Early Greek Cult Practice* [Stockholm 1988], 195-203). Ces exemples n'expliquent pas vraiment les raisons pour lesquelles on construisait des autels 'démesurés', mais suggèrent que, dans certains cas, la longue table peut avoir une justification fonctionnelle.

Mme Bergquist: I remember having seen statements that the sizes of the really huge altars, e.g. the altar of Hieron at Syrakousai, were due to their double function, i.e. serving not only the sacrifice but also the subsequent roasting of the meat for numerous and large groups of worshippers.

M. van Straten: The idea that the size of the altars was increased to accommodate more participants in the sacrificial ritual perhaps finds support in the parallel of the 'Opferrinnen' in the Archaic Kerameikos cemetery. These

indicate that, especially in the 7th century B.C., very long pyres were built next to the grave to allow as many people as possible to cast in their funeral gifts at the same time.

M. Tomlinson: One altar with which I am concerned is that at the Menelaion outside Sparta, where Hector Cathing has invited me to study the architectural material from his excavations there. In my attempt to understand that monument I have also had to look at Amyklai, where of course you have a sanctuary which is essentially an altar with appurtenances which *was* termed a 'throne' in Antiquity (and which has obvious connections with Ionia since the architect/sculptor responsible for it was Bathykles of Magnesia). At the Menelaion it seems the arrangement was of an altar (of which no trace survives) in front of a shrine building from which architectural material has now been recovered, and which presumably contained the cult images of Menelaos and Helen (whether or not these were seated: from the evidence of votives elsewhere in Lakonia, I rather suspect they were). This was a small anta building, without columns, fronting the altar. There is, however, also a surround to the lower part of the mound on which the shrine was built, with projecting side walls, which is later, and served to enlarge, or perhaps rather conserve the platform of altar and shrine.

This may well be influenced by the throne of Apollo at Amyklai, though that is very difficult to elucidate (there have been restorations published showing it literally as a throne), but which must essentially have consisted of a colossal cult-statue, standing in the open air with the altar in front. I suspect that 'throne', with its decoration of relief sculpture, is the popular term given to the outer surround to all this, rather than the altar itself. (One might compare the *New Testament* [*Book of Revelations*] name for, probably, the Great Altar at Pergamum as 'Satan's Seat', which again obviously refers to the surround, rather than the actual altar.)

M. Etienne: Il y a eu plusieurs propositions de restitution du trône d'Amyclées, la dernière en date étant celle de R. Martin (in *RA* 1976, 205-218=R. MARTIN, *Architecture et urbanisme* [Rome 1987], 369-387. D'après le texte de Pausanias, il semble bien que le support du vieux xoanon avait une forme de siège, comme sur la monnaie d'Ainos.

M. Bingen: Je crois qu'on ne saurait assez insister sur l'inadéquation du terme autel-trône comme dénomination typologique, sauf à le réserver pour l'un ou l'autre cas spécifique, hellénique ou non. En fait, on identifie un trône, objet d'adoration, à l'autel, support de rituel. Dans l'exemple cité de l'Hermès Perpheraios (cf. Call. *Iamb.* 197,1 et *Diegeseis* VII 32 Pfeiffer) des tétradrachmes d'Ainos, il ne s'agit ni de trône, ni d'autel, mais du siège sur lequel le vieux xoanon est porté dans la *pompè*.

M. Graf: Mit Ihrer Ablehnung von 'Thronaltären' gehe ich sehr einig, insbesondere auch mit der Ablehnung jeder Verbindung mit den phrygischen Felsthronen. Das Entscheidende jener Monumente ist, dass sie aus dem anstehenden Fels gehauen sind und die Verbindung der Μητηρ 'Ορεία mit ihrem Berg demonstrieren: funktionell gleichwertig ist der chiotische Naiskos auf der sogenannten 'Daskalopetra', wo die Göttin selber in der Front thront. Mit Altären hat das alles wenig zu tun.

Eine Frage möchte ich an die interessante Klassifikation der Altäre anschliessen. Das klassifikatorische Schema ist offensichtlich rein formal orientiert: inwieweit überschneiden sich damit funktionelle Kriterien? Gibt es auch Formen, die fest bestimmten Funktionen zugeordnet werden können — etwa Arulae dem blossen Verbrennen von Weihrauch?

M. Etienne: On trouvera dans *L'espace sacrificiel* (Actes du Colloque de Lyon, sous presse) une explication de notre typologie des autels. Nous avons été guidés par des principes strictement constructifs, et nous avons voulu éviter les difficultés de vocabulaire, comme celle que j'ai évoquée.

Mme Bergquist: In opposition to my previous interpretation (*The Archaic Greek temenos. A study of structure and function*, ActaAth-4°, 13 [Lund 1967], 27), you maintain that the structure immediately adjoining the east façade of the Artemision formed a N.-S.-oriented altar, in relation to which the entrance was not perpendicular or cross-axial in my terminology. I have seen but not yet seriously studied your article about this in *BCH*. Together with the relevant, primary literature, I will consider your archaeological re-interpretation and the potential consequence of an instance of a non-cross-

axial relation between altar and entrance. If I agree with you, it will not be the first time, nor will it be the last, that one of my archaeological interpretations has been superseded. Personally, I am neither surprised nor shocked at this state of things, in view of the large amount of often very thorny material that I treated a quarter of a century ago.

You have also advocated a concept of 'espace sacré', which would differ from my 'sacrificial area' of 1967. As a matter of fact, I have changed my mind. Today I would rather speak of a much larger 'festal area', in which the altar is the focus but which also serves various other functions in the cult (see also G. Kuhn, «Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Säulenhalle in archaischer und klassischer Zeit», in *JdI* 100 [1985], 169-317). This festal area seems to consist of an 'inner' part west of the altar and of an 'outer' one around the altar on the other sides.

Since you argue *from* one particular site and *against* formal relations, I would like to emphasize that I deliberately set my concepts (and the schematic illustrations to them) on a high and very formalized level of abstraction, because they were intended precisely to abstract from several instances the generic features of the basic structure of the phenomenon of the *temenos* (*op. cit.*, 8-12) (incidentally, I have not called *sacred* trees and springs secondary elements, cf. *op. cit.*, 9 and 107).

M. Etienne: Pour moi, la notion d'«espace sacrificiel» recouvre la disposition dans l'espace de tout ce qui est mis en jeu par le rituel du sacrifice; le temple, s'il existe, n'en est qu'un élément.

Mme Jost: A quand remontent les premiers autels fixes retrouvés dans les fouilles?

M. Etienne: La série la mieux représentée est celle des autels de Samos, qui sont antérieurs au grand autel de Rhoikos (milieu du VI^e siècle av. J.-C.). On date le premier du début du IX^e siècle, mais la chronologie de ces bâtiments frustes est-elle bien assurée? L'autel, 'bien construit', de Katô Symi est certainement l'un des plus anciens: il remonte à la fin du VIII^e siècle av. J.-C.; et l'autel de cendres d'Apollon Maleatas est de la même époque.

Mme Bergquist: With reference to my contribution to the 1986 symposium at Athens (*Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the fifth international symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, June 1986*, ActaAth-4°, 38 [Stockholm 1988], 21-34), you bring up the issue of whether there is continuity or not between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age animal sacrifice. We seem to be pretty well agreed. There was, in my opinion, no continuity between the Bronze Age animal sacrifice, the ritual of which we do not know, and the Iron Age *burnt*-animal sacrifice, the anomalous ritual of which was shared only by the Hebrews (see also my forth-coming article, «Bronze Age sacrificial *koine* in the eastern Mediterranean? A study of animal sacrifice in the ancient Near East», in *Ritual and sacrifice in the ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Conference in Leuven, April 1991*). For you, the criteria are the altar structures and the finds of spits. For me, the criterion is still the altar structures. Spits could have been used for the worshippers' sacred meals, irrespective of whether, prior to them, animal sacrifices with an unknown ritual or *burnt*-animal sacrifices had been performed.

Apropos the utensils for the worshippers' sacred meals, I cannot resist the temptation to bring up an idea that I have played with for a long time. In addition to spits, sharp, pointed weapons (swords, spears, lances, arrows, etc.), which are frequently found in sanctuaries, may also have been used both for the roasting of *splanchna* and for the worshippers' meat portions. Such a usage would have been all the more natural, if the ancient equivalent to formal or 'evening dress' was to be dressed in full armour (see also my forth-coming article, «A particular Western Greek cult practice? The significance of stele-crowned sacrificial deposits», in *OpAth* 19, ActaAth-4°, 41 [1992], n. 25).

M. Schachter: Professor Bergquist's remarks on the need to distinguish between animal sacrifice and *burnt* animal sacrifice, and her statement that the Greeks of the Early Iron Age and the Hebrews were anomalous in performing burnt sacrifices, are perceptive and important. I hope that she will pursue this further. It might be added that the reservation of a portion of the sacrificed beast for the god and the roasting and eating of the *splanchna* ought to be regarded as two separate acts.

M. Graf: Das ganze Kontinuitätsproblem ist äusserst komplex — und auch widersprüchlich. Übernimmt man die auf Karl Meuli zurückgehende Vorstellung, dass Form und Ideologie des Tieropfers auf Traditionen jägerischer Kulturen zurückgehen, muss man schon dort die Verbindung der drei konstitutiven Elemente — Tötung eines Lebewesen, gemeinsamer Verzehr, Stiftung von Gemeinschaft in Akt des Tötens und des Verzehrs — eigentlich voraussetzen: dann ist man gezwungen, eine ununterbrochene Kontinuität seit neolithischer Zeit anzusetzen: das steht in einem gewissen Widerspruch zur Annahme, konstitutive Elemente des Tieropfers seien aus dem Orient übernommen worden.

Das andere Problem sind Fragen der Chronologie. Im 8. Jhdt. sieht das Tieropfer in seinen Elementen bereits vollständig ausgebildet aus (Homer ist doch wohl Zeuge für die Religion seiner eigenen Zeit, wenn auch in epischer Stilisierung); die ersten Kontakte mit dem Orient setzen aber kaum früher als das spätere 9. Jhdt. ein: das lässt ganz wenig Zeit für die Ausbreitung eines so zentralen Rituals in einem zudem noch stark zersplitterten Griechenland. Die archäologische Demonstration, dass das Tieropfer in der späteren Form bereits mykenisch ist, würde von daher nicht überraschen, sondern zahlreiche Probleme lösen können.

M. van Straten: We should also keep in mind that any attempt to establish continuity for elements of ritual from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age is severely hampered by the fact that our view of Mycenaean religion (and civilization in general) is a distorted one. The information in the tablets is limited with regard to scope and social stratum. Mycenaean imagery is largely borrowed from Minoan, to the effect that in this special case iconography obscures rather than elucidates typical Mycenaean-Greek ritual.

M. Etienne: Je crois que l'on est amené à repenser l'ensemble des données du sacrifice en rapport avec les nouveaux acquis et les nouveaux débats qui concernent le passage de l'Âge du Bronze à l'Âge du Fer. Il semble clair que le rituel complexe du sacrifice est en place dans la deuxième moitié du VIII^e siècle; c'est du moins ce que semble dire aujourd'hui l'archéologie. Que certains éléments du rituel se retrouvent à Mycènes ou dans d'autres sociétés

ne prouve nullement qu'il y ait continuité ou transfert. Le moment que j'indique comme temps de formation du rituel est celui aussi de la création des premières cités. A cela rien d'étonnant, puisque la *thysia* sanglante est justement l'un des temps forts exprimant la solidarité de la communauté civique.

Mme Kearns: This is perhaps a side-issue to your paper, but your mention of bloodless sacrifice as *complementary* to animal sacrifice, rather than as the Greeks often thought, as its historical predecessor, prompts me to refer back to Delos, where this complementarity seems to be illustrated in a particularly striking way. The literary sources refer chiefly to two altars on Delos, obviously because they were the most striking and unusual: the Altar of Horns and the ἄρνός βωμός. At the second of course animal sacrifice was forbidden, only bloodless offerings being made. The first seems to express a divergence from the norm of communal, festive sacrifice in the opposite direction, in that the fact of the animal's death is expressed in an emphatic and permanent manner — the altar itself is composed of parts of the sacrificed animals. Thus the opposition is expressed in a distinction of altars. At Olympia, on the other hand, the distinction is a temporal one, in that as you showed the monthly bloodless sacrifices take place at the altars which at other times (this is certain in at least some of the cases) were the location of the sacrifice of animals. I wonder if you have a view on the difference between Delos and Olympia here, or on the role of the altar itself in differentiating between these major types of sacrifice?

M. Etienne: Je ne pense pas que l'autel puisse apporter un élément de réponse: les sacrifices, sanglants ou non, se font sur le même type d'autel (l'autel des cornes, à Délos, n'est, pour moi, qu'un autel de cendre un peu particulier). Je ne crois pas, par ailleurs, que l'on ait à rapprocher ou à opposer les rituels de Délos et d'Olympie; dans la perspective où vous vous placez, il me semble que l'histoire et la fonction des deux rituels sont différents.

VIII

R.A. TOMLINSON

PERACHORA

The early development of Greek Sanctuaries — particularly Olympia and Delphi — has been discussed by Dr. Cathy Morgan in her splendid recent book *Athletes and Oracles*. In this she makes reference to the importance of the Sanctuary of Hera Akraia at Perachora which, in its early stages, was in the forefront of sanctuary development.

In this paper I propose to examine the evolution of the Perachora sanctuary, and in particular the relationship between its early and developed form. It is now nearly 40 years since I first went to Perachora, and nearly 30 since I first excavated there. During this time I have made many friendships there; this summing up is a tribute, in particular, to Michaelis Thodis, the former Phylax, whose enthusiastic support and enthusiasm for the archaeology of the region was a mainstay of my work, and whose death last year is a sad loss to us.

Excluding the chance and insignificant prehistoric material, excavation has revealed an archaeology extending from the early first millennium B.C. until the later Roman period¹. The earliest

¹ See *Perachora* I (H.G.G. PAYNE *et al.*); *Perachora* II (T.J. DUNBABIN *et al.*) for the main excavation reports. Subsequent work is reported in *BSA*.

deposition of pottery suggests religious usage, and from this the sanctuary developed in archaic and classical times. There are clear indications of a substantial interest in the sanctuary early in the Hellenistic age, around 300 B.C., but nothing later. A presumed period of decline probably led to cessation of religious use, perhaps confirming Strabo's use of the past tense in reference to Hera Akraia. Subsequent Roman structures are secular, and represent a new direction after the sanctuary had been abandoned.

Behind this bare chronological summary is concealed another fact, not appreciated at the time of Humfry Payne's original excavation. The earthquake which shattered Perachora village in 1981 resulted in a systematic study of the area by seismologists². Their discoveries included the fact that the region can expect to be subjected to a major, destructive earthquake every three hundred years or so. It is interesting, in this respect, to note that the two village churches, totally destroyed in 1981 and now replaced, dated to the 17th century. We must, therefore, allow for two, perhaps three, major earthquakes during the proved life of the sanctuary, sufficiently strong to affect it, though not necessarily resulting in the destruction of buildings (buildings in the vicinity of the sanctuary were not badly damaged in 1981).

In his excavations, Payne discovered a wealth of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery, as well as bronzes and other objects. The overwhelming impression from these is of a specially flourishing period in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. Though to the modern visitor it may seem to be a small, relatively unmonumental place, in the scale of its building, and the

² C. VITA-FINZI and G.C.P. KING, «The Seismicity, Geomorphology and structural evolution of the Corinth area of Greece», in *Phil. Trans. R. Soc. Lond. A.* 314 (1985), 379-407.

wealth of its offerings, the Sanctuary stands comparison with the major sanctuaries of Greece in its archaic *acme*, though undoubtedly it lags behind the more grandiose achievements of the Classical period.

An important element is the origin of its habitual worshippers. There are a few dedicatory inscriptions on stone, more painted or incised on pottery, but none give the place of origin of the dedicators. Lilian Jeffery, who studied the inscriptions on vases and small objects, showed that the preponderance of these use the Corinthian alphabet, as we would expect. More distant connections are suggested by the large quantity of objects in an Egyptian style, totalling over 900, the great majority being scarabs, though because few of them are of steatite, T.J. Dunbabin suggested they were manufactured on Rhodes. A study of the 8th/7th century bronzes by J. Kilian-Dirlmeyer suggests 80% of these are of eastern origin, 74% of them Phoenician and only 6% from Greek Ionia³.

Taking into account the totality of the archaeological material, it appears that the worshippers were predominantly Corinthian, and that the sanctuary was primarily of local interest, the international element in the objects found there reflecting the overseas contacts of the Corinthians themselves. Certainly, the bulk of the pottery must have been manufactured at Corinth.

To attempt greater precision tends to more speculative interpretation. The location of the sanctuary at the small harbour gives obvious credence to the supposition that dedications were made there by sailors travelling up or down the Gulf of Corinth. The importance of the harbour is emphasized by Payne, though he exaggerates this: the harbour does provide shelter of a sort

³ «Fremde Weihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern von 8. bis zum Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.», in *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 32 (1985), 215-254.

from northerly winds, but it is very small, and the now proved tendency for the land to sink, rather than rise, through seismic activity hardly suggests (as Payne believed) that it was larger in antiquity. The existence of a quite complex system of roads leading to the Heraion from other parts of the Perachora promontory proves that there were also local worshippers. These came not from the substantial town which Dunbabin believed surrounded the sanctuary (in an essay on the 'Town' which exists in draft in the archives of the British School, where he estimates its population at some 5,000). Instead we must suppose a number of scattered clusters of habitation over much of the promontory, by each area of agricultural land, some near the Heraion, others at the eastern end of Lake Vouliagmene where their graves, containing Protocorinthian pottery, were discovered last year; others, in the vicinity of the modern village, and so on. The network of roads gathers these people together and leads them to the sanctuary.

Thus we are not dealing with an urban sanctuary, but a rural one that was specially visited on the occasion of the festival⁴. A puzzling passage of Plutarch (*Quaest. Gr.* 17, 295 B-C) lists the villages which of old (τὸ παλαιόν) constituted the state of the Megarid, the citizens being divided into five groups, of which the first are the Heraieis and the Peiraieis (the others are Megareis, Kynosourieis and Tripodiskioi). Hammond argued that this must mean that the promontory was originally Megarian, and forcibly occupied by Corinth⁵. Rather Plutarch seems

⁴ Evidence for metal (bronze) working suggested to Dunbabin a town (unpublished essay in archive of the British School). But as Catherine Morgan (*Athletes and Oracles* [Cambridge 1990], 37) shows, itinerant craftsmen worked at sanctuaries.

⁵ In *BSA* 48 (1954), 93. J. SALMON, in *BSA* 67 (1972), 193, probably rightly, rejects a theory I formerly put forward that this is based on Hellenistic invention.

to conflate two arguments: firstly, that these five groups existed as distinct villages, or clusters of hamlets, and, secondly that all five formed, collectively, a recognizable polis of the Megarid, though this does not coincide with the historical boundaries of Megara. I now think that this is confusion: that it was *remembered* that at a remote time the Perachora promontory, the 'villages' of Heraieis and Peiraeis, were not part of Corinthian territory, but were acquired by Corinth; and that it was *assumed* that before this they were part of the Megarid. Instead, I would argue that in the more fragmented world of the Greek Dark Age they were simply small, independent communities which Corinth assimilated. If so, we can postulate two stages for the sanctuary: one as a *local* centre of cult for the Heraieis and secondly, as a centre which had a wider patronage, for the enlarged Corinthian state to which it now belonged. If the expansion of Corinth is correctly associated with the Bacchiadai, this should have happened at some point in the 8th century B.C., perhaps around 750 B.C. There seems to have been a sanctuary of Hera Akraia in the lower town of Corinth, in the vicinity of Glauke where Medea's children were buried⁶. *Akraia* can be demonstrated, from the inscriptions as well as the reference in Strabo, as the cult title of Hera at the Perachora sanctuary, where it must refer to the 'headland'. Elsewhere, as Dunbabin points out (I p. 20, n. 1), the title refers to sanctuaries on a hill or acropolis. This is not the place for the tomb of Medea's children, so we have a sanctuary of Hera Akraia which was *not* on the acropolis. A more economical explanation is that there was a transfer of cult, consequent upon the annexation of the territory in which the original was situated, and similar to the transfer of Eleusinian Demeter to Athens, an event which is likely to be roughly coincidental with the adoption of Hera Akraia in Corinth. Thus a

⁶ Paus. II 6, with Eur. *Med.* 1378-1383 and the scholiast *ad loc.*

link was established between the existing cult and the enlarged state, so that Hera at Perachora now received not only the local worshippers but those from Corinth as well. Some formal delegation from Corinth to Perachora is a likely part of the ritual, whether it went by land or by sea. (A procession by sea from Corinth would help emphasize the significance of the harbour, and the vicinity of the sanctuary to it.)

There can be no absolute certainty for the reasons why this particular locality was chosen as a sanctuary. The only obvious geographical feature which may have determined the choice of site is the existence of the harbour. But there is another possibility. There appears to be a relationship between the cult of Hera Akraia and supplies of fresh water. This can be remarked in the case of the transfer sanctuary at Corinth: if my explanation of its foundation is correct, the choice of site for it (when presumably a free choice was available) by or above the fountain of Glauke is surely significant. We shall also see the elaborate measures taken to provide the sanctuary at Perachora with an adequate water supply. Water bearing-strata underlie this part of the promontory; they can be seen at the bottom of the deep shaft system and access staircase dug out in the area above the sanctuary in the early Hellenistic period. These strata emerge on the south side of the promontory under the cliffs at just about sea level; there is a similar natural configuration of the rock on the south-facing cliffs that form the northern edge of the Heraion Valley. A natural spring may well have been the original reason for the sacredness of this particular location, though none survives at the present day.

The sanctuary first developed on the small shelf of flat ground between the harbour and the tall, inaccessible cliff that shuts it in from the north. This area is further delineated by rising ground to east and west. On this was built, in the 8th century B.C., a small apsidal temple, placed precariously close to the north cliff. It is in this area that Geometric pottery was

found by Payne. In the next stage, the area utilized for religious purposes was extended. To the east, in the Heraion Valley, (where the steep slope, which immediately closes off from this side the original sanctuary, eases) a series of terraces was constructed, on the uppermost of which is a rectangular building, facing north and containing a hearth. On these terraces was found a considerable deposit of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery, (with, of course, other objects) but no Geometric. This is the area identified by Payne as a second sanctuary, distinct from that by the harbour, from which it is physically separated, and believed by him to be dedicated to Hera Limenia. A third area of flat ground was created to the south-west of the original harbour sanctuary, partly by trimming back the natural rock. Thus, the area used for religious purposes begins at the time of the deposition of Geometric pottery, with the small, naturally restricted area by the harbour; and is extended, at a time when the deposition of geometric pottery had ceased, by the creating of the terraced area in the Heraion Valley, and subsequently, the area to the south west. With this, the full extent of the area forming the sanctuary was achieved, and later development was concerned with the more intensive, or monumental, usage of the existing area, rather than further extension.

An important fact emerging from Perachora is the relatively early date for the achievement of the full extent of the sacred area. In the original sanctuary it is usually supposed that the Geometric temple was short-lived. Its eventual successor is a surprisingly substantial prostyle Doric temple, but this cannot have been built until about 525 B.C. Payne believed there was an intervening, second temple, and in *Perachora* I, he described the «votive deposit from the second and third» temples of Hera Akraia. In general he was unable to distinguish material between them, since it was mixed without any stratigraphical separation, except in the south-west area, where a sealed deposit must post-date the Geometric temple and antedate the temple of 525. At

the same time — the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. — the material from the Heraion Valley terraces is far richer and far more abundant. Here is the principal deposition of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery, along with bronzes, ivories and so forth. Dunbabin and Hammond therefore argued that the harbour sanctuary was neglected, and that there was no need to postulate a second temple there; that the focus shifted to the eastern terraces, and that the rectangular building was now the principal temple. This was coupled with the attribution of the Geometric temple to the Megarians, the new cult of Hera Limenia being the consequence of the Corinthian annexation of the Perachora promontory.

This view prevailed, to add to the confusion already created by the publication of the material in two distinct groups, that of Hera Akraia and that of Hera Limenia. It was left to John Salmon to apply to Perachora the principles for the organisation of Greek sanctuaries elucidated by Birgitta Bergquist, and to recognize that what we have at Perachora is in fact one sanctuary, and one cult, that of Hera Akraia (Limenia being rather a descriptive than a cult epithet), and that the terraces — and the area between them — are part of a single ancillary extension. I therefore argued, as an extension of what John Salmon had demonstrated, that the rectangular building on the eastern terraces was not a temple, but a room for feasting.

At the same time, there are awkwardnesses in this argument. The rectangular building is on the easternmost of the terraces, furthest away from the original temple and sanctuary. The simplest explanation is that it is only here that the natural form of the valley floor is reasonably level; until this point it has been ascending quite steeply from the harbour area. Only here was it possible to build without extensive support works. Between this area and the original sanctuary was situated what is perhaps the most enigmatic feature of Perachora, the hollow, clay-lined depression which Payne called the Sacred Pool. This hollow was

definitely created for storing water. It contained, when excavated, around 200 bronze phialai mesomphaloi, of 7th to 6th century date. Although stratification of deposit within the pool could be observed when it was excavated, this does not seem to have been recorded; no section is published in *Perachora* I or II, and there is nothing of it in the archives of the British School. Even so, this would not have served to date the construction of the pool, since I suspect that it was only allowed to fill with material after it had been abandoned⁷. We do not know its original date. It is not impossible, however, that it antedates the eastern terraces; that it had importance for the early sanctuary, and that its existence is another reason why the extension had to be situated to the east, at such a distance from the original sanctuary. I believe that this pool is crucial to the early development of the sanctuary. From its position, and profile, it does not seem that its purpose was to collect surface rainwater, for it would have been very difficult to keep clean. Rather it is meant to collect and store the exiguous flow from my hypothetical natural spring which I have propounded as an essential reason for the creation of a sanctuary in this spot. Using the material in it as dating evidence for its abandonment, it would appear to have been in use until the latter part of the 6th century B.C., when we get the third building phase, associated with the construction of the prostyle temple by the harbour.

There is an important fourth stage in the architectural history of the sanctuary, dating to the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. when Demetrius Poliorcetes controlled Corinth. This includes the final extension and walling of the area south-west of the temple, and the construction of the substantial two-winged, two-storeyed stoa by the harbour. Outside the sanc-

⁷ For a further discussion of this R.A. TOMLINSON, in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae 38 (1988), 167-171.

tuary, this is also the date for the construction of the elaborate waterworks system east of the Heraion Valley, with deep shafts, lifting apparatus, aqueduct, storage chambers and fountain house. It is tempting to relate this to the seismic cycle, with major earthquakes about the middle of the 6th century, towards the end of the 4th and at the turn of the 2nd to the 1st, the first two leading to renewal, the last to irretrievable decline. On the other hand, it is more economical, and closer to the seismic interval of three hundred years, if we assume that Demetrius' period was not consequential upon an earthquake, but results entirely from his own political purposes, to provide a focus of cult for his mini-kingdom. That would then allow us two earthquakes, one before 525, another in the 3rd century and accounting for the final demise of the sanctuary.

This gives us a chronological frame, whether or not the causes of the divisions are earthquakes, and we can allot the buildings to these divisions:

- | | | |
|----------------|---|--------------------|
| 1. 8th Century | Apsidal temple | } «Sacred
Pool» |
| 2. 7th Century | 2nd Temple (hypothetical, rather than archaeological) | |
| | Rectangular building on upper terrace, and polygonal terrace wall | |
| | Trace of archaic building near the Sacred Pool | |
| Earthquake | | |
| 3. 6th Century | S.W. Court, first phase | |
| | 3rd Temple | |
| | Altar and related steps, unless these belong in phase 2 | |
| | 2nd phase of S.W. Court | |
| | Double apsidal cistern and hestiatorion | |
| | Further terrace walls and steps | |

Accurate, absolute dating for any of these developments is problematic. The Geometric deposit included examples of Corinthian Middle Geometric II but the bulk of it belonged to the final phase, Late Geometric. Thus it appears that the origin of the sanctuary belongs essentially to the 8th century B.C. with slight (MG II) indications from the early part of the century, but the main development (LG) coming in the second half. The absence of earlier decorated wares argues for the insignificance of usage before the 8th century. It may be that the earliest usage did not lead to offerings of a sort which can be rediscovered by the archaeologist; and if the Perachora promontory remained undeveloped and outside the immediate sphere of Corinthian influence (which is not impossible) then the sanctuary may have existed without leaving discernible traces.

It seems unlikely that the temple was built before 750 B.C. The Middle Geometric pottery is too scanty to suppose that it reflects the construction of the building. Further, the relationship of the temple foundations to the Geometric deposit is unclear; it is not impossible that the temple was constructed into the layers containing pottery, that is, that the offerings came first and the temple later, though not by any great length

of time. The temple models, which are in many ways the most interesting of the offerings, seem to date to the middle of the century, or thereabouts, and must reflect an attitude which attributed particular virtue — and, I suspect, novelty — to the offering of real buildings to the gods. All in all a date a little after 750 for the construction of what must have been the original temple is probable; that is, when the area was taken over by the Corinthians.

What we know of the sanctuary is restricted to the spread of Geometric pottery fragments. This was not extensive, as far as we can tell from Payne's description: the bulk of it was found *under* the later triglyph altar, which was demolished to gain access to it. The section also shows pottery between the temple and the cliff face, Geometric not Prehistoric, with the temple foundation apparently set into it. Payne's description of this part of the sanctuary before he excavated shows that the ground sloped up continuously over the site of the Stoa to the east, the result of constant washes of soil on a site which had been excavated from the natural ground level, and the possibility must be considered that part of the Geometric deposit was removed when the Stoa was built. Even so, the area used for the sanctuary must have been limited, though its boundaries cannot be defined simply by the spread of broken offerings (which would have clustered at the centre, in any case). If we can accept the possibility of a spring rising in the vicinity of the «Sacred Pool», then the sanctuary area must already have extended that far into the eastern area. The fact that the pool was lined in clay, rather than stone, suggests that it was constructed at the same time, and with the same limitation of architectural technique, as the apsidal temple.

The next building to be constructed at Perachora and which had left indubitable traces is the rectangular structure on the highest, east terrace, Payne's temple of Hera Limenia. This is described in Chapter IV of *Perachora* I and this description is important since it is no longer in the state in which it was found.

If we accept that the rectangular building, which was tiled, is a temple, then there is reason to put its construction at the same time as the collapse of the Geometric temple, which is what Payne believed. But it seems unnecessarily neat for this to coincide with the transition from Geometric to post-Geometric pottery styles — about 735 B.C. — and the whole reasoning is rather artificial. Clearly, also, a life span of 15 years only is very short for the early temple. I suggest, therefore, as a working hypothesis that there was a spread of post-Geometric pottery over the Geometric in the lower area, from which it was largely removed by later levelling connected with the triglyph altar and adjacent 'steps'. That, *at the same time* and with the original temple still functioning, terraces were constructed in the Heraion Valley, where Protocorinthian pottery began to be deposited, and that the rectangular building, together with the polygonal 'terrace' wall to the west of it were in fact cut into this level. If the tiles are not a replacement for an earlier roof they put the rectangular building into the 7th century. That restores the separation in date from the temple, which is surely right: if we down-date the temple, as we clearly must, then we must also down-date the rectangular building with its better construction, and order and logic is restored.

I have argued elsewhere (*BSA* 72 [1977], 197) that the building is a dining room. If the Perachora building has to be put in the 8th century, this usage is most unlikely, which seems to me an additional argument for a 7th century date⁸. The central hearth occurs in indubitable, later dining room buildings (Lerna, Corinth, the Asklepieion at Troizen) whether for heating or roasting meat on spits. Even in early buildings (as at Zagora) where function is uncertain, the balance of probability

⁸ Henry IMMERWAHR, *Attic Script* (Oxford 1990), 16 argues for a 7th century date for the inscriptions recording the dedication of spits and found, reused, lining the hearth in this building.

must be that such hearths serve a human, rather than an exclusively divine, purpose in that they are for roasting the meat for consumption by worshippers rather than (or as well as) the god, that they are therefore cooking places rather than sacrificial altars.

Thus in the 7th century, it seem to me, there are two focuses to the sanctuary which at Perachora happen to be at some distance separated from each other. By the harbour is the temple, where offerings may be deposited, where probably the altar was situated (it must be remembered that no actual early altar has been found) and where the ritual of sacrifice was performed: while the second focus is the hestiatorion, the hearth building where, and around which, the sacrificial meat was consumed by the worshippers⁹.

Between the upper terrace and the temple area is the site of the Sacred Pool. Nothing remains visible of this in the ground today, and its exact position is not located in any of the published plans, or in the archives of the British School. The pool was found filled with levels of silt and pebble, which indicate successive washes of surface debris into it. If it lasted for any length of time it is necessary to suppose that it was regularly cleaned, and allowed to fill only when it was abandoned. The nature of the levels in it suggests that this is what happened. The pool also contained artefacts, most particularly the series of bronze phialai mesomphaloi. It is particularly unfortunate that in the catalogue of bronzes in *Perachora* I no indication of find spots is recorded, other than the fact that the pool contained other bronzes as well as the phialai. The dates of the phialai range from the 7th through the 6th century B.C. If the pool was cleaned out, they cannot have accumulated there over the years (it is even more unfortunate that they are not recorded in relation to the strati-

⁹ Compare the hestiatorion and equipment mentioned on a Sikyonian inscription of the 6th century B.C.: *SEG* XI 244.

fication of the pool, and to each other). The impression, from a photograph published by T.J. Dunbabin, is that they were on the bottom of the pool, covered by the washed-in silt. If so, they will have got there at the moment the pool was abandoned, and the date of the latest of them gives a *terminus post quem* for the abandonment. This would seem to be in the later part of the 6th century B.C. On the other hand, the earliest cannot be used to provide a *terminus ante quem* for construction of the pool.

If I am right about the date of abandonment, this can be related very approximately to the construction of the prostyle temple, and, in the area between the temple and the terraces, the double apsidal cistern and the two-roomed hestiatorion building that goes with it. It antedates the construction of the flight of steps, and the great stone drain which supplied the double apsidal cistern. The concentration of buildings in other parts of the sanctuary into two distinct groups, before and after about 525, and especially the direct replacement of pre-525 buildings by post-525 buildings, suggests a general revival and restoration of the sanctuary, which can be related neither to war or other political events, nor to any particularly noticeable economic change in the condition of Corinth. An earthquake does therefore appear to be the best explanation. In the reconstruction, the double apsidal cistern seems most economically to take over the function of the pool. In its construction, orientation, the level of its roof and building techniques it is of a part with the two-roomed hestiatorion, and the two structures go together. It is more than likely, then, that the Sacred Pool is related in the same way to the rectangular hestiatorion building on the upper terrace. Thus we have an area with a building to shelter — and mark off — a select body of worshippers at the feasting; an adjacent area where less important feasters can recline in the open air; a collection of bronze utensils for the feasting and libation; a pool to provide the ample supplies of water which seem to go necessarily with feasting, whether this is for utilitarian or sacred

purposes. We can then relate this to the more general development of the sanctuary; an original, limited sanctuary with a small temple, presumably an altar, and an area sufficient for a small number of worshippers to watch the ritual and participate in the feasting, with a related area to the S.W., then, as the sanctuary became more important, extra space and facilities being provided in the Heraion Valley, east of the Sacred Pool.

We must now consider the related finds of pottery. It is normal to regard all material deposited in sanctuaries as votive — gifts to the god by the worshippers who came there. Quite obviously such offerings were made¹⁰. They were frequently valuable, and they are recorded both in the ancient literature and the inscriptions. It is a natural extension from this to regard everything left in the sanctuary as the property of the god, and, as such, dedicated gifts. Even if broken, it remained the god's property, and the broken statues of the acropolis at Athens, vandalized by the Persians are consequently buried in the acropolis itself.

Thus the accounts of Perachora assume that all material found there was also dedicated. This is the basis, ultimately, of Payne's argument for the two sanctuaries; an *early* sanctuary, with its deposit of Geometric pottery but relatively scanty post-Geometric representing the original cult focus; and then a new cult founded on the upper terraces, round the new building which is consequently a new temple for Hera in a different guise. Yet I have argued against a separate cult centre. Why then the plethora of 7th century pottery in the upper terraces?

The Geometric deposit by the original temple includes unpainted cooking pots and a tripod lebes and then «the greater number of painted fragments in the Geometric deposit is from

¹⁰ For an important exception to this generalisation, C. MORGAN, *op. cit.*, 28-30.

cups». The later pottery, admittedly, is more varied. Are these all offerings? Some, either for themselves or, more likely their contents, may be. But the majority are vessels which could be used for drinking (in particular) and feasting, and it is surely not unreasonable to suggest that they, along with the superior bronze equivalents, *were* so used. With this, the distribution of pottery in the sanctuary makes much better sense; Geometric confined to the temple area, because the ritual feasting was also confined there; Protocorinthian and Corinthian on the upper terrace, because that was now, with its hestiatorion building, the distinctive feasting area for the worshippers in the 7th century B.C. Whether, after drinking and feasting, they left behind the earthenware offering to the god, doesn't matter. What does seem improbable is that the bulk of this material should have been brought as something solemnly to be deposited in or at the temple itself as an offering to a presumably grateful deity.

The revival of the sanctuary in the latter part of the 6th century provides an interesting sequence. The prostyle Doric temple which was now built was of vastly increased size. It is over nine metres in width, but disproportionately long; perhaps 31 metres. Proportions of width to length of 1 to over 3 make this one of the narrowest Greek temples. Long narrow temples often have an inner adyton to serve a special purpose, and Payne believed the inner west room might well have been connected with the oracular function of sanctuary attributed to it by Strabo. A simpler explanation is the desire to create a large, impressive building on a very awkward site. The available area could be extended to the west without great difficulty by cutting back into the slope and levelling the ground. This was duly done. But because of the high cliff to the north, and the edge of the harbour to the south, any widening of the site was impossible, failing extensive engineering work, or the total removal of the temple to the west. Obviously, the facade was to be kept close to the original temple location.

To the east of the temple, and almost certainly identical in width, was constructed a triglyph altar¹¹. There is no absolute evidence for the date, but in its original form it must surely go with the temple itself, and belong to the same reconstruction period. Payne demolished it to excavate underneath. He found under it his geometric deposit, but no sign of an earlier altar, which was presumably situated further to the east. To the north of the altar, and extending beyond it an uncertain distance both to east and west is a flight of steps. The length preserved coincided with the length of the chapel of St. John which was built on top of it. To the west, it probably reached as far as the facade of the temple, but it is uncertain how far it extended beyond the altar to the east. Seven steps are preserved, with fragments in the position of a ninth step; they have treads each about .50 m. wide. They covered the site of the early temple, and extended up to the northern cliff face. They are labelled in plate 130 of *Perachora I* «steps leading to the upper part of the site», which, roughly speaking, is what they do at the present day, by way of the path behind the Stoa. But when they were first built the Stoa did not yet exist, and in that circumstance they are not leading in the right direction, particularly as the uppermost step must have abutted directly against the cliff face. So they are rather a series of steps on which spectators could stand to watch the ritual at the altar, an arrangement found in other sanctuaries, but here particularly necessary because of the restricted space. They may have been intended to replace a «spectator area» on the slopes to the east, where the stoa was later built, but which at this time may have carried some construction later removed, linked to the lost west end of the great drain.

It is impossible to elucidate the chronology of the structures in the Heraion Valley. The later terrace walls which run across

¹¹ H. PLOMMER and F. SALVIAT, in *BSA* 62 (1967), 307.

the valley were not published in the original *Perachora* volumes, and there are no surviving records of their excavation. They have obviously deteriorated since the 1930's, and at the moment sections of them seem to be in imminent danger of total collapse. In the section *Perachora* I pl. 140 some walls rest on the natural subsoil while others, obviously late additions to the plan, have footings which are set into the 'Protocorinthian' or even 5th century levels. Three main terrace walls extend across the valley, the polygonal wall, the central wall and the «bastion». The polygonal wall is the only one which on the section seems to have been set into the subsoil. It is undoubtedly the earliest, and related to the 7th century rectangular building (though I am hard put to decide whether it is earlier or later than this). The other two, of large ashlar blocks, must be later than the polygonal wall, with whose alignment they are at slight variance. They appear on the plan to be strictly parallel to each other, and in alignment or at right angles to rooms with similar ashlar walls situated on the south side of the terrace which runs between them. The middle wall rests on the subsoil, the bastion, on the other hand, on stone foundations (now perilously exposed) which are cut only into the top of the Protocorinthian level. Immediately to the west are the irregular, rubble walls, on a different alignment, which are contained totally within the Protocorinthian level. These rubble walls appear to be early, first phase attempts to hold up a terrace at this point, and to be completely superseded by the bastion. The middle wall looks as though it ought to have a foundation trench cut into Protocorinthian level, if not the 5th century, and to belong, like the bastion, to a later phase. Logically they ought to belong to this post-earthquake reconstruction. The '5th century' level seems to run over the bastion, but probably extends either side of it. To the west it reaches to the remains of a flight of steps, of which seven survive. Below, at a distance of about 10 metres to the south west, is the present beginning of the great drain, built from very

large blocks of limestone. In the section it is set into the 5th century level and appears to run over the hollowed top of the Protocorinthian level, which here represents the Sacred Pool. This drain runs down towards the harbour but its west end is lost. A branch, which commences at a diversion point, runs off to the double apsidal cistern, which was obviously filled with water collected on the terraces and led, in some quantity, down the drain. This can only be surface rainwater; the drain is too massive even for a copious spring, and the water was filtered, in a settling tank, before being stored in the cistern. There is little doubt, from their alignment, method of construction, and level that cistern and hestiatorion go together. The occasional use in the double apsidal cistern of hook clamps (which are also found in the temple, along with H clamps), the polygonal form of the hestiatorion wall (which is a base only, for mudbrick superstructure) all point to a date at the same time as the temple for these structures.

The rectangular building on the upper terrace seems to have gone out of use in the 6th century. Fragments of its tiles were re-used in a cistern below the bastion, later than the Sacred Pool, which Payne dated to the 5th century, but which supplied a clay pipeline mainly in the general direction of the stone drain. All this is confusion and, lacking the record of the stratigraphy, hopelessly disconnected. Its relationship to the site of the Sacred Pool must be significant, and it appears that we are dealing, as elsewhere, with a series of essentially similar purposed structures, from the early to the later years of the sanctuary. The late 6th century building here of double apsidal cistern and hestiatorion represents, then, not the introduction of new functions into the sanctuary, but the recreation of facilities for functions which were previously performed here, and were interrupted in the second half of the 6th century.

The extent of the disruption in this area can now be elucidated. It cut off the previous system of water supply and storage.

It shattered the building in which the most privileged worshippers gathered to enjoy the meal of the sacrificial meat. It scattered the bronze utensils, which were kept in this area, not, I think as offerings to the goddess but to be used by the worshippers at the festival. It dumped, by whatever action, the libation vessels into the hollow of the Sacred Pool, which subsequently silted up over them.

The new arrangements reflect those that they replace, but the scale is altered, just as in the area by the harbour the new temple is built on new ground, and to a completely enlarged scale. The principal dining room, and the water storage system related to it, is now brought much lower down in the Heraion Valley, closer to the temple, instead of being placed as far above the sanctuary as was possible within its limits. Other worshippers moved higher up, onto the terrace of the bastion or the uppermost terrace.

The fourth phase belongs to the end of the 4th century. What is noticeable about this work is its scale, complexity and, in many ways, esoteric character. There are several «firsts» from Greek archaeology here, such as the first double-storeyed Stoa. The deep shaft water system above the Heraion Valley is unique, and along with the machinery needed to lift the water, elaborate and expensive, both to create and operate. In this phase we get the intrusion (possibly anticipated by the baldacchino) of the Ionic order into the sanctuary, in the upper storey of the Stoa and the facade of the fountain house of the deep shaft waterworks system. But this is the Peloponnesian form of Ionic adopted essentially in Macedonia and supports the idea that this final phase is the work of a Macedonian king.

Hera at Perachora is to receive a larger number of worshippers at her festival than hitherto, and space has to be provided for them (along with additional water supplies). Demetrius' kingdom extended beyond Corinth, which was now rivalled by the reconstruction of Sikyon as a dynastic city. A religious focus

for the kingdom would more acceptably be situated outside the cities, which might be supposed to show some rivalry to each other; Perachora was as easily accessible by sea from Sikyon as it was from Corinth, and must have seemed ideal for the purpose. As a religious centre for an extended state, more worshippers were to be expected. So we get the final extension of the area south-west of the temple, and the creation, in a very restricted and difficult location, of the stoa, two-winged because of the difficulties of the natural lie of the land and the rock faces, two-storeyed to make the best use possible of the land available. Though objects have been found in the south-west area, its relationship to the temple, other than as a sort of general overspill area, is not completely clear, and the final phase, the extension of the defining wall to run between it and the temple seems to cut it off. It still has to be related to the sanctuary. Its general function would have been as a gathering place. It provides space (which is enlarged with the stages of development of the sanctuary). It is provided with shelter, but its position close to the harbour suggests that this is where people arriving by sea congregated, and this would explain the attention paid to it at the end of the 4th century. Short though the distance is, it would be a suitable place for marshalling a procession, which would then proceed along the side of the temple to the area round the altar. The stoa provides a vantage point, particularly on its upper floor, from which this can be watched, or a destination (and viewing point) for people in the procession not actually concerned with the sacrifice. From here the worshippers could continue to the upper part of the sanctuary, to the feasting which followed the sacrifice; and perhaps the terrace amelioration belongs to this phase, rather than the late 6th century. If they did not already exist, the buildings on the terraces may have been developed at this phase; the possibility remains that the terraces were used for the temporary pavilions which are a regular feature of Macedonian feasting at extra mural sanctuaries

such as that of Zeus at Dion. All this remained (but perhaps decayed) after Demetrius left his little kingdom in pursuit of higher things.

Perachora thus begins to provide for most aspects of Greek religious practice; housing the cult image, sacrifice at the altar, feasting on the sacred meat, processions. Two aspects do not clearly emerge in the archaeological record, the oracular function attested in the brief comment of Strabo; and the element of contest found so frequently in Greek sanctuaries, whether artistic or athletic. Various suggestions have been made for the oracle, but all have difficulties: the oracle could be situated anywhere in the sanctuary. Perhaps no specific arrangements were really necessary.

There is no evidence for athletic or artistic contests. I had hoped that the circular building above the Heraion might prove to be an early, unaltered theatre, but on excavation it proved to be yet another waterworks. All we can say is that if there were such contests, the Heraion Valley itself is a suitable locality, with a flat floor and rising sides for the audience, and no special architectural arrangements would be necessary; this, of course, is usual in early sanctuaries.

What lessons can be learnt from Perachora for the general study of Greek sanctuaries? The study of sanctuaries invariably concentrates on the deity and the ritual. Central to this, in the architectural evidence, is the temple and the adjacent altar. Here is both the focus of cult, and the building on which the greatest architectural care, and expense, was lavished. The study of temples traditionally dominates our approach to Greek architecture. Other buildings are regarded as subordinate or ancillary.

Yet at the same time we must not neglect the worshippers by concentrating on the worship. The religious ritual at the sanctuaries was an obligation demanded by the gods, but this is simply to state in a different way that it fulfilled a human requirement. The ancient Greeks needed the encouragement or satisfaction that the proper performance of established ritual

bestowed. So the sanctuary is in an equal sense a place provided to fulfil these human needs as much as the prescribed needs of the gods. I think Perachora is important because it helps suggest how we should look for the evidence of the fulfilment of those needs in the context of a particular sanctuary. Perachora makes best sense if we see there the parallel provision for divine and human requirements. Obviously they are not treated equally; the divine requires the special architecture (however achieved in fact) that goes with the temple. Worshippers need space — to watch, to process, to participate in the sacrificial food, and this may or may not find architectural expression. To relate this to the early state of the sanctuary requires much hypothesis and uncertainty, though I think the main distinctions are there. More important is the 6th century recasting of the sanctuary. It is from this that it is possible to derive a clearer interpretation than the earlier uncertainties, but what is more important is the statement it provides for attitudes at the time the reconstruction was carried out. If our interpretation is right, there was at the same time substantial, even if not equal, emphasis on the requirements of the human worshippers. From this it follows that we should perhaps be more cautious in attributing aspects of Greek sanctuaries to ritual or votive factors. To Payne, the clay-lined pool in the Heraion Valley was sacred, and had to be explained in terms of ritual. To me, the double-apsidal successor provides water for drinking and cleaning in the adjacent hestiatorion, and, probably, for lesser ranks who feasted outside, and the provision might well have been made earlier from the 'Sacred Pool'. Sacred and human, ritual and utility are not, of course, incompatible. It seems to be misleading to call the sacrifice a religious act, the eating of the meat by humans a secular one. If the sanctuary exists here because of a spring, if the cult was established in Corinth at Glauke because of the spring, the religious usage of water — for purification — is important. To the ancient world, there was probably less awareness of distinction. What I am

arguing is that, even in sanctuaries, ritual is not everything. I have equally made the point, and will not labour it, that not everything deposited in a sanctuary is purely an offering. Even here, how do we draw the line? The crucial aspect of this is the interpretation to be put on the bronze and terracotta utensils. Are they 'gifts to the goddess' and thus purely part of the religious aspect, or are they equipment for the hestiatorion and other feasting arrangements — utensils and nothing more? The clue, it seems to me, can be found on the blocks of stone which edged the hearth in our rectangular building in the upper terrace, the erstwhile temple of Hera Limenia. These blocks were not in their original position, since in one at least the inscription was upside down and on another the inscription faced inwards and was buried under the accumulated ash in the hearth. The inscriptions were not well preserved and we must not read into them more than is there. Two are definitely a record of dedications to Hera, and on the first the object of dedication mentioned is a drachma. Since it is ridiculous to assume this refers to a coin, it must have the original meaning of a set of spits. For Wade Gery, commenting on this as a religious object, it implies a dedication of demonetarized iron spits on the introduction of silver coinage, and refers to the action of Pheidon of Argos, who when he issued silver coinage in Aigina called in the iron spits and dedicated them to Argive Hera. The historical confusion of this statement in the *Etymologicum Magnum* is notorious (which Pheidon? Why Aigina? When did this happen?) but the existence of dedicated spits is a fact, and a great bundle of them was found by Sir Charles Walston in the Argive Heraion itself. To me, the story sounds like an invention to explain the existence of dedicated spits; and I prefer to argue that the spits were given to the goddess — to her sanctuary, if you like, — to be used like the other utensils for the feasting. Perhaps the blocks with the inscriptions did line the hearth from the start (and have been simply moved round when the hearth was reconstructed); if so,

the spits would have rested on the hearth itself where they would be used once a year. Or the blocks were placed originally by the walls, the spits suspended above them. Either way they were dedications and could be used (I suppose a reasonable extension of this argument is that *all* dedications were to be used, by the god if not necessarily by the worshippers). We do not, though, *have* to suppose that everything in a sanctuary was for the god and the god alone. What I am proposing is a plea for the elimination of the word *votive* as an automatic description of anything deposited in a sanctuary, and worship as the only motivation that brings people to sanctuaries.

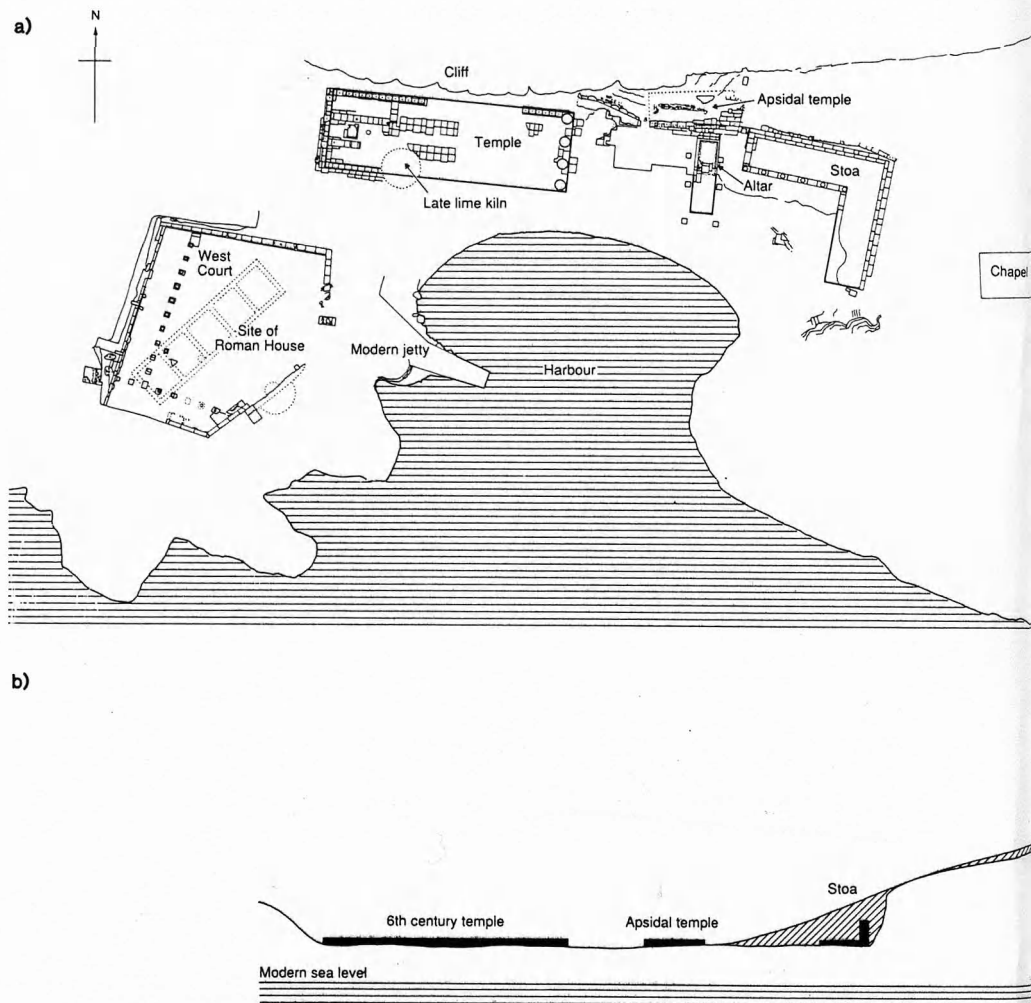


Fig. 1: Plan of the sanctuary of Hera Akraia (conflated from the plans in *Perachora I* and corrected from an air photograph).

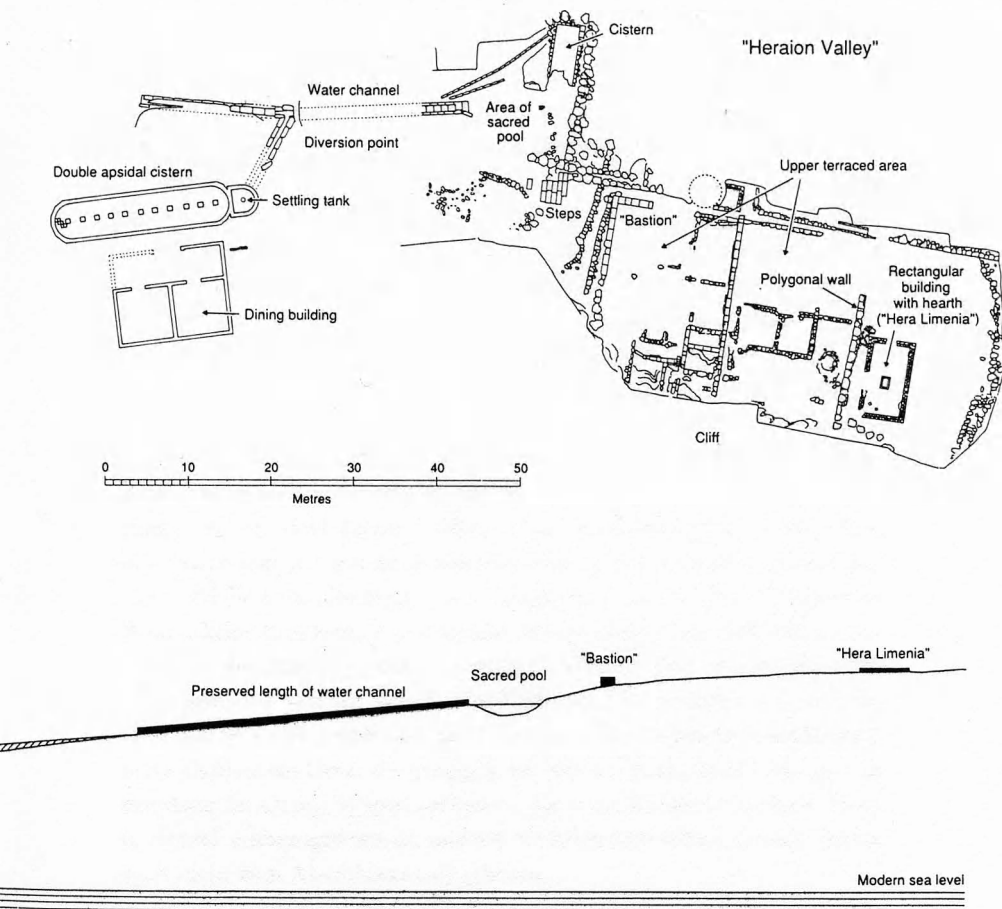


Fig. 2: Section through the site (based the spot-heights on the plans in *Pera-chora I*). Shaded areas suggest the earlier ground level cut away to accommodate the prostyle temple and the stoa.

DISCUSSION

M. Graf: Sie haben in Ihrem Referat am Rande das Temenos der Hera Akraia in Korinth berührt. Wenn ich Sie richtig verstehe, denken Sie es als Ablage desjenigen von Perachora, und zwar aufgrund der Epiklese 'Ακραία, die der Lage in Korinth unangemessen ist. Sie haben auch auf den Mythos von Medeas Kindern verwiesen, der an diesem Temenos hängt. Nun hat besonders Angelo Brelich mehrfach gezeigt, dass der Mythos auf einen Kult verweist, der sich aus initiatorischen Riten heraus verstehen lässt (bes. *SMSR* 30 [1959], 213-254). Wenn Ihre Herleitung zutrifft (und sie ist bestechend): müsste dann nicht auch das Heiligtum von Perachora selber mit derselben Art von Riten verbunden werden? Das Problem ist natürlich, wieweit sich dies auf archäologischem Weg feststellen lässt. Auf zwei Dinge, glaube ich, kann man verweisen. Erstens auf die Lage selber, die ja auch Ihre Verwunderung erregt hat: doch gerade ein derart abgelegenes Heiligtum an einem kleinen Hafen fügt sich gut zu diesem initiatorischen Hintergrund (z.B. Brauron), und die politische Funktion des Kultes macht gerade für initiatorische Rituale keine Probleme. Zweitens (das ist freilich nun sehr spekulativ) kann man auf die Zuschauerstufen verweisen: solche Riten pflegen damit zu schliessen, dass sich die jungen Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft präsentieren, etwa in einer Chorvorführung: jedenfalls wenn die Zuschauerstufen doch auf mehr als bloss ein Opfer der gängigen Art hin. Vielleicht kann man sogar an den Altar der Orthia in Sparta erinnern, der in der Kaiserzeit in einen 'Theatertempel' einbezogen wurde, und wo die Riten zum selben Kontext (wenn auch nicht zum Abschlussritual) gehören.

M. Tomlinson: The problem is to explain why the epithet 'Akraia' is used for a sanctuary, at Corinth, to which it bears no obvious relationship in terms

of its locality, since it is neither on a hill-top or a promontory. The presumption must therefore be that it was brought from elsewhere, and Perachora seems to be the appropriate locality. The presence of a spring may be an additional factor in the selection of the site. From my point of view, the story of Medea's children serves to locate the Corinthian sanctuary, and nothing more. I would not want to extend the argument by relating the significance of the burial to the other sanctuary at Perachora.

M. Schachter: In the Bronze Age we need not look for specific sanctuary sites of a particular deity; we can be content with an indication that a deity was worshipped within a general area.

M. Tomlinson: To me the interesting aspect of Plutarch's explanation of the Heraieis and Peiraieis is the likelihood that it refers to a very early period. The assumption must be, at the least, from what he says, that it is to a time before the Perachora promontory was incorporated into Corinthian territory (I did try to argue that this situation might refer to the Hellenistic period, but John Salmon squashed this argument, I think rightly). Even so Peiraieis can only refer to a Peraia which must be seen from the point of view of people living in Corinthia. A few years ago the Greek Archaeological Service excavated on the south coast of the promontory, some distance east of Lake Vouliagmene, a fine series of Late Helladic chamber tombs — splendid examples of, as it were, rock-cut tholoi — though these have not yet been published. They imply a Late Bronze Age settlement in the area, which is approximately that of Perachora village, and I suspect therefore that the term Peiraieis does go back that far. More speculatively — but the names go together — this may well mean that there were also then Heraieis at the western extremity of the peninsular, and that therefore this area was already sacred to Hera in the Late Bronze Age. This would explain why in the archaic period the cult of Hera developed at one sanctuary, though there is, of course, no evidence for Late Bronze Age religious activity actually at this precise site.

M. Schachter: This is pure speculation on my part: could the people who frequented the *bestiatorion* in the Heraion valley have referred to Hera

Limenia by way of distinguishing the Hera down by the harbour from some other Hera in the vicinity, for example, on the hill-top above the valley (site of the oracle?)?

M. Tomlinson: I would argue that the people who frequented the hestiatorion must have been privileged individuals, and perhaps officials who came on the occasion of the festival from Corinth. They, and other less privileged visitors from Corinth were likely to refer to the harbour, since that is how that would arrive there. So, yes, this is a distinguishing feature, but perhaps from Hera Akraia in Corinth, rather than on the Perachora promontory.

Mme Jost: Quels sont les critères qui permettent de déterminer dans le matériel ce qui est votif et ce qui ne l'est pas?

M. Tomlinson: It seems to me that the distinction is essentially one of purpose. Votive dedications are personal, and directed to achieving a direct relationship with the deity, for the purpose of some personal benefit. Other material is deposited or given with a view to its being used in connection with the practising of the cult and its ritual (I suppose most clearly, for feasting). One of the interesting aspects of this is the preponderance of pottery from the archaic period, at Perachora and elsewhere, rather than from the classical, when perhaps vessels of other material, metal in particular, were used.

M. Graf: Da wir von Ess- und Trinkgefäßen sprechen: rechnen Sie damit, dass diese Gefäße für mehrfachen Gebrauch im Temenos verwahrt wurden, oder wurden sie (wie man oft annimmt) nach einmaligem Gebrauch zerschlagen? Kann man eventuell anhand der Scherbendichte diese Frage beantworten? Die Antwort wäre wichtig, denn sie geht Ihre These an, Mahlzeiten nach dem Opfer seien kaum verschieden von 'profanen Mahlzeiten': wenn man eine Mahlzeit damit beschliesst, dass man das Eisgeschirr zerschlägt, gibt das doch einen besonderen — 'sakralen' — Charakter.

M. Tomlinson: There can be no doubt that pottery used in the sanctuaries was used for sacred purposes. I suppose the difference is that it was not

in itself an offering. We do not know how the pottery was brought to the sanctuary. Did each worshipper bring the vessels he would need, or were they distributed, like the meat, by the authorities who organised the cult (or sold by craftsmen who set up stalls at the festival)? This does not make the pottery a dedicated offering in the votive sense. If pots were used only once obviously there would be more broken pottery than if, like the bronze vessels, they were kept and reused.

M. Graf: Die Grenze, die Sie zogen, ist aber doch durchlässig: wir sprachen ja mehrfach über die Inventare des athenischen Asklepieions, die vorsehen, dass ἀναθήματα — silberne anatomische Ex-voto — eingeschmolzen werden und dass aus dem Metall dann Kultgerät hergestellt wird: das zeigt doch, dass aus ἀναθήματα ἱερὰ χρήματα werden können.

M. Tomlinson: The term, of course, is a wide one, since it only means property generally.

There are two ancient Greek terms which seem to me to distinguish between votive and non votive offerings. Votive offerings are clearly ἀναθήματα. The inscription from Chorsiai, which I discussed in an article in *BSA* 75 (1980), 221, describes the objects it lists in a sanctuary as ἱερὰ χρήματα, sacred property (and a very mixed list they are: pots and pans, knives, possibly a chamber pot, certainly furniture, beds on which the worshippers feasting reclined). None of this can be considered votive.

M. Schachter: At the Theban Kabirion, there are hundreds of cup fragments with graffiti describing them as dedications to or sacred property of Kabiros/Kabiroi. These were clearly destroyed after use, but nevertheless were consigned to the deity as his/theirs.

M. Tomlinson: They had been used in the gods' ritual, and this was therefore proper.

Mme Bergquist: I should like to begin by saying how grateful I am for this comprehensive, clarifying account of the entire Perachora sanctuary site and

its history. I find myself in complete agreement with you not only as regards the various aspects of the architectural remains — I found your remarks about the hearth building particularly gratifying — but also as regards your statements about divine v. human and votives v. utensils.

I have just got one simple comment. You showed a hint of hesitation about the «Limenia» building because of the great distance from the temple and the altar. My comment is simply that this distance was due to the special, topographical circumstances at Perachora, which did not permit the secondary area to be situated «around», i.e. in front of and beside, the basic area with the temple and the altar.

INDEX

Les index des volumes de la série des Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique ont été généralement rédigés en latin.

Il eût été difficile de recourir à cette langue pour le présent volume, qui fait une part beaucoup plus large à l'archéologie qu'à la philologie ou à l'histoire de l'Antiquité.

D'où le choix du français, qui est, de par la volonté très claire du baron Hardt, la langue officielle de la Fondation.

Quelques renvois internes faciliteront la consultation pour les personnes qui ne savent pas — ou qui savent mal — le français, lequel est pourtant une des six langues (avec le grec, le latin, l'anglais, l'allemand et l'italien) que doit connaître quiconque travaille sur l'Antiquité classique!

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