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I

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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.

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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 Nekyomanteion 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 Nekyomanteion 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 καί ἡ Μικρασιατική 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 "Αργος 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/Limena. 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 Epilimonia. 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 Evraiokastro, 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 Βαρχεῖον 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 Amphytryon 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. Alik: SEG XXXI 761-772 (graffiti); 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 Alik).

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 Amphion 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 Amphieion, 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 *oreibasia* 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. BARTONEK, 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 countryside 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 *LIMC* 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 Karaios. 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 Acropolitan 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 Euboia, 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, *Epidauros* (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 ethnos-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) καταχοιμηθῆναι (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 ἄστει 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 poliade.

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.