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Apollo in Sicily

Analysing Apolline cultic perceptions in Archaic and early Classical Syracuse, Selinous, and Gela as compared to those in their founding cities

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Apollo in Sicily:

Analysing Apolline cultic perceptions in Archaic and early Classical Syracuse, Selinous, and Gela as compared to those in their founding cities.

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the cults of Apollo in the Greek Sicilian settlements of Syracuse, Selinous, and Gela as compared to those in their founding places of Corinth, Megara, and Rhodes in the Greek homeland. Arguably one of the most well-known deities of the Greek pantheon, Apollo has generally been under- and misrepresented in research comprised on religion in the Sicilian Greek settlements. In the cases where he functions as the main subject of such examination, the focus is principally set on his assumed involvement as the oracular god of Delphi instead of an individually viable deity. The establishment of the earliest *poleis* on the island during the eighth century BC suggests that their foundations occurred prior to the expansion of Delphi into a Panhellenic sanctuary and the subsequent involvement of its oracle in overseas settling. This study argues that the cults of Apollo in the Sicilian Greek case studies did not develop according to the assumed involvement of Delphi in their foundations. Instead, it concerns an individual development of the god in these three cities with differing degrees of founder influences. As such, it proposes that Apollo became significant in these settlements due to the fact that every one of them deemed certain aspects of his character useful for the development and maintenance of their societies. While some of these were inspired by founders, this does not seem to have been the case for most of them. In order to place this development of Apolline perceptions in the wider context of Greek overseas settling, a comparison is made between the case studies of this thesis and Miletos and its settlements. Similar to the Sicilian Greek case studies, the latter also show a varying degree of Milesian influence. Hence, the thesis also proposes that the diversification of Apolline cults was not limited to Sicily, but was likely also observed in other parts of the Mediterranean subject to Greek settling. Additionally, it is not unreasonable to consider comparable developments in the cults of other deities, which could make interesting cases for further research.

For Asta, Zola and Rocco

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Preface

My deep-rooted interest in ancient Greek religion started at the tender age of six, when I saw Disney's Hercules for the first time. Roughly twenty years later, this early fascination has resulted in about a dozen leisurely visits to Greece, two university degrees in Mediterranean archaeology, a summer campaign as a volunteer at the Athenian agora excavations, and, of course, this thesis.

Naturally, this study would not have been possible without a great number of people who supported me throughout this journey. Firstly, I would like to express my appreciation to Prof. Natascha Sojc who provided me the opportunity to excavate at Agrigento during both my undergraduate and master's studies at Leiden University. As such, she introduced me to the history of Greek Sicily, which went on to play a fundamental role in this thesis. Additionally, gratitude is due to both her and Dr. Hanna Stöger, for supporting me in pursuing a PhD study in London. I would also like to thank my supervisor at King's College London, Prof. Hugh Bowden, whose knowledge, guidance, and advice were indispensable in the development, implementation, and completion of this research. I am especially grateful for his approval to change my focal deity in the early stages of the study, which allowed me to switch to Apollo. It is an understatement when I say that it has made all the difference.

On a personal level, I am grateful to my parents who provided me the opportunity to follow my archaeological dream, both in Leiden and in London. Without their financial support, this thesis would not have been possible. Gratitude is due to my friends for their unwavering support and much needed words of encouragement over the past six years. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my partner, Thomas Dworschak, who has helped me in numerous ways, from assisting me through the pandemic to patiently listening to my endless monologues on Apollo and joining me on my journeys to many Apolline sanctuaries in Greece.

Ischa Schepers

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1. Introduction

The following study focusses on cults of Apollo in Syracuse, Selinous, and Gela, and their founding cities in the Greek homeland. The primary aim of this thesis is to analyse to what degree these cults in the former places were influenced by those in the latter. Two related themes are also explored. First, there is the role of Delphi in this development, which is often considered a fundamental part of the foundation of Sicilian Greek cities. Second, there is a brief comparison of the case studies with Miletos and its settlements in order to address the matter of influence on a larger scale. The already implemented research on this matter in Miletos, further discussed below, is a suitable comparison for the case studies of this thesis in terms of establishing whether there could be a pattern in how certain factors of the concept of overseas settling are implemented, thus discussing the possibility of transcending regionality. The examination and discussion of these three points is expected to result in a comprehensive understanding of the development of Apolline cult in Syracuse, Selinous, and Gela, and how this relates to the manifestation of this matter in Milesian settlements in the eastern Mediterranean. The outcome would accommodate the application of a similar debate on a larger scale, comprising different areas subject to Greek settling, a wider range of cities involved in overseas foundations, and the cults of other deities. This could lead to a more extensive understanding of development of such settlements as a whole, as religion plays a vital role in the construction and perception of identity.

The concept of Greek overseas settling is a major subject in modern scholarship of Classics. It is complex to such a degree that almost every aspect of it is debated, starting with its origins since the reasons for the first Greeks to settle across the sea would have been diverse without adhering to a standard pattern.¹ One element that has been central to numerous studies in the context of Greek overseas settling is that of identity which, in itself, is difficult to pin down. Discussions on this topic are diverse, ranging from the perspective settlers had of themselves to how they perceived the people who they encountered in the places where they settled.² Discussions about origins and identity are just two issues of many. Attempting to contain broad scholarly views on the matter in a single article, an analysis of different methodological approaches in such studies has been executed by P. Van Dommelen in his review *Colonialism and Migration in the ancient Mediterranean* in which he emphasises the problematic that comes with it, including the general complexity of overseas settling, the difficulty in deciding a common resolution in regard to its terminology, and the development of new perspectives and methods for the research of this subject.³

Since the concept *per se* is too large to accommodate by a single person or in a single research, various scholars have resorted to focussing on settling in clear-cut areas or

¹ Drews 1976; Graham 1971; Morgan 1990, 1993; Tsetskhladze 1998

² Antonaccio 2007

³ Van Dommelen 2012

settlement movements related to certain founding cities. One city that has often been the focus of related research is that of Miletos, as it served as a founder to many Greek cities established overseas. Two topics that repeatedly appear in this context are the cultic similarities between Miletos and its settlements, and the role of the oracle of Didyma in the foundations of the latter.⁴ N. Erhardt has engaged in the examination of both and put forward the assumption that Miletos was highly influential in the introduction and adaptation of cultic aspects in its settlements, and that this strong connection was not least due the role of Didyma in their establishments.⁵ The latter is agreed upon by, among others, Fontenrose in his detailed work *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle, Cult, and Companions*, but is disfavoured by Tuchelt who does not acknowledge the oracle's influence in the foundation of Archaic Milesian settlements.⁶

The debate about the involvement of oracles in overseas settling is not limited to Didyma. In fact, the majority of these seem to focus on the role of Delphi in these endeavours, specifically in the case of Greek Sicily. Whereas the plausibility of the inclusion of the Delphic Oracle in this matter is subject to discussion,⁷ many academics who have contributed to this debate have concluded that the inclusion of Delphi goes as far back as the foundations of the earliest Greek settlements on this island.⁸ One scholar who is particularly vocal in regard to this theory is Malkin who has published a multitude of articles and books on the subject of religion in Greek Sicily over the course of the last three decades and has established the perception of Apollo being commonly considered interchangeable with the generally accepted involvement of Delphi.⁹ This view probably contributed to Apollo being largely absent from more detailed research on divine cults in the Sicilian Greek cities, for it impedes him from being perceived as an individually established divine persona. Meanwhile, broader examinations have been carried out for the cults of deities such as Demeter and Persephone, and Athena in these places.¹⁰ Although the preoccupation with Delphi is not a central concept in De Polignac's *Cults, Territory, and the Origin of the Greek City-State*,¹¹ he does seem to have formed an established understanding of Apollo as the undisputed founder god of these settlements, thus also assigning both him and those settlements a general identity.

This kind of generalisation has been applied to the Sicilian Greek cities more than once,¹² but seems to have diminished over the past few decades. Detailed research about the individuality of the settlements has been on the rise since the 1990s and has proven particularly significant in Classics research of the past twenty years. The most complete publication to date is likely *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily* by R. Holloway.¹³ Apart from providing an overview of Greek settlement history from early Archaic until Roman times, it also

⁴ Friese 2010; Herda 2006, 2008; Morgan 1989; Parke 1985

⁵ Ehrhardt 1983, 1998

⁶ Fontenrose 1988; Tuchelt 1986

⁷ Osborne 1998; Parker 1985

⁸ Morgan 1993; Scott 2014; Foster 2017; Valavanēs 2017

⁹ Malkin 1986, 1987, 1994, 1996(1), 1996(2), 2011

¹⁰ Giuffrè Scibona 2011; Hinz 1998; Panvini and Sole 2005; Parisi 2017

¹¹ De Polignac 1995

¹² Donnellan 2012; Larson 2007; Reichert-Südbeck 2000

¹³ Holloway 2004

discusses cultural matters such as burial traditions, temple architecture, numismatics, and sculpture. As such, it gives a comprehensive compilation of the island's ancient Greek heritage. Another thorough archaeological examination dealing with multiple cities, although focussed on a shorter time span, can be found in *Städte und Bauten der Westgriechen. Von der Kolonisationszeit bis zur Krise um 400 vor Christus* by D. Mertens.¹⁴ On a more local level, the history and archaeology of Syracuse have been intensely described by R.J. Evans,¹⁵ while its tyranny received a detailed analysis by J. Champion.¹⁶ A comparable study of Megara Hyblaia and Selinous, albeit principally focused on their Archaic period, has been implemented by F. De Angelis, who also invested in a more general research on the social and economic histories of the cities of Archaic and Classical Greek Sicily.¹⁷ Various scholars of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* have also contributed to these examinations of individual Sicilian Greek cities with a series of books that analyse multiple archaeological aspects of the site.¹⁸

It is clear that various aspects of Greek overseas settlement both in the case of Sicily and further afield have been covered by modern scholarship. However, the matter of religion in Greek Sicily and how it reflects local historical, social, and political circumstances of the settlements there does not seem to have been a research priority. While studies of Demeter and Persephone, traditionally considered 'goddesses of Sicily',¹⁹ have been carried out and committed to resolving this issue, studies on other deities are necessary for the creation of a comprehensive insight. This research of Apollo in three Sicilian Greek case studies will contribute to the subject, not in least due to taking a different viewpoint from the god's usual inclusion in the matter as the god of Delphi. This is the main point of contrast between this study and those that came before it, for not only does it concentrate on a deity who was formerly misinterpreted and, as such, underrepresented in the context of the Sicilian Greek case studies, it also shifts the focus from a generalised perspective to an individual one. As such, it is not the Sicilian Greek or Delphic Apollo that is central to this thesis, but the Apollo of Syracuse, the Apollo of Selinous, and the Apollo of Gela. After all, religion was one of the core factors in the development, consolidation, and perception of identity in ancient Greece. Generalising parts of it would only result in the generalisation of identity which would do injustice to the heritage and study of ancient Greek society. While this thesis is not bound on resolving the whole issue, it is set on emphasising it, hopefully encouraging further research on the subject as a result, both in Greek Sicily and beyond.

The first part of this study consists of various chapters that serve as a background for the later discussion. The first chapter encompasses an overview of the general development of sanctuaries in the Greek homeland and Greek Sicily, which also includes referenced

¹⁴ Mertens 2006

¹⁵ Evans 2009, 2016

¹⁶ Champion 2010, 2012

¹⁷ De Angelis 2003, 2016

¹⁸ Baitinger 2006; Mertens 2003; Voigts 2017

¹⁹ Diod. 5.2.3; Pind. *P.* 12.1 – 4

terminology associated with sanctuary types that appear in this research. This is followed by a mainly archaeological analysis of Delphi, ranging from the Geometric period until the end of the fifth century BC. Apart from discussing Delphi's beginnings and its subsequent development into a Panhellenic sanctuary, it also argues the sanctuary's position within the heavily debated concept of Greek overseas settlements. The next chapter focuses on a series of epithets common within Apolline worship that also appear in the case studies. The epithets will be discussed to the extent that their general aspects and implementations are made clear, but without the inclusion of the case studies, for those will follow in the respective chapters. The sources used for this examination are both archaeological and literary. Furthermore, a concise analysis of the cult names of Delphinios, Didymeios and Iatros in Miletos and its settlements in Ionia and the Black Sea is included in this chapter. This is done to allow a later comparison of relations in terms of Apolline perceptions between the case studies of this thesis and Miletos and its settlements.

The second part of the research comprises the discussion of Apolline cult in all six of the case studies. Each case study begins with a description of its history from the Geometric period until the end of the fifth century BC. Subsequently, its Apolline cult is discussed, often according to specific local sites that have been assigned to the god. These are divided in the following sections: 'geography and topography', 'archaeological research', 'architectural structures', and 'dedications and worship'. Dedications and worship that cannot be associated with certain sanctuaries are placed in the section 'dedications and worship elsewhere'. Sources used for these examinations consist of archaeological material including architectural structures and dedications such as inscriptions, ceramics and statues. In addition to these, literary texts and calendars are also used.

The last part of the thesis is focused on debating and answering the following research questions through the information acquired at the hand of the chapters comprising Delphi, the Apolline epithets, and the six case studies:

- What position did Delphi occupy in the Apolline cults of the Sicilian Greek case studies?
- To what extent were Apolline cults in the Sicilian Greek case studies influenced by the Greek homeland?
- How do relations in regard to Apolline perceptions between the case studies in the Greek homeland and their Sicilian Greek settlements compare to those between Miletos and its settlements?

Afterwards a general conclusion is given based on the outcomes of the research questions.

2. Methodology

The choice for Sicily was inspired through my own archaeological experiences there, as I participated in excavations in Akragas. This translated into my first academical interest in the Sicilian Greek settlements which culminated in my Master thesis that focussed on a broad analysis of the cult of Demeter in Akragas in comparison to that in Corinth. While Akragas is no settlement, direct or indirect, of Corinth, it was their general categorisation as Dorian that led to this comparison. Encouraged by my professor, I decided to pursue further research on religion in the Sicilian Greek settlements in a PhD research.

Hence, the preliminary selection for case studies for this thesis was based on Sicilian Greek settlements, in terms of which I was advised to choose cities that are considered Dorian. It is true that the concept of Dorian identity and its origins are still subject to debate in modern scholarship.²⁰ I acknowledge this debate and the uncertainty of how Dorian identity, if it existed, should be perceived. For the purposes of this thesis, however, this debate will not be discussed since the label of 'Dorian' did not influence the research of the case studies. Instead, the focus of their examination was set on their individuality and potential influences from other places regardless of their assigned overarching characterisation. The criterion of Dorian was purely implemented in the initial selection of Sicilian Greek case studies. The next step was to determine the case studies for the Greek homeland: the founding cities of the Sicilian Greek settlements. Therefore, the case studies are comprised of the following places: Corinth, Syracuse, Megara, Selinous, Rhodes, and Gela. Of these, the duos Corinth – Syracuse and Rhodes – Gela consist of a founding city and a direct settlement. In the case of Megara – Selinous it concerns a founding city and an indirect settlement, that is to say that the founding of Selinous was not implemented by settlers from Megara. Instead, it was initiated by settlers from Megara Hyblaia, which was the only direct settlement of Megara in Sicily. However, while Megara Hyblaia was originally considered to be included in this research, it was omitted due to the complete lack of interpretation of its archaeological material that has been labelled as religiously related, the absence of inscriptions that might have provided some indication as to which deity occupied which site, and the non-existence of literary texts on the matter. As this is not the case in Selinous, where the identification of various of its sanctuaries has been discussed in detail, Selinous was selected for this research instead. Furthermore, a direct link with Megara is still a possibility through the account of Thukydides, mentioning the *oikist* Pamillos who came from Megara and was invited by the settlers of Megara Hyblaia to lead the endeavour.²¹

Once the case studies were established, the deity was selected. Initially, the selection included three deities, namely Zeus, Athena, and Demeter. During preliminary research on

²⁰ Christidis 2007: 445; Dickinson 2006: 53 – 54, 185 – 186; Hall 1997: 116; Hall 2002: 75 – 76, 78 – 79, 82; Robertson 1980: 1; Salmon 1984: 51; Snodgrass 1971: 43, 303, 315; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991: 149

²¹ Thuc. 6.4.2

Zeus, however, the choice was made to exchange him for Apollo, since the latter seemed to better fit the context of the research. Various aspects that were central to Apollo's worship in many places had already become well-established in the early Archaic period. For example, it is implied in the first book of the *Iliad* that the god was considered responsible for both spreading and averting plague.²² It is no coincidence that he became a deity of protection in a number of places, including Corinth, Megara, and Selinous, the cases of which will be further discussed in their respective case studies. Furthermore, it was Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi that grew to Panhellenic proportions and, as such, maintained varying degrees of influence in the politics of many Greek cities. It is through their participation or absence in Delphi that at least a part of Apollo's perception in the case studies can be analysed. Also important is Apollo's relatively well-preserved presence in archaeological sources, including epigraphy, and his considerable underrepresentation in research of the Sicilian Greek settlements. Since the number of sources and information about Apollo was larger than anticipated, it was decided to make him the sole deity of this research.

The total time span of this thesis includes the late Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods, thus ranging from c. 800 to 400 BC. The inclusion of the late Geometric period is due to the fact that many factors that would prove highly significant in Archaic society were initiated during this time. For instance, it was during the eighth century BC that the concept of the *polis* was widely introduced, the first Sicilian Greek settlements were founded, the Greek alphabet was developed, and the first religiously related journeys to Delphi by Greeks from a growing array of different provenances occurred. In order to understand the development and importance of these elements in later times, first their origins require consideration. The Archaic period serves as the main focus of this research. The primary reason for this is that this period witnessed the most fundamental progress of the factors mentioned above and of Greek religion in general. It is this developmental stage that was crucial for the establishment of relations between the foundation cities and their settlements, which set the stage for centuries to come. Additionally, the spreading of literacy resulted in the first Greek texts that dealt with religious concepts, thus providing the earliest literary evidence for the perception of deities and their related worship. Overall, the Archaic developments that composed Greek society were successful to such a degree that it culminated in said society's heydays in the fifth century BC. The inclusion of the first century of the Classical period is to demonstrate the influence and outcome of the consistent progress that was made during the Archaic period. Furthermore, there are several Apolline incarnations attested for this century that likely originated in the Archaic period, but for which there is no evidential confirmation that dates to the latter. As such, their manifestation in the fifth century BC will be used to discuss their possible earlier provenance.

²² Hom. *Il.* 1.54 – 67

Archaeological material serves as the primary source for this research and is available for all case studies, although in varying degrees. Architectural structures have been found at five of the six case studies. Nevertheless, that is not to say that all of the cult sites in those places have been subject to excavation. For example, in the case of Megara, one of Apollo's sanctuaries still remains unexcavated on the Alkathoos acropolis. The reason for this is due to the fact that modern Megara lies atop its ancient counterpart.²³ The only one case study without a single identified Apolline cult site as of yet is Gela. However, as further discussed in its respective chapter, this is likely the result of inadequate efforts in attempting to identify such cult place based on the account of Diodoros Sikeliotes speaking of such a sanctuary outside of the city, which has not been found. Meanwhile, there remains a number of unidentified excavated cult sites, and it is not unreasonable to suggest the possibility of an Apolline context for one of those.

The identification of dedications is complicated. While various Apolline sanctuaries have provided an array of different objects, most of these cannot be assigned to a specific deity, as they have also been found at many other sanctuaries of many other deities across Greece. Hence, these items can only be argued to have had some sort of function in Apolline worship, whether as dedication or ritual tool, when they bear an inscription of the god's name. Unfortunately, this is not the case for most objects retrieved from his sites and, therefore, cannot directly be used for cult analysis. This does not mean that these items are necessarily useless. For instance, there are some ceramics that display decorative scenes that allow for comparisons to similar depictions, or even textual references, from elsewhere that are associated with Apollo. In regard to some case studies, there appears to be a correlation between the supposed absence of possible dedications and the chaotic nature of the archaeological research carried out at the corresponding sites. This is evident in Selinous, where a number of objects was unearthed at the cult place of Apollo, but the descriptions of which were altogether basic. Although some of them were mentioned to have inscriptions, none of these were provided with any further details. Due to the absence of the latter, it remains unknown which objects belong to the Apolline sanctuary and which to the adjoining cult site, for both were excavated at the same time and the discovered material was conjointly transported to the museum.²⁴ Meanwhile, nothing is known about any possible objects that were discovered during the Italian excavation of Apollo's site on the Rhodian acropolis. Instead, it seems that the majority of efforts there went into the reconstruction of the temple,²⁵ as is further discussed in the corresponding case study.

For the examination of epithets, inscriptions and literary text are important. Although the majority of the inscriptions fall outside of the time frame set for this thesis, dating to the late Classical and Hellenistic times, some can still be utilised for the purposes of this research, albeit generally in combination with other sources such as texts and calendars, or in

²³ Danner 1997: 143; Rigsby 2010: 310; Smith 2008: 14, 16 – 17

²⁴ Cavallari 1876: 108 – 109; Cavallari 1877: 133 – 134

²⁵ French 1945: 102; Konstantinopoulos 1986: 11; Morelli 1959: 108 – 109; Rice 1995: 384, 387

comparison with similar situations in other places. One example is the case of Apollo Karneios in Rhodes, the analysis of which is partially set against the background of the participation of the Archaic Rhodian cities in the Hexapolis, which is further discussed in the respective chapter. As just stated, calendars, sometimes reconstructions, have also been used in the examination of epithets, associated aspects, and possibly corresponding celebrations, as they often include months whose names are similar if not identical to cult title. One such attestation is the month of Dalios, which only appears in the case study of Rhodes. Accordingly, Rhodes is the sole one of the six to have conducted worship at the island of Delos, home to Apollo Delios.²⁶

Apart from aiding the epithet research, literary texts are also used for the analysis of cult practices and the descriptions of historical contexts. However, those appropriate for the purposes of this thesis are of limited availability. Even religious activities of a city as historically important as Corinth are barely covered by ancient authors. Most of such accounts speak of such events in Athens instead, which are mostly incompatible for comparisons with my case studies. When referring to texts that include cult practices of other cities, it is usually those of Sparta that, indirectly, prove most suitable.

Naturally, some sources weigh heavier than others and when used independent from each other the conclusions drawn would be inadequate. However, when combined they can be used to form strong arguments that make a clear and credible narrative. This combination of sources should be one of the strengths of this research, contrasting those that merely resort to one of them while disregarding others. As such, the conclusions drawn from this research should result in a sufficient answering of the research questions.

Terminology

Secular space

Secular space is generally considered an area affiliated with the non-religious, daily occurrences of the mortal world.²⁷ According to Scullion, it 'is originally defined by contrast with the sacred', which he describes as an 'indication of what is neutral in respect of the sacred or not under religious authority'.²⁸ A similar opinion is held by Hornblower,²⁹ who provides the following example from Herodotos' *Histories*:

‘Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφι αἰεὶ τῷτὸ πρόφαντον ἐγένετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶντα Πεισιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁμῶς καὶ ξεινίους σφι ἐόντας τὰ μάλιστα· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.’

²⁶ Trümpy 1997: 178; Cf. case study Rhodes: 192 – 193

²⁷ Crielaard 2009: 355

²⁸ Scullion 2007: 113 – 114

²⁹ Hornblower 2007: 40

'Then the Lakedaimonians, when the same command was ever revealed to them, sent Anchimolios the son of Aster, a citizen of repute, to drive out the sons of Pisistratos with an army despite the fact that the Pisistratidai were their close friends, for the god's will weighed with them more than the will of man.³⁰

While such a distinction between sacred and secular has been generally accepted,³¹ it is still subject to debate in modern scholarship. For instance, Cole implies that the distinction between secular and sacred space was not final, as the former could be temporarily converted into the latter 'so that an ephemeral ritual, such as a procession, sacrifice, or festival, might take place within a protected area recognized by the gods'.³² Meanwhile, Gehrke argues that no 'fundamental difference' would have existed between the sacred and the secular in a *polis* context, since state and religion would not have been separated. Instead, he believes that the *polis* was as much a 'religious association' as a political institution, emphasising that the religious aspect of the *polis* was one of its central principles. Correspondingly, priests would have been 'among the most important public officials'.³³

For the purpose of this thesis, the term 'secular space' will carry the definition as given by Scullion, that is to contrast space defined as sacred, which will be discussed further below.

Sacred space

Sacred space is generally defined as an area that was isolated from the secular world. Assigned as a place of worship for one or multiple deities, it functioned differently from everyday society. As such, it was subject to an explicit code of conduct depending on whichever deity was associated with that particular site.³⁴

In academic literature, various terms are used to refer to sacred space. Notably common amongst these are 'sanctuary', '*hieron*', and '*temenos*'. Of these, it is the term 'sanctuary' that appears to be considered most eponymic to the definition of sacred space from a scholarly perspective. Sanctuaries are repeatedly presented as comprising the whole area that was reserved for utilising divine connections, regardless of how space within those boundaries was divided and implemented. De Polignac implies that the sanctuary was the embodiment of the concept of sacred space, claiming that its emergence 'put an end to the relative indeterminacy of religious sites'.³⁵ This definition of sanctuaries as sacred space is also agreed upon by Emerson, Kearns, Pedley, and Sourvinou-Inwood, all of whom confirm

³⁰ Hdt. 5.63.2 (translation by A. D. Godley, 1920)

³¹ De Polignac 1995: 20; Hornblower 2007: 40; Jameson 2014: 308; Mazarakis Ainian and Leventi 2009: 228; Pedley 2005: 29; Scullion 2007: 114

³² Cole 2004: 40

³³ Gehrke 2009: 403, 406

³⁴ Cole 2004: 15; Kearns 2010: 192; Malkin 1987: 138; Pedley 2005: 29; Whitley 2001: 136

³⁵ De Polignac 1995: 20

these places as having been marked off from the outside world.³⁶ In addition, De Polignac, Malkin, and Whitley provide a similar context for 'cult place' and 'cult site'.³⁷

Despite the fact that many scholars, including some of those previously mentioned, consider the term '*temenos*' to be interchangeable with 'sanctuary',³⁸ it appears to be more problematic when attempting to equate it with the interpretation of sacred space as stated above. Although Malkin does adhere to this comparison, he also emphasises that the word itself was already used in Linear B, in which it initially referred to 'an estate', a connotation which, he proclaims, is similar to that in the Homeric epics. He continues to state that the *temenos* served a significant function besides divine veneration, namely that of generating income.³⁹ While Cole explains that a *temenos* 'defined the piece of land for a divinity' and was therefore different from places that were occupied by humans, she also notes that 'these distinctions were not always maintained in practice'.⁴⁰

Even though '*hieron*' is used less frequently in scholarly literature than '*temenos*', it seems to be closer related to the fundamental element of sacred space: its sacred character. Pedley specifies that the very term means 'sacred', but does not go any further than stating that '*hieron*', like '*temenos*', was just another label for a sanctuary.⁴¹ Meanwhile, Kearns articulates that she uses the word 'sanctuary' to specifically refer to 'the relevant occurrences of the Greek *hieron*, which is simply the neuter form, used as a noun, of the word for 'holy': the holy thing'.⁴² However, similar to '*temenos*', it seems that the definition of '*hieron*' differs according to which ancient text one consults. Cole underlines that, although *hieron* did determine the sacredness of a place, the term itself, as it was used by ancient authors, did not necessarily refer to the sacred space as a whole, but could instead also refer to a specific building within that space. Hence, she concludes that without any further specification by the author in question, it is basically impossible to determine what the term actually describes.⁴³ Perhaps this indeterminacy in ancient sources is the main reason as to why the word '*hieron*' is less frequently used when describing sacred space than '*temenos*'.

In this research, sacred space signifies the definition of De Polignac stated above that has been agreed upon by Emerson, Kearns, Pedley, and Sourvinou-Inwood. Additionally, it will be used interchangeably with 'sanctuary', 'cult place' and 'cult site'. The terms '*temenos*' and '*hieron*' will be excluded from current research due to their ambiguous contexts. The definitions of the different implementations of sacred space that are explored in this thesis are to be found in the chapter concerning Greek sanctuary development.

³⁶ Emerson 2018: 5; Kearns 2010: 192; Pedley 2005: 29; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 10 – 11

³⁷ De Polignac 2009: 427; Malkin 1987: 142; Whitley 2001: 134

³⁸ Cole 2004: 40; Malkin 2011: 82; Pedley 2005: 29 – 30; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 10; Whitley 2001: 136

³⁹ Malkin 1987: 140; Malkin 2011: 82

⁴⁰ Cole 2004: 40

⁴¹ Pedley 2005: 29

⁴² Kearns 2010: 192

⁴³ Cole 2004: 16, 40

Identity

Identity has been interpreted in many different ways by numerous scholars. It is not uncommonly deemed interchangeable with ethnicity. Hall correlates ethnicity to identity by defining cultural identity as 'the conscious reification of ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes and practices, selectively extracted from the totality of social existence and endowed with a particular symbolic signification for the purpose of creating exclusionary distinctiveness', after which he interprets ethnicity as a 'specific type of cultural identity'. Markers such as language and religion are also ascribed to the latter category.⁴⁴ Similar to Hall, Antonaccio suggests that the commonly used markers of language, culture, and biologically inherited features were not essential indicators for ethnicity, which she refers to as 'ethnic identity'.⁴⁵ Ethnicity also plays a part in Malkin's interpretation of identity. Putting his network theory at the core of his perception, he claims that 'each network involved a different circle of identity' which are classified according to their extent and range from a local to an international scale. The smallest of these would be what Malkin refers to as 'the nonethnic identity of the *polis* and the region', which can be assigned to inhabitants from a *polis*, an example of which is an Athenian citizen. Then follows the subethnic grouping, to which the Dorians, Ionians, and Aeolians would belong. Last would be the Panhellenic, 'Greek' identity, which seems particularly important when the Greeks would have to withstand hostilities from non-Greeks, as is exemplified in the Persian Wars and the war against the Carthaginians on Sicily, but does not seem to carry much significance prior to the fifth century BC.⁴⁶ Malkin does clarify that these networks were not static entities, but instead were subject to constant development and change. All the while, they would have engaged in the construction of Hellenic identity.⁴⁷ In stating this, he suggests that Hellenic identity was a dynamic perception which could mean different things to different people. While the term 'ethnicity' does not appear in Mitchell's theory, her definition of identity does show similarities to those of some previously mentioned scholars. She seems to be largely in agreement with Malkin's perspective in regard to the circles of identities, sending a comparable message by stating that identities are by no means 'monolithic': a single person can have various identities and each of those can have more than one connotation. These are formed according to the requirements of the person they belong to. Furthermore, it is specified that those identities have the tendency to constantly change and develop.⁴⁸ While the above is focused on the individual, Mitchell transmits the same concept to the community. Her interpretation of communal identity is 'what a community imagines itself to be', which is principally dependent on 'the accounts that they give of themselves, about who they are in the present and how they were formed from their past'. Referring to identity instead of ethnicity, Mitchell also assigns a relevant role to factors such

⁴⁴ Hall 2002: 17

⁴⁵ Antonaccio 2007: 215 – 217

⁴⁶ Malkin 2011: 18

⁴⁷ Malkin 2011: 21, 87

⁴⁸ Mitchell 2007: 2

as religion, material culture and architecture, amongst others, in her suggested 'system of cultural representation'.⁴⁹

For the purpose of this thesis, the term 'identity' will primarily be used for communities rather than individuals. It will refer to the character that is created through Mitchell's system of cultural representation and will be applied to the different circles cited in Malkin's network theory, such as individual cities but also the Greeks as a people.

⁴⁹ Mitchell 2007: 2, 4, 8, 19

Archaeological and historical background

3. A concise overview of Greek sanctuary development

The Greek homeland

The basis for the concept of Archaic and Classical Greek sanctuaries developed in the Geometric period.⁵⁰ During this time religious activities likely took place in sacred open air sites, most of which were solely marked by natural indicators, including stones, trees, and springs. This perception is supported by De Polignac, who constructs his argument according to Homeric passages and implies that Geometric sacred space was characterised by a certain degree of indetermination.⁵¹ However, consideration of the mythological background of these poems and the fact that their exact date is still unknown, raises questions about the plausibility of such sources. Additionally, it is very much possible that these passages rather display the society in which they were composed, presumably the seventh century BC, instead of referring to a bygone age. Therefore, his statements about Geometric religious practices should be treated with caution. His approach is assessed by Sourvinou-Inwood, who also uses Homeric passages to challenge his assertions concerning 'Homeric' religion, declaring that their interpretation shows no uncertainty regarding the recognition of sacred space.⁵²

Although not essential, sanctuaries were sometimes provided with a wall in order to separate sacred and temporal affairs. Most fundamental for a sanctuary, however, was the altar. In the Geometric period, altars were primarily used for burnt offerings and consisted either of simple stone constructions or the mere ashes of previous offerings.⁵³

The late ninth and early eighth centuries BC witnessed significant changes in Greek society. The rise of the *polis* transformed Greek communities in many ways, including their implementation of religion. The place of religion within the *polis* is a focal point of Sourvinou-Inwood's perspective that early Greek sanctuaries developed out of Geometric cult places, for she states that 'the *polis* put religion at its centre'. She appears to place the origins of this in Homeric poetry as well, arguing that *polis* organisation is already implied in various passages of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.⁵⁴

Ἡέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε, λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην,
οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φαείνοι
καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν:
οἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηληϊὸς ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
Σῆξον: τοῖ δ' ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης ἱερὰ ῥέζον,
ταύρους παμμέλανας, ἐνοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτη.
ἐννέα δ' ἔδραι ἔσαν, πεντακόσιοι δ' ἐν ἐκάστη

⁵⁰ Cole 2004: 66; De Polignac 1995: 16; Mazarakis Ainian 1988: 116; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 11

⁵¹ De Polignac 1995: 16

⁵² Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 2 – 5

⁵³ De Polignac 1995: 16 – 17; Pedley 2005: 29, 57, 60; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 10 – 11

⁵⁴ Hom. *Od.* 6.266; Hom. *Il.* 11.806 – 808; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 3, 11

ἦατο καὶ προύχοντο ἐκάστοθι ἐννέα ταύρους.’

‘And now the sun, leaving the beauteous mere, sprang up into the brazen heaven to give light to the immortals and to mortal men on the earth, the giver of grain; and they came to Pylos, the well-built citadel of Neleus. Here the townsfolk on the shore of the sea were offering sacrifice of black bulls to the dark-haired Earth-shaker. Nine companies there were, and five hundred men sat in each, and in each they held nine bulls ready for sacrifice.’⁵⁵

She maintains that Greek religion primarily functioned in a context that was provided and maintained by the *polis*, and, as such, participation was only accessible for those who were part of a city’s community. Likewise, religion would serve the whole community at the *polis*’ very core. Frequently referring to ancient literary sources, Sourvinou-Inwood composes a model in which both *polis* and religion were principally dependent on each other, being unable to function independently.⁵⁶ While this is plausible for urban and even extra-urban sanctuaries, it appears dubious in regard to remote cult places, for these were to serve pastoral societies which often had no connection to *poleis* whatsoever.⁵⁷

The early Archaic period witnessed the reorganisation of large numbers of already existing and the erection of many new sanctuaries.⁵⁸ Additionally, the first of these started to experience a degree of monumentalisation, a process of architectural development, mostly in stone, which was generally initiated to aggrandise cult places. However, while the first temples emerged during this period, most sites did not receive monumentalised architecture until later, if at all.⁵⁹ This upsurge also shifted the dedication of offerings to deities. While the Geometric Greeks mainly deposited valuable objects in graves, Archaic communities rather collected those at their sanctuaries.⁶⁰

These new occurrences in society also resulted in the increase of different implementations of sacred space, the following of which will be further explored in this thesis through the chapter about Delphi and the six case studies:

Panhellenic sanctuaries

A Panhellenic sanctuary was commonly accessible to all Greeks regardless of origin. Kearns defines a Panhellenic sanctuary by explaining that these cult sites were, in theory, accessible to ‘all Greeks’ and thus were also subject to the construction of monumental dedications commenced by various cities whom greatly invested in these buildings in order to

⁵⁵ Hom. *Od.* 3.1 – 8 (translation by A.T. Murray, 1919)

⁵⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood 1990: 295, 301, 322

⁵⁷ Pedley 2005: 51

⁵⁸ De Polignac 1995: 12, 19; Pedley 2005: 30; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 11

⁵⁹ Pedley 2005: 30; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 10 – 11

⁶⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 11; Whitley 2001: 99

show off their prosperity.⁶¹ The latter is also emphasised by Emerson, who uses the numerous treasuries of Delphi as examples of such ‘showcases’.⁶² Meanwhile, Neer even considers the opportunity for such display by other *poleis* to be the primary principle for a sanctuary to be acknowledged as having Panhellenic status.⁶³ Additionally, Panhellenic cult places often adhere to the description of interurban sanctuaries, which Pedley gives as ‘located away from the more powerful *poleis*, and were therefore more likely to be politically neutral, though liable to interference. They were run by local administrations or Federations of local interests, and therefore provided a relatively unbiased context in which individual Greeks and individual Greek *poleis* could encounter other Greeks and other *poleis*’.⁶⁴ Primary examples of such sanctuaries are those of Apollo in Delphi and Zeus in Olympia.⁶⁵

In regard to sanctuaries, the term ‘Panhellenic’ will be used in accordance with the perspective that it encompassed all the Greeks and allowed them to actively engage in the physical arrangement of the sanctuary by the implementation of appropriate architectural construction, as is implied by the authors mentioned above.

Urban sanctuaries

Cities commonly dedicated various areas in their urban centres to the establishment of sacred space in the form of urban sanctuaries. De Polignac describes these as cult places ‘that have traditionally been regarded as the most important in the city: the sanctuaries set on an acropolis, whether or not this was truly centrally situated, and those placed at the centre of an agglomeration, where they functioned as the focus of growth and urban organization’.⁶⁶ Pedley agrees with this description, also adding the further undefined locations he labels as ‘critical’ to the definition. Furthermore, he emphasises that ‘contact between these sanctuaries and the city dwellers was close; their buildings represented commitment to public investment on a vast scale and showed off the wealth, power, and prestige of the city’.⁶⁷ One such site is to be found in Selinous where Temple C, generally accepted to be an Apolline cult place, was the first monumental building to be constructed on the city’s citadel.⁶⁸ In terms of sanctuaries situated in what De Polignac refers to as an agglomeration centre, one can turn to Corinth where the sanctuary of Apollo was located at the agora.⁶⁹

For the purposes of this thesis, the term ‘urban’ is applied to cult sites that adhere to the combined descriptions of De Polignac and Pedley, thus including sanctuaries located on acropoleis, agoras, and other locations considered ‘critical’ in the workings of the city.

⁶¹ Kearns 2010: 271, 276 – 277

⁶² Emerson 2018: 36

⁶³ Neer 2007: 226

⁶⁴ Pedley 2005: 40

⁶⁵ Emerson 2018: 31, 87; Morgan 1993: 31; Neer: 2007: 226; Pedley 2005: 5, 14, 120; Scott 2010: 218

⁶⁶ De Polignac 1995: 21

⁶⁷ Pedley 2005: 42

⁶⁸ De Angelis 2003: 135; De Angelis 2016: 89; Marconi 2007: 127; Osborne 1996: 248

⁶⁹ Paus. 2.3.6

Suburban sanctuaries

Suburban sanctuaries could be located in a variety of places. De Polignac labels them as cult places that were 'located on the margins of the inhabited area', situated 'either right on the edge of the town or just a little way off'.⁷⁰ Pedley separates them in two specific groups, explaining that they were either located 'directly adjacent to the city walls' or up to one kilometre away from them.⁷¹ However, in case of the latter, he does not specify whether this would be inside or outside the walls. Although it is likely that Pedley refers to sanctuaries outside the city walls, there are also cult sites that were located inside the walls that do not qualify for the definition of urban sanctuaries, but instead would fall into the suburban category. One sanctuary that was subject to such circumstances is that of Apollo at 'Straight Road' in Megara, which was located five hundred metres south of the Alkathoos acropolis, roughly halfway between the agora and the city-wall (fig. 1).⁷²



Figure 1 Map of ancient Megara. Nr. 2 shows the location of the suburban sanctuary. (after Travlos 1988: 262, fig. 322)

An example of a suburban cult place located outside of the city wall can be found in Selinous. Here, the sanctuary of Malophoros and Pasikrateia, who have been identified with Demeter and Persephone, was situated barely more than one kilometre west of the acropolis.⁷³

⁷⁰ De Polignac 1995: 22

⁷¹ Pedley 2005: 42

⁷² Paus. 1.44.2; Goette 2001: 308; Highbarger 1927: 31; Cf. case study Megara: 142 – 141

⁷³ Danner 1997: 152; Hinz 1998: 145; Malkin 1987: 75; Parisi 2017: 42

In this research, the term 'suburban' is applied to cult sites, both inside and outside the city walls, that adhere to De Polignac's description. Additionally, in regard to the distance between an outside sanctuary and the walls, Pedley's measurement of roughly one kilometre will be observed.

Extra-urban sanctuaries

Extra-urban cult places were located quite far beyond the city walls. According to De Polignac, 'the most notable of these were seldom situated less than five or six or more than twelve to fifteen kilometres from the town, and although too far away for the more ordinary, daily demonstrations of piety, they were still relatively accessible'.⁷⁴ Pedley adds that they often remained connected to the religious framework of a city, by which they were also administrated.⁷⁵ An example of such a site is to be found at Tenea in the Corinthia. Although the Apolline sanctuary likely functioned as a central cult site to the local inhabitants, it would also have served as an extra-urban sanctuary for the Corinthians.⁷⁶

The term 'extra-urban' will be used according to the combined descriptions of De Polignac and Pedley, thus indicating sanctuaries that were located significantly far outside of the city walls, yet still belonged to the administrative region and religious framework of a *polis*, although the distance markers as stated by De Polignac will be stretched to roughly twenty kilometres.

Greek sanctuaries in Sicily

The eighth century BC marked the beginning of Greek overseas settling in Sicily. Religion played a significant role from the establishment of new cities in this part of the Mediterranean onward. While many settlers brought with them perceptions from their founding cities, these unfamiliar lands lacked the Geometric tradition of sanctuary foundation. Upon arrival, Greek sacred space was still non-existent and would emerge contemporary with the erection of new settlements. Therefore, developments also differed from those in the Greek homeland.⁷⁷ Although some cities pre-planned their sacred areas, as was the case in Megara Hyblaia, other cult places would sprout in places home to the first Greek occupancy. According to Thukydides, the altar of Apollo in Naxos was apparently erected at the very place of the Chalcidian arrival on Sicily.⁷⁸ Additionally this placed the god close to the shore, accentuating his maritime-related functions found in various Sicilian Greek cults. Occasionally, cult sites dedicated to particular deities followed a pattern as seen in the settlement's founding city. For example, the temple of Athena Lindia in Gela was situated on the highest point of the acropolis, as was her temple in Rhodian Lindos. However, similar to the homeland, sanctuaries in

⁷⁴ De Polignac 1995: 22

⁷⁵ Pedley 2005: 46

⁷⁶ Korka and Lagos 2019: 351; Cf. case study Corinth: 111 – 112

⁷⁷ Malkin 1996(2): 9

⁷⁸ Thuc. 6.3.1; Dunbabin 1948(2): 181; Malkin 1986: 959

Sicilian settlements are not exempt from identification errors. Malkin states that Greek cities on the island often witnessed multiple waves of people integrating into their cities, resulting in the addition of new city quarters which were accompanied by the erection of various sanctuaries. One might view a specific sanctuary as extra-urban in the context of a general *polis*, whereas it possibly served a local function to the people of that specific neighbourhood.⁷⁹ He continues to argue that extra-urban sites did not necessarily serve as territorial markers as in the Greek homeland, for the young settlements had no definite borders as there was always space for possible expansion. Instead, he believes that large sanctuaries were a basic need within Greek religion. Since these could not be provided in the newly established cities, due to a lack of space, they were located in more pastoral settings.⁸⁰

Correspondingly, Sicilian Greek cults were very much included in the core of their *polis* identities. Their sanctuaries were founded only after the foundation of their cities. They did not aim at affirming dominance over any indigenous neighbours, but rather focused on a regional, civic identity. The monumentalised temples supported the execution and display of power and prestige.⁸¹ Furthermore, the common interests of various Sicilian Greek cities to Panhellenic sites such as Delphi and Olympia still tied them to the Greek homeland.⁸²

⁷⁹ Malkin 1996(1): 78

⁸⁰ Malkin 1996(1): 79 – 80

⁸¹ Malkin 1996(1): 79 – 80; Malkin 2011: 106; Marconi 2007: 30 – 31

⁸² Malkin 2011: 106, 114; Cf. chapter Delphi: 50 – 53; Cf. case study Syracuse: 133 – 135; Cf. case study Gela: 203 – 209

4. Delphi

From the Bronze Age until the ninth century BC

The archaeological record shows that consistent occupation of the area of Apollo's sanctuary in Delphi started during late Helladic III times. Approximately dated between 1400 and 1060 BC, it spans a substantial part of the Mycenaean period.⁸³ Müller speaks of three main concentrations of construction remains spread across the site, which he distinguishes as the so-called 'Mycenaean village' in the north-eastern corner of the sanctuary, a cluster between the later temple of Apollo and the eastern *peribolos* wall, and an assemblage located outside the sacred area east of the Roman thermal baths.⁸⁴ The first of these would have accommodated housing structures, remnants of which have been described by Scott as 'poor'.⁸⁵ Although a *dromos* tomb containing a bronze sword and an extensive number of ceramics was found 'along the later road leading from Delphi to Arachova', most deceased appear to have been spread across various burial locations situated both inside and outside the later sanctuary area.⁸⁶ While none of the archaeological finds from the Mycenaean settlement point into the direction of cult practice, terracotta figurines retrieved from Marmaria, the later sanctuary of Athena Pronaia, were long considered to have been used in such context. Consequently, Marmaria has often been assigned as a Mycenaean sanctuary, serving the religious needs for those inhabiting its surroundings.⁸⁷ However, Scott explains the modern narrative against this perspective:

'Today, it has been recognized that the collection, and burial, of these Psi and Phi figurines happened at a later time, perhaps associated with later reconstructions of the Athena sanctuary in the Archaic period. But does this mean they should not still be associated with an early cult of a female divinity (perhaps Gaia-like) at the site? The debate remains open, although it has also been suggested, following comparison between these figurines and Mycenaean cult figurines from other sites, that the Delphic ones should be associated with funerary, rather than cult use.'⁸⁸

Naturally, this does not mean that there was no form of cult implementation during this period, but it implies that such practices would likely have occurred in a domestic sphere rather than a public one.

The former conviction that Delphi's habitation disappeared during the sub-Mycenaean period until the ninth century BC has largely been rejected. While the archaeological record of

⁸³ Müller 1992: 455, 457; Scott 2014: 43; Valavanēs 2017: 174

⁸⁴ Müller 1992: 455

⁸⁵ Morgan 1990: 107; Scott 2014: 43

⁸⁶ Morgan 1990: 107; Müller 1992: 455

⁸⁷ Morgan 1990: 107; Scott 2014: 44; Valavanēs 2017: 175

⁸⁸ Scott 2014: 44

this time is not as abundant as that of the Mycenaean period, it continues uninterrupted and primarily consists of pottery of both local and northern Phokian provenance.⁸⁹

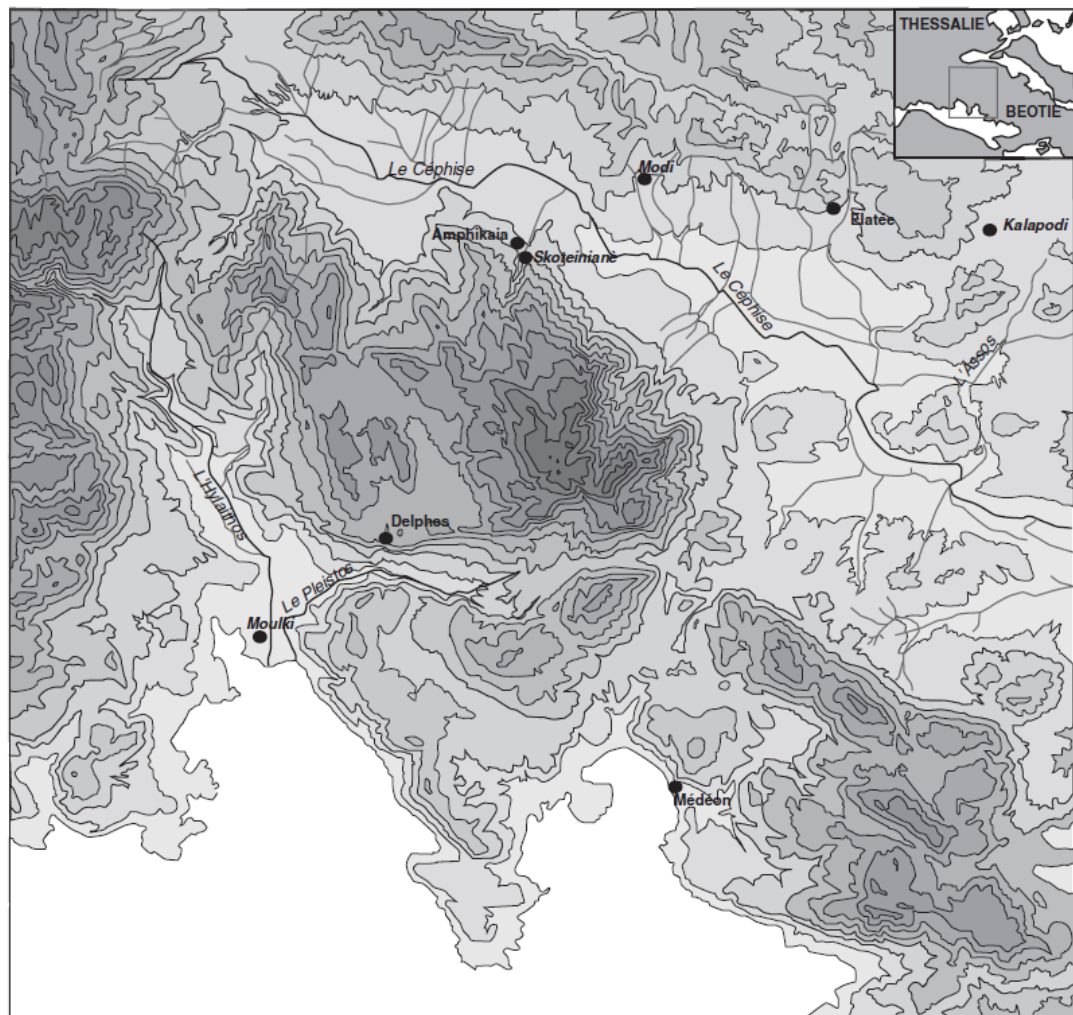


Figure 2 **Map of Phocis indicating the distance between Delphi and Medeon.** (Luce 2011: 342, fig. 3)

The Protogeometric period witnessed the expansion of the former Mycenaean settlement in the later sanctuary area. According to Scott, this development was partially implemented through the utilisation of the Mycenaean structures.⁹⁰ Furthermore, ceramic findings recovered from the site included specimens from Thessaly and Euboea, suggesting a northern network focus. Generally, Protogeometric pottery was concentrated on domestic functions. As such, there were merely minor regional differences in both shapes and decoration, the latter of which mainly consisted of broad bands, patterns of thick and thin lines, and black areas.⁹¹ Meanwhile, archaeological evidence from Medeon, another Phokian settlement situated roughly twenty kilometres south of Delphi (fig. 2), proves dissimilar, for it

⁸⁹ Scott 2014: 44 – 45; Valavanēs 2017: 176

⁹⁰ Scott 2014: 45

⁹¹ Boardman 1998: 13 – 14; Boardman 2001: 15; Coldstream 2009: 353; Luce 2011: 310; McInerney 2011: 98; Morgan 1990: 108, 112; Scott 2014: 45

includes pottery of the Corinthian Middle Geometric I type.⁹² Luce argues that the difference between these ceramic records was a result of contrasting relations. Whereas Medeon focused on the Corinthian Gulf, Delphi seems to have maintained an inland perspective. Additionally, affiliations between the two communities also appear to have been meagre.⁹³ Archaeology, however, shows us that Delphi was subjected to various changes over the course of the next century.

The eighth century BC

First of all, while the Delphians, and more generally the Phokians, did not completely abandon their interest in their northern relations, as is evident in the continuous import of Thessalian metalwork and its type of *oinochoe* throughout the eighth century BC, they did develop a notable taste for Corinthian ceramics.⁹⁴ This newfound interest in pottery from Corinth is well visible in the Delphic archaeological record. The French excavations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries unearthed a great abundance of Geometric pottery that has been defined as Corinthian in the area of the Delphic sanctuary. In *Fouilles de Delphes V*, Perdrizet speaks of 'milliers les tessons de cette catégorie'.⁹⁵ It must be noted that only the most exceptional of these objects have been catalogued in the book; an approach that has been implemented in multiple occasions regarding Delphic excavations. Luce explicitly articulates that 'Notons que la céramique de Delphes n'a jusqu'à présent pas fait l'objet d'une étude exhaustive, et qu'une grande partie du matériel est toujours inédite'.⁹⁶ Translated, he asserts the non-existence of an exhaustive study of the Delphic ceramics and the unpublished state of a large part of the material. While descriptions of shapes and decoration of the limited repertory in *Fouilles de Delphes V* are adequate, no notes have been made on their date of origin. Nevertheless, it is highly likely that the earliest of these date to Corinthian Middle Geometric II, for the shapes and decorations of the ceramic finds of these excavations correspond to the characteristics generally associated with this kind of pottery. Of the eighty-one Geometric entries in *Fouilles de Delphes V*, eighteen are jugs and thirty-seven are *kraters*. Since the jug entries primarily consist of fragments, they have not been assigned certain types by Perdrizet. This, however, was attempted a few years later by Laistner. While he does not describe every entry individually, he does assert that 'the commonest form is the jug with trefoil lip',⁹⁷ which would point into the direction of *oinochoai*. The *oinochoe* was, besides the *skyphos*, the most common shape in Corinthian Middle Geometric II pottery.⁹⁸ Hence, it is not unreasonable to suggest that a part of the jugs listed in *Fouilles de Delphes V* might have belonged to this category. The low-footed *krater* was a new shape that was introduced in the Middle Geometric II and became specifically significant in

⁹² Coldstream 2003: 85

⁹³ Luce 2011: 62 – 63

⁹⁴ Coldstream 2003: 177; Scott 2014: 45

⁹⁵ Perdrizet 1908: 133

⁹⁶ Luce 1993: 630

⁹⁷ Laistner 1912/1913: 63

⁹⁸ Boardman 1998: 49; Coldstream 2003: 84; Coldstream 2009: 97

subsequent Late Geometric pottery.⁹⁹ In terms of decoration, twenty-nine out of eighty-one Geometric entries display decoration that has been defined in the 'band' category. While this is not the majority of entries, it is the most consistent ornamentation, as is also confirmed by Laistner in his article on Geometric pottery in Delphi.¹⁰⁰ 'Linear banded ornamentation' has been described by Markoe as the typical form of decoration for Corinthian Geometric pottery, a statement supported by Boardman and Cook, both of whom added that it was particularly a characterisation of the Late Geometric.¹⁰¹ While Delphi's archaeological record shows the introduction and rapid rise of popularity of Corinthian pottery during this period, it does not reveal the exact reason behind it. This abundance of Corinthian Geometric pottery has resulted in the Corinthians being labelled as early worshippers of the Delphic Apollo, making their way to Delphi essentially for the sanctuary while deeming their commercial perspectives a secondary prerequisite. This is cited by Morgan, who states that 'quite apart from the sanctuary, trade with the settlement itself must have been a considerable attraction'.¹⁰² She is only one of a number of scholars who argue that the Delphic sanctuary, particularly its oracle, already catered to a substantial number of non-Delphic venerators by the mid-eighth century BC, if not earlier.¹⁰³ Although it is very well plausible that Corinthian merchants would attempt to sell their goods in places they attended for the sake of visiting a sanctuary, it is the general distribution of their ceramics which suggest that the upsurge of Corinthian pottery in Delphi during the early eighth century BC was not merely a local occurrence. Instead, Delphi seems to have been part of a wider development, set in motion by Corinth's accumulation as a city and the accompanying growth of its economy, which witnessed the spread of similar objects to cities across the Greek mainland, the coast of Asia Minor, the Levant, Sicily and the Italian peninsula.¹⁰⁴ It is not unlikely that Delphi initially ignited Corinthian interests through its location and topography. As previously stated, Corinthian goods were already exported to Medeon, situated on the other side of the Corinthian Gulf, prior to their introduction to Delphi. Afterwards, it seems the Corinthian interest expanded, as is reflected in the increasing reach of their merchandise. Described before, Medeon and Delphi were roughly twenty kilometres apart, thus moving onto Delphi was likely considered the following step in the Corinthians' growing trading network, also providing further prospects to advance northward. This asset of Delphi's geographical position is explained by McInerney, who states that 'Delphi is located on the south side of Parnassos, and has access to the north by means of the Gravia Pass leading to Doris and the Malian Gulf. It overlooks ancient Krisa on the coast and therefore has access to the Corinthian Gulf, the Peloponnese and the wider Greek world to the west'.¹⁰⁵ Since this pass appears to have been a most convenient manner of crossing the mountains

⁹⁹ Boardman 1998: 49; Coldstream 2003: 84, 170; Coldstream 2009: 97

¹⁰⁰ Laistner 1912/1913: 63; Perdrizet 1908: 133 – 140

¹⁰¹ Boardman 1998: 49; Cook 1977: 24; Markoe 1996: 50

¹⁰² Morgan 1990: 112

¹⁰³ Maass 2007: 35; Morgan 1990: 125; Scott 2014: 62; Valavanēs 2017: 173

¹⁰⁴ Boardman 1998: 48; Coldstream 2003: 85; Cook 1977: 25; Morgan 1988: 323; Morris and Papadopoulos 1998: 253; Scott 2014: 48

¹⁰⁵ McInerney 2011: 98

of central Greece, it is not unreasonable to suggest its significance for Corinthian traders. Consequently, Delphi's placement along the way would make it an agreeable location for trade, worship, and rest. The establishment of a new settlement in the proximity of Delphi, at the foot of the Gravia Pass, around 725 BC also implies an increase in traffic.¹⁰⁶ Additionally, Morgan adds that 'by the last quarter of the eighth century, wider distributions of Corinthian pottery on and around the plain of Itea surely reflects inter-community relationships with Delphi as the probable centre of distribution. Connections between Delphi and Amphissa at the head of the plain of Itea appear especially strong, and this distribution reflects northern links traceable throughout Phocis via metalwork and, to a lesser extent, pottery styles during the eighth century'.¹⁰⁷

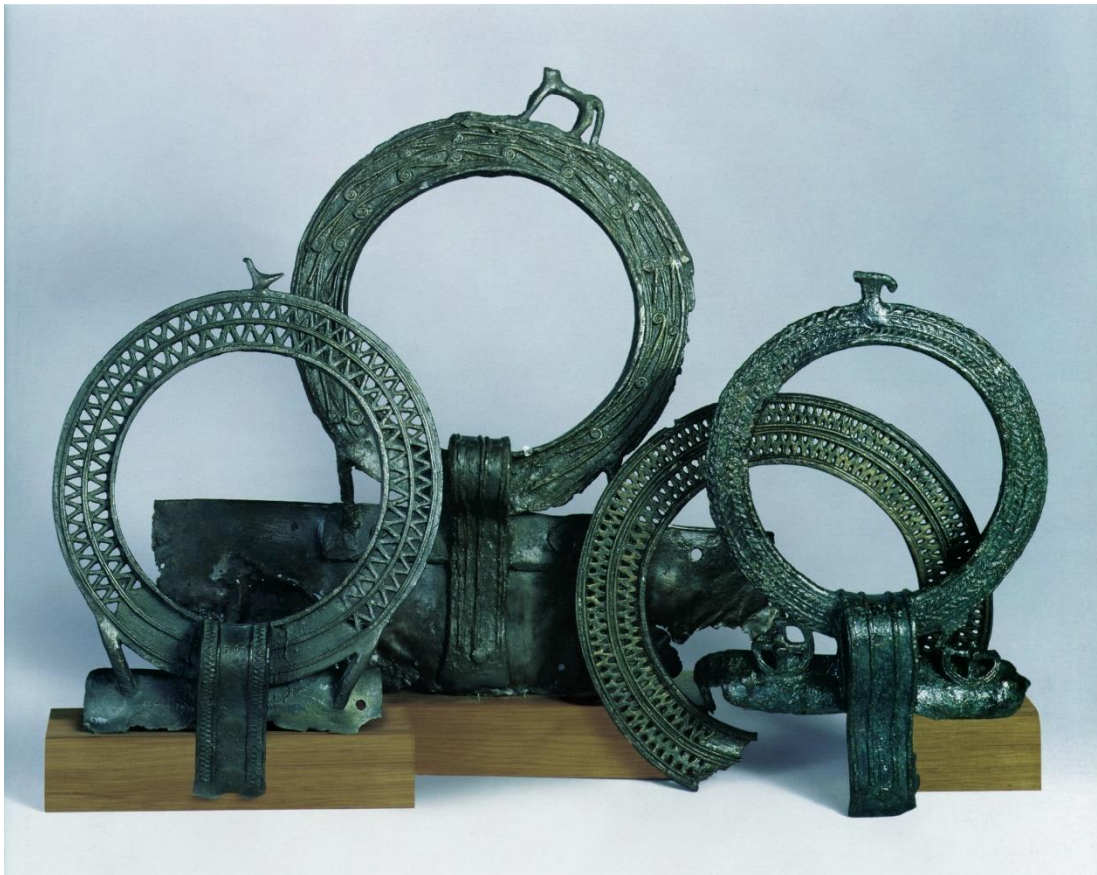


Figure 3 Ring-handles of four bronze tripods, Delphi, first half of the eighth century BC, Delphi Archaeological Museum. (Valavanēs 2017: 177, fig. 236)

Second, objects more valuable than pottery were introduced to Delphi, starting with three-legged bronze tripods slightly later than Corinthian fine ware (fig. 3). Fragments of such objects have been recovered from various deposits found along the Sacred Way.¹⁰⁸ Even though the deposits are of later date, the identification of the tripod remnants as originating

¹⁰⁶ Morgan 1990: 116

¹⁰⁷ Morgan 1988: 314 – 315

¹⁰⁸ Aurigny 2020: 104; Coldstream 2003: 178; Morgan 1990: 45, 129; Morgan 1993: 28; Scott 2014: 45, 48; Valavanēs 2017: 176, 178

during the early eighth century BC can be confirmed through their appearance. The typical style for this period concerns legs decorated with reliefs, which prevailed as the dominant fashion until the second half of the century. The majority of these early specimens have been identified as Corinthian, although they also included a few Argive models.¹⁰⁹ While undoubtedly early, the Delphic tripods were not the first to appear at a site that would grow into a Panhellenic sanctuary. On the Peloponnese, Olympia had already been receiving such dedications since at least the mid-ninth century BC. However, whereas those of Delphi were of Corinthian manufacturing, those of Olympia had a different provenance. According to Morgan, their style was noticeably different. The Olympian objects were crafted in the so-called 'massive style' characterised by their heavy appearance, which were produced in the western Peloponnese from 850 BC onward.¹¹⁰ In contrast to Olympia, locally sourced tripods seem improbable in Delphi due to the lack of archaeological evidence for a local tradition of metalworking during this period.¹¹¹

Since the manufacturing process of tripods was significantly more labour- and material intensive than that of ceramics, it seems that their offering went beyond simple piousness. Scott describes their popularity as being set both in religious and social contexts, specifying that the Delphic tripods were 'mostly dedicated by individuals' until the fifth century BC.¹¹² Morgan holds a similar point of view, stating that these objects displayed 'increased conspicuous investment of wealth in dedication in a doubly effective way, clear to those at the sanctuary who observed the dedication, and to those at home who saw the commission or purchase of the tripod'. Of the individuals referred to by Scott, or at least those of the eighth century BC, Morgan emphasises that it was 'the elite of emerging *poleis*' who 'were beginning to exercise their rivalries outside state borders'.¹¹³ Although this particular statement was aimed at Olympia, it is reasonable to suggest a comparable occurrence in Delphi, albeit likely slightly later.

While the tripods are the first prestigious bronze objects to make their way to Delphi in the eighth century BC, they are by no means the last. One type of bronze dedication that proved popular by at least the middle of the century is the horse figurine.¹¹⁴ Excavations at Delphi unearthed more than fifty of such animals. In *Fouilles de Delphes V*, thirty entries belong to the category of Geometric bronze horses, many of which are fragmentary.¹¹⁵ Based on the information given by Perdrizet of their characterisations and corresponding images, at least five of the figurines can definitely be identified as Corinthian (fig. 4 and 5). The fragmentary state of many others, combined with the lack of images, impedes any clear determinations for other figurines. A different kind of animal figurine that is well-represented in the Delphic archaeological record is the bird, the earliest examples of which also hailed

¹⁰⁹ Aurigny 2020: 104; Maass 1978: 29; Morgan 1990: 139; Morgan 1993: 27; Scott 2014: 48

¹¹⁰ Kiderlen *et al.* 2016: 304 – 305; Maass 1978: 6 – 7; Morgan 1990: 139; Scott 2014: 48

¹¹¹ Morgan 1990: 138

¹¹² Scott 2010: 77

¹¹³ Morgan 1990: 44; Morgan 1993: 26

¹¹⁴ Hermann 1965: 28; Morgan 1990: 140; Pedley 2005: 101; Perdrizet 1908: 45 – 46, 48 – 50

¹¹⁵ Perdrizet 1908: 45 – 46, 48 – 50

from Corinth. Sixteen of the Geometric bronze animal figurine entries in *Fouilles de Delphes* V regard birds. Comparable to the catalogued horses, a number of the birds consists of fragments rather than complete objects.¹¹⁶ Besides horses and birds, figurines of oxen, cattle and deer also occasionally appear.¹¹⁷ In addition to animal bronzes, humans were prominently represented. Apart from one nonconforming category, the figurines of which had the appearance of shepherds, most of these objects seem to refer to the lifestyle of the aristocracy, including warriors and horse-drivers.¹¹⁸ Similar to the horses and birds, Corinth once more appears to have been the primary provider. Again, Olympia beat Delphi to the punch, for its archaeological record includes comparable though earlier bronzes, the oldest of which came from local workshops.¹¹⁹



Figure 4 Geometric bronze horse figurine of Corinthian origin, Delphi. (Perdrizet 1908: 46, fig. 138)



Figure 5 Geometric bronze horse figurine of Corinthian origin, Delphi. (Perdrizet 1908: 46, fig. 139)

Generally, the Delphic archaeological record displays an upsurge in diversity of provenance towards the late eighth century BC. Contrary to the beginning of the century, when it was primarily the Corinthians who found their way up Mount Parnassos, the excavated pottery from this period includes commodities from Argos, Achaia, Attica, Boiotia, and Euboia. In addition, metalwork seems to have been brought in from Attica and Crete.¹²⁰

Third, Delphi's arrangement of habitation substantially changed. The former settlement pattern that was organised according to the natural slope of the mountain was discarded in favour of one that was made possible by the construction of three artificial

¹¹⁶ Coldstream 2003: 175; Perdrizet 1908: 46 – 48

¹¹⁷ Morgan 1990: 140; Perdrizet 1908: 48

¹¹⁸ Morgan 1990: 141; Morgan 1993: 28

¹¹⁹ Herrmann 1965: 41 – 42, 46

¹²⁰ Lloyd-Jones 1976: 62; Morgan 1990: 134; Neer 2012: 185; Scott 2014: 50, 52 – 53; Valavanēs 2017: 137; Walker 1977: 15; Wallace 2010: 207

terraces. On the middle of these, the French excavators unearthed what is now known as the *maison noire* or 'the black house'.¹²¹ As the excavations conducted in this area were small-scale, the building's archaeological record is incomplete. Nevertheless, it can be said that it consisted of at least two rooms with walls of which the upper parts were made of mudbricks.¹²² Its interior provided a large number of vases which have been categorised as tableware, kitchen vases and storage vases. Additionally, Protocorinthian pottery shards were collected from the fourth floor in what is referred to as 'room one'. The division of different types of ceramics in various parts of the black house has resulted in a suggestion about the 'specialisation' of certain rooms for certain purposes, likely addressing the possibility of cult-related activities.¹²³ However, the available archaeological evidence is not sufficient to make any claims about the character of cult activity. Apart from its individual contents, the black house also provided an insight into the further development of the Delphic settlement during the eighth century BC. Of this expansion, Scott states 'this house seems to have become part of an increasingly regularized pattern of what are known as row houses, with the wider settlement split into two main camps and an open spine, which seems to have served as the main access route for the settlement, running north-south up the mountainside'.¹²⁴ The black house was subjected to various destructions, two being caused by fire around the mid-eighth century BC. Fire layers dating to this period were discovered during the French excavations of 1991, but were initially thought to have been nothing more than burned remains of altar sacrifices. Although the excavators attempted to recover material from these layers, it was not to much avail.¹²⁵ Another house, located approximately fifty metres west of the black house, was destroyed around the same time. As such, Luce hypothesises that the demolition of this building and a substantial part of the settlement during the mid-eighth century BC might have been caused by the same fire as the one responsible for one of the destructions of the black house.¹²⁶

The archaeological evidence presented above clearly shows that Delphi underwent significant growth during this time period. As previously explained, it seems that the expansion of the Corinthian trading network and Delphi's subsequent inclusion in it was at least partially responsible for this upsurge, particularly during the first half of the eighth century BC. Additionally, even though Delphi was located in the central Greek mountains, the fact that it was accessible by means of the Gravia Pass meant that travellers could come across the town on their attempt, for whatever reason, to cross this perilous region. It is not implausible to consider a possible improvement of the Gravia in terms of condition as a result of expanding Corinthian commerce, which then might have increased traffic numbers on the pass. While this is speculation, it is clear that the influx of the pass did increase over the course of the

¹²¹ Luce 1992: 703; Luce 1993: 626; Scott 2014: 45

¹²² Luce 1993: 623

¹²³ Luce 1993: 623

¹²⁴ Scott 2014: 45

¹²⁵ Luce 1993: 626, 629; Scott 2014: 49, 51

¹²⁶ Luce 1993: 626; Scott 2014: 51

eighth century BC, giving way to the establishment of the aforementioned settlement at the foot of the Gravia in the early last quarter of said century. This is also supported by the expansion of goods and provenances of objects that found their way to Delphi during this period.

Then remains the discussion of the reason behind Delphi's development over the course of this century. As previously stated, the arrival of large numbers of Corinthian ceramics in the early eighth century BC has culminated in the classification of the Corinthians as contemporary venerators at Delphi. The archaeological evidence, however, does not support the idea that in this period most Corinthians were drawn to Delphi because it was a sanctuary site. Instead, the perspective of trade across Parnassos seems to have been more fitting for the enterprising Corinthian spirit of the time, which is evident in the aforementioned wide distribution of Corinthian eighth-century pottery. Speaking purely on the basis of archaeological sources, there was no division between sacred or domestic space in Delphi during this period. There are no known architectural remains that testify for the existence of cult-related buildings or even an altar. Instead, the area that was to become the main component of the sanctuary in later times was occupied by structures that have been identified as houses, including the renowned *maison noire*. As formerly explained, the latter provided a range of pottery specimens that have led to the proposition that certain activities, presumably including cultic implementations, would have been confined to certain spaces. However, the fact that the ceramics retrieved from the black house basically consist of various kind of vases that have been categorised as tableware, kitchenware and storage ware, it is unlikely that any of these served a religious context. Additionally, the Protocorinthian shards that were also found there have not been assigned to any specific sort of vessel. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to consider them fragmented to such an extent that they cannot be properly labelled, which makes any assumption of their alleged sacred relations trivial. This is not to say that religious activities did not occur in these houses, since it is reasonable to suspect that the inhabitants of eight-century Delphi did have an interest in communicating with the divine, as is also evident in other places in Greece. The apparent lack of a separate sanctuary does not undermine such needs, but simply shows that, in terms of development, Delphi had not yet come as far as, for example, Perachora or the Samian Heraion.¹²⁷

In contrast to religious space and related constructions, archaeological evidence for cult practice in Delphi during this period does exist. As earlier discussed, bronze tripods were introduced at the site not long after the first imports of Corinthian fine ware, sharing the latter's origin. The high cost of bronze made it available to only a small part of the Greek population, often referred to as elites. As such, its target market was not nearly as large as that of ceramics. Nevertheless, it seems that a steady supply of Corinthian tripods made their way to Delphi already during the first half of the eighth century BC. It is clear that these objects were not purchased for domestic purposes, for not only would they have been too expensive, their

¹²⁷ Morgan 1990: 127; Novaro-Lefèvre 2000: 52 – 53, 65 – 66; Scott 2014: 47, 49

shape and ornamentation also appear to have been rather inconvenient for such use. The implication that they were acquired with different intentions suggests that, in addition to the activity of traders, the elites also played a role in the early development of Delphi.

When bronze is taken to indicate the presence of the upper class at eighth-century sanctuaries, it becomes apparent that this kind of attendance was no oddity, for such metal objects have been discovered at numerous sacred sites across Greece. Off the coast of the Peloponnese, the sanctuary of Aetos on the island of Ithaka has provided a number of largely fragmentary bronze figurines, including what Coldstream refers to as 'a handsome group of hammered bronze horses' and 'a fine series of tripod cauldrons'.¹²⁸ To the east, on the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, a variety of Geometric bronzes was retrieved from Perachora. Apart from the horse and bird figurines that have also been uncovered at Delphi, a considerable quantity of the artifacts consists of large dress pins. Coldstream interprets the unusually huge size as an indication that people did not actually wear the pins as accessories, but that they were instead meant as dedications to deities.¹²⁹ To the south, many bronze dedications were made at the Argive Heraion. Abundantly present were horse figurines, most of which were of local manufacturing. Additionally, human figurines also proved popular, albeit primarily in the context of tripod ornamentation. Another group of bronzes found at the Heraion includes pins similar in form and size to those of Perachora.¹³⁰ The greatest supply of contemporary bronzes, however, was located in the western Peloponnese. It was Olympia that received the largest amount of such dedications during this period. The earliest of these objects are of local manufacturing and date to the tenth century BC. Morgan indicates these as a 'coherent group that probably originated in western the Peloponnese'.¹³¹ The introduction of 'non-western' bronzes appears to have started in either the late tenth or early ninth century BC with Argive types followed roughly a century later by specimens from Sparta.¹³² Thus, by the first half of the eighth century BC, Olympia had an influx of bronze objects from across the Peloponnese. Such variety of provenances during this early period has resulted in the theory that Olympia hosted some sort of assemblage that would accommodate craftsmen from different places who would cater to the needs of those frequenting this gathering. The origin of these assemblages supposedly lies in the late tenth or early ninth century BC. According to Morgan, the Olympian bronze tripods dating to this time suggest that the site was home to 'a rural cult shrine', which 'served as a meeting place for the petty chiefs of Messenia and Arcadia'. The aim of these meetings, she suggests, might have been 'part of a cycle of conspicuous consumption involving the display of wealth (and possibly also athletic prowess) by which aristocrats may have maintained their personal status within their individual communities'. The reason to choose Olympia for this purpose, she argues, would already have been based on the fact that it was located 'at some distance from the major participant communities', meaning

¹²⁸ Anderson and Benton 1953: 348; Coldstream 2003: 184; Heurtley and Robertson 1948: Plate 49

¹²⁹ Coldstream 2003: 174 – 175; Herrmann 1965: 28; Osborne 1996: 100; Payne 1940: 69

¹³⁰ Coldstream 2003: 175; Herrmann 1965: 26, 44 – 45

¹³¹ Morgan 1990: 38

¹³² Coldstream 2003: 149, 160; Herrmann 1965: 22 – 23, 25 – 26; Morgan 1990: 39

it was essentially neutral territory.¹³³ While the objects associated with aforesaid occurrence initially came from the immediate region, the Argives already introduced their wares during the ninth century BC and it seems that it was this period that witnessed the start of non-regional interests in Olympia, which steadily developed over the course of the next century. Of the increase in numbers and provenances of the bronzes, Morgan says that it 'reflects not only an intensification of existing patterns of activity by west Peloponnesian communities, but also the beginning of participation by the elites of other emerging states'.¹³⁴

This participation might have culminated in the introduction of the athletic games, perhaps already as early as the first half of the eighth century BC. Furthermore, the resettlement of Elis at the beginning of the last quarter of said century also seems to have played a significant role in the development of Olympia and its games, resulting in a growing interest for the sanctuary across Greece.¹³⁵ These early regional gatherings at Olympia likely carried a religious factor as well as a social one. That is to say that cultic-related activities were part of the elite repertoire executed at Olympia. Whether that would have been limited to a few lavish offerings or would also have included other religious implementations is difficult to determine on the basis of archaeological evidence alone. Furthermore, written sources dating to this period are basically non-existent. Nevertheless, the archaeological record does testify to an increasing presence of people from different parts of Greece. As previously stated, the Argives were rather early, already making their way to Olympia by the ninth century BC, or so the unearthing of a large quantity of Argive objects of this period suggests. They were followed by the Spartans, whose earliest Olympian artifacts date to the eighth century BC. The same century witnessed the coming of the Corinthians, albeit in seemingly smaller numbers, for their merchandise was not nearly as plentiful as that of the latter two cities.¹³⁶ While it is not implausible for these people to have gathered at Olympia throughout the year, at least prior to the establishment of the Olympic Games in the framework of the Olympiad, it is probable that most of these assemblages would have concerned religious festivals, in later times generally referred to as *panēgyreis*.¹³⁷ Religion, however, was not the only focus of such conventions, for they also served social and economic purposes. According to Bresson, *panēgyreis* in rural areas possibly fulfilled the role of periodic markets, although he emphasises that their international character, as already observed in eighth century Olympia, 'shows that they went far beyond bounds of simple rural markets'.¹³⁸ Migeotte holds a comparable opinion, suggesting that the *panēgyreis* occurred 'fairly regularly' and, therefore, 'supplemented ordinary day-to-day trading' for they 'occupied an intermediary position between local and regional trading, catering as a stage for both local and 'international'

¹³³ Morgan 2010: 23

¹³⁴ Morgan 2010: 24

¹³⁵ Morgan 2010: 24

¹³⁶ Coldstream 2003: 149, 160; Herrmann 1965: 22 – 23, 25 – 26; Morgan 1990: 39

¹³⁷ Bresson 2016: 237; Migeotte 2009: 130

¹³⁸ Bresson 2016: 238

craftsmen'. The promotion of trade 'of many kinds', he argues, was one of the primary objectives of such festivals.¹³⁹

Although Delphi's tradition of hosting and catering to elites is substantially shorter than Olympia's, similar manifestations appear to have occurred by the second half of the eighth century BC. As mentioned before, objects from Argos, Achaia, Attica, Boiotia, Crete, and Euboea dating to the last quarter of this century have been found at the sanctuary in considerable numbers. This rise in diverse provenances implies the gathering of people from various corners of Greece, which could hint at the organisation of an early version of the *panēgyreis*.¹⁴⁰ While Delphi might initially have been less accessible than Olympia in terms of topography, it is not unlikely that the influx of Corinthian traders during the first half of the century resulted in better infrastructure, thus removing at least some of the obstacles associated with journeying to Delphi. In addition, early Corinthian involvement possibly played a role in popularising Delphi outside of the town's regional network, extending its religious, social and commercial reach. How and to which extent, however, is difficult to determine. The increase of trading activity at Delphi might have culminated in more and larger-scale interactions, for example in the form of more frequently occurring *panēgyreis* or fairs of a similar kind. Another possible reason for the site's increasing popularity might have been its aesthetics, for Delphi's location on the mountainside was surely a sight to behold. Additionally, this might have inspired the belief of a divine power residing in the area, for the allure of this enchanting place would not have been lost on the gods. Perhaps the oracle was showing the first signs of life during this period, which also could have drawn in non-Delphians, although to limited degree. Naturally, Delphi's growing appeal was not necessarily narrowed down to merely one of the above factors, but was probably a combination of these and possibly a few others. Regardless of the exact reasons, as previously discussed, archaeological evidence demonstrates that the elite found its way to the site in increasing numbers. This would have reflected positively on Delphi and its sanctuary in terms of development, for the presence of elites would have attracted more people, be it for the opportunity to sell their wares, to associate themselves with the high-class, or for any other intentions that would dwell on the expectation of beneficial outcomes.

Overall, the analysis of the archaeological record indicates that Delphi's development over the course of the century was primarily a result of an intertwined combination of commercial, religious, and social factors, which provided the opportunity to unlock and initiate its international potential that would continue to grow and attract people from far and wide for centuries to come.

Despite of this increase in status, however, architectural sources also remain undiscovered for the closing years of this century. The only archaeological evidence available

¹³⁹ Migeotte 2009: 130

¹⁴⁰ Bowden 2020: 521; Lloyd-Jones 1976: 62; Morgan 1990: 134; Morgan 2010: 24; Neer 2012: 185; Scott 2014: 50, 52 – 53; Valavanēs 2017: 137; Walker 1977: 15; Wallace 2010: 207

are the previously mentioned objects that were retrieved from the site. Not a single trace has been found of any cult buildings dating to this period. This brings us to another focal point of Delphic history that is often associated with this particular century, namely its renowned oracle. It has repeatedly been claimed by various scholars that the oracle was already functional by the mid-eighth century. For example, Valavanēs attests that ‘though we cannot follow these early processes as clearly as we would like, the sanctuary and oracle were developing within the settlement already in the eighth century’.¹⁴¹ Additionally, it has been generally acknowledged that its earliest ‘foreign’ clients were Corinth, Sparta, and Chalkis.¹⁴² Morgan argues that this period presented previously unknown community problems to every single one of these *poleis*. She continues that, in an attempt to regulate these, all three turned to the oracle for advice, thus presenting the oracle as some sort of ‘management consultant’.¹⁴³ The act of overseas settlement is often believed to have been one solution of dealing with such new circumstances. Although it is commonly accepted that consultation of the oracle prior to overseas settlement became prevalent during the sixth century BC, and no literary sources mention it prior to the fifth, various academics claim that *poleis* did request such advice as early as the eighth century BC.¹⁴⁴ According to Morgan, the custom would considerably predate its popularity, as it would take a significant amount of time to acquire such prestige.¹⁴⁵ However, there is no archaeological evidence for the existence of an oracle in Delphi until at least the very end of this century.¹⁴⁶ Apart from the latter, there are two other primary reasons to disagree with this hypothesis of early settling consultation.

First of all, there is absolutely no evidence to indicate that Corinth, Sparta, and Chalkis actually consulted the oracle during this period of time. Considering archaeological sources, Corinth and Chalkis were definitely present at Delphi, but this would have been due to different reasons which are discussed above. There is no evidence that visitors to eighth-century Delphi were either organised or controlled by their respective *poleis*; it is equally likely that they were individuals who went there for personal reasons, as indicated by the archaeological record. As such, there is no reason to assume that states would send representatives to the oracle at a time when the sanctuary was only just properly beginning to appeal to a wider non-Delphic public. Naturally, Apollo received offerings from those visiting the sanctuary, but again this was probably on an individual scale. These were by no means official dedications sent by the ruling class of any Greek city. In other words: although the Apolline sanctuary became increasingly popular, the assumption that the oracle played any part in this at such an early stage is highly unlikely.

Second, even if there was a possibility in which the aforementioned states would consult the oracle, it would not have included the subject of overseas settling, for the simple

¹⁴¹ Valavanēs 2017: 176

¹⁴² Morgan 1990: 161; Pedley 2005: 136; Scott 2014: 55 – 56

¹⁴³ Morgan 1990: 159, 165, 168 – 169

¹⁴⁴ Herda 2016: 17; Lloyd-Jones 1976: 62; Maass 2007: 35; Morgan 1990: 168; Scott 2014: 61 – 62; Valavanēs 2017: 137

¹⁴⁵ Morgan 1990: 178

¹⁴⁶ Pedley 2005: 136; Scott 2014: 48, 53

reason that the foundation of new settlements during this time was not initiated by states. Such endeavours did not occur prior to the sixth century BC, as Osborne emphasises by giving the early examples of Athenian settlers in Salamis and Sigeion while stating that, even during this period, this was not a standard model for Greek settlement overseas. He argues that the settlement pattern of the eighth and seventh centuries BC was essentially different from that of the late Archaic and Classical periods, the former rather being driven by private enterprises.¹⁴⁷

Apart from their growing dominance in terms of trade, the Corinthians also proved very much present in this early framework of overseas settling, as the second half of the eighth century BC witnessed their foundation of both Syracuse and Corcyra.¹⁴⁸ Ancient authors mention the *oikists* of these settlements as members of the Bakkhiadai, Corinth's ruling family during the eighth and early seventh centuries BC. According to various literary sources, Arkhias established Syracuse while Cherikrates was responsible for founding Corcyra.¹⁴⁹ Since these date from the fifth century BC onward, the identities and exact activities of these *oikists* remain questionable at most. Nonetheless, it does suggest both foundations were initiated in a private rather than state context. Even if associated with the Bakkhiad regime, it would seem very unlikely for the reigning family to dispatch members deemed important for their Corinthian dynasty to unknown fates overseas. One example of a seemingly unsatisfied member of the ruling class to go on such a walkabout was Dorieus of Sparta. Although occurring roughly two centuries after the foundations of the aforementioned Corinthian settlements, Herodotos describes how Dorieus attempted to establish a settlement on his own after the Spartan kingdom was granted to his brother instead of himself.¹⁵⁰ This example suggests that founding a new settlement would have been the action of a disaffected member of the ruling elite rather than part of a state-driven strategy.

Meanwhile, Sparta's only overseas settlement supposedly transpired as a result of an unstable period in its local history, namely the Messenian War. After its conclusion, a group of alleged outcasts left for southeast Italy where they founded Taras during the closing years of the eighth century BC.¹⁵¹ Considering their status in Spartan society, or rather a lack thereof, it is highly implausible their venture would have received any support from the local rulership, hence making it impossible for the establishment to have been initiated by the state. The indifference of the Spartan leadership would deny the settlers the opportunity to consult the Oracle of Delphi.

While Morgan assigns the foundation of Naxos by Chalkis to 'new community problems and a potential instability in authority which would make oracular consultation appropriate',¹⁵² much remains unknown about Chalkis during the eighth century BC. The only

¹⁴⁷ Osborne 1998: 254 – 255, 268

¹⁴⁸ Strab. 6.2.4 – 5; Thuc. 6.3.2; Salmon 1984: 62

¹⁴⁹ Paus. 5.7.3; Plut. *Amat.* 2; Strab. 6.1.12, 6.2.4; Thuc. 6.3.2

¹⁵⁰ Hdt. 5.42.1 – 3

¹⁵¹ Paus. 4.5.10; Brauer 1986: 3; Evans 2016: 17; Forrest 1980: 38; Kōiv 2003: 117; Morgan 1993: 170; Thommen 2017: 26

¹⁵² Morgan 1993: 168

event, other than the new settlement, covered by ancient authors is a military conflict fought between Chalkis and Eretria over the Lelantine plain.¹⁵³ Although it is not unlikely such occurrence would indeed cause civil unrest, the war is generally accepted to have taken place between the late eighth and early seventh centuries BC, as archaeological evidence, including the abandonment of Lefkandi around 700 BC and the construction of fortifications at Eretria, implies discord on the island of Euboea.¹⁵⁴ This date would mismatch the foundation of Naxos. Earliest among the Sicilian Greek settlements, Naxos was established during the third quarter of the eighth century BC, thus prior to the outbreak of the Lelantine War.¹⁵⁵ Naturally, that does not mean that no problems occurred within the Chalkidean community at the time of the foundation, but it might be unconvincing to assume the severity of such issues merely for the sake of consulting the Delphic Oracle. Furthermore, Chalkideans, together with Eretrians, took part in the joint foundation of Pithekoussai in Italy, which has been acknowledged as the oldest settlement of the Greeks in the western Mediterranean.¹⁵⁶ Archaeological evidence for habitation at the site dates to the mid-eighth century BC and, from early onward, demonstrates a wide variety of contacts across the Mediterranean. Its pottery is extremely diverse, originating from across Greece, Italy, Carthage, and even as far away as the Iberian Peninsula and the Levant.¹⁵⁷ According to Osborne, it is this sea-wide assortment, together with the site's rapid growth which, he explains, is due to the Mediterranean's large, mobile population of the eighth century BC, that proves the individualistic approach of the founding of the earliest of western Greek settlements.¹⁵⁸ Although formerly regarded a mere trading post, this has been disputed in recent approaches towards the site. Its status of *emporion* was primarily based on its mixed origins and archaeological record.¹⁵⁹ Yet, this seems to be invalid. Considering other settlements, Pithekoussai was not the sole one to be co-operatively founded by people from different places. For example, Gela in Sicily was established by settlers from both Rhodes and Crete.¹⁶⁰ The great variety in its archaeological ceramics record is also not unique to Pithekoussai. Osborne argues that a similar array of pottery was found at Megara Hyblaia.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, the number of inhabitants, ranging between five thousand and ten thousand people, is considered too large for a trading post.¹⁶² Hall supports this by describing the distinctive graves found at the site, which include cremation burials, and pit and pot inhumations; while the former were reserved for adults, the latter two were used for adolescents and infants.¹⁶³ In addition to Pithekoussai being a private enterprise, the foundation of the site during the mid-eighth century BC demonstrates that there is no

¹⁵³ Hdt. 5.99.1; Strab. 10.1.12 – 13; Thuc. 1.15.3

¹⁵⁴ Bradeen 1947: 223; Donlan 1970: 141; Köiv 2011: 375 – 376

¹⁵⁵ Thuc. 6.3.1; Bakhuizen 1976: 15; De Angelis 2016: 69; Donnellan 2015: 46; Hall 2014: 1; Malkin 1986: 959; Morgan 1993: 168

¹⁵⁶ Strab. 5.4.9; Connors 2004: 186; Hall 2014: 1, 4; Osborne 1998: 257

¹⁵⁷ Hall 2014: 102 – 103, Osborne 1998: 258; Ridgway 1992: 60 – 65

¹⁵⁸ Osborne 1998: 257 – 258

¹⁵⁹ Hall 2014: 103; Osborne 1998: 257 – 258

¹⁶⁰ Thuc. 6.4.3; Wallace 2010: 224

¹⁶¹ Osborne 1998: 258 – 259

¹⁶² Hall 2014: 103; Osborne 1998: 258

¹⁶³ Hall 2014: 103

possibility for the Delphic Oracle to have been consulted, for archaeological evidence speaks against its functioning during this particular period. Since Pithekoussai could be founded without such requirement, there is no reason to presume it would have been any different for Naxos, which was established only slightly later.

The decentralised approach as shown in the foundations of the Corinthian and Spartan settlements does not suite the alleged Delphic oracular protocol of the late eighth century BC. Morgan actually states that 'although in later times individuals did consult the oracle on private matters also, there is no evidence for such practices during the eighth and seventh centuries'.¹⁶⁴ While Scott does refer to 'Greek cities and individuals establishing settlements around the Mediterranean' by the last third of the eighth century BC, he continues to claim that 'it seems probable that the oracle was involved in questions for new settlement foundation from the mid-late eighth century BC, particularly settlements founded in Sicily and southern Italy by Greek cities such as Corinth, Chalkis, and Sparta'.¹⁶⁵ Either he considers no private approach in any of these cases or he disregards the fact that the Delphic Oracle, if already operating, did not grant prophecy for individual purposes during this period in time. Furthermore, the archaeological evidence indicates that the earliest of Chalkis' ventures overseas, although cooperatively with Eretrians, took place prior to the initiation of the Delphic Oracle. Chalkis' capability to implement foundation without Delphic consultation during such an early time would highly suggest a similar approach for the establishment of its other settlements. Hence, it can be concluded that involvement of the oracle remained absent in Greek overseas settling of the eighth century BC.

The seventh and sixth centuries BC

In terms of architecture, there were initially no remarkable developments in Delphi during the seventh century BC. The site of the sanctuary continued to be used for settlement purposes. The remains of the *maison noire* were covered by an artificial terrace atop of which the *maison jaune*, or the yellow house, was built.¹⁶⁶ In contrast to the black house, this new dwelling appears to have consisted of a rather complex floor plan. Ceramics belonging to the Thapsos and Protocorinthian styles were found inside the house, both of which were prominent in the pottery circuit. While the Thapsos type had already gained popularity throughout the second part of the eighth century BC, Protocorinthian arguably became the most sought-after style for the main part of the following century.¹⁶⁷ The yellow house stood until the last quarter of the seventh century BC, when it was replaced by the *maison rouge*, the red house. Of all the mentioned houses, Luce states that the *maison rouge* was best preserved. It was located in the proximity of the sanctuary's future boundary. Excavators

¹⁶⁴ Morgan 1990: 160

¹⁶⁵ Scott 2014: 61 – 62

¹⁶⁶ Luce 1993: 623; Scott 2014: 64

¹⁶⁷ Coldstream 2003: 170, 186; Cook 1977: 47 – 48, 51 – 53; Luce 1992: 700; Luce 1993: 623; Morris and Papadopoulos 1998: 253

discovered three rooms overlooking either a street or an inner courtyard, one of which was supposedly used for cooking.¹⁶⁸ Most compelling, however, were the items that were retrieved from these rooms. Pottery was primarily represented through Corinthian specimens. Furthermore, a repository of bronze tableware was found, including but not limited to various vessels and two *phialai* for libations.¹⁶⁹ Apart from the conclusion that the house would have belonged to a 'wealthy individual', the combination of seemingly secular and sacred objects has resulted in the suggestion that the building served both domestic and religious purposes. Scott concludes it as follows:

'This house sat across what was later the boundary of the Apollo sanctuary, and its mixed sacred and secular use seems to sum up the indeterminate, unarticulated nature of what scholars presume was an early sacred area at the heart of the settlement that would later become the Apollo sanctuary.'¹⁷⁰

As previously stated, the ceramics unearthed in both the yellow and red houses were of Corinthian origin. This implies a continuation of the strong connection that had formed between Delphi and Corinth during the former century. This would also have been emphasised by the construction of one of the earliest, if not the earliest, monumental dedications at the Delphic site: a treasury commissioned by the Corinthian tyrant Kypselos. Built at a location that was 'highly visible on a sort of natural crest in the landscape on the steep hillside, facing toward what scholars think was the earliest entryway into the sacred area', it potentially served as an early marker of the sacred space.¹⁷¹ However, while it has generally been accepted that this treasury existed, it must be said that its archaeological evidence is inadequate. The only possible direct connection seems to be a collection of what Partida defines as 'Protocorinthian tiles' that have also been 'attributed to the pre-Alkmaeonid temple of Apollo'. She explains that the tiles' clay texture and slip colour indicates that their origin lies in Corinth or Isthmia, which was also under Corinthian control. Additionally, she argues that 'the shape is appropriate for a hipped roof, which marks the stage of evolution after the highly-pitched thatched roofs seen on apsidal temple-models. Such architectural element fits in with the earliness of the Kypselid treasury.' An inscribed block showing the letters 'KOPIN' was discovered west of the sanctuary. The style of its letters and script implies a significantly later origin, namely the first half of the fifth century BC.¹⁷² Although this is a late date to be related to the Kypselid structure, it is not implausible as Herodotos does seem to confirm the existence of the treasury during his lifetime, which he specifies as 'not the treasury of the Corinthian people but of Kypselos son of Eetion'.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ Luce 1992: 694; Scott 2014: 64

¹⁶⁹ Luce 1992: 696 – 697; Scott 2014: 64

¹⁷⁰ Scott 2014: 64

¹⁷¹ De Libero 2001: 8; Scott 2014: 66; Valavanēs 2017: 183

¹⁷² Partida 2000: 173, 178

¹⁷³ Hdt. 1.14.2 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920)

As much as Kypselos might have been an early example of Greek decadence at Delphi, most of the lavish dedications of his time came from elsewhere. Across the Aegean, the rulers of Phrygia and Lydia apparently took an unprecedented interest in Delphi, starting in the late eighth century BC. Nonetheless, they do share some common ground with the Kypselid treasury in the fact that their archaeological record is scarce. Most of these dedications are only known through Herodotos' texts. According to him, the first foreigner to make an offering at Delphi was the Phrygian king Midas:

‘ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον:’

‘For Midas too made an offering: namely, the royal seat on which he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is.¹⁷⁴’

While the throne itself has not been found, it has been suggested that an ivory figurine depicting a lion tamer might have belonged to it. Retrieved from a votive deposit near the Corinthian Treasury in 1939, the figurine has been identified as Phrygian through ‘recent discoveries near Lycian Elmalı and further research on excavated material at other sites, especially Gordion’, and as an attachment to a larger object. However, doubt is also stated over whether the piece would have specifically been dedicated by Midas or perhaps by ‘another Anatolian monarch’.¹⁷⁵

The Lydians introduced themselves at Delphi the following century with king Gyges being the first to make his presence known at the sanctuary.¹⁷⁶ His dedication has also been described by Herodotos:

‘Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ’ ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἅπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται. ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα: ἀληθεί δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίῳ Φρυγίῃ βασιλέα.’

‘Having gotten it, Gyges sent many offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there; and besides the silver, he dedicated a hoard of gold, among which six golden bowls are the offerings especially worthy of mention. These weigh thirty talents and stand in the

¹⁷⁴ Hdt. 1.14.3 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920)

¹⁷⁵ De Vries and Rose 2012: 190, 193, 197; Kaplan 2006: 130

¹⁷⁶ Kaplan 2006: 130; Scott 2014: 58; Valavanēs 2017: 181

treasury of the Corinthians; although in truth it is not the treasury of the Corinthian people but of Kypselos son of Eetion. This Gyges then was the first foreigner whom we know who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordias.¹⁷⁷

Apart from this account by Herodotos, there is a possibility that the dedication of Gyges is also mentioned in the *Iliad*, when Achilles speaks of ‘ὅσα λάϊνος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἔέργει Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθοῖ ἐνι πετρῆεσση’ or ‘all that the marble threshold of the Archer Phoibos Apollo encloseth in rocky Pytho’.¹⁷⁸

Although two more Lydian monarchs supposedly followed in Gyges footsteps, this came to pass during the following century, indicating a continuation of the trend set at the beginning of the Archaic period. Nevertheless, as captivating as Herodotos’ narrations might be, without archaeological evidence it is difficult if not impossible to testify to their authenticity. Of the dedications mentioned by Herodotos, only the golden bowls of Gyges are described in such a manner that implies their actual presence in Delphi during the author’s lifetime. Even if those objects were indeed stored in the Kypselid treasury at that time, the story of their origin might have been altered or even fabricated. After all, two centuries is a long time and there was no one left alive from the period of Gyges’ dedication to accept or contest the claims made about them in the fifth century BC. This does not disqualify the likely assumption that royalty from Asia Minor did make offerings at Delphi, it merely questions the extent of their generosity.

In contrast to the regal Phrygian and Lydian offerings, other dedications from these regions have been found at Delphi, including ‘lots of complex and beautiful cauldron decorations, ostrich eggs, glass human figurines, and even Phrygian belts’.¹⁷⁹ Meanwhile, Cypriot objects also started arriving in large numbers and diverse forms, with inscribed tripods, shields, cauldrons and a bronze bull among the finds.¹⁸⁰ Naturally, seventh-century Greece itself was also well-represented. As previously described, a great many items, primarily pottery, was still of Corinthian origin, but specimens from other parts of Greece were also on the rise. These comprised various Boiotian cauldrons, Argive armour, and Cretan shields and tripods that did not consist of ‘isolated pieces but of entire sets and series of dedications’. The latter have not been found at any other sanctuary in mainland Greece. Although the range of dedications and provenances broadened, the actual number of dedications that remain from this period is substantially smaller than that of the eighth century BC.¹⁸¹

On the basis of archaeological sources, it can be stated that the seventh century BC in Delphi was a time of increase in terms of dedications and the regions they came from, suggesting the expansion of cultic activities. However, the area where these would have taken

¹⁷⁷ Hdt. 1.14.1 – 1.14.2 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920)

¹⁷⁸ Hom. *Il.* 9.404 – 405 (translation by A.T. Murray, 1924)

¹⁷⁹ Scott 2014: 68

¹⁸⁰ Scott 2014: 67 – 68

¹⁸¹ Hall 1995: 595; Osborne 1996: 203, 207; Scott 2014: 67 – 68; Valavanēs 2017: 214

place was still rather undetermined, considering the lack of a clear division between sacred and secular space. Regarding the objects found at the *maison rouge*, it is not unlikely that rituals would have occurred within a domestic context. While the construction of the Kypselid treasury does seem to initiate the physical definition of the future site of the sanctuary, the fact that the inhabitation of the area continued throughout the century implies a rather consistent character of the Delphic settlement during this period. This is perfectly summed up by Scott:

'The settlement at Delphi, right through to the end of the seventh century BC seems to have been a melting pot of secular and sacred activity, with no properly defined or separated cult space.'¹⁸²

This situation, however, did not continue much longer, for sixth-century Delphi was subject to a grand metamorphosis. One particularly important element of this transformation was the joining of the Amphictyony, 'a religious association of several cities and states', by the Delphic *polis* in the seventh century BC. Although not of any considerable political significance, it played a significant role in the shaping of Delphi's sanctuary over the course of the following century.¹⁸³

Historically, one indication of these reforms is a fundamental change in the organisation of the Pythian Games, which was likely initiated by the Amphictyony in the first quarter of the sixth century BC. While previously the games were held once every eight years, now they were remodelled to fit the Olympiad, thus taking place every four years.¹⁸⁴ Additionally, the games' repertoire was extended. Originally only including performances by citharists, the reorganisation introduced athletic competitions such as horse and chariot races, and various new musical contests.¹⁸⁵ The reorganisation has sometimes been credited to the victory of the Amphictyony in the First Sacred War; an event summarised by Robertson as a 'war that took place in the years round 590 B.C., and ended with the capture and destruction of the great city of Krisa at the hands of a coalition of powers which included Sicyon, Athens, and Thessaly'.¹⁸⁶ The 'coalition of powers' of which he speaks were prominent members of the Amphictyony. However, the lack of archaeological evidence for such military campaign and the fact that literary sources make no mention of it prior the Fourth Sacred War of the fourth century BC, when it was used to endorse the actions of Amphictyony member Philip of Macedon against Phocis,¹⁸⁷ has resulted in a general scholarly consensus that questions the circumstances and magnitude of the event. Hall argues that 'in short, amphictyonic control of Delphi almost certainly involved hostilities against a resistant local population which could well have lasted a number of years. But if that reasonable supposition is taken to demonstrate a kernel of truth behind the tradition of the First Sacred War, it is a kernel so minute as to be

¹⁸² Scott 2014: 64

¹⁸³ Bowden 2003: 81 – 82; Hall 2014: 84; Pedley 2005: 138; Scott 2014: 71; Valavanēs 2017: 140

¹⁸⁴ Eidinow 2007: 38; Graf 2009: 36; Valavanēs 2017: 188; Walker 1977: 16

¹⁸⁵ Graf 2009: 36; Howe 2003: 143

¹⁸⁶ Howe 2003: 144; Robertson 1978: 38; Scott 2014: 72

¹⁸⁷ Bowden 2003: 71, 80; Howe 2003: 137; Robertson 1978: 40 – 41; Scott 2010: 55

practically insignificant'. Subsequently he explains the appearance of the war in fourth century literary sources as a remembrance 'that the transmission of tradition of the Archaic Greek world served an active purpose of explaining or justifying the present, not of preserving faithfully the irrelevant circumstance of the past'.¹⁸⁸ Comparable conclusions have been reached by Howe, Morgan and Robertson.¹⁸⁹ Although Scott's opinion on the scale of the conflict differs from Hall's, believing it to have been substantially more influential than 'practically insignificant' due to Delphi being both 'an increasingly important and rich settlement that was not within a particular city's power but was on a vital trade corridor' and 'being home to an oracle of increasing strategic power and value to an increasing number of city-states and communities with their own agendas', he does agree that it was no occurrence 'on the scale of a Trojan War'.¹⁹⁰

Regardless of the exact circumstances, archaeological evidence shows that the sixth century BC did witness a shift in endeavours, most likely suggesting a heavy increase of influences from the Amphictyony which consequently also resulted in the loosening of ties on the Delphic site by other cities and places, such as Corinth and Crete.¹⁹¹ The most prominent change of this period seems the definite separation between sacred and secular space, which would have been established through the construction of the first perimeter wall around 575 BC, that appears to have been responsible for the destruction of the *maison rouge* and, therefore, the crucial moving of the Delphic settlement away from the sanctuary area. Either simultaneously or soon afterward, the first archaeologically identifiable temple of Apollo was built.¹⁹² While remains of this temple are scarce, various *simas* found in the area have been assigned to it. A study conducted by Marie-Françoise Billot in which she compares said *simas* with similar ones belonging to the Archaic acropolis of Athens resulted in a date of origin set between 580 and 550 BC.¹⁹³ The similarity between the Delphic and Athenian *simas* has led Maass to the tentative conclusion that those retrieved from Delphi might have been of Attic origin. Furthermore, he theorises that the dimensions of the surviving remnants of the temple suggest that it must have been 'a very stately building', the size of which would have been 16 x 40 metres in case of a *peripteros* or 12 x 30 metres if it would have concerned an *antae* temple. In addition, he maintains that the dimensions of the columns show similarities with those of the Olympian temple of Hera.¹⁹⁴

Apart from the construction of the first temple, the sanctuary now became progressively more monumentalised. In contrast to the single seventh-century treasury, many such structures were built over the course of the sixth century BC. Most renowned are likely those of Athens and Siphnos, due to their remarkable sculptural decoration. Other

¹⁸⁸ Hall 2014: 281

¹⁸⁹ Howe 2003: 144; Morgan 1993: 30; Robertson 1978: 73

¹⁹⁰ Scott 2010: 53; Scott 2014: 75

¹⁹¹ Scott 2014: 74; Seelentag 2015: 37

¹⁹² Luce 1992: 690; Scott 2010: 52; Scott 2014: 64, 75

¹⁹³ Billot 1977: 175 – 176.

¹⁹⁴ Maass 2007: 103 – 104

commenced treasuries of this period belong to the cities of Knidos, Megara, and Sicyon.¹⁹⁵ Whether all of these were members of the Amphictyony is difficult to determine due to the lack of contemporary sources on the subject. The earliest surviving list of potential members was composed by Aeschines in the fourth century BC, which would have included ‘the Thessalians, Boiotians (not the Thebans only), Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebi, Magnetes Dolophians, Lokrians, Oetaeans, Phthiotians, Malians, and Phokians’.¹⁹⁶ However, this list does require cautious consideration. Aeschines was a rather biased political orator who did not shy away from adjusting the narrative to fit his own agenda, which might have occurred with this record as well. Moreover, not only was the list written two centuries after the initial upsurge of the Amphictyony in the affairs of the Delphic sanctuary, the meantime of which might have witnessed a change in members, it is also not particularly specific in terms of participating states, for the connotation of ‘Dorian’ and ‘Ionian’, for example, is as broad as it is vague. In the context of the sixth century BC, this is exemplified by the case of Corinth. While generally regarded a ‘Dorian city’, Corinth was not part of the Amphictyony. As such, the only binding factor that can be certainly claimed in the construction of the aforementioned sixth-century treasuries is the fact that their commissioners were all formerly underrepresented at Delphi. Apart from their appearance, their orientation appears to have been of importance as well. Of this, Pedley says the following:

‘At Delphi most treasuries stand adjacent to the Sacred Way or to paths linked to it. Most were not oriented toward the temple or altar, but all were situated to be visible to worshippers making their way through the sanctuary. Rising up the hillside they led the eye (and the feet) of the visitor all the way up to the culminating point, the altar and its rituals.’¹⁹⁷

Furthermore, Pedley emphasises that these structures probably did not serve any religious functions themselves. Instead, their focal points would have been set on displaying the most splendid offerings made to the sanctuary by people who came from the corresponding *polis* or region. Emerson adds that, apart from holding smaller dedications, ‘they were in themselves offerings to the god of the sanctuary’.¹⁹⁸

Even though Cycladic Naxos built no treasury of its own, its dedication of the Naxian Sphinx between 570 and 560 BC outdates several of the aforementioned treasuries. Standing atop a ‘high Ionic column, just under the polygonal wall supporting the temple terrace’, it was both the first monumental offering provided to Delphi by an Aegean island and a prime example of Archaic art.¹⁹⁹ Another, although later, monumental Aegean dedication was the altar of Apollo which was provided by Chios.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Emerson 2018: 36, 41; Neer 2012: 188; Partida 2000: 41, 52, 77, 185; Scott 2010: 63; Scott 2014: 112 – 113, 105 – 106

¹⁹⁶ Aeschin. 2 116 (translation by C.D. Adams)

¹⁹⁷ Pedley 2005: 8

¹⁹⁸ Emerson 2018: 36; Pedley 2005: 8

¹⁹⁹ Emerson 2018: 47; Pedley 2005: 147; Scott 2010: 46; Scott 2014: 87; Valavanēs 2017: 215

²⁰⁰ Scott 2014: 111

Delphi's archaeological record also testifies for the continuation of non-monumental dedications from a wide range of places. Offerings coming from the Greek homeland included, but were not limited to *kouroi* statues, bronze helmets, various weapons, and the usual amount of pottery, the latter of which was no longer merely dominated by Corinthian wares but now also witnessed an increase of Athenian ceramics.²⁰¹ Reliefs and statuettes made of ivory seem to have been a fashionable choice of dedication by Ionian cities.²⁰² Other valuable materials, however, also proved popular. One prominent specimen is that of a large silver bull which was discovered in a deposit located in front of the temple.²⁰³ Furthermore, there is a variety of votives dating to this period that have not been assigned a specific provenance, but are generally accepted to be of Greek origin. Among these are three opulent chryselephantine statues that were retrieved from the same deposit as the previously mentioned bull. The faces of two of these have been found, reconstructed, and tentatively identified as Apollo and Artemis. Of the third, only an arm survives. However, considering the identification of the other two, it has been suggested that the third statue would have portrayed Leto, for it would complete 'la triade apollinienne'. Comparable objects, although of later date, have been found at the Athenian acropolis and the Argive Heraion.²⁰⁴

In addition, there appears to have been a continuation of royal Lydian offerings, although it has to be said that there is no archaeological evidence for this. As with those of the seventh century BC, it is the account of Herodotos that testifies to their existence. According to the author, the king Alyattes consulted the Delphic Oracle in order to overcome his illness. After the latter subsided, he dedicated 'a great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron', the quality of which is highly praised by Herodotos.²⁰⁵ Then came probably the most well-known of the Lydians: Kroisos, whose consultation of the oracle would have been responsible for his downfall and that of his empire.²⁰⁶ Regardless of the outcome of the latter, Herodotos' account testifies of the king's lavish generosity towards Delphi:

‘μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίῃσι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο: κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσῆας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι: Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὃ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἐξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ

²⁰¹ Cook 1977: 48 – 53; Emerson 2018: 55 – 56; Neer 2012: 187; Pedley 2005: 115; Perdrizet 1908: 95 – 101, 155; Scott 2014: 110; Valavanēs 2017: 185; Williams 1985: 55

²⁰² Amandry and Chamoux 1991: 220 – 221; Valavanēs 2017: 180 – 181

²⁰³ Amandry and Chamoux 1991: 202 – 203; Emerson 2018: 55; Pedley 2005: 148; Scott 2014: 88

²⁰⁴ Amandry and Chamoux 1991: 206 – 207, 211, 218; Emerson 2018: 55; Neer 2012: 185; Pedley 2005: 126, 148; Scott 2014: 88; Valavanēs 2017: 182

²⁰⁵ Hdt. 1.25 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920); Kaplan 2006:131; Scott 2014: 58

²⁰⁶ Diod. 9.31.1 – 3; Hdt. 1.53.3

τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἔλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα.'

'After this, he tried to win the favour of the Delphian god with great sacrifices. He offered up three thousand beasts from all the kinds fit for sacrifice, and on a great pyre burnt couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunics; by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom he also commanded that every Lydian sacrifice what he could. When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and made ingots of it, the longer sides of which were of six and the shorter of three palms' length, and the height was one palm. There were a hundred and seventeen of these. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half; the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents' weight. He also had a figure of a lion made of refined gold, weighing ten talents.'²⁰⁷

Herodotos claims these objects were already severely damaged as early as 548 BC, when fire broke out at the sanctuary. Of the golden lion, he says that 'when the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base on which it stood; and now it is in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents'. Moreover, he describes that 'two very large bowls, one of gold and one of silver', also dedicated by Kroisos, 'were removed about the time of the temple's burning, and now the golden bowl, which weighs eight and a half talents and twelve minae, is in the treasury of the Klazomenians, and the silver bowl at the corner of the forecourt of the temple'.²⁰⁸

Not only would the fire have consumed a great many offerings, but it also destroyed the temple. Undoubtedly in need of a new one, the project of rebuilding was initiated by the Amphictyony and commenced by the wealthy Athenian Alkmaionid family. The latter was in exile from Athens as a result of a vendetta with the Peisistratids: the city's ruling family. As such, it seems that the building of a new Delphic temple was not merely a goodwill gesture towards the sanctuary, but also served as a prestige project for the Alkmaionids.²⁰⁹ Pedley states that 'the temple was evidently intended as a rival to the Temple of Athena built at about the same time on the Acropolis at Athens by the family of the tyrants'.²¹⁰ However, Scott maintains that the primary reason that this worked out the way it did was not in the least due to the fact that the tyrant Peisistratos was not involved in Delphi.²¹¹ Involved or not, the Alkmaionids provided resources to such extent that the new temple eclipsed the former in both

²⁰⁷ Hdt. 1.50.1 – 3 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920)

²⁰⁸ Hdt. 1.50.3 – 51.2 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920)

²⁰⁹ Emerson 2018: 44; Maass 2007: 104; Pedley 2005: 138; Scott 2014: 99 – 100; Valavanēs 2017: 201 – 202

²¹⁰ Pedley 2005: 139

²¹¹ Scott 2014: 99 – 100

size and appearance. Besides the 'elongated proportions in Archaic fashion (six columns by fifteen on the flank)', the façade was constructed of Parian marble instead of the required *poros* limestone, the former being far more valuable.²¹² The building of the new temple also had an impact on the surrounding area. Scott speaks of how 'a gigantic terracing wall had been created to ensure a solid flat foundation for the new temple, and this wall towered over the sanctuary' which 'destroyed and swallowed up many of the old, unidentified structures (often associated with the cult of Gaia) that had surrounded the earlier temple, many of which had been built in the period 580 – 548 BC'.²¹³

Thus, archaeology shows that Delphi's layout had not only changed between the seventh and sixth centuries BC, but was also significantly transformed within the time span of roughly fifty to seventy years in the sixth, during which the site witnessed the construction of two temples, a series of treasuries and other monumental dedications, most of which were commenced by cities that were previously underrepresented. Additionally, their unearthed remnants demonstrate that these new monuments were not restricted to certain rules, as was the case in Olympia. This is likely to be attributed to the difference in management of both sites. Olympia was primarily controlled by Elis without much, if any, intervention by other states. Delphi, however, was provided with a substantially complex system that consisted of separate bodies: the Amphictyony and the local *polis*, both being responsible for a particular component of the sanctuary's functioning. Its sacred site was managed by the Amphictyony, whose members came from different *poleis* and thus represented a wide range of Greeks.²¹⁴ The sole authority of Elis in the case of Olympia resulted in a policy that was decided upon by Elis alone. Therefore, they were more or less able to do as they pleased. This was impossible in Delphi, for the members of the Amphictyony had to agree on site policies. Such a conglomeration of cities was more likely to run the site according to compliance with a similar broad audience than a single city implementing full power. One exemplification of the difference in management systems is the location and appearance of the treasuries. At Olympia these structures were only allowed to be built at a specific terrace north of the Altis and were subject to rigid architectural guidelines. Such restrictions also imposed limitations on the number of treasuries and their size.²¹⁵ Hence, they did not enjoy the long popularity they had in Delphi, where they remained favourable until the fourth century BC, not in the least due to the high level of independence venerated were apparently given in composing their dedications, a conclusion which can be drawn based on the sanctuary's layout, as conformity seemed to be highly undesirable in displaying and emphasising one's wealth. Additionally, due to the Delphic policy of not removing offerings, again in contrast to Olympia, venerated occasionally returned to refurbish their dedications. Another outcome was that the treasuries became permanently interwoven in the sacred site, which was also partially a result of Delphi's

²¹² Emerson 2018: 44; Maass 2007: 104 – 105; Pedley 2005: 139; Scott 2014: 100; Valavanēs 2017: 202

²¹³ Scott 2014: 102

²¹⁴ Capree 2008: 490 – 491; Morgan 1990: 18; Scott 2010: 219, 221

²¹⁵ Günther 2004: 140; Partida 2000: 29; Scott 2010: 225; Siebler 2004: 2; Sinn 2000: 25

topography. Situated on a steep hillside, its landscape was basically the opposite of that of Olympia, thus providing limited space for the development of structures and a vivid interconnection of different realms. Athletics played a much smaller role as the stadium had to be built apart from the rest of sanctuary, tearing it away from everyday religious practices.²¹⁶ The landscape also added to the spreading of cult locations. Although relatively small, various deities were provided personal sacred space, which was not the case in Olympia where most cults merged together in the main Altis, which housed over seventy altars.²¹⁷ It is reasonable to conclude that the method of sanctuary management as implemented in Delphi played a vital role in the development of its Panhellenic character, which seems to have come to full bloom by the second half of the sixth century BC. Allowing different approaches in offerings, providing worshipping states the opportunity to fully represent themselves according to their personal preferences, resulted in an explosive accumulation of monumental and other offerings during this century, thus enabling the representation of a large part of the Greek world. In doing so, the Delphic sanctuary also advertised itself as a stage for dedicators to unrestrictedly display their wealth and power to the rest of the ancient Mediterranean.

The fifth century BC

Archaeology shows that this representation of the Greek world extended even farther during the first half of the fifth century BC. In the aftermath of the Persian Wars, the Delphic sanctuary became a platform for dedications in honour of the Persian defeat. The most renowned monumental dedication of this period would be the Serpent Column, which served as 'the central bronze pillar' of the Plataian Tripod that was conjointly erected by a congregation of mainland Greeks. The column is still in existence. Originally it stood nine metres high on the eastern terrace, until it was eventually carried off by the Roman emperor Constantine to Constantinople, where parts of it are on display at the Hippodrome of Constantinople and archaeological museum.²¹⁸ The Plataian Tripod, however, does not survive. As such, our knowledge of it is based on the accounts of ancient authors, one of which was written by Herodotos:

‘συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ’ ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφις τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεῶς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ,’

‘Having brought all the loot together, they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi. From this was made and dedicated that tripod which rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent, nearest to the altar,’²¹⁹

²¹⁶ Scott 2010: 223 – 224

²¹⁷ Günther 2004: 64; Maass 1993: 152; Partida 2000: 29; Scott 2010: 224 – 226

²¹⁸ Ridgway 1977: 374; Scott 2014: 121; Stephenson 2016: 29, 67; Valavanēs 2017: 225

²¹⁹ Hdt. 9.81.1 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920)

While this remains a purely textual source, the period in which it was written has to be taken into consideration. The fact that Herodotos lived in the fifth century BC makes him an approximate contemporary of the tripod's dedication. Therefore, it is likely that his narrative of the erection of the Plataian Tripod is rather accurate.

The tripod occurs in the writings of another fifth-century author: Thukydides. In contrast to Herodotos, he makes no mention of the Serpent Column, instead focusing on the supposed arrogance of the Spartan king in glorifying his role in the defeat of the Persians and the subsequent addition of the inscription that lists all those who fought against the invaders.

ὑποψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρεῖχε τῇ τε παρανομίᾳ καὶ ζηλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι, τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπουν, εἴ τί που ἐξεδεδιήτητο τῶν καθεστώτων νομίμων, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδά ποτε τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνιον, ἥξιωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τόδε:

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,
Παυσανίας Φοῖβω μνήμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγεῖον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλαψαν εὐθύς τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνόμασι τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα:'

'he gave grounds for much suspicion of his being discontented with things established; all the occasions on which he had in any way departed from the regular customs were passed in review, and it was remembered that he had taken upon himself to have inscribed on the tripod at Delphi, which was dedicated by the Hellenes as the first-fruits of the spoil of the Medes, the following couplet:

The Mede defeated, great Pausanias raised
This monument, that Phoibos might be praised.

At the time the Lakedaimonians had at once erased the couplet, and inscribed the names of the cities that had aided in the overthrow of the barbarian and dedicated the offering.²²⁰

The inscription of city names of which Thukydides speaks is located on the Serpent Column and includes thirty-one names, albeit of people instead of cities. Stephenson argues that the inclusion of some of these would have occurred later.²²¹

²²⁰ Thuc. 1.132.2 – 3 (translation by R. Crawley, 1910)

²²¹ Ridgway 1977: 374; Stephenson 2016: 9; Valavanēs 2017: 225

The context of Greek victory and Persian defeat seems to have inspired a larger number of offerings, including dedications from Greek overseas settlements in Sicily and the Italian peninsula. The latter was initiated by the Deinomenid Gelon, who was tyrant of Syracuse. Diodorus states that he offered 'a golden tripod of sixteen talents value', which supposedly shared various similarities with the previously described Plataian Tripod. Additionally, another golden dedication would have been granted in the form of a statue portraying the goddess Nike.²²² Another three tripods were offered by Gelon and his brothers, including Hieron, who would later succeed him as tyrant of Syracuse. Although the tripods and statue have not been found, two inscribed bases belonging to these dedications were discovered along the Sacred Way, the text of which includes the following:

φαιμί Γέλων', Ίέρωνα, Πολύζαλον, Θρασύβουλον, παῖδας Δεινομένεος, τοὺς τρίποδας
θέμεναιέξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων Δαμαρετίου χρυσοῦ, τᾶς δεκάτας
δεκάταν, βάρβαρα νικάσαντας ἔθνη· πολλὰν δὲ παρασχέϊν σύμμαχον Ἑλλασιν χεῖρ' ἐς
ἐλευθερίαν.

'I say that Gelon, Hieron, Polyzalos, and Thrasybolos, sons of Deinomenes, dedicated these tripods out of fifty talents and a hundred litres of the gold of Damarete, being a tithe of the tithe of the booty they had of their victory over the Barbarian nations when they gave a great army to fight beside the Greeks for freedom.'²²³

Despite the lack of Deinomenid contributions to the Greek struggle against the Persians, the inscription speaks of 'their victory' against alleged barbarians. The people of which the engraving speaks, however, were not Persian, but Carthaginian. While the Greeks resisted the Persians in their homeland, their Sicilian kin went to war against the Carthaginians. The decisive battle of this conflict was fought at Himera, where the combined forces of Syracuse, Akragas, and, likely, Gela proved victorious.²²⁴ Gelon decided to memorialise this triumph with the aforementioned dedications in Delphi. According to tradition, the Battle of Himera would have been fought on the same day as either the Battle of Salamis or the Battle of Thermopylai, an assertion already made in the time of Herodotos.²²⁵ This was exploited by Gelon in an attempt to represent his siding with the Greeks during the 'barbarian' invasions, an action which, Scott maintains, also served to cover up his previous refusal to send aid to the Greeks during the Persian Wars.²²⁶ The latter was not limited to the Deinomenid tyrant, for various

²²² Diod. 11.26.7; Champion 2010: 44 – 45; Cummins 2010: 4 – 5; De Angelis 2016: 186; Harrell 2002: 453; Harrell 2006: 126; Scott 2010: 88; Scott 2014: 123

²²³ Scholia to Pind. *P.* 1.152

²²⁴ Diod. 11.20.1 – 22.6; Strab. 6.2.4; De Angelis 2016: 102

²²⁵ Hdt. 7.166; Diod. 11.24.1

²²⁶ Lee 2011: 38; Mertens 2006: 257; Scott 2010: 88; Scott 2014: 122 – 123; Van Compernelle 1992: 30; Cf. case study Syracuse: 133 – 135

dedications offered in the aftermath of this conflict came from cities from the Greek homeland that were considered to have held a pro-Persian stance during the wars.²²⁷

Many of those who had contributed to the decisive battles, however, chose not to participate in this flaunting. Instead, they kept their commemorations within their borders.²²⁸ As such, Delphi became crucial in emphasising one's alliance during the Persian invasion, be it rather forced than voluntarily. This resulted in the sanctuary being amongst the first places to provide a visible definition of the superiority of Greek identity over that of non-Greek 'barbarians'. This gave rise to the popularisation of establishing oneself as a defender of Greek identity, a concept that would prove significant throughout most of the fifth century BC, not in the least due to the possibility of showing off one's power and prosperity in the process. A prime example of this would be the building of the Parthenon, the sculptural programme of which was principally dedicated to demonstrating the dominance of Greek, particularly Athenian, civilisation over those of the lesser non-Greeks.²²⁹ At the Delphic sanctuary, Gelon's offering was clearly set in this context. By placing his offering among the votives of those who fought the Persians, he visibly demonstrated himself equal in defending Greek identity, thus essentially profiling himself on a Panhellenic level. Apparently, it was Gelon's dedications, and perhaps those of his brothers, that set the mark for other Sicilian and Italic Greek tyrants to introduce themselves in Delphi. Tripods appear to have been their most preferred gifts to Pythian Apollo. The archaeological record shows specimens with origins in places such as Croton and Rhegion.²³⁰ This newfound passion for Delphi by a large part of the Sicilian and Italian Greeks continued also after the immediate aftermath of the Persian Wars and Battle of Himera. The last of the Deinomenids, Polyzalos, was the dedicator of the famous bronze statue of the Charioteer of Delphi, which was commenced to commemorate his victory in the Pythian Games. Although the exact date is disputed, it is suggested to have taken place in either 478 or 474 BC.²³¹

This enthusiasm was in sharp contrast with the reaction of the Greek homeland at the time. For approximately twenty years after the Persian Wars, hardly any monumental dedications were made. However, the reason Delphi did not suffer because of this was due to the extensive interest expressed by the other Greeks. The fact that the sanctuary's prestige remained stable during this period was a result of its standing in the wider Greek community. The homeland was no longer primarily responsible for retaining its prominence, for this liability was taken over by settlements across the Greek world. Another example of which, albeit textual, is to be found in the appearance of foundation myths during this period, linking the establishment of various Sicilian and Italian Greek cities to the Delphic Oracle. Most notable amongst these myths would likely be the one about Syracuse:

²²⁷ Scott 2010: 87; Walker 1977: 19

²²⁸ Scott 2010: 85

²²⁹ Deacy 2008: 112 – 113; Hurwit 2004: 124 – 128; Schwab 2005: 167; Stuttard 2013: 115 – 120

²³⁰ Champion 2010: 44 – 45; Scott 2010: 88 – 89; Scott 2014: 123

²³¹ Adornato 2008: 33; Barron 1981: 60; Holloway 2004: 101; Woodford 1988: 86; Zuppardo and Piccolo 2005: 64; Cf. case study Gela: 203 – 209

‘τὰς δὲ Συρακούσας Ἀρχίας μὲν ἔκτισεν ἐκ Κορίνθου πλεύσας περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους οἷς ὤκισθησαν ἢ τε Νάξος καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα. ἅμα δὲ Μύσκελλον τέ φασιν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν: χρηστηριαζομένων δ’ ἐρέσθαι τὸν θεόν, πότερον αἰροῦνται πλοῦτον ἢ ὑγίειαν: τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀρχίαν ἐλέσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, Μύσκελλον δὲ τὴν ὑγίειαν: τῷ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσας δοῦναι κτίζειν τῷ δὲ Κρότωνα.’

‘Syracuse was founded by Arkhias, who sailed from Corinth about the same time that Naxos and Megara were colonised. It is said that Arkhias went to Delphi at the same time as Myskellos, and when they were consulting the oracle, the god asked them whether they chose wealth or health; now Arkhias chose wealth, and Myskellos health; accordingly, the god granted to the former to found Syracuse, and to the latter Croton.’²³²

Another prominent foundation myth features the establishment of Gela:

‘Ὅτι Ἀντίφημος καὶ Ἔντιμος οἱ Γέλαν κτίσαντες ἡρώτησαν τὴν Πυθίαν, καὶ ἔχρησε ταῦτα,

‘Ἐντιμ’ ἦδε Κράτωνος ἀγακλέος υἱὲ δαΐφρον,
ἐλθόντες Σικελὴν καλὴν χθόνα ναίετον ἄμφω,
δαιμάμενοι πτολίεθρον ὁμοῦ Κρητῶν Ῥοδίων τε
πὰρ προχοᾶς ποταμοῖο Γέλα συνομώνυμον ἄγνοῦ.’

‘Entimos and you, illustrious Kraton’s son, go both to Sicily, and dwell on that fair land when you have built a city home to Cretans and Rhodians, beside the mouth of the sacred river Gela, and shall bear the same name.’²³³

Nevertheless, as previously discussed, archaeological evidence for these myths or the alleged connection between Delphi and the settlements in question in the eighth century BC, is non-existent.

The Greeks of the homeland had reconnected with the Delphic sanctuary by the mid-fifth century BC. The turmoil caused by the Persian invasions was merely the start of an eventful century. Delphi got caught up in what is referred to as the Second Sacred War, during which the Phokian *koinon* attempted to force Delphi to join it. While initially repelled by the Spartans, the Phokians eventually succeeded with support of the Athenians. Nonetheless their ordeal proved fruitless when Athens withdrew.²³⁴ The Greek mainland resumed their presence at Delphi during the second half of the fifth century BC. This included an increase in offerings

²³² Strab. 6.2.4 (translation by H.L. Jones, 1924)

²³³ Diod. 8.23 (translation by C.H. Oldfather, 1939)

²³⁴ Thuc. 1.112.5; Holladay 1977: 61; Lloyd-Jones 1976: 70; Rawlings 2007: 168; Scott 2014: 131; Walker 1977: 19

from Sparta, as they drastically changed their former policy of sparse dedication.²³⁵ Additionally, new parts of the Greek world, such as the settlements of the Black Sea, introduced themselves at the sanctuary. The outbreak of the Peloponnesian War did not greatly affect this prestige.²³⁶ The site did witness a growth in commemorations regarding victory in battle. A prominent example would be that of Argos. Although the city generally refrained from such display at Delphi, it commenced dedications in honour of four victories over Sparta.²³⁷

As previously stated, the archaeological record indicates that Delphi continued to represent a large and still-growing part of the Greek world during the fifth century BC, although in a somewhat different manner than during the previous century. This particular century was characterised by a number of conflicts that left their mark on Greek society. Consequently, they became an indispensable component in the way this society profiled itself. The aforementioned dedications to commemorate the Persian Wars, the Battle of Himera, and other wars testify to such perception. To make Delphi the stage for such display was a sensible choice, for the site held a significant place in the worldview of both Greek and non-Greeks. By depicting their victory at the Delphic sanctuary, different cities could show off their achievement to Greeks and non-Greeks alike. As such, they would influence the perception people had of them. To defeat the Persians was to defeat one of the greatest, if not the greatest, nemesis of many peoples in the eastern Mediterranean of that period. Being able to withstand such power surely painted a powerful picture of the military capabilities of the Greeks and Greek identity as a whole, which would be brought back from Delphi to the outside lands, dissuading anyone to attempt what the Persians had failed to accomplish. A comparable expectation would have fuelled the dedications made in the aftermath of the Battle of Himera and, although on a domestic rather than international scale, those offered as a result of a victory of one Greek city over another. Thus, in contrast to former centuries when the focal point was set on flaunting ones' wealth, fifth-century Delphi had become a primary platform to demonstrate ones' military prowess as well. Apart from accommodating another opportunity for already participating states to invest even more resources in the site, this also resulted in drawing the interest of previously uninvolved communities, such as those of Greek Sicily. Not only did the latter expand Delphi's reach even farther, but it also guaranteed the continuation of its income even after the Greek homeland temporarily withdrew from making extensive offerings.

Conclusion

Archaeology shows that the earliest days of Delphi's settlement occurred during the early Mycenaean period in the area that would later become the sanctuary of Apollo.

²³⁵ Scott 2010: 97 – 98; Scott 2014: 132

²³⁶ Lloyd-Jones 1976: 70; Scott 2014: 132; Walker 1977: 19

²³⁷ Lloyd-Jones 1976: 70; Scott 2014: 101

Expanding throughout Protogeometric times, the Delphians nurtured contacts with northern regions, most prominently Thessaly. This remained the settlement's main prospect until the beginning of the eighth century BC, when Corinthian ceramics started to arrive at the site, signifying a shift in Delphi's relationships with the wider Greek world. Starting with pottery, more valuable objects such as bronze tripods soon followed. The latter were not merely of Corinthian origin, but also demonstrate the first Argive specimens found at Delphi. Both objects and provenances diversified over the course of the century, the end of which witnessed various kinds of bronzes and pottery that came from places such as Argos, Achaia, Attica, Boiotia, Euboia, and Crete. While it is highly likely that a number of these came to Delphi as offerings, particularly those of high value, this is not represented on site in terms of cultic related buildings. Architectural remnants do not testify to any of such constructions in the future sanctuary area. Instead, it displays the remains of structures that have been identified as houses, thus continuing the occupation that had first developed there in Mycenaean times. Hence, there is also no archaeological evidence for the existence of an oracle, or its relation to matters such as overseas settling, during this period.

The seventh century BC continued to witness an increase in dedications and their origins, including the first non-Greek offerings from Asia Minor. The first of the treasuries, commenced by Kypselos, was constructed during this period, and supposedly functioned as an early marker determining the sacred border. Yet, sacred and secular space still remained intertwined, for the Delphians continued to live in the sanctuary area. Similar to the previous century, no archaeological evidence has been found that would demonstrate the existence of a temple there.

This changed over the course of the sixth century BC. The Amphictyony took over an important part of the Delphic management, which resulted in what seems to have been a substantial reorganisation. In regard to archaeology, this is primarily visible through the ceasing of inhabitation of the sanctuary area, the construction of the first perimeter wall and temple, the subsequent construction of the Alkmaionid temple after the latter was destroyed, and the construction of a number of treasuries by places that were previously relatively uninvolved with the site.

Delphi's growth continued into the next century, when the Persian Wars appear to have initiated a formerly underrepresented form of dedication, namely the victory commemoration. This concept became popular in the western part of the Mediterranean as well, where it attracted the Sicilian and Italian Greeks. They eagerly started commencing offerings at the site in the aftermath of the Battle of Himera and in the following years, some of which have been preserved in the archaeological record. Additionally, it has to be said that this newfound interest in Delphi is also well visible in literary sources, since it inspired various foundation myths.

Overall, the extent of the archaeological records demonstrates that, from the eighth century BC onward, Delphi was subject to constant change and growth in such a manner that

it reached and maintained the status of a prominent sanctuary and stage for an ever-increasing audience, spreading from the Greek homeland to Asia Minor and the Magna Graecia. As such, Delphi became a living representation of a large part of the Mediterranean, displaying its successes for the world to see.

5. Epithets of Apollo

In ancient Greek religion, it was not uncommon to assign a multitude of epithets to a deity. These could differ from place to place and many have come down to modern times through ancient texts or archaeological material such as inscriptions.

This chapter discusses a variety of prominent Apolline epithets, focusing on those that are attested in the cities of my case studies. They will be discussed to the extent that their general aspects and implementations are made clear, but without the inclusion of the case studies. In regard to the latter, the epithets will be discussed in the respective chapters. Since some of the epithets appear in more than one case study, they are presented here in alphabetical order. As a number of epithets have only been observed in one of the case studies and do not seem to have been prominently implemented anywhere else, these will not be included here, but are instead only discussed in the associated case study. Additionally, a concise examination of the cult names of Delphinios, Didymeios and Iatros is included in order to serve as a comparison of settlements activities between Miletos in Ionia and the Black Sea, and my case studies in Sicily. In contrast to the other epithets, these will all appear in the same section for analytic reasons.

Archegetes

The epithet of Archegetes is not unfamiliar in regard to Apolline cult and is most commonly associated with the god's veneration in Sicilian Naxos. However, the only evidence for this title are ancient texts. While the site of Naxos has been subject to excavation, no sanctuary of the god has been identified. As such, Thukydides' description of the connection between Apollo Archegetes and the foundation of Naxos in *The Peloponnesian War* remains our most dependable source:

Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτοι Χαλκιδῆς ἐξ Εὐβοίας πλεύσαντες μετὰ Θουκλέους οἰκιστοῦ Νάξον ὤκισαν, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀρχηγέτου βωμὸν ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἰδρύσαντο, ἐφ' ᾧ, ὅταν ἐκ Σικελίας θεωροὶ πλέωσι, πρῶτον θύουσιν.'

'Of the Hellenes, the first to arrive were Chalcidians from Euboea with Thokles, their founder. They founded Naxos and built the altar to Apollo Archegetes, which now stands outside the town, and upon which the deputies for the games sacrifice before sailing from Sicily.²³⁸

Founded in the third quarter of the eighth century BC, Naxos was the oldest of the Sicilian Greek settlements.²³⁹ Malkin suggests that the altar of which Thukydides speaks was initially dedicated to Apollo as a maritime protector, for he was likely deemed to have provided

²³⁸ Thuc. 6.3.1 (translation by R. Crawley, 1910)

²³⁹ Bakhuizen 1976: 15; De Angelis 2016: 69; Donnellan 2015: 46; Hall 2014: 1; Malkin 1986: 959; Morgan 1993: 168

the settlers safe passage across the sea, enabling them to settle the previously uncharted island of Sicily.²⁴⁰ This particular aspect of Apollo as a protector of seafarers is implied in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, in which the god commands a group of Cretan sailors to become his priests and guides their ship to the shores of central Greece, after which the sailors dedicate an altar to him, referred to as 'Δελφίνιος' or 'Delphinios' before making their way to Delphi where they take up their divine task.²⁴¹ Furthermore, this aspect of Apollo is also connotated through various other epithets, including those of 'Ἐμβάσιος' and 'Ἐκβάσιος', respectively referring to embarking and disembarking. However, it needs to be said that the earliest sources for the use of these epithets date to the third century BC, when they are referred to in the first book of *Aetia* by Kallimachos and the *Argonautica* by Apollonios Rhodios. In addition, the latter also mentions 'νηοσσόω' in combination with Apollo's name, which translates to 'preserver of ships'.²⁴² Meanwhile, archaeological evidence for the implementation of these titles is absent. Hence, it is difficult to determine when, and to which extent, they came into use. As the majority of Greek settling endeavours occurred overseas, it is not implausible to connect a safe journey and arrival to the foundation of new cities, for the latter was difficult to accomplish without the former. As such, Apollo might have been considered a founder because he was believed to guide the settlers across the sea, although it must be noted that there is no direct proof for this theory and thus it remains speculation. If this were the case, the range of influence in Sicily of Apollo Archegetes could have exceeded the area of Naxos. According to Malkin, this worship was implemented on a pan-Sikeliot scale, stating that 'the Sikeliotai should be understood as a network of Greek cities in Sicily whose common denominator was regional'. In this context, the word 'Sikeliot' is derived from 'Σικελιώτας', which was first coined by Thukydides when describing the Greeks living in Sicily.²⁴³ Malkin refers to the sacrificial ritual mentioned by Thukydides at the Naxian altar, arguing that it 'conceptualised Greek Sicily as a whole', supposedly resulting in a communal identity that would have been shared amongst the Sicilian Greek settlements and connected them to the Greek homeland, the latter being particularly manifested through the participation of the Sicilian Greeks in Olympia and Delphi. He continues to argue that Apollo Archegetes functioned as a binding factor in this network, calling the god 'the "frog" node, across the water, of Apollo Pythios'.²⁴⁴ Determined to prove the equation between Archegetes and Pythios, and the absence of Delios, Malkin turns to a different Greek settlement on the shores of north Africa: Cyrene. Pindar speaks abundantly and graciously about Cyrene in his fourth and fifth *Pythian Odes*, in which he also refers to the city's foundation and Apollo's supposed role therein:

²⁴⁰ Malkin 1986: 971

²⁴¹ *HH* 3 475 – 523

²⁴² Callim. *Aet.* 18; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.359 – 360, 1.966, 2.927; Detienne 1998: 138 – 139; Malkin 1986: 971

²⁴³ Thuc. 4.64.3; Antonaccio 2001: 116; Malkin 1986: 959; Malkin 2011: 107, 111

²⁴⁴ Malkin 2011: 112

‘οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος, ἱέρα
χρῆσεν οἰκιστῆρα Βάττον καρποφόρου Λιβύας, ἱερὰν
νᾶσον ὥς ἤδη λιπὼν κτίσσειεν εὐάρματον
πόλιν ἐν ἀργεννόεντι μαστῶ,’

‘on a day when Apollo happened to be present, gave an oracle naming Battos as the colonizer of fruitful Libya, and telling how he would at once leave the holy island and found a city of fine chariots on a shining white breast of the earth,²⁴⁵

‘ὦ μάκαρ υἱὲ Πολυμνάστου, σὲ δ’ ἐν τούτῳ λόγῳ
χρησμός ὥρθωσεν μελίσσας Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ:
ἄ σε χαίρειν ἐς τρεῖς αὐδάσασαισα πεπρωμένον
βασιλέ’ ἄμφανεν Κυράνα,
δυσθροῦ φωνᾶς ἀνακρινόμενον ποινὰ τίς ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν.’

‘Battos, blessed son of Polymnestos, it was you that, in accord with this word of prophecy, the oracle glorified by the spontaneous cry of the Delphic Bee, who three times loudly bid you hail, and declared that you were the destined king of Cyrene, when you came to ask the oracle what relief the gods would grant you for your stammering voice.²⁴⁶

‘ὁ δ’ ἀρχαγέτας ἔδωκ’ Ἀπόλλων
θῆρας αἰνῶ φόβῳ,
ὄφρα μὴ ταμίᾳ Κυράνας ἀτελὴς γένοιτο μαντεύμασιν.’

‘And Apollo, the first leader, doomed the beasts to dread fear, so that his oracles to the guardian of Cyrene would not go unfulfilled.²⁴⁷

Pindar’s repeated reference to the oracle would be the Delphic involvement claimed by Malkin when suggesting that ‘Delphi plays a major role’ in the foundation of Cyrene and specifying that there is no Delian inclusion. In the fifth ode, this oracle is directly related to ἀρχαγέτας, the founder, thus supporting Malkin’s theory that Archegetes and Pythios would have been connected, at least in Cyrene.

Certain that Apollo Archegetes is basically Apollo Pythios, Malkin claims denying this would be ‘dangerous because it diminishes the historical role of the Delphic Oracle as already significantly active in the eighth century BC and, in particular, its role in the history of Greek

²⁴⁵ Pind. *P.* 4.6 – 8 (translation by D. Arnson Svarlien, 1990)

²⁴⁶ Pind. *P.* 4.59 – 63 (translation by D. Arnson Svarlien, 1990)

²⁴⁷ Pind. *P.* 5.60 – 63 (translation by D. Arnson Svarlien, 1990)

colonization'. Furthermore, he labels Delphi as the centre of this settling network, stating that 'all Sikeliote foundations relate to Delphi in the same way regardless of whether a city's circle of collective identity had been, say, Syracusan-Corinthian-Dorian or Zanklian-Chalkidian-Ionian', which he follows up by alleging that 'Delphi, both in terms of practice and as a mental framework, mediated the internal identities of each new *polis*'.²⁴⁸ This theory, however, is contested in modern scholarship and, as discussed in the chapter about Delphi, by no means established as an undisputed truth.²⁴⁹ Donnellan argues that 'the link with Delphi is problematic' as 'there is relatively little known about it in the second half of the eighth century BC and the installation of the oracle'. In addition, she emphasises that there are no sources that provide us with an oracle for the foundation of Naxos. On the other hand, she does agree with Malkin that Apollo Archegetes was not the god of Delos, stating that the scarce evidence is not in favour of alleged dominance of Cycladic Naxos, which would have had a part in establishing the eponymous city in Sicily, over the Delian sanctuary during the eighth century BC which, in turn, speaks against a possible establishment of the Delian cult in Sicilian Naxos. Instead, Donnellan suggests that Apollo Archegetes would rather have been 'a point of reference for Naxian self-identification and civic cult'.²⁵⁰ Meanwhile, Hall asserts that Thukydides does not specify that the sacrifices at the Naxian altar prior to journeys overseas would be conducted by all Sicilian Greek cities. Firmly stating that 'there is no convincing evidence for the existence of "federal" sanctuaries or meeting-places at which Greek cities in South Italy or Sicily might express their collective identity', he also clarifies that the term 'Sikeliotai' was merely 'a geographical designation that technically distinguished not between Hellenes and non-Hellenes on Sicily but between Sicilians and the populations of mainland Greece'.²⁵¹ In regard to the influence of Delphi in individual Sicilian Greek settlements, the problem of implementing Malkin's approach becomes apparent in the case of Selinous; a city that neither assumed an oracular founding myth for itself nor participated in the offerings made by the Sicilian Greeks at the Delphic site. Even if the Naxian altar would have functioned as a 'federal sanctuary or meeting-place', as Hall puts it, the chance that Selinuntine officials participated in the sacrifices mentioned by Thukydides is minimal.²⁵²

The association between Apollo Archegetes and Sicilian Naxos continued even after the city itself was destroyed in 403 BC.²⁵³ In the second century AD, the historian Appian refers to Archegetes in *The Civil Wars* when describing the arrival of Octavian in Tauromenion:

‘οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὀνοβάλαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ὠρμίσατο ἐς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην, Ναξίων τὸν θεόν, ὡς χάρακα θησόμενος

²⁴⁸ Malkin 1986: 960; Malkin 2011: 114

²⁴⁹ Cf. chapter Delphi: 34 – 39

²⁵⁰ Donnellan 2012: 174 – 175; Donnellan 2015: 47

²⁵¹ Hall 2014: 257

²⁵² Cf. case study Selinous: 177

²⁵³ Donnellan 2015: 54 – 55; Malkin 2011: 101

ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυρομενίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχηγέτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιόν ἐστιν, ὃ πρῶτον ἐστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπωκισμένοι.’

‘As his guards were not admitted, he made sail to the river Onobalas and the temple of Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, intending to pitch his camp there and attack Tauromenium. The Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily.²⁵⁴’

Considering the time difference of roughly half a millennium, it is no surprise that the accounts of Appian and Thukydides differ in regard to the character of the Naxian site of Apollo Archegetes. Whereas Thukydides merely speaks of an altar, Appian mentions both a shrine and statue. Although Naxos ceased to exist as a city by the end of the fifth century BC, it is likely that the cult place of Archegetes would have remained in use since it was not uncommon for a sanctuary to continue functioning in such circumstances. This transpired at Athena’s site in Ilion in Asia Minor. According to Herodotos, the great Xerxes himself sacrificed no less than a thousand cattle there. While the city’s habitation numbers severely dwindled in the early fifth century BC, probably as a result of the Persian Wars, venerators continued to frequent the sanctuary.²⁵⁵ A similar development might have occurred at Sicilian Naxos, especially if the theory of Archegetes’ site as a pan-Sikelote sanctuary would appear to be accurate, in which case its existence was not bound to that of Naxos.

Although ‘Archegetes’ is primarily known from overseas settlements, notably those of Sicily and Cyrene, the epithet was supposedly also connected to Apollo in the Greek homeland, which will be further discussed in the case study of Megara.

The title would also not solely have been associated with Apollo. In *Against Macartatus*, Demosthenes speaks of ‘ἥρω ἀρχαγέτα’, hero-founders, when referring to the tribes of Athens.²⁵⁶ Furthermore, Pausanias declares that the epithet was also used in the worship of Asklepios in Phocis:

‘σταδίοις δὲ ἀπωτέρω Τιθορέας ἐβδομήκοντα ναός ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀρχαγέτας: τιμὰς δὲ παρὰ αὐτῶν ἔχει Τιθορέων καὶ ἐπ’ ἴσης παρὰ Φωκέων τῶν ἄλλων. ἐντὸς μὲν δὴ τοῦ περιβόλου τοῖς τε ἱκέταις καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλοι, τούτοις μὲν ἐνταῦθά εἰσι καὶ οἰκήσεις: ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ὁ τε ναός καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου πεποιημένον, γένεια ἔχον μέγεθος καὶ ὑπὲρ δύο πόδας: κλίνη δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ κεῖται τοῦ ἀγάλματος, θύειν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως νομίζουσι πλὴν αἰγῶν.’

²⁵⁴ App. *B Civ.* 5.12.109 (translation by H. White, 1899)

²⁵⁵ Hdt. 7.43.2; Rose 2014: 128

²⁵⁶ Dem. 43 66

‘Seventy stades distant from Tithorea is a temple of Asklepios, called Archagetas (Founder). He receives divine honours from the Tithoreans, and no less from the other Phocians. Within the precincts are dwellings for both the suppliants of the god and his servants. In the middle is the temple of the god and an image made of stone, having a beard more than two feet long. A couch is set on the right of the image. It is usual to sacrifice to the god any animal except the goat.²⁵⁷

Apart from stating that goats are inappropriate as sacrificial animals for Asklepios Archegetes, Pausanias omits to provide any further details about the cult. It is, however, improbable that the epithet in this particular context had been in existence since the Archaic period, for there are no other available sources on the matter.

Discussion on this epithet and associated worship in Syracuse is to be found in its respective chapter.

Delios

ἦ ὥς σε πρῶτον Λητώ τέκε, χάρμα βροτοῖσι,
κλινθεῖσα πρὸς Κύνθου ὄρος κραναῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ,
Δήλῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ; ἐκάτερθε δὲ κύμα κελαινὸν
ἐξήει χέρσονδε λιγυπνοίοις ἀνέμοισιν,
ἐνθεν ἀπορνύμενος πᾶσι θνητοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις’

‘Shall I sing how at the first Leto bare you to be the joy of men, as she rested against Mount Cynthus in that rocky isle, in sea-girt Delos —while on either hand a dark wave rolled on landwards driven by shrill winds —whence arising you rule over all mortal men?’²⁵⁸

The fact that Delos is mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn* as the birthplace of Apollo implies that Apolline veneration here was already implemented during the Archaic period. It is from this island’s name that the god took the epithet of ‘Delios’. The sanctuary and cult probably developed into its Panhellenic state as a result of the island’s prominent trading network, which witnessed the comings and goings of people from all over Greece to its shores. About Delos’ religious significance in regard to, likely Archaic, Apolline cult, Thucydides says the following:

ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν: ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες, καὶ ἀγῶν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ γυμνικός καὶ μουσικός, χοροὺς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις.’

²⁵⁷ Paus. 10.32.12 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

²⁵⁸ *HH* 3 25 – 29 (translation by H.G. Evelyn-White, 1914)

'There had been in ancient days a great gathering of the Ionians and the neighbouring islanders at Delos; whither they brought their wives and children to be present at the Delian games, as the Ionians now frequent the games at Ephesos. Musical and gymnastic contests were held there, and the cities celebrated choral dances.'²⁵⁹

According to this statement, the Delian festival would have played an important role in the cultic implementation of Apolline veneration of many different cities referred to as Ionian during the Archaic period. It can be suggested that this particular festival was a celebration of their Ionian identity, which would not be strange given Apollo's mythical status as their divine ancestor through his son Ion. This context would maintain an ancient connection between the Ionians, thus politically and socially binding their cities by their shared divine ancestry.²⁶⁰ Even though the majority of venerators would have been of Ionian descent, this does not mean that Delian worship was merely limited to them, as will be further discussed in the case study of Rhodes.

It has been argued that this Apollo Archegetes was actually an alternative identification of Delian Apollo; a concept that appears to have been primarily based on the founders of the altar of Archegetes which, according to Thukydides, were settlers from Chalkis on the island of Euboea.²⁶¹ They would have erected it upon making first footfall in Sicily, after which they founded the city of Naxos; the oldest Greek settlement in Sicily.²⁶² While Thukydides merely mentions the participation of Chalkidians, not all involved settlers shared this background. It seems generally accepted that some hailed from Naxos, and likely also from other Aegean islands.²⁶³ Regardless of their different origins, most of these people would classify as Ionian. As mentioned above, Thukydides states that it was at the island of Delos where Ionians from across Greece came together to engage in celebrations in honour of Apollo.²⁶⁴ If Thukydides' implication about the range of participants is true, it is likely that Chalkidians and Naxians were among them. This would make it possible for the settlers of Sicilian Naxos to introduce the cult of Delian Apollo to their new homeland. However, as described in the section of Apollo Archegetes, this theory is opposed by various modern scholars. Donnellan argues against Cycladic Naxian dominance over the Delian sanctuary during the eighth century BC, the period of Sicilian Naxos' establishment, thus contradicting the identification of Apollo Archegetes as the Delian god. In addition, Malkin profoundly argues for a comparison with Pythian Apollo instead.²⁶⁵ Furthermore, as previously discussed, the eighth century BC is exceptionally early to claim Panhellenic status for Delos in terms of religion. The 'ancient days' of which Thukydides speaks when describing the Ionian

²⁵⁹ Thuc. 3.104.3 (translation by B. Jowett, 1881)

²⁶⁰ Aristot. *Const. Ath. Fragments*: Heracleides' Epitome of the first part; Schol. Aristoph. *Birds* 1537

²⁶¹ Thuc. 6.3.1

²⁶² Bakhuizen 1976: 15; De Angelis 2016: 69; Donnellan 2015: 46; Hall 2014: 1; Malkin 1986: 959; Morgan 1993: 168

²⁶³ Donnellan 2015: 47; Malkin 1986: 964

²⁶⁴ Thuc. 3.104.3

²⁶⁵ Donnellan 2015: 47; Malkin 2011: 112; Cf. above: 57 – 59

celebrations on Delos seem to refer to the time before the Athenian occupation of the island which occurred in the sixth century BC.²⁶⁶ It is by no means a guarantee that the 'great gathering' would already have been implemented in the early days of Greek overseas settling endeavours. This is reflected in the calendars of both Chalkis and Naxos, both of which omit the month of Dalios. In the case of Chalkis, with only two epigraphically affirmed months, it demonstrates a more expansive deficiency, for there is a similar lack of evidence for the month's inclusion in Eretria and Histiaia. Hence, Dalios is excluded from Trümpy's reconstruction of an overarching Euboian calendar.²⁶⁷ Although Aegean Naxos is subject to a comparable deficiency of sources in regard to its religious year, also affirming a mere two months neither of which is known as Dalios, its calendar has not yet been subjected to a modern reconstruction. Nonetheless, its contribution to the appearance of the Delian sanctuary is evident through archaeology. The Naxian lions are arguably among the most renowned monuments of Delos. While their date of origin was accepted as having been 'around 600 BC' by scholars of the early twentieth century, this is still disputed, and modern scholarship has suggested a date of rather 500 BC, based on stylistic comparisons with Archaic sculpture from Delphi, Delos, and other Cycladic islands, including but not limited to lions and sphinxes.²⁶⁸ If it was only around 500 BC, the end of the Archaic period, that Cycladic Naxos became significantly involved in the Delian sanctuary, there is no reason to assume any Naxian input in the possible introduction of Delian Apollo in Sicily. Considering the above, it is improbable that Apollo Archegetes functioned as an incarnation for the Delian god.

Karneios

The epithet of Karneios was also the name of a month common in the calendars of cities that are often referred to as 'Dorian', some of which have been reconstructed.²⁶⁹ While there are no literary sources that describe Mycenaean religion, making it difficult to reconstruct a pantheon, one deity who is generally acknowledged as having been part of it, at least in the Peloponnese, is Karnos who supposedly bore the head of a ram. His supposed realm was that of animal herding and agriculture.²⁷⁰ It has generally been accepted that, in the ancient Dorian dialect, the connotation of *κάρνος* is 'ram', serving as a synonym for *κρίός*. Additionally, *κάρνος* is described by Hesychios of Alexandria as *βόσκημα* and *πρόβατον*, effectively meaning 'sheep' and 'flocks' or 'herds'.²⁷¹ It is not unlikely that the inclusion of the epithet Karneios in Apolline cult served as an adjusted preservation and continuation of Mycenaean worship. Nonetheless, there are various myths in regard to the origin of the name of Karneios. One aspect that seems rather consistent is the inclusion of a seer. Describing three origin

²⁶⁶ Thuc. 3.104; Dillon and Garland 2013: 9; Osborne 1999: 330

²⁶⁷ Trümpy 1997: 41 – 42, 49

²⁶⁸ Barlou 2014: 140 – 141, 146 – 149; Kokkorou-Alewrass 1993: 91, 93 – 97, 100

²⁶⁹ Thuc. 5.54; *JG* XIV 27, 29, 256; Bankel 2004: 106; Giffler 1939: 445; Graf 2009: 117; Hall 2007: 54; Iversen 2017: 132; Larson 2007: 6; Pettersson 1992: 60; Thomson 1943: 55; Trümpy 1997: 120 – 121, 141 – 142, 147, 154, 159 – 160, 170, 180

²⁷⁰ Burkert 1985: 236; Dowden 2007: 49; Larson 2007: 91

²⁷¹ Hesych. s.v. *κάρνος*; Graf 2009: 117; Hall 1997: 39; Stroszeck 2004: 232

stories of Karneios in his description of Laconia, Pausanias speaks of seers, known as Κριοῦ and Κάρνου, in two of them:

‘ὁ δὲ Καρνειός, ὃν Οἰκέταν ἐπονομάζουσι, τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας κατελθεῖν, ἵδρυτο δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κριοῦ τοῦ Θεοκλέους, ἀνδρὸς μάντεως· τούτου δὲ τοῦ Κριοῦ γεμιζούσῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ὕδωρ συντυχόντες κατάσκοποι τῶν Δωριέων αὐτῇ τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς λόγους καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κριὸν ἐλθόντες διδάσκονται τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Σπάρτης.’

‘Karneios, whom they surname “of the House,” had honours in Sparta even before the return of the Heracleidai, his seat being in the house of a seer, Krios (Ram) the son of Theokles. The daughter of this Krios was met as she was filling her pitcher by spies of the Dorians, who entered into conversation with her, visited Krios and learned from him how to capture Sparta.²⁷²

‘Κάρνειον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα Δωριεῦσι μὲν τοῖς πᾶσι σέβεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἀπὸ Κάρνου γένος ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, μαντευομένου δὲ ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Κάρνον ἀποκτείναντος Ἰππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος ἐνέπεσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς Δωριεῦσι μήνιμα Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ Ἰππότης τε ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ καὶ Δωριεῦσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν Ἀκαρναῖνα μάντιν καθέστηκεν ἰλάσκεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐχ οὗτος ὁ Οἰκέτας ἐστὶ Καρνειός, ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῦ μάντεως Κριοῦ τιμώμενος Ἀχαιῶν ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν Σπάρτην.’

‘The cult of Apollo Karneios has been established among all the Dorians ever since Karnos, an Acarnanian by birth, who was a seer of Apollo. When he was killed by Hippotes the son of Phylas, the wrath of Apollo fell upon the camp of the Dorians Hippotes went into banishment because of the bloodguilt, and from this time the custom was established among the Dorians of propitiating the Acarnanian seer. But this Karnos is not the Lacedaemonian Karneios of the House, who was worshipped in the house of Crius the seer while the Achaeans were still in possession of Sparta.²⁷³

In his accounts, Pausanias emphasises that the earliest known presence of Karneios was attested in Sparta. While the description of Pausanias is seemingly late, being written in the second century AD, the first literary reference of the importance of Apollo Karneios to Sparta, which is particularly well shown through the Spartan version of the Karneian festival, dates to the fifth century BC and is implied by Herodotos, who states it as the Spartan reason to postpone acting on the Athenian plea for aid against the Persians:

²⁷² Paus. 3.13.3 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

²⁷³ Paus. 3.13.4 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

ἤ Ἰακωβαῖοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμέων δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι δουλοσύνη περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων: καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἐρέτριά τε ἡνδραπόδισται καὶ πόλις λογίμῃ ἢ Ἑλλάς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα.’ ὁ μὲν δὴ σφίσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε, τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφίσι ἦν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον: ἦν γὰρ ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου.’

“Lakedaimonians, the Athenians ask you to come to their aid and not allow the most ancient city among the Hellenes to fall into slavery at the hands of the foreigners. Even now Eretria has been enslaved, and Hellas has become weaker by an important city.” He told them what he had been ordered to say, and they resolved to send help to the Athenians, but they could not do this immediately, for they were unwilling to break the law. It was the ninth day of the rising month, and they said that on the ninth they could not go out to war until the moon's circle was full.²⁷⁴

The refusal to provide immediate military assistance results from the fact that military activities were prohibited for the full duration of the Karneia. While, originally, the festival was agricultural in character, the Spartan version of the late Archaic and early Classical periods, was instead set in a military context which Pettersson refers to as a ritual preparation for warfare.²⁷⁵ Hence, it is not remarkable that the organisers of and main participants in the festivities were young, unmarried men, who are likely to be identified as *ephebes*. Their most renowned event in the Karneia seems to have been the race of Staphylodromoi. The term *staphylodromoi* has been cited by Hesychios as τινὲς τῶν Καρνεατῶν, παρορμῶντες τοῦ ἐπὶ τρύγῃ,²⁷⁶ which translates to ‘some of the Karneatai, who encourage the grape pickers’. The latter is an affirmation of the generally accepted term of ‘grape runners’ for the runners who participated in the Staphylodromoi.²⁷⁷ Larson describes how the partakers ‘carried fruited vine branches while pursuing a runner decked with wool fillets like a sacrificial victim. If they caught him, it meant good luck for the city in the coming year’.²⁷⁸ Furthermore, the race would have been connected to divination as practised through a seer, who was held in high regard by the Spartans as his skill was considered a ‘gift of the gods’. According to Herodotos, the Spartans brought a foreign-born seer, known as Tisamenos, into their army to raise the odds in their battle against the Persians. As a reward for his services, he was granted Spartan citizenship.²⁷⁹ Hence, it appears that seers and their associated divination were inherently connected with Sparta’s perception of warfare. Pettersson sets the Staphylodromoi race in

²⁷⁴ Hdt. 6.106.2 – 3

²⁷⁵ Pettersson 1992: 58, 69

²⁷⁶ Hesych. s.v. σταφυλοδρόμοι

²⁷⁷ Larson 2007: 90; Pettersson 1992: 59; Richer 2009: 214

²⁷⁸ Larson 2007: 90 – 91

²⁷⁹ Hdt. 9.33.1 – 5

this context by suggesting that the person who was to be caught would have been a seer. He states that ‘the catching of him symbolized the possibility of a renewal of the relations between men and gods, as if there were a contract which had to be renewed at regular intervals’.²⁸⁰ The focus on war is also emphasised by the Karneia’s *agon*, which was a musical contest. Since education in musical skills formed an inherent component of military training, it can be suggested that music would have been an indispensable part of Spartan warrior culture.²⁸¹ This warrior culture was at the core of Spartan society. As such, Sparta expressed its connotation of civilised order through its well-coordinated army. In order to maintain this civilised order, it was of great importance that the Spartans preserved their military prowess. One indispensable component in accomplishing this was rigorous training of its *ephebes*. It is not implausible that the Spartan Karneia functioned as some sort of initiation for these youths. In regard to the explanation of the promise of a prosperous year in case of capture of the surrogate sacrificial victim by the runners, it can be suggested that the Karneia might also have served as a new year’s celebration. This would also fit Pettersson’s theory that the festival was ‘the final stage of the ritual cycle centred on rites of initiation’.²⁸² Since the festival was celebrated in honour of Apollo Karneios, he would have symbolised the divine embodiment of Spartan civilised order.²⁸³ It was he who was deemed to ensure the continuity and durability of the Spartan army, and thus Spartan society, by providing a steady supply of highly skilled new citizens.

The festival also took place in Cyrene in North Africa, as is attested by Pindar and Kallimachos:

‘τὸ δ’ ἐμὸν γαρύειν
ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐπήρατον κλέος:
ὄθεν γεγενναμένοι
ἴκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγεῖδαι,
ἐμοὶ πατέρες, οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ, ἀλλὰ μοῖρά τις ἄγεν:
πολύθυτον ἔρανον
ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι,
Ἄπολλον, τεῶ,
Καρνήϊ, ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν
Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν.’

‘But it is my part to sing of the lovely glory that comes from Sparta, where the Aigeidai were born, and from there they went to Thera, my ancestors, not without the gods; they were led

²⁸⁰ Pettersson 1992: 72

²⁸¹ Graf 2009: 118; Larson 2007: 90; Pettersson 1992: 59, 63

²⁸² Pettersson 1992: 71

²⁸³ Larson 2007: 90; Pettersson 1992: 71

by a certain fate. From there we have received the feast with its many sacrifices, and at your banquet, Karneian Apollo, we honour the well-built city of Cyrene,²⁸⁴

ἔκ μὲν σε Σπάρτης ἕκτον γένος Οἰδιπόδαο
ἦγαγε Θηραῖην ἐς ἀπόκτισιν: ἐκ δέ σε Θήρης
οὔλος Ἀριστοτέλης Ἀσβυστίδι πάρθετο γαίῃ,
δεῖμε δέ τοι μάλα καλὸν ἀνάκτορον, ἐν δὲ πόλῃ
θήκε τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον, ἧ ἔνι πολλοὶ
ύστατιον πίπτουσιν ἐπ' ἰσχίον, ὧ ἄνα, ταῦροι.
80ίῃ ἰὴ Καρνεῖε πολύλλιτε, σεῖο δὲ βωμοὶ
ἄνθεα μὲν φορέουσιν ἐν εἵαρι τόσσα περ ἼΩραι
ποικίλ' ἀγινεῦσι ζεφύρου πνεύοντος ἐέρσην,
χείματι δὲ κρόκον ἡδύν: αἰεὶ δέ τοι ἀέναον πῦρ,
οὐδέ ποτε χθιζὸν περιβόσκειται ἄνθρακα τέφρη.
ἧ ῥ' ἐχάρη μέγα Φοῖβος, ὅτε ζωστήρες Ἔνυοῦς
ἄνδρες ὠρχήσαντο μετὰ ξανθῇσι Λιβύσσαις,
τέθμαι εὐτέ σφιν Καρνειάδες ἤλυθον ὥραι.'

'From Sparta the sixth generation of the sons of Oedipus brought thee to their colony of Thera; and from Thera lusty Aristoteles set thee by the Asbystian land, and builded thee a shrine exceedingly beautiful, and in the city established a yearly festival wherein many a bull, O Lord, falls on his haunches for the last time. Hië, Hië, Karneios! Lord of many prayers, - thine altars wear flowers in spring, even all the pied flowers which the Hours lead forth when Zephyros breathes dew, and in winter the sweet crocus. Undying evermore is thy fire, nor ever doth the ash feed about the coals of yester-even. Greatly, indeed, did Phoibos rejoice as the belted warriors of Enyo danced with the yellow-haired Libyan women, when the appointed season of the Karneian feast came round.'²⁸⁵

Both authors emphasise Cyrene's claimed descent from Sparta, through Thera, which is likely related to its popularity of the Karneia.²⁸⁶ Additionally, Pindar's account seems to suggest that Apollo Karneios would have played a role in the foundation of Cyrene, considering the emphasis he puts on the feast as a means to 'honour the well-built city of Cyrene'. This would provide the Karneia a context different from that in Sparta, which might explain Kallimachos' description of the god's Cyrenian altar being covered in flowers during the festival, an occurrence which was not observed in Sparta. Furthermore, there are no

²⁸⁴ Pind. *P.* 5.72 – 81 (translation by D. Arnson Svarlien, 1990)

²⁸⁵ Call. *Ap.* 85 – 87 (translation by A.W. Mair, 1921)

²⁸⁶ Graf 2009: 117

sources, neither literary nor epigraphical, that point into the direction of a military setting of the Cyrenian Karneia. Nevertheless, it seems that the essence of Apollo Karneios in Cyrene might actually have been rather close to that in Sparta, considering that his deemed connection with the city's foundation would associate him with Cyrene's civilised order.

Introduced via Sparta, the Karneia would also have occurred in Knidos, as will be further discussed in the case study of Rhodes. Discussions on this epithet and associated worship in Corinth, Syracuse, Megara, Selinous, Rhodes, and Gela are to be found in their respective chapters.

Lykeios

The epithet of Lykeios was the name of a month that evidently appears in the calendars of Epidauros Limera (eastern Laconia), Byzanton, Megara, Chersonesos Taurika, Callatis, and Chaleion, some of which have been reconstructed.²⁸⁷ Interestingly, the month is not attested for Argos, even though Graf claims that 'Apollo the wolf' was as important to the Argives as 'Apollo the ram', or Apollo Karneios, was to the Spartans.²⁸⁸ Wolf is the primary association for the cult title Lykeios, as is emphasised by various ancient authors:

‘καὶ σύ, Λύκει’ ἄναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ’

‘And you, Apollo, lord of the Wolf, be a wolf to the enemy force and give them groan for groan!’²⁸⁹

‘ταῦτα δὲ Ἀργεῖοι πάθους ὑπομνήματα παλαιοῦ γενενῆσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς λέγουσι. Δαναῶ γάρ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐπέβη τῆς χώρας κατὰ τὰ Πυράμια τῆς Θυρεάτιδος, εἰς Ἄργος πορευομένῳ λύκον φανῆναι ταύρῳ μαχόμενον: θέμενον δὲ τὸν Δαναὸν ὡς ὁ λύκος εἶη πρὸς αὐτοῦ ξένον γὰρ ὄντα τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι καθάπερ αὐτόν, ἐφορᾶν τὴν μάχην, καὶ τοῦ λύκου κρατήσαντος Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκείῳ προσευζάμενον ἐπιχειρῆσαι καὶ περιγενέσθαι, στάσει Γελάνορος, ὃς τότε τῶν Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευεν, ἐκπεσόντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνάθημα τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν λόγον.’

‘Now, the Argives say that these figures were set up in their market-place as memorials of an ancient event. Namely, when Danaos first landed in the country, near Pyramia in the district of Thyreatis, and was on his way to Argos, he saw a wolf fighting with a bull; and conceiving that he himself was represented by the wolf (since both were strangers and were attacking the natives), he watched the battle to its end, and when the wolf had prevailed, paid his vows to Apollo Lykeios (the wolf-god), attacked the city, and was victorious, after Gelanor, who was

²⁸⁷ *JG* V,1 932; Trümpy 1997: 136, 149 – 150, 154, 205

²⁸⁸ Graf 2009: 120

²⁸⁹ Aesch. *Seven* 145 (translation by H.W. Smith, 1926)

at that time king of Argos, had been driven out by a faction. This, then, was the significance of the dedication.²⁹⁰

‘πλησίον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν Λυκίου, κατερρηγμένος τε ἤδη καὶ ἥκιστα θεᾶς ἄξιον. φοιτῶντων γὰρ λύκων σφίσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ποιμένας ὡς μηδένα εἶναι καρπὸν ἔτι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, ὁ θεὸς τόπον τινὰ εἰπὼν ἔνθα ἔκειτο αὔρον ξύλον, τούτου φλοιὸν ἔχρησε τοῦ ξύλου καὶ κρέας ὁμοῦ προθεῖναι τοῖς θηρίοις· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ὡς ἐγεύσαντο διέφθειρεν ὁ φλοιός, τὸ ξύλον δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἔκειτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Λυκίου, ὃ τι δὲ ἦν δένδρον οὐδὲ οἱ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐξηγηταὶ συνίεσαν.’

‘Hard by is a sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios (Wolf-god), now fallen into ruins and not worth any attention. For wolves once so preyed upon their flocks that there was no longer any profit therefrom, and the god, mentioning a certain place where lay a dry log, gave an oracle that the bark of this log mixed with meat was to be set out for the beasts to eat. As soon as they tasted it the bark killed them, and that log lay in my time in the sanctuary of the Wolf-god, but not even the guides of the Sicyonians knew what kind of tree it was.’²⁹¹

The oldest of these accounts, *Seven Against Thebes* by Aiskhylos, originated in the second quarter of the fifth century BC, thus the early Classical period. Although there are no older textual sources that make mention of the epithet, there are older inscriptions. The oldest known inscriptions mentioning it are from Metapontion and date to the first half of the sixth century BC, thus providing an Archaic provenance.²⁹² While other inscriptions are known, for example in Argos, Attica, Erythrai, Sparta, and Thasos, these are either younger or remain undated.²⁹³ Knowledge of the title’s character and corresponding cult is available, though limited. In Argos, Apollo Lykeios was housed at a sanctuary at the agora. Fragments of dismantled blocks belonging to a triglyph altar were discovered at the site and have been dated to the late fifth or fourth century BC.²⁹⁴ Considering that an altar with such decoration was likely part of a further monumentalised sanctuary, it is not unreasonable to suggest an earlier date of origin for the cult there. Of the religious practices conducted at the sanctuary, nothing is known, although the cult place appears to have been used as a storage for decrees amongst which would have been the treaty between Athens, Argos, Elis and Mantinea.²⁹⁵ This would suggest a significant position for Apollo Lykeios in the Argive pantheon. In Athens and Epidauros, the epithet would have been attributed to the god in the proximity of or at the cities’

²⁹⁰ Plut. *Pyrrh.* 32.5 (translation by B. Perrin, 1920)

²⁹¹ Paus. 2.9.7 (Sicyon) (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

²⁹² IGASMG IV 56, 57

²⁹³ *Erythrai* 60; *IG II²* 2875; *IG V,1* 1515i; *IG XII Suppl.* 389

²⁹⁴ Tomlinson 1972: 246

²⁹⁵ Thuc. 5.47.5; Tomlinson 1972: 196

gymnasia.²⁹⁶ In the case of Athens, it was referred to as the Lykeion.²⁹⁷ Its accompanying field would also have witnessed training activities of the hoplites, the participants of which apparently paid a tax for the sanctuary's maintenance.²⁹⁸ As it was used for military exercises, Jameson states that it remains uncertain whether Apollo Lykeios was connected to the rites of passage not only in Athens but in other parts of Greece as well and instead suggests that it was 'essentially an expression of the assembled warriors of the community'.²⁹⁹ It is possible that Apollo Lykeios was similarly connected to the hoplites in Argos,³⁰⁰ although not necessarily with a corresponding *gymnasion*. Even though wolves and hoplites would rather seem unrelated, when contemplating the texts by Aiskhylos and Plutarch it is not unreasonable to suppose that the deemed ferocity of wolves was considered comparable to that of soldiers going into battle.

In regard to the case studies of this thesis, the month Lykeios, albeit from a reconstructed calendar, and an undated epithet are known from Megara. These will be further discussed in the respective case study.

Pythios

Arguably the most widespread epithet of Apollo was that of 'Pythios'. The earliest text to address Apollo as such is the *Homeric Hymn* dedicated to him. While the date of origin of the latter is still subject to debate, it is generally placed between the late eighth and late sixth centuries BC.³⁰¹ Not only is the second part of the hymn labelled as 'Εἷς Ἀπόλλωνα Πύθιον' or 'To Pythian Apollo', the text also specifies the reason for the bestowment of this particular title upon Apollo:

ᾧς φάτ' ἐπευχόμενος: τὴν δὲ σκότος ὅσσε κάλυψε.

τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ κατέπυσ' ἱερὸν μένος Ἥελιοιο,

ἐξ οὗ νῦν Πυθῶ κικλήσκεται: οἳ δὲ ἄνακτα

Πύθιον ἀγκαλέουσιν ἐπώνυμον, οὔνεκα κεῖθι

αὐτοῦ πῦσε πέλωρ μένος ὀξέος Ἥελιοιο.'

'Thus said Phoibos, exulting over her: and darkness covered her eyes.

And the holy strength of Helios made her rot away there;

wherefore the place is now called Pytho,

and men call the lord Apollo by another name, Pythian;

because on that spot the power of piercing Helios made the monster rot away.³⁰²

²⁹⁶ Call. *Fr.* 141; Paus. 1.19.3; Graf 2007: 121

²⁹⁷ Aristoph. *Peace* 356; Paus. 1.19.3

²⁹⁸ Graf 2009: 121; Larson 2007: 88

²⁹⁹ Jameson 2013: 59 – 60

³⁰⁰ Larson 2007: 88

³⁰¹ Graf 2009: 26; Richardson 2010: 13

³⁰² *HH* 3 370 – 374 (translation by H.G. Evelyn-White, 1914)

The place referred to as 'Pytho' is better known as Delphi, which is famous for its oracle. While divination was not the sole aspect associated with Pythian Apollo, the status of the Delphic Oracle undoubtedly played a significant role in his characterisation. Whereas Apollo was not the only deity to be connected to prophecy, as there were various oracles that belonged to different gods and heroes, he is nonetheless the one to be most commonly affiliated with it. In fact, according to the *Homeric Hymn*, divination is among the main attributes Apollo claims for himself:

‘εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα,
χρήσω δ’ ἄνθρωποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν.’

“The lyre and the curved bow shall ever be dear to me, and I will declare to men the unfailing will of Zeus.³⁰³”

While Delphi was not the sole oracle associated with Apollo, it was undoubtedly the most renowned during the Archaic and Classical periods. The Archaic age witnessed the rise of various other oracular Apolline sanctuaries of which Didyma would have been most renowned.³⁰⁴ Nonetheless, none of these seem to have had the same appeal as Delphi. Although mention of Miletos is made twice in the *Homeric Hymn*, there are no references to prophecy or Didyma whatsoever.³⁰⁵ It was not prior to the Hellenistic period that Didyma overtook Delphi in popularity. There are various reasons which likely contributed to this difference in international status.

First of all, Delphi was more conveniently located in terms of access. Situated in central Greece, it was for many easier accessible than Didyma, as it did not require an extensive sea journey. The vital importance of Delphi's location already came into play in the early Archaic period, when Corinthian merchants first made their way to the mountain town in their attempts to find a trading route up north to Thessaly.³⁰⁶

Second, in contrast to Didyma, the Delphic sanctuary did not belong to a dominant *polis*. The town of Delphi was small and politically irrelevant. *Poleis* attending its Delphic sanctuary had a significant amount of influence in the site's management. This appears to have been initiated in the seventh century BC when Delphi joined the Amphictyony.³⁰⁷ It was during the following century that the latter became heavily engaged in affairs of the Delphic sanctuary, resulting in the loosening of ties on the site by other cities and places such as Corinth and Crete.³⁰⁸ While the exact date remains unknown, it would have been prior to 548 BC as the Amphictyony was responsible for rebuilding the burned down temple of Apollo and

³⁰³ *HH* 3 131 – 132

³⁰⁴ *Hdt.* 1.46. 1 – 3

³⁰⁵ *HH* 3 142, 180

³⁰⁶ McInerney 2011: 98; Morgan 1990: 108, 112, 115; Scott 2010: 42; Scott 2014: 47; Cf. chapter Delphi: 25 – 27

³⁰⁷ Pedley 2005: 138; Valavanēs 2017: 140

³⁰⁸ Scott 2014: 74; Seelentag 2015: 37; Cf. chapter Delphi: 43 – 45

the sanctuary's general extension that came with it.³⁰⁹ Additionally, the Amphictyony was likely responsible for reforming the Pythian Games. While previously the games were held once every eight years, now they were remodelled to fit the Olympiad, thus taking place every four years.³¹⁰ Hence, the Delphic sanctuary acquired a predominantly outward perspective focusing on the accommodation of different cities. This is also noticeable in the implementation of the Pythian Games, since it drew in participants from all across Greece who competed in a variety of musical and athletic contests.³¹¹ Meanwhile, Didyma was a state-sanctuary of Miletos which was likely the most powerful Greek city in Asia Minor during the Archaic period. In contrast to Delphi, non-local venerators at Didyma would not have been able to freely express their individuality in forms of monumental dedications, for the management of the site was in Milesian hands.³¹² It can also be assumed that *poleis* who found themselves at odds with Miletos were unable to consult the Didymaean oracle. Additionally, the Milesians did not host any games during the Archaic period. Overall, the sanctuary was principally focused on catering to the needs of Miletos, not to those of potential foreign clients.

Third, as discussed in the chapter of Delphi, from rather early onward the sanctuary seems to have generated wealth through non-Greek visitors. The Archaic period witnessed dedications at the sanctuary by kings from Asia Minor, whose dedications are primarily known from ancient texts. They include Midas of Phrygia in the late eighth century BC and king Gyges during the following century.³¹³ Both dedications have been mentioned by Herodotos, and that of Gyges possibly also featured in the *Iliad*.³¹⁴ The sixth century BC witnessed the presence and dedications of two other Lydian monarchs, namely Alyattes and Kroisos, both of whom supposedly consulted the oracle and subsequently offered splendid gifts to the sanctuary, or so Herodotos claims.³¹⁵ It must be stated, however, that there is hardly any archaeological evidence to support the descriptions of Herodotos. Nonetheless, it seems clear that these non-Greek visitors did contribute to Delphi's early wealth, an occurrence not observed at Didyma at the time. Instead, non-Greek acclaim of Didyma appears to have been particularly prominent during Roman times, probably due to the general difference in the matter of consultation, which changed from primarily state-oriented to individual cases.³¹⁶

Last, Delphi became the pinnacle of expression of Greek identity in the aftermath of the Persian Wars, becoming the stage of several lavish victory monuments dedicated by cities from the Greek mainland and the Magna Graecia. Various Greek *poleis*, especially those that were considered to have held a pro-Persian stance during the wars, contributed to this ostentation.³¹⁷ As such, Delphi became crucial in emphasising one's alliance during the Persian invasion, be it rather forced than voluntarily. This resulted in the sanctuary being

³⁰⁹ Bowden 2003: 70; Neer 2012: 187; Pedley 2005: 138; Scott 2014: 73; Walker 1977: 17

³¹⁰ Eidinow 2007: 38; Graf 2009: 36

³¹¹ Graf 2009: 36; Howe 2003: 143

³¹² Cf. below: 77 – 78

³¹³ DeVries and Rose 2012: 194; Kaplan 2006: 130; Scott 2014: 58; Cf. chapter Delphi: 40 – 42

³¹⁴ Hdt. 1.14.1 – 3; Hom. *Il.* 9.404 – 405

³¹⁵ Hdt. 1.251. – 2; 1.50.1 – 3; 1.53.3

³¹⁶ Bowden 2013: 57; Graf 2009: 60

³¹⁷ Scott 2010: 87; Walker 1977: 19

amongst the first places to provide a visible definition of the supposed superiority of Greek identity over that of non-Greek ‘barbarians’.³¹⁸ The participation of cities from the Magna Graecia would have been a result of their eagerness to portray themselves as inherently Greek and establish an unequivocal connection with their ancestral lands by means of exploiting their victory over the Carthaginians in Sicily. Apart from including the Delphic Oracle in their foundation myths, they continued their dedications in Delphi even after the mainland Greeks ceased to do so over the course of a few decades during the fifth century BC.³¹⁹ In doing so, Delphi remained relevant to Greek society even in the Classical age which had proven itself so different from the gone-by Archaic period. Didyma played no part in any of this, for by the time of these events the Archaic sanctuary had ceased to exist. Herodotos recalls its destruction by the Persians:

‘τότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὁκότε ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῖνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι καὶ ὁ νηὸς τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον. συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο.’

‘All this now came upon the Milesians, since most of their men were slain by the Persians, who wore long hair, and their women and children were accounted as slaves, and the temple at Didyma with its shrine and place of divination was plundered and burnt.’³²⁰

The Milesian oracle remained dormant for roughly one hundred and sixty years before it started prophesying again at the very end of the Classical period. As previously mentioned, it was in Hellenistic times that the sanctuary exceeded Delphi’s reputation and reached its most extensive and prominent layout.³²¹ The primary reason for this switch is the change in the matter of consultation at oracular sanctuaries. In the heydays of Delphi, the fundamental intention of consulting oracles was to request clarification on matters that the Greeks could not resolve by any other means. As prophecies were provided by the gods, certainty was provided through their divine authority. During this particular time in ancient Greek history, such consultations were usually made on behalf of states, and therefore concerned civic matters.³²² This would tie Apollo Pythios, the god of Delphi, to domestic politics in the cities that consulted the oracle. Thus, the god became entangled in the civic matters of many Greek *poleis*. Not only Greek cities made such use of Delphi. Various ancient authors speak of how the Lydian king Kroisos dispatched messengers to the Greek oracles of Delphi, Abai, Dodona, Didyma, and those of the heroes Amphiaraos and Trophonios, in order to figure out his fate when he had decided to wage war upon the Persians. Ultimately, he took the response of

³¹⁸ Scott 2010: 82; Scott 2014: 127

³¹⁹ Scott 2010: 88 – 89; Scott 2014: 123; Cf. below: 49 – 54; Cf. case study Syracuse: 133 – 136; Cf. case study Gela: 203 – 209

³²⁰ Hdt. 6.19.3 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920)

³²¹ Fontenrose 1988: 17, 30 – 35; Johnston 2008: 35

³²² Bowden 2013: 42, 46, 57; Morgan 1990: 165, 177

Delphi to be the one true prophecy.³²³ Meanwhile, throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods oracular consultation became more of a personal concept. Instead of representatives of cities it was individuals who enquired prophecy.³²⁴ Didyma apparently lent itself better for this purpose than Delphi did. The result of such private consultations in Didyma was that, unlike Delphi, the oracle did not mingle in governmental matters.

Considering the above, it is clear that the oracular component of Pythian Apollo played a more significant role in Archaic and early Classical Greek society as a whole than that of Apollo Didymeios, even though the latter's sanctuary did build a prominent reputation during this time.

As discussed in the chapter about Delphi, the complicating of the political environment of the Greek world in the fifth century BC had its effects on the Pythian god's character, for his Delphic site expanded in such a way that it continued to cater for many of its non-Delphic patrons.³²⁵ In order to stay relevant for clients, the sanctuary and its primary deity had to represent these changes in Greek society. Delphi becoming a platform for victory commemorations after the Persian Wars resulted in the establishment of connections with formerly unaffiliated cities, such as those in Greek Sicily,³²⁶ Sardinia and the Black Sea, and laid the groundwork for forthcoming comparable dedications that served to emphasise rivalries between the Greeks of the homeland. The latter is exemplified by Argos; while this city generally refrained from such display at Delphi, it commenced dedications in honour of four victories over Sparta in the second half of the fifth century BC. According to Scott, the spatial politics at the sanctuary also became 'increasingly aggressive' by offerings being made by *poleis* 'either in polarised groups or in direct spatial opposition with their rivals'.³²⁷ He provides another example in the form of the Megarian dedication of a spear-holding statue of Apollo which was placed opposite the palm dedication of the Athenians.

Overall, Pythian Apollo developed a character that appealed to a large number of Greeks both in domestic and international contexts.³²⁸ Discussions on this epithet and its related worship in Corinth, Syracuse, Megara, Selinous, Rhodes, and Gela are to be found in their respective chapters.

Apolline epithets in Miletos and its settlements

As previously stated, a brief discussion on the epithets of Delphinios, Didymeios and Iatros in Miletos and its settlements is included to serve as a comparison to the Sicilian case studies that are comprised in this thesis.

The earliest literary attestation of Apollo Delphinios is to be found in the Pythian section of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* when the god appears to Cretan sailors from Knossos in the form of a dolphin, commanding them to follow him to Delphi and become his priests:

³²³ Diod. 9.33.1 – 4; Hdt. 1.46.1 – 47.3, 1.86; Xen. *Cyrop.* 7.2

³²⁴ Bowden 2013: 55 – 56

³²⁵ Cf. chapter Delphi: 50 – 53

³²⁶ Cf. case study Syracuse: 133 – 135; Cf. case study Gela: 203 – 209

³²⁷ Lloyd-Jones 1976: 70; Scott 2010: 101

³²⁸ Scott 2010: 103

‘νῆα δ’ ἔπειτα θοὴν μὲν ἐπ’ ἠπείρου ἐρύσασθε,
ἐκ δὲ κτήμαθ’ ἔλεσθε καὶ ἔντεα νηὸς εἰσης
καὶ βωμὸν ποιήσατ’ ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης:
πῦρ δ’ ἐπικαίοντες ἐπὶ τ’ ἄλφιστα λευκὰ θύοντες
εὖχεσθαι δὴ ἔπειτα παριστάμενοι περὶ βωμόν.
ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἡεροειδέϊ πόντῳ
εἰδόμενος δελφῖνι θεῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ὄρουσα,
ὥς ἐμοὶ εὖχεσθαι Δελφινίῳ: αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς
αὐτὸς Δελφίνιος καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ.’

‘Take out your goods and the gear of the straight ship, and make an altar upon the beach of the sea: light fire upon it and make an offering of white meal. Next, stand side by side around the altar and pray: and in as much as at the first on the hazy sea I sprang upon the swift ship in the form of a dolphin, pray to me as Apollo Delphinios; also the altar itself shall be called Delphinios and overlooking for ever.’³²⁹

Referring to the hymn, and utilising it as his primary source, Herda suggests Crete as the place of origin for the merging of Apollo and Delphinios, the latter of which he describes as ‘eine synkretistische Gestalt’,³³⁰ claiming that this divine being refers to a Hittite deity Telipinu, who was deemed ruler of the sea, protector of vegetation, and founder of the Hittite state. Additionally, he proposes that Apollo was a Greek version of Apaliunaš, a god from west Asia Minor. The theory that the earliest existence of Apollo Delphinios occurred in Crete is rather curious, considering that Herda provides both Apollo and Delphinios with a non-Greek provenance set in modern Turkey, after which he suggests that the cult would have spread from the Peloponnese, specifically Sparta, via Phocis, Attica, and various islands including Crete, to Miletos.³³¹ While it is perfectly acceptable for the deity to take the scenic route in myth, in regard to actual migratory developments it seems odd for him to first make his way from Crete to the Peloponnese, Phocis and Attica prior to returning to Crete to subsequently journey to the east. There would probably have been a more direct route, not in the least due to likely well-developed sea routes between the Peloponnese and Aegean islands, such as Rhodes and Kos, closely located to the coast of Asia Minor that were first established in the Mycenaean period and, according to linguistic evidence that the Rhodians of the Geometric period spoke Peloponnesian Doric, appear to have been maintained even after the decline of the Bronze Age civilisations.³³²

³²⁹ *HH* 3 488 – 496 (translation by H.G. Evelyn-White, 1914)

³³⁰ Herda 2008: 15

³³¹ Herda 2008: 15 – 16

³³² Chadwick 1956: 38; Christidis 2007, 445; Nixon 1968: 121 – 122

The Apolline cult site in Miletos was referred to as the 'Delphinion' and was located at the agora, southeast of Lion Harbour, the city's most prominent harbour. The earliest archaeological evidence indicating a sanctuary at this location dates to the early sixth century BC. Graf describes the site's appearance as 'very simple – an open court with a central altar'. Apart from the few structures associated with Apolline worship, the site also included a number of Archaic altars related to the cults of other deities, including those of Hekate, Artemis and Zeus. The cult of Apollo Delphinios himself was likely instated prior to the modest sixth-century monumentalisation of the sanctuary. Herda argues that its religious-political orientation would have originated in the early seventh century BC, as it was during this period that both the *Molpoi* and *aisymnetes* were introduced, initiating the outset of the Milesian *polis*.³³³ The former was the cult association of Apollo Delphinios in Miletos and consisted of six men who functioned as the god's priests and were elected annually. The word *Molpoi* is translated by Graf as 'singer-dancers'. Their leader was referred to as *aisymnetes* and also served as the political head of Miletos. In this role, he would have regulated the city's oligarchic government during the Archaic period.³³⁴ The *Molpoi* resided in the *Molpon*, situated in the Delphinion, which also doubled as the Milesian *prytaneion*. As such, it was also home to the city's common hearth: the *koine Hestia*. Herda states that it played a significant part in Milesian overseas settlement during the Archaic period, for prospective settlers supposedly first came to the Delphinion to provide a sacrifice to Apollo and acquire the fire of the hearth prior to setting out on their journey from the Lion Harbour. Graf adds that the inclusion of the hearth in the Delphinion served as a testimony of the character of Apollo Delphinios, defining him as a 'guardian of the city's political traditions'.³³⁵ The political influence of the god and his cult association can also be witnessed on the sanctuary's interior walls, as they bear not only the Milesian proxeny and honorary decrees, but also the copies of numerous Hellenistic lists showing the names of new citizens; the appointment of citizenship fell under the responsibility of the *Molpoi*.³³⁶ Furthermore, the cult of Apollo Delphinios was, together with Apollo Didymeios, also the primary subject of the Milesian new year's festival, which would have occurred over the duration of four days in the spring month of Taureon.³³⁷ The associated activities have been described in the *Molpoi* decree, an inscription of which was found in the Delphinion and has been dated to the late third/ early second century BC. However, while the inscription originated in the Hellenistic period, it has been suggested that the displayed text was composed during late Archaic times, with some additions made between 476 and 446 BC.³³⁸ In consonance with the most recent and complete interpretation and translation of the decree, provided by Herda, the first three days of the feast were spent at the Delphinion and

³³³ Brückner *et al.* 2014: 49, 56; Graf 2009: 110; Herda 2008: 16 – 17; Herda 2011: 67; Herda 2016: 19

³³⁴ Ehrhardt 1998: 18; Gorman 2001: 94; Graf 2009: 110; Herda 2008: 16; Herda 2016: 37, 39, 41; Larson 2007: 96

³³⁵ Brückner *et al.* 2014: 74; Graf 2009: 115; Herda 2011: 68; Herda 2016: 39

³³⁶ Herda 2008: 16; Herda 2011: 68; Herda 2016: 39 – 40

³³⁷ Ehrhardt 1983: 113; Herda 2008: 18; Robertson 1987: 360 – 361; Trümper 1997: 93

³³⁸ Gorman 2001: 94; Graf 2009: 110; Herda 2008: 18; Herda 2011: 58; Slawisch and Wilkinson 2018: 110

revolved around the dedication of offers by various cult- and state officials not only to Apollo but also to other gods whose altars were situated in the Delphinion. The first of these was granted by the *aisymnetes* to Apollo on the first day of celebrations; this occurred on Taureon seventh, which is also known as *Hebdomaia*, a name that has been mistaken in the past for another Apolline epithet.³³⁹ The last day of the festival witnessed a procession from the god's agora sanctuary to his cult site in Didyma. The participants, who represented the whole Milesian demos, took two sacred boundary stones, the *Gylloi*, with them which were placed at the gates of both Miletos and Didyma. Seven stops were included along the Sacred Way, each of which witnessed the performances of *paians* by choirs. A distance of eighteen kilometres had been covered by the time the procession reached the Didymeion sanctuary. According to Graf, the procession was implemented to affirm that Didyma was Milesian territory.³⁴⁰

In the context of Didyma, Apollo was given the epithet of Didymeios. Evidence for the use of this cult name, however, only appears in the Hellenistic period. Although Archaic inscriptions have been found, these merely mention the name Apollo.³⁴¹ The earliest archaeological remains found at the site belong to an archaeological structure that has been dated to the late eighth/ early seventh century BC. While it has been suggested that the oracle might have been situated in this building, there are no sources that confirm this.³⁴² Modest monumentalisation of the sanctuary was initiated in the late seventh century BC, yet it was during the second half of the sixth that it witnessed its greatest expansion prior to the Hellenistic period. This included the construction of a marble temple which Fontenrose describes as 'a large structure about as long as the Parthenon and somewhat wider'. Similar to the Delphinion, the Didymeion was also used for the veneration of other deities.³⁴³ Herodotos is the first author to make mention of the sanctuary, and he does so in the context of the second half of the sixth century BC, during which the Persians conquered Asia Minor.³⁴⁴ He says the following:

‘οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἐγνωσαν συμβουλῆς περὶ ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι: ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἴωνές τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.’

‘The Kymaeans resolved to make the god at Branchidai their judge as to what course they should take; for there was an ancient place of divination there, which all the Ionians and Aeolians used to consult; the place is in the land of Miletus, above the harbour of Panormos.’³⁴⁵

³³⁹ Gorman 2001: 176; Graf 2009: 110; Herda 2011: 84 – 86; Robertson 1987: 360 – 361

³⁴⁰ Ehrhardt 1998: 18 – 19; Graf 2009: 110 – 111; Herda 2008: 19 – 20; Herda 2011: 73, 85 – 86; Herda 2016: 19; Larson 2007: 96; Robertson 1987: 363; Slawisch and Wilkinson 2018: 105, 109 – 110

³⁴¹ Ehrhardt 1983: 131; Fontenrose 1988: 8; Parke 1985: 30

³⁴² Ehrhardt 1998: 17; Greaves 2002: 111; Larson 2007: 96; Morgan 1989: 18; Parke 1985: 24

³⁴³ Fontenrose 1988: 9; Greaves 2002: 123; Morgan 1989: 18; Parke 1985: 24

³⁴⁴ Hdt. 1.157.3; Fontenrose 1988: 10

³⁴⁵ Hdt. 1.157.3 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920)

Additionally, Herodotos states that the Lydian king Kroisos was among those who consulted the Didymean oracle during its sixth-century prowess.³⁴⁶ In doing so, he places the sanctuary among a variety of oracles that enjoyed a prominent reputation during this period, including Delphi and Dodona, claiming that the Milesian oracle had obtained a distinguished position in the world of prophetic sanctuaries.

Despite this Archaic climax, Didyma still first and foremost served the city of Miletos, consultants of which requested divine advice of its Apolline oracle on a variety of state matters such as treaties. Fontenrose describes the oracle as providing the Milesians with 'directions on religious and public affairs', starting in either the seventh or sixth century BC. In comparable fashion to Graf's connotation of Apollo Delphinios as mentioned above, he defines the Apollo of Didyma as a 'guardian of the city'.³⁴⁷ This supposedly also included the involvement of the oracle in Milesian settling endeavours overseas. Subsequently, it would also have been consulted by some of the settlements whose establishments it helped initiate.³⁴⁸

Milesians were involved in the foundation of a great many overseas settlements, often acting as the main contributor in these endeavours. The Milesian influence in these places is frequently reflected in their Apolline worship, albeit in some more than others. The most prominent example would be Olbia, which was founded around 600 BC on the Black Sea shore of modern Ukraine.³⁴⁹ The earliest evidence for the worship of Apollo Delphinios in this city is a piece of graffiti dating to the sixth century BC, thus providing the cult an Archaic provenance. Similar to Milesian cult practice, the Olbians erected the god's sacred site at the agora and used it as a state archive.³⁵⁰ The fact that the Olbian sanctuary was also called the Delphinion strengthens its connotation with the Milesian cult, for Gorman emphasises that 'the Delphinion is also constantly identified with state government'. She expands on this by mentioning the functions of the sanctuaries of Apollo Delphinios in Cretan Knossos, Dreros and Hyrtacina, which were comparable to those of Miletos and included matters such as 'housing proxeny degrees and treaties with other states' and 'guests of honour dining at the common hearth'.³⁵¹ The Olbians also incorporated the cult association of the *Molpoi*, which was also headed by an *aisymnetes*. Apart from Olbia, the *Molpoi* do not appear to have been included in Apolline veneration in other Milesian settlements.³⁵² Considering Gorman's explanation of the general characteristics of Apollo Delphinios and the use of his sanctuary, it is not implausible that the Olbian *Molpoi* would also have played a role in the Olbian government, even though there are no sources directly referring to this. The discovery of a fifth-century bowl in 1980 resulted in the recovery of the complete Olbian calendar. Not only is it completely consistent with the reconstructed calendar of Miletos, but it also starts with the

³⁴⁶ Hdt. 1.46.2

³⁴⁷ Ehrhardt 1983: 132; Fontenrose 1988: 1, 105, 112; Morgan 1989: 30, 39; Nissinen 2017: 122 – 123

³⁴⁸ Fontenrose 1988: 105; Morgan 1989: 26

³⁴⁹ Strab. 7.3.17; Graf 2009: 85

³⁵⁰ Ehrhardt 1983: 140; Graf 2009: 85

³⁵¹ Ehrhardt 1983: 139; Gorman 2001: 170

³⁵² Ehrhardt 1983: 139 – 140; Gorman 2001: 170; Graf 2009: 111

same month, Taureon, in spring.³⁵³ This, in combination with the existence of the Olbian *Molpoi*, suggests a possible celebration of a new year's festival in the setting of Apollo Delphinios' worship. However, it is difficult to determine if this would also have been a merged feast for the god in both his Delphinian and Didymeian aspects, for the epithet of Didymeios was not present in Olbia. The latter seems obvious, given the fact that, as previously stated, this cult name was only introduced in Miletos during the Hellenistic period. Hence, it is not unlikely that the Archaic Milesians used a different epithet for the god in Didymeian context.

One Apolline epithet that was widely spread across numerous Milesian overseas settlements is that of *Iatros*. In Olbia it has been attested through sixth-century graffiti and a fifth-century inscription.³⁵⁴ Other settlements for which epigraphic evidence confirms the utilisation of the cult name *Iatros* include, but are not limited to Apollonia Pontika, Istros, Tyras, and Pantikapaion.³⁵⁵ Noting that the Milesian settlers would have introduced the cults from their founding city in the newly established settlement of Olbia, Graf asserts that 'Apollo *Iatros* must have had a cult in Miletus itself', after which he admits that there is no evidence to demonstrate this.³⁵⁶ Fontenrose agrees with him on the necessity of the existence of Apollo *Iatros* in Archaic Miletos. He theorises a possible connection between the epithet and Apollo of Didyma, proposing that the establishment of the settlements that incorporated the worship of Apollo *Iatros* 'were very likely sanctioned at Didyma' which would mean that the epithet would carry at least a partial connotation referring to the god's Didymeian worship. The particular aspect Fontenrose settles on is that of healing, as *Iatros* translates to 'physician', 'doctor' or 'healer', explaining that the oracle would have been consulted on the matters of public and individual health.³⁵⁷ While the latter seems improbable in the context of the Archaic period, a time in which oracles like Delphi and Didyma were largely inaccessible to individuals, the maintenance of public well-being was an indispensable part of state matters. As such, it is plausible that the oracular god of Didyma would have received enquiries as to how to deal with pestilence, for averting such an unfavourable outbreak would fall within the responsibility which had been thrust upon him by the Milesians. Ehrhardt, on the other hand, is not convinced of the inclusion of Apollo *Iatros* in Milesian religion, even less so in a Didymeian context. Observing that evidence for the cult of *Iatros* is only found in Milesian settlements of the Black Sea area, excluding those in the Propontis, he argues that if *Iatros* would have been a cult name assigned to Apollo in Archaic Didyma, some sort of evidence would have been encountered in the Propontis. As this is not the case, he suggests that the cult of *Iatros* was not active at the time of the appearance of the earliest Milesian settlers in the Black Sea, which is set around 650 BC.³⁵⁸ Hence, Ehrhardt basically concludes that the cult of *Iatros* would have developed as a result of circumstances in and connections between the Greek cities in the

³⁵³ Ehrhardt 1983: 124; Trümpy 1997: 93

³⁵⁴ Ehrhardt 1983: 40

³⁵⁵ Ehrhardt 1983: 137 – 139, 141; Fontenrose 1988: 111; Graf 2009: 85 – 86; Shachar 2000: 5

³⁵⁶ Graf 2009: 85

³⁵⁷ Fontenrose 1988: 110 – 111; Gorman 2001: 170; Graf 2009: 85

³⁵⁸ Ehrhardt 1983: 145

Black Sea instead of having been introduced by the Milesian settlers that were responsible for the establishment of these places.

Apart from Olbia, the only other Milesian settlement that would have implemented the cult association of the *Molpoi* for the worship of Apollo Delphinios is Aigiale. Additionally, this city would also have coins depicting Didymeian Apollo, although their date of origin is not stated.³⁵⁹ Furthermore, there is merely one other city with epigraphic evidence for the cult of Apollo Delphinios, which is Hermonassa. The founders of this city, however, are believed to have consisted mainly of settlers from the islands of Lesbos and Crete.³⁶⁰ The existence of his cult has been suggested for the cities of Sinope, Gorgippia, and Pantikapaion through the discovery of personal names. In Sinope, amphora stamps were found bearing the name Delphinios. Additionally, Robertson suggests the possibility of a cult association comparable to that of the *Molpoi* yet omits to support his theory. For Pantikapaion, Erhardt proposes the inclusion of the worship of Delphinios through the names of Molpas and Molpagoras³⁶¹

Considering the above, it seems that Olbia was the Milesian settlement to maintain the strongest connection with Miletos. The known aspects of the Olbian cult of Delphinian Apollo appear largely similar to those of the god's Milesian worship, including the association of the *Molpoi* and its leading figure. In the case of other settlements, however, our knowledge on Apolline cult is limited. While an inscription indicates the inclusion of the *Molpoi* in Aigiale, nothing else is known of its functioning. Comparably, apart from the confirmation that the epithet Delphinios was used in various other Milesian-founded cities, there are no supplementary sources in regard to their characterisation. Furthermore, the uncertainty of the original epithet of Didymeian Apollo, if there was one, impedes research on the possible transmission of that cult in the Milesian settling network. Naturally, a more thorough analysis is necessary in order to establish a comprehensive perception of the connections between Miletos and its settlements, but on the basis of the presented information on the Apolline cults of Delphinios and Didyma, it appears that the relationships between them showed varying degrees of closeness.

³⁵⁹ *JG* XII,7 418; Ehrhardt 1983: 134, 142; Robertson 1987: 361

³⁶⁰ Ehrhardt 1983: 141; Tsetschladze 1998: 36, 259

³⁶¹ Ehrhardt 1983: 136, 141 – 142; Robertson 1987: 361

Case studies

6. The cult of Apollo in Corinth

A brief history of Corinth

Although the Corinthia was subjected to widespread inhabitation in Mycenaean times, it did not have a notable settlement. Instead, its occupants appear to have dwelled in a series of scattered villages; a pattern that supposedly continued into the early Geometric period.³⁶² It is not prior to roughly 900 BC that the archaeological record demonstrates the probable beginning of continuous occupation of the site referred to as Corinth, when the earliest of a series of graves appear in the area.³⁶³ Significant changes in terms of urban development only ensued another hundred years later. By the early eighth century BC Corinth had grown into what Coldstream refers to as 'a major Geometric city', the definition of which, however, should not be exaggerated, for Coldstream explains the term as 'a cluster of scattered villages'. He places the centre of this settlement 'in and around' the area of the agora and also emphasises further urban development towards the west, speaking of a 'small suburb grew up with its cemetery nearby', and the north, asserting renewed use of a 'prehistoric cemetery'.³⁶⁴ Comparable conclusions on these developments have been reached by Dunbabin, Kōiv, Morgan, Roebuck and Weinberg.³⁶⁵ An important part of Corinth's steady growth throughout the century was commerce, especially in the field of ceramics, which became its most important means of income, presumably due to its strategic location at the Isthmus and the lack of sufficiently fertile soil.³⁶⁶ While only a modest number of Corinthian Early Geometric and Middle Geometric I pottery, covering approximately three quarters of the ninth century BC, had journeyed beyond the borders of the Corinthia, to places such as Megara, Aigina, Mycenea and Medeon, the range of its Late Geometric and Early Protocorinthian pottery comprised 'almost every major centre in Greek world' by the end of the eighth century BC.³⁶⁷ The same period, according to Herodotos, gave rise to the regime of the aristocratic Bakkhiadai.³⁶⁸ Although their rule is often referred to as having been an oligarchy,³⁶⁹ this still remains uncertain, primarily due to the unavailability of literary sources from this time. Initially, the reign of the Bakkhiadai seems to have been beneficial, for Corinth commercially prospered. Not only did Corinthian trade relationships continue to grow, but Corinthians were also principally responsible for the foundations of Syracuse and Corcyra.³⁷⁰ The last years of the Bakkhiad regime, however, were less fruitful. A variety of reasons have been suggested for this decline in popularity, including a war between Corinth and Corcyra that negatively affected

³⁶² Kōiv 2003: 57; Koursoumis 2013: 44; Roebuck 1972: 98 – 99; Salmon 1984: 39

³⁶³ Dunbabin 1948(1): 62; Koursoumis 2013: 44; Roebuck 1972: 101; Salmon 1984: 39; Tasinos(2) 2013: 67

³⁶⁴ Coldstream 2003: 85

³⁶⁵ Dunbabin 1948(1): 62; Kōiv 2003: 58; Morgan 1988: 333; Roebuck 1972: 101; Weinberg 1943: 27

³⁶⁶ Strab. 8.6.20; Thuc. 1.13.5; Coldstream 2003: 187; Koursoumis 2013: 44

³⁶⁷ Coldstream 2003: 85, 186; Cook 1977: 23; Luce 2011: 62; McInerney 2011: 98; Morgan 1988: 314; Morgan 1990: 248 – 250; Morris and Papadopoulos 1998: 253; Roebuck 1972: 117

³⁶⁸ Hdt. 5.92B.1

³⁶⁹ Hdt. 5.92B.1; Kōiv 2003: 339; Koursoumis 2013: 45; Oost 1972: 10; Roebuck 1972: 105

³⁷⁰ Strab. 6.2.4 – 5; Thuc. 6.3.2; Koursoumis 2013: 44; Salmon 1984: 62

Corinthian trading possibilities in the west, and the exclusion of wealthy merchants from taking part in the city's government.³⁷¹ Although the exact motivations behind this deterioration are unknown, they appear to have come to a climax by the mid-seventh century BC.

Bakkhiad rule came to an end and was replaced by tyranny. First to commence tenure as tyrant in Corinth was Kypselos, whose life has been narrated by a number of ancient authors, most notably Herodotos and Nikolaos of Damascus, the latter of which is considered to have based his account on that of Ephoros.³⁷² Herodotos' description is the oldest available literary source on the matter and takes a rather mythological approach, focussing on the foretelling of the tyrant's marvellous future by the Oracle of Delphi and his narrow escape from a premature death, and mentioning his wrongdoings as a tyrant at the end of his tale.³⁷³ Nikolaos proceeds in greater detail, commenting on various aspects of Kypselos' life, from his childhood abroad and return to Corinth, to his rise to power and subsequent reign.³⁷⁴ Salmon regards Herodotos' narrative as a fairy story, a conception that is shared by Buckley.³⁷⁵ Apart from the imaginative story of Kypselos' infancy, Herodotos' characterisation of the tyrant's government is also met with criticism. Of his unfavourable depictions, Schmitz comments: 'Es sind pauschale Vorwürfe, in keiner Weise konkretisiert, Tyrannenoptik'.³⁷⁶ While Nikolaos' account is considered more agreeable, it is subject to discussion in terms of validity as well, for some of its concepts are deemed to have been taken from a Classical rather than Archaic context. Buckley argues that the status of polemarch, initially a military title, as described by Nikolaos merely served a civil function, manifesting the role as it was implemented from the fifth century BC onward.³⁷⁷ A similar issue arises with several additional matters, including 'other details of Kypselos' rise to power and of his treatment of his enemies', which 'reflect more accurately the internal factional strife of the fifth and fourth centuries', thus 'strongly suggesting that Ephoros has grafted contemporary political behaviour onto the bare bones of the original story'.³⁷⁸ Salmon affirms this, stating 'it reeks of two fourth-century tendencies: rationalisation and assimilation to contemporary practice', after which he assigns 'many of the details' to 'the textbook tyrant of fourth-century theorists'.³⁷⁹ Nonetheless, there is also compliance by scholars that the ancient accounts are not entirely incorrect, but carry a core of truth, for they demonstrate a generally favourable perception of Kypselos among the Corinthians. This is the case even for Herodotos, despite his efforts to discredit the office of tyrant as a whole.³⁸⁰ The fact that he complies to the narrative in which Kypselos escapes murder in infancy, unconsciously persuading his adversaries not to kill him, emphasises the 'type of story',

³⁷¹ Buckley 2010: 49

³⁷² Buckley 2010: 49; Koursoumis 2013: 45; Salmon 1984: 188; Schmitz 2010: 28

³⁷³ Hdt. 5.92B – 92E; Buckley 2010: 49; Schmitz 2010: 29

³⁷⁴ Nic. Dam. FGH 90 F 57

³⁷⁵ Buckley 2010: 50 – 51; Salmon 1984: 188

³⁷⁶ Schmitz 2010: 30

³⁷⁷ Buckley 2010: 50

³⁷⁸ Buckley 2010: 50

³⁷⁹ Salmon 1984: 189

³⁸⁰ Buckley 2010: 50; Salmon 1984: 188; Schmitz 2010: 46

Buckley maintains, that is 'traditionally associated with heroes not villains'.³⁸¹ Salmon summarises the perception given of Kypselos by Herodotos and Nikolaos as follows:

'That the favourable view was able to survive in an age hostile to tyrannies proves that it reflects the truth: Kypselos was remembered with sympathy because this was how his contemporaries saw him.'³⁸²

In addition to this, he warns that 'to derive more detail from our evidence is hazardous'.³⁸³

Although little can be said about the connotation of Kypselos' rule, archaeology attests the implementation of local monumentalisation during this period, as is evident at Apollo's sacred site at the agora which received its first cult-related building that will be further discussed below. Meanwhile, the Delphic sanctuary was provided with the earliest of its treasuries. Explained in the chapter about Delphi, archaeological evidence for the existence of the treasury is meagre, though not non-existent and its presence has been asserted by Herodotos, who specially accredits it to Kypselos.³⁸⁴ The interest of Kypselos in the Delphic site might have been a culmination of the relationship Corinthians had cultivated with Delphi since the eighth century BC, also debated in the aforementioned chapter. Whereas previously, Delphi's prosperity primarily developed through the investments of individuals, whether elites or commoners, the growing importance of the sanctuary presumably inspired leaders of states to get involved as well. The seventh century BC witnessed the introduction of such activities, Kypselos being the first Greek ruler to commence a building project. The treasury was built in a highly visible place at the Delphic site. The exact reason for his generosity is lost to the ages, although it is possible that he could have deemed a formal connection to Delphi as beneficial, whether to himself or to Corinth as whole. By witnessing this expression of wealth and splendour, representatives of other cities in Delphi might have taken a liking to Corinth which then could develop into profitable relations.³⁸⁵

Kypselos died after thirty years of rulership and was succeeded by his son Periander around the early last quarter of the seventh century BC.³⁸⁶ In contrast to his father to whom, as Salmon states it, 'tradition was generally in favour', it was different for Periander.³⁸⁷ While he might have been responsible for the enhancement of infrastructure, ancient authors generally emphasise his supposed enforced relentless hardship on his subjects.³⁸⁸ His successor, a cousin named Psammetichos, came to power early in the sixth century's second

³⁸¹ Buckley 2010: 50 – 51

³⁸² Salmon 1984: 188

³⁸³ Salmon 1984: 188

³⁸⁴ Hdt. 1.14.2; Cf. chapter Delphi: 40

³⁸⁵ Cf. chapter Delphi: 26 – 32, 40

³⁸⁶ Aristot. *Pol.* 5.1315b; Hdt. 5.92F.1

³⁸⁷ Salmon 1984: 197

³⁸⁸ Aristot. *Pol.* 5.1315b; Diod. 9.7; Hdt. 5.92F.1; Dillon and Garland 2013: 271; Salmon 1984: 197

decade, but merely lasted three years before being assassinated. Thus, Corinth's tyranny was replaced by an oligarchic government.³⁸⁹

While, initially, the Corinthians and Spartans maintained a good relationship during the first decades of the sixth century BC, the growth of Sparta's Peloponnesian influence over the course of the century greatly worried Corinth.³⁹⁰ As a result, they became friendly towards the Athenians. Although Corinth's main concern was the threat of Spartan supremacy, it did share some of Athens' predicaments including tense relations with Megara and antipathy towards Aegina's naval developments.³⁹¹ Nevertheless, they decided to join Sparta in the Peloponnesian League during the century's final years.³⁹²

For the Corinthians, the fifth century BC was increasingly defined by their conflicts with Athens. The alliance between the latter and Megara, situated at the Isthmus, concerned Corinth as it greatly enhanced the possibility of an Athenian invasion of the Peloponnese. Hence, they called upon Sparta in a bid to mobilise the Peloponnesian powers. Initially reluctant, the Spartans decided to aid them in what came to be known as the First Peloponnesian War, which ended in the signing of the Thirty Years Peace after the Spartan invasion of the Attic peninsula.³⁹³

Corinth played an active role in undoing the established peace. While arguing about their joint settlement of Epidamnus in 435 BC, a dispute occurred between Corinth and Corcyra. The latter appealed to Athens, who agreed to support the islanders. Meanwhile, the Corinthians did not accept the alliance and besieged Corcyra, which resulted in a sea battle against the Athenians. Corinth was defeated and claimed a breach of the Peace to the Peloponnesian League, to which Sparta complied.³⁹⁴ Corinthian participation was fuelled by the growing Athenian presence on Sicily. While the Athenian position in the Greek homeland was still largely undisputed, they feared possible intervention from the Sicilian Greek cities. By this time, their maritime hegemony was rivalled by Syracuse. If the latter was to join or send aid to the Peloponnesians, Athens would likely succumb to their combined powers. As such, the Athenians agreed to support the city of Leontini in its war against Syracuse and sent out its fleet, albeit motivated by the possibility of conquering the island rather than helping their ally.³⁹⁵ The fleet remained present in southern Italy until the islanders comprised peace at the Congress of Gela in 424 BC.³⁹⁶ They returned during the Sicilian Expedition of 415 BC in a bid to defeat the Syracusans. The latter, however, sent requests for aid to Corinth and Sparta. They answered and their combined powers proved victorious both on sea and land.³⁹⁷ Corinthian participation was provoked by the city's hostility towards Athens rather than its

³⁸⁹ Aristot. *Pol.* 5.1315b; Dillon and Garland 2013: 271, 273; Salmon 1984: 229

³⁹⁰ Salmon 1984: 242 – 243

³⁹¹ Salmon 1984: 251 – 252

³⁹² Salmon 1984: 241

³⁹³ Kouroumis 2013: 50; Salmon 1984: 265, 267

³⁹⁴ Thuc. 1.24.1 – 25.4, 3.70.1 – 72.3; Dillon and Garland 2013: 445 – 446; Robert and Bennett 2014: 114; Salmon 1984: 270; Tritle 2010: 26 – 29, 36

³⁹⁵ Thuc. 3.86.1 – 3.86.5

³⁹⁶ Thuc. 4.58, 4.65.1 – 4.65.2

³⁹⁷ Thuc. 6.1.1, 7.2.1; Dillon and Garland 2013: 473; Salmon 1984: 331 – 332

goodwill towards Syracuse, since the latter refused assistance during earlier stages of the Peloponnesian War. Nonetheless, the Athenians did not surrender until 404 BC. Although conquered, they were spared destruction by the Spartans. This decision was badly received by the Corinthians and Thebans, and eventually resulted in the Corinthian War against Sparta; the first of many wars fought by Corinth during the fourth century BC.³⁹⁸

The sanctuary at the agora

Geography and topography

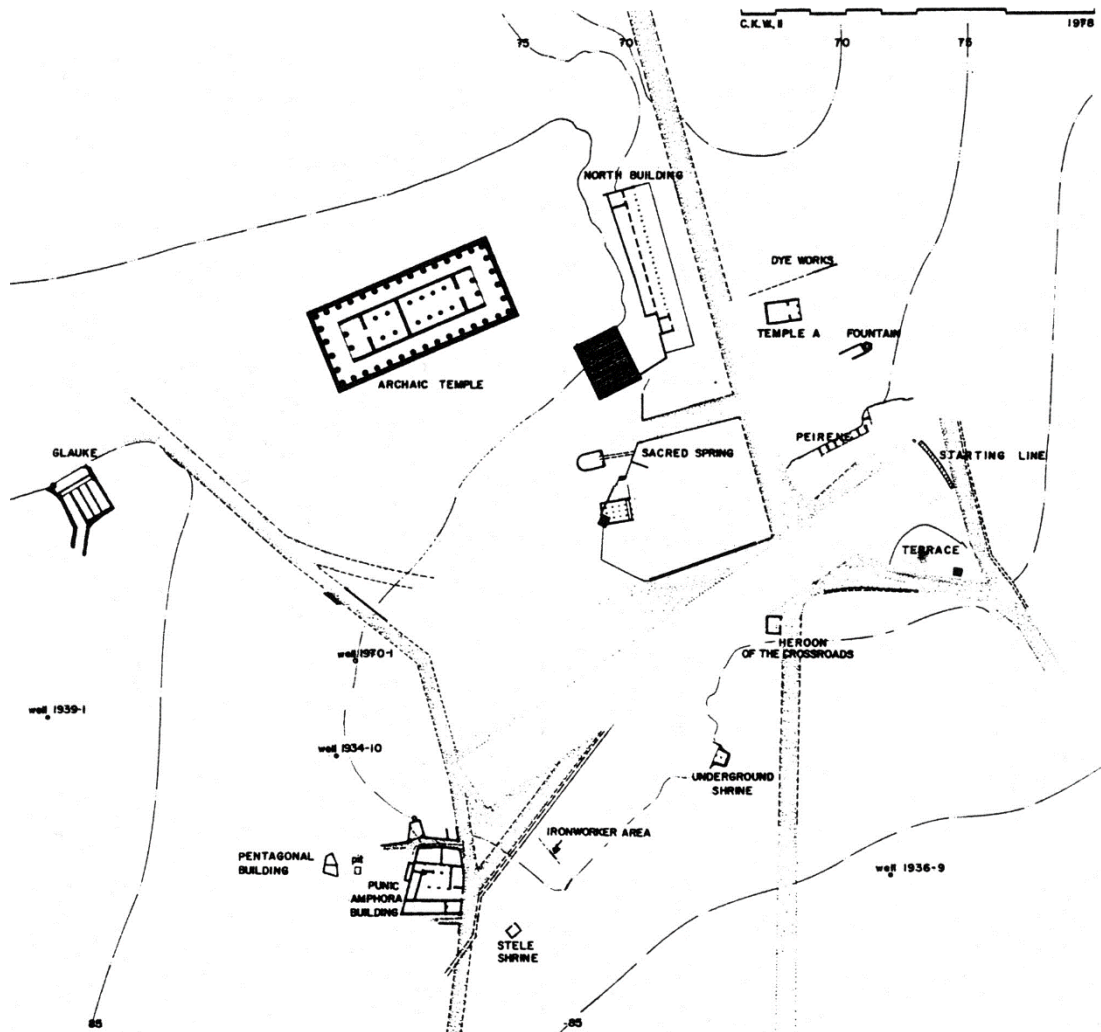


Figure 6 Map of the Corinthian agora, 450 – 400 BC, with Apollo's temple labelled as 'Archaic Temple'. (after Kenzler 1999: 341, fig. 12)

The sanctuary was situated in the proximity of the agora, northwest on Temple Hill (fig. 6). Robinson states that 'in remote times (and perhaps until the early second century B.C.) Temple Hill was not, in fact, a hill, but part of a long ridge of native limestone which extended without interruption from the Lechaion Road valley south-westward for more than 650 meters.

³⁹⁸ Dillon and Garland 2013: 494; Koursoumis 2013: 50; Roberts and Bennett 2014: 52; Salmon 1984: 341 – 342; Tritle 2010: 241

The north face of that ridge is now represented, in the central part of the city, by the rock scarp north of the sixth century temple of Apollo and by the façade of the fountain of Glauke'.³⁹⁹

Originally, the area of the site would have consisted of barren rock, showing no signs of occupation of any sorts prior to Geometric times. However, this could have been a result of 'the building operations of the seventh and sixth centuries BC', since these could have led to the destruction of such remains.⁴⁰⁰ Of the cult place and its location, Pausanias does not say much. Nonetheless, his description helped determine the identification of the site when it was first excavated, since Pausanias is the sole ancient author to even mention the site's location.

‘ἐτέραν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα ἐρχομένοις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὀλίγον ἄνωτέρω κρήνη καλουμένη Γλαύκης:’

‘As you go along another road from the market-place, which leads to Sicyon, you can see on the right of the road a temple and bronze image of Apollo, and a little farther on a well called the Well of Glauke.’⁴⁰¹

The agora was by no means an uncommon place for a sanctuary, for it was one of the primary locations in the ancient Greek *polis* to 'represent commitment to public investment on a vast scale, showing off the wealth, power, and prestige of the city'.⁴⁰² Therefore, the function of such a site surpassed the boundary between sacred and secular, also serving political and social contexts.⁴⁰³ Considering the fact that Corinth was, above all, a trading city, it is possible that the agora was deemed even more important for its prosperity; a status that might have reflected on the deities associated with it.

Archaeological fieldwork

The earliest modern fieldwork at Apollo's Corinthian agora sanctuary was conducted in 1886 by W. Dörpfeld and the German Archaeological Institute. During these excavations, a considerable part of the foundations was unearthed that revealed the interior floor plan.⁴⁰⁴ The building's inclusion of two inner chambers implied a cult site shared between two deities, one of whom was believed Athena Chalinitis. However, the assumption of joint veneration has not been endorsed by contemporary scholars.⁴⁰⁵ Since the archaeologists believed to have excavated the most prominent part of the sanctuary, they implemented no further fieldwork. It has to be stated that, by this time, the agora itself had not yet been found. This occurred when the excavations resumed in March 1896 by R.B. Richardson and the American School of

³⁹⁹ Robinson 1976: 209

⁴⁰⁰ Robinson 1976: 211

⁴⁰¹ Paus. 2.3.6 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁴⁰² Pedley 2005: 42

⁴⁰³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 12

⁴⁰⁴ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 411; Fowler and Stillwell 1932: 132; Pfaff 2003: 112; Powell 1905: 51; Robinson 1976: 203; Weinberg 1939: 192

⁴⁰⁵ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 411 – 412; Dörpfeld 1886: 305

Classical Studies. While carrying out a series of test trenches, the agora was discovered by his team. This was vital in the identification of Apollo's sacred site, for it supported the previously mentioned description of Pausanias about the god's abode.⁴⁰⁶ Although archaeological research at the sanctuary ceased in 1902, it was revived half a century later. Fieldwork resumed in the summer of 1968 and lasted until the 1970s.⁴⁰⁷

Architectural structures

Although it was initially assumed that the earliest monumentalisation of the site occurred during the reign of the Bakkhiadai, additional archaeological research based on architectural structures, further discussed below, would place this occurrence in the time of Kypselos instead.

Although it was initially assumed that the earliest monumentalisation of the site occurred during the reign of the Bakkhiadai, additional archaeological research based on architectural structures, further discussed below, would place this occurrence in the time of Kypselos instead.

Robinson describes the layout of this cult-related building, generally referred to as the 'Early Temple', as 'probably consisting of no more than a *cella*', which he bases on the absence of stylobate blocks.⁴⁰⁸ An external colonnade appears to have been absent.⁴⁰⁹ Of the interior, Robinson says that it was stuccoed and painted with 'apparently rectangular panels of solid colours (black and red) separated by narrow horizontal and vertical reserved bands'. The only mentioned details concerns a terracotta *pinax* depicting a tree with dark brown branches that 'may have served as decoration of the interior'.⁴¹⁰ While its foundations were made of stone, the walls were erected in a different material, suggested to have been either mud bricks or masonry (fig. 7), the latter of which has been more specifically defined as 'ashlar, isodomic masonry' by Hemans.⁴¹¹ Such wall construction is supported by the five different kinds of terracotta tiles that were carried by the wooden roof rafters, forming a roof classified as a Protocorinthian type; it was hipped on both ends with a system of interlocking and overlapping tiles (fig. 8).⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁶ Fowler and Stillwell 1932: 132; Pfaff 2003: 112; Powell 1905: 53; Richardson 1897: 455, 464; Weinberg 1939: 192

⁴⁰⁷ Langridge-Noti 1996: 50; Robinson 1976: 208

⁴⁰⁸ Robinson 1976: 228

⁴⁰⁹ Koursoumis 2013: 45; Salmon 1984: 61

⁴¹⁰ Robinson 1976: 228

⁴¹¹ Hemans 2015: 39; Koursoumis 2013: 45; Robinson 1976: 228

⁴¹² Osborne 1996: 212; Robinson 1976: 228, 233; Roebuck 1990: 48; Sapirstein 2009: 196

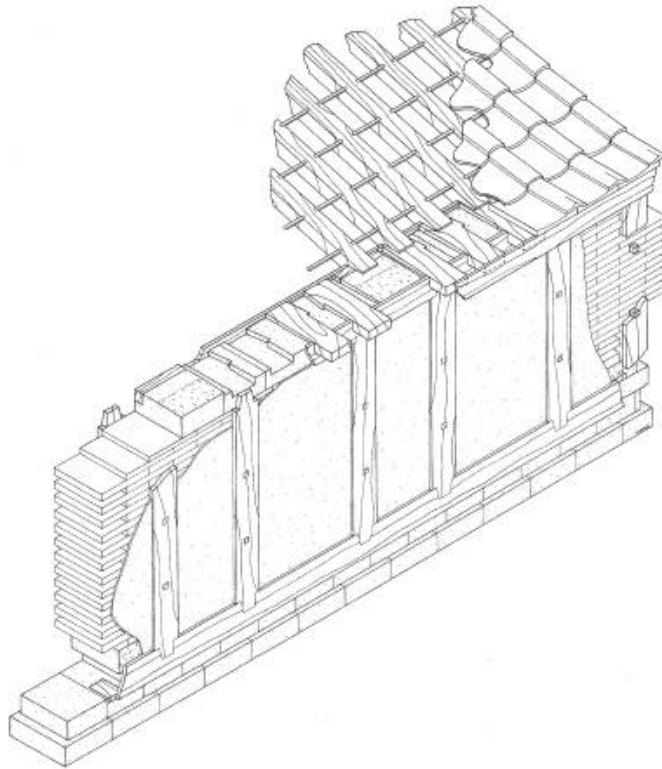


Figure 7 Partial reconstruction of the Early Temple.
(Rhodes 2003: 89, fig.6.10)

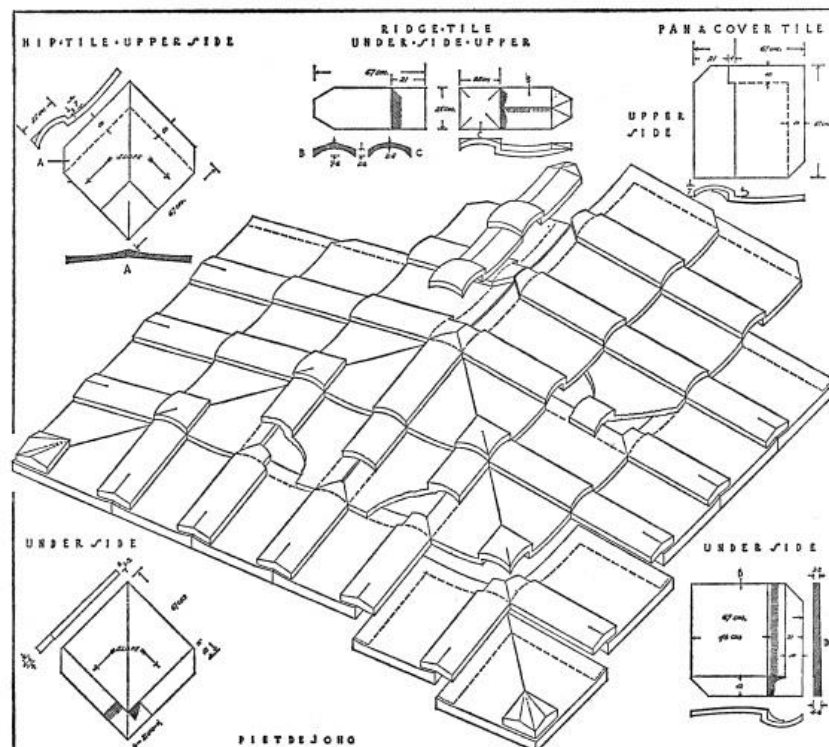


Figure 8 Partial reconstruction of the Early Temple's roof system.
(Robinson 1976: 232, fig.9)

Rhodes suggests that the terracotta-tiled roof might have been a Corinthian innovation, adding that the roof discussed here is 'the earliest tiled roof in Greece that is well enough preserved to be reconstructed in detail'.⁴¹³ In terms of origin, however, he also mentions the possibility that the concept of the terracotta-tiles roof initially came from Laconia instead, though he asserts that those found at Corinth differed from this sort of 'simplest and apparently earliest style of Greek roof tile, consisting of regularly curved pans and covers', since 'each tile is moulded as a combination cover and pan, and the decorative articulation of pan and cover as separate elements in each of the combination tiles presupposes even earlier Laconian-type roofs at Corinth, with more conventionally Laconian, noncombination tiles'.⁴¹⁴ After explaining the growing popularity of monumental temple architecture across Greece, he asserts that it was nonetheless in Corinth that the terracotta-tile roof was 'first recognized as being an appropriate vehicle for the further monumentalisation of the Greek temple, and it is in the seventh-century temple of Apollo on Temple Hill that that crucial invention can first be documented in Greece and its immediate consequences analysed'.⁴¹⁵ A comparable construction was implemented at the sanctuary of Isthmia, another Corinthian site, which received its first monumental cult-related construction around the same time as the agora site.⁴¹⁶ Another similarity between the buildings at the agora and Isthmian sites might be found in the matter of decoration, for the interior walls of the latter were also stuccoed and painted. The subject of its paintings seems to be more refined than that of the agora structure, having been identified as animals and 'perhaps human figures'.⁴¹⁷ This assumption, however, is based on the few architectural finds that are available of the Early Temple. It is possible that it originally also included more elaborate paintings. Salmon argues for a date of approximately 650 BC for both temples, the period of Kypselos' tyranny, stating that the decoration of Isthmia shows 'a style which owes nothing to Geometric', and that aforementioned date is also supported by 'the small finds' found in deposits 'of discarded debris' that were the result of the destruction of both buildings by fire, for 'the earliest concentration belongs to the third quarter of the seventh century in each case'.⁴¹⁸ He continues his argumentation on date determination by maintaining that 'the rhythm of the development of architectural skills at Corinth is far easier to understand the closer to the middle of the seventh century we place the buildings at Isthmia and Corinth' since 'we have no earlier buildings for comparison; but the earlier the temples of Apollo and Poseidon are placed in the seventh century, the less probable the tempo of subsequent development becomes'.⁴¹⁹ He backs this theory by comparing the architecture from Isthmia with that of Temple C at Thermon, the latter of which would have been influenced by Corinthian examples; a hypothesis that is supported by Osborne.⁴²⁰ Then follows his

⁴¹³ Rhodes 2003: 87

⁴¹⁴ Rhodes 2003: 87 – 88

⁴¹⁵ Rhodes 2003: 88

⁴¹⁶ Osborne 1996: 214; Rhodes 2003: 92; Robinson 1976: 231; Roebuck 1990: 49; Salmon 1984: 61; Sapirstein 2009: 196; Tasinos 2013(1): 16

⁴¹⁷ Osborne 1996: 214

⁴¹⁸ Salmon 1984: 60

⁴¹⁹ Salmon 1984: 61

⁴²⁰ Osborne 1996: 214; Salmon 1984: 61

conclusion that there is 'little difference' between the two, Thermon's temple being 'dated by its clay metopes to the second half of the century', thus 'if the temple of Isthmia was erected at least half a century earlier the enormous strides in temple design in the late eighth century and the second half of the seventh and later will have been improbably separated by fifty years or more of virtual stagnation'.⁴²¹

In case of the Early Temple, the fire of which Salmon speaks would have occurred between 570 – 560 BC. Debris of *poros* blocks and roof tiles showing traces of fire damage have been found on a seventh century road adjacent the sacred site.⁴²²

Rebuilding commenced in the mid-sixth century BC and resulted in the erection of a Doric hexastyle temple of 7.3 x 1.8 m, generally referred to as the Archaic Temple.⁴²³ According to Pfaff, this is the only one of the early Doric buildings in Corinth to 'preserve any portion of a proper *crepidoma*', even though it was at least partially renovated during Roman times.⁴²⁴ The temple's stylobate measured approximately 21.3 x 53.3 m, the height of which is also discussed by Pfaff, who claims the earliest attestation of a new feature of Greek architecture in the temple's construction, stating that 'along the west end of the building, where the height can be measured accurately, it increases by 2 cm from the corner to the centre of the façade, indicating that the top of the stylobate was designed with the refinement of curvature'. He concludes by noting that, apart from this corner contraction, the Archaic Temple is devoid from innovations.⁴²⁵ The building's peristyle, the foundations of which were made of limestone masonry, contained a total of thirty-eight limestone columns, six along the front and back, and fifteen down either side (fig. 9).⁴²⁶ The foundations, interior columns, and *cella* walls rested on the solid rock. Although no remains of the masonry foundations were unearthed, the outline was determined by cutting in the rocks.⁴²⁷

The interior included 'a *prodomos* with two columns in *antis*' (fig. 9).⁴²⁸ In addition to this, the *cella* comprised two separate rooms that were divided by a wall, of which the eastern chamber was more spacious. The rooms are further divided into three parts by a double colonnade (fig. 4).⁴²⁹ It has been implied these two chambers served a joined veneration of Apollo and, presumably, Athena Chalinitis. The presence of two blocks in the western chamber formed the basis of Dörpfeld's theory regarding a possible base for a cult statue. Resting on the bedrock, their bases were cut to fit its sloping surface. However, traces of similar blocks proved completely absent in the eastern room. Furthermore, the blocks were neither given proper bedding cuts into the bedrock, nor did they appear to be still in their original positions. As such, the function of the western chamber has instead been interpreted

⁴²¹ Salmon 1984: 61

⁴²² Robinson 1976: 216, 225; Roebuck 1990: 47; Salmon 1984: 84

⁴²³ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 412; Koursoumis 2013: 45; Salmon 1984: 78

⁴²⁴ Pfaff 2003: 96

⁴²⁵ Pfaff 2003: 96, 113 – 114

⁴²⁶ Koursoumis 2013: 45; Pfaff 2003: 112; Powell 1905: 55

⁴²⁷ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 411; Fowler and Stillwell 1932: 115; Pfaff 2003: 113; Powell 1905: 55

⁴²⁸ Koursoumis 2013: 45

⁴²⁹ Koursoumis 2013: 45

as a treasury. The latter was a frequent inclusion in Greek temples, as they often stored and preserved valuable objects in inner rooms.⁴³⁰

Several of the epistyle blocks still remain in position on the temple. These are crowned with undecorated red-painted *tainia* and *regulae* with *guttae* embellished with white stucco. This suggests the implementation of customary polychromy, which appeared relatively common among Corinth's sixth-century buildings of the Doric order. However, neither preserved metopes nor complete triglyphs have been found. Therefore, both the size and decoration of the frieze remain uncertain.⁴³¹

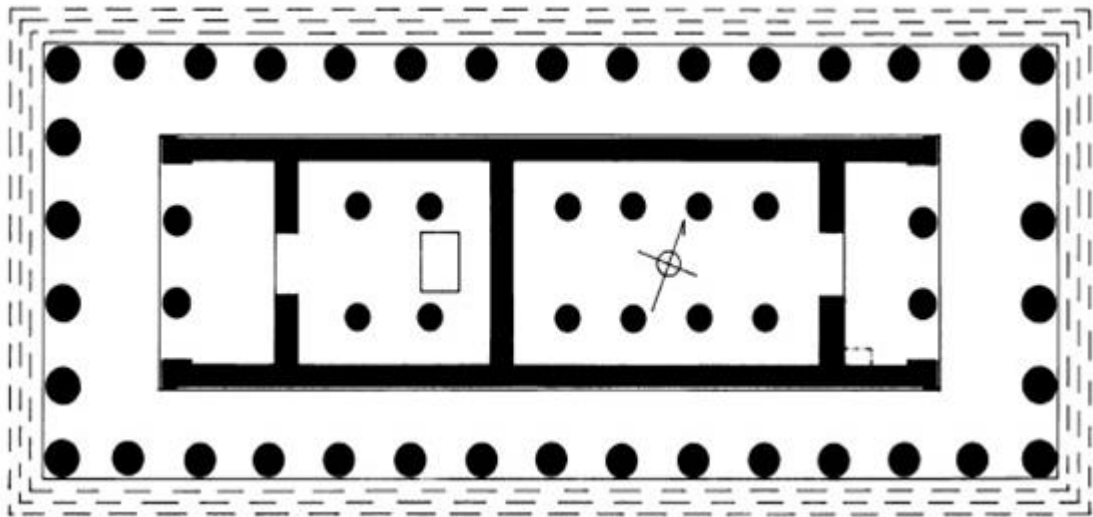


Figure 9 Floor plan of the Archaic Temple. (after Corinth I, fig. 82, in Pfaff 2003: 112)

The roof of the Archaic Temple would have supported antefixes with rather large seven-leaved palmette ornaments. In addition, the *sima*, made up of three parts, was supplied with an ovolo profile and ornaments shaped in the forms of lotuses and palmettes. The latter proved popular, as its motive also most likely decorated the temple's ridge tiles.⁴³² Another form of roof decoration would have been *acroteria* in the form of sphinxes. A number of locally produced sphinxes of the sixth century BC were discovered during excavations at the agora sanctuary between the early 1900s and 1970.⁴³³ During the latter, forty-eight sphinx-related fragments were unearthed which Bookidis describes as 'large scale', the quality of preservation of which vary to such a degree that merely one sphinx could be reconstructed.⁴³⁴ The height of this specimen is approximately 0.94 m. Of the other fragments, Bookidis states that 'one can say only that their sizes are not incompatible' with that of the reconstructed statue. Comparing this size to that of two other comparable objects, the first being a 0.63 metre tall sphinx acroterion from the proximity of Temple E and the second a sphinx from the area of

⁴³⁰ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 411 – 412; Caskey 1960: 17; Fowler and Stillwell 1932: 115; Powell 1905: 56 – 57

⁴³¹ Bookidis 1970: 322; Pfaff 2003, 100 – 103

⁴³² Pfaff 2003: 109 – 110; Roebuck 1990: 54 – 56

⁴³³ Bookidis 2000: 381, 385; Ridgway 1981: 424; Robinson 1906: 168; Robinson 1976: 236; Weinberg 1957: 314; Wright 1977: 245

⁴³⁴ Bookidis 2000: 381; Robinson 1976: 236

the south stoa that stands at a height of 0.77 m, it is clear that the aforementioned examples are 'considerably larger'.⁴³⁵ While disagreement has occurred in regard to the function of these statues, arguing whether they served a dedicational or an architectural function, Bookidis explains that a large temple such as the one of Apollo 'must have had large *acroteria*', which would suit the size of the sphinxes. Furthermore, she explains that the colours of various pairs of wings match the paintings on ridge palmettes of the temple roof. As such, she concludes that 'it is possible that all of the statues once decorated the roof'.⁴³⁶ A similar assumption is made by Koursoumis, who states that the *acroteria* would have been placed at the roof's angles.⁴³⁷

Although no traces of altars were found on site, a detached frieze block at the northern edge of Temple Hill indicates the previous existence of an altar adorned with triglyph decoration. Although it has been argued that the block could have belonged to a wall with similar decoration instead,⁴³⁸ evidence for the altar theory was found in Argos. Fragments of similar dismantled blocks of the late fifth or fourth century BC were retrieved from the city's agora, signifying these as part of an altar with triglyph decoration belonging to the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios. Comparable altars were found in Perachora, dating to the sixth century BC, Corcyra and Syracuse.⁴³⁹ Since the cult place of Perachora had been under Corinthian control since the Geometric period,⁴⁴⁰ it is likely that its architectural features showed similarities to those of other Corinthian sanctuaries, which would also have included monumental altars. In the case of Corcyra and Syracuse it is their founding connection to Corinth that would support such resemblances.

Few changes were made to the layout of the site prior to the Roman conquest. It continued to serve religious purposes well into Roman times, during which it was provided with extensive alterations of its interior and layout. It witnessed the beginning of its main destruction during early medieval times, which persisted until the nineteenth century. This demolition is the primary reason for the complications regarding the site's identification and reconstruction.⁴⁴¹

Dedications and worship

Debris of the Early Temple revealed the earliest dedications known from the agora site, comprising a variety of bronzes described by Robinson as 'presumably parts of votive offerings damaged at the time of the destruction of the old temple and therefore discarded. These represent several types of tripod as well as other bronze vessels and ornaments'.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁵ Bookidis 2000: 385; Weinberg 1957: 314; Wright 1977: 245

⁴³⁶ Bookidis 2000: 385

⁴³⁷ Koursoumis 2013: 45

⁴³⁸ Pfaff 2003: 132

⁴³⁹ Pfaff 2003: 132; Plommer and Salviat 1966: 207; Tomlinson 1972: 246

⁴⁴⁰ Osborne 1996: 93; Salmon 1984: 59

⁴⁴¹ Fowler and Stillwell 1932: 124 – 130; Pfaff 2003: 114 – 115; Robinson 1976: 218, 237 – 238

⁴⁴² Robinson 1976: 216 – 217

Oldest amongst these objects is a tripod leg decorated with low relief which has been dated to around 750 BC.⁴⁴³ Bookidis states that its type has been 'identified by Rolley as Corinthian'.⁴⁴⁴ This is no surprise, given the fact that Corinthian tripods of similar fashion from the same period have been found at Apollo's sanctuary in Delphi.⁴⁴⁵ Since tripods were common in many sanctuaries at the time, also those unrelated to Apollo, their discovery at the agora sanctuary does not specify anything about the kind of worship that was implemented there. What it does imply is the participation of elites, as bronze tripods were expensive objects that could not be afforded by just anyone, and that activity at the site outdates its earliest monumentalisation.⁴⁴⁶ Other noteworthy bronzes from the same debris included the remains of a griffin head, belonging to a seventh-century cauldron, the likes of which are common dedications to Athena and Hera but not to Apollo.⁴⁴⁷ Furthermore, a spearpoint 'of possibly eighth or seventh century date' was found. Weaponry was not uncommonly dedicated in Apolline worship, examples of which come from Delphi, Bassai, Mount Kynortion and Selinous.⁴⁴⁸ Nevertheless, such dedications were also not exclusive to Apollo, as objects of this kind have been found at sanctuaries of, among others, Artemis, Athena, Hera, and Poseidon.⁴⁴⁹ While the bronzes do not convey any knowledge in regard to Apolline worship at the site, this might be different for some of the pottery specimens found there.

Fieldwork in 1902 provided fragments of a terracotta *pinax* carrying an inscription of Apollo's name. Dated to the sixth or early fifth century BC, it was discovered behind shop IV of the west shops of the Lechaion Road near the agora. While the object has since gone missing, its original description by S. Bassett survived in the *Corinth Notebook 14* (fig. 10).⁴⁵⁰ The information on the *pinax* reads as follows:

'Height .065, w. at top .018, at bottom .03. It is either a tablet or inside of large bowl, the painted side being concave. Other side is rough so perhaps a tablet and not made on a wheel. clay yellowish clay, top and bottom edge smooth and no working of wheel [?] on back. thickness .004. Top and bottom a narrow black band .001. In centre a broad one .025. In the plain surface between these three bands are letters.'⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴³ Bookidis 2003: 249; Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 413; Robinson 1976: 217

⁴⁴⁴ Bookidis 2003: 249

⁴⁴⁵ Aurigny 2020: 104; Maass 1978: 29; Morgan 1990: 139; Morgan 1993: 27; Scott 2014: 48

⁴⁴⁶ Bookidis 2003: 249

⁴⁴⁷ Bookidis 2003: 249; Larson 2007: 49; Robertson 1981: 5

⁴⁴⁸ Baumer 2004: 134; Cavallari 1877: 134; Larson 2007: 99; Scott 2014: 49

⁴⁴⁹ Akurgal 1983: 63, 72 – 73; Cook and Nicholls 1998: 22 – 26, 183; Hagerman 2014: 79; Larson 2007: 59, 102; Pedley 2005: 174, 200

⁴⁵⁰ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 416, 418

⁴⁵¹ Bassett 1902: 72 – 73 via Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 418

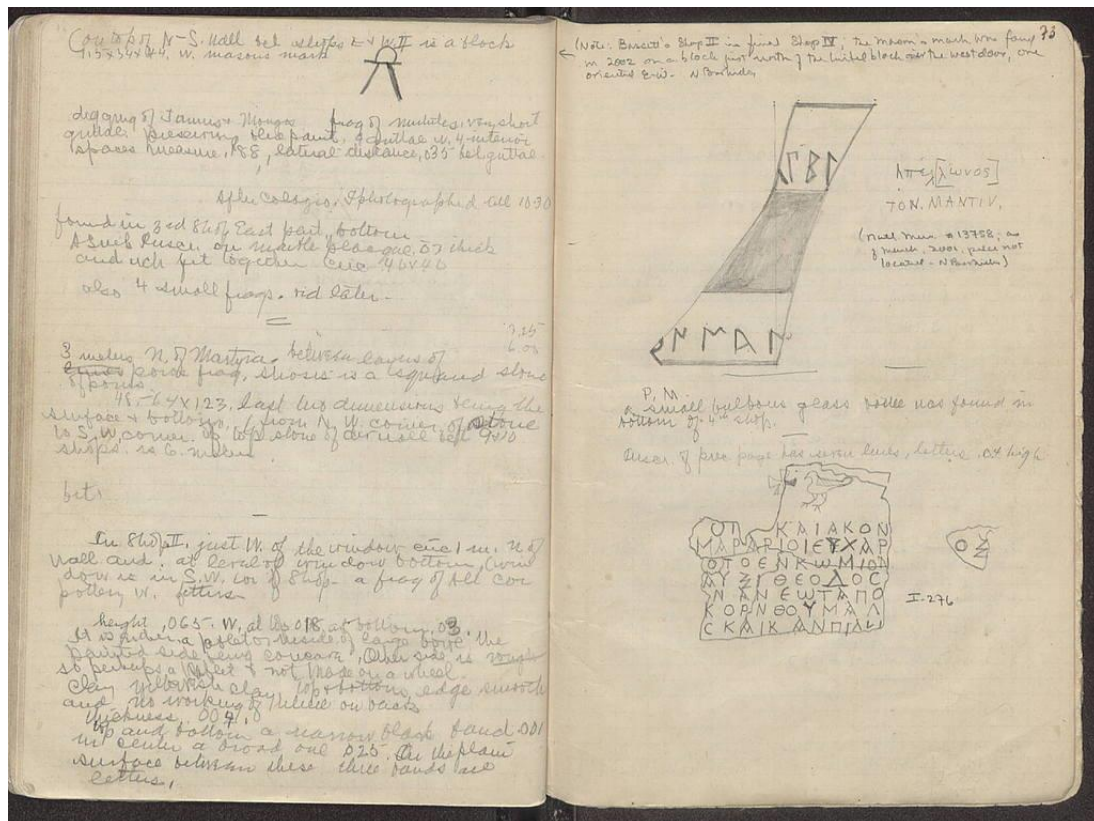


Figure 10 Bassett's description and drawing of the inscription on the terracotta pinax. (Bassett 1902: 72 – 73)

The letters of which Bassett speaks have been interpreted as a dedication to Apollo that was painted onto the *pinax*. The primary indication for this are the painted letters "ΑΠΕΛ" (fig. 10). He also provides a possible reconstruction of the text: Ἀπέλ[λωνος τ]ὸν μάν[τιν].⁴⁵² Bookidis and Stroud give a slight alteration of the deity's name, suggesting that the name was presumably spelled "Ἀπελλωνί"; a commonly form of the name Apollo in the Dorian dialect.⁴⁵³ To this, they add that said dialect only contains a very small number of words that being with "Ἀπελ" [---].⁴⁵⁴ When considering the validity of their textual restoration, they state 'while recognising that remains of only nine letters situated in two separate lines are available for interpretation and that other possible combinations exist, we would like to propose that in these exiguous traces we have fragments of no fewer than four essential components of a basic type of Greek inscription: name of a deity, name of a dedicator, pronoun of the object offered and verb recording the dedication'.⁴⁵⁵ They support their argument by referring to the *pinakes* from Penteskouphia; a settlement located in the close proximity of Corinth where a number of such tablets were found dating to the seventh and sixth centuries BC, many of which carried scenes depicting and painted inscriptions mentioning Poseidon.⁴⁵⁶ Comparing

⁴⁵² Bassett 1902: 73 via Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 418

⁴⁵³ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 418 – 419

⁴⁵⁴ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 418

⁴⁵⁵ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 419

⁴⁵⁶ D'Agostino and Palmieri 2016: 155 – 156; Hasaki and Nakas 2012: 66; Salmon 1984: 34

the inscription pattern of the Corinthian *pinax* to the standard arrangement on those of Penteskouphia, Bookidis and Stroud state that they are a close match, also concluding that the Penteskouphia objects are ‘the closest epigraphic parallel in both physical form and content to the object found by Bassett’.⁴⁵⁷ This outcome has led them to propose the following reconstruction of the Corinthian inscription as the most plausible option:

Ἄπελ[λονι]Ι[----]ον μ’ ἀν[έθεχε]

Determining a date of origin for the *pinax* has proven difficult due to the absence of excavation context and the general uniformity of the surviving letters. As such, Bookidis and Stroud have based the date on the use of the epichoric alphabet, thus providing the tablet with a late Archaic provenance between 560 and 480 BC.⁴⁵⁸ In terms of identification, they suggest the object was a plaque that might have belonged to another dedication. However, the fact that the actual *pinax* is missing and the omission of its corners in the notebook drawing means that nothing else can be said of its function.⁴⁵⁹



Figure 11 **Reconstructed image and inscription on the prize *aryballos*. Drawing by Piet de Jong.** (Roebuck and Roebuck 1955: plate 64)

Reichert-Südbeck suggests the implementation of worship of Apollo Karneios and the celebration of the Karneia in Corinth through indirect archaeological evidence, namely by analysing the image on a Corinthian prize *aryballos*. Dating between 570 – 560 BC, it was part of a ceramic deposit on Temple Hill and was found south of the Early Temple’s foundations.⁴⁶⁰ Its depiction of a young adult clad in a chiton and himation, and chorus dancers implies an early representation of a dancing chorus (fig. 11). The almost identical appearance of the dancers, being nude and having long hair, would qualify them as youths and befits the

⁴⁵⁷ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 419

⁴⁵⁸ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 421

⁴⁵⁹ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 421 – 422

⁴⁶⁰ Bookidis 2003: 249 – 50; Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 201; Roebuck and Roebuck 1955: 158 – 9

chorus practice of employing members of comparable gender, age, and social status.⁴⁶¹ Furthermore, the object has an inscription (fig. 11), which Roebuck interprets as follows:

‘Πολυτερός Πυρΐας προχορευόμενος αὐτῷ (αὐτῷ) δέ Foi ὄλπα’

‘Polyterpos. Pyrvias (Pyrrhias) leading the chorus; and to him, himself, an *olpe*’⁴⁶²

Both decoration and inscription indicate the *aryballos* was produced after the actual contest took place, and presumably presented as a prize to the chorus leader.⁴⁶³ While the inscription does not include Apollo’s name, these kinds of activities were not uncommon within his cult. Apollo was the principal deity associated with the element of music. This connection seems to have been firmly established by the time the early Homeric epics came into existence. It is described in the *Iliad* how the Muses sang when Apollo beautifully played his lyre.⁴⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the *Odyssey* declares him a teacher of mortal bards and draws a striking comparison between him and Odysseus when the latter strings his bow as if he was to string a lyre.⁴⁶⁵ The latter was one of Apollo’s dominant attributes. More specifically, it was the cithara, the largest and most distinguished adaptation of the lyre, that was the god’s instrument. While vase paintings sometimes depict gods like Dionysos or Hermes wielding lyres, these are of simpler structure than the cithara, which was deemed the most prominent string instrument.⁴⁶⁶ It plays a substantial role in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, in which he claims it as one of his divine attributes mere minutes after his birth. Consequently, he first makes his way to ‘rocky Pytho’ dressed in the cloak of a musician while ‘playing upon his hollow lyre’.⁴⁶⁷ Although the lyre was deemed superior to the flute,⁴⁶⁸ the instrument depicted on the *aryballos*, both instruments played a role in Apolline cult. Not only did their melodies accompany ritual sacrifices, but they also featured in various festivals celebrated across Greece. Most prominent amongst these were likely the Pythian Games, which featured competitions for citharists as early as the seventh century BC. When the games were reorganised during the first quarter of the following century, placing them in the quadrennial cycle of the Olympics, flute contests were added to the repertoire, as were athletic events. The musical component of the games was once more expanded in 558 BC with the addition of unaccompanied cithara playing.⁴⁶⁹ Whereas the musical contests of the Pythian Games were likely the most well-represented of their kinds, there were other Apolline celebrations that also prominently incorporated music. Examples are the Thargelia in Athens, which implemented a dithyramb,

⁴⁶¹ Bacon 1994 – 1995: 9; Bookidis 2003: 249; Roebuck and Roebuck 1955: 158

⁴⁶² Roebuck and Roebuck 1955: 160

⁴⁶³ Bookidis 2003: 249 – 50; Roebuck and Roebuck 1955: 160

⁴⁶⁴ Hom. *Il.* 1.603 – 604

⁴⁶⁵ Hom. *Od.* 8.486 – 489, 21.405 – 410

⁴⁶⁶ Pind. *P.* 1.1; Graf 2009: 37; Landels 1999: 26, 47; Mathiesen 1999: 258; West 1992: 54

⁴⁶⁷ *HH* 3 132, 182 – 184 (translation by H.G. Evelyn-White)

⁴⁶⁸ Plut. *Alc.* 2.4 – 5; Graf 2009: 37

⁴⁶⁹ Strab. 9.3.10; Graf 2009: 36; Mathiesen 1999: 258; Morgan 1990: 136; Richardson 2010: 14; Valavanēs 2017: 188, 195; West 1992: 54, 214, 337

and the Karneia in Sparta, which included an *agon*,⁴⁷⁰ directly referring to competition.⁴⁷¹ Reichert-Südbeck proposes that the image on the Corinthian *aryballos* could be the portrayal of such an *agon*, referring to similar to contests in the Spartan Karneia and Hyakinthia.⁴⁷² As discussed in the chapter of Apolline epithets, the *agon* seems to have been a fundamental aspect of Spartan education in musical skills which formed a vital component of their warrior culture.⁴⁷³ Apollo's role in this is emphasised by Pettersson, who states that the god 'protected rising generations and guarded their transition from one status to another, until they had reached the status of citizens and members of the army'.⁴⁷⁴ While it is unlikely that such military emphasis would have been present in Corinthian cult, the theme of *ephebe* initiation and the subsequent continuation of civilised order is plausible, not in the least due to it being found in the proximity of the agora, which was the civic heart of ancient Corinth. The choral dance referred to on the Corinthian *aryballos* might refer to such rites. Also demonstrated in the chapter about Apolline epithets, dancing in context of the Karneia is spoken of by Kallimachos in his account on the city of Cyrene, the tradition of which, he claims, came from Sparta.⁴⁷⁵ This is, however, a Hellenistic perspective of events and thus does not necessarily reflect Archaic customs.

In the case of the possible inclusion of the epithet of Karneios, Reichert-Südbeck also refers to the fourth book of Xenophon's *Hellenica* in which the author describes the younger men of Corinth as remaining in the *gymnasion* of Κραναίῳ; another possible connection between Apollo Karneios and the Corinthian *ephebes*.⁴⁷⁶ Apart from these references to youths, Reichert-Südbeck suggests another theory that could indicate the Corinthian incorporation of the cult of Karneios, which seems primarily based on accounts of Pausanias on the subject of sacred cypress groves. Apart from the two previously mentioned origin stories of Karneios, Pausanias provides a third one:

‘λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λόγος, ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ τῇ Τρωικῇ κραναίας ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσει πεφυκυίας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκτεμεῖν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ δουρείου τὴν ποιήσιν: μαθόντες δὲ ὀργὴν σφισιν ἔχειν τὸν θεὸν θυσίαις ἰλάσκονται καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Κάρνειον ἀπὸ τῶν κρανειῶν, ὑπερθέντες τὸ ῥῶ κατὰ δὴ τι ἀρχαῖον.’

‘There is also another account of the name; in Trojan Ida there grew in a grove of Apollo cornel-trees, which the Greeks cut down to make the Wooden Horse. Learning that the god was wroth with them they propitiated him with sacrifices and named Apollo Karneios from the

⁴⁷⁰ Graf 2009: 118; Larson 2007: 90, 93; Pettersson 1992: 63; Pritchard 2004: 213; Simon 1983: 78

⁴⁷¹ Hodkinson 1999: 147; Larson 2007: 7

⁴⁷² Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 202 – 203

⁴⁷³ Cf. chapter Apolline epithets: 67

⁴⁷⁴ Pettersson 1992: 71

⁴⁷⁵ Call. Ap. 85 – 87; Cf. chapter Apolline epithets: 67 – 69

⁴⁷⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.4; Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 203

cornel-tree (Kraneia), a custom prevalent in the olden time making them transpose the r and the a.⁴⁷⁷

In regard to Corinth, Pausanias mentions the presence of ‘κυπαρίσσων ἐστὶν ἄλσος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον’, which translates to ‘a grove of cypresses called Kraneion’.⁴⁷⁸ He speaks of a similar occurrence at Oichalia in Messenia, also in the Peloponnese, adding that this cypress grove not only housed a statue of Apollo Karneios, but also of Hermes carrying a ram.⁴⁷⁹

Although the implementation of the epithet of Karneios in Corinth is not implausible, it has to be stated that there are no archaeological sources that suggest this was indefinitely so. Additionally, while the previously cited comment of Xenophon comes close, there are no direct references to the epithet, whether on its own or in combination with the name of Apollo, in ancient literature addressing the city of Corinth. Nevertheless, an indirect reference can be proposed through the analysis of various calendars. Even though relatively little is known concerning the Corinthian calendar,⁴⁸⁰ suggestions can be made according to that of its settlements. It has been proposed that the Corcyran calendar was similar, if not identical, to the span of one year on the Antikythera Mechanism, based on a variety of inscriptions, which displays ‘Kraneios’ as the second month of the year. While this name has not been directly found in Corcyran context, it has been attested as the second month in the calendar of Bouthrotos, a city in the Epiros which maintained close ties with Corcyra.⁴⁸¹ Another resemblance might be found in a prospective calendar at Syracuse. While the hypothesis that the Syracusan calendar would have functioned as a template for the Antikythera Mechanism was rejected, it did prove a different conclusion, namely that the calendar would have been either similar or identical to that of Tauromenion. The latter became a settlement of Syracuse and shared seven months with the Antikythera Mechanism, based on various inscriptions. It has been established that Karneios was the second month in the calendar of Tauromenion.⁴⁸² Based on the inclusion of the month in various Corinthian founded settlements, Trümper has added the month to her reconstruction of the Corinthian calendar:

Γαμίλιος / Ψυδρεὺς

Εὐκλείος

Ἀρτεμίτος

Πάναμος

Φοινικαίος

⁴⁷⁷ Paus. 3.13.5 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁴⁷⁸ Paus. 2.2.4 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁴⁷⁹ Paus. 4.33.4

⁴⁸⁰ Trümper 1997: 155

⁴⁸¹ Iversen 2017: 134, 136, 150, 159 – 160; Trümper 1997: 156 – 157

⁴⁸² IG XIV 423, 425 – 427, 429; Battistoni 2011: 182; Iversen 2017: 134, 136; Trümper 1997: 164

Ἀλιοτρόπιος

Ἀγριάνιος

Ἀπελλαῖος

Ἡραῖος

Καρνεῖος

Μαχανεύς⁴⁸³

The suburban sanctuary

Geography and topography

At the northern edge of Corinth, adjacent the city wall, is located the Asklepieion (fig. 12). Prior to the worship of Asklepios, this site would have been dedicated to Apollo instead.⁴⁸⁴ The area has been mentioned by Pausanias, albeit it rather broad and briefly:

‘τοῦ θεάτρου δέ ἐστι τοῦδε οὐ πόρρω γυμνάσιον τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ πηγὴ καλουμένη Λέρνα: κίονες δὲ ἐστήκασι περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ καθέδραι πεποίηνται τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἀναψύχειν ὥρα θέρους. πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ γυμνασίῳ ναοὶ θεῶν εἰσιν ὁ μὲν Διός, ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ: τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀσκληπιὸς μὲν καὶ Ὑγεία λευκοῦ λίθου, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς χαλκοῦν ἐστίν.’

‘Not far from this theatre is the ancient gymnasium, and a spring called Lerna. Pillars stand around it, and seats have been made to refresh in summer time those who have entered it. By this gymnasium are temples of Zeus and Asklepios. The images of Asklepios and of Health are of white marble, that of Zeus is of bronze.’⁴⁸⁵

A more detailed description of cult place, both in terms of geography and topography, is provided by Roebuck:

‘The lower plateau extends northward below the temple for about five hundred meters and its northern edge formed a natural limit for the city since it drops sharply to the coastal plain. On the top of a low hill at the edge of this plateau, just inside the city wall, and almost directly north of the Temple of Apollo was set the Asklepieion.’⁴⁸⁶

‘The natural facilities of the site, too, were for the most part advantageous. Its position was exposed to the strong, bitter winds which blow from the Gulf of Corinth in winter, but offer some compensation by their freshness in the summertime. Further, the site is high enough to command the magnificent view offered by the coastal plain and the Gulf of Corinth with the

⁴⁸³ Trümpy 1997: 163

⁴⁸⁴ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 408; Krug 1985: 142; Lang 1977: 3; Roebuck 1951: 1

⁴⁸⁵ Paus. 2.4.5 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁴⁸⁶ Roebuck 1951: 1

rocky promontory of Perachora lying across the Gulf and, in the background, the mountains Kithaeron, Helikon, and Parnassos.⁴⁸⁷

Particularly the latter portrayal seems to support at least partially the general commentary of Plutarch on the subject of the placement of sacred sites of Asklepieion, in which he states that 'in fact the Greeks, as might be expected, have their shrines of Asklepios situated in places which are both clean and high'.⁴⁸⁸

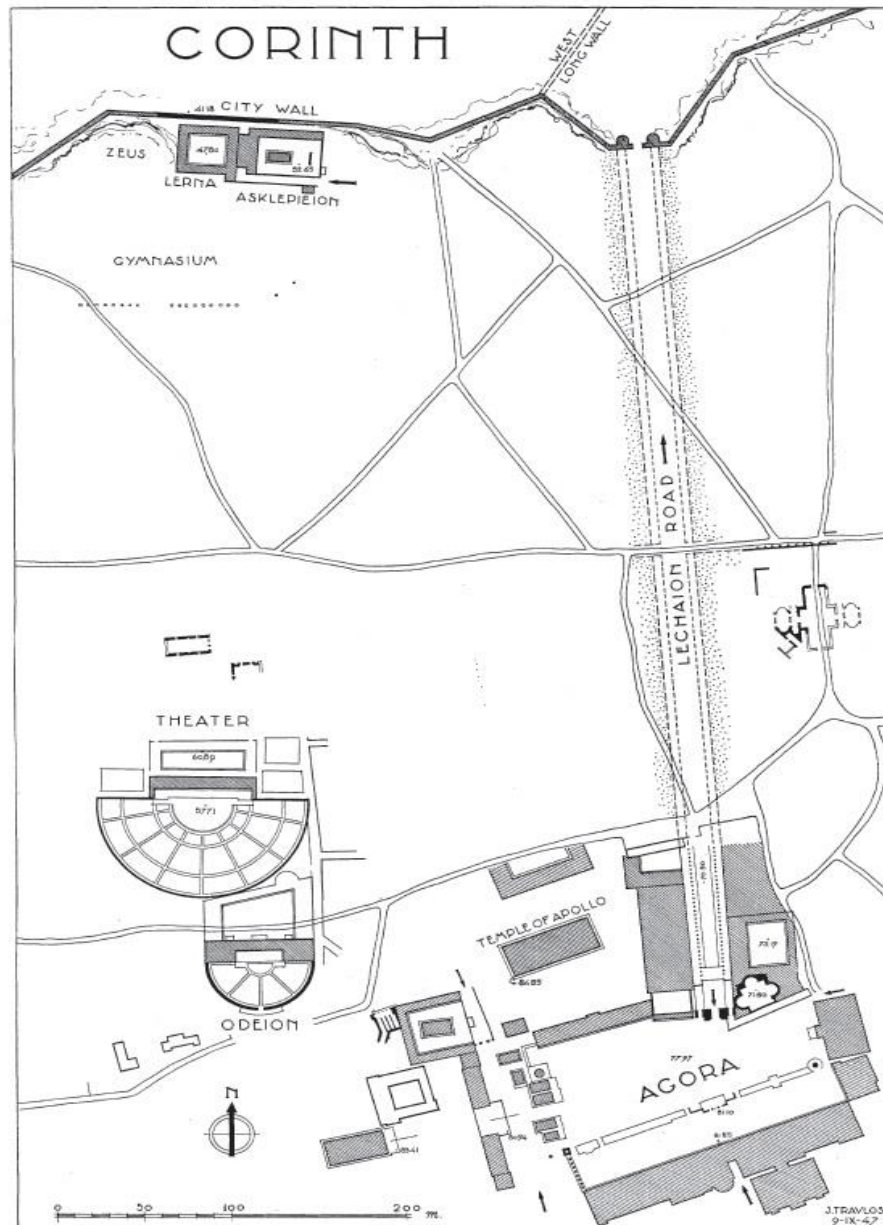


Figure 12 Map of ancient Corinth, displaying the Roman layout. The Asklepieion is located near the city-wall to the north.
(after Roebuck 1951: 3, fig. 1)

⁴⁸⁷ Roebuck 1951: 1

⁴⁸⁸ Plut. *Quaes. Rom.* 94 (translation by F.C Babbitt, 1936)

Archaeological fieldwork

Excavations of the suburban sanctuary took place between 1929 – 1934 by the Dutch university of Nijmegen. A series of test trenches unearthed various foundations and sections of structures observed by Pausanias in his brief description of the area. Direction of the fieldwork was conducted by F.J. De Waele, who was employed by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. However, a significant part of his documentation was lost during the Second World War, when the city of Nijmegen suffered severe devastation.⁴⁸⁹ The remainder has been edited by C. Roebuck, who also mentions the finding of the city wall as a result of ‘supplementary investigation’ implemented in 1947.⁴⁹⁰ Apart from architectural structures, the excavators also discovered a number of dedications, which will be discussed in further detail below.

Architectural structures

Originally, the sanctuary was occupied by a small rectangular Archaic building that has been identified as a temple (nr. 1, fig. 13). It measured approximately 7.50 x 5 metres and was erected on the bedrock. Oriented ‘almost due east’, it contained a wide entrance of 3.20 metres that was located between the *antae* walls.⁴⁹¹ Its interior arrangements displayed various cuttings and dressings that imply the housing of a small altar (nr. 2, fig. 13), a cult statue, and a possible baldachin. The northeast corner of the altar served as the beginning of a shallow cut drain channel which, although ‘largely destroyed’ outside of the building, would have led ‘into a settling basin and long, rock-cut drain extending to the east’ (nr. 3, fig. 13).⁴⁹² Pfaff argues that the drain was initially buried.⁴⁹³

The site was provided with another Archaic building (nr. 4, fig. 13), situated approximately three metres northeast of the temple. Measuring 8.1 metres in length and varying widths from north to south, it supposedly housed two unequally sized rooms. Although merely a small gap between these alleged chambers remains, it has been suggested this was to support the separating wall. The entrance was located to the south. The structure’s original function, however, remains unclear.⁴⁹⁴ Roebuck attests that it was used until the late fourth century BC, when it was replaced by a Hellenistic temple, ‘for the cuttings for the temple walls were made through its south-west corner’. Lang maintains a similar opinion.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁸⁹ Paus. 2.4.5; Roebuck 1951: Preface, 7

⁴⁹⁰ Roebuck 1951: 7

⁴⁹¹ Pfaff 2003: 125 – 126; Roebuck 1951: 9 – 10

⁴⁹² Pfaff 2003: 125 – 126; Roebuck 1951: 10

⁴⁹³ Pfaff 2003: 127

⁴⁹⁴ Pfaff 2003: 125 – 126; Roebuck 1951: 13 – 14

⁴⁹⁵ Lang 1977: 10; Roebuck 1951: 14

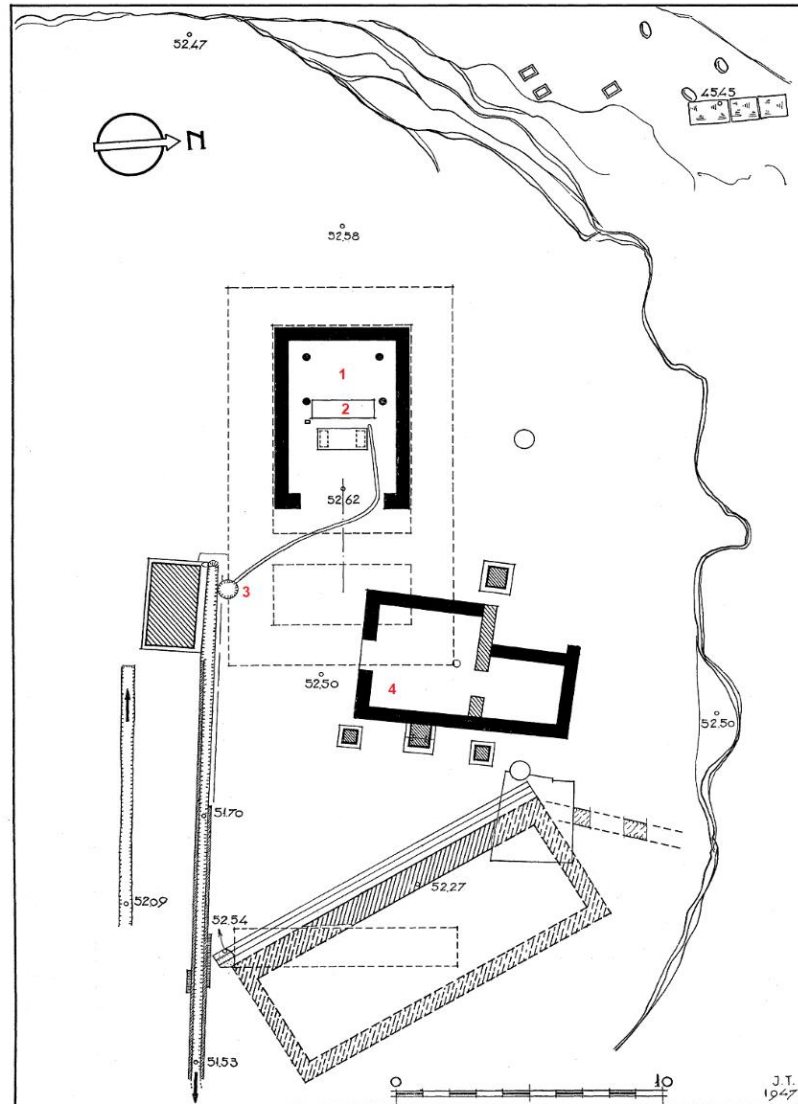


Figure 13 Restored floor plan of the suburban sanctuary. The numbers read as follows: 1. Archaic temple, 2. altar, 3. settling basin, 4. Other Archaic building. (after Roebuck 1951: 9, fig. 2)

Dedications and worship

Apart from the implication given by the sanctuary's geography and related ancient texts, its identification as the Corinthian Asklepieion is supported through the discovery of various pieces of pottery that carry dedicatory inscriptions.⁴⁹⁶ Apart from the more general referring to 'some of the vases' that were engraved as such, Roebuck specifically acknowledges 'two larger mortars' inscribed with Asklepios' name and a fragment of 'Attic manufacture' mentioning a Podalirios whose name also occurs in an inscription found at the Asklepieion in Athens.⁴⁹⁷ In conclusion, he states that these inscriptions date to the fourth

⁴⁹⁶ Roebuck 1951: 2

⁴⁹⁷ Roebuck 1951: 131, 135

century BC, since they are written according to the ‘developed letter forms’ of that period.⁴⁹⁸ In addition, a variety of objects in the form of body pieces inscribed with the names of dedicators, or patients, have been found;⁴⁹⁹ a common practice in Asklepieian cult.⁵⁰⁰ While it is difficult to discern the average terracotta representations of animals to a specific deity, for the likes of sheep and cattle have been offered to many different gods, roosters appear to have been common gifts to Asklepios. According to Plato, Socrates supposedly stated ‘Krito, we owe a cock to Asklepios. Pay it and do not neglect it’.⁵⁰¹ Such birds have been found in terracotta form in both the Corinthian and Athenian Asklepieions.⁵⁰²

Considering the above, the archaeological evidence is quite convincing in regard to identifying the site as the Asklepieion. However, while the name of Asklepios is already attested in the *Iliad*, in which he is repeatedly portrayed as a skilful healer, this context he appears to be a mortal doctor, for no mention is made of any divine ancestry.⁵⁰³ Additionally, his earliest veneration only occurred during the late sixth century BC but was not generally established prior to the late fifth and fourth centuries.⁵⁰⁴ As such, it seems that the Archaic temple and objects at the site belonged to someone else. Thus, follows the question of the potential prior occupation of the sanctuary by Apollo.

There is a clear genealogical connection between the gods in mythology: according to various ancient texts, Asklepios is Apollo’s son by a mortal woman, whose identity differs according to the consultation of different ancient authors. The oldest literary link between Apollo and Asklepios as father and son is made by Hesiod in his *Catalogue of Women* as commented on by a scholiast on Pindar:

‘τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν οἱ μὲν Ἀρσινόης, οἱ δὲ Κορωνίδος φασὶν εἶναι·
 Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ φησι τὴν Ἀρσινόην
 Λευκίππου εἶναι τοῦ Περιήρους, ἧς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀσκληπιὸς
 καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἐριῶπις·
 ἣ δ’ ἔτεκεν ἐν μεγάροις Ἀσκληπιὸν ὄρχαμον ἀνδρῶν
 Φοίβῳ ὑποδμηθεῖσα εὐπλόκαμόν τ’ Ἐριῶπιν.
 καὶ Ἀρσινόης† ὁμοίως·
 Ἀρσινόη δὲ μιγεῖσα Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱῷ
 τίκετ’ Ἀσκληπιὸν υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε.’

⁴⁹⁸ Roebuck 1951: 131

⁴⁹⁹ Roebuck 1951: 2, 136

⁵⁰⁰ Larson 2007: 195

⁵⁰¹ Plat. *Phaedo* 118a (translation by H. North Fowler, 1966)

⁵⁰² Larson 2007: 195; Roebuck 1951: 141, 143

⁵⁰³ Hom. *Il.* 2.731 – 733, 4.194, 11.517 – 518

⁵⁰⁴ Lang 1977: 4; Roebuck 1951: 152 – 153

‘Some say that Asklepios was Arsinoe’s son, some that he was Koronis’. Asklepiades says that Arsinoe was the daughter of Perieres’ son Leukippos, and that from her and Apollo were born Asklepios and a daughter Eriopis:

she bore in the halls Asklepios, leader of men,
overpowered by Phoibos, and beautiful-haired Eriopis.

and †of Arsinoe† similarly:

Arsinoe, mingling with the son of Zeus and Leto,
bore a son, Asklepios, excellent and strong.⁵⁰⁵

This connection between Apollo and Asklepios has also been attested by other authors, including but not limited to Pindar, Sophokles, Ovid, Pseudo-Apollodoros, Pausanias, and the as of yet unknown author of the *Homeric Hymn to Asklepios*.⁵⁰⁶

The potential occupation of the same sacred site by both Apollo and Asklepios would not have been unique to Corinth. This was possibly the case at the Asklepieion in Kos, where a temple on the eastern site of the sacrificial altar has been suggested to have belonged to Apollo.⁵⁰⁷ A more prominent case of both deities being present can be found at Epidauros, home to arguably the most renowned Asklepieion in ancient Greece. Prior to Asklepios’ arrival, the area housed an Apolline sanctuary, which was located on Mount Kynortion. Although the site itself had been in use since the Bronze Age, Apollo appears to have been introduced there during the Archaic or, according to some scholars, even as early as the Geometric period.⁵⁰⁸ The sanctuary is cited by Pausanias, who also speaks of an epithet known as Maleatas:

‘ὄρη δέ ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος τό τε Τίτθιον καὶ ἕτερον ὀνομαζόμενον Κυνόρτιον, Μαλεάτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Μαλεάτου καὶ ἔλυτρον κρήνης, ἐς ὃ τὸ ὕδωρ συλλέγεται σφισι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ταῦτα Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἐποίησεν.’

‘Above the grove are the Nipple and another mountain called Cynortium; on the latter is a sanctuary of Maleatian Apollo. The sanctuary itself is an ancient one, but among the things Antoninus made for the Epidaurians are various appurtenances for the sanctuary of the Maleatian, including a reservoir into which the rain-water collects for their use.⁵⁰⁹

It is clear that, apart from referring to the site as ancient, the account does not convey any knowledge in regard of its cultic characteristics. Archaeology, however, seems to reveal somewhat more. Excavations at the site revealed a late Middle Geometric open-air altar that

⁵⁰⁵ Hes. *MW. Fr.* 53; Scholia to Pindar (translation by G.W. Most, 2018)

⁵⁰⁶ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3; *HH* 16 1 – 2; *Ov. Met.* 15.636 – 640; Paus. 2.26.4; Pind. *P.* 3.6 – 44; Soph. *T. s.v.* ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ [ΠΑΙ]ΔΑΝ

⁵⁰⁷ Krug 1985: 160; Sherwin-White 1978: 343

⁵⁰⁸ Baumer 2004: 134; Lambrinoudakis 2002: 214; Larson 2007: 98 – 99

⁵⁰⁹ Paus. 2.27.7 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

was built on top of a Mycenaean counterpart. The altar contained a number of roughly contemporary 'votive lead wheels of fortune and medical instruments', which Lambrinoudakis relates to a cult of an 'early Apollo' whose realm comprised 'fertility, welfare and health'.⁵¹⁰ The site was monumentalised with a temple 'of light material with a porch in its front' during the mid-sixth century BC. When another sanctuary was established at the site of the future Asklepieion, Apollo appears to have moved there as well. According to Lambrinoudakis, a *naikos* of Apollo was amongst the earliest constructions that were built at the new cult place. This conclusion he draws from the discovery of 'inscribed dedications to Apollo and material dating to the late sixth and fifth centuries BC' in the ashes of an excavated open-air altar located inside the building.⁵¹¹ Furthermore, various later inscriptions dating between the fourth century BC and Imperial Roman times mentioning Apollo's name, some including the epithet Maleatas, were found at the Asklepieion.⁵¹² One of these concerns a *paian* composed by the poet Isyllos, in which he speaks of a procession in which laurel garlands are brought to the temple of Apollo Maleatas and olive shoots to that of Asklepios.⁵¹³ Therefore, it seems that worship of Apollo, to some extent, was implemented in the healing cult of Asklepios at Epidauros, suggesting a plausible inclusion of a similar aspect in his own veneration. In terms of Asklepios' introduction in Corinth, Lang suggests a similar process to that discussed above, in which the god came 'first as an emissary from Epidauros to take up residence in Apollo's precinct', implying at least some sort of shared occupation of the suburban sanctuary, after which he 'gradually took over his father's "practice" and call the shrine his own', referring to the conversion of the site into the Corinthian Asklepieion.⁵¹⁴ Of the cult title Maleatas, however, he does not speak.

Apart from the manifestation of Apollo and Asklepios sharing sacred space in Epidauros, another indication for Apollo's occupation of the Archaic temple of Corinth's suburban site can perhaps be found in one of the objects that were retrieved from a deposit east of the previously described Archaic building, the contents of which have been dated by Roebuck to the mid-sixth century BC and described as 'discarded votives' from the Archaic temple.⁵¹⁵ The material contained a small column *krater* of which five fragments remain. Its glaze has almost completely vanished, yet indications of painted decorations are still present. These include a frieze of riders and part of a wing, probably belonging to either a sphinx or a siren. Its inscription is preserved on the two rim fragments and reads 'Ἀπέ [λ] λονος' in Corinthian letters (fig. 14).⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁰ Lambrinoudakis 2002: 214

⁵¹¹ Baumer 2004: 134; Lambrinoudakis 2002: 216

⁵¹² *JG* IV²,1 25, 40, 44; Baumer 2004: 134; Peek 1972: 17, 19

⁵¹³ *JG* IV²,1 28; Furley and Bremer 2001: 228; Larson 2007: 99

⁵¹⁴ Lang 1977: 7

⁵¹⁵ Roebuck 1951: 14

⁵¹⁶ Krug 1985: 144; Lang 1977: 3; Roebuck 1951: 8, 15

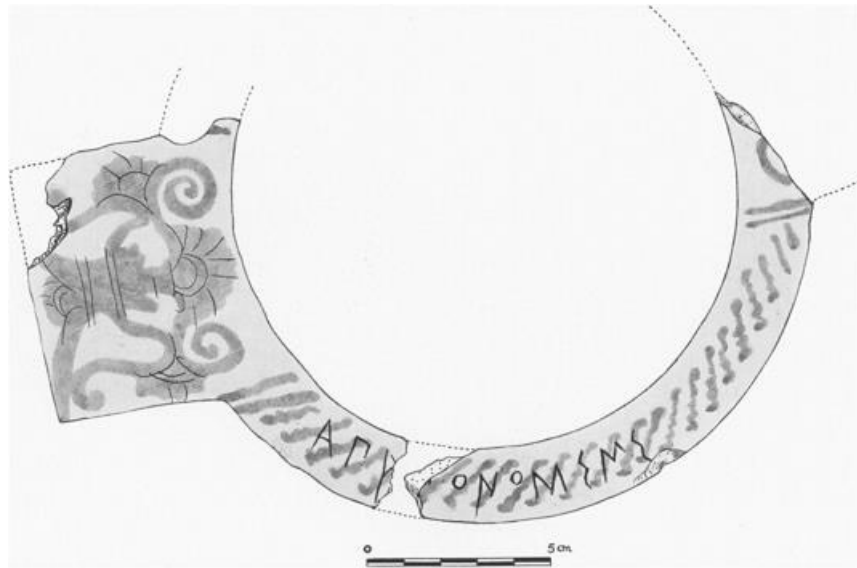


Figure 14 **Krater rim with an inscribed dedication to Apollo.**
(Roebuck 1951: 16, fig. 4)

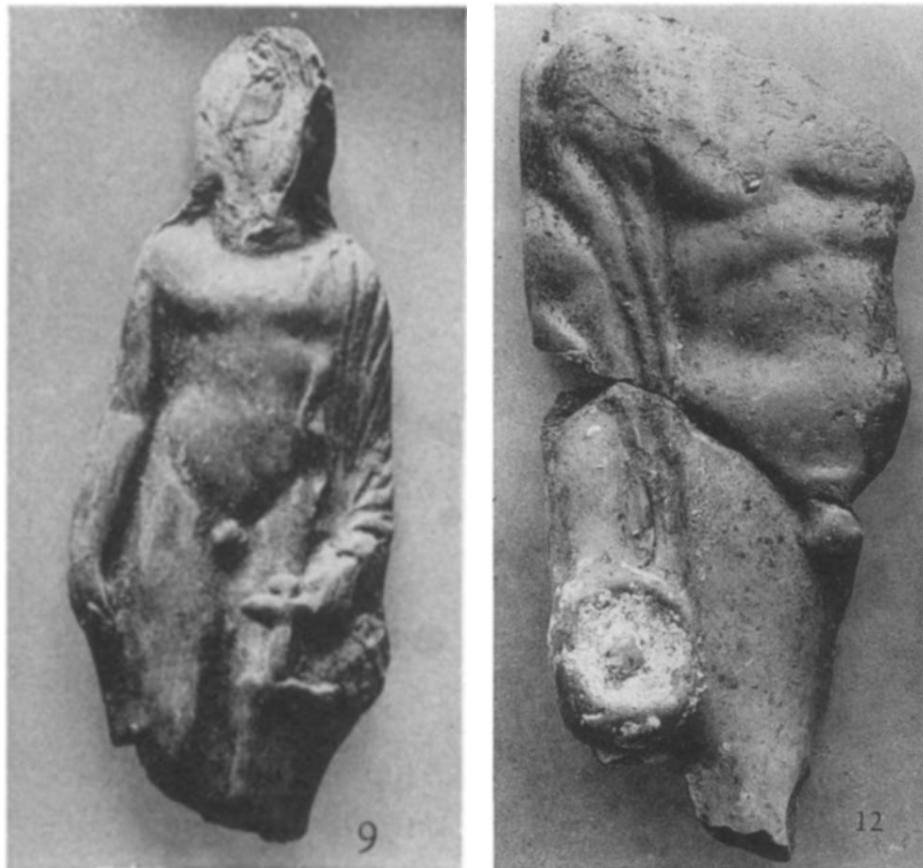


Figure 15 **Two fragmental figurines of the 'nude male with lyre and phiale' type.**
(Roebuck 1951: plate 54, fig. 9 and 12)

When referring to terracottas from the deposit that might have been related to Apolline cult at the site, Roebuck emphasises the issue briefly mentioned above in relation to Asklepios, namely that ‘there is too much that is common to all sanctuaries, and to all deities, to assign any figurines but those with very definite attributes to a particular cult’.⁵¹⁷ He continues by addressing a group of nude male figurines, particularly citing Archaic examples and those of a type holding a lyre and *phiale*. Of the latter (fig. 15), approximately twenty specimens were found at the sanctuary, all of which were locally produced at the Potter’s Quarter. The combination of appearance, including the instruments, and its local provenance has led Roebuck to suggest that these figurines might have had ‘a special significance in Corinth as votives to Apollo’.⁵¹⁸ Considering that the lyre was one of the god’s dominant attributes, it is not improbable that these specific statuettes might have functioned as offerings to him. However, when purely contemplating their image, this is difficult to determine in the case of the other nude male figurines which Roebuck refers to, since such objects were not limited to Apolline cult. His connection between these items and the god seems to be primarily, if not exclusively, based on the fact that they predate the establishment of Asklepios’ cult at the site, and thus needs to be deliberated with caution.



Figure 16 Terracotta centaur from the suburban sanctuary. (after Lang 1977: 5, fig. 4)

Another terracotta that might be assigned to Apollo is a centaur that also came from the sixth-century deposit (fig. 16).⁵¹⁹ Possibly representing Cheiron, its poorly preserved state and the lack of an inscription has complicated its identification. Despite its deteriorated state, it can be seen that the centaur is holding something, or someone, in its arms. While Roebuck

⁵¹⁷ Roebuck 1951: 138

⁵¹⁸ Roebuck 1951: 138 – 140, 153

⁵¹⁹ Roebuck 1951: 19

proposes that it could be a woman,⁵²⁰ Lang tentatively names the figure as Asklepios.⁵²¹ Roebuck does not discuss the matter any further, instead only providing a short entry on the size and still visible details of the figurine. Lang's suggestion seems to be logical in terms of the terracotta coming from the area that later became the Asklepieion, but it does disregard the possibility for the little figure to depict one of Cheiron's other foster sons. Deemed most honourable and knowledgeable of his mythical race, Cheiron was a healer who raised not only Apollo's sons Asklepios and Aristaios, but also the heroes Achilles, Jason and, according to Xenophon, many more,⁵²² whom he instructed in matters such as healing and hunting.⁵²³ In addition to this, the terracotta's date of origin outdates the implementation of Asklepios' earliest known worship.⁵²⁴

Considering the discussion above and Cheiron's reputation as a healer, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the centaur would have been a dedication to Apollo as a healing deity. As previously stated, Lang believes that Apollo did fulfil such a role at least prior to Asklepios' arrival.⁵²⁵

In terms of epithets, there seem to be no attestations for the healing Apollo in Corinth, apart from one, Zotelistes, which has been proposed to have been implemented at the suburban sanctuary. However, the cult title is only known by Hesychios, whose description of it is utterly basic: Ζωτελιστής. Ἀπόλλων ἐν Κορίνθῳ.⁵²⁶ The connection between the site and epithet is made by Reichert-Südbeck, who cites the meaning of Zotelistes as 'Heilbringer' in German, which translates to 'bringer of salvation' in English.⁵²⁷ Her argument for this relationship is based on the previously described *krater* rim bearing an inscription of the god's name. However, this does not include any reference to a supposed epithet. In fact, there is no mention of Zotelistes at all prior to the account of Hesychios, which was written down in either the fifth or sixth century AD, placing it roughly a millennium after the initiation of Apolline cult at said sanctuary. Hence, it is highly unlikely that it was used in Corinth. Nevertheless, there are various epithets, besides the aforementioned Maleatas, associated with Apollo across ancient Greece that do refer to healing in one way or another. For example, as demonstrated in the chapter about Apollo in Miletos, epigraphical evidence attests the use of the epithet *latros* in Apolline worship in the Milesian settlements of Olbia, Apollonia Pontika, Istros, Tyras,

⁵²⁰ Roebuck 1951: 19

⁵²¹ Lang 1977: 5

⁵²² Ap. Rhod. *Argon* 509 – 510; Hom. *Il.* 4.217 – 219, 11.831 – 832; Paus. 10.17.3; Pind. *N.* 3.54; Pind. *P.* 9.108 – 116; Pl. *Resp.* 3.391c; Xen. *Cyn.* 1.2; Hornblower and Spawforth 2014: 159

⁵²³ Ael. *NA* 2.18; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.4, 3.10.3; Pind. *N.* 3.93 – 111

⁵²⁴ Lang 1977: 4; Roebuck 1951: 19, 152 – 153

⁵²⁵ Lang 1977: 7

⁵²⁶ Hesych. s.v. Ζωτελιστής

⁵²⁷ Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 185

Pantikapaion, Hermonassa. The earliest of these inscriptions are of Archaic origin, dating to the sixth century BC.⁵²⁸ The cult title in question translates to ‘physician’, ‘doctor’ or ‘healer’.⁵²⁹

Meanwhile, correlation between Apollo and healing is also laid in ancient literary sources. In the *Pythian Odes* the god is depicted as such:

‘ὁ καὶ βαρειᾶν νόσων
ἀκέσματ’ ἄνδρεσσι καὶ γυναῖξι νέμει,’

‘It is Apollo who dispenses remedies to men and women for grievous diseases,’⁵³⁰

Furthermore, he is named a healing deity in various plays of the fifth-century Athenian playwright Euripides. In the tragedy *Andromache*, he is addressed as such by the character of Orestes:

‘ὦ Φοῖβ’ ἀκέστορ, πημάτων δοίης λύσιν.’

‘O Phoibos, healer god, give us a resolution of these troubles!’⁵³¹

In another tragedy, *Alkestis*, he is referred to as Παιάν by a chorus.⁵³² In terms of personification, this is not always related to Apollo. In the *Iliad*, for instance, Paian is depicted as the physician of the gods,⁵³³ thus making him an independent character, which could possibly have been a remnant of Mycenaean religion.⁵³⁴ Nevertheless, opinions on Paian as a separate entity also appear to be divided. Graf argues that, apart from Homer and Hesiod, ‘everywhere else in ancient texts, the name Paian is used as a cultic epithet of Apollo that defines him as a healer, in the same way as the *paian* is Apollo’s song. It is thus possible that in the Homeric poems, too, the name Paian really designated Apollo; Greeks and Romans could use epithets alone to stand in for a divine name, such as Delios for Apollo or Olympios for Zeus’.⁵³⁵ Whether this was indeed the case is a matter for a different research. Regarding the concept of the *paian* as Apollo’s song: while this hymn was not exclusively reserved for Apolline worship, it did play a significant role in the god’s cults. The earliest known connection between the two is already established in the *Iliad*, where the young men of the Greek army satisfy Apollo by their chanting of the *paian*.⁵³⁶ Returning to Sparta, the *paian* was an intrinsic

⁵²⁸ Ehrhardt 1983: 40, 137 – 139, 141; Fontenrose 1988: 111; Graf 2009: 85 – 86; Shachar 2000: 5

⁵²⁹ Fontenrose 1988: 111; Gorman 2001: 170; Graf 2009: 85

⁵³⁰ Pind. *P.* 5.63 – 64 (translation by D. Arnson Svarlien, 1990)

⁵³¹ Eur. *Andr.* 900

⁵³² Eur. *Alc.* 220

⁵³³ Hom. *Il.* 5.401, 5.899

⁵³⁴ Larson 2007: 86

⁵³⁵ Graf 2009: 81

⁵³⁶ Hom. *Il.* 1.471 – 473; Furley and Bremer 2001: 84

part of the second part of the festival of Hyakinthia which commemorated the death of Hyakinthos.⁵³⁷ The performance of the hymn was supposed to heal society from the chaos that was left by the negative aspect of the death of Hyakinthos.⁵³⁸ In Asia Minor an inscription from Classical Erythrai bears witness of a special *paian* that was performed in threefold by the city's *ephebes* while gathered around Apollo's altar. Voiced in this song was their request to the son of Leto to spare the young men of the *polis* from a premature death. Another example has already been mentioned previously and concerns the inscription referring to the *paian* written by Isyllos for a procession that included both Apollo and Asklepios in Epidauros.⁵³⁹

Overall, it is plausible that it was Apollo who was worshipped at the suburban sanctuary prior to it being completely handed over to Asklepios. Apollo's name is the sole one to be attested there through means of Archaic inscription. Names of other gods have not been found there in this periodic setting. Only Asklepios' name appears in inscriptions, but those are of later date. Furthermore, it is plausible for Apollo to have his veneration at the site set in the context of healing. His formerly explained general competency in this aspect in various places across Greece, his association with it in ancient literature, and his genealogical and cultic correlation to Asklepios support such a possibility.

The extra-urban sanctuary at Tenea

Geography and topography

Located in the Corinthia (fig. 17), the town of Tenea was controlled by the Corinthians, at least for the duration of the Archaic and Classical periods.⁵⁴⁰ Although there are no surviving contemporary texts that make mention of Tenea, it does occur in the account of Strabo, who makes mention of a sanctuary of Apollo at the town.

‘καὶ ἡ Τενέα δ’ ἐστὶ κώμη τῆς Κορινθίας, ἐν ᾗ τοῦ Τενεάτου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν: λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀρχία τῷ στείλαντι τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀποικίαν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐποίκων ἐντεῦθεν συνεπακολουθῆσαι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εὐθηνεῖν μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων τὴν κατοικίαν ταύτην, τὰ δ’ ὕστατα καὶ καθ’ αὐτοὺς πολιτεύεσθαι, προσθέσθαι τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀποστάντας Κορινθίων καὶ κατασκαφείσης τῆς πόλεως συμμεῖναι.’

‘Tenea, also, is in Corinthia, and in it is a temple of the Teneatan Apollo; and it is said that most of the colonists who accompanied Arkhias, the leader of the colonists to Syracuse, set out from there, and that afterwards Tenea prospered more than the other settlements, and

⁵³⁷ Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.11

⁵³⁸ Graf 2009: 41; Larson 2007: 91; Pettersson 1992: 21, 26, 29

⁵³⁹ *IG* IV2,1 128; Furley and Bremer 2001: 84; Larson 2007: 99

⁵⁴⁰ Korka and Lagos 2019: 351

finally even had a government of its own, and, revolting from the Corinthians, joined the Romans, and endured after the destruction of Corinth.⁵⁴¹

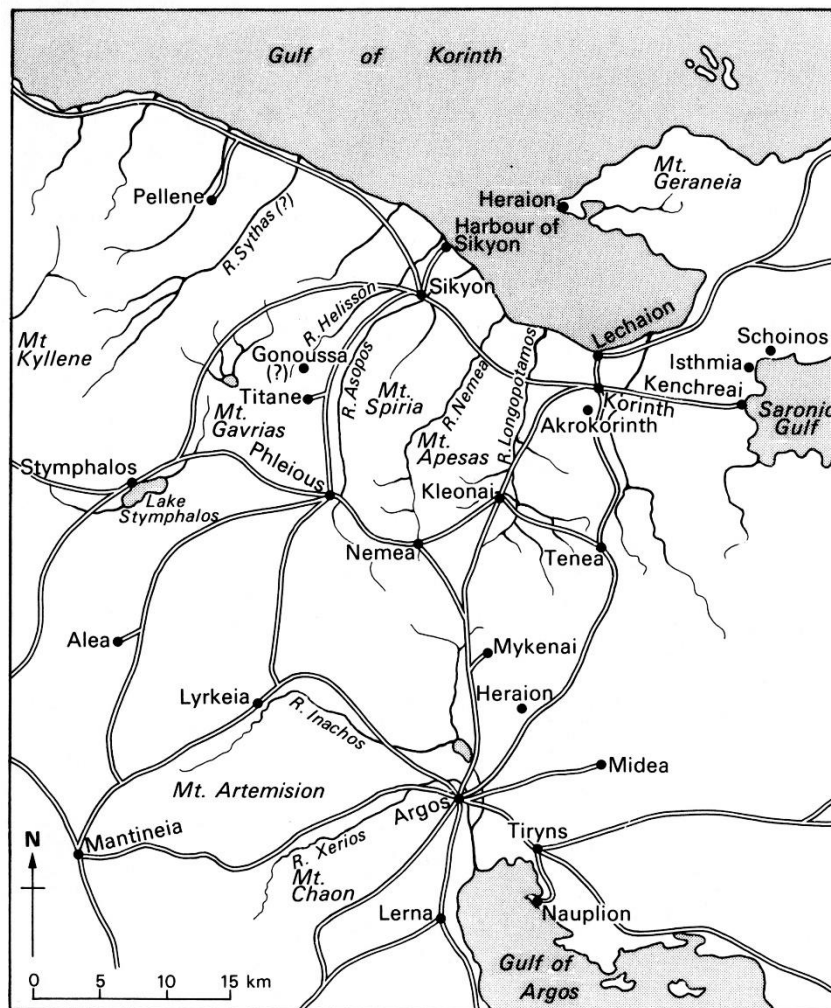


Figure 17 Map of the north-eastern Peloponnese. The Corinthia is located roughly in the north-east. (Griffin 1982: 1, fig.1)

Meanwhile, Pausanias describes the distance between Corinth and Tenea, and how to get there. Even though he does not speak of an Apolline site, he does attest to the high regard Teneans would have had of the god.

‘τραπεῖσι τὴν ὀρεινὴν πύλη τέ ἐστὶν ἡ Τενεατικὴ καὶ Εἰληθυίας ἱερὸν: ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἀπέχει μάλιστα στάδια ἡ καλουμένη Τενέα.’

‘Such is the account I heard of the Asopos. When you have turned from the Acrocorinthos into the mountain road you see the Teneatic gate and a sanctuary of Eilethyia. The town called Tenea is just about sixty stades distant.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ Strab. 8.6.22 (translation by H.L. Jones, 1924)

⁵⁴² Paus. 2.5.4 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

Considering the relationship between Corinth and Tenea, it is possible that any sanctuary of Apollo at the latter might have served an extra-urban function to the former. This, however, does not mean that it would not also have fulfilled the role of a central cult place to the Teneans themselves.

Archaeological fieldwork

The ancient site of Tenea was not subjected to archaeological fieldwork prior to 2010, when rescue excavations were implemented by the 37th EPCA due to the looting of two *kouroi* statues. Research has since continued and is conducted as part of the Tenea Project under the direction of E. Korka. As the initial focus was primarily set on the ancient town's cemetery, only a small part of the urban settlement has so far been excavated. However, archaeological research in the latter area will be expanded and is expected to result in the discovery of archaeological material on the subject of Tenean cults.⁵⁴³ By any means, the findings of the cemetery were valuable to such an extent that it 'gives a well-founded hope that in the coming years there will be even more significant discoveries'.⁵⁴⁴ Hopefully this also includes the Apolline sanctuary described by Strabo.

Dedications and worship

The only archaeological indication of Apollo's veneration at Tenea is provided by an undated inscription at the Teneatic Gate. While Salmon argues that the gate would not have served the main route to Tenea, Pausanias does mention it in relation to the town.⁵⁴⁵ The inscription itself does not survive, but its content has been documented and reads as follows:

Ἀπόλλωνος Κυννεῖ[ου].

[Πο(?)]σεῖς ἀπαρχ[άν] ἀνέθη[κε].'

'For Apollo Kynneios,

Poses (?) dedicated it as a tithe.⁵⁴⁶

Bookidis and Stroud state that they 'do not believe that the dedication to Apollo Kynneios can be linked with Apollo on Temple Hill'.⁵⁴⁷ In addition to this, it is unlikely that it would have been made in the context of the god's worship at the suburban sanctuary, as it was not located in proximity to the gate.

If the epithet of Kynneios was indeed used in Apolline worship at Tenea, then it seems that it was only attested here. It does not seem to appear in any other known epigraphical

⁵⁴³ Giannakopoulos and Kissas 2013: 82; Korka and Lagos 2019: 351; Korka, Lefantzis and Corso 2020: 172; Korka *et al.* 2021: 60; Morgan *et al.* 2009 – 2010: 25; Smith 2013 – 2014: 59 – 60

⁵⁴⁴ Korka and Lagos 2019: 360

⁵⁴⁵ Paus. 2.5.4; Salmon 1984: 34

⁵⁴⁶ *JG* IV 363

⁵⁴⁷ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 410

sources across the ancient Greek world, nor is it cited by any ancient authors. Instead of a public context, Reichert-Südbeck proposes a private setting. Referring to the worship of Apollo Kynneios in Attica, where he was supposedly considered an eponymous god of the Kynnid family, she proposes the possibility in which a member of that family would have moved to Corinth and, subsequently, composed the dedication at the Teneatic Gate.⁵⁴⁸ This, however, is highly speculative. Another explanation for the placement of the inscription at the Teneatic Gate is that it would have occurred during a procession which might have taken place between Apollo's Corinthian agora sanctuary and a possible extra-urban sanctuary at the town of Tenea. However, even if it would have come to pass as such, nothing can be said of the nature and function of the cult title.

Apart from this inscription, the only other connotations that we have in regard to Apollo's Tenean cult come from ancient texts. The previously mentioned account of Strabo indicates the possible use of the epithet of Teneatos.⁵⁴⁹ The fact that this text was not written prior to the second half of the first century BC raises questions on the date of origin of Apollo's Tenean worship, its potentially associated epithet and related veneration during the Archaic period, none of which can be adequately answered based on the above texts. The lack of other sources also omits any progress from taking place.

Another implication comes from Pausanias and his remark about a Trojan provenance for Apolline cult in Tenea:

‘οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι φασιν οἱ ταύτη Τρῶες εἶναι, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐκ Τενέδου γενόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ἀγαμέμνονος δόντος οἰκῆσαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεῶν μάλιστα Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν.’

‘The inhabitants say that they are Trojans who were taken prisoners in Tenedos by the Greeks, and were permitted by Agamemnon to dwell in their present home. For this reason they honour Apollo more than any other god.’⁵⁵⁰

It is not unlikely that the Teneans in the time of Pausanias honestly believed themselves descended from the Trojans, for mythological provenances were commonly favourable. However, this would also place the origins of their Apollo cult in a Homeric past. According to the *Iliad*, the armed conflict between the Greeks and Trojans witnessed the god taking the side of the latter in its opening sequence.⁵⁵¹ Nevertheless, the characteristics of his Trojan worship are not discussed. Even if this would have happened, it is improbable that religious implementations from Troy would have remained unchanged over the course of roughly a

⁵⁴⁸ Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 186

⁵⁴⁹ Strab. 8.6.22

⁵⁵⁰ Paus. 2.5.4 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁵⁵¹ Hom. *Il.* 1.1 – 20

dozen centuries and a journey across the Aegean Sea that resulted in a new dwelling amongst the Greeks. Instead, it appears that the Teneans would have taken pride from such an ancient heritage that set them apart from the Corinthians, for as Strabo states the Teneans had revolted against the Corinthians, no longer accepting Corinthian control.⁵⁵² Mythical Troy would have lent itself very well for such a narrative. The perception that Apollo was highly regarded by the Trojans would likely have been adopted as part of that heritage. As this occurred during the Roman period, it represents neither Archaic nor Classical perspectives.

Dedications and worship elsewhere

Although there are no sources that indicate the use of the epithet 'Pythios' in Corinthian cult, the religious association of Corinth with Delphi implies that the Delphic Apollo did maintain a significant connotation to the city. This connection would have modestly started in the eighth century BC with individual dedications and become affiliated with the Corinthian state during the reign of Kypselos. As discussed in the chapter about Delphi, the tyrant was among the earliest rulers to dedicate a monumental structure to the sanctuary, although it must be said that the archaeological evidence for the building is limited to a small number of tiles referred to as Protocorinthian that are similar to those of the roughly contemporary roofs of the Early Temple on the agora and the temple of Isthmia, and a later inscription which reads part of Corinth's name.⁵⁵³ Referred to as the 'Corinthian treasury', the building's location would have been 'highly visible on a sort of natural crest in the landscape on the steep hillside, facing toward what scholars think was the earliest entryway into the sacred area' possibly served as an early marker of the sacred space.⁵⁵⁴ Tapping into Renfrew's concept of peer polity interaction, in which 'autonomous socio-political units' situated in each other's proximity engage in various levels of interaction such as 'imitation and emulation, competition, warfare, and the exchange of material goods and of information',⁵⁵⁵ the commencement of the Corinthian treasury appears to have been a deliberate action by Kypselos in order to firmly establish a relationship between the Corinthian state and the Delphic site. The most probable reason for the tyrant's action was Delphi's rapid increase in status, both across Greece and abroad. Establishing this monumental construction might have aggrandised Kypselos in the eyes of those who visited the sanctuary. As the treasury basically illustrated lavish wealth, other *poleis* could consider Corinth a proper match in terms of trading agreements or other sorts of treaties. Later in Antiquity it was apparently claimed that Apollo of Delphi was an indispensable component in Kypselos' rise to power. According to Herodotos, the god prophesied it to the tyrant's father:

ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει,
Κύψελος Ἡετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου

⁵⁵² Strab. 8.6.22

⁵⁵³ Partida 2000: 178; Scott 2014: 64; Cf. chapter Delphi: 40

⁵⁵⁴ De Libero 2001: 8; Scott 2014: 66

⁵⁵⁵ Renfrew 1986: 1

αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, παίδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες.'

'That man is fortunate who steps into my house,
Cypselus, son of Eetion, the king of noble Corinth,
He himself and his children, but not the sons of his sons.'⁵⁵⁶

Since the account of Herodotos was written roughly two centuries after the actual tyranny and, as previously explained, delivers his story of Kypselos in a structure that is often implemented in the case of folk tales,⁵⁵⁷ it can be assumed that its oracle likely did not originate during the seventh century BC but was instead a later creation; not an uncommon occurrence for Delphic prophecies recalling great events in ancient Greek history, as is evident in the foundation myths of, for example, Syracuse and Gela.⁵⁵⁸ If anything, the narrative given by Herodotos confirms the influence Kypselos had on the initiation of monumental dedication at Delphi and the subsequent relations between Corinth and the sanctuary, which echoed in the historical chronicles as retold in the fifth century BC. Had Kypselos not played this role in Delphi's earlier development, the oracle would likely have been focused on the person who would have fulfilled that position instead.

Apart from Kypselos' emphasised role at the sanctuary in the seventh century BC, Corinthians were already present at Delphi during the previous century. As also debated in the Delphi chapter, it is likely that they would have attended Apollo's cult place there, initially, in addition to their original purpose, since Delphi's convenient location provided a variety of opportunities, not in the least on the subject of commerce. Considering the number of entries of Protocorinthian pottery in *Fouilles de Delphes V*, sixty-eight in total,⁵⁵⁹ it is clear that these visits did not cease over the course of the next century. As the Amphictyony became the primary authority of the organisation of the Delphic sanctuary in the sixth century BC, the influence of Corinth on the site was diminished. Nonetheless, this does not seem to have averted the Corinthians from coming to Delphi. The aforementioned inscription of the city's name has been dated to the late Archaic period,⁵⁶⁰ supporting the continuation of Corinthian dedications. Furthermore, amidst many, the name of Corinth is included in the inscription of the Serpent Column, the dedication that was conjointly erected at Delphi by a congregation of various cities shortly after the Persian Wars.⁵⁶¹ However, while the archaeological record is supportive of Corinthian participation at the Apolline sanctuary in Delphi, there are no sources that suggest the implementation of Delphic Apolline worship in Corinth itself. The only connection between the two can possibly be found in the inclusion of the month Apellaios in the reconstruction of the Corinthian calendar. However, it must be said that the inclusion of the month does not necessarily indicate internal associations with Delphi. Instead, it seems to

⁵⁵⁶ Hdt. 5.92E.2 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920)

⁵⁵⁷ Buckley 2010: 49; Schmitz 2010: 29

⁵⁵⁸ Diod. 8.23; Strab. 6.2.4

⁵⁵⁹ Perdrizet 1908: 149 – 152

⁵⁶⁰ Scott 2014: 64

⁵⁶¹ Hdt. 9.81.1; Thuc. 1.132.2; Stephenson 2016: 10

have been a fairly common month. According to Trümpy, the month was of west Greek origins, dividing its inclusion between two primary areas: those considered Dorian, including overseas settlements located in Sicily and Asia Minor, and those in north-western Greece encompassing places such as Delphi. She concludes that Apellaios was attested in calendars of both Dorian and north-western Greek cities, as direct and indirect evidence signifies the month to have been observed in the calendars of Corinth, Megara, Argos, Epidauros, Chalcedon, Callatis, Olous, Syracuse, Taras, Morgantina, Delphi, Oeantheia, Tolophon, Tritea, and Chaleion.⁵⁶² Apellaios was the first month in the Delphic calendar and is known for the celebration of the the *apellai*. This was a festival that comprised an annual assembly of citizens which would also have included the initiation of new assembly members: the admittance of *ephebes*.⁵⁶³ Although the word *apellai* has often been regarded linguistically connected to Apollo's name, it has also been suggested to merely be an Archaic word for 'assembly'.⁵⁶⁴ While its incarnation as the Delphic festival is likely the most renowned, the oldest known text to refer to it is attested in the Great Rhetra of Sparta.⁵⁶⁵ As discussed in the section about the epithet of Karneios, there are no sources that directly refer to the calendar of Corinth. However, the likely observance of Apellaios in Corcyra and Syracuse, implied through the calendars of the Antikythera Mechanism and Tauromenion respectively, suggests the incorporation of the month in Corinth as well.⁵⁶⁶ While Apellaios occupied the beginning of the calendar of Delphi, it seems the month would rather have been the last in Corinth, Syracuse and Corcyra. There is a possibility that the Corinthians adapted the *apellai* from Delphi. If that was the case, it might have functioned as a celebration during which the citizen assembly might have gathered, and the youths would carry out activities related to their rites of passage. Nevertheless, without any concrete sources, this remains speculation and should be considered unlikely. As such, it seems that the Apollo of Delphi stayed in Delphi and was worshipped there by the Corinthians.

Conclusion

The earliest archaeological evidence that can be associated with Apolline worship in Corinth are two Archaic inscriptions carrying the god's name, one on a *pinax* that has been assigned to the agora sanctuary and another from the rim of a small *krater* discovered at the suburban site. There are no other known inscriptions from these cult places that mention the names of any other deities, with the exception of Asklepios at the suburban sanctuary, but only from the Classical period onward. While affirming a connection with Apollo, neither of the two inscriptions include any indications in regard to implemented epithets. A third inscription, found at the Teneatic Gate, does mention the epithet of Kynneios, the meaning of which is unclear. Its unknown date makes it difficult to determine during which period(s) this cult title

⁵⁶² Trümpy 1997: 120 – 122, 130, 136, 143, 149 – 150, 154, 158, 161, 163, 195, 198, 204, 212

⁵⁶³ Burkert 1975: 9, 11; Richer 2007: 239; Thomson 1943: 56; Trümpy 1997: 212

⁵⁶⁴ Beekes 2003: 12; Burkert 1975: 15

⁵⁶⁵ Burkert 1975: 9; Richer 2007: 238 – 239

⁵⁶⁶ Iversen 2017: 130, 132, 134; Trümpy 1997: 163 – 164, 212; Cf. above: 99 – 100

was in use. In addition to this, it is not even certain if it referred to Apolline worship at a specific Corinthian sanctuary. Its utilisation at either the agora or suburban sites is doubtful. Instead, it might have referred to the god's cult in Tenea. However, excavations at the town are still ongoing and have not yet unearthed any structures or objects related to Apollo. As such, his worship there is only attested in ancient texts, none of which focus on Archaic cult.

Both the agora and suburban sanctuaries have revealed Archaic material in the form of different kinds of ceramics and terracottas. However, the majority of these concern objects that have been found in a great many sacred sites that were dedicated to a variety of deities, and thus say nothing about Apolline cult *per se*. Of these, only a few seem to have possibly been related to the god's worship. In the setting of the agora sanctuary, a prize *aryballos* was found depicting an inscription, albeit without a direct Apolline reference, and a choral dance, which could be linked to ephebic initiation. An Apolline connection can be made through his close correlation with music and dance. Moreover, the scene on the *aryballos* might refer to the Karneia and its accompanying epithet of Karneios, which is attested for Apollo in various places, most famously in Sparta. Apart from the choral dance, the feasibility of the inclusion of the month Karneios in the Corinthian calendar and Xenophon's reference to the Corinthian gymnasium as that of Κρᾱνείῳ would also support the utilisation of the epithet in Corinthian worship. Apart from the inscribed *krater* rim, no piece of pottery from the suburban sanctuary attests to the worship of Apollo there. In regard to its terracottas, there are about twenty specimens of nude male figurines holding lyres and *phialai* that have been proposed to have functioned as dedications to the god. Furthermore, a terracotta centaur might have served a similar purpose, especially when contemplating the possibility of Apollo as a healing deity at the sanctuary, which can be supported by the site's later conversion to the Asklepieion, concurrent occupation of sacred sites by Apollo and Asklepios as is evident in Epidauros, Apollo's characterisation as a healing god in various ancient literary texts, a number of related epithets assigned to him across Greece, and the common performance of the *paian* in his honour.

Worship of Apollo by the Corinthians was not confined to their own city, for they also made their way to the Delphic sanctuary. Archaeological evidence from Delphi shows that Corinthians would have been there as early as the eighth century BC. Although the motivations of their early visits might initially have been set in a non-religious context, it is highly likely that they also frequented the Apolline cult site and paid their respects to its occupant; an act that would soon afterward be the primary reason of many Corinthian journeys there. The following century witnessed the first involvement of the Corinthian state at the sanctuary in the form of the constructions of Kypselos' treasury. This grand dedication likely served a dual function, namely that of an offering to Apollo and of an exhibit of Kypselos', and thus of Corinth's, status at the time. The latter also occurred in the Corinthia itself at the time, with the monumentalisation of both the Apolline agora sanctuary and Poseidon's Ishtmian site.

Overall, it is likely that Apolline Corinthian worship would have included the aspects of ephebic initiation and healing, the first of which would primarily have taken place at the

agora sanctuary while the latter occurred at the suburban site. Considerations on the celebration of the Karneia, the use of the epithet of Karneios, and its accompanying month, are reasonable, but cannot be certified. It is possible that veneration would also have been implemented in an extra-urban context at Tenea. Although current lack of archaeological research there does not allow more detailed suggestions, this will hopefully change in the near future when fieldwork expands. Additionally, the Apollo of Delphi also received Corinthian worship, be it on location instead of at a 'branched out' local site. Naturally, this does not exclude the probability of inclusions of other characterisations in Apollo's Corinthian cult. However, in light of available archaeological and textual evidence in this context, it does not seem viable to speculate further without a proper foundation for any claims being made.

7. The cult of Apollo in Syracuse

A brief history of Syracuse

In the past, Syracuse has been described as the first Greek settlement in Sicily. This title, however, belongs to Naxos, as Syracuse was established a few years later. Its founding is often placed around 730 BC, inaccuracies in ancient accounts should be considered. Therefore, it is more plausible to refer to the second half of the eighth century BC.⁵⁶⁷ The initial settlers have been identified as former inhabitants of the Corinthia,⁵⁶⁸ although there is little evidence to assume the endeavour was arranged by the Corinthian governing powers. As there was a variety of reasons for the ancient Greeks to venture overseas, the establishing of Syracuse likely resulted from motivations unrelated to the Corinthian ruling class. It has been argued that Greek settlement patterns of the eighth and seventh centuries BC were significantly different from that of later times, emphasising such early initiatives rather as 'private enterprises'.⁵⁶⁹ Such a decentralised approach also argues against the alleged role of the Delphic Oracle. As debated in the chapter about Delphi, while the oracle was commonly consulted for overseas settling in the sixth century BC, this was not yet the case two centuries prior.⁵⁷⁰ Nonetheless, Syracuse was provided with a founding myth that included a particularly important appearance of the oracle:

‘τὰς δὲ Συρακούσας Ἀρχίας μὲν ἔκτισεν ἐκ Κορίνθου πλεύσας περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους οἷς ὤκισθησαν ἢ τε Νάξος καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα. ἅμα δὲ Μύσκελλον τέ φασιν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν: χρηστηριαζομένων δ’ ἐρέσθαι τὸν θεόν, πότερον αἰροῦνται πλοῦτον ἢ ὑγίειαν: τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀρχίαν ἐλέσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, Μύσκελλον δὲ τὴν ὑγίειαν: τῷ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσας δοῦναι κτίζειν τῷ δὲ Κρότωνα.’

‘Syracuse was founded by Arkhias, who sailed from Corinth about the same time that Naxos and Megara were colonised. It is said that Arkhias went to Delphi at the same time as Myskellos, and when they were consulting the oracle, the god asked them whether they chose wealth or health; now Arkhias chose wealth, and Myskellos health; accordingly, the god granted to the former to found Syracuse, and to the latter Croton.’⁵⁷¹

This was the myth as described by Strabo. A similar account is given by Thukydides, based upon the works of Antiochos of Syracuse.⁵⁷² The earliest of these, however, date to the late

⁵⁶⁷ Champion 2010: 2; Evans 2016: 17

⁵⁶⁸ Champion 2010: 2; Evans 2009: 15; Evans 2016: 17

⁵⁶⁹ Osborne 1998: 267 – 268

⁵⁷⁰ Osborne 1998: 254 – 255; Cf. chapter Delphi: 36 – 39f

⁵⁷¹ Strab. 6.2.4 (translation by H.L. Jones, 1924)

⁵⁷² Thuc. 6.3.2

fifth century BC, roughly three hundred years after the city's establishment. Hence, the plausibility of their contents is highly debatable.

Upon their arrival, the first place to be inhabited by the Greeks in Syracuse was the island of Ortygia, originally not connected to the Sicilian mainland. Additionally, it also housed the city's first sanctuaries, including those of Apollo and Athena. Its limited space eventually forced the Syracusans across the small strait, where they founded Akradina, Tyche, and Neapolis.⁵⁷³

While little is known about Syracusan history prior to rise of the Deinomenid tyrants during the early fifth century BC, the details of the city's tyranny have been recorded by different ancient authors, including Herodotos, Thukydides, and Diodoros Sikeliotes. The latter also drew heavily on other sources such as the Sicilian historians Philistos and Timaios.⁵⁷⁴

First amongst the tyrants was Gelon, who was the former ruler of Gela.⁵⁷⁵ His reign was characterised by his efforts to make Syracuse the most powerful city in Sicily. This included the eradication of various other *poleis*, including Megara Hyblaia, and the forcible move of its aristocratic citizens to Syracuse.⁵⁷⁶ Additionally, he initiated large-scale building projects such as the strengthening of the city's fortifications and the extension of its docks. As a result, Syracuse became most prosperous among the Sicilian Greek *poleis*, surpassing Gela in the process. This was emphasised by the victory in the Battle of Himera, in which a coalition of Syracuse, Akragas and, likely, Gela defeated the Carthaginians.⁵⁷⁷ Gelon died eight years after taking command of Syracuse and was succeeded by his brother Hieron I. Even though he attempted to continue Gelon's unfinished work, he proved unpopular with the Syracusans, as he was deemed severely ignoble. His death, approximately ten years later, brought an end to the city's age of tyranny.⁵⁷⁸

Over the following decades Syracuse, now embarking on democracy, flourished as a naval power that resulted in a rivalry with Athens, since the latter perceived Syracuse's newfound maritime prosperity a threat to their own hegemony. In addition, the Athenians grew suspicious of possible aid that the Syracusans could provide the Peloponnesians during the Peloponnesian War. No such aid was given, perhaps in a bid to avoid conflict, since Syracuse remained largely indifferent throughout the war. Nonetheless, Athenian interference in Sicilian matters grew. In 433/ 432 BC they agreed to dispatch their fleet in order to assist the city of Leontini in its war against Syracuse. Simultaneously, they renewed their treaty with the Greek city of Rhegion on the southern coast of the Italian peninsula.⁵⁷⁹ The latter was to serve as the Athenian base for expeditions focusing on Sicily. Invasion, however, was avoided, for Athens

⁵⁷³ Evans 2009: 11 – 13, 20, 22 – 23; Evans 2016: 14; Tocco 1984: 6

⁵⁷⁴ Baron 2013: 176 – 178

⁵⁷⁵ Hdt. 7.155.1 – 2

⁵⁷⁶ Hdt. 7.156.1 – 3; Thuc. 6.4.2

⁵⁷⁷ Diod. 11.22.1 – 6, 13.87.2; Champion 2010: 34 – 35, 41 – 42; Dillon and Garland 2013: 284; Evans 2016: 22 – 25, 37; Guido 1958: 13 – 14

⁵⁷⁸ Diod. 11.66.4; Champion 2010: 46, 49; Evans 2016: 46, 54; Guido 1958: 14 – 15

⁵⁷⁹ Diod. 12.53.1, 12.54.1; Thuc. 3.86, 3.88; Dillon and Garland 2013: 442; Evans 2016: 93, 105

was constrained by the plague which resulted in the death of many soldiers and dwindling numbers of men able to perform military tasks.⁵⁸⁰ It was not prior to 427 BC that the Athenians were able to reorganise their forces, choosing Messina as their new base. Syracuse, in the meantime, did little to prepare itself for their return.⁵⁸¹ The next three years were characterised by Athenian participation in various campaigns across the island, notably against Syracusan allies.⁵⁸² Syracuse remained nevertheless unresponsive until the summer of 425 BC, when the Athenians ventured too close to its borders. A small fleet was sent to the Messinian harbour, while being reinforced by ships from allied Locri. The lack of Athenian forces culminated little resistance and the Messenians abandoned the alliance to join Syracuse.⁵⁸³ The latter continued to enhance its fleet even though no important battle would be fought. The Congress of Gela in 424 BC brought an end to the quarrels amongst the Sicilian Greek cities. Forsaken by its former allies, the Athenians departed from the island.⁵⁸⁴ Their absence did not last long. In the year 415 BC, they were at war with Syracuse.⁵⁸⁵ Unable to defeat the Athenian forces, the Syracusans requested help from Corinth and Sparta, a move that eventually resulted in their victory.⁵⁸⁶ However, hostilities had not yet ended, as the Carthaginians now commenced Sicilian conquest. Syracuse was spared the fate of destruction that was suffered by other Greek cities. A treaty was established by their commander Dionysios, whose deliberate usurpation of power preluded the fourth century BC with the rise of a new tyranny.⁵⁸⁷

The sanctuary at Ortygia

Geography and topography

Of the island of Ortygia not much is said by ancient authors apart from the occasional observation of its position across the strait from Syracuse, its two harbours, and its mythical connection with the nymph Arethusa.⁵⁸⁸ Referring to Ortygia as 'scion of renowned Syracuse',⁵⁸⁹ Pindar appears to refer its status as the oldest part of Syracuse, since it served as the original location of the Greek settlement.⁵⁹⁰

Besides common housing, the island was also home to various public sites, including the sanctuaries of Apollo, Zeus, Athena and Artemis (fig. 18).⁵⁹¹ While the date of origin of their worship at Ortygia is unknown, the fact that their cult places were located here means they were part of the first developmental wave implemented at Syracuse. Holloway emphasises this by stating that 'the establishment of the shrines of gods on the mainland

⁵⁸⁰ Thuc. 3.87.1 – 4; Dillon and Garland 2013: 454

⁵⁸¹ Evans 2016: 94

⁵⁸² Thuc. 3.88.1 – 4, 3.90.1 – 5, 3.115.1 – 6; Evans 2016: 96

⁵⁸³ Thuc. 4.1.1 – 4, 4.24.1 – 5

⁵⁸⁴ Diod. 12.54.7; Thuc. 4.58 – 4.65.4; Dillon and Garland 2013: 464; Evans 2016: 101, 106

⁵⁸⁵ Diod. 13.2.1; Thuc. 6.43; Champion 2010: 84; Dillon and Garland 2013: 472

⁵⁸⁶ Diod. 13.7.1, 13.11.5; Thuc. 6.1.1, 6.93.1 – 4, 7.2.1; Champion 2010: 49 – 50, 79, 91, 93, 119; Dillon and Garland 2013: 473; Evans 2016: 92, 114, 143 – 144; Guido 1958: 15 – 18

⁵⁸⁷ Diod. 13.92.1, 13.95.3; Champion 2010: 132, 167; Dillon and Garland 2013: 206; Evans 2016: 30

⁵⁸⁸ Diod. 16.9.2; Paus. 5.7.2 – 3; Strab. 6.2.4

⁵⁸⁹ Pind. *N.* 1.2 (translation by D. Arnson Svarlien, 1990)

⁵⁹⁰ Holloway 2004: 161

⁵⁹¹ Holloway 2004: 60; Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 213; Tocco 1984:16, 40

adjacent to Ortygia belongs to a second step in the development of the city'.⁵⁹² The Ortygian sanctuary of Apollo was situated in the proximity of the smaller harbour.

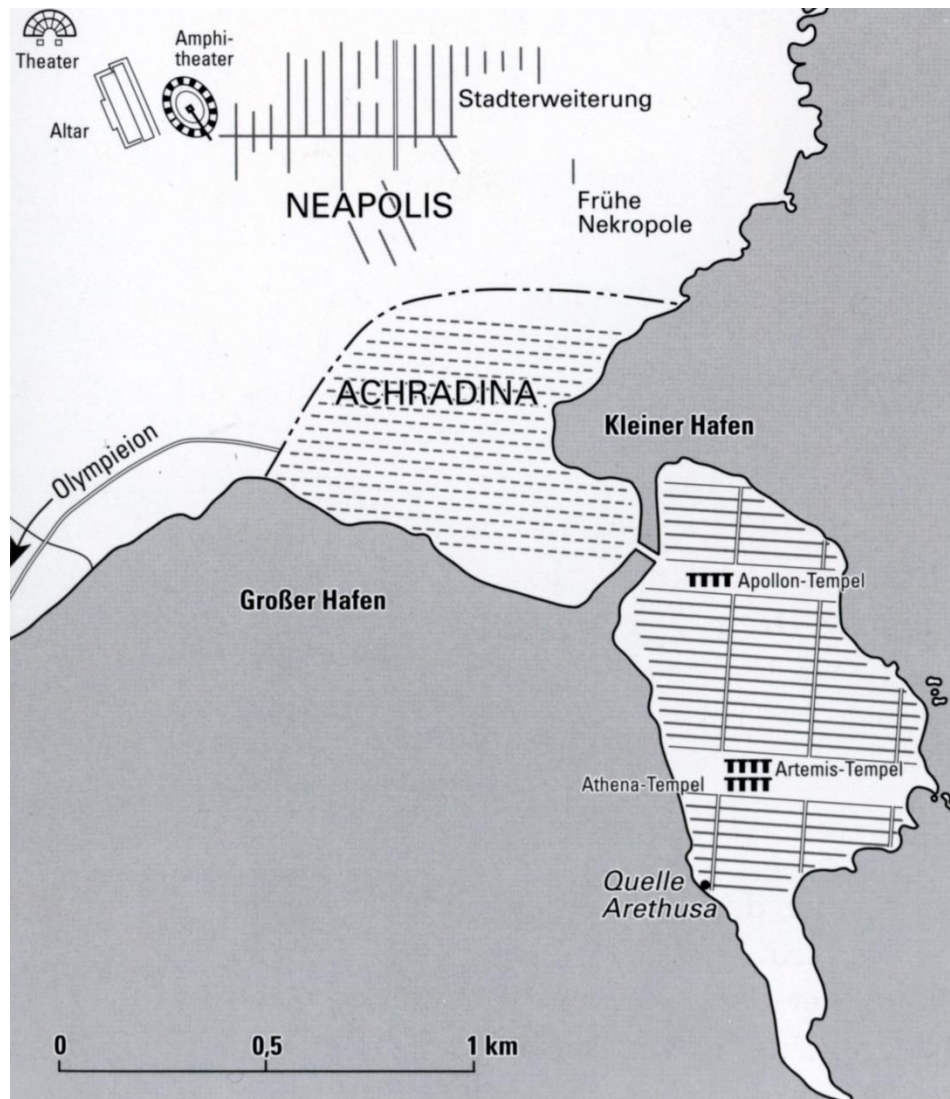


Figure 18 Map of Syracuse in the seventh century BC indicating the location of the Apolline sanctuary at Ortygia. (Borbein 1995: 197, lower image)

Archaeological fieldwork

The first architectural remnants at the Apolline sanctuary of Ortygia were revealed in 1862, when the building emerged after the destruction of the Spanish fort. Archaeological research, however, was not commenced until the twentieth century.⁵⁹³ Due to the dismantling of sixteenth-century Spanish barracks in 1933 or 1934, the southern wall of the *cella* was exposed. It was during this time that Orsi initiated research on this site, which he initially believed to have been one mentioned by Cicero. Eventually it was concluded that this was not the case and an inscription mentioning Apollo's name, which will be discussed further below,

⁵⁹² Holloway 2004: 60

⁵⁹³ Tocco 1984: 9; Zanotti-Bianco 1936: 216

was used to identify the temple.⁵⁹⁴ A lack of funds after Orsi's death in 1935 delayed archaeological research at the sanctuary, hence excavations commenced several years later in 1938. Within the same year, the excavators managed to unearth the east, north and west sides of a temple, revealing a part of the temple's ancient floor, a piece of a column, and various fragments of architectural terracottas.⁵⁹⁵ In addition to this, Zanotti-Bianco reports that the west side and the *opisthodomos* were 'destroyed by an enormous Spanish cistern'.⁵⁹⁶ The presence of seventeenth and eighteenth-century houses on site impeded the implementation of fieldwork, which eventually resumed after their demolition and continued until 1943. In 1939 another five columns, the stylobate, and roughly one third of the *cella* were discovered.⁵⁹⁷ The identification of the sanctuary was based on an inscription mentioning Apollo's name that is discussed further below.

Architectural structures

The sanctuary of Apollo was the first Syracusan sacred site to be monumentalised, outdating predating that of Olympian Zeus by several years. However, its date of construction is still debated. While some claim the construction of its temple at the end of the seventh century BC, others argue it did not come into existence until the early years of the following century. Considering this predicament, it can only be stated that the temple was erected between 620 and 580 BC.⁵⁹⁸

The building consisted of local stone, possibly originating from the quarry at Epipolai, and was built as a *peripteros* with *propteron* (fig. 19). Its monolithic columns, six along the front and back and seventeen down either side, stood 7.9 metres tall on a four-levelled *crepidoma*, with a double colonnade at the eastern façade. Provided with a stairway, the centre of the latter served as the main access to the building. Attempting to properly divide the structure's weight, the space between the columns was uncommonly narrow, while supporting a 'L-shaped' architrave composed of both stone and wood. Two narrow triglyphs, found in the temple's proximity, are argued to have crowned the architrave. The discovery of a terracotta Gorgon head gives an indication of the temple's decoration, as it supposedly served as an embellishment to one of the exterior metopes.⁵⁹⁹

The temple's *cella* was divided in a *pronaos*, which included two additional columns, a *naos* and an *adyton* (fig. 1), although the latter has sometimes been described as a possible treasury. It has been suggested that the *naos* housed two more colonnades, probably to support the roof, but no evidence has been found to confirm this theory.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁴ Tocco 1984: 7; Zanotti-Bianco 1936: 216

⁵⁹⁵ Zanotti-Bianco 1936: 216

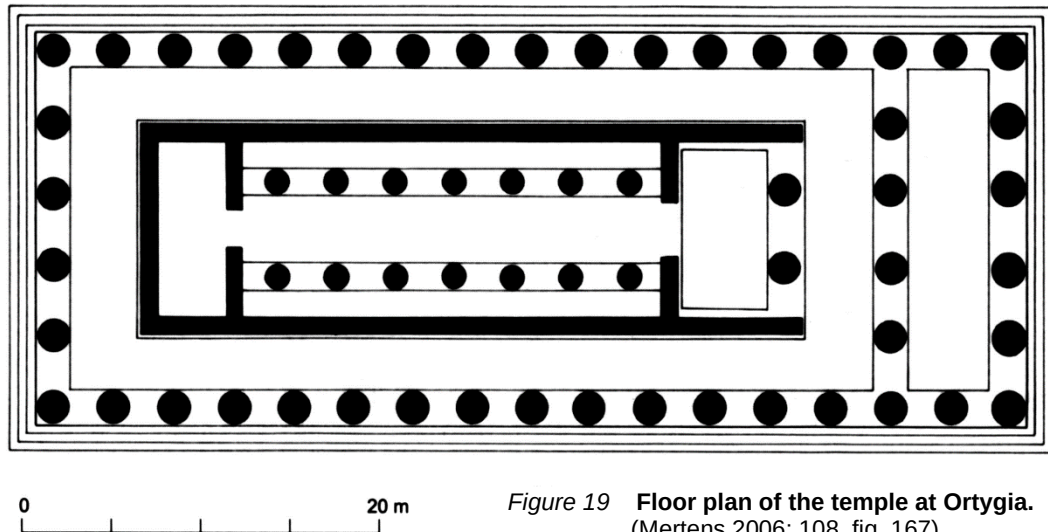
⁵⁹⁶ Zanotti-Bianco 1938: 247

⁵⁹⁷ Tocco 1984: 9; Zanotti-Bianco 1938: 247; Zanotti-Bianco 1939: 213

⁵⁹⁸ Dummett 2010: 161; Evans 2009: 48, 191; Evans 2016: 14, 19; Guido 1958: 43; Holloway 2004: 54, 60, 68; Tocco 1984: 2, 6; Umholtz 2002: 263

⁵⁹⁹ Evans 2009: 48; Guido 1958: 43 – 44; Guido 1967: 176 – 177; Holloway 2004: 68 – 69, 74; Mertens 2006: 105 – 107; Tocco 1984: 7

⁶⁰⁰ Evans 2009: 48; Guido 1958: 43; Holloway 2004: 68



Terracotta proved an important component in the construction of the roof, for the pediment was covered by tiles. The joints between these tiles, situated at the roof's edge, were provided with *sima* also consisting of terracotta; a common feature in Sicilian Greek architecture. This barrier was regularly interrupted by spouts for rainwater. However, the latter excluded the structure's two ends, for spouts were not deemed necessary on the raking *sima*. Additional terracotta covering was added to the *geison* supporting the edges of the roof. Furthermore, the terracotta roof revetments were ornamented with black-, red-, and cream-coloured decorations.⁶⁰¹ Holloway states that this 'system of terracotta revetments, the *sima* and the *geison* cover below it, was typically Sicilian' that 'marks a clear break with the mainland Greek type of antefixes'.⁶⁰²

Dedications and worship

An inscription dedicated to Apollo was engraved on the *crepidoma*'s top step (fig. 20), adjacent the stairway of the Ortygian temple. It is among the earliest known public inscriptions of the Sicilian Greeks, dating to the construction of the temple between 620 and 580 BC. The text has been interpreted in various ways, resulting in different translations.⁶⁰³ Holloway has provided the following:

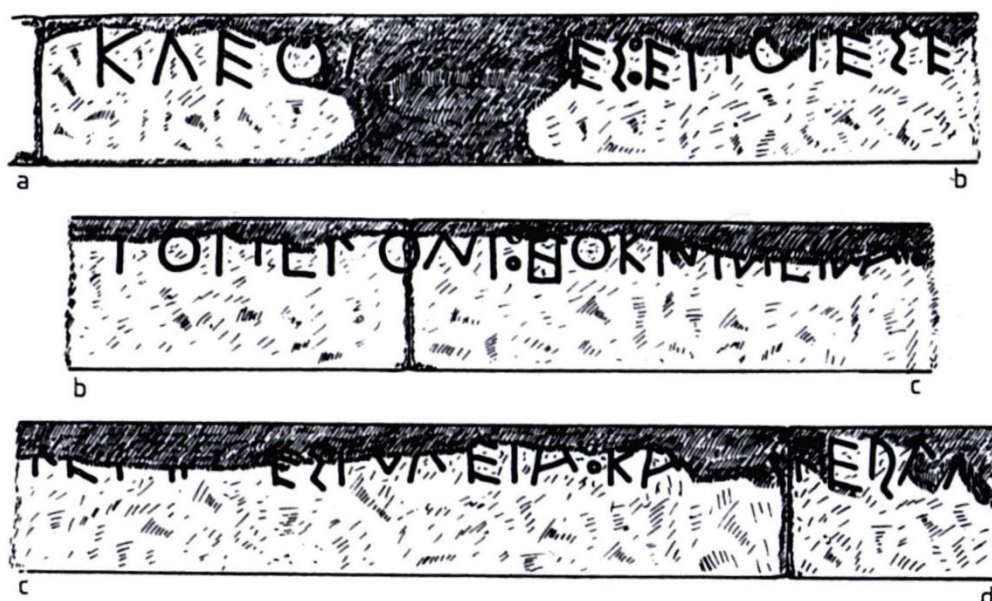
'Kleomenes the son of Knidieides made it for Apollo. And he included columns. They are fine works.'⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰¹ Holloway 2004: 69

⁶⁰² Holloway 2004: 69

⁶⁰³ Dummett 2010: 161; Evans 2009: 48 – 49; Guido 1958: 43; Holloway 2004: 73; Tocco 1984: 7; Umholtz 2002: 263

⁶⁰⁴ Holloway 2004: 73



Κλεομ[··]ῆς : ἐποίησε τὸ πέλωνι : ὁ Κνιδιεῖδα : κέπιχ[λ]ῆς <σ>τυλεῖα :
 Figure 20 Reconstruction of the inscription of the Ortygian temple. (Mertens 2006: 105, fig. 159) καλὰ φέργα.

Considering the role of Kleomenes, several options regarding his function have been suggested. Holloway, referring to the ‘most recent’ text and translation by Guarducci (as of 2004), argues that the inclusion of the verb meaning ‘to make’ (ἐποίησε) bears witness of an active role, perhaps that of an official who was to oversee the project; a suggestion which has been made more than once.⁶⁰⁵

Κλεομ[έν]ῆς : ἐποίησε τὸ πέλωνι : ὁ Κνιδιεῖδα :
 κῆτ[έ]λε[σ]ε τυλεῖα : κα[λ]ὰ Φέργα (or κᾶ[λ]α
 Φέργα)

Having constructed her own text, Sacco reaches the same conclusion, arguing that the verb ‘τελέω’ would refer to ‘executing’ the building programme’, thus supervising it.⁶⁰⁶

However, the verb ‘ἐποίησε’ has also been interpreted as Kleomenes being the possible architect of the temple. Referring to the original reconstruction and translation by Guarducci, see below, Umholtz states that it might concern either a direct or indirect involvement, referring to a financial contributor or an architect.⁶⁰⁷

Κλεομ[··]ῆς : ἐποίησε τὸ πέλωνι : ὁ Κνιδιεῖδα : κέπιχ[λ]ῆς

⁶⁰⁵ SEG 36:860; SEG 46:1281; Dunbabin 1948(1): 59; Holloway 2004: 73

⁶⁰⁶ SEG 46:1281; Sacco 1992 – 1993

⁶⁰⁷ Umholtz 2002: 264

<σ>τυλεῖα : καλὰ Ἔργα⁶⁰⁸

‘Kleom[. .]es, son of Knidieidas, made (the temple) for Apollo, and Epik[l]es (made) the columns, beautiful works.’⁶⁰⁹

Furthermore, it has been discussed whether the ‘ἐπικλη’ form refers to a second dedicator or serves as an adjective modification of ‘στυλεῖα’.⁶¹⁰ However, after re-examining the inscription, Guarducci concludes it contains only one name, in contrast to her earlier translation. Additionally, Engelmann also rejects the option of a second dedicator, stating that ‘κέπικλῆ’ is not ‘of the same order as Κλεομ[...],’ thus denying any plausibility of those two words referring to a similar occupation.⁶¹¹

Κλεο[. . .]ες: ἐποίησε τόπέλονι: ἡο Κνιδιε[ί]δα:

κέπικλῆ στυλεῖα: κα[λὰ] ῥέργα (or κᾶ[λα] ῥέργα)

‘Kleom[...] made the Apolline, the son of Knidiedas, also famous columns, beautiful achievements (or: both famous columns, as well as other works)’⁶¹²

Although translating only one name, Engelmann also finds the indirect implementation of a significant building project.⁶¹³

Kleomenes’ contribution was undoubtedly significant enough to deserve mentioning on the temple’s steps. This clear indication of participation serves more than merely a dedication to Apollo, as it also emphasises the efforts of Kleomenes in the construction of the sanctuary, hence emphasising his loyalty to the god, and, perhaps, as such to the city of Syracuse.

Although the inscription names Apollo, it excludes any possible epithet that might have been associated with the god at this sanctuary. The only indication for the possible use of cult title comes from one of only two attested months of the Syracusan calendar. As discussed in the chapter about Corinth, the calendar of Syracuse would have been either similar or identical to that of Tauromenion. This city became a settlement of Syracuse and, supported by various inscriptions, shared seven months with the Antikythera Mechanism.⁶¹⁴

⁶⁰⁸ Guarducci 1967: 343; Umholtz 2002: 264

⁶⁰⁹ Umholtz 2002: 264

⁶¹⁰ Umholtz 2002: 264

⁶¹¹ SEG 31:841; Engelmann 1981: 94; Holloway 2004: 73

⁶¹² SEG 31:841; Engelmann 1981: 94

⁶¹³ SEG 31:841

⁶¹⁴ IG XIV 423, 425 – 427, 429; Battistoni 2011: 182; Iversen 2017: 132, 141; Cf. case study Corinth: 99 – 100

Displaying financial transactions, these inscriptions are arranged by month.⁶¹⁵ Trümpy reconstructs the Tauromenion calendar as follows:

Εὐκλειος
Ἀρτεμίτ/σιος]
Διονύσιος
Ελλόκιος
Δαμάτριος
Πάναμος
Ἀπελλαῖος
Ἰτώνιος
Καρνεῖος
Λάνοτρος
Ἀπολλώνιος
Δυω/οδεκατεύς⁶¹⁶

The months of Ellokios, Artemisios, Panamos, Apellaios, and Duo/odekateus are also found in the calendar of the Corinthian settlement of Corcyra.⁶¹⁷ Returning to the previously made comment on the two months that appear in literary sources,⁶¹⁸ Karneios is one of them and has been mentioned by Plutarch:

ἑκκλησίας δὲ πανδήμου Συρακουσίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γενομένης, Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἔγραψε πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τὸν Νικίαν ἔλαβον, ἱερὰν ἔχειν, θύοντας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἔργων, Ἀσινάριαν τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλοῦντας· ἡμέρα δ' ἦν τετράς φθίνοντος τοῦ Καρνείου μηνός, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι Μεταγειτνῶνα προσαγορεύουσι·

‘At a general assembly of the Syracusans and their allies, Eurykles, the popular leader, brought in a motion, first, that the day on which they had taken Nicias be made a holy day, with sacrifices and abstention from labour, and that the festival be called Asinaria, from the river Asinaros (the day was the twenty-sixth of the month Karneios, which the Athenians call Metageitnion);’⁶¹⁹

The sacred day of which Plutarch speaks would seem a one-time event as a result of Syracuse’s victory in the sea battle against the Athenians during the Sicilian Expedition. As

⁶¹⁵ Trümpy 1997: 164

⁶¹⁶ Trümpy 1997: 165

⁶¹⁷ Iversen 2017: 161; Trümpy 1997: 158 – 159

⁶¹⁸ Trümpy 1997: 159

⁶¹⁹ Plut. *Nic.* 28.1 (translation by B. Perrin, 1916)

such, it cannot be related to the actual month of Karneios. Since there is no evidence in terms of dedications or inscriptions that can testify to the celebration of the Karneia or the worship of Apollo Karneios in Syracuse, the inclusion of the month Karneios is the only direct indication of a potentially related occurrence. Indirectly, there is a chance that the worship of Apollo Karneios came to Syracuse from Corinth. Again, referring to the chapter about Corinth, there are various suggestions in the form of ancient texts and a scene on an *aryballos* that would point in the direction of the implementation of Karneian worship at Corinth, even though there are no sources that specifically name the epithet. In the light of Syracuse being founded by Corinthians, there could have been overlap between Apolline worship in both cities. The attestation of the month of Karneios in Syracuse can be a result of this. When looking at a broader perspective, on the scale of the areas that are considered Dorian, the month of Karneios would have appeared in a number of calendars and the observance of the Karneia is attested in at least three of them. In this context, it is not implausible that some sort of celebration took place during this month in Syracuse. Unfortunately, this is all that can be proposed on the basis of the limited available source material.

While dedications from the Ortygian cult place remain absent, with the exception of the previously discussed inscription, this is likely the result of inadequate preservation and/ or documentation by the excavators of the fieldwork campaigns conducted in the 1930s and 1940s. Considering the wide-spread practice of worship prior to monumentalisation, it is reasonable to suggest a comparable situation for the Apolline sanctuary, not in the least due to the fact that its temple was built roughly a century after the foundation of Syracuse. The earliest settlers would also have had religious needs to fulfil, regardless of the availability of cult-related buildings on-site. Since Ortygia was the original landing place and, as such, the oldest part of the city, the island was deeply rooted in the Syracusan foundation. Presenting Apollo on these shores and providing him with the first monumentalised site was probably a statement on his perceived role in this venture. As discussed in the chapter on Apolline epithets, this perception was not unique to Syracuse.⁶²⁰ Thukydides speaks of Apollo Archegetes in Naxos, who supposedly received an altar on the beach that had witnessed the first landing of the Naxian settlers.⁶²¹ The epithet of Archegetes can be interpreted as founder, as is also clear from Pindar's use of the title in his account of the foundation of Cyrene.⁶²² Thukydides' description connects Apollo to the foundation of Naxos. In order for Naxos to be established, a journey across the sea was required, thus closely intertwining the acts of founding and seafaring. This was basically the case for all of the overseas Greek settlements. Likewise explained in the epithet chapter, seafaring was frequently associated with Apollo as well, as is clear from various ancient texts and cult titles which testify to this aspect of his. In an example from Greek mythology, this was a trait he was believed to have fulfilled for the

⁶²⁰ Cf. chapter Apolline epithets: 56 – 61

⁶²¹ Thuc. 6.3.1

⁶²² Pind. *P.* 5.60 – 63

Argonauts on their journey from and to Pagasai in Thessaly. From this, Mili concludes that 'the god would have watched over the comings and goings of all traders and travellers of Pagasai'. It is not unreasonable that this characteristic of Apollo also appeared in other parts of the Greek world. Although there are no sources that mention any related epithets in Syracuse, contemplating the placement of the Apolline sanctuary, it is not unlikely that the concept of Apollo being related to the city's foundation was part of his worship, which would also include the naval element. Placed at the location where the earliest settlers arrived and claimed the land as their own, it seems he was deemed to have watched over or even navigated this process. Afterwards, the god oversaw the departure of their descendants to Greece. He would safely guide them across the sea, as he had once done for their ancestors on their journey towards Sicily and a new life. From the earliest stages of the Syracusan settlement, seafaring had been indispensable for the establishment and continuation of their society. Associating Apollo with this aspect that was so crucial to Syracuse's existence would have essentially intertwined him with its preservation.

The extra-urban sanctuary at Neapolis

Geography and topography

The Apolline site in Neapolis was located on Temenite Hill, adjacent the theatre (fig. 18). S. Stucchi suggests that the included area was initially supposed to be larger, but was eventually limited due to the theatre's proximity.⁶²³ Polacco and Anti refer to the area in Archaic times as peripheral and scarcely inhabited compared to the rest of the city. Additionally, they mention the presence of other sacred sites, including those of Demeter and Kore, and the Muses.⁶²⁴ Since Thukydides speaks of the walls that the Syracusans built around it in a bid to ward off the Athenians during the latter's Sicilian Expedition,⁶²⁵ it seems that the sanctuary was situated on the outskirts of the city.

Archaeological fieldwork

Although the location of a small cult place dedicated to Apollo was known to be on Temenite Hill, excavation in the area did not occur until the early 1950s. During fieldwork at the Greek theatre, Stucchi claimed to recognise the sanctuary, based on the accounts of Thukydides and Cicero.⁶²⁶ As such, it was officially identified and excavated between 1952 and 1954, revealing remains of architectural structures.⁶²⁷

Architectural structures

Since the excavation remains largely unpublished,⁶²⁸ the only available information about its discoveries is available through a short preliminary report. The account notes various

⁶²³ Guido 1958: 72; Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 207; Stucchi 1954: 136

⁶²⁴ Polacco and Anti 1981: 160

⁶²⁵ Thuc. 6.75.1

⁶²⁶ Cic. Ver. 2.4.119; Thuc. 6.75.1

⁶²⁷ Guido 1958: 72; Stucchi 1954: 136

⁶²⁸ Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 206

altars, one of which dates to the seventh century BC. The others either originated during late Classical or Hellenistic times. Furthermore, mention is made of a *peribolos* wall.⁶²⁹

Dedications and worship

The epithet of Temenites is the only one to be directly associated with Apollo's worship in Syracuse. The name would have been derived from the god's sanctuary a Temenite hill. Since the excavations at the site did not reveal any dedications that make mention of the cult title, it only appears in ancient literature. The first author to refer to Temenites is Thukydides in his account of the fortification of Syracuse which occurred during the Sicilian Expedition:

‘έτειχίζον δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πρὸς τε τῇ πόλει, τὸν Τεμενίτην ἐντὸς ποιησάμενοι, τεῖχος παρὰ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς ὁρῶν, ὅπως μὴ δι’ ἐλάσσονος εὐαποτείχιστοι ᾖσιν, ἣν ἄρα σφάλλωνται, καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα φρούριον, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιεῖ ἄλλο: καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν προυσταύρωσαν πανταχῇ ἣ ἀποβάσεις ἦσαν.’

‘During the winter the Syracusans built a wall on to the city, so as to take in the statue of Apollo Temenites, all along the side looking towards Epipolai, to make the task of circumvallation longer and more difficult, in case of their being defeated, and also erected a fort at Megara and another in the Olympieion, and stuck palisades along the sea wherever there was a landing place.’⁶³⁰

Similar to the above translation of Crawley, the one by Jowett, dating to 1881, also provides the full name of ‘Apollo Temenites’. However, as can be seen in the Greek text, Thukydides merely mentions the epithet. The actual name ‘Apollo’ is missing. This is also the case in the two other paragraphs in which ‘Τεμενίτην’ appears.⁶³¹ Comparisons to other ancient Greek sources are impossible, for there are none. It is in Roman sources that the name and epithet are merged. Of Neapolis and Temenite hill, Cicero says the following:

‘quarta autem est quae, quia postrema coaedificata est, *Neapolis* nominatur; quam ad summam theatrum maximum, praeterea duo templa sunt egregia, Cereris unum, alterum Liberae, signumque Apollinis, qui Temenites vocatur, pulcherrimum et maximum; quod iste si portare potuisset, non dubitasset auferre.’

‘There is also a fourth city, which, because it is the last built, is called *Neapolis*, in the highest part of which there is a very large theatre, and, besides that there are two temples of great beauty, one of Ceres, the other of Libera, and a statue of Apollo, which is called Temenites,

⁶²⁹ Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 206; Stucchi 1954: 136 – 137

⁶³⁰ Thuc. 6.75.1 (translation by R. Crawley, 1910)

⁶³¹ Thuc. 6.100.2, 7.3.3

very beautiful and of colossal size; which, if he could have moved them, he would not have hesitated to carry off.⁶³²

Although the above text does confirm a connection between Apollo and 'Temenites', it only does so for a statue of the god that would have stood on the hill during the first century BC. Cicero remains silent about any possible cultic associations that the title may have carried in Syracusan Apolline veneration. Additionally, the only other Roman author who combines the two is Suetonius, but he solely mentions that emperor Tiberius had the statue moved to the Palatine.⁶³³

Overall, nothing can be concluded in regard to the epithet in the Archaic period due to a complete lack of sources from this time. Meanwhile, the Classical age is merely represented by Thucydides, who does not do as much as mention the name of Apollo in the accounts in which he comments on 'Τεμενίτην'. The conclusion that he did refer to Apollo in this context is the result of translations of his texts during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by scholars who might have referred to the later accounts of Cicero and Suetonius in order to reach their decision on Apollo's inclusion. In addition, the two Roman authors did not comment on the god's worship, but only cited the existence of a statue bearing the name of Apollo Temenites.

A variety of ceramics was retrieved from the site, the earliest of which originated during the late seventh century BC and consist of unspecified Protocorinthian ware and grey bucchero utensils. Other local pottery, again undefined, has been found in small deposits in proximity of the altars.⁶³⁴ Furthermore, a single statue was found. Made of local stone and standing on a marble base, it depicts an unidentified figure clad in a long chiton. No date of origin has been given.⁶³⁵ The excavations also unearthed a number of *stelai*, details of which have not been provided.⁶³⁶ The lack of available information on any possible inscriptions or painted scenes impedes the interpretation of these objects in the context of Apolline worship. As such, there are no implications that they would have served as dedications to the god.

Since the oldest altar at the sanctuary dates to the seventh century BC, it is likely that worship occurred at Temenite Hill during this period. The absence of evidence for such early inhabitation of the area dismisses an original introduction as a central local cult place. Hence, there is a possibility that the site functioned as an extra-urban cult place in combination with the urban sanctuary at Ortygia. Religious communication between them possibly transpired in the form of combined rituals, for example processions that would run from Ortygia to Neapolis. While there is no physical evidence for the relationship between the two sanctuaries, the

⁶³² Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.119 (translation by C.D. Yonge, 1903)

⁶³³ Suet. *Tib.* 74

⁶³⁴ Stucchi 1954: 136 – 137

⁶³⁵ Stucchi 1954: 137

⁶³⁶ Stucchi 1954: 136

general pattern has been observed throughout ancient Greece. For instance, in the Athenian worship of Demeter the Eleusinion on the northwest slope of the acropolis functioned as the urban sanctuary while Eleusis served as the extra-urban site. Both appear to have been inherently linked with each other, not in the least since the Eleusinion was used as temporary storage of the Eleusinian *hiera* and as a landmark for the procession to the sanctuary.⁶³⁷ However, the supposed status of extra-urban sanctuary might also have served a different function. Instead of being connected in worship to Ortygia, the site could have been founded to mark the frontier between what Syracuse deemed its territory and unaffiliated lands beyond the city's border. This was not an uncommon occurrence.⁶³⁸ Pedley provides the example of the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia:

'This was Corinth's most important extra-urban sanctuary, strategically posted at a major crossroads of the Greek world. It marked one edge of Corinth's territory; moreover, it linked maritime and land space, and the territory around the isthmus with the urban centre. It was a favoured and convenient place for gatherings, whether for competition of various sorts or for commerce or politics.'⁶³⁹

While the region surrounding Syracuse was arguably not as densely populated as the Peloponnese, it is not unlikely that the settlers wanted to establish the boundaries of their city once they crossed the strait between Ortygia and the Sicilian mainland. The establishment of the Apolline cult place at Neapolis was perhaps a result of such operation. Nevertheless, without any concrete sources both discussed options remain speculation.

Dedications and worship elsewhere

There is no evidence that directly addresses the inclusion of the epithet of Pythios in Syracusan worship. It is unlikely that Pythian veneration was implemented in the Archaic period. Apart from the deficiency of epigraphical sources, it is also unlikely that the original settlers would have introduced the epithet or its corresponding veneration since Corinth did not have any official relations with Delphi at the time of the foundation of Syracuse and the Delphic sanctuary itself had not yet become particularly significant to non-Delphians. Although individual Corinthians did make their way to Delphi by this time, if they joined on the settling venture their possible influence on the establishment of cultic perceptions in Syracuse was likely limited. Connections between Delphi and Syracuse were only initiated during the early Classical period, when the Deinomenid tyrant Gelon dedicated a golden tripod at the sanctuary in commemoration of his victory at the Battle of Himera in 480 BC.⁶⁴⁰ At present,

⁶³⁷ Bowden 2010: 34; Goette 2001: 87; Hurwit 1999: 106; Miles 1998: 22, 85; Sourvinou-Inwood 1997: 145 – 146; Cf. chapter Greek sanctuary development: 22

⁶³⁸ De Polignac 1995: 34, 36; Larson 2007: 9; Pedley 2005: 47

⁶³⁹ Pedley 2005: 48 – 49

⁶⁴⁰ Diod. 11.26.7; De Angelis 2016: 186

two stone bases remain along the Sacred Way (fig. 21), one of which bears the following inscription:

φαμί Γέλων', Ἰέρωνα, Πολύζαλον, Θρασύβουλον, παῖδας Δεινομένεος, τοὺς τρίποδας
θέμεναι ἐξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πενήκοντα ταλάντων Δαμαρετίου χρυσοῦ, τᾶς δεκάτας
δεκάταν, βάρβαρα νικάσαντας ἔθνη· πολλὰν δὲ παρασχεῖν σύμμαχον Ἑλλασιν χεῖρ' ἐς
ἐλευθερίαν.

'I say that Gelon, Hieron, Polyzalos, and Thrasybolos, sons of Deinomenes, dedicated these tripods out of fifty talents and a hundred litres of the gold of Damarete, being a tithe of the tithe of the booty they had of their victory over the Barbarian nations when they gave a great army to fight beside the Greeks for freedom.⁶⁴¹

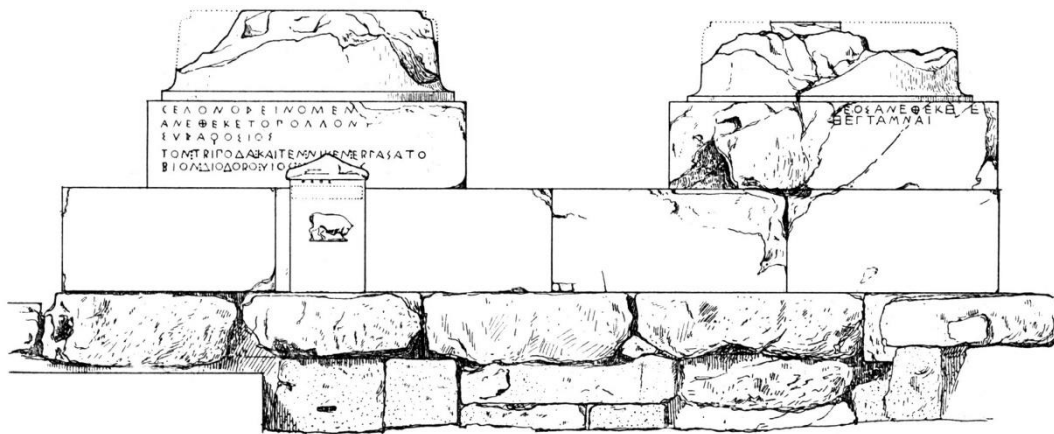


Figure 21 **Reconstruction of the stone bases of the Deinomenid dedication at Delphi.**
(after Pouilloux 1960: 251, fig. 197)

The inscription refers to the victory of the Sicilian Greeks over the Carthaginians at Himera. As discussed in the chapter about Delphi,⁶⁴² one of the reasons as to why the sanctuary proved popular for victory commemorations after the defeat of the Persians was the fact that it provided the perfect platform for self-representation as it was frequented by both Greeks and non-Greeks, thus basically sending messages across the Mediterranean. This concept of self-representation was not unfamiliar to Greek tyrants, including Gelon. The latter's Delphic activity is adequately summarised by Scott:

'Gelon (the tyrant of Gela and now Syracuse in Sicily, who had refused to help the Greeks during the Persian invasion) now sought not only to establish a permanent marker of his power at Delphi, but to put his own military victories against the enemies of the Greek world to the west (especially the Carthaginians) on a par with the great victories against the Persians to

⁶⁴¹ Scholia to Pind. *P.* 1.152 (translation by Edmonds, 1924)

⁶⁴² Cf. chapter Delphi: 50 – 53

the east. Where better to do this than at the sanctuary where the Persian Wars had been so insistently commemorated? On the temple terrace, near the Salamis and Plataian monuments, Gelon erected a tall column and tripod monument. The likeness of its style to that of the Plataian Serpent Column was supposed to underscore the similar magnitude and importance of Gelon's victory (and no doubt cover his own refusal to contribute to the fight against the Persians).⁶⁴³

While Gelon's dedications would have served as offerings to Apollo, this was probably only the case because Delphi's sanctuary belonged to the god. If the site would have been occupied by a different deity but with the same Panhellenic status, it is not unlikely that the tyrant would have dedicated to that deity instead. As such, it is reasonable to suggest that Gelon's activity in Delphi did not necessarily influence Syracusan Apolline worship, for his presence at the site was an act of self-representation above all else.

However, this is not to say that the Delphic Apollo was merely relevant to Syracusan tyrants. As also discussed in the Delphi chapter, the founding myth of Syracuse included a reference to the Delphic Oracle. As it was still cited in the time of Strabo,⁶⁴⁴ it seems that it outlived the era of Syracusan tyrants and might have been deemed true by the city's inhabitants as well. Furthermore, Pausanias speaks of a treasury in Delphi dedicated by the Syracusans 'from the spoils taken in the great Athenian disaster'.⁶⁴⁵ The disaster of which he speaks would be the previously mentioned Sicilian Expedition that occurred in the last quarter of the fifth century BC, which ended in Athenian defeat by a coalition of Syracusan, Corinthian and Spartan forces.⁶⁴⁶ The period during which this occurred would have been one of democracy, thus omitting any influences of a tyrant who decided this would be another good opportunity to aggrandise himself at Delphi. Instead, the construction of the treasury seems to have been implemented by the city rather than a single person claiming to represent it. In Syracuse itself, the only indication of a possible connection with Delphi in terms of cult would be the suggestion that the calendars of Tauromenion and Syracuse were similar or identical since the former incorporated the month of Apellaios. However, it is also probable that if the month was included in the Syracusan calendar it was merely a remnant of its link to Corinth instead of referring to any relation with Delphi. As formerly stated, only two months are indeed attested for Syracuse: Karneios and Apollonios. The latter, Trümper notes, is rather typical for the Thessalian and Lesbian-Asian Minor – Aeolian calendars. She argues that, in this form, the month would not have been attested in Corinth, but would have replaced an older, Corinthian name.⁶⁴⁷ When summarising the attested months of cities related to Corinth, she tentatively places Apollonios in the column of the month of Apellaios.⁶⁴⁸ The issue with this

⁶⁴³ Scott 2014: 122 – 123

⁶⁴⁴ Strab. 6.2.4

⁶⁴⁵ Paus. 10.11.5 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁶⁴⁶ Diod. 13.7.1, 13.11.5; Thuc. 6.1.1, 6.93.1 – 4, 7.2.1; Champion 2010: 49 – 50, 79, 91, 93, 119; Dillon and Garland 2013: 473; Evans 2016: 92, 114, 143 – 144; Guido 1958: 15 – 18

⁶⁴⁷ Trümper 1997: 161 – 162

⁶⁴⁸ Trümper 1997: 161

comparison is that Apollonios in the Thessalian calendar did not occupy the same spot as Apellaios on the one from Corinth, for, according to Trümpy's theory, Apollonios was either the fifth or the sixth month of the former while Apellaios was the last of the latter.⁶⁴⁹ No specific place has been argued for the month in the case of Lesbian – Asian Minor – Aeolian calendars. If Syracusan Apollonios would have indeed corresponded to the proposed Corinthian Apellaios, it is possible that the Syracusans might have celebrated an Apolline event during this time. However, considering Trümpy's reconstruction of the Tauromenian calendar, it seems that the month of Apollonios would have been unrelated to the Corinthian Apellaios. The reason for this is the presence of both Apollonios and Apellaios in Tauromenion, possibly demonstrating a comparable situation in Syracuse.⁶⁵⁰ Whether any festivals or other celebrations occurred in Tauromenion during this month is unknown. Overall, it remains unclear whether Syracusan Apollonios corresponds to the eponymous month in Tauromenion or Apellaios in Corinth. Hence, nothing can be said of the characteristics of this part of the Syracusan calendar or any possible connection to Delphi. Principally, it appears that any worship of the Delphic Apollo by Syracusans occurred in Delphi, for there is no evidence that would suggest any such practices in Syracuse itself.

An epithet that has been proposed for Syracusan Apolline worship is that of Daphnites. It is mentioned by Hesychios of Alexandria, albeit briefly and undetailed: Δαφνίτης. Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Συραχουσίοις.⁶⁵¹ According to Reichert-Südbeck, this would concern an unknown form of Daphnephoros, the implementation of which, she claims, occurred in Corinthian Apolline veneration. In addition, she indicates the age of the Syracusan cult of 'Apollo Daphnites' to be 'very old', based on the 'theophore Eigenname' Daphnaios that would have belonged to a Syracusan general who lived in the fifth century BC.⁶⁵² The lack of other sources, however, prevents us from saying anything more about the epithet.

Conclusion

The earliest archaeological evidence that can be directly referring to Apolline worship in Syracuse is Kleomenes' inscription on the top step of the Ortygian temple's *crepidoma*. Associated with the building's construction, the inscription can be dated between 620 and 580 BC, giving it an Archaic provenance. Apart from being the earliest, it is also the only archaeological source from Syracuse that specifically refers to Apollo. The site at Neapolis was likely identified through the accounts of Thukydides and Cicero. If Stucchi would have found something as definitive as an inscription, it would have been published. In addition to this, neither cult place revealed any other inscriptions referring to other deities.

⁶⁴⁹ Trümpy 1997: 163, 216

⁶⁵⁰ Trümpy 1997: 165

⁶⁵¹ Hesych s.v. Δαφνίτης

⁶⁵² Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 205

The temple on which the inscription was found has been excavated and identified as a *peripteros* with various unconventional architectural features when compared to contemporary temples in the Greek homeland. It is not unlikely that a variety of objects was found during the excavations of the Ortygian site. However, the fact that none of it was published leaves us completely in the dark on this subject. As such, the only available indications on the character of Apollo at this sanctuary come from the site's location and one of the attested calendar months. The location near one of the harbours could suggest a connection between Apollo and the founding of Syracuse, for it was seafaring that enabled the earliest settlers to venture to Sicily and found a new city. The aspect of seafaring would have remained part of his repertoire, providing guidance and protection to those who sailed away from Syracuse and those who returned to it. This might have occurred in similar fashion to that in Naxos, albeit without the inclusion of the epithet of Archegetes. In terms of the Syracusan calendar, it is the month of Karneios that implies a possible observance of the cult of Apollo Karneios. Of the epithet in Syracusan context, however, nothing is cited in either inscriptions or ancient accounts. Whereas in Corinth one can theorise on the basis of a scene on an *aryballos* and a few literary texts, none of this is available for Syracuse. As such, the proposition for the implementation of the Karneia rests on thin ice, the only available references coming from other Dorian cities and probably Corinth.

For the sanctuary at Neapolis, the epithet of Temenites is given for Apollo, the earliest of which dates to the fifth century BC while the other ones are of Roman provenance. None of them reveals anything about cult characteristics. Although architectural structures are insufficient, the presence of an altar dating to the seventh century BC suggests early Archaic worship. In contrast to the Ortygian site, some material unearthed during the excavations of Temenite Hill is known. Nonetheless, its lack of detailed information omits it from identification as Apolline dedications. The location of the sanctuary in combination with its early initiation proposes its use as an extra-urban cult place, whether in direct connection to the one in Ortygia or as an outer marker of Syracuse's territory.

Apollo was also worshipped by the Syracusans outside the city. Apart from the lavish dedications granted to Delphi by the likes of the tyrants in an act of self-representation, the city itself also appears to have been involved, for Pausanias speaks of a Syracusan treasury that would have been built after their victory over the Athenians which occurred in the post-tyrant age. Archaeological evidence for this building, however, is absent.

Overall, it is reasonable to suggest that Apolline Syracusan worship would have included the combined aspects of seafaring and founding, which, based on its location, would primarily have been focussed on the Ortygian sanctuary. Considerations on the celebration of the Karneia and the use of the epithet of Karneios are possible on the basis of the inclusion of the month Karneios in the Syracusan calendar, but difficult to determine due to the lack of any sources on the subject in Syracusan context. Of Apolline worship at Temenite Hill even less is certain. Apart from seventh-century usage, the only connotation is its function as an extra-urban sanctuary. Furthermore, the Apollo of Delphi also received Syracusan veneration,

but this would have been limited to the Delphic sanctuary. While the inclusions of other Apolline characteristics in Syracusan cult are likely, as a result of inadequate archaeological and textual evidence they cannot be demonstrated.

8. The cult of Apollo in Megara

A brief history of Megara

A lack of archaeological evidence makes it difficult to describe Megara's early history. The Megarid was occupied during the Mycenaean period, yet its circumstances remain unknown.⁶⁵³ Meanwhile its situation during the Geometric period remains uncertain, although Plutarch states the area originally consisted of villages, dividing its inhabitants into Heraenians, Piraenians, Megarians, Kynosorians, and Tripodiskaians.⁶⁵⁴ The internal organisation of these villages, referred to as *komai*, is uncertain, yet scholars generally agree that synoikism must have taken place no later than the mid-eighth century BC, resulting in the *polis* of Megara.⁶⁵⁵ One proposed reason for this occurrence is the growing hostility Corinth displayed towards the Megarid.⁶⁵⁶ Megara, located on the eastern Isthmus, possibly provided a safe haven for inhabitants of the threatened villages in the west.⁶⁵⁷ While the *polis*' organisation in the eighth century BC remains vague, it has been suggested a tribal system was implemented.⁶⁵⁸ This was not uncommon in the region, as Corinth supposedly used a comparable arrangement which would have started during the regime of the Bakkhiadai.⁶⁵⁹ The mid-eighth century BC witnessed the founding of Megara Hyblaia in Sicily,⁶⁶⁰ the first Megarian settlement overseas, which Thukydides describes as follows:

‘κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Λάμις ἐκ Μεγάρων ἀποικίαν ἄγων ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὑπὲρ Παντακίου τε ποταμοῦ Τρώτιλόν τι ὄνομα χωρίον οἰκίσας, καὶ ὕστερον αὐτόθεν τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν ἐς Λεοντίνοις ὀλίγον χρόνον συμπολιτεύσας καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἐκπεσὼν καὶ Θάψον οἰκίσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποθνήσκει, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῆς Θάψου ἀναστάντες Ὑβλωνος βασιλέως Σικελοῦ προδόντος τὴν χώραν καὶ καθηγησαμένου Μεγαρέας ὤκισαν τοὺς Ὑβλαίους κληθέντας.’

‘About the same time Lamis arrived in Sicily with a colony from Megara, and after founding a place called Trotilus beyond the river Pantacyas, and afterwards leaving it and for a short while joining the Chalcidians at Leontini, was driven out by them and founded Thapsus. After his death his companions were driven out of Thapsus, and founded a place called the Hyblaeon Megara; Hyblon, a Sicel king, having given up the place and inviting them thither.’⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵³ Forsdyke 2005: 49; Legon 1981: 43

⁶⁵⁴ Plut. *Quaes. Gr.* 17

⁶⁵⁵ Danner 1997: 144; Legon 1981: 47, 54; Rigsby 1987: 99

⁶⁵⁶ Plut. *Quaes. Gr.* 17; Forsdyke 2005: 50

⁶⁵⁷ Forsdyke 2005: 50

⁶⁵⁸ Forsdyke 2005: 50; Legon 1981: 57

⁶⁵⁹ Jones 1980: 188; Salmon 1984: 207 – 208

⁶⁶⁰ Strab. 6.2.2; Thuc. 6.4.1; Goette 2001: 307; Herda 2016: 29; Legon 1981: 71

⁶⁶¹ Thuc. 6.4.1 (translation by R. Crawley, 1910)

While according to Thukydides, Megara Hyblaia was established shortly after Syracuse, Strabo states the event took place in the same year as the foundation of Naxos.⁶⁶² This results in the same issue explained in the chapter on Apollo's Syracusan cult: the fact that the earliest of these accounts were dated roughly three centuries after the foundation of Megara Hyblaia means inaccuracies are inevitable. As such, again similar to Syracuse, the origins of Megara Hyblaia can merely be dated to the second half of the eighth century BC. Although this was the first overseas settlement, it is unlikely to have been organised by the Megarian state. As described above, it was only during roughly the mid-eighth century BC that synoikism occurred in the Megarid. Hence, the foundation of Megara Hyblaia would seem too early a task for the young Megarian *polis*. The fact that Megara Hyblaia appears to have been built according to a preorganised plan speaks for the abilities of its settlers rather than those of its founding city.⁶⁶³ Additionally, this fits the settlement pattern of the eighth century BC, for most overseas foundations taking place during this period regarded private endeavours.⁶⁶⁴ While other Megarian settlements followed, none of these were located in the western Mediterranean. A border conflict with Corinth occurred around the same time. This led to the loss of the Megarid's western areas, likely eliminating Megara's opportunity to develop into one of Greece's more powerful *poleis*.⁶⁶⁵ Nonetheless, Megara's progress in overseas settling did not seem to decline, for the settlements of Chalcedon and Byzantion, among others, were founded during the first half of the seventh century BC.⁶⁶⁶ The middle of the century saw a change in Megara's political climate, when the oligarchy was disposed and Theagenes became tyrant.⁶⁶⁷ Although various ancient literary sources make mention of Theagenes, most information about his rule is acquired from the account of Aristotle, but since it dates roughly three centuries after the tyranny, its accuracy is highly debatable. There is a possibility Theagenes attempted to implement a building programme of some sort, as Pausanias mentions a fountain house 'noteworthy for its size, beauty and the number of its pillars' and an aqueduct which were supposedly commenced by him.⁶⁶⁸ Improving a city's water system was a common activity carried out by Greek tyrants, as this show of goodwill towards the general population would increase their reputation among them. For example, Peisistratos of Athens has been credited with the construction of an aqueduct and various fountain houses.⁶⁶⁹ However, the so-called fountain house of Theagenes that Pausanias refers to dates from the early fifth century BC, making its construction during the Megarian tyranny impossible.⁶⁷⁰ One of the reasons archaeological evidence of his reign is scarce might be its rather short duration. In contrast to the tyrants of Corinth and Athens, Theagenes was not succeeded by a family

⁶⁶² Strab. 6.2.2; Thuc. 6.3.3 – 4.1

⁶⁶³ Malkin 1987: 183; Osborne 1998: 261

⁶⁶⁴ Osborne 1998: 268; Cf. chapter Delphi: 37

⁶⁶⁵ Legon 1981: 70, 77

⁶⁶⁶ Hdt. 4.144.1 – 3; Goette 2001: 307; Herda 2016: 34; Legon 1981: 78

⁶⁶⁷ Aristot. *Pol.* 5.1305a25; Paus. 1.28.1, 1.43.3; Thuc. 1.126.3; Legon 1981: 93; Oost 1973: 186, 188

⁶⁶⁸ Paus. 1.40.1, 1.41.2 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918); Goette 2001: 309; Legon 1981: 97; Oost 1973: 188

⁶⁶⁹ Boersma 2000: 56; Pomeroy *et al.* 2012: 201

⁶⁷⁰ Avgerinou 2015: 457; Rogge 2005: 39

member. Instead, the tyranny came to an end in the early last quarter of the seventh century BC.⁶⁷¹ Megara possibly enjoyed a short time of democracy after the fall of the tyranny, although an oligarchy was established shortly after.⁶⁷²

The sixth century BC witnessed various Megarian naval activities. In the Saronic Gulf, the city engaged in an unsuccessful conflict with Athens over the island of Salamis, while farther from home, during roughly the late second quarter of the century, Megarians founded the settlement of Herakleia Pontika on the Black Sea's southern coast.⁶⁷³ The loss of Salamis did not ease the tensions with Athens. The latter's friendly relationship with Corinth during this period likely served as the primary reason for Megara to join Sparta in the Peloponnesian League.⁶⁷⁴ Another border conflict, however, was not avoided, for which Megara must have claimed victory since the Megarian Treasury in Delphi, built either during the late sixth or early fifth century BC, was financed with spoils of war.⁶⁷⁵

Not greatly affected by the Persian Wars, Megara winded up as a buffer between the rising hostilities of Athens and Sparta. When the latter was occupied in its homeland by a helot revolt, Corinth took the opportunity to revive the border conflict.⁶⁷⁶ As a result, the Megarians withdrew from the Peloponnesian League, joining the Delian League instead.⁶⁷⁷ During the First Peloponnesian War the city and its surrounding area often functioned as the stage for clashes between the Athenians and their Peloponnesian opponents. Although Megara played an exceedingly significant role for the Athenian naval activities in the Saronic Gulf, its inhabitants appear to have been unsatisfied with their treatment. Hence, they opened their city to the Peloponnesian armies and revolted against the Delian League.⁶⁷⁸ As a result, the Thirty Years Peace witnessed the return of Megara to the Peloponnesian League.⁶⁷⁹ Tensions between the Athenians and the Megarians would rise once more, for the former implemented the 'Megarian decree' in 432 BC, which prohibited the latter the use of the harbours and markets of the Athenian empire.⁶⁸⁰ This gravely damaged Megarian trade, since most of its settlements were part of the Delian League.⁶⁸¹ Additionally, the Athenians started invading the Megarid. Efforts by the Peloponnesians to end the invasion failed and, no longer able to import grain, the Megarians were starving by 429 BC.⁶⁸² The additional tightening of the blockade by the Athenians resulted in revolution in 427 BC, which saw the oligarchy replaced by democracy.⁶⁸³ This merely lasted for three years, after which the oligarchy was reinstated.⁶⁸⁴ Generally, the city's position on the stage of the Peloponnesian War did not change for the

⁶⁷¹ Legon 1981: 102; Oost 1973: 191

⁶⁷² Legon 1981: 134, 136; Oost 1973: 193

⁶⁷³ Paus. 5.26.7; Plut. *Sol.* 8; Legon 1981: 137

⁶⁷⁴ Legon 1981: 141; Salmon 1984: 251

⁶⁷⁵ Legon 1981: 144; Scott 2010: 70

⁶⁷⁶ Legon 1981: 182

⁶⁷⁷ Salmon 1984: 260; Tritle 2010: 12

⁶⁷⁸ Thuc. 1.114.1

⁶⁷⁹ Diod. 12.67.1

⁶⁸⁰ Thuc. 1.139.1

⁶⁸¹ MacDonald 1983: 410

⁶⁸² Aristoph. *Ach.* 496; Thuc. 2.93.1 – 4; Legon 1981: 233

⁶⁸³ Thuc. 4.68.1 – 6; Legon 1981: 236

⁶⁸⁴ Thuc. 4.74.3; Legon 1981: 236

better and the Megarians continued to struggle throughout its remaining years while still being caught up between Sparta and Athens. By the end of the fifth century BC, Megara had lost most of its former wealth and territory.⁶⁸⁵

Sanctuary on the Alkathoos

Geography and topography



Figure 22 Map of ancient Megara. The numbers read as follows:
1. Proposed location of the sanctuary of Apollo on the Alkathoos acropolis.
2. Suburban sanctuary of Apollo at 'Straight Road'.
 (after Travlos 1988: 262, fig. 322)

The Alkathoos was the western acropolis of Megara (fig. 22), named after the city's mythical founder.⁶⁸⁶ In terms of ancient texts, it is only mentioned by Pausanias, who refers to it as 'another citadel' of the Megarians, states its name and describes the scenes atop. Apart from the cult place of Apollo, these would include the sanctuaries of Athena and Demeter Thesmophoros, a sacred site to the heroine Ino, and a hearth of the gods known as Prodomeis.⁶⁸⁷ Besides his citing of a temple of Apollo, Pausanias relates another location to the god:

⁶⁸⁵ Legon 1981: 256, 258

⁶⁸⁶ Paus. 1.42.1

⁶⁸⁷ Paus. 1.42.1, 1.42.4 – 7 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

‘τῆς δὲ ἐστίας ἐγγὺς ταύτης ἐστὶ λίθος, ἐφ’ οὗ καταθεῖναι λέγουσιν Ἀπόλλωνα τὴν κιθάραν Ἀλκάθῳ τὸ τεῖχος συνεργαζόμενον. δηλοῖ τέ μοι καὶ τόδε ὡς συνετέλουν ἐς Ἀθηναίους Μεγαρεῖς: φαίνεται γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλκάθους Περίβοιαν ἅμα Θησεῖ πέμψαι κατὰ τὸν δασμὸν ἐς Κρήτην. τότε δὲ αὐτῷ τειχίζοντι, ὡς φασιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, συνεργάζεται τε Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὴν κιθάραν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον: ἣν δὲ τύχη βαλὼν τις ψηφίδι, κατὰ ταῦτα οὗτός τε ἤχησε καὶ κιθάρᾳ κρουσθεῖσα.’

‘Near this hearth is a stone, on which they say Apollo laid his lyre when he was helping Alkathoos in the building. I am confirmed in my view that the Megarians used to be tributary to the Athenians by the fact that Alkathoos appears to have sent his daughter Periboia with Theseus to Crete in payment of the tribute. On the occasion of his building the wall, the Megarians say, Apollo helped him and placed his lyre on the stone; and if you happen to hit it with a pebble it sounds just as a lyre does when struck.⁶⁸⁸’

Archaeological fieldwork

The fact that ancient Megara lies buried beneath the modern city severely complicates the implementation of field research. As such, the sanctuary of Apollo located on the Alkathoos remains unearthed.⁶⁸⁹

Architectural structures

The lack of archaeological research on the western acropolis, leaves Pausanias as our only source for information on the architectural structures of Apollo’s site, which he describes it as follows:

‘τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος πλίνθου μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ναός: ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς ὠκοδόμησεν Ἀδριανὸς λίθου λευκοῦ.’

‘The ancient temple of Apollo was of brick, but the emperor Hadrian afterwards built it of white marble.⁶⁹⁰’

Considering that Pausanias never saw the ancient temple of which he speaks, it could have looked different than described. While remains of a temple were found, dating to the fifth century BC, it is unknown whether these would have belonged to the site of Apollo.⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸⁸ Paus. 1.42.2 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁶⁸⁹ Danner 1997: 143; Rigsby 2010: 310; Smith 2008: 14, 16 – 17

⁶⁹⁰ Paus. 1.42.5 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁶⁹¹ Danner 1997: 144

Dedications and worship

Pausanias speaks of three different epithets with the worship of Apollo on the Alkathoos, each of which was supposedly represented by a wooden statue:

‘ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ ὁ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα εἰκόμασι ξοάνοις, ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσιν, Αἰγινητικοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος· ἐβένου δὲ πάντα ὁμοίως πεποιήται.’

‘The Apollo called Pythian and the one called Dekatephoros (Bringer of Tithes) are very like the Egyptian wooden images, but the one surnamed Archegetes (Founder) resembles Aeginetan works. They are all alike made of ebony.’⁶⁹²

Apart from mentioning the titles, the author provides no further details in regard to the characteristics of any of them. Archegetes has already been discussed in the chapter about Apollo in Syracuse. While in the case of Syracuse the epithet is completely absent, the account of Pausanias describing the situation in Megara dates to the second century AD, thus placing it in the Imperial Roman period. Additionally, there is no other evidence to support the existence of this epithet in Megarian religious context. While this does not mean that the city’s inhabitants did not venerate Apollo as Archegetes in the time of Pausanias, it does cast doubt on its potentially early origins. As such, it reveals nothing about its presence and utilisation in Archaic times. Its aspect of foundation, however, has been associated with Apollo in other texts considering Megara, particularly those referring to the mythical founder Alkathoos. The oldest known literary mentioning of both Alkathoos and Apollo occurs in the Elegiac poems of the *Theognidea* and was part of the verses that have been dated to the first quarter of the fifth century BC.⁶⁹³ Modern scholars agree that the *Theognidea* spans a time period roughly starting in the mid-seventh century BC, citing Megara’s political situation prior to the rise of the tyrant Theagenes in 640 BC, and continued into the Classical period, stating that the verses 773 – 782 refer to the Persian invasion.⁶⁹⁴ The latter has been determined due to the mentioning of the ‘Μήδων’ or ‘Medes’, which was used by the Greeks to refer to the Persians, as is evident in various accounts of Herodotos through the verb ‘μηδίζω’ which means to take the side of Persians.⁶⁹⁵ The *Theognidea* fragment noting Alkathoos does so by describing how Apollo aided the city’s founder in the construction of the city-walls:

‘Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην,
Ἀλκαθώω Πέλοπος παιδὶ χαριζόμενος.’

⁶⁹² Paus. 1.42.5 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁶⁹³ Thgn. 773 - 782

⁶⁹⁴ Cobb-Stevens *et al.* 1985: 1; Lear 2011: 378

⁶⁹⁵ Hdt. 4.144.3, 6.109.5, 7.138.2, 8.30.1 – 2

'Lord Apollo, Thou Thyself didst fence this city's heights, to please Alkathoos son of Pelops.'⁶⁹⁶

The only other Classical source to acknowledge the Megarian founder is the *Herakleidae* of Euripides, in which Megara is referred to as 'Alkathoos' land', albeit without the inclusion of Apollo.⁶⁹⁷ Roughly four centuries later, the collaboration between the founder and the god is briefly touched upon by Ovid, who cites that they built the Megarian city-walls.⁶⁹⁸ Other cooperations between Alkathoos and Apollo are only known from Pausanias.⁶⁹⁹ This would suggest a significantly later establishment of most of these myths, with the exception of the story of the city-walls that already seems firmly established by the early Classical period. Another meeting between the founder and the god can be found in a figurative context, namely the location of the Apolline sanctuary on the acropolis bearing the name of Alkathoos. Although it is not the sole sacred site to have been established in this place, it could have referred to the connection that was believed to have existed between these two mythical characters. According to Pausanias, the spot where Apollo laid down his lyre in order to help Alkathoos with the construction of the walls was still visible when he visited the acropolis, including the stone that would have supported it.⁷⁰⁰ Obviously, the chance of this being the actual stone that carried the god's instrument is non-existent, nevertheless it suggests that Apollo's deemed connection to the early history of the city was deeply embedded in Megarian belief, for the time between its first known appearance in literary sources and the account of Pausanias covers roughly six hundred years. This could possibly have been the setting in which Pausanias speaks of Apollo Archegetes, for the god's participation in building the city walls, together with Alkathoos, might have provided him the same regard as the latter. Perhaps Apollo was considered the divine counterpart of Alkathoos and, as such, was believed to have played a part in the foundation of Megara, at least in its mythical context. However, even if this aspect would have been included in Archaic cult, there is no indication as to how and to which extent it was implemented.

Another of the three epithets given by Pausanias is Dekatephoros. Besides its description as 'tithe-bearer', nothing is known about its cultic aspects. A similar title was supposedly given to Apollo in Argos, but this claim remains unsupported due to a complete lack of archaeological, epigraphical and literary evidence. Furthermore, it has been suggested that Dekatephoros would have served as a secondary epithet to 'Pythios', which possibly explains its obscure context.⁷⁰¹ Its only appearance occurs in the account of Pausanias. While plausible suggestions have been made in regard to the location of 'the ancient temple' on the Alkathoos of which he speaks, the exact position of the sanctuary has not yet been established, most likely due to the previously discussed insufficiency of archaeological research in

⁶⁹⁶ Thgn. 773 – 774 (translation by J.D. Edmonds, 1931)

⁶⁹⁷ Eur. *Heraklides*. 253

⁶⁹⁸ Ov. *Met.* 8.1

⁶⁹⁹ Paus. 1.41 – 43

⁷⁰⁰ Paus. 1.42.2

⁷⁰¹ Hanell 1934: 89; Herda 2016: 28 – 29; Highbarger 1927: 33

Megara.⁷⁰² Even if fieldwork were to resume on the Alkathoos acropolis, the chance of finding the statues mentioned by Pausanias⁷⁰³ is extremely rare, considering that wood only survives in the archaeological record in the most favourable conditions and even then it would presumably be unrecognisable as a former statue. Overall, it has to be concluded that the available knowledge of the epithet 'Dekatephoros' is insufficient for determining its date of origin and the reconstruction of its character and function. In addition, the cult name is not known to have been used in any of Megara's overseas settlements.

Then there is the epithet of Pythios, that unmistakeably links Apollo to Delphi. Apart from the mentioning of the ebony statue by Pausanias,⁷⁰⁴ nothing can be said of the implementation of worship of the Delphic Apollo on the Alkathoos. In fact, it is not even certain as to whether the Megarians would have referred to him by the epithet of 'Pythios'. He might simply have been known as the Delphic Apollo by the city's inhabitants. The reference to 'Pythios' in this context was possibly specific to Pausanias. Cultic relations to Delphi, however, were likely already present by the early Classical period, as is suggested by the performance of an early spring festival mentioned in the *Theognidea*.⁷⁰⁵ As it is unclear at which location this festival occurred, it is further discussed below under *Dedications and worship elsewhere*.

Sanctuary at 'Straight Road'

Geography and topography

This sanctuary is situated halfway between the agora and the city-wall, approximately five hundred metres south of the Alkathoos acropolis (fig. 22).⁷⁰⁶ Its location has been described by Pausanias, providing the following narrative:

ἔκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατιοῦσι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Εὐθείας καλουμένης Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Προστατηρίου: τοῦτο ὀλίγον ἐκτραπέντα ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνευρεῖν.'

'As you go down from the market-place you see on the right of the street called Straight a sanctuary of Apollo Prostaterios (Protecting). You must turn a little aside from the road to discover it.'⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰² Danner 1997: 143

⁷⁰³ Paus. 1.42.5

⁷⁰⁴ Paus. 1.42.5 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁷⁰⁵ Thgn. 773 – 782 (translation by J.D. Edmonds, 1931)

⁷⁰⁶ Goette 2001: 308; Highbarger 1927: 31

⁷⁰⁷ Paus. 1.44.2 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

Archaeological fieldwork

Excavations at this sanctuary took place in 1980 and 1982. These revealed architectural structures that have been identified as a cult place of Apollo, but remain undated.⁷⁰⁸ The identification was based on the previously given account of Pausanias.⁷⁰⁹

Architectural structures

While this site has been excavated, its architectural remains are still limited. A temple was unearthed which measured 7.05 by 4.12 metres and consisted of isodomic *poros* stone. The foundations of the colonnade were thicker than those supporting the walls of the *cella*.⁷¹⁰

Dedications and worship

According to Pausanias, the Straight Road sanctuary belonged to Apollo Prostaterios, the epithet of which is described as ‘protecting’.⁷¹¹ Inscriptions bearing this epithet have been found in Megarian context, although of Hellenistic origin.⁷¹² It was not a cult title limited to Megara, for it is attested across Greece. Inscriptions mentioning the name are known from Athens, Boiotia, Ephesos, Epidauros, Eretria, and Tenos.⁷¹³ Marconi asserts that the meaning of Prostaterios is comparable to the epithets of Apotropaïos and Alexikakos,⁷¹⁴ both of which refer to prevention of evil.⁷¹⁵ The common implication for evil in this context was possibly plague. This is already indicated in the first book of the *Iliad*, in which Achilles speaks to Agamemnon of assessing the reason of Apollo’s anger so that it can be pacified with the result of lifting the threat of plague from the Greek armies.⁷¹⁶ Apollo Apotrapaios appears in a number of inscriptions from different parts of Greece. In Athens, he is mentioned various times,⁷¹⁷ including in combination with Prostaterios and Agyieus,⁷¹⁸ the latter of which involves the protection of the streets.⁷¹⁹ Meanwhile, in Cyrene, a sacred law demands a sacrifice to Apollo Apotropaïos in the case of disease in the city, for the god is believed to avert such calamity.⁷²⁰ The epithet was not only used in Apolline context, as it is also associated with Athena in Hellenistic inscriptions from Rhodes.⁷²¹ The title of Alexikakos is also given by Pausanias. He speaks of a statue with that name that would have been situated at an Athenian temple:

⁷⁰⁸ Paus. 1.44.2; Highbarger 1927: 31; Marconi 2007: 197; Smith 2008: 16 – 18

⁷⁰⁹ Paus. 1.44.2

⁷¹⁰ Smit 2008: 16 – 18

⁷¹¹ Paus. 1.44.2 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁷¹² *IG* VII 39, 40; *SEG* 64:315

⁷¹³ *Agora* XV 260; *IG* II² 4852, 4995; *IG* IV²,1 448; *IG* XII,5 892; *SE* 946*3; *SEG* 36:801

⁷¹⁴ Marconi 2007: 197

⁷¹⁵ Larson 2007: 88, 185

⁷¹⁶ *Hom. Il.* 1.54 – 67

⁷¹⁷ *IG* II² 1358; *SEG* 21:541

⁷¹⁸ *IG* II² 4852

⁷¹⁹ *Ar. Wasps* 875 (translation by E. O’Neil, 1938); Paus. 1.31.6; Larson 2007: 87

⁷²⁰ *SEG* 20:719; Larson 2007: 88

⁷²¹ *Erythrai* 60, *N. Suppl. Epig. Rodio* 169,20a, 169,20b

‘πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.’

‘the other Apollo, called Averter of evil, was made by Kalamis. They say that the god received this name because by an oracle from Delphi he stayed the pestilence which afflicted the Athenians at the time of the Peloponnesian War.’⁷²²

The meaning of the epithet is evidently similar to those mentioned above, for it also addresses the averting of evil. Again, it is not limited to Apollo, but is also known to have been used for other deities. For example, Herakles received the same title; the name would have been associated with his sacred site south of the Athenian agora.⁷²³

Overall, it appears that Prostaterios refers to what seemingly was a common aspect associated with various deities. Of its implementations at Straight Road sanctuary, however, Pausanias is the only source. None of the available Megarian inscriptions mentioning the epithet came from that site. In addition to this, neither the remains of the discovered temple nor the retrieved objects provide any additional knowledge of the characteristics of the sanctuary’s occupant. Considering the prevalent utilisation of epithets with a comparable function, it is not unlikely that Prostaterios was indeed used at the cult place in the time of Pausanias. Nevertheless, the earliest attestation of it in Megarian or any Greek inscriptions is of early Hellenistic provenance. Hence, it is possible that the title only originated in this period. That is not to say that Apolline worship in the context of protection, including warding off evil, would not have commenced earlier. This is evident in the performance of the *paian* in the god’s name. As discussed in the chapter about Corinth, it was regularly carried out in order to call for protection from Apollo, especially in the case of impending war. It is already established in the *Iliad*⁷²⁴ and, in terms of cult, is known from Sparta and Erythrai.⁷²⁵ While the date of origin of the *Iliad* is still disputed, it is generally accepted that it was composed in the Archaic period. As such, the protecting element of Apolline veneration would already have existed during this time. It is possible that the Straight Road sanctuary accommodated an Apollo with such an aspect by this period. In the light of absent sources, though, nothing can be said of related cultic practices.

Dedications and worship elsewhere

Apart from the two sanctuaries discussed above, it seems that Apollo also received worship in other parts of Megara and the wider Megarid. While in most cases the only source

⁷²² Paus. 1.3.4 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁷²³ Schol. Lycoph. 469; Larson 2007: 185

⁷²⁴ Hom. *Il.* 1.471 – 473

⁷²⁵ Faraone 2003: 48; Pettersson 1992: 71; Cf. case study Corinth: 110 – 111

is an epithet provided by Pausanias, the Megarian calendar might also hold some clues in this context. Although there are no direct sources that refer to this calendar, Trümpy proposes the following reconstruction based on the calendars of Megarian settlements, primarily that of Byzantion:

Πεταγείτινος

Διονύσιος

Εύκλεϊος

Ἄρτεμιτος

Λυκεῖος

Πάναμος

Ἡρακλείος

Ἀγριάνιος

Ἀπελλαιος

Ἡραῖος

Καρνεῖος

Μαχάνειος⁷²⁶

The month of Karneios possibly corresponds to the epithet of Karinos that Pausanias claims belonged to Apollo in Megara. The name was supposedly associated with a small pyramid located inside the *gymnasion*:

ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν, καὶ Εἰλειθυῖων ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν.'

'In the old gymnasium near the gate called the Gate of the Nymphs is a stone of the shape of a small pyramid. This they name Apollo Karinos, and here there is a sanctuary of the Eileithyiae.'⁷²⁷

One scholarly proposition is an equation with the cult title of 'Karneios'. McAuley connects the location of what he identifies as 'the sanctuary of Apollo Karinos' to the function of the *gymnasion* which included ephebic training.⁷²⁸ This recalls a connection described in the chapter about Corinth, where Xenophon's fourth book of *Hellenica* includes a passage about

⁷²⁶ Trümpy 1997: 154

⁷²⁷ Paus. 1.44.2 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁷²⁸ McAuley 2018: 232 – 233

the *gymnasion* of Κραναίῳ in Corinth which was frequented by the *ephebes*.⁷²⁹ A different connotation of the epithet is suggested by scholars who believe that it refers to the mythical Megarian king Kar, who would have been responsible for the introduction of the cult of Apollo Karinos to the city.⁷³⁰ Nevertheless, the deficiency of Karneios in any ancient sources relating to Megara and Pausanias being the sole author to mention Karinos make it difficult to determine any certainties of the title in local cult. As such, it is also difficult to determine whether a festival similar or identical to the Karneia would have been celebrated in Megara during this period.

Another month that could correlate to Apolline worship is that of Lykeios, which might also have been used as an epithet for the god. The combination of Apollo's name and the cult title was found in an Megarian inscription that reads as follows:

Ἀπόλῶνος {Ἀπόλλωνος}
Λυκεῖῳ⁷³¹

It remains undated and the context in which it was discovered is unknown. Comparable inscriptions with an identically written 'Λυκεῖῳ' are known from Metapontion in the Magna Graecia. As mentioned in the chapter about Apolline epithets, the earliest has been dated to the first half of the sixth century BC and the latest to the Hellenistic period. Most, however, have been placed between the mid-sixth and mid-fifth century BC, thus providing a late Archaic to early Classical provenance.⁷³² Although the epithet also appears in inscriptions from elsewhere, it is written differently and most of the corresponding dated inscriptions are significantly younger than those of Metapontion. In Attica, the standard writing of the epithet appears to be 'Λυκείου',⁷³³ the oldest of which originated between 350 and 300 BC.⁷³⁴ Identical spelling of the title is evident in, among others, undated inscriptions from Argos and Laconia, an inscription dating to approximately 100 BC from Thasos, and an early third century BC inscription from Erythrai.⁷³⁵ Naturally, this does not necessarily mean that the epithet of Lykeios was not implemented in those places prior to the creation of these inscriptions, but the similarity between the seemingly uncommon spelling of the epithet in Megara and Metapontion suggests either an Archaic or early Classical provenance for the Megarian one, based on the dating of those from Metapontion. Of the epithet's utilisation in Megara, however, nothing is known. It is not spoken of by any ancient author, not even by Pausanias, who does describe other cultic titles that would have been in use during his visit to Megara and also cites

⁷²⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.4

⁷³⁰ Herda 2016: 77; Solez 2018: 89

⁷³¹ *IG* VII 35

⁷³² *IGASM* IV 56, 57, 60, 67; *SEG* 29:956, 29:958, 29:962, 29:965, 52:957, 4

⁷³³ *IG* II² 956, 957, 2875; *SEG* 37:162

⁷³⁴ *SEG* 37:162

⁷³⁵ *Erythrai* 60; *IG* IV 557, 559; *IG* V,1 932,1515i; *IG* XII *Suppl.* 389

the worship of Lykeios in Athens, Argos, and Sicyon.⁷³⁶ It might be worth looking at cities in Megara's proximity that implemented the epithet in their Apolline cult. Previously discussed, Apollo Lykeios occupied a spot next to the *gymnasia* in Athens and Epidauros, involving him in athletics taken place there.⁷³⁷ In the case of Athens, it was also used for military activities.⁷³⁸ This combination of athletic and military aspects was supposedly also present at the cult site of Apollo Lykeios in Argos.⁷³⁹ Perhaps a comparable setting was given to the worship of Apollo Lykeios in Megara, although the *gymnasion* seems to have been occupied by the previously discussed Karneian incarnation of Apollo. Without any further sources, the theory of a military Apollo Lykeios in Megara cannot be proven.

Although not assigned to a specific month of the Megarian calendar, the *Theognidea* includes a passage about a festival that occurred in early spring:

‘αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ὕβριστὴν Μήδων ἀπέρυκε
τῆσδε πόλεως, ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ
ἦρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πέμπωσ’ ἐκατόμβας
τερπόμενοι κιθάρῃ καὶ ἐρατῇ θαλίῃ
παιάνων τε χοροῖσ’ ἰαχῇσι τε σὸν περὶ βωμόν.’

‘Thou Thyself protect this city from the wanton outrage of the host of the Medes, so that in glad revelry at the coming-in of Spring the people should give Thee splendid hecatombs, rejoicing with lute and pleasant feast, with dance and cry of *Paians* about Thy altar.’⁷⁴⁰

As previously stated, the date of these verses has been assigned to the early Classical period as the inclusion of the word ‘*Μήδων*’, or Medes, refers to the Persian invasion.⁷⁴¹ This reference would place the origins of the festival at least in the same period if not earlier, thus possibly providing it an Archaic provenance. The timing of the celebrations was noticeably similar to that of the Delphic Epidemia, which focused on Apollo's return from the lands of the Hyperboreioi.⁷⁴² It took place during the seventh day of Bysios, the first month of spring in the Delphic calendar, for the Greeks believed this was the time that Apollo resumed his place at Delphi.⁷⁴³ In terms of activities, the above fragment of the *Theognidea* includes a range of musical performances which might have been similar to those carried out at the Epidemia.⁷⁴⁴ These practices would seem most appropriate to welcome the god back to

⁷³⁶ Paus. 1.19.3, 2.9.7, 2.19.3

⁷³⁷ Call. *Fr.* 141; Paus. 1.19.3; Graf 2007: 121

⁷³⁸ Graf 2009: 121; Jameson 2013: 59 – 60; Larson 2007: 88

⁷³⁹ Paus. 8.40.5; Graf 2007: 121; Larson 2007: 88

⁷⁴⁰ Thgn. 775 – 782 (translation by J.D. Edmonds, 1931)

⁷⁴¹ Cobb-Stevens *et al.* 1985: 1; Lear 2011: 378

⁷⁴² Marconi 2007: 199

⁷⁴³ Bilić 2012: 518; Liritzis and Castro 2013: 184; Trümper 1997: 212

⁷⁴⁴ Thgn. 773 – 782

Delphi after his winter absence. Furthermore, Plutarch speaks of oracular inquiry during the Epidemia:

‘μηνὶ γὰρ τούτῳ χρηστήριον ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐβδόμην ταύτην νομίζουσι τοῦ θεοῦ γενέθλιον, καὶ πολύφθοον ὀνομάζουσιν οὐ διὰ τὸ πέττεσθαι φθόις, ἀλλὰ πολυπευθῇ καὶ πολυμάντευτον οὔσαν.’

‘They call this day the day of Many Utterances (Polyphthoös) not because they then bake cakes (*phthoïs*), but because it is a day when many inquire of the god and receive many oracles.’⁷⁴⁵

Although it is improbable that prophesying occurred in Megara, as there is no evidence to suggest the presence of an Apolline oracle, it is not implausible that Megara would have adapted the celebrations from Delphi. The epithet of Pythios has been cited by Pausanias in relation to the sanctuary on the Alkathoos.⁷⁴⁶ Whereas this textual source is of a rather late date, archaeology attests to Megara’s involvement at the Delphic sanctuary by the late Archaic period, for it was during the latter part of the sixth century BC or the early years of the next that the Megarians built their treasury and actively increased their number of dedications.⁷⁴⁷ Furthermore, demonstrated above, the calendar also included the month of Apellaios. While this month was common in many Greek calendars, Megara might have hosted some sort of Apolline celebration such as the *apellai* during this time as a result of the city’s involvement at the Delphic sanctuary, since celebrations did occur in Delphi.⁷⁴⁸

The location of the Megarian festival is not mentioned in the *Theognidea*, hence it remains unknown. Rigby claims celebrations in honour of Apollo were held at a town called Tripodiskos ‘in the western hills, some three hours’ walk from Megara city’, which, he believes, was also home to the ‘primary temple’ of Apollo Pythios in the Megarid.⁷⁴⁹ The town is mentioned by a variety of ancient authors, but only Pausanias speaks of its mythical connection to Apollo:

‘ἔστι δὲ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Κοροΐβου τάφος: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπη κοινὰ ὅμως ὄντα τοῖς Ἀργείων ἐνταῦθα δηλώσω. ἐπὶ Κροτώπου λέγουσιν ἐν Ἀργεὶ βασιλεύοντος Ψαμάθην τὴν Κροτώπου τεκεῖν παῖδα ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ ἰσχυρῶς τοῦ πατρὸς δείματι τὸν παῖδα ἐκθεῖναι: καὶ τὸν μὲν διαφθείρουσιν ἐπιτυχόντες ἐκ τῆς ποιμένης κύνες τῆς Κροτώπου, Ἀπόλλων δὲ Ἀργείοις ἐς τὴν πόλιν πέμπει Ποινὴν. ταύτην τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων φασὶν ἀρπάζειν, ἐς ὃ Κόροιβος ἐς χάριν Ἀργείοις φονεύει τὴν Ποινὴν. φονεύσας δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει σφᾶς

⁷⁴⁵ Plut. *Quaes. Gr.* 9 (translation by F.C. Babbitt, 1936)

⁷⁴⁶ Paus. 1.42.5

⁷⁴⁷ Partida 2000: 185; Scott 2010: 69 – 70; Scott 2014: 108

⁷⁴⁸ Burkert 1975: 9, 11; Richer 2007: 239; Thomson 1943: 56

⁷⁴⁹ Rigby 1987: 96

δεύτερα ἐπιτεσοῦσα νόσος λοιμώδης—Κόροιβος ἐκὼν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὑφέξων δίκας τῷ θεῷ τοῦ φόνου τῆς Ποινῆς.

ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ Ἄργος ἀναστρέφειν οὐκ εἶα Κόροιβον ἢ Πυθία, τρίποδα δὲ ἀράμενον φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἔνθα ἂν ἐκπέσῃ οἱ φέροντι ὁ τρίπους, ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνος οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι. καὶ ὁ τρίπους κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Γερανίαν ἀπολισθὼν ἔλαθεν αὐτοῦ ἐκπεσών: καὶ Τριποδίσκους κώμην ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι.'

'The Megarians have also the grave of Koroibos. The poetical story of him, although it equally concerns Argos, I will relate here. They say that in the reign of Krotopos at Argos, Psamathe, the daughter of Krotopos, bore a son to Apollo, and being in dire terror of her father, exposed the child. He was found and destroyed by sheepdogs of Krotopos, and Apollo sent Vengeance to the city to punish the Argives. They say that she used to snatch the children from their mothers, until Koroibos to please the Argives slew Vengeance. Whereat as a second punishment plague fell upon them and stayed not. So Koroibos of his own accord went to Delphi to submit to the punishment of the god for having slain Vengeance.

The Pythia would not allow Koroibos to return to Argos, but ordered him to take up a tripod and carry it out of the sanctuary, and where the tripod should fall from his hands, there he was to build a temple of Apollo and to dwell himself. At Mount Gerania the tripod slipped and fell unawares. Here he dwelt in the village called the Little Tripods.⁷⁵⁰

Other accounts are given by Thukydides and Strabo, the first of which narrates how the village was overrun by Corinthian forces in their attempt to conquer the Megarid,⁷⁵¹ while the latter states that Tripodiskos is one of four 'Megarian places', in the proximity of which 'the present marketplace of the Megarians is situated'.⁷⁵²

Rigby's motivation to suggest Tripodiskos as the location for the temple of Pythian Apollo appears to have been based on the above accounts, for they would affirm that the town was the only other 'famous place in Megara's mainland territory' apart from the harbour of Nisaia.⁷⁵³ However, this is not reflected in terms of archaeology. While surface surveying occurred in 1970 on the hill terraces, this seems to have been merely for the purpose of mapping the area.⁷⁵⁴ As of yet, no archaeological research has been carried out at the site. The aforementioned festival that supposedly took place at Tripodiskos is referred to as the 'Pytheia', of which two different versions would have existed.⁷⁵⁵ Rigby proposes a differentiation between the Greater Pytheia, occurring at Tripodiskos, and Lesser Pytheia,

⁷⁵⁰ Paus. 1.43.7 – 8 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁷⁵¹ Thuc. 4.70.1 – 2

⁷⁵² Strab. 9.1.10 (translation by H.L. Jones, 1924)

⁷⁵³ Rigby 1987: 96 – 97; Smith 2008: 117

⁷⁵⁴ Rigby 1987: 97; Sakellariou and Faraklas 1972: App. 2, 2ff

⁷⁵⁵ Rigby 1987: 93

taking place at Alkathoos, based on an inscription from the second century BC.⁷⁵⁶ The name of the Pytheia is absent from the celebrations as described in the *Theognidea*. In addition to this, the *Theognidea* does not occur amongst the sources used by Rigby, the oldest of which is Hellenistic.⁷⁵⁷ In addition to this, no mention is made of the season of spring. As such, it seems that the festival in the account of the *Theognidea* is not one of the Pytheia. Then remains the question as to what characteristics of the latter were. There is a possibility that the Pytheia were, in some form, adapted from a Delphic festival, for the name certainly points into the direction of the Pythian Apollo and the previously discussed spring festival depicted in the *Theognidea* also appears to have been derived from Delphic worship. The actual performance of the Megarian Pytheia is attested in two inscriptions, one of which is the one mentioned above dating to the early second century BC and lists the names of festivals in which an unnamed Megarian boxer proved victorious. Amongst these, the Pytheia are listed twice.⁷⁵⁸ Additionally, an inscription from Epidauros originating in either the second or first century BC refers to the Pytheia of Megara.⁷⁵⁹ Meanwhile, the name of the festival also appears in the *Vitae sophistarum* of Philostratos of Athens, who speaks of the actions of Marcus of Byzantium:

‘Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἦκων ὁ Μάρκος ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα, οἰκιστὰι δὲ οὗτοι Βυζαντίων, ἐστασίαζον μὲν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκμαζούσαις ταῖς γνώμαις, ὥσπερ ἄρτι τοῦ πινακίου ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς γεγραμμένου, καὶ οὐκ ἐδέχοντο σφᾶς ἐς τὰ Πύθια τὰ μικρὰ ἤκοντας. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς μέσους ὁ Μάρκος οὕτω τι μεθήρμοσε τοὺς Μεγαρέας, ὥς ἀνοῖξαι πεῖσαι τὰς οἰκίας καὶ δέξασθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ γυναικῆς τε καὶ παιδᾶς.’

‘When, later on, Marcus went to Megara (Byzantium was originally a Megarian colony), the Megarians were still keeping up their quarrel with the Athenians with the utmost energy of their minds, just as if the famous decree¹ against them had been lately drawn up; and they did not admit them when they came to the Lesser Pythian games. Marcus, however, came among them, and so changed the hearts of the Megarians that he persuaded them to throw open their houses and to admit the Athenians to the society of their wives and children.’⁷⁶⁰

In contrast to the passage of the *Theognidea* about the spring festival, none of the sources regarding the Pytheia predate the Hellenistic period. In fact, the account of Philostratos is even younger, having been written in the late second or first half of the third century AD and referring to events likely taking place during the first half of the second century, as the text also comments on the Roman emperor Hadrian.⁷⁶¹ Of Rigby’s suggested existence of both a

⁷⁵⁶ IG VII 48; Rigby 1987: 93 – 94, 97 – 98

⁷⁵⁷ Rigby 1987: 93

⁷⁵⁸ IG VII 48

⁷⁵⁹ IG IV², 1 629

⁷⁶⁰ Philostr. VS 1.24.5 (translation by W.C. Wright, 1921)

⁷⁶¹ Philostr. VS 1.24.5

Greater and Lesser Pytheia,⁷⁶² nothing is revealed in the available sources. Instead, only the Lesser Pytheia is cited. In reaction to Rigby's theory on the existence of two Pytheia and their locations, Smith lists three reasons as to why this is based on 'indulgent speculation'.⁷⁶³ Firstly, he criticises the consideration that one of the Pytheia would have occurred on the Alkathoos, even though 'there is no indication that any games took place on the acropolis of Megara, or that the Panathenaia in Athens was celebrated on the acropolis, or that any games *per se* were held on an acropolis'.⁷⁶⁴ Secondly, he argues that Rigby's interpretation of the partially reconstructed inscription and a comparison to a similar one from the Megarian settlement of Chalcedon is 'weak', stating that his attempt to connotate *polis* and *khora* as two separate entities is wrong, for *polis* refers to 'the entire state, both urban centre and the *khora*'.⁷⁶⁵ Lastly, Smith asserts that Rigby's assumption of the connection between Delphi and Tripodiskos still partially relies on the restoration of the boxer's inscription.⁷⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Smith does not propose any alternatives for the possible location of the Pytheia. Thus, while it can be stated that the Pytheia did occur in Megara, the only thing that can be positively said about it is that it did so by at least the early second century BC, during which one of the included events was boxing, and that the festival continued until the Imperial Roman period. Based on the available sources, origin prior to the Hellenistic period is highly unlikely.

Whereas Rigby's proposition for an important sanctuary of Apollo in Tripodiskos remains unsupported, the implementation Apolline worship in the wider area of the Megarid is cited by Pausanias:

‘οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ὑλλου μνήματος Ἰσιδος ναὸς καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος· Ἀλκάθουν δὲ φασὶ ποιῆσαι ἀποκτείναντα λέοντα τὸν καλούμενον Κιθαιρώνιον. ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ λέοντος διαφθαρῆναι καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Μεγαρέως φασὶ τοῦ σφετέρου βασιλέως παῖδα Εὐῖππον, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ Τίμαλκον ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Θησέως, στρατεύοντα ἐς Ἀφιδναν σὺν τοῖς Διοσκούροις· Μεγαρέα δὲ γάμον τε ὑποσχέσθαι θυγατρὸς καὶ ὡς διάδοχον ἔξει τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅστις τὸν Κιθαιρώνιον λέοντα ἀποκτείνει· διὰ ταῦτα Ἀλκάθουν τὸν Πέλοπος ἐπιχειρήσαντα τῷ θηρίῳ κρατῆσαί τε καὶ ὡς ἐβασίλευσε τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, Ἀγροτέραν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀγραῖον ἐπονομάσαντα.’

‘Not far from the tomb of Hyllus is a temple of Isis, and beside it one of Apollo and of Artemis. They say that Alkathoos made it after killing the lion called Kithaironian. By this lion they say many were slain, including Euippos, the son of Megaraios their king, whose elder son

⁷⁶² Rigby 1987: 94, 97 – 98

⁷⁶³ Smit 2008: 117

⁷⁶⁴ Smit 2008: 117

⁷⁶⁵ Smit 2008: 117

⁷⁶⁶ Smit 2008: 117

Timalkos had before this been killed by Theseus while on a campaign with the Dioscuri against Aphidna. Megaraios they say promised that he who killed the Kithaironian lion should marry his daughter and succeed him in the kingdom. Alkathoos therefore, son of Pelops, attacked the beast and overcame it, and when he came to the throne he built this sanctuary, surnaming Artemis Agrotera (Huntress) and Apollo Agraivos (Hunter).⁷⁶⁷

The above text makes it clear that the title emphasises the assumed assistance of Apollo in the slaying of the Kithaironian lion by Alkathoos, the mythical founder of Megara.⁷⁶⁸ Hence, veneration received by the god as this sanctuary was likely set in a hunting context. However, as is quite common, this telling of the myth happens to be just one of several. An earlier adaptation by Apollodoros declares Herakles the slayer of the Kithaironian lion, mentioning neither Alkathoos nor Apollo.⁷⁶⁹ In fact, Pausanias is the sole author to affirm them as the protagonists of this myth.

The lack of epigraphical sources and the general deficiency of archaeological research in Megara and its surroundings eliminates any possibilities to approach the potential Megarian cultivation of the epithet from a different perspective, thus making us completely dependent on the impression Pausanias had of the sanctuary, its associated epithet, and local folktales during the second century AD. Hence, nothing can be said of a potential Archaic utilisation of Apollo Agraivos.

Conclusion

The earliest archaeological evidence that can be associated with Megarian Apolline worship is located outside the Megarid. It is, in fact, the Megarian treasury in Delphi that was constructed in the sixth century BC. Archaeological sources referring to Apolline worship in Archaic and early Classical Megara are inadequate due to the severe lack of archaeological research as a result of the modern city being built over the ancient one. While the god's sanctuary at the Alkathoos, known from Pausanias, has not been located at all, the cult site of Apollo Prostaterios has been found and identified according to another text of Pausanias. The latter has also been excavated, although the few architectural remains that were unearthed during this campaign have not been dated. The epithet of Prostaterios is also demonstrated in Megarian inscriptions, but none of these predate the Hellenistic period. One inscription that might be of Archaic or early Classical provenance mentions the cult title of Lykeios, the specific spelling of which only seems to be attested in Italian Greek Metapontion, the inscriptions of which primarily date between the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Of the epithet's utilisation in Megarian cult, however, nothing is known from literary accounts. Based on sources from other cities, there is a possibility that the epithet would have had an athletic or military connotation. Additionally, Lykeios occurs as a month in the reconstructed calendar

⁷⁶⁷ Paus. 1.41.3 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁷⁶⁸ Paus. 1.42.1

⁷⁶⁹ Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.9

of Megara. Nevertheless, it is the textual narratives that appear to be our main source of information in regard to late Archaic/early Classical Apolline Megarian worship.

It is the *Theognidea* that first mentions the cooperation between Apollo and Alkathoos in the construction of Megara's city-walls. This collaboration between the god and the mythical founder suggests a possible founding aspect in local Apolline worship of the late Archaic/early Classical age, which is indicated in the later account of Pausanias who associates the epithet of Archegetes with Apollo in his sanctuary on the western acropolis. Furthermore, the *Theognidea* also includes a passage about a spring festival that would have been performed by Megarians in honour of Apollo no later than the first quarter of the fifth century BC. The festival, although unnamed, appears to have had various similarities with the Delphic Epidemia. As such it is not unreasonable to suggest that it might have been influenced by Megara's involvement at the Delphic sanctuary and thus have been dedicated to the Delphic Apollo, whose epithet of Pythios is also mentioned by Pausanias in relation to the Alkathoos sanctuary. Another Megarian festival, known as the Pytheia, is known from Hellenistic inscriptions, but there are no sources that indicate an Archaic or even Classical provenance for these celebrations.

In terms of the calendar, apart from the month of Lykeios, the months of Karneios and Apellaios possibly indicate a connection to Apollo. The former possibly related to the epithet of Karinos given by Pausanias that would have been implemented at the local *gymnasion*. It has been suggested that Karinos was merely a different spelling of Karneios, and that Apollo in this capacity was associated with the *ephebes* who trained at the *gymnasion*. Meanwhile, the month of Apellaios could have witnessed an event such as the *apellai*. As there is no evidence that either of these months did serve a cultic purpose in Apolline veneration in Megara, this remains speculative.

Apart from Archegetes, Karinos, Pythios and Prostaterios, various other cult titles have been cited by Pausanias for Megarian Apolline worship. However, there are no further sources that attest to their implementation here. Therefore, there is nothing that can be claimed about them in any periodical context prior to the Imperial Roman period during which Pausanias wrote his texts.

Overall, the only elements of Apollo in Megara that can be confidently suggested for the Archaic and early Classical periods based on the available sources are those related to the aspect of founding and the connection to Delphi. Additionally, it is likely that worship associated with protection and the epithet of Lykeios also occurred during this time, although for the latter it is difficult to determine in which manner. In regard to aspects associated with other epithets discussed above, there is not enough evidence that would make for plausible suggestions as to their inclusion in Megarian cult during this specific period of time.

9. The cult of Apollo in Selinous

A brief history of Selinous

According to Thukydides, Selinous was founded one century after Megara Hyblaia's own establishment.⁷⁷⁰ However, in order to propose an approximate date, the foundation of the latter has to be made clear first and foremost. Thukydides states that Megara Hyblaia existed for 'two hundred and forty-five years' prior to being destroyed.⁷⁷¹ Since the destruction of Megara Hyblaia is commonly placed in 483 BC, this would indicate its establishing date as 728 BC.⁷⁷² Considering the generally agreed founding of Syracuse in 730 BC, Thukydides suggests that Megara Hyblaia was only created after the latter; a statement not shared by other ancient authors. For example, Strabo rather places its origins in the same year as those of Naxos.⁷⁷³ Yet, as none of these sources date from the very era Megara Hyblaia was founded, their accounts are not completely accurate. As such, similar to the dating of Syracuse, it is preferable to refer to the second half of the eighth century BC.

This complicates the Selinuntine founding date, for Thukydides' calculation would set the event in 628 BC.⁷⁷⁴ Nevertheless, archaeological evidence of Greek culture on location has proven earlier, perhaps corresponding to the date provided by Diodoros Sikeliotes. He mentions the establishment of Selinous happening 'two hundred and forty-two years' prior to its destruction by Carthage in 409 BC, hence placing the foundation in 651 BC.⁷⁷⁵ Since archaeological remains are no definite manifestation of earlier settlement patterns, especially as the area was previously inhabited by indigenous people, it might simply imply a possibility of convenient trading relations which brought Greek material culture to the native population.⁷⁷⁶ In other words, problems similar to those of multiple Sicilian Greek cities complicate the assigning of the foundation of Selinous. Therefore, it is problematic to attempt designating a specific date to the occurrence, leaving us with another approximate assessment stranded in the third quarter of the seventh century BC.

The city's history during the seventh century BC is still largely unknown. Since this period was characterised by an oligarchy in Megara Hyblaia, it has been assumed Selinous maintained a similar type of government.⁷⁷⁷ Nevertheless, this remains speculation, for no ancient sources support such theory. Selinuntine territorial ambitions awakened during the following century when they participated in multiple wars. The conflict with Segesta, fought over border expansion, was conceivably the most notable of these struggles, as it would re-

⁷⁷⁰ Thuc. 6.4.2

⁷⁷¹ Thuc. 6.4.2

⁷⁷² Berger 1991: 132; De Angelis 2003: 20; Holloway 2004: 50, 54; Tréziny 2007: 183; Vallet *et al.* 1983: 107

⁷⁷³ Strab. 6.2.2

⁷⁷⁴ Bilello 1982: 18; Holloway 2004: 45

⁷⁷⁵ Diod. 13.59.4; Hornblower 2008: 274 – 275

⁷⁷⁶ De Angelis 2003: 150

⁷⁷⁷ De Angelis 2003: 152

emerge many times throughout their histories.⁷⁷⁸ However, this first battle ended in defeat for the Selinuntines, followed by an unfavourable treaty of peace. Hostilities continued in western Sicily and Selinous was overpowered by the Carthaginians, possibly giving rise to a change in its governing powers.⁷⁷⁹ Converting to tyranny, the first of this new Selinuntine ruling class was Theron who supposedly made himself master of the city by persuading numerous slaves to kill their masters, therefore ridding himself of any possible opposition.⁷⁸⁰ The exact date of his reign is uncertain; an exceedingly rough estimation places it sometime between 580 and 510 BC.⁷⁸¹ The analysis of archaeological evidence creates a more realistic time frame. The mid-sixth century BC has been proposed for the beginning of the Selinuntine tyranny, for various building programmes were implemented during this period including the development of fortifications, the rise of monumental architecture on the acropolis and Marinella Hill, and the construction of a treasury at Olympia. These would fit the followed pattern of other Sicilian Greek cities such as Syracuse and Gela.⁷⁸² Other evidence might be found in a tombstone commemorating the falling of a man at Motya. The alphabet used to inscribe the name is of Selinuntine origin and the inscription dates to the mid-sixth century BC, thus indicating the possibility of a war being fought.⁷⁸³ While Theron's fate remains unknown, he was succeeded by Pythagoras, who forcefully took power over the city in 510 BC.⁷⁸⁴ His rule did not last long, as he was overthrown by Euryleon. Feigning to act in the Selinuntines' best interests and re-establish the oligarchy, he became a tyrant instead. Feeling deceived, the city's inhabitants took matters into their own hands by removing him from his position.⁷⁸⁵ Afterwards, a pro-Carthaginian oligarchy was installed probably due to both the destruction of Megara Hyblaia by Gelon and the threat of Akragantine expansion, who eventually pledged, but failed, to send out the city's cavalry to aid Hamilcar at the battle of Himera at 480 BC.⁷⁸⁶ It is unknown whether Selinous had to take part in paying part of the tribute imposed on the Carthaginians by the victors of Himera, although the impediment in the construction of Temple G suggests they did.⁷⁸⁷ Afterwards, the city ceased its Carthaginian affiliation and took a pro-Syracusan stance. This plunged them into conflict with Athens in 415 BC.⁷⁸⁸ Driving the Athenians from their lands, the Selinuntines found themselves again at war with Segesta only two years later in another dispute over the expansion of their borders.⁷⁸⁹ The requested help from Akragas was refused and Selinous was to pay dearly for their abandonment of Carthage, since Segesta was still part of their Punic alliance. Thus, Hannibal and his Carthaginian army marched upon

⁷⁷⁸ Bilello 1982: 18; De Angelis 2003: 157; Finley 1979: 24

⁷⁷⁹ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.28.2; Marconi 2007: 65

⁷⁸⁰ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.28.2

⁷⁸¹ Bilello 1982: 19; De Angelis 2003: 157; Marconi 2007: 65

⁷⁸² De Angelis 2003: 155, 157; De Angelis 2016: 105; Malkin 1987: 174; Neer 2012: 179

⁷⁸³ De Angelis 2003: 158

⁷⁸⁴ Hdt 5.46.2; Bilello 1982: 19

⁷⁸⁵ Hdt 5.46.2

⁷⁸⁶ Diod. 11.21.4 – 5; Thuc. 6.4.2; Bilello 1982: 20; De Angelis 2003: 201

⁷⁸⁷ De Angelis 2003: 162

⁷⁸⁸ Thuc. 6.48.1 – 6; Bilello 1982: 20, 26

⁷⁸⁹ Bilello 1982: 26; Finley 1979: 20

assigned to Athena and was of slightly later date (fig. 24).⁷⁹³ Other sanctuaries that were housed on the acropolis included Temples A and O.⁷⁹⁴

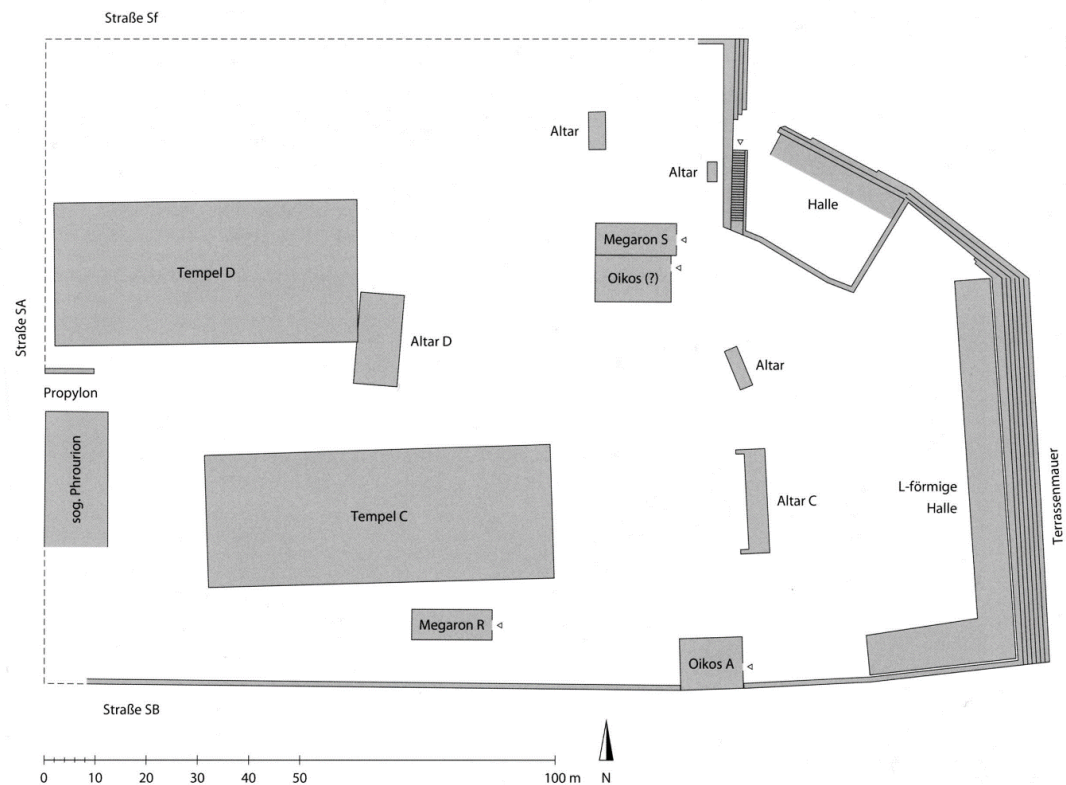


Figure 24 **Layout of the premises of Temple C and Temple D between 550 – 500 BC.**
(Voigts 2017: 21, fig. 4)

Archaeological fieldwork

The metopes were the first features of Temple C to be excavated, albeit illegally. Discovered in 1823 by S. Angell and W. Harris, architects of London's Royal Academy of Arts, they were subsequently unearthed after which a legal row ensued that prevented the metopes from being shipped off to the British Museum. Instead, they were sent to the British vice-consul in Mazarra where their restoration began. Afterwards, they were placed in the museum in Palermo. Additional fragments of the metopes were found on various occasions over the course of the next sixty years.⁷⁹⁵

In March of 1876 fieldwork started at what director F.S. Cavallari referred to as the temple of Herakles, based on the city's numismatics which included an image of the demigod, but was also known by others as the temple of the Phoenician god Melqart.⁷⁹⁶ His description of the structure's location at 'nel punto più alto dell'acropoli'⁷⁹⁷ (the highest point of the

⁷⁹³ IG XIV 269; De Angelis 2016: 90; Holloway 2004: 71; Osborne 1996: 248

⁷⁹⁴ De Angelis 2003: 129; De Angelis 2016: 80; Mertens 2003: 250

⁷⁹⁵ Marconi 2007: 133 – 134

⁷⁹⁶ Cavallari 1876: 105; Marconi 1999: 15

⁷⁹⁷ Cavallari 1876: 105

acropolis) shows that the building in question was none other than Temple C. The initial excavation exposed the temple's stereobate, the three inner rooms, and a Gorgon relief. Fieldwork at Temple C was resumed in May of the following year in an attempt to unearth a larger part of the sanctuary. However, fieldwork activities were suspended within the same month.⁷⁹⁸ The identity of the sanctuary was partially decided through an inscription mentioning the god's name discovered amidst the premises of Temple C and Temple D. Displaying the names of both Apollo and Athena, it has been generally accepted that Temple C belonged to the former and D to the latter, albeit for various reasons.⁷⁹⁹ Bennendorf argues that, because Temple C is the oldest monumentalised temple on the acropolis, it must have been dedicated to the chief deity of the Selinuntine pantheon which he deems to be Apollo; an assumption he bases on his belief that Apollo also fulfilled this role in Megara.⁸⁰⁰ Marconi agrees to this, also noting a 'sometimes suggested' analogy with the Megarian Alkathoos, where the sanctuaries of Apollo and Athena would also have been located in close proximity to each other.⁸⁰¹ Meanwhile, Kerényi concludes that the temple was one of three, together with temples A and O, that represented the Delphic triad of Apollo, Artemis and Leto. Tusa holds a similar opinion but does emphasise that it concerns a hypothesis, stating that he bases his theory on the standing of the triad in the 'Megarian motherland'.⁸⁰² Another argument is put forward by Østby, who compares the decoration of the second quadriga of metope East VI on Temple C, depicting a charioteer interpreted as Apollo which is discussed further below, to that of the *tympanon* of the late Archaic temple in Delphi, as they are stylistically highly similar.⁸⁰³

Architectural structures

While it has been generally accepted that Temple C was erected by the mid-sixth century BC, making it the earliest monumentalised temple on the acropolis,⁸⁰⁴ there is a possibility that the temple was preceded by a different structure.⁸⁰⁵ Based upon an earlier foundation layer and a group of floral roof terracottas, dated to the late seventh or early sixth century BC, it has been suggested a predecessor might have occupied the site on the acropolis prior to the construction of Temple C.⁸⁰⁶

Temple C's floor plan (fig. 25) shows similarities to that of the temple of Apollo in Syracuse. It was a hexastyle *peripteros* with *propteron*, the stylobate of which measured 23.9 x 63.7 metres. The four-levelled *crepidoma* was provided with additional steps on the east side, nine in total, to enable an entrance with double steps. In addition to this, it accommodated 8.65 metres tall columns with seventeen surrounding the longest flanks. The columns had a general slim shape but differed in format. Some were monolithic while others were constructed

⁷⁹⁸ Cavallari 1876: 105 – 106; Cavallari 1877: 132

⁷⁹⁹ *JG* XIV 269; Arena 1989: 39; Marconi 2007: 132

⁸⁰⁰ Bennendorf 1873: 38

⁸⁰¹ Paus. 1.42.4; Marconi 2007: 132 – 133

⁸⁰² Kerényi 1966: 5 – 6; Tusa 1967: 192

⁸⁰³ Østby 1987: 139 – 140

⁸⁰⁴ De Angelis 2003: 135; De Angelis 2016: 89; Marconi 2007: 127; Osborne 1996: 248

⁸⁰⁵ Bilello 1982: 59; De Angelis 2003: 130; Voigts 2017: 174 – 175

⁸⁰⁶ Danner 1997: 152; De Angelis 2003: 130; Malkin 1987: 175; Mertens 2003: 27; Voigts 2017: 174

in drums. Such strikingly dissimilar diameters were comparatively unusual in Greek architecture.⁸⁰⁷

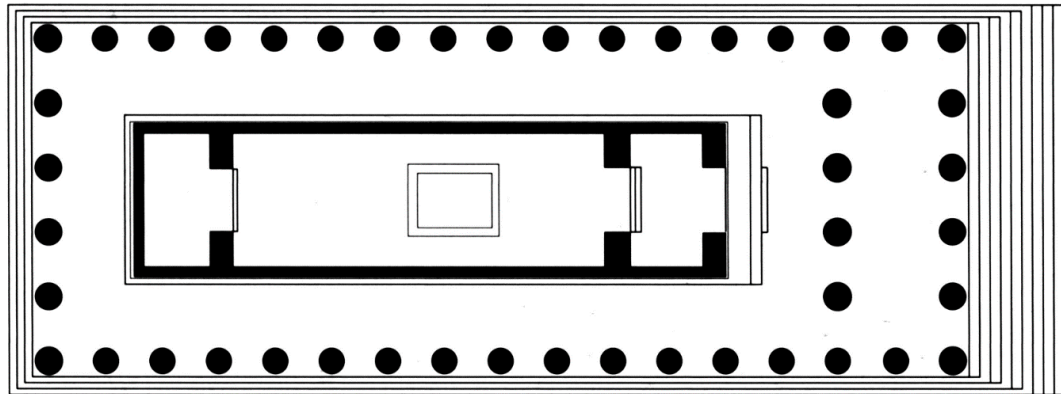


Figure 25 Floor plan of Temple C. (Mertens 2006: 121, fig. 197)



Figure 26 Cross-section Temple C. (Mertens 2006: 121, fig. 197)

Excluding the *propterion*, the temple's interior was divided in three longitudinal segments formed by the *pteron* and the *cella* that were of almost equal width. The *cella*, the shape of which created an approximate variety of 1:4, was further divided in a *pronaos*, *naos* and *adyton*, which were set apart by extra stairs (fig. 25). As such, the *adyton* marked the highest point of the temple's interior (fig. 26).⁸⁰⁸ The *naos* housed an unpaved, rectangular area. Although various attempts have been made to unravel its original purpose, this is still unknown, as it was excluded from excavations. The interpretations include it having been an *eschara*, or the base of a cult statue. The first has been rejected for its lack of ash traces and the fact that another large altar was already present, while the latter would not suit the proper protocol for the location of a cult statue since these were usually housed in the *adyton*.⁸⁰⁹ Apart from mentioning the *eschara* theory, Mertens also raises the question of a potential function specifically connected to Apolline cult.⁸¹⁰ This seems to be part of his larger hypothesis regarding the use of the temple by venerators. He states that the building's layout 'corresponds to the purpose of the rooms'. He continues by explaining that the broad, shallow stairs would accommodate a large number of worshippers to make their way into the *propterion*.

⁸⁰⁷ Bilello 1982: 59; De Angelis 2003: 135; Holloway 2004: 70; Marconi 2007: 127, 129; Mertens 2006: 119 – 120

⁸⁰⁸ De Angelis 2003: 135; Marconi 2007: 127; Mertens 2006: 120 – 122

⁸⁰⁹ Marconi 2007: 127 – 128; Mertens 2006: 122

⁸¹⁰ Mertens 2006: 122

Once inside the temple, they would form a procession in the *pteron* prior to making their way into the *cella*, the path through which was facilitated by the previously mentioned stairs, thus leading the venerators to the *adyton*, the temple's highest point (fig. 26), where the cult statue was located.⁸¹¹

Comprising over half the height of the structure's columns, 4.48 metres, the entablature was remarkably tall. The plain architrave was formed by two courses, the upper one consisting of two rows: the interior and exterior. While the former resulted in a fascia, the latter consisted of an elaborate *tainia*, provided with a *regula* and six *guttae*. The frieze was embellished with a total of ten interspersing triglyphs and metopes that depicted a variety of mythological scenes which, in contrast to the metopes of other excavated temples featuring in this thesis, were actually discovered during the excavations and reconstructed afterwards.⁸¹²

Metope East I

Only few remnants remain of this metope. Among the retrieved pieces was a possible hand, yet this is still doubtful due to a comparatively unclear description.⁸¹³

Metope East II

Originally, thirty fragments were found and considered associated with this metope. However, merely two of them proved actual part of it. The first depicts two frontal heads, the left being female and almost fully preserved. The other illustrates a moving figure; although probably affiliated to the right head of the first fragment, it might have belonged to a third figure.⁸¹⁴

Metope East III – IV

The joint documentation of these metopes resulted in the lack of distinction between the discovered pieces. Only one metope has been positively determined, showing the presence of a frontal, bearded male head, wearing some sort of headgear, explanations of which range between a leather cap and a helmet. While the beard has been linked to a possible portrayal of either Hermes or Odysseus, the helmet would enable a warrior identification. Nonetheless, one should bear in mind that helmets did not necessarily consist of metal prior to the fifth century BC.⁸¹⁵ Another attempt of identification was made by Holloway, who proposes the figure as a representation of Ares. The large size of the headgear has led to the assumption that either the figure was sitting or kneeling, or his body was seemingly shortened.⁸¹⁶

⁸¹¹ Mertens 2006: 121

⁸¹² Holloway 2004: 70; Marconi 2007: 130; Mertens 2006: 123

⁸¹³ Marconi 2007: 136

⁸¹⁴ Marconi 2007: 137, 242

⁸¹⁵ Giuliani 1979: 34; Marconi 2007: 137 – 138, 243

⁸¹⁶ Holloway 1988: 179

Metope East V: first quadriga

The identification of this metope as a quadriga scene is based on various fragments that appear to depict horses, primarily their hind legs. Although other pieces illustrating the animals' shoulders, legs, and a tail have been discovered, it is uncertain whether these were part of the same scene. Additionally, the metope has also been assigned two fragments of reins.⁸¹⁷

Metope East VI: second quadriga



Figure 27 Second quadriga of Metope East VI depicting the Delphic Triad. (Pugliese Carratelli 1996: 409, upper image)

The scene on this metope represents the arrival of an unarmed charioteer in a chariot drawn by four horses (fig. 27). He is surrounded by two women, both of whom appear to wear long tunics. While the woman on the left carries a wreath, the one on the right appears to unveil herself. This supports the interpretation of the metope as showing the arrival of Apollo, who is then being greeted by Artemis and Leto, the latter of which is often depicted as a bride.⁸¹⁸ Although this interpretation is most convincing, others have been proposed. Marconi mentions the suggestion made by Angell and Harris of the possible display of the race between Pelops and Oinomaos.⁸¹⁹ This, however, is unlikely for various reasons, not least

⁸¹⁷ Holloway 1988: 179; Marconi 2007: 138

⁸¹⁸ De Angelis 2003: 136; Giuliani 1979: 28 – 33; Marconi 2007: 140 – 142, 234 – 235

⁸¹⁹ Marconi 2007: 140

because that particular scene is mainly unheard of in Archaic imagery. Another perception is given by Holloway, who implies that the charioteer would portray Helios.⁸²⁰ Nonetheless, it has to be taken into an account that he is mainly a god of a different age, for his rise in Greek art did not come prior to the end of the sixth century BC.

Metope East VII: Perseus and Medusa

The eighth metope illustrates Perseus cutting off the Gorgon's head. Shown in the centre of the scene, he is depicted as a youth, without beard and wearing a short chiton. His feet are covered in winged sandals which,⁸²¹ according to myth, he borrowed from Hermes.⁸²² On the left, Perseus is flanked by a female figure, who has been interpreted as the goddess Athena, guiding him in his quest. Medusa appears to be holding a winged horse that can likely be identified as Pegasus, who was born from the beheaded Gorgon.⁸²³

Metope East VIII: Herakles and the Kerkopes

An unclothed Herakles is shown carrying off the Kerkopes, who are tied to a pole. According to myth, these two brothers had stolen his weapons.⁸²⁴ Herakles is depicted without a beard, which is rather unusual in the case of this scene, for it appears in various roughly contemporary forms in the Magna Graecia in which Herakles is depicted with a beard, including on a metope from the sanctuary of Hera in Poseidonia and on a painting on a Geloan *lekythos*.⁸²⁵ However, Marconi believes that his status as a god within the Selinuntine pantheon might be the reason for such representation, since this was apparently the appropriate depiction of him as a god rather than a hero in late Archaic and Classical times.⁸²⁶ The Kerkopes are illustrated in a typical way: they look highly similar, moderately youthful, and are smaller than Herakles.⁸²⁷

Metope East IX

Two fragments originated from this metope. They comprise two heads, one male and one female showing similar hairstyles and facial features. The figure on the left, bearing a smaller head and incised eyelids, has been identified as female, the one the right, supporting a partially preserved chest and neck, and round eyes, is supposedly male. While the male protrudes in the forefront, the female stands behind him.⁸²⁸

⁸²⁰ Holloway 1988: 179

⁸²¹ De Angelis 2003: 136; Giuliani 1979: 15; Holloway 1988: 179; Marconi 2007: 143, 236

⁸²² Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4; Eur. *El.* 452

⁸²³ De Angelis 2003: 136; Giuliani 1979: 15; Holloway 1988: 179; Marconi 2007: 143, 146, 236 – 237

⁸²⁴ Giuliani 1979: 22; Holloway 1988: 179; Marconi 2007: 150, 238

⁸²⁵ Calderone and DeCesare 1985: table 53; Pugliese Carratelli 1983: table 337

⁸²⁶ Marconi 2007: 155

⁸²⁷ Giuliani 1979: 22; Holloway 1988: 179; Marconi 2007: 156, 238

⁸²⁸ Giuliani 1979: 34 – 35; Marconi 2007: 159 – 160, 241

Metope East X: Orestes and Klytemnestra

The last metope of Temple C contains another highly fragmentary scene. It appears to have depicted two figures. The person on the left is considered male, formerly holding a sword, while the figure on the left regards a seated female, showing a chiton and long hair at the back of her head. A hand, assigned to the male, holds the woman's head from behind. This very episode has been identified as the murder of Klytemnestra by her son Orestes, who sought vengeance for the killing of his father Agamemnon; a favoured story amongst the ancient Greeks.⁸²⁹

Adorning the frieze was a *geison*, provided with two courses along its flanks. The upper course maintained the nailed terracotta covering, while the lower course comprised slanting *mutules*, the ones over the metopes measuring merely half of the normal width.⁸³⁰ An astonishing Gorgon relief decorated the temple's eastern pediment. Only a few of its remains survived, including several strands of hair in typical Archaic fashion, pieces of the Gorgon's upper eyelid, the nose, cheeks, and a smirking open mouth depicting a tongue and multiple teeth. Additionally, parts of another Gorgon relief were found, suggestively either belonging to the western pediment or later replacing the eastern image, since it showed a higher degree of refinement.⁸³¹ Encompassing the edge of the roof were different sorts of *sima*, as the ones at the fronts stood higher than those at the sides, and a water drainage. Both were ornamented with assorted palmettes and lotuses, illustrating diverse patterns and supporting two assorted styles: one rather dense and simplistic, the other slenderer. It has been implied that the latter was added to partially replace the former during the late sixth century BC.⁸³² Each of the corners of the roof was supplied with a spout portraying a lion's head.⁸³³

Thirty metres in front of Temple C, a monumental altar, supposedly the oldest one in Selinous, was unearthed during Gàbrici's excavation campaign of 1920/1921 (fig. 26). It was situated parallel to the eastern façade and was over 20 metres long and 8 metres wide.⁸³⁴ The altar appears to have been built in two phases: the first taking place between 580 and 550 BC, the same period during which the surrounding terrace was enlarged, while the second did not occur prior to late sixth or early fifth century BC, resulting in the altar being built higher and the inclusion of the staircase. The final structure shows a clear division between the elongated, sacrificial table and the staircase leading up to a wide pedestal.⁸³⁵ Measuring 750 m², the terrace where the altar was located was exceptionally large and likely attracted considerable crowds of people to witness and take part in religious gatherings.⁸³⁶

⁸²⁹ Holloway 1988: 179; Marconi 2007: 161 – 164, 240

⁸³⁰ Holloway 2004: 70; Marconi 2007: 130

⁸³¹ Marconi 2007: 132; Mertens 2006: 123

⁸³² Holloway 2004: 70; Marconi 2007: 131; Mertens 2006: 123

⁸³³ Holloway 2004: 70; Mertens 2006: 123

⁸³⁴ De Angelis 2003: 136; Mertens 2006: 122; Voigts 2017: 25 – 26, 173

⁸³⁵ Mertens 2003: 240; Mertens 2006: 122; Voigts 2017: 26, 40 – 41

⁸³⁶ Mertens 2006: 122; Voigts 2017: 174

Dedications and worship

A variety of pottery was discovered during the excavation of Temple C and its surrounding area. However, most descriptions of these finds are extremely limited. While some pottery is defined as Corinthian or Archaic, the characterisation of most objects is limited to simply 'jar', 'vase', or 'vessel'.⁸³⁷ Only a few are described in slightly more detail. Although Cavallari mentions different ceramics bearing Greek or Phoenician inscriptions, he fails to give either content or translation of said inscriptions.⁸³⁸ Generally, the lack of details regarding the found objects makes it difficult to determine which finds belong to Temple C and which to Temple D.

The inscription on which the identification of Temple C was based dates between 500 and 450 BC⁸³⁹ and reads as follows:

[— — Ἀπό]λλωνος Παιᾶνος

[— — Ἀθ]αναίης.⁸⁴⁰

The name of Apollo is followed by the epithet of Paianos. As discussed in the chapter about Corinth, the *paian* is often associated with Apollo for it was a hymn that was utilised to ask the god for protection of healing, as is evident in both ancient literature and cult.⁸⁴¹ In contrast to the previous case studies, however, Selinous is the first to provide evidence of the use of Paianos as an Apolline epithet. This does not seem to be an uncommon practice in textual sources. As previously stated, the earliest literary account that would address Apollo as Paian is the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. While its exact date of origin is still disputed, with suggestions ranging between the late eighth and late sixth centuries BC, it is of Archaic provenance.⁸⁴² In this text, Apollo instructs the Cretan sailors to chant the hymn 'ἡπαιήον' or 'Hail Healer!' in his name,⁸⁴³ implying that he is the healer that they are to refer to. The fifth century BC witnessed the creation of a number of plays that contain passages in which Apollo is called Paian, including but not limited to Aristophanes' *Wasps* and Euripides' *Ion*.⁸⁴⁴ Furthermore, the fourth of Pindar's *Pythian Odes* also encompasses the epithet:

ἔσσι δ' ἰατὴρ ἐπικαιρότατος, Παιάν τέ σοι τιμᾷ φάος·'

⁸³⁷ Cavallari 1877: 133 – 134

⁸³⁸ Cavallari 1877: 133 – 134

⁸³⁹ Arena 1989: 39; Marconi 2007: 132

⁸⁴⁰ IG XIV 269

⁸⁴¹ Hom. *Il.* 1.471 – 473; Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.11; Faraone 2003: 48; Furley and Bremer 2001: 84; Cf. case study Corinth: 110 – 111

⁸⁴² Richardson 2010: 13

⁸⁴³ *HH* 3 500 (translation by H.G. Evelyn-White, 1914)

⁸⁴⁴ Ar. *Wasps* 869 – 874; Eur. *Ion* 125 – 128

‘But you are a most opportune healer, and Apollo Paian honours your light.’⁸⁴⁵

It is not implausible that Apollo was worshipped by the Selinuntines in the capacity of a healing deity. Chiarenza states that the acropolis was located ‘next to a malarial and marshy lagoon’.⁸⁴⁶ Malaria seems to have posed a considerable threat to the inhabitants of Selinous, as it is likely referred to in the following passage written by Diogenes Laertius, based on Diodoros of Ephesos:⁸⁴⁷

‘Σελινουντίοις ἐμπεσόντος λοιμοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακειμένου ποταμοῦ δυσωδίας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς φθείρεσθαι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δυστοκεῖν, ἐπινοῆσαι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ δύο τινὰς ποταμοὺς τῶν σύγγενος ἐπαγαγεῖν ἰδίαις δαπάναις καὶ καταμίξαντα γλυκῆναι τὰ ρεύματα.’

‘When a plague fell upon the inhabitants of Selinunte because of the miasmas coming from the neighbouring river, so that they themselves were dying and the women were miscarrying, Empedocles understood and at his own expense diverted two nearby rivers to the city; and the mixture sweetened its streams.’⁸⁴⁸

The threat of malaria outlived ancient Selinous. After the illegal excavation of the metopes of Temple C by Angell and Harris in 1823, the latter decided to stay in Selinous for further study. It did not last long, for he perished as a result of malaria in July of that year.⁸⁴⁹ Generally, malaria was far from uncommon in the ancient Mediterranean. It is in the *Hippocratic Corpus* that the disease’s symptoms are described in detail for the first time. Additionally, Hippocrates already laid the connection between the occurrence of malaria and stagnant waters, relating them to the periods of summer and autumn and to the swamps in the Athenian hinterland.⁸⁵⁰ He was also ‘the first to describe the mechanism of action of antimalarial agents’.⁸⁵¹ Another example would be Rome and its surrounding areas which were also heavily affected by malaria, supposedly driving the wealthy out of the city for much of the duration of summer and autumn, leaving the plebeians and slaves to bear the brunt of the mosquitoes spreading the disease.⁸⁵²

An association between Apollo and the broader aspect of averting evil seems to be made on Selinuntine tetradrachms. Frequently depicted together with Artemis, the god is often shown shooting arrows while joining his sister in a chariot in a scene that has been interpreted

⁸⁴⁵ Pind. *P.* 4.480 (translation by D. Arnson Svarlien, 1990)

⁸⁴⁶ Chiarenza 2020: 58

⁸⁴⁷ Sallares 2002: 38

⁸⁴⁸ Diog. Laert. 8.70 (translation by A. Laks and G.W. Most, 2016)

⁸⁴⁹ Marconi 2007: 133

⁸⁵⁰ Cunha and Cunha 2008: 195; Pappas et al. 2008: 349

⁸⁵¹ Pappas et al. 2008: 349

⁸⁵² Sallares 2002: 205

as repelling (the cause of) pestilence (fig. 28).⁸⁵³ Although no date has been given for these coins, it is likely they were minted prior to the Carthaginian destruction of 409 BC.



Figure 28 Apollo and Artemis in chariot on Selinuntine tetradrachm, undated. (Seltman 1949: 58, fig. 19)

Whereas the exact image as depicted on the coins seems rather uncommon in Greek iconography, Apollo's arrows are regularly associated with the task of averting evil. Amongst the most prominent examples is the slaying of Python at Delphi, which is narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*:

‘ὅς κακὰ πόλλ’ ἔρδεσκεν ἀγακλυτὰ φύλ’ ἀνθρώπων:
ὅς τῃ γ’ ἀντιάσειε, φέρεσκέ μιν αἴσιμον ἥμαρ,
πρίν γέ οἱ ἰὸν ἐφῆκε ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων
καρτερόν: ἢ δ’ ὀδύνησιν ἐρεχθομένη χαλεπῆσι
κεῖτο μέγ’ ἀσθμαίνουσα κυλινδομένη κατὰ χῶρον.
θεσπεσίη δ’ ἐνοπὴ γένετ’ ἄσπετος: ἢ δὲ καθ’ ὕλην
πυκνὰ μάλ’ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλίσσεται, λεῖπε δὲ θυμὸν
φοινὸν ἀποπνείουσ’: ὃ δ’ ἐπηύξατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων:
ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν πύθευ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωτιανείρῃ:
οὐδὲ σύ γε ζώουσα κακὸν δῆλημα βροτοῖσιν
ἔσσεαι, οἷ γαίης πολυφόρβου καρπὸν ἔδοντες
ἐνθάδ’ ἀγινήσουσι τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας:

⁸⁵³ Appleton 1878: 82; Lloyd 1925: 283; Watkiss Lloyd 1847 – 1848: 111, 118

οὐδέ τί τοι θάνατόν γε δυσηλεγέ' οὔτε Τυφωεύς
ἀρκέσει οὔτε Χίμαιρα δυσώνυμος, ἀλλά σέ γ' αὐτοῦ
πύσει Γαῖα μέλαινα καὶ ἡλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων.'

'And this Typhaon used to work great mischief among the famous tribes of men. Whosoever met the dragoness, the day of doom would sweep him away, until the lord Apollo, who deals death from afar, shot a strong arrow at her. Then she, rent with bitter pangs, lay drawing great gasps for breath and rolling about that place. An awful noise swelled up unspeakable as she writhed continually this way and that amid the wood: and so she left her life, breathing it forth in blood. Then Phoibos Apollo boasted over her:

"Now rot here upon the soil that feeds man! You at least shall live no more to be a fell bane to men who eat the fruit of the all-nourishing earth, and who will bring hither perfect hecatombs. Against cruel death neither Typhoeus shall avail you nor ill-famed Chimera, but here shall the Earth and shining Hyperion make you rot.⁸⁵⁴"

Since the text portrays Python as a plague upon mankind, the shooting of the beast by Apollo served as an act to rid humanity of this evil. The myth was deemed so important that it received its own inclusion in the Pythian Games in the form of the Pythian *nomos*.⁸⁵⁵



Figure 29 Killing of Tityos by Apollo and Artemis on red-figure Attic krater from Akragas, approx. 460 BC. (Knaub 2012: 375, fig. 25.11)

⁸⁵⁴ HH 3 355 – 369 (translation by H.G. Evelyn-White, 1914)

⁸⁵⁵ Landels 1999: 158; Valavanēs 2017: 194; West 1992: 212

Another example regards the shooting the giant Tityos by him and Artemis. Tityos had attempted to rape Leto, a crime deemed so vile and evil by the Olympians that the giant was sent to Tartaros after his death where vultures were to peck out his regenerating liver every single day.⁸⁵⁶ The scene is mentioned in Pausanias' description of Apollo's throne at Amyklai in Sparta.⁸⁵⁷ Additionally, Pausanias speaks of a similar image 'brought to Delphi by the Knidians'.⁸⁵⁸ It is also a scene that is frequently displayed on pottery, such as on the above *krater* (fig. 29).

While there is no evidence for the implementation of the epithet of Paianos in Megara, it is not implausible that the association of Apollo with the averting of evil was adapted from Megarian tradition if it was indeed utilised in its Apolline cult; the discussion on this topic can be found in the chapter about the god in Megara. According to the account of the foundation of Selinous by Thukydides, the city's *oikist* Pamillos would have come from Megara instead of Megara Hyblaia:

‘καὶ ἔτη οἰκήσαντες πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακόσια ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τυράννου Συρακοσίων ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ χώρας. πρὶν δὲ ἀναστῆναι, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἑκατὸν ἢ αὐτοὺς οἰκίσαι, Πάμιλλον πέμψαντες Σελινοῦντα κτίζουσι, καὶ ἐκ Μεγάρων τῆς μητροπόλεως οὔσης αὐτοῖς ἐπελθὼν συγκατώκισεν.’

‘Here they lived two hundred and forty-five years; after which they were expelled from the city and the country by the Syracusan tyrant Gelon. Before their expulsion, however, a hundred years after they had settled there, they sent out Pamillos and founded Selinous; he having come from their mother country Megara to join them in its foundation.’⁸⁵⁹

The supposed inclusion of a Megarian *oikist* is likely the reason for the suggestion that Apollo was similarly perceived in Megara and Selinous as the ‘chief god’ of their pantheon.⁸⁶⁰ As discussed in the chapter about Megara, various literary sources link Apollo to Alkathoos, the mythical founder of Megara, the most common narrative being the construction of the city's walls.⁸⁶¹ This would have connected the god to Megara's foundation as well. Whether this view was taken to and installed in Selinous by the Megarian *oikist* is difficult to determine, for there are no known epithets that point into that direction nor are there written accounts that speak of it. Hence, similarities are to be sought in different sources. For instance, although the sanctuary of Apollo on the Alkathoos in Megara remains unearthed, Pausanias states that

⁸⁵⁶ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.759 – 762; Hom. *Od.* 11.576 – 11.581

⁸⁵⁷ Paus. 3.18.15

⁸⁵⁸ Paus. 10.11.1 (translation by W.H.S. Jones, 1918)

⁸⁵⁹ Thuc. 6.4.2 (translation by J.M. Dent, 1910)

⁸⁶⁰ De Angelis 2003: 169; Marconi 2007: 133

⁸⁶¹ Ov. *Met.* 8.1; Paus. 1.41.3 – 6; Thgn. 773 – 774; Cf. case study Megara: 143 – 145

it was located adjacent to that of Athena.⁸⁶² A comparable location can be found in Selinous, where Athena's cult place (Temple D) was situated next to that of Apollo.⁸⁶³ The placement of these deities in proximity of each other on the acropolis was, naturally, not limited to Megara, as other examples are to be found in places such as Argos and the city of Rhodes,⁸⁶⁴ even though the latter was not founded prior to the late fifth century BC.⁸⁶⁵ However, neither Argos nor Rhodes had any known connections to Selinous. Housing Apollo on the acropolis is also not a trait that can generally be assigned to the Sicilian Greeks. Therefore, it is not implausible that it was adopted from Megarian tradition. The fact that the Apolline site was the first of the Selinuntine sanctuaries to be monumentalised also suggests its importance. In addition to this, the previously mentioned architectural remains of the late seventh and sixth centuries BC found at the sanctuary⁸⁶⁶ seem to match the date of pottery that was discovered there. While the details provided are severely limited, they might still give a clue as to when the area became religiously important. Cavallari mentions some 'very Archaic' and 'Corinthian vessels'.⁸⁶⁷ He continues to describe three Corinthian jars which depict animals over a white background.⁸⁶⁸ The latter regards a conventional orientalisising style which became prominent in the mid-seventh century BC.⁸⁶⁹ Cavallari continues to state that these objects are similar to finds from the Galera necropolis, located north of the city.⁸⁷⁰ Fieldwork at the necropolis resulted in the discovery of over two hundred tombs, ranging between the late seventh and early sixth centuries BC.⁸⁷¹ The presence of these Corinthian ceramics in combination with the contemporary architectural remains implies that activity at the Apolline sanctuary started not long after the foundation of Selinous, which took place during the third quarter of the seventh century BC.⁸⁷² This would provide the possibility for its cult to be directly influenced by Megarian traditions that might have been introduced upon Selinous' foundation. Furthermore, the adaptation of Megarian perspectives in Selinuntine worship would not have been limited to Apollo. Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Nisaia, the port town of Megara;⁸⁷³ a cult name that re-emerges in Selinous. The latter suggests that Megara would have been responsible for the introduction of the cult to Selinous, whether directly through the *oikist* or indirectly via Megara Hyblaia, Archaeological evidence supports a foundation date of the late seventh century BC for the Selinuntine Malophoros sanctuary, thus placing its origins no later than half a century after the city's establishment.⁸⁷⁴ Considering

⁸⁶² Paus. 1.42.4

⁸⁶³ *JG* XIV 269; De Angelis 2016: 90; Holloway 2004: 71; Osborne 1996: 248

⁸⁶⁴ Paus. 2.24.1 – 2; Konstantinopoulos and Walter Graham 1968: 116,

⁸⁶⁵ Craik 1980: 36

⁸⁶⁶ Danner 1997: 152; De Angelis 2003: 130; Malkin 1987: 175; Mertens 2003: 27; Voigts 2017: 174

⁸⁶⁷ Cavallari 1877: 106, 109

⁸⁶⁸ Cavallari 1877: 106

⁸⁶⁹ Robertson 1981: 8

⁸⁷⁰ Atkinson 1938: 115; Cavallari 1877: 106; De La Ganière 1982: 478

⁸⁷¹ Atkinson 1938: 115; Hopper 1949: 178

⁸⁷² Cf. above: 157

⁸⁷³ Paus. 1.44.3

⁸⁷⁴ Cronkite 1997: 511; Hinz 1998: 146; Holloway 2004: 61; Larson 2007: 83

the above combination of archaeological evidence and Pausanias' descriptions of Megara, it is very well possible that Apollo could have been associated with founding in Selinous.

While the Megarian calendar and those of various of its settlements have been reconstructed, those of Megara Hyblaia and Selinous have not.⁸⁷⁵ There is also no epigraphical evidence for any of the Selinuntine months. It is reasonable to believe that there were some Megarian inclusions in the Selinuntine calendar, since this was the case in other settlements such as Byzantion, Chersonesos, Chalcedon and Callatis,⁸⁷⁶ though the question is to which extent. In case of Apolline worship, the months of Lykeios, Karneios and, perhaps, Apellaios might have been observed. Of these, Lykeios seems the most probable, as it is known from three other Megarian settlements.⁸⁷⁷ As to possible celebrations during those months, only speculations can be given. It is not unlikely that the enormous area in front of Temple C would have accommodated large events. However, whether these would have included the likes of the Karneia cannot be said. The spring festival of Megara presumably did not occur in Selinous, for as discussed in the Megarian chapter, its introduction into Megarian religion seems to have taken place only when Megara became more involved in the Delphic sanctuary:⁸⁷⁸ a development that did not transpire prior to the sixth century BC, thus after the foundation of Selinous.

Dedications and worship elsewhere

Apollo's name appears in an inscription of Temple G from the mid-fifth century BC (fig. 30), which was discovered during the excavation of Cavallari in March 1871 and first published by Ugdulena. Originally scattered over eight different pieces of stone, the inscription was transported to the archaeological museum in Palermo. It regards a public dedication to all the deities deemed to have served the Selinuntine pantheon, as a result of a military victory.⁸⁷⁹



Figure 30 Reconstruction of the inscription of Tempel G. (Calder III 1963: 10, middle image)

⁸⁷⁵ Trümpy 1997: 154

⁸⁷⁶ Trümpy 1997: 151, 154

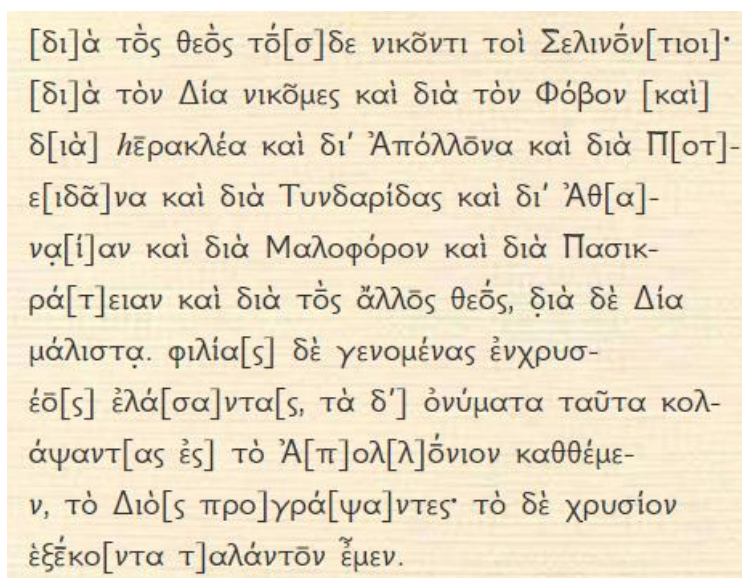
⁸⁷⁷ Trümpy 1997: 151

⁸⁷⁸ Cf. case study Megara: 151 – 152

⁸⁷⁹ IG XIV 268; Holloway 1988: 182; Holm 1872: 361; Manganaro 1995: 162; Marconi 2007: 170

Since the original inscription is considerably fragmentary, its content has been argued and altered many times.

Multiple attempts have been made to fill up the gaps. Figure 31 depicts the restoration as it has been included in the *Inscriptiones Graecae*.⁸⁸⁰



[δι]ὰ τὸς θεὸς τό[σ]δε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινόν[τιοι]·
 [δι]ὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον [καὶ]
 δ[ιὰ] Ἡερακλέα καὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ διὰ Π[οτ]-
 ε[ιδᾶ]να καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας καὶ δι' Ἀθ[α]-
 να[ί]αν καὶ διὰ Μαλοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασικ-
 ρά[τ]ειαν καὶ διὰ τὸς ἄλλος θεός, διὰ δὲ Δία
 μάλιστα. φιλία[ς] δὲ γενομένης ἐν χρυσ-
 εῖ[ο]ς ἐλά[σα]ντα[ς, τὰ δ'] ὀνύματα ταῦτα κολ-
 ᾶψαντ[ας ἐς] τὸ Ἀ[π]ολλ[λ]ῶνιον καθθέμε-
 ν, τὸ Διό[ς προ]γρά[ψα]ντες· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον
 ἐξέκο[ντα τ]αλάντων ἔμεν.

Figure 31 Reconstructed text of the Tempel G inscription. (IG XIV 268)

While other suggestions have been made, these are mainly limited to the inclusion or exclusion of various letters, barely influencing the translation of the text, which generally reads as follows:

‘Thanks to the following gods the Selinuntines are victors. Thanks to Zeus we are victors and thanks to Phobos and thanks to Herakles and thanks to Apollo and thanks to Poseidon and thanks to the Tyndaridai and thanks to Athena and thanks to Malophoros and thanks to Pasikrateia and thanks to the other gods. But thanks to Zeus above all. Now since peace has come, having beaten out in gold and having carved these names after they have engraved the Zeus-Song, to deposit in the Apollonion and the gold-object be of sixty talents.’⁸⁸¹

Calder argues that the offering was granted in the form of a golden shield.⁸⁸² The inscription’s statement that the gold would have been placed in the Apolline cult place resulted in the contemplation of Temple G’s possible dedication to Apollo, as scholars believed that the inscription and offering would have belonged to the same sanctuary.⁸⁸³ Nonetheless, questions have been asked as to why such engraving, recognising Zeus as most important

⁸⁸⁰ IG XIV 268

⁸⁸¹ Calder III 1963: 33, 44; Holm 1872: 362 – 372; Manganaro 1995: 163

⁸⁸² Calder III 1963: 39 – 40

⁸⁸³ Calder III 1963: 29

amongst the grace receivers, would be dedicated at a sanctuary of Apollo. Additionally, the fact that the text mentions the sanctuary does not necessarily mean its dwelling is said building, it merely provides information as to where the golden offering is to be stored. Recent research has taken these issues into consideration, resulting in a changing perspective as to which god the cult place belonged. Instead of Apollo, contemporary scholars are primarily in favour of Zeus,⁸⁸⁴ possibly also supported by the absence of the identification of other Selinuntine sanctuaries solely dedicated to him. While there was a site of Zeus Meilichios located west of the acropolis, at the Malophoros sanctuary, the epithet of 'Meilichios' implies that this site was actually dedicated to Hades. It was part of a larger group of cult places that might have been considered a collective, since all associated deities were associated with the Underworld.⁸⁸⁵ Furthermore, the fact that Temple G was amongst the largest temples ever to be built by the Greeks (50 x 110.4 metres), although never finished, resulted in a generally acknowledged comparison to the Olympieion in Akragas, another temple that was most likely dedicated to Zeus.⁸⁸⁶ Nonetheless, it was not Zeus who was entrusted with the safekeeping of the accompanying golden dedication 'of sixty talents', but Apollo. According to the inscription, the object was to be placed in his temple. Although the inscription is the only direct evidence for the use of Temple C as a storage for valuables, it is not implausible the temple generally served as some sort of treasury. This was not an uncommon function for sanctuaries, even though often the objects stored there would have been limited to those dedicated directly to the cult place in question.⁸⁸⁷ This function is evident at sites such as the previously discussed Apolline sanctuary on the Corinthian agora, the Corinthian sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, and the Parthenon on the Athenian acropolis.⁸⁸⁸

Temple A, also on the Selinuntine acropolis, has been proposed as another possible site for Apolline worship.⁸⁸⁹ However, the location of this structure makes such affiliation highly unlikely, as it is situated straight opposite Temple C (fig. 23). If the god would have been given another Selinuntine site, it would not have been another one located on the acropolis. Instead, any other cult place would rather have been set in either a suburban or extra-urban context. Although neither of the latter has been found in Selinous that could suggest a link to Apollo, it is not unreasonable to consider the possibility that such a site might have existed. Malkin argues that extra-urban sanctuaries were a significant part of *aphienai*, the need to give up lands for the gods and, therefore, an inherent part of the first stage of settlement foundation.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁴ Bejor 1977: 441 Danner 1997: 160; De Angelis 2003: 138

⁸⁸⁵ Bowden 2010: 78; Cronkite 1997: 511; Danner 1997: 152; Hinz 1998: 145, 147, 151, 84; Holloway 2004: 61 – 62; Larson 2007: 83; Miles 1998: 36, 38; Parisi 2017: 42

⁸⁸⁶ Holloway 2004: 71, 117; Jordan 1991: 279; Larson 2007: 83

⁸⁸⁷ Emerson 2018: 7

⁸⁸⁸ Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 411 – 412; Harris 1995: 81 – 82; Larson 2007: 43, 59; Pedley 2005: 69

⁸⁸⁹ Moscati 1973: 125

⁸⁹⁰ Malkin 1996b: 79

While Delphi became an important site for many Sicilian Greeks, especially during the fifth century BC, Selinous stayed detached from such connection. In addition, the Selinuntines did not alter their foundation myth, which was also common practice during the fifth century BC, as various *poleis* such as Syracuse and Gela decided to include the Delphic Oracle. As previously discussed, the presence of the Sicilian Greeks at the site became particularly important after the Persian Wars and the Battle of Himera, for they wanted to represent themselves as an indispensable part of the Greek world, defending Greek identity against barbarians.⁸⁹¹ Amidst this development, Selinous provides a curious case. While the seeds of their Greek identity must have been planted at the time of their foundation, as, over time, Selinous found enemies rather than allies in its fellow Greeks, its inhabitants might have turned their back on most of the Greek world, in favour of the Carthaginians. This placed them in opposition to most Greek settlements at the Battle of Himera, even though the Selinuntines never actually participated in the conflict. Nonetheless, they were held accountable for their pro-Carthaginian stance and were probably forced to pay tribute to the victors. Selinous abandoned its alliance with Carthage shortly afterwards, yet it did not change what had come to pass at Himera. As a result, the city had no part in the claim of Gelon; that those who faced the Carthaginians at Himera fought a battle similar to that of the Greeks against the Persians. This is presumably the reason that Selinous remained absent from Delphi, for the city had no such cause to display. Their affiliation would likely have made them outcasts, for they had opposed those who claimed to protect Greek identity in an age when that very concept had become more significant than it had ever been before. Hence, the Selinuntines played no role in the chaotic patchwork of Delphic dedications and Delphi played no role in the city's religious practices. It is unlikely Delphic practices would have made their way to Selinous through Megara, as the Megarians themselves did not become involved in Delphi prior to the late sixth century BC. The only similarity that can be seen between Selinous and Delphi is one specific architectural aspect, namely the stylistically comparable Delphic triad depicted on both the second quadriga of metope East VI on Temple C and the *tympanon* of the late Archaic temple in Delphi. However, this one resemblance does not provide enough evidence to suggest cultic relations.

Conclusion

The earliest archaeological evidence that can directly be associated with Apolline worship in Selinous is the inscription found between Temple C and Temple D, which mentions the names of both Apollo and Athena, dating to either the late Archaic or early Classical period. It is this inscription that provides evidence for the use of the epithet of Paianos for Apollo. The cult title is associated with health and, more generally, averting evil. In Selinuntine context, the aspect of health might have been influenced by the fact that the city's location inbetween two rivers made it prone to bouts of malaria. In regard to Apollo's link to the broader prevention of evil, it seems that such insinuation is made on Selinuntine tetradrachms showing Apollo

⁸⁹¹ Cf. chapter Delphi: 50 – 53

shooting arrows while in a chariot that is manned by Artemis. The scene of Apollo shooting his arrows is generally one that evokes a setting in which evil is dealt or repelled.

The inscription, in combination with various other reasons including the appearance of the Delphic triad on one of the metopes, has been used to identify Temple C as Apollo's Selinuntine sanctuary. Whereas the remains of the monumentalised temple date to the mid-sixth century BC, other architectural remnants have been found that suggest usage of the site by the end of the seventh century BC. Although a number of ceramics were unearthed at the cult place, the chaotic execution of Cavallari's excavations have left most of them poorly documented and indistinguishable from those found in the area of Temple D. Some of the few that were specifically assigned to Temple C match the date of the seventh-century architectural structures, thus supporting utilisation of the sanctuary area prior to its monumentalisation. Furthermore, an inscription from the mid-fifth century BC found at Temple G implies that Temple C served as a sort of storage for certain valuables, in this case a golden shield that was dedicated to all the deities of the local pantheon as a dedication to thank them for their aid in a military victory.

An indirect theory about Apollo's aspects in Selinous can possibly be made through the assumption that the city was founded by a Megarian *oikist*. This opens the debate as to whether the introduction of Apolline cult in Selinous was influenced by Megarian perspectives, primarily their consideration of Apollo as a deity related to founding. The likely early use of the Apolline site, the fact that it was the first Selinuntine cult place to be monumentalised, its comparable location to that on the Megarian acropolis, and the indication that Megarian influence was also present in other parts of Selinuntine religion such as the cult of Malophoros, suggests that this is a plausible theory.

Due to Selinous' disillusion with its fellow Sicilian Greek cities and its long affiliation with Carthage, the city remained absent from the general focus on Greek identity and its preservation which rose in the fifth century BC as a result of the Persian Wars and the Battle of Himera. Therefore, the Selinuntines did not display themselves at Delphi, which had become the most renowned site to present oneself as opposing all of those who threatened this identity. Consequently, Delphi played no role in the city's perception of itself. This was very much in contrast with other prominent Sicilian Greek cities at the time, such as Syracuse and Gela. Even the early influence of Megara did not change this, for the Megarians only became involved at the Delphic site about a century after the foundation of Selinous.

Overall, it seems that Apolline worship in Selinous would have included the aspects of healing and general protection, and founding. Worship appears to have been primarily implemented at the sanctuary on the acropolis, although an extra-urban cult place might have existed as part of the concept of *aphienai*. Selinuntine veneration of Apollo at Delphi did not occur and Delphic influence in Selinuntine cult appears to have been non-existent. Considerations of other elements in local Apolline worship are difficult to contemplate, not in the least due to the absence of a calendar or even a reconstruction of it, thus omitting a source that could have provided possible cultic implications.

10. The cult of Apollo in Rhodes

A brief history of Rhodes

The island of Rhodes appears to have prospered during the Mycenaean period. Extensive archaeological fieldwork at various burial sites, including Trianda (Ialyssos), Pylona (Lindos), and Siana, paints a comprehensive picture of the island's Mycenaean material culture.⁸⁹² Providing a diverse assortment of objects, ceramics proved especially plentiful, consisting of different wares originating from Rhodes, other parts of the Aegean, and the mainland. Frequent types include *kylixes*, stirrup jars, piriform jars, *amphoriskoi*, *kraters*, jugs, and different vases. A significant amount of pottery was imported from the Argolid on the Peloponnese, which served as a primary centre of Mycenaean civilisation.⁸⁹³ Another indication of the latter's influence on Rhodes is the simultaneous upsurge of early iron objects in both areas.⁸⁹⁴ Rhodes seems to have occupied a strategic location on the trading routes between Greece, Cyprus and the Levant. Apart from an enduring supply of mainland wares, this probably also resulted in an at least partial adaptation of mainland customs and perhaps inhabitation of the island by people originating from the Argolid, even though imported wares declined around approximately 1300 BC.⁸⁹⁵

The decline of the Bronze Age civilisations led to a deficiency of the island's material culture, thus impeding archaeological research on a potential continuation of compatibility between Rhodes and the Argolid. However, the Rhodians of this time did speak the same dialect as the Argives, referred to as Peloponnesian Doric,⁸⁹⁶ suggesting the possibility that Peloponnesians might have migrated to the island during the early Iron Age, introducing a new range of cultural traditions.

During the early Iron Age and Archaic period, Rhodes was characterised by its three major cities: Lindos, Cameiros and Ialyssos. Their first appearance in ancient sources is found in Homer. It is mentioned in the *Iliad* that the three cities would have united under Tlepolemos, son of Herakles, and sent nine ships to participate in the Trojan War.⁸⁹⁷ Spread across the island, every *polis* developed independently. Most prominent amongst them was Lindos, which thrived as a result of its naval activities. The Lindians went to establish an elaborate trading network, ranging from Egypt to Phoenicia.⁸⁹⁸ Additionally, they played an important role in the joint foundation of Gela on Sicily during the first quarter of the seventh century BC.⁸⁹⁹ Meanwhile Ialyssos and Cameiros remained unimportant in a maritime context, since

⁸⁹² Benzi 1988: 59, 69; Jones and Mee 1978: 462, 465; Jung 2015: 248; Karantzali and Ponting 2000: 219, 222; Marketou *et al.* 2006: 6; Mee 1982: 86

⁸⁹³ Jones and Mee 1978: 463 – 464; Jung 2015: 248 – 249; Karantzali and Ponting 2000: 236 – 238; Marketou *et al.* 2006: 10 – 20; Mee 1982: 86

⁸⁹⁴ Snodgrass 1971: 218, 273

⁸⁹⁵ Benzi 1988: 62; Jung 2015: 248 – 249; Marketou *et al.* 2006: 54 – 55; Snodgrass 1971: 218

⁸⁹⁶ Chadwick 1956: 38; Christidis 2007, 445; Nixon 1968: 121 – 122

⁸⁹⁷ Hom. *Il.* 2.653 – 660

⁸⁹⁸ Bresson 1999: 99; Dicks 1974: 45

⁸⁹⁹ Hdt. 7.153.1; Craik 1980: 31

agriculture was the most notable component of their economies.⁹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the cities maintained strong mutual relationships. Although politically autonomous, Lindos, Ialysos, and Cameiros collaborated in the Hexapolis, and later *Pentapolis*, which unified various cities of neighbouring islands and the south-western coast of Asia Minor.⁹⁰¹ Apart from forming a political alliance, the Hexapolis also organised a festival in honour of Apollo, which is further discussed below. Another important Rhodian participation was that in the Delian League during the Peloponnesian War. This made Rhodes an ally of Athens, which they remained until 412 BC when the islanders decided to revolt and switch to the Peloponnesian League.⁹⁰²

The political state of Rhodes consisted of the three cities throughout Archaic and early Classical times. At the end of the fifth century BC, however, the inhabitants founded the city of Rhodes. Established on the island's northernmost point, it became the principal *polis*.⁹⁰³ A possible reason for this might have been the continuing struggles throughout Greece during the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, and the fluctuating alliance of the Rhodians, who left the Delian League to join Sparta during the latter war.⁹⁰⁴ The establishment of a new city, combining the powers of three, was supposedly considered a suitable development in defending the island. In addition, its strategically chosen location proved exceedingly convenient in controlling maritime traffic, concerning both trading routes and naval activities. Nonetheless, the *poleis* of Lindos, Ialysos and Cameiros continued to exist, although the significance of especially the latter two severely declined.

The acropolis sanctuary at the city of Rhodes

Geography and topography

The sanctuary is situated on the western side of the acropolis (fig. 32), in the proximity of the cult site dedicated conjointly to Zeus and Athena.⁹⁰⁵ The terrace below the Apolline site housed what Hoepfner refers to as the 'big' *gymnasion* of the city (fig. 33), which would have been constructed around the same time as the sanctuary's temple. The *gymnasion* was later expanded with a palaestra for *ephebes*, although this did not transpire before the Hellenistic period.⁹⁰⁶

Of the acropolis itself, Konstantinopoulos and Graham state that it followed 'the same measured rhythm, symmetry and enclosure' as found at the acropolis of Lindos.⁹⁰⁷ Of the latter, up until the Classical period, they say the following:

'The form which the whole Lindian shrine finally took was determined by the need to set the acropolis at the highest, southernmost point of the great rock, where the temple of Athena had

⁹⁰⁰ Craik 1980: 175; Dicks 1974: 44

⁹⁰¹ Hdt. 1.144; Dicks 1974: 48

⁹⁰² Thuc. 1.96.1 – 2; Dillon and Garland 2013: 9; Osborne 1999: 330

⁹⁰³ Craik 1980: 36

⁹⁰⁴ Diod. 14.97.3 – 4; Thuc. 8.44.2

⁹⁰⁵ Konstantinopoulos and Graham 1968: 116; Morelli 1959: 80; Rocco 1996: 12; Williams and Schaus 2001: 86

⁹⁰⁶ Hoepfner 2002: 68 – 69; Rocco 1996: 14

⁹⁰⁷ Konstantinopoulos and Graham 1968: 118

stood from early times. In Classical times propylaea were built in front of the temple, framing and enclosing it within a limited space. A broad stairway led the visitor up into the very heart of the shrine. The propylaea, with a wing projecting on each side, created the impression of welcoming the visitor into an open embrace, in this way involving him personally in the atmosphere of memorials and shrines.⁹⁰⁸

They conclude that 'a gradually terraced arrangement' was also to be found at Cameiros,⁹⁰⁹ seemingly suggesting it a trait that might be considered standard for Rhodian practices.

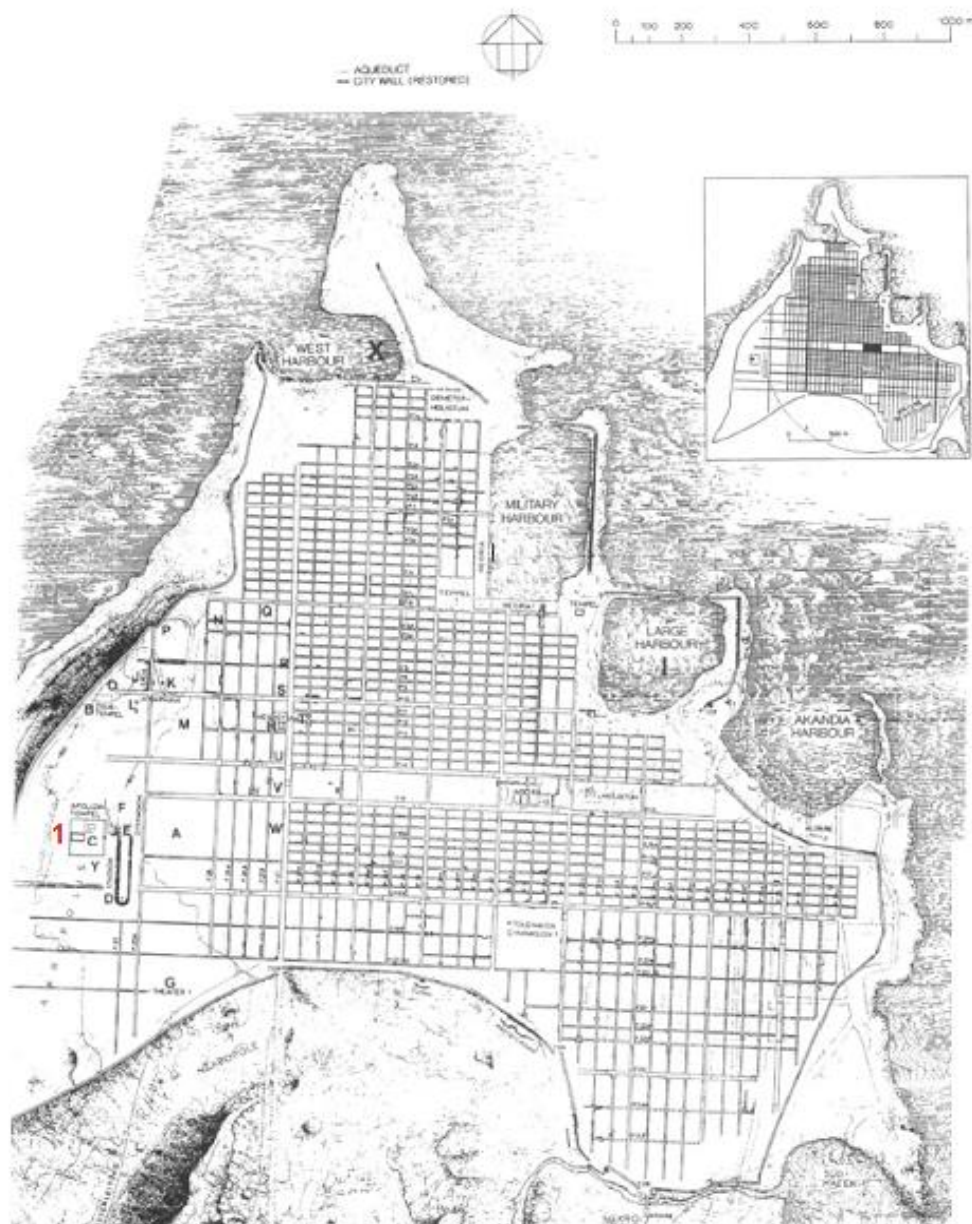


Figure 32 Map of the ancient city of Rhodes. Nr. 1 indicates the location of the Apolline sanctuary on the acropolis. (Rice 1995: 385, fig. 1)

⁹⁰⁸ Konstantinopoulos and Graham 1968: 117 – 118

⁹⁰⁹ Konstantinopoulos and Graham 1968: 118

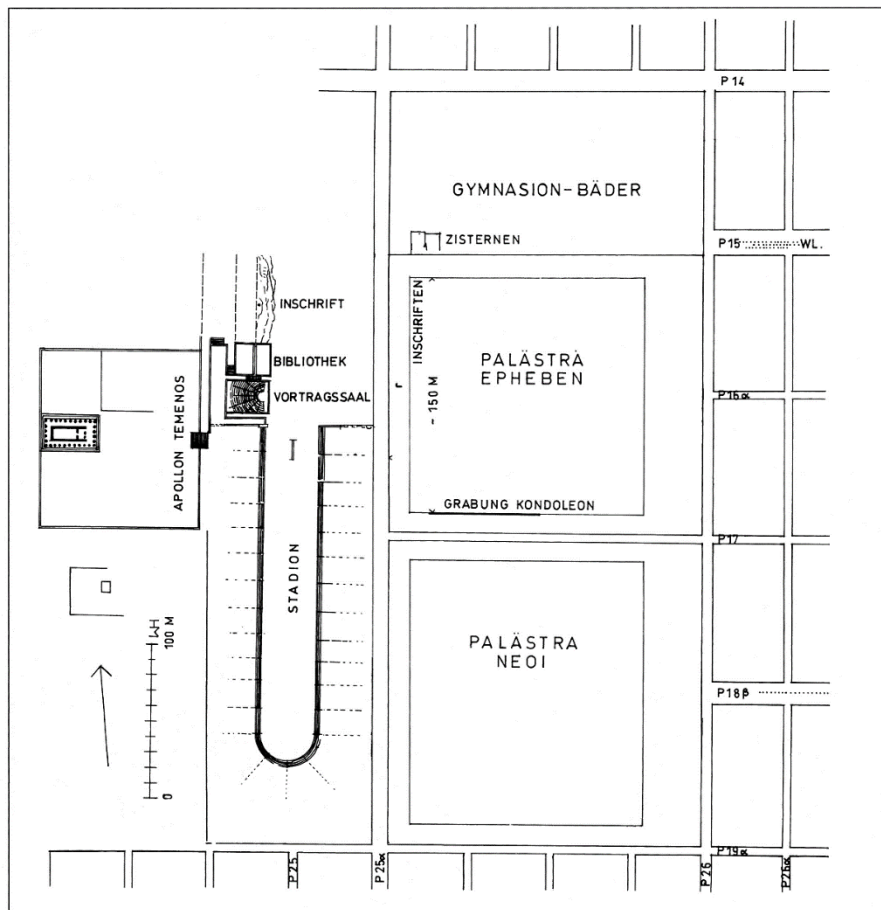


Figure 33 Map of the sanctuary of Apollo and the gymnasium in the Hellenistic period. (Hoepfner 2002: 68, fig. 87)

Archaeological fieldwork

The sanctuary of Apollo at the acropolis was also excavated by the Italian Archaeological School. Their fieldwork occurred between 1937 and 1939 under the direction of Laurenzi.⁹¹⁰ Apart from unearthing the architectural remains of a temple, the Italians also attempted to partially restore it. They managed to re-erect three and a half columns and a small part of the architrave in the north-eastern part of the building before their work came to a premature end due to the German occupation of Rhodes during the Second World War.⁹¹¹ The resurrected temple was seriously damaged by wartime bombings. Its conservation was commenced by the Greek Archaeological Service as early as 1946. The methods implemented by the Italians were unsuitable for the purpose of restoration. These included but are not limited to the use of 'materials highly incompatible with the historical stone' such as cement and concrete that damaged the original masonry, and the utilisation of 'repair stone that is highly susceptible to deterioration from salt spray'.⁹¹² As a result, the temple currently resides in scaffolding as it is in extremely poor state.⁹¹³

⁹¹⁰ French 1945: 101 – 102; Konstantinopoulos and Graham 1968: 117; Rocco 1996: 12

⁹¹¹ French 1945: 102; Konstantinopoulos 1986: 11; Morelli 1959: 108 – 109; Rice 1995: 384, 387

⁹¹² Apostolopoulou *et al.* 2019: 989 – 990; Rocco 1996: 17

⁹¹³ Apostolopoulou *et al.* 2019: 989

Architectural structures

While the discovered architectural remains of the Apolline sanctuary date between the third and the first century BC,⁹¹⁴ it is likely that the site was in use prior to the construction of the Hellenistic temple which comprised a Doric hexastyle *peripteros*.⁹¹⁵ Since the city of Rhodes was founded in 408 BC by the three Archaic cities of the island, it is reasonable to suggest that its initiation adhered to at least some degree of urban planning. In addition to this, the inhabitants of the new city would undoubtedly have had a variety of religious needs to tend to, for which they required a cult place. There is a possibility that older remains are still in-situ underneath the Hellenistic remnants and may not yet have come to light due to the limited excavations carried out by the Italian Archaeological School and the complete lack of excavations there since.

Dedications and worship

Apollo's acropolis sanctuary is often referred to as the 'temple of Apollo Pythios'. The epithet is abundantly present in inscriptions from Lindos, Cameiros and the city of Rhodes, the ones displayed below comprising just a small selection, suggesting that it was utilised in Rhodian Apolline cult. It appeared in texts such as dedications and lists of priests, both alone and in combination with other deities:

‘[Πολυκλῆς Π]ολυκράτεος ἱερατεύσας Διὶ Πολιεῖ.

Πολυκλῆς Πολυκράτεος ἱερατεύσας Ἀθαναίαι Λινδίαι.

Πολυκλῆς Πολυκράτεος ἱερατεύσας Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ.⁹¹⁶

Ὀνυμαρχίδας Εὐάρατος δαμιουργήσας

καὶ ἱεροποιήσαντες

Φίλων Γόργωνος

Εὐάρατος Ἀριστοδώρου

Ἀρίστανδρος Εὐδάμου

Ἀγάνωρ Θαρσύλου

Νικαγόρας Νικαγόρα

Ἀριστόμβροτος Κλεισιτίμου

Ἑρμοκρέων Θεώρου

Εὐκρατίδας Ἀγησάνδρου

Φίλτατος Ἀριστονίκου

καθ’ ὕοθεσίαν δὲ Ἀντισθένης

⁹¹⁴ Apostolopoulou *et al* 2019: 989; Rocco 1996: 14

⁹¹⁵ Rocco 1996: 14

⁹¹⁶ *Lindos* II 57

Ἀρισταίνετος Ἀριστάρχου
Φιλοκράτης Φιλοστεφάνου
Δαμοκρατίδας Ἀρετακρίτου
καὶ ἀρχιεριστήσας
Πολυκλῆς Πυθείου
καὶ ἱερατεύσαντες
Ἀθάνας Πολιάδος καὶ Διὸς Πολιέως
Ἀγίας Σθενέλα
Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου καὶ Καρνείου
Ἀγαθόβουλος Σιμία
Ἀσκληπιοῦ
Ὀνάσανδρος Πεισιδάμου
καὶ ἱεροκᾶρυξ
Εὐρύδικος Τίμωνος
vacat
θεοῖς.
vacat
Πυθόκριτος Τιμοχάριος Ῥόδιος
ἐποίησε.⁹¹⁷

Γλαύκων Ἐτεοκλέους
Ἀθηναῖος πρόξενος
Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ.⁹¹⁸

Ἐξάναρχος Ἐξακέστου ἱερατεύσας
Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθαέως
καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ὀλίου [καὶ]
Ἀρτέμιτος τᾶς ἐν Κεκοίαι
θεοῖς.⁹¹⁹

While the supply of inscriptions is significant, none of them has been dated prior to the last quarter of the fourth century BC, making the oldest ones Hellenistic in origin.⁹²⁰

⁹¹⁷ *Tit. Cam.* 44

⁹¹⁸ *IG* XII,1 25

⁹¹⁹ *IG* XII,1 834

⁹²⁰ *Lindos* II 57, 61

Some modern scholars have opted to replace the site's resident, arguing that the sanctuary would have belonged to Helios rather than Apollo and might even have served as the location of the legendary Colossus of Rhodes.⁹²¹ Nevertheless, the reasoning by Vedder as to why the identification of the cult site as Apolline is improbable is questionable, as she explains that it occurred through a reference on a stone that was reused in the door of a nearby Turkish house bearing an inscription from the third century BC which mentions the name Apollo Pythios. While this can indeed not be considered a straightforward identification, it seems that she disregards all the other inscriptions bearing the name of Apollo Pythios that were found in the city of Rhodes. In addition, Vedder claims that the prominent location of the sanctuary would reserve its inhabitation for an important god; a role which, she claims, would befit Helios more than Apollo, at least in the context of the city of Rhodes.⁹²² According to myth, Helios would have chosen Rhodes when the world was divided amongst the gods.⁹²³ This would undoubtedly have provided him a significant place in the Rhodian pantheon, but, nevertheless, it seems to have been primarily a development of the Classical period. In contrast to Apollo, there are neither archaeological nor epigraphical sources that, directly or indirectly, suggest the veneration of Helios during the Archaic period. Furthermore, the name Apollo Pythios is occasionally encountered in inscriptions which also mention the names Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus.⁹²⁴ These deities shared a sanctuary on the Rhodian acropolis.⁹²⁵ The combination of the three names possibly reflects the proximity of the sites of the deities on the Rhodian acropolis.

The establishment of an Apolline site on the Rhodian acropolis could have been a calculated act that was possibly a result of the political alliances of the Peloponnesian War. The new city of Rhodes came into existence only four years after the islanders revolted against the Athenians and joined the Peloponnesian League which was led by the Spartans.⁹²⁶ Conflict between Athens and Sparta had come into play already in the aftermath of the Persian Wars when the cities clashed over Delphi, in which Sparta attempted to repeal the effort of the Phokian *koinon* to force the Delphians to join them, which was backed by Athens. While Athens did withdraw its support, causing the Phokians to fail, Sparta did not retract its renewed involvement in Delphi. This was accentuated by a steady increase of dedications during the second half of the fifth century BC.⁹²⁷ Perhaps this pressed the Rhodians into creating their own affiliation with the Delphic sanctuary in order to show their dedication to the Peloponnesian League, as one's presence at the cult place in Delos would have been a clear indication of one's allegiance to Athens, at least for the duration of the Peloponnesian War. Although Rhodian dedications still remain absent from Delphi at this time, no dedications of such origin are known at the sanctuary prior to the fourth century BC when they supposedly

⁹²¹ Kebric 2019: 92; Vedder 2015: 118

⁹²² *JG* XII,1 25; Vedder 2015: 118

⁹²³ Pind. *O.* 7.55 – 65 (translation by D. Arnson Svarlien, 1990)

⁹²⁴ *JG* XII,1 705; *Tit. Cam.* 38, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50

⁹²⁵ *Lindos* II 57; Konstantinopoulos and Graham 1968: 116

⁹²⁶ Thuc. 1.96.1 – 2; Dillon and Garland 2013: 9; Osborne 1999: 330

⁹²⁷ Scott 2010: 97 – 98; Scott 2014: 132

dedicated a sculpture which Pausanias refers to as Apollo but has been identified by Scott as Helios, the islanders' sanctuary of Apollo on their new acropolis might have been a result of this consideration.⁹²⁸

Overall, it appears that the inclusion of Pythios-related cult in Rhodian religion was implemented from the mid-fifth century onward, when the Rhodians switched sides in the Peloponnesian War. As such, the Rhodian incarnation of Pythian Apollo was likely an outcome of the unstable political environment of Greece at the time and could have been deemed useful in asserting the island's new alliance. Considering the number of Hellenistic inscriptions including the name of Pythios, it seems that the epithet became well-established in Rhodian Apolline worship.

Dedications and worship elsewhere

Limestone statuettes in the forms of lions and falcons have been found in Lindos, Ialysos and Cameiros, most of which date around the middle of the sixth century BC. It has been suggested these objects were connected to Apollo.⁹²⁹ The lion figures are commonly displayed in a sitting position with both head and upper body erect. The mouth is open, displaying both teeth and tongue. The Lindian examples are often depicted with bleeding teeth. The eyes and muzzle are arranged in such a way as to form a large triangle. In addition, the face is provided with small, triangular ears. The contour of the mane, partially covering the forehead, crowns the head with a fairly round collar. The paws are placed side by side, with the tail swaying in an arch over one of the hind legs.⁹³⁰ Found at the three Archaic cities, they have not been assigned sanctuaries considered to have belonged to Apollo. The animals were not uncommon companions of the god. Lions frequently functioned as guardians of his sanctuaries and statues depicting them have been found at sites such as Delos.⁹³¹ Falcons were considered birds of prophecy, which links them to Apollo's oracular element.⁹³² Nevertheless, the statuettes in question appear to have been limited to eastern Greece.⁹³³ This has culminated in the scholarly assumption that there was a link between the popularity of these objects as dedications and the thriving exchange between this area and the eastern Mediterranean, as the lion statuettes held comparable positions in Asia Minor, Egypt and the Near East.⁹³⁴ In Knidos, the animals were primarily affiliated with Apollo. Apart from the great many statuettes discovered at the god's temple, the lion was also commonly depicted on the city's Archaic and Classical coinage.⁹³⁵ The latter would befit the god's deemed position in the local pantheon. In Egypt, the statuettes of both animals were offered to the god Horus, who

⁹²⁸ Paus. 10.18.4; Scott 2010: 129

⁹²⁹ Berges 2006: 92 – 94, 98, 100

⁹³⁰ Berges 2006: 92 – 93

⁹³¹ Hermay 1984: 20; Höckmann 2013: 370

⁹³² Höckmann 2013: 370

⁹³³ Berges 2006: 94, 98 Cahn 1972: 199

⁹³⁴ Berges 2006: 94 – 95

⁹³⁵ Berges 2006: 92; Cahn 1970: 20 – 29, 34 – 36, 40 – 44, 56 – 61, 66 – 67, 198 – 199, 211

was believed capable of taking the form of a lion in order to slay his enemies, which resulted in him often being depicted with the body of said animal and was consistently portrayed with the head of a falcon.⁹³⁶ According to Herodotos, the Greeks associated Horus with Apollo.⁹³⁷ This was a likely outcome of close interactions with the Egyptians. Interactions would already have been significant by the beginning of the Mycenaean period, which in Egypt corresponds to the reigns of the pharaohs Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Illustrations of this period have been found depicting 'Aegean tributaries' seemingly including both Minoans and Mycenaeans.⁹³⁸ A roughly three hundred years afterward, around 1200 BC, contact was still in place, for Egyptian scarabs and glass have been found in tombs in Attic Perati and Rhodian Ialysos.⁹³⁹ Later, during the Archaic period, Rhodians and Knidians were among those who took part in the foundation of Naukratis; the only Greek settlement in Egypt.⁹⁴⁰ The latter would have witnessed the exchange and adaptation of various aspects of Egyptian culture by the Greek settlers and vice versa, eventually resulting in the transmission of these elements to the Greek homeland. Moreover, the Naukratian sanctuary of Apollo was one of the settlement's earliest sanctuaries, having been established in the last quarter of the seventh century BC.⁹⁴¹ In addition, various inscriptions at Abu-Simbel, dating to the early sixth century BC, describe the presence of Rhodian soldiers, probably mercenaries, who served in the armies of the Saïtic pharaohs for roughly a century from the second half of the seventh century BC onwards.⁹⁴² It was not merely the islanders who journeyed across the sea, for Herodotos mentions dedications at the Samian Heraion and temple of Athena at Lindos made by pharaoh Amasis II.⁹⁴³

It is most probable that the statuettes originating in Rhodes were based on Egyptian objects. This has led some scholars to interpret Rhodian Apollo as a sun deity, often merging him with Helios.⁹⁴⁴ Berges supports this view by arguing that the Egyptians regarded lions as the embodiment of the sun god Ra, and as a symbol of the pharaoh, who was worshipped as Ra's son. He continues to state that the Rhodian lion statuettes follow typical Egyptian iconography and, as such, had to refer to a sun god. Apart from Rhodes, he also assigns this aspect to Apollo in Knidos.⁹⁴⁵ In addition, he emphasises the similar iconography on sphinx statuettes which also originated in eastern Greece, including Rhodes and Knidos, and attributes this to the perception of Apollo as a sun god as well.⁹⁴⁶ However, as stated before, lions were commonly associated with Apolline cult across Greece.⁹⁴⁷ While there was a well-established trade network between Greece and Egypt, the main focus of these interactions

⁹³⁶ Fairman 1935: 34; Gilula 1982: 259; Gwyn Griffiths 1958: 80; Wilkinson 2003: 202

⁹³⁷ Hdt. 2.144.2

⁹³⁸ O'Connor 2008: 109

⁹³⁹ Osborne 1996: 36 – 37

⁹⁴⁰ Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006: 4; Weber 2012: 297

⁹⁴¹ Höckmann 2013: 369; Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006: 5

⁹⁴² Ehrhardt *et al.* 2008: 173; Höckmann 2013: 371; Weber 2012: 294 – 295

⁹⁴³ Hdt. 2.182.1

⁹⁴⁴ Berges 2006: 88 – 89; Cahn 1970: 198; Zusanek 1994: 432

⁹⁴⁵ Berges 2006: 95

⁹⁴⁶ Berges 2006: 91

⁹⁴⁷ Höckmann 2013: 370; Larson 2007: 97

appear to have been the eastern Greek *poleis*. Hence, it is unlikely for other parts of Greece to have considered Apollo a sun deity based upon his proposed association with Egyptian Ra. In addition, dedicational sphinxes were also not limited to this area. On the island of Aigina, a terracotta sphinx was dedicated to Apollo at his temple.⁹⁴⁸ Another example can be found at the Delphic sanctuary where the Naxians dedicated an Archaic marble sphinx atop an Ionic column.⁹⁴⁹ A similar-looking sphinx, albeit slightly younger, was dedicated on Delos by the Parians.⁹⁵⁰ The fact that the Rhodian and Knidian sphinxes display Egyptian characteristics does not necessarily mean that they were perceived similar by the eastern Greeks and Egyptians. Considering the intense exchange implemented by the Rhodians, it comes as no surprise that they adapted certain traits from places such as Egypt. Scholars have often referred to this as so-called 'orientalisation'; a phenomenon that was supposedly initiated during the seventh century BC and witnessed the Greeks taking over elements from eastern cultures which they deemed useful for their own.⁹⁵¹ Nevertheless, this concerns a flawed perception. First of all, it is primarily focused on objects that are nowadays considered 'art' while ignoring other important components necessary for the development of society. Secondly, it suggests that it was merely a one-way exchange. It does not take into account the fact that the non-Greeks taking part in such trading networks would also adapt Greek aspects. As previously described, the presence of Naukratis would have resulted in the Egyptians adapting certain elements from the Greeks who lived there. For instance, many Greek coins, the earliest dating to the late sixth century BC, have been found in Egypt. These are proposed to have functioned as a payment method for Greek mercenaries, and also as models for the oldest Egyptian coins.⁹⁵² Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the statuettes found on Rhodes would have functioned as general dedications to Apollo instead of having been assigned to a specific cultic aspect.

Apart from the previously discussed Pythios, there is a variety of epithets associated with Apollo that appear in Rhodian inscriptions. Most prominent would have been that of Karneios, as the amount of inscriptions it is attested in outnumbers that of other Apolline cult titles utilised on the island. Inscriptions making mention of it were discovered in all three of the Archaic cities and also in the city of Rhodes. While many of these remain undated,⁹⁵³ those that have been provided a provenance are all set between the third and first centuries BC, thus not predating the Hellenistic period.⁹⁵⁴ However, it is not implausible that the epithet was incorporated in Apolline worship prior to this period. In eight inscriptions, all from Cameiros, the title of Karneios seems to be combined with that of Pythios:

⁹⁴⁸ Bookidis 2000: 384

⁹⁴⁹ Scott 2014: 87

⁹⁵⁰ Kokkorou-Alewas 1993: 94

⁹⁵¹ Pedley 2002: 127; Plantzos 2016: 66; Robertson 1981: 4; Woodford 2015: 4, 195

⁹⁵² Weber 2012: 296

⁹⁵³ *IG* XII,1 1095,12, 1113,5, 1123, 1137,6, 1137,5, 1139,8, 1170,8, 1174,4, 1179,13, 1180,5, 1185, 1192,4, 1199, 1201,6, 1220, 1250, 1301, 1322

⁹⁵⁴ *IG* XII 1, 697, 705, 890, 1066; *Lindos* II 282, 294, 299c, 347, 349, 378, 398, 674; *Tit. Cam.* 38, 43 – 47, 50

Despite extensive excavations in Cameiros, no sanctuary was discovered that has been identified as an Apollonion. There exists the possibility that the epithet of Karneios was implemented at the Apolline cult place on the acropolis of Rhodes city. The epithet has been attested in inscriptions from there, albeit not in combination with that of Pythios.⁹⁵⁶ Nonetheless, potential support for such theory can be found in the placement of the city's *gymnasion*, as it was built on the terrace just below the sanctuary of Apollo shortly after the city's foundation (fig. 33).⁹⁵⁷ In other cities, it was not uncommon for the *gymnasion* to have been associated with Karneios. As described in their respective chapters, this was potentially the case in Corinth and Megara, where the cult title is suggested to have been associated with ephebic activities.⁹⁵⁸ It is not implausible for something similar to have transpired in the Rhodian *gymnasion*, not in the least since an ephebic palaestra was added in Hellenistic times.⁹⁵⁹ Even if the *gymnasion* and the Apolline acropolis sanctuary were connected from their early days, this did not transpire before the late fifth century BC. Hence, Archaic utilisation of the epithet of Karneios has to be sought elsewhere, perhaps in a joint religious event of the Hexapolis.

Apart from the three Archaic cities of Rhodes, this union included the island of Kos, Knidos, and Halikarnassos.⁹⁶⁰ The month Karneios has been attested in the calendars of Rhodes and Kos.⁹⁶¹ While there is no direct evidence for the implementation of the epithet of Karneios in Halikarnassos, the local calendar has only been partially reconstructed. So far, merely seven months have been positively assigned to it.⁹⁶² Therefore, it is not impossible that Karneios would also have played a part in it. No direct sources attest to the inclusion of the month in the Knidian calendar either.⁹⁶³ Nevertheless, it is implausible for the city not to have observed the month, since its celebration of the Karneia is evident in two inscriptions both of which are dedicated by men who served as runners. One of these, a dedication to Apollo Karneios by a man named Klearchos, came to light during the American excavations. According to Blümel, the blue-grey block of marble on which the inscription was found would have belonged to an altar at the Knidian sanctuary of Apollo, which is also referred to as the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios. Originating between 180 and 170 BC, it was reused in a Byzantine wall from which it was retrieved. The construction of the block has been assigned to Theon of Antioch, who is known to have worked in Rhodes in 180 BC.⁹⁶⁴ It is possible that this was not the only dedication including Klearchos. A marble block that was retrieved from

⁹⁵⁵ *IG* XII,1 697; *Lindos* II 674; *Tit. Cam.* 38, 43 – 47, 50

⁹⁵⁶ *IG* XII,1 1066, 1095,12, 1113,5, 1170,8, 1179,13, 1185, 1192,4, 1199, 1201,6, 1220

⁹⁵⁷ Hoepfner 2002: 68 – 69

⁹⁵⁸ Paus. 1.44.2; Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.4; McAuley 2018: 232 – 233; Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 203; Cf. case study Corinth: 98; Cf. case study Megara: 150

⁹⁵⁹ Hoepfner 2002: 69

⁹⁶⁰ *Hdt.* 1.144.1, 3; Dicks 1974: 48

⁹⁶¹ Trümpy 1997: 178, 182

⁹⁶² Trümpy 1997: 113 – 114

⁹⁶³ Trümpy 1997: 185

⁹⁶⁴ Bankel 2009: 325; Blümel 2019: 107 – 108; Love 1970: 149; Love 1972: 398

the middle-terrace of the Apolline sanctuary, which is regularly stated to have belonged to Apollo 'Karneios', bears an inscription which also mentions the name 'Klearchos'. Additionally, it has been dated to the same period, the first half of the second century BC.⁹⁶⁵ The second inscription concerning a Karneia runner was found on a rectangular marble base. Originating in the second half of the first century AD, it dates to the Imperial Roman period, thus making it roughly two centuries younger than the dedications mentioned above.⁹⁶⁶ The Imperial Roman period of Knidos provided a few more epigraphical dedications to Apollo Karneios.⁹⁶⁷ While neither of these inscriptions date to the Archaic period, they do attest that the celebration of the Karneia still occurred in Roman times. Of the introduction of the whole concept of Karneios, one must likely go further back in time. Similar to the case of Cyrene, as discussed in the chapter about Apolline epithets, the introduction of the epithet Karneios and the subsequent celebration of the Karneia in Knidian religion was possibly a result of close ties with Sparta, for the latter would have participated in the city's foundation.⁹⁶⁸ Malkin supports this by stating that 'Knidos was certainly considered Spartan at least in the days of Herodotos'.⁹⁶⁹ Two of the previously mentioned inscriptions state that the Knidian Karneia included a footrace, which was also occurred in Sparta. Considering that the Spartan Karneia were already well-established in the fifth century BC, as is shown by Sparta's refusal to immediately aid the Athenians against the Persians, it is not implausible that the epithet and festival would have been included in Knidian Apolline cult during the Archaic period, even though the earliest epigraphical sources date to the second century BC. This Spartan impact on Knidian worship was possibly also reflected in the festival of the Hexapolis. It has been suggested that the Apolline festival of the Hexapolis would actually have been the celebration of the Karneia, not in the least since it took place at the Knidian sanctuary which is regularly referred to as the 'temple of Apollo Karneios'.⁹⁷⁰ Yet, this is difficult to prove due to the lack of ancient sources. The only author to describe the religious gathering is Herodotos, who merely calls it 'τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος', thus providing Apollo a title related to the surrounding Triopian area rather than referring to him as Karneios.⁹⁷¹

However, the association of Apollo Karneios with the Hexapolis is not implausible. If the god's character were similar to that in Sparta and Cyrene, as described in the epithet chapter,⁹⁷² the joint worship in Knidos could have been a celebration of the god's protection of the Hexapolis, which likely included the assurance of its continuation. This would also explain the expulsion of Halikarnassos as a result of its alleged insolence towards him. According to Herodotos, the following happened:

⁹⁶⁵ Blümel 1992: 107; Weber 2013: 151

⁹⁶⁶ Ünver 2020: 465

⁹⁶⁷ SEG 56-1201; Blümel 2019: 47 – 48; Love 1970: 151

⁹⁶⁸ Hdt. 1.174.2; Diod. 5.53.2; Bankel 2009: 88, 325; Love 1970: 151; Love 1972: 398; Cf. chapter Apolline epithets: 66 – 67

⁹⁶⁹ Malkin 1994: 81

⁹⁷⁰ Attula 2006: 85; Bankel 2009: 88, 325; Love 1970: 151; Love 1972: 398

⁹⁷¹ Hdt. 1.144.2

⁹⁷² Cf. chapter Apolline epithets: 64 – 68

‘έν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὢν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἔκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησσόν. τούτοισι μὲν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.’

‘For long ago, in the games in honour of Triopian Apollo, they offered certain bronze tripods to the victors; and those who won these were not to carry them away from the temple but dedicate them there to the god. Now when a man of Halikarnassos called Agasikles won, he disregarded this law, and, carrying the tripod away, nailed it to the wall of his own house. For this offense the five cities—Lindos, Ialyssos, Cameiros, Kos and Knidos —forbade the sixth city— Halikarnassos —to share in the use of the temple.⁹⁷³

Banishing Halikarnassos from the Hexapolis was likely a precaution as to not anger Apollo for the gravely committed insult. By enforcing the city’s eviction, the other members would have provided a statement rejecting any disrespect aimed towards Apollo. They might have feared that failing to do so would revoke his divine protection from their league. Hence, the expulsion of Halikarnassos was presumably an act of self-preservation in order to safeguard their political construction. This does not seem to have been uncommon practise in ancient Greek religion. Thukydides describes the outrage of the Eleans when the Spartans attacked Lepreon, in the land of Elis, during the Olympic truce and, subsequently, refused to pay the fine bestowed upon them for their insolence. As a result, perhaps partially in fear of repercussions from Olympian Zeus, the Eleans excluded them from participation in the Olympic Games of 420 BC.⁹⁷⁴ However, in contrast to Halikarnassos, the expulsion was temporary and the Spartans were likely allowed to re-join the games again in 416 BC.⁹⁷⁵ Since the expulsion of Halikarnassos was narrated by Herodotos, it is clear that the event transpired not later than the fifth century BC. Considering that he refers to the games as something that have occurred for a long time by the time of his account, it would seem that they were first introduced in the Archaic period. If the festival of the Hexapolis was indeed celebrated in honour of Apollo Karneios, it can be suggested that the epithet could have been in use by all members of the Hexapolis upon the feast’s inauguration, which would provide the cult title an Archaic provenance also in Rhodes. This might explain the lack of sources in regard to the feast on Rhodes. As stated above, there are numerous inscriptions that show the implementation of the epithet in Rhodian worship, at least by the Hellenistic period. Of its accompanying festival,

⁹⁷³ Hdt. 1.144.2 – 3 (translation by A.D. Godley, 1920)

⁹⁷⁴ Thuc. 5.49.1 – 50.5; Hornblower 2000: 212

⁹⁷⁵ Hornblower 2000: 221, 223

however, no such sources exist, even though the Apolline festival of the Erethimia is mentioned in several inscriptions.⁹⁷⁶

Overall, it does not seem unreasonable to propose the implementation of the epithet of Karneios in Rhodian Apolline cult prior to its first attestation in inscriptions from the island. Where and how exactly remains up for debate not in the least due to a lack of archaeological sources.

Another epithet that is both evident in inscriptions and in an eponymous month is that of Delios.⁹⁷⁷ Comparable to basically all Rhodian inscriptions mentioned in this chapter, they are of Hellenistic origin.⁹⁷⁸ Both engravings came from the city of Cameiros. As previously described, no Apolline sanctuary has been discovered there as of yet, even though the whole site has been thoroughly excavated. As such, the inscriptions might refer to Apolline worship elsewhere on the island. Additionally, one of them is also mentioned in the section of Apollo Karneios, for it also comprises the cult titles of Karneios and Pythios. The main difference, though, is that Karneios and Pythios are both written in the same sentence, while Delios is noted separately two lines below.⁹⁷⁹

Regardless of the fact that the only inscriptions including the epithet date to second century BC, it is plausible to propose that the first contacts between Rhodes and Delos were initiated through overseas trade, in which the Lindians proved specifically prominent, that would have opened the door for Rhodian worship at the island.⁹⁸⁰ As stated in the epithet chapter, the religious significance of Delos was not least due to it being perceived as Apollo's birthplace:

ἡχαίρει δέ τε πότνια Λητώ,
οὔνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱὸν ἔτικτε.
χαῖρε, μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ἀπόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,
τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κρاناῖ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ,'

'Rejoice, blessed Leto, for you bare glorious children, the lord Apollo and Artemis who delights in arrows; her in Ortygia, and him in rocky Delos,⁹⁸¹

According to Thukydides, a 'great gathering' encompassing the 'Delian games' that was attended by people of Ionian descent and those of other neighbouring islands already

⁹⁷⁶ BCH 99 (1975) 97; He lalysia 170,6, 171,7, 171,8

⁹⁷⁷ Trümpy 1997: 178

⁹⁷⁸ *Tit. Cam.* 50, 90

⁹⁷⁹ *Tit. Cam.* 50

⁹⁸⁰ Constantakopoulou 2007: 40

⁹⁸¹ *HH* 3 12 – 16 (translation by H.G. Evelyn-White, 1914)

occurred in 'ancient days'.⁹⁸² Considering that Thukydides wrote his account in the fifth century BC, the days of which he speaks transpired during the Archaic period. Although Rhodes is not located in the direct proximity of Delos, it seems not too far removed from it as to not count towards Thukydides' concept of 'neighbouring'. Even if it would have been outside of Thukydides' reach, when taking into account that Delos was one of many places which the Lindians incorporated in their large trading network, it shows that the Rhodians were not averted by the prospect of a potentially longer sea travel, thus making a journey to the island of Delian Apollo for a festival highly plausible.⁹⁸³ Their participation there was likely interrupted by the Peloponnesian War. At that time, Delos was already a fundamental component of the Athenians, who had presumed leadership of the Delian League.⁹⁸⁴ The switch the Rhodians made from the Athenian to the Spartan alliance in 412 BC suggests that they were no longer able to access Delos, thus being forced to forfeit their worship of Apollo Delios there, at least for the further duration of the war. The Hellenistic inscriptions mentioned above imply that the worship of Apollo under the epithet did not end as a result of Delos becoming inaccessible. How it was implemented on Rhodes, however, remains unknown since there are no further sources on the matter.

Although the formerly examined epithets of Pythios, Karneios, and Delios are not the only epithets attested for Apolline worship in Rhodes, they are the ones that are most likely to have been in use latest by the fifth century BC. While extended excavations have taken place at an Apolline extra-urban sanctuary in the proximity of Ialysos, the results of this research all point in the direction of a Hellenistic provenance, as do inscriptions bearing the name of the epithet, Erethimios, and its accompanying festival, the Erethimia, that have been associated with the site.⁹⁸⁵ Furthermore, other cult titles, including but not limited to Aeigenetes, Epimilios, Farmakios, and Mylantios, are merely established in a few inscriptions or texts ranging from Hellenistic to Imperial Roman times.⁹⁸⁶ Since there are no other indications whatsoever that could demonstrate a possible earlier origin, they will not be discussed in this chapter.

Conclusion

The earliest archaeological evidence that can be associated with Apolline worship in Rhodes seem to be limestone statuettes of lions and falcons that date to the sixth century BC. However, as none of these bear any sort of inscription, their connection to the god is indirect and based on the fact that both animals were not uncommonly linked to Apollo. Whereas the lion would have been deemed to guard his cult sites, falcons were believed to be birds of

⁹⁸² Thuc. 3.104.3 (translation by B. Jowett, 1881)

⁹⁸³ Bresson 1999: 99; Dicks 1974: 45

⁹⁸⁴ Thuc. 1.96.1 – 2; Dillon and Garland 2013: 9; Osborne 1999: 330

⁹⁸⁵ *JG* XII,1 730, 732, 733, 735; *Lindos* II 679; *He Ialysia* 168,4, 175,15; Konstantinopoulos 1986: 167; Triantafyllidis and Sarantidis 2015: 28; Triantafyllidis and Sarantidis 2015(2): 80; Tsipotas 2015: 58

⁹⁸⁶ Macrob. 1.17.35, 1.17.45; *Tit. Cam.* 28, 30, 38, 90

prophecy. Similar lion statuettes have also been found in Knidos, another member of the Hexapolis, where they were discovered at the Apolline sanctuary.

While no Archaic cult places of Apollo have so far been identified on Rhodes, the god did receive a site on the acropolis of Rhodes city, established in 408 BC. Although the architectural remains of the sanctuary are all of Hellenistic origin, it is reasonable to consider an earlier provenance since the excavation efforts of the Italians during the 1930s were rather inadequate, as they seem to have stopped at the sight of the Hellenistic remains after which the focus was switched to reconstruction. Hence, no archaeological research has been carried out past the Hellenistic layer. Since the foundation of the city of Rhodes was a calculated act by the island's three Archaic cities, it can be suggested the earliest inhabitants of the city did have religious needs regardless of an early monumentalisation of an appointed cult site and would likely act on those.

A number of epithets appear in Rhodian inscriptions. While none of these inscriptions predate the Hellenistic period, whereas some are still undated, three epithets can be argued to have been utilised by the Rhodians prior to this age. Pythios is the title that is generally associated with the sanctuary on the acropolis. Initially absent from worship at Delphi, it appears that the link with Pythios was established after the Rhodians would have been banned from venerating at Delos due to swapping their loyalties from the Athenians, who were in charge of the island, to the Spartans, who were more active in Delphi at that time. Then there is the epithet of Karneios. This title is most abundant among the Apolline epithets in found inscriptions, not uncommonly in combination with Pythios. The latter might suggest that both titles were observed in the acropolis sanctuary, potentially with ephebic activities through the nearby *gymnasion*. Furthermore, Karneios was also the name for one of the months in the Rhodian calendar. The same month is observed in Kos and might also be one of the five months that are still missing for the calendar of Halikarnassos. While seemingly not observed in Knidos, the referral to the city's Apolline sanctuary as that of Apollo Karneios and its celebration of the Karneia implies the inclusion of the epithet as well. Hence, it appears that the cult title would have played some sort of role in at least five of the six cities of the Hexapolis. Additionally, it has been proposed that the union would have jointly implemented the Karneia at the site in Knidos. The description by Herodotos of the expulsion of Halikarnassos from the Hexapolis indicates that the festival originated no later than the fifth century BC. The last epithet of potential Archaic origin in Rhodian worship is that of Delios, which also had an eponymous month. Due to Archaic connections established by Lindian traders, Rhodes would have been one of many cities/ islands that Thukydides claims participated in the Apolline celebrations on Delos, the perceived island of the god's birth. Participation here, however, was likely interrupted during the Peloponnesian War, though Hellenistic inscriptions suggest that worship might have continued in Rhodes itself or was reinstated on Delos after the conclusion of the war.

Overall, Rhodian Apolline worship of the Archaic period appears to have included aspects related to the epithets of Karneios and Delios, both of which also featured as months

in the Rhodian calendar. The main celebration of the former was possibly celebrated in consolidation with the other members of the Hexapolis, while that of the latter was observed on the island of Delos together with various Ionians and people of other islands. The fifth century BC would have witnessed the introduction of Apollo Pythios as a result of the Rhodians being (temporarily) impeded in on-site worship due to war. As such, all three of these epithets carried some degree of political affiliation, at least in their outward appearance. How they were observed on the island of Rhodes itself is difficult to determine. Whereas the implementation of ephebic rites at the acropolis sanctuary is not implausible, this would not have occurred prior to the city's establishment in the late fifth century BC. Unfortunately, the absence of sources on the Archaic period on the island impedes the development of insight into local practices of this period.

11. The cult of Apollo in Gela

A brief history of Gela

The founding of Gela is narrated in an account by Thukydides. Of the city's establishment, the author states the following:

‘Γέλαν δὲ Ἀντίφημος ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἐντιμος ἐκ Κρήτης ἐποίκους ἀγαγόντες κοινῇ ἔκτισαν, ἔτει πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οἴκισιν. καὶ τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Γέλα ποταμοῦ τοῦνομα ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ χωρίον οὗ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ πρῶτον ἐτειχίσθη Λίνδιοι καλεῖται: νόμιμα δὲ Δωρικὰ ἐτέθη αὐτοῖς.’

‘Gela was founded by Antiphemos from Rhodes and Entimos from Crete, who joined in leading a colony thither, in the forty-fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse. The town took its name from the river Gelas, the place where the citadel now stands, and which was first fortified, being called Lindii. The institutions which they adopted were Dorian.’⁹⁸⁷

The event would have taken place in 688 BC, if one considers Thukydides’ claim on the foundation of Syracuse.⁹⁸⁸ However, since the exact year of the latter is unknown, it is difficult to determine the precise date of the foundation of Gela. The proposition to place Syracuse’s origins in the second half of the eighth century BC, would assign the establishing of Gela to in the first half, most likely first quarter, of the seventh century BC.⁹⁸⁹ This is a remarkably late originating, compared to other Greek settlements of the first wave in Sicily. Nonetheless, the actual Geloan site has provided archaeological material predating the city’s origins, which presented itself in the form of Greek pottery dating to the eighth century BC. Naturally, this does not necessarily demonstrate an earlier occupation by the Greeks as there is a conceivable possibility that a part of Greek material culture had already been incorporated in indigenous societies. Therefore, various objects might have been obtained through trade.⁹⁹⁰ Another theory for such an early presence of Greek ceramics, probably at least partially based on the Thukydides’ text, is given by Holloway as ‘initial Rhodian station, Lindoi, which preceded the joint Rhodian-Cretan venture’.⁹⁹¹ Accordingly, it meant the end of the first significant period of Greek overseas migration in the western Mediterranean. Although the primary part of Gela’s settlers is said to have come from either Rhodes, notably Lindos, or Crete, it is highly plausible people from other parts of the Aegean joined as well, for many

⁹⁸⁷ Thuc. 6.4.3 (translation by R. Crawley, 1910)

⁹⁸⁸ Thuc. 6.3.2

⁹⁸⁹ Berger 1992: 23; Champion 2010: 2; De Angelis 2016: 71; Holloway 2004: 45; Panvini and Sole 2001: 13; Zuppardo and Piccolo 2005: 25, 165; Cf. case study Syracuse: 120

⁹⁹⁰ Holloway 2004: 63; Hornblower 2008: 274 – 275

⁹⁹¹ Holloway 2004: 63

small islands were condemned to poor agricultural opportunities.⁹⁹² For example, Herodotos claims that the ancestors of the Deinomenids came to Gela from the island of Telos.⁹⁹³

Gela's history during the rest of the seventh century BC remains uncertain. Hardly anything is known about its proceedings other than its seemingly irrepressible growing prosperity. This newly found wealth resulted in the establishment of Gela's own settlement on the island's south-western coast. Known by the name of Akragas, the city's founding arose during the first half of the sixth century, 'one hundred years after Gela' according to Thukydides.⁹⁹⁴ Furthermore, the mid-sixth century BC observed the arrival of more Rhodian settlers, possibly caused by the emergence of the Persians in the eastern Aegean.⁹⁹⁵

The end of the century witnessed the fall of Gela's supposed oligarchy, as power was seized by Kleandros.⁹⁹⁶ He became Gela's first tyrant and, apparently, intended to create a centralised state spread across a multitude of territories. When he died around 498 or 497 BC, he was replaced by his brother Hippokrates, who managed to establish a small empire by the time of his death around 492/ 491 BC.⁹⁹⁷ The tyranny continued the following decades, culminating in Gela's position as most powerful amongst the Sicilian Greek cities. A status which remained in Geloan hands until Gelon, first tyrant of the Deinomenid dynasty, decided to take command of Syracuse in 485 BC.⁹⁹⁸ After Gelon's departure, his brother Hieron took control over the city. Yet, he was ill-received by its inhabitants. After Gelon's death, he rose to power in Syracuse, leaving Gela in custody of another brother: Polyzalos.⁹⁹⁹ Although his role as the third and last Deinomenid tyrant of Gela is highly likely, this title is still disputed, for no ancient author makes mention of 'the tyrant Polyzalos'. If he occupied the position, he was the last to do so. While there is some uncertainty regarding the tyrannical aftermath, Gela probably returned to an oligarchic state, prior to converting to democracy at the end of the fifth century.¹⁰⁰⁰ Throughout the following decades, the Geloans were engulfed in various events that shaped the course of Sicilian Greek history. Around 461 BC they aided Kamarina in its refoundation, which had previously been destroyed by Gelon in his quest for Syracusan domination.¹⁰⁰¹ Gela also played a role in the Leontine War, as it was after the Congress of Gela in 424 BC that the latter acquired independence.¹⁰⁰² However, the greatest struggles were yet to come. In 413 BC, Gela sent reinforcements to the besieged city of Syracuse in an attempt to fight off the Athenians, but they only did so after the arrival of Spartan and

⁹⁹² Champion 2010: 2; De Angelis 2016: 161; Holloway 2004: 63

⁹⁹³ Hdt 7.153.1

⁹⁹⁴ Thuc. 6.4.4; Champion 2010: 9; De Angelis 2016: 73; Holloway 2004: 45; Zuppardo and Piccolo 2005: 41; 165

⁹⁹⁵ De Angelis 2016: 161

⁹⁹⁶ Arist. *Pol.* 5.1316a Hdt. 7.154.1; Berger 1992: 24; Champion 2010: 29 – 30

⁹⁹⁷ Diod. 10.28.1; Hdt. 7.154.1; Berger 1992: 24 – 25; Champion 2010: 29 – 30

⁹⁹⁸ Hdt. 7.155.1; Berger 1992: 25; Champion 2010: 33; De Angelis 2016: 182; Zuppardo and Piccolo 2005: 65, 166

⁹⁹⁹ Hdt. 7.156.1; Champion 2010: 46; De Angelis 186 – 187; Holloway 2004: 101; Zuppardo and Piccolo 2005: 77 – 78, 166

¹⁰⁰⁰ De Angelis 2016: 210 – 211

¹⁰⁰¹ Diod. 11.76.5; Thuc. 4.58; De Angelis 2016: 205, 211; Zuppardo and Piccolo 2005: 166 – 167

¹⁰⁰² Thuc. 4.58; Champion 2010: 67

Corinthian forces, which resulted in Athenian defeat.¹⁰⁰³ While peace was finally established in Sicily, it would not last long. During the closing years of the fifth century BC, the Carthaginians had exposed themselves as a new threat to the Greeks. Witnessing the destruction of its Akragantine settlement and fearing similar results, the Geloans turned to Dionysios I of Syracuse for help. This, however, proved in vain. The Battle of Gela was fought between 405 – 404 BC and lost. As a result, the city never regained its former wealth.¹⁰⁰⁴

Archaeological fieldwork

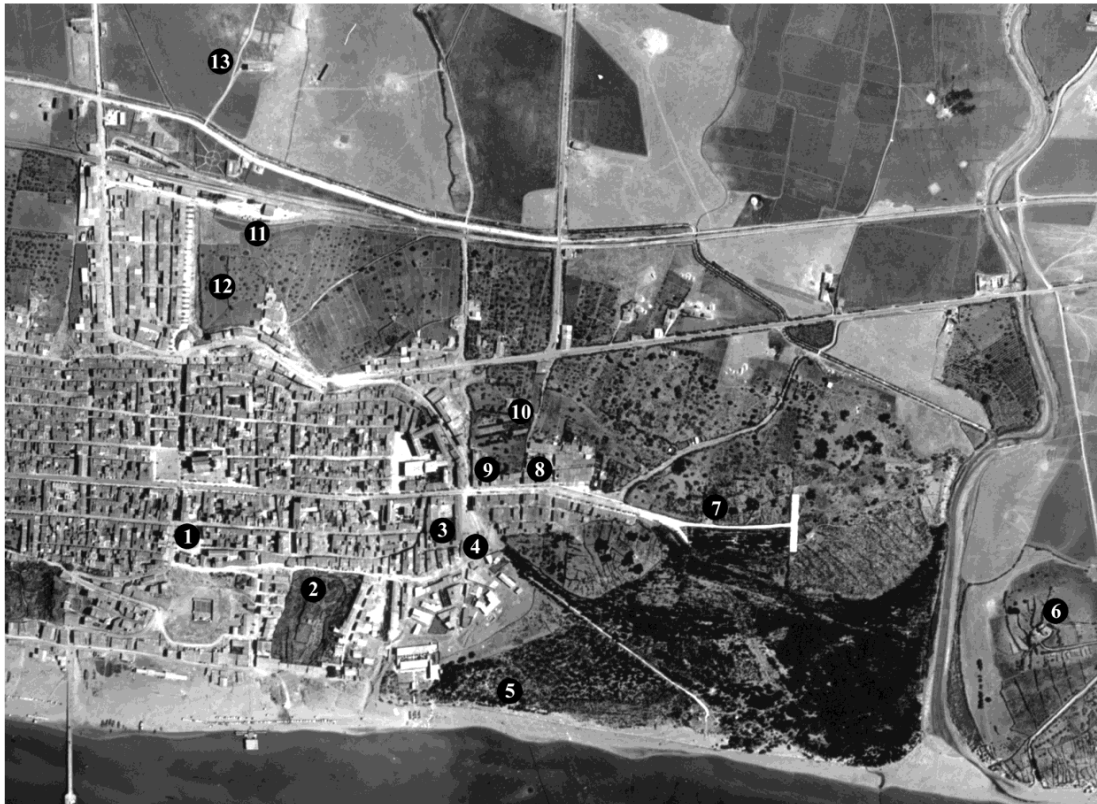


Figure 34 Aerial photo of Gela from 1938 showing the city's sanctuaries. The numbers read as follows: 1: Heraion; 2: Sanctuary of Predio Sola; 3: Remains in the Castello federiciano; 4: Heroon of Antiphemos 5: Emporion of Bosco Littorio; 6: Thesmophorion at Bitalemi; 7: Athenaion; 8: Architectural remains of temples in Via Apollo and Via Eschilo; 9: Roof terracottas of a temple from Giardino Cali; 10: Sanctuary of Carrubazza; 11: Sanctuary of ex scalo ferroviario; 12: Sanctuary of Via Fiume; 13: Sanctuary nearby Madonna dell'Alemanna Church. (Ismaelli 2020: 3, fig. 1)

Although various sanctuaries have been unearthed in Gela over the duration of multiple excavations, none appears to have housed the cult of Apollo. Few suggestions have been made about the location of his cult place. In 1889, prior to the earliest excavations, Arthur Evans visited the ancient site and its surroundings. Noting Schubring's opinion on Apollo's possible sanctuary, he agreed with the suggested 'opposite height' of Monte Lungo, which was situated far outside the city walls. For this assumption, he referred to Diodoros Sikeliotes,

¹⁰⁰³ Champion 2010: 99; De Angelis 2016: 210

¹⁰⁰⁴ Diod. 13.109 – 114; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.5; Berger 1992: 25; Champion 2010: 168 – 169, 172; Zuppardo and Piccolo 2005: 165

who states that 'The Geloans had, outside the city, a bronze statue of Apollo of colossal size; this the Carthaginians seized as spoil and sent to Tyre'.¹⁰⁰⁵ Although the author makes no claim regarding its location within a sanctuary, this would most likely have been the case, for similar effigies were seldom, if ever, kept outside such boundaries. This remains speculation, as no archaeological evidence for such statue has ever been found; possibly because of its Carthaginian removal, if not due to it simply being a legend, given the fact that Diodoros Sikeliotes lived roughly 350 years after the described event. Nevertheless, Evans went on to describe the 'distinct traces of an ancient wall', assuming excavations would certainly discover the rest of the sanctuary.¹⁰⁰⁶ No fieldwork has been implemented in this area so far.

Furthermore, brief consideration was given towards a presumable temple of the god in the area of Molino a Vento by P. Orsi, Gela's first excavator.¹⁰⁰⁷ Nonetheless, this suggestion was withdrawn soon afterwards, as Orsi decided the site would be too close to the city to fit the description given by Diodoros Sikeliotes.¹⁰⁰⁸ He does not, however, provide any arguments based on archaeological evidence as to why the sanctuary would not have been dedicated to Apollo.

It must be noted that there is still a number of sanctuaries discovered during excavations at Gela that have not been identified. It is possible that an Apolline cult place is among them (fig. 34).

Dedications and worship

In regard to the Geloan calendar, no attempts have been made to reconstruct it since only the month of Karneios has been attested.¹⁰⁰⁹ There is a possibility that the epithet of Karneios was observed in local Apolline cult. As discussed in the chapter about Rhodes, this was plausibly the case in Rhodian worship.¹⁰¹⁰ While there are no further inscriptions from Gela that suggest the inclusion of the cult title, an indication different from the connection to Rhodes can perhaps be found in the discovery of a renowned statue. The object in question consists of marble, depicts a youth (fig. 35), and is generally dated between 480 – 450 BC, with a slight preference for the period between 470 – 460 BC due to stylistic features.¹⁰¹¹ It was discovered in 1979 during the excavations on the island of Motya which, for long, was occupied by the Carthaginians.¹⁰¹²

¹⁰⁰⁵ Diod. 13.108.4 (translation by C. H. Oldfather, 1989)

¹⁰⁰⁶ The Sir Arthur Evans Archive: Notebook B/2/1, Box 1 via Pace 2015: 41

¹⁰⁰⁷ Orsi 1906: 558

¹⁰⁰⁸ Diod. 13.108.4; Orsi 1906: 558

¹⁰⁰⁹ JG XIV 256; Trümpy 1997: 167 – 168

¹⁰¹⁰ Cf. case study Rhodes: 188 – 192

¹⁰¹¹ Guzzo 2012: 118; Papadopoulos 2014: 395

¹⁰¹² Docter 2017: 86; Holloway 2004: 43, 107; Papadopoulos 2014: 395



Figure 35 The Motya youth statue in its current state, Muse Giuseppe Whitaker.
(Papadopoulos 2014: 396, fig. 1)



Figure 36 Reconstruction of the Motya youth based on the images of the Lucanian volute krater. Drawing by Anne Hooton.
(Papadopoulos 2014: 396, fig. 25)

Various identities have been proposed for the statues, including but not limited to a Greek charioteer, Herakles, the Phoenician god Melqart, a possible amalgamation of the former two, and an unspecified Phoenician subject.¹⁰¹³ Of these, the choice of the charioteer, initially proposed by P. Zancani Montuoro, has been most generally accepted, but is currently debated.¹⁰¹⁴ Another proposition is made by Papadopoulos. He suggests the figure to represent a young male participating in a dance in honour of Apollo Karneios.¹⁰¹⁵ This, he supports with various statements. First of all, he compares the dress of the Motya youth with that of the roughly contemporary Charioteer of Delphi (fig. 39). He states that in contrast to the 'transparent, "wet-look" drapery' of the youth, charioteers were 'dressed for speed'. In addition to this, Papadopoulos comments on various details, such as the common absence of chest band and the 'genital bulge' on charioteers, both of which are clearly depicted on the

¹⁰¹³ Holloway 2004: 43; Papadopoulos 2014: 414

¹⁰¹⁴ Bell 1995: 2; Docter 2017: 86; Papadopoulos 2014: 395

¹⁰¹⁵ Papadopoulos 2014: 414

Motya youth (fig. 35).¹⁰¹⁶ Furthermore, the author draws attention to five holes and copper pins on the youth's head. He believes that these 'suggests that the youth must have worn something more substantial on than (as has been proposed) a *meniskos* or helmet (fig. 36).¹⁰¹⁷ This he supports with the position of the youth's arms:

'The youth's left hand is firmly on his hip pressing into his flesh. His right hand is raised in such a way to indicate that he is most likely supporting the headdress rather than holding another attribute.'¹⁰¹⁸

In terms of the headdress, Papadopoulos argues for a *kalathiskos*, referring to the decoration of the Lucanian volute *krater* from the southern Italian peninsula. Originating during the late fifth century BC, this red-figure vase is illustrated with dancers (fig. 37) and inscribed with the word 'Karneios' (fig. 28), which the author takes as support for a dance performance occurring at the Karneia.¹⁰¹⁹

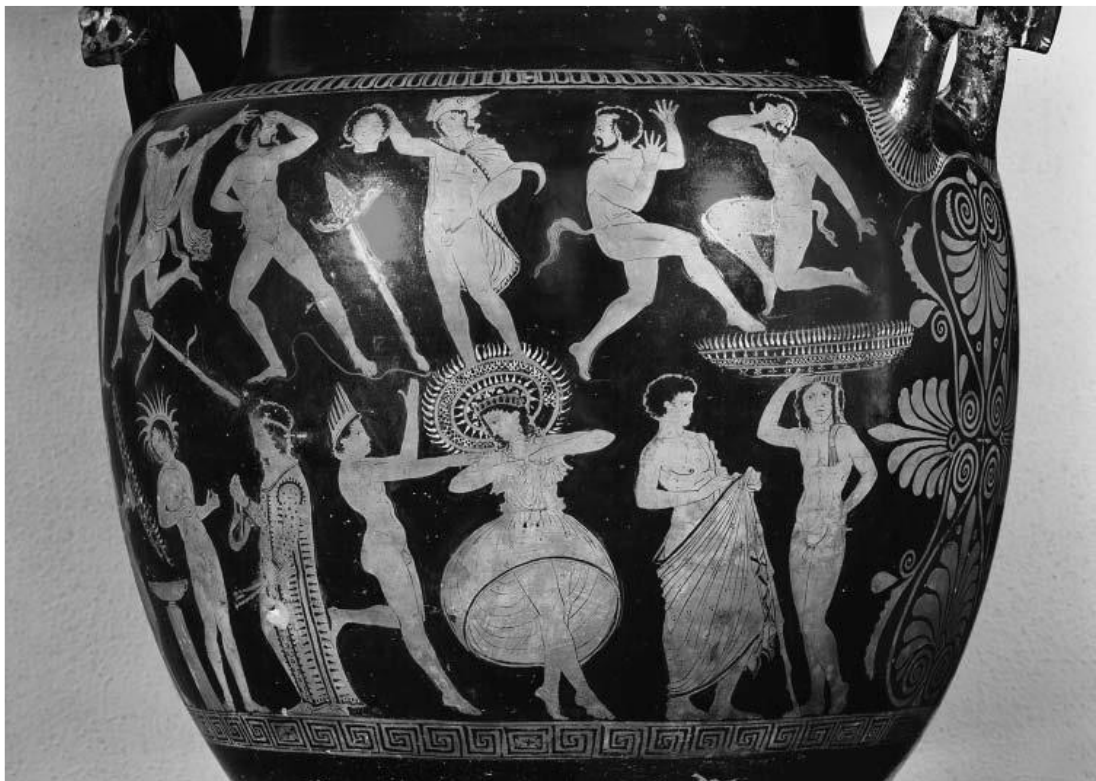


Figure 37 Illustrated dancers on the Lucanian volute *krater*, Museo Nazionale, Taranto.
(Papadopoulos 2014: 404, fig. 17)

¹⁰¹⁶ Papadopoulos 2014: 398

¹⁰¹⁷ Papadopoulos 2014: 400

¹⁰¹⁸ Papadopoulos 2014: 414

¹⁰¹⁹ Papadopoulos 2014: 404



Figure 38 Inscription of the word 'Karneios' on the Lucanian volute *krater*, Museo Nazionale, Taranto. (Papadopoulos 2014: 18, fig. 405)

In contrast to the *krater*, however, the Motya statue bears no inscription. Although performances by male dancers were not limited to the worship of Apollo Karneios, Papadopoulos points to Makin's argument that Apollo Karneios played a significant role in 'the Dorian west' and the object's date in support of his theory. The latter, he suggests, could indicate the statue's provenance as a dedication to commemorate the Greek victory at Himera. He continues by explaining why he considers the possibility for the male to have been a depiction of Gelon as 'a youthful and unarmed initiate of Apollo Karneios':

'As for portraits this early in the history of Greek sculpture, it is true that, apart from statues of victorious athletes, few, if any, individuals were allowed to put up portrait statues of themselves in the early fifth century BCE, although the bases of some earlier Archaic *kouroi* erected as funerary monuments name individuals. The tyrannicides were certainly conceived of as portraits, although they were not set up by Harmodios and Aristogeiton. It is precisely here that the testimony of Diodoros Sikeliotes and Aelian, already cited, is so crucial, for it is clear that there was at least one portrait statue of Gelon erected by the Syracusans soon after the

Battle of Himera. Aelian, in particular, does not mince his words; the statue of Gelon was put in place by the Syracusans, not by Gelon.¹⁰²⁰

Papadopoulos mentions three possible places as to which the statue would have been dedicated: Himera, Akragas, and Gela. Of these, he states that Gela would be most likely.¹⁰²¹ However, he does not discuss why he deems it so. It might be due to the fact that Gelon was a Geloan native and acted as the city's tyrant prior to moving to Syracuse. By the time of the Battle of Himera, Gela was ruled by Gelon's brother Hieron. Perhaps the statue had a dual purpose, namely that of a dedication and a gift to an allied city, possibly in gratitude to Gela's supposed participation at the battle. Whatever the reason, a statue with such a high emphasis on the connection with Apollo Karneios would argue in favour of the observance of the epithet and presumably its eponymous festival. The object's find place can be explained through the political climate in Sicily by the late fifth century BC, for it witnessed the Carthaginian conquest of Greek cities. The Motya youth would have been carried off by the Carthaginians as a spoil of war.¹⁰²² Docter seems to largely agree with Papadopoulos' identification and original placement of the statue, affirming that 'this is exactly the kind of political statuary that would have been targeted as loot and subsequent re-dedication as war trophy in one of the Punic/Carthaginian sanctuaries'.¹⁰²³ Of course, this is but one of various interpretations given for the statue, but it appears nonetheless conceivable. If this was indeed the case, then the date of the Motya youth suggests that the worship of Apollo Karneios at Gela would be no younger than the early Classical period, but could possibly already have originated in Archaic times. Furthermore, the depiction of the statue as a young male dancer would also imply the implementation of such performances in the veneration of Apollo Karneios, probably indicating the celebration of the Karneia and the inclusion of ephebic rites.

Geloan dedications to Apollo have been found outside of Gela. As discussed in the Syracusan case study, Hieron, the tyrant of Gela at the time, participated in a joint Deinomenid dedication at Delphi, consisting of two tripods. While the tripods are no longer there, their stone bases are. One of them includes an inscription that mentions the dedication and the efforts of the Deinomenid brothers against the Carthaginians in Sicily, relating it to the war of the Greeks against the Persians.¹⁰²⁴

The most famous Geloan dedication in Delphi was the bronze Charioteer of Delphi and was given by the Deinomenid Polyzealos (fig. 39). It was commenced to commemorate

¹⁰²⁰ Papadopoulos 2014: 415 – 416

¹⁰²¹ Papadopoulos 2014: 415

¹⁰²² Papadopoulos 2014: 395

¹⁰²³ Docter 2017: 86, 88 – 89

¹⁰²⁴ Diod. 11.26.7; Scholia to Pind. *P.* 1.152; De Angelis 2016: 186; Cf. case study Syracuse: 133 – 135

the victory of Polyxalos in the Pythian Games. Although the exact date is disputed, it is suggested to have taken place in either 478 or 474 BC.¹⁰²⁵



Figure 39 **The Charioteer of Delphi, Delphi Archaeological Museum.**
(Photo by author)

¹⁰²⁵ Adornato 2008: 33; Barron 1981: 60; Holloway 2004: 101; Woodford 1988: 86; Zuppardo and Piccolo 2005: 64

The Charioteer is the last remnant of a sculpture group (fig. 40), which originally also included a chariot and various horses lead by a page. It was discovered during the excavation of 1896 and is currently on display at the site's archaeological museum.¹⁰²⁶

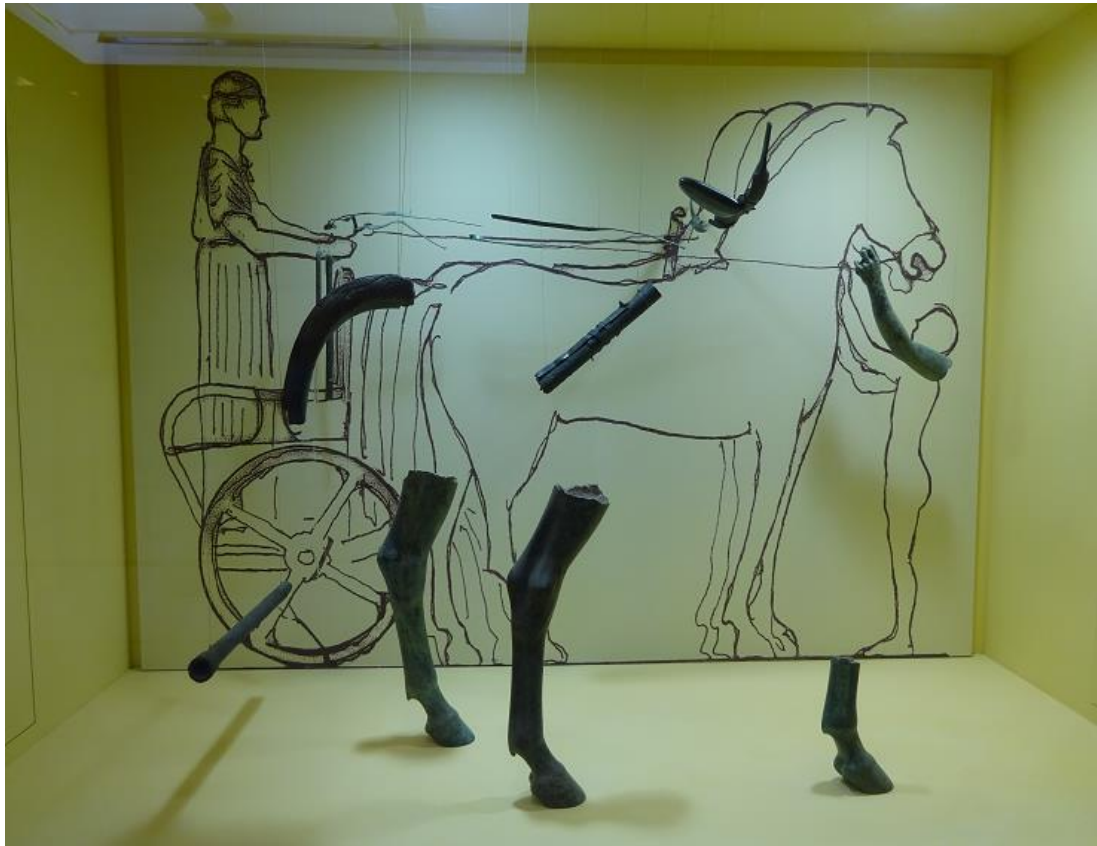


Figure 40 Suggested arrangement of the sculpture group of the Charioteer, Delphi Archaeological Museum. (Photo by author)

The statue breaks with the uniformity of the Archaic *kouroi*, although its sculptor remains unknown. It represents a life sized (180 cm) draped male. The tilting of both head and upper body clearly demonstrates the animation and asymmetry which are so inherently associated with the early Classical style. His feet point towards the front, while his hands appear to have held the reins of now absent horses. The mostly engraved hair supports some loose curls at his temples, coming out underneath a once silver crowned diadem. Additionally, his eyes consist of black onyx pupils displayed on a background of white paste.¹⁰²⁷

While unattached to the actual statue, a limestone base bearing an inscription (fig. 41) was found together with the lower part of the Charioteer. The inscription mentions the bronze's dedication to Apollo by the Geloan Polykalos.¹⁰²⁸ The original inscription contained

¹⁰²⁶ Adornato 2008: 29; Bol 2004: 10; Holloway 2004: 101

¹⁰²⁷ Barron 1981: 60; Holloway 2004: 101; Woodford 1988: 86

¹⁰²⁸ Adornato 2008: 31

two lines, but both are presently missing their first half.¹⁰²⁹ The original interpretation, provided by Homolle in 1896, reads the following:

Σοί με Γέλων δώρησε, Π]ολύζαλος μ'ἀνέθηκ[εν]

[υἱὸς Δεινομένους τ]ὸν ἄεξ', εὐώνυμ' Ἄπολ[λον]

[Gelon offered me to you], Polyzalos dedicated me

[son of Deinomenes]; give him glory, noble Apollo.¹⁰³⁰



Figure 41 The inscribed base of Polyzalos, Delphi Archaeological Museum.

(P. Amandry in EfA, in Adornato 2008: 32, fig. 2)

It has to be noted that the inclusion of 'Gelon offered me to you' was a personal addition made by Homolle.¹⁰³¹ Not a single part of the inscription suggests even the slightest possibility of the inclusion of Gelon's name. As common within Greek epigraphy, different perceptions have been proposed by different scholars, starting as early as 1898, when Bury read the second line as:

Φοιβε, Συρακόσσαισιν ἄεξ' εὐόνυμ' πολλά¹⁰³²

Phoibos Apollo, enhance the very good name for the Syracusans.

Bury's mentioning of the Syracusans seems odd, for Polyzalos was never leader of Syracuse/ However, such detail might have been unknown during the late nineteenth century. While Bury limits his suggestion merely to the inscription's second line, Harrell only reconstructed and translated the first:

¹⁰²⁹ Adornato 2008: 31; Harrell 2002: 460

¹⁰³⁰ Adornato 2008: 31

¹⁰³¹ Adornato 2008: 31

¹⁰³² Bury 1898: 143

[... Π]ολύζαλος μ'ἀνέθηκε

'... Polyzalos dedicated me'¹⁰³³

Meanwhile, Holloway restricted to only giving an imaginable translation of the text:

'[P]olyzalos set me up

[] give increase, revered Apollo.'¹⁰³⁴

While the line mentioning Polyzalos is prominently established on the limestone base, it appears to have replaced a former inscription. Identified in 1909, the following interpretation was made by Keramopoulos:

[...] Γέλας ἀνέ[θ]κε [Ϝ]ανάσσ[ν]

[...τ]ὸν ἄεξ', εὐόνομ' Ἀπολλ[ον]

[---] he, being ruler of Gela, dedicated

[---] give him glory, noble Apollo¹⁰³⁵

His perception was taken as an example by other scholars in attempting to form their personal conclusions relating to the inscription's former text:

[...] Γέλας ἀνέθεκε φανάσσ[ον]

'... he, ruling Gela, dedicated this'¹⁰³⁶

'[over G]ela he set [me] up ruling.'¹⁰³⁷

Various considerations have been made regarding the reason of this alteration. While some argue that the Charioteer was originally dedicated by another Deinomenid, prior to being claimed as an offering by Polyzalos, others propose that the alteration was made because of changed perceptions within Geloan politics.¹⁰³⁸ If Polyzalos served as a tyrant, he was the last to do so. However, having the tyranny merely disappear from the stage might not have been enough. The Geloans conceivably chose to forget about the Deinomenid legacy of their city. Whichever brother decided to grant the Charioteer to Apollo in Delphi, his declaration of 'being

¹⁰³³ Harrell 2002: 460

¹⁰³⁴ Holloway 2004: 101

¹⁰³⁵ Keramopoulos 1909: 33 – 36

¹⁰³⁶ Harrell 2002: 460

¹⁰³⁷ Holloway 2004: 101

¹⁰³⁸ Adornato 2008: 33 – 35; Holloway 2004: 101; Maehler 2002: 19

ruler of Gela' possibly became an unacceptable association to the inhabitants of the city. Changing the base to display the name of Polyzalos would have retained the original intention of providing a dedication to the god, but likely eased the minds of the Geloans, who were no longer interested in the forsaken tyranny. In addition, other propositions have been made, including a potential adjustment by Polyzalos himself, probably to commemorate another one of his assumed charioteer victories in the Pythian Games, or an attempt to repent for any disagreement on the matter between him and Hieron.¹⁰³⁹ Nonetheless, considering all the hypotheses discussed above, the erasure of the memory of the Geloan tyrant is generally deemed most plausible by scholars.¹⁰⁴⁰

Although the Charioteer is amongst the most notable objects discovered at Delphi, it says little about the worship of the Delphic Apollo in Gela, for it was dedicated by the city's ruler and not by its people. There is no evidence that implies Geloan veneration at Delphi in the Archaic period nor of the inclusion of the epithet of Pythios in local Apolline cult. The alteration of the inscription on the Charioteer's base does indicate that the city did, to some degree, care about its representation at Delphi after the fall of the tyranny. This also seems to be emphasised by the city's foundation myth, which includes the Delphic Oracle. While the original version might have been initiated under Deinomenid rule, the fact that the oracle still appeared in the myth's version of Diodoros Sikeliotes suggests that the Geloans maintained it as such:

“Ὅτι Ἀντίφημος καὶ Ἐντιμος οἱ Γέλαν κτίσαντες ἠρώτησαν τὴν Πυθίαν, καὶ ἔχρησε ταῦτα,
 Ἐντιμὸν ἦδε Κράτωνος ἀγακλέος υἱὲ δαΐφρον,
 ἐλθόντες Σικελὴν καλὴν χθόνα ναίετον ἄμφω,
 δειμάμενοι πτολίεθρον ὁμοῦ Κρητῶν Ῥοδίων τε
 παρ προχοᾶς ποταμοῦ Γέλα συνομώνυμον ἀγνοῦ.”

‘Antiphemus and Entimos, who founded Gela, made inquiry of the Pythian priestess, who gave them the following answer: Entimos and you, illustrious Kraton’s son, go both to Sicily, and dwell on that fair land when you have built a city home to Cretans and Rhodians, beside the mouth of the sacred river Gela, and shall bear the same name.’¹⁰⁴¹

Omission of Crete in Geloan discussion

As previously stated, the city of Gela was founded by settlers from both Rhodes and Crete. For this research, Rhodes has been solely selected as a comparison for Gela. The reason as to why Rhodes is considered more compatible in this case than Crete is explained below.

¹⁰³⁹ Adornato 2008: 34 – 35

¹⁰⁴⁰ Harrell 2002: 460 – 461; Holloway 2004: 101; Maehler 2002: 19

¹⁰⁴¹ Diod. 8.23 (translation by C. Bradford Welles, 1939)

First of all, Wallace speaks of generalisation by ancient authors who refer to 'Crete' as a participant in the foundation of Gela. Of the status of the island during the Archaic and Classical periods, she says the following:

'It remained incompletely integrated into the core of the Hellenic identity. It was the home of a great many small feuding states, difficult to deal with individually in a political or economic sense. These lacked either the level of unitary cohesion or the kind of strong recent history of cultural 'branding' to become major players in the colonial or commodity export spheres.¹⁰⁴²

Concerning the provenance of the Cretan settlers that participated in the founding of Gela, she explains that the discovery of Cretan ceramics at the city, including but not limited to objects from Chania, primarily suggests a western Cretan provenance for the settlers.¹⁰⁴³ The most prominent Cretan cities of the Archaic age were arguably Knossos, Gortyn, Phaistos and Kydonia. According to Wallace, these cities were 'historically front-runners in trade, had some of the best opportunities for agricultural expansion on the island, and were the first *poleis* to develop coinage.' Hence, she concludes that 'a significant concentration of economic power lay in their hands'.¹⁰⁴⁴ Furthermore, of these four distinguished cities, only Kydonia was situated in western Crete. This would likely place the likes of Knossos, Gortyn and Phaistos, and thus their influences, out of reach of the settlers. In regard to Kydonia, while it does appear in accounts of various ancient authors, these usually speak of its own establishment.¹⁰⁴⁵ None of them narrate the possible involvement of Kydonians in the foundation of Gela. The divisiveness of the Cretan cities as proposed by Wallace might have prevented the rooting of significant Cretan influences in Geloan society, as it would possibly have suffered from the lack of a shared frame of reference. Meanwhile, Lindos, Cameiros and Ialysos on Rhodes appear to have had a well-established collaboration already in the Archaic period, which is evident in their association with the Hexapolis, comprising no less than half of its members.¹⁰⁴⁶ It is not implausible that Rhodian settlers in Gela, regardless of their city of origin, would have been able to relate to the mindsets of their fellow Rhodians, resulting in a middle ground as to how they should build up their new society.

Second, new Rhodian settlers arrived after the first wave of settling. A large number of new arrivals landed on Geloan shores during the mid-sixth century BC, which could have been caused by the rise of the Persians in the eastern Aegean.¹⁰⁴⁷ No such occurrences have been observed for Cretan settlers.

Third, when looking at the narration of the foundation of Gela by ancient authors, the Rhodian participation is not uncommonly emphasised through Lindian involvement while not such distinction is made for the Cretans. Herodotos directly mentions *Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Πόδου*,

¹⁰⁴² Wallace 2010: 374

¹⁰⁴³ Wallace 2010: 217, 369

¹⁰⁴⁴ Wallace 2010: 369

¹⁰⁴⁵ Hdt. 3.44.1; Strab. 8.6.16

¹⁰⁴⁶ Cf. case study Rhodes: 179 – 180

¹⁰⁴⁷ De Angelis 2016: 161

the Lindians of Rhodes, as those participating in the foundation of Gela.¹⁰⁴⁸ Of Cretan involvement, he does not speak. Although Thukydides' account on the establishment of Gela generalises in the cases of both *oikists*, giving their origins as Rhodian and Cretan, he does mention that the first phase of the city's settlement consisted of a small fortification known as 'Lindoi'.¹⁰⁴⁹ This would show that the earliest Greek occupation of the area that was to become Gela was named after the city of Lindos, thus initially connecting it to Rhodes instead of Crete. In addition to this, Antiphemos was also said to have come from Lindos.¹⁰⁵⁰ While Pausanias speaks of Antiphemos without referring to his Rhodian origins, he does declare him the founder of Gela. He does not seem to acknowledge any Cretan connection to the event.¹⁰⁵¹

Fourth, since the Geloan calendar remains completely unknown, with the exception of Karneios, and unreconstructed, it is difficult to determine which of the months could have been adapted from the Cretan calendar and which ones from the Rhodian. However, a clue might be found in the presentation of the month of Karneios. In Crete, its inclusion is evident in Gortyn and Knossos, where its name was written as 'Καρνήιος'.¹⁰⁵² In Rhodes and Gela, however, the month was written as 'Καρνεῖος' instead.¹⁰⁵³ This ostensibly attests for linguistical differences between Gela and Rhodes, and Crete.

Fifth, as mentioned in the chapter of Delphi, the discovery of Cretan metalwork at the Delphic sanctuary shows that the Cretans were already present at the site by the late eighth century BC, which would likely have included some form of religious involvement.¹⁰⁵⁴ Their connection to the site increased over the following century, of which Scott says:

'Cretans dedicated many expensive smaller offerings (tripods, shields, etc.), but (probably) not a single monumental offering. They did not consult the oracle, unless you count one individual Cretan asking about the omphalos, which is probably a later creation. Yet Crete was fundamentally tied to Delphi from the late seventh century through the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* as Cretans became the first priests of Apollo's temple. Even more interestingly, no Cretan tripods have been found at Olympia, a sanctuary with which Delphi is often compared, but which, from its earliest history, seems to have attracted something of a different clientele from Delphi and seems to have been a centre for different priorities and interests.'¹⁰⁵⁵

Considering the foundation of Gela during the first quarter of the seventh century BC, it seems that Crete was already building up its reputation at Delphi. If Cretan influences would have been substantial in the development of Geloan religious perspectives, this would likely have translated to an earlier participation of Gela at Delphi. Instead, the first known Geloan

¹⁰⁴⁸ Hdt. 7.153.1

¹⁰⁴⁹ Thuc. 6.4.3 (translation by R. Crawley, 1910)

¹⁰⁵⁰ Philosteph. *apud Athen.* 7.297

¹⁰⁵¹ Paus. 8.46.2

¹⁰⁵² Trümpy 1997: 188, 192 – 193

¹⁰⁵³ Trümpy 1997: 168, 178

¹⁰⁵⁴ Wallace 2010: 207; Cf. chapter Delphi: 30

¹⁰⁵⁵ Scott 2014: 69

dedication to the sanctuary is the previously described Charioteer in the fifth century BC. In addition to this, while Crete does not appear to have been a big player at Olympia, Gela dedicated a treasury there around 540 – 530 BC,¹⁰⁵⁶ over half a century prior to its first dedication at Delphi.

Last, Rhodian influence is also apparent in the Geloan worship of Athena. She was arguably the most significant deity of the Lindians. While the date of origin of her cult remains unknown, it is stated that her temple was rebuilt in the sixth century BC by the tyrant Kleoboulos. As such, there would have been an older one, thus suggesting that the origins of her worship were deeply rooted in the Archaic period.¹⁰⁵⁷ Furthermore, Geloans were among many who offered dedications at her sanctuary at Lindos, others which included inhabitants from Akragas, Cyrene and Phaselis, all of whose foundations had been at least partially initiated by the Lindians.¹⁰⁵⁸ In Gela, the goddess received a distinguished sanctuary atop the city's acropolis. The area of her site appears to have been occupied by simple cult-related buildings in the seventh century BC, prior to the construction of the temple of the goddess on the highest point of the citadel during the next century. Accordingly, the oldest unearthed objects also date to this period, placing them shortly after the foundation of the city. The Archaic temple of Athena was once more replaced. The fifth century BC witnessed the erection of the precinct's final monumentalised Doric *peripteros*.¹⁰⁵⁹ Although there are no known sources stating the epithet of Lindia for Athena in Gela, the fact that the Geloans dedicated to the goddess at her Lindian sanctuary suggests the significance of the Lindian cult. While Athena was also worshipped on the acropoleis of Cretan cities such as Gortyn,¹⁰⁶⁰ no Geloan dedications have been observed there.

Conclusion

Archaeological evidence for Geloan Apolline worship is extremely scarce as the only indications for it are two statues and an inscription dating to the early Classical period, none of which directly qualifies for the definition of Geloan dedication in terms of referring to the city's general population.

The first of these concerns the statue known as the 'Motya youth' that is argued to represent a young male dancer of the type that would participate in the Karneia. While the argumentation for such a context is convincing, it is not certain whether this object actually belonged to Gela, with Himera and Akragas also mentioned amongst its potential abodes. The statue's identification as Gelon probably supports Gela as its destination, for Gelon was a Geloan native, the city's former tyrant, and brother to the tyrant who would have received the dedication. If it was indeed so, it suggests the observance of the worship of Apollo Karneios

¹⁰⁵⁶ Paus. 6.19.15; Klein 1998: 343

¹⁰⁵⁷ Francis and Vickers 1984: 119; Higbie 2001: 108; Higbie 2003: 7; Larson 2007: 55

¹⁰⁵⁸ Craik 1980: 169; Larson 2007: 55; Shaya 2005: 430

¹⁰⁵⁹ Diod. 13.85.4; Holloway 2004: 56; Marconi 2007: 57 – 58; Panvini and Sole 2005: 25 – 50, 53 – 54; Parisi 2017: 74; Shepherd 2000: 60

¹⁰⁶⁰ Coldstream 2012: 12; Perna 2012: 76

by at the least the early Classical period, although likely earlier. This theory is encouraged by the inclusion of the month Karneios in the Geloan calendar.

The second statue regards the Charioteer of Delphi of Polyzalos, the last Deinomenid in charge of Gela. As it was dedicated by the city's ruler as a result of a victory in the Pythian Games it was arguably not a gift representing the Geloan people. However, since they altered the inscription on the base of the statue after the death of Polyzalos implies that it was converted to provide a more general Geloan context. Therefore, the statue would probably have served the function of a dedication from the city's population, signifying their association with the Delphic sanctuary and thus with Delphic Apollo. The latter is also indicated by the inclusion of the Delphic Oracle in Gela's foundation myth. Nevertheless, the epithet of Pythios does not seem to have been included in local cult, and thus this would fall into the category of worship from a distance.

The inscription concerns the joint one of the Deinomenids that would have accompanied two tripods situated along the Sacred Way in Delphi. The dedication was made to commemorate the Sicilian Greek victory over the Carthaginians at the Battle at Himera.

Propositions have been made for the location of an extra-urban Apolline sanctuary based on the account of Diodoros Sikeliotes, yet it remains unfound. However, the number of sanctuaries that have been discovered at Gela but are still left unidentified suggests that one of these might have housed the god instead, although further research is necessary to accommodate a more detailed discussion on the matter.

For the purpose of this thesis, Rhodes has been used as the primary comparison in the wider context of the foundation city – settlement model. The exclusion of Crete has been based on a variety of reasons, including the lack of coherent cooperation between the island's cities at the time and directly after the foundation of Gela, the supposed absence of multiple waves of Cretan settling at Gela as is established for the Rhodians, the favourable view of different ancient authors of Rhodian participation in the foundation endeavour, the apparent linguistical differences between Gela and Crete as based on the writing of the name Karneios, the apparent Rhodian influence on the Geloan worship of Athena, and Gela's completely different approach to presentation at Delphi and Olympia when compared to Crete.

Overall, it appears that Geloan Apolline worship of the Archaic and early Classical periods would have comprised the observance of the cult of Apollo Karneios, likely with the inclusion of the Karneia with ephebic rites. The fifth century BC witnessed the introduction of Gela at Delphi. The veneration of the Delphic Apollo remained at his Delphic site and was probably not implemented on a local level. Considering the absence of available archaeological and textual evidence conclusion for Geloan Apolline cult remain limited, even though it is not implausible that it did encompass other elements as well.

Overarching discussion

12. What position did Delphi occupy in the Apolline cults of the Sicilian Greek case studies?

It has been argued that, while consultation of the Delphic Oracle prior to overseas settlement became prominent during the sixth century BC, this practice was already implemented as early as the eighth century BC. This consensus still stands strong amongst well-established scholars, for a variety of reasons. Morgan claims the early inclusion of the oracle to have been the result of 'previously unknown community problems' which would have required the interference and advice of Delphi in order to be solved, overseas settlement being just one of proposed solutions.¹⁰⁶¹ A similar view appears to be held by Scott, who states that it would have been likely for cities 'already involved in different ways with Delphi' to have requested support from the oracle before setting out overseas.¹⁰⁶² While Malkin shares the opinion of such early involvement of the Delphic Oracle, his motivation for doing so is based upon his identification of Apollo Archegetes of Naxos, also referred to as the founding Apollo, as the god who was venerated at Delphi,¹⁰⁶³ thus basically necessitating the inclusion of the oracle in a bid to receive Apollo's protection. He appears to consider Apollo and Delphi essentially interchangeable, for not only does he state that 'Apollo and the *oikist* complement each other', he continues to claim that 'Delphi and the *oikist* came to symbolise beginnings and those beginnings represented the identity of each colony'.¹⁰⁶⁴ The primary note here is that he deems Apollo an advocate of what was presumably decided by the Delphic Oracle prior to the foundation of a settlement, thus making the god the fundamental link between the Greek homeland and its overseas settlements. Additionally, his insistence that this also marked the identity of each settlement gravely disregards the complexity of their initial foundations and following developments. According to this logic, all Greek cities established overseas with the assumed aid of the Delphic Oracle would share roughly the same identity. However, these perceptions appear to disregard the many complexities of Greek overseas settlement.

Essential to the inclusion of Delphi within this early development would have been a functioning oracle that had already acquired recognition across the Greek homeland. This was simply not the case in the eighth century BC, the period when the first settlements were founded in the Italian peninsula and Sicily. Even if the oracle had functioned as early as the mid-eighth century BC, its developmental status would still have been too insignificant for consideration in such matter, especially when its use was limited to states. As stated in the chapter about Delphi, while archaeology attests that Delphi hosted a growing range of people from places across Greece during the eighth century BC, the main part of this diverse

¹⁰⁶¹ Morgan 1993: 168

¹⁰⁶² Scott 2014: 61 – 62

¹⁰⁶³ Malkin 1986: 960

¹⁰⁶⁴ Malkin 1987: 7

participation only occurred towards the end of the century.¹⁰⁶⁵ Prior to that time, ceramics and bronzes discovered at the site show that it was primarily the Corinthians who made their way there, gradually followed by Argives.¹⁰⁶⁶ Furthermore, the involvement of those who came to Delphi was individually rather than organised by the *poleis* whence they came, many of which only started showing proper city-development during the eighth century BC. A similar approach can be seen in the earliest of overseas settlements. While inhabitants from certain cities were abundant amongst the settlers, such as Corinthians who participated in the foundation of Syracuse, they were part of private endeavours instead of being coordinated by the state.¹⁰⁶⁷ It seems unlikely that developing *poleis* at the time would dispatch a representative to a mountain sanctuary that was only just starting to gain momentum in order to manage its affairs. Therefore, it is implausible that the early settlers made use of it to determine the location of their future settlement. The practice of involving Delphi in the decision presumably did not commonly take place prior to the sixth century BC, thus long after the first wave of overseas Greek settling had ended.¹⁰⁶⁸ Additionally, the location of a new settlement would often also be affected by local factors, such as the presence of fertile lands and relationships with indigenous people.¹⁰⁶⁹ It is true that the Delphic Oracle was represented in the foundation myths of various Greek cities in both Sicily and the Italian peninsula, as is exemplified in Syracuse, Gela, and Croton.¹⁰⁷⁰ However, this only occurs in the early fifth century BC and does not represent the original context of their founding. While the Syracusan calendar did encompass the month of Apellaios,¹⁰⁷¹ the first month observed in the Delphic calendar,¹⁰⁷² this was not necessarily associated with Delphi. As discussed in the Corinthian case study, Trümpy argues that the month occurred in calendars of Dorian and north-western Greek cities, including Corinth, Megara, Argos, Epidauros, Chalcedon, Callatis, Olous, Syracuse, Taras, Morgantina, Delphi, Oeantheia, Tolophon, Tritea, and Chaleion.¹⁰⁷³ Hence, it rather seems that Apellaios was a general month in these areas that had independently become related to local worship in Delphi, the celebrations of which might later have been adapted by other places as well, although the evidence for such adaption is scarce. Accordingly, it can be stated that any Delphic influence in Apolline worship was absent during the formative years of the Sicilian Greek cities.

For various Sicilian Greek cities, the development of relations with Delphi became particularly significant during the early fifth century BC. The simultaneous occurrence of the

¹⁰⁶⁵ Lloyd-Jones 1976: 62; Morgan 1990: 134; Neer 2012: 185; Scott 2014: 50, 52 – 53; Valavanēs 2017: 137; Walker 1977: 15; Wallace 2010: 207; Cf. chapter Delphi: 30

¹⁰⁶⁶ Aurigny 2020: 104; Coldstream 2003: 177; Maass 1978: 29; Morgan 1990: 139; Morgan 1993: 27; Scott 2014: 45, 48

¹⁰⁶⁷ Morgan 1990: 160; Osborne 1998: 268; Wallace 2010: 207

¹⁰⁶⁸ Osborne 1998: 268

¹⁰⁶⁹ Hdt. 5.42.1 – 3; Thuc. 6.4.1

¹⁰⁷⁰ Diod. 8.23; Strab. 6.2.4

¹⁰⁷¹ Trümpy 1997: 165

¹⁰⁷² Trümpy 1997: 212

¹⁰⁷³ Trümpy 1997: 120 – 122, 130, 136, 143, 149 – 150, 154, 158, 161, 163, 195, 198, 204, 212; Cf. case study Corinth: 116 – 117

Carthaginian threat to Sicily and the Persian invasion of mainland Greece meant that Greeks on both sides of the Ionian Sea were fighting hazards to their society, and both proved victorious in doing so. The aftermath took them to Delphi, for the site became the most important place for the dedication of victory commemorations.¹⁰⁷⁴ While this was initiated by the Greeks of the homeland, those of Sicily soon followed suit. It is no coincidence that the renowned golden tripod of Gelon bore various similarities to dedications made by the mainland Greeks and that an additional dedication of tripods, provided by himself and his brothers,¹⁰⁷⁵ was accompanied by an inscription which reads 'βάρβαρα νικάσαντας ἔθνη· πολλὰν δὲ παρὰσχειν σύμμαχον Ἑλλασιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίαν' or 'their victory over the Barbarian nations when they gave a great army to fight beside the Greeks for freedom'.¹⁰⁷⁶ This clearly emphasised the purpose of the objects and their placement at Delphi, which was aimed at placing the efforts of those Sicilian Greeks at an equal level with those of the homeland. If the latter had chosen a different location for its victory commemorations, it is likely Delphi would not have received any dedications from Greek Sicily, nor witnessed the rather sudden inclusion of its oracle in a variety of their foundation myths. Delphi's worth to the Greeks of Sicily is to be sought primarily in the function the site was given immediately after the Persian invasion. It was this historical context that resulted in Sicilian Greek participation at Delphi and their generosity in offering dedications to Apollo there. It was only after the Battle of Himera that the god started to receive dedications as a result of general victory, such as the bronze statue of the Charioteer, which was granted by Polyzalos of Gela to preserve the memory of his triumph in the Pythian Games.¹⁰⁷⁷ It was also only after their victory over the Athenians during the latter's failed Sicilian Expedition that the Syracusans built a treasury at the Delphic sanctuary, which was supposedly funded by the spoils of that war.¹⁰⁷⁸ In contrast, most cities of the Greek homeland and Ionia that had constructed treasuries at the site, had done so roughly a century earlier.¹⁰⁷⁹ In other words, Delphic Apollo came to be considered a god affiliated with victory commemoration in some Sicilian Greek perceptions because of their involvement in Delphi for this particular reason. It is a perception not shared by those *poleis* that did not share the claim of defending Greek identity.

Not every Sicilian Greek case study was involved in Delphic matters, as is exemplified by Selinous, a *polis* which associated him with its foundation. As described in the Selinuntine case study, the god received a sanctuary on the acropolis of Selinous that housed the city's earliest monumentalised temple.¹⁰⁸⁰ Nevertheless, Selinuntines refrained from presenting themselves at Delphi. The primary reason for this must have been their affiliation with

¹⁰⁷⁴ Lloyd-Jones 1976: 70; Scott 2010: 82; Scott 2014: 101, 127

¹⁰⁷⁵ Diod. 11.20.1 – 22.6, 11.26.7; Champion 2010: 44 – 45; Cummins 2010: 4 – 5; De Angelis 2016: 102, 186; Harrell 2006: 126; Lee 2011: 38; Mertens 2006: 257; Scott 2010: 88; Scott 2014: 123; Van Compernelle 1992: 30

¹⁰⁷⁶ Scholia to Pind. *P.* 1.152 (translation by Edmonds, 1924)

¹⁰⁷⁷ Adornato 2008: 33; Barron 1981: 60; Holloway 1991: 101; Woodford 1988: 86; Zuppardo *et al.* 2005: 64

¹⁰⁷⁸ Paus. 10.11.5

¹⁰⁷⁹ Emerson 2018: 36, 41; Neer 2012: 188; Partida 2000: 41, 52, 77, 185; Scott 2010: 63; Scott 2014: 112 – 113, 105 – 106

¹⁰⁸⁰ De Angelis 2003: 135; De Angelis 2016: 89; Marconi 2007: 127; Osborne 1996: 248

Carthage for the longest part of their history, most importantly during the period of the Battle of Himera. Although Selinous did not participate in the actual battle, its (failed) pledge to aid the Carthaginians with their cavalry was not appreciated by the combined forces of Syracuse, Akragas and, likely, Gela. Although uncertain, it is feasible that Selinous was held accountable for damage inflicted upon the armies of those *poleis* and would thus have been obliged to pay at least part of the tribute that was demanded from the Carthaginian forces.¹⁰⁸¹ Additionally, the Selinuntines already maintained difficult relationships with both Syracuse and Akragas; Gelon had destroyed Megara Hyblaia, Selinous' founding city, in a bid to integrate its nobility into Syracusan society and Theron did not recoil from attempting to expand his territory at the expense of the Selinuntines.¹⁰⁸² These troublesome relations were likely the very cause that had initially driven Selinous into its Carthaginian alliance. Hence, instead of taking part in the 'defence of Greek identity', Selinous had sided with those who were believed to endanger it. As such, the Selinuntines did not engage in the implementation of the concept that functioned as the central component for the equal claim in status between the Sicilian and homeland Greeks, which was, first and foremost, represented at the Delphic sanctuary. Nonetheless, Apollo remained indispensable to their religious perceptions.

Considering all of this, it is clear that Delphi played no role in the initial Apolline cults of the Sicilian Greek case studies, as its influence was completely absent during Archaic times and only became important in two of them during the beginning of the Classical period. The claim that the Delphic Oracle was included in the foundation of the early settlements should be dismissed. Even if there is a possibility for the oracle to have functioned during the mid-eighth century BC, its initial insignificance and the private context of these new endeavours did not lend itself for such involvement. It was not until the first quarter of the fifth century BC that the sanctuary became important to Syracuse and Gela. Only those that fought against the Carthaginians at Himera developed an interest in Delphi, primarily because of the prestige it would bring them when they profiled themselves alongside the mainland Greeks as defenders of Greek identity. This primarily seems to have been a deliberate act of the contemporary tyrannies in an attempt to demonstrate their power, which proved especially important for the Deinomenids in Syracuse and Gela. While this did result in an additional Apolline perceptions, namely that of victory commemorations, it only appears to have done so in Delphi itself. There is neither archaeological nor literary evidence that Apollo was considered different in local cult as a result of Syracusan and Geloan presence at Delphi. Thus, while Delphi was indeed responsible for an addition to the god's worship, it did not have any far-reaching consequences for its implementation in the two cities. Therefore, it can be concluded that in all the Greek Sicilian case studies Apolline cult functioned independently from participation at the Delphic sanctuary, which continued also when two of them did get involved with the latter.

¹⁰⁸¹ De Angelis 2003: 162

¹⁰⁸² Diod. 11.21.4 – 21.5; Thuc. 6.4.2; Bilello 1982: 20; De Angelis 2003: 201

13. To what extent were Apolline cults in the Sicilian Greek case studies influenced by their founding cities?

The perception of Apollo in Sicilian Greek settlements in modern scholarship has repeatedly been treated as something that was commonly shared by the Greek settlers even when they came from different origins and resided in different cities. For example, the account of Thukydides describing the altar of Archegetes where officials would sacrifice prior to departing from Sicily¹⁰⁸³ has been considered a declaration of some sort of common Sicilian Greek custom by various scholars. Arguably most prominent, Malkin discusses that one of the altar's 'essential qualities' was its 'Pan Sikeliote' or 'Panhellenic' context.¹⁰⁸⁴ He uses the generalising term of 'colonists' when referring to settlers of different Sicilian Greek settlements and narrates how Apollo must have been the 'Preserver of Ships', the god of 'Happy landing' and 'New shores', and the 'Archegetes' to all of those he refers to.¹⁰⁸⁵ He claims that the altar symbolised 'for all Sikeliote Greeks their very origin' and, as such, that it was 'their common point of historical reference'.¹⁰⁸⁶ Similar interpretations are given by Donnellan and Reichert-Südbeck.¹⁰⁸⁷ Although not going into detail about Thukydides' text, De Polignac does refer to 'Apollo the founder', stating that he acted as a guarantor of 'the Greekness of the expedition and the place where it settled'.¹⁰⁸⁸ Furthermore, he deems the Apollo in Gela to be the god of the Cretans instead of the Rhodians. As demonstrated in the case study about Gela, there is a number of reasons as to why this is improbable, including but not limited to a generalisation of Crete as a single unit while the island was actually subject to divisiveness amongst its cities, the main provenance of the Cretan settlers of Gela being western Crete which did not include any cities of which we know about 'Cretan' Apolline cult, the absence or limited coverage of the Cretan part of Gela's foundation in ancient accounts in contrast to Rhodian participation, and while Rhodian influences are apparent in other Geloan religious perspectives such as the cult of Athena this does not seem to be the case for Cretan viewpoints.¹⁰⁸⁹ This would undermine De Polignac's accepted impression that cults in the overseas settlements essentially projected the 'ethnic and geographical origins of the colonisers'.¹⁰⁹⁰

In recent years, however, this perspective has been subject to debate. Hall, for instance, explains that there is a common tendency among 'many students of antiquity' where the concept of the initial encounter between non-Greeks and Greeks in Sicily and the southern Italian peninsula 'first promoted a sense of Hellenic unity among settlers'. He does not agree to this. He discusses that the account of Thukydides has been wrongly interpreted, stating

¹⁰⁸³ Thuc. 6.3.1

¹⁰⁸⁴ Malkin 1986: 959

¹⁰⁸⁵ Malkin 1986: 972

¹⁰⁸⁶ Malkin 1986: 972

¹⁰⁸⁷ Donnellan 2012: 173; Reichert-Südbeck 2000: 216

¹⁰⁸⁸ De Polignac 1995: 101

¹⁰⁸⁹ Cf. case study Gela: 209 – 211

¹⁰⁹⁰ De Polignac 1995: 118

that the author does not speak of 'all Greeks' when referring to the sacrifice.¹⁰⁹¹ This is indeed true, for Thukydides merely recounts the act of sacrifice when leaving Sicily. Nowhere does he speak of any non-Naxian participants in the matter.¹⁰⁹² Hall extends this lack of conjoint cultic practice at the Naxian altar to all of Sicily and the southern Italian peninsula, arguing that 'there is no convincing evidence for the existence of "federal" sanctuaries or meeting-places' for the 'expression of a collective identity' by the Greek settlements there.¹⁰⁹³ Another perspective on the matter is given by Osborne, who argues that the early foundations of the eighth and seventh centuries BC were 'private enterprises' rather than endeavours organised by Greek city-states.¹⁰⁹⁴ Not only does this rule out the idea of Delphic participation that had previously been assumed in the foundation of the Sicilian Greek case studies, but it also provides the opportunity for people from various places to join such ventures. It is this arrangement that allowed the independent development of the settlement societies, including their religious cults, as they did not need to fit a certain mould that would qualify them as Greek and, as such, acceptable for participation in what Hall refers to as federal sanctuaries. It is this comparatively new perspective focused on individual settlements rather than general Greek ones that inspired and is vital to this research.

Established during the second half of the eighth century BC, Syracuse was the oldest of the Sicilian Greek case studies. Since most of the early settlers landing on Ortygia had come from the Corinthia, it was from there that they brought Apollo's worship. In Corinth, the earliest objects possibly connected to Apolline worship date to the mid-eighth century BC, potentially demonstrating some form of manifestation of the god's cult prior to the establishment of Syracuse. However, the absence of inscriptions mean that these objects do not convey anything about the character of Apolline worship of this period.¹⁰⁹⁵ The foundation of Syracusan religious practices was laid on the island of Ortygia. Although Ortygia proved too small a size to maintain the growing population of Syracuse, it remained central to the city's religion even after the borders were extended across the narrow strait, onto the shores of mainland Sicily. It was here that Apollo's sanctuary was established, which was the first in Syracuse to be monumentalised between 620 and 580 BC.¹⁰⁹⁶ As Syracuse's agora would be established in a newer part of the city, the Apolline sanctuary in Ortygia did not share the same location as the god's oldest cult site in Corinth. Nonetheless, both were built in an urban context that Pedley would refer to as 'critical' for the functioning of the city.¹⁰⁹⁷ In addition to this, in both Corinth and Syracuse the urban Apolline sanctuaries were the first to receive monumentalised temples. Regarding architecture, however, differences are notable, such as

¹⁰⁹¹ Hall 2014: 256 – 257

¹⁰⁹² Thuc. 6.3.1

¹⁰⁹³ Hall 2014: 257

¹⁰⁹⁴ Osborne 1998: 268

¹⁰⁹⁵ Bookidis 2003: 249; Bookidis and Stroud 2004: 413; Robinson 1976: 216 – 217

¹⁰⁹⁶ Dummett 2010: 161; Evans 2009: 48, 191; Evans 2016: 14, 19; Guido 1958: 43; Holloway 2004: 54, 60, 68; Tocco 1984: 2, 6; Umholtz 2002: 263

¹⁰⁹⁷ Pedley 2005: 42

the Syracusan roof structure which contained antefixes of a style that is now considered typical for Sicilian Greek temples.¹⁰⁹⁸ In contrast to Corinth, Syracuse did not have a suburban cult place associated with Apollo.¹⁰⁹⁹ Both cities did likely have an extra-urban cult place dedicated to the god. In Syracuse, this concerns the site at *Neapolis* which, according to archaeological evidence, would have been in use by the seventh century BC and home to the previously mentioned Apollo Temenites. It may also have served as a boundary marker of the city's border.¹¹⁰⁰ The one in the Corinthia, however, has not yet been found. It is supposed to be located in Tenea, a town in the proximity of Corinth that is currently subject to excavation.¹¹⁰¹ In terms of epithets, the only cult title that can possibly be argued for both cities is that of Karneios. This might be implied through the observance of the month Karneios in their calendars.¹¹⁰² Even though the Corinthian calendar was reconstructed with the aid of calendars of various of its settlements,¹¹⁰³ there are other factors that support the implementation of worship of Apollo Karneios. As mentioned in the Corinthian case study, these include references by Xenophon in the fourth book of *Hellenica* and by Pausanias in his narrative of Corinth.¹¹⁰⁴ In Syracuse, the month of Karneios, attested by Plutarch,¹¹⁰⁵ is the only clue for the possible inclusion of the epithet in local worship. In terms of other epithets, the scarce amount of available evidence does not show any similarities. The only epithet that is directly evident for Apollo in Corinth is that of Kynneios which was discovered in an inscription at the Teneatic Gate.¹¹⁰⁶ Of the cult title's related characteristics or period of use, however, nothing is known. There is no evidence for the presence of this epithet in Syracuse. In Syracuse, the epithet of Temenites, supposedly utilised at the extra-urban cult place, is the only one supported by direct evidence, for it is mentioned by Thukydides.¹¹⁰⁷ Missing from this account, however, is a direct reference to Apollo. Additionally, it is unknown what its cultic aspects were or whether it was used prior to the time of Thukydides. Furthermore, there are more indications for diverse courses in Apolline worship, albeit without epithets. In Corinth, the god's veneration at the suburban sanctuary was probably set in a healing context, as is supported through its later conversion into the Asklepieion, a small number of dedications that seem to relate to such worship, and the comparison to similar cults in other places.¹¹⁰⁸ Syracuse does not appear to have observed a comparable perception of Apollo. Nevertheless, the god might have been considered a protector in a different way. As discussed in the Syracusan case study, Apollo's location in the proximity of one of the harbours at Ortygia and the early monumentalisation of his sanctuary there suggests an early significance of his cult

¹⁰⁹⁸ Holloway 2004: 73; Cf. case study Syracuse: 126

¹⁰⁹⁹ Cf. case study Corinth: 100 – 111

¹¹⁰⁰ Cf. case study Syracuse: 130 – 133

¹¹⁰¹ Cf. case study Corinth: 111 – 115

¹¹⁰² Trümper 1997: 159.163

¹¹⁰³ Trümper 1997: 163

¹¹⁰⁴ Paus. 2.2.4; Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.4

¹¹⁰⁵ Plut. *Nic.* 28.1

¹¹⁰⁶ *IG* IV 363

¹¹⁰⁷ Thuc. 6.75.1

¹¹⁰⁸ Cf. case study Corinth: 103 – 111

that could go back to the founding of the city, connecting the god to that very aspect.¹¹⁰⁹ This relation to founding was probably extended to seafaring since the founders of Syracuse came across the sea, the act of which could have required some form of protection, or at least belief in it. In regard to worship outside of their respective cities, Corinth was already involved in Delphi by the eighth century BC,¹¹¹⁰ but Syracuse did not offer its first dedications there prior to the fifth century BC.¹¹¹¹ Apart from the difference in period of initiation, the context of participation was also different. While Corinth's dedications to the site initially only came from individuals before the state got involved in the seventh century BC, in Syracuse it seems that the state was the sole dedicator and offerings were primarily made as victory commemorations.

Overall, it seems that Apolline cult in Syracuse was rather different from that in Corinth since the focus of worship was apparently set on different kind of aspects. The only similarities would be the presence of an urban sanctuary in a critical spot and an extra-urban sanctuary, and the inclusion of the month of Karneios in the local calendar which possibly indicates the veneration of Apollo Karneios. None of two former can be specifically assigned to the relationship between Corinth as a founding city and Syracuse as its settlement, for cities across Greece had such combinations of cult places. Although the month of Karneios is also present in the calendar of a number of cities, considering the circumstances, it is reasonable to assign its observance in Syracuse to its link with Corinth. The main concept that Syracuse appears to have taken from Corinth in this matter is the general importance of Apollo as a deity. The execution of his cult, though, occurred in a noticeably distinct manner.

Selinous was founded by settlers from Megara Hyblaia but with a Megarian *oikist* during the third quarter of the seventh century BC.¹¹¹² Since the archaeological record of Megara Hyblaia has been inadequately interpreted, particularly in the context of religion, Selinous was chosen for the role as Megarian settlement in Sicily for this research. Both Megara and Selinous established Apolline sanctuaries on their acropoleis. While the one in Megara remains unexcavated,¹¹¹³ archaeological research has been carried out in Selinous, resulting in the conclusion that the site was home to the city's first monumentalised temple.¹¹¹⁴ In addition to this, the area belonging to the Selinuntine sanctuary was of an enormous size which could have accommodated large gatherings.¹¹¹⁵ Megara had another cult place that was dedicated to Apollo and was set in a suburban context. This was not the case in Selinous. Most Apolline epithets known from Megara all date to the late Classical or Hellenistic periods, thus placing them outside the time frame of this thesis. Pausanias speaks of Apollo Archegetes. Although it is unlikely that the title itself was used in Archaic Megara, the founding

¹¹⁰⁹ Cf. case study Syracuse: 129 – 130

¹¹¹⁰ Cf. case study Corinth: 115; Cf. chapter Delphi: 26 – 32

¹¹¹¹ Cf. case study Syracuse: 133 – 136; Cf. chapter Delphi: 50 – 53

¹¹¹² Thuc. 6.4.2; Berger 1991: 132; De Angelis 2003: 20; Holloway 2004: 50, 54; Tréziny 2007: 183; Vallet *et al.* 1983: 107

¹¹¹³ Danner 1997: 143; Rigsby 2010: 310; Smith 2008: 14, 16 – 17

¹¹¹⁴ Chiarenza 2020: 51; De Angelis 2003: 135; De Angelis 2016: 89; Marconi 2007: 127; Osborne 1996: 248

¹¹¹⁵ Mertens 2006: 122; Voigts 2017: 174

aspect could already have been significant during that time, as is implied by a fragment from the *Theognidea* that narrates the cooperation between the god and the city's mythical founder at the construction of the Megarian city walls.¹¹¹⁶ While no epithet relating to this characteristic is known from Selinous, indications for Apollo's founding aspect are available through the city's Megarian *oikist*, the discovery of ceramics at the god's acropolis' site dating to the period shortly after the city's establishment suggesting activity at the site at this time, and the fact that the cult place was home to Selinous' first monumentalised temple.¹¹¹⁷ Another Apolline element that was shared between the cities was that of protecting. In Megara, it is the epithet Prostatérios that is associated with this characteristic, even though there is no evidence for its Archaic or early Classical utilisation. Nevertheless, as discussed in the Megarian case study, its widespread use across Greece and the generality of its meaning proposes the possibility of an earlier attestation of the aspect, albeit without the epithet.¹¹¹⁸ In Selinous, the inclusion of the title of Paianos in the late Archaic/ early Classical inscription found at the acropolis sanctuary implies Archaic implementation of worship of an Apollo who protects, perhaps against the disease of malaria which appears to have been a serious threat to the Selinuntines.¹¹¹⁹ Such veneration is also supported by the depiction of Apollo shooting arrows, an image often associated with averting evil, on local coins.¹¹²⁰ But while the worship of the protecting Apollo in Megara, if it was indeed implemented, would have been set at the suburban sanctuary, in Selinous this characteristic was part of the veneration at the acropolis. The only Megarian epithet for which an inscription suggests a possible Archaic provenance is that of Lykeios, the name of which also appears as a month in the reconstructed local calendar.¹¹²¹ No implications for its utilisation were found in Selinous, although the inclusion of the month in three of Megara's overseas settlement could perhaps also propose an observance in Selinous. A similar hypothesis can be made for the months of Apellaíos and Karneios, the former being known from Chalcedon and Callatis, and the latter from Byzantion.¹¹²² All three, however, remain subject to a high speculation. Apolline worship in Delphi occurred in Megarian context. Selinous, on the other hand, did not engage in activities at the sanctuary, likely due to not supporting the Greek cause at the Battle of Himera.

Considering all of the above, it would seem that Megara and Selinous shared some similarities in their Apolline cults. Both cities put Apollo on their acropoleis. Although their epithets do not match, both observed worship related to the god's founding aspect. Additionally, there is a reasonable chance that they also did so in the context of a protecting Apollo. Nevertheless, various differences are also clear. While Megara also venerated the god in a suburban cult place, no such setting for an Apolline site has been identified in Selinous.

¹¹¹⁶ Thgn. 773 – 774

¹¹¹⁷ Cf. case study Selinous: 172 – 173

¹¹¹⁸ Cf. case study Megara: 147 – 148

¹¹¹⁹ IG XIV 269; Cf. case study Selinous: 168 – 172

¹¹²⁰ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.759 – 1.762; *HH* 3 355 – 369; Hom. *Od.* 11.576 – 11.581; Appleton 1878: 82; Lloyd 1925: 283; Watkiss Lloyd 1847 – 1848: 111, 118

¹¹²¹ IG VII 35; Trümper 1997: 154

¹¹²² Trümper 1997: 154

Furthermore, the Selinuntines refrained from dedication at Delphi, even though the Megarians had been involved at the sanctuary by at least the sixth century BC. Therefore, it appears that a moderate degree of Megarian influence did make its way into Selinuntine Apolline cult. Since this included the founding element, it is not improbable to suggest this took place in the period and immediate aftermath of Selinous' foundation and was presumably linked to the city's supposed Megarian *oikist*.

A combined effort by settlers who came primarily from Rhodes and Crete resulted in the foundation of Gela in the first quarter of the seventh century BC.¹¹²³ Rhodes has been chosen as the founding city for the comparison with Gela. The reasons for the omission of Crete are discussed in the Geloan case study.¹¹²⁴ In neither Rhodes nor Gela have Archaic sanctuaries of Apollo been identified. For neither city does this mean that there are none. It rather signifies the need for further archaeological research. In regard to Archaic dedications, however, statues in the form of lions and falcons discovered at all three Archaic cities of Rhodes have been associated with Apollo.¹¹²⁵ No such dedications were found at Gela. A variety of Apolline epithets are known from inscriptions from Rhodes.¹¹²⁶ None of these, however, date prior to the fourth century BC. There are indications that three of these, or at least their related characteristics, already occurred in late Archaic and early Classical times. These comprise the cult titles of Delios, Karneios, and Pythios. Delios, or Dalios, was observed in the Rhodian calendar. Considering the proximity of Rhodes to the island of Delos and Lindian overseas trading ambitions, it seems reasonable that the Rhodians became involved in Delos and participated in its Apolline worship. This is also indirectly implied by Thukydides who mentions inhabitants of neighbouring islands amongst the venerators,¹¹²⁷ and the initial involvement of Rhodes in the Delian League in the fifth century BC.¹¹²⁸ There is no evidence that suggests the worship of Delian Apollo in Gela. Karneios is also included in the Rhodian calendar. The only possible early Classical archaeological implication for Apollo Karneios in Rhodes is the *gymnasion* on the acropolis of Rhodes city, which was supposedly built shortly after the city's founding.¹¹²⁹ Eight later inscriptions mention the epithets of Pythios and Karneios in the same sentence,¹¹³⁰ perhaps referring to both being associated with the acropolis sanctuary. Earlier utilisation of the epithet and its related worship by the Rhodians has to be sought elsewhere, namely in the context of the Hexapolis. Five of the six members of the latter had some sort of connection to the name Karneios. Hence, there is a possibility that worship of Apollo Karneios, including the celebration of the Karneia, occurred conjointly in this setting, likely at the Knidian sanctuary of the god. Karneios is the only month attested

¹¹²³ Thuc. 6.4.3; Berger 1992: 23; Champion 2010: 2; De Angelis 2016: Cf. case study Gela: 196

¹¹²⁴ Cf. case study Gela: 209 – 211

¹¹²⁵ Berges 2006: 92 – 94, 98, 100

¹¹²⁶ Cf. case study Rhodes: 183 – 186, 188 – 193

¹¹²⁷ Thuc. 3.104.3

¹¹²⁸ Thuc. 1.96.1 – 2; Dillon and Garland 2013: 9; Osborne 1999: 330

¹¹²⁹ Hoepfner 2002: 68 – 69; Rocco 1996: 14

¹¹³⁰ IG XII 1, 697; Lindos II 674; Tit. Cam. 38, 43 – 47, 50

for the Geloan calendar. It is reasonable to suggest Gela would have taken the month from its Rhodian settlers. There is no evidence for the observance of the month in western Crete, where most of the city's Cretan settlers originated from. Although this does not necessarily rule out the prospect of the month being present there, the Cretan cities for which the month is attested show it in a differently written manner than Rhodes and Gela.¹¹³¹ Another potential indication for the worship of Apollo Karneios in Gela is the statue that has been recently newly interpreted as a young male performing a dance in honour of the god.¹¹³² If this is indeed the right interpretation and the statue was indeed granted to Gela, it would support the inclusion of the worship of Karneios in local religion. However, it is still not certain whether this dedication was actually given to Gela or whether it belonged to Himera or Akragas. Rhodes' switch from the Delian to the Peloponnesian League during the Peloponnesian War seems to have triggered the initiation of the veneration of Pythian Apollo. This was the primary epithet associated with the Apolline sanctuary atop the acropolis. It is not improbable that Pythian Apollo was worshipped on the island rather than in Delphi, for the latter supposedly received no Rhodian dedications prior to the fourth century BC.¹¹³³ Geloan activity at the Delphic sanctuary actually predates that of the Rhodians. This participation is first visible through the joint dedication of tripods by the Deinomenids,¹¹³⁴ gifted to the site to emphasise their efforts in defending Greek identity. Most renowned, however, is the slightly later dedication of the Charioteer of Delphi by Polyzalos.¹¹³⁵

What can be made of the available material is that there appears to have been some degree of common ground in the case of Karneios. The month was included in both calendars, and related veneration was possible in both places. Although the Delphic Apollo was also attested for both; in Rhodes this was island-focused and did not occur before the late fifth century BC while in Gela connected dedication took place at the Delphic sanctuary and was first initiated around 480 BC. Meanwhile, the worship of Delian Apollo was not observed in Gela. The comparison between Rhodes and Gela is the most complicated of all the founding city – settlement duos included in this thesis, primarily because of the absence of identified Archaic cult sites. In the case of Gela it is also due to the relatively limited coverage of the city by ancient authors, which could have been a result of Gela losing its status as Sicily's most powerful Greek city to Syracuse at a crucial point in time. As such, it needs to be stated that further archaeological research is necessary for both places in order to reach a more clear-cut conclusion.

Principally there was a largely independent development in Apolline cult in the Sicilian Greek case studies. The only similarities between Corinth and Syracuse are the comparably important placements of their urban sanctuaries and the inclusion of the month Karneios in

¹¹³¹ Trümpy 1997: 168, 178, 188, 192 – 193

¹¹³² Cf. case study Gela: 199 – 203

¹¹³³ Paus. 10.18.4

¹¹³⁴ Scholia to Pind. *P.* 1.152

¹¹³⁵ Adornato 2008: 33; Barron 1981: 60; Holloway 2004: 101; Woodford 1988: 86; Zuppardo and Piccolo 2005: 64

their calendars. The latter possibly implied further worship in the context of Apollo Karneios. Similarly, Rhodes and Gela share the same month and potential Karneian veneration. Of Archaic sanctuaries in this case, however, nothing can be said due to the inadequacy of archaeological research. Of Classical sanctuaries of the fifth century BC, it is clear that Gela did not follow Rhodian example in situating Apollo on the acropolis. Of the three Sicilian Greek case studies, Selinous appears to have been influenced the most by its founding city in terms of Apolline cult. Not only did the Archaic Selinuntines place Apollo on their acropolis, as did the Megarians, but they also included the god's founding and protecting aspects in his worship, both of which are also likely in Megarian veneration. Moreover, housing Apollo on the acropolis was likely connected to his founding element. While the Selinuntines also placed the protecting Apollo in that context, the Megarians appear to have situated that incarnation in a suburban context. The essential difference between Apolline cult in Megara and Selinous seems to be the absence of the latter at the Delphic sanctuary. Hence, the most notable influence of a founding city onto its settlement is visible in Selinous, although this was also limited to the early years of the city. Megarian influence would likely have stopped after the perishing of the *oikist* and his accompanying generation of settlers. Regarding Syracuse, the available sources suggest influence from Corinth to be restricted to a general importance of Apollo and the potential inclusion of Karneios in local cult, as was also the case in Gela. While Karneios would likely have come to these settlements from their founding cities, it must at least be stated that the eponymous name was a staple in the calendars of many cities that are considered Dorian.¹¹³⁶ Therefore, the observance of the month might indicate an overarching identity that outweighs that of the founding city. This, however, is a matter for another research.

Furthermore, the Apolline cults in the Sicilian Greek case studies also developed mostly independent from each other. For most of the Archaic period this was likely due to an approach that was comparable to that of a large part of the Greek homeland, namely that cities were mainly occupied with focussing on their own development, even though this did not always happen in a peaceful manner as is evident through the various border disputes that occurred between cities such as Corinth and Megara, and Selinous and Segesta.¹¹³⁷ Nevertheless, this did not significantly affect cultic perceptions, at least until the fifth century BC. Since the Deinomenids ruled both Syracuse and Gela during roughly the first quarter of this period, there are similarities between those cities in terms of introducing themselves at Delphi after the Battle of Himera. But while Akragas also played an important part at the Greek alliance at this battle,¹¹³⁸ no such Akragantine dedications are known to have appeared in Delphi during this time. On the local level of Apolline cult, however, these case studies seem to have accommodated their own growth without interference from other Sicilian Greek cities.

¹¹³⁶ Thuc. 5.54.1 – 4; IG XIV 27, 29, 256; Bankel 2004: 106; Giffler 1939: 445; Graf 2009: 117; Hall 2007: 54; Iversen 2017: 132; Larson 2007: 6; Pettersson 1992: 60; Thomson 1943: 55; Trümper 1997: 120 – 121, 141 – 142, 147, 154, 159 – 160, 170, 180

¹¹³⁷ Plut. *Quaes. Gr.* 17; Bilello 1982: 26; Finley 1979: 20; Forsdyke 2005: 50; Salmon 1984: 251 – 252

¹¹³⁸ Diod. 13.87.2; Champion 2010: 34 – 35, 41 – 42; Dillon and Garland 2013: 284; Evans 2016: 22 – 25, 37; Guido 1958: 13 – 14

14. How do relations in regard to Apolline perceptions between the case studies in the Greek homeland and their Sicilian Greek settlements compare to those between Miletos and its settlements?

In the past, Greek settlements in the Black Sea area, many of which were Milesian in origin,¹¹³⁹ were generally viewed as having primarily been founded for, in the words of G.R. Tsetschladze, 'supplying the Mediterranean world with goods, the main reason for their establishment declared to be trade or a food shortage in the metropolis'.¹¹⁴⁰ For instance, Drews emphasises the presence of iron deposits and silver mines on the northern coast of modern Turkey, stating that 'it is not too much to suggest' that the earliest Greek settlements in the Black Sea were established 'to provide access to the metals which came so easily from the ranges of Pontic Cappadocia'.¹¹⁴¹ A corresponding approach focussing on grain is debated by Noonan.¹¹⁴² Graham expands the proposition by comparing the initial interest of Greeks to settle on the shores of the Black Sea to those of Ionian Phokaia in modern Spain. By doing so, he discusses that, although the Black Sea area did not 'fully match' the 'attractions of the riches of Spain', the pattern of settlement there was nonetheless clear from the seventh century BC.¹¹⁴³ While some modern scholars still maintain this view,¹¹⁴⁴ over the past few decades the perspective has been thoroughly debated and changed. Osborne, for example, is amongst those who questions whether the activities of the Greek Black Sea settlements were indeed only 'done on behalf of' the founding city.¹¹⁴⁵ Meanwhile, Tsetschladze argues that they should be perceived as 'independent bodies with their own diminutive economies, not depending much initially on overseas trading links'.¹¹⁴⁶ Greaves agrees, affirming that the foundation and circumstances of each settlement were different and cannot be grouped together for the sake of creating trading opportunities.¹¹⁴⁷ Such interpretation places these settlements in a similar context as the Sicilian Greek case studies of this research. Therefore, it is from this perspective that the Milesian settlements and their Apolline relationship with Miletos will be compared to that of the Sicilian Greek case studies with their founding cities.

As discussed in the section about Miletos in the Apolline epithet chapter, the principal epithets associated with Milesian Apollo are those of Delphinios and Didymeios. While the latter was not commonly used prior to the Hellenistic period, archaeological evidence in the

¹¹³⁹ Greaves 2010: 9

¹¹⁴⁰ Tsetschladze 1998: 9

¹¹⁴¹ Drews 1976: 28

¹¹⁴² Noonan 1973: 233

¹¹⁴³ Graham 1971: 37

¹¹⁴⁴ Bouzek 2012: 351 – 352; Burstein 2001: 137

¹¹⁴⁵ Osborne 1996: 111

¹¹⁴⁶ Tsetschladze 1998: 10

¹¹⁴⁷ Greaves 2010: 9

form of architectural structures and inscriptions at the sanctuary at Didyma prove an Archaic provenance for the god's cult there.¹¹⁴⁸ Of its overseas settlements, it is the city of Olbia, founded around 600 BC,¹¹⁴⁹ that appears most strongly connected to Miletos in terms of Apolline cult. Both cities housed the god in sanctuaries known as the Delphinion at their agoras under the epithet of Delphinios.¹¹⁵⁰ Both sanctuaries were equipped with the cities' common hearth and were used as storage for various degrees and treaties.¹¹⁵¹ Both cities maintained the cultic institution of the *Molpoi* headed by an *aisymnetes* who also served as the cities' political leader.¹¹⁵² The existence of the *Molpoi* is attested for Aigiale, although nothing is known about its implementation. The same city has provided coinage with the image of Didymaion Apollo, albeit of unknown date.¹¹⁵³ Furthermore, the observance of the epithet of Delphinios has been proposed for Sinope, Gorgippia, and Pantikapaion through related personal names.¹¹⁵⁴ None of these cities have provided any clues as to the possibility of exercising worship of Didymeian Apollo.

One epithet that has been attested in the Milesian settlements of Olbia, Apollonia Pontika, Istros, Tyras, and Pantikapaion is that of *Iatros* which, ironically, has not been found in Miletos.¹¹⁵⁵ However, considering the presumed deep-rooted relations between Miletos and Olbia, and the association of the epithet with healing, different scholars suggest the implementation of the cult title of *Iatros* in Milesian Apolline cult as well.¹¹⁵⁶ Ehrhardt, however, explains that the development of the epithet was related to certain circumstances encountered in the Black Sea area, for it is only established in settlements located there, and does not deem it of Milesian origin. This could be supported by the fact that the title was also included in Apolline cult in Hermonassa, which was not a Milesian settlement.¹¹⁵⁷ Due to the lack of source material for *Iatros* in Miletos, it will be omitted from this comparison.

As previously discussed, of the Sicilian Greek case studies it is Selinous that seems to have been most influenced by its founding city when it comes to Apolline cult. The similarities between Megara and Selinous comprise sanctuaries on their acropoleis and worship of the founding and, probably, protecting Apollo. For shared epithets, however, there is no evidence. In the case of Syracuse and Corinth, distinguishable links between the two are shown in the inclusion of the month *Karneios* in their calendars and the placement Apollo in urban sanctuaries, although in different locations. Meanwhile, the observance of the month

¹¹⁴⁸ Ehrhardt 1983: 131; Ehrhardt 1998: 17; Fontenrose 1988: 8; Greaves 2002: 111; Larson 2007: 96; Morgan 1989: 18; Parke 1985: 24, 30; Cf. chapter Apolline epithets: 74 – 78

¹¹⁴⁹ Strab. 7.3.17; Graf 2009: 85

¹¹⁵⁰ Ehrhardt 1983: 130, 139; Gorman 2001: 170; Herda 2008: 16; Herda 2016: 19

¹¹⁵¹ Brückner *et al.* 2014: 74; Ehrhardt 1983: 139; Gorman 2001: 170; Graf 2009: 115; Herda 2011: 68; Herda 2016: 39

¹¹⁵² Ehrhardt 1998: 18; Gorman 2001: 94; Graf 2009: 110 – 111; Herda 2008: 16; Herda 2016: 37, 39, 41; Larson 2007: 96

¹¹⁵³ *IG* XII 7 418; Ehrhardt 1983: 134, 142; Robertson 1987: 361

¹¹⁵⁴ Ehrhardt 1983: 136, 141 – 142; Robertson 1987: 361

¹¹⁵⁵ Ehrhardt 1983: 137 – 139, 141; Fontenrose 1988: 111; Graf 2009: 85 – 86; Shachar 2000: 5

¹¹⁵⁶ Fontenrose 1988: 110 – 111; Gorman 2001: 170; Graf 2009: 85

¹¹⁵⁷ Ehrhardt 1983: 145; Tsetschladeze 1998: 36, 259

Karneios, and potentially its eponymous cult title, in Gela is the only aspect that can arguably be derived from Gela's Rhodian founders. That does not mean that this was the sole element inherited from Rhodes, but it is the only one with adequate evidence.

When compared to Apolline cult in Olbia and Miletos, none of the Sicilian Greek case studies show such a high degree of correspondence with their founding cities. This can be the result of different reasons. First of all, evidence for the cult of Apollo in Archaic Miletos and Olbia appears more plentiful than it is in any of the six case studies of this research, especially in regard to cult organisation as is evident through references to the *Molpoi* which in its own turn played a significant role in the cities' politics. This was possibly complemented through the fact that Miletos basically owned an Apolline oracle that already came to prominence during the Archaic period. Having what was believed to be such a powerful tool to their disposal would likely increase the interest in preserving its practices, for example in inscriptions. Second, while Apolline cult has been compared between Miletos and many of its settlements, Corinth, Megara, and Rhodes have only been compared to one settlement each. It is not implausible that a wider study comprising a greater number of settlements for each founder could provide a different outcome which would be likely comparable to that of Miletos in terms of varying degrees of similarities. Third, there could be a correlation between the date of Olbia's founding, around 600 BC, and its closeness to Miletos, for this was the beginning of the period during which the practice of individuals setting out to settle in new lands was largely overtaken by states that send out official settling squads.¹¹⁵⁸ The inclusion of the *Molpoi* and, more important, the *aisymnetes* in Olbia suggests such an official approach of Miletos in the foundation of the city. The foundations Syracuse, Gela, and Selinous, on the other hand, would have occurred according to former individually based method. Whether this did indeed play an important part in the differences in influences of Apolline cults in the settlement is difficult to determine, since the foundation of Gorgippia in the later seventh century BC did not occur much earlier,¹¹⁵⁹ yet hardly anything is known about Apollo's cult there. Nevertheless, it is a factor that is worth considering. It must also be noted that, while the Apolline relationships between the Sicilian Greek case studies do not compare to that between Olbia and Miletos, they do not seem so different from those between Miletos and its other discussed settlements, for which only epithets and, in the case of Aigiale, limited fragments referring to cult practice remain.

¹¹⁵⁸ Osborne 1998: 254 – 255

¹¹⁵⁹ Tsetschladze 1998: 22

15. Conclusion

The discussion of the research question about the position of Delphi in Apolline cults in the Sicilian Greek case studies demonstrates that there is a visible pattern, but it is not one that has repeatedly been assumed in modern scholarship. Instead, it seems to be rather the opposite, since there is no viable evidence that the Delphic sanctuary had any influence on those local cults. There does not appear to have been any observance of Pythian worship in Syracuse, Selinous, and Gela itself. Only during the early fifth century BC do Syracuse and Gela engage in dedication at the cult place on Mount Parnassos, but this is in the context of the Persian Wars and Battle of Himera rather than as the result of any longer relationship, which is apparent through Syracusan and Geloan contributions during this period. In addition to this, the joint dedication by the tyrants of Syracuse and Gela was likely initiated through their kinship rather than a general cultic connection between their cities. Meanwhile, Selinous did not participate in dedicating at Delphi at all, most likely due to its alliance with the Carthaginians at the time of the Battle of Himera. Such an outcome regarding Delphi's status in these case studies complements the conclusion to the question focussing on the extent of influence of the founder cities on Apolline cult in their Sicilian Greek settlements which also shows a lack of pattern. There is basically no straight-forward procedure as to how and to what degree religious influence from founders was incorporated and adapted in the settlements. This is evident in the different results of the analyses of the three founder-settlement duos. Whereas Selinuntine Apolline cult clearly demonstrates some Megarian influences in terms of sanctuary placement and worship, its use of the epithet of Paianos, for instance, is not known from Megara, although there is a plausible possibility that the latter also observed the veneration of a protecting Apollo. Syracuse seems to have drawn the line at an Apolline urban cult place, in a location different from that in Corinth, and the potential inclusion of Karneian worship. The great importance that seems to have been assigned to Apollo as a founding deity did not come from Corinth. Meanwhile, apart from the month Karneios and, possibly, its related worship, Gela shows no signs of further Rhodian influence in its Apolline cult, even though its local cult of Athena does imply a greater connection to the Aegean island. The latter implies that the matter would even be more complex, requiring an examination of various cults rather than one to conclude the nature of the settlement's religious relations with its founder. It indicates that it was the settlement, not the founder, that decided what aspects, and to what extent, should be included in local religion. This was mostly also not determined by other Sicilian Greek settlements. For example, Gela does not appear to have included a founding Apollo in its local cult even though this manifestation of the god was present in Syracuse and Selinous. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider an independent development of Apolline cult in the Sicilian Greek case studies, which was principally based on a nonconforming amalgamation of each city's historical, social, and political circumstances.

While the conclusion above is based on the Sicilian Greek settlements that served as the focus of this thesis, it can be used as a foundation for subsequent research in the broader context of Greek overseas settling. The outcome of the research question concerning the short analysis of Apolline cult in Miletos and its settlements and its comparison to the Sicilian Greek case studies demonstrates that there was no pattern of included influences here either. Instead, it emphasises that varying degrees of founders' influence were not limited to Sicily. Further research on this topic can be commenced by expanding the examination initiated in this thesis. Analyses and comparisons could be carried out for and between a wide selection of settlements whose foundations have primarily been assigned to a single founder or for those for which it can be argued that one founding participant was essentially more significant than others. For instance, Megara Hyblaia and Selinous were by no means the only settlements of Megarian founding, for Megara initiated the establishment of many cities in the eastern Aegean and Black Sea area. Additionally, such research should be carried out for multiple cults in those cities. This can create new insights in regard to religion in Greek overseas settlements. It could indicate potential similarities in the cult of a certain deity in different settlements of the same founder, showing whether there were perceptions about that deity that were commonly held in that specific cluster of cities, and if these adhered to certain corresponding elements, for example the period in which a settlement was founded. The resulting narrative would display the emphases in local cults, likely underlining the factors that were deemed important for the functioning of the city. The outcome of such cluster analysis could then be compared to that of other clusters with different founders. This would be sufficient for the construction of a detailed overview of religious perceptions in the overseas settlements of the Greeks which, in turn, could contribute to the larger scholarly debate about identity in those places.

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