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with the collaboration of Matthias Haake

**Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries.
Identity and Integration**

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Vorwort

„Die griechischen Bundesstaaten und ihre Heiligtümer“ standen im Fokus eines internationalen Kongresses, der vom 17. bis 19. Juni 2010 an der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster stattfand. Die thematische Ausrichtung dieses Kongresses ist aus den Forschungen hervorgegangen, die ich im Rahmen des seit 2008 an der Münsteraner Universität etablierten Exzellenzclusters „Religion und Politik in den Kulturen der Vormoderne und Moderne“ durchführe. Der Exzellenzcluster hat auch die großzügige Finanzierung der Tagung ermöglicht, an deren Vorbereitung und organisatorischer Durchführung auch meine Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter Matthias Haake, Katharina Knäpper, Katarina Nebelin und Sebastian Scharff entscheidend beteiligt waren und denen dafür ein ganz besonderer Dank gebührt.

In dem Exzellenzcluster wird das Spannungsgefüge zwischen Religion und Politik in einem weiten Rahmen thematisiert und von Forschern aus fast allen Bereichen der Theologischen, Juristischen und Philosophischen Fakultäten sowohl in synchronen Querschnitts- wie auch in diachronen Längsschnittanalysen untersucht. In dem Zusammenhang steht auch das von mir geleitete Teilprojekt, in dem der Frage nachgegangen wird, welche politische Rolle Religion und Kult im zwischenstaatlichen Miteinander der antiken griechischen Poliswelt gespielt haben. Ausgangspunkt meiner Forschungen ist die Beobachtung, dass aus den ebenso polytheistischen wie zugleich auch pluralistischen Grundstrukturen des religiösen ‚Systems‘ der griechischen Staatenwelt spezifische Konditionen für einen in starkem Maße auch religiös geprägten Diskurs resultierten, der im zwischenstaatlichen Miteinander offenbar eine zwingende Notwendigkeit darstellte. Die Analyse der Grundlagen und Rahmenbedingungen dieses spezifischen Diskurses im zwischenstaatlichen Dialog verspricht aufschlussreiche Erkenntnisse über das komplexe Wechselspiel von Religion und Politik, die weit über den Bereich der griechischen Antike hinausweisen. Da auch ein solcher Untersuchungsgegenstand immer noch ein sehr weites Themenfeld umfasst, wurden zunächst so genannten „überregionalen“ Heiligtümer in den Blick genommen mit dem in der folgenden Einleitung näher erläuterten Ziel einer differenzierten Analyse der politischen Rolle – oder besser gesagt: der politischen Rollen – dieser Heiligtümer.

Der vorliegende Tagungsband enthält nur die Beiträge, in denen einzelne regionale Fallbeispiele behandelt wurden. Sie sind zugleich Teilstudien für eine geplante grundlegende und umfassende Darstellung des antiken Föderalismus, in die dann auch die systematischen Überlegungen der übrigen Tagungsteilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer Eingang finden werde.

Münster, im September 2011

Peter Funke

Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration

Introduction

Peter Funke (Münster)

For a differentiated analysis of the political roles of “trans-regional” sanctuaries it is essential to establish first more precisely what I do mean by talking about “trans-regional” sanctuaries. I would like to break open the bipolar view of Greek sanctuaries, which frequently sees them from only one of two perspectives: either that of the single polis or within a pan-Hellenic context. This kind of a dichotomy conceals the potentially multiple functions of cults and sanctuaries *in religiosis* as *in politicis*. For just as a great variety of religious manifestations existed within – or below the level of – the “polis-religion” in the form of generational, family- and individuals cults, beyond the “polis-religion” there also extended a wide-ranging spectrum of spatially and functionally differing spheres of influence on the part of trans-regional sanctuaries, which cannot be sufficiently described by the term “panhellenic”.

The sanctuary at Delphi, for example, functioned as a panhellenic sanctuary only on certain occasions and otherwise fulfilled the function of an amphictyonic center, that is to say, one limited to a smaller circle of participants, or it functioned as an oracle that exerted an effect far beyond the boundaries of the Greek world; at the same time the sanctuary always remained a local cult site. It was thus possible for one and the same sanctuary to develop functions and exert an influence both on the local and regional levels, but also trans-regional and pan-Hellenic level, as well as even into non-Greek regions, but it could not do so at will and not in every case. Rather, a sanctuary’s function and its spatial dimensions seem to have existed in a mutually reciprocal interrelationship, whose respective pre-conditions and general circumstances have to be explained in each case. Only by this means can the respective political aspects be more specifically determined.

My ultimate concern thus is to differentiate between the functions of trans-regional sanctuaries with special consideration to their respective political roles. This focus on the political dimensions aims primarily at establishing the formative function of religion and cult in the structuring of rule and the political order. The formative and integrating

function of religion can be observed in an exemplary fashion in the trans-regional sanctuaries of the world of the Greek states. These sanctuaries are particularly suited to the task of analyzing the function of the cults with respect to the development and formation of inter-state and consequently even federal-state organization in Antiquity.

The question of the political functions of trans-regional sanctuaries thus fits into the larger context of research into the functional mechanisms of religion and cult in the development and organization of statehood and political rule in Antiquity. The reference to trans-regionality targets a specific phenomenon that can be observed predominantly, but not only, in the world of the Greek states of Antiquity. This is the existence of sanctuaries whose geographic area and sphere of influence was limited neither to a clearly circumscribed landscape nor to the area of a polis, but reached far beyond them.

A specific type of these trans-regional sanctuaries were the so-called amphictyonic sanctuaries, which formed the cultic center of amalgamations of neighboring states, tribes, or other social-political communities. Of these, the Delphic amphictyony is certainly the most well-known, if by no means the only case. Recent research has far too often underestimated the significance of these forms of amphictyonic state alliances to the genesis and organization of specific state structures of Antiquity, both within and between states, and far too seldom even perceived them, due to a one-sided concentration on the respective cultic character. Here, researchers seem to have lost sight of the unmediated interaction and the inseparable connection between religion and cult on the one hand and what we refer to as “statehood” on the other.

It is thus necessary to direct more attention to the political effect of amphictyonies as well as other trans-regional sanctuaries and cultic associations and, in this context, to take into account in particular the structural regulations and mechanisms of these associations that existed among states as well. In this way the framework of these cultic centers, which went far beyond that of a purely religious and sacral-legal sphere, can be further clarified. The trans-regional sanctuaries could develop a great power of integration *in politicis* as well and were even able to help in creating and maintaining the identity of those who participated in these sanctuaries. Cult community and political community were thus closely interwoven, but in such a way that the “amphictyonic identity” did not compete against each “individual state identity,” but rather complemented it, and was thus able to develop an additional power of integration. This

functional relationship is exemplified by the case of Delphi, Panionion, or Triopion, just as much as the case of Delos as the early center of the “Delian League.”

The relations between the different identities, however, were not static, but instead were able to develop in very different directions: On the one hand, the participating communities’ collaboration on trans-regional cults and sanctuaries could contribute to a stabilization of each individual “state” or ethnic identity, in that the all-embracing amphictyonic or inter-state character intentionally became effective in the institutional organization of the administration and practice of the cult; on the other hand there were always very extensive convergences *in politicis* among the communities taking part in the cult in those cases where the central sanctuaries of tribal or state alliances produced federal amalgamations, and the trans-regional cult centers became the culmination points in this development.

The status and mode of action of the central cults and sanctuaries in the Greek federal states have not yet been systematically investigated within the ensemble of Greek levels of identity. Over the course of time, within these associations – which as a rule consisted of several at least theoretically equal groupings – there developed a symbolic system consisting of religious practice, sanctuaries, deities, rituals, religious institutions, and behavior, which displayed the religious unity of the cult community, but also became a means of expression and stabilizing element of that community’s cohesion and identity *in politicis*. In this way, sanctuaries and cults could become sites that established unity on the federal-state level, sites which then became accepted by the citizens of the individual member states of an alliance as central reference points for federal-state identification.

In the absence of one predominant site, frequently one or several state sanctuaries thus served as ‘substitute centers’ among the Greek federal states. This seemed in fact to be the rule, for in this way it was possible to circumvent the problem of potential competition between the individual member states and disputes over preeminence within an alliance. The founding of a completely new capital, built overnight like the case of the arcadian city Megalopolis, apparently remained the exception. The ‘usual’ case, in contrast, would be represented by the southern Italian states, which were joined in the middle of the fifth century by the states of Croton, Sybaris, and Kaulonia. As a central meeting place, a sanctuary for Zeus Homarios was newly founded, which was then given a constitutive role for the new alliance of states Polyb. 2.39.5-6).

This example has a paradigmatic significance. Just as here, in many other Greek federal states as well, specific sanctuaries were not only the cultic-religious centers, but also simultaneously the gathering places for the respective state institutions: The alliances carried out a common construction activity in the sanctuaries; they elected cultic officers and collected fines that were paid out to the sanctuaries. The state coffers were simultaneously the temple coffers. As “symbolic” acts, the state festivals celebrated regularly in the sanctuary guaranteed the member states’ “collective identity.” Here religion’s ability to provide a focus for group identity is tangible, produced by a shared cultic practice, by standardized behavioral rules with respect to the “deity,” and through the festival as the climax and intensification of cultic life. Even during the time of the Roman domination, the state cults by no means degenerated into merely inessential and temporary institutions, ossified in traditional forms and able to fulfill only a compensatory function. In the self-perception of the member states, the federal states were based not only on a purely political cooperation, freed from any religious and cultic ties, but rather a kind of community of life and cult, even if the amalgamation was produced by means of political action and secured by law. The state sanctuaries made manifest the binding force of an order that was acceptable to all sides and for this reason effective. A ‘symbolic system’ consisting of religious practice, sanctuaries, rituals, and religious institutions, whose coordinates could also be fundamentally transformed under the influence of historical development if necessary, also connected the federal states internally into religious and political unities.

The papers collected in this volume should prove whether this – initially very general – description can hold up to an examination based on individual cases. A large number of examples has been selected intentionally, in order to draw from as wide a spectrum of manifestations as possible. But a simple listing of case studies is not sufficient; it is necessary to examine them in comparison with one another. It may then be possible not only to present a wide variety of manifestations, but to tease out the differences as well as the structural similarities and identities in order to more precisely describe the role of sanctuaries in the political integration of the Greek federal states and in the ways in which they secured their identity.

Thermika und Panaitolika.
Alte und neue Zentren im Aitolischen Bund¹

Peter Funke (Münster)

„ὄραξ τὸ δῖον οὗ βέλος διέπτατο.“ „Du siehst, es traf sein Ziel das göttliche Geschoss.“ Diesen Spruch schrieben im Jahre 218 die makedonischen Soldaten auf die Wände des von ihnen verwüsteten Heiligtums im aitolischen Thermos. Der Schöpfer dieses Spruches war der Dichter Samos, der den makedonischen König Philipp V. auf dem Kriegszug gegen Thermos begleitet hatte.² Er hatte einen Vers aus den „Hiketiden“ des Euripides abgewandelt und durch die Verwendung des Wortes „*dion*“ anstelle des ursprünglichen „*labron*“ (oder „*habron*“) zu einem zweideutigen Spruch gemacht.³ Jeder, der den Spruch hörte oder las, musste die Doppeldeutigkeit der Wortes „*dion*“ erkennen und umdeuten in ein: „Du siehst es, Dion, das Geschoss hat sein Ziel nicht verfehlt.“ Damit wurde für jeden klar und unmissverständlich auf den Kriegszug angespielt, bei dem ein Jahr zuvor, im Jahre 219, aitolische Truppen das makedonische Heiligtum in Dion verwüstet hatten. Mit seinem überraschenden Angriff auf Thermos wollte Philipp V. Rache nehmen für die Zerstörungen, die die Aitoler in Dion und im gleichen Jahr auch in Dodona angerichtet hatten. So, wie die Aitoler sich mit ihren Feldzügen gegen die großen religiösen und auch politischen Zentren des epirotischen Bundes und Makedoniens gewandt hatten, so wollte Philipp V. nun die Aitoler auf die gleiche Weise treffen.

Polybios' detaillierte Beschreibung des Verlaufs des Feldzugs lässt keinen Zweifel daran, dass es Philipp V. nicht um eine möglichst großflächige Zerstörung aitolischen Territoriums ging. Der Überfall auf Thermos war als ein Überraschungsangriff angelegt und zielte auf die geographische, vor allem aber auf die symbolische Mitte und damit das ‚politische Herz‘ des Aitolischen Bundes. In Thermos befand sich ein Heiligtum, dessen Anfänge bis weit in die „Dunklen Jahrhunderte“ zurückreichten und das bereits

¹ Die folgenden Ausführungen gehen auf Überlegungen zurück, die ich auch an den Universitäten in Heidelberg, Innsbruck und Tartu sowie in Kairo auf einer Tagung des Forschungsclusters 4 „Heiligtümer“ des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts vortragen konnte; vgl. Funke (2009); Funke (2011); Funke (2012). – Alle Daten verstehen sich v.Chr.

² Polyb. 5.9.2-6.

³ Eur. Suppl. 860; vgl. dazu Walbank (1957), 547.

im letzten Drittel des siebten Jahrhunderts durch den Bau eines neuen Tempels eine eindrucksvolle Ausgestaltung erfahren hatte.⁴ Vermutlich bildete das Heiligtum in Thermos spätestens seit früharchaischer Zeit einen kultischen Mittelpunkt für die umliegenden aitolischen Stämme und dürfte schon früh Funktionen wie ein amphiktyonisches Heiligtum erfüllt haben. Jedenfalls sind der frühe Tempelbau in Thermos – wie etwa auch die frühen Tempel in Delphi und im achaischen Helike – Beispiele dafür, dass die von Francois de Polignac in seinem Buch über „Kulte, Territorium and die Ursprünge der griechischen Polis“ vertretene und so nachhaltig wirksame These von der „religiösen Bipolarität“ früher griechischer Heiligtümer keineswegs eine Ausschließlichkeit für sich beanspruchen kann.⁵

De Polignac beschreibt mit dem Begriff der „religiösen Bipolarität“ durchaus zutreffend das Wechselspiel zwischen intra- und extraurbanen Heiligtümern als ein bestimmendes Moment für die Genese der Polis: Während die intraurbanen Tempel entscheidend zur Konstituierung eines sozialen Raumes innerhalb einer Polis beitragen, diene die gleichzeitige Errichtung von Grenzheiligtümern der Fixierung des Polisterritoriums nach außen und damit der Abgrenzung zu den umliegenden, auf gleiche Weise festgelegten Polisterritorien. Eine solche bipolare Struktur war aber keineswegs zwingend. Einem extraurbanen Heiligtum korrespondierte eben nicht immer zwangsläufig ein intraurbanes Gegenstück. Mit Blick auf die griechischen Orakelheiligtümer hat dies zuletzt Wiebke Friese noch einmal eindrücklich herausgearbeitet.⁶ Gleiches gilt aber auch für viele griechische Amphiktyonien, Stammes- und Bundesheiligtümer, in denen schon in sehr früher Zeit die Errichtung großer Tempel zum sichtbaren Ausdruck einer sich konstituierenden religiösen und damit immer auch schon politischen Gemeinschaft wurde. Und dies traf allem Anschein nach gerade auch für das Heiligtum in Thermos zu.

Das Quellenmaterial ist für die geometrische und archaische Zeit allerdings zu dürftig, um diese These absichern zu können. Erst für die klassische Zeit geben einige historiographische Notizen Aufschluss über die zunächst noch sehr lockeren Binnenstrukturen der aitolischen Stämme und das entsprechend noch sehr rudimentär ausgebildete politische Zusammenwirken. Thukydides berichtet für die Zeit des

⁴ Zur Frühgeschichte des Heiligtums vgl. Papapostolou (2008); Papapostolou (2010) (mit der älteren Literatur).

⁵ Polignac (1995); vgl. jetzt aber auch mit einer differenzierteren Sichtweise Polignac (2009).

⁶ Friese (2010).

Peloponnesischen Kriegen über einzelne, unterschiedlich große und noch weitgehend eigenständige Stammesverbände, die sich aber schon als „Aitoler“ zusammengehörig fühlten und nach außen hin auch als ein geschlossener Verband auftraten.⁷ Spätestens zur damaligen Zeit fungierte das Apollon-Heiligtum in Thermos als ein Ort, der den Aitolern für die Pflege eines gemeinsamen Kults diente, der von ihnen aber zugleich zu einem augenfälligen Zeichen eines zunehmend auch politisch akzentuierten ethnischen Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühls ausgebaut wurde.

Dafür spricht auch eine bei Strabon überlieferte Notiz des Ephoros, derzufolge im ausgehenden fünften Jahrhundert in Thermos eine Statue des Aitolos als augenfällige Identifikationsfigur errichtet worden war.⁸ In der beigefügten Inschrift, der eine korrespondierende Inschrift auf dem Sockel einer Statue des Oxylos in Elis entsprach, wurde eine neue, der älteren Überlieferung noch fremde genealogische Konzeption zugrunde gelegt. Aitolos erscheint hier nicht mehr als Sohn des Oineus, des Königs von Kalydon, sondern erlangt als der Sohn des elischen Königs Endymion die Herrschaft in Aitolien einschließlich der Küstenregion. Durch diese mythologische Version wurde es möglich, die engen Bindungen zwischen Aitolien und dem elisch-pisatischen Teil der Peloponnes herauszustellen, ohne den aitolischen Anspruch auf den damals noch von Aitolien unabhängigen nördlichen Bereich des Kalydonischen Golfes aufzugeben. Diese Ausgestaltung der Sagentradition ist vor dem Hintergrund des im Verlaufe des fünften Jahrhunderts wachsenden politischen Zusammenhaltes der Aitoler zu verstehen, die auf diese Weise ihrem politischen Selbstverständnis und Machtanspruch ein ideologisches Rüstzeug zu geben suchten. Die Errichtung der Statue des Aitolos war ein demonstratives Zeugnis für dieses erstarkende politische Selbstbewusstsein der Aitoler; und es ist bezeichnend für die politische Bedeutung des Heiligtums von Thermos, dass diese Statue gerade an diesem Ort errichtet wurde.

Der weitere Ausbau des Heiligtums – vor allem dann in hellenistischer Zeit – folgte ganz dieser Linie. Diese Entwicklung im Detail nachzuzeichnen würde an dieser Stelle zu weit führen. Es muss daher genügen, ganz pauschal auf die vielen Beutewaffen, die im Heiligtum von Thermos aufbewahrt wurden, und auf die zahllosen Weihungen hinzuweisen, von denen auch Polybios im Zusammenhang mit dem makedonischen

⁷ Vgl. Funke (1987) (mit der älteren Literatur); Funke (1997); Antonetti (2010).

⁸ FGrHist 70 (Ephoros) F 122 *ap.* Strab. 10.3.2.

Überfall zu berichten weiß.⁹ Besonders charakteristisch war die Statue der Aitolia, die im zweiten Drittel des dritten Jahrhunderts nach dem Sieg der Aitoler über die Galater im Heiligtum von Thermos errichtet worden war. Sie bildete quasi ein Pendant zur Statue des Aitolos, auch wenn diese wohl keineswegs so monumental gestaltet war wie die der Aitolia, von der zeitgleich noch ein zweites Exemplar in Delphi aufgestellt worden war.¹⁰ Die herausragende Bedeutung dieser Statue für das politische Selbstverständnis der Aitoler wird auch daran ersichtlich, dass sie als Abbild auf den Münzen vieler aitolischer Silber- und Goldemissionen des ausgehenden dritten und frühen zweiten Jahrhunderts erscheint.¹¹ Aufs Ganze besehen ließ die architektonische Ausgestaltung des Heiligtums keinen Zweifel an der Funktion von Thermos als dem zentralen Ort der politischen Selbstvergewisserung des Aitolischen Bundes gerade auch in der Zeit der weit über die engeren Grenzen der Kernlandschaft Aitolien hinausgreifenden Expansion des dritten Jahrhunderts.

Selbst in den Jahrzehnten, als sich das Bundesgebiet über fast ganz Zentralgriechenland erstreckte, konnte Thermos seine Stellung als religiöses und zugleich politisches Zentrum des Bundes unangefochten behaupten. So hielten die Aitoler bis zum endgültigen Niedergang des Bundes daran fest, in Thermos jährlich eine reguläre Primärversammlung abzuhalten, bei der auch die Wahlen zu den Führungsämtern des Bundes erfolgten. Wie weit diese Tradition in die Geschichte des Aitolischen Bundes zurückreichte, wird daran deutlich, dass bereits Ephoros anmerkte, dass die Wahlen „nach althergebrachten Brauch“ in Thermos erfolgten.¹² Ergänzend berichtet Polybios im Zusammenhang mit den bereits erwähnten Plünderungen von Thermos im Jahre 218, dass die Aitoler dort alljährlich ihre Jahrmärkte und Bundesfeste abhielten und dann auch die Wahlen der Bundesmagistrate durchführten, und zwar regelmäßig in der Zeit unmittelbar nach dem Herbstäquinoktium stattfanden.¹³

Diese Herbstversammlungen, die nicht nur den Wahlen vorbehalten waren, sondern auch der Beratung und Beschlussfassung aller zur Entscheidung anstehenden Bundesangelegenheiten dienten, werden von Polybios als αἱ τῶν Θερμικῶν σύνοδοι

⁹ Polyb. 5.9.3 berichtet von „nicht weniger als 2000 Statuen“.

¹⁰ Zur Statue der Aitolia in Delphi vgl. Jacquemin (1985) und zuletzt Knoepfler (2007).

¹¹ Vgl. dazu Tsangari (2007), bes. 73-81. 201. 250-253 sowie pl. XXIII-XXVIII.

¹² FGrHist 70 (Ephoros) F 122 *ap.* Strab. 10.3.2.

¹³ Polyb. 5.8.5; 5.37.2.

bezeichnet.¹⁴ Dem entspricht die Datierung Θερμικ[οῖς] im Präskript eines aitolischen Dekretes.¹⁵ Mit dem Begriff „Thermika“ wurde aber wohl nicht nur die Herbstversammlung selbst bezeichnet. Schon Maurice Holleaux hatte die Ansicht vertreten, dass mit „Thermika“ vielmehr in erster Linie die ebenfalls von Polybios erwähnten Bundesfeste¹⁶ in Thermos bezeichnet worden seien, aus deren Anlass die Aitoler zur gleichen Zeit und am gleichen Ort ihre Bundesversammlungen abgehalten hätten. Die Angabe Θερμικοῖς in der aitolischen Urkunde sei durchaus mit dem Vermerk Πυθίοις in den delphischen Dekreten und ähnlichen Angaben in den Beschlüssen anderer griechischer Staaten zu vergleichen, in denen ebenfalls durch den Verweis auf bestimmte Feste Zeit und Ort einer Beschlussfassung näher präzisiert wurden.¹⁷

Diese Auffassung Holleaux's hat sich durch epigraphische Funde aufs Beste bestätigt. Der Name „Thermika“ konnte als Bezeichnung einer großen kultischen Feier, mit welcher zumindest in hellenistischer Zeit auch panhellenische Festspiele verbunden gewesen waren, zweifelsfrei nachgewiesen werden.¹⁸ Ob nun der Name des Festes auch auf die gleichzeitig stattfindende Bundesversammlung übertragen worden war, ist nicht zu entscheiden. Diese Frage ist auch weniger von Bedeutung, da der Sachverhalt selbst klar ist: Zu Herbstbeginn kamen die Aitoler anlässlich eines gemeinsamen großen Festes regelmäßig in ihrem Bundesheiligtum in Thermos zusammen und hielten bei dieser Gelegenheit zugleich auch eine Versammlung ab, in welcher die Bundesämter neu besetzt und alle wichtigen politischen Entscheidungen des Bundes gefällt wurden.

Holleaux konnte aber auch den Nachweis führen, dass die Herbstversammlung nicht die einzige reguläre Versammlung des Aitolischen Bundes war, sondern dass die Aitoler alljährlich noch eine zweite reguläre Versammlung durchgeführt hatten und dass diese Versammlung jeweils am Ende des Winterhalbjahres stattfand und offenbar als Frühjahrsversammlung gleichsam das Gegenstück zu den Herbsttagungen des Aitolischen Bundes in Thermos bildete.¹⁹ Es ist jedoch nicht zu entscheiden, ob der im Zusammenhang mit dieser Versammlung überlieferte Name „Panaitolika“²⁰ in erster

¹⁴ Polyb. 18.48.5.

¹⁵ IG IX 1².1.187,2.

¹⁶ Polyb. 5.8.5 (ἀγοράς τε καὶ πανηγύρεις).

¹⁷ Holleaux (1905), 366-367.

¹⁸ SEG XI 338,7.

¹⁹ Holleaux (1905).

²⁰ IG IX 1².1.192,2; vgl. im Übrigen die Zusammenstellung der Belege bei Holleaux (1905).

Linie ein Bundesfest oder die Versammlung selbst bezeichnete. Die Parallelität mit dem Namen „Thermika“ legt die Existenz eines Festes zwar nahe, jedoch finden sich in den Quellen keine entsprechenden Hinweise.

Im Gegensatz zu den „Thermika“ waren die „Panaitolika“ an keinen festen Ort gebunden. Die „Panaitolika“ unterscheiden sich grundlegend von den „Thermika“ darin, dass sie an wechselnden Orten stattfanden. Die disparate Quellenlage ergibt allerdings keine Aufschlüsse darüber, nach welchen Kriterien die Auswahl des jeweiligen Tagungsortes erfolgte. Holleaux hat die Ansicht vertreten, dass die Einberufung der „Panaitolika“ nach einer festen Ordnung erfolgte. Er sah enge Parallelen zu den Versuchen Philopoimens, zu Beginn des zweiten Jahrhunderts im Achaischen Bund die Bundesversammlungen abwechselnd in allen Bundesstaaten stattfinden zu lassen. Holleaux vertrat sogar die Auffassung, dass sich Philopoimen mit seiner Initiative am aitolischen Vorbild orientiert hätte.²¹ Es gibt aber für den Aitolischen Bund keinerlei Indizien für die Existenz eines Rotationssystems, in dem turnusmäßig alle Mitgliedsstaaten bei der Ortswahl für die „Panaitolika“ in gleicher Weise Berücksichtigung gefunden hätten. In Anbetracht der Kleinteiligkeit der Aitolischen Bundes ist ein solches Verfahren auch kaum vorstellbar. Auffällig ist aber, dass die wenigen Städte, die wir als Tagungsorte von „Panaitolika“ kennen, allesamt außerhalb ‚Alt-Aitoliens‘ lagen. Dass es also prinzipiell möglich und vielleicht sogar die Regel war, die Frühjahrsversammlungen in den wichtigsten Zentren außerhalb des aitolischen Kernlandes abzuhalten, könnte auf das Bemühen zurückzuführen sein, die später dem Aitolischen Bund angeschlossenen Gliedstaaten enger in den Bund zu integrieren.²²

Mit dieser Überlegung verbindet sich die Frage nach dem Alter der „Panaitolika“. Möglicherweise wurde die „Panaitolika“ – zumindest in der uns bekannten Form – erst im Verlaufe des dritten Jahrhunderts geschaffen, um den Erfordernissen des rasch expandierenden Bundes gerecht zu werden. Man mag dabei aber durchaus an ältere Traditionen einer immer schon im Frühjahr veranstalteten Zusammenkunft der Aitoler angeknüpft haben, zumal solche Frühjahrsversammlungen auch aus anderen Stammes- und Bundesstaaten bekannt sind; aber der Charakter der „Panaitolika“ im dritten und zweiten Jahrhundert weist ‚moderne‘ Züge auf, wie sie eigentlich erst für diese Zeit

²¹ Holleaux (1905), 372.

²² So zuletzt auch Scholten (2000), 66.

vorstellbar sind vor dem Hintergrund der neuen politischen Rahmenbedingungen des weit über die engeren Stammesgrenzen hinaus erweiterten Bundes.

Auf die recht späte Entstehung bzw. Neugestaltung der „Panaitolika“ deutet auch der Name selbst hin. Schon Pierre Roussel hat die Bezeichnung als Ausdruck eines „panaitolisme“ gewertet, der sich erst auf dem Höhepunkt aitolischer Machtentfaltung im dritten Jahrhundert entwickelt habe.²³ Und es gibt in der Tat Indizien für Bemühungen in dieser Zeit, den Zusammenhalt des Bundes durch eine intensiv propagierte panaitolische Ideologie zu stärken. So zeigen beispielsweise die ‚aitolischen‘ Dichtungen des Nikandros von Kolophon allenthalben die Tendenz, insbesondere den Sagentraditionen der neu in den Aitolischen Bund integrierten Gliedstaaten eine spezifisch aitolische Komponente zu verleihen.²⁴ Hierher gehört aber auch die mit großem propagandistischem Aufwand betriebene Ausgestaltung der „Soteria“ in Delphi zu einem penteterischen Festagon, durch die sich der Aitolische Bund als Verteidiger der hellenischen Freiheit gegen die Barbaren feiern ließ und in deren Zusammenhang vielleicht auch die Errichtung einer Statue der Aitolia in Delphi steht.²⁵ Diese „panaitolischen“ Bemühungen dürften nicht nur der Steigerung des aitolischen Prestiges in der griechischen Welt, sondern auch der inneren Festigung des Bundes gedient haben. Es spricht daher Vieles dafür, in den „Panaitolika“ wenn nicht eine Neuschöpfung, so doch zumindest das Ergebnis einer grundlegenden strukturellen Umgestaltung einer älteren Institution zu sehen, mit welcher man in Aitolien im 3. Jh. v. Chr. den politischen und organisatorischen Bedürfnissen des größer gewordenen Bundes zu entsprechen suchte.

Was aber hat nun dieser Exkurs zu den „Panaitolika“ mit der eigentlichen Fragestellung nach dem politischen Stellenwert des Bundesheiligtums zu tun? Das Bemerkenswerte ist, dass für die „Panaitolika“ – im Gegensatz zu den „Thermika“ – die Anbindung an ein Heiligtum offenbar nicht entscheidend war. Hier hat es einen charakteristischen Unterschied zwischen beiden Versammlungstypen gegeben. Man kann sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass die „Panaitolika“ in ihrem ganzen Zuschnitt stärker nach den politischen Erfordernissen des in hellenistischer Zeit weit

²³ Vgl. Flacelière (1937), 43 mit Anm. 3.

²⁴ Schon Vollgraf (1909), der die historischen Bezüge in den aitolischen Dichtungen des Nikandros zum politischen Geschehen im 3. Jh.s aufzeigen konnte, hat auf die nachhaltige Wirkung dieser Dichtung auf die spätere Überlieferung hingewiesen; vgl. auch Cazzaniga (1973).

²⁵ Vgl. hierzu die grundlegende Untersuchung von Nachtergaele (1977), 209ff. und die ebenda, 435ff. zusammengestellten Zeugnisse; zur Statue der Aitolia s. Anm. 18.

über seine angestammten Grenzen hinausgewachsenen Bundesstaates ausgerichtet war. Während Thermos als zentrales Heiligtum des gesamten Aitolischen Bundes weiterhin die Funktion erfüllte, durch gemeinsamen Kult den Zusammenhalt innerhalb des Bundes zu stärken, suchte man mit dem Wechsel der Versammlungsorte der „Panaitolika“ allem Anschein nach den Einzelinteressen insbesondere der nicht ursprünglich aitolischen, erst spät in den Bund integrierten Mitgliedsstaaten Rechnung zu tragen.

Das Apollon-Heiligtum in Thermos blieb in seiner eher traditionellen Position unangefochten. Weder das ‚Schwester-Heiligtum‘ der Artemis Laphria in Kalydon noch das Apollon-Heiligtum in Delphi, die beide im Verlaufe des vierten und dritten Jahrhunderts unter aitolische Kontrolle kamen, wurden für Thermos zu Konkurrenten. Sie entfalteten zwar eine noch weitaus größere Außenwirkung als das Heiligtum in Thermos, aber sie konnten und sollten wohl auch gar nicht die gleiche identitätsstiftende Wirkung innerhalb des Aitolischen Bundes entfalten. Vielmehr ergänzten sie auf der Ebene des Bundes das Spektrum der überregionalen Heiligtümer und wurden zu festen Bestandteilen einer den Aitolischen Bund prägenden, vielgestaltigen *sacred landscape*, die in je unterschiedlicher Weise von den Aitolern auch politisch instrumentalisiert wurden, ohne dass jedoch die Stellung von Thermos tangiert worden wäre. So fungierten wie in Thermos auch die Heiligtümer in Kalydon und Delphi als Aufstellungsorte von Staatsurkunden und Ehrendekreten. Der delphische Amphyktionenrat geriet parallel zur Expansion des Bundes sukzessive unter aitolische Kontrolle und wurde zu einem der wichtigsten Instrumente der aitolischen Machtpolitik.²⁶ Und hinsichtlich des Heiligtums in Kalydon haben Andrea Jördens und Gereon Becht-Jördens mit überzeugenden Argumenten gezeigt, dass die kalydonische Eberjagd bezeichnenderweise eigentlich erst seit dem vierten Jahrhundert zu einem festen Bestandteil des aitolischen Gründungsmythos wurde und dass der Unterkiefer eines Ebers – eben des kalydonischen Ebers – neben der Lanzenspitze des Meleager dann in hellenistischer Zeit zum offiziellen, auf Urkundereliefs, Siegeln und Münzen allgegenwärtigen Staatssymbol avancierte, dem möglicherweise sogar – so zumindest die Thesen der beiden Autoren – Reliquien im

²⁶ Hierzu immer noch grundlegend Flacelière (1937); vgl. darüber hinaus Lefèvre (1998), passim; Scholten (2000), 240-252; Sánchez (2001), passim.

kalydonischen Heiligtum aufbewahrt wurden.²⁷ Auf diese Weise wurden die neu hinzugewonnenen überregionalen Heiligtümer in eine *sacred landscape* eingebunden, die auch den politisch-ideologischen Interessen der Aitolier dienstbar gemacht wurde.

Zu dieser aitolischen *sacred landscape* zählten aber nicht nur diese großen überregionalen Heiligtümer. Den verschiedenen politischen Ebenen innerhalb des Bundes entsprechend gab es noch weitere Heiligtümer mit je ganz unterschiedlichen Wirkungskreisen. Das waren auf der einen Seite die Heiligtümer der einzelnen Gliedstaaten; das waren aber auch die zentralen Heiligtümer der *koiná* der Lokrer, Phoker, Dorer etc., denen auch noch nach ihrer Eingliederung in den Aitolischen Bund ein gewisses Maß an Autonomie zugestanden worden war, indem sie als Bezirke (τέλη) auf einer Ebene zwischen den Gliedstaaten und der Zentralgewalt fortbestanden.²⁸ Wir wissen aber immer noch viel zu wenig über das Eigenleben dieser Heiligtümer auf den unteren Ebenen des Aitolischen Bundes, die zugleich immer auch eigene Identitätsebenen waren. Die erstaunliche Vitalität, die die kleineren mittelgriechischen *koiná* nach dem Auseinanderfallen des Aitolischen Bundes im zweiten Jahrhundert erneut zu entfalten vermochten, scheint jedenfalls dadurch mitbegründet gewesen sein, dass ihnen auch in der Zeit ihrer Mitgliedschaft im Aitolischen Bund eigenständige Residuen verblieben waren, zu denen auch die je eigenen kultischen Zentren gehört haben dürften.

Wenn wir also nach den politischen Funktionen von Heiligtümern innerhalb eines antiken Bundesstaates fragen und ihren Stellenwert als Orte der Stiftung und der Wahrung von Identität zu analysieren suchen, dann müssen wir den Blick nicht nur auf die zentralen Bundesheiligtümer lenken, sondern viel stärker auch die anderen Heiligtümer auf und unterhalb der Bundesebene mit in Betracht ziehen. Erst dann wird sich das komplexe Spannungsgefüge von Religion und Politik innerhalb eines antiken Bundesstaates in seiner Vielgestaltigkeit angemessen erfassen lassen.

Ein ähnlich differenzierter Blick wie der hier für die kultisch-religiösen Binnenstrukturen eines Bundesstaates geforderte ist aber auch dann vonnöten, wenn die politischen Funktionen zentraler Heiligtümer in den verschiedenen griechischen

²⁷ Jördens – Becht-Jördens (1994); vgl. auch Tsangari (2007), bes. 202-203.

²⁸ Hierzu Funke (1997), 158f. mit Anm. 53 und 54, der die Auffassung vertritt, dass die in den Aitolischen Bundes integrierten mittelgriechischen Bünde in der Form von Bezirken (τέλη) – wenn auch unter veränderten rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen – fortbestanden; vgl. auch Corsten (1999), 133-159, dessen Deutung der aitolischen Bezirke als gleich große, „ohne Rücksicht auf ethnische Zugehörigkeit“ (158) aufgeteilte Verwaltungsbezirke allerdings sehr problematisch bleibt.

Föderalstaaten einem kontrastiven Vergleich unterzogen werden. Das im Vorangegangenen näher ausgeführte Fallbeispiel des Aitolischen Bundes hat gezeigt, dass sich hier trotz aller Vielfalt im Einzelnen mit dem Heiligtum in Thermos ein traditionelles kultisches Zentrum ausmachen lässt, dem als fester alljährlicher Treffpunkt einer der beiden Bundesversammlungen und als regulärer Tagungsort des Bundesrates und der Bundesmagistrate auch in *politicis* eine herausragende Stellung zukam. Ganz ähnliche Strukturen wies auch der Achaiische Bund auf, in dem das Heiligtum des Zeus Homarios bei Helike bzw. Aigion die Rolle eines zugleich kultischen und politischen Zentrums erfüllte.²⁹ An diesem Vorbild orientierte sich auch der süditalische Bund, zu dem sich um die Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts die Städte Kroton, Sybaris und Kaulonia zusammengeschlossen hatten. Als zentraler Versammlungsort wurde ein Heiligtum des Zeus Homarios neu begründet, dem damit eine konstitutive Rolle für den neuen Städtebund zukam.³⁰

In allen diesen Fällen dienten zentrale Heiligtümer als Vororte der Bünde. Das hatte den Vorteil, dass sich auf diese Weise das Problem möglicher Konkurrenzen zwischen den einzelnen Gliedstaaten und Streitigkeiten um die Vorrangstellung innerhalb eines Bundes umgehen ließen und sich auch die Aufnahme neuer Mitglieder in einen Bund einfacher gestaltete. Dennoch bildete eine solche Struktur keineswegs den Regelfall. Unsere landläufigen Vorstellungen sind hier allzu sehr vom aitolischen und achaiischen Exempel geprägt. Damit soll der hohe Stellenwert der Heiligtümer als ebenso religiöse wie politische Integrationskräfte innerhalb der einzelnen Bundesstaaten selbstverständlich grundsätzlich nicht in Frage gestellt werden. Aber ihre Positionierung war keineswegs immer so eindeutig wie in den bislang genannten Fällen,³¹ und die Gründung von Megalopolis als einem ganz neuen, aus dem Boden gestampften politischen Zentrum des Arkadischen Bundesstaates blieb allemal die Ausnahme.³²

Gleichwohl dürfte außer Frage stehen, dass mythologische Traditionen und Konstruktionen ebenso wie die Praxis gemeinsamer Kult und Feste offenbar in allen Bundesstaaten einen festen Bestandteil der Sicherung des inneren Zusammenhaltes bildeten. Ihre Verortung an festen Plätzen und ihre Vernetzung waren jedoch keineswegs so einfach ausgestaltet wie landläufig vermutet. Die Gegebenheiten waren

²⁹ Mylonopoulos (2003), bes. 424-427; Mylonopoulos (2006), 127-129 (mit der älteren Literatur).

³⁰ Polyb. 2.39.5-6; vgl. dazu Walbank (2000), 23-24.

³¹ Vgl. hierzu in diesem Band die Beiträge von K. Freitag, A. Kühr und J. McInerney.

³² Zusammenstellung der Quellenbelege bei Moggi (1976), Nr. 45.

im Einzelnen wie im Ganzen weitaus komplexer und vor allem – im eigentlichen Wortsinn – vielschichtiger. Was zu tun bleibt, ist also nicht mehr und nicht weniger, als die Stratigraphie dieser Vielschichtigkeit zu erkunden.

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Etats fédéraux et sanctuaires: le cas du *Koinon* achéen*

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A Yvonne, *in memoriam*

Comme tout état ou tout groupement humain antique, la confédération achéenne était placée sous la protection divine.¹ L'adoption de pratiques religieuses collectives contribua à la mise en place des cités-états; la configuration des *Koina* était plus complexe car celles-ci regroupaient plusieurs communautés religieuses ayant leurs propres cultes et leurs propres pratiques religieuses, mais le processus a dû être similaire.² La participation à un culte commun et l'accomplissement des rituels correspondants renforçaient les liens entre les divers groupes, facilitaient leur intégration dans un ensemble ethnique et culturel plus large et constituaient un terreau favorable à la prise de décisions politiques communes. C'est ainsi que les sanctuaires ont joué un rôle important aussi bien dans la construction identitaire de l'état tribal que dans l'évolution de cet état en communauté politique.³

Si, dans le nord-ouest du Péloponnèse, plusieurs divinités interviennent dans l'élaboration d'une identité commune, deux d'entre elles sont en situation de revendiquer la première place: Poséidon *Hélikônios* et Zeus *Homarios*. Selon une opinion, certes minoritaire, mais récemment remise à l'honneur, la première de ces deux divinités n'était pas seulement le dieu tutélaire incontestable d'Héliké et des Ioniens, mais elle était également la divinité fédérale des Achéens. Aux yeux des partisans de cette théorie, le sanctuaire de Poséidon Hélikônios était le lieu de leurs assemblées

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¹ C'est Aymard (1936), 10, le grand spécialiste français de la confédération achéenne, qui a le premier souligné l'intérêt qu'il y avait à se demander „si les origines religieuses de la confédération achéenne ont marqué leur trace dans les institutions et ses coutumes, d'autre part si leur influence y demeura longtemps sensible.“

² Morgan (1997), 192: „*Ethne*, by contrast (aux *poleis*), are multi-tiered, and their cult development fits complex processes of community and state evolution's (...). Above all, it is characteristic of *ethne* that the complex expression of identity which they required are not necessarily made via cult alone or even primarily“.

³ Une relation étroite entre religion, société et politique, dans le cadre de la religion civique, a été suggérée par Sourvinou-Inwood (1998); Sourvinou-Inwood (1990); Burkert (1995), et Cole (1995). On trouvera une opinion plus nuancée chez Hölscher (1998), 60. Cf. Mylonopoulos (2006), 121.

politiques, du moins jusqu'au moment où Héliké disparut sous les flots, en 373 av. J.-C. Selon cette hypothèse, Zeus, dieu patron d'Aigion, ne fut donc qu'un dieu de substitution que le hasard ne conduisit à la tête des Achéens qu'après le destin malheureux de son rival.⁴ Cette théorie est aujourd'hui rejetée par la majorité des savants qui, au contraire, considèrent que Zeus *Homarios*⁵ était, dès le début, le dieu de tous les Achéens et son sanctuaire, à Aigion, le lieu de leurs réunions religieuses et, par la suite, de leurs assemblées politiques.

Selon une légende transmise par plusieurs auteurs de l'Antiquité, le sanctuaire de Poséidon *Hélikônios* était une référence pour les Ioniens du nord-ouest du Péloponnèse et le centre d'un culte ethnique commun.⁶ Le dieu est célébré déjà par Homère⁷ qui laisse entendre que son sanctuaire jouissait alors d'un grand prestige; par ailleurs, il conserva longtemps ce prestige puisque quelques siècles plus tard Pausanias l'appelle

⁴ Toepffer (1894), 160; Herbillon (1929), 8-9; Tausend (1992), 21; 23; Morgan – Hall (1996), 194-196; Mylonopoulos (2003), 426, et Mylonopoulos (2006), 127.

⁵ Aymard (1935); Aymard (1938), 277-279; Anderson (1954), 80-81; Larsen (1968), 84-85; Osanna (1989), 56-58; Pirenne-Delforge (1994), 244-246, et Osanna (1996), 208. Aymard (1935), 453-470, pensait que les deux formes les plus anciennes de l'épiclèse (*Homarios* et *Hamarios*) sont interchangeable. En revanche, l'épiclèse *Homagyrios*, connue sous l'Empire, pourrait être soit une forme corrompue dérivée de la dernière, soit comme le pense Osanna (1996), 208: „come modernizzazione de la piu antica epiclesi“. Sur ces épicleses de Zeus, voir Aymard (1935); Breglia (1984), 70-72; Osanna (1989), 55-57; Osanna (1996), 204-209, et Moggi (2002), 119 note 14. Sur l'aspect topographique des sanctuaires, voir ci-dessous note 000.

⁶ Les Ioniens qui occupaient la large bande côtière appelée *Aigialos*, se réunissaient pour célébrer le culte de *Poséidon Hélikônios*, déjà à une époque très ancienne – c'est à dire avant d'être chassés par les Achéens, cf. Rizakis (1995), 302 no. 527, 2, que les savants modernes placent à la phase dite submycénienne de l'Age de Bronze. Cf. Cassola (1957), 272-273; Sakellariou (1991), 15-17; Sakellariou (2009), 169-171; Mele (1995), 428-450; Mylonopoulos (2003), 40 note 64 (avec la bibliographie antérieure); Mylonopoulos (2006), 126 note 33, et Greco (2007). Cette tradition a été remise en question, faute de preuves, littéraires, linguistiques et archéologiques (voir Rizakis (1995), 112 no. 142).

⁷ Homère fait allusion aux sacrifices offerts au dieu dans le chant 20 de l'Iliade (Il. 20,403-405): αὐτὰρ ὁ θυμὸν ἄισθε καὶ ἦρυγεν, ὡς ὅτε ταῦρος // ἦρυγεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα // κούρων ἐλκόντων γάνυται δέ τε τοῖς ἐνοσίχθων – *ainsi mugit le taureau qu'on traîne à l'autel du dieu Hélikônien* [trad. auteur]; et dans Il. 8, 198-204, ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, νεμέσησε δὲ πότνια Ἥρη (...), οἳ δὲ τοι εἰς Ἑλικὴν τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δωρ' ἀνάγουσι // πολλὰ τε χαρίεντα – *Héra reproche au dieu de ne point voler au secours des Grecs (...), qui lui portent à Héliké et à Aigai tant d'agréables présents*. [trad. auteur]. Le poète (Il. 2,575) appelle Héliké εὐρεῖα, épithète qui aurait pu suggérer une certaine importance, mais faute de preuves on doit observer une grande réserve; le territoire d'Héliké, était assez riche et vaste, il s'étendait entre les villages de *Temeni* et de *Valimitica*, à l'ouest et de *Rhodia*, à l'est: Katsanopoulou (1995), 3sq. Au sujet de l'identification d'Aigai, les modernes se sont prononcés plutôt en faveur d'Aigai d'Achaïe qu'en celle de la ville homonyme de l'île d'Eubée; voir Mylonopoulos (2003), 29 et note 3-4 (avec toute la bibliographie relative à cette question). Toutefois, la divinité qui figure sur la plus ancienne émission monétaire de la cité achéenne n'est pas Poséidon mais Dionysos: Rizakis (2008), 337 note 23 avec la bibliographie antérieure.

ἱερὸν ἀγιώτατον.⁸ D'autres traditions attribuent à ce dieu un rôle actif, tant dans la colonisation ionienne de l'Asie Mineure (9^e s. av. J.-C.)⁹ que dans celle de la Grande Grèce (8^e-7^e s.) en impliquant directement Héliké dans la fondation de Priène,¹⁰ dans celle de Sybaris, mais également dans celle de Poseidonia (dont le nom trahit le lien avec le dieu de la mer).¹¹

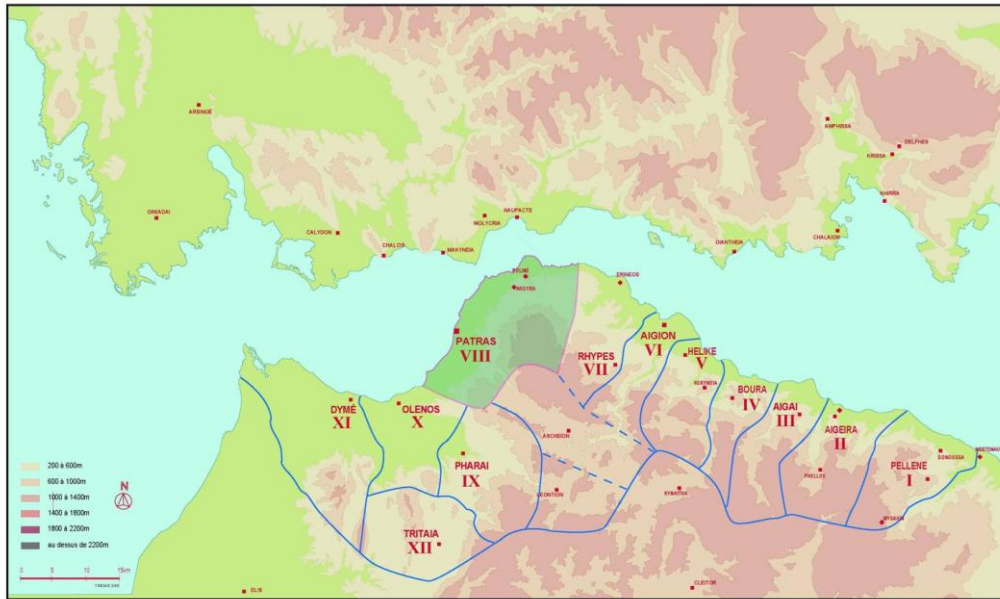
L'ancienneté et l'importance du sanctuaire de Poséidon *Helikônios* à Héliké n'est pas une invention du poète. La mise au jour récente d'un magnifique temple géométrique à *Nicoléica* (à 8 km à l'est d'Aigion), situé dans le territoire de l'ancienne cité disparue, en est la meilleure confirmation (Fig. 1).

⁸ Paus. 7,24,5: ἐνταῦθα ᾤκητο Ἑλικὴ πόλις καὶ Ἴωσιν ἱερὸν ἀγιώτατον Ποσειδῶνος ἦν Ἑλικωνίου (...) – *Là était établie la cité d'Hélike, et les Ioniens y possédaient un sanctuaire particulièrement vénéré de Poséidon Hélicônios* (...) [trad. Y. Lafond].

⁹ Selon une tradition mythique, c'est dans cette région que se réfugièrent les Ioniens après avoir été chassés d'Achaïe: Pol. 2,41,4; Paus. 7,1,8. Cf. Lafond (2001). Selon Hérodote (Hdt. 1,145), Héliké fut le dernier refuge des Ioniens à la suite de leur expulsion par les Achéens; même observation chez Apollodore, cité par Strab. 8,7,4. Cf. aussi Paus. 7,1,8, qui considère que l'émigration des Ioniens avait Héliké comme point de départ. Cf. Bölte (1912), 2858.

¹⁰ Cette implication explique que le sanctuaire de Poséidon *Helikônios* est le centre d'un culte de tous les Ioniens de l'Asie Mineure. Poséidon *Helikônios* est ici le dieu principal unificateur comme jadis à Héliké dans le nord-ouest du Péloponnèse (Hdt. 1,148; Strab. 8,7,2; Strab. 14,1,3; Strab. 14,20, et Diod. 15,49. Cf. Mele (2002), 77 et note 145-147; Hdt. 1,147,2, et Strab. 8,7,2. Cf. Rizakis (1995), 100-101 note 109; voir aussi Paus. 7,24,5. Cf. Rizakis (1995), 204-205 note 312) nous apprennent que les Ioniens célébraient encore, en son honneur, les *Apatouria* et les *Paniônia*. Le culte de Poséidon à Mycalé doit remonter, selon Bearzot (1983), 57-81, à la seconde moitié du 7^e s., après la fin de la guerre lélantine, cf. aussi Prandi (1989), 45-46; sur la diffusion de son culte en Ionie, voir Mylonopoulos (2006), 126 avec notes 29-32.

¹¹ Sakellariou (1958), 76-79; Sakellariou (1991), 14 note 17) pense que la tradition des Ioniens de Priène, selon laquelle le culte de Poséidon Hélicônios remonterait à Héliké, découlait d'une autre tradition faisant d'Héliké la métropole d'une partie d'eux (Strab. 8,7,2). Enfin, l'oeciste de Sybaris provenait, selon une tradition mythique, d'Héliké (Strab. 6,1,13). Sur le culte de Poséidon à Sybaris, voir Camassa (1992), 589; Osanna (2002), 275-276.



Le temple date des années 750-700 av. J.-C. mais l'autel trouvé sous les fondations de cette construction montre que le culte est encore plus ancien puisqu'il daterait, selon les fouilleurs, de la première moitié du 8^e siècle.¹² La divinité à laquelle cet ensemble est consacré n'est pas connue, mais les archéologues semblent convaincus que les riches offrandes découvertes, ainsi que les représentations visibles sur certains vases, renvoient à un culte en l'honneur de Poséidon.¹³ Si cela s'avère correct, cette découverte pourrait constituer un nouvel élément à ajouter au dossier de l'archéologie dite homérique, et apporter un éclairage intéressant sur la question, débattue, de la temporalité du poète ;¹⁴ mais elle pourrait aussi contribuer à étayer la théorie selon laquelle les poèmes épiques contiennent des indices montrant que le concept de *polis*¹⁵ n'était pas inconnu à cette époque. De ce point de vue, le temple géométrique monumental d'Héliké pourrait relancer le débat sur les communautés du nord-ouest du Péloponnèse: il s'agit de savoir si elles connurent, elles-aussi, au cours de la période dite héroïque, des changements

¹² Voir Kolia – Gadolou (2011), 152; Kolia (*sous presse*).

¹³ Sur cette question, voir Kolia – Gadolou (2011), 157; Gadolou (*à paraître*).

¹⁴ La recherche sur l'archéologie des sanctuaires mentionnés par Homère a beaucoup progressé ces dernières décennies; voir Crielaard (1993), 201-288, qui réunit tous les exemples des temples géométriques connus correspondant à des mentions homériques; on trouvera une brève mais utile analyse de l'historiographie sur cette question chez Luce (2010), 12-47.

¹⁵ Sur la présence dans l'épos d'éléments faisant allusion à la naissance du concept de la *polis*, voir les références in Mazarakis Ainian (1997), 367 note 861.

révolutionnaires sur le plan social et politico-spatial qui auraient conduit à la naissance des *poleis*.¹⁶

L'ancienneté incontestable du culte¹⁷ destinait Poséidon à jouer un rôle particulier dans le processus identitaire des populations les plus anciennes (sc. ioniennes) de cette zone.¹⁸ Strabon¹⁹ affirme qu'après la conquête du pays les Achéens adoptèrent non seulement le mode d'organisation politique des Ioniens en douze cités, mais qu'ils confortèrent également Héliké dans son rôle de capitale. Si cela est difficile à démontrer, il est plus difficile encore de souscrire à la théorie selon laquelle le sanctuaire de Poséidon *Hélikônios* a été le centre d'une amphictionie des 12 cités achéennes et surtout leur patron politique.²⁰ Ce dieu était honoré dans toutes les amphictionies péloponnésiennes, non pas en tant que divinité patronnant des activités politiques, mais simplement pour des raisons religieuses²¹ et malgré sa fonction de protecteur des associations (comme par ailleurs Apollon dans le même domaine),²² aucun indice n'évoque dans les sources sa capacité d'attraction et de rayonnement dans le cadre régional péloponnésien ou même sa fonction intégratrice au niveau micro-régional, comme c'est le cas, par exemple, des cultes d'Artémis de Lousoi ou d'Athéna de Tégée.²³ Ainsi, il est peu probable que le sanctuaire de Poséidon *Hélikônios* fut le centre culturel d'une amphictionie achéenne précoce et qu'il joua dans le nord du

¹⁶ Cette découverte ainsi que celles d'autres temples urbains datant de la période archaïque, voir Ladstätter (*à paraître*), remettent en cause l'hypothèse formulée, il y a environ 20 ans, Morgan – Hall (1996), sur un retard de l'Achaïe, précisément dans le domaine de l'urbanisation (voir ci-dessous note 000).

¹⁷ Son existence à l'époque mycénienne, supposée par Schilardi (1998a), 267, est complètement dépourvue de preuves (cf. Mylonopoulos (2006), 126 et note 34 avec la bibliographie antérieure).

¹⁸ Cette idée, formulée par Breglia (1984), 82 a été acceptée par Osanna (1989), 56 et Tausend (1992), 21.

¹⁹ Strab. 8,7,1.

²⁰ Tausend (1992), 21-22, s'est exprimé en faveur d'une amphictionie achéenne autour de Poséidon Hèlikônios; même point de vue in Mylonopoulos (2006) qui suggère également que toutes les „amphictionies“ de Poséidon dans le Péloponnèse (Héliké, Kalaureia, Samikon et Tainaron) contribuèrent à l'articulation des identités non-doriennes.

²¹ Mylonopoulos (2006), 128. Cf. aussi Mackil (*à paraître*), chap. IV, 53 note 192, attribue à Poséidon un rôle important au niveau régional; selon le premier (2006), 128-129. Cf. Mackil (*à paraître*), chap. IV, 53 note 192, la prétendue amphictionie des Achéens, autour de Poséidon d'Héliké, conserva longtemps son caractère culturel et ne prit une forme politique définitive et complète qu'après la destruction cette cité en 373 av. J.-C., me semble peu convaincante. Morgan – Hall (1996), 197-199, en revanche, pensent que „Achaia moved toward cultural unification only in the fifth century“.

²² Voir Mylonopoulos (2003), 424.

²³ Voir Giangiulio (2002), 299-302.

Péloponnèse un rôle analogue à celui d'Apollon à Délos, dont le culte précéda la création de l'Empire athénien.²⁴

La quête de racines communes, qui caractérise les communautés de cette période, particulièrement fondatrice (8^e-7^e s. av. J.-C.),²⁵ ne destinait pas Héliké et son vénérable sanctuaire à jouer un rôle de premier plan; par ailleurs, les grandes mutations politico-spatiales ne lui étaient point favorables. L'unité territoriale mycénienne, connue alors sous le nom d'Aigialos (comprenant l'ensemble du nord-est du Péloponnèse), était définitivement rompue à l'époque de la rédaction du Catalogue des vaisseaux.²⁶ Durant cette période, les territoires de Sicyone, de Corinthe, de Phlionte, de Cléonai, d'Argos et ceux des différentes cités de l'Achaïe orientale (avec Olénos et Dymé en Achaïe occidentale) étaient déjà constitués²⁷ et la diffusion des poèmes homériques contribua à faire ressurgir en Achaïe orientale la mémoire 'achéenne' des habitants de cette zone qui, séduits par l'idée d'une origine achéenne commune, forgèrent leur nouvelle noble identité à l'appui de l'épos.²⁸ Cette même identité a été revendiquée par les habitants des colonies achéennes de l'Italie du sud, et cette revendication renforçait naturellement la tradition selon laquelle ils étaient originaires de l'Achaïe du nord-ouest du Péloponnèse.²⁹

²⁴ Il a été bien souvent et justement remarqué, Aymard (1936), 9, que les amphictionies grecques auraient pu et dû se transformer aisément en organisme politique, „mais leur faillite, à cet égard fut souvent totale.“ La formation de plus larges groupements à caractère religieux, comme l'amphictionie d'*Anthéla*, au début du 6^e s. av. J.-C., chargée seulement de l'administration du sanctuaire delphique, Rhodes (1994), 165-166, intervient entre le 8^e et le 6^e s. av. J.-C.

²⁵ Snodgrass (1971), 416sq., utilisa le terme de 'Greek renaissance' qui fut le titre d'un colloque, organisé par R. Hägg (1983), quelques années plus tard.

²⁶ Osanna (2002), 274 note 27.

²⁷ Osanna (2002), 274-275; sur cette question, voir maintenant Morgan (1991), Morgan – Hall (1996), 169-193; Morgan (2002), 100-102, et Mele (2002), 73-76.

²⁸ Cette identité leur permettait de se différencier de leurs voisins au moment de la formation des entités régionales dans le Péloponnèse (ce processus est décrit par McInerney (2001), 59-61. Il faut noter que les Anciens, en général, pensaient que les habitants du Nord-ouest du Péloponnèse descendaient des Achéens qui leurs étaient connus par la poésie épique et les légendes, mais leurs opinions divergeaient sur le moment de leur arrivée en Achaïe et les régions de leur origine. Voir l'approche critique des diverses opinions, in Sakellariou (2009), 162-171. Le transfert des ossements de Tissaménos à Sparte à la première moitié du 6^e s.; sur la mémoire achéenne de Sparte, voir Lévêque (1991), 573-580. Burkert (1998), 47-59, a relevé les interrelations entre diverses traditions d'Argos (mycénienne, dorienne et épique) et a mis l'accent sur le rôle central de cette cité dans la tradition épique et la poésie homérique. Sur l'opposition idéologique entre Argos et Sicyone, voir Giacometti (2001), 19-25. Sur les cultes relatifs à la réalité pré-dorienne, voir Osanna (1996), 194-195 (Aigion); Giacometti (2001), 28 (Aigeira et à Keryneia). Enfin sur stratégies communes dans la quête de l'identité achéenne aussi bien des habitants du nord-ouest du Péloponnèse que de l'Argolide, voir Giacometti (2001), 28, 31-39; Rizakis (2009b), avec des détails sur leurs relations dans le domaine culturel.

²⁹ Sur cette question voir Polignac (1998), 26; Osanna (1999). Mazzarino (1935), 89-100, à tort, me semble-t-il, pense que cette tradition est une création de toute pièce du 5^e s.; d'après lui l'origine

Il est difficile de déterminer à partir de quand les termes Achaïe-Achéens³⁰ furent utilisés pour désigner le nord-ouest du Péloponnèse et l'ensemble de ses habitants. Mele³¹ pense que l'identité achéenne faisait déjà partie d'un patrimoine commun à partir du 8^e siècle et que les traditions achéennes étaient bien enracinées, dans le nord-ouest du Péloponnèse, dans la première moitié du 6^e s. Ce mouvement commença probablement par l'Achaïe orientale (à cause de son attachement au passé mycénien) et ne s'acheva qu'au 6^e s., en embrassant les cités de l'Achaïe occidentale.³²

Le premier signe iconographique – certes encore abstrait – du rapport avec la tradition homérique et avec les idéaux de la société de la période héroïque est une représentation peinte sur le toit de la miniature d'un temple en terre cuite, trouvée au cours de la fouille du temple géométrique de *Nicoléica* (anc. Héliké); c'est l'objet le plus précieux de la fouille. La scène narrative, sur les deux versants du toit, reproduit la remise du prix de la victoire lors d'une course de chars (il s'agit ici d'un trépid). Cette scène, familière aux artistes de cette période, représente celle qui est décrite par Homère dans le chant 23 à propos des funérailles de Patrocle³³ et illustre, de cette façon, le nouvel esprit de compétition et d'ostentation sociale³⁴ qui caractérise les aristocrates de l'Aigialeia; ceux-ci reproduisent les pratiques de l'aristocratie homérique et se considèrent, peut-être, comme des descendants de ceux qui avaient participé à la guerre de Troie sous les ordres d'Agamemnon.³⁵

péloponnésienne n'est qu'une fiction et les traditions sur les oecistes une manipulation postérieure, mêmes opinions avec certaines nuances in Morgan – Hall (1996), 207-215. Cette reconstruction a été largement critiquée au colloque sur „l'identité des Achéens de l'ouest“, voir Greco (2002), particulièrement par Mele (2002), Rizakis (2002), et Osanna (2002). Sur l'historicité de la personne de l'oeciste, voir Mele (2007), 51-56; Greco (2009), 9-16, et Greco (*sous presse*).

³⁰ Ces termes ont une riche tradition, voir Stern (1980), 43-70; Cassola (1996), 7-8. Notons qu'à l'époque classique cet ethnique était également utilisé par les Achéens de la Thessalie du sud dont certaines divinités portaient l'épithète *panachaia*: voir Reinders (1988), 162-164.

³¹ Mele (2002), 76 note 13, n'exclut pas l'idée qu'un premier noyau achéen puisse même remonter au 9^e s. av. J.-C. et n'est pas d'accord avec la chronologie proposée par Schilardi (1998b) et probablement Carlier (1984), 509 tabl. 498, qui fait remonter la royauté au 7^e s. av. J.-C.

³² Voir Giacometti (2001), 30 note 70 (avec des renvois sur divers travaux importants d'A. Mele). Voir également Mele (2002); Morgan (2002), 100 note 30. Cf. aussi Morgan – Hall (1996), 194-197. N'a pas tort quand elle dit que l'Achaïe n'avait pas „a common confederate hearth at the time of colonisation“ et, qu'elle considère par conséquent que la signification politique de l'ethnique régional n'est qu'un phénomène postérieur, probablement du 6^e s. Cet usage ne fut consolidé qu'au cours du 6^e s., peut-être sous l'influence spartiate: voir Koerner (1974), 458-459.

³³ Hom. II. 23,259-266. Cf. Papalexandrou (2005), 67-70.

³⁴ Polignac (1994), 11, parle d'un phénomène de „ritualised social competitio“, manifesté par le flot de prestigieuses offrandes en métal, particulièrement les grands trépieds en bronze.

³⁵ Hom. II. 2,69-575; Paus. 7,1,4. Cf. Gadolou (*à paraître*). La poésie homérique a eu probablement une influence importante dans l'élaboration des identités et plus précisément de l'identité achéenne, comme à

L'identité achéenne apparaît pour la première fois de façon formelle dans un fragment d'Hécaté (ca 500 av. J.-C.),³⁶ transmis par Strabon, dans lequel Dymé, la cité la plus occidentale, est définie à la fois comme „épéenne et achéenne“. La première identité conserve, selon Castelnovo, la revendication de l'héritage épéen alors que la seconde sa qualité achéenne, malgré l'ambivalence de ce terme liée à sa double valeur „héroïque“ et „historique“. ³⁷ La seconde occurrence de la communauté ethnique des Achéens se trouve dans la fameuse dédicace en l'honneur de Zeus d'Olympie (début du 5^e s.), ἐν κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους – *en commun par le peuple achéen* (Paus. 5,25,6-8).³⁸ Ils s'y présentent comme les descendants directs des Achéens d'Homère, à travers Pélops lui-même grand-père ou arrière grand-père d'Agamemnon et de Ménélas: τῶ Διὶ τάχαιοι τάγάλατα ταῦτ'ανέθηκαν ἔγγονοι ἀντιθέου Τανταλίδᾶ Πέλοπος – *à Zeus les Achéens ont dédié ces statues, eux les descendants du Tantalide Pélops, rival des dieux* (Paus. 5,25,10 [trad. J. Pouilloux]). Si le sentiment d'un lien intime avec les héros Achéens de la guerre de Troie ne trouve d'expression écrite concrète qu'au début de l'époque classique, il est certain qu'il s'éveilla plus tôt. Le pouvoir des Atrides – qui contrôlaient l'Achaïe orientale à l'époque mycénienne³⁹ – leur provenant de Zeus, on comprend pourquoi le dieu devint le symbole de l'identité achéenne; son culte prit une place importante dans la mythologie générale des cités les plus importantes de cette période (9^e-6^e s. av. J.-C.).⁴⁰ Pausanias rapporte les légendes relatives à Zeus à Aigion⁴¹ et nous apprend que sa statue cultuelle en bronze était l'œuvre d'Hageladas.⁴² Le dieu y

l'époque contemporaine, la circulation du drame théâtral, œuvre de Friedrichleiler (1804) et de l'opéra de Rossini (1829) participèrent à la construction des mythes du peuple helvétique.

³⁶ Cette attestation suggère l'intégration éventuelle de cette cité dans le *Koinon* achéen avant cette date, c'est-à-dire au cours du 6^e s. Contra: Morgan – Hall (1996), 193 et 198-199.

³⁷ Castelnovo (2002), 171 qui renvoie à McInerney (2001), 59-61 pour des définitions analogues de l'identité. Sur l'ethnique „Achei“ et sa double valeur, voir Cassola (1996), 7-8.

³⁸ Eckstein (1969), 27-32; Doerig (1977), 20-21; Giacometti (2001), 28-31, et Walter-Karydi (1987), 19-32 (sur Onatas).

³⁹ Hom Il. 2,569-575. Cf. Mele (2002), 76-77.

⁴⁰ La dynastie des Penthelides qui y établit les Achéens et régna à la suite de Tissaménos, frère illégitime de Penthilos, était intimement liée au culte de Zeus; en revanche, Poséidon, dieu par excellence des Ioniens, père de Neleus, fondateur des Néléides et titulaire du culte de *Panionion*, associé à Neleus oeciste de l'Ionie ne pouvait pas jouer le rôle de rassembleur des Achéens, Mele (2002), 76-77.

⁴¹ L'une de ces légendes voulait que le dieu soit élevé par une chèvre à Aigion, voir Eust. Hom. ad Il. 13,21. Cf. Rizakis (1995), note 155a; Pausanias 7,23,9 et 24,4. Cf. Rizakis (1995), note 301 et 308. Sur l'importance de son culte à Aigion, voir Osanna (1996), 212-214.

⁴² Paus. 7,24,4. Cf. Rizakis (1995), note 308. Le dieu est représenté sur les monnaies d'Aigion, de l'époque hellénistique et impériale (NCP 85-86, pl. R XII-XIV; Lacroix 227-232), mais aussi sur des médailles de Patras de l'époque impériale: NCP 79, pl. Q XVII. Cf. Levy (1988). Sur la signification de la représentation de Zeus adolescent à Aigion, voir la bibliographie citée in Rizakis (1995), 202 et note 1.

était honoré avec Héraclès, garant et symbole de la stabilité et de la cohésion de la société archaïque à travers la rénovation continue du corps civique.⁴³ Différents étaient, certes, le rôle de Zeus *sôtèr*,⁴⁴ situé à l'*agora* de la cité, et celui de Zeus *Homagyrios*, situé à proximité de la ville. Le premier était le garant de l'existence des *poleis*, mais il veillait également au bon fonctionnement de la ligue et de ses organes qui se réunissaient à Aigion.⁴⁵ Zeus *Homagyrios*, en revanche, garantissait l'unité politique de l'ensemble des Achéens et patronnait la ligue.

La domination de Zeus *Homarios* à l'échelle régionale ne fut ni automatique ni sans obstacles. En effet, les généalogies mythiques laissent entendre une opposition entre Aigialéens-Ioniens⁴⁶ et Achéens-Eoliens qui aurait pu devenir, lors de l'élaboration de l'identité collective achéenne, une opposition ouverte entre *Poséidon* et *Zeus* et, par la suite, entre les deux cités (Héliké et Aigion) dont ils étaient les patrons respectifs.⁴⁷ Cette opposition facilita la promotion de Zeus qui devint ainsi le dépositaire de cette identité, réelle ou supposée peu importe, et son sanctuaire, le lieu d'un culte commun.⁴⁸ Il est fort probable que cette première union culturelle fut propice à la mise en place d'une forme d'entente, encore hybride, entre les diverses communautés du nord-ouest du Péloponnèse, celle-ci se transforma ensuite, suivant un processus qui connut probablement plusieurs étapes successives, en une union institutionnalisée et un système de gouvernement de type fédéral doté d'un culte symbolisant les intérêts communs des états-membres. Le sanctuaire de Zeus *Hamarios* se trouva ainsi au cœur d'un système en construction qui inaugura des relations intercommunautaires différentes à certains égards de celles des *poleis*.⁴⁹ En sa qualité de dieu qui protège, „qui assemble“, „qui adapte“,⁵⁰ Zeus *Hamarios* réunit ensemble pour la première fois

⁴³ Voir Osanna (1996), 213 et note 170 qui renvoie sur cette question à Lévêque – Verbanck-Piérard (1992), 44-50.

⁴⁴ Voir Kasper (1961).

⁴⁵ Voir Paus. 7,24,7-17. Cf. Osanna (1996), 212.

⁴⁶ Paus. 7,1,4.

⁴⁷ Cf. Mele (2002), 77.

⁴⁸ Breglia (1984), 72-74.

⁴⁹ Il est établi depuis un certain temps que l'institutionnalisation des associations de *poleis* (sur cette question, voir Moggi (1991), 155-165; Trotta (1994), 169-184; Morgan – Hall (1996), 168-169, et Greco (2007), 189-197, est indépendante de celle des *ethné* dont l'organisation politique, semble postérieure. Leur point commun est que les états ethniques ou fédéraux ont, sur le plan religieux et politique, certains traits qui sont plus ou moins communs avec ceux des *poleis* (culte commun, festivals et organisation tripartite du pouvoir: assemblée, conseil, sanctuaire).

⁵⁰ Selon une hypothèse formulée par Foucart (1876), 100 et acceptée par Cook (1914), 16. Zeus *Hamarios* (cet adjectif représentant à leurs yeux, la forme la plus ancienne) était honoré en tant que „dieu

des gens qui n'étaient que „ses fidèles avant de devenir les citoyens d'un même état“ ainsi que l'affirme Aymard. Des pressions extérieures pouvaient accélérer une telle évolution dans le cas achéen: la menace sicyonienne contre les cités de l'Achaïe orientale, par exemple, et les visées spartiates au milieu du 6^e s.,⁵¹ ont pu favoriser la mutation progressive vers une union politique, certes encore lâche⁵² qui trouva son expression politique la plus achevée, probablement au cours de la première moitié du 5^e s.,⁵³ et se consolida à partir de 417 av. J.-C., peut-être grâce à l'appui spartiate, ce qui permit à la ligue de s'étendre en face, sur la côte étolienne.⁵⁴

La promotion du culte de Zeus *Homarios* au niveau régional a nécessairement limité l'impact spatial du culte de Poséidon *Hélikônios*. Les deux divinités furent

de l'atmosphère lumineuse“. Contrairement à cette interprétation, certains savants font dériver les deux formes *Hamarios* et *Homarios* de *son et *sam (ἄμα, ὄμοῦ) joints à la racine ἀρ de ἀραρίσκω et pensent qu'elles sont équivalentes et interchangeable, la seule différence étant que l'adjectif *Hamarios* est une forme du grec commun alors qu'*Homarios* une forme dialectale, le passage de a à o étant fréquent en éolien, arcadien, Crétois etc. Voir Syll.², 370; Cook (1914), 17 note 3 et surtout Aymard (1935), 467 note 2 et 5; Durante (1957), 104-105; cité par Breglia (1984), 71-71. Cf. Osanna (1989), 56 note 9; Osanna (1996), 207 note 156 fait dériver les deux adjectifs du verbe ὀμηρέω qui suppose un substantif ὀμαρίς—qui a probablement la signification de „réunion à caractère religieux ou politique“.

⁵¹ Sur la menace sicyonienne et son éventuel rapport avec la formation du *Koinon* des Achéens, voir Rizakis (2002), 50 note 37; Giacometti (2001), 16-19; sur la politique philo-achéenne de Sparte, à partir du milieu du 6^e s., voir Leahy (1955), 26-38. Cf. Giacometti (2001), 9 et note 5 (bibliographie relative sur cette question) et 25-28.

⁵² Helly (1997), 207-262, n'a pas du tout tort quand il dit que la division de l'Achaïe en douze *méré* (Hdt. 1,145-146; Paus. 7,1,5; 6,1; avec quelques variantes: Pol. 2,41; Strab. 8,7,4) pourrait illustrer cette première organisation militaire et administrative du pays. L'appartenance à une entité ethnique commune fût le facteur principal de l'avènement du fédéralisme en Crète occidentale; la géomorphologie particulière contribua à la coopération politique et à la réalisation d'activités politiques et militaires communes; ces dernières étaient en quelque sorte une nécessité, aussi bien en Achaïe qu'en Crète, du fait de la présence d'un voisin hostile et menaçant. Il faut dire enfin que l'évolution vers le fédéralisme fut favorisée par la consolidation politique précoce des *poleis*, voir Sekunda (2000).

⁵³ A vrai dire on ignore aussi bien les dates précises que le déroulement de cette évolution. Morgan (1991), 138-141; Morgan – Hall (1996), 194-197; Morgan (2000), 205-211; Morgan (2002), 100 note 31, et Morgan – Hall (2004), 474-476. Cf. aussi Corsten (1999), 16-168; Giacometti (2001); Moggi (2002); Roy (2003); Mylonopoulos (2006), 128, et Mackil (à paraître), chap. IV. Avec plus de réserves, Osanna (2002), 275; Mele (2002), 72-73; Rizakis (2002), 49-55, réactualisant la thèse d'Anderson (1954), 76-78, excluait l'existence d'une organisation politique avant la fin du 5^e s. av. J.-C., parce que la politisation et l'urbanisation sont des phénomènes tardifs, à ses yeux, en Achaïe (voir ci-dessus note 16). Si la majorité des spécialistes a abandonné, aujourd'hui, l'idée de Toepffer (1894), 158 (suivi par Larsen (1968), 80-83), sur une création très précoce du *Koinon* (autour du 8^e-7^e s. av. J.-C.), ils sont d'accord avec l'idée selon laquelle le processus de politisation, entamé au cours du 6^e s. av. J.-C., prit une forme complète soit dans la première moitié du 5^e s. av. J.-C.; Tausend (1992), 23-24; Walbank (2000); Mele (2002); Cuche (2010), 104; Rizakis (2009b) soit après 417 av. J.-C., Freitag (1996), 123-126, et Freitag (2009), 15-20.

⁵⁴ Surtout à Calydon et Naupacte, respectivement en 389 et 360 av. J.-C. mais aussi dans d'autres cités de la côte étolienne et locrienne: Xen. Hell. 4,6,1; Strab. 8,7,3, et Paus. 10,18,1-3. Cf. Aymard (1936), 6 note 1; Walbank (1970), 18; Merker (1989), 303-311; Tausend (1992); Beck (2001), 356 note 6, et Rizakis (2009b). Cette expansion était facilitée par les contacts étroits qui existaient depuis longtemps entre les deux zones, mais aussi par des considérations politiques contemporaines, en rapport avec la politique athénienne, voir Bölte (1937); Morgan (1997), 157 et 165-166; Grainger (1999), 30-32, et Freitag (2009), 18-19.

honorées en parallèle pendant longue période (*i.e.* jusqu'au moment de la catastrophe d'Héliké (en 373 av. J.-C.), mais avec des attributs et des fonctions différents. *Poséidon Hélikônios* continuait à être honoré, comme le laisse penser Hérodote⁵⁵ dans son excursus sur la ligue ionienne et il était encore l'objet d'une vénération au moment de la catastrophe de la cité,⁵⁶ si l'on en croit Héracléides Pontikos (qui écrit au 4^e s. av. J.-C.) qui attribue cette catastrophe à la colère du dieu: συμβῆναι δὲ τὸ πάθος κατὰ μῆνιν Ποσειδῶνος.⁵⁷ Le culte resta toutefois exclusivement local pendant toute cette période et le sanctuaire n'eût aucune importance au niveau régional.⁵⁸ En fait, les sources ne font aucune allusion à une quelconque implication dans les affaires communes achéennes et dans le célèbre passage d'Eschyle,⁵⁹ premier témoignage d'une Achaïe unifiée, Héliké et son sanctuaire ne jouent aucun rôle au sein du *Koinon*.

Le fait que les Hélikéens avaient entretemps admis l'identité achéenne explique leur refus de reconnaître, au début du 4^e s. av. J.-C., les revendications des Ioniens sur les *aphidrymata* (sc. les statues de culte de Poséidon);⁶⁰ leur refus d'accepter l'aide envoyée par les Achéens après la catastrophe subie par leur cité (373 av. J.-C.) paraît cependant assez étrange.⁶¹ Selon le témoignage de Strabon,⁶² qui reprend Héracléides

⁵⁵ Hdt. 1,143-1,148.

⁵⁶ Il se peut que le culte de Poséidon soit récupéré – après la destruction d'Héliké – par les habitants de Keryneia, ville voisine qui utilise comme symbole le trident sur ses monnaies fédérales de la période hellénistique; voir la bibliographie sur cette question in Rizakis (1995), 204 no. 312.

⁵⁷ Herakl. Pont. fr. 46a I.7. La cause principale de la punition était, selon les sources, l'*asebeia* des Hélikéens mais Pharaklas (1998), 214-216, n'a pas tort quand il suppose que la légende concernant l'*asebeia* d'Héliké a peut-être été construite et diffusée après la catastrophe par Aigion, la grande rivale d'Héliké.

⁵⁸ Bien que les sources n'indiquent pas *Hélikônios* comme dieu protecteur d'Héliké, on admet qu'il a été patron de cette cité (Osanna (1996), 223. Cf. Mylonopoulos (2006), 125), comme le suggèrent d'ailleurs les rares émissions monétaires (voir ci-dessous note 000).

⁵⁹ Aischyl. fr. 745 (Mette (1963), 151), cité in Strab. 8.7,5. Dans ce passage le poète considère Boura comme une cité sainte et Olénos comme divine: Βοῦραν θ' ἱεράν (...) τήν τ' ἀ<ι>πεινήν ζαθέαν Ὠλενον – Boura la sainte (...) Aigéira et la toute divine Olénos au sommet d'un escarpement [trad. R. Baladié]. Voir Mele (2002), 77. Sur l'interprétation de ce passage voir Mette (1963), 151-152 et les observations de Greco (2007), 194-197.

⁶⁰ Sur cette question, voir Brunel (1953), 21-33; Robert (1965), 120-125, et Malkin (1991), 77-96.

⁶¹ La destruction provoquée par le séisme de 373 av. J.-C. mobilisa une force de sauvetage de 2000 personnes afin de récupérer les corps des morts, mais ils furent incapables de repêcher les cadavres (Strab. 8,7,2).

⁶² Strab. 8,7,2: τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλικῆς ἐκπεσόντας Ἴωνας αἰτεῖν πέμψαντας παρὰ τῶν Ἑλικέων μάλιστα μὲντὸ βρέτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦ γε ἱεροῦ τὴν ἀφίδρυσιν· οὐ δόντων δὲ πέμψαι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν· τῶν δὲ ψηφισαμένων οὐδ' ὡς ὑπακοῦσαι· τῶ δ' ἐξῆς χειμῶν συμβῆναι τὸ πάθος, τοὺς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς ὕστερον δοῦναι τὴν ἀφίδρυσιν τοῖς Ἴωσιν. – *Les Ioniens chassés d'Héliké avaient envoyé demander à ses habitants en premier lieu la statue de Poséidon et, à la rigueur, le moyen de consacrer une filiale du sanctuaire; devant leur refus, ils s'étaient adressés à la ligue achéenne, mais un vote favorable de cette assemblée n'avait pas davantage fait céder les gens d'Héliké; or le cataclysme survint l'hiver suivant; c'est après coup que les Achaiens remirent aux Ioniens ce qu'ils demandaient*

Pontikos (le philosophe de l'Académie, au 4^e s. av. J.-C.), les Ioniens s'adressèrent au départ à Héliké et par la suite au *Koinon*.⁶³ En revanche, selon la version de Diodore, inspirée probablement d'Ephore, les Ioniens ont présenté leur requête directement au *Koinon* qui vota en leur faveur, mais les Hélikéens contestèrent cette décision achéenne en disant que le sanctuaire *μη κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἴδιον αὐτῶν εἶναι* – *n'était pas commun aux Achéens mais leur appartenait en propre* (Diod. 15,49,2; Herakl. Pont. fr. 46b [trad. auteur]).⁶⁴

Mackil voit dans cette intervention fédérale la preuve de l'existence d'un conflit entre la cité d'Héliké et les autorités de la ligue à propos du sanctuaire.⁶⁵ Les Hélikéens n'admettaient aucun contrôle fédéral sur leur sanctuaire, sous quelque forme que ce soit. Ils considéraient ce culte comme exclusivement local et affichaient cette volonté d'autonomie sur leurs monnaies de bronze.⁶⁶ Le *Koinon*, de son côté, en répondant favorablement à la requête ionienne, voulait montrer que le sanctuaire se trouvait sous son autorité. Le *Koinon* désirait probablement prendre le contrôle de ce culte local au passé prestigieux, le sanctuaire étant toujours fréquenté et susceptible de jouer un rôle dans la consolidation de l'idéal fédéral.⁶⁷

[trad. R. Baladié]. Les Ioniens ont dû chercher refuge à Héliké parce que le Poséidon local était un dieu d'asile. Ceci est suggéré d'ailleurs par Polyain strat. 8,46, qui nous apprend qu'une fille d'Oiantheia (Locride occidentale), forcée d'épouser le tyran de cette cité, traversa le golfe de Corinthe et chercha refuge en tant que suppliante à Poséidon d'Héliké.

⁶³ Prandi (1989) a montré que les relations politiques, religieuses et culturelles ont été importantes, au cours du 4^e s. av. J.-C., entre les Achéens, les Ioniens, les Spartiates et Héliké. Selon Mackil (*à paraître*), Chap. IV, 54, la question de savoir si le *Koinon* joua le rôle d'arbitre dans ce conflit ou s'il était définitivement responsable „for the management of the sanctuary's affairs“ n'est pas claire.

⁶⁴ Mylonopoulos (2006), 128, pense à un rôle d'Héliké au sein du *Koinon*, mais l'argument qu'il avance – à savoir que si le sanctuaire d'Héliké n'avait qu'une importance locale il serait complètement inutile que les Ioniens s'adressent au *Koinon* (Strab. 8,7,2) –, n'a pas de valeur apodictique puisque l'on sait que le *Koinon* avait son mot à dire en ce qui concerne les relations internationales culturelles des cités (voir ci-dessus note 000).

⁶⁵ Mackil (*forthcoming*) 4-5; Mackil (*à paraître*), chap. IV, 53-55.

⁶⁶ L'importance locale du culte pendant la période qui précède la catastrophe est signalée par une pièce de bronze, émission civique rare qui porte sur l'avertissement la tête du dieu de la mer, entourée des vagues stylisées. Devant la tête on lit la légende ΕΛΙΚ(ΕΩΝ): Head (1911), 542; Jucker (1967); LHS Numismatic, May 8, 2006 (auction 96, lot 497). Au revers une branche d'olivier entoure un trident encadré par deux dauphins. En ce qui concerne le lien entre cette œuvre et les chefs-d'œuvre de la grande sculpture, voir les observations de Jucker (1967), 65. Nous connaissons peu de choses sur la statue de culte elle-même. D'après Eratosthène (cité par Strab. 8,7,2), les gens voyaient encore à son époque la statue de Poséidon immergé dans la mer. D'après Ovide (Ov. met. 15, 293sq.; Paus. 7,24,13. Cf. Rizakis (1995), 205 note 313) on pensait voir aussi les ruines de la cité dans la mer (sur le rôle de Poséidon en tant que divinité poliaide d'Héliké, voir Mylonopoulos (2003), 418-419; Mylonopoulos (2006), 125 et nos. 27-28: sur la statue culturelle).

⁶⁷ Le point de vue de Mylonopoulos (2006), 128, à savoir que le sanctuaire avait, dès le départ, une vocation panachéenne et que „l'amphictionie d'Hélie“ était identique au *Koinon* achéen, me semble abusif dans la mesure où nous n'en avons aucune preuve (voir ci-dessus note 20).

Zeus Homarios apparaît pour la première fois sur un statère en argent fédéral de poids éginaïque, émis sans doute à Aigion (Fig. 2).



Le dieu qui est présenté sur l'avvers, assis sur un trône, tient un aigle dans sa main droite et s'appuie de sa main gauche sur un sceptre; sur le revers figure une divinité féminine dont l'identification n'est pas complètement assurée.⁶⁸ Cette émission est généralement datée par les numismates des années qui suivent la destruction d'Héliké (373 av. J.-C.)⁶⁹ et la promotion consécutive d'Aigion. Cette datation a vraisemblablement conduit Hall et Morgan⁷⁰ à considérer que l'émission célèbre l'adoption d'un nouveau culte fédéral: elle confirmerait ainsi l'idée que *Zeus Homarios* n'a assumé de rôle politique au sein du *Koinon* des Achéens qu'à partir de cette date alors que cette fonction était assurée jusque là par Poséidon *Hélikônios*.

Il est vrai que dater cette monnaie en se fondant sur l'iconographie n'est pas chose facile. La thématique de Zeus assis sur un trône apparaît déjà au VI^e s. et connaît une très grande diffusion par la suite. On la trouve, avec quelques variations certes, sur le

⁶⁸ Ritter (2002), 64-73, croit y reconnaître Déméter *Panachaia*; il se fonde sur la coiffure et sur le fait que la déesse est connue avec l'épithète *Hamaria* par une inscription de Chalkis (voir ci-dessus note 103). D'autres avant lui avaient envisagé soit cette solution soit une identification avec Athéna *Homaria*, Artémis *Laphria* voire une nymphe vu le jeune âge de la divinité représentée: voir toute la bibliographie réunie par Ghikaki (*à paraître*) qui y voit plutôt une Artémis étant donné le jeune âge de la divinité et l'absence des attributs de Déméter ou d'Athéna. On doit noter qu'Artémis est parmi divinités les plus anciennes et les plus populaires d'Achaïe, voir Lafond (1991).

⁶⁹ Ritter (2002), 64 propose de la dater de la période qui sépare 372 et 362 et donne la bibliographie relative à cette chronologie. Psoma – Tsangari (2003), 111-141 proposent la date de la troisième guerre sacrée (352/351 av. J.-C.). *Zeus Homarios* apparaît également sur les monnaies fédérales de bronze, émises à l'époque hellénistique, voir Warren (2007), debout et nu, portant dans sa main droite une *Niké* ailée qui lui offre une couronne et s'appuyant, de sa main gauche sur un long sceptre. Sur les monnaies en argent de la même période, il est présenté couronné de lauriers; sur le revers figure une couronne de laurier seule: Aymard (1936), 11 note 3 avec toute la bibliographie antérieure; Thomson (1968); Benner (2008).

⁷⁰ Cf. Morgan (1991), 148; Morgan – Hall (1996), 194-196, et Morgan (2009), 154.

monnayage de plusieurs cités; il n'est donc pas improbable que l'artiste du statère ait pris en considération plusieurs modèles.⁷¹ Si les caractéristiques de l'émission d'Aigion (image de Zeus elle-même, ses attributs, mais aussi des éléments décoratifs de son trône) rendent difficile sa datation au Ve s., elles n'excluent pas, selon Ghikaki,⁷² une datation au début du 4^e s. c'est-à-dire avant la catastrophe d'Héliké (373 av. J.-C.). Cette pièce serait alors contemporaine d'émissions civiques de plusieurs cités achéennes parmi lesquelles Héliké elle-même.⁷³

Le plus ancien témoignage littéraire sur ce culte commun de Zeus *Homarios* se trouve dans une notice de Polybe⁷⁴ relative au rôle d'intermédiaire joué par les Achéens après la révolte anti-pythagoricienne, lorsqu'ils favorisèrent l'adoption d'institutions calées sur celles de leur métropole péloponnésienne par les cités achéennes de Grande Grèce. Les cités adoptèrent les institutions et les lois achéennes; elles érigèrent ensuite un sanctuaire de Zeus *Homarios* destiné à être, comme celui d'Aigion, le lieu de leurs réunions et débats.⁷⁵

La majorité des savants verra dans ce passage la preuve qu'il y avait déjà au cours du Ve s. une union politique achéenne comprenant les *poleis* de l'Achaïe et limitée à

⁷¹ A propos de l'image de Zeus, voir la discussion intéressante de Vlizon (1999), 1 qui trouve étonnant qu'aucune source ne mentionne de statue cultuelle pour Zeus *Homarios*.

⁷² Ghikaki (à paraître).

⁷³ Voir sur ce sujet Mackil – van Alfen (2006), 201-246.

⁷⁴ Pol. 2,39,1-2,39,6.

⁷⁵ Pol. 2,39,4-2,39,6: (4) Ἐν οἷς καιροῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πλείστων μερῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβευόντων ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις, Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τῇ τούτων πίστει συνεχρήσαντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐξαγωγήν. (5) Οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀπεδέξαντο τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τινος χρόνου ὀλοσχερῶς ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μιμηταὶ γενέσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν. (6) Παρακαλέσαντες γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ συμφρονήσαντες Κροτωνιάται, Συβαρίται, Καυλωνιάται, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδειξαν Διὸς Ἀμαρίου κοινὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε συνόδους καὶ τὰ διαβούλια συνετέλουν, δεύτερον τοὺς ἔθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους ἐκλαβόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπεβάλοντο χρῆσθαι καὶ διοικεῖν κατὰ τούτους τὴν πολιτείαν. – (4) *A l'époque, alors que toutes les parties de la Grèce envoyaient des députations pour amener une réconciliation, elles eurent recours aux Achéens et à leur médiation pour mettre fin à ces maux.* (5) *Ce ne fut pas seulement en cette occasion qu'elles adoptèrent un règlement achéen, quelque temps après elles se mirent à copier entièrement le régime politique.* (6) *Les villes de Crotona, Sybaris et Caulonia s'invitèrent entre elles et s'entendirent, d'abord pour fonder un sanctuaire commun de Zeus Homarios, endroit où avaient lieu les réunions fédérales et les conseils, en second lieu pour adopter de s'y conformer dans leur administration* [trad. P. Pédech]. Cf. Strab. 8,7,1. La date de l'adoption des institutions fédérales par les cités achéennes italiotes est placée vers 430-420 av. J.-C.: Osanna (1989), 205 note 147 avec toute la bibliographie antérieure à laquelle on doit ajouter Gallo (2002), 133 note 2. Moggi (2002), 118 note 10 nous rappelle qu'une autre médiation achéenne, rapportée sans autres détails par Iambl. vita. Pyth. 24, s'inspire d'une bonne source locale du 4^e s. av. J.-C. (Timée); il renvoie à cet effet à Giangiulio (1991), 51-54, 75-76 et 79-80; Walbank (2000), 23-24; sur le parallélisme entre le contexte métropolitain et colonial voir Mele (1993), 235-291, 239-246. Enfin, sur l'usage des sanctuaires comme centres de délibération politique, bien attesté durant l'Antiquité: voir Mackil (à paraître), chap. IV, 94-95.

l'*ethnos* achéen. Cette organisation disposait d'un sanctuaire cultuel commun identifié comme étant celui de Zeus *Homarios* dans lequel se tenaient les assemblées achéennes fédérales et étaient dressées les stèles portant les principaux décrets.⁷⁶

Le premier à avoir exprimé un certain scepticisme sur la véracité de ce passage fut Mazzarino suivi récemment par Morgan – Hall (1996)⁷⁷ qui ont, à leur tour, contesté cette information de l'historien achéen en s'appuyant sur trois nouveaux arguments: premièrement Polybe l'a écrit pour glorifier son pays natal, deuxièmement la nouvelle Sybaris (à laquelle le passage fait allusion) est considérée comme une colonie rhodienne par Strabon, et non comme une colonie achéenne, et troisièmement l'existence d'*Homarion* en Italie est elle-même contestée. Plusieurs savants ont pris leurs distances par rapport à cette interprétation, mais c'est à Walbank (2000) que l'on doit véritablement la réhabilitation de l'historien.⁷⁸ En reprenant point par point les arguments avancés, il conclut que cette notice ne peut aucunement être, comme le pensaient Morgan et Hall, une élaboration postérieure destinée à donner un certain lustre à la ligue de la période hellénistique: il s'agit bien plutôt d'un passage authentique inspiré de la tradition historiographique de la Grande Grèce.⁷⁹

Le point de vue exprimé par Polybe pourrait s'accorder avec un extrait de Strabon⁸⁰ dans lequel le géographe nous apprend qu'après la destruction d'Héliké, le territoire de cette cité ainsi que l'*Hamarion* – dans lequel se réunissaient les Achéens afin de débattre sur les questions communes – furent rattachés à Aigion:

(...) Αιγιέων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ Ἑλίκη καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄλλος τὸ Ἄ<μ>άριον, ὅπου συνήεσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν.

⁷⁶ Voir Pol. 5,93,10; Strab. 8,7,5; IMagn. 39, ll. 33-37; Aymard (1938), 285-293, 297-300, et Bingen (1953), 626-627. Osanna (1996), 206 et note 151. En l'absence d'une fouille systématique, l'emplacement précis du sanctuaire de Zeus *Homagyrios* reste imprécis voire controversé: Aymard (1936), 11 note 3; Bingen (1953), 626-627; Walbank (2000), 26 note 39, et Rizakis (1995), 200-201 no. 305 § 2: avec toute la bibliographie antérieure.

⁷⁷ Mazzarino (1935), 96; Morgan – Hall (1996), 194-196, et Morgan – Hall (2004), 474-476.

⁷⁸ Walbank (2000), 23-24. La majorité des spécialistes avaient exprimé leur confiance en l'authenticité du texte de Polybe aussi bien, avant la parution de cette publication, voir Aymard (1935), 466 note 3; Larsen (1953), 797, que par la suite (Osanna (1989), 57-58; Gallo (2002), 133-134; Moggi (2002), 118-119 et note 12 (avec la bibliographie antérieure); Rizakis (2009b) et Cuhe (2010), 104 note 35).

⁷⁹ Probablement Timée selon Moggi (2002), 119 note 12. Mazzarino (1935), 96 ne contestait pas ce passage, il pensait simplement à une importation relativement récente de ce culte dans les colonies de l'Italie du sud (ca. 450 av. J.-C.), les autres cultes, d'une origine plus ancienne, étant laconiens; Giannelli (1924). Sur les problèmes que pose ce texte, voir la bibliographie citée par le même auteur: Ghinatti (1961/2), 117-133; Giangiulio (1989), 176-177 et note 52; Mele (1993), 240-242, et De Sensi Sestito (1994), 195-216 (avec toute la bibliographie relative).

⁸⁰ Strab. 8,7,5.

(...) elle dépend d'Aigion ainsi qu'Héliké et l'Hamarion, l'enclos consacré à Zeus, où se réunissaient les Achaiens pour délibérer de leurs intérêts communs [trad. R. Baladié].⁸¹

Un autre passage du géographe,⁸² qui copie probablement sur ce point Polybe,⁸³ va dans le même sens me semble-t-il. Il y affirme que l'Hamarion fût à nouveau le lieu de réunion de la nouvelle ligue reconstituée en 280/9 av. J.-C. et le géographe croit nécessaire d'ajouter qu'il était auparavant (probablement avant 373 av. J.-C.) celui des Achéens et avant eux encore, celui des Ioniens.⁸⁴

Εἴκοσι μὲν ἔτη διετέλεσαν γραμματέα κοινὸν ἔχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὺς δύο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ Ἀχαιοί, καὶ κοινοβούλιον εἰς ἓνα τόπον συνήρχετο αὐτοῖς, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀμάριον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ κοινὰ ἐχρημάτιζον καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες πρότερον.

Vingt années durant, les Achaiens eurent en commun un secrétaire et deux stratèges annuels; leur assemblée fédérale se réunissait dans lieu appelé Hamarion pour traiter de leurs intérêts communs, comme l'avaient fait les Ioniens avant eux [trad. R. Baladié].⁸⁵

Enfin, Pausanias⁸⁶ va encore plus loin et fournit l'*aition* de la fondation de ce sanctuaire à l'époque de la guerre de Troie:

Ὅμαγύριος δὲ ἐγένετο τῷ Διὶ ἐπὶ κλησὶς, ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνων ἤθροισεν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοὺς λόγου μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀξίους, μεθέξοντας ἐν κοινῷ βουλῆς καθ' ὄντινα χρῆ τῶν τρόπων ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν Πριάμου στρατεύεσθαι.

Zeus a reçu le surnom d'Homagyrios parce que c'est à cet emplacement qu'Agamemnon rassembla les personnages les plus importants de la Grèce afin qu'ils prennent part ensemble à une délibération pour décider de la manière dont il fallait faire campagne contre le royaume de Priam [trad. Y. Lafond].

⁸¹ Cf. Bölte (1912), 2858. Aymard (1938), 279-281 (opinion partagée par Giovannini (1968), 1-17; Breglia (1984), 71-72 s'appuyant sur Paus. (7,24,4), qui dit qu'en son temps c'est à Aigion que se réunit l'assemblée des Achéens, pensait que les sanctuaires de Zeus Homarios et de Zeus *Homagyrios* ne coïncidaient pas topographiquement. En revanche Walbank (2000), 25, ne croit pas que le sanctuaire de Zeus se trouvait avant la catastrophe sur le territoire d'Héliké et considère, par conséquent, que les Achéens ne se réunissaient pas dans celui-ci, avant 373 av. J.-C.

⁸² Strab. 8,7,3.

⁸³ Pol. 2,43,1-2,43,2.

⁸⁴ Strab. 8,7,3.

⁸⁵ Cf. Aymard (1936), 19-20; Baladié (1978), 211 ad loc., et Rizakis (1995), 303-304 note 529 1.

⁸⁶ Paus. 7,24,4.

Aymard (1938)⁸⁷ pensait que ces passages (spécialement celui de Strab. 8,7,5) – malgré l’incertitude concernant les dates – suggèrent que l’*Hamarion* d’Héliké était le lieu des réunions des Achéens avant 373 av. J.-C. et qu’Aigion n’en prit possession qu’après cette date. Si cette information est correcte il faut croire que le transfert du sanctuaire à Aigion se réalisa soit immédiatement, soit plus tard. La découverte de plusieurs documents fédéraux au nord-ouest d’Aigion n’apporte pas un démenti à cette thèse; elle confirme en revanche cette solution⁸⁸ dans la mesure où le plus ancien décret fédéral, daté de la fin du 4^es. av. J.-C., comme d’ailleurs tous les autres de la période hellénistique, provient du sanctuaire d’Aigion.⁸⁹ Cette explication n’est pas remise en question par le témoignage de Pausanias;⁹⁰ celui-ci, évoquant l’invasion Galate de 279 av. J.-C., nous apprend que les Achéens décidèrent de se réunir à Aigion, cité qui disposait de la plus grande puissance et du plus grand prestige depuis la destruction d’Héliké:⁹¹

Ἀθροίζεσθαι δὲ ἐς Αἴγιόν σφισιν ἔδοξεν. αὐτὲ γὰρ μετὰ Ἑλικὴν ἐπικλυσθεῖσαν πόλεων ἐν Ἀχαΐα τῶν ἄλλων δόξῃ προεῖχεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἴσχυεν ἐν τῷ τότε.

Ils décidèrent de prendre Aigion comme lieu de rassemblement car, depuis qu’Héliké avait été submergée, c’était, de toutes les cités d’Achaïe, celle dont le prestige, depuis longtemps, était le plus grand et qui était puissante à cette époque-là [trad. Y. Lafond].

⁸⁷ Aymard (1938), 277-293.

⁸⁸ L’hypothèse formulée par Pirenne-Delforge (1994), 245; opinion approuvée par Osanna (1996), 207. Cf. Mylonopoulos (2006), 127 note 39, selon laquelle le sanctuaire de Zeus *Homagyrios* prendrait en quelque sorte la succession de l’autre (i.e. de celui d’*Hamarion* d’Héliké), abandonné probablement à la suite de la guerre de Corinthe (146 av. J.-C.), me semble peu probable, en particulier en ce qui concerne la date.

⁸⁹ Les documents fédéraux trouvés à Aigion sont publiés par Rizakis (2008), 168-181 note 116-121.

⁹⁰ Paus. 7,7,2. Cf. aussi Paus. 7,6,7-7,6,9; 18,6; 10,22,6 et 14: les Achéens et la guerre des Galates. Cf. commentaire in Rizakis (1995), 165 note 251. Tausend (1992), 25, pensait que le témoignage de Pausanias suggérait que le sanctuaire de Poséidon d’*Hélikônios* était le lieu des réunions politiques des Achéens avant la destruction de cette dernière cité en 373 av. J.-C. Le Périégète, il est vrai, ne cite pas *expressis verbis* l’*Hamarion* et il y a également une confusion dans les dates puisqu’au moment de l’invasion des Galates, le *koinon* hellénistique, qui venait d’être reconstitué, n’avait pas encore pour capitale Aigion qui y adhéra en 275/6, mais probablement Dymé; voir Pol. 2,41,13 et 2,41,15 et le commentaire que R. Baladié (1978), 241 fait du passage de Strab. 8,7,3. En effet, un décret de Dymé, du début du 3^e s. av. J.-C.; Rizakis (2008), 36-37 note 1, ll. 15-16), nous apprend que les documents fédéraux étaient déposés au sanctuaire d’Apollon à Dymé; Rizakis (2008), 36-37 note 1, ll. 15-16, témoignage qui laisse entendre que la capitale provisoire de la ligue était alors Dymé en Achaïe occidentale (entre 280/7 et 275/6 av. J.-C.). On sait en effet par Polybe, que cette cité avec les trois autres cités d’Achaïe occidentale (Patras, Pharai et Tritaia) avait pris l’initiative de fonder à nouveau la ligue achéenne; voir Pol. 2,41,4-2,41,15 (cf. Rizakis (1995), note 430); Strab. 8,7,1 (cf. Rizakis (1995), note 527); Strab. 8,7,3 (cf. Rizakis (1995), note 529).

⁹¹ Paus. 7,7,2.

Walbank pensait avoir trouvé un élément déterminant quant à l'ancienneté du culte de *Zeus Hamarios*, dans un passage de Tite-Live, qui suit sans doute Polybe,⁹² dans lequel l'historien romain affirme qu'Aigion était depuis les débuts de la ligue, *a principio*, le lieu de convocation des assemblées. Cette formule renvoie selon l'historien britannique⁹³ à la confédération initiale et non pas, comme on aurait pu penser, à la ligue hellénistique restaurée en 280/79 av. J.-C. Cette interprétation, qui ne contredit pas Pausanias,⁹⁴ s'accorde à ses yeux avec le passage de Strab. 8,7,5, mais surtout avec celui de Polybe,⁹⁵ qui laisse entendre qu'*Hamarion* était bien le sanctuaire fédéral des Achéens, du moins dès le 5^e s. av. J.-C.⁹⁶ Son importance se renforça naturellement pendant la période hellénistique quand la ligue connut une extension sans précédent.⁹⁷

La théorie selon laquelle *Zeus Homarios* aurait précocement joué un rôle fédéral n'est pas nouvelle, contrairement à ce que les récents débats peuvent laisser entendre. Elle fut formulée pour la première fois par Paul Foucart⁹⁸ au 19^e siècle; se fondant sur un passage d'Etienne de Byzance, tiré de Théopompe,⁹⁹ il „faisait de *Zeus Homarios* un dieu adoré par les Achéens antérieurement à leur migration de la Thessalie méridionale, où l'on trouverait trace de son culte, vers le Péloponnèse“.¹⁰⁰ Cette origine des deux cultes a été contestée par A. Aymard¹⁰¹ qui, se fondant sur un passage de Strabon dans

⁹² Pol. 2,39,5-2,39,6.

⁹³ Liv. 38,30,2: *Aegium a principio Achaici concilii semper conventus gentis indicti sunt, seu dignitati urbis id seu loci opportunati datum est – C'est à Aigion que, depuis le début de la ligue achéenne, les assemblées avaient été convoquées, privilège dû soit à la renommée de cette ville, soit à sa situation avantageuse* [trad. R. Adam]. Cf. Walbank (2000), 25-26 note 36. Cette hypothèse nous rappelle une assez vieille et curieuse supposition, formulée par Foucart (1876), 100, à savoir que *Zeus Hamarios* était honoré au début à *Hamarion* (Strab. 8,7,3); Pol. 5,93,10; sur d'autres lectures proposées des manuscrits de Géographe et de Polybe, voir Cook (1914), 16 note 5, 17 note 1, c'est-à-dire dans une grotte sacrée sur le territoire d'Aigion.

⁹⁴ Paus. 7,7,2.

⁹⁵ Pol. 2,39,5-2,39,6.

⁹⁶ Walbank (2000), 23 note 28 et 25-27.

⁹⁷ Durant cette période, la ligue incorpore les grandes et prestigieuses cités péloponnésiennes telles que Sicyone, Corinthe, Argos, Megalopolis, Messène et Sparte etc. et son extension n'a plus de rapport étroit avec l'*ethnos*, elle est beaucoup plus large et dépasse de loin les limites ethniques. La place importante de *Zeus Homarios* au sein de la seconde ligue est incontestée et amplement documentée dans les sources littéraires, épigraphiques et numismatiques; voir Aymard (1936), 15-21.

⁹⁸ Foucart (1876), 100.

⁹⁹ Steph. Byz., s.v. Ὀμάριον, πόλις Θετταλίας (...) ἐν ταύτῃ τιμᾶται Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ. Τὸ ἔθνικόν Ὀμάριος, Ὀμαρεὺς. Cf. Aymard (1936), 1-4.

¹⁰⁰ Aymard (1936), 1-2.

¹⁰¹ „Si les Achéens l'ont adoré en hors du Péloponnèse, par exemple en Grande Grèce (Pol. 2,39,6) et en Egypte (ci-dessous note 000), c'est parce qu'eux-mêmes avaient émigré de l'Achaïe péloponnésienne et parce qu'ils avaient oublié, aux époques classique et hellénistique la véritable origine d'un dieu qui devait

lequel celui-ci affirmait que *Zeus Hamarios* „était adoré, dès avant l’arrivée des Achéens dans le Péloponnèse, par ceux que Strabon appelle les Ioniens“,¹⁰² pensait que *Zeus Hamarios* n’était pas un dieu ethnique mais un dieu régional puisque les Achéens ne l’ont pas importé de Thessalie, comme le pensait P. Foucart, mais l’ont simplement hérité de ceux qu’ils dépossédèrent de leur pays. Cet argument, basé sur une notice du géographe vraisemblablement erronée, m’incite à la plus grande réserve dans la mesure où *Zeus Hamarios* devrait être relié à la tradition achéenne – celle-ci pourrait, naturellement, remonter loin dans le temps – plus qu’à la tradition ionienne du pays.

Le culte de *Zeus Homarios* était associé – on le sait par l’épigraphie – à celui d’Athéna qui portait la même épiclese, c’est-à-dire *Homaria* parce que la fille née du cerveau de Zeus était la personnification de sa pensée et, „à ce titre, désignée comme patronne des conseils“, ainsi que le formulait Aymard.¹⁰³ Ces deux divinités, qui étaient honorées ensemble et de bonne heure en Thessalie, avaient aussi un culte commun en Achaïe. Leurs statues se trouvaient avec celle d’Aphrodite dans le sanctuaire de Zeus *Homagyrios*.¹⁰⁴ La présence d’Aphrodite dans le contexte sacré du sanctuaire fédéral, comme celle d’Athéna et de Déméter, s’explique par les fonctions politiques que cette divinité assume, surtout à partir de l’époque classique.¹⁰⁵ Un décret fédéral nous apprend que ces trois divinités étaient invoquées dans les serments des autorités de la ligue achéenne.¹⁰⁶

Les sources littéraires révèlent l’existence d’autres divinités achéennes à caractère communautaire.¹⁰⁷ Il s’agit de *Déméter Panachaia* à Aigion, d’*Athéna Panachaïs* à Patras¹⁰⁸ et, peut-être d’*Artémis* à Lousoi et d’*Artémis Aontia* de Mazaraki, dont les

à son évolution, non pas à sa nature propre, d’être le symbole et le protecteur de la communauté ethnique et morale de leur race“, cf. Aymard (1936), 4 et note 1 d’autres références.

¹⁰² Strab. 8,7,3. Cf. Aymard (1936), 3 et note 2.

¹⁰³ A. Aymard (1935), 283 et 468 n’a pas tort quand il affirme „qu’il était impossible de rêver pour une confédération patronage plus heureusement symbolique ni de plus favorable augure“.

¹⁰⁴ Comme le souligne Osanna (1989), 56; Osanna (1996), 208 et note 157, le fait que le Périégète (7,24,2) ne cite pas l’adjectif *Homaria* (ou *Homagyria*) pour Athéna n’est pas un argument décisif pour refuser cette identité comme le fait Aymard (1938), 280; l’adjectif est d’ailleurs attesté épigraphiquement (voir ci-dessous note 000).

¹⁰⁵ Pirenne-Delforge (1994), 246-247; sur les fonctions politiques de cette divinité, voir Croissant – Salviat (1966), 460-471 cité par Osanna (1996), 208 note 159.

¹⁰⁶ IG V.2 344, l. 8; Syll.² 229: ὁ[μ]νύω Δία Ἀμάριον, Ἀθάναν Ἀμαρίαν, Ἀφρ[οδ]ίτα[ν καὶ τοῦ] θ[εοῦ] πάντας].

¹⁰⁷ Walbank (2000), 20; le moment précis de l’introduction de leur culte, comme d’ailleurs celui de Zeus *Hamarios*, reste pour le moment imprécis.

¹⁰⁸ Voir Paus. 7,20,2 (*Athéna Panachaïs*); son culte fut introduit, selon Herbillon (1929), 41, 1090 au moment de l’arrivée des Achéens, Osanna (1996), 81-81 hésite entre le moment de la fondation de la

sanctuaires respectifs étaient situés dans les montagnes et sur la route qui reliait la côte aux communautés de l'intérieur.¹⁰⁹ Déméter et Athéna semblent avoir des racines profondes en Achaïe dans la mesure où elles sont honorées, avec divers épiclèses, dans plusieurs cités achéennes. Mais le moment à partir duquel elles commencèrent à être honorées en tant que *Panachaia* et *Panachais* reste imprécis et les savants hésitent entre deux dates, celle de la fondation du premier ou celle du second *koinon*.¹¹⁰ Il faut préciser que l'adjectif *Panachais*, qui existe déjà chez Homère (Il. 2,404), rappelle la qualité pan achéenne, exprimée aussi par l'oronyme *Panachaikon*, massif montagneux situé au centre de cette zone.¹¹¹ L'adjectif *Panachaia* de Déméter à Aigion – qui ne se rencontre qu'en Achaïe Phtiotide¹¹² – suggère de même une ambition pan achéenne, c'est-à-dire le caractère politique par excellence de ce culte, suggéré d'ailleurs par l'emplacement de son sanctuaire à proximité de celui de Zeus *Homagrios*, siège du *Koinon*.¹¹³ Déméter se présente dans un contexte lié d'une part au passé mythique achéen, à savoir le départ d'Aigion avec Agamemnon lors de l'expédition contre Troie, et d'autre part à la ligue de la période historique, ainsi que l'affirmait Osanna.¹¹⁴ Il est possible que Déméter *Panachaia*, comme Zeus *Hamarios*, soit liée, de bonne heure en Achaïe, „à une assemblée pré-politique (antérieure à la *polis*) ou, plus tard, à une assemblée ethnique“: l'association de son culte avec celui de Zeus rend la fonction de

première ligue ou celui de sa reconstitution, au début de la période hellénistique. Les mêmes hésitations existent concernant le culte de Déméter *Panachaia* à Aigion (Paus. 7,24,2).

¹⁰⁹ Une route reliait Aigion, via Mazaraki-Rakita, au sanctuaire d'Artémis de Lousoi, voir Petropoulos (2002), 157 avec carte fig. 14; les offrandes repérées dans ces deux sanctuaires indiquent tout d'abord leur fréquentation par les mêmes personnes et, d'autre part, leur relation avec Aigion; voir Mackil (*à paraître*), chap. IV, 29-31 et ci-dessous note 000-002.

¹¹⁰ Déméter est honorée à Pellène, Boura, Aigion, Patras et Dymé, cf. Rizakis (1995), 435 s.v. Déméter; Osanna (1989), 56-57; Osanna (1996), *passim*, et Petropoulos (2010). Le culte d'Athéna est connu à Dymé, Patras, Tritaia, Aigion, Aigeira et Pellène, cf. Rizakis (1995), 434 s.v. Athéna; Osanna (1996), *passim*.

¹¹¹ L'épiclèse se rencontre également pour Artémis à Delphes, voir Laurent (1901), 350.

¹¹² *Demeter Panachaia* honorée aussi bien en Achaïe phtiotide: Diakouras (1965), 322 = SEG XXV 1071, 643; Lazarides (1971), 42 = J. e L. Robert, *BullEpigr.* 1973, 238a, qu'en Achaïe péloponnésienne (Paus. 7,24,3) semble être dans les deux cas une divinité locale indépendante de Déméter Achaïa, connue en Béotie, Nilsson (1906), 325-326; Sakellariou (2009), 136-137; ces deux divinités seraient, selon Sakellariou (2009), 100 note 77, „le fait d'une fusion entre *Achaia*, déesse d'origine proto-achéenne, et Déméter.“ Sur le théonyme Achaïa, voir Sakellariou (1977), 238-239; Sakellariou (2009), 100.

¹¹³ Paus. 7,24,3: Ἐφεξῆς τῷ Ὀμαγυρίῳ Διὶ Παναχαϊᾶς ἐστὶ Δῆμητρος. – *Juste après le sanctuaire de Zeus Homagrios vient un sanctuaire de Déméter Panachéenne* [trad. Y. Lafond]. Petropoulos (2010), 158, note la séparation étrange du culte de *Koré* de celui de Déméter à Aigion. Il l'explique soit par le fait que les deux cultes ne sont pas introduits en même temps soit en raison du caractère politique du culte de Déméter.

¹¹⁴ Osanna (1989), 56-57; Osanna (1996), 208-209.

ce dernier et son rapport à la ligue encore plus clairs.¹¹⁵ Les deux divinités agissent ici, comme en Eubée (où elle porte l'épiclèse *Homaria*),¹¹⁶ sur les assemblées, se portant garantes des réunions des personnes qui débattent de questions politiques. Il va de soi que Déméter *Panachaia*, en tant que protectrice de tous les Achéens, partage cette fonction avec Zeus, Athéna *Homaria* et Athena *Panachais* de Patras.¹¹⁷

Ces divinités (i.e. Zeus *Homarios*, Athéna *Homaria*, Déméter *Panachaia* d'Aigion et, probablement plus tard, Athéna *Panachais* de Patras) constituèrent les références symboliques nécessaires à l'idée fédérale et leurs cultes continuèrent d'être importants à l'époque hellénistique et même sous l'Empire romain à un moment où ils pouvaient être encore invoqués, comme le note Walbank, „in order to express or revive a consciousness of that identity“.¹¹⁸ Zeus *Homarios*-Athéna *Homaria* gardèrent toutefois un caractère local sur le plan religieux et leur culte ne semble avoir qu'exceptionnellement dépassé les frontières strictement civiques.¹¹⁹ La promotion des cultes au niveau fédéral ne semble pas avoir eu un impact négatif sur les cultes locaux des cités-membres du *Koinon* puisqu'elle procurait une nouvelle identité fédérale à ses citoyens qui en possédaient désormais deux: une locale et une fédérale.¹²⁰ Les cités continuaient à avoir la pleine autorité sur leurs propres cultes, la seule restriction dans le domaine cultuel concernait la prise de décisions impliquant les relations avec d'autres

¹¹⁵ Breglia (1984), 72-73. Osanna (1989), 57, note à juste titre que le culte de Déméter n'est pas exclusivement lié à une assemblée à caractère ethnique mais également à des cultes à caractère purement civique.

¹¹⁶ La présence précoce de Déméter est attestée également en Béotie. Déméter porte l'épiclèse *Homaria* sur une inscription de Chalcis: voir Breglia (1984), 72-73.

¹¹⁷ Ce fait explique peut-être l'absence de cette divinité des cultes officiels des colonies achéennes de Grande Grèce fondées à la fin de la période géométrique. Sur le culte, probablement plus tardif, d'Athéna *Panachais*, voir Paus. 7,20,2: (...) τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τῆς Λαφρίας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς ἐπίκλησιν Παναχαΐδος; ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ. – (...) dans l'enceinte de la Laphria il y a aussi un temple d'Athéna surnommée Panachéenne: sa statue est faite d'ivoire et d'or [trad. Y. Lafond]. Athéna *Panachais* apparaît sur les monnaies de Patras de la période impériale (BMC Pelopon 23 pl. V.8 et 26 pl. V.19; NCP 78-79 pl. Q XIV. Cf. Rizakis (1995) 174 note 255 avec les références sur son culte auxquelles on doit ajouter maintenant Osanna (1996), 80-81.

¹¹⁸ Walbank (2000), 20.

¹¹⁹ On ne connaît qu'une seule dédicace trouvée dans le voisinage de Damanhour dans le delta égyptien, mentionnant Zeus *Homarios* et Athéna *Homaria*: Breccia (1911), 70 note 110; 77 pl. 32). Perdrizet (1921), 281-83 et Launey (1950), 953-54 plaçaient ce texte à l'époque impériale contrairement à Bernard (1970), 523-525, qui préférait la „haute époque hellénistique“. Cette dédicace qui était plutôt associée avec un autel domestique qu'avec un sanctuaire, voir Walbank (2000), 29 avec toute la bibliographie relative à cette question), a été peut-être érigée par des mercenaires originaires d'Aigion. Cf. Aymard (1935), 459 note 2; Walbank (2000), 29.

¹²⁰ Rizakis (2009b).

cités. Dans ce cas, les cités-membres étaient obligées de demander l'autorisation des autorités fédérales.¹²¹

Le rôle politique de Zeus *Homarios* a pour lui la durée; le dieu garde son importance symbolique (son sanctuaire est le lieu de conservation de tous les décrets et traités fédéraux), même après 188 av. J.-C., quand Philopoemen de Megalopolis réussit à supprimer le monopole des réunions fédérales à Aigion, l'ancienne capitale des Achéens, et à imposer leur rotation.¹²² Mais, après une longue période de marginalisation, Aigion et le sanctuaire de Zeus *Homarios* retrouvèrent leur ancienne gloire sous l'Empire. Pausanias¹²³ nous dit que les Romains ont appelé alors le gouverneur de la Grèce οὐχ Ελλάδος ἀλλὰ Ἀχαιίας, puisqu'ils ont conquis la Grèce grâce aux Achéens qui étaient alors le peuple le plus puissant. Il faut croire avec Walbank que le nom d'Achaïe résumait d'une certaine manière les traditions de la vieille Achaïe avec son dieu principal Zeus *Homarios* dont le nom avait encore une „forte résonance dans les esprits des Grecs et spécialement des Achéens“.¹²⁴ L'historien britannique nous rappelle une inscription honorifique d'Epidaure, datée de la période néronienne,¹²⁵ élevée par un ensemble de peuples grecs qui s'appellent *Panachaioi*, nous apprend que le sanctuaire constituait encore une référence pour tous les Achéens puisqu'il est prévu que les statues de bronze de la personne honorée (*T. Statilius Timocrates*) soient élevées au sanctuaire de Zeus *Hamarios* à Aigion ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀμαρίου Διὸς [τε]μένει qui continuait à être sous l'Empire, comme le dit Pausanias¹²⁶ le lieu de réunions des assemblées des Achéens:

ἐς δὲ Αἴγιον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἀθροίζεται, καθότι ἐς Θερμοπύλας τε καὶ ἐς Δελφούς οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες.

De notre temps encore, c'est à Aigion que se réunit l'Assemblée des Achéens, de même que les Amphictions se réunissent aux Thermopyles et à Delphes [trad. Y. Lafond].

¹²¹ Voir Giovannini (1977), 470-471. Cf. Mackil (*forthcoming*), 3-5 et note 12; l'auteur discute amplement la question concernant le conflit entre la ligue et la cité d'Héliké à propos du contrôle du sanctuaire de Poséidon *Hélikônios*, Mackil (*à paraître*), chap. IV, 75-95; Mackil (*forthcoming*), 7-8.

¹²² Sur cette question, voir Rizakis (2008), 161 note 7 (avec toute la bibliographie relative).

¹²³ Pausanias 7,16,9; Walbank (2000), 30 note 54.

¹²⁴ Walbank (2000), 31.

¹²⁵ Syll.³ 796 A-B'; SEG XXXV 304; cf. Oliver (1978), 185-191 et les observations pertinentes de Walbank (2000), 29-30.

¹²⁶ Paus. 7,24,4.

Deux mots pour conclure. Il est très vraisemblable qu'en dehors des divinités dont les épiclèses trahissent leur rôle pan achéen, d'autres divinités et leurs sanctuaires ruraux ou urbains ont également joué un rôle décisif, favorisant l'interaction et le partage de cultes, permettant la création des liens entre les communautés et facilitant la mise en place d'une identité ethnico-régionale commune.¹²⁷ Je pense à Artémis de *Lousoi*, à Artémis de *Mazaraki-Rakita* et éventuellement à d'autres sanctuaires (situés à l'intérieur des montagnes ou près des côtes)¹²⁸ dont l'ancienneté et l'importance régionale leur permirent de jouer un rôle dans l'élaboration de l'identité achéenne, particulièrement à l'époque archaïque.¹²⁹ Le sanctuaire d'Artémis de Lousoi faisait assurément partie de l'Arcadie à l'époque classique, mais il semble qu'avant cette période la frontière entre l'Achaïe et l'Arcadie était beaucoup plus ouverte tant sur le plan culturel que sur le plan politique.¹³⁰ Le rôle d'Artémis de Lousoi dans la colonisation de Metapontion, mise en valeur par Bacchylidès,¹³¹ suggère qu'elle avait un rapport étroit avec les Achéens au moment de leur établissement dans les colonies en Italie du sud, qui persistait probablement au moment où l'ode a été écrite.

L'identité achéenne commença à prendre une forme plus concrète et des couleurs politiques à partir du moment où Zeus arriva sur le devant de la scène, devint la divinité patronne des Achéens, et occupa cette position prééminente jusqu'à la fin de la

¹²⁷ Voir Mackil (*à paraître*), Part II, chap. IV: Cultic communities.

¹²⁸ La variété des offrandes repérées dans ces sanctuaires, voir Gadolou (2002), signale une ouverture de ces cultes au monde extérieur; sur cette question, voir Polignac (1994), 5-8.

¹²⁹ La relation étroite entre le sanctuaire d'Artémis de Lousoi avec celui de Mazaraki, indiquée par des offrandes, suggère, selon Mackil (*à paraître*) chap. IV, 30-32, „that both cults acted as vital mechanisms in the construction of an Achaian community in the Late Geometric and Archaic periods“. Sur Artémis de Lousoi, voir Tausend (1993); Mitsopoulos-Léon (2001), et Ladstätter (2001). Sur Artémis Aontia de Mazaraki-Rakita, voir Petropoulos (2001), 43-45 avec fig. 3; Petropoulos (2002), 154-155 avec fig. 14 et pl. 4. Sur l'adjectif *Aontia* voir Petropoulos (2001); Osanna (1996), 211-212, et Rizakis (2008), 156-157. Sur l'interaction des deux sanctuaires à l'époque archaïque et sur leur impact sur les Achéens, voir Mackil (*à paraître*), chap. IV, 31 et note 117 avec renvois à Petropoulos (2002), 158 et Gadolou (2002), 172.

¹³⁰ Lousoi, cité azanienne, se proclame ethniquement arcadienne après la fusion de l'*ethnos* azanien (déjà au temps de la composition du Catalogue des vaisseaux), la chronologie de son développement monumental est toutefois proche de celle des cités achéennes de la côte avec lesquelles les interactions dans le domaine culturel sont plus fortes à l'époque archaïque; sur l'Azanie arcadienne et l'interaction entre les cités azaniennes et achéennes, voir Pikoulas (1981-82), 269-281; Tausend (1993) et Tausend (1999); Nielsen – Roy (1998), 5-44; Nielsen – Roy (1999), 382-456. Morgan (2009), 160 pense que la nature de l'alphabet achéen est une illustration de cette interaction entre zones voisines, Morgan (1997), 156; cet alphabet fait son apparition vers 700 av. J.-C. à Ithaque et combine en fait des traits empruntés aux diverses zones situées autour du golfe de Corinthe. Sur l'alphabet achéen, voir Jeffery (1990), 221-224; 248-251; Luraghi (2010).

¹³¹ Bakchyl. 11,113-11,115: ἔνθεν καὶ ἀρηϊφίλοις | ἄνδρεσσιν <ἐς> ἱππότροφον πόλιν Ἀχαιοῖς. Cf. Kowalzig (2007), 267-327 qui insiste précisément sur le rôle de ce sanctuaire dans la construction de l'identité achéenne des cités de l'Italie du sud.

domination romaine. Zeus, par ses liens étroits avec le passé achéen, pouvait sans aucun doute mieux que toute autre divinité assurer cette fonction intégratrice auprès des communautés du nord-ouest du Péloponnèse, facilitant ainsi leur passage de l'Aigialos-Aigialéens aux Achaïe-Achéens. L'importance du sanctuaire de Zeus *Homarios* était vraisemblablement liée à son emplacement et à la direction des grandes routes naturelles favorisant la communication et les échanges nord-sud. Le port d'Aigion, seul port naturel dans le golfe de Corinthe, reliait les deux rives du golfe et assurait en particulier la liaison avec Delphes située en face.¹³² C'est ce facteur géographique que met en valeur Tite-Live lorsqu'il se demande si le choix d'Aigion comme capitale du *Koinon* obéissait à l'importance de la cité ou à sa position géographique.¹³³ Mais il ne faut pas se laisser abuser; le passé historique de cette cité et ses relations particulières avec les Atréides la destinaient à devenir le centre de la nouvelle Achaïe.

¹³² Voir ci-dessus note 000.

¹³³ Liv. 38,30,2: *Aegium a principio Achaici concilii semper conventus gentis indicti sunt, seu dignitati urbis id seu loci opportunati datum est – C'est à Aigion que, depuis le début de la ligue achéenne, les assemblées avaient été convoquées, privilège dû soit à la renommée de cette ville, soit à sa situation avantageuse* [trad. R. Adam].

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Olympia, Identity and Integration: Elis, Eleia, and Hellas*

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By ca. 550 Elis controlled Olympia, as can be seen from Elean inscriptions posted there.¹ Indeed, Elis may well have controlled Olympia earlier, because the appearance of the inscriptions in the middle of the sixth century may be due simply to a change of epigraphic habit. However a series of recent articles has produced good arguments for the view that archaic Pisatan history, including accounts of conflict between Elis and Pisatis for control of Olympia, is unhistorical,² and, if the supposed Pisatan history is rejected, then we have no historical basis for reconstructing Elean involvement with Olympia before the mid-sixth century. In addition Christesen has argued convincingly that the dates assigned to early Olympic victors are unreliable, even if the names may well be authentic: consequently no conclusions can be drawn from the nationalities of Olympic victors (e.g. Messenians and Spartans) at supposed early dates.³ The Elean presence at Olympia suggests however that Elis had embarked some time before on expansion out of the Peneios valley into the rest of Eleia. It is quite possible that by ca. 550 Elis had already elaborated a policy – evident in the later fifth century – of incorporating some territory into the Elean *polis* and making the inhabitants Elean citizens, but reducing other communities of Eleia to the status of subordinate allies.⁴ North of the Alpheios the only allied communities were Akroreia east of Elis town and Letrinoi, Marganeis, and Amphidolia west of Olympia. It is, incidentally, odd that these three small and insignificant communities were kept as allies instead of being incorporated directly into the Elean state: they suggest that at some time Elis had allied with them because of difficulties with someone else in the Alpheios basin. Elean expansion continued in the fifth century, but south of the Alpheios no territory was

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¹ Minon (2007), 9-12.

² Nafissi (2001) and (2003); Möller (2004); Gehrke (2003), and Giangiulio (2009).

³ Christesen (2007), 157-160.

⁴ Roy (1997), (1999), and (2004); Ruggeri (2004).

incorporated into Elis: all communities in the area became allies. After the Elean-Spartan war of 402-400 Sparta deprived Elis of all its subordinate allies, and Elis then tried, with varying success, to recover control of its former allies.⁵ In the Elean-Arkadian war of 365-362 Elis lost control of Pisatis, and with it Olympia, but recovered the area at the end of the war. Finally, probably in 146, all Eleia was united in the one single *polis* of Elis.⁶ From this rapid summary it emerges that Elis controlled Olympia at least from ca. 550, with the brief interruption of 365-362 (and in fact Elean control lasted until the fifth century A.D.).

It is thus possible to examine how three groups of Greeks used Olympia to form or project identities: the Eleans, the other communities of Eleia, and the rest of the Greeks.

All the evidence suggests that, once they had control, the Eleans alone controlled Olympia: they clearly had the skill and resources to do so. It should be noted that Elis had a large territory of its own, apart from the territory of its allies in Eleia, and was relatively wealthy. It was not, as is sometimes suggested, a small and insignificant *polis*. The Eleans made Olympia very Elean.⁷ Olympia was by far the largest and most important religious sanctuary in Elean territory, and the Eleans celebrated constantly the rites of various cults there. They also used it for administration, not only of the sanctuary and the Games but also of the Elean *polis*. For instance the *Hellanodikai* had quarters both at the town of Elis and at Olympia. There was a *bouleuterion* at Elis and another at Olympia: whether the same Elean council met at both is unclear, but, even if there was a separate Olympic council, its members were Elean. Strikingly there was a *prytaneion* at Olympia whereas none is known at Elis: Nielsen has emphasised the central role of the *prytaneion* in the life of a *polis*, and it may well be that the *prytaneion* of the *polis* Elis was at Olympia.⁸ Elean officials ran both the sanctuary and the Games, and will have been visible to all visitors. Elis displayed public documents at Olympia, and chose a form of language that marked a difference between the Elean texts and other related western Greek dialects.⁹ Some of these texts carried rules formulated by the Eleans for behaviour in the sanctuary, others had Elean rules for the Games: both

⁵ On the war see Schepens (2004) and Roy (2009).

⁶ Roy (1999), 166-167.

⁷ On Elis' administration of Olympia see Nielsen (2007), 29-54.

⁸ Nielsen (2007), 52-53.

⁹ Colvin (2007).

categories showed Elean control.¹⁰ Elean coinage used Olympic images: on the obverse appeared the Elean ethnic and either Zeus or Hera, the Olympic deities, and on the reverse such Olympic emblems as the eagle of Zeus.¹¹ During their brief period of control (365-363 or 362) the Pisatans issued coins showing Olympian Zeus: when the Eleans regained control they struck coins with Zeus and the Elean ethnic on the obverse, and on the reverse the personified Olympia, making clear that Olympia was once more Elean.¹²

The Eleans announced the holding of the Games on each occasion to other Greek states. At least by the fifth century there was a system of *thearoi* and *thearodokoi*: Elean *thearoi* travelling to other Greek communities were received and no doubt helped by appointed *thearodokoi* in these communities.¹³ Since *thearodokoi* were frequently men of consequence, Elis must have been in regular contact with a wide network of leading men across the Greek world. States recognising the Games sent their own *thearoi* to participate in the religious ritual at Elis that accompanied the Games: these *thearoi* also had some responsibility for the behaviour of their fellow-citizens at Olympia.¹⁴ They will also have met leading Eleans.

Olympia was thus a central part of the *polis* of Elis, and its Elean character was made very clear. Control of Olympia was crucial for the identity that Elis presented to the Greek world.

To enjoy this control of a Panhellenic sanctuary Elis did not need to be, and was not, neutral in conflicts between Greek states. It fought in Eleia itself to achieve its expansion: Herodotus speaks of fighting in Triphylia in his own day.¹⁵ Elis was among Sparta's allies at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War,¹⁶ and then it allied with Athens, Argos, and Mantinea in 420, and with Arkadia, Argos, and Boiotia in 370.¹⁷ In the Hellenistic period Elis cooperated with the Aitolian League, and was involved in various campaigns in the Peloponnese in the third century.¹⁸ Yet Elis' own ambitions

¹⁰ Minon (2007), nos. 2-9, 13, 18-19.

¹¹ Walker (2004) lists a very rich collection of Elean coins, with excellent illustrations.

¹² Ritter (2002), 58-59; see also 59-61 on the differing representations of Zeus on Elean and Arkadian coins.

¹³ Nielsen (2007), 39-40.

¹⁴ Minon (2007), no. 4.

¹⁵ Hdt. 4,148.

¹⁶ Thuk. 2,9,2.

¹⁷ On the alliance of 420 see Thuk. 5,47, IG I³ 83; on 370 see Roy (2000a), 310.

¹⁸ See e.g. Scholten (2000).

seem to have been limited to Eleia: even in the third century it did not expand farther than Psophis in northwestern Arkadia.¹⁹ Its army may have been small – we never hear of more than 3000 hoplites at any one time, a small number for a state with a territory of well over 1000 km².²⁰ We hear little of the Elean navy.

There are ancient reports that the territory of Elis was sacred and inviolable, but it has long been recognised that these reports are unhistorical.²¹ Inviolability is not mentioned by any ancient writer in relation to the invasion of Eleia by the Spartans in 402-400, or the invasion by the Arkadians in 365-363.

One development within Elis needs special mention, namely the emergence of Pisatis (assuming that the supposed archaic Pisatis is an invention of the fourth century). In 400 at the end of the Elean-Spartan war Sparta considered whether to deprive Elis of control of Olympia, but in the end did not. Xenophon says that there were counter-claimants, whom he does not name.²² The Spartans rejected them because they were rustic (*choritas*), although the Eleans – it was apparently said – had not in antiquity had control of Olympia. It is generally recognised that the unnamed counter-claimants must have been – in some sense – Pisatan. That in fact must mean Elean citizens who lived in the area around Olympia. This supposes that by 400 they had developed their own local identity, and a view of the past that justified an attempt to take control of Olympia away from the Elean *polis* as a whole. Giangiulio has recently pointed out how myth attached to Olympia, concerning figures like Pisos and Oinomaos, could have been used to develop a Pisatan identity.²³ Then in 365 war broke out between Elis and Arkadia: the Arkadians occupied Elean territory including Pisatis and Olympia, and set up a Pisatan puppet-state that ran Olympia and held the Games in 364, though clearly the Arkadians themselves intervened directly at Olympia, for instance to take funds from the sanctuary.²⁴ The Eleans disowned this breakaway Pisatan state by abolishing the four *phylai* to which the Elean citizens in Pisatis had belonged.²⁵ Then, when the war ended

¹⁹ Roy (2000); (2006).

²⁰ The only figures for the Elean army are 3,000 hoplites, possibly including troops from subordinate allies, in 418 (Thuk. 5,58,1; 5,75,5), and 3,000 hoplites from Elis and its former *perioikoi* Triphylia, Akroreia, and Lasion in 394 (Xen. Hell. 4,2,16). On Elean territory see Roy (1997), 283-285 and 311 note16.

²¹ Christesen (2007), 62-65.

²² Xen. Hell. 3,2,31.

²³ Giangiulio (2009), 71-79.

²⁴ Roy (2000a), 319-320.

²⁵ Roy (2006a).

in 362, Elis evidently recovered Pisatis and Olympia. There must have been some suspicion of the Pisatan Eleans, because their four *phylai* were not restored. Then, probably as part of a general reconciliation in Elis ca. 350, the number of *phylai* was raised to ten.²⁶ Thereafter we hear nothing at all of Pisatis as a political force or of Pisatans as an ethnic group. Pisatis continued to be seen as a geographical area, and a rich myth-history of Pisatis developed. It may well be that the Arkadians had played a part in promoting Pisatan myth-history, since they had had a major part in the breakaway Pisatan state.

The other communities of Eleia, living as they did close to Olympia, certainly worshipped there, and inscribed dedications offered by them survive. We have however no evidence that they played any part in running the sanctuary. It has been suggested that there was an Olympic amphictyony, and that these smaller communities of Eleia provided some of the officials of the sanctuary; but there does not appear to be evidence to support these views.²⁷

What is clear however is that Elis used Olympia to strengthen its control over its neighbours. The treaty between Elis and its subordinate ally Ewa (or Eua) imposed for any breach of the treaty's terms penalties relating to Olympian Zeus.²⁸ As the agents of Zeus at the sanctuary the Eleans would have determined whether a penalty should be imposed and then, if one was imposed, would have executed it. Even if the Eleans were themselves theoretically liable to be penalised for any breach of an agreement, in fact they were using their power at the sanctuary to impose discipline on their allies. Some allies additionally subjected themselves to the authority of the Eleans by making agreements between themselves that provided for punishment relating to Zeus in the event of a breach: again the Eleans would have imposed the penalty.²⁹

In general it is clear that the Eleans maintained a distinction of status between themselves and their subordinate allies. Some of the allies themselves clearly did not want to be Elean, and would have been happy with the distinction.

²⁶ Roy (2006a); (2008), 71-72.

²⁷ Siewert (1991); Taita (1999), (2002), 136-138 and 145-146, and (2007), 126-130. In her most recent consideration (2007) of the arguments for an amphictyony, Taita suggests it only as a possibility. The negative reaction of Gehrke (2003), 18 is typical.

²⁸ Minon (2007), no. 10: compare no. 22, evidently the Elean response to trouble at Skillous, where penalties payable to Zeus are prescribed for various offences.

²⁹ Minon (2007), no. 14: compare no. 12, in which the Chaladrioi (unknown, but using the dialect of Eleia) impose a penalty of banishment before Zeus in a decree conferring honours on an individual.

One area – Triphylia – needs comment.³⁰ The area between the Alpheios and the Neda had no unified identity, and no single name, until 400, when Sparta freed the communities there from Elis. They then, probably with Spartan help, formed a confederacy as Triphylians. In 370 they joined the Arkadian confederacy. After the 360s they disappear from the historical record for a century, and then in the 240s the cities of Triphylia reappear as separate communities with no common organisation. Triphylia survived as a geographical term, but never reappears as a political entity. In the early fourth century its myth-history was important, and Triphylos son of Arkas appeared on the Arkadian monument at Delphi celebrating the invasion of Lakonia in 370/369. Unlike Pisatis, however, Triphylian myth-history had no lasting importance. Clearly the Arkadians helped to promote it, at least briefly, when the Triphylians joined the Arkadian confederacy.

For Greeks from outside Eleia, Olympia was a Hellenic centre where they could advertise their Greekness and project their identity. The Games were exclusively Greek, and do not seem to have attracted non-Greeks until the Romans appeared.³¹ Being accepted as a competitor in the Games was, in effect, proof of Greekness, though there is no evidence that non-Greeks sought to participate in the Games in the classical and early Hellenistic periods. The story about Alexander I of Makedon, who successfully asserted his Greek identity when fellow-competitors challenged it,³² is probably meant as evidence of the Greekness of the Argead dynasty rather than as a report of a non-Greek trying to compete. Likewise Arrhybas King of the Molossians, victor perhaps in 344, was no doubt also seen as Greek; he was brother of Olympias and brother-in-law of Philip II of Makedon, and his family had held Athenian citizenship for two generations.³³ Apart from Arrhybas the only other victors from the farther corners of northwest Greece were from Greek colonies. Victors from the Hellenised regions of Asia Minor do not appear until the later Hellenistic period.³⁴

At Olympia there were many opportunities for Greek communities to project themselves. In the Games competitors entered as individuals, but their home community

³⁰ On Triphylia see Nielsen (1997) and (2004).

³¹ On the importance for a competitor in the Olympic Games of the status of the Greek community to which he belonged see Nielsen (2002), 203-207.

³² Hdt. 5,22.

³³ Rhodes – Osborne (2003), no. 70 = IG II² 226.

³⁴ Stampolidis – Tasoulas (2004) offer a convenient geographical classification of Olympic victors (though they omit some, including Alexander I of Makedon).

also enjoyed their success. Nielsen has pointed, for instance, to the importance of the win by Damiskos of Messene in 368, when Messene was newly founded, and still not recognised by Sparta.³⁵ The chariot races were a special opportunity for wealthy Greeks to compete with their peers, but success, and also a magnificent team or teams, reflected on the home *polis*. Victory could then be memorialised.

Besides victor-monuments, other dedications, public documents, statues, memorials, and even buildings at Olympia could project the identity of the community that had supplied them and serve its prestige. Self-presentation at Olympia was often competitive. That was obviously true of success in the Games, but it was also very obviously true of the many military dedications in the sanctuary. Dedication of weapons to commemorate a victory was very common until roughly the middle of the fifth century: very few weapons of later date have been found, and it has been conjectured that such offerings were then banned.³⁶ However Himmelmann has suggested that later weapons have not been found because, unlike the earlier weapons, they were not buried and so preserved for archaeologists.³⁷ He also noted that Pausanias saw a trophy set up by the Eleans to commemorate a victory over the Spartans,³⁸ as Pausanias thought in the war of 402-400 (and we know of no earlier Elean-Spartan war): that trophy however was not a collection of weapons, but a sculpture by Daidalos of Sikyon.³⁹ In any case there were other ways of commemorating military victory, especially dedications from booty, which continued for centuries. Thus, although Olympia displayed peace treaties, it also projected competition and conflict.

Olympia did not offer Greek states an opportunity to take decisions, still less to take action. Elis controlled the sanctuary, and there was no organisation resembling the Delphic Amphictyony. No doubt there were political conversations among men who met there, but they would be private. The Games were a splendid opportunity for intellectuals to present their views to a wide Greek audience, and some orators made speeches on political policy, but the most they could hope for was to influence public feeling. One inter-state meeting did take place at Olympia, when in 428 Sparta arranged

³⁵ Nielsen (2007), 88.

³⁶ Scott (2010), 169-178 and 191-196.

³⁷ Himmelmann (2001), 161-162.

³⁸ Paus. 5,27,11.

³⁹ Paus. 6,2,8.

for Mytilenaian ambassadors to meet representatives of Sparta's other allies.⁴⁰ However this was a wholly exceptional event, and in fact took place after the Games had finished. Many of the dedications at Olympia had an overtly political significance, and clearly the sanctuary was politically important, but not as a place for anyone except the Eleans to do political business. In this respect Olympia was clearly different from Delphi.⁴¹

There is no evidence that the Eleans censored the views expressed by orators speaking to the visitors to the Games, but they did control access to the sanctuary and display in it. The control of access is evident in the notorious episode of 420 when the Eleans barred the Spartans from sacrificing in the sanctuary (which would also prevent them from consulting the oracle) and from taking part in the Games.⁴² Later, and probably after negotiation had led to the removal of these prohibitions, the Eleans also prevented King Agis of Sparta from consulting the oracle.⁴³

For control of display there is a variety of evidence. It is clear from archaeological findings that it was from time to time necessary to clear away earlier dedications to make room for building work or to make space for new offerings, and already in the seventh century a major clearing up of this kind took place. In a recent book Scott says "Statuary and *tropaia* at Olympia could have a very short shelf-life."⁴⁴ Among literary evidence there are Pausanias' statements that the Eleans moved a statue dedicated by Anaxippos of Mende,⁴⁵ and also that the statues of Eurydike and Olympias were moved from the Philippeion into the Heraion.⁴⁶ Pausanias also says that Kypselos dedicated a golden statue of Zeus at Olympia with his name inscribed on it, and then after his death the Corinthians sought permission from the Eleans to inscribe their name on the statue as a communal dedication, but the Eleans refused. There is a similar story about the Corinthian treasury at Delphi, save that there the Corinthians were allowed to make a fresh inscription.⁴⁷ The story of how the original inscription by the Spartan King Pausanias on the tripod erected at Delphi from spoils taken from the Persians was

⁴⁰ Thuk. 3,8,1.

⁴¹ See e.g. Hornblower (2009) on the Delphic Amphiktyony in the classical period.

⁴² See Roy (1998), Paradiso – Roy (2008).

⁴³ Xen. Hell. 3,22,3; Diod. 14,17,4.

⁴⁴ Scott (2010), 172: see also 148-152 on clearance in the seventh century.

⁴⁵ Paus. 5,25,7.

⁴⁶ Paus. 5,17,4.

⁴⁷ Thuk. 5,49,1; Paus. 5,2,3 with Jacquemin (1999), *ad loc.*

changed shows Amphictyonic control there of what was inscribed on dedications.⁴⁸ An inscription shows that ca. 138 the Messenians sought, and obtained, the permission of the Eleans to put a text on display at Olympia.⁴⁹ It was presumably by the permission of the Eleans that related dedications were put up close to each other: a notable case is the monuments of the famous athlete Diagoras of Rhodes and other members of his family, erected one by one in the same area.⁵⁰

The terms of the Peace of Nicias provided that the text of the Peace should be put on display at Olympia, Delphi, and Isthmia, as well as in Athens and Sparta.⁵¹ However both Elis and Corinth, the states that administered Olympia and Isthmia, opposed the Peace.⁵² It has therefore been questioned whether the text was actually published in these two sanctuaries.⁵³ Athens and Sparta did not have any right to demand publication (though the exercise of influence would be a different matter, considered below). Another term of the Peace was that there should be free access to ‘the common sanctuaries’,⁵⁴ and that was certainly not realised, since in 420 the Eleans barred the Spartans from sacrificing or participating in the Games at Olympia. It therefore clear that in the treaty Athens and Sparta agreed on actions that were not within their control, and it cannot be assumed that provisions included in the treaty relating to Olympia (and Delphi) were necessarily carried out.

Alonso Troncoso points out in a forthcoming article that at Olympia, while military alliances involving Elis or communities within Elis’ sphere of interest in Eleia were published in the sanctuary, the only alliances published by other Greek states were of peace and friendship, to judge by the surviving examples from the archaic and classical periods. The only exceptions are alliances of the Pisatans and Arkadians published while they controlled the sanctuary.⁵⁵ Alonso Troncoso recognises that the hazards of survival of inscriptions may affect our evidence, but nonetheless suspects that the observable differences between treaties from within Eleia and those from outside are

⁴⁸ Thuk. 1,132,2-1,132,3 and [Dem.] 59,96-59,98 (a fuller account): see Trevett (1990); Hornblower (1991), 218.

⁴⁹ Syll.³ 683.

⁵⁰ Paus. 6,7,1-6,7,7.

⁵¹ Thuk. 5,18,10.

⁵² Thuk. 5,17,2.

⁵³ See the comments of Hornblower (1996), 482-483.

⁵⁴ Thuk. 5,18,1.

⁵⁵ Ringel et al. (1999).

due to Elean manipulation.⁵⁶ In any case there was apparently some limitation on what might be published in the sanctuary.

Some dedications must have been distasteful to certain Greek states, especially military monuments that named the defeated state. Athenians, for instance, who visited Olympia after 457 will have seen the golden shield hung above the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus by the Spartans to commemorate their victory over Athens at Tanagra.⁵⁷ This raises the question of how the Eleans decided which dedications to allow in the sanctuary, how they negotiated with a state that wished to dedicate, and whether they sometimes refused to permit a dedication.

Sometimes the Eleans may well have been happy enough to allow a dedication that would give offence, particularly if the dedication suited the Eleans' own political inclinations. The monument of the Messenians and Naupaktians is an example. At the end of the Messenian revolt against Sparta that began in the 460s, Messenians were allowed to leave the Peloponnese under truce and were settled by the Athenians at Naupaktos.⁵⁸ The Spartans maintained a hostile attitude towards them. Then, probably after the Peace of Nikias when Elis and Sparta were at odds over Lepreon, the Messenians and Naupaktians dedicated at Olympia the famous Victory of Paionios, a very prominent monument standing on a tall column. It stood facing, at no great distance, the eastern façade of the temple of Zeus where was hung the golden shield dedicated by the Spartans after Tanagra.⁵⁹

Sometimes the Eleans had to yield to political pressure. After the Spartan-Elean war of 402-400 Elis could not resist Spartan demands, and in 388 King Agesipolis consulted the oracle about a campaign against Argos,⁶⁰ although before the war Elis had refused to let King Agis consult the oracle precisely on the grounds that it was an ancient Greek custom not to consult an oracle about a war against Greeks.⁶¹

In 146, after the Roman commander Mummius had comprehensively defeated the Achaian Confederacy, the Eleans were in no position to oppose his wish to make dedications at Olympia. In addition, however, the Eleans probably wanted Mummius'

⁵⁶ Alonso Troncoso (*forthcoming*).

⁵⁷ Paus. 5,10,4.

⁵⁸ Diod. 11,84,7-11,84,8.

⁵⁹ On the dedication, and the related dedication at Delphi, see Luraghi (2008), 191-194 with comment on the date.

⁶⁰ Xen. Hell. 4,7,2.

⁶¹ Xen. Hell. 3,2,22.

approval for the unification of all Eleia, including Triphylia, within the Elean state.⁶² It is therefore unsurprising that Mummius was able to commemorate his victory by lavish dedications at Olympia, including twenty-one gilded shields hung on the temple of Zeus.⁶³

A more difficult dedication to interpret is the Philippeion, a large and ostentatious monument to the Argead dynasty erected within the Altis at a place highly visible to anyone entering the sanctuary. It was probably begun by Philip II of Makedon and completed by his son Alexander the Great.⁶⁴ In the later years of Philip and during the reign of Alexander relations between Elis and Makedon were often difficult, complicated by tension at Elis between supporters and opponents of Makedon.⁶⁵ In 338 Elis was sympathetic to Philip, but did not fight alongside him at Chaironea. Elis then banished philo-Makedonians, but recalled them after Alexander destroyed Thebes. Elis fought with Agis of Sparta against Makedon in 331, and lost, and then joined the Greek coalition against Makedon in the Lamian War. Elean sympathy for Makedon may have been very limited while the Philippeion was being built, but, clearly, Elis was unable to prevent its construction in a prime location.

Another dedication at Olympia, possibly also by Messenians, raises questions because it records a Spartan defeat, and Sparta is often supposed to have been particularly influential at Olympia. Two spear-butts have been found, one dedicated at Olympia⁶⁶ and the other at the sanctuary of Apollo Korythos at Longá/Ayios Andreas in Messenia.⁶⁷ Both are inscribed, and were dedicated by Methanioi: the letter-forms of both suggest a date in the late sixth century or the first half of the fifth. The inscription on the spear-butt at Olympia states that it was from booty taken from the Lakedaimonians, while that in Messenia, on which the inscription is less well preserved, was probably from booty taken from the Athenians. The only known Methana is the one in the Argolid, but its ethnic is Methanaioi, not Methanioi, and there is no obvious reason why Methana would have made a victory-dedication at a shrine in Messenia. Equally the ethnic of the perioikic city Mothone does not match the inscribed dedicants.

⁶² The unification probably occurred in 146: see Roy (1999) 165-167.

⁶³ Paus. 5,10,5 (the gilded shields); see also Paus. 5,24,4 and 5,24,8, and Jacquemin (1999), 150 (on 5,10,5) and 247 (on 5,24,4).

⁶⁴ On the Philippeion see Jacquemin (1999), 150 (on Paus. 5,10,5), Scott (2010), 210-212.

⁶⁵ The relevant evidence is presented by Gehrke (1985), 57.

⁶⁶ IvO 247.

⁶⁷ SEG XL 362.

Bauslaugh has therefore suggested that Methanioi is a spelling of Messanioi, pointing out that the treaty between Spartan and the Erxiadeis shows a spelling of *thalassa* as *thalatha*. If he is right, it is then possible to see both dedications as dating from the Messenian revolt that began in the 460s.⁶⁸ Hall has raised objections to Bauslaugh's interpretation, preferring to suppose that the dedications were made by Methana in the Argolid (though without explaining the form of the ethnic).⁶⁹ Nonetheless, however the ethnic on the spear-butts is interpreted, that found at Olympia was certainly dedicated by a community which claimed a victory over the Spartans. If the Eleans allowed such a dedication showing a military success against Sparta, what conclusions should we draw about relations between Elis and Sparta at the time?

Sparta was clearly the most powerful state in the Peloponnese in the period to which the lettering of the spear-butts is assigned. It has often been supposed that relations between Elis and Sparta were good from the sixth century until they disagreed over Lepreon in the 420s. In addition to earlier and later evidence, the Spartans celebrated their victory at Tanagra in 457 by dedicating the golden shield that was hung on the temple of Zeus,⁷⁰ and there was some form of Elean colony (*epiwoikia*) at Sparta ca. 475/450.⁷¹ We do not know of any period of Elean hostility to Sparta before the 420s, but in a forthcoming article Thommen has reviewed the evidence for Spartan-Elean relations, which proves to be too patchy to show with certainty continuous good relations between the two states from the sixth century until the 420s.⁷² Possibly Elis allowed the dedication of the spear-butt at a time when it was less friendly to Sparta; but there is also the possibility that Elis never prevented a dedication on the grounds that it would offend the defeated state.

A monument might even be less than friendly to Elis itself (though no victory-monument recording an Elean defeat is known at Olympia, and it is most unlikely that there ever was such a monument there). Lepreon in Triphylia had been a subordinate ally of Elis until the 420s, but from then on it was only rarely under Elean control. The Lepreat athlete Antiochos set up a victory-monument after he won the pankration at Olympia, and the text on it mentioned that he also won two victories at the Isthmian

⁶⁸ Bauslaugh (1990); Luraghi (2008), 186-188.

⁶⁹ Hall (2003), 152-155.

⁷⁰ Paus. 5,10,4.

⁷¹ Minon (2007), no.16.

⁷² Thommen (*forthcoming*).

Games and two at the Nemean. The reference to victories at Isthmia is telling, because Eleans did not compete there, and so Antiochos' monument showed that, despite Elean claims to Lepreon, he was not an Elean.⁷³

It seems therefore that in general Elis did not seek to protect even highly influential states from embarrassment caused by dedications. Occasionally a powerful state or its representative could impose their wishes, but such cases – to judge by the known examples – were very rare, and the influence was used to allow a dedication to be made, or a consultation of the oracle to take place, rather than to prevent an offering. It appears therefore that Elis, as a general rule, allowed Greek states to make dedications and erect monuments even if other states as powerful as Athens and Sparta might find them disagreeable. Such general tolerance would be encouraged by the weight of tradition. One of the functions of Olympia, as of other major sanctuaries, was to serve as a show-place for dedications by Greeks; and, if Olympia was to continue as a panhellenic sanctuary, then Greeks must be allowed to make their dedications there.

⁷³ Paus. 6,3,9: see Nielsen (2005), especially at 69-71.

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A two-sided Story of Integration: The Cultic Dimension of Boiotian Ethnogenesis*

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To Albert Schachter

I. Introduction: Celebrating and commemorating

To convince the Lacedaemonians that they would never make an agreement with Xerxes, the Athenians alluded to their recently destroyed temples and argued with „the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life.“¹ This Herodotean remark has become a departing point for debates on ethnicity. Which criteria are the most important for defining ancient Greek collective identities? Generally speaking, two schools of thought stand out. Following Jonathan Hall, a common descent and a common homeland are considered to be the most important elements of ethnic identity. In contrast, other scholars point to the unifying force of a common culture. Both can rely on Herodotus, whether you refer to what he names first or you refer to what he stresses most.²

Though no-one sticks to the conception any more that Greek ethne of historical times were more or less identical relics of a tribal past,³ mere constructivist positions are equally problematic. If kinship ties were later inventions, they do not explain why and how certain groups came together.⁴ This is where cult comes in. Usually, cults are regarded to be the nucleus of groups which discovered their commonness while gathering at sanctuaries and performing the same rituals, before they invented, or re-

* The presentation on the conference was entitled: „Boeotia: (Trans)regional Sanctuaries, Identity, Integration.“ I wish to thank the participants of the conference for helpful comments, Frank Bernstein and Dirk Wiegandt for improving the manuscript by their remarks. Finally, I am much indebted to Albert Schachter whose work of decades laid the fundament for discussing Boiotian cults as we do today.

¹ Hdt. 8,144,2 (trl. A.D. Godley): τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν ὁμαιμὸν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἥθεά τε ὁμότροπα.

² The latter observation is made by Herring (2009), 126. See Hall (1997), 2, 16, 25-26, 32-33 and already Wenskus (1961), 16, 56. In contrast, Smith (1986), 21-32 and Hutchinson – Smith (eds.) (1996), Introduction, 6-7, name six elements: a common name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, a common culture, a link with a homeland, and a sense of solidarity.

³ Criticism of this conception in Bourriot (1976); Roussel (1976), 1-13; Funke (1993), and Ulf (1996).

⁴ Freitag (2007), 378, 382 referring to Gschnitzer (1971); Funke (1993). Cf. Gehrke (2000), 160.

defined, their common roots and before they finally established military, political, and administrative structures.⁵

Do we really know? This linear account seems problematic from at least two perspectives. First, it is always tempting to explain phenomena lacking firm evidence by falling back on religion, all the more when 'archaic' societies are concerned. Secondly, given the fact that ethnic religious characteristics existed indeed, who would deny that the religious constellations changed over time and that the importance religion played for group identity might have changed as well?

That religion has always been of primary importance for social cohesion and, vice versa, that the clash of different religious convictions endangers social peace is a commonplace. You may think of current debates on migration and integration, especially of the conflicts between Near-Eastern and Western ways of life. You may also think of former controversies between Protestants and Catholics dividing communities, countries, and continents. Examples are legion. Obviously, all of them have to be discussed within their own historic context. Comparative approaches are only promising and scientifically honest, if experts put together what has been derived from case studies. Instead of departing from the anthropological assumption that a common religion furthers social cohesion and instead of looking for examples confirming the premise in order to prove that religion had integrative power indeed, first you should take a close look at the evidence.

Generally speaking, cults are convincingly regarded to be a nucleus of group formation in Ancient Greece. As ancient Greek religion lacked a normative base defining contents of belief and enforcing confession, religious consent was not expressed in discourse, but in practice. Religious integration was realized by participating in rituals and by adapting the pantheon. Scholars even tend to equate ancient Greek religion with cult.⁶ What is more, recent studies stress the interconnection between cults and tales of epic ancestry or between celebration and commemoration.⁷ Maybe this is the way to bridge the dichotomy between constructivist and cultural positions. Maybe the questions are outdated which criteria are the most important for defining ancient Greek collective identities and if a common descent, a common

⁵ Cf. the research report by Freitag (2007), especially 386-387.

⁶ Cf. e.g. the introduction to Freitag et al. (eds.) (2006), 9.

⁷ See the well-informed theoretical overview by Beck – Wiemer (2009).

homeland, or a common culture are considered to be the most important elements of ethnic identity. Barbara Kowalzig has demonstrated how closely connected cults and commemorative acts were in the Archaic and early Classical periods.⁸ However, we still lack a systematic analysis region by region and sanctuary by sanctuary in order to discuss in every single case which evidence for the articulation of ethnic identity we really have.⁹

This paper challenges the assumption that cults were the earliest ways of integrating various people by asking what integration meant. Instead of giving a general outlook on Boiotian cults, I prefer discussing the evidence of one single sanctuary in detail before putting the results into a wider context. Neither shall I focus on the cult places of Athena in the neighbourhood of Koroneia, which are regarded to be the focal point of ethnos religion and the commemoration of former migration movements from Thessaly. Nor shall I concentrate on the shrine of Poseidon at Onchestos, the later administrative centre of the hellenistic *koinon*. Instead, I have chosen the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, which became the official oracle of the Hellenistic *koinon*. In the Archaic and early Classical periods, it was not only of local and regional, but also of trans-regional importance and exposes problems of integration in an exemplary way.

II. The Ptoion at Akraiphia: A two-sided story of integration

II.1. Dedications in the name of the Boiotians: Articulating collective identity?

The Ptoion flourished in the sixth century when a stone temple was constructed. Not only the outstanding number of *kouroi* and tripods, dedications from various places like Athens, testify to the trans-regional importance of the sanctuary.¹⁰ Apparently, the sanctuary's oracle was widely known and attracted consulters like the Athenians Alkmeonides and Hipparchos.¹¹

⁸ Kowalzig (2007).

⁹ Funke (2009), 294-297 rightly stresses the need for a systematic analysis of every single sanctuary before operating with the „Panhellenic“ dimension.

¹⁰ For the history of the sanctuary and its cults see the overview in Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 52-73. The tripods are specifically discussed by Guillon (1943) and Papalexandrou (2008), 259-260, the *kouroi* by Ducat (1971).

¹¹ Alkmeonides: IG I³ 1469 = Ducat (1971), 242-251 no. 141, plate LXXII; Hipparchos: IG I³ 1470 = Ducat (1971), 251-258 no. 142, plate LXXIV. Schachter (1994b).

At this sanctuary, the first epigraphical attestations of the ethnicon ‘Boiotoi’ have been found.¹² Among the many dedications to Athena Pronaia, the consort of Apollo at the Ptoion, three are made by the Boiotians, all roughly dating to the turn of the sixth century. A first consists of a small stone base of 4,95 x 5,50 cm with dowels for supporting two feet of a statuette. An inscription marked on both sides of the base names the Boiotians as dedicants and the recipient divinity Pronaia. The position of the dowels shows that the statuette seems to have been „dans une attitude assez animée“¹³ and it is likely that the stone base supported a statuette of Athena as warrior goddess.¹⁴ A second dedication has not even survived in facsimile, but was described by the nineteenth century excavator Maurice Holleaux. According to him, the text „Boiotoi Athanaiai Pronaiai“ was inscribed on the rim of a small bronze vase.¹⁵ Third, there is an inscription at the nearby sanctuary of the Akraiphian hero Ptoios at Kastraki, which Jean Ducat mentions in a footnote. He compares the text with the inscription on the statuette base but gives no reading of the text, nor does he present a facsimile or photograph.¹⁶ According to Jennifer Larson, a dedication to Athena on a column might also be correlated with the Boiotians due to the plural *anetheian* though the name of the dedicants is not preserved.¹⁷

Larson interprets these epigraphic connections between the Boiotians and Athena as evidence for a collective identity, which was internally perceived and partially founded and publicized in cult: „These dedications offer an intimate view of the self-representation of the group, since the Boiotians erected them at popular Boiotian sanctuaries where their own Boiotian colleagues will have encountered them on numerous occasions. It is not surprising, then, that these inscriptions present a consistent picture of the Boiotians as a collective concerned to promote itself through

¹² According to Larson (2007), 137 there is perhaps even one earlier dedication attesting the internal use of the Boiotian collective, though the dating is debatable. See the critical remarks by Marchand (2010).

¹³ Ducat (1971), 409.

¹⁴ Βοιωτοὶ | Προναίαι – *the Boiotians to Pronaia* (Ducat [1971], 409 no. 257, plate CXLI with p. 409 fig. 44) – the Boiotians to Pronaia [trl. author]. Dated to 500-470 B.C. by Ducat (1971), 410.

¹⁵ Βο[ιωτοὶ Ἀθαναί]αι Προναίαι – *the Boiotians to Athena Pronaia* (Ducat [1971], 419 no. 269a, citing an unpublished note by Holleaux) – the Boiotians to Athena Pronaia [trl. author]. As Ducat loc. cit. remarks, other restorations are possible, but do not radically alter the text.

¹⁶ Ducat (1971), 448 note 5; Guillon (1943) does not refer to it.

¹⁷ [ἀνέ]θειαν τ Ἀθάναι (Ducat [1971], 396 no. 249, pl. CXXXVII) – *they dedicated to Athena* [trl. author]. Dated to ca. 500 B.C. by Ducat (1971), 396. Larson (2007), 132.

cult.¹⁸ That Athena played an important role for Boiotian identity is obvious from other contexts.¹⁹ But Larson's reading of the evidence from the Ptoion is one-sided, a harmonious account of integration.

After all, the evidence from the Ptoion is not that convincing. Among four possible inscriptions two are not preserved and one does not even name the Boiotians. The best example, the statuette base, is only 4,95 x 5,5 cm big, thus very small and not impressive at all in comparison to the amount of *kouroi* exposed at the Ptoion.²⁰ Such a statuette might not have been the best way to promote collective identity. What is more, the question you ask shapes the answer you get. When investigating processes of integration and identity formation you should not exclusively search for evidence confirming these phenomena but also look for evidence illustrating disintegration and conflicts of identity.

Who were the dedicators acting in the name of the Boiotians? Larson uses the *ethnikon* as if it referred to a clearly defined group and contradicts her own statement that the signification of *ethnika* changed.²¹ Even in the Hellenistic period with its far better epigraphical evidence, however, it is impossible to know in every case what the *ethnika* precisely meant.²² Due to the accidental evidence in the Archaic period, not even statistics help to evaluate the importance of Boiotian group identity at this time.²³ If there were more sources, you could ask how many dedications out of the total bore the *ethnikon*, how many the names of poleis, and you may ask how the proportion changed in a certain period of time. The victor lists from Delphi and Olympia show that the identification by poleis was the dominating mode of representation at this time.²⁴

¹⁸ Larson (2007), 131.

¹⁹ See below, section III.3.

²⁰ Ducat (1971), 410 rightly classifies this dedication as being „bien modeste“.

²¹ Cf. Larson (2007), 130. Larson looks for internal and external attestations of the *ethnikon*. She says that „self-identification was not a high priority for the Boiotian collective during the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE. This conclusion is in itself significant in assessing the unity of the group at this time“ (162). But she does not take into account that Boiotian identity was disputed within the region. In contrast, Kowalzig (2007), who concentrates on cult songs and thus also deals with phenomena of integration, speaks of „the powerful illusion of harmonic dance“ (Kowalzig (2007), 330). She aims at de-covering conflicts omnipresent in a region with a complex history and contested social hierarchies.

²² Roesch (1982), 441-501 e.g. is convinced that the individual ethnic Βοιωτίας designates federal citizenship if put in front of the *polis* patronym. In contrast, Schachter (1994b), 301-302, 304-306 and Fraser (2009), 124-125 convincingly demonstrate that the *ethnika* were used far too inconsistently in order to indicate the ownership of a sanctuary or political membership.

²³ Cf. Carter – Steinberg (2010) who have another focus though.

²⁴ Outside Boiotia, individuals from the region identified themselves exclusively through their city ethnics in the Archaic and Early Classical period. The first identification of a victor by the adjectival

From this point of view, the Boiotian dedications could indeed be interpreted as evidence for a Boiotian collective, which presented itself as a coherent unit. The trans-regional context of the Ptoion might have promoted the articulation of regional group identity.

Inside Boiotia, things differed. Who would deny that, even in Greek categories, Boiotia was known for the high degree of internal strife? Kowalzig characterizes the Boiotian *koinon* as a „highly problematic institution that both united and disintegrated Boiotia for most of its history.“²⁵ Do trans-regional sanctuaries illustrate a history of Boiotian disintegration as well? Partly, yes. As Herodotus remarks, the Thebans were forbidden to consult the oracle of Amphiaraos at Oropos.²⁶ And a dedication in Olympia told about a Theban victory over the Orchomenian neighbour Hyettos.²⁷ What is more, the signification of *ethnika* in dedicatory inscriptions can only be understood, if you do not exclusively look for the articulation of ethnic identity, but if you take into account *polis* identities as well. Things are much more complex than what the binary view on integration versus disintegration would allow: the history of integration via cult in Boiotia is a two-sided one.

II.2. Centrality and liminality: Panhellenic, local, and regional perspectives

Like several sanctuaries with trans-regional impact, the geographical position of the Ptoion oscillated between centrality and liminality.²⁸ From Panhellenic perspectives, Boiotia as a whole was centrally located. From local perspectives, the Ptoion was situated at the edge of two *polis* territories: the territories of Akraiphia and Thebes. From regional perspectives, it could be both, central and liminal. On the one hand, it was not as easily accessible as the shrine of Onchestos in the geographical heart of Boiotia. On the other hand, it belonged to the hill chain dividing Boiotia into two parts: the north-western basin presided by Orchomenos, and the south-eastern areas dominated

ethnic Βοιωτίας dates from the 121st games in 296 B.C., the only other one from the 146th games in 106 B.C. See the discussion in Larson (2007), 146-147.

²⁵ Kowalzig (2007), 330.

²⁶ Hdt. 8,134.

²⁷ SEG XXIV 300 with comments by Étienne – Knoepfler (1976), 215-218; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 2, 215 and note 4; Schachter (1994a), 75, and Kowalzig (2007), 359.

²⁸ The position of the Ptoion: Schachter (1994b), 294-295; Müller (1995), 660, and Kühn (2006), 239-240. Concepts of centrality and liminality: Morgan (1990), 183, 223-225; Polignac (1995) with a summary of discussions concerning his theory in Kühn (2006), 254 note 1. Cf. Olshausen – Sauer (eds.) (2009).

by Thebes. Controlling these sanctuaries would become a key to hegemonic power in Boiotia.

It was probably Thebes who organized the construction of the stone temple in the sixth century.²⁹ In which way Thebes and Akraiphia may have quarrelled over control of the Ptoion, we do not know. On the one hand, Akraiphia had a separate sanctuary for the local hero Ptoios, which might owe its existence to the fact that Apollo had usurped the place of the original seer Ptoios.³⁰ On the other hand, a Linear B-tablet referring to the „Ptoia“ indicates that the Bronze Age palace administration of Thebes was linked to a cult place plausibly identified with the later Ptoion.³¹ Following Herodotus, the Ptoion certainly was Theban in 480/479 B.C. Or does the historian already equate Thebans and Boiotians, as literary sources did from the fourth century onwards?³² This would suggest reading the above mentioned dedicatory inscriptions not only as Boiotian, but also as Theban self-promotion. For in the sixth century, Thebes discovered the ethnos as argument for uniting Boiotia under Theban leadership.³³

II.3. Cult songs: Performing a common past?

This kind of integration by hegemonic aspiration not only worked via power politics, but in more subtle ways: by weaving a net of myth with Theban pedigree. Cult songs played an important part, for there is no better method than transporting messages by music. Fortunately, Pindar provides rich insights into Boiotian myths and rituals. Unfortunately, we can hardly escape the Pindaric view and this view happens to be an *interpretatio Thebana*. For example, he contradicts the prejudice of ‘Boiotian swine’ by alluding to well-known Theban heroes, thus vindicating Boiotia by alluding to Theban excellence.³⁴ From this point of view, it was good for Boiotia to be equated with Thebes

²⁹ Most scholars agree that the sanctuary got under Theban control in the sixth century, e.g. Guillon (1943), 99-115; Ducat (1964), 288; (1971), 448-450; Forrest (1982), 293, and Schachter (1994b), 300-302, 304-306; critical remarks in Kowalzig (2007), 369.

³⁰ For the controversy see Guillon (1943), 99-115; (1963), 34, 77-81; Ducat (1964), 287-288; (1971), 439-442; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 54-57, 60; vol. 3, 11-21; Forrest (1982), 293; Rutherford (2001), 343-344; Larson (2007), 131 note 9, and Papalexandrou (2008), 262-266, 269, 271-276.

³¹ *po-to-a2-de* (TH Of 104.2); Aravantinos et al. (2001), 355-358.

³² Hdt. 8,135. According to Schachter (1994a), 76; (1994b) 300 literary sources equated the Boiotoi with the Thebans at the end of the sixth century.

³³ Hdt. 6,108; Thuk. 3,61,2; Kühr (2006), 304, and Larson (2007), 174-182.

³⁴ Pind. Ol. 6 was composed in 472 or 468 B.C. for Hagesias, a prominent Syracusan descending from Stymphalos in Arkadia. In O. 6,84-6,85 Pindar links himself to Hagesias, for Thebe, the eponymous nymph, is said to be a daughter of Metope, the eponymous nymph of Lake Metope near Stymphalos,

and this is exactly what happened from Panhellenic perspectives. We do not need Korinna to imagine that inside Boiotia things will have differed.³⁵

But in the long run, the Theban stories, as successfully promoted by Pindar in Panhellenic contexts, repressed alternative versions of the regional heroic past. Instead of Ptoios, Pindar celebrates Teneros as a famous seer at the Ptoion. And Teneros is not only the *heros eponymos* of the Theban ‘Teneric Plain’ but also the son of Apollo and Melia, the latter a Theban nymph, the former the main Theban god.³⁶ What is more, Ptoios re-appears with a Theban pedigree, whereas the genealogy in Asios puts Ptoios into a northern Boiotian context.

There, he is a son of Athamas, a king of Minyan Orchomenos and a hero of Thessalo-Boetian migration traditions.³⁷ These traditions are connected with the northern part of Boiotia, mainly the Kopais region with a focus on Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaios, but also with Minyan Orchomenos. Athamas was known as *heros eponymos* for the Athamantine plain, which stretched along the eastern shores of lake Kopais.³⁸ The Pindaric genealogy, in contrast, interpolates Apollo as the father of Ptoios and thus removes him from his northern Boiotian origins, calling Athamas his grandfather now.³⁹ Not enough, Athamas is married to the Theban heroine Ino, a fragile

who begot Thebe by the Boiotian river Asopos. After praising this famous pedigree, Pindar ironically questions the old slander of ‘Boiotian swine’ (Ol. 6,89-6,90). Larson (2007), 153-155 stresses the promotion of Boiotian collective identity in this Panhellenic context. Cf. Pind. Dithyr. F 83 Maehler = Sch. Pind. Ol. 6,152: ἦν ὅτε σύας Βοιωτῶτιον ἔθνος ἔνεπον – *there was a time when they called the Boiotian people pigs* [trl. W.H. Race].

³⁵ For Korinna: Berman (2010).

³⁶ Strab. 9,2,34 (C413); Paus. 9,10,5-9,10,6. 26,1. Cf. Pind. Hymn. F 51.d Maehler = Strab. 9,2,34 (C413); Paean 7,13 F 52g Maehler = P. Oxy. 841 (5, 1908); 9,41 F 52k Maehler = P. Oxy. 841 (5, 1908); Sch. Pind. P. 11,6. Teneros as a hero expressing Theban dominance at the Ptoion: Lesky 1934, 500; Guillon (1943), 99-115; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 59, and Rutherford (2001), 343.

³⁷ Ptoios son of Athamas: Asios F 3 PEG = Paus. 9,23,6; Herodor. FGrH 31 F 38 = Sch. Apoll. Rhod. 2,1144; Apollod. 1,9,2; Paus. 9,23,6. Kowalzig (2007), 370.

³⁸ Athamas as a son of Aiolos: Hes. F 10 Merkelbach/West = Sch. Pind. P. 4,253c; Hdt. 7,197; Apoll. Rhod. 3,360; Apollod. 1,9,1, and Hyg. fab. 5. Athamas as an Orchomenian hero: Paus. 9,34,7. Cf. Hellanik. FGrH 4 F 126 = Sch. Apoll. Rhod. 3,265; Apoll. Rhod. 2,1153. Athamas and Zeus Laphystios whose cult is equally attested for north-eastern Boiotia as for Thessalian Halos: Hdt. 7,197; Paus. 9,34,5 and the commentary by Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 3, 110-111. Athamas as *heros eponymos* for the Athamantine plain at Thessalian Halos: Strab. 9,5,8; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄλος, as *heros eponymos* for the Athamantine plain at Boiotian Akraiphia: Paus. 9,24,1; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀκραίφια. General comments: Schachter (1994a), 75; (1996); (1997), and Kowalzig (2007), 342-343.

³⁹ Ptoios son of Apollon and Zeuxippe, a daughter of Athamas: Pind. Hymn. F 51c Maehler = Sch. Paus. 9,23,6; cf. Hes. F 70,9-10 Merkelbach/West = P.S.I. 1383 Bartoletti.

union born from conflict, murder, and strife, which genealogically binds together two families not compatible at all.⁴⁰

This is another side of integration: Theban genealogies pervading Boiotia. Finally, local myth had to respond to Theban genealogies either by adapting or by rejecting them. Theban hegemonic aspirations united Boiotia. You may call this integration, but the account is far from being a harmonious one.

II.4. Athena and Apollo: Uniting and competing gods

Common religious traits will have united people living in Boiotia. But again, this is only one side of the story. At the Ptoion, Athena as the principal ethnos goddess was not alone. Apollo had Theban connotations or could be claimed as being a principally Theban god. Like the Ptoion, the Theban sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios was widely known for its treasury of tripods and its oracle equally was of Panhellenic importance.⁴¹ Pindar celebrates the mantic qualities of the oracular cult as the ‘true seat of seers,’ one among other indicia, which stress Apollo’s outstanding importance for Theban identity.⁴²

Generally speaking, the pantheon of a region gives hints at integration processes through cult. But the mere observation of comparable structures is not enough to explain the cohesive forces within specific groups in specific historical times. Only by analyzing each cult complex separately, only by making diachronic distinctions you get an idea of what integration via cults might have meant.

III. Panboiotian sanctuaries and festivals: The wider context

The evidence of this single sanctuary for the Archaic and early Classical periods has illustrated that ‘integration’ should be conceptualized in a two-sided way and that Boiotian identity can only be understood if taking into account *polis* identities as well.

⁴⁰ Athamas married to Ino: Aischyl. Athamas TrGF III F 1-4a; Soph. Athamas TrGF IV F 1-10; Phrixos F 721-723; Eur. Ino TrGF V.1 F 398-423; Phrixos A. B TrGF V.2 F 818c-838; Pherekyd. FGrH 3 F 98 = Sch. Pind. P. 4,288a; F 99 = Erat. Catast. 19; Hyg. fab. 1-4; Apollod. 1,9,1-2; 3,4,2-3. Escher (1896), 1930-1932; Schachter (1997), 156. A discussion of the union with further references in Kühr (2006), 280-282.

⁴¹ Hdt. 1,52; 1,92; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 77-88; Kowalzig (2007), 335, and Papalexandrou (2008), 256-259.

⁴² Pind. P. 11,6.

On the one hand, integration oscillated between the „subtle undermining of established traditions of myth and ritual“⁴³ and power politics. For in the sixth and fifth centuries, Thebes adapted existing cults and inscribed a Theban grammar into the regional text of myth. She promoted Boiotian unity in order to further her own hegemonic aspirations. On the other hand, even at the height of her power, Thebes never succeeded in establishing a Theban „Einheitsstaat“ replacing Boiotian federalism.

III.1. The *Basileia*: A Theban or a Boiotian festival?

After defeating the Spartans at the battle of Leuktra in 371 B.C. and thus becoming the hegemonic power in the Greek world, Thebes installed a new *agon* close to the cultic centre of Boiotia, the *Basileia* at Lebadea. By doing so, she used the integrative force of the ethnos god Zeus for celebrating Boiotian prominence under Theban leadership. Albert Schachter speaks of the „most blatant piece of religious propaganda perpetrated in Boiotia.“⁴⁴

Propaganda only works on the deeper fundament of pre-existing structures accepted by a majority, on the fundament of cults attracting people from all over the region and beyond. There were internal and external reasons why to install the *Basileia* at Lebadeia. On the one hand, the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia was regularly frequented by non-Boiotians.⁴⁵ Consequently, the *Basileia* promoted Theban pre-eminence towards the wider Greek world. On the other hand, the cultic heart of Boiotia pulsed in the neighbourhood and Thebes might have wanted to demonstrate her predominance towards one of her main adversaries in Boiotian affairs by sponsoring a cult of Zeus herself. For the area and the respective cults were deeply linked with Orchomenian history.⁴⁶

⁴³ Kowalzig (2007), 359.

⁴⁴ Schachter (1994a), 79. Zeus at Lebadeia and the *Basileia*: Diod. 15,53,4; Paus. 9,39,4-9,39,5; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 3, 109-118; IG VII 3091 and 3096 and Manieri (2009), 137-165 with comments on the epigraphic evidence.

⁴⁵ Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 3, 66-89; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 3, 88-89, Appendix 2: Trophonios and Zeus.

⁴⁶ Zeus and Orchomenos: Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 3, 107-108. 120-123. A Zeus cult of Panhellenic importance was hosted by Plataiai, another main adversary of Thebes in Boiotian affairs. It included the *Eleutheria*, a festival commemorating the fallen and the victory of 479 B.C., thus implicitly condemning Theban *medismos*. However, continuous cult activity for Zeus Eleutherios is only attested from the late fourth century onwards: Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 3, 125-143. As the evidence for the fifth and early fourth centuries is weak and the Plataian Zeus was a Panhellenic one this cult should not be understood as another motivation to install the *Basileia*.

Zeus was one of the two main gods of the ethnos apart from Athena. Primarily, Zeus Karaios, Keraios or Akraios seems to have been connected with Orchomenos and Minyan tradition, before he was worshiped together with Athena.⁴⁷ At Koroneia, the cult of Zeus is attested from the middle of the sixth century onwards, at Lebadeia from the fourth century onwards. Though Zeus was originally linked with north-western Boiotia, Thebes managed to incorporate him into her own pantheon.⁴⁸ Significantly, Thebes was finally declared as being the birthplace of Zeus, thus considered to be the navel of Boiotia, at least from an outside view.⁴⁹

Obviously, the cohesion through cult as manifested in the *Basileia* should not be equated with ethnic identity. However, even in this case of explicit propaganda, common cults may have been the easiest way of integrating disparate parties and poleis. For cult activity goes beyond discourses and rational arguments embedded in language. Though the rational and the irrational dimension in human behaviour and in human perception of the world do not operate in dichotomy, their individual impact depends on the situation. When making music, when dancing, when listening to songs together, when performing rituals and being touched emotionally, people cannot say why they belong to each other, but they certainly know that they do.

Emotional bonds evoked by music and cult have been used to strengthen community spirit throughout history. The inauguration of the *Basileia* as a demonstrative act towards Boiotia and the wider Greek world is one example for this kind of political instrumentalisation. But the mere performance of a new *agon*, the mere operation of cults was not enough to define the people gathering around Athena and Zeus as being Boiotians. This is where tales of a common past come in. Ethnic identity needed both: cults and tales of epic ancestry. To decide which one of the two came first would be solving the question of hen and egg, it is an academic question. To describe rising and changing identities, however, you have to analyze the interdependency of cults and foundation myths carefully.

How should we categorize the *Basileia*? Were they a Theban or a Boiotian festival? By installing them on the fundament of much older cults, Thebes promoted her

⁴⁷ Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 3, 152; (1994b), 297 note 31.

⁴⁸ Cults of Zeus spread over Boiotia: Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 3, 93-155.

⁴⁹ Lykophr. Alex. 1189-1213 with Sch. Lykophr. Alex. 1194. 1204; Aristodemos FGrH 383 F 7 = Sch. AB Hom. Il. N1. Cf. Telestes F 809 PMG = Philod. De piet.

leadership in the Boiotian *koinon*. When the *Basileia* were revived by the Hellenistic *koinon* and a temple for Zeus Basileus was constructed,⁵⁰ the former festival, which had demonstrated Theban hegemony, apparently was re-interpreted as being a Boiotian one, ‘Boiotian’ not meaning ‘Theban’ any more. Once again, Thebes had furthered Boiotian cohesion. What originated from Theban hegemonic aspirations turned into a Boiotian *agon*. We might doubt that the *Basileia* were welcomed by every Boiotian *polis* when being installed, especially by Orchomenos who could claim much older links to Zeus than Thebes. Nevertheless, the *Basileia* operated on the base of older integration via cult and finally strengthened Boiotian cohesion in the Hellenistic era. This certainly is no linear account of integration, but a meandering and an inharmonious one.

III.2. *Daidala* and *Daphnephoria*: Festivals of poleis or festivals of the ethnos?

Another example for this meandering history of Boiotian ethnogenesis is the Plataian festival of the *Daidala* honouring Hera. It became a pan-Boiotian one only in the Hellenistic period.⁵¹ But at this time, the cult of Hera had long been established in the region. The integrated maypole procession resembled the *Daphnephoria* in many ways, which were widely spread in the Kopais region.⁵² What is more, a festival for Hera Teleia is already mentioned in a Linear B tablet.⁵³ Again, we observe a re-shaping and re-interpretation of very old structures. While in the Bronze Age, the festival brought together people inhabiting the territory controlled by the Theban *wanax*, Thebes might have tried to make use of the festival for promoting Boiotian unity under Theban leadership in the Classical period, before the integrative character of the festival lost its

⁵⁰ Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 3, 109-118; (1994a), 82.

⁵¹ Paus. 9,2,7-9,3,9; Kirsten (1950), 2318-2325; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 242-250; Strasser (2004); Chaniotis (2002), and Chaniotis (2005), 155-160.

⁵² The *Daphnephoria* at Thebes: Pind. F 94b-c Maehler = P. Oxy. 659 (4, 1904); Paus. 9,10,4; Prokl. ap. Phot. Bibl. 239 (321a-b). Cf. Pind. Paian 1 F 52a Maehler = P. Oxy. 841 (5, 1908); F 104b Maehler = Plut. de Pyth. or. 29 (409B); Schachter (2000) with a detailed discussion of the evidence; Kühr (2006), 241-245; Beck (2009), 69-74. *Daidala*, *Daphnephoria*, and *Tripodophoria* alike defined space by ritual crossings of a territory, they thus expressed territorial appropriations. Cf. Schachter (2000), 110, 117. As the *aition* of the *Daidala* resembles very much the *aition* of the *Tripodophoria* (Ephor. FGrH 70 F 119 = Strab. 9,2,4 [C402]); as this one dates to the fourth century B.C., the first one might equally stem from a fourth century context: Schachter (2000), 108.

⁵³ *te-re-ja-de*: TH Av 104.2, to be read as Τέλειά-δε with Aravantinos et al. (2001), 355-356. Schachter (1994a), 69-71 discusses the palace suburbs of the Bronze Age.

Thebanocentric meaning in the Hellenistic period. When precisely the rite was made a pan-Boiotian one, however, is impossible to say.⁵⁴

Apart from the *Daidala* and the *Daphnephoria*, there were other typical cult settings, for example a series of oracle cults around lake Kopais⁵⁵ or the *Tripodophoria*, which will have united people living in Boiotia. A tripodophoric rite served as „the symbolic actualization of power relations between the dominant center and its periphery.“⁵⁶ The rite consisted in carrying a tripod from a Boiotian sanctuary, possibly the Theban Itonion, to the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona. Like other comparable processions it expressed territorial sovereignty and might be understood as stressing links to the reclaimed Boiotian homeland further north. The rite may be another example for the reassurance of ethnic identity by the combination of cults and tales of epic ancestry.⁵⁷

And what ought to be considered as the dominant centre which actualized its power relations to the periphery by performing the rite? Was it Thebes or was it Boiotia? During the third century the Boiotian confederacy used tripods for expressing political and spiritual authority. The dedications probably originated at the Ptoion as the official oracle of the *koinon*.⁵⁸ Apparently, in this case also old practices were re-shaped for new political aims. But again, though the pantheon and comparable rituals give hints at integration processes through cult, the mere observation of comparable structures is not enough to explain the cohesive forces within specific groups in specific historical times.

III.3. Athena, the ethnos goddess

Boiotia was much more than Thebes, of course. From the earliest sources on, Boiotian identity revolved around the cults of Athena Itonia and Poseidon at Onchestos. In this sense, they were a focus of Boiotian identity throughout Antiquity. But only in the Hellenistic period we observe an institutionalization of the cults celebrated at these sanctuaries. As the Hellenistic *koinon* distributed power more equally than the

⁵⁴ Schachter (1994a), 78 opts for the first century A.D. See Chaniotis (2002) for an interpretation of the cult; Knoepfler (2001) for an analysis of *polis* participation based on district principles according to the Hellenistic *koinon*; Iversen (2007) for a reconstruction of the festival cycles of the Small and the Great *Daidala*.

⁵⁵ Bonnechere (1990); Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 3, 70.

⁵⁶ Papalexandrou (2008), 277.

⁵⁷ A discussion and contextualisation of the *Tripodophoria*: Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 83; vol. 3, 154-155; Kowalzig (2007), 331-352; Papalexandrou (2008), 266-268.

⁵⁸ Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 70; Papalexandrou (2008), 270-271.

preceding leagues dominated by Thebes, only then they became „Ersatzzentren“⁵⁹ in the full sense of the word: „It was probably a mixture of sentiment, tradition, and folk memory, that led to the selection of the Itoneion as a federal religious centre. Onchestos, on the other hand, with its more central location, was better suited to be the political and administrative centre for the hellenistic *koinon*. In later centuries, when the *koinon* ceased to have any political meaning, the capital moved to the old religious centre at Koroneia, and whatever decrees this emasculated *koinon* passed were passed by the *naopoi* meeting at the Itoneion on the occasion of the *Pamboiotia*.“⁶⁰

The cult places of Athena in the neighbourhood of Koroneia are regarded as the focal point of ethnos religion and the commemoration of former migration movements from Thessaly. Athena Itonia, or Alalkomeneïs, is likely to have been the goddess of the people who settled at the shores of lake Kopais and who are considered to be the nucleus of the Boiotian ethnos.⁶¹ However, evidence for pan-Boiotian worship at the Itoneion does not predate the late fourth century when it became the official federal sanctuary as affirmed by a Boiotian-Aetolian proxeny decree from 301 B.C.⁶² And Polybios is the first to mention the *Pamboiotia*.⁶³

Looking for earlier evidence confirming the pan-Boiotian meaning of the sanctuary is methodologically problematic. A *lekane* from the British Museum, dating to the mid sixth century, may illustrate a procession at Koroneia, if not a pan-Athenian one;⁶⁴ and many scholars opt for a festival taking place at the sanctuary or even for an amphictyony situated there, at least from the Archaic period onwards.⁶⁵ The trans-regional impact of the festival is attested by Alkaios,⁶⁶ by Bacchylides, who refers to

⁵⁹ Freitag (2007), 388.

⁶⁰ Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 127.

⁶¹ The epitheton Alalkomeneïs is already present in the Homeric poems (Hom. Il. 4,8; 5,908). Cf. Strab. 9,2,29. A concise history of the Itoneion and the nearby place of Athena Alalkomeneïs: Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 111-114, 117-127. An intensive discussion of the early evidence: Larson (2007), 133-136; Larson (2007), 161-162 especially stresses the importance of Athena for Boiotian ethnogenesis. Comments on the Pindaric epinicia: Kowalzig (2007), 360-364.

⁶² IG IX² 1, 170.

⁶³ Pol. 4,3,5. Cf. Strab. 9,2,29 (C411). The epigraphic evidence of the *Pamboiotia* is discussed by Schachter (1980).

⁶⁴ British Museum B80. Pan-Athenian procession: Wallace (1979), 117; scene from Koroneia: Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 119, 122.

⁶⁵ Ducat (1973), 60-61; Buck (1979), 88; Tausend (1992), 26; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 1, 119, 122, and Visser (1997), 272. Cf. Alexander Polyhistor FGrH 273 F 97 = Sch. Apoll. Rhod. 1,551a; Armenidas FGrH 378 F 1 = Sch. Apoll. Rhod. 1,551a; Paus. 9,34,1.

⁶⁶ Alk. F 325 Lobel/Page = Strab. 9,2,29.

musical performances connected with Athena Itonia,⁶⁷ and by several allusions in Pindar. As the latter not only mentions a hippic *agon*, but juxtaposes the Itoneion with Onchestos and Olympia,⁶⁸ the victories will have been of regional, if not of trans-regional importance at his time. Larson calls the *Pamboiotia* the „likely candidate“ for the “duly ordered games” mentioned in Pindar,⁶⁹ other Boiotian festivals might have been subsumed. Though we can conclude that the Boiotians at this time were „a cultural community, identified on religious grounds“,⁷⁰ we cannot say how cults exactly worked as an integrative factor. Interpretation is often based on assumptions. For example, why does Pindar mention Theban and Boiotian festivals separately when listing the impressive victory catalogue of the Rhodian Diagoras?⁷¹ To read this as a proof for an opposition between Theban and Boiotian identity at this time, thus for Thebes being excluded from the Boiotian collective still suffering from weakness in the aftermath of the Persian Wars, is possible, but not compelling at all. Pindar might simply have wanted to celebrate his native *polis* Thebes.

III.4. The sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos: The geographic dimension of ethnogenesis

The competitive climate in Boiotia is well illustrated by an account which reflects the strife between Orchomenos and Thebes. By clogging up the pipes of the Kopais drainage system, thus flooding the basin, Herakles destroyed the economic base of Orchomenian power,⁷² and by defeating the Orchomenian king Erginos, the hero finally secured the supremacy of his native town Thebes over Boiotia.⁷³

Significantly, the mythic conflict between Herakles and Erginos begins in Onchestos,⁷⁴ the later pan-Boiotian sanctuary of Poseidon which dominated the ridge separating the two main spheres of Boiotia. Though cult activities at Onchestos can be traced back to the Bronze Age and the ancient shrine plays an important role in

⁶⁷ Bakchyl. F 15 Snell = Dion. Hal. Comp. 25.

⁶⁸ Pind. F 94b, 41-49 Maehler = P. Oxy. 659 (4, 1904).

⁶⁹ Pind. Ol. 7,84-7,85: ἀγῶνές τ' ἔννομοι Βοιωτίων. Larson (2007), 142-144.

⁷⁰ Larson (2007), 144.

⁷¹ Pind. Ol. 7,80-7,89, composed 464 B.C.

⁷² Diod. 4,18,7; Paus. 9,38,7, and Polyain. 1,3,5.

⁷³ Sch. Pind. Ol. 14,2; Eur. Herc. 48-50; 220-221; 560; Isokr. or. 14,10; Diod. 4,10,2-4,10,6; Strab. 9,2,40; Apollod. 2,4,11, and Paus. 9,17,1-9,17,2; 25,4; 26,1; 37,2-37,3. – Erginos son of Poseidon: Hyg. fab. 14,16; Sch. Pind. P. 4,61. Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 1,185-1,187.

⁷⁴ Apollod. 2,4,11; Paus. 9,37,1-9,37,3.

descriptions of the region from the earliest versions onwards,⁷⁵ Poseidon is no god of the ethnos in the strict sense of the word.⁷⁶ He rather represents the geographic dimension of Boiotian ethnogenesis.⁷⁷

Onchestos rose to pan-Boiotian importance at the latest, when it became the federal capital of the Hellenistic *koinon*.⁷⁸ In the sixth century, a temple was constructed, probably by one of the neighbouring cities Haliartos or Thebes in an attempt to control the strategic position of the sanctuary.⁷⁹ Local myth also reflects in many ways how important the sanctuary was, if you aimed at coercing hegemonic power in Boiotia.⁸⁰ So, which story of integration was located here? It certainly was a meandering one, like the stories located at the Itoneion and the Ptoion. In contrast to them, the story taking place at Onchestos was motivated by cohabitation. The ethnos of historical times was shaped within the confines of the region later called Boiotia and the sanctuary of Poseidon Onchestios at the geographic centre of the region became one of the main meeting places. Boiotian ethnogenesis not only relied on a mythic, but also on a real homeland. But this is another story not to tell here.

IV. Instead of a summary: Evidence and assumption

The example of the Ptoion demonstrates that the first epigraphical attestations of the ethnikon ‘Boiotoi’ should not be interpreted as telling a simple story of integration. To

⁷⁵ Hom. Il. 2,506; Hom. h. 3,230; 3.229-3.238; 4,87-4,88; 4.185-4.188; 4.191; Pind. I. 1,52-1,53; F 94b, 41-49 = P. Oxy. 659 (4, 1904); Strab. 9,2,33 (C412); Paus. 9,26,5; cf. Hes. F 219 Merkelbach/West = Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὀρχηστός; Alk. F 425 Lobel/Page = Strab. 9,2,33. The oldest inscription: SEG XXVII 61 (around 500 B.C.). The history of the shrine and the sanctuary: Guillon (1963), 93; Schachter (1976); (1981-1994), vol. 2, 219; Tausend (1992), 27; Snodgrass (1982), 670, 689-690, and Crudden (2001), 109-110.

⁷⁶ Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 2, 213; (1994a), 81. If there was a cult of Poseidon at Thebes, we do not know, but he was reclaimed as a protector of the *polis*: Hes. scut. 104-105; Pind. I. 1,52-1,54; Aischyl. Sept. 130; IG VII 2465; Schober (1934), 1447; Ziehen (1934), 1537-1538; Symeonoglou (1985), 126-127; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 2, 224.

⁷⁷ The political importance of the shrine resulted from the geographical situation: Visser (1997), 277. Poseidon as a god representing territorial rights: Schachter (1992), 36. The geographical position of the sanctuary: Wallace (1979), 134; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 2, 207-208. 211-212.

⁷⁸ In later years, the seat of the government seems to have moved to Thebes again: Schachter (1994a), 80.

⁷⁹ A boundary stone from the fifth century marking the boundary to Thebes: SEG XXV 554; claims by Haliartos as explicit in coins of the fourth century: Babelon (1901-1932) II,3, 271-272 no. 296. 297 = BMC Central Greece 49 no. 12, pl. VII. 16 with the comments by Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 2, 216. Cf. Strab. 9,2,33; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὀρχηστός. – The construction of the temple, Thebes and Haliartos: Kirsten (1939), 413; Hope Simpson – Lazenby (1970), 31; Wallace (1979), 134; Schachter (1981-1994), vol. 2, 215-216; Lang (1996), 283, and Funke (2000).

⁸⁰ Kühn (2006), 289-291.

understand what they have meant, you should not exclusively look for evidence confirming the formation of ethnic identity but take the impact of competing identities into account as well. What is more, their reception will have differed according to the perspectives. From an outside view, they might have been perceived as a promotion of Boiotian unity. From an inside view, Boiotians from many poleis might have read these dedications as an expression of Theban hegemonic aspirations.

Integration could mean a lot: the discovery of common roots, but also the subtle undermining of local myth by the infiltration of Theban genealogies and a forced cohesion which was motivated by Theban power politics. However, integration via cult could not be inaugurated out of the blue. Even the most blatant claim on religion for political aims, the installation of the *Basileia* in 371 B.C., operated on much older structures which had already united people living in Boiotia for a long time.

The role different sanctuaries played in Boiotian ethnogenesis depended on many factors, e.g. on the geographic position as evident in the case of Poseidon's sanctuary at Onchestos, but also on the pantheon involved. To explain the formation of ethnic identity you cannot rely on the mere existence of common gods. Identifying religious structures of regional importance is one thing, describing their meaning in specific historical settings something else. If you think of Athena, of the *Daidala* and *Daphnephoria*, the oracles of Apollo Ptoios and Trophonios, of the Amphiareion at Oropos, or of the Muses at the Helicon, every cult has to be looked at separately and has to be analyzed from a diachronic perspective as well. We have to question the impact of different identity levels, from a local to a trans-regional scope. We have to ask which cults were relevant for regional identity, why and how their meaning changed or in which way old structures were re-shaped, how cults were re-discovered e.g. for political aims.

Finally, it was the combination of common cults and tales of epic ancestry which strengthened Boiotian cohesion. Tales of common origins without re-vitalisation in cultic contexts lack meaning and cults without legends are blind. After all, there is hardly explicit evidence for processes of how cult moulded ethnic identity in Boiotia before the Classical era;⁸¹ what we deduce from later sources in the end relies on

⁸¹ Freitag (2010), 1108 speaks of Boiotian patchwork identity: „In Boiotien ist die Kulttopographie besonders komplex, da nicht nur ein Bundesheiligtum existierte, sondern mehrere (Athena Itonia in Koroneia, Poseidon von Onchestos, Apollon Ptoios u.a.), die sich zumindest in bestimmten Zeiten sogar

assumptions. Nevertheless, the performance of common cults explains best what we will never know for sure: why certain groups came together and re-invented their past. Common festivals certainly played an important part in Boiotian ethnogenesis.

A Boiotian league persisted until late into the Imperial period, albeit with a primarily cultic focus.⁸² Was this a return to the roots of Boiotian history having started with a cult community? In my opinion, we do not have to decide if cults or constructions of a common past were more important for ethnic identity and we neither should decide which of the two came first. Rather we have to evaluate their changing importance within the constant flux of ethnic consciousness. If you want to tell a story of integration taking place at Boiotian sanctuaries, it certainly results in being a meandering and a multi-faceted one.

in Konkurrenz zueinander befanden. Insofern sind die Bundeskulte eher Ausdruck einer "patchwork"-Identität, als sie einen ursprünglichen Zusammenhang begründen könnten.“

⁸² The pan-Boiotian festivals of the *Basileia* and the *Pamboiotia* were operated by the college of the *naopoioi*; the boiotarchs survived though had no political meaning any more: Schachter (1994a), 82-84.

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Die Akarnanen: Ein Ethnos ohne religiöses Zentrum und gemeinsame Feste?*

Klaus Freitag (Aachen)

Im Folgenden möchte ich mich mit einer eigentlich recht einfachen Frage beschäftigen: Ist es denkbar, dass im antiken Griechenland regionale Ethne existierten, die in archaisch-klassischer Zeit über kein religiöses Zentrum im eigentlichen Sinne verfügten? Ein Ethnos, das sich eignet, unter dieser Fragestellung ertragreich bearbeitet zu werden, ist das der Akarnanen. Denn es lässt sich anhand dieser „Landsmannschaft“ besonders gut zeigen, wie problematisch es ist, ohne jegliche Differenzierung von „Stammes- bzw. Bundesheiligümern“ und „Stammes- bzw. Bundeskulten“ zu sprechen und deren Existenz in einem Ethnos quasi vorauszusetzen und als eine Konstante einer „Stammesentwicklung“ zu betrachten.

Die Akarnanen werden in der neueren Forschung gemeinhin als einheitlicher „Stamm“ betrachtet, der erst im späten 5. Jh. unter korinthischen und athenischen Einfluss zu einer engeren politischen Kooperationsform gefunden habe. In dieses Bild passt, dass aus der Sicht eines Atheners wie Thukydides Rückständigkeit und Primitivität Kennzeichen der Lebensweise der Akarnanen waren.¹ Es liegen jedoch keine Quellen darüber vor, wann und wie der angebliche „Stamm“ entstanden ist. Mit dem Begriff „Stamm“ ist heute die Vorstellung fest verbunden, dass dieser über die verwandtschaftliche Verbundenheit hinaus seine „Identität“ in einem Stammesheiligtum zum Ausdruck brachte. Thomas Corsten hat folgerichtig in einem Aufsatz, der sich mit der Entwicklung von Kulten in Akarnanien beschäftigt, deutlich zwischen Stammes- und Bundeskulten in Akarnanien unterschieden.² Die Trennlinie zwischen der Position Corstens und der, die im Folgenden vertreten wird, macht sich schon ganz zu Beginn der Argumentationskette von Corsten bemerkbar. An diesem Punkt stellt er fest: „Die Akarnanen müssen aber auch vor der Eingliederung des Apollon-Heiligtums

* Sofern nicht anders angegeben, verstehen sich alle Daten v.Chr.

¹ Thuk. 1,5,1-1,6,1. Zur Bewertung der Ansichten des Thukydides über Akarnanien vgl. Gehrke (1994) und (1996).

² Corsten (2006).

von Aktion schon einen Stammeskult gehabt haben (...)“.³ Diese Feststellung muss sicherlich überdacht werden; man sollte als Historiker niemals den Blick verlieren für Alternativen, gerade wenn mit derartigen Aussagen der anschließende Rekonstruktionsversuch in einseitiger Weise vorbestimmt wird. Und auch im Weiteren wird allzu schablonenhaft zwischen Stammeskult und „Sitz eines stammesfremden Gottes“ unterschieden.⁴ Damit hat Corsten die grundsätzliche Frage aufgeworfen, die darauf zielt, was denn im Kern die verstreut lebenden Gruppen, die sich zum Ethnos zugehörig fühlten, zusammenhielt. Fast automatisch wird in der althistorischen Forschung auf das Konzept der „Kultgemeinschaft“ oder „Amphiktyonie“⁵ zurückgegriffen. Man sollte sich jedoch von einer allzu starren Vorstellung über einen dominanten Bundes- oder Stammesgott lösen und eher davon ausgehen, dass die Ausprägungen von Kulturen und Kultstätten in Ethne sich ähnlich komplex gestalteten wie das in den Poleis der Fall war.⁶ Zudem hat die jüngst geführte Debatte über Ethnizität und Staatlichkeit im antiken Griechenland sehr klar herausgearbeitet, dass es keineswegs zutreffend ist, den „Stamm“ als atavistischen Vorläufer eines griechischen Bundesstaats zu betrachten, in dem Kulte und Gottheiten als Konstanten wirkten.

Unter den Aussagen der einschlägigen Autoren aus klassischer Zeit (vor allem Herodot, Thukydides und Xenophon) zu Akarnanen und Akarnanien finden sich keine Informationen über das kultische Leben in Akarnanien. Wir erfahren für die vorhellenistische Zeit nichts über ein Bundesheiligtum oder einen Bundesgott spezieller

³ Corsten (2006), 158.

⁴ Corsten (2006), 161. Gleiches gilt übrigens auch für seine Sicht auf die Mythen und die Genese des Stammes der Akarnanen. Vgl. dazu ausführlicher Corsten (1999), 95-97.

⁵ Tausend (1992).

⁶ Schon im 5. Jh. hat es einen politisch verfestigten Bundesstaat der Akarnanen gegeben, auch wenn dies im aktuellen Forschungsbeitrag von T. Corsten mit dem Titel „Vom Stamm zum Bund“ bestritten wird. Vgl. Corsten (1999). Seiner Ansicht nach habe der Stamm der Akarnanen erst im 4. Jh. einen entscheidenden Schritt hin zu einem politischen Bund gemacht. Man etablierte ein Distriktsystem, in das *poleis* und Kleinethne integriert wurden. Die Hinweise auf ein Distriktsystem in Akarnanien sind mehr als vage, ohne dass ich die Gegenargumente hier im Einzelnen anführen kann. Vgl. dazu nur die ausführliche Rezension von Beck (2001), 525-531. Entscheidend ist das Gesamtbild, das sich aus den Berichten des Thukydides und Xenophon über die Strukturen in Nordwestgriechenland ergibt. Während Thomas Corsten in den Ausführungen des Thukydides keinerlei Hinweise auf eine bundesstaatliche Ordnung in Akarnanien erkennen will, bin ich weiter der festen Überzeugung, dass Thukydides einen aktiven Bundesstaat mit einer politischen Ordnung, Institutionen und Ämtern, Bundesgericht und Bundesgesetzen präsentiert, der eine entschlossene und konsequente Politik und Militärstrategie ausgearbeitet hat und zudem ein feines Instrumentarium entworfen hat, das es ihm möglich macht, ethnosfremde *poleis* wie Anaktorion, Astakos, Sollion und Alyzia und außerhalb des Ethnos stehende *poleis* wie Oiniadai in den Bund zu reintegrieren. Vgl. Kirsten (1940), 298-316; Consolo Langher (1968), 250-276; Marcotte (1985), 254-258; Gehrke (1994-1995), 41-48; Beck (1997), 31; Fantasia (2006), und Giovannini (2007), 54.

akarnanischer Prägung. Thukydides berichtet jedoch über die Einbindung der Akarnanen in die mythologische Vorstellungswelt der antiken Griechen. Er tut dies anschließend an die Schilderung eines Feldzuges des Atheners Phormion gegen Oiniadai im Winter des Jahres 429/8, als der Fluss Acheloos die Umgebung versumpft hatte und so einen Angriff unmöglich machte.⁷ Diese topographische Besonderheit nimmt Thukydides zum Anlass, auf einen Mythos zu sprechen zu kommen, der mit der Gegend in Verbindung steht. Der eponyme Begründer Akarnan⁸ wird bei Thukydides als Sohn des Alkmaion⁹ aus Argos erwähnt, der nach langem Herumirren durch Hellas nach seinem Muttermord schließlich auf Betreiben des Orakels von Delphi im Mündungsgebiet des Acheloos eine neue Heimat findet und ein Reich etabliert. Thukydides kommt in seiner Geschichte des Peloponnesischen Krieges noch ein weiteres Mal auf den Mythos rund um Alkmaion in Nordwestgriechenland zu sprechen. Er betont dort das politische Nahverhältnis zwischen Akarnanen und Argos Amphilochikon und in diesem Kontext erwähnt er auch, um die Hintergründe des Bündnisses zu beleuchten, dass Argos ebenfalls eine Gründung des Alkmaion gewesen sei. Diese Stadt sei schließlich nach dessen Bruder Amphilochos¹⁰ benannt worden.

Alkmaion¹¹ und Akarnan positionierten Akarnanien im mythologischen zeitgenössischen Diskurs der Griechen und verbanden die Geschichte des Ethnos mit Argos, einem der großen Zentren der bedeutenden Mythenzyklen.¹² Wenn man die Mythen, die mit Akarnanien in Verbindung gebracht wurden, insgesamt in den Blick nimmt, dann fällt auf, dass die Akarnanen zu einem Gegenstand einer intensiven Homerehexegese geworden ist. In dieser Auseinandersetzung wurde wohl vor allem die Frage diskutiert, warum Akarnanen im Gegensatz etwa zu den benachbarten Aitolern nicht im Schiffskatalog des Homer auftauchen.¹³ Diese Frage lässt sich leicht beantworten: Ein

⁷ Thuk. 2,102,1-2,102,2.

⁸ Akarnan: Thuk. 2,102; Apollod. 3,92-3,93. Vgl. Sch. Pind. Ol. 1,79.

⁹ Hes. fr. 197 u. 198 Merkelbach/West; Apollod. 1,78-1,79; 3,86-3,95; Paus. 8,24,7, und Pind. P. 8,57.

¹⁰ Thuk. 2,68; Strab. 6,2,4. Vgl. auch Hdt. 7,221; Paus. 9,31,5.

¹¹ Nach Clem. Al. strom. 1,21,134,4 gab es in Akarnanien ein Orakel des Alkmaion. Vgl. dazu Gehrke (1994) 115.

¹² Jouan (1990), 234-245; Breglia Pulci (1991-1994), 123-140; Gehrke (1994), 93-118, und Hilpert-Greger (1996a), 61-68.

¹³ Vgl. dazu auch Iust. 28,1,1-28,1,5. Demnach hätten die Römer Gesandte ausgeschiedt, „welche die Ätoler anweisen sollten, ihre Besatzungen aus den Städten Akarnaniens abzuziehen und denjenigen die Freiheit zu lassen, welche ehemals als die einzigen gegen die Trojaner, die Ahnherrn des Römervolkes, den Griechen kein Hilfskorps gestellt hätten. Corsten (1992), 195-210, und Rzepka (2009), 219-230. Vgl. aber Dikt. 1,17, der in seinem Schiffskatalog in einem Nachtrag zwanzig Schiffe der Akarnanen unter Kalchas aufführt. Vgl. dazu Visser (1997), 609.

Ethnos der Akarnanen – und das unterscheidet sie von anderen Ethne wie Arkader, Boioter, Aitolier – hat vor der Kolonisationszeit nicht existiert. Erst das Eingreifen der Korinther brachte eine entscheidende Veränderung auch in Bezug auf politische Selbstfindungsprozesse im akarnanischen Binnenland.¹⁴ Mit den Akarnanen greifen wir ein Ethnos, das sich erst sehr spät entwickelt hat und das dann auch sehr spezifische Strategien der Selbstvergewisserung und Selbstfindung anwendete. Die Akarnanen verfügten über keinen traditionellen Stammesgott oder Kultorte, die als Anknüpfungspunkte dienen konnten. Sehr früh stand offensichtlich der Kontakt zu den korinthischen Kolonien im Vordergrund. Diese Beziehungen hatten für die beiden größten Siedlungen in Akarnanien, Stratos und Oiniadai, jeweils unterschiedliche Konsequenzen. Während Stratos offensichtlich in Konfrontation zu den korinthischen Kolonien langsam zu einem Kristallisierungspunkt polisübergreifender politischer Kooperation im akarnanischen Binnenland wurde, zählte Oiniadai in der Mündungsebene des Acheloos gelegen sich im 5. Jh. zwar prinzipiell auch zu den Akarnanen zugehörig, hatte sich aber von den übrigen Akarnanen gelöst und verfolgte einen eigenständigen Weg, der von wirtschaftlicher Kooperation mit Korinth, den korinthischen Kolonien in Nordwestgriechenland und den übrigen akarnanischen Küstenorten wie Alyzia, Astakos u. a. geprägt war.¹⁵

Wie stark sich eine Figur wie Akarnan in der konkreten Lebenswelt des Ethnos tatsächlich verankerte, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis.¹⁶ Das mythologische Argument rund um Alkmaion und Akarnan konnte zumindest schon im 5. Jh. im politischen Bereich verwendet werden, als es darum ging, eine Kooperation mit Argos Amphiloichikon quasi verwandtschaftlich zu legitimieren. Und bei Pausanias schließlich ist explizit die Rede von einem Logos der Akarnanen, wonach Alkmaion die Tochter des Acheloos, Kallirhoë, heiratete, die ihm zwei Söhne gebar, darunter Akarnan.¹⁷ Auch wenn der Alkmaion-Mythos ursprünglich von außen her nach Akarnanien transportiert

¹⁴ Miller (1997), 86: „Die Akarnanen verstanden sich offensichtlich als Griechen zweiter Klasse“.

¹⁵ Freitag (1996).

¹⁶ Dalfen (2005), 23: „Akarnan ist eine ziemlich unbekannte Gestalt. Seine wichtigste Funktion ist, dass er der Landschaft Akarnanien im Westen Mittelgriechenlands den Namen gegeben hat“.

¹⁷ Paus. 8,24,9; Apollod. 3,88-3,92.

wurde, bekam er bald einen festen Platz in der Erinnerungskultur der Akarnanen, vor allem durch die Verbindung von Alkmaion mit dem Acheloos,¹⁸ der zur entscheidenden Identifikationsfigur für die Akarnanen werden sollte.

Die überragende Bedeutung des Acheloos in Nordwestgriechenland ist auch im numismatischen Material deutlich erkennbar.¹⁹ Dieser Quellenbestand ist zu Unrecht von dem Diskurs über Ethnogenese und „Federal States“ etwas abgekoppelt worden. Dabei ist der potentielle Wert, der diesem Quellenbestand innewohnt, grundsätzlich hoch einzuschätzen. Durch die ausgewählten Münzbilder z. B. wird erkennbar, welche Gottheiten als zentral für das Selbstverständnis eines Gemeinwesens angesehen wurden. Mit Blick auf die Ethne besteht ein großes Problem darin, überhaupt zu definieren, was man denn unter „Bundesprägungen“ zu verstehen hat. Probleme bereitet es zudem, die Kriterien zu benennen, die einem helfen, Bundesmünzen zu erkennen. Es sind vor allem zwei Erkennungsmerkmale, die auf Bundesprägungen verweisen: 1. Eine Münzlegende überliefert den Namen oder das Monogramm eines Ethnos. 2. Auf den Münzen, die als Bundesprägungen aufgefasst werden, finden sich Abbildungen von Gottheiten und Heroen, die zentral für die religiöse und kulturelle Identität des für die Münzprägung verantwortlichen politischen Verbandes sind.

Im 5./4. Jh. wurden bislang zwei Typen von Silbermünzen mit Bundesprägungen der Akarnanen in Verbindung gebracht.²⁰ Typ I zeigt auf der Vorderseite einen Kopf des behörnten Acheloos und auf der Rückseite einen weiblichen Kopf, der wohl die Nymphe Kallirhoë darstellen soll.²¹ Typ II zeigt auf der Vorderseite den bärtigen Acheloos, während auf der Rückseite das griechische Digamma zu sehen ist.²² Diese Münzen wurden gemeinhin als Bundesprägungen aufgefasst und mehrheitlich der „Bundeshauptstadt und Prägestätte Stratos“ zugewiesen.²³

Die Diskussion über Bundesprägungen konzentriert sich auf den Buchstaben „Digamma“, der auf der Rückseite des Typs II zu finden ist.²⁴ Einige Forscher sind der

¹⁸ Thuk. 2,102,2; 3,106,1; Strab. 1,3,8; 10,2,1; 10,2,19; Pol. 9,45; Hdt. 2,10,3; Paus. 8,24,11, und Dion. Hal. ant. 4,35.

¹⁹ Hilpert-Greger (1996), 71-74; (1996), 169-171.

²⁰ Vgl. dazu grundlegend Dany (1999).

²¹ Vgl. dazu Dany (1999), 279-281.

²² Dany (1999), 280-281.

²³ Head (1911), 331. Vgl. dazu immer noch grundlegend Imhoof-Blumer (1878), 12-14.

²⁴ Psoma (2007), 811. Vgl. dazu immer noch grundlegend Thumb (1898), 294-342.

Meinung, das Digamma könne zu *Fakarnanon*²⁵ ergänzt werden und zeigt demnach an, dass die Münzen vom Ethnos der Akarnanen geprägt wurden. Auf die philologischen Probleme, die sich hier ergeben, kann ich nicht weiter eingehen, zumal auch die Ergänzung des Digammas zu anderen Städtenamen in Akarnanien, z. B. *Oiniadai*,²⁶ in Erwägung gezogen wurde. *Oiniadai*, im Mündungsgebiet des *Acheloos* gelegen, war in klassischer Zeit neben *Stratos* die wohl bedeutendste *polis* in Akarnanien und wurde in der Tat bisweilen als möglicher Prägeort für die angeblichen Bundesmünzen der Akarnanen in die Diskussion gebracht. Angesichts dieses Befundes wird man eher vorsichtig sein müssen, wenn man das gerade besprochene numismatische Material als „Bundesprägung“ auffassen möchte.

Die Darstellung des Flussgottes *Acheloos* und der *Kallirhoë* auf den ebenfalls in das 5./4. Jh. datierten Münzen hat einige Forscher veranlasst, auch diese als eine Art Bundesprägung zu betrachten. Die Nymphe *Kallirhoë* war in der griechischen Tradition die Tochter des *Acheloos* und wird in den Mythen rund um *Alkmaion*, *Herakles*²⁷ und dem Flussgott *Acheloos* erwähnt. Der *Acheloos* ist heute noch der wasserreichste und längste Fluss in Griechenland, der die Landschaft Akarnanien zu allen Zeiten stark prägte. In der Antike wurde der *Acheloos* als Flussgott par excellence verehrt.²⁸

Für *Stratos* als Prägeort der frühen *Acheloos*-Münzen sprechen folgende Argumente:²⁹ Das antike *Stratos* lag unmittelbar am *Acheloos*. Ein Hafentor führte zu einem kleinen Flusshafen.³⁰ Der *Acheloos* war in der Antike über viele Stadien hinweg bis nach *Stratos* hinauf schiffbar.³¹ Auch die städtische Münzprägung aus *Stratos* deutet auf die Relevanz des *Acheloos* hin, die dieser in der Öffentlichkeit der *polis* spielte: Auf der Vorderseite dieser Münzen findet sich wiederum *Acheloos*, auf der Rückseite ist die Nymphe *Kallirhoe* und die Münzlegende ΣTP zu sehen, die man wohl ohne Bedenken

²⁵ Babelon (1932), 24.

²⁶ BMC Thessaly 189.

²⁷ Strab. 1,3,6, und Dion. Hal. Ant. 4,35. In *Alyzia* existierte ein berühmtes *Herakles*-Heiligtum. *Lysipp* habe die Bildgruppe geschaffen, die die zwölf Taten des *Herakles* darstellt. Sie wurde von einem römischen Feldherrn nach Rom verbracht. Zum Mythos rund um *Herakles* und *Acheloos* vgl. grundlegend Gehrke (1994), 103-104.

²⁸ Seine Verehrung war nicht nur in Akarnanien prominent, ein Kult des *Acheloos* war im 4. Jh. auch mit *Dodona* verbunden. Vgl. Isler (1996), 172, der von einer Entwicklung des *Acheloos* von einem Gott mit panhellenischem Anspruch hin zu einem „(...) bloß nationalen und damit in seiner Wirkung lokal beschränkten Gott (...)“ spricht.

²⁹ Zu den Einwänden aus dem numismatischen Bereich vgl. Dany (1999), 280.

³⁰ Strab. 10,2,2; Skyl. 34, und Pol. 4,63.

³¹ Strab. 10,2,2.

zu Stratos ergänzen kann.³² Diese städtischen Münzen sind aber auch schon das einzige Indiz dafür, dass auch in Stratos der Kult und Mythos des Acheloos schon im 5. Jh. verankert war.

Nach Thukydides war Stratos im 5. Jh. die größte und wichtigste *polis* in Akarnanien.³³ Im 4. Jh. waren Institutionen des *koinon* der Akarnanen in Stratos ansässig.³⁴ Vor diesem Hintergrund werden die gerade diskutierten Münztypen mit Stratos verbunden. Ohne dies aber anderweitig belegen zu können, wird vorausgesetzt, dass diese Prägungen in Stratos hergestellt wurden – von den Datierungsproblemen einmal ganz abgesehen. Dabei ist auffällig, dass weder in den Mythen noch anderen Kontexten der Acheloos mit Stratos in Verbindung gesetzt wird. Ein Kult oder ein Heiligtum des Acheloos ist in Stratos nicht belegt und auch ansonsten fehlen Hinweise darauf, dass ihm zu Ehren gemeinsame Kulte und Feste der Akarnanen dort durchgeführt wurden. Nur in einer sehr späten Notiz in den Scholien zur homerischen Ilias wird erwähnt, dass die Akarnanen zu Ehren des Acheloos gemeinsam ein Fest und einen Agon veranstalteten. Ein Veranstaltungsort für dieses Fest wird nicht angegeben und angesichts der fehlenden Belege für ein Fest der Akarnanen in den einschlägigen antiken Quellen bereitet es große Schwierigkeiten, die späte Erwähnung eines Acheloos-Festes überhaupt in einen historischen Kontext einzuordnen.³⁵

Es lässt sich demnach nicht sicher sagen, wo die oben vorgestellten Münzen geprägt wurden und ob wir es überhaupt mit einer Prägung zu tun haben, die unter Anleitung eines Bundes der Akarnanen zustande gekommen ist. Für eine Beurteilung der Situation ist sicher auch die Datierungsproblematik von entscheidender Bedeutung. Die Datierung des bislang diskutierten Münzmaterials richtet sich nicht nur nach numismatisch-stilistischen Kriterien, sondern wird aus dem historischen Kontext, in den man die Entstehung einbetten möchte, heraus begründet. Wenn z. B. die Acheloos-Münzen in die Zeit von 420 bis 380 datiert werden, dann wird dieser Zeitraum allein durch die Berichte des Thukydides und des Xenophon vorgegeben. Demzufolge bleibt auch die Frage der Datierung der diskutierten Münzserien offen.

³² Psoma (2007), 7-9.

³³ Thuk. 2,80.

³⁴ Xen. Hell. 4,6,1.

³⁵ Sch. Hom. Il. 24,616b. Vgl. dazu Oberhummer (1887) 231-232; Courby – Picard (1926), 14, und Brewster (1997), 9-15.

Auch die Diskussion über die angeblichen frühen Bundesprägungen bestätigt die Vermutung, dass in der größten und wichtigsten Stadt der Akarnanen,³⁶ nämlich Stratos, kein „Bundesheiligtum“ existierte. Für die Ausprägung der akarnanischen Identität war vor allem der Flussgott Acheloos entscheidend, der vermutlich kein festes Bundesheiligtum besaß, in dem die Akarnanen zusammenkamen. Dementsprechend gab es wohl auch keine spezifischen akarnanischen Agone.³⁷

Der Hauptgott von Stratos war im Übrigen der Zeus Stratios,³⁸ für dessen Tempel man auf der Westbastion der Stadtmauer einen prominenten Platz gefunden hatte, der die große Ebene von Stratos, die in der Antike intensiv agrarisch genutzt wurde, beherrschte.³⁹ Alle Spekulationen, wonach der Zeus Stratios in der Frühphase als „Bundesgott“ der Akarnanen gedient haben könnte, finden im Quellenmaterial keine Bestätigung.⁴⁰ Nach Ausweis der epigraphischen Zeugnisse war in Stratos neben dem Zeus ein Kult des Apollon Metthapios bedeutend. Darauf verweist ein Bundesdekret aus dem 4. Jh., in dem festgeschrieben wurde, anfallende Strafsummen seien an das Heiligtum des Apollon Metthapios zu entrichten.⁴¹ Über einen Kultort des Apollon mit dem auffälligen Beinamen Metthapios erfahren wir sonst nichts. Deshalb bleibt unklar, welche Bedeutung dem Heiligtum des Apollon in Stratos in einem über die Stadt hinausreichenden politischen Kontext zukam.

Bei der Suche nach dem Bundesheiligtum der Akarnanen geriet auch das „*koinon* dikasterion“ (κοινών δικαστήριον)⁴² bei Olpe in den Blick, das Thukydides im Kontext des Angriffs der Ambrakioten und Peloponnesier auf Argos Amphiloichikon im Jahre 426 erwähnt. Nach Thukydides war Olpe eine starke Festung in Amphilochien in

³⁶ Vgl. die Tatsache, dass auf städtischen Bronzemünzen das Monogram AP oder APK zu finden ist, wie Imhoof-Blumer (1887), 15-16 und Murray (1982), 317 beschreiben. Außerdem werden die Münzen im Zuge dessen in das 4. Jh. datiert.

³⁷ Vgl. dazu Schwander (1997), 190 Anm. 13: „Wenn dem so ist, dann möchte ich annehmen, daß dieser Agon im Zusammenhang mit der Versammlung des akarnanischen Heeresbannes unterhalb des Zeustempels seinen Anlaß und Austragungsort fand.“ Vgl. auch Schwandner – Kolonas (1996), 190 Anm. 16: „Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Rhyakos Ebene noch heute als Stratopedon genannt wird, was neugriechisch als altgriechisch sowohl „Ebene von Stratos“ wie „Heerlager, Truppenübungsplatz“ bedeuten kann.“

³⁸ Vgl. zum Beinamen Stratios IG IX 1²,2, 394. Es handelt sich dabei um eine Freilassunginschrift aus dem 2. Jh.

³⁹ Strab. 10,2,3.

⁴⁰ IG IX 1²,2, 393: Proxenie des Bundes in Stratos. Vgl. auch IG IX 12,2, 395 aus dem 4. Jh. Es handelt sich möglicherweise um eine Auflistung von Beiträgen, die am Heiligtum abgeführt wurden. Vgl. Courby (1924), und Schwandner – Kolonas (1996), 190: „Zu vermuten ist, daß der Kult des Zeus Stratios mit dem Kult des Acheloos verbunden war.“

⁴¹ IG IX 12,2, 579. Die Inschrift gehört in das 4. Jh.

⁴² Thuk. 3,105,1.

Küstennähe, die einst von den Akarnanen erbaut und als gemeinsame Gerichtsstätte genutzt wurde.⁴³ In der Nähe von Olpe gab es darüber hinaus einen Ort, den Thukydides als das „sogenannte Metropolis“⁴⁴ bezeichnet. Olpe findet ansonsten nur noch bei Stephanos von Byzanz Erwähnung als Festung (φρούριον),⁴⁵ „gemeinsames Gericht zwischen den Akarnanen und Argos Amphilochikon“. Über den Charakter von Olpe ist viel diskutiert worden.⁴⁶ Zumeist wird der Ort als gemeinsame Schiedsstätte der Akarnanen und Amphilochier aufgefasst, die eingerichtet worden ist, nachdem Akarnanen umgesiedelt wurden und mit Amphilochiern zusammen in Argos lebten. So interessant die Existenz der Gerichtsstätte bei Olpe für die politische Geschichte Akarnaniens auch ist, nichts spricht dafür, dass der Ort auch kultisch-religiös genutzt wurde. Bei Agrilovouni, einem geeigneten Kandidaten für die Lokalisierung von Olpe, sind Reste eines großen Tempels zu Tage gefördert worden, über den man gerne mehr wüsste. Eugen Oberhummer hat vermutet, dass im Umfeld von Olpe und dem Ort, der den signifikanten Beinamen Metropolis trägt, eine Art akarnanisches Bundesheiligtum existierte, ohne dass er ausführt, was er denn unter Bundesheiligtum verstehen möchte.⁴⁷ Vieles hängt auch hier von dem archäologischen Befund ab. Wenn denn vor Ort wirklich ein großer Tempel aus klassischer Zeit existierte,⁴⁸ dann ist zumindest denkbar, dass dieser gemeinsam von den Akarnanen erbaut und verwaltet wurde. Die Grenzsituation von Olpe spricht freilich dagegen, gerade dort ein zentrales Heiligtum der Akarnanen zu suchen.

Kehren wir aber zur Genese der Bundesmünzprägung zurück. Wie entwickelt sich diese in Akarnanien weiter? Irgendwann in der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh.s beschränkten die Akarnanen mit ihrer Münzprägung neue Wege. Eine ganze Reihe von akarnanischen Städten prägten nun Silbermünzen, Pegasoi, nach korinthischem Vorbild und Münzfuß.⁴⁹ Auf der Vorderseite ist der fliegende Pegasos zu sehen, auf der Rückseite ist der Athenakopf mit korinthischem Helm abgebildet. Selbst Stratos, darauf verweist die

⁴³ Thuk. 3,105,1-3,105,3.

⁴⁴ Thuk. 3,107,1. Vgl. dazu auch Pritchett (1992), 26-27.

⁴⁵ Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὀλπαί.

⁴⁶ Auf die einzelnen topographischen Probleme kann ich hier nicht eingehen.

⁴⁷ Oberhummer (1888), 28; Schoch (1996), 87-90, und Schoch (1997), 49: „Metropolis' Ursprung könnte auch in einem Demeter-Heiligtum liegen, das die Funktion eines Bundesheiligtums hatte“.

⁴⁸ Gehrke – Wirbelauer (2006), 353.

⁴⁹ Dany (1999), 284-288.

Münzaufschrift ΣΤΡΑΙΩΝ unzweifelhaft,⁵⁰ hat die Praxis, die lokalen Acheloos-Prägungen mit dem eigenen Münzfuß⁵¹ zu verwenden, aufgegeben,⁵² und prägte nun Statere nach korinthischem Vorbild.⁵³ Selbstverständlich verwendete zu dieser Zeit auch eine korinthische Kolonie wie Leukas weiter Pegasoi und damit setzte man eine Tradition fort, die bis zum Beginn des 5. Jh.s zurückreichte.⁵⁴ Hatte im 5. Jh. noch eine tiefe Feindschaft das Verhältnis der Akarnanen zu den korinthischen Kolonien Anaktorion, Leukas und Ambrakia⁵⁵ bestimmt, so standen nun die Zeichen im ökonomisch-finanziellen Bereich offensichtlich auf Kooperation. Darauf verweisen eindrucklich Pegasoi-Prägungen aus Leukas, die als Beizeichen auf der Rückseite das traditionelle Ethnosymbol, den Acheloos, aufweisen. In einer Variante dieses Münztypus ersetzte das Monogramm AK (für Akarnanon) offensichtlich die Einzelmonogramme der akarnanischen Städte. Es wurde sogar darüber spekuliert, ob diese Münzen zentral in einer Prägestätte auf Leukas hergestellt wurden, das somit schon im 4. Jh. Mitglied des Akarnanischen Bundes geworden sei, und eben nicht erst nach 280 – so die *communis opinio* – dem Bund beigetreten war. Hier ist nicht der Ort, um die Frage zu diskutieren, ob Leukas schon im 4. Jh. einmal dem Bund der Akarnanen angehört hatte. Mit Blick auf das numismatische Material aus dem 4. Jh. können wir wohl eher davon ausgehen, dass sich die staatsrechtliche Stellung von Leukas im Spiegel der akarnanischen Pegasoi überhaupt nicht beurteilen lässt.⁵⁶ Hinzu kommt, dass die Datierung der nordwestgriechischen Pegasoi und auch die Hintergründe der Einführung dieser Münzen umstritten sind. Soviel wird man aber sagen können: Diese Münzen sind vor allem Ausdruck der wirtschaftlichen Annäherung zwischen Leukas und akarnanischen Städten.⁵⁷ Wir fassen auch hier keine Bundesprägung, vielmehr eine Form von „cooperative coinage“.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ Dany (1999), 282.

⁵¹ Dany (1999), 282.

⁵² Dies ist natürlich nur eine Vermutung angesichts der vielen offenen chronologischen Probleme. Vgl. Isler (1996), 170.

⁵³ Dany (1999), 282 mit Anm. 27.

⁵⁴ Calciati (1990), II, 387.

⁵⁵ Auch Ambrakia verwendet Pegasoi mit dem Acheloos als Beizeichen, die in das 4. Jh. datieren. Vgl. Isler (1996), 170: „(...) damit will die Stadt auf ihre in der klassischen Zeit enge Verbindung mit Akarnanien hinweisen“.

⁵⁶ Dany (1999), 290-307.

⁵⁷ Zu den wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen in Akarnanien aus den literarischen Quellen vgl. Gehrke (1996), 71-77.

⁵⁸ Mackil – Alfen (2006).

Eine Bundesprägung der Akarnanen setzte erst im 3. Jh. ein: Auf der Vorderseite der Gold- und Silbermünzen ist der Acheloos zu sehen, auf der Rückseite ist nun der Apollon Aktios mit der Münzlegende Akarnanon (AKAPNANΩN) abgebildet.⁵⁹ Leider sind auch mit Blick auf die Münzprägung der Akarnanen in hellenistischer Zeit wesentliche Datierungsfragen nicht abschließend beantwortet. So ist unklar, ob diese akarnanische Bundesprägung mit dem Apollon Aktios auf der Rückseite überhaupt schon in der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.s einsetzte oder diese erst nach 230 aufgenommen wurde, in einer Zeit also, in der die Struktur des Bundes sich im Vergleich zur klassischen Zeit maßgeblich verändert hatte.

Schon Thukydides erwähnt das Heiligtum des Apollon Aktios im Eingangsbereich des Ambrakischen Golfes, er sagt aber ganz explizit, dass das Heiligtum auf dem Gebiet von Anaktorion gelegen sei.⁶⁰ Strabon zufolge sei das städtische Zentrum 40 Stadien von dem Heiligtum des Apollon Aktios entfernt.⁶¹ Dem Apollonkult, der möglicherweise gleichzeitig mit der Gründung der Stadt eingerichtet wurde,⁶² kam wohl schon im 5. Jh. eine gewisse überregionale Bedeutung zu,⁶³ die angesichts der strategisch bedeutenden Lage im Umfeld von mehreren korinthischen Kolonien auch nicht weiter überrascht.⁶⁴ An der Situation und der administrativen Anbindung änderte wohl auch die Integration von Anaktorion im Jahre 425 nichts. Von Thukydides erfahren wir, dass nach der Eroberung der Siedlung Anaktorion von Bürgern aus ganz Akarnanien besiedelt wurde.⁶⁵ Auf einen traditionell „korinthischen“ Bevölkerungsverband folgte eine akarnanische Bevölkerung. Anaktorion war von nun an eine akarnanische *polis*; ob dieser Wandel auch Einfluss auf die Ausrichtung des Heiligtums des Apollon Aktios gezeigt hat, das weiter in der Obhut der *polis* Anaktorion blieb, lässt sich dem zur Verfügung stehenden Quellenmaterial nicht entnehmen.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Dany (1999), 285-290.

⁶⁰ Thuk. 1,29,3.

⁶¹ Strab. 10,2,1.

⁶² Murray (1992), 272.

⁶³ Ganz in der Nähe von Aktion befand sich in der Antike der Kult des Apollon Leukatas.

⁶⁴ Zu den Überresten vor Ort vgl. Murray (1982), 266-269. Zwei archaische Kouroi sind 1867 am Kap (heute im Louvrè, Paris) gefunden worden. Vgl. Collignon (1886), 235-243; Richter (1960), 85, Nr. 40 u. Nr. 74; Fuchs – Floren (1987), 320-321, und zuletzt Meyer – Brüggemann (2007), Kat. Nr. 7 u. 8. Datierung in das 6. Jh.

⁶⁵ Thuk. 4,49. Vgl. dazu auch IG II/III² 403.

⁶⁶ Dazu Oberhummer (1888), 226-227; Keitz (1911), 67.

Es sollten noch 200 Jahre vergehen, bis die Akarnanen sich finanziell und administrativ an dem Heiligtum Aktion⁶⁷ beteiligten und es quasi offiziell in den Rang eines „Bundesheiligtums“ erhoben.

Zuvor war Aktion ein außerstädtisches Heiligtum⁶⁸ im Territorium der *polis* Anaktorion.⁶⁹ Auf städtischen Münzen aus Anaktorion, die in die Zeit nach dem Eintritt der Stadt in das *koinon* der Akarnanen datiert werden, ist AKTIO⁷⁰ oder AKTIOY⁷¹ zu lesen. Auf anderen Münzen der Stadt, die wohl in das 4. Jh. datieren, findet sich die Münzlegende AKTIAΣ in Verbindung mit Darstellung einer Nymphe bzw. unter Umständen auch der personifizierten Göttin der aktischen Festspiele.⁷² Die Tatsache, dass Anaktorion entweder den Ortsnamen Aktion oder den Kultbeinamen des Apollon auf ihren Münzen präsentiert, hat bislang wenig Beachtung gefunden. Leider bleibt auch hier vieles im Dunkeln, das gilt auch für Spekulationen von Domingo-Forasté über angeblich verwendete Ressourcen, der vermutet, dass „(...) the very first Silver was borrowed from the temple treasury“.⁷³

Schon in der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.s wurde Aktion eine gewisse panakarnanische Bedeutung beigemessen. Dies zeigt deutlich der Vertragstext über das Abkommen zwischen Akarnanen und Aitolern, das gemeinhin in die Zeit um 263/2 datiert wird.⁷⁴ Das Heiligtum ist schon für diese Zeit für die Selbst- und Außenwahrnehmung der Akarnanen wichtig. Die Vertragstele wurde neben Delphi und Olympia auch in Thermos, dem Bundesheiligtum der Aitoler, und in Aktion aufgestellt.⁷⁵ Die parallele Behandlung von Aktion und dem Bundesheiligtum der Aitoler indiziert eindeutig, dass das Apollon-Heiligtum eine für alle Akarnanen wichtige Funktion zugewiesen bekommen hatte. Über einen im Vergleich zur klassischen Zeit veränderten Status des

⁶⁷ Aktion war sicher keine Stadt, wie dies Grainger (1999), 138: „(...) including the cities of Aktion, with the league shrine (...)“ offensichtlich vermutet. Vgl. dazu richtig Sherk (1990), 257: „Actium was never a city“. Murray (1982), 272 verweist auf das Ethnikon Aktaios.

⁶⁸ Eine Gründungsgeschichte des Heiligtums ist bei Herakleides Pontikos im 4. Jh. belegt. Dort ist ein Vor-Opfer an die Fliegen in Aktion erwähnt. Vgl. Herakl. Pont. fr. 153 (Wehrli) = fr. 141 (Schütrumpf) *ap. Clem. Al. Protr.* 2,39,8 (Marcovich 62,36-38).

⁶⁹ Vgl. dazu ganz richtig: Beck (1997), 35-36: „Es kann daher nur bedingt als Bundesheiligtum gelten“.

⁷⁰ Calciati (1990), II, 484, Nr. 9.

⁷¹ Vgl. auch Imhoof-Blumer (1878), 61-62.

⁷² Imhoof-Blumer (1878), 61-63; Habicht (1957), 102-103.

⁷³ Domingo-Forasté (1988), 141 Anm. 48.

⁷⁴ Die Datierung, die im Wesentlichen auf Klaffenbach (1955) basiert, ist in jüngster Zeit in Frage gestellt worden. Vgl. Grainger (1996); Dany (1999).

⁷⁵ Wahrscheinlich ist auch der Vertrag zwischen Pyrrhos und den Akarnanen in Aktion aufgestellt worden. IG IX 1²,2, 207 (StV III 459, Datierung hier 294?), der wohl in das Jahr 281 gehört.

Heiligtums erfahren wir in dem verfügbaren Quellenmaterial nichts. Von daher wird man für die Zeit vor der Aufteilung des Akarnanischen Bundes zwischen Epiroten und Aitolern⁷⁶ und auch für die ersten Jahre des wiederbegründeten Bundes nach 230 weiterhin Aktion als außerstädtisches Heiligtum unter Kontrolle der Bürger Anaktorions ansehen.

Die Bedeutung von Aktion für die akarnanische Identität ist im Verlauf des 3. Jh.s schrittweise weiter verstärkt worden, weil sich der Zuschnitt und Mitgliederbestand maßgeblich veränderte. Der Schwerpunkt verlagerte sich schließlich eindeutig nach Nordwestakarnanien inklusive Leukas. Stratos wurde niemals wieder Mitglied eines Bundes der Akarnanen.⁷⁷ Der neue Bund war auf Nordwestakarnanien konzentriert, Leukas konnte sich nach seinem Beitritt zu dem neuen Zentrum in Akarnanien entwickeln.⁷⁸ So besehen hatte der neue Bund mit den alten Strukturen und dem traditionellen Selbstverständnis nicht mehr viel gemein.⁷⁹ Vor diesem Hintergrund wird erst erklärbar, wieso die Akarnanen im Jahre 216 in Krisenzeiten, vor denen das Heiligtum nicht unberührt blieb, nach Verhandlungen mit dem Bundesmitglied Anaktorion das Apollon-Heiligtum in den Status einer Bundeskultstätte im eigentlichen Sinne erheben konnten.⁸⁰ In den Verhandlungen stellten die Akarnanen fest, dass es das Ethnos „für erfreulich und höchst rühmlich halte, da sich die Dinge nun wieder zum Guten gewendet hatten, die Verehrung des Gottes um vieles zu steigern und zu prüfen, auf welche Weise die Kultstätte des Apollon Aktios zu einem „gemeinsamen“ Heiligtum werden könne“.⁸¹ Ein „gemeinsames Heiligtum“ wurde das Heiligtum vor allem deswegen, weil der Bund als neuer Veranstalter für das Fest auftrat.⁸²

⁷⁶ Pol. 2,45,1; 9,34,7; Iust. 28,1,1. Vgl. auch Paus. 10,16,6 mit FD III 4,178.

⁷⁷ Pol. 2,45,1; 9,34,7; 9,38,9.

⁷⁸ Liv. 33,17,1.

⁷⁹ Vgl. dazu auch Funke et al. (1993).

⁸⁰ Man bemerke aber auch, wie differenziert der Wandel von einem rein städtischen zu einem Bundesheiligtum von statten geht.

⁸¹ Habicht (1957). StV III. 523, Z. 24.

⁸² Vgl. dazu nun Giovannini (2007), 294-295, auch zur auffälligen Bemerkung in der Inschrift (StV III, 523 Z. 40-41), wo von Lagerplätzen für πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη die Rede ist. Gemeinhin wird dieser Ausdruck so aufgefasst, dass mit diesem die Mitglieder des Akarnanischen *koinon* gemeint sind. Vgl. Habicht (1957), 109-111. Giovannini hingegen vermutet, dass mit diesem Ausdruck *poleis* und Ethne in der Umgebung gemeint sind, die traditionell an den Festen zu Ehren des Apollon Aktios beteiligt waren. Anders Gehrke – Wirbelauer (2006), 352: „the members of the Confederacy were divided into πόλεις and ἔθνη (...)“. Vgl. dazu auch Czech-Schneider (2002), 80 Anm. 29 mit dem Verweis auf den Zusatz in der Inschrift „so wie von Alters her“, der darauf verweist, dass schon vor 216 Städte und Landmannschaften das Heiligtum besuchten und während der Feste zugewiesene Plätze innehatten. Vgl. dazu aber schon Corsten (1999), 104 Anm. 170.

Eine Annäherung der Akarnanen an Apollon mag durch eine andere Tradition zusätzlich erleichtert worden sein, die seit alters her mit der Gegend in Verbindung gebracht wurde. Apollon habe – so wird bisweilen vermutet – schon immer eine wichtige Rolle im akarnanischen Pantheon innegehabt: In Akarnanien war die Seher-Tradition bedeutend und deswegen wurde wohl auch Apollon als Orakelgott unter den Akarnanen besonders verehrt. Der Weissager (χρησμολόγος) Amphilytos aus Akarnanien soll Peisistratos beraten haben,⁸³ der Seher (μάντις) Megistias aus Akarnanien sei mit dem spartanischen König Leonidas bei den Thermopylen gestorben.⁸⁴ Nach Pausanias war Karnos von Apollon mit Weissagungsfähigkeiten ausgestattet worden, die für die Einrichtung des Apollon Karneios bei den Doriern verantwortlich seien.⁸⁵ Ebenfalls bei Pausanias findet man die Notiz, dass Hesiod von Akarnanen in der Seherkunst ausgebildet worden sei.⁸⁶ Abschließend möchte ich noch auf Bronzemünzen aus dem 3. Jh. hinweisen, auf deren Rückseite der Acheloos mit dem Monogramm AP zu sehen ist, das in der Regel als Bundesmonogramm gedeutet wird. Die Vorderseiten dieser Bronzemünzen zeigen entweder einen lorbeerbekränzten bärtigen Zeuskopf mit Adler,⁸⁷ einen jugendlichen Herakles⁸⁸ oder aber Athena.⁸⁹ Diese Bronzemünzen werden häufig ebenfalls als „Bundesprägungen“ bezeichnet und als Prägeort wird Leukas vermutet. Ich kann hier nicht näher auf die Bedeutung des Apollon, des Herakles, des Zeus und der Athena in Akarnanien eingehen.⁹⁰ Wir können aber dem numismatischen Befund zumindest entnehmen, dass das akarnanische Pantheon noch im 3. Jh. differenziert war und sich keineswegs auf den Apollon Aktios und den Acheloos beschränkte.

Der Acheloos wurde im Gegensatz zum Apollon Aktios wohl nicht in einem festen Bundesheiligtum verehrt. In der Hauptsache war wohl der Fluss selbst Gegenstand ritueller und symbolischer Praktiken. Dies ist möglicherweise auch der Grund dafür, dass die Akarnanen keine eigenen Agone veranstalteten. Der Acheloos wird auch den Mythen, die die Akarnanen in die großen griechischen Mythenkomplexe einordnen

⁸³ Hdt. 1,62. Vgl. dazu Plat. Thg. 124d.

⁸⁴ Hdt. 7,221.

⁸⁵ Paus. 3,13,4.

⁸⁶ Paus. 9,31,5.

⁸⁷ BCD (2007), 27 Nr. 32-33.

⁸⁸ BCD (2007), 28-29 Nr. 34-40.

⁸⁹ BCD (2007), 30-31 Nr. 41-44.

⁹⁰ Dany (1999), 306.

sollten, zum Anknüpfungspunkt. Aus der Sicht der Akarnanen wird Acheloos mit Alkmaion in Verbindung verbracht, der mit der Kallirhoë den eponymen Stammesgründer, Akarnan, zeugt. Irgendwann im 5. Jh. setzt in Akarnanien eine Münzprägung ein, die sich stark von den korinthischen Prägungen in Nordwestgriechenland unterscheidet. Auf den Münzen ist Acheloos mit seiner Tochter Kallirhoë zu sehen und auch wenn die dort verwendeten Monogramme und Anfangsbuchstaben mit dem Volksnamen der Akarnanen in Verbindung stehen, ist keineswegs gesichert, ob man es hier tatsächlich mit einer Bundesprägung zu tun hat. Die nordwestgriechischen Pegasoi werden in der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh.s in fast allen akarnanischen Städten geschlagen, und in einigen Fällen setzten die Akarnanen voller Stolz ihr altes Wappen,⁹¹ den Acheloos-Kopf, auf die Münzen, die ansonsten korinthischem Vorbild folgten. Leukas machte im Gegenzug seine neue Verbundenheit mit den akarnanischen Städten deutlich, indem es auf den Pegasoi ebenfalls den Acheloos abbilden ließ bzw. die Anfangsbuchstaben des *koinon*-Namens aufschrieb.

Erst im 3. Jh. setzte in Akarnanien eine Bundesprägung im eigentlichen Sinne ein, die in einer zentralen Prägestätte unter Aufsicht des *koinon* hergestellt wurde.⁹² Auf Gold- und Silbermünzen sind nun der Acheloos und der Apollon Aktios abgebildet. Die Akarnanen eigneten sich in der Zwischenzeit schrittweise das Heiligtum des Apollon Aktion an. Nach 216 übernahm der Bund sogar die Verantwortung über die Verwaltung des Heiligtums und die Ausrichtung der aktischen Spiele.⁹³ Auf akarnanischen Bronzemünzen sind schließlich Zeus, Herakles,⁹⁴ Athena und Artemis⁹⁵ jeweils auf der Vorderseite abgebildet, während der Acheloos auf der Rückseite der Münzen zu sehen ist. Dies deutet darauf hin, dass das akarnanische Pantheon größer und differenzierter war als die literarischen und epigraphischen Quellen erahnen lassen.

Deutlich geworden ist auch, dass der Begriff „Bundesprägung“ vielfach konkretisiert werden muss. Ein dipolares Münzsystem, das sich ausschließlich aus städtischen Prägungen auf der einen, und Bundesmünzen auf der anderen Seite zusammensetzte, hat es in klassischer Zeit in Akarnanien niemals gegeben. Die

⁹¹ Isler (1970), 89: „Das Acheloos scheint auch hier zum Wappen einer Landschaft geworden zu sein.“

⁹² Vgl. zu den seltenen Goldmünzen Dany (1999), 300-303. Vgl. BCD (2007), 21 Nr. 14 (dort unter Prägestätte Leukas, Datierung um 250). Vgl. auch Liampi (1996), 173-182.

⁹³ IG IX 1², 2, 583. Vgl. dazu Habicht (1957), 86-122; Migeotte (2001), 164-170, und Czech-Schneider (2002), 76-100.

⁹⁴ Hilpert-Greger (1996a), 71-74.

⁹⁵ Vgl. dazu Typ VII, Dany (1999), 336-337.

abgestuften Erscheinungsformen von polisübergreifender Münzprägung können durchaus mit Gewinn herangezogen werden, um die Entwicklung von Bundesstaaten, die Bedeutung von „Bundeskulten“ und die stufenweise Annäherung von stammesfremden Poleis nachzuvollziehen, die sich dann spätestens in hellenistischer Zeit in fest organisierten Koina zusammenfanden.

In Akarnanien begann der Prozess der Ethnogenese spät. Es gab keine Relikte von alten Stammesstrukturen. Die geographische Nähe zu den wichtigen korinthischen Kolonien Ambrakia, Leukas und Anaktorion führte zu erheblichen Veränderungen. Einige der akarnanischen Orte, vor allem die Küstenstädte, hatten Anteil an korinthischem Handel und korinthischer Kultur. Die Beziehungen waren aber keineswegs immer spannungsfrei, zeitweise sahen sich die Akarnanen erheblichem Druck ausgesetzt, der vor allem von Ambrakia ausging. Die Initiatoren des Prozesses der Ethnoskonstruktion waren die Akarnanen im Landesinneren und in der Küstenlandschaft, die den Acheloos zu einer „Identifikationsfigur“ auserkoren hatten. Als Flussgott genoss er großen Respekt und er nahm Einfluss auf das Zusammenleben der Akarnanen in vielfältiger Weise. In hellenistischer Zeit trat der Apollon Aktios endgültig an die Seite des Acheloos.

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Can ‚Federal Sanctuaries‘ Be Identified in Triphylia and Arkadia?*

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I. Examples of ‚federal sanctuaries‘

Some Greek federal states made use of particular sanctuaries in such a way and to such an extent that the sanctuaries in question may reasonably be described as ‚federal sanctuaries‘. Examples are provided by i. a. the federal states of Achaia and Aitolia. The Achaians conducted their federal assemblies¹ in the *Hamarion*, i. e. the sanctuary of Zeus Hamarios near the city of Aigion,² and important federal documents were displayed in this sanctuary, which seems to have acted as the symbolic centre of the federation with an altar for Hestia.³ Zeus Hamarios can reasonably be described as the patron divinity of the Achaian Federation:⁴ He was depicted on the federal coinage,⁵ indemnities were paid to him,⁶ and the Achaians swore official oaths by his name.⁷ The

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¹ Strab. 8,7,3: (...) οἱ Ἀχαιοί, καὶ κοινοβούλιον εἰς ἓνα τόπον συνήγετο αὐτοῖς (ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀμάριον) ἐν ᾧ τὰ κοινὰ ἐχρημάτιζον καὶ οὗτοι καὶ Ἴωνες πρότερον – *and with them a common council was convened at one place (it was called Amarium), in which these [sc. the Achaeans], as did the Ionians before them, dealt with affairs of common interest* [trl. H.L. Jones]; 8,7,5: τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄλσος τὸ Ἀμάριον, ὅπου συνήεσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν – *and Amarium, precinct of Zeus, where the Achaeans met to deliberate on affairs of common interest* [trl. H.L. Jones].

² In 188 B.C. a reform was introduced by which meetings of the assembly and the council were made to rotate among the member cities (Liv. 38,30,1-6 with Larsen (1968), 235); the implication is that before that date meetings were held at a single location, which must have been the Hamarion. However, Aymard (1936), 15-21 believes that the Hamarion had ceased to be the sole meeting place prior to 188; on the other hand, Walbank (2000), 28 argues that even after the reform of 188 the Hamarion still served as the federal archive of the Achaians.

³ Pol. 5,93,10: ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἔληξαν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορᾶς, γράψαντες εἰς στήλην παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀνέθεσαν βωμὸν ἐν Ὀμαρίῳ – *and the terms on which they finally composed their difference were engraved on a stone and set up beside the altar of Hestia in the Homarium* [trl. W.R. Paton], with Walbank 1957 ad loc.; IvMagn 39,33-37: τοὺς δὲ δαμιοργοὺς τῶν [Α]χαιῶν ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψάφισμα τὸ παρὰ τᾶς π[ό]λιος τῶν Μαγνήτων καὶ τὸ δόγμα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀμαρίου, ὅπως φανερὸν ἦι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἑλλασιν, διότι κτλ – *and the damiorgoi of the Achaians are to engrave the decree from the city of the Magnesians and the decision of the Achaians on a stone stele and erect it in the sanctuary of Zeus Amarios in order that it may be clear to the other Greeks that (...)* [trl. author].

⁴ Aymard (1938), 278.

⁵ Head, HN², 416-19.

⁶ IG V.2 344, 3-4: ὀφλέτω] τριάκοντα τάλαντα ἱερὰ τοῦ Δι[ὸς τοῦ Ἀμαρίου – *he shall be liable to pay thirty talents to be sacred to Zeus Amarios* [trl. author].

⁷ IG V.2 344, 8: ὁ[μ]νύω Δία Ἀμάριον – *I swear by Zeus Amarios* [trl. author].

Hamarion, then, was the ‚federal sanctuary‘ of the Achaian Federation, at least from the later 370s if not before.⁸ The federal sanctuary of the Aitolians was *Thermos*, the famous sanctuary of Apollo Thermios. Here one of the two regular annual meetings of the federation, the autumn meeting, and elections of magistrates were conducted during the festival of *Thermika* which included athletic games of that name as well as a great fair.⁹ Here federal documents were published¹⁰ and here the *koinon* of the Aitolians made communal dedications to Apollo Thermios¹¹ and set up honorary monuments.¹² Both these federations were well-developed and long-lived organisations and their central sanctuaries must have served as ‚federal sanctuaries‘ for long periods of time. It seems not unreasonable to posit that such sanctuaries, in addition to their practical political and administrative functions, will have served as the symbolic centre of the state and have provided one of the bases upon which to build the identity of the state and its people, also in its less tangible aspects. Finally, it should be noted that at least Thermos was an important sanctuary long before the Aitolian Federation proper had come into existence: The Federation seems to have come into existence only after the

⁸ The date at which Zeus Hamarios became the patron divinity of the federation depends largely upon the historicity of the information in Pol. 2,39,6 where it is reported that the Achaian colonies in Magna Graecia adopted the federal cult of Zeus Hamarios as well as the federal constitution of homeland Achaia in the fifth century. If this information is considered historical (as by Larsen (1968), 84 and Walbank (2000)), Zeus Hamarios must have been the federal patron divinity already in the fifth century and thus from the foundation of the federation. Morgan – Hall (1996), 195-97 question the historicity of Polybios’ information and suggest that Zeus Hamarios replaced Poseidon Helikonios as the federal patron divinity only after the destruction of Helike by a tidal wave in 373. Cf. Parker (1998), 31-32 who rejects this idea.

⁹ Ephoros (FGrH 70) fr. 122 ap. Strab. 10,3,2: Θέρμοις τῆς Αἰτωλίας ὅπου τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ποιῆσθαι πάτριον αὐτοῖς – *Therma in Aetolia (where it is their ancestral custom to hold their elections of magistrates* [trl. H.L. Jones]; Pol. 5,8,5: ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Θέρμῳ (...) καθ’ ἕκαστον γὰρ ἔτος ἀγορὰς τε καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιφανεστάτας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καταστάσεις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ συντελούντων, ἕκαστοι πρὸς τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ τὰς εἰς ταῦτα παρασκευὰς τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς βίοις ὑπαρχόντων εἰς τοῦτον ἀπετίθεντο τὸν τόπον – *For as it is here [sc. in Therma] that they hold every year a very splendid fair and festival, as well as the election of their magistrates, they all kept the most precious of their goods stored up in this place to be used for the proper reception of their guests and for the various needs of the festive season* [trl. W.R. Paton]. Cf. Larsen (1952), 1-17; Walbank (1957), 546; Beck (1997), 46, 52 no. 48; Grainger (1999), 171, and Scholten (2000), 26. For the athletic games see the third-century victory catalogue SEG XI 338,7: Θερμικὰ στάδιον, ὀπλίταν.

¹⁰ See, e.g., Syll.³ 366.2-3: στήλας δὲ στήσαι ἀναγράψαντας [τὴν τε συμμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὄρκον ἐμὴν μὲν Αἰτωλίαι ἐν Θέρμῳ – *and set up stelae with the terms of the alliance as well as the oath, in Aetolia at Thermos (...)* [trl. author], (early third century) and IG IX.1¹ 3, 13-16: ἀναγραφάντω δὲ ταῦτα ἐν στάλαις χαλκείαις ἐπ’ Ἀκτίῳ μὲν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων, ἐν δὲ Θέρμῳ τοὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι δὲ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ ἐν Δω[δ]ώναι κοινᾷ ἑκάτεροι – *and this shall be engraved in bronze stelae at Aktion by the magistrates of the Akarnanians, at Thermos by the magistrates of the Aitolians, and by both parties in common at Olympia, Delphi and Dodone* [trl. author], (third century). Cf. Scholten (2000), 25, 42-43, 81.

¹¹ IG IX.1¹ 69 (second century): [τὸ] κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλ[ῶν τὸν] βω[μ]ὸν Ἀπόλλωνι Θε[ρ]μίῳ – *The state of the Aitolians dedicated the altar to Apollo Thermios* [trl. author].

¹² E.g. IG IX.1¹ 52-57.

middle of the fifth century,¹³ whereas Thermos was a sanctuary with monumental buildings already from the seventh century.¹⁴ Peter Funke, however, assumes that the sanctuary was of significance to Aitolian identity before the appearance of the federation, and that seems entirely reasonable.¹⁵ Indeed, it may have caused that sense of common identity in the first place.

Can sanctuaries serving such purposes, i. e. ‚federal sanctuaries‘, be identified in federated Triphylia or Arkadia? Both these fourth-century federations seem to have been created primarily in order to withstand external pressure from a major power: Elis in the case of Triphylia and Sparta in the case of Arkadia. They were thus in their essence political responses to serious military and political problems. It will be worth demonstrating this very briefly, and I shall begin with Triphylia though the sparse evidence allows only a very vague outline of the development.

II. Triphylia

The Copenhagen inventory of *poleis*¹⁶ identified eight *poleis* in Triphylia,¹⁷ but the number may in fact have been somewhat larger.¹⁸ It seems almost certain that prior to the fourth century these *poleis* did not share a common identity *i. e.* that the concepts of ‚Triphylia‘ and ‚Triphylians‘ did not yet exist, but were, in fact, developments of the late fifth or early fourth century.¹⁹ Nor were the *poleis* of what became Triphylia politically united prior to the fourth century.²⁰ The only *polis* of the later Triphylia known in anything remotely resembling detail is Lepreon. During the Persian invasion Lepreon acted as an independent *polis* and was a member of the Spartan-led Hellenic League, which defeated the invading Persians. It supplied 200 hoplites for the battle of Plataiai in 479 and was duly listed as a belligerent on the Serpent Column at Delphi as

¹³ Funke (1997), 150-52.

¹⁴ Morgan – Coulton (1997), 109 with 139 no. 134 for references; Grainger (1999), 38; Scholten (2000), 9.

¹⁵ Funke (1997), 152. Cf. Parker (1998), 17-18; Grainger (1999), 29, 37-39, and Scholten (2000), 9. Aymard (1936), 8 assumes a similar development for the Hamarion.

¹⁶ Hansen – Nielsen (2004).

¹⁷ Nielsen (2004).

¹⁸ Nielsen (2002), 609-12.

¹⁹ See Nielsen (1997) and (2005); see also Ruggeri (2009) 49-58. Note, however, that Parker (2009), 197-98 disputes this and believes that Triphylian identity did in fact exist prior to the foundation of the Triphylian Federation ca. 400. If correct, it must have been actively suppressed by Elis (cf. Nielsen (2005), not cited by Parker).

²⁰ Again, see Nielsen (1997); (2004), and (2005) as well as Roy (1997); (1999), and (2000a) for the details of the following brief exposé on fifth-century „Triphylia”.

well as on the monument dedicated at Olympia by the Hellenic League.²¹ Here, clearly, Lepreon acted without reference to the other *poleis* of the area of what would become Triphylia,²² and, notably, without reference to Elis. If it did defer to any city, it was to Sparta, the *hegemon* of the Hellenic League.

Why no other *polis* of the area joined the Hellenic League is unknown, but a real possibility is that they had already been incorporated into a hegemonic *symmachia* led by the Eleians, whose commitment to the war effort against the Persians was less than impressive.²³ By the time of the Peloponnesian War the *polis* of Elis had come to dominate the areas along the western coast of the Peloponnese from Elis to as far south as the city of Lepreon. These conquests were achieved by a combination of force, diplomacy and economic means.²⁴ An inscription of the late sixth century records a treaty of *symmachia* between Elis and the otherwise unknown community of the *Ewaioi* and it is clear from the text that the *Ewaioi* were in fact a dependency of Elis.²⁵ Lepreon, too, became a dependent ally of Elis at an unknown point before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, when Lepreon itself opened negotiations with Elis, being hard pressed in a war against some unspecified Arkadians.²⁶ Both Herodotos²⁷

²¹ Hdt. 9,28,4; Meiggs & Lewis, GHI 27 II,2; Paus. 5,23,2. On the Hellenic League, see Brunt (1963); Tronson (1991), and Nielsen (2007a).

²² Paus. 5,23,4: Λεπρεᾶται τῶν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας μόνοι – *of those in Triphylia the Lepreatai only* [trl. author].

²³ Nielsen (2007b), 53-54.

²⁴ On the expansion of Elis, see Roy (1997); (1999); Nielsen (1997), and (2005).

²⁵ IvO 9 = Meiggs & Lewis, GHI 17 on which see Roy (1997), 293-94; (2009a), 39, and Roy – Schofield (1999).

²⁶ Thuk. 5,31,1-5,31,2: ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Ἡλείων πρεσβεία εὐθύς καὶ ἐποίησατο πρὸς Κορινθίους ξυμμαχίαν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθόντες, καθάπερ προεῖρητο, Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο. διαφερόμενοι γὰρ ἐτύγχανον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ Λεπρέου. πολέμου γὰρ γενομένου ποτὲ πρὸς Ἀρκάδων τινὰς Λεπρεᾶταις καὶ Ἡλείων παρακληθέντων ὑπὸ Λεπρεατῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμισείᾳ τῆς γῆς καὶ λυσάντων τὸν πόλεμον Ἡλεῖοι τὴν γῆν νεμομένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς Λεπρεᾶταις τάλαντον ἔταξαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ ἀποφέρειν – *Soon after there also came an embassy of the Eleans and first concluded an alliance with the Corinthians, and then they proceeded to Argos, as they had been instructed, and made an alliance with the Argives. It seems that at one time the Eleans were at variance with the Lacedaemonians about Lepreum. For when there had been a war between the Lepreates and some of the Arcadians, and the Eleans had been invited by the Lepreates to make an alliance with them, with the offer of half their territory, on the conclusion of the war the Eleans left the Lepreates in possession of their land, but assessed upon them a tax of a talent to be paid to Olympian Zeus* [trl. C.F. Smith].

²⁷ Hdt. 4,148,4: ἔκτισαν πόλις τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον, Μάκιστον, Φρίξας, Πύργον, Ἐπιον, Νούδιον· τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλέονας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἡλεῖοι ἐπόρθησαν – *and founded in the land they had won the cities of Lepreum, Macistus, Phrixae, Pyrgus, Epium, Nudium; most of which were in my time taken and sacked by the Eleans* [trl. A.D. Godley].

and Xenophon²⁸ refer to the use of armed forces by Elis in establishing its dominion. And, finally, it appears from Xenophon that the Eleians had bought the Triphylian city of Epeion ‘from those who held the city at that time’, which has commonly been taken to mean that the city was bought from some Arkadians who had conquered it.²⁹

It is clear both from the two individual cases of Lepreon and the *Ewaioi* as well as from a number of sources of a more general character that Elis organized its dependencies into a *symmachia* of which Elis itself was the *hegemon*.³⁰ This *symmachia* existed by the last quarter of the sixth century at the latest³¹ and was dissolved by the Spartans when they had defeated Elis in war around 400 B.C.³² It thus existed in 420 BC when Elis concluded a treaty of *symmachia* with Athens, Argos and Mantinea, the text of which is preserved in Thucydides (5,47). It appears from the text of the treaty that Elis negotiated this alliance as the *hegemon* of its league and on behalf of the allies.³³ If the testimony of these three historians can be trusted, the *poleis* of the later Triphylia entered the Eleian League mostly under pressure: either the pressure of circumstances, as in the case of Lepreon, or the pressure of Eleian arms. It seems that the cities of the later Triphylia were discontented with their membership of the Eleian League: Lepreon defected during the Peloponnesian War³⁴ and during Elis’ war with Sparta in the late fifth or early fourth century Lepreon again defected and was joined

²⁸ Xen. Hell. 3,23: ἐπιληίδας γὰρ ἔχοιεν τὰς πόλεις – *since these cities were theirs by right of conquest* [trl. R. Warner], sc. the perioikic *poleis*, among which were e.g. Lepreon, Makiston and Epitalion in the later Triphylia. On ἐπιληίδας, see Roy (1997), 291.

²⁹ Xen. Hell. 3,2,30: Ἡπειον μέντοι τὴν μεταξὺ πόλιν Ἡραίας καὶ Μακίστου ἤξιουν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ἔχειν πρίασθαι γὰρ ἔφησαν τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν παρὰ τῶν τότε ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δεδωκέναι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γνόντες μηδὲν δικαιότερον εἶναι βία πριαμένους ἢ βία ἀφελομένους παρὰ τῶν ἡττόνων λαμβάνειν, ἀφιέναι καὶ ταύτην ἠνάγκασαν – *The Eleians, however, considered that they had a right to retain possession of Epeum, the city between Heraea and Macistus; they said that they had bought the whole territory for thirty talents from those who held the city at that time, and that the money had been paid over. The Spartans, however, decided that it was just as unfair to take property from the weaker party by a forced purchase as by forcible seizure, and so they compelled them to give this city its independence too* [trl. R. Warner, (modified)], on which passage see Niese (1910), 7.

³⁰ On the *symmachia* of Elis, see Siewert (1994); Roy (1997), 292-295; (2009b); Nielsen (1997), 139-141, and Capreedy (2007-2008).

³¹ Minon (2007), no. 5

³² Roy (1997), 299-304. On the war, see Roy (2009c).

³³ Thuk. 5,47,1: Σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο ἑκατὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτη καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἡλεῖοι <πρὸς ἀλλήλους>, ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν ὧν ἄρχουσι ἐκάτεροι, ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν – *The Athenians, Argives, Mantineans, and Eleians have made a treaty with one another for a hundred years, on behalf of themselves and the allies over whom they have authority respectively, to be observed without fraud or hurt both by land and sea* [trl. C.F. Smith].

³⁴ Nielsen (2005), 67ff. with refs.

this time by Makiston and Epitalion.³⁵ Clearly, a number of crucial allies were opposed to their membership of the league and probably came to consider Elis their arch-enemy.

When the Spartans dissolved the league after their victory in the war, the cities south of the Alpheios and north of the Neda promptly developed a shared regional identity almost out of thin air and, based upon this identity, a small federal state.³⁶ The development of a Triphylian federal state was made desirable by the threat posed by Elis and was made politically possible by Spartan backing³⁷ and, most importantly, by the fact that Lepreon was available as a leader.³⁸

The new regional identity of the Triphylians was obviously artificial in a certain sense, though it does seem to have been based on selected items of pre-existing local mythology.³⁹ It may even be that the new federal state made especial use of one pre-existing sanctuary, that of Poseidon Samios at Samikon, which was, significantly, not located in the territory of Lepreon but in that of Makiston.⁴⁰ The evidence is, however, late and exiguous. It is provided by a single passage in Strabo (Strab. 8,3,13):

Εἶτα τὸ διεῖργον ὄρος τῆς Τριφυλίας τὴν Μακιστίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Πισάτιδος· εἶτ' ἄλλος ποταμὸς Χαλκίς καὶ κρήνη Κρουνοὶ καὶ κατοικία Χαλκίς, καὶ τὸ Σαμικὸν μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅπου τὸ μάλιστα τιμώμενον τοῦ Σαμίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν· ἔστι δ' ἄλσος ἀγριελαιῶν πλέων· ἐπεμελοῦντο δ' αὐτοῦ Μακίστιοι· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἐπήγγελλον, ἦν καλοῦσι Σάμιον· συντελοῦσι δ' εἰς τὸ ἱερόν πάντες Τριφύλιοι.⁴¹

Since the *polis* of Makiston ceased to exist in the third century,⁴² the reference to its administration of the sanctuary probably refers to the fourth century or earlier, though no precision is possible. If the reference is to the period before the emergence of the

³⁵ Xen. Hell. 3,2,25: ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἁγίδος δι' Αὐλῶνος, εὐθύς μὲν Λεπρεᾶται ἀποστάντες τῶν Ἠλείων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, εὐθύς δὲ Μακίστιοι, ἐχόμενοι δ' Ἐπιταλιεῖς – Agis invaded Elis by way of Aulon and immediately the Lepreans revolted from Elis and came over to him. So did the Macistians and then the Epitalians [trl. R. Warner (modified)].

³⁶ On the Triphylian Federation: Nielsen (1997), 148-155; (2002), 252-262, and Ruggeri (2009), 58-59.

³⁷ Siewert (1987-1988); Nielsen (1997), 151-152.

³⁸ Nielsen (1997), 153.

³⁹ Nielsen (1997), 145-147.

⁴⁰ Or, perhaps, in no man's land, as suggested by Mylonopoulos (2006), 139.

⁴¹ *Then comes the mountain of Triphylia that separates Macistia from Pisatis; then another river called Chalcis, and a spring called Cruni, and a settlement called Chalcis, and, after these, Samicum, where is the most highly revered temple of the Samian Poseidon. About the temple is a sacred precinct full of wild olive-trees. The people of Macistum used to have charge over it; and it was they, too, who used to proclaim the armistice-day called Samian. But all the Triphylians contribute to the maintenance of the temple* [trl. H.L. Jones].

⁴² Nielsen (2002), 606-607; Ruggeri (2009), 55.

Triphylian Federation, the existence of a ‚sacred truce‘ (ἐκεχειρία) is easily understood, since there was no political unity among the *poleis* of the later Triphylia, but its existence also suggests that the cult of Poseidon Samios was of more than merely local importance. The sanctuary may, then, have been of some regional significance when the federation emerged ca. 400. Whether it became a federal sanctuary depends on the interpretation of the last sentence in the Strabonian passage (συντελοῦσι δ' εἰς τὸ ἱερόν πάντες Τριφύλιοι).⁴³ In the Hellenistic period, Triphylia was a purely geographical name⁴⁴ and the only period in which the *Triphyliai* constituted a political body capable of assuming the financial responsibility for a major sanctuary is the federal period of the fourth century. If Strabo's information that „all Triphylians“ contributed to the maintenance of the sanctuary is historical, and if it does not actually refer to the early fourth century, it is probably best explained as a relic from the federal period of the fourth century. This would, however, also mean that the federation did, in fact, direct its attention to the sanctuary. It will, however, be readily apparent that this is an almost purely hypothetical case for a federal sanctuary in Triphylia. But if it is accepted, Samikon will presumably have constituted a welcome point of reference for the newly developed regional identity and the new federal state in addition to its foreign policy of security. The reasons that the federation focused upon Samikon – if it did – may then be that it was already of regional importance and was not under the control of the leading city of the federation, Lepreon.

III. Arkadia⁴⁵

⁴³ *But all the Triphylians contribute to the maintenance of the temple* [trl. H.L. Jones].

⁴⁴ Nielsen (1997), 129-132. Strabo's information is believed to have been derived from Apollodoros of Athens (Mylonopoulos (2006), 137).

⁴⁵ What I consider in this section is whether a sanctuary serving as the federal sanctuary of the Arkadians as such can be identified. However, inside the Arkadian *ethnos* there were several subgroups, such as the Parrhasians and the Mainalians, who were settled in several local *poleis* which were also politically united and formed small federation-like states (Nielsen – Roy (1998); Nielsen (2002), 271-307). The famous sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios on Mt. Lykaion was situated in Parrhasian territory (Pind. Ol. 9,95-9,96) and it cannot be excluded that it served as a symbolic centre for the Parrhasian state (Jost (1985), 183). There is, however, no substantial evidence to support this apart from the fact that the sanctuary was located in Parrhasia. Forsén et al. (1999), 185-87 have suggested that the sanctuary with a monumental late archaic temple at Agias Elias near the Mainalian *polis* of Asea served not merely Asea but also (part of) the other Mainalian communities and may thus have been of significance for the emergence of the Mainalian state. The suggestion is prompted primarily by the great size of the temple constructed in Dholiana marble from the quarries near Tegea some 18 km away, a project which, it is argued, must have been too demanding for Asea alone. The amount of labour needed to construct this temple is discussed in Forsén (2008).

There is more evidence for fifth-century Arkadia than for Triphylia, but the basic pattern of development resembles that of Triphylia in a number of crucial respects. First of all, although the Arkadians did share a common and reasonably well-defined identity,⁴⁶ there was no political organization comprising all of the 39 *poleis* of the region prior to the emergence of the Arkadian Federation in 370 B.C. On the contrary, there was a good deal of outright fighting between the *poleis* of the region⁴⁷ and the local states of Arkadia all seem to have been members of the hegemonic league of the Lakedaimonians, the so-called Peloponnesian League.⁴⁸ Both Tegea and Mantinea, the two greatest *poleis* of the region, defected from the Peloponnesian League during the fifth century: Tegea in alliance with Argos⁴⁹ and Mantinea in alliance with Elis, Argos and Athens.⁵⁰ Both cities, however, were defeated in battle and brought back to the Spartan camp. Tegea and Mantinea had both created their own local alliances inside Arkadia,⁵¹ but the Mantinean League was dissolved by the Spartans after their victory at Mantinea in 418 BC,⁵² exactly as was the Eleian League two decades later. Mantinea now, as has been plausibly suggested by Peter Funke, pioneered the use of *sympoliteia*⁵³ to create a new local powerbase, again in opposition to Sparta.⁵⁴ Sparta responded with the infamous *dioikismos* of 385 B.C.⁵⁵ It is no surprise, then, that at the first available opportunity, after the second *Koine Eirene* of 371, a newly founded Mantinea assumed leadership and went on to create an Arkadian Federation.⁵⁶

Some sort of Arkadian unification, it would seem, had been the ambition of both Tegea and Mantinea during the fifth century and Spartan pressure must have made it highly desirable for many other communities of the region. Unification became possible when Spartan power weakened and the two major *poleis* of Tegea and Mantinea began to work with each other instead of against each other in achieving panarkadian

⁴⁶ On Arkadian identity, see Roy (1972); Nielsen (2002), 45-88, and Pretzler (2009).

⁴⁷ Nielsen (2002), 186-187, 226, 535 (Archaic period), 372-374 (Classical period).

⁴⁸ Nielsen (2002), 380-397.

⁴⁹ Hdt. 9,35, on which see Nielsen (2002), 396.

⁵⁰ Thuk. 5,29,1, on which see Nielsen (2002), 397.

⁵¹ Nielsen (2002), 366-372.

⁵² Thuk. 5,81,1; cf. Funke (2004), 433.

⁵³ *Sympoliteia* is a treaty between, as a rule, a minor community and a larger by which the minor is absorbed into the larger and its citizens become citizens of the larger community (see Rhodes – Osborne, GHI 14 with page 64).

⁵⁴ Funke (2004); Funke (2009), 9-11.

⁵⁵ Nielsen (2002), 390-391.

⁵⁶ Larsen (1968), 183; Dušanić (1970), 285; Nielsen (2002), 475-77, and Pretzler (2009), 87.

unification. What role did sanctuaries play in this development? For the actual foundation of the federation sanctuaries seem not to have played any role, but for Arkadian identity the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios on Mt. Lykaion had been of, perhaps central, importance at least since the fifth century, while certain key episodes of the Arkadian myth of origin were closely connected with the mountain and the sanctuary.⁵⁷ Since the Arkadian Federation was ideologically based on a fierce sense of Arkadian identity,⁵⁸ the cult on Mt. Lykaion would seem to have constituted an obvious target for federal attention and the sanctuary is indeed sometimes referred to by modern scholars as the federal sanctuary of the Arkadians.⁵⁹ The sanctuary, furthermore, had the great advantage that it was not controlled by any of the great *poleis* of the region,⁶⁰ but by the sub-ethnic federation of the Parrhasians.⁶¹ It is also clear from Pindar that it was reasonably well-known even outside of Arkadia itself, on account of the games celebrated there.⁶²

That Zeus Lykaios could be perceived as the central Arkadian divinity seems to appear from Pindar's description of the great ash altar on Mt. Lykaion (Λυκαίου βωμὸς ἄναξ) as Ἄρκάσιον ἀνάσσειν, 'ruler of the Arkadians' (Ol. 13,108). The importance of the festival of Zeus Lykaios to the Arkadians is nicely illustrated by a curious episode related by Xenophon in his *Anabasis* (1,2,10): The army of Cyrus stopped for three days at Peltai while Xenias, an Arkadian from Parrhasia, conducted the Lykaian sacrifices and games. Considering that some 4,000 of Cyrus' mercenaries were Arkadians,⁶³ this celebration of the Lykaia can only be interpreted as a concession to the Arkadians, the single most important ethnic component of the army. The sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion continued to be of importance to Arkadian identity after the split of the Arkadian Federation, as is clear from two steles with catalogues of *Lykaionikai* dating to the late fourth century (IG V.2 549-50): The catalogues list victors originating from outside of

⁵⁷ Borgeaud (1988), 23-44; Nielsen (2002), 66-72.

⁵⁸ Nielsen (2002), 117.

⁵⁹ Jost (1985), 239; Beck (1997), 189.

⁶⁰ Admittedly, when Megalopolis was founded, the sanctuary came under the control of that city (see below p. 000, but the Arkadian Federation existed before the synoecism which produced Megalopolis and so this point is valid at least for the early history of the Federation.

⁶¹ On the sub-ethnic federations („tribal states“) of Arkadia, see Nielsen (2002), 271-307.

⁶² See Pind. Ol. 7,83-7,84 (in honour of Diagoras of Rhodos); Ol. 9,95-9,96 (in honour of Epharmostos of Opous); see also Ol. 13,108 for Corinthian participation in the games and Nem. 10,48 for Argive participation.

⁶³ Roy (1967).

Arkadia by their city-ethnic (*Athenaios, Argeios, Syrakosios*, etc.), whereas Arkadians are listed simply as such, *i.e.* with the regional ethnic *Arkas* added to their names,⁶⁴ and Arkadians are thus meticulously distinguished from outsiders.⁶⁵

The sanctuary, then, was evidently of significance to Arkadian identity both before and after the federal period of the 360s. Furthermore both Tegea and Mantinea seem to have exploited the myths and symbols of the sanctuary in the fifth century in order to further their own local political objectives. A great series of fifth-century coins is commonly agreed to depict Zeus Lykaios on the obverse⁶⁶ while on the reverse it carries the legend ‘Of the Arkadians’ = ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ (variously spelt and abbreviated).⁶⁷ Exactly which authority issued these coins is unknown; it may have been a purely cultic association (‘amphictyony’),⁶⁸ it may have been a *symmachia* led by Tegea⁶⁹ or it may have been the civic coinage of Tegea itself, flagging its aspirations to Arkadian hegemony.⁷⁰ It seems likely, then, that Tegea was somehow the minter of this coinage,⁷¹ but what is really important here is rather the fact that a coinage demonstratively issued in the name of the Arkadians was adorned with an image of Zeus Lykaios. According to Pausanias, Mantinea, at the bidding of the Pythia, at one point relocated the bones of the Arkadians’ eponymous hero Arkas, who was or had come to be associated with Mt. Lykaion,⁷² from Mt. Mainalon to its agora,⁷³ thus demonstrating its hegemonic ambitions.⁷⁴ The most plausible date of this transfer is the later fifth century.⁷⁵ Mantinean coinage of the fifth century depict acorns, which are an important symbolic

⁶⁴ Jost (1985), 184; Nielsen (2002), 61-63, and Pretzler (2009), 93.

⁶⁵ Pretzler (2009), 93 describes this distinction between outsiders and Arkadians as an „extravagant Arkadian gesture“.

⁶⁶ Jost (1985), 183.

⁶⁷ Head, HN², 448; Williams (1965).

⁶⁸ Nielsen (2002), 121-41, 145-152.

⁶⁹ Psoma (1999); Nielsen (2002), 142-145.

⁷⁰ Nielsen (1996), 56 and (2002), 142-145. Cf. Beck (1997), 72.

⁷¹ Cf. Pretzler (2009), 98.

⁷² Borgeaud (1988), 30.

⁷³ Paus. 8,9,3: πρὸς δὲ τῆς Ἥρας τῶ βωμῶ καὶ Ἀρκάδος τάφος τοῦ Καλλιστοῦς ἐστὶ· τὰ δὲ ὅστ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀρκάδος ἐπιγάγοντο ἐκ Μαινάλου, χρησιμοῦ σφισιν ἐλθόντος ἐκ Δελφῶν – *Near the altar of Hera is the grave of Arcas, the son of Callisto. The bones of Arcas they brought from Maenalus, in obedience to an oracle delivered to them from Delphi* [trl. W.H.S. Jones]; 8,36,8: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσι τῶ ὄρει καὶ αἱ καλούμεναι Τρίοδοι, καὶ τὰ ὅστ᾽ Ἀρκάδος τοῦ Καλλιστοῦς ἀνείλοντο ἐντεῦθεν κατὰ τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα οἱ Μαντινεῖς – *On this mountain is what is called the Meeting of the Three Ways, whence the Mantineans fetched the bones of Arcas, the son of Callisto, at the bidding of the Delphic oracle* [trl. W.H.S. Jones].

⁷⁴ Nielsen (2002), 404; Pretzler (2009), 97.

⁷⁵ Hejnic (1960), 29; Jost (1985), 128; Bergese (1995), 25, and Nielsen (2002), 404.

constituent of the Arkadian myth of origin,⁷⁶ as well as bears, a reference to Kallisto, the mother of Arkas who was transformed into a bear.⁷⁷ These coins, then, draw on Lykaian associations for their types.

Zeus Lykaios, in fact, was well-suited to become the federal patron divinity, in particular since he had a prehistory, as it were, in this function and did not belong to any of the great *poleis*.⁷⁸ The extent to which he *did* become the patron divinity of the fully united federation is, however, not easy to determine and this problem is further complicated by the fact that after the synoecism of Megalopolis his sanctuary was now situated in the territory and under the administration of that city, which never forgot its federal origins.⁷⁹ As far as is known,⁸⁰ the federal assembly did not meet on Mt. Lykaion,⁸¹ and so far only a single fragment of what may be a federal document has been found at the sanctuary. Thus, the sanctuary does not seem to have been a preferred

⁷⁶ Borgeaud (1988), 26; Pretzler (2009), 97.

⁷⁷ Pretzler (2009), 97.

⁷⁸ Jost (1985), 184 thinks he did become the federal patron divinity.

⁷⁹ On Zeus Lykaios at Megalopolis see IG II² 933 and IG V.2 437 with Nilsson (1951), 18-9; Jost (1994), 221-22; Nielsen (2002), 140-41, and Parker (2009), 194. See also Nielsen (2008).

⁸⁰ A scholion in Dionysium Periegetam 415 reads as follows: Μετὰ τὸν Ἀρκάδος θάνατον οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ὄντες ἐνέμιαντο τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἐλατος μὲν ἔλαχε μοῖραν Ὀρχομενὸν, Μαντίνειαν καὶ τὴν Κυνουρικὴν, ἣτις Θυρέα καὶ Ἀνθήνη καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Πραίους· Ἀφείδας δὲ Τέγεαν καὶ τὰ περὶ Μαιναλίαν· Ἀζάν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Ἀζανίαν <...> τὸν διὰ παρρησίαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς ἱερὸν εἰς τὰς κοινὰς εἰσόδους εἶασαν. The interesting bit here is ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς ἱερὸν εἰς τὰς κοινὰς εἰσόδους εἶασαν. The text is clearly corrupt and the prepositional phrase εἰς τὰς κοινὰς as well as the verb εἶασαν must be emended. Meineke (cf. GGM II 447 ad loc.) emended to εἰς <ὁ> τὰς κοινὰς εἰσόδους ἔθεσαν, which has the merit of making sense. If accepted, the scholion claims either that public payments were made to the sanctuary; or perhaps that the Lykaian games were celebrated there (cf. LSJ s.v. εἴσοδος II.29); or that common – that is, presumably: federal – meetings (εἰσόδους may perhaps be a corruption of συνόδους) took place there. However, since there is clearly a lacuna after Ἀζανίαν it is not even clear what the subject of ἔθεσαν is, just as it is unclear what the correlate of the relative ἐν ᾧ is. Furthermore it is not clear what the text actually means and what its chronological reference is. And finally it is unclear from which ancient source – if any – the scholiast's 'information' derives. It would, obviously, be very bold to conclude from this garbled text that the Arkadian Federation of the 360s conducted its assemblies at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios.

⁸¹ The only federal meeting of the 360s whose location is known took place at Tegea (Xen. Hell. 7,4,36; Roy (2000b), 315). Note also that the only surviving proxeny decree of the 360s by the Arkadian Federation (IG V.2 1) was found at Tegea „which might suggest that the meeting at which the decree was voted also took place at Tegea“ (Roy (2000b), 315; cf. Stylianou (1998), 417). IG V.2 2 is presumably a fragment of federal decree of the 360s and it, too, was found at Tegea. Note also that Paus. 8,53,9 says καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ Τεγεᾶται καὶ ἐστὶν Ἀρκάδων κοινὴν – *The Tegeans also have what they call a Common Hearth of the Arkadians* [trl. W.H.S. Jones]. However, Pausanias' phrasing may perhaps indicate that 'Common Hearth of the Arkadians' was not the actual name of the monument but rather an everyday appellation, in which case its existence need not have implications for Tegea's standing in the federation. In any case, its date is unknown and it cannot be excluded that it should be connected with, e.g., Tegea's hegemonic ambitions in the fifth century. After the split of the federation in 363 meetings of the federal assembly are known to have taken place at Megalopolis (Demosth. 19,11,198; Aischin. 2,79,157); at Aristot. fr. 483 (Rose) is a general reference to meetings of the assembly in Megalopolis.

or privileged site of federal publication.⁸² Furthermore, the single document found is dated simply to the fourth century and so may belong to a time after the split of the federation, when Megalopolis posed as the leader of the broken Arkadian Federation,⁸³ as do the famous catalogues of *Lykaionikai*, victors in the Lykaian Games, which were found at the sanctuary.⁸⁴ It is, however, not impossible that Zeus Lykaios was provided with satellite sanctuaries in the member states of the federation. Such a satellite sanctuary is well-attested for the city of Megalopolis, though its existence there may simply be an expression of the fact that Mt. Lykaion was situated in Megalopolitan territory⁸⁵ and it need not have implications for the federal standing of the sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion. But another, suburban, satellite sanctuary is attested at Tegea. However, it is known only from Pausanias which means not only that its degree of elaboration is unknown but also that the date at which it was established can be conjectured only on the basis of historical considerations. Such considerations would date it to the 360s, but this, of course, begs the question.⁸⁶

In any case, that Tegea would connect itself to the Lykaion sanctuary is perhaps not very surprising, since the city was one of the prime movers for unity and had probably connected itself to the sanctuary already in the fifth century. It would seem much more important if a satellite sanctuary was known at an insignificant member state. It is just possible that there was such a sanctuary at Lepreon which had become a member of the federation.⁸⁷ Its existence depends, however, upon an emendation of a passage in Pausanias, who attests to a temple of Zeus *Leukaios* at Lepreon.⁸⁸ Considering the poor transmission of the text of Pausanias,⁸⁹ Zeus *Leukaios* could easily be a corruption of

⁸² IG V.2 548.

⁸³ See Nielsen (2008) with refs.

⁸⁴ IG V.2 549-550.

⁸⁵ Nilsson (1951), 18-19; Jost (1994), 226-228, and Parker (2009), 194.

⁸⁶ Paus. 8,53,11: ἐκ Τεγέας δὲ ἰόντι ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἔστι μὲν βωμὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ Πανός, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Λυκαίου Διός· λείπεται δὲ καὶ θεμέλια ἱερῶν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ εἰσιν οἱ βωμοὶ σταδίους δύο ἀπὼ πτέρω τοῦ τείχους – *On the left of the road as you go from Tegea to Laconia there is an altar of Pan, and likewise one of Lycaean Zeus. The foundations, too, of sanctuaries are still there. These altars are two stades from the wall* [trl. W.H.S. Jones], on which see Jost (1998), 290: „Les cultes de Pan et de Zeus Lykaios peuvent avoir été implantés à Tégée à la suite de la création de la Confédération arcadienne, comme des doublets du sanctuaire fédéral du Lycée“. Cf. Jost (1985), 158.

⁸⁷ Nielsen (1997), 144-157.

⁸⁸ Paus. 5,5,5: γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ Λεπρεῖται σφισιν ἔλεγον ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκαίου [Λυκαίου?] Διὸς ναόν – *The Lepreans told me that in their city once was a temple of Zeus Leucaeus [Lykaios?] [trl. W.H.S. Jones], on which see Nielsen (2002), 259 no. 132.*

⁸⁹ Habicht (1998), 2.

Zeus *Lykaios*,⁹⁰ an idea which may gain some support from the fact that the very same sentence of Pausanias mentions a grave of Lykourgos, son of king Aleos of Tegea, a figure of impeccable Arkadian pedigree. Certainty is, of course, impossible, but even if the emendation is accepted, a cult of Zeus Lykaios at Lepreon is perhaps not of major importance in the present connection, since the city had an urgent need to log onto the web of Arkadian traditions, its Arkadian identity being a completely new invention;⁹¹ *i.e.* a sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios at Lepreon need not have implications for the federal standing of his cult on Mt Lykaion. The cult of Zeus Lykaios, then, *may* have been a cult of central importance to the Arkadian Federation, but it is not possible to develop this assumption in any detail.

IV. Conclusion

Political unity in Triphylia and Arkadia developed in the form of federations, because external pressure made such developments desirable, in particular for the major *poleis* of the areas. It was made possible by a combination of external and internal developments, which allowed such major *poleis*, Lepreon in the case of Triphylia and Mantinea and Tegea in the case of Arkadia, to step forward and assume leadership. Both regions based the federal structure upon regional identities, which in the case of Triphylia was developed concomitantly with the federation itself, whereas in Arkadia it had existed for at least a century and on occasion played a minor political role. If ‚federal sanctuaries‘ played any role in these developments, it was most probably mainly by providing an extra area to which federal attention could be directed and by underpinning the regional identities – though this last function will, of course, have been of great importance – in particular for Triphylian identity, a construct of the early fourth century as it was. Federal functions are more, though still only vaguely, visible in the case of Zeus Lykaios in Arkadia. But even in his case they are, in reality, not easy to demonstrate and in fact basically an assumption. In the case of Triphylia even the existence of a candidate for a federal sanctuary is simply an hypothesis based upon a few remarks by Strabo.

⁹⁰ Cf. Jost (1985), 269; Roy (2000a), 156 no. 66. See, however: Jacquemin (2002), 110: „Il n’y a donc aucune raison de corriger le texte pour retrouver le nom de Zeus Lycaios“.

⁹¹ Nielsen (1997), 145-146; (2005), 77-81, and Ruggeri (2009), 59-62.

The argument of this paper, then, is the essentially negative one that even if it is possible to identify sanctuaries in Triphylia and Arkadia which would seem to have been perfect or at least reasonable choices as ‚federal sanctuaries‘, it cannot with the evidence presently at hand be demonstrated that these sanctuaries did in fact function as ‚federal sanctuaries‘ in the way that the Hamarion and Thermos did in the Achaian and Aitolian Federations. New inscriptional finds may change this, but it is perhaps doubtful whether new inscriptions will be forthcoming and the reason is the simple fact that both federations were unusually short-lived. An independent Triphylian Federation existed for some 30 years at best (ca. 400-ca. 370 BC) and a truly united Arkadian Federation existed for less than a decade (370-363 BC). Accordingly, it cannot be very surprising that ‚federal‘ sanctuaries are practically invisible in these two cases and that we must look to other federations in order to truly illuminate the significance of ‚federal sanctuaries‘.

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Construire et reconstruire l'État fédéral thessalien (Époque classique, époque hellénistique et romaine)

Cultes et sanctuaires des Thessaliens

Richard Bouchon – Bruno Helly (Lyon)

Nul doute, pour les Grecs de la fin du 6^e ou du 5^e s. av. J.-C., que les Thessaliens formaient une communauté, un ethnos, marqué par des caractères particuliers: ils se donnent et se reconnaissent un nom, celui de Thessaliens, ils utilisaient un dialecte qui leur était propre, ils avaient des sanctuaires et des cultes communs, ils se référaient à des mythes et à une généalogie spécifiques, ils marquaient leurs différences avec les populations voisines par des us et coutumes qui ne manquaient pas d'étonner, et en fin de compte, il n'échappait à personne que, même si on ne savait pas exactement d'où ils étaient venus, c'était dans le contexte d'une migration et d'une conquête de l'espace qu'ils étaient apparus dans la région où ils étaient désormais installés.¹ Il semblait ainsi que l'histoire des Thessaliens reposait sur une base large et solide. On doit constater pourtant que cette représentation de l'ethnogenèse des Thessaliens qui a cours dans l'historiographie moderne ne correspond plus vraiment à ce que nous pouvons apprendre aujourd'hui par les plus récentes découvertes de l'archéologie, de l'épigraphie et de la philologie, qu'il s'agisse de l'histoire du dialecte ou de la réinterprétation des textes historiques qui nous parlent des Thessaliens. Ainsi, invités à apporter notre contribution au programme consacré aux États fédéraux de la Grèce antique et tout d'abord à l'étude des sanctuaires fédéraux, nous avons voulu présenter l'état de nos réflexions sur l'histoire de ces cultes et de ces sanctuaires, en attendant de reprendre sur une base plus large les caractéristiques du développement de ce que nous avons appelé l'État thessalien.²

¹ Pour la définition des critères de l'ethnicité, cf. Hall (2002), 9-10, avec renvoi à son précédent ouvrage Hall (1997), 17-33. Pour la Thessalie, la source principale de la représentation historiographique actuelle est dans l'ouvrage de Sordi (1958).

² Helly (1995); pour l'état des recherches sur la genèse du dialecte thessalien, cf. Helly (2007).

I. Les cultes des héros fondateurs: Aiatos, Thessalos et quelques autres

Il est indispensable de rappeler et de souligner que le nom Θεσσαλός est d'abord un anthroponyme, un nom personnel comme beaucoup d'autres termes que nous caractérisons comme 'ethniques'. C'est ce nom personnel qui est devenu nom collectif et c'est de lui qu'a été dérivé le nom géographique Θεσσαλία, la Thessalie, qui est d'abord 'le pays de Thessalos' et de ses descendants, les Θεσσαλοί. En cela le nom se distingue d'autres ethniques qui sont construits au contraire sur un toponyme, tels que Larisa qui donne *Larisaïos*, etc., ou encore de dérivations telles que Magnès, d'où l'on tire d'abord le terme géographique *Magnétis*, 'la terre de Magnès', qui devient secondairement Magnésia, nom géographique plutôt que dénomination 'politique' d'un territoire.³

C'est donc à la référence à une personne et à une seule que les Thessaliens doivent leur nom et celui de leur territoire. Les Anciens en avaient une claire conscience et les textes nous en apportent la preuve. Déjà Hérodote avaient enregistré la tradition qui faisaient venir Thessalos et les Thessaliens d'Épire. Dans le récit des combats qui opposaient les Thessaliens aux Phocidiens l'historien fait référence à l'arrivée des Thessaliens de Thesprôtie en Thessalie (Hdt. 7,176):

À l'Ouest des Thermopyles est une montagne inaccessible, escarpée, qui s'étend jusqu'au mont Oeta. Le côté du chemin à l'Est est borné par la mer, par des marais et des ravins. Dans ce passage il y a des bains chauds, que les habitants appellent chytrai (chaudières), et près de ces bains est un autel consacré à Héraklès. Ce même passage était fermé d'une muraille dans

³ La distinction est clairement faite par Strabon, quand il commente les vers du Catalogue des vaisseaux d'Homère, *Iliade* 2,757-2,758: il désigne l'habitat des Magnètes comme Μαγνητις en 9,5,21: Πέπονθε δέ τι τοιοῦτο καὶ ἡ Μαγνητις, - *Le territoire des Magnètes a subi à peu près le même traitement*: c'est-à-dire qu'il est considéré comme un territoire dont la localisation a pu changer en fonction des déplacements de population (cf. dans la suite du passage l'explication: εἰκόσιν οὖν διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς μεταστάσεις καὶ ἐξαλλάξεις τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ ἐπιμίξεις συγχεῖν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, ὥστε τοῖς νῦν ἔσθ' ὅτε ἀπορίαν παρέχειν - *les continuels déplacements de populations, les changements de régimes politiques, le brassage des habitants sont vraisemblablement responsables de la confusion qui règne dans les noms et les peuples, d'où résulte, parfois, pour nos contemporains, un certain embarras*) et en 9,5,22: Ἱερώνυμος δὲ τῆς πεδιάδος Θετταλίας καὶ Μαγνητιδος τὸν κύκλον τρισχιλίων ἀποφαίνεται σταδίων - *Hiéronymos évalue à trois mille stades la périphérie de la plaine de Thessalie et du territoire des Magnètes* (caractérisation très générale des deux grands domaines de la région). Il utilise en revanche Μαγνησία en 9,5,7 comme dénomination géographique et 'moderne' νῦν μέντοι Μαγνησίας νομίζουσι τῆς τε ὑπ' Εὐρυπύλω τὰ περὶ Ὀρμένιον καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Φιλοκτήτη πᾶσαν - *on estime en vérité, aujourd'hui, que se rattachent à la Magnésie à la fois la région d'Orménion, dépendant du royaume d'Eurypylos, et la totalité du royaume de Philoctètes*, et de même en 9,5,15: Φεραὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι πέρας τῶν Πελασγικῶν πεδίων πρὸς τὴν Μαγνησίαν - *Phères représente, du côté de la Magnésie, la limite des plaines Pélasgiques*.

laquelle on avait anciennement pratiqué des portes. Les habitants de la Phocide l'avaient bâtie parce qu'ils redoutaient les Thessaliens, qui étaient venus de la Thesprotie s'établir dans l'Éolide qu'ils possèdent encore aujourd'hui.

Pour en rester au nom même de Thessalos, celui-ci exprime sans ambiguïté l'idée que le héros qui portait ce nom était 'celui qui a le désir d'ailleurs' et que la Thessalie est donc 'la terre désirée'. Telle est en effet l'étymologie que l'on peut reconnaître à ce nom Θεσσαλός, qui est issu de la même racine indo-européenne *g^whedh- qui a donné πόθος, θέσσασθαι, avec un phonème g^wh- que suppose la variation du nom Θεσσαλός, en thessalien Πετθαλός, Πετθαλός, ou encore Βετθαλός, Φετταλός, Θετταλός, selon les dialectes.⁴

Cette tradition est rapportée avec plus de détail par un polygraphe de l'époque impériale, Polyen, qui fait le récit du passage en Thessalie des Thessaliens et de la ruse de Polykleia, soeur d'Aiatos, le meneur de l'expédition (Polyain. strat. 8,44):

C'est Aiatos, le fils de Pheidippos, qui menait l'expédition contre les Béotiens, qui auparavant occupaient le territoire de Thessalie. Sa sœur est Polykleia; l'un et l'autre sont de la race des Héraclides. L'oracle avait dit que celui de cette race qui, le premier, traverserait l'Achéloos et empièterait sur le territoire ennemi prendrait la tête du royaume. L'armée s'apprêtait à traverser le fleuve. Polykleia se banda le pied et prétexta une blessure à la cheville pour obtenir de son frère qu'il la porte pour traverser le fleuve; celui-ci ne soupçonna rien et, pour aider sa sœur, confia son bouclier à ses aides, souleva Polykleia et entreprit gaillardement de traverser la rivière. Mais alors qu'ils s'étaient approchés de l'autre rive, elle lui saute des bras, se retourne vers lui pour lui dire: 'c'est à moi que revient le don de la royauté, en conformité avec l'oracle du dieu, car c'est moi qui, la première entre tous ai pris pied sur ce territoire.' S'étant rendu compte qu'il avait été trompé, Aiatos n'en prit pas ombrage et admira plutôt l'intelligence de sa sœur, au point de l'épouser: ils régnèrent ensemble et eurent un fils du nom de Thessalos, qui donna son nom à l'État thessalien (polis Thessalia).

La tradition faisant remonter l'installation des Thessaliens à un héros Aiatos a trouvé sa confirmation indirecte par l'archéologie, dans la région même de la plaine thessalienne que les nouveaux arrivants auraient touchée en premier, le Sud-Ouest de la plaine de Karditsa au pied du Pinde, et dont on pouvait supposer qu'elle avait une place primordiale dans l'ethnogenèse thessalienne, d'après le nom de Thessalotide qu'elle

⁴ Cf. Bader (2009), 51 et 55-56, avec renvois à Pokorny (1959), 488, et à LIV, 194, cf. déjà Lejeune (1955), 34: „L'opposition entre Θεσσαλός et béotien Φετταλός suppose un gw^h-initial”.

prend plus tard. Au cours du nettoyage et de la consolidation d'une tombe mycénienne à tholos qui avait été fouillée en 1910 près du village de Xinonéri,⁵ on a découvert un sanctuaire pour un culte dit 'héroïque' et le nom de ce héros a été révélé par une tuile portant un timbre où était inscrit en écriture dextroverse avec des lettres du 5^e s. av. J.-C. le nom de son propriétaire: ΑΙΑΤΙΟΝΙ[-]. Cette récupération d'une tombe princière d'époque mycénienne pour y établir un culte héroïque est maintenant un fait avéré en Grèce à l'époque archaïque et la découverte de Xinonéri permet de déterminer un point fixe de la chronologie de l'installation des Thessaliens dans leur nouveau domaine. Comme tous les autres sanctuaires de ce type, le sanctuaire d'Aiatos a dû être fondé à la fin du 8^e ou au début du 7^e s. av. J.-C.⁶

Il n'est pas étonnant de trouver aujourd'hui, pour la première fois, l'attestation d'un culte au héros Thessalos, que les Thessaliens vouaient à celui auquel ils devaient leur nom. Une inscription qui a été trouvée à Agai en Troade et qui a été tout récemment publiée fait connaître un décret des Thessaliens que l'on peut dater de la fin du 3^e s. av. J.-C. et dans lequel il est fait mention de ce culte.⁷ Dans ce document il est dit qu'un certain Speudoun, Thessalien, prêtre de Zeus Olympios, au retour d'une ambassade religieuse qui l'avait conduit dans les cités de Troade et d'Éolide, à Cos et à Magnésie du Méandre, a rapporté aux Thessaliens que toutes ces cités avaient manifesté leur dévouement envers eux en accomplissant des cérémonies religieuses et des sacrifices en l'honneur de Zeus Olympien et du héros Thessalos (lignes 15-18):

τοῦ τε γὰρ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου
καὶ εἴρου Πηθηαλοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς
τελετὰν καὶ θυσίαν πεποεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις π-
άνσας

*car, en l'honneur de Zeus Olympien, du héros Thessalos et des autres dieux,
toutes ces cités ont fait une cérémonie et accompli un sacrifice.*

Il semble raisonnable de considérer que, si les cités de Troade et d'Éolide, de Cos et de Magnésie du Méandre ont célébré les cultes rendus aux deux divinités explicitement désignées par le texte, Zeus Olympios et Thessalos, c'est que ces cultes étaient

⁵ Indzesiloglou (1995) et Indzesiloglou (2002). Cf. Helly 2007; pour cette inscription sur tuile de la tholos de Xinonéri. Cf. SEG LII 561 (datée 7^e-6^e s. av. par le premier éditeur).

⁶ Cf. Coldstream (1976), 8-17; Antonaccio (1995).

⁷ Malay – Riel (2009), 48-53. Cf. *BullEpigr.* 2010, 522, surtout p. 832-836 (B. Helly).

communs aux cités en question comme aux Thessaliens eux-mêmes et donc qu'ils existaient également en Thessalie. C'est là une information nouvelle tout à fait importante qu'a apportée ce document, sur lequel nous aurons à revenir encore ci-dessous.

La question de savoir si la figure de ce héros Thessalos était bien la même chez tous ces peuples, Thessaliens, Éoliens, Coéens et Magnètes, a été posée par les éditeurs de l'inscription d'Aigai. Certes, les traditions qui se rapportent à un héros appelé Thessalos donnent à celui-ci une identité, une généalogie et une histoire différentes chez les uns et chez les autres⁸. Les tentatives qui ont été faites pour attribuer à la Thessalie telle ou telle de ces figures nous semblent toutefois assez vaines, dans la mesure où les traditions qui nous ont été conservées ont été recueillies par des auteurs qui ont des origines différentes et n'appartiennent pas aux mêmes époques: de ce point de vue, au lieu d'opposer ces traditions les unes aux autres, il vaudrait mieux les considérer comme autant d'images de la même figure, illustrées et commentées dans autant d'albums de familles. Nous savons comment les Grecs pouvaient utiliser ces figures héroïques selon les situations historiques qu'ils vivaient et selon les besoins qu'ils avaient de justifier les relations qu'ils avaient ou voulaient avoir avec d'autres cités.⁹ Or textes et inscriptions rapportent que tous ces peuples de Troade, d'Éolide, tout comme ceux de Cos et de Magnésie du Méandre, étaient considérés par les Thessaliens comme leurs 'parents', συγγενεῖς, et qu'ils se donnaient ainsi les mêmes héros fondateurs et archégètes.¹⁰

Cependant les *Thessaloi*,¹¹ qui ne devaient constituer qu'un tout petit groupe d'hommes par comparaison avec les populations qui les y avaient précédés, en arrivant

⁸ Malay – Riel (2009), 48, 53 ont rappelé que les auteurs antiques ont reconnu trois héros de ce nom. L'un d'eux était fils d'Héraklès et de Chalkiopè, fille d'Eurypylos, roi de Cos et fils de Poséidon, qu'Héraklès a tué sur son chemin de retour depuis Troie, parce qu'il ne désirait pas lui donner un terrain sur l'île, 'let him land on his Island'. Ce Thessalos est devenu roi de Cos comme son grand père et il a eu deux fils, Pheidippos et Antiphos, qui prirent part à la guerre de Troie (Il. 16,577-579). À leur retour ces fils, installés en Thessalie, ont donné à cette région le nom de leur père. Un autre Thessalos était fils de Jason et de Médée, il a échappé au sort que lui réservait sa mère et il fit voile pour Iolkos pour y devenir roi à la mort d'Akastos, fils de Pélias. Un troisième Thessalos est fils d'Haimon, l'un des premiers rois de Thessalie, qui a donné son nom à la région. On doit ajouter un quatrième, ce Thessalos, fils d'Aiatos, petit-fils de Pheidippos, qui lui aussi est censé avoir donné son nom à la Thessalie tout en conservant le nom d'Hestiaiotis à la région de Tricca (Polyaenus 8,44; Charax *ap.* Steph. Byz. 254,16, s.v. Δώριον).

⁹ L'inscription trouvée à Xanthos avec le décret des habitants de la petite cité dorienne de Kytinion en Grèce centrale est considérée par les historiens comme exemplaire sur ce point.

¹⁰ Sur les parentés entre cités grecques, cf. Curty (1995).

¹¹ Sur la distinction qu'il convient de faire entre les *Thessaloi*, petit groupe des envahisseurs venus des montagnes du Pinde, et les *Thessaliens*, habitants de la région appelée Thessalie, alors que les anciens Grecs n'avaient à leur disposition qu'un seul et unique vocable, celui de Θεσσαλοί, cf. Helly (2007).

dans les plaines thessaliennes pour s'y installer définitivement, n'ont pas seulement récupéré la tombe mycénienne de Xinonéri pour y installer un culte à celui qui les avait conduits jusque là, ils ont aussi occupé les sanctuaires et repris à leur compte les cultes des populations qui y habitaient. Ces populations, que B. Helly a pu caractériser comme „achéo-béotiennes”,¹² avaient hérité de l'organisation sociale, économique et politique, de la culture et de la langue des grands royaumes qui s'étaient construits au cours du deuxième millénaire av. J.-C., que l'on a appelés mycéniens et dont Homère nous a conservé le souvenir. On trouve donc partout des références aux Argonautes et aux rois homériques dans les cités de la Thessalie et des régions périphériques. Jason¹³ est honoré non seulement à Iolkos, cité thessalienne au 6^e et au 5^e s., mais aussi sur les monnaies de Larisa, cité sur le territoire de laquelle on trouve deux quartiers du cadastre civique qui portent les noms de *Ioulkia* et *Ippro Ioulkia*.¹⁴ Les autres rois homériques sont également considérés comme des archégètes et on rend les cultes appropriés à Protésilaos à Thèbes de Phthiotide et en Achaïe Phthiotide de façon plus générale,¹⁵ à Philoctète à Homolion.¹⁶

Parmi tous ces héros homériques, la figure d'Achille prend une place particulière: il est tout particulièrement honoré dans la région qui était considérée comme l'ancienne Phthia, son royaume, de Lamia jusqu'à Pharsale, sur le territoire de laquelle se trouvait un sanctuaire dédiée à sa mère, le Thétideion dont parle Strabon (9,5,6):

¹² Helly (2007).

¹³ Jason était appelé *Monosandalos*, à cause de la sandale qu'il a perdue alors qu'il traversait la rivière Anauros à Iolkos (Pind. P. 5). B. Helly a montré que les Magnètes n'ont occupé le golfe Pagasétique qu'à partir du règne du milieu du 4^e s., par décision de Philippe de Macédoine: le peuple des Magnètes ne se rattache que secondairement à la figure de Jason, par le biais de la fondation de Démétrias sur le territoire de Pagasai et de Iolkos, cités non pas magnètes mais thessaliennes à l'époque classique: voir Helly (2006). On sait maintenant que ces deux cités ont frappé monnaies à la fin du 4^e s., cf. Liampi (2005), 23-40 (monnaies d'Iolkos: au droit tête d'Artémis Iolkia tournée à droite, au revers proue de la nef Argô; monnaie de Pagasai: au droit tête d'Apollon Pagasaios de trois quarts à droite et couronné de laurier, au revers lyre à sept cordes).

¹⁴ Inscription cadastrale SEG XXVI 672 1, 3 et 25.

¹⁵ L'existence de concours en l'honneur du héros Protésilaos est connue par une hydrie de bronze déposée au Musée national d'Athènes, qui formait le prix de la victoire d'un athlète: voir Amandry (1971), 617-618, dont la copie porte [ΕΞ] ΑΙΑΙΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΦΘΙΑΣ ΕΘΛΟΝ (sic) ΠΑΡ ΠΡΟΤΕΣΙΛ[Α], qu'il comprend comme dotant un concours d'Aia, 'région de Thessalie'. Il a depuis été montré qu'Aia était à situer en Malide, voir Helly (1995), 137-140; en se reportant aux remarques d'Amandry sur les fautes de gravure que l'on trouve parfois sur ce genre de support (note 76 p. 618), on peut supposer que la deuxième lettre conservée n'est pas un I mais un X inachevé, qui dans l'alphabet en usage dans la Thessalie du 5^e siècle prend la forme d'une patte d'oie, Ἀχαΐας τᾶς Φθίας. On jugera de cette hypothèse d'après l'excellente photographie de l'hydrie reproduite dans Kaltsas (2008), 268, volume édité à l'occasion des Jeux Olympiques de Pékin.

¹⁶ Cf. Moustaka (1973), 64-65.

καὶ τὸ Θετίδειον ἔστι πλησίον τῶν Φαρσάλων ἀμφοῖν, τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας.

et le Thétideion, au voisinage des deux Pharsale, l'ancienne et la nouvelle.

Mais Achille est devenu par la suite une figure ‘pan-thessalienne’, comme en témoignent d’une part les émissions monétaires de la confédération thessalienne à l’époque impériale, d’autre part un texte du rhéteur Philostrate, dans un petit traité où il met en scène le héros homérique Protésilaos et évoque le culte que l’on rendait au tombeau d’Achille en Troade:¹⁷

Achille était aussi vénéré par des hymnes, que les Thessaliens chantaient la nuit quand ils visitaient son tombeau, chaque année, mêlant d’une certaine manière un rite initiatique à un culte héroïque. (...)

Les offrandes thessaliennes qui parvenaient régulièrement à Achille de Thessalie avaient été réclamées aux Thessaliens par l’oracle de Dodone (...): un taureau blanc et un taureau noir, du bois du Mont Pélion, (...) du feu, (...) libations et eaux de la rivière Spercheios. (...)

On dit que ces rites, si vénérables et si anciens, avaient été abolis par les tyrans qui ont succédé aux Éacides, puis qu’ils ont été négligés par les Thessaliens (...) pour être de nouveau abandonnés par eux à partir de l’expédition de Xerxès en Grèce: les Thessaliens étaient alors en effet du côté des Mèdes (...).

Il n’est pas certain que ce culte pan-thessalien d’Achille soit très ancien et la réserve même de Philostrate rappelant l’abolition du culte et la négligence des Thessaliens¹⁸ laisse penser que ce n’était pas le cas. On peut se demander si en fait il ne s’agit pas d’une récupération de la seconde sophistique.¹⁹ Mais il est vrai que pendant toute l’histoire des Thessaliens, notamment à Pharsale, qui au 5^e s. av. mettait déjà la figure d’Achille sur ses monnaies,²⁰ on a tenté de ressusciter l’antique Phthia, le royaume d’Achille, cette Phthia qui était elle aussi, de par son nom, une ‘terre désirée’ mais que l’on n’avait plus.²¹ C’est ainsi, selon nous, que se justifiait l’attribution à Pharsale du

¹⁷ Philostr. her., 52,3-52,14.

¹⁸ Philostrate rapporte aussi que les Thessaliens étaient régulièrement punis de leurs négligences par le héros, cf. Helly (2006), 195-196.

¹⁹ Sur cette hypothèse, on se reportera à Bouchon (2008), 311-321.

²⁰ Lavva (2001), 30-31, Katalog, p. 221, no. 296.

²¹ Cf. Strab. 9,5,6: οἱ μὲν εἰπόντες χώραν διατετάσθαι φασὶν [εἰσι] τὰς Θήβας τὰς Φθιώτιδας ἀπὸ Παλαιφαρσάλου (ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ Θετίδειον ἔστι πλησίον τῶν Φαρσάλων ἀμφοῖν, τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας, κὰκ τοῦ Θετιδείου τεκμαιρόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ μέρος εἶναι καὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν) – *Parmi les auteurs plus récents (qu’Homère) les uns font d’Hellas un territoire qui*

territoire de Halos en Achaïe Phthiotide après la destruction de celle-ci en 346 av. J.-C.²² comme une ‘restauration de la géographie mythologique’, dans la mesure où l’on pouvait penser à Pharsale comme capitale d’un vaste territoire qui devait correspondre aux limites de l’Hellas d’Achille.

Mais un autre acteur a pu avoir une action décisive sur cette évolution du culte d’Achille, Alexandre le Grand, dont on sait qu’il avait pris Achille pour modèle. La scène fameuse du jeune héros se rendant sur le tombeau d’Achille tout au début de son expédition en Asie, était accompagné des cinq mille cavaliers thessaliens qu’il avait emmenés avec lui, a été décrite par le même Philostrate (Philostr. her. 53,16-17):

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου χρόνοις ὕστερον τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Θετταλίαν ἐδουλώσατο, Φθίαν τῶ Ἀχιλλεῖ ἄνηκεν, ἐπὶ τε Δαρεῖον στρατεύων ξύμμαχον τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐποιήσατο, ἐπεστράφησαν οἱ Θετταλοὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ἵππόν τε ὀπόσῃν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Θετταλίας ἦγε περιήλασαν τῶ τάφῳ, ξυνέπεσόν τε ἀλλήλοις ὥσπερ ἵππομαχοῦντες καὶ ἀπῆλθον εὐξάμενοί τε καὶ θύσαντες· ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον αὐτῶ Βαλίῳ τε καὶ Ζάνθῳ, βοῶντες ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων (...).

Lorsque plus tard Alexandre fils de Philippe eut asservi toute la Thessalie, consacré la Phthie à Achille et pris, lors de son expédition contre Darius, Achille comme allié à Troie, les Thessaliens reprirent attention pour Achille et avec tout leur contingent de cavalerie qu’Alexandre avait amené de Thessalie, ils se mirent à chevaucher tout autour de son tombeau, ils s’affrontèrent les

*s’étendait de l’ancienne Pharsale jusqu’à Thèbes de Phthiotide. Or dans ce territoire il existe effectivement, au voisinage des deux Pharsale, l’ancienne et la nouvelle, le Thétideion, et, de ce sanctuaire consacré à Thétis, on ne pourrait pas tirer argument pour estimer probable que cette région faisait partie du royaume d’Achille? (Texte de l’édition R. Baladié (1996)) Pour l’étymologie, Phthia est un dérivé *g^{Wh}(e)dh-i h² - de *g^{Wh}(e)dh-i h² -o > *g^{Wh}(e)dhh-iyō- > Φθίος ethnique d’où Φθία toponyme, exact parallèle de *g^{Wh}(e)dh-i h² -lo > g^{Wh}(e)dhh-alo- (lia) > Θεσσαλός > Θεσσαλία, etc., cf. Bader (2009), ibid.*

²² Strab. 9,5,8: Ἄλος δὲ Φθιώτις καλεῖται καὶ Ἀχαϊκή, συνάπτουσα τοῖς Μαλιεῦσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ τῆς Ὀθρυος πρόποδες. Καθάπερ δὲ ἡ Φυλάκη ἢ ὑπὸ Πρωτεσιλάῳ τῆς Φθιώτιδος ἐστὶ τῆς προσχώρου τοῖς Μαλιεῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ Ἄλος· διέχει δὲ Θηβῶν περὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίου, ἐν μέσῳ δ’ ἐστὶ Φαρσάλου καὶ Φθιωτῶν· Φίλιππος μέντοι Φαρσαλίῳ προσένειμεν ἀφελόμενος τῶν Φθιωτῶν. οὕτω δὲ συμβαίνει τοὺς ὄρους καὶ τὰς συντάξεις τῶν τε ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν τόπων ἀλλάττεσθαι αἰεὶ, καθάπερ εἴπομεν. – *Halos, celle qui est en Achaïe, est appelée Phthiotide; elle touche aux Maliens, comme le font aussi les contreforts de l’Othrys. Phylakè, qui appartenait à Protésilaos, se trouve dans la partie de la Phthiotide voisine des Maliens, comme Halos. Celle-ci est distante de Thèbes d’environ 100 stades, mais constitue un enjeu entre Pharsale et les Phthiotes. Or Philippe l’attribua aux Pharsaliens après l’avoir enlevée aux Phthiotes – bel exemple des continuel changements qui affectent, comme nous l’avons dit, les frontières et les structures politiques des peuples et des pays. Cf. la restitution proposée par F. Stählin et adoptée par Baladié (1996), pour le texte de Strab. 9,5,6: (...) ὁ Ἄλος ἢ ἡ Ἄλος λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως, ᾧκισε δὲ ὁ Ἀθάμας τὴν Ἄλον, ἀφανισθεῖσαν [δὲ] συνῶ[κισαν οἱ Φθιώται] χρόνοις ὕστερον – (...) cet Halos (ou cette Halos, car les deux genres sont usités) (...) a été fondé par Athamas; quand elle eut été détruite, les (Achéens) Phthiotes procédèrent par la suite à une nouvelle fondation.*

uns les autres comme dans un combat de cavalerie et après avoir fait des prières et des sacrifices, ils s'en allèrent; ils invoquaient Achille contre Darius en même temps que Balios et Xanthos, et ils criaient ces noms du haut de leurs chevaux (...).

II. L'héritage 'achéen': Athèna Itônia

Un autre héritage, et non des moindres, que les *Thessaloi* ont recueilli des populations qui les avaient précédés en Thessalie, a été le culte d'Athèna Itônia. Les Thessaliens partageaient ce culte avec les Achéens de Phthiotide, les Béotiens et les gens d'Amorgos.²³ C'est la raison pour laquelle il existait dans ces régions, Achaïe, Béotie et Thessalie, un Itônion, sanctuaire d'Itônia, comme nous l'assurent les témoignages complémentaires de Callimaque et de Strabon. Pour le premier, comme l'a montré H. White,²⁴ il établit dans l'*Hymne pour le bain de Pallas* (V, 61-64) une comparaison entre le sanctuaire béotien et celui d'Achaïe Phthiotide, et l'on sait par lui que, dans ce dernier, se trouvait un bois sacré:

ἦ 'πὶ Κορωνείας ἢ εἰς Ἀλίαρτον ἐλαῦνοι
ἵππων, Βοιωτῶν ἔργα διερχομένα
ἦ 'πὶ Κορωνείας, ἵνα οἱ τεθυμένον ἄλσος
καὶ βωμοὶ ποταμῶ ἐπὶ Κουραλίῳ.

[Athèna guidait ses chevaux] ou du côté de Coroneia ou d'Haliartos, au travers des champs des Béotiens, ou du côté de Coroneia (d'Achaïe), là où se trouve un bois sacré odorant et des autels sur les bords du fleuve Kouralios.

Tout semblablement Strabon, quant à lui, fait mention en 9,5,14 de l'Itônion béotien et de celui de Thessalotide, dans un texte qui est resté longtemps mal compris des éditeurs modernes:²⁵

Τῶν Θηβῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὸ Κρόκιον πεδῖον πρὸς τῶ καταλήγοντι τῆς Ὀθρυος, δι' οὗ ὁ Ἄμφρυσος ρεῖ. Τούτου δ' ὑπέγκειται ὁ Ἴτωνος, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Ἴτωνίας ἱερόν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, καὶ ὁ Κουάριος ποταμός· εἴρηται δὲ περὶ τούτου καὶ τῆς Ἄρνης ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτιακοῖς.

²³ Pour le culte d'Athèna Itônia et son sanctuaire en Béotie, cf. Roesch (1982), 217-223; et encore Knoepfler (1992), no. 147. Pour le culte d'Athèna Itônia à Arkésiné et à Minoa d'Amorgos, sur l'origine duquel on est encore réfuit à des conjectures (on veut en général lui donner une origine béotienne ou thessalienne), cf. Nilsson (1906), 89sq. et plus récemment Lagos (2009), avec le commentaire de P. Fröhlich, *BullEpigr.* 2010, 492.

²⁴ White (1984), 97-102.

²⁵ Cf. Helly (2004), 95-98, qui a proposé la correction Ταῦτα (Ταῦτα ed.): „les mêmes (sanctuaires) se retrouvent (...)”.

Ταῦτά (Ταῦτα ed.) δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Θετταλιώτιδος μιᾶς τῶν τεττάρων μερίδων τῆς συμπάσης Θετταλίας, ἧς καὶ τὰ ὑπ' Εὐρυπύλω καὶ ὁ Φύλλ<ος, ὅπου Ἀπόλλω>νος τοῦ Φυλλίου ἱερόν, καὶ Ἴχναϊ, ὅπου ἡ Θέμις Ἴχναία τιμᾶται. Καὶ Κίερος δ' εἰς αὐτὴν συντελεῖ καὶ <τᾶλλα μέχρι> τῆς Ἀθαμανίας.

Dans l'arrière-pays de Thèbes, la plaine Krokienne s'étend jusqu'aux dernières pentes de l'Othrys, que traverse l'Amphrysos. Dominant cette plaine, se trouve Itônos avec son sanctuaire d'Athèna Itônienne, d'où provient celui de Béotie, et le fleuve Kouarios²⁶. Nous en avons parlé en même temps que d'Arné dans le chapitre sur la Béotie.

Mais ces mêmes localités existent aussi en Thessalotis, une des quatre divisions de la Thessalie prise dans son ensemble, à laquelle se rattache aussi le domaine d'Eurypylos et aussi Phyllos, où se trouvait un sanctuaire d'Apollon Phyllien, et Ichnai, où Thémis Ichnaia est honorée. Puis Kíeros, qui aussi tributaire de la Thessalotide et tous les territoires qui vont jusqu'à l'Athamanie.

En fait, c'est le sanctuaire installé en Thessalotide, près de Kíerion, qui semble avoir été le premier dans le temps, comme fondation des populations qui habitaient la région et la cité qui s'appelait alors Arné – celle-ci est connue à l'époque historique sous le nom de Kíerion. Ce sanctuaire a été révélé par l'archéologie, il y a maintenant plus de quarante ans: il se trouvait dans la plaine occidentale de la Thessalie, non loin des montagnes du Pinde où étaient descendus les *Thessaloi*, au village moderne appelé Philia Karditsis.²⁷ Il semble avoir existé dès le 9^e s. av. J.-C. comme en témoignent les offrandes qui y ont été découvertes.²⁸ La distribution de celles-ci révèle sans ambiguïté le caractère de l'Athéna Itônia: c'était une divinité militaire et, sur les monnaies du

²⁶ Strabon prend ici position, mais à tort, contre les poètes qui ont retenu le nom de Kouralios, comme il le dit en 9,2,33, où il vise explicitement Alcée: Οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ κοσμοῦσιν, ἄλση καλοῦντες τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα, κἂν ἢ φιλά (...). οὐκ εὔδ' ὁ Ἀλκαῖος, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄνομα παρέτρεψε τοῦ Κουαρίου (...) – *Les poètes embellissent la réalité, en appelant bois sacrés tous les sanctuaires, même s'ils sont sans arbres... Alcée non plus n'est pas exact: de même qu'il a déformé le nom du fleuve Kouarios...*; Mais, outre Pindare, cité là avec Alcée, la critique de Strabon, à cause de la mention de ἄλση, pourrait bien viser aussi Callimaque.

²⁷ Fouilles de Théocharis, au cours desquelles fut découverte une inscription qui assure l'identification du sanctuaire, Théocharis (1963): ce décret fédéral a été publié par Habicht (1976). Le lien unissant Arné-Kíerion à la Béotie laisse supposer que le sanctuaire d'Athéna Itônia se trouvait sur le territoire de la thessalienne Kíerion, qui a pris la place de la béotienne Arnè, mais le site central le plus proche de l'Itônion est celui du village moderne de Kédros, que'on identifie à présent avec certitude à l'antique Orthos-Orthai, cf. Helly (1992), 78-79. Le monnayage d'Orthai porte d'ailleurs le type de l'Athéna casquée, cf. Moustaka (1983), 23-25. Pour autant, il est probable que le sanctuaire commun aux Thessaliens se soit situé dans une zone interstitielle aux confins de plusieurs territoires civiques. Stéphane de Byzance fait d'Itôn une cité de Thessalie, Ἰτων πόλις Θεσσαλίας, mais le sanctuaire d'Athéna est désigné seulement par le toponyme Itônos dans les inscriptions qui s'y rapportent.

²⁸ Kilian – Dirlmeier (2002).

koinon Thessalôn, elle est représentée dansant en armes la danse guerrière que l'on appelle la 'pyrrhique'.²⁹ Au cours des cérémonies qui se déroulaient dans ses sanctuaires, on exécutait des parades militaires (ὅπλοφανία), qui sont connues à l'Itônion de Coronée de Béotie et dans celui d'Achaïe Phthiotide, d'où l'on peut supposer qu'il s'en déroulait aussi à l'Itônion de Thessalioïde.³⁰

On sait par Pausanias, Description de la Grèce, I,13, que c'est dans le temple d'Athéna Itônia que le roi Pyrrhus a consacré les boucliers pris aux Galates qu'il avait vaincus en 273 av. J.-C.

Le combat fut très acharné et la victoire de Pyrrhus des plus complètes, comme on peut en juger par les armures des Gaulois qu'il consacra dans le temple d'Athéna Itônia, entre Phères et Larisa (sic), avec cette inscription: 'Ces boucliers pris aux féroces Gaulois sont une offrande de Pyrrhus, roi des Molosses, à Athéna Itônia, après la défaite de toute l'armée d'Antigone. Qu'on ne s'étonne point de sa victoire: la valeur est encore, comme jadis, le partage des Aeacides.' Il consacra les boucliers des Macédoniens eux-mêmes dans le temple de Zeus à Dodone [...].

On peut se demander pourquoi Pyrrhus a fait cette consécration à l'Itônion: il faut sans doute voir dans cette référence aux Éacides, une fois encore une référence à Achille lui-même, et plus encore à Néoptolème, appelé aussi Pyrrhos.³¹

C'est à Itônos que devaient se rendre aussi les théores qui venaient en Thessalie pour prendre part à la panégyrie en l'honneur de la déesse: ainsi les émissaires de Cos profitent-ils de leur présence à Itônos pour annoncer à l'ensemble des Thessaliens réunis la tenue du sacrifice pour leur Asclépios.³² L'Itônion a été, jusqu'à la fin de son

²⁹ Cf. Ceccarelli (1998), 29-30: Athéna passait pour avoir inventé la pyrrhique; pour cette danse en Thessalie, Ceccarelli (1998), 19-20 et 160 (relevé onomastique à partir duquel l'auteur souligne la fréquence du nom Πύρριχος dans les inscriptions thessaliennes; voir maintenant LGPN IIIB).

³⁰ Les ὅπλοφανία de l'Itônion d'Achaïe Phthiotide sont attestées par l'inscription publiée par Giannopoulos (1932), 19-21 no. 5, dans l'interprétation qu'en a donnée Robert (1935) et reprise par J. Pouilloux dans FD III 4, 355, p. 21, no. 2, dans la réédition de l'inscription se rapportant au conflit entre Thèbes et Halos sur une hiéra chôra qui doit être celle de l'Itônion.

³¹ Voir encore Ceccarelli (1998), 163-164, sur Néoptolème et la pyrrhique, avec la remarque sur le nom du Thessalien chanté par Bacchylide (Bakchyl. 14,19-14,22), qui a été vainqueur aux Pétraïa célébrés en l'honneur de Poséidon: il s'appelait Kléoptolémios fils de Pyrrhichos, deux noms qui lui semblent renvoyer sans ambiguïté à Néoptolème et à la pyrrhique. Nous notons que c'est cette même association de Poséidon et d'Athéna Itônia que l'on trouve sur les monnaies d'Orthé (ci-dessus note 000).

³² Cf. les textes dans Boesch (1908), 28 (décret de Cos): mention du passage des théores à Itônos, - - [τὸς δὲ θεωρὸς τὸς] αἰρεθέντες ἐν Ἴτωνον (...); Segre (1934), 176, B 2, 1.6: τὸς δὲ αἰρεθέντες ἀφικόμενοι ἐπ[ὶ - τὸδε τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο ἀναδόντω καὶ τὸν στέφανον τοῦ]τον ἀναγγειλάντω ἐν Ἴτωνῶν (...), texte maintenant complété par Bosnakis – Hallof (2010), 330-341. Tziafalias – Helly (2005), 377, décret de Larisa: οἱ κε ἐν Ἴτωνον ἐλθόντες. Cf. encore Helly (2004), 95-98.

existence et la disparition du *koinon* thessalien, le lieu d'exposition des consécrationes fédérales, offrandes, décrets et statues de ceux que les Thessaliens voulaient honorer. Pour l'instant, seule une quinzaine de documents ont été mis au jour ou découverts en remploi dans les villages des alentours: parmi ceux-ci, comme on peut s'y attendre, quatre textes officiels concernant les relations entre cités thessaliennes, sympolitie, convention ou conflits frontaliers,³³ deux décrets fédéraux³⁴, quatre bases d'époque romaine, pour des empereurs ou des évergètes.³⁵ Il est plus surprenant qu'y aient été affichés des documents relevant du fonctionnement d'une cité³⁶ ou du droit privé.³⁷ On ajoutera à cet ensemble les décrets ou statues exposés à l'Itônion et qui ne sont connus que par une seconde copie, généralement celle qui était affichée dans le sanctuaire de Zeus Éleuthérios à Larisa.³⁸

III. Zeus Olympios - Zeus Éleuthérios

Le texte d'Aigai d'Éolide récemment publié et que nous avons déjà évoqué ci-dessus à propos du héros Thessalos, vient confirmer que l'Itônion était un lieu privilégié d'exposition des décisions prises par tous les Thessaliens: le décret voté à ce propos devait être affiché par les soins du prêtre Speudoun dans trois lieux dont on peut penser qu'ils étaient tout à fait symboliques pour tous les Thessaliens:

ὄνγραψαι μὰ τὸ ψάφισμα Σπ-
εὔδουνα τὸν λείτοραν ἐν στάλας λιθίας καὶ
[κατ]τεθεῖμεν ἐν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ ἐν Ἴτουνον καὶ
ἐν Λάσσαν ἐν [τὸ ἰε]ρὸν τοῖ Ἄπλουνος τοῖ Κερδ-
οῖοι, (l. 28-32).

³³ Conflit entre Lamia et Narthakion, Giannopoulos (1927/28); sympolitie entre Métropolis, les Othorneis et les Polichnaioi, Axenidis (1939); convention Gomphoi-Ithômè, Helly (1993), 167-200; convention entre les citoyens de Phakion (inédit).

³⁴ Décret fédéral pour Ambracie (Theocharis (1964), 244-255; Habicht (1976)); fragment de décret? Theocharis (1963), 138d (= SEG XXV 655a).

³⁵ Base d'un empereur anonyme (SEG XXV 654); Base anonyme (Theocharis (1967), 295-296); Bases d'Ulpius Leuros et de M. Ulpius Leuros, Habicht (1976), 309-311.

³⁶ Déclarations de perception de la taxe des affranchis par les trésoriers: Theocharis (1963), 137b (SEG XXV 652); Indzesiloglou (1985), 197. La cité peut être Orthè ou Kiérion.

³⁷ Texte d'un testament, inédit. On ajoutera à cette liste quelques fragments non identifiés: Theocharis (1963), 138e (SEG XXV 655b) et Theocharis (1964), 244-255.

³⁸ Le décret fédéral honorant Diotimos et Timasithéos de Larisa (AD 31 (1976), p.176-178, 1.56-65 (= SEG XXXVI 547) prévoit que les deux frères soient honorés chacun d'une statue équestre exposée dans le sanctuaire d'Athéna Itônia.

Que Speudoun fasse transcrire le décret sur des stèles de pierre et le fasse placer à Olympion, à Itounos et à Larisa dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon Kerdôios.

Mais en même temps cette inscription nous fait connaître l'existence d'un autre sanctuaire et d'un autre culte commun aux Thessaliens, dont la célébration était en concurrence avec la panégyrie d'Itônos: celui de Zeus Olympios. Speudoun, le prêtre de Zeus Olympios, a rendu compte de la pieuse attitude des Éoliens, des Coéens et des Magnètes du Méandre, lors des Olympia célébrés par les Thessaliens:

Σπεύδουν ὁ λειτόρας τὰν εὐχαριστίαν Πετ|θαλοῦν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις τοῖς Πετθαλοῖ ἀγοῦνθι (l. 10-11).³⁹

Lors de ces mêmes Olympia, les Thessaliens ont voté le décret de remerciements qui a été envoyé à toutes les cités qui avaient accueilli favorablement l'annonce apportée par Speudoun: ἐγράφει τὸ | ψάφισμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις (l. 34-35). La mention du moment où ces décisions ont été prises, aux Olympia, est tout à fait nouvelle, de même que la décision de faire graver et d'exposer le décret dans les trois sanctuaires en question.

Un autre point de la formule utilisée dans le décret est lui aussi tout à fait remarquable: c'est au prêtre de Zeus Olympien qu'est confié le soin de faire graver les stèles et de les faire dresser dans les trois sanctuaires. Nous en concluons que les Thessaliens n'avaient pas, à la date de cette célébration des Olympia, une organisation politique de type fédéral qui pouvait assurer cette opération. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'en l'absence de structures fédérales, les Thessaliens tenaient des assemblées qui réunissaient les représentants de toutes les cités, précisément dans les grands sanctuaires comme celui d'Athèna Itônia. Nous apprenons maintenant qu'ils considéraient aussi comme commun à tous le sanctuaire appelé Olympion et qu'ils s'y rassemblaient pour accomplir les cérémonies religieuses en l'honneur de Zeus Olympien, qu'ils y organisaient des concours et qu'ils y votaient des décisions communes, des décrets. Les désignations mêmes des trois sanctuaires où sont rendues publiques ces décisions, d'après la clause d'affichage du décret thessalien, sont elles aussi tout à fait significatives à nos yeux: seul le dernier de ceux-ci est attaché au nom d'une cité, celui d'Apollon Kerdôios, le sanctuaire principal de Larisa; les deux autres sont à proprement

³⁹ Les éditeurs lisent ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις τοῖς Πετθαλοῖ ἀγοῦσι et comprennent 'at the Olympic festival, during the games in honour of Thessalos': pour nos divergences d'interprétation avec l'editio princeps, on se reportera à B. Helly, *BullEpigr.* 2010, 522, p. 832-836.

parler pan-thessaliens et sont désignés par des toponymes, Itônos, Olympion (plus vraisemblable qu'Olympios), où se trouvaient donc les sanctuaires d'Athéna Itônia et de Zeus Olympios.

Le texte pose cependant un problème d'importance: où pouvons-nous chercher cet Olympion qui nous était jusqu'à présent tout à fait inconnu? Ce document isolé ne permet que d'avancer des conjectures. Ainsi, il n'est pas certain que le prêtre Speudoun soit un Lariséen: le nom n'est pas attesté dans la cité – il est rare et n'est connu en Thessalie qu'à Pharsale et à Pythoion de Perrhébie.⁴⁰ Cependant il se trouve dans l'inscription une autre particularité remarquable: aux dernières lignes on y trouve la référence au collège des cinq tages de Larisa. Cette mention des tages de la cité peut s'expliquer par l'absence d'instances fédérales, comme on l'a dit ci-dessus, ou peut-être par la nature de la mission accomplie par le prêtre thessalien auprès des Coéens, Magnètes et Éoliens, ou encore par le lien qui pourrait associer le sanctuaire de Zeus Olympien à la cité de Larisa. En prenant en compte cette dernière hypothèse, pourrions-nous avoir de quelque façon l'assurance qu'Olympion se trouvait dans la dépendance de la cité de Larisa, c'est-à-dire en fait sur son territoire?

Si une tradition fait du Thessalien Deucalion le fondateur de l'autel de Zeus à Dion de Macédoine et de l'Olympieion d'Athènes,⁴¹ le culte de Zeus Olympios est jusqu'à présent fort mal attesté en Thessalie même. On a restitué avec prudence le texte d'une dédicace à Zeus Olympien parmi la liste des sanctuaires et offrandes inventoriées par les autorités de Larisa, à la suite peut-être d'un tremblement de terre.⁴² La divinité masculine honorée est dite ποτ' Ὀλύμποι: il est bien légitime de reconnaître là qu'il s'agit du souverain de l'Olympe. Mais cette stèle de Larisa est une offrande isolée qui ne se dressait pas dans un sanctuaire consacré à Zeus Olympios.

Faut-il alors supposer que le sanctuaire appelé Ὀλύμπιον était au sommet de l'Olympe? Les éditeurs du document trouvé à Aigai l'ont compris ainsi et ils ont mentionné une scholie à Apollonios de Rhodes (Apoll. Rhod. 1,598-599):

⁴⁰ Voir LGPN IIIB, s.v. Σπεύδουν et Σπεύδων.

⁴¹ Voir Voutiras (2006), 333-344 (spécialement 335), qui renvoie à POxy 4306 fr. I, col. i, l. 25-28 pour Dion et à la tradition consignée dans le Marbre de Paros et connue aussi de Strabon et de Pausanias.

⁴² Helly (1970), 250-296, l. 27-28: καὶ ἐξ ἀστέρας χερρὸς ἔδη ἔμμεν κίονα[ς Διὶ] | τοῦ ποτ' Ὀλύμποι καὶ Ἐννοδίας Μυκαϊκᾶς. Le sens de la formule fait problème, notamment dans la coordination entre un datif (τοῦ) et un génitif, mais l'inventaire pouvait porter ici la citation exacte du texte gravé sur les stèles. Le Zeus ici honoré est ποτ' Ὀλύμποι = πρὸς Ὀλύμπου (génitif), c'est-à-dire celui qui 'vient de l'Olympe'.

Ὀλύμποι δὲ εἰσὶν ἔξ Μακεδονίας, Θεσσαλίας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ὀλύμπιά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἄγεσθαι, (...)

Il existe six Mont Olympe: en Macédoine, en Thessalie, où, dit Apollodore, on célèbre des Olympias, (...)

en faisant le parallèle avec le sanctuaire de Zeus Akraios établi au sommet du Pélion. Pourtant, ce sanctuaire des sommets, connu par l'archéologie,⁴³ ne se trouve pas en territoire thessalien: à la jonction entre la Perrhébie et la Macédoine, l'Olympe est, de toute façon, au 3^e siècle, sous dépendance macédonienne. C'est dans la plaine thessalienne, 'sous l'Olympe', qu'il faut tourner son regard, dans un lieu de culte permettant de grands rassemblements de population et la célébration de concours et d'où la vue sur les sommets de l'Olympe, encore enneigés au printemps ou même en été, s'impose en permanence. Avançons ici une hypothèse qu'il convient de mettre à l'épreuve.

Une des étapes, *mansio* ou *mutatio*, sur la route de Larisa à Thessalonique porte le nom d'*Olympu*, selon la Table de Peutinger: on a rapproché ce nom des stations *Lymbion* ou *Olympium* connues par d'autres itinéraires (Guido) en soulignant la possibilité que ce nom soit celui d'un lieudit d'où l'on apercevait l'Olympe ou bien celui d'un sanctuaire en l'honneur de Zeus Olympien.⁴⁴ *Olympium-Olympion* se trouve à 15 milles de Larisa et à 10 milles du relais appelé *Stenas*, qui est situé dans la gorge de Tempé: c'est quelque part au Nord Est de Larisa, aux confins du territoire de cette cité, limitrophe des cités de Mopsion, de Gyrtôn et d'Élateia, qu'il convient de chercher le lieudit *Olympion*. Selon nous, il se trouvait vraisemblablement dans le bassin du village moderne de Sykourio par où passait l'une des deux routes de Larisa à Thessalonique⁴⁵ au pied de l'Ossa.

Faut-il faire un lien entre ce lieudit connu à époque tardive et un ancien sanctuaire fédéral, vénérable mais inconnu de nous jusqu'ici? Après l'abolition de la domination macédonienne sur la Thessalie, dès 196 av. J.-C., la création d'une nouvelle

⁴³ Kyriazopoulos – Livadas (1967), 6-14; voir Voutiras (2006), 340-343.

⁴⁴ Decourt – Mottas (1997), 340. Cf. Table de Peutinger, segm. VII,5-VIII,1: *Larissa XV Olympu X Stenas XV Sabatium XII Dium*. Anonyme de Ravenne, IV, 9: *Olympius*; V 12 *Olimpium*; Guido, 109: *Olipyon*.

⁴⁵ Sur ce point nous sommes en partie en désaccord avec J.-Cl. Decourt et Fr. Mottas, pour qui la première section de cette route devait suivre en gros la direction de la moderne Ethniki odos, Decourt – Mottas (1997), 337-341. Sur ces deux routes, cf. Helly (1999) et (2007 b).

organisation rassemblant tous les Thessaliens, le *koinon Thessalôn*, s'est traduite à la fois sur le plan politique et sur le plan de la religion: s'est alors imposée la nécessité de construire sur ce qui existait déjà un culte fédéral qui réponde aux besoins de la communauté où se trouvaient tous les membres du nouveau *koinon*. Mais le Zeus tutélaire choisi par les Thessaliens est alors un Zeus de la libération, *Éleuthérios*, pour marquer de manière explicite la libération des cités thessaliennes, dans l'esprit qui était alors celui de l'adhésion à la politique du vainqueur de la Seconde guerre de Macédoine et libérateur des cités grecques, Flamininus. Les concours prirent alors le nom d'Éleuthéria et ils comportaient, comme tous les concours de ce type, des épreuves gymniques, hippiques et 'musicales'.⁴⁶ On a pu se demander si le culte de Zeus Éleuthérios était une création de circonstance ou bien un culte ancien de Larisa qui aurait alors pris une plus grande importance au point d'occulter tous cultes concurrents.⁴⁷ Mais on ignorait alors l'existence des Olympia thessaliens. Aujourd'hui la question se pose donc différemment: doit-on supposer que le culte de Zeus Éleuthérios s'est substitué à celui de Zeus Olympios?

Dans les décrets de la Seconde confédération thessalienne, le lieu d'affichage officiellement déclaré en plus de l'Itônion est le téménos de Zeus Eleuthérios, ἐν Λαρίσαι ἐν τῷ τέμενει τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου. Rares sont les documents affichés dans ce sanctuaire qui nous soient parvenus: cependant leur dispersion à l'époque moderne indique que le sanctuaire de Zeus Éleuthérios était à Larisa un sanctuaire urbain, sans doute peu éloigné du théâtre de la cité.⁴⁸ Si l'on suit notre hypothèse faisant du culte thessalien de Zeus Olympien un culte extra-urbain, en partie même extra-civique, à l'image de celui d'Athéna Itônia dans le sanctuaire situé dans l'autre plaine thessalienne, tout conduit à distinguer les deux cultes et les deux sanctuaires et, dans ces

⁴⁶ Sur les Éleuthéria, et notamment les épreuves musicales, attestées par un fragment inédit d'un catalogue de vainqueurs, nous invitons le lecteur à se reporter à notre étude à venir.

⁴⁷ Pour les Éleuthéria, la référence essentielle et quasi unique est à Preuner (1903), 372-382, qui a établi pour la première fois la distinction entre les concours organisés par la Confédération thessalienne et s'est interrogé sur les circonstances et les raisons de leur création.

⁴⁸ Les lieux de trouvaille des inscriptions dont le texte assure qu'elles avaient été exposés dans le sanctuaire de Zeus Éleuthérios ne permettent pas de localiser celui-ci avec précision: la stèle portant trois décrets adoptés lors de la même année, dont celui qui organise l'envoi de blé à Rome dans les années 130 a été mis au jour au pied de l'acropole de Larisa, au Sud-Est du théâtre, Gallis (1976) (= SEG XXXIV 558): la pierre a été découverte lors de fouilles d'urgence menée rue Manolaki. Les pierres publiées antérieurement dans IG ont été retrouvées dans le cimetière turc (IG IX 2, 507), à Faliro, lieu dit inconnu de nous (IG IX 2, 508), et en remploi dans le dallage de la cour de l'église Ayios Charalambos, sur la rive droite du Pénee (IG IX 2, 509). On peut supposer que les listes de vainqueurs aux Éleuthéria étaient affichées dans le sanctuaire lui-même ou bien au théâtre, lieu principal de la compétition.

conditions, on ne devrait pas se satisfaire d'une simple métonomase du culte jovien: les Olympia ne sont pas devenus des Éleuthéria. Mais, en dépit de cette constatation, nous ne savons pas expliquer la disparition du culte de Zeus Olympien de la documentation épigraphique au moment où celle-ci commence à devenir abondante, au début du 2^e s. av. J.-C.

IV. Conclusion

Depuis la fin des âges obscurs jusqu'à l'époque romaine, la communauté thessalienne a occupé un espace de taille variable, s'est organisée en intégrant des éléments par la conquête et la négociation, autour de figures héroïques ou divines permettant de garantir une forme de cohésion sociale. Les sources littéraires ont enregistré l'aboutissement de ce processus, avec la prédominance de la figure d'Achille: l'archéologie montre d'autre part qu'Aiatos a joué tôt sa partie dans l'expression d'une unité propre au groupe des *Thessaloi*, sans doute en concurrence avec le culte principal des populations conquises, un culte à fort caractère militaire, la constitution d'une armée commune restant pour nous le phénomène le mieux documenté des premiers temps de l'union politique d'un espace progressivement rendu thessalien. La discontinuité de la documentation ne permet que d'entrevoir des états bien distincts, tout en permettant de percevoir la constante progression d'un caractère communautaire dans la référence répétée au sanctuaire et au culte d'Athèna Itônia. Cependant la révélation de l'organisation du culte de Zeus Olympien permet de donner un éclairage tout à fait nouveau à l'organisation de la Confédération thessalienne de la fin de l'époque hellénistique. Cette organisation se caractérise alors par la bipolarisation géographique, culturelle, institutionnelle du nouveau *koinon*, car si le sanctuaire d'Athèna Itônia reste le centre religieux de la Confédération relevant de la tradition originelle, il n'est plus le seul. Avec la création du sanctuaire et des concours en l'honneur de Zeus Olympien, Larisa l'emporte désormais, semble-t-il, sur l'Itônion. L'établissement d'un sanctuaire urbain de Zeus Eleuthérios marque l'accomplissement de ce processus et à partir de ce moment, sur les monnaies de la confédération, on imprime au droit la tête de ce Zeus lauré, au revers l'Athèna Itônia armée dansant la pyrrhique. Ainsi ces deux figures associées semblent-elles résumer symboliquement l'histoire du *koinon Thessalôn* du 6^e s. av. à la fin du 3^e s. ap. J.-C. Mais l'on peut interpréter aussi le passage de l'une à l'autre. L'État fédéral

thessalien de l'époque classique (fin 6^e s. – milieu du 4^e s.) était une construction à la fois unitaire et multipolaire. L'État fédéral de l'époque hellénistique et romaine se présente désormais comme une organisation qui a été centralisée et contrôlée à partir de Larisa et qui, sur cette base, a pu perdurer pendant plus de quatre siècles.

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Ethnic Identity, Cults and Territorial Settlement: East and West Locrians

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In the historical age, geographical and political division distinguished two state systems that both took the name of Locris for the territory, and of Locrians for the people, according to a wide range of complementary definitions based on geo-territorial, ethnic and anthropological criteria. In the eastern region the Locrians were distinguished into *Hypoknemidioi* and *Epiknemidioi* (respectively, those who dwell under and those who dwell near Mt. Knemis), and the former were also called Opuntians, from the city of Opus, the principal settlement in the plain facing the bay of Atalante. Taken together these were the *Heoioi* Locrians, or Orientals, as opposed to the inhabitants of the western region who were referred to as *Hesperioi* Locrians, Western Locrians.¹ These also went by the name of Ozolians, and this name received an anthropological explanation inspired by their way of life.² The causes, chronology and processes that caused the separation between the eastern region, facing the Aegean, and the western one, facing the Corinthian Gulf, are shrouded in uncertainty. It is likely to have taken place later than the Trojan War because the Locrians are mentioned in the *Iliad* without any further qualifications; nonetheless the cities enumerated in the *Catalogue of Ships* all belong to Eastern Locris so we might also conclude that only this region constituted Locris in the Homeric age.³ The most credited opinion, on the basis of the available information, is in favour of a gradual westward expansion, beginning from an original settlement in the eastern region, near Opus;⁴ this town was always the most important centre of Eastern Locris and figures in a prominent and prestigious position already in

* I have used an English form for names that have become part of current language and a transliteration for others.

¹ Complete exposition in Oldfather (1926), 1135-1288 and Daverio (1999), 416-422.

² In explaining the possible etymologies of the Western Locrians' qualification as Ozolian, Pausanias refers to its meaning as "those who smell foul", in relation to the ancient inhabitants' custom of wearing goatskin clothes for shelter from the cold. Cf. Paus. 10,38,1-10,38,3.

³ Hom. Il. 2,527-2,534: list of the Locrian cities that provided the 40 ships for the fleet commanded by Ajax Oileus in the *Catalogue of ships*.

⁴ A synthesis of this problem in Daverio (1999), 416-422; Daverio (2000c), 1273.

the *Catalogue of Ships*.⁵ The information preserved by literary tradition, epigraphical documents, and by numismatic and archaeological evidence, allows us to reckon similarities and differences that characterized the two, East and West, regions of Locris and that may be grouped into three criteria:

1. The environmental criterion. These aspects concern ecology, territoriality, methods of land settlement and use, the stages and outcomes of urbanization in the east and in the west and the different attitudes and mentality in relation to their environment.
2. The structural criterion. This category refers to the social and political structures and to the state-system. In this case we can identify a quite advanced federal system in the east, since the beginning of the classical age, with the traits of a *sympoliteia* and classifiable as a *koinon*, with a relatively conspicuous urbanization and an organized government system; these are the features that outline the Opuntian *eunomia* in the historiographical tradition.⁶ Opus is mentioned as the *metropolis* of the Locrians of righteous laws in the inscription on the first of the five stelai of the *polyandrion*, erected at Thermopylae in remembrance of those fallen fighting the Medes.⁷ In the west, until the end of the 5th century, there was a looser organisation and village-type settlement. But the primitivism criticized by Thucydides regarding the lack of cities, the persistence of village-type settlements still in his times and the uncivilized way of life must be compared with the epigraphical sources testifying actually quite advanced experiences in the field of law-making, since the end of the 6th century and in the first half of the 5th.⁸

⁵ Cf. Oldfather (1926), 1135-1149; Klaffenbach (1926), 68-88; Fossey (1990); Szemler (1991) 74-104; Daverio (1999), 416-422; Nielsen (2000), 91-120; Nielsen (2004), 664-673; Rousset (2004), 92; Domínguez (2006), 147-170, and Domínguez (2009), 1195-1205.

⁶ Pind. Ol. 9,16 praised the *eunomia* of Opus. Cf. Larsen (1968), 48-58; Nielsen (2000), 91-120. □

⁷ Strab. 9,4,2: μητρόπολις Λοκρῶν εὐθυστόμων Ὀπόμεναι – *Ehrt des biederen Volks Hauptstadt, der Lokrer, Opus* [tr. S.L. Radt].

⁸ Thuk. 1,5,3; 3,95,3 associates the Ozolian Locrians to Aetolians and Acarnanians as examples of backward civic habits. The custom of wearing goatskins, mentioned by Paus. 10,38,1-10,38,3, seems coherent with the practices of herdsmen people. Forestry and pastoral traditions are part of the etymology of Locros, the eponym of the *ethnos*, see *infra* note 11. Cf. Daverio (1981), 328-334; Domínguez (2006a) 1195-1205, and Daverio 2009, 47-60. Yet, from the Western Locrian city of Oiantheia comes the most ancient known evidence for *proxenia* (ca. 550 B.C.: Nomima I 34). To the period between the late 6th century and the mid-5th century date the colonial law of Naupactus (Nomima I 43), the law inscribed on the so called “Pappadakis bronze” (Nomima I 44), the *symbolai* stipulated between Oiantheia and Chaleion (Nomima I 53). Cf. Daverio (2000a), 752-754; Daverio (2000b), 1126.

3. The discursive criterion. In referring to the discursive dimension I mean the narratological strategies through which the Locrians constructed their ethnic identity, the main themes, the forms and the chronology involved in the process of elaborating mythic and historical memory. To this criterion belong religious traditions, cults and rituals, as well as foundation and territorialisation myths. Geographical separation and differences in the forms and history of the development between the two Locris don't prevent from recognising a profound consciousness of a common ethnicity and a compulsion to respect obligations of reciprocity; it is, for instance, that consciousness that inspired the laws applied to the colonists of Naupactus sent from the metropolis Opus, as attested in a well-known early 5th century inscription.⁹ Concerning the religious geography of Locris, attention is often drawn to Amphissa and its territory because of its proximity to the sanctuary of Apollo. Relations between the Locrian city and the Delphic religious centre, in the course of centuries, were marked by recurrent boundary disputes over the border between the *hierà chora* and the *chora* of Amphissa. As I have already argued elsewhere, this boundary played a crucial religious and symbolic role in the affairs of this sector of the Phokian-Locrian area and characterized the political and military history of the city.¹⁰ For all of these reasons Amphissa always held a peculiar position¹¹ in the context of Locris.

In the active and conscious construction of their own identity, I believe, the Locrian *ethnos* developed some points of reference that took on crucial implications in building the conscience of the two opposite and yet complementary components of ethnic unity, on the one hand, and geo-political dualism on the other. Under this perspective we may speak of a Locrian narration that followed evenemental history and, in some cases, directed it. I intend to dedicate the following pages to some of the aspects of this narrative.

⁹ Consider, for instance, the colonial law of Naupactus (Nomima I, 43), on which, among the most recent works for a complete survey of the problem bearing special attention on the juridical aspects of the text: Beck (1999), 53-62.

¹⁰ Daverio (1988), 132-142; Daverio (1988a), 117-125. Cf. Rousset (2002).

¹¹ Specifically I mean the 'Sonderstellung' of Amphissa, definition given by Bauer (1907), 41 relatively to Locrian geography and history, and later used by Lérat (1952), II 57. Nor should Thucydides's omission be discounted. The historian doesn't mention Amphissa in his list of the cities of the Locrians in Thuk. 3,101,2.

I.

One of the etymologies that explain the Locrian ethnonym refers to an ancestor by the name of Locros.¹² Mythical genealogy names him as the son of Physkos and as the father of Opus, the eponyms of the historical capital cities, respectively, of Western and Eastern Locris.¹³ In other words, in this *syngeneia* concur both the identification of the unitary *ethnos* and the distinction into West and East Locris. An alternative tradition received by Plutarch¹⁴ reports a foundation myth according to which Locros was the κτίστης □ of the cities of Physkeis and of Oiantheia;¹⁵ the focus in this case looks at the intervention in the urbanization process of Ozolian Locris, which traditionally had fewer cities than the eastern district, and thus the myth was bound to the history of the Locrian origins and provided proof of an urbanization process of great antiquity (though Thucydides¹⁶ – as mentioned above – speaks of a territory populated by village settlements well into the 5th century).

In the line of descent, Physkos is the son of Amphictyon, so kinship connects the lineage of the founder of the Locrian *ethnos* to the myth of the founder and eponym of the Delphic Amphictyony, the hero who – according to the version preserved by Theopompus and similarly in the *Marmor Parium* – crafted the union of the *perioikous* of the Thermopylae and reigned over them.¹⁷ Furthermore it is in Locris that Greek legend set the re-birth of the human race after the deluge: according to one myth, Deukalion, his wife Pyrrha, their son Amphictyon and their daughter Protogeneia found themselves in the plain of Opus after surviving the deluge.¹⁸

¹² An alternative etymology derives the name from the short form for *Lokromachoi*, warrior-bowmen, this etymology is functional and compatible with the image of a herder-hunter people (*Hirtenkrieger*) in mountainous regions. A complete list of all the etymologies of Lokrii/Lokroi is expounded by G. Alessio in his intervention to D. Musti's reading at the 1976 Congress of Studies on Magna Graecia (published in 1977) – quoted here as Musti 1977 – pp.187-193. Cf. Daverio (1999), 416-422.

¹³ Steph. Byz. s.v. Φύσκος. Πόλις τῆς Λοκρίδος ἀπὸ Φύσκου τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ Ἀμφικτύουος τοῦ Δευκαλίου – *Physkos. City of Locris from Physkos, son of the Aetolian Amphyktyon, son of Deukalion* [trl. author].

¹⁴ Cf. Plut. qu.Gr. 15: (...) Ἔκτισε (Λοκρός) πόλεις Φύσκεῖς καὶ Ὑανθεία (Οἰανθείαν) – (...) *founded the cities Physcus and Oeantheia* [trl. F.C. Babbitt].

¹⁵ Their respective toponyms are presented also as Physkos e Oianthea. Cf. Daverio (2000b), 1126 e (2000d), 1000.

¹⁶ Thuk. 1,5,1-1,5,3.

¹⁷ Theop. FGrH 115 F 63; Marm. Par. FGrH 239 A 5. The problem of the relationship between the foundations of the sacred centres of Antela and Delphi is extremely unsettled. Ancient traditions provide divergent versions that contribute to complicating the historical reconstruction. Cf. Lefèvre (1998), 21-139; Sánchez (2001), 32-37, and Domínguez (2010), 75-83.

¹⁸ On the mythical genealogy of the eponym of the Locrian *ethnos*, a complete collection of the sources in Oldfather (1926), 1175-1181, see also the bibliography cited in the previous footnote.

The fictitiousness of these sagas is not here contended – the myth of Deukalion and its location are known in fact to have had diverse versions – yet it is their constructive nature that calls for attention and requires them to be understood from the perspective of the Locrians. In his *Olympian* IX, composed for the 468 B.C. Olympic victor Epharmostus of Opus, Pindar honoured the victor by speaking of his Opuntian birth and tracing the city’s illustrious origins through a legend that connected it to the genealogy of Deucalion and Phyrra and their descendants unto Locros, father of the eponym Opus.¹⁹ Taken as a whole, these myths offer a number of significant levels of interpretation:

1. The myths pose a strong connection between the foundation of the Thermopylean Amphictyony and the origin of the *ethnos*;
2. Legend assigns a primary role to Amphiktyon and his descendants in populating the region and in transforming the territory from sparse and politically divided settlements – the *perioikous* cited in Theopompus – into an urban and politically centralized area.
3. The *syngeneia* configures the ethnonyms and the territorial division in East and West, so the genealogy functions as a myth of territorialisation within a unitary frame.
4. Similarly, the role of Locros as founder of cities portrays the hero as active both in Eastern and Western Locris.

All of these elements point to the fact that Eastern Locris was part of the Amphictyony of the Pylii since its origin. It is rather uncertain if the western section also enjoyed this privilege, given its distant position.²⁰ Nevertheless, in the 5th and 6th centuries, Eastern and Western Locrians shared the two seats in the amphictyony, a repartition that was formalised when the Amphictyons were established in Delphi.²¹ Representation in the Council was organized according to an ethnic principle, with two *hieromnemes* for each *ethnos*, so we must conclude that, in the case of the Locrians, the territorial distribution was accounted for while their national unity was preserved as well.²² This

¹⁹ Pind. Ol. 9,112-9,113.

²⁰ As sustained by Lefèvre (1998), 80. Cf. Sánchez (2001), 40-41, Domínguez (2006), 147-170.

²¹ Cf. Sánchez (2002) which includes updated bibliography.

²² The consolidation of the relation between territorial distribution and division into *ethne* derives from the role of geographical division during the early phases of the Amphictyony, and the connection that it came to establish with the ethnic terminology designating its members. According to Lefèvre, the ethnic

balance seems to have broken during the ensuing political and military events of the 3rd and 2nd centuries that saw the expansion of Aetolian supremacy in central Greece and subsequently a shift of power between the two Locris, a period of Boeotian occupation of Opuntian Locris and the reorganisation of the territory following the entrance of Rome into Greek affairs. All of these factors contributed to making the participation of the Locrians to the Amphictyony variable and intermittent, at least until they regained their seats in 186/185.²³ A later epigraphic *dossier* provides information on the disputes between the two cities of Thronion and Skarpheia,²⁴ in Epicnemidian Locris, about the right of representation in the Amphictyonic council, and it testifies that in certain years this was held exclusively by the Hypocnemidian Locrians. In about the same period, boundary disputes troubled those settlements,²⁵ and the city of Halae²⁶ too, on the Euboean Gulf in the southernmost edge of the plain of Opus, fought against the neighbouring Boeotian city of Boumelitai; these confrontations signal an unstable territorial situation. Furthermore the antiquity and continuity of the settlement of Halae, uninterrupted since the 7th century B.C. as attested by archaeological evidence, point to the relevance of this centre in the social, economical and military strategies both in

based composition took its legitimacy within the religious context in which it was set and doesn't reflect an evolution from the *ethnos* to the *polis*, according to the criterion of the former's greater antiquity. Cf. Lefèvre (1998), 17-20.

²³ Klaffenbach (1926), 68-88; Lefèvre (1998), 79-83, and Sánchez (2001).

²⁴ Cf. Daverio (2001), 610; (2002), 503.

²⁵ FD III 4, 38-42; CID IV 124: dispute between Thronion and Skarpheia regarding the representation of the Epicnemidian Locrians and about the boundary. For a complete exposition of the dispute and for an examination of the conspicuous record regarding arbitral interventions for its solution, see Klaffenbach (1926), 84-88; Ager (1996), 370-372, 482-490; Lefèvre (1998) 82-83, and Sánchez (2001), 393-396. The contested territory which is referred to as Konnea follows the description of the boundary line, with a precise list of the markers to recognise it. It appears to be of such importance to the two parties that they even sent embassies to the Roman Senate to solicit its interest. According to Klaffenbach, and followed by Sánchez, in the 2nd century, probably after the Third Macedonian War, the East Locrian *koinon* divided into two distinct confederations and had instituted a system to ensure alternation at the amphictyonic seat. Lefèvre, though recognising the alternation, is more cautious in accepting the existence of an official division, the organization of which cannot be reconstructed.

²⁶ The relevance of the boundary between Halae and Boumelitai is attested by the form of its layout, outlined by a double line of milestones purposely erected by the adjoining cities in order to mark the limit of their respective territories. The relevance is furthermore confirmed by the complex and accurate procedure, attested in a 2nd century B.C. inscription, to resolve a dispute over the boundary: it called upon the intervention of Theban judges, of two delegations (one for each contending party) that were to escort the judges in their voyage from their residence to the litigant cities (δικασταγωγοί), and of a joint commission of representatives from the litigant cities responsible for accompanying the judges in the inspection of the boundary itself. The provenience of the judges, likely from Thebes, would suggest the idea that Halae was in the Theban sphere of influence. Cf. FD III 1, 362; Klaffenbach (1926), 83-88; Daverio (1988), 73-74, 123-125, and Ager (1996), 359-365.

regard to inter-Locrian relations and to relations with neighbouring Boeotia.²⁷ Essentially the institutional formalisation of the Locrians' cohabitation system in the area of Mt. Knemis shows a form of local particularism in the eastern section that, under specific political and military events and historical circumstances, came to influence the forms of participation in the shared panhellenic institutions.

II.

The account of the mythical *syngeneia* identifies a form of ethnic unity that encompasses geo-territorial separation, political division and the local traits seen in historical ages. I believe this is how we are to interpret the genealogy that makes Locros the son of Physkos and the father of Opus; this genealogy does not contradict the alternative version that privileges territorialisation in making him the κτίστης (the founder) of Physkeis and Oiantheia. One element is crucial: in all the variant versions preserved, notwithstanding the different connections posed, the bond between east and west remains consistent.

Since the second or third decade of the 4th century Physkeis was the capital of the west Locrian *koinon*, attested epigraphically for the 4th century by an inscription found at Malandrino (the present site of ancient Physkeis)²⁸ and confirmed for the 3rd and 2nd centuries by epigraphical sources that qualify the city as the seat of federal magistrates (among which the chief office of the *agonothetes*) attesting to its growing importance.²⁹ The *koinon* was later absorbed into the Aetolian League and was reconstituted after Pidna though without Naupactus, Amphissa and Chaleion. Taking into account Epaminondas's intervention in liberating Naupactus from the Achaean occupation in 367, and more generally his role as liberator of the Greek cities, L. Lérat sets to this date

²⁷ Archaeological evidence from the site of Halae provides information on the process of the city's poleogenesis, which can be traced back to the 7th century B.C., cf. Lohmann (1998), 86. The antiquity and consistency of the settlement can be accounted for as an internal colonisation from Opus, interested in controlling strategic locations in the territory, such as the boundary area with Boeotia. So according to Domínguez (2008), 322-337. On the contrary, the 2nd century delimitation shows aspects of autonomous decision-making. Overall we must consider that the political and institutional system and the territory of Eastern Locris, in the course of centuries, underwent changes and fluctuations that require the *koinon* to be evaluated in a diachronic perspective, in the relation between the local context and the wider political and military context of central Greece as a whole.

²⁸ Lérat (1952), I 133-134; II 55: ἔ[δοξε τῶι κοινῶι τῶν Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐσ[περίων] – resolved by the *koinon* of the Eastern Locrians. Cf. Daverio (2000d), 1000.

²⁹ IG IX 1, 351, the *agonothetes*, whose office took place at Physkeis, and the activity of the ἔννομος ἐκκλησία (lawful assembly).

the birth of the *koinon* and believes Epaminondas to have played an important role in its formation.³⁰ I would not exclude the possibility that this formative process had already been in progress, concurrently with the reorganization of the Greek political systems prompted by the King's Peace, and that the intervention of the Theban commander could have simply precipitated it or brought it to completion. Certainly between 387/86 and 367, in the western region, the *koinon* of Ozolian Locris and the status of Physkeis as its capital can be clearly identified. Scholars have of course noticed that that role was not taken up by Amphissa, which Pausanias³¹ considered the principal and most prominent town in Western Locris – *μεγίστη καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτη πόλις Λοκρῶν* – and that always played a key role in the region due to its position along routes, connecting both north-south and east-west, and due to its proximity to Delphi.³²

It is a well founded opinion that the preference fell on Physkeis because of the presence there of the sanctuary of Athena Ilias, which L. L rat recognized as being the federal religious centre of the *koinon*.³³ The numerous manumission acts from the 3rd and 2nd centuries there discovered testify to this position – it is well known, in fact, that only major religious centres had the authority to grant freedom to slaves – as does the institution of religious agonistic festivals, under the supervision of the *agonothetes* who also held the office of federal magistrate.

The Athena of the sanctuary of Physkeis bears the epiclesis of Ilias, so she is the same goddess worshipped at the temple dedicated to her in Ilium. The goddess of Ilium had required expiation of the offence perpetrated by the Locrian hero and *basileus* Ajax Oileus in violating Cassandra in her sanctuary in Ilium, where the priestess was seeking refuge as a suppliant.³⁴ This episode constitutes the *aition* of the terrible compensation

³⁰ Cf. Diod. 15,75,2: the Theban Epaminondas (...) called upon his side the Achaeans and other cities and freed Dyme, Naupactus and Calydon, which were occupied by the Achaeans. Cf. L rat (1952), II 57; Nielsen (2000), 91-120.

³¹ Paus. 10,38,4 (...) the largest and most renowned city of Locris [trl. W.H.S Jones]. Cf. Oldfather (1926), 1158-1165; L rat (1952), I 15-18, II 42-60; Larsen 1968, 48-58, and Daverio (1996), 617-618.

³² I have already mentioned, in the previous pages, the `Sonderstellung` of Amphissa in the Locrian system. See *supra* 000.

³³ L rat (1952), II 118-123, 156-158.

³⁴ An alternative reconstruction connects the epiclesis of the goddess with Ajax's patronymic, Oileus, by which the initial "O" might be a graphical correspondent of a primitive digamma, and this is coherent with the alternative form of the name, Ileus. This theory was proposed by Oldfather (1926), 1186, which L rat thought dubious, see L rat (1952), II 20-22.

that the Locrians were to pay to appease the goddess's rage for a millennium.³⁵ Athena did not in fact limit herself to punishing Ajax, by making him drown on his voyage back from Troy, but, as appeasement for the crime, she required Locrian virgins to be periodically sent to Ilium to serve as maids in her temple, over a period of one-thousand years.³⁶ The cult at Physkeis shows a unique configuration. The goddess bears in fact the *epiklesis* of the foreign city where the sacrilege took place, as so she acts as the patron goddess of Physkeis by a procedure of reconciliation between the divinity and the Locrians, through the expiation of an offence not committed by the *ethnos* but by Ajax beholder of the Locrian *basileia*; the seat of the Locrian *basileia* was at Naryka in eastern Locris, according to the prevailing literary traditions, although a citation of Callimachus in an iliadic *scholion* affirms he was from Opus:³⁷ τῶ Λοκρῶ Αἴαντι ἐν Ὀποῦντι – *to Locrian Ajax, in Opus* [trl. author].

As mentioned above, Eastern Locris manifested an advanced form of *koinon* already in the 5th century; yet there are elements that point to the fact that the Eastern

³⁵ The numerous literary attestations that make references to the episode have been thoroughly collected by Reinach (1914), 12-53. A good catalogue in Vidal Naquet (1985), 345-361, also useful is the collection by Ragone (1996), 74-95 at the end of his essay on the millennium of the Locrian virgins. From the extensive bibliography I will limit myself to citing Momigliano (1960), 446-453; Graf (1978), 61-79; Vidal Naquet (1985), 345-361; Pembroke (1970), 1240-1270; Bonnechère (1994), 150-163; Ragone (1996), 7-95; Mari (1997), 131-177; Mari (2000), 283-295, and Redfield (2003). The episode is ignored in Homeric poetry, although Homer knows of the shipwreck and death of Ajax on his voyage home from Troy. Cassandra was lying prostrate as a supplicant at the feet of the statue of the goddess and legend has that the statue of the goddess withdrew from looking when Ajax raped the priestess, so to not have to bear the sight of the sacrilege.

³⁶ Ancient sources cannot completely resolve doubts and questions raised over the fate of the Locrian virgins. Discrepancies between different traditions concern the nature of the obligation (tribute as expiation of Ajax's crime or rather aetiological ritual), the number of the maidens (two is the prevailing version, but some texts speak of a single virgin at a time), their status and the form of service (suppliants, slaves or hierodules), the duration and continuity of their stay (yearly or for life). I think Wilhelm's conclusion continues to be the most sensible and agreeable: the different versions must date to different moments of composition and we should thus accept that the forms of the service changed over time. Cf. Wilhelm (1911), 163-256. Also Vidal Naquet (1985), 345-361. Concerning the duration of the service, some important considerations in Momigliano (1960), 446-453; Ragone (1996), 22-33.

³⁷ Most ancient authors considered Naryka as the mythical homeland of Ajax. Latin poets used the adjective "Narycan" (of Naryca) as a synonym for Locrian. Cf. Verg. Aen. 3,39,9; Georg. 2,438, and Ov. met. 14,468,705. Lykophr. 1150-1161, speaks of the house of Oileus, and of the lineage of Hodoidochos. The city of Naryka is remembered as the home of Ajax in Strab. 9,4,2; Diod. 14,82,8; Steph. Byz. s.v. Νάρυξ; Hyg. fab. 14,7; as the hero's Kingdom in Servius Danielis (quoting Annaeus Placidus): Aen. 1,41. Yet Callimachus, in the citation of an iliadic *scholion*, says the hero was from Opus. Cf. Sch. Hom. II. 13,6 There is also the Euripidean version that has Ajax from Thronion. In the list of contingents forming the fleet departing for Troy, in Iphigenia in Aulis (vv. 231-303), Euripides cites the Locrians under the command of Oileus's son, who had left famed Thronion in order to partake. Cf. Eur. Iph. A. 263-265: (...) ἄγων ναῦς ἦλθ' Οἰλέως τόκος κλυτὰν Θρονιάδ' εκλιπῶν πόλιν. – (...) *Geführt von Oileus Sohn aus Thronions stolzer Stadt* [trl. E. Buschor]. For a collection of the evidence with a critical analysis of the data cf. Vidal Naquet (1985), 345-361; Bonnechère (1994), 150-163, and Ragone (1996), 7-95.

Locrians proceeded to reorganize, if not re-found, their *koinon*, at about the same moment and in the same international context that accompanied the rise of the western confederation (to be set between the King's Peace and the years of Epaminondas' activity). This historical and political context rich of innovations could explain the most remarkable of them: noticeably at this time the *koinon* began minting its own coinage. The monetary type of the coins preserved is consistent. The coins bear the legend – LOKR, OPONT – from the major and eponymous city of the eastern *koinon* – or SKARP – from the city of Skarpheia, the most prominent centre of Epicnemidian Locris; the portrait is that of Ajax as a beardless warrior, with Corinthian helmet, unsheathed sword in his right and in his left hand a shield bearing an engraved lion, or coiling snake, or decorative elements such as a griffin or palm leaves, with or without monogram. The portrait appears without distinction on coins with legend referring to the Locrians as a whole as much as to both Opus or Skarpheia: this means that all Eastern Locrians recognized themselves in the common national hero Ajax. The collective memory of Ajax as a positive national hero actually pre-dated the monetary use of his image, for Pindar mentions an altar in honour of this hero in Opus, and the scholiast to the poet calls the altar Aianteion, at which – he adds – the Aianteia were celebrated.³⁸ From the 4th century coinage we may infer that, at that time, the local cultic tradition, originally Narikian-Opuntian, had gained a federal dimension.³⁹

Ajax's affront to Cassandra had a wide resonance in Greek literature and art and the memory of it is well consolidated since very early times. It inspired poets, historians, mythographers, scholiasts and diverse authors, and was the subject of depictions on pottery, engravings on bronze and gems, since the 6th century B.C. in Greece, and since the 4th century in Magna Graecia, with an extremely rich production right up to the

³⁸ Cf. Pind. Ol. 9,112-9,113; Sch. Pind. Ol. 9,1: ἔστεφε νικῶν ἐν δαιτὶ, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι, τοῦ Ὀιλέως παιδὸς ἀπὸ δ τοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ε πεν ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐν Ὀποῦντι Αἰάντεια νενικηκότος καὶ ἔστεφανωκότος τὸν Αἴαντος βωμόν. [...] τὰ Αἰάντεια ἐν Ὀποῦντι ἄγεται – *After winning he crowned the altar of the banquet, that is in the Games of the son of Oileus; from him came the name. Since he won the Aianteia in Opus and crowned the altar of Ajax [...]. The Aianteia took place in Opus* [trl. author]. The winner laid his crown on the Altar to Ajax during the *panegyris*.

³⁹ An easy solution to the fluctuations between Naryka and Opus as Ajax's homeland should not be found in suggesting that the pre-eminence of Opus in the history of Eastern Locris somewhat favoured a process by which official, political and cultic occurrences of the life of *koinon* were centred on this city, nor in the hypothesis that thus Ajax's origin from Opus, cited in later sources, should be in this way contextualised. The most significant aspect marked by the sources must be reckoned in the association of Ajax with Eastern Locris.

Roman age.⁴⁰ Pausanias saw the subject depicted on the chest of Cypselus and painted by Polygnotus of Thasos in the Cnidians' Lesche at Delphi.⁴¹ Literary sources and iconography concur in emphasising Ajax's violence and brutality and transmit a negative image of the hero. The Locrian coins, on the contrary, portray Ajax as a warrior and not at all a brutal and sacrilegious man of war. The portrait on the coinage conveys his figure as a national hero of the eastern confederacy, proudly exhibited by the *koinon* on its money. Pausanias⁴² preserves the notion that, during the battle of the Sagra, in the second half of the 6th century, pitting Epizephyrian Locrians, from the Locrian colony, against Croton, the Locrians of Italy appealed to their *syngeneia* with the Opuntians to call onto Ajax son of Oileus for assistance. As will be discussed more at length in the following pages, I wish to point out the significance of this anecdote not only in its reference to kinship between Italic and Greek Locrians, but furthermore because it reveals Ajax's connection to Eastern (Opuntian) Locris and the settling of his memory as national hero earlier than the official acknowledgment attested by his effigy on 4th century coins.

Essentially thus, around the early 4th century, East and West Locris re-organized their respective states and associated them to a goddess and a mythical personage both shaping the common memory of an episode that which had once negatively tarnished Locrian myth-history and yet was then re-proposed from a celebrative perspective.

III.

The wrath of Athena Iliad and the expiation of Ajax's sacrilege through the service of the virgins are, I believe, key elements in the construction of the *ethnos's* collective memory in the historical age, entirely distinct from the amphictyonic tradition relative to the eponym Locros also common to both inhabitants of eastern and western regions. Although the crime had been individual, the forms of expiation configure (demonstrate?) collective solidarity through the responsibility of their *basileus*.⁴³ The

⁴⁰ For iconography see *LIMC* I, 1, 337-351, 2, 2. Literary sources are collected in Reinach (1914), 12-53. Attention to the iconographic and literary repertoire in: Graf (1978), 61-79; Vidal Naquet (1985), 345-361, and Bonnechère (1994), 150-163.

⁴¹ Paus. 5,19,5; 10,26,3.

⁴² Paus. 3,19,12. See *infra* 000.

⁴³ Cf. Redfield (2003), 133; Domínguez (2006), 147-170.

most ancient direct literary evidence, provided by a passage of Aeneas Tacticus, attests practice of that ritual in about the mid-4th century; yet reference to the bestowing of the Locrian virgins to the temple of Athena Ilias is attributed to Pythagoras' discourse to the youth of Croton, according to Iamblichus's *Life of Pythagoras*.⁴⁴ If the historicity of this late pythagoric source is to be accepted, we may infer that the episode was already a *topos* in the mid-4th century, popular enough to be used rhetorically.⁴⁵ That the sacrifice of the virgins was known in the area of Magna Grecia is likely due to the presence of Athena Ilias and Ajax in the cultural repertoire of Locris Epizephyrii, itself a Locrian foundation.⁴⁶

The federal cult of Athena Ilias at Physkeis in Western Locris and the establishment of Ajax as a national hero in the eastern region, both officially formalized in the 4th century, were actually preceded by a much more ancient tradition dating back to ca. 7th century B.C. and attested by the forms of cult at the colony.⁴⁷ Yet the cult of Athena Ilias and the positive heroic figure of Ajax were reinterpreted within two distinct political and institutional contexts, almost as if to signal the respective specificity of western and eastern *koinon* or even their contention, given the conflicting roles of the goddess and of the hero. The tribute to Athena actually serves as a nexus because the girls constituted the agency of reconciliation and appeasing.⁴⁸ In many occasions Eastern and Western Locrians took opposing decisions, even in situations of enormous importance for the political and military history of Greece and of profound symbolic value in Hellenic thought. In the Persian wars the former were among those Greeks that granted water and earth to the Persians' request, while the latter harboured the Phokians and the Delphians who were seeking refuge in the face of invasion.⁴⁹ It seems that such

⁴⁴ Ain. Takt. 31,24; Iambl. v. P. 42.

⁴⁵ Iamblichus is a 3rd century B.C. author; in the speech he attributes to Pythagoras, after having expounded the advantages of the exercise of virtue, as an exact opposite model he cites Paris, who was the cause of an enormous number of deaths to the Greeks and the Barbarians, both in the war under the walls of Troy and on his voyages home; furthermore he adds that "for this sole fault the divinity ordained the sentence for a thousand and ten years, predicting by an oracle the fall of Troy and the sending of the Locrian virgins to the temple of Athena Ilias".

⁴⁶ See *infra*.

⁴⁷ At the present state of research, on the premises of literary evidence and of archaeological research in the area of Ilium, the most credited opinion tends to set the tribute within the context of relations exclusively between Greek cities, at the time of the re-birth of the "New Ilium" as a Greek-Aeolic city, and dating it no earlier than the 7th century. A clear summary of the question in Ragone (1996), 7-95.

⁴⁸ Cf. Redfield (2003), 133-134.

⁴⁹ Hdt. 7,132; 8,32. Among the Greeks that had medized Herodotus makes a general reference to *Lokroi*, nonetheless the conclusions of Lérat (1952), II 18 can be agreed upon, in that actually this refers

a division between opposing sides also took place during the Peloponnesian War: the Hesperioi Locrians are amongst the allies of Athens (at least until 425 B.C.), thus it is likely that the unspecified *Locroi* cited among the allies of Sparta were actually Eastern Locrians.⁵⁰ In 340 B.C. Opus took part in the military intervention of the Amphictyony against Amphissa.⁵¹ There were nonetheless moments of cooperation, occasions in which the two Locris took the same field, and they are in fact set in the time frame between the King's Peace and Epaminondas's action in the Peloponnese, when the western *koinon* was constituted and the eastern sector took on minting the effigy of Ajax. Essentially, it is in that political climate of re-pacification that the re-founding of the eastern and western *koinon* is set on the basis of common cults.

Thus the practice of offering the tribute to Athena Ilias in expiation of Ajax's sacrilege is characterised as a ritual, as the scholars that dedicated deep analysis to this tradition have rightly pointed out,⁵² but it mustn't be interpreted as a fossilised residue of the past, rather as the re-functionalising of ancient traditions with the purpose of re-activating the common memory of the *ethnos* after the geo-territorial separation had consolidated into distinct political systems. In this perspective it is interesting to consider which Locrians actually had to supply the virgins and it is significant that, once the millennium had expired, the tribute was shortly after taken up again, in compliance to a Delphic oracle.⁵³ The tradition that states Naryka as the seat of the Locrian kingship and the mention of *Locroi*, with no further specification in Homer, match the evidence in Lycophron who lists exclusively cities from the eastern part of Locris among those involved in the Ajax's sacrilege.⁵⁴ On these elements rests the theory that attributes the obligation of sending the tribute of girls to Ilium solely to the Eastern Locrians.⁵⁵

solely to the Eastern Locrians, considering both the different behaviour of the Western Locrians and that it was the populations settled along the route of the Persian army who went over to the enemy's side, in fear of retaliation, as in fact did the Eastern Locrians.

⁵⁰ Thuk. 2,9,3: Locrians figure in the list of Spartan allies out of the Peloponnese; Thuk. 3,101,1: during the war events of 426, the Spartan general Eurylochus sent a herald to the Ozolian Locrians to convince them to abandon their alliance with the Athenians.

⁵¹ See Aischin. Tim. 113, 119, 122-123, 129.

⁵² See Bonnechère (1994), 150-163; Ragone (1996), 7-95; Graf (1997), 61-79, and Mari (1997), 131-177.

⁵³ According to Aelianus, after the sending had been interrupted, the oracle ordered to re-establish it. See Ael. fr. 50 a-g = Ragone (1996), T 12 and commentary with an analysis of the problems raised by the chronology and duration of the rite.

⁵⁴ Hom. Il. 2,527-2,534. Lykophr. 1141-1150. See the comment in Mari (2000), 283-295.

⁵⁵ For a complete discussion of the question see bibliography cited at footnotes 33 and 49.

From the whole *corpus* of evidence we may draw out four possibilities as regarding the social status of the virgins: the girls were chosen from within the aristocracy of the Hundred Houses; from among the whole *ethnos*; from within the Opuntian Locrians only; or they were provided by the *genos* of the Aianteioi. This last datum is provided by the inscription (presumed to date to the last thirty years of the III century) reporting the text of a 3rd century treaty (συνθήκαι) in which the contracting parties were, on one part, the city of Naryka (Ajax's ancient homeland, according to the main tradition) together with the Aianteioi – the *ghenos* or tribe of the descendants of Ajax Oileus – and on the other part the Locrians, with no further specification. The inscription is commonly renowned and quoted as the *Mädcheninschrift*,⁵⁶ by the name given to it by its early 20th century editor Wilhelm. It must be noted that the interpretation of the *Mädcheninschrift* raises many difficulties, the inscription has been the subject of a conspicuous number of studies and many of the issues raised have received divergent answers.⁵⁷ I will limitedly recall some of the essential and assured information: in the mid-3rd century the service was still active (or had been re-instituted);⁵⁸ at that time, the aristocratic group descendant from Ajax is attested; this *ghenos* resided in (or was connected to) the city of Naryka, the ancient seat of the Locrian kingship of Ajax. The inscription doesn't specify which Locrians were involved. The mention of Naryka would induce to take into consideration Eastern Locris where the city lay (according to some interpretations solely the Opuntian Locrians were under obligation). Nonetheless, in more than one passage, the text insists on the general and inclusive value of the treaty: l. 11, παντεῖ Λοκρῶν – all the Locrians [trl. author], l. 13, τοὺς Λοκρούς πάντας – all the Locrians [trl. author], l. 15, τοὺς Λοκρούς – the Locrians [trl. author].

Another element to be considered is the location where the inscription was found, for it was in fact discovered at Vitrinitsa (the ancient Oiantheia) in Western Locris. This site could thus provide arguments in order to understand that the treaty is a decision affecting the two Locris because it makes clear the complementary roles of Athena Ilias and Ajax, the former receiving the federal Western Locrian cult at the temple in

⁵⁶ The inscription was edited by Wilhelm (1911), 163-256. Published in IG IX 1² 3, 706; StV III 472. See Ragone (1994), T 6.

⁵⁷ See bibliogr. cit. at note 33.

⁵⁸ On the premise of the comparison between the text and the evidence in Aelianus, fr. 50 a-g (= Ragone (1994), T 12). The re-activation is connected with the problems concerning the end of the service at the lapse of the “millennium”. See Ragone (1996), 7-95.

Physkeis, the latter being the Eastern Locrian national hero. We can't exclude that the Vitrinisa/Oiantheia inscription was one of the number of copies to be exposed in different sites in the two Locris with the purpose of affording public visibility to the treaty. I wouldn't exclude the possibility of assigning a specific and non-casual significance to the site of Oiantheia as the location of the discovery: given the evidence in Plutarch about the *syngeneia* between Physkeis and Oiantheia, due to their common foundation by Locros,⁵⁹ I believe we should take into consideration the hypothesis by which the locations where the inscription was exposed had been chosen on the premises of specific cultic traditions.

In compliance with the treaty, the Aianteioi committed to providing the girls for the service in the temple of Athena at Ilium in exchange for certain privileges.

According to the tradition preserved by Polybius – who traces it back to the authority of Aristotle – the virgins, two in number, were chosen by lot from among the noble families of the Hundred Houses (ἑκατὸν οἰκίαι).⁶⁰ The *Hekatòn Oikiai* were the élite of Opus and provided the governing class of *koinon* – which remained oligarchic for long (until the 4th century). The hypothesis of their direct involvement in providing the two girls finds support in the role that the women of the Hundred Houses performed in other circumstances. Specifically, from these women descended the founders of Locri Epizephyrii.⁶¹ This myth is of special significance because it preserved the memory of bonds between the founders and the Locrian nobility of the metropolis through matrilineal lineage, but especially because it spread in the colony of Magna Grecia the homeland heritage of traditions and cultic practices revolving around the figures of Athena Ilias and Ajax.⁶²

⁵⁹ Plut. qu.Gr. 13.

⁶⁰ Polybius prefers the version of Aristotle on the foundation of Locri Epizephyrii, rather than the one provided by Timaeus: Pol. 12,5,5-12,5,11; 7,2,4. Cf. Musti (1974), 5-21; (1977), 23-146; (1977a), 59-85; Torelli (1977), 147-184; Osanna (1992), 201-223; Musti (1999), 421-425; Domínguez (2006), 147-170, esp. 156-162, and Domínguez 2010, 75-83.

⁶¹ According to Aristotle, quoted by Polybius, the forefathers of the colony had been born from the adultery committed by the women of the Hundred Houses with their slaves, being weary of the absence of their husbands who were away supporting Sparta in the Messenian wars.

⁶² Modern studies have amply stressed the importance of the cultural continuity between mother-city and colony. It is precisely the presence of similar divine and heroic figures in the colony and in Locris that has provided crucial support to the theory of a Locrian origin of the colony, nowadays widely accepted; even though ancient historiography preserves alternative versions. For an expansive and detailed analysis of the scholarly positions on the problem see one of the most recent studies on the subject: Domínguez (2006), 147-170.

The position of the goddess's sacred precinct on the very peak of the Mannella hill, which effectively constituted the *polis*' acropolis, is a powerful element in affirming the pre-eminent role of the cult of Athena Ilias in the cults of the *polis*.⁶³ The figure of Ajax as the national hero followed the same western route as the goddess's. Traces of this transfer are preserved in the tradition of the hero's supernatural intervention among the ranks of the Italic Locrians during the battle of the Sagra, because of their invocation to him.⁶⁴ It is worth recalling that the Latin authors gave to Locris Epizephyrii the attribute of "naricia", establishing an explicit reference to the city that had been the seat of Ajax's *basileia* of Homeric age.⁶⁵ The transfer of Athena's and Ajax's cults, I believe, shows that the mother city made an effort to promote these cults in their colonies.⁶⁶ To understand how strongly the cult took root in this colonial area, I think the colossal dimensions of the *naòs* of Athena (26,80 x 11,60 mt.) confirms the image of a major official and solemn cult to a pivotal goddess. The close relationship between the goddess and the city ties into another deeply significant tradition: according to Peripatetic philosopher Chamaileon of Heraclea Pontica and Aristotle it had in fact been this goddess who inspired Zaleucus to write the laws of Locri Epizephyrii, after she had appeared to him in a dream:⁶⁷

Αριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Λοκρῶν πολιτείᾳ Ζάλευκον τὸν Λοκρὸν παρὰ τῆς
 Ἀθηνᾶς τοὺς νόμους λαμβάνειν ἀπομνημονεύουσιν

[Chamaileon] and Aristoteles in the Locrian Politeia remember that Zaleukos
 of Locris took his laws from Athens [trl. author].

It is here unnecessary to linger over the importance of written laws in the genesis of the Greek *polis*, and in the case of Locris this assumes special relevance as it was the very first, not only in the Greek world, but in all of western culture. Athena's role was thus vital, as it was through the enlightenment she brought Zaleucus that he, a simple

⁶³ See Torelli (1977), 179-183; Osanna (1992), 215.

⁶⁴ Paus. 3,19,11-3,19,13. The alternative version of Theopompus mentions the Dioscuri instead: Theop. FGrH 115 F 392. Discussion on the two sources in Musti (1977), 56-65. with a sharp analysis of the modern positions on the subject.

⁶⁵ Synonym for Locrian even for the mother-land. See *supra* note 35.

⁶⁶ Though the prevailing opinion stresses the connection that established strong bonds between the colony's cultic traditions and those of the mother-city, M. Torelli nonetheless considers the transfer of Athena's and Ajax's cult to Locris Epizephyrii – quote – "a pre-eminently political and mechanical fact, destined to have a relatively minor follow – up in the local religious conscience". See Torelli (1977), 180.

⁶⁷ Aristot. F 548 R. The citation is from a scholion to Pindar and from Clemens Alexandrinus: Sch. Pind. Ol. 11,17; Clem. Al. Strom. 1,26.

shepherd, turned into a lawgiver.⁶⁸ Ajax came to be part of that stock group of heroes whom the people felt closer to their history, heritage and beliefs, and for this reason they were appealed to in critical moments.⁶⁹ This hero gained a positive role also in the colonial area so, in this perspective, his intervention during the battle of the Sagra, previously mentioned, can confirm the antiquity of the character as a national hero, even earlier than the official recognitions marked by the portrait on the Opuntian coinage.

The issue of the foundation of Locris Epizephyrii once again poses the problem of the dualism between Eastern and Western Locrians because the sources differ and purvey both the solutions. In this regard D. Musti⁷⁰ unerringly considers this to actually be a false problem because, rather than the precise identification of the place of provenience, what matters is to define the social, political and cultural context from which the foundation originated. On this standpoint, Musti lists a series of elements that converge in excluding a unilateral character in this foundation and sees, in the religious heritage of the colony, aspects of contacts and collaboration marking the relations between the two regions and extending also to the colony. The complementary character of the goddess and the hero preserve the common memory of a pan-Locrian *aition* that constituted the umbilical cord between Locrians of Greek and those of southern Italy. Religious practices and traditions highlight the unitary self-representation of the *ethnos*, the colonial area absorbed themes that were instead differently located between east and west in the motherland traditions.

As can be expected, Aristotle's version of the origins of the founders of Locris Epizephyrii has sparked much pondering and writing among scholars, especially regarding the role of women in the colonial society and their possible connections to prestigious positions in their mother-city.⁷¹ This isn't a problem that should be here addressed, though what should be pointed out is that, precisely in the foundation of Locris Epizephyrii, where Athena and Ajax were destined to major roles in the local pantheon, Aristotle set the women of the Hundred Houses as a key element, and it is

⁶⁸ Because of Zaleucus, Locris Epizephyrii was celebrated for the *eunomia* of its laws. See Plat. leg. 1,638b; Tim. 209: εὐνομοσύνης [...] πόλεως τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Λοκρίδος – *Locris, the best ruled city in Italy* [tr. author]. Also see Tim. FGrH 566 F 130.

⁶⁹ Cf. Osanna (1992), 201-223; Domínguez (2006), 147-170.

⁷⁰ Although this scholar is rather inclined to recognise a primacy to Opuntian Locris. See Musti (1977), 35-46, Musti (1977a), 39-85. The formative process of the ethnic and political identity of the Locrian *ethnos* through their articulation in Locrians in Greece (Eastern and Western) and Locrians in Italy is carefully examined by Domínguez (2006), 147-170.

⁷¹ See bibliogr. cit. *supra*, note 33.

from these women that descend the colonists and the virgins for the tribute to the goddess of Ilium. In the role of the *Hekaton Oikiai* (through matrilineal descent) and in the combined cultic presence of Athena Ilias and Ajax in the religious heritage of Locris Epizephyrii emerges a Locrian narrative in which the sense of common identity prevails over territorial and political discontinuity.⁷²

Ancient aristocratic law ensured, for the sake of collective solidarity, that the whole aristocratic group was held responsible for the acts committed by one of its members. Plutarch listed the fate of the Locrian virgins among the examples that proved how unjust the application of collective responsibility, hereditary liability, and their consequent collective and hereditary punishment were.⁷³ Circumstances in which literary tradition presents evidence of the actions of the Hundred Houses, from the relation with the founders sent to Magna Grecia to their involvement in providing the virgins for Ilium, show a cohesive group and, as such, united in political initiatives and co-responsible in legal matters. This active presence is proven in the role the aristocracy continued to perform in the governing class of the oligarchic regime, running the Opuntian *koinon* as late as in the 4th century.⁷⁴ On these premises I would rather think that originally the service to the temple of Athena Ilias fell on the Hundred Houses, and later passed on to the whole *ethnos* (or, I believe, more probably it remained always within the *Hekatòn Oikiai*), until the 3rd century when the *ghenos* descendant from Ajax took on the obligation towards the goddess in exchange for certain privileges.⁷⁵ The role

⁷² In regard to the relationship between territorialisation processes and foundation myths in the colonial area, and on their function in creating a shared identity, see Daverio (2010), 1-16; useful considerations in Lomas (1997), 31-41. C. Dougherty deems necessary to distinguish between the processes of territorialisation and the mythical and legendary contours around which the foundation myths were constructed, in his opinion these concur in shaping a poetic of colonisation. See Dougherty (1994), 35-46.

⁷³ Plut. de sera 12 = Mor. 557 C-D. Plutarch's judgement seems coherent with the ethical principles and the laws of his time, and it does not seem to take into any consideration the family laws that had disciplined interpersonal relations in more ancient ages.

⁷⁴ The Opuntian aristocracy of the Hundred Houses can be compared to the social system alluded to in the land law known as Pappadakis bronze, concerning an unspecified settlement in Ozolian Locris, in the region of Naupactus (ca. 525-500 B.C.). Among the official bodies of the community emanating the law, entitled to govern, there is a group of one hundred-and-one citizens chosen among the aristocracy: δόξεσαι ἄδράσιον ἐνὶ κέκατον ἀρίστίνδαν – *resolved by one hundred-and-one citizens chosen among the aristocracy* [trl. author]. See Nomima I, 44, ll. 7-8; Zunino (2007), 157-169.

⁷⁵ The Aianteioi were exempt from tributary obligations everywhere in Locris, they couldn't be subject to investigations concerning their goods or their persons, they enjoyed rights of hospitality, they could count on financial guarantees in case their goods were to be confiscated, ransom was perfunctorily paid in case one of them was captured as war-prisoner, if they were to undergo a court trial the judgment had to be rapidly resolved. An allowance of 15 minae was reserved for their maidens to supply vestments and support.

of the Aianteioi displays aspects of prestige probably because of the *syngeneia* with the national hero of whom they took on the legacy, which grants the group a privileged noble status.

Among the scholars who studied the *Mädcheninschrift*, P. Vidal Naquet⁷⁶ believes that social conventions gradually impelled a process of secularisation transforming what was an ancient religious and ritual custom into a civic liturgy. Considering the role that the document assigns to the *ghenos* of Ajax's descendants, it seems actually reductive to provide an exclusively legal interpretation of the agreement. Perhaps, I posit, rather than to recognise the shift from a ritual to a civic practice, we could assume that, by the agreement, the descendants of Ajax privatised – so to speak – their forefather's guilt, narrowing it to their sole aristocratic family group, taking it upon themselves and freeing the Locrians (all, or the Hundred Houses) from the service. The city of Naryka would have been involved for having been the seat of Ajax's kingship as well as the territorial range of the Aianteioi. The fact that, in exchange for taking on the responsibility of providing the virgins, the aristocratic group was granted some tributary exemptions and other privileges seems to indicate that, at this date, that obligation was seen as an exclusive and distinctive recognition. Also confirmed is its profound significance within the pan-Locrian tradition regarding the sacrifice of the girls.

IV. Conclusion

Locros is a central character in the foundation myths both of Eastern and Western Locris, he is essential in the construction of a unitary representation of the *ethnos* and in binding the memory of its origins to the ancient history of the Pylaic-Delphic Amphictyony.

Nonetheless the most representative figures in the religious and heroic corpus are Athena Ilias and Ajax, who contributed to shaping the national pan-Locrian cult. They are central in a discourse constructed to raise the sentiment of unitary identity over territorial and political separateness, to preserve and communicate the Locrians' self-representation as a homogeneous *ethnos*, concurrently with the consolidation of the political separation into east and west and the formation of the Italic Locrian segment. This unitary identity was strengthened by the shared participation in a common

⁷⁶ Vidal Naquet (1985), 345-361.

responsibility, compelled by the juridical and sacred laws for religious crimes. Thus Athena and Ajax came to prevail over the figure of Locros. It is significant that this hero never received a cult with religious, political or symbolic strength as was normally reserved for ancestors and eponyms elsewhere in Greece, nor was he dedicated any monuments of importance for the life of the community. The eminent role of Phokos in the nearby Phokis and the Phokikon,⁷⁷ or the eponymous heroes of Athens and their monument in the Athenian agora, stand as comparative examples. Instead, the cult of Athena Ilias stood at the federal sanctuary of Western Locris, and when the eastern *koinon* minted its coins, with the image of Ajax, it transformed the sacrilegious and violent hero into a national political symbol. And both the goddess and the hero came to be co-jointly part of the cultic repertoire of Locris Epizephyrii.

Cohesion finds its strength in collective solidarity, organised essentially around three elements: the shared responsibility for the expiation of the crime of the Locrian *basileus* Ajax, by the service of the Locrian virgins at the sanctuary of Athena Ilias at Ilium; the reconciliation with the offended goddess through the Locrian cult of Athena Ilias, which is formalised at the federal sanctuary of Physkeis from the 4th century; the “invention” of a national hero by shaping the positive figure of warrior Ajax in the eastern *koinon* at about the very same period.

⁷⁷ See McInerney (1997), 193-207; Daverio (1999a), 15-30.

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Making Phokian space: sanctuary and community in the definition of Phokis

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Recent studies of early federalism in the Greek world have tended to follow one of three tracks. The first is the study *ethne* and *koina* as social structures, and there is now general agreement that neither the *koinon* nor the *ethnos* is a Darwinian relic of a primordial tribalism, and that neither was a clearly bounded, fixed entity.¹ A second approach has been to correlate historically attested groups with a topographic study of the region they inhabited. This approach was pioneered by Alfred Philippson and Ernst Kirsten and can be seen in the recent work of John Bintliff, who has employed centre/periphery models to elucidate long-term changes in the Greek world.² This approach, which is primarily concerned with topography and settlement, tends to be focused on the control of natural resources and ignores, or pays minimal attention, to ethnic affiliations and how they shape or are shaped by conditions in the landscape. This is not to dismiss such approaches, only to draw attention to the limits to their utility, depending on which aspects of ancient society we are trying to explain. In fact, it may be worth noting that in a recent discussion of centre/periphery models, Bintliff located the region discussed in this paper exactly on the threshold of core, buffer and peripheral zones.³

A characteristic of the topographic approach is the graphic representation of settlements within the landscape as Thiessen polygons (Fig. 1). The centre of each cell represents a settlement, and the line drawn perpendicular to any two settlements represents the notional boundary between them. The entire cell therefore approximates the territory whose natural resources are likely to have been under the control of the settlement at its centre. This is a fruitful way of exploring the relationship between settlement patterns and landscape, but it is an approach with limitations as well: Bintliff's rendering of Boiotia in Figure 1 may capture the rationale behind the

¹ Hall (1997); Malkin (2001).

² Philippson (1951); Kirsten (1956), and Bintliff (2006).

³ Bintliff (1997), 19.

distribution of settlements, and in that sense be accurate, but there is nothing especially „Boiotian“ about it.

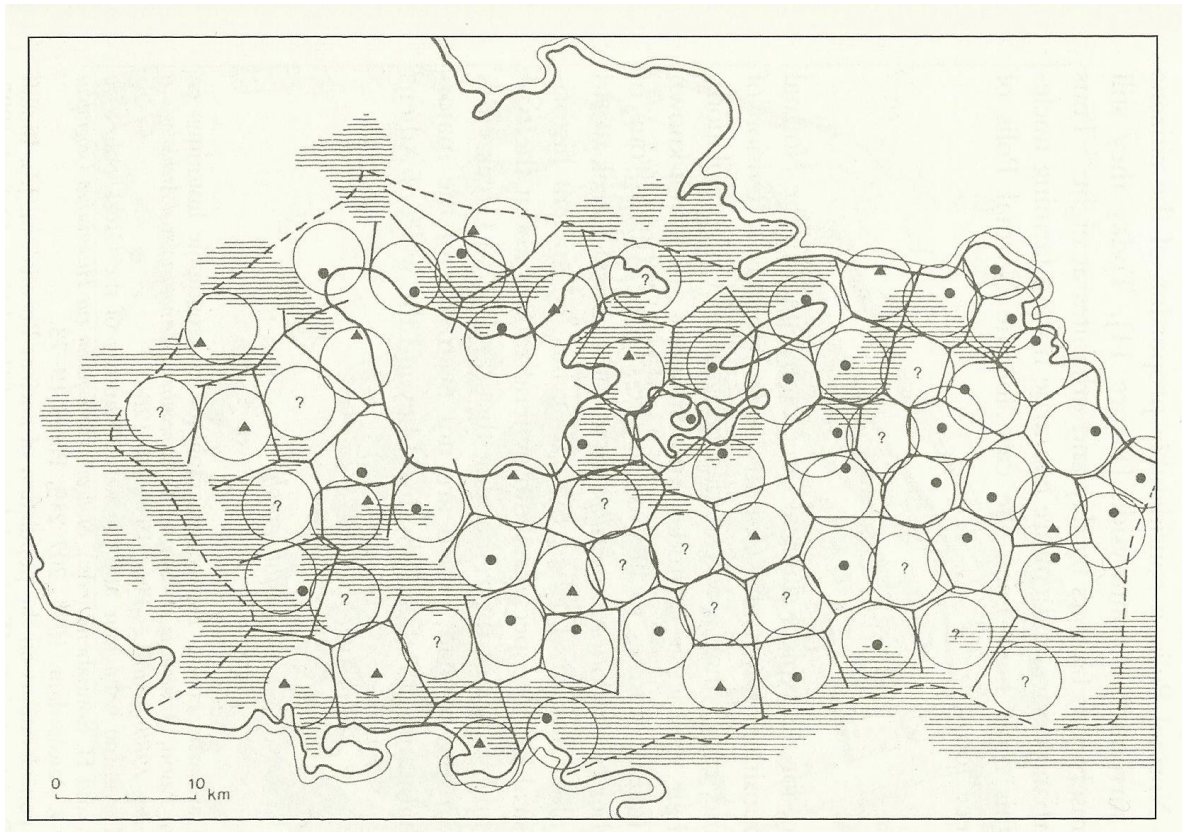


Fig. 1. Boiotian landscape rendered as Thiessen polygons. Bintliff (2006), 29. Adapted by permission.

A third line of enquiry, relying on the interpretation of material culture, such as ceramics, roof tiles, and metal objects, has resulted in a fresh appreciation of the complexity and dynamism of supra-regional connections in the Greek world prior to the Persian Wars. Ian Morris has posited the existence of four distinct regions, none of which is exactly coterminous with any later state, while Sarah Morris has suggested that in terms of cultural production the Greece of the Iron Age is essentially a part of an eastern Mediterranean cultural zone.⁴ Depending, then, on the lens applied to the picture, different features come into focus, depending on whether the observer is concentrating on highly local conditions or looking for processes that operated on a wholly different scale.

⁴ Morris (2000), 195; Morris (1992), 150-194.

What has often been lacking in these studies is a clear sense of whether these different approaches to early Greece can produce a coherent narrative. How do Thiessen polygons and regional ceramic styles contribute to our understanding of identity formation? Furthermore, agency and contingency, the specifics of war, drought, and famine all seem somehow disconnected from these discussions. As a result, it sometimes feels as if recent accounts of early Greece have been written by archaeologists and ancient historians, each devoted to his or her own specialty but without regard to bodies of evidence that might suggest a different story. The result is like the proverbial horse designed by a committee: it ends up looking like a camel. In an attempt to bring some of the disparate lines of interpretation suggested above into alignment I propose to concentrate on one region, Phokis, and to see whether we can offer a more coherent reconstruction, taking into account the natural environment, specific historic events and the cultural zones which intersected in this part of central Greece. In some respects this essay can be seen as an attempt to answer a question posed recently by Ian Morris: „How are understandings of locality, community, and region formed and lived?“⁵ The results of the inquiry, though preliminary, are suggestive, and point to the dynamic role played by religious activity in giving shape to emerging regional and ethnic identities.

The territory of Phokis was, as Philippon understood, naturally delineated though not a natural unit (Fig. 2). There is a clear northern zone distinguished by the Kephisos valley and the two mountains that bound it: Parnassos to the southwest and Kallidromon to the northeast. The settlements of this zone share the river valley and the mountains behind. Each settlement has an optimum amount of fertile land and mountain pasture suitable for a mixed regime of farming. At the eastern end of Phokis, the Kephisos debouches into the plain of Chaironeia and a cluster of sites once again divides up in rational fashion the fertile alluvial plain and the mountains behind. Separate from these two zones, a series of routes run broadly round the southern side of Parnassos and into the various valleys below and between Parnassos and Helikon. Here all roads seem to lead to Delphi, but in fact the same environmental factors are at play, settlements cluster around 400 meters offering the optimal location for exploiting different climatic zones.

⁵ Morris (2000), 104.

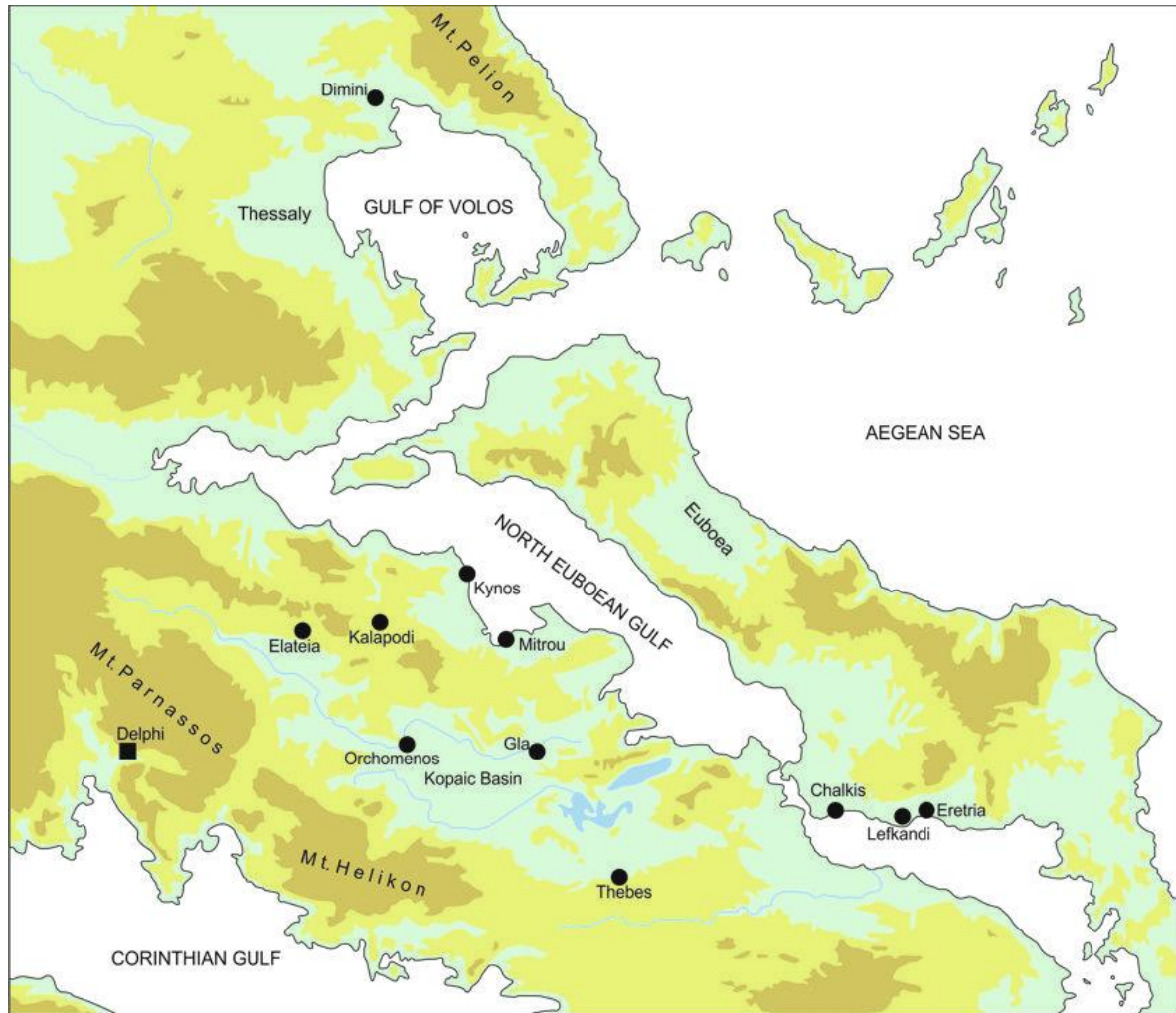


Fig. 2 Topographical Map of Phokis. Map by Margaretha Kramer-Hajos from Van de Moortel and Zahou (2005). Adapted and reproduced by permission.

However, if we flip out attention from settlements and turn instead to sanctuaries, a very different picture emerges. Leaving aside such late sources as Pausanias and concentrating on archaeology we find major Phokian sanctuaries primarily in two locations. In the southwest there is Delphi. With regards to Phokis, Delphi is something of a black hole, since it was often under the control of the Amphiktyony and clearly achieved an international status if not in the 8th century then certainly during the archaic period.⁶ At the other end of Phokis, at the eastern edge and close to Lokris and Boiotia (Fig. 3), lay a cluster of sacred sites: the temple of Athena Kranaia in the hills northeast of Elateia, the important sanctuary of Kalapodi also at the eastern edge of Phokis on the road to Atalandi in eastern Lokris, and the oracle of Apollo at Abai,

⁶ On early Delphi see Morgan (1990). On the Amphiktyony see Sánchez (2001).

famous throughout antiquity and rebuilt by Hadrian.⁷ Not only would these sanctuaries be key to the formulation of a Phokian identity, one at least (Kalapodi) was also very old. The recent excavations at Kalapodi suggest that cult at the site goes back to the Middle Helladic period.⁸ In fact, before a veritable explosion in the number of dedications at Delphi and its rise to international prominence in the Archaic period, the most significant cult location prior to the 8th century in the region that would become Phokis was not Delphi, on the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, but Kalapodi, close to the Euboian Gulf. In the Late Bronze Age a maritime trade network extended from the Bay of Volos to the north to Krete to the south. This is attested by the appearance of Kamares ware in Thessaly and Opountian Lokris as well as Minoan seals at Kalapodi and Elateia.⁹ Its proximity to the Euboian Gulf therefore meant that Kalapodi was well situated to benefit from this international traffic.

⁷ For Athena Kranaia see Paus. 10,34-10,37; Paris (1892); Scully (1964), 92, and Demake (2009). For Kalapodi (identified with Artemis Elaphebolos) see Ellinger (1993); Felsch (1996), and Felsch (2007). For Abai see Yorke (1896). The identification of the Kalapodi complex as the temple of Artemis Elaphebolos has been recently challenged by the current excavator, W.-D. Niemeier, who proposes that it is the site of the oracular shrine of Apollo at Abai. See Niemeier (2008), 99.

⁸ Niemeier (2008), 100.

⁹ Niemeier (1986); Dakoronia et al (1996), and Niemeier (2007), 78.

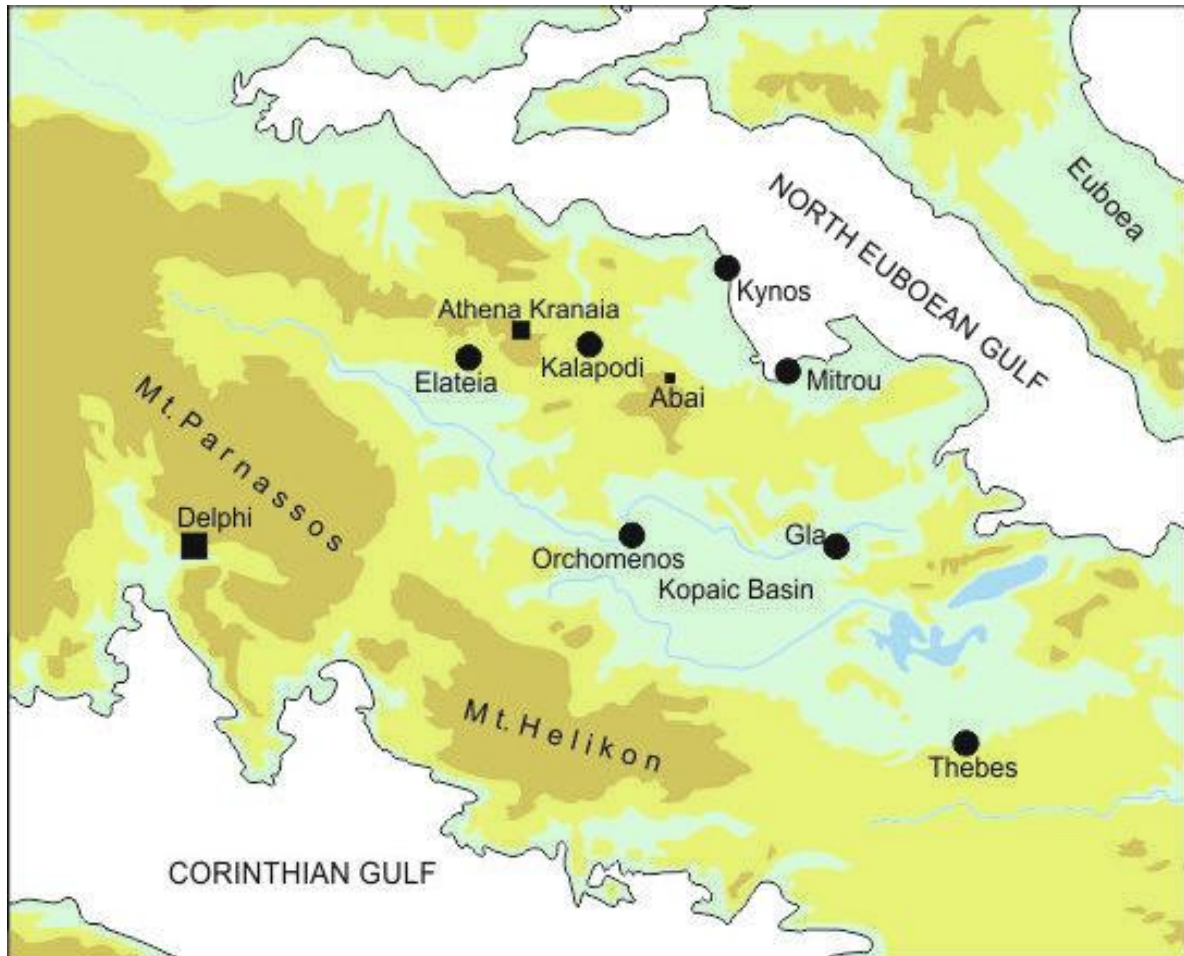


Fig. 3 Eastern Phokis. The sanctuaries of Athena Kranaia, Kalapodi and Abai. Map by Margaretha Kramer-Hajos from Van de Moortel and Zahou (2005). Adapted and reproduced by permission.

Kalapodi's prominence raises other questions: why are there three major sanctuaries in one small area? Do environmental factors help to explain the clustering, and what light can this phenomenon shed on the transformation of this territory into Phokis. In other words what role did this religious space play in the formation of group, ethnic and political identity? To begin with, the environmental factors are telling. The locale dominated by these sanctuaries represents the one area where the mountain range separating the inland communities from the Euboian gulf dips below 400 meters. For travellers passing from the Euboian to the Corinthian Gulf this was a natural corridor, and as the sanctuaries grew in importance it was also a natural route for moving cattle either for sacrifice or for sale at market. At its eastern end the spines and ridges of Mt Kallidromon give way to low rolling hills, and it is precisely here that movement from the interior to the Euboian Gulf and the plain of Opous is easiest. But

in geopolitical terms the cluster of sacred territories is especially fascinating since it occurs at the intersection of three regions which in time became three separate federations: the Lokrians, occupying the coastal plain around Opous, the Boiotians at the western end of the Chaironeia plain and the Phokians in the Upper Kephisos valley. (Fig. 4)

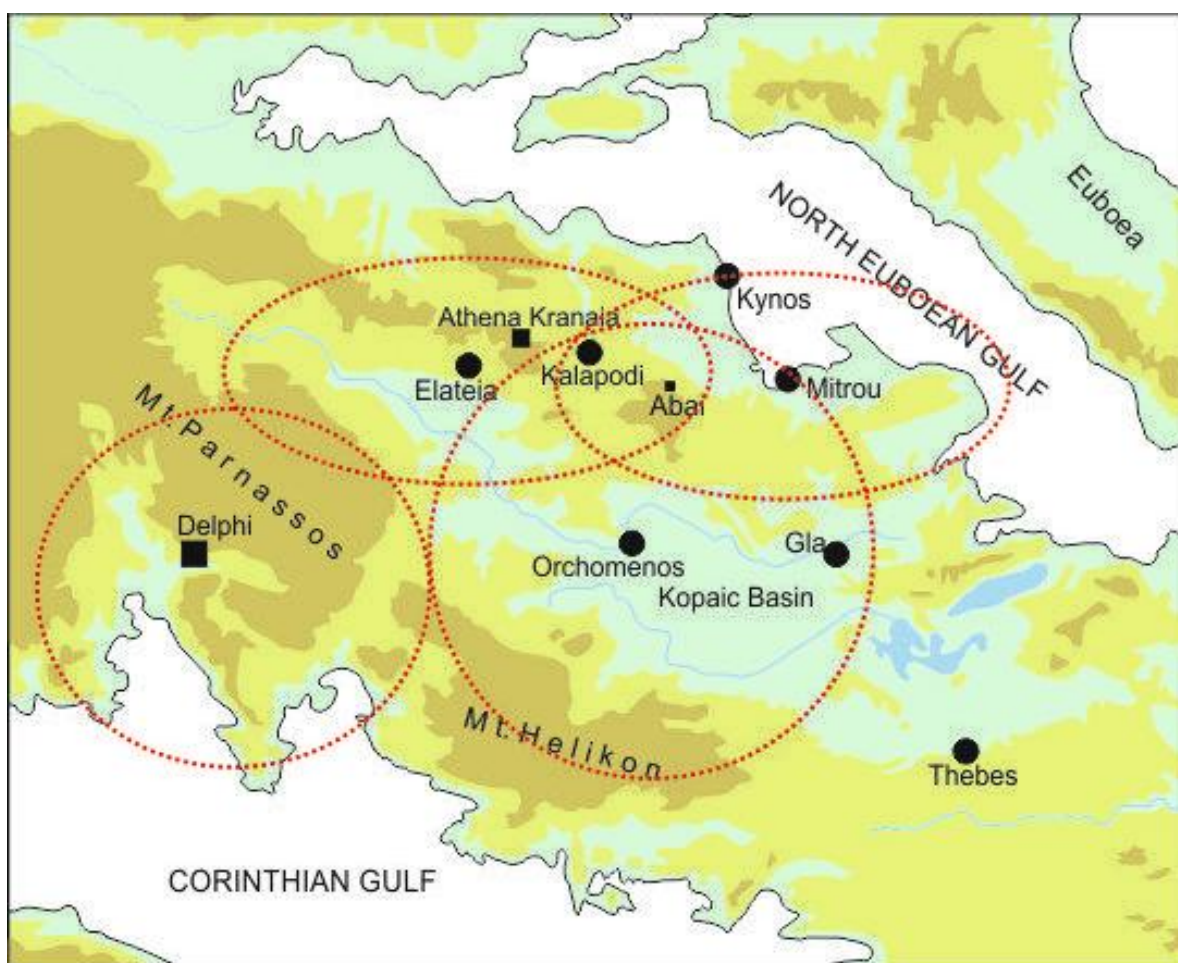


Fig. 4 Phokis, Lokris and Boiotia as intersecting and competing zones. Note the area of maximum overlap. Map by Margaretha Kramer-Hajos from Van de Moortel and Zahou (2005). Adapted and reproduced by permission.

It seems hardly a coincidence that three *koina* and *ethne* should emerge clustered around these three major sanctuaries. We are used to thinking of Kranaia, Abai and Kalapodi as Phokian, because that it the territory which in classical times embraced them within its borders, but as Catherine Morgan has cautiously noted, it is not clear

„whether it is legitimate to speak of pan-Phokian interests before the sixth century.“¹⁰ In fact, it is precisely because these sanctuaries were nodes within regional networks that they helped local regional identities to crystallize. In time, probably just before the Persian Wars they would all, as it were, go Phokian, and in so doing help to define Phokis more clearly.

This focalization of regional identities was surely a byproduct of the enormous wealth and prestige found in these sanctuaries. The material goods from Kalapodi demonstrate that it was part of a much larger cultural zone. Kalapodi was located at the centre of a broad network of exchange. Based on stamped Lakonian rooftiles, for example, we can connect the sanctuary with the Lakonian workshops of Dabychos and Prikon, suppliers also to the temple of Aphaia.¹¹ A total of twenty one Lakonian stamped rooftiles are now identified at Kalapodi, and others of similar provenance have turned up in nearby Lokris, at Kynos, the port of Opous and at Kyparissi. The stamps on these tiles, either letters or figural motifs such as birds and flowers, were not necessarily designed to be seen, and may have served to facilitate accounting within the workshop that manufactured them, but regardless of their purpose they provide solid evidence that Archaic Kalapodi was a sanctuary whose decoration put it on a par with major sites such as Kolonna on Aigina. The distribution of these early stamped tiles points, in fact, to one kind of network, in which highly transportable, manufactured goods moved across a zone extending from the Argolid to the Bay of Volos.

A comparable network reaching from the district around Kalapodi to Thessaly and across to Euboia can also be inferred from the ceramics from the site. Fabric analysis of the ceramic material from Kalapodi points to connections with Thessaly as early as the 10th century while similar affinities, based on such stylistic features as octopus motifs, point to connections between mainland central Greece at Kalapodi and the Aegean islands and Dodecanese as early as LH III C.¹² The animal figure attachments found on bronze cauldrons Kalapodi are comparable with the other great panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia and Delphi in terms of quality.¹³ An especially exhaustive study of the bronze pins and fibulae has led Rainer Felsch to see Kalapodi as a major centre of

¹⁰ Morgan (1997), 96.

¹¹ Felsch (1990), 301-302.

¹² Felsch-Jacob (1996), 87 no. 40.

¹³ Felsch (2007), 44.

production. Earlier studies had identified various types of minor bronze objects found across a broad swathe of central Greece as the products of Thessalian workshops, but excavations in the 80's at Kalapodi brought to light indisputable evidence for Kalapodi's central position in regional bronze manufacturing.¹⁴ For example, the 32 bird disk pendants found here far outstrip the numbers coming from the nearest production site of Pherai in Thessaly or any other site.¹⁵ (Philia 4, Pherai 24, Delphi 5, Elateia 4, Kalapodi 32, Halai 1, Ptoon 1, Aigina 1, Argive Heraion 1, Lousoi 1, Tegea 2, Olympia 3, Sparta 3.) According to Felsch the so-called Corinthian style of bronze attachment as well as the orb or wheel shaped attachment actually originates in Phokis/Lokris.

Another way of measuring the scope of the network that was focused on Kalapodi is by examining the graffiti and inscriptions found on terra-cotta vessels dedicated in the sanctuary. The Archaic and Classical periods witnessed the frequent dedication of drinking vessels, pointing to a long tradition of sympotic activity and feasting. The most frequently dedicated vessel is the *hemikotylon*, holding approximately one sixth of a litre and therefore appropriate for libations and ritual dining.¹⁶ Many are inscribed *hiaron*, and many also give the name of their owner, the dedicator of the vessel. The letter forms of the alphabet used on these inscribed cups and the morphology of the dialects employed both point to a regional importance that extends beyond Phokis and embraces the broader region of Boiotia to the southeast, Lokris to the north and possibly extending to Thessaly. When added to the larger vessels associated with ritual dining, such as the kraters in which wine was mixed and the miniature *kotyles* which were evidently also left as mementos of sacrifices and feasts, the ceramic record points to Kalapodi's importance as the physical setting for elite performances of sacrifice, feasting and dedication. Nor need the activity have been only one way, with Kalapodi at the centre. Eric Csapo has drawn attention to a black-glazed cup of south Cretan manufacture containing the longest Archaic inscription yet found at Kommos. It reads:]TADAEMI[, which Csapo takes to be the conventional formula for expressing ownership, with the owner's name expressed in the Aeolic genitive (-ADA) and a form of the verb EMI found in Phokis and Lokris. He suggests, „The best candidate for the

¹⁴ Kilian (1975); Kilian-Dirlmeier (1978/1979).

¹⁵ Felsch (2007), 74.

¹⁶ Palme-Koufa (1996), 277-282.

author of the new archaic graffito from Kommos may be a merchant from Phokis, Lokris or northern Boiotia, while a mercantile association straddling these territorial boundaries would account most economically for the variations in script found in the Kommos cups.¹⁷ In fact, the form and formula of the Kommos cup are exactly the same on vessels found at Kalapodi: the verb form is found on a skyphos labelled Κελονία ἐμί, a kotyle labelled Ἀκυίλα ἐμί and the same Aeolic genitive is found on a jug inscribed Λαγίδα.¹⁸

It now seems beyond doubt that this sanctuary was a vitally important locus of power, wealth and elite performance in the entire region prior to the Persian Wars. Although the number of bronzes so far excavated does not quite match the numbers from Olympia or Delphi – comparable yet not identical, in Papalexandrou's words – Felsch rightly insists that the elites making dedications at this sanctuary are on a par with those who also made offerings at the great panhellenic sanctuaries.¹⁹ Furthermore, commenting on a North Syrian bowl excavated in 2008, the new director of excavations at Kalapodi, Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, notes that it offers support for the view that the sanctuary's international significance goes back to the 8th century: „Es handelt sich um einen Import aus dem Vorderen Orient, dem nordsyrisch- späthethitischen Bereich, ein Indiz dafür, dass die durch Herodot für das 6. Jh. v.Chr. belegte internationale Bedeutung des Heiligtums möglicherweise bis in das 8. Jh. v.Chr. zurückreichte.“²⁰

Recent work at Kalapodi, where excavations resumed in 2004, has only added to the picture of a prominent sanctuary rivalling the panhellenic sanctuaries emerging in the Iron Age. 104 Geometric and Archaic tripods demonstrate a sanctuary on a par with Olympia. We may also be able to infer more regarding the position of the sanctuary within a wider network of social relations. The high proportion of red deer bones identified in the Mycenaean and Protogeometric strata point to the popularity of the site with hunters and may be connected to the identification of the site with Artemis Elaphebolos, the deer hunting avatar of the wilderness goddess.²¹ The same goddess may also have received goshawks (*accipiter gentilis*) as offerings.²² Similarly, lion

¹⁷ Csapo (1993), 236.

¹⁸ Palme-Koufa (1996), 302-303.

¹⁹ Felsch (2007), 43-44. See also the review of Papalexandrou (2008).

²⁰ Hdt. 1,46; Niemeier (2009), 109.

²¹ Felsch (1996), 105.

²² Stanzel (1991), 125.

bones, depictions of lions on vases and lion figurines also suggest the presence of aristocrats advertizing their prowess as hunters.²³ The lion scapula from Kalapodi, dating to the 7th century, shows butcher's marks and signs of burning, suggesting that it is unlikely to have reached the site as a traded object, in the way that a lion's tooth might have been traded as a prestige item. Instead it will have been hunted, killed and quite possibly eaten by a hunter whose prestige was enhanced by the rarity of the animal, its natural ferocity, and the powerful Homeric associations that came with lion-hunting.²⁴ The anthropological literature on the importance of hunting within pastoral societies is extensive and has repeatedly emphasized the significance of this practice in relation to élite performance, territorial control and strategies for enacting the organization of social time and space.²⁵ A corollary of this hunting aesthetic, with its powerful affirmation of aristocratic authority, is a similar warrior aesthetic. Successive Geometric and Archaic temples were adorned for example with helmets, chariot wheels, Naue Type II swords, and polychrome paintings depicting warriors advancing to the attack.²⁶ The numbers of weapons dedicated at the sanctuary between the 8th and 5th century are enormous: between 1960-2050 helmets, ca. 2050 greaves, 2054-2096 shields, 494 iron weapons, including pikes, spears, daggers and swords.²⁷ Taken together these objects point to the emergence of new élites across a central Greek *koine*, a network of competing aristocracies and communities with Kalapodi as the central node.

It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that the religious activity at Kalapodi was uniform. Continuity of cult from the Bronze to the Iron Age is certainly attested here, but and in later periods may mask significant change.²⁸ For example offerings and dedications run from the Late Mycenaean period to the 7th century, but after a period of rich dedication in the late 8th century there is a diminution in volume and quality in the 7th century strata. Similarly, a succession of temples was built in the Geometric, Early Archaic, Archaic and Classical periods each over the same spot, a sacred hearth. Even

²³ Stanzel (1991), 114; Felsch (2000), 21; Felsch (2001), 195-196, nos. 189-181, and Felsch (2007), 267, nos. 180-181 (Taf. 21) (bronze) and 259, no. 116 (Taf. 18) (stone).

²⁴ Von den Driesch (1994). The Kalapodi lion is currently the latest archaeologically datable evidence for lions in Greece. See Bartosiewicz (2009), 282. For the Greeks' familiarity with lion hunting in poetry and reality see Alden (2005).

²⁵ Hamilakis (1996), 163-164. See also Giddens (1984), 258.

²⁶ Niemeier (2007), 76-77; Niemeier (2010), 107-108.

²⁷ Felsch (2007).

²⁸ Livieriatou (2003), 63-68; Morgan (2003), 132.

the temporary shrine used after the Persian Wars until the construction of the Classical temple was located at this spot and was later ritually buried suggesting a formal deconsecration and transfer of sacred power to the new temple. This would seem to suggest an extraordinary degree of consistency in the sacred character of the site, but the addition of a second cult centre on the northern side of the sanctuary in the 9th century points not to simple continuity but to continuous change as well. The construction of additional temples, the remodeling of the site with the addition of terracing the changes in the volume and types of dedications from the 8th century suggest that Kalapodi was a space exploited by people from across the region but that the precise ways that sacred space was used were mutable and contingent.

The long history of cult activity at Kalapodi is not the only evidence for the sanctuary's central position in the region. Excavations at Elateia conducted by Fanouria Dakoronia have confirmed the existence of a vigorous, wealthy elite culture flourishing ten kilometers west of the cult site. A series of wealthy tombs at the so-called Alonaki cemetery close to the classical city has produced 121 Mycenaean seals, while the associated pottery demonstrates that the cemetery was in use continuously from LH IIIA1 through Sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric times.²⁹ The evidence from Kalapodi and Alonaki is consistent with other sites closer to the coast of the Euboian Gulf, in the region of ancient eastern Lokris. At Atalante, like Elateia approximately ten kilometers from Kalapodi, for example, an early Iron Age cemetery with 45 graves was excavated in the 70s and 80s which included two rare sarcophagus burials with jewels, weapons, and other metal objects, including a diadem.³⁰ This region, topographically linked to eastern Phokis by easy passes to the coast, exhibits a distinctive pattern through the Sub-Mycenaean and early Iron Age periods. At sites such as Kynos Livanaton and Mitrou, a broad pattern of uninterrupted continuity from the Bronze to the Iron Age is manifest. The excavators of Mitrou recently remarked, „Thus it appears that the inhabitants of this region of east-central Greece, unlike those living in areas further south from Boeotia to the Peloponnese, did not experience a major cultural break at the transition from the final Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, and suffered much less of a decline in material culture than did their southern neighbors.“³¹ The archaeological

²⁹ Dakoronia (1993); Dakoronia (2006), and Dakoronia et al. (1996).

³⁰ Dakoronia (1993a).

³¹ Van de Moortel – Zahou (2005), 48.

evidence from both east and west of Kalapodi therefore points to comparable levels of wealth and power in a number of communities located in a region with Kalapodi at its centre. Although systematic excavation has not been undertaken at the site of the Athena Krania temple in the hills east of Elateia, since the work of Pierre Paris over one hundred years ago, Sophia Demake has recently reported that during cleaning of the site Geometric and even Late Helladic pottery came to light, showing that Paris was wrong to see the sanctuary as only dating to Classical at earliest Archaic times.³² The new picture emerging of this area of Greece is one of extraordinary connectivity in the early Iron Age, and it is against that backdrop that the fluctuations visible at Kalapodi and the emergence of Phokis must be understood.

Catherine Morgan has recently written of the challenge of „reconstructing the chronological development of, and balance between, often highly localized ties of place and broader notions of people and/or geography in the construction of political identities.“³³ Kalapodi highlights those difficulties, since it is no easy task to map the expression of a political form such as the Phokian *koinon* (much less an ethnic identity such as the Phokians) onto the material record. Nevertheless, when Morgan asks of ethnic expression, where should we be looking, the question is not rhetorical since the answer is clear: at the sanctuaries. Kalapodi sits at the intersection of two very different worlds. One is a world of discrete settlements of modest size, of farmers, herders and hunters. But there exists in the very midst of this a world defined wholly differently: wealthy dedications, luxury items, prestige items crossing long distances either as imports or exports. Even the inscribed terra cotta drinking vessels dedicated in the sanctuary, though they may not seem especially luxurious in themselves, attest to Kalapodi’s place in a broad network of sanctuaries at places like Pithekoussai, Kommos and Eretria, where the same dedicatory practices occurred.³⁴ Some cultural performances such as burial rites permitted elites to exploit the social capital of luxury but far and away the major venue for such displays was the sanctuary. It was here that elites could display largesse in feasting and advertize conspicuous status in dedication. Booty taken in war could be offered to the gods, turning *arête* into piety. Lion teeth could be displayed advertizing the hunter’s prowess and reinforcing his claim to

³² Demake (2009), 446.

³³ Morgan (2009), 25.

³⁴ Theurillat (2007), 338.

preeminence. Markets held in conjunction with festivals also reinforced the importance of sanctuaries, focusing and concentrating the exchange of everything from metal utensils to cattle stock in areas where outside of the sanctuary there is often no evidence for any kind of developed, complex economic mechanism. So the sanctuary forms a bridge spanning the local, the regional and the international, spheres of action that are in everyway different. They are the nodes that link small local networks to much larger international networks.

However, even as the regional sanctuary grows in importance and becomes a forum for status competition it generates an instability. Enormous disparities of wealth emerged while the authority of the sanctuaries was largely moral and non-coercive. As a result, even as sanctuaries modulated elite rivalry they fostered regional rivalry. Their prestige attracts pilgrims, visitors, embassies, athletes, a whole slew of further developments occur that complicate the neutrality and mediatory functions so central to the sanctuaries' role. Dedications make them wealthy and desirable as targets for plunder or control, pilgrimage and consultation put pressure on the sanctuaries to evolve more sophisticated service mechanisms, and temple administration increasingly takes on state-like functions: it is not a coincidence, surely, that sacred regulations are so numerous and so detailed at a time when secular law is only beginning to take shape. Similarly it is the close association of wealth, dedication and consumption that leads directly into the development of coinage and the monetized economy. Quite simply, sanctuaries generate social complexity. The pressure to exercise more direct control of sanctuaries is an engine driving systemic change, resulting in the growth of regional organization.

Thus: Eleusis passes from local control to the state control of Athens; Olympia changes hands between the Pisatans and Elians, Delphi comes under the administration of an Amphikyony of regional powers. In each case a sanctuary provides the flashpoint for local rivalries to erupt. What of Kalapodi, Abai and Elateia, this cluster of important sites? We noticed above that they lie at the intersection of three zones which would become Phokis, Lokris and Boiotia, thus constituting a highly charged landscape. By the Classical Period this zone was identified as Phokian. It was in this vicinity that the Phokians held the Elapheboleia, the Phokian national festival, commemorating their

desperate victory over the Thessalians.³⁵ Close by, in the next valley east, lay the cult of Apollo at Abai, which also went from being a transregional sanctuary to being a Phokian temenos shortly before the Persian Wars. In the Classical period Abai was a member of the Phokian *koinon* and hence a Phokian sanctuary. And finally there is cult of Athena at Kranaia. This was closely associated with the settlement of Elateia where Dakoronia's excavations, we have seem, have brought to light evidence of wealthy elite burials going back to the Geometric period. When the Phokian *koinon* was weak, and its federal meeting place was abandoned in the wake of the 3rd Sacred War, this sanctuary, doubtless originally an Elateian sanctuary took on the role typical of a *koinon* sanctuary, serving as the repository for the Phokian league's decisions. This cluster of sanctuaries provided the landscape in which Phokian ethnic identity came into focus.

How can we gauge the role of these sanctuaries? The Phokians were never a powerful league. They were easily suborned by a narrow cadre of related members of the elite during the 3rd Sacred War (356-346 BC), and if one were to identify what gave this region the push to federate it would surely not be that this was the natural expression of an age old ethnic identity, but rather that competition over control of a key area brimming with wealth, prestige and status led to the sharpening of boundaries between the neighbouring settlements. For those who approach historical change on a broad scale what I am postulating is that an intensification of interactions and exchanges, beginning around the 8th century and culminating just before the 5th century BC, led to what can be dubbed „interaction change,“ which in the words of Kostas Vlassopoulos, is „a change that occurs among entities in an ongoing international system.“³⁶

The clearest confirmation of this interaction change is to be found in the regional conflicts of the 6th century and the Phokian defeat of the Thessalians.³⁷ Herodotos recounts a number of famous episodes in the campaign to oust the Thessalians, such as the night battle, in which the Phokians covered themselves in chalk, and the battle of the amphoras, when the Phokians buried empty wine vessels to cause the Thessalian cavalry to break their legs.³⁸ The former victory resulted in their dedicating 2000 shields

³⁵ Ellinger (1993).

³⁶ Vlassopoulos (2007), 199.

³⁷ McInerney (1999).

³⁸ Hdt. 8,27-8,28.

to Apollo at Abai and another 2,000 at Delphi. The war with Thessaly culminated in one final heroic battle, it was believed, before which the Phokians – men, women and children – all voted to kill themselves if the battle were lost.³⁹ By the time of Herodotos the victory of the Phokians had been fashioned into a national saga, replete with tales of desperate bravery and civic celebrations at the Elapheboleia. When the actual defeat of the Thessalians is difficult to say with certainty, but what is often forgotten is that many epichoric myths associated with the Phokians and their eponymous founders are also focused on this same swathe of contested sanctuary space, consistent with a scenario in which the assertion of control over the Kalapodi sector was central to the articulation of Phokian identity. The first of these traditions concerns the eponymous founder of the Phokians, Phokos, who was supposed to have crossed from Corinth to help the inhabitants of Hyampolis in their fight against the Lokrians over the port of Daphnous.⁴⁰ Hyampolis lies close by Abai and is located within the highly contested border zone we have identified around Kalapodi, while Daphnous was situated on the shore of the Euboian Gulf. The conflict embedded in the myth of Phokos, therefore, expresses the rivalry between emerging states focused on the very stretch of land that connected a major inland sanctuary with a nearby port, from which it enjoyed access to the access to the Gulf of Euboia, the Aegean and the trade networks north and east. In order to sure up the identification of Daphnous as Phokian it was identified as the site of the Schedion, a hero shrine to the Phokian king killed by Hektor.⁴¹ Heroic genealogy grafted on to topography thus provided the building blocks for ethnogenesis.

Hans Beck has written of the complex processes whereby Archaic Greek states were established and formalized, and has used the Lokrians as an example of this, as a *koinon* took shape out of the formal union of various local elites and burgeoning communities.⁴² We can postulate something comparable for Phokis, noting that the movement towards a more formal, organized political union, the Phokian *koinon*, was impelled by two major rivalries: the first involved the broad network centered on Kalapodi with Thessaly the most powerful yet distant rival; the second was more

³⁹ Plut. mor. 244 B-D; Paus. 10,17.

⁴⁰ Sch. Hom. Il. 2,517; Sch. Eur. Or. 1094. On Daphnous see also Strab. 9,3,1 and 9,3,17. See also Pritchett (1982), 149-151.

⁴¹ Hom. Il. 15,515a.; 17.306: Schedios is killed twice by Hektor (with different patronymics).

⁴² Beck (1999); Bouyia (2006), 93 has also raised the possibility of reading an Archaic catalogue from Aghia Aikaterini as a burial marker for Lokrians killed in battle with the Phokians.

strictly local, centred on a strip of strategically important land, the corridor to the sea, and involved the nearest (proto-)state to make a claim to the land, Lokris. In the Archaic period the Phokians fortified Thermopylai, in an attempt to block Thessalian access to their land. By annexing territory at the eastern end of their territory and building the town of Daphnous, tentatively identified with Aghios Konstantinos, they made a similar claim in the face of the Lokrians. The effects were dramatic. Strabo says that Daphnous split Lokris into two separate parts, Opountian and Epiknemidian. Although the Lokrians eventually federated, and Daphnous was in-corporated into Opountian Lokris, the ambiguity over their name persisted, reflecting a time when Opous, which lay to the east of Daphnous could not legitimately be called Epiknemidian, since Daphnous which lay below Mt Knemis divided the plain of Opous from the Lokrian towns further west. Claiming Daphnous therefore served many purposes for the Phokians: by annexing the land between the coast and the foothills of Mt Knemis to the south they prevented or at least hindered the union of towns into a single Lokris, while at the same time it gave the Phokians access to the Euboian Gulf. Controlling the road south at this point took pressure off the district around Abai and Hyampolis, and acted as a second line of defense against Thessalian attack along the route east of Thermopylai. The effect of all this was both to secure Kalapodi and to confirm it as definitively Phokian. By establishing the borders of Phokis well beyond Kalapodi the Phokians were advertizing that a sanctuary formerly subject to different regional connections was now emphatically Phokian.

James Whitley has recently drawn attention to a cluster of EIA sites around the Euboian gulf and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier has argued for close relations between the sanctuary Kalapodi and sites such as Mitrou on the Euboian Gulf.⁴³ These are the conditions under which local rivalries accentuated regional identities: the fight to control a key node in the international network of exchange actually spurred ethnogenesis: Phokis was born of an alliance between communities actively seeking control over a sanctuary, a strategic corridor leading to it and the port by which it reached the wider Aegean world. How appropriate then that the events which were central to the articulation of a Phokian federal identity, namely the defeat of the Thessalians and the desperate decision of the Phokians to venture everything on victory

⁴³ Whitley et al. (2006), 1; Niemeier (2007), 77-78.

should have occurred in exactly this same place and be commemorated here at the festival of the Elaphoboleia. By transforming Kalapodi where once hunters dedicated their red deer to Artemis into a lieu de mémoire commemorating a national victory the sanctuary's masters affiliated their prestige and their burgeoning statehood, to the sanctuary's prosperity. The Phokians may have been unsuccessful when it came to getting control of Delphi, except for a disastrous decade in the 4th century, but their success at the other end of Phokis was complete.

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Was Dion Macedonia's Religious Centre?

Miltiades Hatzopoulos (Athen)

W.W. Tarn, in his excellent study on Antigonos Gonatas published in 1913, twice asserts that two elements distinguished Macedonia very sharply from its neighbours:

“All the leagues of Northern Greece, like most other federations”, wrote the great Scottish historian, “were founded round about a religious centre, often one of great antiquity. Macedonia had no religious centre. There was never anything in Macedonia which meant for the country what Dodona meant for Epeiros, what Thermos had meant and Delphi was to mean for Aitolia, what the worship of Athena Itonia was to Thessaly, or that of Aktian Apollo to Akarnania; and Macedonia got on perfectly well without it. This was one of the things that made Macedonia seem alien to the Greek eyes; another was its monarchical institution”.¹

This article of faith is repeated a few chapters farther down:

“Macedonia differed in two most essential particulars from the other states of Northern Greece. As already noticed, she was monarchical through and through, was never organized as a League, at any rate till after Gonatas' death; and she had no definite religious centre”.²

One could hardly be more definitive. The assertion that Macedonia was the only monarchical state in Northern Greece is astonishing, since Tarn was well aware of the Epirote monarchy. On the other hand, at that time, little was known about the inner organisation of Macedonia and practically nothing about its pre-Roman *koinon*. Therefore, it would be unfair to hold against him that he ignored the civic elements of the Macedonian state. One is however surprised both by his precocious intuition concerning the close link between federal states and religious centres and by his simultaneous failure to recognise that Macedonia precisely possessed such a centre. The very name of Dion is absent from the book's detailed index. Yet Dion makes a brief apparition in a footnote expanding on the author's confident assertion that “The hellenizing kings brought in the Olympians; but these were not the gods of the people”:

¹Tarn (1913), 54.

²Tarn (1913), 180-181.

“e.g. the festival of Zeus founded by Archelaos at Dion”.³ The rest of the page figuring that note as well as the following one detail Tarn's view of the Macedonians “true” pantheon: their gods were essentially Thracian, and consisted in Sabazios-Dionysos and a motley group of obscure deities with exotic names: Darron, Thaulos, Arantides, Artemis Gazoria, Totoes, Bedu, the Sauadai. After a century of abundant epigraphic and other archaeological discoveries our conception of the Macedonian pantheon is radically different. On no stone, pottery or metallic tablet do we ever read the names of Thaulos, Arantides, Bedu or Sauadai. Totoes, who does appear on the one and only inscription of Amphipolis from the Roman imperial period, referred to by Tarn, is an obscure Egyptian deity of sleep.⁴ Δάρρων, now also epigraphically attested, is nothing else but the dialectal of Θάρρων (“he that heartens”) apparently a local *epiklesis* of Asklepios⁵. As for Dionysos and Artemis, who are both very present in Macedonia, whatever their origins, they were obviously panhellenic deities in historical times. The Macedonian pantheon, as it appears now after a century of discoveries, is characterised by the prominent position in it of Zeus, Herakles and Asklepios, the fairly good standing of Athena, Apollon, Hermes, Poseidon and Hades, and the nearly complete absence of Hera and Ares. Very popular is the cult of a great feminine deity, under both a maternal and a virginal *hypostasis*, adored – according to place and time – as Demeter (and Kore), Mother of Gods or Artemis, with a variety of *epikleseis*.⁶ Under these circumstances how can Tarn's failure to recognise Dion as Macedonia's religious centre be explained? It is in Tarn's entrenched belief that the Macedonians did not share the same gods with the rest of Greeks, but had their own bizarre pantheon, that lies his incapacity or refusal to recognise Dion as Macedonia's religious centre. For even a century ago he disposed of both literary and archaeological sources, clearly describing Dion in that capacity.

If Thucydides qualifies Dion as a *polisma*,⁷ it is because it was from the very beginning and remained until the end of the Macedonian independence primarily a *sacrarium*, an open area grouping of sanctuaries. The settlement, which was equipped

³ Tarn (1913), 177, no. 31.

⁴ Picard (1958); cf. *BullEpigr.* 1959, 242.

⁵ Hatzopoulos (1998), 1200-1202.

⁶ Hatzopoulos (2006), 54-56, and now Mari (2011).

⁷ Thuk. 4,78,6.

with a wall circuit only under Cassander,⁸ never became anything more than an *urbs non magna*.⁹ Diodorus, in his narrative of Alexander's reign not only mentions the *panegyris*, the sacrifices and the contests to Zeus and the Muses instituted by Archelaos, but also insists on the political aspect of the festival with the meeting of Alexander's Friends, army officers and delegates from the cities;¹⁰ moreover, he mentions the magnificent temple of Zeus that Alexander, had he not prematurely died, would have erected there.¹¹ Always in connection with the great conqueror's reign, Arrian reports the statues of the twenty-five Companions, heroically fallen at the battle of Granikos, which Alexander set up at Dion.¹² But it is Polybius' description of the site surviving both in the original and in a passage of Livy taken from his *Histories*¹³ that should have left him no doubts about Dion's function as Macedonia's religious centre, strictly parallel to Dodona or Thermos.¹⁴ Even at that early date, not only literary but also archaeological evidence was available to Tarn. W.M. Leake had visited and identified the site of Dion in 1806 and had described the remains of the stadium, the theatre, an important building nearby and also of parts of the wall circuit.¹⁵ In 1855 and again in 1861 he had been followed by L. Heuzey, who had confirmed Leake's findings and published inscriptions from the site.¹⁶ In the hundred and fifty years that have followed the archaeological discoveries of the excavations under the direction of G. Sotiriadis, G. Bakalakis and D. Pandermalis have revealed the city and the sanctuaries in all their splendour. During the period of Macedonian independence the most important among the latter are those of Zeus and of Demeter, as well as the theatre and the stadium, where the athletic and "musical" contests took place.¹⁷ One can hardly doubt that Dion was a very important religious centre. But, in order to definitely shelve Tarn's objection, one has to show that Dion meant for Macedonia what, in his own words

⁸ Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998).

⁹ Liv. 44,7,3.

¹⁰ Celebrations of the *Olympia* festival are also recorded during the reign of Philip II in 348 and 337 by Ulpian (Sch. Dem. 19,192 [401]) and Dion Chrysostomos (Or. 2,2) respectively. Cf. Dem. 19,192; Sch. Thuk. 1,126; Sch. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 599, and Philostr. VA 1, 34.

¹¹ Diod. 18,4,5.

¹² Arr. Anab. 1,16,4.

¹³ Pol. 4,62,2-4,62,4; Liv. 44,7,1-44,7,7.

¹⁴ The parallelism is unmistakably clear in Pol. 4,67,1-4,67,4 and 5,8,3-5,9,7. Cf. Hatzopoulos – Mari (2004).

¹⁵ Leake (1835), 408-413.

¹⁶ Heuzey (1860), 113-128; Heuzey (1876), 267-272.

¹⁷ Pandermalis (1999).

“Dodona meant for Epeiros, what Thermos had meant (...) for Aitolia”. Might not Aigeai or Pella, the usual residences of Macedonia's kings, be the country's true religious centres?

Pella can be readily dismissed. A ceremony for the cleansing of the army under Philip V and a sacrifice (έκατόμβη) by Perseus to Athena are attested there, but the cleansing of the army and the related celebration of Xandika had no fixed location and might take place anywhere according to military needs.¹⁸ The same is true of royal sacrifices. On the other hand, bronze rings for the tethering of oxen destined to be sacrificed in the context of έκατόμβαι have been recently discovered at Dion.¹⁹ Classical and Hellenistic dedications to gods (Asklepios, Aphrodite, Darron, Dionysos, Zeus, Herakles, the Great Gods, the Mother of Gods, the Muses etc), two of them by the king Philip V himself, have not unexpectedly come to light at Pella.²⁰ However, one can detect nothing exceptional about their number or quality. Beroia for instance can boast not only of two royal letters, but also of pre-Roman dedications to Athena, Asklepios, Dionysos, Ennodia and especially Herakles, one of which by the same Philip V.²¹

The case of Aigeai is quite different. Arrian writes that in autumn 335 Alexander, after securing the northern frontier of Macedonia against the barbarians and quelling seditions in southern Greece,

*“returned to Macedonia, where he offered the traditional sacrifice (established by Archelaus) to Olympian Zeus and celebrated the Olympian games at Aegae: others add that he held games in honour of the Muses”.*²²

This passage has been variously explained,²³ but abandoning my previous view about the accuracy of this piece of information, I am now inclined to think that Arrian has confused the Olympia celebrated at Dion with another Macedonian festival also in honour of Zeus, which most probably took place at Aigeai and was called Basileia.²⁴ Whatever the solution of this crux, it is beyond doubt that Aigeai has an unparalleled record of royal dedications and other monuments: two dedications to Eukleia by queen

¹⁸ On Xandika see Hatzopoulos (1996), 319-321; Hatzopoulos (1994), 89-92.

¹⁹ Pandermalis (1998), 291-298; Pandermalis (1999), 50-51.

²⁰ *EKM II (forthcoming)*.

²¹ See *EKM I*.

²² Arr. Anab. 111,1 [trl. P.A. Brunt].

²³ See Hatzopoulos (1982), 39-41, with earlier bibliography.

²⁴ See Gauthier – Hatzopoulos (1993), 146, no. 3. For a different view, see Mari (1998); Mari (2002), 52, no. 4.

Eurydika, Philip's own mother, and one by queen Laodike, king Perseus' wife, which were found in the sanctuary of that goddess near the theatre; two dedications to Herakles Patroios found in the *tholos* of the palace, one of which at least by King Perseus' two sons Philip and Alexander; one base of a statue of queen Eurydika bearing an inscription with her name.²⁵ So there can be no doubt that the monuments of Aigeai bear witness to a royal presence and to cults related to that presence at least as strong – taking into account the discoveries made up to now – if not much stronger than those of Pella. It would be instructive to compare this record with that of Dion.

The excavations at Dion have brought to light two treaties: one of Philip V with Lysimacheia,²⁶ and another of king Perseus with the Boeotian League.²⁷ Moreover we know from epigraphic and literary sources that Philip II's treaty with the Chalcidian League had been set up at Dion²⁸ and that at Dion, at the sanctuary of Zeus, Ptolemy Keraunos had sworn a treaty with Arsinoe's, his half-sister's representative,²⁹ and, finally that king Perseus had done the same with the representatives of the Illyrian king Genthios.³⁰ Royal letters abound. These include a letter of Cassander,³¹ a letter of Demetrios Poliorcetes,³² a letter of Antogonos Gonatas³³ and another of Philip V.³⁴ The same is true of dedications by kings and monuments in honour of kings. A dedication by Queen Eurydika³⁵ and another one by Cassander³⁶ have come to light, as well as two monuments in honour of king Perseus.³⁷

The epigraphic discoveries as well as other archaeological, finds which include bases of statues, rests of porticoes, remains of shields exhibited there, columns which may have belonged either to the porticoes or to the temple of Zeus Olympios itself, do nothing but confirm and illustrate information contained in our literary sources. It is

²⁵ See *EKM* II.

²⁶ Hatzopoulos (1996a), 21-23, no. 3.

²⁷ Pandermalis (1999), 54.

²⁸ Hatzopoulos (1996a), 20-21, no. 2.

²⁹ *Just.* 24,2,8.

³⁰ *Pol.* 29,4,4-29,4,6.

³¹ Unpublished.

³² Pandermalis (1999), 57; Hatzopoulos (2006), 88-89. Cf. Hatzopoulos, *BullEpigr.* 2000, 453.

³³ Pandermalis (1999), 53; Hatzopoulos (2006), 87-88.

³⁴ Pandermalis (1999), 55. Cf. Hatzopoulos (2006), 89-90.

³⁵ Unpublished.

³⁶ Pandermalis (1999), 59; Hatzopoulos (1996a), 46, no. 23.

³⁷ Hatzopoulos (1996a), 53, no. 35.; Pandermalis (1999a), 415-417.

worthwhile to reproduce here the description by Polybius of the destruction wreaked to the sanctuary by the Aetolians of Skopas in 219:

*“On its inhabitants deserting this place (Dion) he (Skopas) entered it and demolished the walls, houses and gymnasium, setting fire also to the porticoes round the precinct of the sanctuary and destroying all the other votive offerings which served for adornment or for the convenience of those who frequented the panegyris.”*³⁸

This description acquires all its value when it is compared to the same author's report of the destruction of Dodona by the same Aetolian general and of Macedonian's revenge against Thermos. Of the former it is said that

“reaching the sanctuary of Dodona he (Skopas) set fire to the porticoes, destroyed many of the voting offerings and demolished the sacred building”.

The narrative concerning Thermos is more detailed:

*“Similarly as regards the suits of armour dedicated in the porticoes they (the Macedonians) took down and carried off the most precious, exchanged some of their own and collecting the rest made a bonfire of them (...) For mindful of what the Aetolians had done at Dion and Dodona they set fire to the porticoes and destroyed the rest of the rich and artistic votive offerings, some of which were most elaborate and expensive works. And not only did they damage the roofs of those buildings by the fire, but razed them to the ground. They also threw down the statues numbering no less than two thousand and destroyed many of them, sparing, however, such as represented gods or bore inscribed dedications to gods”.*³⁹

These three texts leave no doubt whatsoever that the Macedonians, Epirotes, Aetolians, Polybius and presumably the rest of the Greeks perceived Dion, Dodona and Thermos as three religious centres respectively performing the same functions for the above mentioned three states. The fuller narrative concerning the Thermika, the festival celebrated at Thermos, details these functions:

“The houses in Thermos itself (...) were not only full of corn and other provisions, but more richly furnished than any in Aetolia. For as it is here that they hold every year a very splendid fair (agora) and festival (panegyris), as well as the election of their magistrates, they all kept the most precious of their

³⁸ Pol. 4,62,2 [trl. W.R. Paton (modified)]. Cf. Liv. 44,6,3; 7,2-7,3; 44,8,5.

³⁹ Pol. 5,8,9-5,9,3 [trl. W.R. Paton, (slightly modified)].

goods stored up in this place to be used for the proper reception of their guests and for the various needs of the festive season”.⁴⁰

The religious centre of the Aetolians, was, especially during the annual festival, also a commercial and political centre of the state. The commercial importance of Dodona and Dion, although nowhere explicitly stated, can be inferred from the numismatic finds, attesting the massive attendance of the festival by populations of adjacent areas.⁴¹ Concrete evidence for the political importance of Dodona under the kings is lacking, but P. Cabanes is founded to consider it as the “capitale politique”,⁴² for the twelve decrees dating from the royal period and discovered there were most probably enacted by the popular assembly meeting at the time of the Naia.⁴³ As for Dion, the evidence is more explicit. Gatherings of Macedonians – armed or unarmed – there on the eve or on the return from a victorious campaign are repeatedly attested under Philip II,⁴⁴ Alexander⁴⁵ and Philip V.⁴⁶ It was an opportunity for the king not only to entertain but also to consult with his Companions, his officers and the delegates of the Macedonian cities.⁴⁷

What about Aigeai then? Another parallelism with Epirus can contribute to the understanding of its position vis-à-vis Dion. There too Passaron was the residence of the Molossian kings under the auspices of Zeus Areios, whose temple has been excavated.⁴⁸ The poverty of the site in official documents is however striking. Only three out of the 77 inscriptions collected in his Epigraphic Appendix by P. Cabanes have been discovered there.⁴⁹ Thus, in Epirus as in Macedonia there is a “royal capital” besides the “national capital”, each under the *aegis* its deity: Zeus Areios and Zeus Naios respectively in Epirus, Herakles Patroios and Zeus Olympios respectively in Macedonia. In the latter case the distribution of the tutelary gods is transparent. Zeus as the mythical father of Makedon is the national god of the Macedonians, whereas Herakles as the legendary ancestor of the Temenids is the dynastic divinity of the kings. Thus both in Epirus as in Macedonia this distribution of divine rôles is another

⁴⁰ Pol. 5,8,4-5,8,5 [trl. W.R. Paton, (slightly modified)]. Cf. Livy’s description of Dion (note 38, supra).

⁴¹ The material from Dion is under study by my colleague Sophia Kremydi.

⁴² Cabanes (1976), 375.

⁴³ Cabanes (1976), 534-545, nos. 1-12. Cf. Hatzopoulos – Mari (2004), 512.

⁴⁴ Dem. 19,192; Diod. 16,55,1-16,55,4, and Dion. Chrys. 2,2.

⁴⁵ Diod. 17,16.

⁴⁶ Liv. 33,3,5.

⁴⁷ Diod. 17,16,4.

⁴⁸ Plut. Pyrrh. 5.

⁴⁹ Cabanes (1976), 545-546, no. 13; 552, no. 29 and 561-562, no. 35.

manifestation of the dual nature of the state expressed in formulas such as [Βασιλεὺς Πύρρο[ς καὶ Ἀπειρῶ]ται⁵⁰ or ὑπὸ βασιλέως Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Syll.³ 392.

⁵¹ Pol. 7,9,5.

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Confederacies, Royal Policies and Sanctuaries in the Hellenistic Aegean: the Cases of Nesiotai, Lesbioi and Kretaieis

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I. Introduction

Diversity is a basic characteristic of Greek confederate states as they all, quite naturally, had to correspond to specific, largely varying needs and conditions posed by the physical environment, the time setting of their beginnings and evolution and, last but not least, their constituent parts with their specific features and traditions. In the case of the Aegean, understood in its narrower sense of the island world, the aspects of broader political collaboration/coordination in the classical period were mainly identical with the experience of the two Athenian alliances, which had more or less stamped on the island communities the memory of hegemonic leagues.¹ While this created an important historical precedent, also the natural conditions were here unfavourable to the appearance of true forms of larger *sympoliteiai* or *koina* as it was the case on the mainland. Sea divides and connects at the same time.² In the ancient Mediterranean world sea communications were fundamental as trade routes and infrastructure of various networks³ but the possibility of frequent and secure political contacts between islands on an interregional basis depended on the availability of strong fleets, which especially the smaller islands did not possess. Thus one could expect that -as the following will amply show- the federal developments of the Hellenistic age might assume in the Aegean mixed forms where the “genuine” confederate model, characterized by the largely independent initiative of the members to create a common state form, had to undergo some form of synthesis with the pattern of the hegemonic league and royal policies in the same area.

¹ On the influence of Athens on the self-understanding of the islanders’ weakness and on their local institutions: Brun (1996), esp. 206-209, 176-177. On the various impact of the Athenian hegemony on the islands: Constantakopoulou (2007), esp. 61-136.

² In regard to the Mediterranean this has been a main thesis and point of penetrating analysis in Horden – Purcell (2000), esp. 18-25 (on disintegration and the feeling of unity in the Mediterranean) and 123-172 (on the various aspects of “connectivity” in the same area). Cf. Constantakopoulou (2007), 3 and passim.

³ On Mediterranean networks most recently: Malkin et al. (2009) (with further lit.).

On the other hand, the basic role of religious centres as poles of ideological and cultural cohesion does not fail to present itself also in this geographical context. What was Delphi e.g. for the Greek mainland Delos was especially for the island (but also the mainland coast) communities of the Aegean. Tradition connected this religious centre mainly with the Ionians but its appeal and radiation reached a much further spectrum in the Aegean.⁴ The potential focus was there, expressing itself always in the form of festivals and widespread piety, pilgrimage and respect for Apollo and his highly revered sanctuary. It was, of course, not accidental that the island was the first seat of the Athenian League constituted after the Persian Wars. Hegemonic Leagues knew how to exploit the facilities offered by the regular traffic at such sites: Philip II and Alexander probably connected their Hellenic League with Corinth also because the Isthmian Games took place on the latter's territory, while in the later Hellenic League of the early Antigonids the sites of the Panhellenic Sanctuaries were expressly foreseen as meeting places of the delegates of member states in peace times.⁵

With these thoughts as intellectual background let us review now, with due concision, the three best known cases of federal organizations in the Hellenistic Aegean and their relations to religious centres of their respective regions.

II. Nesiotai

The *Nesiotai* or *Koinon ton Nesioton*, the “League of the Islanders”, was a confederacy of central Aegean islands, probably not extending beyond the Cyclades, which was first founded as a protectorate of Antigonos Monophthalmos and his son and co-regent Demetrios Poliorketes in ca 314, to be taken over after ca 288 in the same capacity by the Ptolemies.⁶ All testimonies of its existence and activities are inscriptions. It seems to have been conceived in the policy of the early Antigonids as a mini-Hellenic League,

⁴ The Ionian character is exclusively mirrored in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 146-152) while Thucydides (3,104,3) mentions as a unity “the Ionians and the nesiotic neighbours”. Cf. Bruneau – Ducat (2005), 33, and now esp. the clarifying discussion by Constantakopoulou (2007), 38-60.

⁵ *Staatsverträge* III. 446. 66-67, 72-73.

⁶ This is the traditional view, expressed and analysed in detail in Buraselis (1982), esp. 60-87. Meadows (forthcoming) has now challenged this apparently established orthodoxy with a detailed attempt to claim the Island League as a creation of Philadelphos' policy in the Aegean, then faintly continued and surviving as an Antigonid protectorate under Gonatas and Demetrios II. There is no room here for a systematic discussion of this thesis. However, its arguments do not seem to me particularly strong on either historical or palaeographic (esp. the dating of IG XI.4.1036) grounds.

while for the Ptolemies it subsequently had an independent value as a form of corporation of their friendly island states in the central Aegean, serving the whole Ptolemaic policy of naval presence and control in the same area. The fact of the Ptolemaic indirect administration of the Nesiotai emerges most distinctly in the post of the head of this confederacy under royal auspices, the *nesiarchos*, and its three known incumbents. None of them (Apollodoros of Kyzikos, Bakchon of Boeotia and Hermias, probably of Halikarnassos) was of nesiotic origin: they were all “imported” royal officials acting as viceroys of the king in the administration of the Nesiotic League.⁷

Apart from this, the original and basic function of the league was to conduct festivals where divine honours were offered to its royal patrons-benefactors. The old amphiktion of Delos was now turned into a revised political-religious centre in the interest of both the protecting kings and the protected islanders. Delegates sent there composed the council (*synedrion*) of the Nesiotai, which issued honorary decrees for various benefactors. Some sort of contributions of the league members to meet common expenses, also those caused by the alliance with the kings, may also be concluded.⁸ Meeting place of the League was Delos, although it seems more probable that the island of Apollo never became a formal member of the confederacy.⁹

We do not have any more clear traces of the existence of the League after the 240s and until the end of the century, which is plausibly brought in connection with a parallel decline of Ptolemaic power in the Aegean.¹⁰ A new phase, an actual revival of the institution under a new patron, is witnessed about the beginning of the second century B.C. In that period Rhodes undertakes the role of the leading power of the Nesiotai.¹¹ The seat of the confederacy moves now to the island of Tenos, decrees of the league

⁷ See Bagnall (1976), 136-138 and Buraselis (1982), 81-83 (the earlier literature is cited at both places).

⁸ For the Antigonid period the latter may be safely concluded from the Nikouria decree (IG XII. 7. 506, 16): (...) τῶν εἰσφορῶν κουφίσας (sc. Ptolemy I, in regard to contributions imposed by Poliorketes). For the Ptolemaic period the existence of an *oikonomos ton neson* (IG XI Suppl. 169, p. 96) points to similar realities; cf. Bagnall (1976), 147.

⁹ On the status of Delos in regard to the League of the Islanders and its protecting powers (with earlier lit.): Bagnall (1976), 151-156; Reger (1994), 15-16.

¹⁰ Buraselis (1982), 174-176; Reger (1994), 23-24.

¹¹ A first sketch of the Rhodian Island League already in König (1910), 40-48; an updated synthesis is now offered by Wiemer (2002), 271-276.

date after both the eponymous magistrate of Rhodes and that of Tenos¹² and should be erected both at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos and that of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos.¹³ One has the impression that Tenos becomes the seat of the Rhodian administration of the new league and a real Rhodian base at the same time,¹⁴ an impression corroborated by the appearance of the emblem of Rhodes, the rose, on Tenian coins.¹⁵ The main cult place of Tenos seems to assume parallel functions of centrality/publicity with those invested in Delos during the earlier periods of the Island League. Further epigraphic evidence shows the existence in this period of a common Rhodian-nesiotic fleet under a Rhodian governor of the islands.¹⁶

For all three periods of the League's existence we do not know of any activity of the council of delegates in a judicial function concerning the members' interests. Instead, twice Ptolemaic officials responsible for the League's administration (Philokles, the king of the Sidonians, and Bakchon the nesiarchos) appear organizing the dispatch of foreign judges (from outside the League) to members (Karthaiia,¹⁷ Naxos¹⁸) needing their aid to settle local pending trials. Thus, the Ptolemaic administrators of the League activated that well-known Hellenistic practice to serve the Nesiotai's internal peace.

One may be finally entitled to ask: To what extent was all this real federalism? The proper answer might be: as much as cities founded by Alexander and his successors were real *poleis*! The symbiosis of the old pattern of hegemonic leagues with the federal model created here a highly interesting hybrid form in successive variants adapted to the respective time contexts and hegemonic powers.

¹² IG XII.5. 824 B.

¹³ IG XII.5 817.

¹⁴ This new status of Tenos explains better its interest in having its *asylia* on the part of the Cretan League (see below) renewed: Rigsby (1996), nos. 56-60. On this aspect of the relations between Tenos (under Rhodian auspices) and the Cretans see now also Foderà (2008), esp. 354-355.

¹⁵ Etienne (1990), 225-252 (by L. Artémis-Gyselen on the Tenian coinage; esp. on the symbol of the rose: 246). Sheedy (1996), 438-443.

¹⁶ IG XI.4. 752, cf. 751.

¹⁷ IG XII.5. 1065.

¹⁸ OGIS 43 + Holleaux, Études, II. 27-37.

III. Lesbioi

The case of the Lesbian Confederacy in late Hellenistic times is much less known and more intriguing.¹⁹ Alkaios' fragments mention the existence of a common sanctuary of the Lesbians²⁰ in the area of Pyrrha, at about the middle of the island (see below), apparently at the place of the first installation of the Aeolians on Lesbos. The poet had taken here refuge during the notorious archaic *stasis* at Mytilene.²¹ Zeus, Hera (appearing as Theos Aiolis) and Dionysos were the holy trinity of that cult.²² Some sort of cooperation of the Lesbian cities in periods between the middle sixth and fourth century BC seems to be attested by contemporaneous numismatic editions with the legends ΛΕ and ΛΕΣ (= ΛΕΣΒΙΩΝ).²³ However, it seems rather difficult to postulate alone on this basis the early and prolonged existence of a proper, functioning confederacy.

Pyrrha disappears then as a city at some point during late classical or Hellenistic times, its *chora* being incorporated into that of Mytilene.²⁴ However, the other Lesbian cities continued to exist as separate entities into Alexander's and Hellenistic times. The first step restating a sort of common identity/policy on the island through the active care of those local traditions was the building of a monumental temple at the above cult place in ca the late fourth century B.C. Labarre, who has studied in detail Hellenistic and Roman Lesbos, has asked himself whether that building plan was a parallel development in Alexander's times with the revival of the Ionic League in Asia Minor centring now on the cult of the Macedonian liberator.²⁵ We cannot know. However, we do know of the later important influence/control of three (Methymna, Eresos, Antissa) of the four still existing cities of the island by the Ptolemies in the 3rd century.²⁶ We have no such evidence on Mytilene.

¹⁹ The basic synthesis is now that offered by Labarre (1996). Cf. Constantakopoulou (2007), 207 (with n. 155).

²⁰ Alkaios 24 a D. = 129 LP., 1-3: τὸδε Λέσβιοι ... τέμενος μέγα ξῦνον κά[τε]σσαν...

²¹ Ended by Pittakos' legislative activity. On Lesbos of Pittakos' and Alkaios' age: Berve (1967), I. 91-95, II. 572-575; Gehrke (1985), 370 (with further lit.).

²² Alkaios, 24 a D. = 129 LP., 5-9. Cf. Labarre (1996), 42.

²³ Vavliakis – Lyrou (2010), 115-118.

²⁴ See concisely: Labarre (1996), 196-198; Hansen et al. (2004); s.v. Pyrrha (799), 1030-1031.

²⁵ Labarre (1996), 49-50.

²⁶ Methymna: IG XII.2, 498 = Labarre 1996, Choix, 52; 513; IG XII Suppl., 115 = Labarre (1996), Choix, 54. Eresos: IG XII.2, 527 (+ IG XII Suppl., p. 33) = Labarre (1996), Choix, 68; IG XII Suppl.,

Against this background we may then better understand the evidence of a fragmentary inscription from Delos which dates probably from the beginning of the 2nd century BC and presents the clauses of a real “founding charter” of a Lesbian League (Λέσβιοι).²⁷ The gaps in the preserved text allow only a tantalizingly incomplete insight into the argument of this text. However, some basic points are clear: (a) all the four cities (Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa, Eresos) participate in the union, which has not taken on the form of a *synoikismos* to a new or one of the old settlements but that of a *koinon* (b 11). (b) meeting place for the league’s assembly (ἐκκλησία: b 9, 10, 37) will be the sanctuary “at Messon” (esp. a 5, b 45), that is the ancestral cult place since Alkaios’ times, the toponym of which (also appearing as Messa) expresses exactly the idea of being (approximately) at the *middle* of the areas of the four cities. (c) a common military force is foreseen and the number of the cities’ contributions to it are specified (b 3-6). (d) questions of common finances and relevant obligations are laid down (b 13-26). (e) some form of mutual conferment of citizenship and the respective mode of enrollment are regulated (b 27-28). (f) common laws are to be prepared by a body of city delegates (b 29ff.). (g) the use of foreign judges (concluded from the mention of officials escorting them: εἰσαγωγέας, 43-4) to mediate or decide pending trials is also mentioned.

A similarly fragmentary text found at Eresos preserves the local copy of a treaty between this Lesbian Koinon and the Rhodians, which should also date from approximately the same period.²⁸ Apparently, the Lesbian cities tried to combine their forces and then search also an external support in that connection with Rhodes, in an age when the Ptolemaic power since/after Philopator could no more guarantee their common security from external troubles. However, the possibility cannot be excluded, I think, that it was already a piece of later Ptolemaic policy to foster this federal solution for an island, parts of which they had controlled and guarded in the past, an activity they

122= Labarre (1996), Choix, 70. Antissa: new inscription testifying the presence of a Ptolemaic garrison in the city, most probably under Philopator (text to be published by An. Matthaiou, presented at a Greek-Turkish Epigraphic Conference in the Epigraphical Museum/Athens, January 2005). Cf. *P.Teb.* I. 8 = *Wilcken, Chrest.* 2, I. 7-8 (Ptolemaic taxes, *phoroi*, from Lesbos).

²⁷ IG XII Suppl., 136 = Labarre (1996), Choix 89. This Koinon does not seem to have produced some form of federal coinage: Vavlakis – Lyrou (2010), 122.

²⁸ IG XII Suppl., 120.

were becoming unable to continue.²⁹ We have no more evidence on this Lesbian Confederacy until Roman times when it is revived as a sort of provincial council in miniature to honour emperors and local magnates.³⁰

IV. Kretaieis

The case of the Kretaieis, the League of the cities of Crete, is also an atypical confederacy, known again only from inscriptional evidence, which has at least been recently and significantly enriched. Despite many remaining questions, I would concur in the view of Chaniotis³¹ that this confederacy is to understand as a periodic collaboration of the two main cities of Crete, Knossos and Gortyn, and their respectively allied cities, under the adventurously antagonistic and alternating hegemony of those two leaders. One could really play on words with the remark that the story of the Kretaieis was another “tale of two cities”. The name of the confederacy itself (*Kretaieis*, *Koinon ton Kretaieon*) is a characteristic “invention of tradition”. The need to build in the 3rd century BC a specific name to express the reality of this league led to the creation of an ethnicon a posteriori, apparently moulded on other Greek ethnika as e.g. Dorieis, Aioleis etc.

The involvement of royal authority in the development of this Koinon is also clear although we cannot know the eventual contribution of royal power to its inception. It remains, however, probable that the early Ptolemies, content with their base at Itanos on eastern Crete³² but also interested in seeing a better organization of their Cretan allies emerge to regularize their relations with them, encouraged the creation of the Cretan Koinon. The appearance of the term Kreta(i)eis already in the Decree of Chremonides indicates how far back this development might be placed.³³ Later on, at the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century B.C., Philip V and Ptolemy VI appear

²⁹ One may recognize a similar Ptolemaic policy behind the well-known union (*homopoliteia*) of Kos and Kalymna (Segre, *TC*, Test. XII= *Staatsverträge* III. 545), the first phase of which is most probably to be dated under Philopator: Buraselis (2000), 10, n. 18 (with further lit.). Cf. also below on the history of the Cretan Koinon.

³⁰ Labarre (1996), esp. 113-114, 138-139.

³¹ Chaniotis (1996), esp. 99-100. Among earlier studies on the Cretan League still useful: Muttlensee (1925); Mijnsbrugge (1931); Van Effenterre (1948), 127-160.

³² Spyridakis (1970) remains a substantial synthesis on this.

³³ IG II². 687= *Staatsverträge* (Stv?) III. 476, 25, 39-40. Cf. Chaniotis (1996), 30-31.

respectively, and expressly, as patron powers of this confederacy.³⁴ That the latter possessed a more elaborate federal structure emerges also from new evidence specifying the essence of its *koinodikion*, to be now finally understood not simply as “(a form of) common law” concerning all its members but also as a specific council (or jury) of the confederacy occupying itself with the settlement of internal grievances, arising in periods of war and peace.³⁵

There is no evidence, however, of a single common sanctuary as an actual point of reference and gathering place for this League’s activities, either as the continuation of a similar local tradition or as a new institution to match the new federal situation. The only mention of such a meeting place of the Kretaieis, the sanctuary of Apollo Vilkonios at Vilkon, is problematic: it appears in the fictitious decree of a proto-historic(!) Cretan League,³⁶ favourable to the supposed Cretan colonists of Magnesia on the Maeander, used as precious argument to support the *asylia* of the city of Artemis Leukophryena from its “ancient friends” on Crete in the heyday of Cretan piracy at the end of the 3rd century B.C. The fact that we do have the mention of Apollo Vilkonios in a Cretan inscription of approximately the same (Hellenistic) period³⁷ cannot suggest the existence of such a real tradition connecting an (otherwise unknown and as yet not localized) sanctuary with the meetings of the Hellenistic Cretan League. In the decree of the Kretaieis conferring *asylia* on Anaphe³⁸ the place of meetings is stated simply as “at Knossos in the assembly”.³⁹ Thus we cannot be sure by the present evidence if the Cretan League was especially and systematically connected with an active cult place on the island expressing a common Cretan religious background. The probable, and sufficiently conscious, character of the League as a periodic collaboration of Cretan

³⁴ Pol. 7,11,9 (on Philip V). IC III. iii. 9,107 (on Ptolemy VI). Cf., respectively, Chaniotis (1996), 38-41 (+441) and 306.

³⁵ Chaniotis (2010), esp. 172-182; cf. Faraguna (2010). The important new evidence consists in a *diagramma* of the Koinon, to be fully published by Chaniotis and Kritzas, mentioning expressly a trial ἐν κοινοδικίῳ, that is apparently some form of federal jury. Thus the sceptical view on whether the *koinodikion* was anything more than some form of “common law” (also Chaniotis (1996), esp. 141-143) had to be revised.

³⁶ I. Magnesia 20. Cf. Rigsby (1996), 181 with further lit.

³⁷ Chaniotis (1996), no. 6, 11 (p. 190), as one of many deities mentioned inside the oath formula of a treaty between Eleutherna and an unknown city.

³⁸ Rigsby (1996), no. 175 (pp. 359-360). Cf. also recently Quadrino (2008), esp. 359.

³⁹ Rigsby (1996), no. 175, ll. 2-3: ... Κνωσ/[σοῖ ἐ]ν τῶι συλλόγῳι...

cities under the hegemony of Knossos or Gortyn would perhaps render such an additional element of “venerable tradition” unnecessary in political practice.

V. Conclusions

One may systematize here some final remarks:

(a) Is a cult/sanctuary necessary as the central place of activities for a Greek federal state according to the (partial) evidence examined here? Rather not always. If such a religious centre predated a federal organization as a sort of tribal nodal point, it proves also in the cases of the Nesiotai and the Lesbioi to have fostered federalistic developments. In an equally split political reality but apparently with no such pre-existing central sanctuary as in the case of Hellenistic Crete, its introduction *a posteriori* seems to have been considered pragmatically as superfluous.

(b) It has become also here evident that overcoming the old civic structures to develop federal ones was never a simple process. The poleis and their inveterate ambitions of autonomy or even hegemony (as in the case of the Kretaieis) proved always a tricky basis for federal overstructures.

(c) Hellenistic monarchs were clever enough to use the possibilities offered by eventual federal organizations. They were quite ready to exploit them to attain their aims, even to found them on the basis of an old local pattern as in the case of the Nesiotai.

(d) Of course, federal organization rests to a large extent on the possibility of communications as alluded to already in the preface to this overview study. This is relatively easy in a geographically limited (e.g. Lesbos) or unitary area (e.g. Crete) but much more difficult in the case of natural dispersion where only the existence of a stronger, ultra-regional sea-power could allow the existence of such structures (as it happened with the Nesiotai). The Aegean “island mosaic” rendered federal solutions very valuable but the means to promote such a development remained often outside the real possibilities of its small poleis.

(e) Therefore, federalism in the Hellenistic Aegean could not advance very much on its own. It seems to have remained regularly dependent on the initiatives and the larger political aims and support of hegemonic powers, both kings and big cities, in the same area.

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Southern Italy: Sanctuary, *Panegyris* and Italiote Identity

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The purpose of this short paper is to examine how the location of the common cult site of the Italiote League reflected the identity of the league – or perhaps better, reflected an image of Italioteness that the league members wished to present. Indeed, the league's federal sanctuary and meeting site was relocated at least once from its original location at a jointly founded sanctuary of Zeus Homarios (also spelled Omarios, Hamarios, Amarios). I will argue that the movement of the federal sanctuary corresponds to the changing composition of the Italiote League and evolving notions of Italiote identity.

What we know about the Italiote league comes largely from literary evidence. These sources are scattered, problematic, and even contradictory. The chronology is treacherous. The most important literary source for the league is Polybius, whose relatively detailed summary of the founding of the league and its constitution is found within his longer treatment of the Akhaian League.¹ Thus, according to Polybius, the

¹ Pol. 2,39,1-2,39,7: (1) καθ' οὓς γὰρ καιροὺς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τόποις κατὰ τὴν Μεγάλῃν Ἑλλάδα τότε προσαγορευομένην ἐνεπρήσθη τὰ συνέδρια τῶν Πυθαγορείων, (2) μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένου κινήματος ὀλοσχεροῦς περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὡς ἂν τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως οὕτω παραλόγως (3) διαφθαρέντων, συνέβη τὰς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους Ἑλληνικὰς πόλεις ἀναπληροῦσθαι φόνου καὶ στάσεως (4) καὶ παντοδαπῆς ταραχῆς. ἐν οἷς καιροῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πλείστων μερῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβυόντων ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις, Ἀχαιοὶς καὶ τῇ τούτων πίστει συνεχρήσαντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐξαγωγήν. (5) οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀπέδειξαν τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τινὰς χρόνους ὀλοσχερῶς ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μιμηταὶ (6) γενέσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν. παρακαλέσαντες γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ συμφρονήσαντες Κροτωνιάται, Συβαρίται, Καυλωνιάται, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδειξαν Διὸς Ὁμαρίου κοινὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε συνόδους καὶ τὰ διαβούλια συνετέλουν, δεύτερον τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους ἐκλάβοντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπέβαλον χρῆσθαι καὶ διοικεῖν κατὰ τούτους τὴν πολιτείαν. (7) ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Διονυσίου Συρακοσίου δυναστείας, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τῶν περιοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐπικρατείας ἐμποδισθέντες οὐχ ἔκουσίως ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν. – (1) *When, in the district of Italy, then known as Greater Hellas, the club-houses of the Pythagoreans were burnt down, (2) there ensued, as was natural, a general revolutionary movement, the leading citizens of each city having then unexpectedly perished, and in all the Greek towns of the district murder, sedition, and every kind of disturbance were rife. (3) Embassies arrived from most parts of Greece offering their services as peacemakers, (4) but it was the Akhaians on whom these cities placed most reliance and to whom they committed the task of putting an end to their present troubles. (5) And it was not only at this period that they showed their approval of Akhaian political principles; but a short time afterwards, they resolved to model their own constitution exactly on that of the League. (6) The Krotonians, Sybarites and Kaulonians, having called a conference and formed a league, first of all established a common temple and holy place of Zeus Homarios in which to hold their meetings and debates, and next, adopting the customs and laws of the Akhaians, decided to conduct their government according to them. (7) It was only indeed the tyranny of Dionysios of Syrakuse and their subjection to the barbarian tribes around them which defeated this purpose and forced them to abandon these institutions, much against their will.*

Italiote League modelled itself after the Akhaian League, including by holding their meetings a temple dedicated to Zeus Homarios expressly built for the league (I will return to this point later in the paper). Diodorus Siculus provides further information concerning the league's constitution and the rationale behind its formation. According to Diodorus, the League held a council and was established as a defensive alliance against both Dionysios I of Syrakuse and hostile Leukanians.² The league charter also mandated that member cities provide military assistance to any league member that had been attacked, the stipulation guaranteed by the threat of strict punishment for the military leaders from any city that failed to meet its military obligation.³

Diodourus' testimony agrees broadly with Polybius', though the two authors are not entirely consistent in detail. For example, Diodorus claims that the Italiote League was a response to increased pressure by Dionysios I of Syrakuse and hostile Italic peoples in the early fourth century. Indeed, he refers to the league as an alliance (*symmachia*), placing its foundation in 393 B.C. Polybius places the formation of the league, however, sometime after the destruction of Pythagorean meeting places in southern Italy, in the mid-fifth century.⁴ This difference can be easily reconciled. Polybius and Diodorus agree that the league was destroyed by Dionysios of Syrakuse and Italic tribes. It is plausible that Diodorus wrongly concluded from the league's destruction at the hands of the tyrant that it was founded initially as a defensive alliance against Dionysios. Indeed, the character of the league evolved over time, as will be

[trl. W.R. Paton].

² Diod. 14,91,1: οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνας ἐσώρων μὲν μέχρι τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας προβαίνουσαν τὴν Διονυσίου πλεονεξίαν, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐποίησαντο καὶ συνέδριον ἐγκατεσκεύαζον. ἤλπιζον γὰρ τὸν Διονύσιον ῥαδίως ἀμυνεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς παρικοῦσι Λευκανῶν ἀντιτάξεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τότε διεπολέμουν πρὸς αὐτούς – *The Greek inhabitants of Italy, when they saw the encroachments of Dionysius advancing as far as their own lands, formed an alliance among themselves and established a Council. It was their hope to defend themselves with ease against Dionysius and to resist the neighbouring Leukanians; for these last were also at war with them at this time.* [trl. Ch.H. Oldfather].

³ Diod. 14,101,1: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λευκανῶν τὴν Θουρίαν καταδραμόντων οἱ Θούριοι παρήγγειλαν τοῖς συμάχοις κατὰ τάχος ἀπαντᾶν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν· αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἕλληνίδες πόλεις ἐν [τε] ταῖς συνθήκαις εἶχον οὕτως, ἵν' ἥτις ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν Λευκανῶν λεηλατηθῆι χώρα, πρὸς ταύτην ἅπαντες παραβοηθῶσιν· ἢς δ' ἂν πόλεως μὴ καταστῆ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν, τεθνάναι τοὺς ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως στρατηγούς – *After this, when the Leukanians overran the territory of Thurii, the Thurians sent word to their allies to gather to them speedily under arms. For the Greek cities of Italy had an agreement among themselves to the effect that if any city's territory was being plundered by the Leukanians, they should all come to its aid, and that if any city's army did not take up a position to give aid, the generals of that city should be put to death.* [trl. Ch.H. Oldfather].

⁴ Iambl. vita Pyth. 248-251. The precise date is disputed: see Walbank (1957), 222-224.

discussed later in the paper: after its foundation in the late fifth century, its mutual defense mission grew more prominent in the face of increased military pressure in the early fourth century. This interpretation accommodates Polybius' testimony that the league's initial foundation occurred in the fifth century.

This does not fully resolve chronological difficulties. Polybius lists Sybaris, Kaulonia and Kroton as the three founding states of the Italiote League, yet Sybaris was reportedly destroyed by Kroton ca. 510 BC, long before league was established.⁵ We can rescue Polybius' chronology if we assume that he is talking about the restored Sybaris. According to the literary tradition, descendants of refugees from the first Sybaris, who had fled to Laos (and perhaps later to Poseidonia), refounded their city ca. 453 B.C.⁶ Diodorus reports that the Sybarites suffered once again at the hands of the Krotoniates, and so sent an appeal to Athens and Sparta asking for help in reclaiming their city.⁷ The Sybarites received not only military aid but also additional settlers from the Athenians and other Greek cities in the 440s B.C. However, the newcomers quarreled with the older re-settlers from Sybaris and eventually displaced them. Soon thereafter Sybaris was renamed the Thourioi.⁸ In the meantime, the descendants of the re-settlers from the original Sybaris founded another city, Sybaris-on-the-Traeis.⁹ Polybius may therefore be referring to Sybaris-on-the-Traeis in his list of the three founding cities of the Italiote League.¹⁰ Yet it is more probable that Polybius has

⁵ Hdt. 5,44-5,45, 6,21; Diod. 11,90,3; Strab. 6,1,13, and Diod. 11,48,4 records that Kroton again besieged Sybaris in the 470s B.C. Rutter accepts the historicity of this reference, arguing that Sybaris I was destroyed by Kroton in ca. 510 B.C., Sybaris II was refounded in the early fifth century, and destroyed again by Kroton ca. 475/0 B.C. For the arguments and numismatic evidence, see Rutter (2001), 144-145.

⁶ Hdt. 6,21; Strab. 6,1,13, and Diod. 11,90,3; 12,9,1-12,10,1. Connection between Sybaris and Laos: Strab. 6,1,1; Rutter (2001), 177 no. 2284-2285 (Sybaris/Laos joint diobols). Rutter also argues that after Sybaris II (see above, no. 5) was destroyed refugees fled to Poseidonia, whence they settled Sybaris III in 453 B.C., Rutter (2001), 145 no. 1743.

⁷ Diod. 12,10,2-4. See Rutter (2001), 145.

⁸ Diod. 12,10-11 and 12,34; Strab. 6,1,13. See Rutter (2001), 145-146 (Sybaris IV).

⁹ Diod. 12,22,1; Rutter (2001), 146 (Sybaris V).

¹⁰ This is the position of Walbank (1957), 225-226. Morgan – Hall (1996), 195 object to this interpretation on the grounds that Strabo (6,1,14) identifies Sybaris-on-the Traeis as a Rhodian colony, which fits uneasily with Polybius' account of the Italiote League as founded by Akhaian colonies in imitation of the Akhaian League. Strabo's account is, however, problematic. The manuscript actually refers to Sybaris-on-the-Teuthras, which Meineke emended to Traeis. Thus, it is possible that Strabo is referring to a different colony whose foundations were Rhodian. Even if we accept Meineke's emendation, Strabo's testimony equivocates on the origins of Sybaris-on-the-Traeis: he claims only that *some say* (τινὲς φησὶ) this Sybaris was founded by the Rhodians. Thus by the late first century B.C. there may have been competing stories about the origins of Sybaris-on-the-Traeis, including Diodorus' unambiguous claim that it was Akhaian and Strabo's that the colony was (possibly) Rhodian. Strabo's

confused Thourioi and Sybaris. Thourioi must initially have been called Sybaris,¹¹ and perhaps even continued to be known under that name for a short period after the new inhabitants drove out the Sybarite settlers. Moreover, later sources continue to confuse or conflate Thourioi and Sybaris.¹² It would not be surprising if Polybius or his own sources called Thourioi by its older name. Lastly, that Thourioi was one of the founding members of the Italiote League accords fairly well with Diodorus' testimony: he reports that Kroton and the newly-founded Thourioi formed some sort of alliance,¹³ and (as we have seen) Thourioi was a member of the league by ca. 390 B.C.¹⁴ We can safely conclude that the Italiote League was founded in the late fifth century BC and its founding members included Kroton, Kaulonia and Thourioi.

All three of the known charter members had Akhaian origins, founded either directly or indirectly by Akhaians, according to the literary tradition.¹⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, to hear from Polybius that they replicated the constitution of the Akhaian League in setting up their own federal organization.¹⁶ But some caution should be exercised before accepting Polybius' explicit testimony here. As Morgan and Hall have noted, much of what we know about the Akhaian League pertains to the period after its refoundation, and although there are clear indications that the Akhaian League did function in some form prior to 280 BC, evidence for the existence of formal league at a much earlier date is much less reliable.¹⁷ Indeed, among the strongest evidence for an early date for the Akhaian League is Polybius' description of the foundation of the Italiote League, which assumes the Akhaian League was already operating before the late fifth century. Yet Polybius is interested in glorifying the Akhaian League of his own day by ascribing to it great antiquity and demonstrating that it "enshrined age-old principles of equality and fairness," and so we may not be able to accept his claim at

passing reference does not appear sufficient evidence to reject the clear connection between Sybaris (and thus Akhaia) and Sybaris-on-the Traeis, found in Diodorus' narrative.

¹¹Hdt. 5,4,5; Plut. mor. 835D. Rutter dates this period (Sybaris IV) ca. 446-440 B.C. Coins from this period bear the legend ΣΥΒΑ and ΣΥΒΑΠΙ. See Rutter (2001), no. 1750-1753.

¹²For example, Liv. 26,39,7 refers to Thourioi as Sybaris when discussing events occurring during the Second Punic War, in 210 B.C. It is the only time Livy uses the name, but it does indicate that the two names were confused at least as late as Livy's earliest sources for Second Punic War.

¹³Diod. 12,10,3.

¹⁴Diod. 14,101,1; see above, note 3.

¹⁵Kroton: Strab. 6,1,12 (Akhaian colony); Kaulonia: Paus. 6,3,12 (Akhaian colony); Ps.-Skymn. 1. 319 (= GGM 1, p. 209): Krotonian colony; Thourioi through Sybaris: Strab. 6,1,13, (Akhaian colony), see also 6,1,15 and above, note 10.

¹⁶Pol. 2,39,5-2,39,6.

¹⁷Morgan – Hall (1996), esp. 193-199.

face value.¹⁸ Still, Morgan and Hall concede that there is some evidence that the Akhaian League existed by the end of the fifth century. Moreover, there are indications “for an earlier, less formal and looser association of Akhaian *mere* based on perceived ethnic affinity.”¹⁹ Thus, some Akhaian association, whether a formal federal state or a looser organization, could have served as a model for the Italiote League, according to the chronology proposed here. This is true even if Polybius has mistakenly assumed that the constitution of the Akhaian League in his day was the same in the fifth century and was copied closely by the Italiote League.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to reconstruct the precise constitutional organization of the Italiote League at the time of its founding. Rather, it suffices to conclude that several southern Italian Greek cities of alleged Akhaian origin looked to the formal and/or informal structures of the Akhaian League (or proto-league), as a basis for their own league. I argue that the Italiote League members appealed to Akhaian precedents precisely to call attention to their own assumed Achaean roots and thus to promote unity based on a shared Akhaian identity.

This last point relates to an additional, intriguing detail reported by Polybius about the foundation of the Italiote League: his claim that the founding members established a sanctuary dedicated to Zeus Homarios where meetings and deliberations (συνόδοι καὶ διαβούλια) were to be held. The enclosure of Zeus Homarios near Aigion was the federal cult center and meeting place of the Akhaian League, and so if Polybius’ notice is historical, then it is clear evidence of the Italiote League mimicking the Akhaian League. Indeed, this goes beyond copying constitutional and organizational forms, such as the number and competencies of federal magistracies. Rather, that the Italiote League dedicated a new sanctuary to the very same deity reinforces my contention that the founding members hoped to exploit markers of Akhaian identity and thus promote unity and a sense of commonness among members of the association.

But can this Polybian detail be trusted? Some scholars have questioned or rejected outright his reference to the dedication of a southern Italian sanctuary to Zeus Homarios. The objections come from two fronts. First, the exact location of this sanctuary to Zeus Homarios has eluded identification, and because of this it is

¹⁸ Morgan – Hall (1996), 195.

¹⁹ Morgan – Hall (1996), 197.

sometimes assumed that no such sanctuary existed. According to this line of reasoning, the federal sanctuary of the Italiote League, if one existed in the first place, should be identified with one of the more well known southern Italian temples, probably one associated with a founding member state. The famous temple Hera Lakinia, in the territory of Kroton, is an obvious candidate.²⁰ Giovanna de Sensi Sestito has offered a compromise, arguing that the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios was located within the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia.²¹ This proposition has won some adherents.²² Yet evidence in support of her argument is slender, and direct testimony lacking. The temple of Hera Lakinia was an important pan-Italiote sanctuary before the foundation of the Italiote League (discussed below), but no literary source explicitly identifies it as the federal sanctuary.²³ A series of coins bearing the image of Hera, possibly Hera Lakinia, were minted in several cities – examples have been found from Kroton, Thourioi, Poseidonia and even Pandosia, a non-Greek settlement – and these *may* represent something like federal coinage (though the coins bear the names of individual cities rather than a corporate Italiote legend). Yet they are dated to ca. 370 BC, or perhaps somewhat earlier, and thus can not be used as evidence for the earliest years of the Italiote League.²⁴ The link between Zeus Homarios and Hera Lakinia is even more tenuous. De Sensi Sestito notes that Zeus and Hera (and Herakles) were widely worshipped and often closely associated in Akhaia as well as the wider Greek world. In addition, she cites the numerous coins from Kroton, dated to the sixth and fifth centuries BC, that bear the image of an eagle (a reference to Zeus) on the obverse, often with a tripod on the reverse. The coins certainly attest to the longstanding importance of Zeus to the city of Kroton, but this does not prove Zeus was worshipped at the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia, nor does the iconography necessarily refer to Zeus Homarios.²⁵ As Massimo

²⁰ E.g. Ghinati (1961), 123-124; Papadopoulos (2001), 415 and Papadopoulos (2002), 25.

²¹ De Sensi Sestito (1982) and De Sensi Sestito (1984).

²² E.g. Lomas (1993), 35 and 199 no. 68; Hansen et al. (2004), 269 (but see below, note 30).

²³ Ps.-Aristot. mir 96 (= Bekker p. 838a) records that *all Italiotes assembled* (συμπορεύονται πάντες Ἰταλιῶται) at the festival of Hera Lakinia. If accurate, this may be a reference to a meeting of the Italiote League, but if so, it almost refers to a later period (as I argue below).

²⁴ Rutter (2001), nos. 2159-2169 (Kroton), nos. 2450-2452 (Pandosia), no. 1140 (Poseidonia), and Head (1911), 86 (Thourioi). Rutter dates the Krononiate coins broadly to ca. 400-325 B.C. However, he dates the example from Pandosia to ca. 375-350 B.C. Head dates the Thourian example broadly 400-350 B.C.

²⁵ For examples, see Rutter (2001), no. 2084 (dated ca. 530-500 B.C.), nos. 2108-2110 and nos. 2120-2121 (ca. 480-430 B.C.), nos. 2141-2152 (ca. 425-350 B.C.). The last set, according to Rutter (2001), 170, may relate to Kroton's success at the Olympic games or "may also be a reference to the Achaean Zeus who was the deity of the league of Italiote cities led by Croton."

Osanna points out, there is simply no direct literary or archaeological evidence linking Zeus Homarios to the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia.²⁶

Osanna himself proposes the unidentified Doric temple situated near ancient Kaulonia, near the sea at modern Monasterace Marina, as a potential candidate for the elusive sanctuary to Zeus Homarios.²⁷ The site was excavated in the 1910s by Paolo Orsi, who originally dated the construction of the temple to the first half of the fifth century B.C. More recent architectural analysis suggests a construction date ca. 425 BC, consistent with the foundation of the Italiote League.²⁸ The temple itself was relatively large, with 6 x 13 columns and its base measuring about 20 x 45 meters. The sanctuary had a wide *temenos*, and archaeological remains suggest that stele were displayed to the south of the sacred area. Both attest to the importance and perhaps "official" nature of the site.²⁹ In addition, a heavy limestone cover for a container, which was found in the sanctuary, may indicate a treasury or archive.³⁰ The most striking feature of the sanctuary is a course of five rectilinear steps, running parallel to the north flank of the temple, about 8 meters away. The steps may simply have been a monumental staircase, but they could also have served as seating for large assemblies. Indeed, Osanna assumes that the structure was a *theatron* designed for political gatherings.³¹ Such a temple-theatre complex would have been ideal for well-attended meetings of league representatives. As tantalizing as this proposal is – I find it more or less persuasive – it must remain speculation until further archaeological evidence comes to light. In any case, the fact that we cannot identify without doubt its specific location is not a strong argument for rejecting Polybius' explicit testimony that the Italiote League created a sanctuary of Zeus Homarios as its common cult site and meeting place.

²⁶ Osanna (1989), 59. A dedicatory inscription to Zeus was discovered not far from the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia in 1934, but this was to Zeus Melichios, not Zeus Homarios. Although not conclusive, the absolute silence in the literary record of the existence of a second deity within the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia dedicated as the federal cult argues against De Sensi Sestito's thesis: Maddoli (1983), 334.

²⁷ Osanna (1989), 60-63; suggested previously by Torelli (1987), 593.

²⁸ Gullini (1987), 393-397; Tréziny (1989), 132.

²⁹ Osanna (1989), 62-63.

³⁰ Ianelli (1992); Hansen et al. (2004), 265. Here Hansen et al. appear to accept the identification of this temple as the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios: "The location of the federal sanctuary of Zeus Homarios is uncertain, but the sanctuary of Punta Stilo is one of the more convincing suggestions." Though subsequently they implicitly accept De Sensi Sestito's placement of the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios within the sanctuary of Lakinian Hera: "[T]he seat of the Akhaian League has tentatively been located in the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia" (p. 269). See above, note 22.

³¹ Osanna (1989), 61: "[S]i propenderebbe piuttosto nel vedere nella struttura uno spazio dalle valenze politiche, un *théatron* destinato ad accogliere assemblee di carattere politico." See now Sear (2006), 145, referring to the structure as a theatre with rectilinear steps.

Morgan and Hall attack Polybius' testimony from a second front, on chronological grounds: namely, they argue that literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence suggests that the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios did not become the federal sanctuary of the Akhaian League until ca. 370 BC, after the foundation of the Italiote League according to Polybius' chronology.³² That it functioned as the league's sanctuary in the third century appears secure. An inscription dating to ca. 235/225 BC stipulates that Akhaian League representatives invoke Zeus Homarios.³³ When Strabo reports that the Akhaian League met at the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios, his narrative can thus be taken to imply that they did so only after the league was reconstituted in 280 B.C.³⁴ Evidence is much sparser for the Akhaian League's federal sanctuary in early times, as we are largely without epigraphic and literary sources, though it is possible to adduce numismatic evidence. According to Head, the earliest Akhaian federal coinage to feature Zeus can be dated to ca. 370 BC, i.e. after the battle of Leuctra.³⁵ From this Morgan and Hall conclude that the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios became the federal cult site for Akhaian League only after the destruction of Helike (373 BC), in whose *chora* the sanctuary may have previously been located.³⁶

Morgan and Hall reach this conclusion only by excluding Polybius' testimony, which clearly indicates that the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios served as the federal sanctuary for the Akhaian League before ca. 370 B.C. It must be admitted that Morgan and Hall are correct inasmuch as there is no firm, independent evidence (i.e. inscriptions or coins) to substantiate Polybius' statement. Yet this is not unexpected given the general unevenness of the epigraphic and numismatic record. Indeed, if the Akhaian League of the fifth century was a somewhat less formal organization, as suggested earlier in this paper, the lack of evidence pertaining to its initial organization is even

³² Morgan – Hall (1996), 195-197.

³³ Foucart (1876); Aymard (1935), 457, and Morgan – Hall (1996), 196 no. 171.

³⁴ Strab. 8,7,3 where the league's refounding is synchronized with Pyrrhos' invasion of Italy.

³⁵ Head (1911), 416. The coins depict a laureate Zeus (obverse) and monogram of the Akhaians (reverse). Walbank (2000), 25 cautions against linking these emissions with the Akhaian League; see also Kraay (1976), 101.

³⁶ Morgan – Hall (1996), 196, following, cautiously, Aymard (1935), 286-287, 293. The position gains support from Pausanias 7,7,2, who records that the Akhaian League decided in 280 B.C. to meet in Aigion because Helike had been wiped out by a tidal wave. The passage implies, therefore, that the league met in earlier times in Helike, though this is not explicit. Morgan and Hall tentatively propose that before ca. 370, the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios may have served as the meeting place for whatever formal or informal Akhaian organization existed at the time; explicit ancient evidence for this proposal is lacking.

more understandable. Morgan and Hall accept that the Akhaian League met at the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios as early as ca. 370 B.C. It is not implausible that it served as the Akhaians' common sanctuary at an earlier date and thus could have provided an example for the Italiote League to mimic.³⁷

Yet even if Morgan and Hall are entirely justified in asserting that the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios did not become the federal sanctuary of the Akhaian League until the second quarter of the fourth century – and therefore Polybius is guilty of anachronism – this still does not necessarily undermine the larger point, that the Italiote League members founded a sanctuary of Zeus Homarios specifically to reinforce a shared sense of Akhaianness. Homarios was rather peculiar title for Zeus, as was its parallel Athena Homaria: both names are found almost exclusively in Akhaian contexts into the Roman period.³⁸ Indeed, Strabo traces the origins of the cult to mythical times, claiming that the Akhaians adopted the cult from the Ionians during the return of the Heraklidai.³⁹ Zeus Homarios was a specifically Akhaian cult, long associated with the Akhaian League and linked closely to the very mythical-historical origins of the Akhaians. Even if we assume that Zeus Harmarios was adopted as the Akhaian League's federal deity only after the destruction of Helike, this still implies that the cult and presumably its sanctuary were already important before ca. 370 B.C. Given the enduring importance of this cult vis-à-vis Akhaian identity, I suspect that the Akhaian-Homarios association and the pan-Akhaian significance of the cult were already firmly in place by the time the Italiote League was formed. Thus, when the Italiote League decided to build its own Homarion, they introduced into southern Italy a cult with a particular Akhaian connotation. The founding members of the Italiote League were consciously playing up their Akhaianness, using a common cult site and, presumably, the associated rituals to

³⁷ Walbank (2000), 26-27 argues that several inscriptions from the fourth century and later discovered to the north-west of Aigion, which he identifies as federal inscriptions, indicate that the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios was located here and not at a location somewhere between Helike and Aigion on territory later confiscated by the Aigion. Liv. 37,30,2 says that the Akhaian League from its beginning (a principio) met in Aigion. Thus, Walbank concludes that Akhaian League probably met at a sanctuary of Zeus Homarios located in Aigion from its earliest days, with the meeting site adopted again when the league was refounded in 280 B.C. However, he leaves open the possibility that the Homarion was originally located in the territory of Helike but later moved to Aigion after Helike's destruction of Helike. Neither propositions can be proven conclusively without further archaeological evidence.

³⁸ Walbank (2000), 27-30. One possible non-Akhaian example is a dedication to Zeus Homarios and Athena Homaria on a stele discovered in Egypt (Bernand (1970), 1.523-5 no. 1 = F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch I*, 1915: no. 537). The inscription has been dated to the Hellenistic period or later; see Perdrizet (1921), Launey (1949), 953-954, and Robert (1966), 175-211.

³⁹ Strab. 8,7,1-8,7,3.

reinforce their mythical-historical relationship and thus promote a shared identity.

This can also be seen, perhaps, in the Italiote League's ill-fated military expedition against the Leukanians. According to Diodorus, the League tried unsuccessfully to seize Laos.⁴⁰ The city was once a Sybarite colony and had become a haven for refugees from Sybaris after its destruction.⁴¹ More recently, however, Laos had been overrun by the Leukanians.⁴² The decision to restore Laos certainly fits within the broader context of conflict between Greek and native Italic communities. But the mission also may have had a strong Akhaian resonance, both tapping into common interest and at the same time galvanizing a sense of shared identity. Such cooperation contrasts with the past behavior of the individual members of the league, which included a long history of conflict. For example, the destruction of Sybaris, mentioned before, came at the hands of the Krotoniates. Subsequently, Kroton controlled the site of Sybaris and later opposed the city's refounding. In the face of significant external pressure, however, the concept of Akhaianness was drawn on to encourage unity within the recently formed league.⁴³

The Italiote League was not a static entity, but rather it evolved in response to changing circumstances and its membership fluctuated over time. As mentioned above, the league confronted mounting external pressure from Italic groups such as the Leukanians and Brettii, as well as from the expansionist policies of Dionysios I of Syracuse. The league responded by admitting new members, presumably to strengthen its military capacity. In fact, Diodorus' reference to the formation in 393 BC of an alliance of "the Greeks in Italy" probably refers to an expansion of the league in reaction to the urgent military situation.⁴⁴ We do not know for sure which states comprised the enlarged Italiote League, though the list likely included Kroton, Kaulonia, Thourioi, Metapontion, Elea, Hipponion, Rhegion, Poseidonia, Taras and

⁴⁰ Diod. 14,101,3-14,102,3.

⁴¹ See above, note 6.

⁴² See Strab. 6,1,1 and 6,1,5 (claiming the city was captured by the Brettii).

⁴³ Also interesting is the distribution of the Akhaian alphabet in archaic inscriptions. The distinctive script is found on many inscriptions from Akhaian colonies in southern Italy. In fact there are far more and earlier examples of the Akhaian alphabet from southern Italy than from Akhaia itself, suggesting even that the script was perhaps a colonial construct. Whether "invented" in the colonies or not, the prominence of the Akhaian script in the southern Italian epigraphic record may represent another effort to emphasize the communities' Akhaianness. See Jeffery (1961), 221, 224, 259-262; Papadopoulos (2001) 378-379.

⁴⁴ Diod. 14,91,1;14,101,1. See above, pp. ###-##.

Herakleia.⁴⁵ Lomas speculates that the Italiote League eventually grew to include nearly all of the Greek communities in Italy as far north as Campania.⁴⁶

The new member states were a mix of communities with an Akhaian connection (e.g. Metapontion and Poseidonia) and non-Akhaian cities (e.g. Rhegion).⁴⁷ Numismatic evidence suggests a possible corresponding development. As discussed earlier, several Italiote cities struck coins with identical obverses bearing the image of Hera, interpreted by some as Hera Lakinia. The coins have been dated to the first third of the fourth century B.C. If this is indeed federal coinage, it was struck by members of the expanded Italiote League.⁴⁸ In addition, the iconography *may* indicate that Hera Lakinia replaced Zeus Homarios as the federal cult – and thus the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia would have served as the federal sanctuary and meeting place. This makes sense given the changing profile of the Italiote League. As the league grew to incorporate non-Akhaian communities with their own mythical-historical traditions, appeals to real or perceived Akhaianness would not have been as effective in fostering a sense of shared identity. Hansen et al. note that the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia had already achieved pan-Italiote significance by the late fifth century.⁴⁹ It was an ideal cult for a league rebranding itself as larger federal association of all (or nearly all) Greek communities in southern Italy. Thus, the transformation of the league from a Akhaian-centric organization to a more inclusive pan-Italiote entity may have precipitated the transfer of the league's common sanctuary from that of a specifically Akhaian cult (Zeus Homarios) to that of a cult with broader importance and appeal (Hera Lakinia).⁵⁰

According to Polybius, Dionysios dissolved the Italiote League,⁵¹ though the precise chronology is impossible to determine. Diodorus writes that the Dionysios crushed the Italiote League at the Battle of Elleporos in 389 BC, after which he

⁴⁵ Kroton and Kaulonia: Diod. 14,103-14,104; Thourioi: Diod. 14,101,1; Metapontion: Polyain. 5,2,22; Elea: Polyain. 6,11,1; Hipponion: Diod. 14,107,2; 15,24,1; Dion. Hal. ant. 20.7.2-20,7,3; Rhegion: Diod. 14,100,1-14,100,3; Poseidonia: see above, note 25; Taras and Heracleia: Ghinati (1961-62), 127-128. For further discussion of the league under the hegemony of Taras, see below.

⁴⁶ Lomas (1993), 32-33.

⁴⁷ Rhegion was founded by Chalkis: Strab. 6,1,6.

⁴⁸ See above, pp. 7-8 and note 24.

⁴⁹ Hansen et al. (2004), 267. Pseudo-Aristotle's claim (mir. 96 = p. 838a Bekker) that all Italiotes assembled at the celebration of Hera Lakinia may refer to meetings of the Italiote League after the federal cult was transferred from Zeus Homarios to Hera Lakinia. See above note 23.

⁵⁰ On this point, see also Kazimierz (1987).

⁵¹ Pol. 2,39,7; see also Pol. 1,6,1; Strab. 6,1,10, and Dion. Hal. ant. 20,7.

extended control over much of southern Italy.⁵² It is possible that Dionysius broke up the league at this point.⁵³ However, Diodorus later reports that Dionysios again fought against the “Italian Greeks” in 383 BC, implying that the league was functioning at this time.⁵⁴ Dionysius of Halicarnassus records that the Syracusan tyrant seized Kroton in 379/8 B.C.⁵⁵ It is possible that Dionysios dissolved the Italiote League only after his later victories in southern Italy.

In either case, the story of the Italiote League and its sanctuary does not end here. Literary sources continue to make reference to the Italiotes as a corporate entity after 379 BC,⁵⁶ implying that the league endured in some form. Moreover, at some point during the late fourth century, leadership of league passed from Kroton to Taras.⁵⁷ We thus see the phrase “Tarantines and the Italiotes” or similar formulae in the ancient sources.⁵⁸ Strabo provides perhaps the most compelling testimony for the survival (or revival) of the Italiote League under Tarantine hegemony. According to his account, the Tarantines’ decided to invite Alexander the Molossian to Italy in the 330s BC to help them fight against neighboring Italic peoples. The alliance broke down and Alexander tried

*to transfer to Thourioian territory the general festival assembly (τὴν κοινὴν πανήγυριν) of all Greek peoples in that part of the world, the assembly which was wont to meet at Herakleia in Tarantine territory.*⁵⁹

This plainly attests to the functioning of the Italiote league as late as ca. 330 B.C. It also indicates that the common meeting place had moved to a new location, a sanctuary in Herakleia.

We do not know which states comprised this version of the league, though Strabo’s statement that the *panegyris* belonged to the Greeks in that part of the world implies a

⁵² Diod. 14,104-14,105.

⁵³ Diod.14,105,4 adds an interesting note, that after his victory Dionysios *concluded peace with most of the cities and left them independent* (πρὸς τὰς πλείστας τῶν πόλεων εἰρήνην συσθέμενος ἀφῆκεν αὐτονόμους). This may indicate that he broke up the Italiote League, treating with each member independently.

⁵⁴ Diod. 15,15,2-15,15,4. Diodorus reports that the Carthagians made an alliance with the Italiotes against Dionysius, suggesting that the Italiotes had reformed the league.

⁵⁵ Dion. Hal. ant. 20,7,3; Ghinati (1961-62), 124.

⁵⁶ E.g. Plut. Pyrrh. 13,6; 16,3.

⁵⁷ Ghinati (1961-62), 129-130; Intrieri (1987-88), 33-34, and Lomas (1993), 32-35.

⁵⁸ E.g. Dion. Hal. ant. 19,9,1-19,14,4; App. Samn. 10,1. For a discussion of various terms in literary record for the Italian Greeks, see Intrieri (1987-88), 30-33.

⁵⁹ Strab. 6,3,4.

wide membership. Presumably the federal sanctuary in Herakleia was chosen, at least ostensibly, to advance a broad sense of Italioteness, just as the cult of Hera Lakinia may have been employed earlier in the fourth century. The sanctuary of Demeter at Herakleia had achieved pan-Italiote importance by the fourth century. Moreover, the sanctuary received significant architectural improvements in the fourth century, including the addition of elaborate terraces.⁶⁰ It is plausible that the sanctuary of Demeter served as the new federal sanctuary of the Italiote League when its seat was moved to Herakleia.

Yet there may be another, more cynical reason behind the relocation of the federal sanctuary to Herakleia. Strabo exaggerates when he says that Herakleia was in the territory of Taras, but his claim reflects the reality that Taras had long exercised hegemony over the neighboring states of Herakleia and Metapontion.⁶¹ The transfer of the *panegyris* to Herakleia is surely related at least in part to Tarantine hegemony: the league's assembly met in a place technically out of the hands of the leading state, but within the Tarentine sphere of power and subject to its their influence. Alexander the Molossian was surely trying to break Tarentine domination of the league by moving the assembly place to a Thourioian sanctuary. This underscores how the location of the league's common sanctuary could be exploited to reinforce the authority of the league's hegemonic power rather than to promote unity or integration among member states.⁶²

Over approximately 150 years – from its establishment in the late fifth century, through its growth, dissolution and revival in the early fourth century, to the incorporation of the individual member states into Rome's political-military alliance system in the first half of the third century – the Italiote League evolved, from a small federal organization of Akhaian colonies head by Kroton to a larger, pan-Italiote association under the leadership of Taras. The federal sanctuary of the Italiote League changed as its membership grew and its character was transformed. The earliest form of the league met at the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios, both reflecting and promoting the Achaianness of the original members. When the league became a more inclusive pan-

⁶⁰ De Sensi Sestito (1984), 41-50; Pianu (1989); Lomas (1993), 33, 129-130, and Hansen et al. (2004), 260.

⁶¹ See Fronda (2010), 193-196, 219-223.

⁶² Along these lines, if the Italiote league at some point regularly met in the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, which was within the territory of Kroton, the choice of meeting place no doubt reflected Krotoniate domination of league – and served Kroton's interests – in addition to promoting pan-Italiote identity.

Italiote establishment, a more suitable place for the *panegyris* was found: (perhaps) first the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia, then (definitely) a sanctuary in Herakleia, (perhaps) the sanctuary of Demeter. Such pan-Italiote sanctuaries were better suited for encouraging and strengthening a shared identity among league members. Yet whatever sense of Italioteness there may have been among the member states, its practical effects remained limited. Conflicts between Italiote states were frequent if not endemic, and, as I have argued elsewhere, in some cases grudges and interstate rivalries endured for generations.⁶³ The Tarentines in particular employed non-Greek allies to further their own hegemonic interests, even against other Italiote cities.⁶⁴ Even potentially unifying structures, such as pan-Italiote festivals, could be exploited to serve the interests of the powerful states that dominated the Italiote League and the federal sanctuaries where meetings were held. By the early third century, faced with pressure not only from “barbarians” such as the Brettii and Leucanians, but also from expansionist Italiote neighbors, several Greek cities in southern Italy turned to Rome, willingly or not, for military protection. Ultimately, the Greek cities of southern Italy failed to unify in any meaningful or lasting way, despite the long life of an Italiote league and its several common sanctuaries.

⁶³ For example longstanding interstate rivalry existed between Lokri and Rhegion and between Thourioi and Taras. See Fronda (2010), 183-184, 225-227. See also Fronda (2007).

⁶⁴ See above, note 61.

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