NAMING AND MAPPING THE GODS IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN

SPACES, MOBILITIES, IMAGINARIES

Edited by Thomas Galoppin, Elodie Guillon, Asuman Lätzer-Lasar, Sylvain Lebreton, Max Luaces, Fabio Porzia, Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli, Jörg Rüpke, and Corinne Bonnet

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Volume 1

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Corinne Bonnet, Thomas Galoppin, Elodie Guillon,
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Introduction

Exploring the Intersection between Divine Names and Places

In a world "full of gods",[1] the question "where are the gods?"[2] is at the same time simple and complex.[3] The gods are here, there, anywhere,[4] or even everywhere – but the gods are also invisible, unreachable, ungraspable. This tension is directly related to the ontological ambivalence of the divine entities: they are radically different from the human beings, but they are culturally determined; they are conceived, represented, established in specific locations, and constructed by different kinds of human agency; their existence is closely bound to historical and social factors. Among the latter, names and locations, with the whole set of material evidence they generate, play a salient role. Too often however, because of the growing specialization of knowledge, these two interrelated aspects of "religions" are studied separately. The naming systems are explored and possibly compared by historians of religions, philologists and linguists, while sanctuaries and artefacts are studied by archaeologists and art historians. The principal aim of this book is to promote a dialogue between different approaches to one and the same research question: how did social communities or individuals create the possibility of a communication between the human and the divine spheres? Naming and mapping the gods are two crucial embedded strategies, but how do they intersect and interact? This problem is addressed in the 51 contributions gathered in this book,[5] which bring together multiple disciplines and methods – archaeology, history, history of religions, philology, anthropology, geography, social network analysis – and new or renewed analysis of a large set of evidence from the Mediterranean world, exploring Egypt, the Ancient Near East, the Greek, Roman and Punic worlds. By revisiting the notion of "religious landscape", it engages a reflection on the processes of space appropriation, delimitation, exploitation and organisation that involve the gods.[6] This volume also

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1 Thal., *Testimonia* 22 Diels-Kranz; Pl., *Lg.* X, 899b.

2 Cf. Smith (M.S.) 2016.

3 This volume is an outcome of the MAP project, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 741182, 2017–2023).

4 Cf. Smith (J.Z.) 2003.

5 They were all originally presented at a Conference, held remotely, in February 2021. Our warm thanks go to Mathilde Rieu for her precious help in the preparation of the Congress, and to the members of the Scientific Committee.

6 On the notion of space applied to ancient societies, see Wightman 2007 and, more recently, for the Near East, Mierse 2010, Kamlah 2012 or Hundley 2013. On the concept of "religious landscape",

provides a reassessment on the tools, such as cartography or graphs, which are most suitable to visualize the dynamic deployment of gods and cults in space and their different forms of mobility and connectivity. At the same time, working on the onomastics of the gods show a massive predominance of local designations, related to the lived experience of space. The god on the corner, the protector of the village, the god of the vicinity are figures extremely present in the everyday life, much more than the big international "stars" of the divine system. The parallel investigation on spaces and names is also an opportunity to critically reconsider the exponential amount of scholarship on networks, connectivity, and exchanges, that, in Hans Beck's words, "has altered the landscape in classical studies".[7] He rightly remarks that "few have commented on the limitations of the network paradigm to capture the vertical depths of the lived experience – in power relations, social configurations, cultural expressions, and so forth – that was so characteristic of the Greek city". Such an observation may be extended to many different contexts beyond the Greek world and does not deny the existence of divine mobilities on different scales of spatial reality.

Moreover, a particularly challenging aspect of these issues is that far from being confined to their sanctuaries, the gods are rooted and embedded in the human environment in multiple ways. They "inhabit" towns and rural areas, crossroads, borders and boundaries, forests, mountains and peaks, seas and coastlines, heaven and underground areas, and many other spaces where they permanently or occasionally dwell and act. Equally, they colonise imaginary spaces, described or evoked by different authors, in literary texts or metric inscriptions, which refer, for instance, to the divine entity "who holds the subterranean palace of all Erinyes".[8] In echo to the recent *Unlocking Sacred Landscapes: Spatial Analysis of Ritual and Cult in the Mediterranean*,[9] our approach aims at crossing three main perspectives: first, religion, understood as discourses, ritual and social interactions involving agents, objects and places, informed by the conception and possibility of communication with the gods; secondly, landscapes, which can no longer be approached as simple frameworks, but need to be considered as complex settings hosting multiple religious interactions and reflecting mental representations, between constraints

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see Scheid/Polignac 2010; on the role of sanctuaries as localised, perceived, experienced, and connected spaces, see Alcock/Osborne 1994, Malkin 2011, Brulé 2012, Grand-Clément 2017; see also the conferences "Logistics in Greek sanctuaries. Exploring the Human Experience of Visiting the Gods" (Athens, 13th-16th September 2018); "Sanctuaries and Experience: Knowledge, Practice and Space in the Ancient World" (London, 8th-10th April 2019); "Les sens dans l'espace sacré antique" (Paris, 15th-16th June 2019).

7 Beck 2020, 7.

8 Bonnet, Corinne (dir.), *ERC Mapping Ancient Polytheisms 741182 Database (DB MAP)*, Toulouse, 2017–. https://base-map-polytheisms.huma-num.fr. Testimonies 6358, 6419, 6444, 6489, 6594, 6640, 6732, 6856, 6918, 6936.

9 Papantoniou/Morris/Vionis 2019. See also Papantoniou/Sarris/Morris/Vionis 2020, on the digital humanities perspective.

and opportunities; and finally, material aspects produced, manipulated, moved, used by agents, sometimes endowed with power, which have their own agencies and biographies, and leaving traces.

Inspired by the main goals and achievements of the ERC Advanced Grant project "Mapping Ancient Polytheisms. Cult Epithets as an Interface between Religious Systems and Human Agency" (MAP), this volume addresses the naming processes applied to divine entities as strategies which define, characterise, differentiate, but also connect them. Names and divine onomastic attributes[10] give access to a dynamic and complex "mapping" of the divine, where toponymy and topography, along with genealogies, functions and modes of action point to specific and shared identities within contextual divine configurations. In this perspective, the MAP database (*DB MAP*) offers a robust corpus of data and metadata, gathering all divine onomastic attributes in Greek and West-Semitic epigraphy, between 1000 BCE to 400 CE, now available to the largest audience.[11] Although it is a work in progress with a non-exhaustive coverage of the available edited inscriptions, it already provides a huge quantity of coherent evidence and specifically designed tools to make tailor-made queries and to map them. From these data, it appears that toponyms and topographical elements are massively mobilized in the divine onomastics.[12] They even represent the most frequent kind of onomastic attribute of the gods, with a whole set of slightly different formulations; for example, a god connected with Delphi, mainly Apollo, would be *Delphikos*, *Pythaios*, *Pythios*, *Pythaeus*, *Lord of the rocks of Delphi*, *in Delphi*. All these designations convey different semantic nuances and relate to narratives, images, genealogies. In a nutshell, despite Shakespeare's famous interrogation "What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet",[13] naming the gods by choosing specific onomastic elements to give them a *charis* scent is definitely not a random process. Allusions to spaces, places, locations, settings, and spots provide a huge stock of information, especially when combined with all the Greek and Semitic onomastic attributes registered in the *DB MAP*.[14] Historians of religions could not remain impermeable to the spatial turn which has influenced, directly or indirectly, the whole field of social sciences.[15] Spaces are inextricably linked with time, providing an access to a dynamic study of religious practices, in as much as they constitute two major cognitive coordinates used by people to frame their interactions with the gods. Time and

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10 Bonnet/Bianco/Galoppin/Guillon/Laurent/Lebreton/Porzia 2018.

11 Bonnet, Corinne (dir.), *ERC Mapping Ancient Polytheisms 741182 Database (DB MAP)*, Toulouse, 2017–. https://base-map-polytheisms.huma-num.fr. See Lebreton/Bonnet 2019.

12 See also Smith (M.S.) 2016; Parker 2017.

13 *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene 2.

14 Which amount to approximately 3000 for almost 14000 onomastic sequences attested in the epigraphic documentation in March 2022.

15 Torre 2008.

space determine and are affected by evolutions, transformations, destructions, forms of resilience, which constantly reshape the human-divine communication. Here is the background of the three main directions followed in this volume.

Naming and Locating the Gods: Space as a Divine Onomastic Attribute

The abundance of spatial onomastic attributes requires an in-depth analysis of the geographical lexicon mobilized in this context, both from a morphological, syntactical, and semantic point of view. What do these designations say about the link between the gods and the locations attached to their name? When Melqart is called "the one who is in charge of the rock" (*'l ḥṣr*), what does that mean precisely? The Phoenician word for "rock" is *ṣr*, which is also the name of the city of Tyre. The allusion to the "rock" refers to the actual reefs that Tyrian sailors may encounter during their travels in the Mediterranean, but it also conveys the memory of the birth of Tyre, when Melqart fixed two wandering rocks and made them habitable for the Tyrians. A similar interpretation can be given for the title "Baal/Lord of Tyre" (*b'l ṣr*), but do the first and the second onomastic sequences differ in their semantic scope, like *Delphikos*, *Pythaios*, *Pythios*, *Pythaeus*, *Lord of the rocks of Delphi*, *in Delphi* mentioned above? Spatial onomastic attributes may express spaces of different qualities and scales, and follow different spatial dynamics; they also sometimes implicitly or explicitly refer to ritual practices and/or to agents involved in them. They can shed a significant light on a debated issue, the so-called *polis religion*, and the connection between politics and religion. Beyond binary oppositions between local and global, it is imperative to rethink the embeddedness of cults and the *polis* structure.[16] The obvious pre-eminence of the *polis* in religious affairs does not imply that the civic life and/or scale mediated the entire scope of relations between the citizens and the gods. The local imprinting on cultic practices (naming, mapping, sacrificing, etc.) involves many agents, collective and individuals, public and private so to say, and it does not exclude the recourse to regional, transregional, panhellenic, or multicultural paradigms. The dichotomy between local and global can be a limit to a better understanding of these phenomena; and a new scenario, in which strands of religious representations and agency intertwined and entangled idiosyncratic and multiscalar paradigms, could give additional results. On the other hand, the city is not the only space permeated by the gods' presence: multiple and varied words, often problematic, between emic and etic perspective, refer to the gods' abode, like "tophet", "saint of saints", "adyton"

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16 Cf. Beck 2020.

or "alsos", not to forget the notion of "sacred", inherited from the phenomenological school of religions, which suggests a clear-cut separation between divine and human spaces. The terminology used to define the spaces devoted to the gods is an important epistemological stake which has rarely been the object of a reflexive approach among historians of religion and archaeologists. A comparative perspective suggests the need to reassess this pivotal issue with greater flexibility, and to provide definitions and categories which are more suited to the complex inscriptions of divine powers in space.

Mapping the Divine: Presenting Gods into Space

Another core issue is how correlated names and spaces contribute to the configuration of divine entities, especially to their "presentification",[17] corporeality, and embodiment.[18] To answer the question raised in his 2016 book *Where the gods are*, Mark Smith explores "the spatial dimension of anthropomorphism in the biblical world". "Where the gods are" basically requires an investigation on "How the gods are": how do they occupy a spatial dimension, be it terrestrial, celestial, subterranean, or cosmic? How do their images, anthropomorphic or not, contribute to giving form to their presence? Names and spaces both contribute to shaping divine "bodies",[19] material or literary, which, despite or due to their otherness, create the conditions for an interaction between humans and gods. Mark Smith distinguishes three types of divine bodies in his book: the "natural" or "physical body", which is the portrayal of a god recurring to human, animal or other physical elements in order to picture agency, in discourses and images; the "liturgical body", related to the sacerdotal and temple embodiment of a god, with or without a material image, and the "cosmic" or "mystic body", the largest scale of divine manifestation, which refers to the very universe itself. For each body, interrelated names and spaces produce a cognitive signal, which builds a certain indexical knowledge on the gods and helps situating the gods in relation to each other, on a mental map, whose main characteristic is fluidity and flexibility.

To give an example, the onomastic sequence "Artemis Ephesia" designates a goddess venerated in Ephesus and whose origin is part of her identity. She has a close relation to the city and its inhabitants. She dwells *there*. In her worldwide famous sanctuary, she was "embodied" through a typical image, which became an "index" of her presence,[20] profile, and story: the image is at the same time a kind of

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17 On that notion, see Vernant 1996.
18 On this topic, see Bonnet/Bianco/Galoppin/Guillon/Laurent/Lebreton/Porzia 2019.
19 Belayche/Pirenne-Delforge 2015.
20 Gell 1998.

iconographic narrative on the goddess, and an object that played a role in the ritual. Since the Artemis Ephesia moved and was adopted in different places all over the Mediterranean, her "official" name and her "official" image travel together, as tokens of her prestigious origin. In Marseille (Phocaea/Massalia) the onomastic and iconographic attributes of Artemis Ephesia were both local and global, driven by communal strategies of distinction, competition, and spatial hierarchy. Connected spaces and times were expressed in her name, as well as in the ritual since a priestess from Asia Minor was in charge of the cult performed according to ancestral standards. The paradoxical nature of the divine body and the complexity of its inscription in different spatial dimensions are reflected in the naming practices, with a whole set of nuances and variations. The propensity of the gods, with their multiple names, to be ubiquitous (in Ephesus and Phocaea for Artemis Ephesia, in Tyre, Tharros and Ibiza for Melqart) raises the tricky question of the articulation between uniqueness and plurality of gods.

Gods and Cities: Urban Religion, Sanctuaries and the Emergence of Towns

Although the world is full of gods, it seems that peculiar landscapes, specific spatial configurations or even particular constructions attract some gods or groups of gods. How did the ancient societies put gods and places in equation, and how did they express this kind of elective affinities in divine designations? The opposition between gods of the "nature" and others considered as "civic" or "urban" is questioned in the following pages. On the one hand, the "Urban Religion" project conducted in Erfurt shows that the town, defined by its topographical/physical density, its social and ethnical diversity, provides specific settings for religious action, interaction and innovation.[21] Considering that "space is condition, medium and outcome of social relations", Jörg Rüpke claims that city-space engineered the major changes that affected religions and played a decisive role in the development of intermittent and multiple religious identities as forms of urbanity. Collective religious identities and religious plurality, triggered by migration to and between cities, had an impact on the multiple equations between names and places. The case of the Mother of the Gods, a foreign and ancestral deity, named "Cybele", "Mother of the Gods" (*Mater deum*), "Great Mother" (*Mater Magna*), "Great Idaean Mother of the Gods" (*Mater Deum Magna Idaea*), etc., and established in different areas of Rome illustrates the multifaceted religious environment of the *Vrbs*.[22] On the other hand, the

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21 Rüpke 2020.
22 Van Haeperen 2019.

(re)foundation of sanctuaries and the emergence of towns feed a powerful dialectic: the presence of gods in given landscapes can also give birth to cities and lead to urbanisation of landscapes.[23] From this perspective, while it is clear that urban environments are subject to frequent developments, changes, re-appropriations and redefinitions, they remain in close relation with non-urban areas and welcome divine entities connected with "natural" landscapes, such as Nymphs, Fauns, Silens, or the god Pan. Despite their elective affinity with mountains, groves or springs, these divine powers are not confined to natural spaces and find their way in different spaces, even in the very heart of the cities and at the imperial court, for what concerns Pan, cherished by Augustus. Beyond the opposition between urban and rural areas, each *polis* can be seen as "a tapestry of localities that were both malleable and permeable, stitched together into a convoluted 'space syntax' ".[24] In other words, countrysides do participate to the urban spatial identity and dynamic: physical space both segregates and aggregates. The polyphony of gods and names thus shaped different horizons of social and spatial communication. The triangulation between names, spaces and gods is a key-aspect within the social dimension of the "religions in the making",[25] both polytheistic and monotheistic.

The present book attempts to reconstruct religious action as a social practice that is sensitive to the variety of locations and creative of polysemic designations echoing the gods' spatial dimensions. The MAP database, among other tools, shows that body of evidence for this endeavour is fragmented, and yet, overwhelming at the same time. We all know that continued stories are impossible when it comes to ancient history. As random and incomplete as it is, and with regards to space and time distinctiveness, the evidence enables to propose a consistent image, if not a full picture of the interactions between men and gods in the ancient Mediterranean world. The numerous and original case-studies collected here provide stimulating insights on names, spaces and their interactions, within an ample and transdisciplinary – yet not exhaustive – overview of ancient Mediterranean religious practices. They invite us to move between global and local points of view, between short-term and long-term perspectives, if we want to experiment with names and spaces of the divine. Both names and spaces fuel ordinary as well as extraordinary experiences, representations and knowledge of gods and goddesses, and both store memories of past and present times.

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23 See *e.g.* Agusta-Boularot/Huber/Van Andringa 2017.
24 Beck 2020, 31.
25 For an application to urban contexts, Rüpke 2020.

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1 Naming and Locating the Gods: Space as a Divine Onomastic Attribute

1.1 Egypt and Near East

Giuseppina Lenzo

The Names of Osiris in the Litany of the So-Called Spell 141/142 of the *Book of the Dead* in Ancient Egypt

1 Names and Designations of Gods in Ancient Egyptian Litanies

In ancient Egypt, the names of the gods are regularly followed by a series of epithets. This is particularly true of hymns and litanies in which the different functions of a god are repeated many times.[1] Hymns appear in a wide variety of media, written upon papyri, on the walls of temples, on the walls of tombs, on stelae, on ostraca, on coffins, or on statues. They are usually dedicated to a single god described through its main functions – most commonly through periphrases. As for the litanies of gods, which were also integrated into hymns,[2] they appear in lists with the name of one or more deities followed by a geographic indication or a function.[3] In cultic contexts, these litanies could be copied onto different media such as walls of temples or papyri and used during the performance of rituals. These texts are also attested in funerary contexts, used for the deceased. Litanies were written on papyri, coffins, stelae, or walls of tombs.[4] Litanies are first attested in writing in the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts*, the oldest Egyptian funerary texts that were put in writing during the reign of Unas (5th Dynasty, ca. 2400 BCE). They consist of formulas that help the deceased on his or her journey to the afterlife. For example, spell PT 601 can be considered a precursor to the

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1 For a list of hymns in ancient Egypt, see Barucq/Daumas 1980; Assmann 1999; Knigge 2006; Knigge Salis *et al.* 2013, 145–272. For a definition of hymns in ancient Egypt, see recently Luft 2018, 362–378.
2 See for example P. Greenfield (P. BM EA 10554, 21st Dynasty), which contains what Assmann (1969, 23) has defined as a "liturgical appendix," containing both hymns and litanies. It corresponds to sheets 64–78 of the papyrus (see Lenzo forthcoming). For examples of hymns with long lists of deities, see also Budde 2011, 4.
3 On litanies, see Schott 1955; Assmann 1980; Quack 2000.
4 The transition of texts from cultic contexts in temples to funerary contexts in liturgies for the dead is well attested in Egypt, especially during the second half of the 1st millennium BCE. Among the literature on the topic, see for example Backes/Dieleman 2015; Vuilleumier 2016; Smith 2019.

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litanies, as it contains a list of names of gods followed by geographic indications coupled with other sentences.[5] Litanies of divine names consisting of short sentences in more or less long lists are well attested since the New Kingdom (1550–1069 BCE) and are present until the Roman period.

A common litany for the gods is found in the *wdnw* (i.e., "offerings" or "litany of offerings"), in which the names of gods are listed in columns of texts.[6] These lists often follow the same general structure:

- a title which can differ from one text to another;
- the indication that it is a *wdn* "offering" or *wdnw* "offerings," but this term is not always present;
- the preposition *n* "to, for" followed by the name of the god. The preposition can be repeated before each name of the god or at the beginning of each column, with a distributive value for all the names. When the singular *wdn* is used, the form *wdn n* "offering to/for" is often repeated before each name of god;
- the indication that it is for a god "in all his names" (*m rnw⸗f nbw*).

In these lists, many localized forms of the same god appear, with the most commonly attested ones corresponding to what J. Assmann called a "Kulttopographie".[7] J. Assmann also highlighted the fact that this kind of litany was often accompanied by an offering of incense, such as in the temple Amun at Luxor (ancient Thebes), which contains a long litany of 124 forms of Amun-Ra. The litany begins with, "censing to Amun-Ra, king of the gods, in all his names" (*ỉrt snṯr n Ỉmn-Rꜥ nsw nṯrw m rnw⸗f nbw*), and is accompanied by a scene in which the Pharaoh Ramses II makes an incense offering.[8]

This kind of *wdnw* litany was thus part of a ritual performed in the framework of the offerings to the gods, probably first attested in temples.[9] Yet, most attestations of these litanies are found in funerary contexts: in this way, it allowed the deceased to benefit from the offerings for the gods.

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5 Allen 2005, 199–200 (P 582); Mathieu 2018, 600–601 (TP 601).

6 Lists of entities, species, or toponyms are very common in Egypt. See for example Gardiner 1947; Hoffmann, 2015.

7 Assmann 1980, 1062.

8 Daressy 1910, 62–68; K*RI* II, 622–627. A similar scene was also engraved in the shrine of Philippos Arrhidaeus in Karnak, see Thiers 2020, 40–41, n[os] 70–71. Other litanies for gods in temples appear in the Ramesseum: a litany for Ra-Horakhty and another one for Ptah and Sekhmet (K*RI* II, 657–661).

9 As suggested by Quack 2000, 83–87. As highlighted by Smith 2019, 14, the first attestation in one context does not indicate that it was its first use.

2 The Litany of the So-Called Spell 141/142 of the *Book of the Dead*

Presentation and Content of the So-Called Spell 141/142

Among the litanies, the so-called "spell 141/142" of the *Book of the Dead* is particularly important. The *Book of the Dead* is a collection of about 200 spells or formulas whose main goal was to help the deceased in their journey in the underworld. Found in tombs and written on papyri or other media (coffins, walls, objects, etc.), the *Book of the Dead* was used as a funerary text for about 1500 years: from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period (1550–30 BCE). As spells were not always identical from one document to another, a choice was often made to highlight the most important themes for the journey of the deceased at a particular point.

Spell 141/142 (or BD 141/142) is very interesting for various reasons: (1) it furnishes an important number of denominations for Osiris as well as other divine entities; (2) it is used in different spaces and contexts, both within the tomb and the temple; (3) it is often accompanied with vignettes which represents the deity evoked; and, (4) the spell appears in texts over a long period of time, enabling researchers to follow the evolution of the formula.

According to the database of the *Totenbuch-Projekt*, spell 141/142 is attested about 125 times throughout all periods[10] – from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period – mostly on papyri. It is difficult to be more precise because the spell is most often registered in the database without the inclusion of spell 142. As a result, the final number cannot been obtained without examining each occurrence in detail. In any case, spells 141 and 142 were taken as a single spell during the New Kingdom (1550–1069 BCE) and the Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 BCE). They were divided into two distinct spells during the Late and Ptolemaic Periods (664–30 BCE), at which time each formula had its own title.[11] Indeed, the second part of the spell – which corresponds to BD 142 – was concentrated on the names of Osiris, which explains why it was considered a separate spell from at least the 26th Dynasty onwards. The separation of the spell into two distinctive formulas occurred when the spells of the *Book of the Dead* were reorganized – a period that scholars refer to as the "Saite" redaction or recension.[12] The two spells then adopted two titles, as in the papyrus of Iahtesnakht (P. Cologne Inv. Nr. 10207) from the 26th Dynasty, for example:[13]

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10 http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/. This database registered all the occurrences of *Book of the Dead* spells written on objects and all kind of media (i.e., papyri, tombs, coffins, mummy bandages, etc.).

11 See Mosher 2020, 403–466 for spell 141 and 467–546 for spell 142.

12 On the *Book of the Dead* in this period, see Quack 2009; Mosher 2016, 1–37.

13 Published by Verhoeven 1993.

– Title of BD 141 (col. 67,11–15):[14]

"[67,11] <u>Papyrus-roll for</u> making the *ba* excellent, knowing the names of the gods of the southern sky and the northern sky, the gods that are in the necropolis and the gods who guide the underworld. <u>(Papyrus-roll) that a man performed for his father</u> [67,12] <u>or his son the day of the festivals of the West.</u> <u>He makes (it) excellent on the heart of</u> Ra, on the heart of the gods. <u>He will be with them.</u>

What is said on the day of the festival of the new moon by Osiris N.[15]

[67,13] <u>Offerings are for him such as bread, beer, cattle, birds, roasted meat, incense on the flame.</u> [67,14] <u>Papyrus-roll for</u> [67,15] <u>the offerings to</u> Osiris in all his names, given to Osiris N., to Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, four times."[16]

– Title of BD 142 (col. 68b,9–10):

"[68b,9] <u>Another papyrus-roll for making</u> a transfigured one <u>excellent</u>, knowing the names of [68b,10] Osiris in all his places his *ka* likes."[17]

The first title begins by clearly explaining the importance of knowing the names (*rnw*) of all the gods (gods in the sky, in the necropolis, and in the underworld). It continues by indicating that the ritual was performed for the ancestors ("for his father or his son"; other versions include "his mother", see P. Louvre E 6258 below) during the festival of the West, the West being the domain of Osiris where the deceased were buried. The gods were satisfied by the ritual performance and allowed the deceased to join them. The ritual had to be recited during the festival of the new moon by offering *wdnw* to the deceased owner of the papyrus and to Osiris. The title adds that it was for "Osiris in all his names" and includes the most common epithets for Osiris: "foremost of the Westerners" (i.e., the dead) and "lord of Abydos" (i.e., the most important centre for the cult of Osiris). It finishes with the indication that it must be performed "four times." After the title, a long list of the different divine entities who benefit from the offerings appears. The number of gods can vary between versions; in this papyrus there are 54.[18]

The title of BD 142 is much shorter. The indication "another papyrus-roll" clearly implies that it was known as a continuation of BD 141, even if separated from it by the addition of this title that did not exist during the prior periods (New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period). The title focuses on the importance of knowing the

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14 Underlined text in these translations indicates that the original is written in red.

15 N. indicates "name" (i.e., the name of the deceased, owner of the papyrus).

16 For the text, see http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Totenbuch/PK10207-23.jpg and German translation in Verhoeven 1993, I, 265.

17 For the text, see http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Totenbuch/PK10207-23.jpg and German translation in Verhoeven 1993, I, 267.

18 For other versions in Late and Ptolemaic periods, see Mosher 2020, 403–466. We thank M. Mosher for sharing with us this material.

names (*rnw*) of Osiris "in all his places his *ka* likes," that is, in all possible places the god wishes to be. A list of the different forms of Osiris are also indicated, mostly with local designations. In some cases, names of other deities, such as Isis, Horus, and Anubis, are added at the end of the list. In the papyrus of Iahtesnakht, 108 forms of Osiris are mentioned, as well as the names of 40 other deities. As for spell 141, the number can differ from one version to another.

Other Litanies Parallel to Spell 141/142

Besides the presence of this litany in the *Book of the Dead*, the text is attested in other contexts:
- Other funerary texts which do not exactly correspond to spell 141/142, such as the *Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth* (scene 59 C).[19]
- Funerary papyri and other cultic texts that would have originally been used in temples: P. Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (papyrus of the 30th Dynasty or beginning of the Ptolemaic Period)[20] and the ritual for the Festival of Khoiak of Osiris in P. Louvre N 3176 S (Roman Period).[21]
- On walls of temples of the New Kingdom: the Osireion in Abydos (Sethi I, 19th Dynasty)[22] and the temple of Medinet Habu in the context of the Festival of Sokar (Ramses III, 20th Dynasty).[23]
- In papyri with ritual usage in temples, such as the list of names of Osiris, pharaohs, queens, and princesses in P. Turin Cat. 1877 (Ramses II),[24] the *Book of Hours* (P. BM EA 10569, Late Period),[25] or the litany in P. Giessen University Library Papyrus no 115 (end of Ptolemaic Period or early Roman Period).[26]
- A variant of the spell is also present in ritual papyri in demotic such as P. Berlin P. 6750 and P. Berlin P. 8765 of the Roman Period which gathers many liturgies.[27]

These versions all contain lists of the name of Osiris based on a similar model as the one used for BD 141/142. In some cases, variations in the names of Osiris appears, but also in the addition of other major deities, such as Sokar and Ptah. Indeed, some of

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19 Otto 1960, I, p. 154–155, II, 134–135.
20 Quack 2000.
21 Published by Barguet 1962, see more recent observations by Coulon 2021, 176–179.
22 Murray 1904, pl. IX.
23 *Medinet Habu* IV, pl. 221–222.
24 Pleyte, Rossi, 1869–1876, 22–24, pl. XI–XIII, see https://papyri.museoegizio.it/o/200935. The publication of the papyrus is currently in preparation by G. Lenzo.
25 Faulkner 1958a.
26 Faulkner 1958b.
27 Widmer 2015, in particular 67–71, 99–111, 194–244. A list of demotic sources is in Quack 2000, 77, n. 18.

these texts were used during rituals performed in temples, most notably the Festival of Sokar (the god of the Memphite necropolis with whom Osiris was frequently associated).

Furthermore, other litanies to Osiris or to other deities are engraved on temple walls from the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (e.g., the temples of Esna,[28] Edfu, and Dendara). Names of Osiris and/or other gods are also attested in other rituals. They were copied for funerary usage but they were first used in temples, such as the *Ritual for Bringing Sokar out of the Shrine*[29] or the litany in the P. Princeton Pharaonic Roll 10.[30] Epithets of Osiris were also written in the Osirian catacombs in Karnak.[31]

The different contexts in which spell 141/142 appears was first highlighted by G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen in their 1969 study on the Festival of Sokar – providing evidence for the use of this spell.[32] In a subsequent study on the same festival, J.-Cl. Goyon remarked on the liturgical origin of this spell.[33] In 1973, in the framework of the publication of the tomb of Basa (TT 389),[34] J. Assmann reflected on spell 141/142 and its associations with spell 148, which allow the deceased and the god both benefit from the offerings in the lists as a "kultische Rezitation".[35] More recently, J. F. Quack questioned the notion of this spell as a "litany," highlighting its use in a funerary papyrus whose texts were probably first used in cultic places.[36]

The association of BD 141/142 with spell 148 has also been made by A. Niwiński. The main goal of BD 148 was to provide the deceased with offerings with the help of seven cows, a bull, and four oars representing the four cardinal points.[37] These entities are also cited in spell 141/142, which further reinforces the link between them. Furthermore, spell 148 was also found in a temple context.[38]

This short survey of the sources showing the presence of texts with similar content in different context explains why the appellation "spell 141/142 of the *Book of the Dead*" is misleading, especially considering the numerous versions and the evolution of the litany.[39] The classification with a number (141/142) is practical but is not representative of a single text whose use was very fluid.

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28 Derchain-Urtel 1997; Leitz 2008.

29 Gill 2019, 85, 315–328.

30 Vuilleumier 2016, 435–446.

31 About the 360 (or 365) epithets of Osiris present in Karnak, but also in other contexts, see Coulon 2008, 81–82.

32 Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 4, n. 2.

33 Goyon 1978.

34 Assmann 1973, 89.

35 Assmann 1973, 90.

36 Quack 2000.

37 For the association of BD 141/142 and BD 148, see Niwiński 2009.

38 See the list in von Lieven 2012.

39 A complete study of all these versions is still to be done, a project on this topic directed by L. Coulon and G. Lenzo is in preparation.

3 The Names of Osiris in Spell 141/142: the Version in P. Louvre E 6258

This study examines the names of Osiris in spell 141/142 in a specific papyrus. This is necessary because a detailed study of every version of spell 141/142 and the variants in each recension would require a much longer study taking into account the many versions both in funerary and cultic contexts.[40]

The papyrus examined here belonged to Queen Nedjmet of the 21st Dynasty (ca. 1050 BCE). The papyrus was found in elicit excavations of the "Royal Cachette of Deir el-Bahari" (TT 320) in Thebes and was sold sometime in the 1870s, before being officially discovered in 1881.[41] The papyrus was cut and sold in three parts: the first part is currently kept at the British Museum (P. BM EA 10541), the middle section was in Munich (ÄS 825) but was destroyed during the Second World War, while the last part – which contains spell 141/142 – is at the Louvre (P. Louvre E 6258).[42]

There were several reasons for choosing this papyrus as an example for spell 141/142: it contains an extensive sample of Osiris' names, giving us an idea of the use of the names of the god, especially in the geographical context; it is an important clue to the textual evolution of the spell because of its composition after the New Kingdom but before the reorganization of the spell into two separate parts (i.e., spells 141 and 142);[43] and, it is accompanied by illustrations that depict different deities.

In P. Louvre E 6258, spell 141/142 is written inside two chapels positioned one upon the other. There are corniche on each shrine as well as doors at each extremity of the shrine (Fig. 1). Each shrine contains the names of 58 deities, one per column:

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40 We are very grateful to Vincent Rondot, director of the *Département des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre* for the authorization to publish this part of the papyrus, all our thanks are due to him as well as to Audrey Viger, *chargée de la photographie au Département des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre*, for her precious help in the obtention of the photograph.
41 On the different "Cachettes" in the Theban area, see the various articles in Sousa, Amenta, Cooney 2021. The Royal Cachette was initially the tomb of the High Priests of Amun of the 21st Dynasty and their families; later, mummies of king and queens of the New Kingdom buried in the Valley of the Kings were moved in this tomb by the priests of Amun.
42 For a presentation of the papyrus, see Lenzo 2010.
43 Another textual version critical to understand the evolution of the spell is certainly P. Greenfield (P. BM EA 10554, 21st Dynasty). This papyrus probably contains the version of BD 141/142 with the majority of divine names and it presents two versions of the spell: the first version has 185 names of gods (col. 35a,1–36c,24), while the second version shows 249 names (col. 93,11–94e,39). Because of the considerable number of gods, it would not have been suitable to take it as an example in this article. On the papyrus, see Lenzo forthcoming.
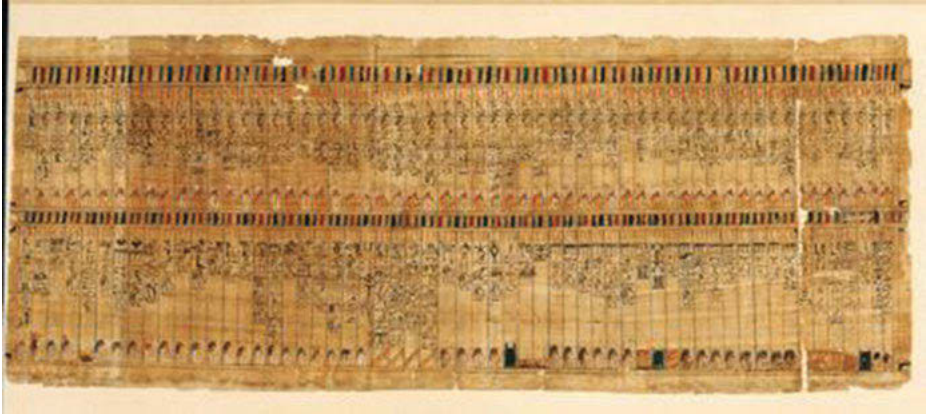
Fig. 1: Spell 141/142 in P. Louvre E 6258. © 2005 Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Georges Poncet.

the shrine of the upper part is only consecrated to the names of Osiris – corresponding to BD 142 (Tab. 1) – while the lower shrine contains a list of divine entities typical of BD 141. (Tab. 2) Each divine name is written on a column that ends with the representation of the deity invoked. In this version, each deity is introduced by "o" (in red) followed by the name of the deity, so that they are all clearly invoked one after another.

In the last two columns of the preceding frame, before the shrines, we can see the title of the spell on sheet P. Louvre E 6258:[44]

mḏꜣt ꜣḫw ỉr m ḥrt-nṯr s (n) ỉt≠f mwt≠f r-pw m ḥb ỉmntt sỉqr ꜣḫ (?) ḥr (ỉb) [2] *Rꜥ ḥr(y)-ỉb nṯrw wnn ḥnꜥ-sn ḏdwt hrw n ḥb ỉn Wsỉr (mwt-nsw Nḏmt)| mꜣꜥ ḫrw*

"Papyrus-roll of transfigurations performed in the necropolis (by) a man (for) his father or his mother on the festival of the West. Making the transfigured one excellent on (the heart) of [2] Ra in the middle of the gods. Being with them. What is said on the day of the festival by Osiris, the (king's mother Nedjmet)| justified."

This title differs slightly from the version indicated above and the offerings are not mentioned, but the lists that follows are typical of spell 141/142. (Tab. 1 and 2).

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44 For the hieroglyphic text, see the photo of the papyrus on https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010379049.

Tab. 1: Translation of the first row (shrine of the upper part, spell 142).

Spell 142	Remarks[45]
[1] *ỉ Wsỉr Wn-nfr* [1] O Osiris Wennefer	Wennefer (Onnophris in the Grecized form) is a well-known name for a form of Osiris, which literally means, "the one who exists, being perfect." Most often, the name Wennefer appears after the name of Osiris, but it also appears alone or with other epithets (see *LGG* II, 375–378). Different forms of Osiris-Wennefer are found in the Osirian Chapels of Karnak, see Coulon 2016; Coulon, Hallman, Payraudeau 2018.
[2] *ỉ Wsỉr nb ʿnḫ Wsỉr ʿnḫty* [2] O Osiris lord of life, Osiris Ankhty	In this spell, these two names of Osiris are usually separated in two lines. The scribe may have condensed the names into one line because of the similarity between "life" (*ʿnḫ*) and "the living one" (*ʿnḫty, LGG* II, 169) – a lack of space can also explain this grouping. A chapel of Osiris Neb-ankh is attested in Karnak, see Coulon 2016; Coulon, Hallman, Payraudeau 2018.
[3] *ỉ Wsỉr nb r ḏr* [3] O Osiris lord of all	Lord of all is a common epithet for many major deities (*LGG* III, 795–797).
[4] *ỉ Wsỉr ḫnt(y) G33* [4] O Osiris foremost of Gaa	Gaa is an unknown location, unattested in the common version of the text. The word could be understood as, *g3ỉt* "chapel, shrine" (*Wb* V, 150, 1–4).
[5] *ỉ Wsỉr s3ḥ* [5] O Osiris Orion	A common designation for Orion, often associated with Osiris (*LGG* II, 561).
[6] *ỉ Wsỉr s3w* [6] O Osiris the protector	Epithet used for different deities (*LGG* VI, 125–126).
[7] *ỉ Wsỉr ḫn(ty) wnnt* [7] O Osiris foremost of the *wenet*-sanctuary	*wnt* is a general term for sanctuary (*Wb* I, 315, 1; *LGG* V, 797).
[8] *ỉ Wsỉr (m) Mḥ-nt* [8] O Osiris (in) the North Chapel	The North Chapel is a designation of the chapel of Osiris in the temple of the goddess Neith in Sais (*Wb* II, 126, 9; *LGG* II, 547). Usually, there is the counterpart "Osiris in the South Chapel," which is absent in this papyrus.

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45 These remarks are very general and meant to help the reader; a deeper analysis considering all the variants is still to be done, as already indicated above. Unlike for the second row, we have not indicated who is the god represented at the end of each column, because in each case it is a seated Osiris wearing the white crown.

Tab. 1 (continued)

Spell 142	Remarks
[9] *ỉ Wsỉr nbw ḥḥ* [9] O Osiris, gold of the millions	Epithet used for different deities (*LGG* III, 703–704).
[10] *ỉ Wsỉr Bȝ(t)-(R)pyt* [10] O Osiris Ba(t)-(R)epyt	Association with another divine entity – Ba(t)-(R)epyt – whose function is not clear (*LGG* II, 736).
[11] *ỉ Wsỉr-Ptḥ nb ʿnḫ* [11] O Osiris-Ptah lord of life	Association with Ptah, a major deity (*LGG* II, 546). A chapel dedicated to the form "Osiris-Ptah lord of life" is attested in Karnak, see Coulon 2016; Coulon, Hallman, Payraudeau 2018.
[12] *ỉ Wsỉr ḫnty R-stȝw* [12] O Osiris foremost of Rosetau	Rosetau is the necropolis, so the presence of Osiris is understandable as the god who oversees the dead. It also explains why there are various epithets constructed with Rosetau (see below 31, 32 and 43). Additionally, the title "foremost of Rosetau" is frequently used with other deities (*LGG* V, 826).
[13] *ỉ Wsỉr ḥr(y)-ỉb ḫȝst⸗f* [13] O Osiris in the middle of his desert	Usually, the epithet is "the one who is the middle of the desert," without the possessive. In any case, this epithet is commonly attributed to both Osiris and Horus (*LGG* V, 343).
[14] *ỉ Wsỉr m ʿnḏty* [14] O Osiris in Andjty	Andjty is both the designation of the 9th nome of Lower Egypt, whose capital was Busiris, as well as a god of Busiris. The god is in fact a form of Osiris (*LGG* II, 175–176). In this example two translations are grammatically possible: "Osiris in Andjty" as well as "Osiris as Andjty." We suggest reading the preposition *m* as "in" + geographical place here (see below), that is the first option.
[15] *ỉ Wsỉr m Sḥty* [15] O Osiris in Sehety	The toponym Sehety may be situated to the South of Memphis (21st nome of Upper Egypt, see Yoyotte 1963, 101–106) or it is a variant of Heseret, the necropolis of Hermopolis (*LGG* II, 556).
[16] *ỉ Wsỉr m Sȝwty* [16] O Osiris in Assiut	Assiut is a well-known toponym in Middle Egypt (on this form of Osiris, see *LGG* II, 561).
[17] *ỉ Wsỉr m Nḏf(t)* [17] O Osiris in Nedjef(et)	Nedjefet is a toponym situated in the 13th or 14th nome of Upper Egypt (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 205). On this form of Osiris, see *LGG* II, 550.
[18] *ỉ Wsỉr m rsy* [18] O Osiris in the South	A vague geographical indication (*LGG* II, 551).
[19] *ỉ Wsỉr m P* [19] O Osiris in Pe	Buto is a well-known town in Lower Egypt (*LGG* II, 544).
[20] *ỉ Wsỉr m Nṯrw* [20] O Osiris in Netjeru	Behbeit el-Hagar, center for a cult to Isis in the Delta (*LGG* II, 549).

Tab. 1 (continued)

Spell 142	Remarks
[21] *ỉ Wsỉr m Sꜣw* [21] O Osiris in Sais	Sais, well known town in the Delta (*LGG* II, 560).
[22] *ỉ Wsỉr m bỉk* [22] O Osiris in the city of the falcon	The precise location of the city of the falcon is unknown (*LGG* II, 543). The preposition *m* can also be read as, "as" ("Osiris as the falcon"), because other versions omit *m* ("Osiris the falcon"), an epithet also present in demotic document according to *LGG* II, 543.
[23] *ỉ Wsỉr m Wnw* [23] O Osiris in Wenu	Hermopolis is a well-known town in Middle Egypt (*LGG* II, 542).
[24] *ỉ Wsỉr m Rꜣ-Ḥnnt* [24] O Osiris in Ro-Henen	Illahun in the Fayum (*LGG* II, 550, see also Quack 2000, 78).
[25] *ỉ Wsỉr m ꜥpr* [25] O Osiris in Aper	There are two different possibilities for the location Aper: a sanctuary for Osiris, maybe at the North of Memphis or a place in the funerary context (*LGG* II, 539).
[26] *ỉ Wsỉr m Qfnw* [26] O Osiris in Qefenu	Qefenu is an unknown locality (*LGG* II, 565).
[27] *ỉ Wsỉr m Skr-Pḏ-š ẖnty nỉwt⸗f* [27] O Osiris in Sokar-Pedj-she, foremost of his city	Sokar-Pedj-she is an unknown toponym (*LGG* II, 564), the addition of "foremost of his city" seems to be a unique addition in this papyrus.
[28] *ỉ Wsỉr m Psgkr* [28] O Osiris in Pesegeker.	Pesegeker is an unknown toponym. On this form of Osiris, see *LGG* II, 545.
[29] *ỉ Wsỉr m st⸗f ỉmy(t) Tꜣ-mḥ* [29] O Osiris in his place in Lower Egypt	This may be a reference to the major cultic center in the Delta, (i.e., Busiris) or it may more generally indicate a form of Osiris in Lower Egypt. His parallel form, "Osiris in his place in Upper Egypt," may also appear in the spell (*LGG* II, 559).
[30] *ỉ Wsỉr m st⸗f ỉmy(t) pt* [30] O Osiris in his place in the sky	With this title, Osiris is also present in the sky.
[31] *ỉ Wsỉr m st⸗f ỉmy(t) R-sṯꜣw* [31] O Osiris in his place in Rosetau	For an unknown reason, the scribe has repeated the same epithet twice. The association of Osiris with the necropolis (Roseteau) is well attested, but he is usually "foremost of Rosetau" (see number 12 above).
[32] *ỉ Wsỉr m st⸗f ỉmy(t) R-sṯꜣw* [32] O Osiris in his place in Rosetau	
[33] *ỉ Wsỉr m Nsty* [33] O Osiris in Nesty (in the Two Thrones?)	Nesty is an unknown toponym. Some occurrences register "Osiris in Nedjesty" (see P. Greenfield 35e,12). *LGG* (II, 550) wonders if it is a toponym but decides that it has been changed to "Osiris an den beiden Thronsitzen".

Tab. 1 (continued)

Spell 142	Remarks
[34] *ỉ Wsỉr m Ỉtfȝ-wr* [34] O Osiris in Itefa-wer	Itefa-wer is a locality near Heliopolis where a sanctuary of Osiris was located, but its exact position is unknown (Goyon 1967, 133, n. 210; El-Banna 1989, 108).
[35] *ỉ Wsỉr Skr* [35] O Osiris-Sokar	The association of Osiris with Sokar is well attested (*LGG* II, 563–564).
[36] *ỉ Wsỉr ḥqȝ ḏt* [36] O Osiris ruler of eternity	A chapel of Osiris Heka-djet is present in Karnak, see Coulon 2016; Coulon, Hallman, Payraudeau 2018. The title is quite common and can be used for many deities, see *LGG* V, 531–532.
[37] *ỉ Wsỉr wt(y)* [37] O Osiris the begetter	Epithet for Osiris, but also for other deities (*LGG* II, 597–598).
[38] *ỉ Wsỉr nb Ỉnr* [38] O Osiris lord of Iner	Iner is an unknown toponym (*LGG* II, 539).
[39] *ỉ Wsỉr m sk(tt)* [39] O Osiris in the night-boat	This is a reference to the boat of Re, used during his nocturnal journey. According to *LGG* (II, 563), this epithet referred to an unknown toponym *Skw,* present only in this spell, rather than a reference to a boat.
[40] *ỉ Wsỉr nb ḏt* [40] O Osiris lord of eternity	A chapel of Osiris Neb-djet is attested in North Karnak (see Coulon 2016; Coulon, Hallman, Payraudeau 2018). The epithet is common and used with other deities, see *LGG* III, 791–792.
[41] *ỉ Wsỉr ỉty* [41] O Osiris the sovereign	This title is very common and is used for many deities as well as for the Pharaoh (*LGG* I, 588–590).
[42] *ỉ Wsỉr n Tȝyt* [42] O Osiris of Tayt	Tayt is a toponym in Lower Egypt. The preposition *n* "of," is used instead of *m* "in."
[43] *ỉ Wsỉr m R-sṯȝw* [43] O Osiris in Ro-setau	Ro-setau (already mentioned in numbers 12, 31 and 32) is the necropolis. On this form of Osiris, see *LGG* II, 550.
[44] *ỉ Wsỉr m ḥr(y)-ỉb šʿt* [44] O Osiris as He-who-is-upon-his-sand	Epithet of Osiris that seems to appear only in BD 141/142 (*LGG* V, 347). The meaning is not entirely clear, though probably refers to a mythological event.
[45] *ỉ Wsỉr ḫnty sḥ ỉdwt* [45] O Osiris foremost of the hall of the cows	This epithet of Osiris is found only in this spell (*LGG* V, 859–860), it is not clear to understand to what it refers.
[46] *ỉ Wsỉr m Ṯnnt* [46] O Osiris in Tjenenet	Tjenenet is the name of a sanctuary. For this form of Osiris, see *LGG* II, 568.
[47] *ỉ Wsỉr m Dny(t)* [47] O Osiris in Deny(t)	Unknown toponym (*LGG* II, 549).

Tab. 1 (continued)

Spell 142	Remarks
[48] *j̇ Wsjr m Sj̇з* [48] O Osiris in Sia	Unknown toponym (*LGG* II, 561).
[49] *j̇ Wsjr m Bdšt* [49] O Osiris in Bedeshet	Unknown toponym (*LGG* II, 544).
[50] *j̇ Wsjr m Dp* [50] O Osiris in Dep	Buto, well known toponym in the Delta.
[51] *j̇ Wsjr m Sзw ḥrt* [51] O Osiris in Higher Sais	Higher Sais was a part of Sais (?), it is usually accompanied by the "Lower Sais." (*LGG* II, 560–561).
[52] *j̇ Wsjr m Npr(t)* [52] O Osiris in Neper(et)	Unknown toponym (*LGG* II, 549).
[53] *j̇ Wsjr m Šnw* [53] O Osiris in Shenu	Shenu may represent a toponym in the 16th nome of Upper Egypt (*LGG* II, 565).
[54] *j̇ Wsjr m Ḥknt* [54] O Osiris in Hekenet	Unknown toponym (*LGG* II, 556).
[55] *j̇ Wsjr m Tз-skr* [55] O Osiris in the land of Sokar	Toponym in the Atfih area (22nd nome of Upper Egypt), according to *LGG* II, 567.
[56] *j̇ Wsjr m Šзз(w)* [56] O Osiris in Sha(u)	Unknown toponym (*LGG* II, 564).
[57] *j̇ Wsjr fз Ḥr* [57] O Osiris He-who-carries-Horus	This epithet is probably a reference to Osiris as father of Horus (*LGG* III, 189).
[58] *j̇ Wsjr m Hn* [58] O Osiris in Hen	Hen seems to be a toponym located in the Memphite area, according to *LGG* (II, 552), but could also be read, "Osiris in the chest," which is attested in the *Book of Hours* (P. BM EA 10569, col. 16, 26; see also *LGG* II, 552).

Tab. 2: Translation of the second row (shrine of the lower part, spell 141).

Spell 141	God represented at the end of each column[46]
⁵⁹ *į̓ Wsį̓r ḫnty Į̓mntyw* ⁵⁹ O Osiris foremost of the Westerners	Osiris seated
⁶⁰ *į̓ Rꜥ-Ḥr-ꜣḫty* ⁶⁰ O Ra-Horakhty	Ra-Horakhty seated
⁶¹ *į̓ Nwn* ⁶¹ O Nun	A seated god
⁶² *į̓ Mꜣꜥt* ⁶² O Maat	Maat seated
⁶³ *į̓ wį̓ꜣ n Rꜥ* ⁶³ O boat of Ra	A boat
⁶⁴ *į̓ Į̓tm* ⁶⁴ O Atum	A seated god
⁶⁵ *į̓ psḏt ꜥꜣt* ⁶⁵ O the Great Ennead	A seated god
⁶⁶ *į̓ psḏt nḏst* ⁶⁶ O the Small Ennead	A seated god
⁶⁷ *į̓ Ḥr nb wrrt* ⁶⁷ O Horus lord of the Great One (i.e., the crown of Upper Egypt)	A seated god with the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt
⁶⁸ *į̓ Šw* ⁶⁸ O Shu	A seated god
⁶⁹ *į̓ Tfnwt* ⁶⁹ O Tefnut	A seated goddess
⁷⁰ *į̓ Gb* ⁷⁰ O Geb	A seated god
⁷¹ *į̓ Nwt* ⁷¹ O Nut	A seated goddess

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46 We have not remarked on this spell as we did for the names of Osiris. Instead, we include a general comment at the end of the translation. However, we identify the god represented at the end of each column, as contrary to the first row that only describes Osiris, the second row includes many different deities.

Tab. 2 (continued)

Spell 141	God represented at the end of each column
⁷² i Ꜣst ⁷² O Isis	A seated goddess
⁷³ i Nb-ḥwt ⁷³ O Nephthys	A seated goddess
⁷⁴ i Ḥwt-kꜣ nb r-ḏr ⁷⁴ O Mansion-of-kas, lady of all (cow 1)	A seated god
⁷⁵ i Ỉmnt(y) ḫntt st⸗s ⁷⁵ O Amenet foremost of her seat (cow 2)	A seated goddess
⁷⁶ i Ꜣḫ-bỉt ⁷⁶ O Akh-bit (cow 3)	A seated god
⁷⁷ i nṯr sꜥḥ ⁷⁷ O She-who-envelops-the-god-in-bandages (cow 4)	A seated god
⁷⁸ i wr-mrt⸗s dšrw ⁷⁸ O She-the-love-of-whom-is-great, red-one (cow 5)	A seated god with a red crown
⁷⁹ i ẖnm ꜥnḫ ỉwny ⁷⁹ O She-who-joins-life, coloured-one (cow 6)	A seated god
⁸⁰ i Sḫmt rn⸗s m ḥmt⸗s ⁸⁰ O She-whose-name-is-powerful-in-her-craft (cow 7)	A seated lion-headed goddess
⁸¹ i kꜣ ṯꜣy ỉdt ⁸¹ O the bull, male of the cow	A seated god
⁸² i sḫm nfr ḥmw nfr m pt mḥtt ⁸² O good powerful one, good steering oar of the northern sky	A steering oar
⁸³ i dbn sšm-tꜣwy ḥm nfr m pt ỉmntt ⁸³ O the one who travels around, head of the Two Lands, good steering oar of the western sky	A steering oar
⁸⁴ i Ꜣḫw ḥr(y)-ỉb ꜥḥm ḥm nfr m pt ỉꜣbtt ⁸⁴ O radiance in the middle of the (estate of) the images, good steering oar of the eastern sky	A steering oar
⁸⁵ i ḫntt ḥr(y)-ỉb ḥwt dšr ḥm nfr m pt rst ⁸⁵ O foremost in the middle of the red estate, good steering oar of the southern sky	A steering oar
⁸⁶ i (Ỉ)mst ⁸⁶ O Amset	A seated god

Tab. 2 (continued)

Spell 141	God represented at the end of each column
⁸⁷ Ỉ Ḥꜥpy ⁸⁷ O Hapy	A seated god
⁸⁸ Ỉ Dwꜣ-mwt≠f ⁸⁸ O Duamutef	A seated god
⁸⁹ Ỉ Qbḥ-snw≠f ⁸⁹ O Qebehsenuf	A seated god
⁹⁰ Ỉ ỉtrt šmꜥ ⁹⁰ O Shrine of Upper Egypt	A shrine
⁹¹ Ỉ sktt ⁹¹ O Night-boat	A boat
⁹² Ỉ mꜥnḏt ⁹² O Day-boat	A boat
⁹³ Ỉ nṯrw rsyw ⁹³ O southern gods	A seated god
⁹⁴ Ỉ nṯrw mḥtyw ⁹⁴ O northern gods	A seated god
⁹⁵ Ỉ nṯrw ỉmntyw ⁹⁵ O westerner gods	A seated god
⁹⁶ Ỉ nṯrw ỉꜣbtyw ⁹⁶ O easterner gods	A seated god
⁹⁷ Ỉ nṯrw mꜣstyw ⁹⁷ O gods who belong to the knees (?)	A seated god
⁹⁸ Ỉ nṯrw ḥtpyw ⁹⁸ O gods who rest	A seated god
⁹⁹ Ỉ pr-wr ⁹⁹ O Great House	A shrine of Upper Egypt
¹⁰⁰ Ỉ pr-nsr ¹⁰⁰ O House of the Flame	A shrine of Lower Egypt
¹⁰¹ Ỉ nṯrw ỉꜣt(y)w ¹⁰¹ O gods who belong to the mound	Three snakes
¹⁰² Ỉ nṯrw ꜣḫtyw ¹⁰² O gods who belong to the horizon	A seated god
¹⁰³ Ỉ nṯrw sḫtyw ¹⁰³ O gods who belong to the field	A seated god

Tab. 2 (continued)

Spell 141	God represented at the end of each column
¹⁰⁴ *i̯ nṯrw prtyw* ¹⁰⁴ O gods who belong to the house	A seated god
¹⁰⁵ *i̯ nṯrw nstyw* ¹⁰⁵ O gods who belong to the throne	A seated god
¹⁰⁶ *i̯ nṯrw w3wt rswt* ¹⁰⁶ O gods of the southern ways	Three seated gods
¹⁰⁷ *i̯ nṯrw w3wt mḥwt* ¹⁰⁷ O gods of the northern ways	Three seated gods
¹⁰⁸ *i̯ nṯrw w3wt i̯mntwt* ¹⁰⁸ O gods of the western ways	Three seated gods
¹⁰⁹ *i̯ nṯrw w3wt i̯3btwt* ¹⁰⁹ O gods of the eastern ways	Three seated gods
¹¹⁰ *i̯ sb3w dw3t* ¹¹⁰ O gates of the underworld	A gate
¹¹¹ *i̯ sbḫwt dw3t* ¹¹¹ O portals of the underworld	A portal
¹¹² *i̯ sbḫwt št3w* ¹¹² O the secret portals	A portal
¹¹³ *i̯ ꜥ3w št3w* ¹¹³ O the secret doors	A door
¹¹⁴ *i̯ i̯ṯrty Šmꜥ* ¹¹⁴ O the two shrines of the South	A shrine
¹¹⁵ *i̯ s3w-ꜥ3 sb3w dw3t* ¹¹⁵ O doorkeepers of the gates of the underworld	A male doorkeeper seated with a knife
¹¹⁶ *i̯ št3w(-ḥr) s3w w3t* ¹¹⁶ O hidden(-faces) who guard of the way	A female doorkeeper seated with a knife

The first list (BD 142) provides 58 names of Osiris (Tab. 1); the second list (BD 141) begins with one name of Osiris followed by 57 names of other divine entities (Tab. 2).

The names of the deities and personifications in spell 141 (Tab. 2), though it is not a central part of this study, suggest a structural framework to this composition:

1. Deities 59–67: major deities, starting with Osiris himself and his most common epithet: "foremost of the Westerners". He is followed by members of the Ennead or deities involved in the creation of the world (i.e., Nun), as well as the important mode of transport of the most important god in the process of creation: the solar god and his boat.

2. Deities 68–73: other members of the Ennead of Heliopolis.
3. Divine entities 74–81: the cows and the bull of spell 148, who furnishes the deceased with offerings. Surprisingly, with the exception of the lion goddess (80) because of the presence of the name "Sekhmet" which suggests a link with the lioness in her name, the cows are represented as male deities instead of female.
4. Divine entities 82–85: the four steering oars of each cardinal point of the sky, which are also found in spell 148, provide the dead with provisions.
5. Deities 86–89: the four sons of Horus.
6. Divine entities 91–92: the two boats of Ra for his travel during day and night.
7. Divine entities 93–109: general indications of gods and the two important shrines representing Upper and Lower Egypt (99 and 100).
8. Divine entities 110–116: gates, portals, and their doorkeepers, and a shrine.

Therefore, this list shows a logical arrangement that includes deities and personifications of cultic implements (shrines, gates, barks . . .). This same arrangement is not as clear in the case of BD 142.

4 The Various Designations of Osiris in Spell 141/142

Starting from the version of BD 142 (Tab. 1) in the papyrus of Nedjmet, it is possible to highlight the different ways the Egyptians described various forms of Osiris, especially in relation to a place or a toponym. These denominations are displayed in the table below, according to their structure (Tab. 3).

Tab. 3: The designations and functions of Osiris.

Osiris + name of another deity	Function of a god (one or two substantives)	Names with ḫnty "foremost"
Osiris Wennefer (1)[47]	lord of life (2), with Ptah (11)	foremost of Gaa (4) (unknown place)
Osiris Ankhty (2)	lord of all (3)	foremost of the *wenet*-sanctuary (7)
Osiris Orion (5)	lord of eternity (40)	foremost of Rosetau (12)
Osiris Ba(t)-(R)epyt (10)	lord of Iner (38) (unknown toponym)	foremost of the hall of the cows (45)

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47 The number in brackets refers to the column number in the papyrus.

Tab. 3 (continued)

Osiris + name of another deity	Function of a god (one or two substantives)	Names with ḫnty "foremost"
Osiris-Ptah lord of life (11)	ruler of eternity (36)	foremost of his city (27)
Osiris-Sokar (35)	the protector (6)	foremost of the Westerners (59)
	gold of the millions (9)	**Names with ḥr(y)-ỉb "in the middle of"**
	the begetter (37)	in the middle of his desert (13)
	the sovereign (41)	
	He-who-carries-Horus (57)	
Names with *m* "in" (or "as")		
Well known toponyms	Identification	Unknown toponyms
(in) the North Chapel (8)	chapel in Sais, Delta	in the city of the falcon (22)
in Andjty (14)	Busiris, Delta	in Qefenu (26)
in Sehety (15)	south of Memphis?	in Sokar-Pedj-she, foremost of his city (27)
in Assiut (16)	Upper Egypt	in Pesegeker (28)
in Nedjef(et) (17)	Upper Egypt	in Nesty (33)
in Pe (19)	Buto, Delta	in Deny(t) (47)
in Netjeru (20)	Behbeit el-Hagar, Delta	in Sia (48)
in Sais (21)	Delta	in Bedeshet (49)
in Wenu (23)	Hermopolis, Upper Egypt	in Neper(et) (52)
in Ro-Henen (24)	Illahun, Fayum	in Hekenet (54)
in Aper (25)	North of Memphis or mythological place?	in Sha(u) (56)
in Itefa-wer (34)	near Heliopolis	
in Higher Sais (51)	part of Sais, Delta	
in Dep (50)	Buto, Delta	
in Shenu (53)	in the 16th nome of Upper Egypt?	
in the land of Sokar (55)	in Atfih area, 22nd nome of Upper Egypt	
in Hen (58)	Memphite area or a chest?	

Tab. 3 (continued)

Osiris + name of another deity	Function of a god (one or two substantives)
General places	
in the South (18)	very general
in Ro-setau (43) in his place in Rosetau (31 and 32)	the necropolis
in Tjenenet (46)	a sanctuary
in his place in Lower Egypt (29)	general
in his place in the sky (30)	general
in the night-boat (39)	a specific place
Variant with *n* "of"	
of Tayt (42)	Lower Egypt
Name with *m* "as"	
as He-who-is-upon-his-sand (44)	

Based on the texts examined in this study, it is possible to draw some conclusions about how the designations of Osiris were structured (Tab. 3):

–   Double names: Osiris is followed by the name of another deity. Most of the gods with which Osiris is associated are well-known (Wennefer, Ankhty, Orion, Ptah, and Sokar) and their association is easily understandable, except for the lesser-known Bat-Repyt.[48]

–   Names that indicate a function of the god: one or two substantives or construction with *nb* "lord." Many functions listed here are well-known, but not all. When "lord" is followed by a geographical indication, it is assumed that it corresponds to the major center cult of the deity.[49] In other cases it seems to indicate a specific function or aspect of the deity, whose meaning or role is not always evident.[50]

–   Names with *ḫnty* "foremost" or *ḥr(y)-ỉb* "in the middle of." The title "foremost of the Westerners" is one of the most common epithets for Osiris, representing

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48 About the possible meaning of the name of the deity, see Ward 1977, 265–269.

49 Kurth 1983, 182; Budde 2011, 3–4.

50 See some examples with the construction with *nb* in Budde 2011, 2–3.

the fundamental function of Osiris as the god in charge of the dead who were buried in the West. There is also an Osirian Chapel in Karnak and another one in Medamud dedicated to this aspect of Osiris.[51] As for the other examples in this papyrus, they should be studied in comparison with other functions structured with *ḫnty*. So far, we can see that they refer to general places and not to specific localities or towns. More generally, it seems that when a toponym followed *ḫnty*, it indicated the presence of a local cult of the god as a guest.[52]

– For *ḥr(y)-ỉb* "in the middle of" (lit. "in the heart of"), it also seems to refer to the presence of a god as a host in a cultic center.[53] K. Eaton even suggested that a god's presence in a cult center could be achieved not only through a statue, but also by another kind of representation of the deity, such as mentioning them in texts or depicting them in scenes on temple walls.[54]

– Names with *m* "in." As already mentioned by M. Mosher, it is not clear if the preposition *m* always means "in" or if in some cases it should be translate "as," both being grammatically correct.[55] When a toponym is securely identified, the translation should be rendered as "in," in reference to a local cultic center for the god, most certainly as a guest. The structure with *m* is the most frequently attested form in spell 141/142.

In her study on Osiris in the temple of Edfu, S. Cauville argued that *m* refers to a local god in the temple, *ḥr(y)-ỉb* indicates a temporary presence of the god as a guest in a temple, while *ḫnty* is used to highlight the fact that the god is particularly important in the temple.[56] D. Kurth also wonders if *ḫnt(y), m*, and *n* could refer to a local presence of a god as a guest, rather than as the main god at the shrine. He added that this local god would have his own temple in addition to the one in which they visit as guests.[57] To summarize, the local presence of a god as a guest could be indicated by the use of *ḫnt(y)* "foremost of," *ḥr(y)-ỉb* "in the middle of," *m* "in," and *n* "of." Conversely, the main god of a cultic center was described through the term, *nb* "lord," followed by a geographical place. Unfortunately, the precise significance of the form of the god according to the expression used is still difficult to apprehend. The association with other deities through double names as well as the use of substantives, including *nb* "lord" without toponyms, highlighted the different functions of a god, but they are not always clearly understandable.

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51 Coulon 2016; Coulon/Hallmann/Payraudeau 2018; Coulon 2017.

52 Budde 2011, 3–4.

53 Kurth 1983, 182–183; Budde 2011, 3–4; Eaton 2012.

54 Eaton 2012.

55 Mosher 2020, 535.

56 Cauville 1983, 180.

57 Kurth 1983, 183.

5 Preliminary Remarks on Names and Local Forms of Osiris

As indicated above, the use of *m* "in" with a geographical indication is the most common way to designate forms of Osiris in spell 141/142. We can wonder if it is not possible to link the presence of Osirian Chapels or other Osirian structures in different temples with the forms of the denomination of the god constructed with *m* "in," but this seems difficult to prove. In fact, some of the forms of Osiris mentioned in the spell, such as Osiris Wennefer, Osiris foremost of the Westerners, Osiris Neb-ankh ("lord of life"), Osiris-Ptah Neb-ankh ("lord of life"), Osiris Heqa-djet ("ruler of eternity"), Osiris Neb-djet ("lord of eternity") were venerated in independent chapels in the precinct of other deities (e.g., the Osirian Chapels in the precinct of the temple of Karnak and in Medamud).[58] Osirian structures were also placed on the roofs of temples, such as in Dendara.[59] But among these forms, none are constructed with *m*. This does not exclude the possibility that other minor structures, such as small chapels, were consecrated to forms of Osiris, as it was certainly the case in many temples in Egypt. With the diffusion of the cult of Osiris and the performance of the Festival of Khoiak, which took place throughout Egypt after the inundation of the Nile, the forms of the god would have been multiplied. It is also possible that in parallel to the presence of the god in real and established cultic centers, mythological places were also attributed to Osiris. Thus, it is somewhat difficult to understand the genuine cultic dimension of each form of the god. Furthermore, alternative forms of Osiris were added to or removed from the various versions of spell 141/142, as well as in other litanies of the god. To understand how scribes selected the denominations of Osiris in a specific version more clearly, it is important to compare the different versions of spell 142 and to examine the titles of Osiris in other sources, such as titles of priests or inscriptions in temples. In this way, we can determine if some of these texts were used in the course of cultic performances.

Based on spell 141/142, it is thus possible to examine the presence of names of gods in long chains and to identify the various ways they are designated. Furthermore, this litany allows us to consider the diversity in the construction of divine names in ancient Egypt and furnishes a starting point to question the modern terms used in this context. Finally, it seems that the terms "epithet" or "theonym" are somewhat limited to render all the kind of constructed items that describes a deity. Therefore, the notion of "onomastic sequences," as suggested by C. Bonnet and her team, seems more suitable to describe the litanies.[60] This term is more flexible and

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58 Coulon 2016; Coulon/Hallmann/Payraudeau 2018; Coulon 2017.
59 See Cauville 1997.
60 Bonnet/Bianco/Galoppin/Guillon/Laurent/Lebreton/Porzia, 2018.

adaptable to the kinds of denomination found in very long god lists, which enabled ancient Egyptians to invoke a deity in all its forms and functions.

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Mark S. Smith
Divine Epithets as Perspectival Discourse

1 Introduction

This essay offers some consideration of divine "epithets," the term of choice in the title of the Toulouse project, or as the Toulouse team puts it in a recent article, "le binôme «théonyme – épithète/épiclèse»" or "*sequence* ou *formule onomastique*".[1] Epithets like names are descriptors, in other words, linguistic markers of identity. As such, formally they are to be situated within a grammatical description. Accordingly, at the outset it is to be noted that epithets consist primarily of non-verbal, atemporal syntax.[2] In this respect they resemble non-verbal PNs as well as the syntax of lists (as in administrative or economic lists or lists of deities or offerings). Lists comprise largely and sometimes exclusively of non-verbal syntax; the verbal syntax that is attested in lists is often dependent on nominal, non-verbal syntax. The epithets to be discussed below are often single appositional terms with or without single construct phrases. Sometimes the epithets entail more complex non-verbal syntax. For the sake of convenience, I would call these cases either "complex epithets" or "epithet-strings."[3] Insofar as they entail nominal syntax, such atemporal epithets are chiefly appositional substantives, construct or participial phrases, or nominal relative clauses. These fit Ellen van Wolde's (2009, 105–6) cognitive grammatical classification of "nominal profiles" that may further express "relational profiles" (for example, with prepositional phrases). For these complex usages below, I use the term "epithet-string." Epithets (whether simple or complex) with similar content or theme clustered[4] in a single context constitute what may be dubbed an "epithet-field" (on analogy with *Wortfeld*, "word-field" or "semantic field").[5] Further distinctions are noted below.

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1 Bonnet *et al.* 2019. See also Bonnet *et al.* 2019. The term "epithet" is used also by, among others, Rahmouni 2008 and Nagy 1990. A divine epithet may include a divine name, e.g., *btlt 'nt*, "Maiden Anat" or *zbl ym*, "Prince Yamm", while a divine title may be construed more narrowly as the application of a predicate to a deity but without her or his name, for example, the titles *mlk*, "king," and *zbl*, "prince." The broader usage represented by epithets is characteristic for West Semitic texts.
2 For atemporal syntactical relations in Biblical Hebrew, see van Wolde 2009, 130–50. I would not include predicative participles of independent clauses for this discussion of epithets.
3 As these include constructs, attributive or appositional constructions, such "strings" show "the head." In this respect, they differ from a "word chain" (which "chains together entities" and does not distinguish the "head") as used by van der Merwe *et al.* 1999, 239.
4 Cf. "cluster of attributes" in cognitive linguistics as used in biblical lexicography, e.g., Widder 2014, 13.
5 Lexical field-theory was introduced by the German linguist Jost Trier in his 1931 Bonn dissertation, *Der deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes*; see Lehrer 1974. For semantic fields in

The main corpora for my remarks are the Late Bronze Age texts from the site of Ugarit and the Iron Age and later texts of the Hebrew Bible, with some reference made to other West Semitic languages and dialects as well as Akkadian. I have chosen the expression "perspectival discourse" in order to emphasize the range of social and political "work" that epithets may perform.[6] Because epithets may give the impression of general knowledge about deities, they may obscure their ideological underpinnings. Like labels deployed for different historical phenomena (e.g., "America"), epithets for deities are not a form of objective knowledge. They served as resources for expressing perspectival discourse that may embed various elements of ideological production and projection; in this respect, they may function both descriptively and prescriptively. Today I begin with some introductory considerations about divine epithets drawn from the Late Bronze Age texts of Ugarit, and then proceed to two case studies, one taken from Iron Age Israel and the other based on Yehudian sources of the Persian period.

2 Background

In the twentieth century, the Ugaritic texts revolutionized the area of West Semitic divine names and epithets. Following the decipherment of the Ugaritic alphabetic script in the early 1930s and the production of text editions through the Second World War, the 1950s witnessed numerous studies devoted to individual deities,[7] along with discussions of their epithets.[8] It was assumed that a given deity had a single name yet multiple epithets.[9] This assumption appears reflected indigenously in so-called Ugaritic deity-lists, which do not include titles for individual deities.[10] It was also assumed that like divine names divine titles or epithets would recur over a given corpus, although the exigencies of poor attestation might preclude such an expectation in some cases. As a result, an epithet might be attested only once, but the vast majority of cases were expected to occur multiple times. Perhaps more important for researchers in the twentieth century, the name and epithets of any given

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biblical studies, see Barr 1987, 136, 170–73. Cf. "lexical set," in Widder 2014, 17–18 and 19–20, based on van der Merwe 2006.

6 The term "work" as used here falls broadly under the grammatical rubric of pragmatics. See Levinson 1983.

7 Smith 2001, 53, 66, 117 n. 232, 154. See the listings in Pope 1994, 385–86. The line of work has been re-opened in recent years in dissertations directed by Herbert Niehr in Tübingen and by John McLaughlin and J. Glen Taylor in Toronto School of Theology.

8 For example, Pope 1964, 235–312; Cooper 1981; Knutzon 1981; Rahmouni 2008; Bernstein 2009.

9 See the discussion of Zernecke 2013. Note also Stahl 2020.

10 Information from Ugaritic deity-lists is conveniently assembled in Pardee 2002, 11–24. See further Roche-Hawley 2012, 149–78.

deity were expected to tally to a picture or profile consistent over the corpus in question. Some epithets denoting rank would be applied to multiple deities, such as *zbl*, commonly glossed as "prince" and applied to Baal, Yamm, Yarih, and perhaps Rp'u; note similarly *'ilt*, "goddess," for both Anat and Athirat or *'amt* "female slave," for lower rank servant-goddesses.[11] Similarly, titles denoting relationship also apply to multiple deities, such as "beloved of El," *mdd 'il*, for Yamm, Arsh and Mot (cf. *ydd 'il* also for Mot). By contrast, some markers of relationships may apply to one particular deity within a given corpus (e.g., *'ab*, "father," for El or Baal as *bn dgn*, "the son of Dagan"). Moreover, some traits reflected in epithets would tend to be specific (or perhaps "distinctive" in Gregory Nagy's terms[12]) to particular deities within a given corpus (e.g., the titles of craftsmanship such as *ḥrš yd* and *hyn*, unsurprisingly applied only to the craftsman god, Kothar).

Older deity studies would further analyze passages in which a deity appeared, working on the assumption that there would be significant –though perhaps not entire– consistency between the name, epithets and titles on the one side and textual representations on the other side. A further enterprise involved comparisons with other deities perceived to be similar in any number of traits. The result was a series of types of deities, or perhaps in retrospect, stereotypes of deities. Overall this approach taken through much of the twentieth century was not particularly driven by theoretical considerations; it was considered the result of the compilation of data. An exception in this regard was the appropriation of theory from Homeric studies conducted by Milman Parry and his student, Albert B. Lord, particularly in the latter's well known book, *The Singer of Tales*.[13] It was Lord's Harvard colleague, Frank Moore Cross, who drew on Lord's work about divine titles[14] to forge his view that "epithets expand and contract in a variety of lengths suitable to metrical form in orally composed poetry."[15] Overall, Cross' appropriation of Lord's work reinforced the

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11 This information as well as the following derives from Rahmouni 2008.

12 For his distinction between "generic" and "distinctive" epithets, see Nagy 1990, 18–35, esp. 22–23. For Nagy (p. 23), "distinctive" epithets are "capsules of traditional themes associated with the noun described. A distinctive epithet is like a small theme song that conjures up a thought-association with the traditional essence of an epic figure, thing, or concept." Any number of West Semitic epithets, such as DN + GN (see below), might be placed in this category. However, the example cited by Nagy, namely Odysseus as *polutlas*, "much-suffering," denotes this figure's repeated experience, a type of epithet hardly found in the Ugaritic corpus.

13 See Lord 2000. The issue continued to be a matter of discussion in Homeric scholarship, e.g., Nagy 1990, 18–35.

14 Cross 1973, 52, 112, 117. See further Cross 1998, 24–29. Here Cross refers to "poetic formulae" and "oral formulae," but not specifically to divine titles; still for Cross, such formulae included divine titles (as shown by his reference to "divine epithets" on p. 26). These discussions belong to Cross' larger intellectual project to reconstruct ancient Israel's epic tradition on analogy with Homeric epic. For this project, see Smith 2014.

15 Cross 1973, 52.

notion of the regularity of divine titles in Ugaritic and biblical literatures, despite the consensus in the field that meter is not a hallmark of West Semitic poetry. This approach also reinforced a further assumption that epithets were "traditional" elements available to composers.

As a result of this approach taken in the twentieth century, West Semitic divine epithets were viewed with a certain stability (perhaps even "solidness"). In this respect, divine epithets exemplified the approach or attitude of philology at the time: cataloguing and studying words in order to build foundations for further studies. Titles, like words more generally, were felt to enjoy a sort of regularity and solidity that could be unpacked and used to build a larger picture of divinity. Thus, scholarly works crafted lists of divine epithets[16] that were felt to express sides of deities in addition to their very own names. Epithets, like names, were assumed to be expressive of largely stable divine identities over time and place. Moreover, epithets were felt to be little expressive of spheres apart from religion, unless the content of a given epithet suggested otherwise.

I say all this in order to point to what we did not do in the twentieth century, and how this may change in the twenty-first century. Let me offer five points in this regard. First, no one wrote a grammar –and more specifically a syntax– of West Semitic divine titles in the manner as was done for divine names. While there have been exceptions for specific classes of epithets, notably the four types of DNs + GNs, there has been no grammatical work for epithets along the lines of Herbert Huffmon's grammatical analysis of personal names in his book, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari* Texts.[17] Like administrative texts, Ugaritic divine titles tend to reflect nominal syntax, and morphologically they tend to reflect nouns more than adjectival forms. Construct phrases and single nouns in apposition are the most common constructions for divine epithets. Notably, this is no less true for many personal names with theophoric elements. Yet while personal names are dominated by verbal syntax of suffix and prefix indicative forms predicated with or without theophoric elements, by contrast participles represent a major verbal form used in titles. Out of the 112 divine epithets analyzed by Aicha Rahmouni, we may count nine or perhaps eleven participles and no other verbal forms.[18] (Notably participial syntax for divine titles is hardly uncommon outside of the Ugaritic texts.[19]) Interestingly,

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16 Note the listing of 10 epithets in Cooper 1983, compared with 112 compiled by Rahmouni 2008. To be sure, Cooper's entries generally focus on biblical parallels and some mention epithets in passing in the discussions of divine names.

17 Huffmon 1965.

18 Rahmouni 2008, #10, #13, #29, #42, #55, #65, #93, #96, #105 and perhaps #79 and #92.

19 For a standard example of DN + participle of *$yt\underline{b}$ (for residence or enthronement)/*$škn$ (for residence) + *b-* + GN, see Smith. 2016, 75–76, #3, and 77.

two titles claimed by Rahmouni include a nominal relative clause.[20] In sum, even the verbs and clauses in titles reflect nominal syntax.

Second, diachronic dimensions of titles largely were secondary to or subsumed under a general synchronic perspective in older discussions. In the case of Ugaritic, this is hardly surprising since the text corpus was produced within a relatively short period of time unlike Akkadian, Hebrew, Aramaic or Greek corpora. This situation, at least in the case of Ugaritic, reinforced generalization about deities and their titles, which were further reinforced by generalizations about similar types of deities across cultures (the parade case of this approach was the "patternism" reflected in Gaster's *Thespis*). However, more nuanced means have been applied to the study of deities and their epithets. The recognition of "God in translation" across cultures and not simply God in comparison has become a major issue in West Semitics and further afield.[21] Similarly, the specific impacts of different cultures on divine epithets has come into play in a major way. For example in Aren M. Wilson-Wright's study of the West Semitic goddess Athtart at Ugarit, Emar and Egypt[22] Athtart is called "the daughter of Ptah"[23] and she may also bear an epithet apparently developed within her Egyptian context, which supported the royal military use of horses: "mistress of the stable who punishes (?) the enemy".[24] She is further called "lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods," formulary also applied to Hathor and Mut.[25] In this case, titles may migrate within a single culture. As a further diachronic development, epithets may come to serve as proper names for deities, such as Babylonian Banit, a standard epithet for Nanay (traditionally the consort of Nabu).[26]

In cases such as these, I wonder if or to what degree or how names and titles were distinguished in antiquity. It might be helpful heuristically to think in terms of a range of usage and understandings for DNs and divine epithets. We know DNs the original meanings of which were obscure yet may have received secondary interpretations (Marduk, Yahweh). By contrast, many divine names bear transparent meanings etymologically related to common nouns (e.g., Kothar wa-Hasis, Shapshu and Yarih). Further different, some titles function as proper names for deities otherwise lacking proper names (perhaps Baal, not to mention *b'lt gbl*). Finally, still other

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20 Rahmouni 2008, #24 and #101.

21 Smith 2008.

22 Wilson-Wright 2016, 55.

23 Wilson-Wright 2016, 44.

24 Wilson-Wright 2016, 44. The title is partially reconstructed and thus somewhat hypothetical. See also the Ptolemaic period title, "mistress of horses and the chariot, foremost of Wetjset-Hor [name of the nome of Edfu]," in Wilson-Wright 2016, 61. It is also to be noted that Wilson-Wright suggests an equestrian background in the West Semitic sources that in turn played in Athtart's Egyptian reception.

25 Wilson-Wright 2016, 57. See also her epithets, "lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands," in Wilson-Wright 2016, 58.

26 See van der Toorn 2019, 50–51.

epithets do not function as divine names where there is evidence of divine names (e.g., "Cloud-rider" for Baal or "Skilled of hands" for Kothar). There may be other subcategories to think about in this spectrum. For example, it has been commonly noted that there seems to be a proliferation of binomial names in the Ugaritic texts,[27] which in some cases may be considered DN + title (perhaps Kothar was-Hasis – but the binomial is not used in deity-lists),[28] and others that are not titles (e.g., "Earth-and-Heaven" and *šgr w'itm*, attested in deity-lists).[29] In addition, we may ask about the degree to which binomials are a feature in the Ugaritic texts and how they are deployed; this needs to be mapped out in detail. Overall, in considering names and epithets, I would want to reflect more on the nature of this constructed spectrum.

Third, divine names and titles tended to be regarded largely as religious predications and relatively rarely as political or social markers. Again, in the case of Ugaritic, this was hardly surprising since the vast majority of divine titles are attested in ritual or religious, literary texts. However, this operating assumption was entirely misplaced for societies where all politics are religious and all religion is political, so much so that these terms do not exist in West Semitic languages. Generally speaking, the perspective has changed in recent years.[30]

Fourth, there was little theoretical consideration of titles as markers of traits, nor was there much consideration of the sum that any given deity's name and titles yielded. In other words, deities were generally assumed to be persons. (Accordingly, in literary terms, major deities would be represented as relatively full or round characters, while minor deities would figure as flat characters or agents.[31]) What the field has witnessed is a mapping of how titles and other features migrate across deities in different times and places,[32] accompanied by critical considerations of the notion of personhood.[33] In this discussion, any given deity can be viewed less as a person in any full sense and more as "a representative of a generic type."[34] To some degree,

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27 Cross 1973, 49 n. 23; and de Moor 1970, 223–24.

28 Information from Ugaritic deity-lists is conveniently assembled in Pardee 2002, 11–24.

29 These are not to be conflated with two deities listed together with connecting *w-*, e.g. *tkmn w-šnm* and *'il w-'atrt* in *KTU* 1.65.4–5 in Pardee 2002, 222–23 and 227–28.

30 It took me about three decades before I started looking at divine titles for their political importance. See Smith 2016, 71–98.

31 See Berlin 1994.

32 As long noted, e.g., Cross 1973, 49.

33 For the latter in the field of Assyriology, see Pongratz-Leisten 2011, 138–40; and Bahrani 2014, 77, using the term "bodyscape" to cover the realms of the person or self beyond the boundaries of physicality. My thanks to Tim Hogue for bringing this reference to my attention.

34 Pongratz-Leisten 2011, 138–39. She also rightly regards the person "as a multifaceted assemblage of parts: the organic body, name, roles, and image, even his or her seal, which in specific contexts could operate as an independent center for activities that were normally performed by the individual him/herself." Given the use of "individual" in this quote, it may be asked if it may be

this may be the case; and while I certainly applaud recent efforts to get at ancient conceptions of personhood and in particular its relational dimension,[35] I am concerned that the approach to deities as representations of a generic type may be reductionistic, perhaps replaying older approaches to deities as types. I also wonder if the effort to keep the theological questions out of play may also harbor an implicit anti-theological project, but this is another matter. Modern scholars may prescind from truth-claims about deities, and they should, but we are not in a position to undermine the truth-claims that the ancients may have held about the personhood that their deities may have held for them. Indeed, while I applaud efforts not to get too mired in theological issues, it seems to me that some personhood, even its cultic system of communication may entail the deity's *persona* or "mask," is assumed of deity based on cultural assumptions about divine-human communication in cult. Indeed, several specifics of deities (and not just their roles such as warrior or ranks as royalty) are not entirely transferable across deities within a given corpus, for example the locations of their abodes and the associations made with those abodes or deities' specific emotional states, for example, Anat's weeping, or even the seemingly similar traits of gods that are in fact distinguished, e.g., El's broadly conceived *ḥkm as opposed to Kothar's *ḥss as a function of his technical know-how as a craftsman. Thus, the question of any given deity's "personhood" remains a desideratum. To be sure, this particular agenda lies somewhat beyond the agenda of research on divine titles. Still, divine titles have played into notions and expectations about divine personhood. A related issue is the degree to which titles may play in any mapping of notions about types of theism. Theism comes in any number of modes, for example number (monotheism, ditheism, tritheism, or polytheism)[36] or forms (anthropomorphism, theriomorphism or physiomorphic);[37] and these may be combined in any number of configurations, given the kaleidoscopic representation of ancient divinity. Especially as we enter into biblical territory, issues of theology and personhood of the Bible's chief deity necessarily intrude and arguably loom. In our own historical and intellectual *Umwelt* inflected by the Bible and its representations of divinity, we may have learned in recent decades how to move around critically in our materials, yet I wonder how well our critical perspective is working in ascertaining deities, their names and their titles.

This all by way of background. In the following case studies, the divine epithets are presented in relation to their temples. In these instances, divine epithets are all that audiences are told about the gods in question. Accordingly, divine epithets are

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more precise to suggest that the person is *manifest via an assemblage of different dimensions of self,* including "the organic body, name, roles, and image" etc. In other words, in the case of deities there remains recognized a divine self or person.

35 Again, rightly, Pongratz-Leisten 2011, 139.

36 See Smith 2015, 278–93.

37 See Smith 2014b and 2016, 54–57.

in a sense all that the gods are in these texts; at the same time divine epithets would constitute signals of the larger realities that the gods marked by them were thought to evoke.

3 A Case Study of *ba'al bĕrît* (Judges 8:33, 9:4) and *'ēl bĕrît* (Judges 9:46): Epithets Lost in Memory?

The social processes of collective memory and amnesia and their literary enshrinement may pose particular challenges to understanding the divine epithets. A case study of divine epithets between collective memory and amnesia that I would like to consider is the god called *ba'al bĕrît* in Judg 8:33 and 9:4 as well as the god identified as *'ēl bĕrît* in Judg 9:46. As is well known, *ba'al bĕrît* may mean either "lord of (the) covenant" or "Baal of (the) covenant." The interpretation of *ba'al bĕrît* is complicated further by the attestation of *'ēl bĕrît* in 9:46. This construct phrase[38] may mean either "god of (the) covenant" or "El of (the) covenant." Both could be either divine titles or the names of gods, whether Baal or El.[39] This difficulty is not simply a problem to be resolved by various scholarly means that would simplify the matter, such as emendation, assumed error or historical reconstruction. As we will see, the difficulty is itself a datum worthy of our consideration.

The scholarly literature is divided over the deity behind these two labels, and the discussion is reviewed here in order to point to a larger point of Judges 9 about memory and composition. One approach is to see a single deity behind both divine descriptions. Studer speculated that a goddess, "the lady of Beirut," stood behind the titles.[40] Other older commentators, such as Marie-Joseph Lagrange, were followed by Frank Moore Cross, Lawrence E. Stager, Baruch Halpern, Theodore J. Lewis and Stig Norin, in viewing El as the god of Shechem, as suggested by *'ēl bĕrît* in 9:46.[41] For Cross (echoing Marie-Joseph Lagrange and others), the combined divine name and title, *'ēl 'ĕlōhê yiśrā'ēl*, at Shechem in Gen 33:20 is evidence for El as the god of

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38 There are other cases of DNs in construct to a common noun, for example in the BH title "Yahweh of Hosts."

39 McCarthy (1978:222 n. 20) also compared the alleged North Arabian title, "Ilat of the covenant," citing Caskel 1958, 116. However, the interpretation is doubtful. For this information about the Thamudic B inscription (HU 800), I am grateful to M. C. A. Macdonald (personal communication, 19 April 2016), who suggests reading instead: *h 'lh ḏ 'l nqm*, "O 'lh [god] of the lineage group of Nqm." A revised edition of the Thamudic B inscriptions appears on the Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), at http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana.

40 On this score, see Studer 1835, 230.

41 Cross 1973, 39, 46, 47, 49, and esp. n. 23; Stager 1999, 232 n. 7; Halpern 1983, 28 n. 35; Lewis 1996; and Norin 2013, 187.

Shechem. Cross[42] suggests: "The original epithet of the Shechemite god was probably 'El ‹long e› *ba'al-bĕrît*, "'El lord of Covenant." For Cross, Gen 33:20 reflects a process by which Yahweh had become identified secondarily with the god, El (although Yahweh is not mentioned in Genesis 33). Cross further based the identification of the god of Shechem as El in Judges 8–9 on his reading of *'il brt* in *KTU* 1.128.14–15 as "El of covenant."[43] This phrase appears to be syntactically appositional to *'il dn* in line 16, which Cross took as "El the judge." However, *'ilbrt* has also been thought in this text to refer to the god Ilabrat and the latter to "the powerful El," with *dn* deriving from Hurrian *dūn-*, "to be able, to have power," according to Meindert Dijkstra.[44] In view of the fact that the rest of the text is in Hurrian and not Ugaritic (apart from the name of El), one might not put much weight on the identification of *'ilbrt* in this text as "El of Covenant." By the same token, the god Ilabrat is not a commonly attested god in the texts from Ugarit, and El is. Moreover, as Dijkstra's own discussion indicates, El is a figure in *KTU* 1.128. By Dijkstra's handling, El is otherwise named eleven times in this text (lines 1, 2, 4, 7 [2x], 9, 12, 13, 16 [2x], 18). Thus Cross' overall interpretation is not unreasonable, and Stager, Halpern and Lewis follow suit. Halpern speculates that both instances of *ba'al bĕrît* in 8:33 and 9:4 are secondary: in 9:4 it "has been mutilated by vertical dittography from 9:3 *b'ly škm* or 9:5 *yrwb'l*." This seems an unlikely explanation for two instances of *ba'al bĕrît*. Halpern supposes that the original title is *'ēl bĕrît* (meaning either "god of (the) covenant"[45] or "El of (the) covenant") attested later in the story in 9:46.[46]

Lewis adds iconographic evidence to the discussion.[47] A metal figurine depicting a striding figure with appositional swinging arms and a conical Egyptian-style crown was discovered in Late Bronze IIA Tel el-Balata (Shechem) (Field VII stratum XIII). This figurine has been thought to point to Baal,[48] for whom a striding position has been considered characteristic, although such figurines typically have one arm raised or the two arms in mirror position.[49] As further circumstantial evidence in favor of the identification of Shechem's god with Baal-Hadad, Lewis notes the name of Hadad as the theophoric element in three personal names on a Late Bronze Age cuneiform fragment from Shechem.[50] Thus Lewis acknowledges that Baal was a god

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42 Cross 1973, 49 n. 23.

43 For this interpretation of *KTU* 1.128, see also Kitchen 1979, 458.

44 Dijkstra 1993, 157–62, esp. 161.

45 See Clements 1968, 21–32, esp. 26.

46 Halpern 1983, 28 n. 35.

47 See Lewis 1996, 416–23.

48 For a picture, see Campbell 1993, 1352; and Toombs 1992, 1183.

49 Negbi 1976.

50 Lewis. 1996, 403, 415. Additionally, see Horowitz et al. 2018, 128, which provides a letter from Shechem with the Baal-name *Ba'lu-padi* (for related names, see Horowitz et al., 92 n. 3).

at Shechem.[51] Lewis also notes an unprovenienced figurine thought to represent El.[52] Lewis wisely concludes that the identifications for the god in Judges 8–9 are hardly certain, though "preference must be given to the deity El Berith."[53] The basis for this preference is not evident.

The assumption by the scholars cited thus far is that the two divine referents are to be understood to be one deity and thus either *ba'al bĕrît* or *'ēl bĕrît* would contain a divine name and the other would contain a generic epithet ("lord of covenant" or "god of covenant"). As an alternative, Martin J. Mulder proposed that the two titles, *ba'al bĕrît* and *'ēl bĕrît*, could refer to the two gods, Baal and El.[54] J. Alberto Soggin also suggests that two deities are involved, each with his own temple.[55] Ronald E. Clements likewise understands the two titles as indicative of two different gods corresponding to two different social populations: *'ēl bĕrît* refers to the "the god of unsettled tribes living in the vicinity of Shechem, while Baal-Berith was the title of the god worshipped in the city's main shrine, and so the god of the urban population."[56] The social distinction claimed is particularly speculative.

To this complex picture, Mulder speculates further that Baal is the god in view in v. 27, since "the temple of their god" with a festival involving the harvest of grapes would fit this god.[57] Yet, El is associated with the harvest of the summer-fruit in *KTU* 1.23 (see especially, lines 13 and 28, and the accompanying mythic narrative in lines 30–76).[58] Similarly, the cutting of grapes on the New Year in anticipation for the fall festival for grapes in *KTU* 1.41/1.87 is given to El in line 1.[59] The deities that receive offerings for the fall festival include "the circle of El and the circle of Baal" (*KTU* 1.41/1.87.18). Thus, the basis for Mulder's view that Baal is the god in this passage is open to question.

In view of this survey, it is apparent that the noun-phrases, *ba'al bĕrît* and *'ēl bĕrît*, may denote divine names or titles, but without a clear identity for a particular

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51 Bourke (2012, 165 n. 2 and 170) also compares a parallel religious situation at Late Bronze Age Pella, with its evidence for a Baal-type standing figurines.

52 The unprovenanced metal figurine said to come from Nablus is now housed in the Harvard Semitic Museum (Lewis 1996, 418–19). The 3.5–3.75 inch high metal figure depicts a seated male, gazing upward, wearing a conical crown, with bent arms extended forward and holding a cup in his right hand. Southern Levantine seated male figurines in metal with any indication of divinity are most commonly identified as El. Lewis dates the figurine to the Late Bronze on the questionable grounds that there "is no clear example of male bronze statuary from a clearly identifiable Iron Age Israelite site." See Lewis 1996, 419 n. 93.

53 Lewis 1996, 423.

54 Mulder 1999, 142. See also Day 2000, 70; and Gregorio del Olmo Lete. 2004, 249–69, esp. 249–50, 257, and 264.

55 Soggin 1981, 170–71.

56 Clements, 1968, 23–24.

57 Mulder 1999, 142. This reading of the god in v. 27 is also proposed by Day 2000, 70.

58 For this text and El's place in it, see Smith 2006, 51, 73–95.

59 For this text, see the convenient presentation in Pardee 2002, 56–65.

god, whether El or Baal.[60] Indeed, the divine identity appears so obscure that Yahweh has been proposed as a third candidate.[61] This interpretation is undermined by the fact that Yahweh nowhere appears in this story (apart from the theophoric element in the name of Jotham).[62] The titles would suggest that the tradition was non-Yahwistic.[63] Notably, neither *ba'al bĕrît* nor *'ēl bĕrît* in Judges 9 is explicitly identified either positively or negatively. Clearly caution is in order. Multiple gods could stand behind the names/titles. Similarly, it is unclear whether the story entails one temple or three different temples (vv. 4, 27 and 46); each one is given a different and rather generic function (economy in. v. 4, celebration in v. 27, and security in v. 46). As Lagrange put the point: "Malheureusement le nom du dieu demeure obscure."[64]

Stepping back from this survey, three considerations suggest that *'ēl bĕrît* may be prior to *ba'al bĕrît*. First, Cross' comparison of *'ēl 'ĕlōhê yiśrā'ēl* likewise at Shechem in Gen 33:20 is suggestive of El. Second, it would be intelligible why a writer would generate a title of *ba'al bĕrît* from the god known as *'ēl bĕrît*; the opposite process would lack motivation. It appears to be with Baal/Baalim in mind that Judg 8:33 presents the title *ba'al bĕrît* as a secondary interpretation. Lagrange thought that this change was "pour insister sur le caractère idolâtrique de son culte."[65] In context, the title serves as an example of the "baals" in the same verse, and together they serve to unpack the somewhat neutral reference to this divinity in 9:4. The author of 9:4 could have modified the deity's title as a baal-looking title in order to evoke a negative picture of this god and also with the "lords of Shechem" with their similar sounding title. Thus, it would be more intelligible why a writer would generate a title of *ba'al bĕrît* from the god known as *'ēl bĕrît*; the opposite process would lack motivation. This reading is consistent with the view in most research on Judges 9 that v. 46 seems to belong to an older section ithan v. 4.

Third, there is a somewhat underappreciated grammatical point relevant to this discussion. On the one hand, it is commonly recognized that *ba'al* may stand in construct as a generic element (cf. *ba'ălê bĕrît 'abrām*, "the lords of the covenant of Abram" in Gen 14:13) and thus *ba'al bĕrît* would make sense as a title for another

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60 Tigay (1987, 194 n. 12) takes the names as belonging to gods other than Yahweh, but otherwise does not identify them.

61 Echoing older commentators (e.g., Schofield 1962, 310), Halpern (1983, 28 n. 35) suggests that both *ba'al bĕrît* and *'ēl bĕrît* may be variants of "an epithet of an already syncretized Yhwh." See also Sharon 2006, 98 n. 20. Halpern also understands the **ba'al* element in the personal names of Ishbaal and Meribbaal as a Yahwistic epithet. For a survey of views, see Avioz 2011.

62 The point is made by commentators, e.g., O'Connor 1990, 139.

63 McCarthy 1978, 222. For McCarthy, the expression "men of Hamor" in 9:28 (also in Gen 33:19, Josh 24:32) is suggestive of the ancient covenant tradition at Shechem. See also Lewis 1996, 411–12, and 2006, 347 (with prior literature).

64 Lagrange 1903, 184.

65 Lagrange 1903, 164.

god.[66] On the other hand, BH *'ēl* as a generic ("god of") is less common than *ba'al* as nouns in construct. There are some clear examples, e.g., "the god of your/my father" in Gen 49:25[67]l cf. the superlative expression "God of gods" in Dan 11:36;[68] and "the god of glory" in Ps 29:3.[69] Moreover, other instances with the element *'ēl* plus other nouns could be read as constructs, i.e., "god of . . . " (e.g., *'ēl 'elyôn* in Gen 14:18–22; and possibly *'ēl bêt-'ēl* in Gen 31:13, 35:7 and *'ēl 'ôlām* in Gen 21:33). However, these may be understood as El titles (perhaps as appositional).[70] Indeed, other such titles, such as *'ēl 'ĕlōhê yiśrā'ēl* likewise at Shechem in Gen 33:20 and *'ēl šadday* in Gen 17:1, 28:3, 35:11, 43:14, 48:3 and Exod 6:3,[71] are appositionals better read as El epithets. Indeed, this interpretation would seem to inform *'ēl šadday* in the priestly sections of Genesis (Gen 17:1, 28:3, 35:11, 43:14, 48:3; cf. 49:25) insofar as this epithet seems to serve as a priestly rubric for the El titles generally in the book of Genesis. By contrast, *ba'al* as a generic construct is much more common. Thus one might follow Cross in viewing *'ēl běrît* as relatively prior to *ba'al běrît* in the traditions embedded in Judges 9. However, his early dating prior to the monarchy for *'ēl běrît* in Judg 9:46 is questionable. The arguably conflicting reporting of the deity's name/title in Judges 9 may point to a monarchic period survival cycled through by its composer-tradents. The singular attestation might suggest a concrete background for *'ēl běrît*, but it need not command a particularly old date. In short, *'ēl běrît* in Judg 9:46 may be a recovery of an older, surviving divine epithet. On this score, the case of *'ēl běrît* may not be unlike *'ēl šadday* embedded in relatively early monarchic traditions in Gen 49:25, Num 24:4, 16, and Ps 68:15, but recycled in the later priestly works in the Pentateuch (Gen 17:1, 28:3, 35:11, 43:14, 48:3 and Exod 6:3) and Ezekiel (1:24, 10:5), and particularly extended in Job (5:17; 6:4, 14; 8:3, 5; 11:7; 13:3; 15:25; 21:15, 20; 22:3, 17, 23, 25; 23:16; 24:1; 27:2, 10, 11, 13; 29:5; 31:2, 35; 32:8; 33:4, 34:4, 12, 13; 37:23; 40:2).[72] Thus *'ēl běrît* in Judg 9:46 may provide some perspective on what literary processes a divine epithet may undergo, including its possible, additional interpretation as *ba'al běrît* in 9:4 and further in 8:33.

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66 As noted by Lewis 1996, 413.

67 cf. "the god (*hā'ēl*), the god (*'ĕlōhê*) of your father" in Gen 46:3 and "the god (*'ĕlōhê*) of my father" in Exod 15:2.

68 This is the single BH instance listed in *DCH I*:253–54.

69 See Cross 1974, 257–58. Cross also notes a number of constructs with plural nouns.

70 See Cross 1974, 255–57.

71 For a full listing of the attestations of *'ēl šadday*, see below. For a survey, see Witte 2017, 7–27. A cogent etymological proposal remains Cross' rendering of the title as "the mountain one" (1973, 55), which would suit the Shaddayin as the title for the gods of the divine council headed by El as attested in the Deir Alla inscription; the divine council meets on the mountain of assembly.

72 The epithet also occurs in Ruth 1:20–21. While the book has been dated to the monarchy, its Late Biblical Hebrew features suggest a dating closer to Ezekiel and perhaps to Job as well. By comparison, the attestation in Isa 13:6 may suggest the transmission of the title between the earlier attestations and the later ones. See also Joel 1:15 and Ps 91:1.

The literary recovery of the epithet may point in turn to a social process of memory, in what Gregorio del Olmo Lete calls "textos alusivos (rememoración)."[73] The unusual and conflicting character of the names or titles in 8:33, 9:4 and 9:46 suggests the memory of an older tradition, but the lack of clarity about them also points to a certain socio-religious amnesia. The identity of the deity or deities does not appear perhaps clear to the ancient composers of vv. 4 or v. 46 or both. The title might have been used precisely because it seemed old to the tradents that sought to portray an older period. The forgotten background of the deity of the covenant at Shechem appears to not have been accessible to the book's monarchic tradents. (In seeking to figure out this deity, biblical scholars may be retracing the tradents' own difficulties and perhaps have not achieved so much more). Thus, divine epithets may bear signs of the literary and social processes entailed in their production and transmission.

Sometimes underappreciate in this discussion is that the fact the term *běrît is the single clear and signal component in both divine names/titles. As perspectival discourse, this is an element that stands out in this case study, a focus on covenant and the deity's role in its maintenance. This element has been thought to draw on an older tradition about covenant at Shechem (Josh 24:25) maintained under the religious patronage of a local deity.[74] Yet it is notable that the monarchic (re-)composers of Judges 9 show little, if any, concrete knowledge of the religio-political arrangement signaled by the běrît-element. On the one hand, covenant is central to the entire story; it narrates the making of covenant and its breaking. Jotham's parable cum interpretation (9:8–20), too, gestures to the covenantal issue at stake. On the other hand, little in the story refers to the deity's role in judgment between the parties apart from the invocation in v. 7 or the oblique references to divine agency in vv. 23 and 56–57. These would all appear secondary to the divine epithets in the story. The story as a whole may reflect a cumulative effort to cast the story in general covenantal terms perhaps because of the story's inclusion of the divine epithets. In other words, the divine epithets recovered, used and extended may have helped to generate the interpretation of this memory of conflict at Shechem. In this reading, divine epithets exercise a certain literary influence or agency.

4 Multiplication of Divine Epithets in Comparison

My second case study involves the sets of divine epithets in two texts that bear a number of similarities. The first text is Ezra 1:2–4, further summarized in 5:13–15

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73 Del Olmo Lete 2004, 257.
74 For Lewis (1996, 415), the DNs/titles reflect the concept of a divine treaty partner.

and putatively quoted a second time in 6:3–5. The second text is a famous letter from Elephantine, known in two versions (AP 30–31 = *TAD* A4.7 and A4.8, P. Berlin 13495 and Egyptian Museum, Cairo Museum Pap. No. 3428 = J. 43465).[75] While their contexts differ in any number of respects, both the Ezra and Elephantine texts were generated by local Yehudian communities concerned with rebuilding their temple that had been destroyed by enemies.[76]

Both sets of texts date to the Persian period. The versions of the Elephantine text have been dated precisely to 25 November 407 BCE, based on the date officially represented at the very end of the text ("the 20th of Marcheshvan, year 17 of Darius the king").[77] One or both versions may date sometime thereafter. The text of Ezra 1:2–4 is dated in v. 1 to "the first year of King Cyrus of Persia" (1:1 and in 2 Chron 36:22).[78] The Hebrew text quoted in Ezra 1:3–5 is thought to reflect an official edict as similarly expressed in the Cyrus Cylinder,[79] itself produced in the wake of Cyrus' entry into Babylon on 29 October 539. Internal evidence to Ezra 1–6 about the

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75 *TAD 1*, pp. 68–75, which refers to the two texts as "drafts"; so too van der Toorn 2019, 137. According to Holger Gzella (2018, 213), "the text itself [*TAD* A4.8] contains a few corrections and may be only a copy of the original document [*TAD* A4.7] for the community archives." Perhaps they are "two draft copies," *pace* Porten 1968, 291. A report of events appears also in *TAD* A4.5, in *TAD* 1, 62–65. For a detailed reconstruction of the situation behind the letter, see van der Toorn 2019, 128–42.

76 For the Elephantine letter central to this discussion, *TAD* A4.7, "Yehudians" remains a defensible translation for the gentilic *⁺yhwdy'* (cf. the translation "Jews," in van der Toorn 2018, 15–18, 30–41). This letter refers to both the place Yehud (*TAD* A4.7:1, 19 and 22; see also A4.8:18) and the community at Elephantine as Yehudians (*TAD* A4.7:26, "we and our wives and our children and the Yehudians, all who are here"). This case would seem to reflect some sense of cultural identification or continuity between the place Yehud and the people that refer to themselves as Yehudians in the same communication between these two parties. Similarly, the settlement at Elephantine, insofar as it is called "the Yehudian garrison" in *TAD* A4.1:1 and 10, seems to be regarded as Yehudian by Hananiah, the sender of this letter, himself an authority in Yehud. When the Elephantine community and authorities in Yehud communicate, both may choose "Yehudian," thereby affirming their shared identity and connection. In such cases, the community seems to have regarded itself as Yehudian and so also by authorities in Yehud, whatever other authorities were recognized in the corpus (e.g., in Samaria, in *TAD* A4.7:29), whatever markers of ethnicity are attested, and whatever the history of the community may have been (cf. van der Toorn 2019, 3 and 61–88). This is not to deny that the overall evidence is not complex and somewhat uncertain.

77 So Porten 2002, 125 and 130.

78 See also the same royal title in Ezra 1:2.

79 For convenient access, see Kuhrt 2007, 70–74; and Cogan 2000, 314–16. Ca. 23 cm. in length, the Cyrus Cylinder appears to be a dedicatory inscription for a cult site (it was recovered from the area of the Marduk temple in Babylon that recalls why cult sites needed to be refurbished, namely the neglect of Cyrus' predecessor and the resulting anger of Marduk; Cyrus' victory over Babylon as recalled in this inscription is shown to be the god's solution to the cult problem. The Cyrus Cylinder does not appear to have been a monumental inscription intended for display (such an inscription may have preceded this one and was the basis for the account of Cyrus' victory here). It is unclear when in the sixth century the inscription is to be dated. In theory, it could be rather proximate to

rebuilding of the temple would not permit a date prior to 12 March 515.[80] A considerably later date for the Hebrew text of Ezra 1:2–4, its Aramaic variant in Ezra 6:3–5, and its narrative representation in Aramaic in Ezra 5:13–15, is suggested by the highly reduced, summary form (three verses) in these versions compared with the Cyrus Cylinder (45 lines, including the first four broken lines); Ezra's identification of Cyrus as King of Persia (unlike Cyrus' titular as "king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad," in the Cyrus Cylinder, line 20);[81] its *interpretatio Yehudi*;[82] and the many differences among Ezra 1:2–4, 5:13–15 and 6:3–5 (discussed below). The versions in Ezra generally show no memory of the Babylonian context in which the Cyrus Cylinder was produced. From these features, the versions in Ezra would appear to represent later Yehudian synopses molded in different ways to suit their concern specifically with the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple.[83] Accordingly, the temporal gap between the three versions of the Cyrus edict in Ezra 1–6 and the Elephantine text ca. 407 may be less than a century (perhaps even a matter of several decades).

Both texts are represented as documents: one a royal decree, the other a community letter. While presented as a document issued by a foreign king, Ezra 1:2–4 offers a condensed Yehudian version of the Cyrus Cylinder for a Yehudian audience; the Elephantine letter is likewise addressed by Yehudians to an authority in Yehud (with a copy sent also to Samaria). Ezra 1:2–4 is said to be circulated as not only orally but also as "a written edict" (so NRSV), literally *běmiktāb*, "in writing" (NJPS). The narrative recollection of Cyrus' edict in Ezra 5:6 is embedded in what is called an *'iggeret* ("letter" or "legal document"),[84] while in 6:3–5 the textual rubric

one or another of the versions in Ezra 1–6, in particular Ezra 1:2–4 that appears to be closest thematically.

80 See *HCSB* 655.

81 Kuhrt 2007, 71.

82 In the Ezra versions Yahweh replaces Marduk as the central god in the edict, and the other gods are dropped from view altogether ("the gods of Akkad and Sumer" in line 33 in Kuhrt 2007, 72). By implication, the Ezra versions of the Cyrus edict would be represented as monotheistic. Yahweh is said to have given Cyrus "all the kingdoms of the earth" (Ezra 1:2), while Cyrus, led by Marduk to Babylon in victory (lines 15–16), is labelled by standard royal titulary, "king of the universe, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters . . . " (line 20, in Kuhrt 2007, 71). The geographical focus in the Cyrus Cylinder is Babylon as well as "Ur and other cult-centres" (line 5), while Jerusalem is the cult-site named in the Ezra versions. The Cyrus Cylinder further names the human enemies whom Cyrus had defeated in battle, which are nowhere in view in Ezra.

83 For the debate over whether any of the instances of the Cyrus edict in Ezra represent an authentic version, see Kuhrt 2007, 85, particularly criticizing comparison with the so-called "Gadatas" text as a likely Roman period forgery. Kuhrt also regards as "extremely unlikely . . . that the Persian government would have funded the costs of any rebuilding." See also the preceding note.

84 Hurvitz 2014, 25–27.

is *ṭĕ'ēm* ("order, decree").[85] The further citation of Cyrus' edict in Ezra 6:3–5 is introduced in 6:2b by the term *dikrônâ*, "memorandum," the same descriptor (*zkrn*) used to refer to the temple document from Elephantine (*TAD* 4A.7 and 4A.8)[86] by a further Elephantine document (*TAD* 4A.9, lines 1 and 2).[87] All of the three passages in Ezra 1–6 show concern with their representations as written, official documents. As seen also in Ezra 1–6, *TAD* 4A.7 and 4A.8 are not only community documents. They are also full of references to other letters, including earlier ones (e.g., the letter of Vidranga in lines 7–8 and the letter to parties in Samaria in line 29; cf. the references to a letter sent and a reply not sent, in lines 18–19; and the letter requested in line 24). In this respect, Ezra –like Nehemiah and the Elephantine archive– reflects a literary world highly suffused with official documents and their authority (what might be called "a document literary culture").[88]

TAD A4.7 and A4.8 and Ezra 1–6 are both centrally concerned with permissions for the rebuilding of a destroyed temple.[89] They also use similar spatial formulary for these temples.[90] The Elephantine letter in line 6 uses *'gwr' zy yhw 'lh' zy byb byrt'*, "the temple of *yhw* the god that is in Yeb (Elephantine) the fortress," echoed in line 13 ("that temple in Yeb the fortress") and in line 25 ("the temple of *yhw* the god to (re)build it in Yeb the fortress"). Grammatically, this is the same type of identification as in Ezra 1:4: *bêt hā'ĕlōhîm 'ăšer bîrûšālā(y)im*, "the house of (the) God that is in Jerusalem."[91] The features shared by *TAD* I A4.7 and A4.8 and Ezra 1–6 extend to several thematic elements: (i) the destruction of the temple by enemies (Ezra 4:15, 5:12; *TAD* I A4.7:4–13, centered on "Vidranga the wicked" in lines 6–7); (ii) lamentation over the loss of the temple (Ezra 3:12–13; *TAD* I A4.7:15–17);[92] (iii)

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85 Kaufman 1974, 109. For further references and discussion, see *HALOT* 1885; and Nebe 2018, 325–26. Cf. BH *ṭa'am*, "order, decree" in Jonah 3:7, evidently a loanword from Akkadian *ṭēmu* (so *HALOT* 377). Both forms appear in Ezra 6:14.

86 For the two terms, see Gzella 2018, 213.

87 Porten and Yardeni, *TAD* 1.76–77. The usage occurs 17 times, according to Porten and Lund 2002, 126.

88 On documents in the literary world of Ezra 1–6, see Eskenazi 1988, 59, 73. Note further Hasler 2020.

89 For this central theme in rebuilding accounts, see Hurowitz 1992. For Hurowitz (1992, 113–18), two sets of building accounts underlie Ezra 1–6, the first under Cyrus and the second under Darius.

90 The resemblance has been generally noted, e.g., Hurowitz 1992, 115 n. 1. Porten (1968, 120; see also p. 55) believes that royal authority was needed for both temples. The idea of rebuilding the two temples as they were originally built is mentioned in Ezra 5:15 and 6:7 and *TAD* A4.7:25, as noted by Davis 2019, 142. The trope is attested elsewhere, e.g., McMahon 1997, 223 para. 30, "As it was built before, let them rebuild it in the same way." Note also Haggai 2:3.

91 Porten (2002, 126, note g) compares Ezra 4:24, 5:2, 17, 6:12, and 7:16–17.

92 The first two elements are also linked traditionally in city laments, e.g., the enemies in the book of Lamentations (e.g., 1:5, 10, 17), and the peoples of Simaski and Elam in "The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur," in Klein, 1997, 537. In these texts, the fundamental cause given for the destruction is the displeasure of a god, Yahweh in the first instance and Enlil in the second,

ongoing opposition from local enemies (Ezra 3:3, 4:1–24; *TAD* I A4.7:22: "they do not let us (re)build it");[93] (iv) delay in official authorization to rebuild the temple (Ezra 5:3–17; *TAD* I A4.7:17–19); and (v) offerings conducted in the new temple (Ezra 6:17; *TAD* I A4.7:25–28).[94] (Bribes evidently played a role in both conflicts.[95]) While there are many important differences between these texts and their contexts, *TAD* I A4.7 and A4.8 and Ezra 1–6 share a notable number of elements in telling each community's story about rebuilding its temple. Read in tandem, these read like a "script."[96] Thus it appears worth considering how choices in divine epithets contributes to this "script."

Let us turn first to the divine epithets in Ezra 1:3–5 and its reflexes in 5:13–15 and 6:3–5, or more precisely, to the lack thereof in the latter two passages. Only Ezra 1:2–4 clearly contains epithets, with Ezra 5:13–15 entirely devoid of such and Ezra 6:3–5 using a phrase for the house (*bêt 'ĕlāhā' bîrûšāla(y)im*, "the house of God in Jerusalem," in v. 3) that includes a reference to the deity. Ezra 1:2–4 contains three complexes of epithets contained within a thematic framing centered on the notion that the deity has "stirred" (**'wr*) the human agents, Cyrus in the case of 1:1 (as in 2 Chron 36:22), and "the heads of patrimonial households belonging to Judah and Benjamin, as well as the priests and Levites" in 1:5 (cf. 2 Chron 21:16; Dan 11:2, 25). Within in 1:2–4, the three complexes of epithets move spatially from the broadest referent, "Yhwh, the god of heaven," to a more restricted designation, "Yhwh, the god of Israel," to yet a more specific referent, "the house of (the) god that is in Jerusalem:[97]

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leaving personified Jerusalem and the goddess Nanna, respectively, to lament. Cf. the lament over the Jerusalem temple in Psalm 74 over its destruction by enemies. Lament may also be expressed for a temple that a party wishes to be built for the first time, e.g., the house that the god Baal desires according to his lament expressed four times in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle (*KTU* 1.3–1.4); see Pardee 1997, 253, 255, and 259. The expression of Baal's lament, that "Baal has no house like the other gods," is compared with Barrakab's notice (*KAI* 216:15–20) that "my fathers the kings of Sam'al had no good house," by Hurowitz, *I Have Built You an Exalted House*, 103–4.

93 For the opposition on the part of local Yehudians in the case of the Jerusalem Temple, see Haggai 1:2.

94 Additionally, see Porten 1968, 111, comparing Ezra 6:9; and Porten 2002, 126 note b comparing Ezra 6:10. Ezra 4:12 implies the former practice of sacrifices in the prior temple, as in *TAD* A4.9:8–11 (*TAD* I, pp. 76–77).

95 See Ezra 4:5. For bribes in the situation at Elephantine, see van der Toorn 2019, 126, 132 and 140–41; note also Bolin 1995, 131.

96 This sort of temple-rebuilding "narrative" relates in broad terms to the rebuilding of temples by Mesopotamian kings that refer to the destruction of the temple by enemies, e.g., "The Sippar Cylinder of Nabonidus," in Beaulieu 2000, 310–11. See generally Davis 2019.

97 For the syntactical terminology (especially "head" and "apposition" here called APP), see Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 691, and Isaksson 2009, 73–76.

(1)   v. 2: *yhwh 'ĕlōhê haššāmāyim*,   "Yhwh, the god of heaven"
       HEAD, APP construct X of Y

(2)   v. 3: *bêt yhwh 'ĕlōhê yiśrā'ēl*   "the house of Yhwh, the god of Israel,
       construct X of Y = HEAD to APP construct X of Y
       hû' hā'ĕlōhîm 'ăšer bîrûšālā(y)im   that is, the god who is in Jerusalem"
       deictic copula + HEAD + APP relative (non-verbal) prepositional predicate

(3)   v. 4: *bêt hā'ĕlōhîm 'ăšer bîrûšālā(y)im*,   "the house of (the) God that is in Jerusalem"
       construct X of Y = HEAD to APP relative (non-verbal) prepositional predicate

Before turning to the individual epithet in turn, it is to be noted that all of the epithets share the word, "the god" or "(the) God" whether in the absolute (*hā'ĕlōhîm*) or construct (*'ĕlōhê*). This consistent usage within the divine epithets taken together forge an "epithet-field" asserting Yhwh as "the god." Moreover, the "epithet-string" in v. 3, *yhwh 'ĕlōhê yiśrā'ēl hû' hā'ĕlōhîm 'ăšer bîrûšālā(y)ìm*, uses the explanatory deictic *hû'*, to be translated, "that is" or "namely."[98] On the surface structure, this formulation asserts the status of Yhwh with respect to the location named in the following nominal relative clause, "in Jerusalem." It may be suspected that at a deeper level, the divine status of Yhwh is itself being asserted in a strong form as *yhwh . . . hû' hā'ĕlōhîm*, here resembling the biblical expression, *yhwh hû' hā'ĕlôhîm* (Deut 4:35, 39; 1 Kgs 8:60, 18:39; 2 Chron 33:13).[99] As we will see below, the Elephantine letter to be compared somewhat similarly asserts Yhw's status as "the god" (*'lh'*). In general, it would be sufficient to mention this epithet once or perhaps initially to mark Yhwh as "the god" whether in Ezra 1:2–4 or in the Elephantine letter, but the multiple assertions of "the god" in these two texts perform this deity's status for their respective contexts.

The first epithet, "the god of heaven," in v. 1, occurs in Hebrew only here in Ezra (see the Aramaic form in Ezra 6:9, 10, 7:12, 21, 23).[100] This epithet marks the universal character of the deity's authority, matching the extent of the authorship of the king that this deity is said to support over "all the kingdoms of the earth." Thus, the divine authority of "the god of heaven" parallels the extent of rule claimed for the human authority of Cyrus. The epithet "God of heaven" bears ostensibly greater claim in being attributed not by the local community of Yehudians in Jerusalem but by the human king of the world. In context, the title may bear further thematic resonance, as Tamara Cohn Eskenazi comments: "For Ezra-Nehemiah, the

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98 For this use of *hû'*, see Fishbane 1985, 44–46; and Geller 1991, 15–33.

99 This use of *hû'* is viewed "elective-exclusive": "The element to be emphasized is the subject, which is singled out and contrasted with other possible or actual alternative(s)." So Muraoka 1985, 72. See also Geller 1991.

100 Other BH attestations are Gen 24:3 and 7 and Jonah 1:9, arguably Persian period compositions. For the attestations in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, see Aitken 2007.

God of heaven is the power behind the earthly events, stirring humans to action while remaining behind the scenes. God's presence and command continue to find their expression in the written documents."[101]

The first, "God of Heaven," occurs not only in biblical sources but also in Yehudian sources from Elephantine (noted below).[102] Notably, "the god of heaven" is not attested outside of BH or other Yehudian sources.[103] Conversely, BH does not attest to *b'l šmm*, which by contrast is rather common outside of the HB. According to Wolfgang Röllig, this god "appears relatively late in the vicinity of Palestine" and thus "it is no surprise that there are no references to him in the classical books of the OT."[104] The title "god of heaven" is characterized rather differently by Herbert Niehr: "The conception of a god of heaven was developed in the Northwest Semitic religions of the 1st millennium BCE, where a new type of supreme god, -> Baal shamem, arose . . . Yahweh as 'god of heaven' was thus modelled after a Syro-Canaanite supreme god."[105] Accordingly, "the god of heaven" looks like a Yehudian representation of such a "supreme god." At a minimum, "god of heaven" offers a Yehudian formulation within a larger cross-cultural set of terminology for the deity of heaven. At a maximum, it would additionally avoid the biblical specter of Baal past or present.[106] In either case, the title appears suggestive of an implicit claim made for this deity (arguably relative to other gods) to which other peoples might be expected to be able to give assent via translatability of their own gods as gods "of heaven" (cf. "the king of heaven" in Dan 4:34, put on the lips of Nebuchadnezzar).

V. 3 consists of two "epithet-strings": *bêt yhwh 'ĕlōhê yiśrā'ēl,* "the house of Yhwh, God of Israel"; and *hû' hā'ĕlōhîm 'ăšer bîrûšālā(y)im,* "that is, the God who is in Jerusalem." The initial "string," *bêt yhwh 'ĕlōhê yiśrā'ēl*, identifies the divine "ownership" of "the house." The epithet, "god of Israel," offers a concrete reference to a broad social identity. This common biblical epithet (196x in HB) evokes an old idea of Israel (e.g., Judg 5:3, 5),[107] entailing the past "people of Israel" (2 Sam 18:7, 19:41, Ezra 2:2, Neh 7:7, Ben Sira 37:25 B). These references to "the people of Israel" as well as "the god of Israel" in Ezra (1:3, 3:2, 4:1, 3, 6:21, 22, 7:6, 8:35, 9:4, 15; in Aramaic, in 5:1, 6:14, 7:15) are suggestive of the aspirational character that the term

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101 Eskenazi 1988, 44.

102 For a listing for "god of heaven," see Porten 1968, 108–9 especially n. 12. Cf. "king of heaven," *melek šĕmayyā'*, in Dan 4:34; and "lord of heaven," *māre'-šĕmayyā'*, in Dan 5:23, and *mrh šmy'* in the Genesis Apocryphon 7:7, 11:12–13, 15 and 12:17; cf. 22:16, 21). See Bernstein 2009, 295, 298–300, 301 n. 29, 304 and 305–7.

103 So Niehr 1999, 370.

104 Röllig 1999, 151.

105 Niehr 1999, 370.

106 Cf. the well-known defamatory forms of Baal Shamem in Dan 9:27, 11:31 and 12:11, discussed by Niehr 1999, 371 and Smith 2008, 283–87.

107 See Stahl 2021.

"Israel" holds in the Persian period for Yehudians.[108] As one element in this complex of terms centered on Israel, the divine epithet "god of Israel" evokes a shared past heritage as embodied in the community's traditions about Israel.[109] Where "the god of heaven" may link to outsiders across the empire, "the god of Israel" links insiders that identify with this heritage.

The "epithet string" in Ezra 1:4, *bêt hā'ĕlōhîm 'ăšer bîrûšālā(y)im*, "the house of (the) God that is in Jerusalem," strictly speaking, belongs not to the god, but to the god's house. The same point applies to the parallel Aramaic title, *'ĕlāhā' bîrûšāla(y)im* in Ezra 6:3, itself likewise preceded by the noun in construct, "house" (*bêt*). At the same time this epithet in v. 4 is informed by the preceding epithet in v. 3 that matches the location of the temple and the god in Jerusalem. This epithet in v. 4, *bêt hā'ĕlōhîm 'ăšer bîrûšālā(y)im*, belongs to one of the well-known types for DN + PN, namely DN *b-* + GN,[110] yet it is notable that here it takes the form of nominal relative clause, specifically DN *dî b-* + GN. This nominal relative clause, "that is in Jerusalem," occurs a total of ten times in the HB (Isa 28:14, Jer 29:25, 34:8, 2 Chron 30:14, 32:9; Ezra 1:3, 4, 5, 2:68, 7:27), with *bêt* as the antecedent only in Ezra 2:68 and 7:27. Thus the usage with *bêt* is specific to Ezra. The relative clause is not necessary in Hebrew (although it is occasionally used in Hebrew, e.g., Exod 3:7); it is quite at home in Aramaic. Thus, in this particular case, it might be tempting to regard the BH epithet *bêt hā'ĕlōhîm 'ăšer bîrûšālā(y)im* in Ezra 1:4 as an Aramaic calque of *bêt 'ĕlāhā' dî bîrûšĕlem*, attested in Ezra 4:24, 5:2, 16 (see also Ezra 6:12, and Dan 5:3; see without the relative *dî* in Ezra 5:17, 6:3). If correct, this case would represent a development in an epithet due to linguistic influence.

It is to be noted that with its inclusion of "House of God" in vv. 3 and 5, 6:3–5 appears to be largely an expansion on this aspect of the letter compared with the

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108 Cf. "land of Israel" in 1 Sam 13:19, 2 Kgs 5:2, 4, 6:23; Ezek 27:17, 40:2, 47:18; 1 Chron 13:2, 22:2; 2 Chron 2:16, 30:25, 34:7. For the BH phrase, see Hurvitz 2014, 42–44. There is no comparable biblical expression for Yehud (such as "the people of Yehud" or "the god of Yehud"). The singular *yĕhûd* is rare (6x, only BA, in Dan 2:25, 5:13, 6:14, Ezra 5:1, 8, and 7:14); cf. Yehudians identified as the people of Mordecai (Esth 3:6); "the exile of Yehud" (Dan 2:25, 5:13. 6:14); "the Yehudians that are in Yehud and in Jerusalem" (Ezra 5:1). See Beyer 2018, 545.

109 Given the defective spelling of the name of Jerusalem in Ezra (as in Classical Biblical Hebrew/Standard Biblical Hebrew), it might be tempting to speculate that it might be an archaizing feature used to evoke Jerusalem and its temple of the pre-exilic situation as an aspiration for Jerusalem and the temple after the exile. Still, perhaps not so much weight is to be put on this observation given the relative rarity of the BH *plene* spelling. For the five occurrences of the *plene* spelling, see Hurvitz 2014, 127–29. Moreover, the defective spelling is common in Late Biblical Hebrew books; it occurs in Ezra, in 1:2–5, 7, 11, 2:1, 66, 3:1, 8, 4:6, 7:7–8, 27, 8:29–32, 9:9, 10:7. It is common also in Nehemiah (1:2–3, etc.), as well as Ecclesiastes (1:12,etc.) and Daniel (1:1, etc.); see also Late Biblical Hebrew Psalms (e.g., Ps 147:2, 12).

110 See the listing and discussion in Smith 2016, 74–75, 77.

version quoted in Ezra 1:3–5. Ezra 6:3–5 refers to the dimensions that the rebuilt temple is to take (60 cubits high and wide, and presumably long), as well as temple vessels (v. 4); both of these details are absent from the document of 1:3–5, although the temple vessels appear in the narrative of 1:7–8. In this detail, Ezra 6:3–5 incorporates into the official document what appears only in the narrative in Ezra 1 (in vv. 6, 9–11). The temple vessels recur in the narrative recounting of the decree in Ezra 5:13–15.[111] Their mentions in Ezra bear the evident "purpose of stressing continuity in the use of the same vessels . . . to demonstrate that the holiness of Zerubbabel's temple was not less than that of Solomon's."[112] The temple dimensions apart from 6:3 are without parallel elsewhere in Ezra, yet these too may serve to evoke Solomon's temple in magnified dimensions.[113] Ezra 6:3–5 bears a single divine name ("the house of God in Jerusalem," v. 3), one attested already in longer forms in Ezra 1:4 and 5. By the theme of the house in 1:3–5, it would appear that 5:13–15 and 6:3–5 carry the theme of the house forward from 1:3–5. Themselves lacking divine epithets, 5:13–15 and 6:3–5 focus on the temple and seem to presume the divine identity mapped out via the epithets in 1:3–5. Perhaps the theme of the vessels sounded in 1:7 after the introduction to the divine epithets in 1:3–5 serves to carry forward those divine epithets.[114] Together 1:3–5 and 6:3–5 appear to provide "documentary bookends" for the larger unit of Ezra 1–6 as literary preparation for the building of the temple.

At this point I would like to turn to the set of divine epithets in the document requesting the rebuilding the temple in Elephantine (*TAD* A4.7 and A4.8). Seven epithets appear in the duplicate texts, *TAD* A4.7 and A4.8 (with line numbers given from the former), six in relation to Yhw and one for Khnub. Typically, the divine name (DN) serves grammatically as "the head" relative to the rest of the divine epithet:

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111 See Ackroyd 1972; Kalimi and Purvis 1994; and Carroll 1997, 104–5. Porten (2002, 127 note p) compares cultic and Temple vessels in a number of BH sources (Num 7:13–85, 1 Kgs 7:48–50; 2 Kgs 25:15; Ezra 1:7–11, 5:14–15, 6:6; Neh 7:69; Daniel 5) with the reference to vessels "of gold and silver" in *TAD* 4A.7:12. Porten (2002, 127 n. 67) believes that the reference is assuming knowledge of Jerusalem Temple vessels: "the petitioners hoped to strike a responsive chord in the hearts of Jerusalem officials."
112 Kalimi/Purvis 1994, 455. The point about continuity is central in Ackroyd 1972, 177–80, and echoed by Carroll 1997, 104.
113 *HCSB* 655 suggests that a cube is assumed, apparently on the assumption that the length of 60 cubits is known from Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 6:2) and expected in the rebuilt temple (see the depths of 20 and 40 cubits in Ezek 41:2). See the interesting speculation of Eskenazi 1988, 57.
114 For an interesting exploration in this vein, see Becking 2013.

line 2   *'lh šmy'*

     "the god of heaven"[115]

     construct X of Y (functioning as Head in itself)

line 5   *kmry' zy ḥnb 'lh' byb byrt'*

     "the priests of Khnub the god that are in Yeb the fortress"

     noun + construct particle + HEAD (DN) + APP epithet + prepositional phrase

line 6   *'gwr' zy yhw 'lh' zy byb byrt'*

     "the temple of Yhw the god that is in Yeb the fortress"[116] (see lines 13 and 25).

     Noun + construct particle + DN + APP epithet + relative particle governing nominal predicate in the form of prepositional phrase

line 15   *yhw mr' šmy'*

     "Yhw, the lord of heaven"

     HEAD (DN) + APP construct X of Y

line 24   *'gwr' zy yhw 'lh,'*

     "temple of Yhw the god"[117]

     construct noun + construct particle + HEAD (DN) + APP simple noun

line 26   *mdbḥ' zy yhw 'lh'*

     "altar of Yhw the god"

     construct noun + construct particle + HEAD (DN) + APP simple noun

lines 27-28   *yhw 'lh šmy'*, "Yhw the god of heaven"

     HEAD (DN) + APP construct X of Y

As indicated by the parallels (cited in the footnotes), the epithets are fairly regular at Elephantine. The vast bulk of them come up in reference to the temple at Elephantine: this deity's titles and his temple are mutually reinforcing religious markers.

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115 See also *TAD* A4.7:27, A4.8:26; Dan 2:18, 19, 37, 44; Ezra 5:11, 12, 6:9, 10, 7:12, 21, 23. Note also Ezra 1:2; Neh 1:4, 5, 2:4, 20 (Hebrew). Note also Tobit 10:11; Judith 6:19. For discussion and bibliography, see Smith 2010, 222–23 n. 104.

116 *TAD* A3.3:1: *[b]yt yhw byb*

   TAD B3.3:2: *bḥn zy yhh 'lh' zy byb byrt'*

   TAD B3.10:2: *lḥn lyhw 'lh' zy byb byrt'*

GN + *habbîrâ* occurs also in BH: Esther 1:2 (also preceded by the relative pronoun), 2:5, 6, 3:15, 8:14, 9:6, 11–12; Neh 1:1; Dan 8:2.

117 See also *TAD* A4.10:8–9: *w'gwr' zy yhw 'lh' zyln ytbnh byb byrt'*.

Two "epithet-fields" centered on *yhw* govern this letter. This first centers on *šmy*, "heaven," introduced first by the epithet in line 2, the commonly attested "god of heaven." This is also the first divine epithet noted earlier for Ezra 1:2. For both texts "the god of heaven" serves as the opening epithet of choice. The wide currency of this title and its equivalents suggests a broad translatability of divinity known by audiences.[118] In line 2 of the Elephantine letter, "the god of heaven" is not preceded by the divine name, unlike in lines 27–28 where the same epithet is preceded by the divine name. It would seem that *yhw* is the intended referent, given the attestation of the same title, "the god of heaven," for *yhw* in lines 27–28 (see also *yhw* in lines 6 and 15).[119] The omission of a divine name may be a formality of opening salutations that appeal generically –and with some general sense of the divine– to "the god of heaven" (see also *TAD* A3.6:1, A4.3:2–3) or to "the god/gods" more generally (*TAD* A4.1:2; A4.2:1, reconstructed; A4.4:1), as with the salutations in letters not involving Yehudians (A6.1:1; A6.6:1).[120] An implicit sense of translatability of divinity between the speakers and the addressee may inform the salutation in line 2. In any case, the attestation of the same epithet in lines 27–28 (with the divine name) frames the letter's message as a whole. It is further reinforced by the third epithet in the middle of the letter, *yhw mr' šmy'* in line 15. Thus, the deity's status over the universe marks this group of divine epithets in this letter. The divine epithet in line 15, *mr' šmy'*, may play a further rhetorical role in the letter when juxtaposed to the references made to the human addressee, "our lord (*mr'n*), Bagohi," beginning in line 1. Line 2 further links the well-being of "our lord, Bagohi" to the disposition of the "god of heaven" in the blessing formulary in lines 1–2. Lines 17 and 23 further refer to Bagohi as "our lord." Implicitly, it would seem, the human and divine uses of *⁺mr'*, "lord," appeal for an alignment of the wills of the lordships of the human and divine parties. Bagohi "our lord" should do according to the wishes of "the god of heaven" and "the lord of heaven," the source of human well-being (*šlm*, in line 1).

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118 See Niehr 2003; and note also Smith 2008, 222–23. Van der Toorn (2018, 131, 168, 192 and 2019, 75–76, 79, 83 and 103) also notes Baal Shamayin and Mar Shamayin in Papyrus Amherst 63, which he believes provides the backstory to the Elephantine community (van der Toorn 2019, 61–88). Van der Toorn (personal communication) also draws my attention to *yhw/yhh ṣb'wt* in the Elephantine ostraca.

119 Cf. the theophoric elements in the PNs: Jedaniah (lines 1, 18 and 21); Jehohanan (line 18); and Delaiah and Shelemiah (line 29).

120 The lack of DN here has been noted by Bolin 1995, 135: "The god of heaven" in line 2 refers, according to Bolin, to "the generic god of heaven (i.e. Ahura Mazda)." For this view, see also Aitken 2007, 259; see also van der Toorn 1999, 362. This view relies on the well-known high status of this god for the Persian administration, yet then it might be expected that the DN Ahura Mazda attested 22 times in the Elephantine corpus (in Porten/Lund 2002, 425) might bear this title; he does not. Still, while Ahura Mazda may not be the specific referent of the epithet "the god of heaven" in line 2, this epithet may play into a general sense of translatability for Yhw in this context and with Baal Shamem elsewhere, as noted above.

The second "epithet field" centers on the identification of *yhw* as "the god" (*'lh*). This marker already inheres in the use of *'lh* in the first "epithet field," but it is extended further in lines 6, 24 and 26. In other words, *yhw* as *'lh* marks every single epithet in this letter. The epithets in the letter thus assert the place of "the god" in the situation, perhaps with the implicit message that *yhw hw'*[121]*'lh*, much noted earlier for Ezra 1:2–4. In line 6 *'gwr' zy yhw 'lh' zy byb byrt'* offers this ostensibly minimal epithet for the deity. The relative clause that follows would seem to refer (narrowly speaking) not to the deity but to the temple associated with that deity, which recurs also in line 13 and is echoed also in line 25: "the temple of *yhw* the god to (re)build it in Yeb the fortress." This is the same identification that noted above with the epithet in Ezra 1:4, *bêt hā'ĕlōhîm 'ăšer bîrûšālā(y)im*, "the house of (the) God that is in Jerusalem." The formulary in context also echoes the opening identification of the letter-senders "the priests who are in Elephantine the fortress" (*khny' zy byb byrt'*, line 1; a formulary itself paralleled in line 18, "the priests that are in Jerusalem," *khny' zy byrwšlm*). Thus "the god" takes his place with the place and priests linked together in this letter. They are represented in contrast to "the priests of Khnub the god who are in Yeb the fortress," *kmry' zy ḥnb 'lh' byb byrt'* (line 5).[122] Both Yhw and Khnub receive the epithet, "the god" and are associated with "Yeb the fortress." Thus the "temple epithets" in lines 6, 11, and 25 containing the name of *yhw* in effect work to set up construct two groups in tension, what Jeffrey Sissons calls "two competing religio-social fields,"[123] on one side the god Yhw with his priests (*khny'*) along with their leader Yedaniah, and on the other side the god Khnub and his priests (*kmry'*, a different term),[124] along with their ally, Vidranga (in line 7 called "the wicked," *lḥy'*, his only epithet in this text).[125]

This survey of divine epithets in Ezra 1:2–4 and in Elephantine letter shows a number of common points. The first is the overlap in the titles, "the lord/god of heaven." This is a suggestive of a broad appeal to the addressees. Both texts also

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121 For Aramaic *hw'* as copula, see Dan 2:28–47, 3:15 (*HALOT* 1858). See also the ketib *dhw'* in Ezra 4:9, in Rosenthal 1974, 21 para. 35. Cf. the second "epithet-string" noted above in Ezra 1:3 introduced by *hû'*, "that is."

122 For the priests of Khnum (Khnub is a variant) at Elephantine and his temple in the Elephantine texts, see van der Toorn 2019, 22, 56, 98, 126 and 139. Cf. the god Khnum at Elephantine in the Ptolemaic period "Famine Stela," in Lichtheim 1997, 131–34, who believes the text to be the work of Khnum's priesthood at Elephantine; see also Morkot 2001, 154. The stela, found at Sehel Island located about 3 km. south of Elephantine, also refers to resources in the vicinity for building temples.

123 Sisson 2007 studies what he calls "two competing social fields" on one of the Cook Islands in the nineteen century: newly established Christian churches versus indigenous Rarotonga ceremonial enclosures with god-houses (in which were stored wrapped wooden poles, representing divine ancestors).

124 As noted by commentators, e.g., van der Toorn 2019.

125 This characterization of Vidranga in *TAD* A4.9:6 and for the leader of the earlier Egyptian revolt in A6.7:7 is noted by van der Toorn 2019, 140–411 and 251 n. 93 and 252 n. 98.

focus on the god's spatial location relative to the temple in their specific locales. Thus, both sets of epithets convey the deity's power over the universe even as they also pinpoint the deity's location on earth. Within this broadly shared divine landscape, the Ezra and Elephantine texts differ in their usage of divine epithets. The outstanding difference: unlike Ezra 1:4, the Elephantine documents do not refer to "Israel" or "the god of Israel." In using the term, "Israel," Ezra evokes an ancient memory that shaped how Yehud and Yehudians recall themselves, a tie to a land and a people of old. Thus "god of Israel" carries a dense freight, a very meaningful memory. (In this respect, it is the opposite of the cases of *ba'al běrît* in Judg 8:33 and 9:4 and *'ēl běrît* in Judg 9:46, apparent casualties of collective amnesia and arguably recovery and re-interpretation as well.) By contrast to Ezra 1:4, the Elephantine letters make no such specific appeal to "Israel," perhaps fitting for an addressee, "Bagohi, the governor of Yehud" (line 1), who may not identify with –and may not be expected to identify with– "Israel."[126] The location of the communication, from Egypt, might also contribute to this omission (cf. "the gods of Egypt").[127] While many questions remain about both sets of texts as well as their epithets,[128] they locate the divine wishes of the Yehudian universal god in the specific geographical contexts of his temples, one located in his homeland and the other lying at the one of world's far reaches in biblical imagination.

Abbreviations

BA	Biblical Aramaic
BH	Biblical Hebrew
COS 1	*The Context of Scripture*, ed. William H. Hallo / K. Lawson Younger, Jr., vol. 1, Leiden, 1997.
COS 2	*The Context of Scripture*, ed. William H. Hallo / K. Lawson Younger, Jr., vol. 2, Leiden, 2000.
COS 3	*The Context of Scripture*, ed. William H. Hallo / K. Lawson Younger, Jr., vol. 3, Leiden, 2002.
DCH	*Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vol. I-VIII, ed. D. J. A. Clines *et al.*, Sheffield.
DN	divine name
GN	geographical name
HB	Hebrew Bible

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126 Despite his Persian name, Bagohi may have been Yehudian, according to Porten 1968, 291.

127 A4.7:12//A4.8:13, A4.7:14 and C1.2:19, 25; D23.1.IX:8, in Porten/Lund 2002, 14.

128 For example, the epithet "Most High" does not appear in these documents. The title in the Hebrew Bible is rather common: Gen 14:18–19, 22; Num 24:16; Deut 32:8; 2 Sam 22:14//Ps 18:14; 2 Kgs 15:35; Pss 7:18, 9:3, 21:8, 46:5, 47:3, 50:14, 77:11, 78:56, 83:19, 87:5, 91:1, 91:9, 92:2, 97:9, 107:11; Lam 3:35, 3:38; cf. Isa 14:14; Ps 82:6. See also the epithets 20x in Ben Sira according to Aitken 2007, 264.

HCSB	*The Harper Collins Study Bible*, ed. Harold W. Attridge *et al.*, San Francisco, 2006.
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, five vols., ed. M. E. J. Richardson *et al.*, Leiden, 1994.
KAI	*Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, Herbert Donner / Wolfgang Röllig, Wiesbaden, 1971.
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten/The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*, Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz / Joaquín Sanmartín, Münster, 2013.
NJPS	New Jewish Publication Society translation
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version translation
PN	personal name
TAD	*Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. Bezalel Porten / Ada Yardeni, 1986, citing both texts number and page numbers.
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, eight vols., ed. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, trans. John T. Willis *et al.*, Grand Rapids, 1974–2018.
V(v.)	verse(s) of the Hebrew Bible

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Anna Elise Zernecke

Nomina nuda tenemus: The God Elyon (*'lyn*)

The aim of this paper[1] is to investigate the character of Elyon, "Most High", and his spatial allocation ("most high" in reference to what). *'ly(w)n* (elyon) is an adjective in Ancient Hebrew (epigraphic and biblical) denoting "upper, most high", and is used for upper storeys and upper ponds, but it is also one of the less frequent divine designations for the God of the Hebrew Bible.[2] Corresponding forms of the Northwest Semitic adjective are attested in two other sources, both times for a deity, in the Old Aramaic inscription from Sfire (*'lyn*), and in the fragments of Philo of Byblos (ἐλιοῦν with writing variants and translation into Greek as ὕψιστος, "most high"). The adjective *'ly(w)n* in its everyday use denotes a spatial classification. Therefore, the divine designation is often taken as referring to the allocation of the deity as "most high" in relation to a pantheon, a divine counsel, or to human worshippers,[3] though the metaphorical potential of the adjective is unquestionable and was certainly explored. The semantic transparency[4] of this divine designation is also a factor complicating its interpretation: as *'ly(w)n* is a common adjective (though the evidence for this use is restricted to Ancient Hebrew), it is not necessarily a proper name, but might also be an epithet of a deity with a different proper name. Only semi-transparent (such as Šadday in Biblical Hebrew) or opaque names (such as Anat in Ugaritic) are *a priori* recognisable as proper names. It is therefore necessary to ask in every single case if *'ly(w)n* is to be considered as an epithet or as a proper name. Allusions to the semantic dimension of the adjective are not necessarily evidence against the classification as a proper name.

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1 This article is part of a greater project of research on Elyon / Most High as name / title in the ancient Levant and the Hebrew Bible; Zernecke forthcoming. I would like to thank the organisers of the inspiring conference, Corinne Bonnet and her team, who made it possible to have so many intensive and lively discussions, and again Corinne Bonnet and the anonymous reviewers for important suggestions. Special thanks are also due to Mark S. Smith and Reinhard G. Lehmann. Kristin Schlegel, Frithjof Gruben and Louisa Thomsen provided help with the manuscript.

2 References to *'ly(w)n* as everyday adjective in Hebrew: Epigraphic: Arad(6):25 (*HAE* I, 393–395); Biblical: Gen 40, 17; Dtn 26, 19; 28, 1; Jos 16, 5; 1Kön 9, 8 (text critically debated); 2Kön 15, 35; 18, 17; Jes 7, 3; 36, 2; Jer 20, 2; 36, 10; Ez 9, 2; 41, 7; 42, 5; Ps 89, 28; Neh 3, 25; 1Chr 7, 24; 2Chr 7, 21; 8, 5; 23, 20; 27, 3; 32, 30; as divine designation in combinations: Gen 14, 18. 19. 20 (*'l 'lywn*). 22 (*yhwh 'l 'lywn*, text critically debated); Num 24, 16; Dtn 32, 8; 2Sam 22, 14; Jes 14, 14; Ps 7, 18 (*yhwh 'lywn*); 9, 3; 18, 14; 21, 8; 46, 5; 47, 3 (*yhwh 'lywn*); 50, 14; 57, 3 (*'lhym 'lywn*); 73, 11; 77, 11; 78, 17. 35 (*'l 'lywn*). 56 (*'lhym 'lywn*); 82, 6; 83, 19 (predicative use); 87, 5; 91, 1. 9; 92, 2; 97, 9 (predicative use); 107, 11; Thr 3, 35. 38. Cf. also *qdyš 'lywnyn* in Biblical Aramaic (Dan 7, 18. 22. 25. 27).

3 E.g. Elnes/Miller 1999a, 293.

4 Terminology (transparent / semi-transparent / opaque proper names) according to Nübling/Fahlbusch/ Heuser 2012, 54–56; introduced into the discussion of divine names and titles by Zernecke 2013, 232–233; for divine designations in the Hebrew Bible cf. Surls 2017, 14–19.

The attestations of *Ꜥlyn* / Elyon (the vocalisation is depending on the local linguistic environment) in Sfire and Philo as divine designation are often noted only in passing in discussions of the biblical evidence.[5] However, they are of crucial importance for the question if there was the concept of an independent deity of the name of *Ꜥlyn* / Elyon in the Levant from the Iron Age to Hellenistic and Roman times. The Hebrew Bible as tradition literature is the result of a long and complex process of composition, transmission, edition, harmonisation, and finally canonisation. Especially for issues touching the character and names of the God of the Hebrew Bible, a reworking or reframing of biblical texts according to theological developments is to be expected. The Sfire inscription on the other hand as a text from a precise political situation and an archaeological context – though only the outline of both is known at best – is a fundamentally different type of source. To a lesser degree, this is also valid for the fragments of Philo of Byblos, which are only preserved as quotations in the work of Eusebius of Caesarea. For the sake of methodological clarity, it is therefore necessary to discuss these types of sources separately, independently of the biblical material which shall be studied elsewhere.[6]

Both sources are disconnected, there is a huge gap in place, in time, and in language between the Old Aramaic inscription from 8th century BCE Northern Syria and the Greek fragments of Philo from the 1st century CE, transmitted in an even later text. As these documents are the only evidence for *Ꜥlyn* / Elyon as divine designation besides the biblical texts with their additional methodological problems, it needs to be asked very cautiously if there could be a common concept behind both. This is not impossible, as Philo, the later source, transmits a wealth of earlier traditions especially of Northwest Semitic and Anatolian mythology, which are furthermore only known from Ugaritic or Anatolian sources.[7] Besides, some deities are attested in different Levantine political entities of the Bronze and Iron Ages and into the Hellenistic period, such as El or (later) Baal Šamem. The probable differences in the concepts behind one divine name in different places and times are usually intangible. But the scarcity of sources does not preclude to ask if the two attestations of the divine designation *Ꜥlyn* /

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5 In the discussion of divine designations in the Bible, Elyon / "Most High" has rarely been in the focus of attention. Often, Elyon is seen as a short version of El Elyon, so that Elyon is interpreted as a particular form of the widely known god El (whose name is also semantically transparent, as it means "god" in Canaanite languages and Ugaritic); cf. Schmid 1955, 197; Lack 1962, 59–64; Stolz 1970, 152, 157; Cross 1973, 51–52; Smith 2010, 13, 135; cautiously Kottsieper 2013a and Kottsieper 2013b. But El Elyon is only mentioned in two biblical texts (Gen 14; Ps 78), which are not anymore considered as being very old; e.g. Niehr 1990, 65; Granerød 2010, 129–132 for Gen 14 or the relevant insertion Gen 14, 18–20; Hossfeld 2000, 426–430 for Ps 78. Besides, combined divine names consisting of El and a second element (El Šadday, El Roi, El Olam, El Bet-El) for localised El-deities seem to be characteristic of biblical literature; they neither have a sufficient basis in extra-biblical sources nor do they fit El's character as known from inscriptional material; Zernecke in print.

6 Zernecke forthcoming.

7 Cf. e.g. López-Ruiz 2010, 84, 94–95.

Elyon have anything in common and if similar or even shared conceptions can be detected behind both. The disparity of the sources makes it essential to discuss every attestation on its own before asking for possible points of convergence.

1 ʿ*lyn* in the Old Aramaic Inscription From Sfire (*KAI* 222)

The earliest reference to ʿ*lyn* as divine designation known so far occurs on Stele I of the Old Aramaic Sfire inscriptions (*KAI* 222), concluded between King Bar-Gaʾyah (Bar-Gayah) of KTK and King Matiʿʾel (Matiel) of Arpad.[8] Bar-Gayah is the stronger party, he has all the benefits and Matiel all the obligations. Arpad was the capital of the Aramaic state Bēt Guš / Bīt Agūsi, which was turned into an Assyrian province in 740 BCE. This year is therefore *terminus ante quem* for the treaty and the inscription.[9]

Tab. 1: *KAI* 222, lines 7–13.

[7] . . . *wʿdyʾ ʾln zy gzr br gʾ[yh*	[7] . . . And concerning these obligations, which Bar-Ga[yah] concluded
qdm ʾšr] [8]*wmlš*	[in the presence of Aššur] [8] and Mullissu
wqdm mrdk wzrpnt	and in the presence of Marduk and Zarpanitu
wqdm nbʾ wt[šmt	and in the presence of Nabû and T[ašmetu
wqdm ʾr wnš][9]k	and in the presence of Erra and Nus][9]ku
wqdm nrgl wlṣ	and in the presence of Nergal and Laṣ
wqdm šmš wnr	and in the presence of Šamaš and Nur
wqdm s[n wnkl	and in the presence of S[în and Nikkal
wq][10]dm nkr wkdʾh	and in the pre][10]sence of *nkr* und *kdʾh*
wqdm kl ʾlhy rḥbh wʾdm[. . .	and in the presence of all the gods of Raḥbah and Adam[. . .
wqdm hdd zy ḥ][11]lb	and in the presence of Hadad of A][11]leppo
wqdm sbt	and in the presence of the Seven / Sibitti

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8 Ronzevalle 1931 (Stele I, *editio princeps*), *KAI* 222; Rössler 1983, 178–189; Lemaire/Durand 1984; Fitzmyer 1995; Schwiderski 2004, 402–404; Kitchen/Lawrence 2012, No. 87, 911–934. For considerations about the nature of the kingdom of KTK, see Naʾaman 2016.
9 Lipiński 2000, 216–218; Koch 2008b.

Tab. 1 (continued)

wqdm ʾl wʿlyn	and in the presence of El and Elyan
wqdm šmy[n wʾrq	and in the presence of Hea[ven and Earth
wqdm mṣ][12]*lh wmʿynn*	and in the presence of (the) A][12]byss and (the) Springs
wqdm ywm wlylh	and in the presence of Day and Night
šhdn kl ʾ[lhy ktk wʾlhy ʾr][13][*pd*	– all the god[s of KTK and the gods of A][13][rpad] (are) witnesses (to it)

The Sfire stelae attest to the only Aramaic international treaty text known to date. Its form has been interpreted as an amalgam of Assyrian, Hittite, and genuine Aramaic traditions.[10] It contains a list of divine witnesses who guarantee the stipulations.[11]

ʾl and *ʿlyn* (El and Elyan)[12] are mentioned towards the end of the list. The document is broken, the left part of the lines is reconstructed with the help of other lists, as it follows Assyrian conventions.[13] One such Assyrian list is of paramount importance: a king Mati-ilu of Arpad, perhaps identical to the Matiel from *KAI* 222, was party in an Assyrian vassal treaty with Assur-nerari V (754–745) in 754 BCE. As this document is preserved in fragments,[14] two international treaties are known which the kings of Arpad (possibly the same king Matiel) concluded with superior powers. Both documents contain lists of divine witnesses. A comparison of both lists shows parallels and differences.

Both lists are organised in pairs, often god and goddess, but not consistently. They begin with the highest Assyrian deities at the top; in this part, both lists have many parallels. Apart from their different length, the most striking differences are the position of Mulissu, the change of place of Šamaš and Sîn and the position of Nergal and Laṣ. After the Seven / Sibitti, both lists differ completely. In Sfire, the last deities mentioned are El, Elyan, Heaven, Earth, Abyss, Springs, Day and Night. The Assyrian treaty has no Assyrian but rather Levantine deities in the corresponding positions.[15] There are no parallels to the Sfire inscription in this part of the list, as far as the broken tablet is legible. In the long and rich tradition of Assyrian god-lists, the Seven / Sibitti are often positioned at the end.[16] It is plausible to assume

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10 Koch 2008a, 77–78.

11 Text and reconstruction according to Fitzmyer 1995, 42–43.

12 Elyan is supposed as Aramaic vocalisation of *ʿlyn* without Canaanite Shift, Fitzmyer 1995, 75.

13 Barré 1985; Fitzmyer 1995, 71–73.

14 *SAA* 2, 8–13 (text: *SAA* 2, 2); further translations: Borger 1983, 155–158; Kitchen/Lawrence 2012, No. 90, 939–948.

15 *SAA* 2, 13.

16 Barré 1983, 19, 25, 132, 146 n. 35; Fitzmyer 1995, 74. The deities preceding the Seven in the Sfire inscription are hardly known (*nkr*, *kdʾh*), debated ("all the gods of Raḥbah and Adam", cf. Fitzmyer 1995, 43, 73–74; Kitchen/Lawrence 2012, 919) or at least not exclusively Assyrian (Hadad of Aleppo), as Aleppo apparently belonged to Matiel's territory (Lipiński 2000, 207).

that after the deities of the stronger party – Assur – from Assur to the Seven, Dagan, [M]uṣurunna, M[elqart] and the following are the deities of the weaker party, Matiel of Arpad.[17] They are not mentioned in Sfire; in their place stand El,

Tab. 2: The lists of divine witnesses in both treaties.

Sfire I A 7–14 (Bar-Gaʾyah and Matiʿʿel)	SAA 2, 2 VI 6–26 (Aššur-nerari V. and Mati-ilu)
[Aššur] and Mullissu	Aššur, King of Heaven and Earth
	Anu and Antu
	Illil and Mullissu
	Ea and Damkina
	Sin and Nikkal
	Šamaš and *Nur*
	Adad and Šala
Marduk and Zarpanitu	Marduk and Zarpanitu
Nabû and T[ašmetu	Nabû and Tašmetu
	Ninurta and Gula
	Uraš and Ninegal
	Zababa and Babu
	Nergal and Laş
	Madanu and Ningirsu
	Humhummu and Išum
Erra and Nus]ku	Girra and Nusku
Nergal and Laş	
Šamaš and Nur	
S[în and Nikkal]	
nkr and *kdʾh*	
all the gods of Raḥbah and Adam[? . . .	

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17 Koch 2008a, 61, referring to the stele *KAI* 201 dedicated to Melqart, possibly by a king of Arpad, attesting to the veneration of this god in the region.

Tab. 2 (continued)

	Ištar, Lady of Ninive
	Ištar, Lady of Arbela
	Adad of Kurbail
Hadad of A]leppo	Hadad of Aleppo
	Palil, who marches in front
the Seven / Sibitti	the valiant Seven
El and Elyan	Dagan and [M]uṣuruna
Hea[ven and Earth	M[elqart and Eš]mun
(the) A]byss and (the) Springs	Kub[aba and Kar]huha
Day and Night	Hadad [. . .] and Ramman of [Damascus]
	. . .
all the god[s of KTK and the gods of A]^{13}[rpad](are) witnesses (to it)	

Elyan, Heaven, Earth, Abyss, Springs, Day, and Night.[18] Matiel's gods would then appear in the concluding summary only (all the god[s of KTK and the gods of A][rpad](are) witnesses (to it)).[19] Such a mere summary of the deities of the weaker party is customary in Hittite treaties.[20] This is not wholly out of place and time in northern Syria in the 8th century, as in this region many elements of cultural continuity from Hittite times are known.[21] The "Assyrianising" beginning of the Sfire list is then to be interpreted as the gods of unknown KTK. If the influence of Hittite and Assyrian traditions are correctly evaluated and if we indeed know Matiel's or Arpad's gods from the Assyrian treaty, El, Elyan, Heaven, Earth, and the following must have been understood differently and cannot be Arpad's gods. This leads to the question who these gods are for the authors and parties of the Sfire treaty in their conceptualisation of the world and a pantheon.

A parallel to divine Heaven, Earth, Day, Night and other such entities cannot be found in Assyrian treaties, but again for the first time in the Hittite treaty tradition. Especially their naming at the end of lists of divine witnesses in treaties seems to have been a very long-lived tradition which appears again much later and far beyond the Anatolian or Northern Syrian scope: traces of it can still be found in the

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18 For the scope of this paper, *šmy*[*n w'rq, mṣ*]*lh wm'ynn, ywm wlylh* are translated as Heaven and Earth, Abyss and Springs, Day and Night; their character as names or appellatives is not discussed.

19 Barré 1983, 25–29, Koch 2008a, 61. Differently: Voigt 1994, 66; Niehr 2014, 151–152.

20 Koch 2008a, 61, who also claims other peculiarities of the Sfire inscriptions as Hittite legacy (52–78).

21 Koch 2008a, 27–29.

treaty between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia in the Second Punic War from 215 BCE, transmitted in Greek by Polybius.[22] The end of the Sfire god-list has plausibly been interpreted according to this custom.[23]

El and Elyan are positioned between the deities from the Assyrian tradition and the divine "natural entities". They are not among Arpad's deities in the Assyrian treaty. So it is well in order to look again at the Hittite treaty tradition. The god-lists in these documents are usually tripartite. Between the high gods and a summary at the beginning and the "natural entities" at the end stands a third group, the olden gods: a group of most often 12 deities, who were seen as members of an earlier generation of gods with knowledge from primeval times.[24] The olden gods were conceptualised as the ancestors of the ruling gods in the netherworld. Memory and experience were attributed to them because of their age, they were understood as not taking action anymore.[25] In rituals, it was their function to carry away impurity.[26] El and Elyan are in the position of these ancient ancestor-gods. If they are indeed a Hittite tradition, then there should be common traits between them and the Hittite olden gods.

As Elyan is unknown elsewhere, only El's position can be studied. In the mythical texts from Ugarit, El is the patriarch of the gods, his children. He is old and connected to the primeval times. He blesses, is wise and close to humans.[27] He also has a certain connection to the netherworld, as the dead king goes to El. The living king is connected to storm-gods, not El.[28] In the first millennium, El is rarely mentioned in inscriptions which makes it difficult to assess the concepts linked to him.[29] He seems to be most prominent in Aramaic literary texts, like Aḥiqar and also Tell Dēr ʿAllā (Combination I, line 2).[30] Matiel and Hazael of Damascus are the only Aramaic kings whose names contain the theophoric element El. Hadad is more common in the names of kings, but El-names are well attested in other classes of society.[31] Possibly El was "lord of all other gods" above the states and their territorial deities.[32] El is an old god, not involved in the politics of the states; their ruling gods are his children. His age, his not being a member of the ruling generation and his "international" character give him a

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22 Barré 1983, 30, 35–37; Koch 2008a, 62 n. 246.

23 Barré 1983, 27–29; Koch 2008a, 62; Niehr 2014, 151–152.

24 Barré 1983, 27–28, 35; Elnes/Miller 1999b, 643; Haas 1994, 114; Wilhelm 2009, 63, 68–70.

25 Wilhelm 2009, 74; Elnes/Miller 1999b, 641; Wilhelm 2002, 64; Cross 1977, 332.

26 Archi 1990, 116; Wilhelm 2009, 73–74.

27 Herrmann 1999, 275; Kottsieper 2013a.

28 Kottsieper 2013a.

29 Compare e.g. Niehr 1990, 17–24 and Kottsieper 1997, 46–50.

30 Kottsieper 1997, 27–42. For Tell Dēr ʿAllā (*KAI* 312), see Hoftijzer/van der Kooij 1976 (*editio princeps*), and the recent reconstruction Blum 2008.

31 Kottsieper 1997, 42–47.

32 Kottsieper 1997, 44.

position which is close to the Hittite olden gods.[33] In the Assyrian treaty, probably Dagan is placed at the top of the national pantheon of Arpad, but El must have been prominent, as Matiel is named after him. And El is associated to the otherwise unknown deity Elyan.

We have only the names, but understanding the list in the Sfire treaty in analogy to lists of divine witnesses in the Hittite tradition, El and Elyan are in the position of the olden gods, who are not part of the ruling generation and can therefore guarantee international treaties. In any case, Elyan is the proper name of a deity of his own in this text, there is no indication that it is an epithet for another deity.[34]

2 Elioun in the Fragments of Philo of Byblos

The second extra-biblical source for Elyon is very difficult to assess. A god Elioun (with textual variants) is mentioned in the fragments of the Phoenician history by Philo of Byblos which are transmitted in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*. Philo was a historian of the late first and early second century CE, who is also known from other sources, but none of his works has survived. He is mentioned by several authors.[35] Eusebius quotes at length from his nine books of "Phoenician History" (ἡ Φοινικική ἱστορία).[36] Philo claims that this is not his original work, but that the real author was Sanchuniaton, who lived before the Trojan War and whose authority was a certain Taautos (the name is linked to the Egyptian god Thoth) who invented writing.[37] To add to the problems of the source, Philo follows Euhemerism, a Hellenistic philosophical concept which claims that the gods really were humans of an early age who were venerated after their death.[38] Philo's intention seems to have been to show that the Phoenician traditions are

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33 However, the names of the olden gods are not attested as theophoric elements in personal names, Cross 1977, 332.

34 Levi della Vida 1944, 3; Pope 1955, 55; Rendtorff 1966, 281–282; Fitzmyer 1995, 75. Differently: *w* in *ʾl wʿlyn* as *waw explicativum*: Schmid 1955, 179–180; Elnes/Miller 1999a, 294–295; cf. Cross 1973, 51; Barré 1983, 26; Niehr 1990, 21 n. 27 as more probable; alternatively Kottsieper 2013b (ʿlyn as plural: "the most high ones").

35 Lauber 2008; Baumgarten 1981, 31–35.

36 Eusebius mentions nine books, Porphyrius only eight. Eusebius might have quoted Philo from Porphyrius (Röllig 2001, 31), but the difference in the number of books militates against this assumption, Carriker 2003, 149–150 and n. 42.

37 Jacoby 1958, 804, 22–805, 1 = Eusebius *Praep. evang.* I, 9, 23–24; Taautos can be interpreted as Egyptian Thoth / Greek Hermes. For Taautos cf. Baumgarten 1981, 68–72; for Sanchuniathon Baumgarten 1981, 42–51, for both Attridge/Oden 1981, 3–9.

38 Attridge/Oden 1981, 7; Baumgarten 1981, 38–39; Lauber 2008; Smith 2010, 255–260. If Philo's source already contained Euhemerism, it could be dated as Hellenistic; cf. Baumgarten 1981, 92 and n. 94. This cannot be proven.

really more ancient and better than the Greek ones, as the Greeks and especially Hesiod misunderstood everything.[39]

It is difficult to judge where the fable starts in this history of claimed traditions. In all probability, Eusebius did not invent Philo. And Philo can be considered a source for the 1./2. century CE, but certainly not for the antediluvian (or rather ante-trojan) age Philo allegedly claims for his Sanchuniathon-Taautos. The fragments of Philo-Sanchuniathon-Taautos, quoted by Eusebius, are derived from a tradition which is broken several times. The connection to Hesiod is explicit.[40] This is why the value of the fragments as a source is not easy to assess. For a long time, they were considered as entirely worthless. But the discovery of Ugaritic, Hittite, and Hurrian texts changed this.[41] Their parallels to Philo in contexts in which he differs from the Greek traditions[42] are too numerous to be only coincidence: Philo must have had at least some ancient traditions. A fact transmitted in these fragments should have been judged as ancient in Philo's Hellenistic time (if Eusebius quotes correctly[43]), but tells us nothing about Pre-Hellenistic Phoenician beliefs.[44] A higher age of the traditions can only be claimed in a few points where they are corroborated by other sources.

The following paragraph is the beginning of a new section in the fragments. It contains a succession myth, succeeding generations of deities depicted as humans because of Philo's Euhemerism:

> (14) At the same time as these [last] is born a certain Elioun, called Hypsistos (ὕψιστος) / Most High, and a female (15) called Berouth, and they lived near Byblos. From these is begotten Epigeios Autochthon / terrestrial native (16), whom they later called Ouranos / Heaven, so that from him the element above us, (17) on account of its exceeding beauty, is called Ouranos. To him (18) a sister is begotten of the above-mentioned parents and was correspondingly called Ge / Earth, and on account of [her] beauty, (19) he [= Philo] says, they named the earth, which also bears this name, after her. But their Father Hypsistos, having died in an encounter (20) with wild animals, was sanctified, and his children offered libations and sacrifices to him. (21) And Ouranos, succeeding to his father's sovereignty, takes his (22) sister Ge to wife, and has four children by her: El who is also Kronos, and (23) Baitylos, and Dagon (who is Grain), and Atlas.[45]

At the beginning of the history of gods, there is Elioun, whose parentage is not mentioned. His name is explained for a Greek audience: Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὕψιστος,

39 Ribichini 1999, 154–155.

40 Jacoby 1958, 813, 11–22 = Eusebius *Praep. evang.* I, 10, 40–41. Baumgarten 1981, 214–217, 235–242; Attridge/Oden 1981, 60–61, 93.

41 López-Ruiz 2010, 84.

42 Baumgarten 1981, 237–238; see 1–6 for the history of research. Sanchuniathon cannot be contextualised; differently: Albright 1968, 195; Eissfeldt 1952, 70. It is impossible to assess if Philo's sources were Pre-Hellenistic, but they certainly contained ancient material. Cf. Barr 1974/5, 33–40.

43 Eusebius is usually considered as reliable, Attridge/Oden 1981, 2 n. 5.

44 Ribichini 1999, 165; Baumgarten 1981, 264–266; Attridge/Oden 1981, 9; Clifford 1990, 56.

45 Jacoby 1958, 809, 14–23 = Eusebius *Praep. evang.* I 10, 15–16; translation following Baumgarten 1981, 181.

"Elioun, called Hypsistos / Most High". Despite textual variants of the name (Ἐλιοῦν, ἐλιούμ, ἐλιοῦμ, ἐνούμ, Ἐλιοῦμ),[46] especially in combination with the Greek translation Hypsistos, "Most High", it is evident that this is *ʿly(w)n* / Elyon in Greek letters.[47] Elioun is introduced as a proper name and then translated into Greek. The same happens in this paragraph with "Dagon who is grain". Not all Semitic names get a Greek counterpart in the fragments, for example Berouth is left untranslated. Another strategy applied to the names is the identification with Greek gods: El with a Greek case ending is identified with Kronos (Ἦλον τὸν καὶ Κρόνον, "Elos, who is also Kronos"). The identifications are derived from the function or the character of the deity.[48] But most names are Greek only.

Philo's Elioun most probably is an independent deity of his own. In Philo's time and culture, Hypsistos was a frequent epithet of Zeus, but Zeus is a member of a later generation in the genealogy as brother of Elos / Kronos.[49] As Philo refers explicitly to Hesiod, it is interesting to compare this genealogy to Hesiod's theogony. The theogony ends with the ruling of Zeus who is a son of Kronos who is a son of Ouranos and Ge. Philo's Elos / Kronos is also a son of Ouranos and Ge who are children of Elioun and Berouth. The names of the successive divine rulers are identical.[50] But Philo knows one additional earlier generation, the gods Elioun and Berouth.

Tab. 3: The generations of gods in Philo and Hesiod.

Philo	Hesiod
Elioun = Hypsistos & Berouth	–
Epigeios Autochthon = Ouranos & Ge	Ouranos & Ge
Elos = Kronos	Kronos & Rhea
Zeus Demarous & / ‹=›[?] Adados & Astarte	Zeus & Hera

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46 Jacoby 1958, 809; Attridge/Oden 1981, 46.

47 Attridge/Oden 1981, 86; Baumgarten 1981, 184; Colpe/Löw 1994, 1041–1042. The expected Greek equivalent *ἐλιουν is not attested in the manuscripts. The writing with ου attests to the sound chance from /ā/ to /ō/ via the Canaanite Shift frequently to /u/ in Phoenician, Friedrich/Röllig/Amadasi Guzzo 1999, §§ 70, 206.

48 Smith 2010, 254; 252–255 for the translation of deities in Philo, for the intellectual background, 268–270. Ribichini 1999, 157–162 classifies the deities according to possible Greek equivalents.

49 Different Zeus figures are mentioned in the fragments. Zeus Demarous' parentage is plural: Kronos / El gave his mother, pregnant from Ouranos, to Dagon (Jacoby 1958, 810, 10–14 = Eusebius *Praep. evang.* I 10, 18), this blurring of parentage is one of several aspects linking him to the Ugaritic Baal; Baumgarten 1981, 195–197; cf. Ayali-Darshan 2013.

50 Zeus Demarous, possibly identical to Adados, together with Astarte as current rulers are only named in a successive fragment (Jacoby 1958, 811, 24 = Eusebius *Praep. evang.* I 10, 31), originally apparently unconnected to the fragments cited so far. This is explicitly mentioned in its introduction: Jacoby 1958, 811, 23 = Eusebius *Praep. evang.* I 10, 30. The identification of Zeus Demarous with Adados depends on a textual conjecture, the emendation of καὶ to ὁ καὶ, Baumgarten 1981, 219; rejected by Attridge/Oden 1981, 91.

This first generation is considered by some as Philo's invention.[51] But another succession myth indicates that Philo might have had a source in this case, a tradition which is known from *CTH* 344, the "Song of Going Forth",[52] the first part of the Hurrian-Hittite cycle of Kumarbi from the 2nd millennium BCE,[53] much older than Hesiod and often discussed among the traditions received by him.[54] This text has a structural parallel to Philo where Philo differs from Hesiod and knows four generations of divine rulers, Alalu, Anu, Kumarbi and the storm-god.[55]

Tab. 4: The generations of gods in *CTH* 344, Philo and Hesiod.

CTH 344	Philo	Hesiod
Alalu	Elioun = Hypsistos & Berouth	–
Anu	Epigeios Autochthon = Ouranos & Ge	Ouranos & Ge
Kumarbi	Elos = Kronos	Kronos & Rhea
Storm-god	Zeus Demarous & / ‹=›? Adados & Astarte	Zeus & Hera

The Anatolian counterpart of Philo's Elioun as first ruling god is Alalu. There are several parallels between the younger generations of deities in Hesiod and the Anatolian tradition: Ouranos (= Heaven) is related to Anu, which is the Mesopotamian name of the god of heaven, who is one of the olden gods in the Hittite tradition.[56] Kumarbi is associated to grain. In Ugarit, he is connected to Enlil and El.[57] The final ruler is a storm-god like Baal / Hadad.[58] There are so many and diverse parallels between Hesiod and the Kumarbi tradition that Hesiod is considered to be dependent on Anatolian material, though the way of transmission is speculative.[59] Philo is situated between Hesiod and the Anatolian texts. It is plausible to assume that he

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51 Lack 1962, 50–56; Elnes/Miller 1999a, 294; Kottsieper 2013b.

52 Van Dongen 2012, 71–73.

53 Güterbock 1946; Hoffner 1998, 40–42 with translation; cf. Haas 1994, 82–99; Haas 2006, 130–176; Haas 2011, 181–199; Ünal 1994, 828–830; Bauer/Görke/Lorenz/Rieken 2015, 162–166.

54 Güterbock 1946, 115; West 1966, 28; West 1999, 276–277, 279–280; Haas 2006, 136–137; López-Ruiz 2006; López-Ruiz 2010, 87, 99–101 who sees the Phoenicians as intermediaries; Rutherford 2009, 22; Haas 2011, 287–288. Bernabé 1989 however emphasises the differences.

55 The name of the storm-god is often given as Teššub. According to van Dongen 2012, 34, the logographic writing leaves open which storm-god is meant, the phonetic complements suggest Tarḫunna-, the Hittite storm-god.

56 Haas 1994, 114.

57 Haas 1994, 168–169; Haas 2006, 131–132.

58 Schwemer 2008, 3–8, 17–22.

59 Possible ways of transmission: Güterbock 1946, 111, 115; West 1999, 626–627; Rutherford 2009, 31–35; Scully 2015, 51–52; cf. López-Ruiz 2006, 94–100.

does not depend on Hesiod only but really knows an ancient tradition which has a god Elioun / Elyon at the beginning of the history of the gods.

Behind Elioun / Elyon stands most probably the tradition of an independent deity because of formal parallels between the three theogonies, *CTH* 344, Hesiod, and Philo. As in the case of the Sfire god-list, we know little more than the name: Elioun has a wife whose name is related either to the city Beirut or to wells or to both,[60] he is venerated in Byblos, his children are Ouranos and Ge and he dies in an encounter with wild animals. His children found a cult with libations. The information about Alalu, his Hurro-Hittite parallel, is equally scarce: he is king in heaven for nine years, then defeated by Anu, his cup-bearer, then he flees "to the dark earth". Nine years later Anu is also defeated by his cup-bearer Kumarbi, who is Alalu's offspring. Anu flees to the sky, but Kumarbi manages to get hold of him, bites off his genitals and swallows them. By this, he gets pregnant with several deities, the future storm-god among them.[61]

In both traditions, there is a first divine ruler who is the ancestor of the gods, but obsolete for the rest of the story and the present situation of the pantheon. In both traditions, he is related to the underworld. But they differ in all other aspects: Elioun is killed by wild animals and venerated, Alalu is defeated and flees into the netherworld. Nevertheless: it is plausible that there is a common tradition behind both texts, and Philo's Elioun can be considered a reminiscence of Alalu.[62]

3 Conclusion

Despite the disparity of the sources for an independent deity *'lyn*, it is probable that both share a common conception of Elyon / Elyan / Elioun. Both lead to Anatolian texts via structural parallels – to the lists of divine witnesses in Hittite treaties and the genealogy of gods in the cycle of Kumarbi. Both converge in leading to the same deity, as Alalu, the first king of gods, is one of the olden gods in Hittite treaties.[63]

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60 A personification of Beirut as Beroë (Βερόη) is known besides in Nonnos of Panopolis, *Dionysiaka* (5th century CE); Fornaro 2000, 995–997; Faulkner 2017.

61 Haas 2006, 134–135; van Dongen 2012, 34.

62 Pope 1955, 56; Schatz 1972, 209–210; Pope/Röllig 1983, 283; West 1999, 286. Elnes/Miller 1999a, 294 contest this argumentation: "the Hurro-Hittite Alalu, though sharing the same hierarchical relationship to other gods as Elioun, does not display much similarity in character [. . .]. Thus, although we find clear reference to ʿElyôn as an autonomous deity in Philo's Elioun, similar cosmologies in the ancient Near East do not appear to have shared this view. In fact, closer inspection of Philo's account betrays a conflation of traditions that may not be true to their earlier forms. [. . .] It appears that contemporary cosmological conceptions have been absorbed into Philo's account of more ancient traditions. His understanding of Elioun as an independent deity may reflect first century influences." They do not explain these possible influences.

63 Haas 1994, 114; Wilhelm 2009, 63.

The information about the deity Alalu alone is scarce.[64] The olden gods are in the netherworld as ancestors of the ruling gods.[65] Because of their age, they have great knowledge of earlier things, their memory goes back to the beginning of the created world. But this knowledge is not connected to power, it is the currently ruling storm-god who is powerful.[66]

To interpret the deity Elyon / "Most High" as equivalent to the Hittite Alalu leaves open the question of the possible spatial meaning of the name. In neither text, there is an indication what this name is referring to, "most high" to whom or to what this deity is thought to be. The designation seems to be independent of Hypsistos / "most high" as epithet of Zeus. It is difficult to understand why an ancestor god in the netherworld should have the name ʿlyn / Elyon, "Most High". The only circle in which Elyon might have been thought to preside would have been among the olden gods. In the Hittite treaties, also Anu, the god of heaven, and therefore connected rather to the sphere above than below, is one of the olden gods. As Elyon is in Sfire mentioned before heaven and earth and is the father of Ouranos in Philo's fragments, "most high" might also refer to his being prior or even above heaven (in whichever sense). Alternatively or additionally, Elyon could have had a connotation of "the Remote One". The character of Elyon as ancestor of the gods and possibly remote makes it plausible why there are only Philo's allusions to cultic veneration and why his name is so far unattested as theophoric element in the Northwest Semitic onomasticon.[67] In any case, we do not know much and always have to keep in mind the distance between the Hurro-Hittite Alalu, the Aramaic Elyan, and Philo's Elioun. Nevertheless, the attestations corroborate each other, so that one single underlying tradition can be assumed.

Via Anatolia, the conception of a deity Elyon / Elyan / Elioun (ʿlyn) could be unearthed from an Old Aramaic source from Northern Syria and a Greek Hellenistic source with a probable Phoenician background. There is not much information about this god, and the different cultures may have connected different ideas with him. As the sources are so diverse, it is not feasible to reconstruct an "Elyon-myth" or even an "Elyon-theology"; little more is known about the ancient Levantine god Elyon but his name.

Stat rosa pristina nomine, nomina nuda tenemus.[68]

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64 Haas 2011, 184 interprets Alalu as precosmic god from a Mesopotamian tradition; this is contested by Wilhelm 2009, 66. López-Ruiz 2010, 92 sees Alalu as "possibly a chthonic entity". For van Dongen 2012, 36–37 Alalu in *CTH* 344 is a god of agriculture, an olden god close to Anu, linking the beginning of the content of the song to its opening, the invocation of the gods.

65 Wilhelm 2009, 69–71.

66 Wilhelm 2009, 64, 68–69.

67 This is usual for the olden gods, Cross 1977, 332.

68 Eco 1990, 982.

Abbreviations

CTH–   Laroche, Emmanuel (1971), *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris. https://www.hethport.uni-
             wuerzburg.de/CTH/ (Seen: 12.8.2022).
HAE–   Renz, Johannes / Röllig, Wolfgang (1995), *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*. Band
             I: Johannes Renz. *Die althebräischen Inschriften*. Teil 1: Text und Kommentar, Darmstadt.
KAI–   Donner, Herbert / Röllig, Wolfgang (1968 / 2002): *Kanaanäische und aramäische*
             Inschriften. Vol. 1, Wiesbaden, fifth edition 2002. Vol. 2, Kommentar, Wiesbaden 1968.
*SAA*2 –   Parpola, Simo / Watanabe, Kazuko (1988), *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, Helsinki
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Corinne Bonnet

Naming and Mapping the Gods in Cyprus: a Matter of Scales?

The notion of scales played an important role in the so-called "spatial turn".[1] Moving from local to global, from micro- to macro-contexts,[2] the historians paid more attention to the interplay between different scales in terms of continuity or discontinuity in time and space. These challenging issues may be applied to the study of religious practices in the ancient Mediterranean, conceived as a big and a small world, characterised by different kinds of connectivity, localism, and idiosyncrasy. Naming the gods is part of these practices; it is an historical process embedded in specific socio-political dynamics, which involves different levels of agency, from the *polis* or any form of social collectivity to the individual, with many intermediate scales of "lived religion".[3] I will basically argue that naming processes are a major aspect of a communication system between complex networks of gods and people.

I will adopt the perspective of an entangled Mediterranean space, where circulations of people, things, techniques, knowledge and gods are common. However, in this middle sea, if not middle ground, open to interactions and exchanges, the weight of constraints and permanences should not be underestimated. An important proportion of people lived in a limited space, anchored to a narrow territory, with restricted social interactions. When dealing with religious habits, it is crucial to take into account the diversity of social profiles. The comparative approach between the Greek and the Semitic area, inherent to the MAP project,[4] is a precious antidote to the risk of an anachronic description of ancient societies as international hubs, always and everywhere. Ancestral traditions, rooted in a sanctuary, a village, or a region, leave a deep mark on the religious landscape, although, as H. Beck brilliantly illustrated, local does not mean isolated nor simplistic.

With this premise in mind, I will examine the corpus of divine names in Cyprus, both in Greek and in Phoenician, and focus on the spatial elements they convey. Through the study of divine names referring to places, I aim at mapping the spaces involved in the interactions between gods and men. To what extent do they mention or allude to toponyms or topographic features? Do they refer to micro- or macro-spatial contexts? What do we learn by comparing the spatial settings of the gods and those of the humans? The interplay between different spatial scales helps grasping

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1 I warmly thank Sylvain Lebreton for his precious suggestions.
2 Revel/Lepetit 1996; Bertrand 2013.
3 On this paradigm, see recently Gasparini 2020.
4 On the MAP project and its conceptual framework, see Bonnet *et al.* 2018; Bonnet *et al.* 2019, and Lebreton/Bonnet 2019.

contextual *and* structural aspects of religious systems and human agencies, which is the scope of the MAP project. The big data approach of MAP, with thousands of Greek and Semitic onomastic sequences registered in the database, enables to gain intelligibility and to promote a "small-scale global history",[5] making it possible to renew our understanding of the relation between naming and mapping. The database shows an incredible creativity in constructing divine names, but also permanencies and resilience, with a high degree of complexity and unpredictability.

In this paper, I will first concentrate on the global scale of the naming system, by extracting all the onomastic elements connected to space from the MAP database. I will clarify how they are distributed in time and space, according to different criteria. In the second part, I will propose a preliminary typology of the spatial onomastic elements and I will compare the Greek and Semitic ways of assigning the gods to spatial settings. Finally, I will focus on the Greek and Semitic onomastic sequences from Cyprus and the different scales they mobilise.

1 Exploiting the Database: An Overall View of Spatial Onomastic Elements

At the end of June 2021, when I wrote this contribution, the MAP database contained over 6700 sources, including more than 8600 testimonies of divine onomastic sequences. More than 2300 different elements are combined in these sequences. This is only part of the huge epigraphic stock of divine names, and the work will be ongoing until June 2023, when the ERC Grant will come to an end. The "global view" that I will present and analyse now is, in fact, only a partial view, since different regions remain unexplored. Nonetheless we can assume that 8600 onomastic sequences represent a solid foundation for a preliminary reflection on naming and mapping the gods.

Each single onomastic element[6] is registered in the database with different metadata.[7] One of these is a field called "category", which aims to characterise the semantic scope covered by the element, regardless of the context in which it is used. Due to the polysemy of the elements a maximum of three categories may be chosen. For example, the Greek adjective *komaios*, "of the village, of the *komos*", is associated with three categories, or "tags": Political, Space, Social. The selection of one, two or three categories is undoubtedly debatable, but ultimately this is something for which the author of the data sheet is responsible.[8] As far as spatial issues are concerned, four main

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5 For this concept, see Trivellato 2015.

6 The database has a 3-table architecture: 1. Sources, which contain 2. Testimonies (of divine names), which are made up of minimum two 3. Elements (the basic "bricks" of the system).

7 https://base-map-polytheisms.huma-num.fr/element.

8 For a different taxonomy, see Alvar 2019 and the EPIDI project.

categories out of the forty-one that are available are particularly relevant: 1. "Limit/Passage", 2. "Mobility", 3. "Space", and 4. "Toponym". Other categories may imply a spatial dimension, like agriculture, trade, netherworld, etc., but the more categories I select for my request, the less clear my results will be. Of the whole stock of elements, approximately 650 elements, i.e. almost 30% pertain to the four selected categories. It is by far the most frequent ones, before "Perception", "Protection/Beneficence", "Cult/ritual", "Political", "Title", "Praise", "Kinship/Relational", "Temporality", etc. Since each element may be connected to more than one category, the analysis must take into account possible overlaps. Nonetheless, the pre-eminence of the four spatial markers (limit/passage, mobility, space and toponym) is unquestionable.

The numerous spatial elements are used in a significant number of testimonies, amounting to 55% of the total, a proportion which confirms the centrality of space as a characteristic of divine names. When looking at the proportion of Greek and Semitic testimonies, a strong bias appears, since, among Semitic testimonies, almost 2000 refer to Baal Hammon, the second element of which, *ḥmn,* may be connected with the Amanus mountain or with a cultic space (a kind of chapel).[9] When the whole corpus of inscriptions from the so-called Tophet of Salammbo in Carthage will be registered in the database (approximately 6000 texts), there will be an even stronger disproportion due to the massive and repetitive presence of dedications to Baal Hammon. This kind of documentary bias is unavoidable, but it must be gauged in the quantitative results and consequently in the qualitative interpretation.

If we compare the Greek and Semitic data, we find 543 different spatial elements used in 2350 Greek testimonies and 111 different spatial elements used in the 2610 Semitic ones. The proportion between the different elements and their use in testimonies is significantly different and reveals a far greater diversity in the Greek spatial elements than in the Semitic ones.

If we analyse this further, we see that 81 Semitic and 305 Greek elements are toponyms (most of them are exclusively classified as "Toponym"). Few elements refer to "Mobility" and "Limit/Passage" both in Greek and Semitic. As far as the chronological distribution of toponyms is concerned, the toponymic element *gbl*, for Byblos appears in the Semitic corpus as soon as the tenth century BCE and spatial markers are present until the third century CE, at least. In the Greek evidence, spatial markers are attested from the seventh century BCE until the fourth century CE. All in all, spatial elements appear frequently and regularly throughout the whole evidence. Naming and mapping the gods is thus a conspicuous and continuous phenomenon across all areas and periods studied by the MAP project.

Another criterion that could be relevant is gender. Masculine and feminine elements are both connected with spatial markers. They are almost equally distributed in the Greek inscriptions, whereas, in the Semitic area, masculine elements are more

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9 Xella 1991.

frequent than feminine ones. Again, we must pay attention to the weight of the many references to Baal Hammon, possibly located in the Amanus or in a chapel, in contrast to Tanit who is not connected to a specific space but to Baal (Hammon) himself ("Tanit Face of Baal").[10] Nonetheless, the balance between masculine and feminine spatialized elements in Greek and Semitic could be a relevant observation, which needs further exploration. The overall ratio between testimonies with masculine or feminine elements in the whole database is 6820 Masculine / 4630 Feminine. This is only a general trend because, in many cases, masculine and feminine elements are associated in a single onomastic sequence, like the famous Carthaginian "To the Lady to Tanit Face of Baal and to the Lord to Baal Hammon". All in all, these statistics seem to indicate that gender is not a highly significant variant for the spatial characterisation of the gods.

The typology of the sources may be a more interesting criterion. Spatial elements are used in a large range of inscriptions (in decreasing order): dedications, honorific inscriptions, decrees, inventories, ritual norms, calendars, *proskynemata*, funerary texts, ownership inscriptions, prayers, boundaries, letters, building inscriptions, laws, *defixiones*, blessings, acclamations, etc. We must bear in mind that one same source can be labelled as more than one type, which produces overlaps (for example: dedication and honorific). It is nonetheless quite clear that the spatial elements are used in many different types of documents, with an expected predominance in votive texts.

2 Moving towards a Typology of Spatial Onomastic Elements and a Comparative Approach of Greek and Semitic Mental Maps

We observed so far a massive recourse to spatial categories in the construction of composite divine names. Let us now take a closer look at how space is expressed in the onomastic elements and which kind of space is involved. A preliminary typology of spatial elements may be based on their grammatical nature. In the MAP database we offer eight possibilities: adjective, adverb, clause, preposition, pronoun, substantive, verb, undetermined. Adjectives are far more present in Greek than in Semitic, where substantives are largely predominant. To indicate the god of one specific town, region, or land in Greek, an adjective is frequently used (*Paphios, Golgios, Surios*, etc.), whereas in Semitic, a substantive, basically a toponym is more common (*Baal Ṣr, Baalat Gbl*, etc.). Alternative constructions, like Aphrodite *en Kepois*, Zeus *epi Palladiou*, *ʾlhʾ zy byb byrtʾ*, "the god who is in Yeb the fortress", or participle + toponym (*medeon/medeousa*),[11]

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10 On this combination, see Bonnet 2009.
11 See in this volume, Lebreton, 289–309.

which are quite numerous, may convey specific nuances, maybe a closer relationship to the territory, but it needs further analysis, when the database will be exhaustive.

If we attempt to refine the large "Toponym" category, regardless of the grammatical nature of the element, it is clear that a toponym may refer to different spatial scales: cities (Golgoi, Paphos, Claros, Sidon, Tyr . . .), sites within a city (Cadmea), regions (Achaios, Paniônios, Samaria, Syria . . .), islands (Alashiya/Cyprus, Crete, Malta . . .), mountains (Hammon, Lebanon, Anchesmos, Parnes, Kasios/Saphon . . .), rivers (Inachos, Acheloos, Nile . . .), and springs (Ydal), capes (Sounion, Kenaion, Zoster . . .). Imaginary locations are also attested (Tartaros, Phaeacia, Hades, Lethe, Olympus . . .).

In approximately 80% of cases, a toponym is exclusively classified as such, but polysemy is nonetheless present in some cases. Is Apollo *Lukeios* a god associated with Lycia, or with the wolf – his mother Leto turned herself into a she-wolf –, or even with the light – he is born in Delos, the bright island? It seems plausible that *Lukeios* evokes all of these connections,[12] a kind of semantic network which depicts Apollo through various aspects: family ties, places, animal, qualities, modes of action, memory, etc. Similarly, the Semitic element *lbn* may refer to mount Lebanon, but also to any "white" mountain, and finally to incense. Thus, when Tanit, together with Ashtart, is called *blbnn,* "in the *lbnn*",[13] in a Punic inscription from Carthage, does the onomastic sequence refer to the Phoenician roots of the goddesses, or to a Punic white mountain, maybe called as such to evoke the ancestral Phoenician landscape?

The spatial elements profusely describe the gods' environment as one and many, fix and changing at the same time. They possess a place, take care of it, they reside in a specific space and occupy it, but they also roam, fly, go through, lead, guide or command, return or land, etc. As mentioned before, divine mobility is more frequently expressed in Greek than in Semitic. The "Limit/Passage" category, with 24 elements, is so far exclusively Greek and is almost always combined with "space" or "mobility". Door, street, access, gate, bridge, threshold are liminal spaces sometimes included in the onomastic sequences because they are put under the protection of the gods. The "Funerary/Netherwold" category, with 45 elements (42 Greek, 3 Semitic) provides further information on a specific passage, i.e. death.

Different kinds of spatial reality are reflected in the stock of onomastic elements, from a global natural element, like the sky or the sea, to very specific places, like a spring located in a sanctuary or a promontory which hosts a cult place. The "city" scale (*polis*, small kingdom, tribal entity) is by far the most frequently attested to fix a god in a specific place. This is not surprising at all: the topic dimension of cults is predominant everywhere during the whole Antiquity.[14] This is the most "natural" way of appropriating the divine and of creating the conditions of durable interactions. "Mobility" logically

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12 And maybe also other connotations: Nagele 1984; Jameson 1980; de Roguin 1999.

13 *KAI* 81 ; DB MAP Source #3504. Date: 400–200 BCE. See Bordreuil 1987.

14 Beck 2020.

provides a more dynamic image of the power of the gods, whereas "Limit/Passage" expresses the gods' ability to provide protection in dangerous spaces and experiences. Among the many spatial elements registered so far in the MAP database, few refer to "the world" as a whole, the *kosmos*. In one inscription from Maad in Lebanon, a Holy Lord and Master of the whole Universe is addressed,[15] while in Philae, Isis is the one "who is able to save the world".[16] In Semitic, the element *'lm*, which means "eternity" and "universe" is used in several Palmyrene dedications to the "Master of eternity/universe", who is twice referred to as Baal Shamim, "Baal of the Sky".[17] In Karatepe (Turkey), Shamash, the Sun god is called "of eternity/the universe".[18] Basically, the cosmic dimension of the gods, brought to the forefront by mythological narratives, especially theogonies, starts to blur when adopting the point of view of everyday cultic practices.

A case-study, i.e. the exhaustive corpus of divine names attested in Cyprus, will provide the opportunity to have a closer look at the relevant scales of space involved in the interactions between gods and people. It may be useful to remember that, in the period that we study, nobody had in mind a database of the divine onomastic. Since the stock of onomastic elements available *hic et nunc* was relatively narrow, the perspective offered by the MAP database corresponds to some sort of Augmented Reality, that is, a virtual experience where the objects, that reside in the real world and are experienced by people, are enhanced by computer-generated "perceptual" information. When using the MAP database, we are immerged in an artificial divine world that never existed as such, but which sharpens our cognition and understanding of the complexity of religious systems and practices. It allows us to observe how the many, if not infinite, resources of plurality and polysemy are mobilised in different historical and social contexts.

3 Exploring Plurality and Polysemy as Resources in a Complex System of Gods

Let us move on to Cyprus.[19] The (almost) whole corpus contains 665 Greek testimonies, from 447 sources, including 2 bilingual inscriptions with Latin, 4 bilingual inscriptions

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15 DB MAP, Testimony #5090. Cf. Chausson / Nordiguian 1996, n°1. Date: 200–300 CE.

16 DB MAP, Testimony #682; *I.Philae* 159. Date: 30 BCE and 100 CE.

17 For example *IGLS* XVII, 343, 344; *PAT* 0332, 0335, etc.

18 *KAI* 26 A; Helios is also the god of the kosmos (*kosmou*) in *IGLS* XVI, 30.

19 When I wrote this paper, the Kafizin inscriptions were not yet registered. In the meantime, among the 305 inscriptions from the sanctuary, about 200 sources and 250 attestations were added to the database. I decided to keep them separated from the rest of the corpus used for the statistics. In the Kafizin inscriptions, the topographic element "on/in the pointed hill" is used more than 100 times. Other topical elements also appear less frequently, such as *en toi epikaloumenoi emboloi, oreonomos* and *oreon despotis*.

with Phoenician, 1 bilingual inscription with Eteocypriot, and 52 testimonies in Phoenician from 34 sources, including the 4 bilingual inscriptions with Greek. The whole set of testimonies contain 317 different elements: 286 in Greek and 31 in Phoenician. Proportionally, the variety of elements is higher in Phoenician: 31 elements for 52 testimonies, opposed to 286 elements for 655 testimonies in Greek, but the Phoenician sample is too restricted to draw reliable conclusions.

The four spatial categories "Toponym", "Space", "Mobility", "Limit/Passage" are attested, for an amount of 93 elements out of 317, constituting almost 30%. Among the 317 elements used in the Greek and Phoenician testimonies in Cyprus, 55 belong to the "Space" category, 40 to "Toponym", 5 elements are categorised as "Mobility", 4 as "Limit/Passage" in Greek.[20]

If we focus on the elements *exclusively* classified as "Toponym", they are 28 (out of 40). In the list (Tab. 1), the elements common to Greek and Semitic are shown in small caps. Bold is used for toponyms referring to Cyprus.

17 toponyms out of 28 refer to Cyprus: more than 60%. The spatial horizon of the divine names is mainly local and regional. In Greek, the other spatial references are Rome as a political centre, and also Argos and Delphi, two main "panhellenic" cult-places. It is interesting to observe that *Puthios* and *Argeios* are used together in Kourion,[21] in a sequence relating to a priesthood: [Ἀπόλλωνος Ὑλάτου] καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου καὶ Ἥ[ρας Ἀργείας], "Of Apollo Hulates, of Apollo Puthios and of Hera Argeia", if the hypothetical restitution for Hera is correct. To this panhellenic dimension belongs also Zeus Olumpios, the god residing in Olympia and living on Mount Olympus, attested 9 times in Cyprus (6 in Salamis). In Phoenician, the Baal *lbnn* either refers to the mount Lebanon in Phoenicia or to a "white" Cypriote mountain (the Troodos?). It is also worth mentioning the fact that the name (or heteronym) *Kupris*, so frequent in Homer for Aphrodite, is not attested in Cyprus.

The MAP search interfaces allow for many other queries that delve deeper into the issue of mapping the gods from many different perspectives. For example, it might be interesting to check if and to what extent the "local" or "regional" elements connected with Cyprus are used outside Cyprus. Let us carry out a quick survey of three specific areas: Attica, Egypt and Nubia, Syria. Only the element *Paphios* is attested six times: twice in Egypt, once in Huzirina (Sultantepe in North Syria), most probably as a designation of Aphrodite, and twice in Athens where Deo (Demeter) receives an offering with Kore *Paphia* in the second century CE and where two red-figure *lekaneis* depicts (Aphrodite) *Paphia*.[22] The other Cypriote elements are never

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20 The final amount is more than 93 because of the possible use of more than one category for each element. See *supra,* p. 90–91.

21 *I.Kourion* 41 dated between 221 and 205 BCE. DB MAP, Testimony #70.

22 DB MAP, Testimonies #429, 3788, 3909, 8524, 8823, 8974; see also DB MAP, Testimony #4980 (Chios).

Tab. 1: Comparison between the Greek and Semitic Spatial Elements Used in the Testimonies of the MAP Database.

Greek Elements labelled as "Toponym"	Phoenician Elements labelled as "Toponym"
1. **ALASIÔTAS (Cyprus)**	1. ʾDYL [Idalion] (**Cyprus**)
2. Amuklaios (Laconia)[23]	2. ʾLHYTS [of Alashyia] (**Cyprus**)
3. Amphipolis (Macedonia)	3. Gbl [Byblos] (Phoenicia)
4. Argeios (Argos)	4. **Kty/Kt** [Kition] (**Cyprus**)
5. Asôphônios (Judaea)	5. **Lpš** [Lapethos] (**Cyprus**)
6. Acheron (imaginary)	6. **NRNK** [Narnaka] (**Cyprus**)
7. **Chutrios (Cyprus)**	7. **PP** [Paphos] (**Cyprus**)
8. **Golgios (Cyprus)**	
9. **IDALION (Cyprus)**	
10. Kapetôlios (Rome)	
11. **Kourieus (Cyprus)**	
12. **Kuprios (Cyprus)**	
13. **Kupros (Cyprus)**	
14. **NARNAKIOS (Cyprus)**	
15. **PAPHIOS (Cyprus)**	
16. **PAPHOS (Cyprus)**	
17. Puthios (Delphi)	
18. Rôme (Rome)	
19. **Tamassios (Cyprus)**	
20. Tartarouchos (imaginary)	
21. Thasios (Northern Aegean)	

used outside Cyprus. Conversely, the element *Puthios*, which refers to a "global" and shared horizon, is present in 42 testimonies in Attica, Egypt/Nubia, and Syria, a number which will undoubtedly increase in the coming months and years.[24] Onomastic

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23 The Phoenician element *mkl*, which sometimes qualifies Resheph, has to do with the Greek *Amuklaios*, but the question remains unclear. This is why *mkl* is not considered here as a Toponym.
24 See Davies 2007.

elements can move and be appropriated in different contexts, but most of them are forged and used for the purposes of a specific community within its closest environment. In this perspective, the long Phoenician inscription from Lapethos, known as Lapethos III, engraved on the base of a statue in the second half of the fourth century BCE, when Cypriote kingdoms were still under Persian rule, deserves some attention. The dedicant makes several offerings to different gods: Melqart *bnrnk*, "in Larnaka (tis Lapithou)", who is probably the same as Poseidon *Narnakios*, in a Greek inscription from the early third century BCE, an equivalence that puts an emphasis on Melqart's connections with maritime activities; Ashtart *blpš*, "in Lapethos"; Osiris *blpš*, "in Lapethos"; and finally "the gods of Byblos who are in Lapethos" (*ʾl gbl š [bl]pš*). The only Phoenician divine onomastic element which does not refer to Cyprus, *Gbl*, Byblos, is explicitly placed in a local context with a brief relative sentence "who are in Lapethos", which deliberately stresses the local appropriation of the Giblite gods. Melqart, although he is known as the Tyrian Baal, is not explicitly connected with Tyre, nor is Ashtart named after Sidon or Osiris as the Lord of Abydos. We ignore why the dedicant chooses to address the gods of Byblos, presumably Baal and Baalat, together, recalling their origin and their integration in a Cypriote cultic framework, while evoking other addressees in a different way. Naming and mapping are closely related, but the many parameters of human agency entangle them in various ways.

In the huge archipelago of deities' networks, clusters or hubs, to use the vocabulary of the social network analysis, two or more gods sometimes share one or various spatial elements in their onomastic sequences. For example, the element "Kitian" or "Kition" in Phoenician is common to Baal and Ashtart. Is this phenomenon frequent in Cyprus and what does it reveal in terms of structural organization of the "pantheon"? The co-occurrence of elements characterized as "Toponyms" will illustrate the hermeneutic potential of such an approach (Tab. 2).

First, we must admit that the diversity of toponymic elements is misleading and distorted by the nature of the evidence. *Acheron, Thasios, Amphipolis* and *Tartarouchos* all appear only once in a long *defixio* which uses odd divine elements, real and imaginary, the significance of which is not easy to determine.[25] On the other hand, with 100 testimonies, the toponymic element *Paphios* largely overwhelms the others.

This element, also attested as *pp* in Phoenician, is shared by Aphrodite and Ashtart, with only one testimony in Phoenician. Ashtart is never Cypriote, nor Golgian, while Aphrodite is never Kitian. No Greek god is called Kitian. Zeus is only localized twice, but not in Cyprus: in Rome and in Judaea. On the contrary, Apollo and Reshef are both Alasiotas, with a parallel for Ἐλείτης / *ʾlyyt* (Apollo of the marsh) and Ἀμυκλαῖος / *mkl*.[26] The shared toponymic element "in Larnaka" suggests a process of *interpretatio* between Melqart and Poseidon, whereas in Idalion, Athena is

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25 DB MAP, Testimony #658 (*SEG* 44, 1279), from Amathus (third century CE, or even later).

26 On this element, see *supra*, p. 00.

Tab. 2: Sources, Testimonies, and Elements in the Greek and Semitic Corpus of Cyprus.

Greek "Toponyms"	Number of Attestations / Divine entities	Phoenician "Toponyms"	Divine entities
Alasiôtas	1 / Apollo	ʾdyl [Idalion]	2 / Resheph Mikal
Amuklaios	1 / Apollo	ʾlhyts [of Alashyia]	1 / Resheph
Amphipolis	1 / Chthonian Amphipolis[27]	Gbl [Byblos]	1 / The gods
Argeios	1 / Hera (uncertain)	Kty/Kt [Kition]	2 / Ashtart; Baal
Asôphônios	1 / Zeus	Lpš [Lapethos]	3 / Osiris; Ashtart; The gods of Byblos
Acheron	1 / Chthonian Acheron	Nrnk [Narnaka]	1 / Melqart
Golgios	6 / 3 alone (the *Golgia*); 2 Aphrodite; 1 *theos*	Pp [Paphos]	1 / Ashtart
Thasios	1 / Chthonian Thasian		
Idalion	2 / Athena		
Kapetôlios	1 / Zeus		
Kourieus	1 / *Theos* (Apollo?)		
Kuprios Kupros	5 / 2 Aphrodite; 2 the *Kupria*; 1 Apollo 3 / Aphrodite		
Narnakios	1 / Poseidon		
Paphios	100 / 79 Aphrodite; 7 *theos*; 14 alone (*Paphia*)		
Paphos	1 / Tyche		
Puthios	2 / Apollo		
Rôme	1 / Eternal Rome		
Tamassios	1 / The *Tamassios*		
Tartarouchos	1 / Chthonian Holder of the Tartarus		

qualified as a topic goddess, but not Anat. Resheph Mikal is located in Idalion, but Apollo of Idalion is not attested so far.

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27 The elements "Chthonian Amphipolis" and "Chthonian Thasian" appear in the long list of a *defixio* from Amathous (DB MAP, Source #515). An alternative version is attested in a *PGM*, where, instead of Amphipolis, the text has ἀμφίπολοι, which makes more sense. See Jordan 1994, 142, note f.

All in all, the mapping of the toponymic co-occurrences shows a strong fragmentation, a kind of balkanization of the cults much more than a dense and dynamic network. What is more, even within a single place, the toponymic elements are rarely shared. In Paphos, for example, there is only one divine power called *Paphia* (with the adjunction of the late Tyche of Paphos); the same is almost true in Golgoi (with only one "Golgian" *theos*). The qualification of "Cypriot", in Cyprus, is common to only two divine powers, Aphrodite and Apollo. In Phoenician, "Kitian" qualifies both Ashtart and Baal, while the element "in Lapethos" refers to three divine entities (Ashtart, Osiris, the gods of Byblos). These elements provide us a picture of a restricted plurality, a "small/narrow/local polytheism", with limited networking between the gods.

If we adopt a larger point of view and check all of the onomastic elements, spatial and non-spatial, connected with Aphrodite and Ashtart on one hand, Apollo and Resheph on the other hand (Tab. 3), we find that there are only two common elements

Tab. 3: Comparison of the onomastic elements of Aphrodite and Ashtart, Apollo and Resheph in Cyprus.

Aphrodite	Ashtart	Apollo	Resheph
1. Akraia	**1. ʾl**	1. Aguates	1. ʾdn
2. Epekoos	2. blpš	**2. Alasiotas**	**2. ʾl**
3. Epi tois Akrois	3. kty	**3. Amuklaios**	**3. ʾlhyts**
4. Euergetis	**4. pp**	**4. Eleites**	**4. ʾlyyt**
5. Golgia	5. rbt	5. Hulates	5. bʿdyl
6. Kupria		6. Kaisar	6. ḥṣ
7. Kupron Philousa		7. Kenuristes	**7. mkl**
8. Megale		8. Keraiates	8. šd
9. Oreia		9. Kuprios	
10. Par' hemin		10. Lakeutes	
11. **Paphia**		11. Lukios	
12. **Theos**		12. Mageirios	
		13. Megistos	
		14. Melanthios	
		15. Murtates	
		16. Proegoumenos	
		17. Puthios	
		18. Phoibos	
		19. Theos	

between the pair of goddesses, and four between the pair of gods. Within the whole "family" of Greek gods, only two elements are common elements, and within the Phoenician one, one single element is shared. Finally, the element "god" (*theos* / *'l*) is the only one shared between Greek and Phoenician divine onomastic sequences.[28] In the comparative table, the elements in bold are shared.

The portrait of Apollo seems richer and more complex than that of Aphrodite. The same is true of Resheph if compared with Ashtart. The Greek onomastic elements are far more numerous than the Semitic ones, which predominantly refer to a spatial horizon. This is too limited an observation to constitute a general trend, but it is undoubtedly an indication that needs to be explored more thoroughly in the future research.

To conclude, I will focus on seven main points.

1. The MAP database is thought to be a heuristic tool which brings to light regularities and singularities in the use of divine onomastic sequences. These data need to be interpreted paying attention to different criteria, such as the typology of sources, the chronology, the gender of gods and humans, etc.

2. Two biases are particularly relevant: first, the database only contains the onomastic sequences with a minimum of two elements. All the inscriptions mentioning Hestia alone or Shadrapha without any qualification are discarded; second, the analysis is so far based on an uncomplete set of data. At the end of the MAP project, in June 2023, the amount of information provided by the database will be much more. Some regions and typologies of inscriptions partially lack (*defixiones*, funerary, etc.); solid conclusions will come later.

3. Space is a massive category when characterising divine powers, both in Greek and Semitic. It is the most frequently used and reveals that space is crucial in the communication process between men and gods, as well as in the social imaginary.

4. Space is expressed through a relatively large set of diverse notions. Toponyms, referring to the local scale of cults, are the most attested elements. In light of this observation, gods seem to be conceived as more stable than mobile, even if the global scale of interconnected gods and sanctuaries is not fully absent. Combined spatial elements efficiently express the interplay between local, regional, and global appropriations of divine powers. An inscription from Paphos, for example, contains the oath of the Paphian people to Tiberius in 14 CE:[29] "By our own Aphrodite Akraia, our own Kore, our own Apollo Hulates, our own Apollo Kenuristes, our own Dioscuri Soteres, the Hestia Boulaia common to the island, the theoi patroioi common to the island, the offspring of Aphrodite, the god Augustus Caesar, Roma Aeterna, and all the other gods and goddesses". This is a sophisticated

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28 In a vast majority of testimonies the onomastic sequence contains only two elements; 230 elements with more than two elements are attested out of a total of 765 testimonies.

29 DB MAP, Testimony #510 (*I.Paphos* 108).

articulation between different scales of reality, with the Eternal Rome connected with all gods and goddesses, beyond the Paphian horizon.

5. The variety of spatial qualifications is not overly developed. For example, the elements referring to "Limit/Passage" are quite rare. In order to better understand this phenomenon, we should pay more attention to the types of inscriptions, occasions and agencies involved in the naming processes.

6. The comparative approach between the Greek and Semitic areas is a very promising tool. The spatial dimension is expressed and mobilised differently in Greek and Phoenician inscriptions. The Phoenician elements rarely refer to landscapes or "natural" features; they basically connect gods and territories. Designed as "lords", "masters", or "kings" of a place, the gods rule over a land, like the kings. The Greek gods are more frequently associated with an environment that determines their mode of action: a marsh, a cape, a garden, a grove . . . .

7. With the MAP database, one request leads to another: the MAP team hopes that this digital tool will trigger a creative process of exploration of the available data and generate new questions, results, and perspectives on the religious systems of the Mediterranean world.

Abbreviations

I.Kourion	Mitford, Terrence B., *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Philadelphia, 1971.
I.Paphos	Cayla, Jean-Baptiste, *Les inscriptions de Paphos. La cité chypriote sous la domination lagide et à l'époque impériale*, Lyon, 2018.
I.Philae	Bernand, André / Bernand, Etienne, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae. I. Époque ptolemaïque. II. Haut et bas empire*, Paris, 1969.
I.Priene B-M	Blümel, Wolfgang / Merkelbach, Reinhold †, *Die Inschriften von Priene* I-II (*IGSK* 69), Bonn, 2014.
IPT	Levi della Vida, Giorgio / Amadasi Guzzo, Maria Giulia, *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania* (1927–1967), Rome, 1987.
KAI	Donner, Herbert / Röllig, Wolfgang, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften I-III* [2], Wiesbaden 1966–1969 (III[5] 2002).
PAT	Hillers, Delbert R. / Cussini, Eleonora, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, Baltimore, 1996.
PVS	Thomas, Christine M. / Drew Bear, Thomas / Yıldızturan, Melek, *Phrygian Votive Steles. The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations,* Ankara, 1999.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden, 1923-.

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1.2 Greece: Literature

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Regional Loyalties in the *Iliad*: The Cases of Zeus, Apollo, and Athena

In the *Iliad* Zeus, Apollo, and Athena are the only gods portrayed as existing in multiple local versions. Moreover, only they are called upon by name in prayers.[1] In this contribution, I first discuss how Late Bronze Age Syro-Anatolian narratives, evocations, treaties, and prayers dealt with regional instantiations of supralocally recognized divine personalities. I then apply these findings to the use of toponymic epicleseis in the prayers addressed to these three Greco-Anatolian gods, to shed light on how commonly recognized divine personalities were imagined to operate when humans on both sides of a conflict could claim the loyalty of one of their regional instantiations. In the process, I recover details of earlier versions of the Trojan War story and examine the consequences in the *Iliad* of blending storylines that were originally attached to separate regional gods via a shared supralocal divine role.

Hittite texts famously attest to a plethora of regional versions of "divine morphologies," to use the terminology adopted by Gian Franco Chiai,[2] especially storm-gods, KAL-gods and *IŠTAR*s.[3] Local storm-gods were typically linked to mountains that were local weather-makers.[4] KAL-gods (tutelary deities, *Schutzgötter*) were also place-based, attached to specific towns, natural features, and wild spaces more generally. An indigenous Anatolian divine type whose cult extended at least to the Aegean coast, they were hunters equipped with bow and hawk, often shown standing on a stag; their ability to protect may have arisen from the notion that they were masters of wild spaces and fauna.[5] More complex is the reason for the many Ishtars. By the time Hittite scribes became aware of the divine type, the Mesopotamian goddess probably had already been equated with more than one divinity with whom they were familiar, and she accordingly had multiple residences.[6] The under-differentiation of goddesses

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[1] Three times all three are called on by Achaeans in a formulaic line: αἲ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον (2.371, 4.288, 7.132). On one occasion all the gods are described as being called on by both sides (15.368), and Nestor calls on the gods once (23.650). Hector prays to Zeus and the other gods about his son, a prayer implicitly refused (6.476). On the occasion of Patroclus' cremation, Achilles calls on the winds in a prayer presented in indirect speech (23.193–195).

[2] Or, *Gesamtbezeichnung* (Chiai 2020, 246, 267), from Brelich 1958, 285–312. Allen 2015, labels the phenomenon "divine multiplicity."

[3] When transliterating Hittite cuneiform, all capitals are used for Sumerograms and italicized capitals for Akkadograms.

[4] On the multiplicity of Anatolian storm-gods, see Allen 2015, 76–80; Chiai 2020, 250–255; Schwemer 2008, 17–24.

[5] On the KAL-deity, also transliterated LAMMA, see Collins 2010. On his/her multiple instantiations, see Allen 2015, 80–86.

[6] See Allen 2015, 87–94; Beckman 1998; Wegner, 1981.

as compared to gods also played a role; while gods were categorized primarily by their specific duties (e.g., storm-god, sun-god, moon-god), the most important feature of goddesses appears to have been their gender role.[7] Thus, local adult female deities were liable to be equated with Ishtar and to stand in for her in local versions of narratives. In Hurro-Hittite narrative songs, for example, the Akkadogram *IŠTAR* stands for Hurrian Shawushka of Nineveh and Hittite Anzili.[8] Similarly, Ishtar's place in the episode of *Epic of Gilgamesh* VI in which Gilgamesh rejects her offer of marriage is taken by the virginal warrior Anat in the Ugaritic *Aqhat* epic and Aphrodite in *Iliad* 5, with concomitant changes to the episode due to the goddesses' differing personalities.[9]

Such a replacement of one divinity with another somewhat equivalent local one in a famous narrative sequence should not be considered syncretism or identification of the gods, but prayers and rituals reveal the real-world effects of subsuming a local divinity under a supralocal divine type. Because gods were not omnipresent, it was necessary to attract them from one place to another, and the worshippers were competing for the god's attention against other worshippers. Thus, nearness equaled responsiveness, and a key argument was, "We worship you the best."[10] Particularly elaborate were the "come from wherever you are" evocations, which were brought to Anatolia by the Hurrians via north Syria, as evinced by their use on the Syrian Cedar-gods and *IŠTAR* of Nineveh. In these rituals the god was lured towards the worshippers by nice smells, sounds, and sights, while the performer exhaustively listed all the towns and lands where the divinity might be. In the case of *IŠTAR*, this even included Wilusa (Troy).[11] At Ugarit, Hurrian-language incense prayers similarly used fragrant smoke to attract gods from a series of cities, starting with the one considered to be their original home. Only El, whose home was heaven, had no home city on earth.[12]

In Hittite treaties, the Hittite gods, listed according to their divine type, then subdivided according to toponymic epiclesis, were called to witness the agreement and implement its conditional curses as necessary.[13] The parallels with Cretan treaties from the Hellenistic period and the treaty between Philip of Macedon and Hannibal (Plb. 7.9.2–3) suggest that the listing of partisan local gods as witnesses and enforcers in treaties was widespread. The practice would have spread by means of international

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7 Cf. Asher-Greve / Westenholz 2013, 133–135.

8 Bachvarova 2013.

9 Bachvarova 2016b, 325–326.

10 E.g., prayer of Arnuwanda and Ashmunikal, translit. and trans. Rieken *et al.* 2015 ff. Cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 304–319, Eur. *IT* 1086–1088.

11 Evocation ritual for *IŠTAR* of Nineveh: translit. and trans. Fuscagni 2009 ff.; for the Cedar-gods: Haas / Wilhelm 1974, 180–209.

12 Shawushka: *KTU* 1.54; Ishhara: 1.131; Kumarbi: 1.44; El: 1.128; Dietrich / Mayer 1994; Dietrich 2004; Bachvarova forthcoming, 164.

13 Schwemer 2006, 243–253.

treaty-making.[14] Similarly, Hittite royal prayers asking the gods to protect their country could not only appeal to their full assembly in general terms, but also list the individual gods exhaustively according to their type and location to make sure none were missed.[15] Certainly, the concern that a city under attack would be abandoned by its gods was common throughout the Mediterranean; a topos of Sumerian liturgical laments was the image of the patron goddess, usually Inanna, abandoning her city.[16] Thus, we can begin with the surmise that toponymic epicleseis for Greek gods were at home in Archaic Greek genres that wished to invoke a deity's regional loyalty, not only treaties but also prayers against a foreign enemy.

In the *Iliad* the Anatolian storm-god, the KAL-deity, and Anatolian goddesses who had been subsumed under the Ishtar-type were equated with Zeus, Apollo, and Athena, both narratologically and in the epic's original real-world Greco-Anatolian context. The identification of the Greek god Zeus with local Anatolian storm-gods is well-established,[17] and it has been accepted by specialists that in Anatolia Athena was equated with the indigenous goddess Maliya. Although not very well attested in Hittite texts, in one case Maliya was associated with carpenters, which helps to explain the equation. Also key would have been Athena's role as chief guardian of the polis, which would have allowed for her syncretism with Maliya as the goddess overseeing a particular polis, whether characterized by the term "poliad" or by a toponymic adjective, at, e.g., Phaselis (attested 5th cent.), Pedasa (Hdt. 8.104), Pergamon (attested 4th cent.), Ialysus (attested Imperial period), and Lindos (attested Hellenistic period).[18]

At Troy, the relevant goddess may have been worshipped already at the beginning of the Iron Age in the West Sanctuary where in the Hellenistic period Cybele received worship, for in the Geometric period we find here, within the re-used walls of a Bronze Age building, evidence for cult activity directed at a statue, behind which stood the remains of the Bronze Age walls of Troy.[19] While we do not know how (or whether) these worshippers identified themselves ethnically, by the Late Geometric period some 28 paved circles pressed up against the ruined walls show that people living at or visiting Troy were engaging in the same clan-based practices commemorating ancestors found in mainland Greece,[20] and it is possible that some considered themselves to be

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14 Barré 1983, 100–103; Burkert 1992, 67–68. See Quick 2017, on treaty ceremonies as vectors for transmission of curse patterns within the Near East. Chaniotis 1996, 68–76, discusses the gods by whom Cretan treaties were sworn.

15 Schwemer 2006, 253–254.

16 See note 50.

17 Chiai 2020; Rutherford 2020b, 54, 197–198.

18 Tüner Önen / Yılmaz 2015, 123; Payne / Sasseville 2016; Rutherford 2020a; 2020b, 54, 74, 194–195. Athena Polias at Lindos: *I.Lindos* 134, ca. 185 BCE (Badoud 2015, 229). On Athena as guardian of the city on Rhodes, see Paul 2016.

19 Aslan 2019, 83–99, 258–263.

20 Aslan 2019, 117–122, 266–267.

descended from the Dardanid house.[21] Whereas the Romans connected themselves to Troy via Aphrodite, mother of their ancestor Aeneas, in the Trojan War legend she failed to take on the role of angered city goddess, despite absorbing other narrative topoi attached to Inanna/Ishtar. It may be that she was blocked from doing so because Athena as city goddess had already been linked to the indigenous patron goddess of Troy. Moreover, it appears that narrative strands involving a goddess instrumental in the fate of Troy and its house were interwoven, two of which were attached to Aeneas and Paris, another to the divine statue destined to be stolen by the Greeks.

As for Apollo, he shares important characteristics with the [d]KAL.LÍL or tutelary deity of the steppe. This divine type was already receiving worship by both Mycenaeans and Anatolians in Late Bronze Age Miletus (Milawatta), as demonstrated by a fragment of a Mycenaean-style krater (LH IIIB-C, 1230–1190 BCE) that preserves a piece of the Hittite-style horned headgear of a god who holds a hawk, only the beak of which remains. Cult continuity into the Iron Age is indicated by the iconography of Apollo Philesios at nearby Didyma, whose statue held a stag in the palm of its hand (Plin. *HN* 34.75). Indeed, KAL-gods could bear a version of Apollo's name, as shown by a Hittite plague ritual carried out by an augur from Aegean west Anatolia (Arzawa), in which the god is called Appaluwa. The parallel with the augur Calchas diagnosing Apollo's anger as the cause of the plague striking the Achaean army in *Iliad* 1 is inescapable. Finally, at Wilusa the surely related Appaliuna was the most important god, as shown by the fact that he is featured in the god list of the treaty between Muwatalli II and Alaksandu of Wilusa (ca. 1275 BCE).[22]

As with Milawatta, there is evidence for mixing with Mycenaeans at Wilusa, at least at the elite level, because, although allied with the Hittites, the city had a king named Alaksandu. Thus, the *Iliad* reveals deep continuity of memory at Troy by acknowledging that Apollo has a particular allegiance with Troy and the Troad and by using the dynastic name Alexander for Paris. In my opinion this is not proof of the historicity of the Trojan War, but of the tenacity of legends about the fall of Troy, and it indicates that indigenous inhabitants of the Troad were instrumental in developing the legends that are now only preserved for us in Greek sources and through a Greek lens. I therefore think in terms of a shared yet contested Greco-Anatolian legendary history centered on Troy, in which Apollo would have been a central figure. Obviously, this tradition would have been a key means for transmitting Near Eastern narrative topoi to the Greek epic tradition, particularly ones about the destruction of a famous city, and including the one I will show was applied to Athena: the goddess abandoning her city.[23] Thus, we find that Troy in particular, because of its complex

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21 Bachvarova 2016a, 55; 2016b, 328–329, 435–437. Olsen 2012, 5–9, while thoroughly discussing the evidence for historical Aeneids, is skeptical of their existence.

22 Herda 2008; Bachvarova 2016b, 241–250; Rutherford 2020b, 109–113, 120–123, 143. Parallel with *Iliad* 1: Högemann / Oettinger 2008.

23 Bachvarova 2016a, 60–70; 2016b, 349–457.

Greco-Anatolian cultural heritage and because stories telling of a shared yet contested Greco-Anatolian past were already attached to it, was a place particularly suited for narratives that pondered the conflicted loyalties of deities. I hypothesize that at some stage in the period during which epics about the fall of Troy were being orally performed by bards (and perhaps not at the same stage for each god) their audiences would have been aware that Zeus, Athena, and Apollo had Anatolian analogues, and would have noticed – perhaps even expected – allusions to their multiple, even divided, loyalties.

We begin with Zeus. The toponymic epithet that presents Zeus as neutral observer is "residing in heaven," used by Agamemnon before what at that point looked like it would be the opening battle of the epic, when he asks Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε, κελαιννεφές, αἰθέρι ναίων, not to let the sun set before he strikes down Priam's house and Hector, who has laid low so many of his companions (2.412–418). Here we can imagine Agamemnon to be appealing to Zeus as impartial judge by presenting him as *not* having a home base; like El in the Hurrian incense incantation he is present throughout heaven where he can survey the doings of all humans. With regard to his toponymic epiclesis Ὀλύμπιος, it places him at a distance from Troy, for when Hera makes her way from Mt. Olympus to Lemnos, off the Troadic coast, she must complete the journey in a series of stages (14.225–230), and Ares is unaware that his son has been killed while he is confined there by Zeus' order (15.110–118). The mountain is not without descriptors: it is cloudy (16.364), snowy (18.616), with many folds or necks (e.g., 8.3, 411), and in or near heaven (e.g., 1.497, 16.364–365). But, its most important attribute is the houses of the gods (e.g., 1.18), including Zeus' bronze house where they assemble (21.438).[24] Thus, the adjective Ὀλύμπιος is not exclusive to Zeus, but can refer to the collective of gods. It may be that when Hera demands of her Olympian husband that he swear an oath (19.108), she is asserting he may be *primus*, but still *inter pares*. Context shows the term also has a panhellenic perspective, referring to the systemization of the Greek pantheon with Zeus at its peak, for Achilles refers to the other gods as Olympians when he points out to Thetis that when praying to Zeus she regularly makes mention of an episode of the succession narrative in which she saved Zeus from Poseidon, Hera, and Athena (1.398–400).[25] So, when Thetis appeals to Ὀλύμπιε μητίετα Ζεῦ (1.508), asking him to punish the Achaeans by tipping the scales of battle as long as Achilles refuses to fight, she perhaps means to allude to their shared history, but the human listener would appreciate that this was an epithet which Nestor is the only human to use, and specifically in a prayer stressing the Achaeans' long-term relationship with the Olympian (15.372–376); Agamemnon after Menelaus is wounded similarly makes use of the epiclesis when he asserts confidently

24 For discussion of Olympus in the *Iliad*, see Schironi 2018, 323–329. Aristarchus considered it to be located in Macedonia (Σ *ad Il.* 8.19).
25 See Slatkin 2011.

that sooner or later the Olympian will punish the perpetrators (4.160–161). Therefore, ironically, the epiclesis "Olympian" should trigger Zeus' partisanship for the side that Thetis is asking to suffer harm.

In contrast, when Achilles prays that Patroclus might gain glory and return home safely after fighting in his stead around the Achaeans' ships, he makes very clear that the Zeus he is invoking is not the Zeus of all Achaeans who might be concerned about their welfare, but the Zeus of his household. As he stands at the god's altar in his fenced yard, he prays:

> Zeus, lord, Dodonian, Pelasgian, residing faraway, protecting stormy Dodone; and around the Selloi reside, your attendants who wear no sandals and sleep on the ground. Indeed, as once you heard my word when I prayed, honoring me, and you struck down the host of Achaeans, so now also still carry out for me this desire. (16.233–238)

The mention of the Selloi – or is it Helloi (σ' Ἑλλοί)? – is a recondite detail,[26] and Achilles further signals his in-group status by showing he knows the relevant lore about the archaic practices of this faraway Zeus' priests, who served an oracle which at least in later times claimed to be the oldest (Hdt. 2.52). The emphasis on ancient ties is further underlined with the reference to Zeus as Pelasgian. According to Herodotus, the Pelasgians were in Greece before the Greeks arrived, as well as in Samothrace and Lemnos,[27] and Homer too views them to be a people that occupied both sides of the Aegean, including them not only among Achilles' contingent (ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον, 2.681), but also among the Trojan allies (2.840, 10.429). Perhaps Homer also considered them to a be a pre-Greek people? In that case, when Achilles invokes Zeus with this epithet, he is speaking specifically to a Zeus who did not put the Achaeans first. Wide-seeing Zeus (16.241), however, only grants one of his wishes, his sights set on his larger plan that will lead to the death of Hector, Achilles' own death, and finally the end of the Trojan war.

With these preliminary observations, we turn to the Zeus of Mt. Ida. The nearby mountain is well characterized. At the edge of the Ilian plain with Zeleia at its base, it is the place of origin of the men who founded Troy (21.558–559, 2.824, 20.215–218). A single formulaic verse is enough for to a god to reach Troy from Ida: βῆ δὲ κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων εἰς Ἴλιον ἱρήν (11.196, 15.169). Thickly wooded and well-watered by several named rivers (4.474–476, 11.183, 12.19–22, 23.114–120), its epithet "mother of wild animals" (14.283) speaks to a Phrygian element in the mountain's cult, by way of the Phrygian Matar, who was associated with mountains. On Mt. Ida Zeus has a shrine, as befitted Phrygian and more general Anatolian practices, one served by a Trojan priest (16.604–605). Both here and at Troy Hector made many sacrifices to Zeus, as the god regretfully notes when he realizes Hector's inevitable death is nigh

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26 Later writers used the form Helloi; cf. Aristarchus *ad loc.* (Schironi 2018, 657). For the geographic issues with this prayer, see Janko 1994, 348–350.

27 On Herodotus' treatment of the Pelasgians, see Munson 2005, 7–13.

(22.169–173). Additionally, Mt. Ida has hosted earlier episodes from local myth; here is where Aeneas was conceived and born (2.820–821), here he tended herds like his father had, and here he was almost killed by Achilles in an earlier raid (20.188–194).

Thus, it is natural for Priam to pray to Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἴδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε (24.308–313), who, as Hecuba notes, "oversees all of Troy" (24.290–291). The commonly used "father" as epithet speaks to the ideal relationship between god and worshipper, with the god offering love and nurturing to his human dependent.[28] The terms "most glorious" and "greatest" when coupled with the toponymic epiclesis insist that it is this Zeus who is supreme – for these worshippers. Zeus sits on nearby Ida not only because it gives him a good view; his proximity signals his support of the Trojans. Thus, Zeus thunders or launches a storm from Ida to give victory to the Trojans (8.170–171, 17.593–596), or sends other gods to intervene for the Trojans (15.220–238, Apollo; 11.182–185, Iris).

However, this support is not unequivocal. Although in Books 15–17 both Hector and the Danaans are quite sure Zeus is actively supporting the Trojan side (e.g., 17.626–627, 645–647), the narrator makes clear that, while Zeus is indeed urging on the Trojans, even pushing Hector from behind, the god was only giving honor to Hector to carry out Thetis' wish, and not for much longer, "for already Pallas Athena was rousing against him the fatal day through the strength of the son of Peleus" (15.613–614). But, when Zeus sees the Danaans continuing to have difficulty protecting Patroclus' body, he feels compelled to intervene by sending Athena down from Mt. Ida (17.543–546). And in fact, we are left to wonder for whom Zeus is signaling support when he thunders from Mt. Ida after Nestor prays to him as Ζεῦ πάτερ . . . Ὀλύμπιε (15.372–376), but it is the Trojans, unaware of Nestor's appeal, who react with enthusiasm.

Indeed, we should expect that both sides would be aware that even the locally resident Zeus could be swayed to support invaders. Thus, the Achaeans appeal to the local Zeus directly before moments of single combat, upon which in theory the entire course of the war should depend; they pray to Zeus before Ajax and Hector duel using the same formulaic line that Priam had (7.202–205). Although wishing for Ajax to win, they do acknowledge that it is likely the god prefers Hector, in which case, let them reach a draw. Similarly, after the ground for the duel between Paris and Menelaus has been prepared and lots are about to be drawn for who will throw the first spear, both sides are portrayed as making the same prayer to a Zeus characterized by the same string of epithets (3.320–323).

Moreover, Agamemnon himself calls on this Zeus when listing the gods overseeing the truce before the duel:

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28 Prayers to Zeus with "father" as the only epithet: 3.365 (Menelaus), 7.179 (bystanders to lots being drawn to fight Hector), 8.236 (Agamemnon).

> Zeus father, protecting Ida, most glorious, greatest, and Helios, you who oversee all and hear all, and the rivers and earth, and you below who punish men who have died, whoever swears and, you be witnesses, and guard the oaths so they are trusty. (3.276–280)

It has long been recognized that the list of divine entities called as witnesses parallels the ones that appear in earlier and contemporary Near Eastern treaties, with the appeal to the all-seeing sun-god, mention of natural features that represent the land(s) in question, and the merism of heaven, earth, and underworld.[29] Such passages are standard for Hittite treaties, which, as was noted above, represent by far the most well-attested treaty tradition from the Near East. However, it was not the norm to invoke only the opposing side's god in treaties. How do we explain Agamemnon calling on this local Zeus instead of Olympian Zeus or Zeus residing in heaven as he had done before? This would have allowed him to emphasis the three-fold division of gods called upon, working from heaven down to the underworld. And, compare the oath concluding the peace ceremony, in which both sides address Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε, καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι (3.298). Here, the goal is to express the totality of all gods, from Zeus on down, impartially committing to punish anyone from either side who violates the agreement. Finally, Agamemnon's deference to the local god is not consistent with the portrayal of the Greeks at this late stage of the war, disillusioned with their own cause and vicious towards their enemies.

We may be able to use the epithet to add details to our knowledge of an earlier version of this episode, which after all belongs to a much earlier stage of the war, as made clear by the Teikhoskopia scene, in which Helen explains to Priam who is who on the Achaean side, as if he has not had a chance to figure it out over the course of the last ten years![30] Indeed, the only line that would need to be expunged from Book 3 to make it fit the very beginning of the war is 112, which explains that the enthusiasm of the fighters on both sides for the suggested duel is because they anticipate an end to the fighting at long last:

> ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἐχάρησαν Ἀχαιοί τε Τρῶές τε
> ἐλπόμενοι παύσασθαι ὀϊζυροῦ πολέμοιο.
> καί ῥ' ἵππους μὲν ἔρυξαν ἐπὶ στίχας, ἐκ δ' ἔβαν αὐτοί. (3.111–113)

> So he spoke, and both the Achaeans and the Trojans rejoiced,
> expecting to cease from bitter war.
> And they drew the horses into rows, and themselves got down.

This line includes the Homeric hapax ὀϊζυροῦ πολέμοιο and the rare ἐλπόμενοι,[31] and would leave no gap if removed. If this entire episode were placed close to the

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29 Bowie 2019, 37–39.

30 West 2011, 59, 127–128, 131–132.

31 Also 14.422, 16.281 with infinitives. Other examples of τε ending a sentence and verse, joining two nominatives governing a plural verb: 1.177, 4.456, 15.413.

beginning of the war, then we could have a good explanation for Agamemnon's deference to the local Zeus. Not yet frustrated by a decade of inconclusive fighting, in this first contest on enemy turf Agamemnon would be very careful to present himself to the god of the land as justified in his actions, and therefore he would call on Idaean Zeus specifically to witness that the Greeks are acting perfectly correctly, according to the practice of calling upon the local gods to witness the justness of one's cause when beginning an attack on the enemy, as described by Irene Polinskaya.[32]

We turn now to Apollo, whose regional instantiations may tell us about the performance contexts for early versions of the Trojan epic. In the *Iliad* Apollo is called on without Zeus and Athena only by Anatolians. When doing so they further sub-divide him into Troadic (1.37–42, 451–456) and Lycian (4.101–103, 119–121, 16.514–526) instantiations. The first designation occurs in a section of the text that has been argued to originate in a separate hymn to Sminthean Apollo;[33] the second can be connected to an early Panionic phase when the *Iliad* was performed at Miletus, where Apollo was the city god and Lycian Glaucids were founding heroes.[34] The first example comes from Chryses' prayer to Apollo demanding the Achaeans be punished for refusing to return his captive daughter, calling upon the Apollo "who haunt[s] Chryse, and very holy Killa and rule[s] Tenedos with strength, Smintheus" (1.37–39). The final epithet deployed by Chryses as he calls on his patron god (omitted in Chryses' counter-prayer, 1.451–456) has often been interpreted by modern critics – who follow the scholia – as an indigenous term for Apollo as plague god, rather than a toponym. However, a Linear B text from Thebes mentioning a Smintheus in a set of tablets that includes other Anatolians also designated with toponyms supports the ancient counter-view that it is a toponymic adjective.[35] In any case, the term might have been so rarified that it signaled to Homer's audience first and foremost in-group status, as with Achilles' reference to the Selloi in his prayer to Dodonian Zeus. The narrator, on the other hand, signals the justice of Chryses' prayer by giving the god when he responds the neutral epithet Phoibos.

Part of a sequence of actions that repeats in miniature the larger plot of the Trojan War, the unjust refusal to release a captive leading to terrible harm for the offending community,[36] the episode inverts the two sides in the Trojan conflict and allows the local god to protect his worshippers. Although clearly derivative of the Trojan War story, it has no necessary connection to the war itself, being secondarily linked via Agamemnon's retaliation against Achilles. That then sets in motion a sequence of events in which Hector for a brief time before his death is deluded into

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32 Polinskaya 2010.

33 Faraone 2016.

34 Bachvarova 2016b, 438–453. Also note 39.

35 TH Av 106.3; *Σ ad Il.* 1.39; Bachvarova 2016b, 231, 345–346, 450. Palamidis 2019, has recently argued that the interpretation of Smintheus as "mouse-god" is erudite Hellenistic speculation.

36 Bachvarova 2016b, 400–402.

believing himself to be the star of the story, the Trojan hero failing to realize that this is all Zeus's plan, the mention of which at the very opening of the epic (1.5) signals to the audience how a famous independent hymn to a Troadic god will be subordinated to the Trojan War narrative in a masterstroke of repurposing.

The first appeal to Apollo Λυκηγενής concludes the episode begun with the truce in Book 3. Menelaus has clearly beaten Paris, but the Trojan prince has been rescued by Aphrodite. Book 4 opens with the gods in council, drinking nectar and observing Troy from afar. Zeus riles up Argive Hera and Athena Ἀλαλκομενηΐς; although "protectors of Menelaus," they have kept their distance from the battle, while Aphrodite, who constantly watches over Paris, has saved him from certain death (4.7–11). Zeus taunts them with the prospect that the conflict could end peacefully with Troy intact. Athena silently sulks, but Hera answers bitterly, provoking Zeus to rebuke her for her unfounded hatred for Troy. He accepts that Troy must fall, but warns she in turn will have to stand aside when he desires to destroy one of her cities. Aristarchus, who thought that Zeus's reproach supported his theory that Homer did not know the Judgment of Paris, explained Hera's enmity as stemming from her patronage of a rival city, signaled by the epithet "Argive."[37] Yet, in the epic's most chilling demonstration of divine indifference for human suffering, Hera retorts that she will be happy to sacrifice any of three cities of which she is the patron goddess – Mycenae, Argos, or Sparta – so long as Athena can intervene (4.51–67).

Zeus does not resist, but sends Athena to provoke the Trojans to violate the truce. Pallas Athena dashes down to the battlefield as a dazzling meteor, a portent whose meaning is a source of speculation on both sides: does it signify renewed war or peace at last? Then, disguised as a Trojan, she approaches Lycian Pandarus to persuade him to shoot Menelaus, alluring him with a picture of the reward that would be heaped on him by Alexander and the other Trojans: "But go on, shoot glorious Menelaus and pray to Apollo, born in Lycia, famed for his bow, that you will sacrifice a glorious hecatomb of first-born rams when you have returned home to the city of holy Zeleia" (4.100–103). Pandarus, likely assuming that her intervention is connected to the omen just displayed, pronounces the prayer, draws his bow – the very one given to him by Apollo – and shoots, and he would have actually killed Menelaus if the Spartan king had not been protected by Pallas Athena. Pandarus surely imagined that his Apollo has heard him, as we know he heard Chryses. Instead, what is put into operation is again the plan of Zeus, but now through the hand of Athena, implacable enemy of Troy.

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37 Σ *ad Il.* 24.25–30, justifying athetizing the mention to the judgment. See Schironi 2018, 662–665. West 2011, 33, 139–140, 412, is skeptical about whether the *Iliad*'s author knew the Judgment of Paris.

The rare epithet "born in Lycia" asserts that Apollo's connection to Lycia is primary. This does not mean, however, that this Apollo is necessarily a stranger to the Troad, for according to the catalogue of Trojan allies the Zeleian Lycians are a subset of Trojans (2.824–827).[38] I have argued elsewhere that the catalogue belongs to a different *Iliad* than we have, one in which the Lycian heroes Glaucus and Sarpedon, treated so sympathetically by Homer, did not play a role. Listed last in the catalogue, these two heroes are clearly tacked on. Their importance is evidence for a stage in which the key place of performance for the *Iliad* was Miletus, for among the heroes claimed to be its founders were the Glaucids and Sarpedon. In this I follow Douglas Frame, who postulates that Miletus was the original place where the Panionia was celebrated.[39] That is, the prominence of Sarpedon and Glaucus belongs to a stage after an already well-established Iliadic tradition was coopted from predominantly Aeolic performers in the Troad to become a Panionic song and before it reached Panhellenic status.[40] Apollo as Trojan, Troadic, and Milesian god served as the fulcrum allowing for the transfer of the Iliadic story from the Troadic festival circuit of the Panaeolian Dodecapolis, to which the town of Cilla mentioned by Chryses belonged, to a festival that was based quite far away from the Troad. Secondly, we can resolve the apparent contradiction between the two Lycias by postulating that the place name, already attested in Hittite texts as Lukka, originally applied more broadly to west Anatolia. For the Hittites, the term certainly encompassed a larger area than the Greek designation Lycia, and we are talking here of course of exonyms, not what the indigenous terminology was.[41] This conforms with the modern judgment that the duel between Paris and Menelaus was an episode pulled out of its temporal context because it was an established crowd-pleaser; it would already have been in existence when the term Lycia was still being used in its broader sense.

Finally, Glaucus' prayer to Apollo after the death of Sarpedon nicely calls attention to the shifts in the toponym's scope and in performance venue with his speculation concerning the god's location:

> Listen, lord, you who are somewhere in the fertile land of Lycia or in Troy; you are able to listen everywhere to a man who suffers, as now suffering has come on me. For I have this grave wound, and my hand is pierced all around by sharp pains, nor is my blood able to dry up, and my shoulder is weighed down under it, and I am unable to hold my spear firmly, nor to fight, going against the enemy. And, the best man has perished, Sarpedon, son of Zeus, nor did he help his son. But, you at least, lord, cure this grave wound and soothe the pains and grant me

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38 Pandarus describes himself as leading "Trojans into lovely Troy as a favor to shining Hector" (5.211). Apollo *Lykēgenēs* is discussed by Aristonicus *ad* 4.101a: He says that Homer distinguishes Zeleian Lycia from the other Lycia on the Xanthus river by using no qualifier for the latter (Schironi 2018, 298, 302).

39 Frame 2009, 17–18, 515–647.

40 Bachvarova 2016b, 450–457; West 2011, 64, considers them to belong to a "late stratum."

41 Bryce 2006, 149; Bachvarova 2015, 151–152.

strength, so that by calling on them I may urge on my Lycian companions to fight, and I myself may fight for the dead body. (16.514–526)

Glaucus means to make a pointed contrast between Zeus, who ignored the plight of his own son, and his patron god, but the Lycian hero still seems to betray some worry that Apollo might be more concerned with Troy than his own plight. Herein lies the problem with a god with more than one loyalty. Thus, a side effect of combining different local strains of the epic tradition is cleverly exploited to characterize Glaucus' feelings of despair and helplessness.

However, it is the character of Athena whose dual roles as implacable enemy of the Trojans and patron goddess of Troy are the most difficult to merge and originate most obviously in originally separate storylines. Athena is called on several times successfully by Odysseus or Menelaus, without any epithet that can be construed as toponymic (10.278, 462, 23.770; 17.561). This suggests that in her uncharacterized form she is aligned with the Greeks. But, Diomedes also successfully appeals to her using the recondite epithet Ἀτρυτώνη,[42] and she is called Ἀτρυτώνη by Hera on three occasions when she urges her to intervene against the Trojans on the battlefield, using the same formulaic line (2.157, 5.714, 21.420). As modern editors have pointed out, if we agree the epithet's meaning is "unwearied," there is no reason to capitalize it.[43] However, the very reconditeness of the term suggests a local flavor, meant to trigger a regional loyalty. Similarly, she is referred to with the obscure, possibly toponymic, epithet Ἀλαλκομενηΐς (4.8, 5.908) in episodes bringing attention to her loyalty to the Achaeans, in both cases paired with "Argive Hera," a straightforward toponymic epiclesis.[44] These epithets, even if they are not toponyms but rather regionalisms, suggest Homeric bards were aware Athena was claimed as protector by multiple cities; thus, the possibility of having conflicting loyalties was built into her character, as it was with Zeus and Apollo.

Her conflicting loyalties come to the fore in the only scene in which she is prayed to by the Trojans. Certainly, Pallas Athena was well-established as a goddess ready to protect Troy, as shown by the brief allusion to an earlier episode in Trojan history when she and the Trojans built a bulwark to guard Heracles who had come to save the city from a sea-snake (20.145–148). But, Book 5 had closed with the image of Argive Hera and Athena Ἀλαλκομενηΐς halting Ares' rampage against the Achaeans (5.907–909). Now the humans are left to fight on their own, and Hector, advised by the seer Helenus to put a stop to Diomedes' terrifying ascendency on the battlefield by propitiating Athena, returns to the city. At his direction Hecuba gathers together the old women of the town and goes to her storeroom to find an

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42 *Il.* 5.115–120, 10.284–294; *Od.* 4.762 (Penelope), 6.324 (Odysseus).

43 Kirk 1985, 133.

44 Shrine for Athena in the Boeotian town Alalkomenes/Alalkomenai: Paus. 9.33.5; cf. Str. 9.2.36, mentioning *Il.* 4.8; from *alkē* 'force, combat'? See Lalonde 2020, 110–112.

especially splendid robe, made by women brought from Sidonia by Paris when he came home with Helen. They then go to Athena's temple on the acropolis. The priestess Theano opens the doors of the temple. The old women raise their hands and cry out, and Theano takes the robe and places it on the knees of the seated statue. She prays,

> "Lady Athena, protector of cities (ῥυσίπτολι), shining one of goddesses, break the spear of Diomedes, and grant that he himself will fall on his face in front of the Scaean gates, so that for you right away, now, we may sacrifice twelve unbroken yearling heifers in the temple, if you take pity on both the city and the wives of the Trojans and the infant children." So she spoke, praying, but Pallas Athena shook her head.   (6.305–311)

The refusal, ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχομένη, ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη (6.311), alters the formulaic positive response to a prayer, ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, and the hiatus created by the negation draws attention to the change.[45]

There are several interpretative problems with this scene. Firstly, the Trojans seem strangely oblivious to the enmity Athena and Hera harbor towards them,[46] a sign that this episode originates in a version that did not presume that the Judgment of Paris was the precipitating event for the war. And, it is strangely inopportune to call on Athena to defend them precisely against a hero with whom she has a special relationship, as demonstrated in the preceding action of this book and Book 5 (which itself has often been suggested to have existed as a separate lay in praise of Diomedes before being incorporated into the *Iliad*). Therefore, Homer's audience need not have been surprised when she decisively rejects their plea, even though no motive is given. Modern scholars have been more concerned, struggling to find a fault in the sacrifice to which she could take offence – a bad choice of robe? but this presupposes the Judgment of Paris – rather than wondering why in the first place a city Homer's audience knows she hates would consider to her to be *rusiptolis*.[47]

The problems are solved if we postulate that the scene originally belonged to a different version of a story focusing on the losers rather than the winners. Based on peculiarities involving the formulas referring to the Trojans and to Troy William Merritt Sale has suggested that the epic tradition was recast at a relatively late stage to present a more positive view of the Trojans, and that this scene giving us a glimpse inside the walls of Troy belongs to the later stage.[48] In my earlier work I have gone farther and postulated that the *Iliad* actually merges two separate versions of events, one told from the Achaean point of view and one from the losers' point of view. The latter drew especially on narrative sequences found in Mesopotamian city laments

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45 *Il.* 5.121 (Diomedes), 23.771 (Odysseus); variation at *Il.* 10.295 (Odysseus and Diomedes); *Od.* 3.385 (Telemachus), 6.328 (Odysseus).

46 Cf. the scene from Book 4 discussed earlier, and 20.313–317, Hera speaking.

47 Graziosi / Haubold 2010, 25–29, 165; Stoevesandt 2016, 110–111.

48 Sale 1994.

and texts drawing on the city lament tradition, such as the *Curse of Agade* and the *Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin*. This particular scene has obvious parallels to the city lament topos of the goddess abandoning her city, for reasons which are never explained other than that the city's time had come. The topos was typically paired with the violated statue motif, which corresponds to the theft of the Palladium, as told in *Ilias Parua* 4 and *Iliou Persis* 3 West. When the narrative sequence was transferred to the Trojan War story, it was assigned to Athena because of her established function as "protector of cities,"[49] in Anatolia and perhaps at Troy specifically.[50]

The weaving together of originally separate plotlines created an ironic incongruity with analogies to Hector's fate. The Trojan hero fails to realize he is no longer the star of the story, while we who are privy to Zeus' plan know he has been subordinated to the storyline of Achilles' anger, which serves as the framework for the epic's story about a few weeks in the tenth year of the Trojan War. That failure adds great poignancy to Hector's characterization, as we are both deeply moved and exasperated by his wrong-headed insistence that he is the one whom Zeus loves best (6.318, 8.493, 10.49, 13.674); he cannot accept that he is simply a pawn in Zeus' larger plan to gratify Achilles, a plan that has served throughout to join together originally separate and not always perfectly compatible episodes.[51] In Book 6, the rejected sacrifice scene, when embedded in the storylines of Achilles' anger and Diomedes' prowess, does more than simply underline the inevitability of Troy's destruction; it epitomizes the deepest fear of worshippers living in a world full of regional gods united into supraregional archetypes. Like Hera, Athena has no compunction about betraying one of her loyal cities to aid other loyal worshippers.

Abbreviations

KTU   Dietrich, Manfried, Loretz, Oswald / Sanmartin, Joaquín (1995), *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts:From Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*, 2nd edn, Münster.
TGrF   Radt, Stephan (1977), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta 4: Sophocles*, Göttingen.

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49 Cf. Aesch *Sept*. 129.
50 Bachvarova 2016b, 191–195, 432–438. Motifs of absent patron goddess, rejected prayer, divine statue violated: Bachvarova 2016a, 60–70. Cf. stealing gods' statues so a town can be captured: Soph. *Xoanephoroi TGrF* F 452.
51 Bachvarova 2018.

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Massimo Giuseppetti
Agrotera: Situating Artemis in Her Landscapes

Callimachus begins his *Hymn to Artemis* by portraying the goddess as a little girl. Sitting upon Zeus' knees, Artemis asks peculiar gifts from her father. Second after 'virginity to preserve forever' (6) is the gift of 'many names' (πολυωνυμίην, 7). Callimachus' poem is in fact, among other things, a full-length exploration of the goddess' many names[1] – a distinctive feature of 'the most popular goddess of Greece'.[2] Unlike the Alexandrian poet, I shall focus on just one of such names, incidentally one of those he did not cover: Agrotera. Artemis is known as Agrotera as early as Homer, and in subsequent centuries this onomastic attribute resurfaces in a broad range of contexts.[3] This paper will take a fresh look at a limited number of case studies, both in literary texts and in representations of cultic practices. In doing so, my aim shall be to consider, in a firmly constructivist and granular approach, the potential for historical interpretation in each of these contexts.

1 Artemis ἀγροτέρη in Homer

In Homer animals like boar or deer are sometimes qualified by the adjective ἀγρότερος.[4] This is a somewhat peculiar adjective. It belongs to a small group of adjectives that look very much like comparatives of common nouns. Their basic function is to stress the

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1 See ll. 110, 153–154, 204–205, 225–228, 234, 236, 259. Callimachus has Artemis ask for *polyōnymie* 'so that Phoebus may not rival me' (7). The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in fact praises the god for being in fact *polyōnymos* (87). As Hunter / Fuhrer (2002, 163–164 = Hunter 2008, 423) remark, Artemis' request in Callimachus' poem is 'perhaps not just a request for 'many names', as her brother has, but also for 'the name of πολύς', and later in the *Hymn* the narrator wishes for a song in which Artemis may be πολλή: 'may song ever be my care . . . in it you will be prominent, and in it also Apollo' (μέλοι δέ μοι αἰὲν ἀοιδή· | . . . ἐν δὲ σὺ πολλή | ἐν δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων, 137–139; transl. S. A. Stephens, adapted).
2 Nilsson 1949, 28. For a (very selective) overview of recent work on Artemis see Burkert 1985, 149–151, 218–221; Ellinger 1993; Cole 2004, 178–230; Petrovic 2010; Giuseppetti 2018; Simon 2021, 165–198; Casadio / Johnston 2021; Peels-Matthey 2021.
3 In speaking of 'onomastic attribute' (rather than, e.g., 'cultic' or 'literary epithet') I am following a crucial principle of the MAP project: see, for instance, Bonnet *et al.* 2018 and 2019.
4 *Il.* 11.293 ἀγροτέρῳ συῒ καπρίῳ, 12.146 ἀγροτέροισι σύεσσιν, 21.486 ἀγροτέρας τ' ἐλάφους, *Od.* 6.133 ἀγροτέρας ἐλάφους, 11.611 ἀγρότεροί τε σύες, 17.295 αἶγας ἐπ' ἀγροτέρας. Some scholars have felt that the mules of *Il.* 2.852 (ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων) are somewhat problematic in this regard. In fact, they are not: see e.g. Chantraine 1956a, 36; Devereux 1964, 276; Kirk 1985, 258; Brügger / Stoevesandt / Visser 2010, 279.

association with the noun they derive from.[5] In this case, the noun is ἀγρός ('field', 'country'), and ἀγρότερος is usually understood as 'wild' or 'living in the wild'. Homer always uses ἀγρότερος of animals,[6] with one remarkable exception: the goddess Artemis. In a sense, this is hardly surprising, for no goddess is perhaps better qualified to be the 'wild one' than Apollo's sister. There is nothing impressionistic, however, in the Homeric treatment of Artemis Agrotera.[7]

The larger context is the battle of the gods stretching across books 20 and 21 of the *Iliad*.[8] More precisely, we are in book 21. In the first part of the book Achilles' fury against the Trojans enrages the river Xanthus. As the struggle between the hero and the river comes to an end, on the other gods falls 'strife momentous and dire' (21.385–386). Ares strikes Athena on her aegis, and the goddess responds by hitting him in the neck with a large stone (21.391–414). Aphrodite comes to his rescue and leads him away, but Athena, suborned by Hera, does not leave unpunished Aphrodite's intervention (21.418–438). Apollo and Poseidon, on the other hand, have little inclination to make the first move against each other. The latter feels the weight of peer pressure ('it were too shameful if without fighting we go back to the brazen house of Zeus on Olympus', 21.437–438), but the former has no interest in a fight 'for the sake of insignificant mortals' (21.463–464): they should fight their own battles. As Apollo is about to leave the battleground, Artemis' anger erupts against her brother (*Il.* 21.470–471):[9]

> τὸν δὲ κασιγνήτη μάλα νείκεσε, Πότνια θηρῶν,
> Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη, καὶ ὀνείδειον φάτο μῦθον κτλ.
> But his sister, Artemis ἀγροτέρη, the lady of wild beasts,
> scolded him bitterly and spoke a word of revilement . . .

Here the attribute ἀγροτέρη is closely connected with the qualification 'lady of wild beasts' (Πότνια θηρῶν, 21.470), which has long exerted a powerful fascination over scholars of Greek religion.[10] Taken together, these two phrases mark a crucial

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5 See the bibliography in Leukart 1994, 160 n. 83; see also Wittwer 1969 and below, n. 35.

6 As do many other poets in later times: see e.g. [Hes.] *Scut.* 407 ἀγρότερης ἐλάφοιο; Pind. *P.* 3.4 φῆρ' ἀγρότερον (of Chiron), *N.* 3.46 λεόντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις; Emped. fr. 9.3 DK κατὰ θηρῶν ἀγροτέρων; Matron *SH* 534.40 ἐγχέλεων γένος ἀγροτεράων; Theocr. 25.135 βοῶν ἔνεκ' ἀγροτεράων; Opp. *Cyn.* 1.387 ἀγρότερας ἐπὶ πόρτιας; Nonn. *D.* 3.388–389 ὡς δέ τις ἀγρότερη . . . λέαινα. In this type of association ἀγρότερος is often virtually synonymous with (but metrically different from) ἄγριος.

7 On Artemis' onomastic attributes in Homer see Buchholz 1884, 129–131 (126–127 on ἀγροτέρη); Skafte Jensen 2009, 55–56.

8 See Louden 2006, 212–224; Graziosi 2016.

9 Here and elsewhere I print the Greek text of the *Iliad* established by M.L. West; translation by R. Lattimore (with minor modifications).

10 West 1997, 56, for instance, uses this phrase to trace Artemis' connections with western Anatolia, Syria and Assyria. See also Bruns 1929, 5–19; Chirassi 1964, 8–9; Nosch 2009, 23–24; Hjerrild 2009, 42–43. Despite its popularity among modern scholars, the attribute πότνια θηρῶν did not enjoy wide circulation in antiquity (see below).

juncture in the narrative. In condensed form they bring to the fore the one dimension of Artemis' divine power that Hera will rebuff only a few moments later (21.479–488):[11]

> ἀλλὰ χολωσαμένη Διὸς αἰδοίη παράκοιτις
> [νείκεσεν ἰοχέαιραν ὀνειδείοις ἐπέεσσι]·   480
> "πῶς δὲ σὺ νῦν μέμονας, κύον ἀδδεές, ἀντί' ἐμεῖο
> στήσεσθαι; χαλεπή τοι ἐγὼ μένος ἀντιφέρεσθαι
> τοξοφόρῳ περ ἐούσῃ, ἐπεὶ σὲ λέοντα γυναιξὶν
> Ζεὺς θῆκεν, καὶ ἔδωκε κατακτάμεν ἥν κ' ἐθέλησθα.
> ἤτοι βέλτερόν ἐστι κατ' οὔρεα θῆρας ἐναίρειν   485
> ἀγροτέρας τ' ἐλάφους ἢ κρείσσοσιν ἶφι μάχεσθαι.
> εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις πολέμοιο δαήμεναι, ὄφρ' εὖ εἴδῃς
> ὅσσον φερτέρη εἴμ', ὅτι μοι μένος ἀντιφερίζεις".

> [B]ut the august consort of Zeus, full of anger,
> scolded the lady of showering arrows in words of revilement: 480
> 'How have you had the daring, you shameless hussy, to stand up
> and face me? It will be hard for you to match your strength with mine
> even if you wear a bow, since Zeus has made you a lion
> to women, and given you leave to kill any at your pleasure.
> Better for you to hunt down the ravening beasts in the mountains   485
> and deer of the wilds, than try to fight in strength with your betters.
> But if you would learn what fighting is, come on. You will find out
> how much stronger I am when you try to match strength against me'.

If πότνια θηρῶν stresses Artemis' power over wild animals ἀγροτέρη, by contrast, virtually collapses any distinction between the goddess and her subjects: she *is* one of the wild beasts. In this context, the lion metaphor makes perfect sense: Artemis is now a beast of prey, and a male one at that (λέοντα, 21.483). With it, however, Hera is not paying her a compliment. There can be no doubt that the addition 'to women' (γυναιξίν) conveys a diminishing overtone. Artemis does not exert her power over gods or men but exclusively women.[12] While this creates a further gap between the lion and its victims, it also foregrounds the helplessness of the latter: mortal women are not warriors. By reminding Artemis of her proper province Hera claims a superior power. Hera's speech is clearly designed to frame Artemis as a minor goddess by removing her from the world of 'major' gods and from the Trojan warfield. Artemis may be skilled with her bow and arrows[13] and yet these are

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11 See Skafte Jensen 2009, 56–58.

12 For Artemis killing women and not men see e.g. *Il.* 6.205 and 6.428. This association has larger implications and extends into other areas of specifically feminine concern, e.g. childbirth. On this see e.g. Burkert 1985, 149–151.

13 Note that the bow is a crucial attribute in the whole episode: just a few lines earlier Artemis had reproached Apollo for not using his bow, which now is 'wind and nothing' (τί νυ τόξον ἔχεις ἀνεμώλιον αὔτως; *Il.* 21.474).

merely hunting weapons, good to catch beasts in the mountains but inadequate to the war taking place at Troy.[14] It is within this argumentative context that we find the adjective ἀγρότερος once again, this time in its usual function of qualifying wild animals (ἀγροτέρας τ' ἐλάφους, 21.486). This has an important implication: Hera has in fact appropriated the Homeric narrator's use of ἀγροτέρη to introduce Artemis. In doing so, Hera firmly situates Artemis elsewhere from both the Olympus and the battlefield. Only mountains should be Artemis' hunting grounds. But as Hera moves from words to action, Artemis's role as translated in the hunting imagery is turned upside down. First, Hera immobilizes Artemis with one hand and, with the other, she strips away the bow and the arrows from her shoulders. She then beats Artemis with them, smiling all the while (21.489–492). Artemis, however, manages to flee from before her, like a dove (ὥς τε πέλεια, 21.493) in flight from a hawk. Here the episode comes full circle: Hera's has successfully turned the predator into a harmless prey. Zeus' wife treats her as a naughty, spoiled child, and Artemis responds accordingly: she runs away to Zeus, complaining that his wife hit her.[15] In this delicately humorous episode, the onomastic attribute ἀγροτέρη is part and parcel of a narrative strategy jointly operated by the Homeric narrator and Hera.[16] This strategy situates Artemis in a landscape where she dominates all things wild, but as the episode unfolds her power appears ultimately undermined, both on its own and by the emergence of stronger forces at play in the divine world. By placing Artemis on the mountains Hera succeeds in firmly removing her, both literally and figuratively, from the Trojan battlefield. Her skills in archery and hunting – she is the 'arrow-pourer' and the 'shooter from afar' *par excellence* – are of no use to her now that Hera engages her in a hand-to-hand combat.[17] This is the teachable

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14 Cf. Lycus' speech in Euripides' *Heracles* (157–164), criticizing the hero for being brave only against beasts and for using the bow, 'the basest of weapons' (κάκιστον ὅπλων, 161).

15 Thus already Demetrius Ixion (Σ_Ge *Il.* 21.491a, 5.239 Erbse); see Von der Mühll 1952, 324; Richardson 1993, 95. A similar episode is Diomedes' wounding of Aphrodite in *Il.* 5.311–430. There too the goddess retreats to Olympus and complains to one of her parents (her mother Dione) in order to be comforted. Athena and Hera try to provoke Zeus with mocking words (κερτομίοις ἐπέεσσι Δία Κρονίδην ἐρέθιζον), but in this case Athena is the one speaking up (5.420–426); Zeus does intervene, but he ends up discrediting Aphrodite as a fighter (5.426–430). The parallels are duly noted in modern commentaries, but often only to infer the derivative nature of the episode in *Il.* 21 (see e.g. Leaf 1902, 382).

16 The particular play on the attribute ἀγροτέρη in this context is related to the "remarkable diversity" with which Homer in *Il.* 21 accommodates and promotes his etymological interests; on this point see Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 2000 (quotation: 17).

17 Here the Homeric narrator remarks that 'the swift arrows fell out the quiver' (ταχέες δ' ἔκπιπτον ὀιστοί, *Il.* 21.492) – an image at least in part perverting one of Artemis' more common attributes in Homer, ἰοχέαιρα, 'arrow-pourer' (see e.g. *Il.* 5.53 and 5.447, here used at 21.480), as Graziosi 2016, 54 remarks. In *Il.* 5.54 Scamandrius' skill in archery (ἐκβολίαι), though a gift of Artemis, does not save him from Menelaus' spear. As is the case with Apollon's several attributes that qualify him as skilled shooter (e.g. ἑκάεργος and ἑκηβόλος), ἐκηβολία may derive from ἑκών ('working at will') rather than from ἑκάς ('working from afar'), but the association with the latter is already in place in

moment that Zeus' wife had in store for her ('if you would learn what fighting is', εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις πολέμοιο δαήμεναι, 21.487).[18] The once-lion-turned-dove ends up trembling on Zeus' knees (21.506–507). The light humour of the final scene may tone down the pain of Artemis' defeat, but there is, after all, a lesson to be learned from this episode. The gods do not enjoy the same power. The narrative constructs a theology of divine hierarchies in which Artemis and Hera occupy very different places.[19]

2 Interpreting Homer's ἀγροτέρη

Within the larger framework of the Homeric battle of the gods, the occurrences of ἀγρότερος are amongst the elements that define and at the same time restrict Artemis' prerogatives. But how should we understand exactly the use of this adjective as Artemis' attribute? This question has a long hermeneutic history, a history of which we shall consider only two moments.

The first moment is the heyday of Homeric interpretation in antiquity in Alexandria. Thanks to the scholia preserved in our manuscripts we can get a glimpse of some ancient views on Homer's ἀγροτέρη. To some ancient commentators, the goddess' qualification of ἀγροτέρη refers to her association with the 'wild' and, more specifically, to her behaviour in the course of the battle of gods.[20] These were not the only responses the phrases prompted, though. For scholars like Aristarchus, the great Homeric critic of the 2nd century BCE, the line that mentioned Artemis ἀγροτέρη (*Il.* 21.471) was superfluous (περισσός). The goddess had just been introduced as Apollo's sister, the 'lady of wild beasts' (Πότνια θηρῶν, 21.470); 'who else could the hunting goddess (κυνηγετικὴ θεὸς) be if not Artemis?'.[21] Admittedly, this dismissive comment does not explicitly call into question the interpretation of ἀγροτέρη. Then again, if *Il.* 21.471 is superfluous, the implication is that ἀγροτέρη is nothing but

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Homeric usage. See Chantraine 1968–1980, s.vv. ἑκάεργος and ἑκηβόλος; Burkert 1985, 146; Kirk 1990, 59–60.

18 We shall come back later to the motif of Artemis at war.

19 To some extent, Hera and Artemis embody almost opposite ideas of feminine divinity. As F. de Polignac observes, "Héra et Artémis sont en effet situées de part et d'autre d'une institution centrale de la vie individuelle et sociale, le mariage" (de Polignac 1995a, 43). Furthermore, if Hera is Zeus' lawful wife, Artemis is born out of one of Zeus' extramarital affairs. See in general Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, especially 40–47 on the Iliadic portrayal of Hera.

20 For some ancient readers Artemis's characterization as 'lady of wild beasts' was closely connected with the impulsive behaviour she exhibits in this episode; see Σ_bT (ex.) *Il.* 21.470 (5.234 Erbse) πότνια θηρῶν· δεσπότις. . . . οἰκεῖον δὲ ταύτῃ τὸ προπετές.

21 Σ_A (Ariston.) *Il.* 21.471a (5.234 Erbse) ἀθετεῖται, ὅτι περισσὸς <μετὰ τὸν> "τὸν δὲ κασιγνήτη μάλα νείκεσε πότνια θηρῶν" (21.470). τίς δὲ κυνηγετικὴ θεὸς εἰ μὴ ἡ Ἄρτεμις; Σ_T (Ariston. | ex.) *Il.* 21.471b (5.235 Erbse) περισσὸς ὁ στίχος. | οὕτω δὲ παρὰ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τιμᾶται· "τῇ δ' Ἀγροτέρα κατὰ χιλίων παρήνεσα | εὐχὴν ποιήσασθαι" (Aristoph. *Equ.* 660–661). On this case of athetesis see

another way to qualify Artemis as 'hunting goddess'.[22] As a matter of fact, we do find this interpretation in another scholion, along with the explanation that ἀγροτέρη comes from the verb ἀγρεύω, 'to catch' or 'to hunt'.[23] Thus, in different ways, both Artemis' wild nature and her skill in hunting were crucial aspects in the interpretation of ἀγροτέρη in the eyes of ancient Homeric critics.

The second moment we shall consider is the modern lexicographical approach as represented by the LSJ, which first appeared in 1843. The entry for ἀγρότερος in the ninth edition of the lexicon (1940) distinguishes between two main meanings and usages. The adjective means (I) 'wild' when used for animals, and as such it is connected with ἀγρός, 'field', 'land', 'country'. When said of nymphs or of Artemis, by contrast, it means (II) 'huntress'; in this case it is related to ἄγρα, 'hunt'. In the last *Revised Supplement* (1996) the entry differs in several details, but perhaps the most remarkable change is that Ἀγροτέρα has now become a separate entry: "Ἀγροτέρα, ἡ, Ion. -τέρη, cult-title of Artemis, *Il.* 21.471, X.*Cyn.* 6.13, *EAM* 101, al.".[24] There is no doubting that the revision includes some improvements.[25] At the same time, nevertheless, it is problematic in some respects.[26]

In the first place, the creation of a separate entry for the 'cult-title' seems to be based on the assumption that common adjectives acquire a new status when they appear in connection with a cultic context. Such a context is attested for Ἀγροτέρα, as we shall see, but starting only from the classical age and in particular locales. The use of an attribute in worship at a point in time and space, however, need not represent a radical change in its semantic range, nor can it affect earlier uses in other contexts. Cult and literature need not be considered completely separate realms of experience.[27] Is the cultic context appropriating the Homeric phrase, or is it the other way around? Given the scant evidence in our possession, perhaps we

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Lührs 1992, 68–69; Schironi 2018, 465. Modern scholars too consider the line superfluous (for instance, M. L. West), with a few exceptions (e.g. Von der Mühll 1952, 325 n. 50).

22 Cf. Eust. *ad Il.* 21.471 (1247.7, 4.540 van der Valk). As far as we know, ancient scholars did not object to the meaning 'huntress' for being different from Homeric usage elsewhere, an argument often employed to support athetesis.

23 Σ$_A$ (ex.) 21.471c (5.235 Erbse) <ἀγροτέρη:> κυνηγός, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγρεύειν. See also Σ$_Z$ (D) *Il.* 21.471 (p. 532 van Thiel) ἀγροτέρηι: κυνηγέτιδι, θηρατικῆι.

24 Cf. the separate entry for Agrotera in *RE* (Wentzel 1894), with a substantial overlap with the treatment of the attribute in the entry for Artemis (Wernicke 1896, 1378–1379).

25 Unlike the earlier version, the revised entry for instance does not make ἀγρότερος a poetical equivalent of ἄγριος (in fact, ἄγριος does occur in poetry: see e.g. *Il.* 5.52, *Od.* 9.119).

26 Note that ἀγρότερος and Ἀγροτέρα are separate entries in the online *TLG* too.

27 In this respect, the choice of some editors to print ἀγροτέρη with a lowercase *alpha* avoids any immediate equation between adjective and cult-title. For the same reason, however, printing Πότνια θηρῶν with an uppercase *pi* (as M. L. West does) assumes a cultic life for the phrase for which there is no evidence. Beyond the passage in *Iliad* 21 the phrase πότνια θηρῶν occurs, in extant Greek literature, only in a (probably Hellenistic) hexameter poem (πό]τνια θηρῶν, *SH* 953.14) and in a few lexicographical sources (Homeric scholia, Eustathius); it is echoed in Anacreon' hymn to the

shall never be able to answer this question. At any rate, the Homeric episode shows no interest in placing Artemis ἀγροτέρη in a particular context or in emphasising mortal worship for the goddess. The cult-title is not a particularly helpful category, especially when it is applied to a word that has a long history in the literary tradition.[28] In the second place, no translation is provided for Ἀγροτέρα, and any reference to ἄγρα, 'hunt', has vanished from both entries.[29] This is especially surprising when we take into account later evidence about the cult of Artemis Agrotera, for the association with hunting is unmistakable at Athens, as Pausanias makes clear in a passage (1.19.6) we shall consider later. The assumption behind the disappearance of this semantic field from the entries has to do with the etymology of the adjective. There is of course no doubting that it comes from ἀγρός, and not from ἄγρα; in this respect, the lexicon is linguistically correct. At the same time, the suppression of any reference to hunting comes at a (semantic) cost. It obscures a relevant aspect of how meaning is constantly negotiated over time in complex linguistic systems. Etymology may give us valuable insights into the process of word formation but, almost by definition, it ignores how individual speakers conceptualize the derivation of one word from another or the connection between them, or how concrete use shapes and orients meaning, sometimes even despite the speakers' 'intentions'. The etymological focus is valuable, but it has serious limitations, especially in cases like the one under discussion. If there were linguistic grounds, however inaccurate, for ancient speakers to see a particular connection between words, we need at the very least to take into account how such perceptions might have affected the semantics of a particular word in context. If we compare the two moments of the hermeneutic history of ἀγρότερος we have discussed, there is no doubting that modern scholarship is remarkably more selective and accurate than ancient interpreters. That being said, it is crucial for a nuanced historical interpretation to take into account other interpretive categories in order to supplement the data provided by linguistic analysis and offer a better understanding of the semantic processes at play in ancient uses of onomastic attributes.

Artemis of Magnesia on the Maeander (δέσποιν' Ἄρτεμι θηρῶν, *PMG* 348.3 = fr. 1.3 Gentili). Remarkably, it does not occur in the inscriptional record.

28 On the modern notion of cult and its uses in scholarship see Christensen 2009. In the list of *Beinamen* appended to the first volume of L. Preller and C. Robert's *Griechische Mythologie* Ἀγροτέρα is marked with a C as a "sicher Cult-Beiname" (Preller / Robert 1894, 945). Thus also Dettori 1999, 191 n. 3; Cairns 2010, 276.

29 In a similar way, the entry ἀγρότερος in *DGE* does not refer to 'hunt' or 'hunting' and understands Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρα as 'Ártemis agreste'. In Montanari 2015 s.v. ἀγρότερος (B), on the other hand, ἡ ἀγροτέρα is "the huntress, *epith. of Artemis*".

3 The Semantic Potential of ἀγρότερος

Modern interpreters come up with a number of translations for Homer's Artemis ἀγροτέρη. To many she is the 'huntress' or the 'goddess of hunting'; to others she is Artemis 'of the wild wood', or more simply a 'wild' or 'rural' Artemis. To some she is a 'hellcat', or just a goddess 'of the fields'.[30] Any word may prompt several translations, of course, but in this case there is something deeper than the mere possibility of different linguistic equivalents. As a matter of fact, all these translations for ἀγροτέρη offer an interpretation that is perfectly sound and grounded in the episode we have discussed. Each of them catches an aspect of Artemis by means of a particular semantic construction of ἀγροτέρη – a construction, it should be noted, that is ultimately always corroborated by the larger narrative context. Needless to say, not all words exhibit a similar flexibility. In the case of ἀγρότερος, its semantic range depends, to some extent, also on its very linguistic structure.

ἀγρότερος, as we saw earlier, belongs to the group of adjectives that employ the suffix -τερος. As such, it emphasizes a connection with the world of the fields (ἀγροί) and with the countryside. An animal qualified by ἀγρότερος is wild or in any case living in a 'free nature'.[31] To qualify Artemis as ἀγροτέρα is to draw an association between the goddess (in terms of power, affiliation, or even physical presence) and the world marked as ἀγρός or, more commonly, ἀγροί. Commentators tend to see in this association an expression of Artemis' intimate connection with the realm of wild nature as opposed to civilisation.[32] This contrast, however, is flawed to the extent that it tends to obscure some important semantic ramifications.[33] In Greek ἀγρός and ἀγροί do refer to the 'wilderness', that is, to uncultivated areas where wild beasts roam, but the word has a far broader semantic range. It refers to all types of terrain and landscape outside of urban centres,[34] including

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30 'huntress': E. Myers, R. Fagles, G. Cerri ('cacciatrice'), M. G. Ciani ('dea della caccia'); 'Artemis of the wild wood': A. T. Murray, R. Lattimore ('of the wild'); 'wild': Calzecchi Onesti ('selvaggia'); 'rural': P. Mazon ('agreste'); *DGE*; 'hellcat': S. Lombardo; Artemis 'of the fields': W. F. Wyatt. See also Wentzel 1894 and Wernicke 1896, 1378, who considers Agrotera as "allgemeiner Beiname der A. als Jagdgöttin".

31 "ἀγρότερος heißt bei Homer wohl immer 'wild, in freier Natur lebend'" (Wittwer 1969, 59). For other connotations not relevant for the present discussion see Mauduit 1994, 60–61; Dettori 1999, 189–190.

32 The opposition with civilization is perhaps more relevant to another adjective derived from ἀγρός, that is, ἄγριος, which in some cases amounts to 'savage' or 'ferocious'.

33 In fact, recent scholarship has stressed the oversimplification inherent in the polarity of city vs. country and of civilization vs. wilderness. As Williams 1973 (esp. 289–306) remarks, city and country are powerful and suggestive archetypes, but their polarity can hardly capture the complexities of social and physical organization in human settlements. See the essays in Rosen / Sluiter 2006, especially Polinskaya 2006 and McInerney 2006.

34 About the attribute ἀγροτέρα Chantraine 1956a, 37 observed that "l'épithète désigne la déesse comme déesse de la campagne (mais non des champs cultivés), où vivent les bêtes sauvages" (see also Chantraine 1968–1980, s.v. ἀγρός). Several scholars have followed him on this particular point

the tilled land, that is, a portion of landscape subjected to human work and where humans can settle. In this sense, ἀγρός mediates between the two opposites of civilization and wilderness, or between 'nature' and 'culture', if we wish to use that polarity. As a matter of fact, in Greek myth and literature it is the mountain (ὄρος) rather than the ἀγρός that embodies a landscape deprived of anthropic signs and in which human beings are often a foreign presence.[35] In this way, the mountain is radically opposed to the city. Between these two opposites lays the ἀγρός, a diverse landscape which surely may be contrasted with the city but which all the same covers a broad range of intermediate realities, including the tilled land (as opposed to the fallow) and several forms of human settlements.[36] It is precisely in her capacity as ἀγροτέρα that Artemis is deeply associated with the transitional space that is the ἀγρός and ultimately implicated in any negotiation between the extremes of mountain and city.[37] As ἀγροτέρα she is the goddess of the fields but also the wild goddess and the huntress. The attribute allows the goddess to be placed in different landscapes and to play a broad range of roles. It is then no surprise if Aristophanes places our Artemis Agrotera on the mountains.[38]

Our attribute draws a large semantic potential in its derivation from ἀγρός, but there is also another feature that deserves attention, and this is the suffix -τερος. Now, this suffix resembles the suffix -τηρ in agent nouns. The proximity between

(e.g. Vidal-Naquet 1981, 28 and 169; Vernant 1983, 185 and 189). On the etymology and meaning of Greek ἀγρός (and ἄγρα) see the full discussion in Chantraine 1956a, 31–65.

35 From this point of view the traditional opposition of ἀγρότερος and ὀρέστερος is somewhat misleading. In the ninth edition of LSJ ἀγρότερος is "properly opp. ὀρέστερος" (in the *Revised Supplementum* this becomes simply "cf. ὀρέστερος"); similarly Schwyzer 1939, 534; Palmer 1962, 113 (and several others). On the other hand, expanding on an observation of Monro, already Bechtel 1914, 9–10 remarked that ἀγρότερος and ὀρέστερος are not opposed to each other but rather mark different types of contrast (city vs. country, mountain vs. valley). Benveniste 1948, 117 notes that their meanings may at times converge ("à peu près au sens de 'sauvage'"). See *LfgrE* s.v. ἀγρότερος (B. Hansen).

36 Scholars do not always acknowledge this multiplicity of meanings: see, among others, Vernant 1987, 21; Frontisi-Ducroux 1981, 35–36, 49–50; Jameson 1991 = 2014, 112: "[t]he epithet locates her in the uncultivated land outside of the settlement with its nearby cultivated fields"; Pautasso 2002, 788–789; Hjerrild 2009, 42 ("the goddess of 'the beyond', which means beyond the dwellings and cultivated land of man"); cf. also Buchholz 1884, 129: "ἀγρότερος, wodurch sie als Göttin des freien Naturlebens gekennzeichnet wird". Contrast Stern 1965, 276; See *LfgrE* s.vv. ἀγρός and ἀγρότερος (B. Hansen); Graf 2003, 63. As e.g. Thucydides makes clear, ἀγροί can be inhabited: διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ εἰωθέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι, 'most of them [*scil.* the Athenians] had always been used to live in the country' (2.14.2, transl. C. F. Smith).

37 As Graf 2003, 63 writes, Artemis' "status as a goddess of transition between the extremes of wilderness and culture" is "addressed in the Homeric *agrotérē* (literally 'of the *agrós*, the cultivated land')". See also de Polignac 1995a, 44; Cole 1999–2000; Polinskaya 2006, 67; Ma 2008.

38 Aristoph. *Thesm.* 114–115 τάν τ' ἐν ὄρεσι δρυογόνοισιν | κόραν ἀείσατ' Ἄρτεμιν ἀγροτέραν, 'Hymn the maiden born in the oak-birthing | mountains, Artemis of the Wild' (transl. J. Henderson). For the mountains as the place of Artemis' hunting, see e.g. *Il.* 5.51–52, 21.485–486, *Od.* 6.102–104; *hVen* 18, *hHom* 27.4–5; Nisbet and Hubbard 1970, *ad* Hor. *carm.* 1.21.5.

the two is most evident in their feminine forms, -τερα and -τειρα.[39] Perhaps this similarity[40] made it possible to understand ἀγροτέρα in a different way, namely, as a compound of ἄγρα, 'hunt', and the agent suffix -τειρα – Agrotera now becomes the huntress. This shift in the semantics of the word becomes fairly clear in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. This is, of course, the outcome of a process in which several factors might have been at play. One of them, for instance, might have been the popularity of some iconographical types of the goddess. The co-occurrence of attributes explicitly related to the semantic field of the hunt (e.g. ἐλαφηβόλος, τοξόκλυτος, θηροκτόνος) may also have been relevant in this regard. But, more in general, starting from the 5th century BCE the word ἄγρα exerts a clear influence on the semantic field of ἀγρός. As a result, several words originally connected with the latter begin to be associated with the former.[41] Even though they are not etymologically linked, ἀγροτέρα appears progressively closer to ἄγρα.[42]

The association of Artemis and the attribute ἀγροτέρα is, so to speak, mutually beneficial. The linguistic conformation of the attribute makes it particularly apposite to provide different insights into the multifaceted character of the goddess. This very association has in turn allowed the reinterpretation of this attribute as 'huntress'. Together, these characteristics made it possible for ἀγροτέρα to resurface in different contexts over a long period of time. It is important to stress that this process has a key factor in the peculiar linguistic conformation of the attribute, for it represents, to some extent, a feature of the cultural environment available for its

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39 On agent nouns see in general Fraenkel 1910; Leukart 1994. The suffix -τειρα, attested as early as Homer (δρήστειρα, 'workwoman', *Od.* 10.349, 19.345; δμήτειρα, 'tamer', *Il.* 14.259), becomes particularly productive in Hellenistic poetry: see Hollis on Call. *Hec.* fr. 40.2 (καθηγήτειρα).

40 For a possible instance of interchangeability between the two suffixes see ἀγρότειρα in Euripides' *Electra* (168), used for Electra's 'rustic' dwelling (cf. ἀγροτήρ at 463, of Hermes). Denniston (1939, 70) suggests that ἀγρότειραν (demanded by the metre) here is basically equivalent to ἀγροτέραν.

41 See Fraenkel 1910, 57–58 (though I do not subscribe to Fraenkel's idea that in Bacch. *Epin.* 11.37 our attribute amounts simply to 'huntress': see below); Chantraine 1956a, 40–65; Antonetti 1987, 199–200; Dettori 1999; see also Longo 1983. The earliest instance is Pind. *O.* 2.54, βαθεῖαν . . . μέριμναν ἀγροτέραν ('a profound and questing ambition', trans. W. H. Race). Ancient and modern commentators tend to agree that the passage refers to (metaphorical) hunting: see Herm. Alex. *ad* Plat. *Phaedr.* 229c (p. 32 Lucarini and Moreschini) καὶ Πίνδαρός ἔφησέ που μέριμναν ἀγροτέραν οἰονεὶ ἀγρευτικὴν τῶν καλῶν; Pavese 1990, 45–46; Dettori 1999, 191 ('ineludibile'); C. Catenacci, in Gentili 2013, 400.

42 See Aen. Tac. 24.14–15: 'it is important to issue watchwords easily remembered and as nearly related as possible to the intended operations. For instance, when going for game, "Artemis the Huntress" (ἐπὶ μὲν ἄγραν πορευομένοις Ἄρτεμιν Ἀγροτέραν)' (transl. Illinois Greek Club); Xen. *Cyn.* 6.13; Plut. *Amat.* 14 (*Mor.* 757d) ἀλλὰ δορκάδας μὲν θηρεύουσι καὶ λαγωοὺς καὶ ἐλάφους Ἀγροτέρα τις συνεπιθωΰσσει καὶ συνεξορμᾷ θεός; Arrian. *Cyn.* 33 χρὴ θύειν Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀγροτέρᾳ ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ κτήματι· θύειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἐπὶ θήρᾳ εὖ πράξαντα, καὶ ἀνατιθέναι ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ἁλισκομένων τῇ θεῷ; see also Poll. 5.13 ἡ δὲ θεὸς ἀγροτέρα καὶ κυνηγέτις καὶ φιλόθηρος.

actors to use according to their needs. Considered from this point of view, onomastic attributes like ἀγροτέρα are valuable affordances provided by the cultural environment, literary tradition or other forms of cultural memory.[43] They bring with them a set of semantic associations which leaves room for individuals to exert their agency as interpreters.

4 Agrotera in Context (I): Lyric Poetry

If the *Iliad* is the first text to introduce Artemis ἀγροτέρη, subsequent centuries witness multiple examples of appropriation and redefinition of this attribute. Since limits of space prevent us from a full exploration of the range of such a process, I shall consider two relevant case studies.

The first of them concerns a group of lyric texts of the archaic and late classical ages. Here we have very different uses for our attribute, but the added value of this selection is in its focus on roughly the same medium – the literary supergenre of lyric poetry.[44]

Sappho uses Ἀγροτέρα in a fragmentary poem on papyrus. Most of the text is lost, but it is clear that the adjective appears in the context of an exchange between Artemis and her father Zeus (fr. 44A(a) Voigt). After the goddess' oath to remain a virgin (ll. 4–7), Zeus approves the vow (ll. 8–12) by establishing her 'solemn title' (ἐπωνύμιον μέγα, l. 10) of ἐλαφάβ]ολον ἀγροτέραν (l. 9). This phrase evokes the Iliadic passage discussed at the beginning of this paper, but it focuses on one aspect that was left out of it, namely, Artemis' refusal of *eros* (here discussed in ll. 11–12). Zeus couples Artemis' excellence in hunting with her untamed nature, making her "the Deer-Slayer, the Spirit of the Wilds".[45]

A very similar image is drawn in Pindar's narrative about Cyrene in *Pythian* 9 (esp. ll. 5–70). The lyric poet introduces Cyrene as a 'virgin huntress', παρθένον ἀγροτέραν (l. 6), and narrates how Apollo made her 'mistress of a land rich in flocks

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43 Affordance is a word coined by J. J. Gibson to express "the complementarity of the animal and the environment": "[t]he *affordances* of the environment are what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or ill" (Gibson 1979, 119, emphasis in the original). I refer here to R. Gagné's excellent work on this area of enquiry in classical studies. I owe him a special debt of gratitude for sharing with me the results of his research well before publication (Gagné 2021a and 2021b). See also Gagné 2021c for a broad-ranging analysis based, among other things, on the creative use of the concept of affordance.

44 On *Agrotera* as Artemis' attribute in the poetry of later periods see e.g. Colluth. 33; Nonn. *D.* 48.349, 48.840; Orph. *Hymn.* 36.9 (accepting Scaliger's ἀγροτέρα for ἀμβροτέρα of the mss.); as attribute of other figures see e.g. Orph. *Arg.* 938 (Hecate); Nonn. *D.* 37.58 (Circe); Orph. *Hymn.* 51.10 (nymphs).

45 Page 1955, 262. For a detailed analysis of Sappho's poem see Neri 2021, 645–647.

and abounding in fruit' (ll. 6a–7) in Libya (ll. 5–75). The god came upon her in the folds of Pelion, in Thessaly, as she was wrestling a mighty lion. Immediately struck with love, Apollo enquired about her from Chiron. The wise centaur reveals to the god of prophecy his own destiny. Apollo came to Thessaly to marry her and take her over the sea to Libya, where she will become 'ruler of a city' (ἀρχέπολιν, l. 54), as Libya herself will 'grant her a portion of land to hold as her lawful possession' (ll. 56a–57). In time, Cyrene will also give Apollo an immortal son, 'a Zeus or a holy Apollo, a delight to men dear to him and ever-near guardian of flocks, called Agreus and Nomius by some, Aristaeus by others' (ll. 64–65).[46] It would be hard not to take the attribute ἀγροτέραν (l. 6), at the very outset of the narrative, as a reference to Cyrene's prowess in hunting, as all scholars do.[47] Yet the qualification simultaneously activates a broader range of associations. There is in fact something 'wild' and 'untamed' about Cyrene. She is a virgin who roams glens and valleys, but she is also 'alone and unarmed' (μούναν . . . ἄτερ ἐγχέων, ll. 27–28) while she wrestles the lion.[48] This portrayal does not just make her an alter ego of Artemis; to some extent, the nymph appears to outdo the goddess. Artemis, at least, brings along companions on her hunting outings, and she uses her bow and arrows.[49] By contrast, nobody is at Cyrene's side to help or accompany her. In this sense, she is even 'wilder' than her divine counterpart. But their destinies differ in one crucial detail – Cyrene will not remain a virgin for ever, for she will become Apollo's wife. In Pindar's poem this new life is marked once more by the motif of 'wilderness', but only to the extent that, as a city, Cyrene has power over a portion of land 'neither devoid of plants rich in every fruit, nor unacquainted with wild animals (οὔτ' ἀγνῶτα θηρῶν)' (l. 58). In this depiction, she acquires control of Libya's natural resources. Transported there, Cyrene will not be an untamed virgin anymore, but she will exert her hunting skills on the land's wild beasts. There may be a colonial subtext in this portrayal. Pindar uses the attribute ἀγροτέρα in the context of a larger reworking of the contrast between 'wild' and 'tamed'. This contrast appears to be here embedded in, and adapted to, the social and political tensions of a Greek colony in Libya.

The third and last occurrence in lyric poetry we shall consider is in Bacchylides' *Epinician* 11.[50] The narrative portion of this poem deals with the daughters of Proetus (40–112). The girls insult Hera and the goddess punishes them by making them insane. They leave their home city and roam on the mountains for a whole year

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46 Trans. by W. H. Race.

47 See e.g. P. Giannini in Gentili 1995, 590. Aristaeus, the son of Apollo and Cyrene, was also called Agreus (ll. 64–64a), which could be interpreted as 'hunter'.

48 A little earlier (ll. 20–21) Pindar says that Cyrene would fight wild beasts 'with bronze javelins and a sword', but the context still foregrounds her solitary nature, for she did not care 'for the delights of meals with companions at home' (19).

49 The motif of hunting also appears in the name of Cyrene's son: see n. 47.

50 On this poem see Giuseppetti 2015, 228–245 (with previous bibliography); Ellinger 2017.

(43–58). Next, they arrive in Arcadia. Here, Proetus bathes in the water of the river Lousos and invokes Artemis' help: Artemis pleads with Hera and the girls become sound again. The myth ends with an address to Artemis who 'inhabits prosperously in Metapontum'. Recent archaeological studies indicate that the goddess was worshipped in a location outside the city, at S. Biagio alla Venella. Here archaeologists have discovered water basins that were probably used for ritual purposes.[51] Bacchylides' mythical narrative is meant to celebrate Artemis' power as liminal goddess who could bring young girls from the outer world of wilderness back into the walls of the city. The location of the sanctuary reflected this characteristic of the goddess. It is not by chance that in the poem Artemis is introduced as both Ἀγροτέρα and Ἡμέρα, the 'Tame' (37–39):

> νῦν δ' Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρα
> χρυσαλάκατος λιπαράν
> Ἡμ]έρα τοξόκλυτος νίκαν ἔδωκε.

> But now Artemis of the golden distaff,
> the huntress, the Gentle,
> famed for her bow, has given him gleaming victory.[52]

In this remarkable accumulation – one which was frowned upon by L. R. Farnell as unworthy of any "poet who had any sense for the real significance of divine epithets"[53] – all recent editors of Bacchylides' poem mark a difference amongst Artemis' attributes. Only Ἡμέρα is in fact printed with a capital letter, perhaps on the ground that the adjective is documented elsewhere as the goddess' cult name in the Arcadian town of Lousoi.[54] We have here another instance of the problematic nature of the distinction between 'cultic' and 'literary' attributes. According to H. Maehler, "[t]he four epithets given to Artemis here go in pairs, the first and the last describing the huntress (ἀγροτέρα – τοξόκλυτος), the other two the 'soother' (χρυσαλάκατος – ἡμέρα)".[55] This, however, does not cover the full extent of the interactions between these attributes. There is no reason to restrict the range of the interpretative potential of ἀγροτέρα to mean here just 'huntress', though the context clearly points also in that direction.[56]

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51 Giacometti 1999; Torelli 2008; Torelli 2011. Cf. also Petrović 2007, 200.

52 Text of Maehler 2004; transl. by D. A. Campbell.

53 Farnell 1898, 346.

54 On Artemis Ἡμέρα at Lousoi see *IG* V 2.403; Call. *Dian.* 236; Paus. 8.18.8; this corroborates the supplement Ἡμ]έρα in Bacchylides' text, which seems extremely probable if not virtually certain. Later in the poem Bacchylides mentions the town's river (Λοῦσον ποτὶ καλλιρόαν, 'fair-flowing Lusus', 95). Lousoi itself was destroyed in Hellenistic times; in Pausanias' times it was in ruins (Paus. 8.18.7–8). The earliest archaeological finds from the sanctuary of Artemis date to the 8th cent. BCE. See Sinn 1992; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009 and 2012; Ma 2008.

55 Maehler 2004, 144.

56 In fact Cairns 2010, 179 and 276 translates ἀγροτέρα here as 'of the wilds' (and considers it a cult-title). See Stern 1965, 276.

In fact, ἀγροτέρα and ἡμέρα can be construed as opposite qualifications, so that Artemis may result as 'wild' and 'tame' at the same time.[57] This polarity would ascribe to the patron goddess of the poem the very same characterization that Proetus' daughters exhibit in its narrative portion. The transgression against Hera turns these young women into 'wild' creatures. They in fact leave their hometown and retreat to the mountain. As maidens they are not yet married, ἄδματοι (84), but the word is also used for untamed animals and its polysemy is crucial in this case:[58] they retreat onto the mountain (ll. 55–56) and into the woods for a whole year (ll. 92–95), leaving behind their hometown with its 'god-built streets' (Τιρύνθιον ἄστυ λιποῦσαι | καὶ θεοδμάτους ἀγυιάς, ll. 57–58). After Artemis' intervention, the first thing they do is build a sanctuary and an altar for the goddess and establish choruses of women (ll. 110–112). Women, that is, neither maidens nor young women: this particular event marks on several levels the transition between the status of untamed, unmarried girl and that of tame, adult woman. Both moments are well captured in the interaction of Artemis' two attributes, ἀγροτέρα and ἡμέρα. More important still is the fact that, also by dint of this interaction, the poem portrays Artemis as an extremely authoritative goddess. In Bacchylides' *Epinician* not only does Artemis hear Proetus' prayer, but she also manages to persuade Hera to stop her wrath against the young girls (πιθοῦσα δ' Ἥραν, l. 107). It is Artemis herself that puts a stop to the Proetids' madness by mediating with Zeus' wife. In *Iliad* 21 the two goddesses were portrayed as a spoiled child and a punishing step-mother. Artemis has now grown into a goddess that interacts with Hera on a completely new level, and her power is not restricted anymore to girls and women: she is the leader of the Achaeans who founded Metapontum after the fall of Troy (114–126).

4 Agrotera in Context (II): The Athenian Dossier

Our attribute appears often in inscriptions from several cities across the whole Greek world, in an almost exclusive association with Artemis.[59] She was worshipped in the

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57 On this point cf. Anacreon's hymn to the Artemis of Magnesia (*PMG* 348 = fr. 1 Gentili): here the goddess, introduced as 'deer-shooter' and 'queen of wild beasts' (ἐλαφηβόλε . . . ἀγρίων | δέσποιν' Ἄρτεμι θηρῶν, ll. 1–3), 'shepherds citizens who are not untamed' (οὐ γὰρ ἀνημέρους | ποιμαίνεις πολιήτας, ll. 7–8). See Bernsdorff 2020, II 385–393.

58 Note that the Proetids' salvation is ultimately brought about by a sacrifice of 'oxen never yoked' (βοῦς | ἄζυγας, 104–105). More in general, the comparison of unmarried girls to wild animals has broad anthropological ramifications; see e.g. Brulé 1996, especially 9–10. As McInerney 2006, 33 remarks, "wild terrain and wild woman are categories that reinforce each other".

59 A relevant portion of our evidence is about Artemis and comes from epigraphical sources: see e.g. for Tarentum *SEG* 38.1015 (Ἀρτάμιτος ʰαγρατέρας, early 5th cent. BCE); for Boeotia *IThesp* 233 and 234 (4th cent. BCE); for Attica *IG* II² 4573 (ἀγρετέρα, mid 4th cent. BCE); for Acarnania *IG* IX 1² 2

Peloponnese and in Megara and Athens, among other cities. Unsurprisingly, we are best informed about the Athenian cult, and therefore this will be the second case study of our analysis. Our evidence indicates that in the Hellenistic period, probably on Boedromion 6, the ephebes made a procession to the temple of Artemis Agrotera located outside of the city's gates, in the district of Agrae, on the left bank of the Ilissos river. There they assisted the archon polemarchos in the lavish sacrifice of five hundred she-goats.[60] There is no doubt that this was a significant event for the whole city. It was "one of the major festivals in Athens"[61] in this period and, in all likelihood, it officially marked the beginning of the ephebes' year of service in Hellenistic times.[62]

A first, valuable insight into the character of Artemis Agrotera in Hellenistic Athens is provided by Pausanias. The imperial writer has a local legend to report in connection with the goddess' temple in Agrae:[63] 'They say that Artemis first hunted here when she

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no. 435 (2nd cent. BCE); for Cos *IG* XII 4.1 no. 358 ll. 18–19 (3rd cent. BCE); for Delos *ID* 2387 l. 2; for the Bosporan kingdom *CIRB* 1014 (4th cent. BCE); for Macedonia *EKM* I 49.5 (2nd cent. AD), *SEG* 17.317 (2nd cent. AD), *SEG* 52.618 (2nd cent. AD), *SEG* 43.366 (3rd century AD); other instances are attested in literary sources, e.g. Achaea (Paus. 7.26.3 and 11), Elis (Paus. 5.15.8–9), Arcadia (Paus. 8.32.4, with Paradiso 2016), Megara (Paus. 1.41.3), and Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20, *Resp. Lac.* 13.8); see Ellinger 1993, 222–232. Only exceptionally is ἀγρότερος used for other gods like Dionysus (Tenos, *IG* XII 5 no. 972 l. 1); it refers to unspecified gods in *TAM* II 130 l. 3 (Lycia). See Wentzel 1894; Wernicke 1896, 1378–1379.

60 On the sacrifice see Xen. *Anab.* 3.2.12; Aristot. *Resp. Ath.* 58.1; Poll. 8.91 (see below, n. 73); see also Aristoph. *Equ.* 660–661 (a comic distortion). The procession is mentioned in several decrees honouring the previous year's ephebes and their officials and ranging from 127/6 to 98/7 BCE: see e.g. *IG* II² 1006, ll. 8–9 (+ 1031; see also *SEG* 19.108, 38.114); *IG* II² 1011, l. 7; *IG* II² 1028, l. 8; *IG* II² 1040, ll. 5–6. On these decrees see Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, 199–242 and 248–478; more specifically on the religious duties of the ephebes see Mikalson 1998, 243–55; Deshours 2011, 155–177. The date of the procession was, according to a likely conjecture, Boedromion 6: Plut. *Herod. mal.* 26 (*Mor.* 862a) τὴν πρὸς Ἄγρας πομπὴν ἱστόρηκας, ἣν πέμπουσιν ἔτι νῦν τῇ ἕκτῃ (Valckenaer: Ἡκάτῃ mss.) χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἑορτάζοντες. In the same passage Plutarch gives Boedromion 6 as the date of the battle (ἕκτῃ [Reiske: ἕκτης mss.] Βοηδρομιῶνος, 861f).

61 Mejer 2009, 65; see Mikalson 1975, 50–51; Parke 1977, 54–55; Mikalson 1998, 242–255; Parker 2005, 461–462. Parker 1996, 153 remarks that "[t]his spectacular rite" is also "the earliest attested instance . . . of the great democratic institution of the 'public feast', δημοθοινία".

62 Pélékidis 1962, 110–111, 175, 219–220.

63 See Travlos 1971, 112–113 for the identification of Artemis' temple in Agrae with the remains of a small Ionic temple demolished in the late 18th century. Recent scholarship has cast doubts on this reconstruction (see Pautasso 2002) and offered different hypotheses. For an up-to-date discussion of the topography of the Ilissus valley and its monuments see Marchiandi 2011a and 2011b; Marchiandi / Savelli 2011. We ignore the date of the temple's foundation, but it begins to surface in inscriptions from the late 5th century BCE: see e.g. *IG* I³ 368.59, 368.79 (426/5 BCE), 383.85–86, 383.155–156 (429/8 BCE).

came from Delos, and for this reason the statue carries a bow'.[64] Thus, one crucial characteristic of Artemis in this context is that she appears as a hunting goddess.[65] In this respect the local cult is closely connected to the specific understanding of the attribute Ἀγροτέρα as 'huntress'. Besides, the suburb was the first place where she hunted 'when she came from Delos', that is, after her birth on the island. The tradition reported by Pausanias reflects a local claim to Panhellenic renown. In fact, one implication of this tradition is that it firmly places the temple at Agrae at the hearth of Artemis' cultic landscape. Of all the places that the goddess might have visited after her birth, she did not choose, for instance, Ephesus, but rather Agrae.[66] Here the very fact that in this connection Agrae appears implicitly as a hunting ground deserves attention. The portrayal of Artemis as a huntress usually places her on mountains and in glens, i.e., in locations removed from the busy life of the city. This is hardly the case for Agrae, however – a district in fact very close to the city's gates and renowned for its landscape punctuated by several buildings. It is again Pausanias, for instance, that describes the Panathenaic stadium in Agrae as 'a marvel to the eyes' (θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι).[67] The very noun 'Agrae' may evoke wilderness and hunting (Ἄγραι = 'Hunts'), but in spite of this there is nothing inherently 'wild' in its topography, at least at the time of the ephebic procession or of Pausanias' visit. The worship of Artemis Agrotera in this local context does not just reflect a geographical 'reality'.[68] Of course, it may well have done so in

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64 Paus. 1.19.6: διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἰλισὸν χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος· ἐνταῦθα Ἄρτεμιν πρῶτον θηρεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐκ Δήλου, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τόξον (transl. W. H. S. Jones). This is not the only instance of a temple dedicated to Artemis Agrotera in a similar context: see also Paus. 1.41.3 (Megara).

65 This point is somewhat underplayed by Cole 2004, 188–191. The bow is perhaps the most distinctive of Artemis' attributes: see e.g. *Il.* 21.490, 21.496; Eur. *IT* 1237–1238; Call. *Dian.* 2, 8–9, 81–83, 119; cf. the onomastic attributes ἰοχέαιρα (*Il.* 5.53, discussed above), τοξοφόρος (*Il.* 21.483), and τοξότις (*AP* 6.240). On the goddess' iconography as huntress see Bruns 1929; *LIMC* 2 nos. 124–403a. See also Agrotera and her temple in Philostr. Sen. *Imag.* 1.28.6; here, as in Philostr. Jun. *Imag.* 3.4, the painted hunters are depicted as singing their patron goddess.

66 Jacoby 1954, I 554 observes that "the cult of Agrai was considered to be the earliest cult of this goddess in Attica", but this does not stress enough the larger, possibly Panhellenic, implications of such a claim (nor its context, for that matter). It may be relevant to note that the statue of Artemis at Agrae seems to have attracted the attention of local historians: see Philochor. *BNJ* 328 F 188a–b.

67 Though Pausanias refers to the stadium after the renovations of Herodes Atticus, the monument dated back to Lycurgus (second half of the 4th century BCE). On the topography of Agrae see Travlos 1971, 289–90, 291 fig. 379; Wycherley 1978, 171. Archaeology has unfortunately very little to contribute, for "modern development covers most of the area which will have included ancient Agrai, and what remains is incompletely excavated" (Simms 2003, 220).

68 Cf. Jameson 1991 = 2014: 114: "[s]ymbolically, it was wilderness, in contrast to the town and the plowed fields of the plain" (my emphasis); a similar understanding is at work also in ancient etymologies of the district's name: see *Synag.* s.v. Ἄγραι, α 238 Cunningham ὀνομασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, πρότερον Ἑλικῶνα καλούμενον, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔνθρον εἶναι καὶ πλῆρες ἀγρεύματος (other sources are collected in Marchiandi 2011b, 486). Mejer 2009, 64 takes Agrae and Agrotera as 'a place called The Fields' and the goddess 'Artemis-in-the-Fields' (see also Cole

earlier centuries, but what is important is that the cult discussed by Pausanias invites us to reflect on the possibility that it may have been one of the dimensions in which Agrae exerted its own agency. Because of Artemis Agrotera the district may have lived "marginality as agency", as J. Ma writes of Tanagra.[69] The cult allowed Agrae to secure its place at both the local and supralocal level, marking its distinction from Athens and ensuring its place in the constellation of Artemis' sacred geography across the Greek world. Agrae's distinctive religious landscape plays an important role in Athenian literature, as attested already in Plato's *Phaedrus*.[70]

Pausanias gives us access to an important aspect of the Athenian Agrotera, but what is her connection with the ephebic ceremonies performed in Hellenistic times? To answer this question a crucial piece of evidence is provided by the aetiology framing the sacrifice in her honour.[71] This event marked the civic memorialization of the battle of Marathon. According to Xenophon, before the battle the Athenians had vowed to Artemis that they would sacrifice a goat to the goddess for every enemy they would slay. The number of fallen Persians, however, was unexpectedly high (6,400 according to Herodotus[72]). Thus, they resolved to offer five hundred goats every year, an honour which, Xenophon remarks, 'they are paying even to this day'.[73] In Plutarch the procession too appears as a token of gratitude for Athens' victory over the Persians, still performed in his day (ἔτι νῦν).[74] A passage from Aristophanes' *Knights* demonstrates that the sacrifice for Agrotera was a familiar

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1999–2000, 478). Recent scholarship, on the other hand, emphasizes how the sanctuaries of the countryside exploit a landscape that is "natural, cultivated and also political" (Osborne 1987, 168); see de Polignac 1995b, 32–88, in particular 43–44 on Artemis.

69 Ma 2008, 199.

70 Plat. *Pheadr*. 229c. On Agrae and Athenian religion see Pautasso 2002; Marchiandi 2011b; on Artemis' cults on the Athenian acropolis see Mejer 2009. Some sources employ the phrase ἐν Ἄγρας, as if the district was identified by the presence of a place sacred to Ἄγρα (see Chantraine 1956b; Threatte 1996, 383–385). Some critics have seen in Agra an ancient goddess later displaced by Demeter or Artemis (Daux 1963, 624–625; Simms 2003). Judeich 1931, 367 believes that Agra is a goddess equivalent to Artemis Agrotera. In LSJ Ἄγρα (s.v. III) is a "title of Artemis at Athens", but, as Daux 1963, 624 remarks, "Artémis est *Agrotera* et, peut-être, *Agraia*; elle n'est jamais *Agra*"; the 1996 *Supplement* replaces Artemis with Demeter. According to Jacoby 1954, I 62, Agra is the hill and Agrae the suburb, at least in Clei(to)demus (*BNJ* 323 FF 1 and 9). On Agraia (see Σ Plat. *Phaedr*. 229c, p. 70 Greene; Paus. Att. s.v. Ἄγραι καὶ Ἄγρα, α 20 Erbse; *Synag*. s.v. Ἄγραι, α 117 Cunningham) see Simms 2003, 224 n. 21 and 225.

71 See Parke 1977, 54–55; Jameson 1991 = 2014: 112–115 (although I do not think that our evidence supports his claim that "Athenians thought of Artemis Agrotera as characteristically Spartan", 113).

72 Hdt. 6.117.1. Elsewhere we often find higher figures (see Nenci 1998, 296–297).

73 Xen. *Anab*. 3.2.12; see also Plut. *Herod. mal*. 26 (*Mor*. 862b–c); Aelian. *VH* 2.25; Σ (vet Tr) Aristoph. *Equ*. 660a (p. 162 Mervyn-Jones / Wilson), with cows originally vowed and then substituted with goats.

74 Plut. *Herod. mal*. 26 (*Mor*. 862a) τὴν πρὸς Ἄγρας πομπὴν ἱστόρηκας, ἣν πέμπουσιν ἔτι νῦν τῇ ἕκτῃ (Valckenaer: Ἑκάτῃ mss.) χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἑορτάζοντες; see also Aelian. *VH* 2.25; Σ (vet Tr)

event to 5th century Athenians.[75] On a general level, the ceremonies associated with Artemis Agrotera in Hellenistic Athens belong to a series of events focusing on Athens' military past and its transmission to the next generation as a civic heritage.[76] The goddess' worship is one of the focal points of a civic memory harking back to the classical age and to the heyday of the Athenian empire. J.-P. Vernant has seen in the Athenian Agrotera a distinctive association with what P. Ellinger has termed "wars of extermination", that is, wars that threaten the annihilation of an independent state and, with it, of civilized life.[77] In this view, Artemis' intervention preserves the borderline between nature and culture at a critical moment thanks to a specific form of "preliminary sacrifice".[78] This explanation, however, does not do full justice to the aetiological narrative regarding the institution of the sacrifice.[79] In this context there is no preliminary sacrifice but only a preliminary vow, and one that proves impossible for the Athenians to honour.[80] The battle's outcome demands a sacrifice of unsustainable proportions which would lead to the killing of thousands of victims. The Athenians had pledged a sacrifice that would ultimately endanger the animal population of the region. This risk remains in the background of the aetiological narrative, and in it we may perhaps see the role played by Agrotera, huntress and patron of the wild life. The connection with this specific dimension of Artemis' power makes it possible for the Athenians to establish a yearly sacrifice of exceptional proportions.[81] This

Aristoph. *Equ.* 660a (p. 162 Mervyn-Jones and Wilson), with cows originally vowed and then substituted with goats. See Deubner 1932, 209.

75 Aristoph. *Equ.* 660–61 τῇ δ᾽ Ἀγροτέρᾳ κατὰ χιλίων παρήνεσα | εὐχὴν ποιήσασθαι χιμάρων εἰς αὔριον, 'I raised the bid to two hundred cows and recommended that they vow a thousand goats to the Wild Maiden tomorrow' (transl. J. Henderson): the Sausage-seller recommends sacrificing twice as many goats as in the yearly sacrifice mentioned in later sources. The Marathon battle is also the context of the (Spartan) invocation of Artemis Agrotera at Aristoph. *Lys.* 1262–1263.

76 As Lebreton (forthcoming) remarks, "dans ce contexte, l'enjeu n'est plus tant de constituer une force militaire significative faisant office d'antichambre du corps civique que de transmettre à l'élite de la jeunesse d'Athènes (et d'ailleurs) un capital symbolique ('patriotique') par le biais d'un parcours rituel du territoire de la cité et de ses lieux de mémoire". I am very grateful to S. Lebreton for sharing with me the results of his investigation prior to publication.

77 Vernant 1988, with reference to the studies later reworked in Ellinger 1993.

78 Cf. the Spartan custom of sacrificing a goat to Artemis Agrotera before the battle (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20; see also Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 13.8; Paus. 9.13.4; Plut. *Lyc.* 22). See Lafond 1991, 420; Paradiso 2016, 130–131. Parker 2005, 400 considers the vow at Marathon "likely to have been based on a custom of making a pre-battle 'slaughter-sacrifice' (*sphagion*) to Artemis Agrotera".

79 R. Parker suggests that the key to the legends discussed by the French scholars is rather to be found in Artemis' peculiar mode of action (at nighttime, in connection with light and vision): see Parker 2005, 400–401 (see also Parker 1996, 155 n. 10).

80 Cf. the vow to Apollo and Artemis Agrotera (relating to a share of the spoil) in Xen. *Cyn.* 6.13.

81 As Naiden 2013, 256 notes, the sacrifice for Agrotera is one of the only two regular sacrifices in Athens which are sure to have involved more than sixteen victims (the other took place at Great Panathenaea).

act of worship is a constant reminder of a crucial fact, namely, that war is a destructive force for all parties involved. The sacrifice's aetiology frames Artemis Agrotera as the ultimate bulwark against such a force, both against the foreign threat posed by the Persians and against the potentially self-destructive nature of the effort required to eliminate that threat. Perhaps it was precisely this power, so deeply entrenched in the city's ultimate anxieties, that contributed to the enduring popularity of the cult in Hellenistic times.

5 Conclusions

The role played by onomastic attributes in the ancient experience of the divine can hardly be overstated. They are key elements in the constant exchanges between mortals and gods. As such, they are familiar features of the religious landscapes echoed in or constructed by ancient literary texts and inscriptions. Over the last decades scholarship has made remarkable progress in understanding the different principles underpinning the uses of onomastic attributes in Greek discourses about the gods, both in themselves and in their interaction with mortals. Onomastic attributes may emphasise powers, spatial and temporal connections, and modes of action; they often encapsulate a whole story. Just as the gods they describe, onomastic attributes may be ambiguous or open to different interpretations. Our focus on one of such attributes, Agrotera, has allowed us to go beyond two established paradigms, namely, the search for the 'original meaning' as a defining moment and the idea of a linear development from a semantic point of view. The ancient uses of Agrotera in context demonstrate eloquently that the association between a god and his or her attributes can be a creative and flexible exchange, allowing a broad range of interpretive and expressive agency.

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BNP Cancik, Hubert / Schneider, Helmuth / Landfester, Manfred (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly*, Leiden-Boston.

CIRB Struve, Vasilii (ed.), *Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani*, Moscow, 1965.

DGE Rodríguez Adrados, Francisco (ed.), *Diccionario Griego-Español*, Madrid, 1980–.

EKM Gounaropoulou, Loukretia / Hatzopoulos, Miltiades B., *Epigraphes Katō Makedonias (metaxy tou Vermiou orous kai tou Axiou potamou). Teuchos A'*: *Epigraphes Veroias*, Athens, 1998.

ID Dürrbach, Félix (ed.), *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris, 1923–1937.

IG Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin, 1873–.

IThesp Roesch, Paul (ed.), *Les Inscriptions de Thespies*. I–XII, Lyon, 2007–2009.

LfgrE Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos, Göttingen, 1979–2010.

LIMC Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Zürich, 1981–.

LSJ Liddell, Henry / Scott, Robert / Jones, Henry S., *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford^9, 1940.

RE Pauly, August F. / Wissowa, Georg, *et al.* (eds.), *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1893–2000.

SEG Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum, Leiden, 1923–.

SH Lloyd-Jones, Hugh / Parsons, Peter, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berolini-Novi Eboraci, 1983.

TAM Kalinka, Ernst, *et al., Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Wien, 1901–.

Emrys Schlatter

πολύθεοι ἔδραι: Terms for Spatio-Cultic Relationships in Greek

A world full of gods and capable of continuously producing additional gods via import, synthesis, separation, and variation demands a range of strategies for managing a potentially infinite divine menagerie. These strategies reflect, in part, cultural preferences – Greeks of the archaic and classical periods show a greater partiality for connecting their gods genealogically than the Romans, for example, but are less enthused about intricate number games than the Egyptians.[1] More decisive for such organisational mechanisms, however, are the specific contexts which require them and the media which convey them. A particularly rich variety of media can be found in cult practice, in which not only words (e.g. in prayer) and actions (most notably sacrifice), but also objects such as statues, votive gifts, and altars have the potential to bring together different gods (and heroes) and to provide a general means for organising the cult recipients by situating them in relation to one another in time, space, and ritual action. This paper focuses on a single aspect of this complex, the spatial arrangement of cult recipients in a ritual setting, and, more specifically, the point at which cult practice converges with language: what single terms do the archaic and classical Greeks use to designate divinities who share sacred space in the narrower confines of an altar or temple? Rather than approaching this topic linguistically, the present paper instead examines in which media and contexts the terms were used and what the Greeks wished to achieve, either rhetorically or practically, by employing them. In this way, the analysis aims to make a small contribution to our understanding of how the Greeks organised and approached the gods in ritual or, more specifically, a theoretically unlimited number of gods in a limited amount of space and time.

It should be remarked that the vocabulary in question comprises a very small list with fewer than a dozen terms. Moreover, some of them are *hapax legomena* or very nearly so;[2] others occur more often in Hellenistic and Imperial times, chiefly in the context of ruler-cult, but hardly with enough frequency to be considered common,[3] and one particular adjective, πολύθεος, after appearing once in the fifth century BCE and then enjoying brief use in the monotheistic polemics of the early

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1 On numbers as an organisational principle in Egyptian religion, see the overview in Zivie-Coche/Dunand 1991, 42–44.

2 Hapax legomena: κοινοβωμία (A. *Supp.* 222); ὀμωχέτης (Th. 4.97).

3 E.g. σύμβωμος; cf. the examples in Maurer 1885, 1–4 and Patera 2010, 225–227. The term σύνναος first begins to appear in the second century BCE in connection with the posthumous incorporation of rulers into the cults of gods (e.g. *IPerg* I, no. 246, line 9), an association which it retains in the Imperial period together with the term σύνθρονος (e.g. D.S. 16.92 and 16.95): on this phenomenon

centuries CE, embarks upon the most productive phase of its career only in the early modern period.[4] We are not dealing with a fixed set of terms; there is not, least of all in the archaic and classical periods, a standard vocabulary to describe shared altars, temples, or precincts.

This by no means implies that it was unusual for multiple gods or gods and heroes to receive cult honours in the same space.[5] In polytheisms (and some monotheisms), divinities have a tendency to agglomerate in all strata of cult, from the polis as a whole to that of the sanctuary or single altar, and the phenomenon is attested in Greece both archaeologically and textually from the archaic period onwards: the three statuettes in *sphyrelaton* technique from the late 8th or early 7th century BCE of a male and two slightly smaller females which were found on their altar in Dreros in Crete, the wounded Aeneas' reception in Apollo's temple not by Apollo, but by Leto and Artemis in the *Iliad*, and the precinct in Lesbos mentioned in different contexts by Sappho and Alcaeus as containing altars for Hera Aioleia, Zeus Antaios, and Zonnysos (i.e. Dionysus) serve as well-known early examples of a shared altar, temple, and precinct, respectively.[6]

Although it is not necessarily fair to expect Homer and two lyric poets to record terms for cult arrangements they took for granted, it is worth emphasising that it is the master of neologisms,[7] Aeschylus, who brings the first known words for shared cultic space and the gods who share it into the extant corpus of Greek texts. The words are the *hapax* κοινοβωμία, the aforementioned adjective πολύθεος, which stands in apposition to the ἕδραι, 'seats', i.e. the sacred space of the gods, and the adjective used to describe these gods, namely ἀγώνιος.[8] Far from being scattered instances, the words occur in the space of fewer than 250 lines in the same drama, *Suppliants* (produced between 470–459 BCE),[9] and describe the same altar and images of the gods which occupied a prominent position on the stage and around which the action in large part revolves.

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and its development, but with only occasional mention of the terminology, see Nock 1930; cf. Phillips 2001.

4 The most comprehensive historical survey of the term 'polytheism' remains that of Lanczkowski 1989; cf. also the useful recent discussion of the term in Pirenne-Delforge 2020, 32–53.

5 A study on the worship of gods in groups and strategies of engaging with and organising divine plurality in real and imagined cult practice in the archaic and classical periods is currently in preparation by the author.

6 Statuettes in Dreros: Heraklion Archaeological Museum, inv. no. AMH X 2445, 2446, and 2447, and cf. the excavation reports of Marinatos (1935) and (1936) as well as the more recent assessment of Prent 2005, 283–288. Aeneas: Hom. *Il.* 5.445–448; shared precinct in Lesbos: Alc. fr. 129 Lobel-Page = fr. 129 Voigt; Sapph. fr. 17 Lobel-Page = fr. 17 Voigt.

7 On Aeschylus' penchant for neologisms, which was already regarded as a hallmark of his style in the fifth century (cf. the scathing comments of Aristophanes' Euripides in Ar. *Ra.* 924–926), see Stanford 1942, 61–66.

8 The Greek text of Aeschylus is based on the edition of West 1990; all translations are my own.

9 On the dating of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, see most recently Sommerstein 2019, 40–44.

The altar stands, in the topography of the drama, on a hill slightly outside the city of Argos, to which the Danaids have come from Egypt seeking refuge from the pursuit of their cousin-bridegrooms.[10] Under the direction of their father, Danaus, the maidens approach this 'hill of the assembled gods' (πάγον [. . .] τόνδ᾽ ἀγωνίων θεῶν, 189) and sit with their olive-branches as suppliants at the altar, which Danaus praises as a source of inviolable protection: the altar demands respect (αἰδώς, cf. 345) towards the gods to whom it belongs and, by extension, to the suppliants; any violation of the sanctuary or those in it will attract the retribution of Zeus Hikesios, as the chorus of Danaids assert.[11] Once the suppliants have established themselves at the altar, Danaus leads them through a series of appeals to some, but not all, of its gods: to Zeus, who should pity them (209); to his eagle, whom the Danaids equate by way of *interpretatio aegyptica* with Helios' 'salvation-bringing rays' (καλοῦμεν αὐγὰς ἡλίου σωτηρίους, 212f.); to Apollo, who was once a 'fugitive' or 'exile' (φυγάς, 214) from heaven and should therefore understand the lot of the 'fugitive' Danaids (cf. their collective appellation as ξένη φυγάς, i.e. 'foreign fugitives', 202); to the god with the trident, who has given them a good voyage and should now ensure their favourable reception (218f.); lastly, to the god the Greeks call Hermes, who is invoked in his role of herald to bring good proclamations (220f.). At the close of these appeals, Danaus instructs the Danaids to 'treat with awe and respect the κοινοβωμία of all these lords [i.e. gods] here' (πάντων δ᾽ ἀνάκτων τῶνδε κοινοβωμίαν | σέβεσθ᾽, 222f.). Shortly thereafter, the Argive king, Pelasgus, arrives and – adopting the same vocabulary as Danaus at line 189 – refers to the supplication as being both in the name of and in the presence of the 'assembled gods' (ἀγώνιοι θεοί) three further times.[12] It is in the course of his conversation with the suppliants that the chorus implore him 'not to look upon me as I am torn from these seats of many gods' (μηδ᾽ ἴδῃς μ᾽ ἐξ ἑδρᾶν πολυθέων | ῥυσιασθεῖσαν, 423f.).

The phrase ἕδραι πολύθεοι summarises the essence of the preceding terms and series of invocations: all draw special attention to the fact that the altar belongs to not one, but to many gods. The altar is not only important by virtue of being an altar, but, specifically, as the focal point of communication with and worship of a divine *multitude*. This is the force of the abstract noun κοινοβωμία, which conveys the state of having a βωμός which is κοινός, i.e. shared, with 'all these lords' mentioned by Danaus. Although it is possible to interpret κοινοβωμία in an extended

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10 On the location of the altar, cf. A. *Supp.* 480–485 and 500–504, where Pelasgus instructs his attendants to escort Danaus away from the altar of the assembled gods outside the city to the 'altars of the city' (βωμοὶ ἀστικοί, 501), on which he is to distribute the suppliant boughs for all the citizens of Argos to see.

11 Protection: e.g. A. *Supp.* 190. Divine punishment: A. *Supp.* 346–347; 381–386, 402–406; cf. 360–364.

12 A. *Supp.* 241f., 333f., and 345f.

and concrete sense as referring either to the altar itself or to the company of gods,[13] the primary, abstract meaning already encompasses the concrete phenomena: to respect the gods' sharing of a single altar necessarily means to respect both the gods and the altar, but the emphasis is on the fact that the altar belongs to all of them. Why this emphasis?

Put simply, because there is strength in numbers. This is the premise of polytheism[14] and one of the underlying reasons for clustering gods in cultic contexts. Exactly how many gods are present as statues here remains unspecified; there is no textual support for interpreting the group as the Twelve Gods, and their exact number is without relevance in the drama.[15] The point is rather that – even in spite of the privileged place of Zeus in the religiosity of the Danaids and Aeschylus generally – many and various assembled gods can offer support both cumulatively, as a collective, and individually, as deities with different domains of specialisation. Divine collectivity and individuality here do not stand in opposition, but complement each other in such a way that the individual specialisation of the gods is subordinated to their collectivity. This can be seen in the Danaids' aforementioned separate appeals to the assembled gods, where the specific domain of each god provides the basis for the individual request, whilst the overarching aim of the requests – the suppliants' reception and protection in Argos – creates a common function for the gods invoked. In this way, the gods are united not by intrinsic functional similarities (such as in the case of, e.g., the shared altar of Zeus Moiragetes and the Moirai in fourth-century Chios),[16] but by the relation of their domains to a corresponding external function dictated by the current needs of the worshippers; the worshippers here give the assembled gods their meaning and *raison d'être*, at least for the duration of their contact with them. The suppliants invent, as it were, a reason why the Argive gods are gathered in assembly, and the reason is to help to decide their fate.

The fate of the suppliants is also the fate of the city. Rejecting their supplication means pollution and divine wrath; accepting it means war with the Danaids' pursuers. Whilst the scenically and dramatically central altar with the images of the assembled gods makes this matrix of religious and political factors as well as the critical role both of divine influence and human political decisions visible on stage, the designation of these gods as, specifically, ἀγώνιοι θεοί makes it audible. The

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13 For an interpretation of this *hapax* in an extended, concrete sense, and parallel noun formations, see Sommerstein 2019 *ad* A. *Supp.* 222.
14 Cf. Henrichs 2013, 555.
15 Attempts to identify the divine collective in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* with the Twelve Gods – or, more properly, with a set of twelve gods (the composition of the Twelve Gods is not canonical, and the 'Greek texts [tend to] stress the number of gods, seldom revealing their names': Long 1987, 141) are somewhat forced (e.g. Sommerstein 2019, 90 *ad* 1–175) and not only ignore the possibility of other groupings, but, above all, struggle with a lack of indications within the play itself.
16 *I. Chios* 2 = *LSS* 79 = *CGRN* 51.

phrase occurs four times to refer to (but never to address) the gods and, because of its frequency, may be seen as their standard designation in the play. At the root of the adjective ἀγώνιος is ἀγών, originally a gathering or assembly,[17] the sense it also has in two related Homeric passages which the Aeschylean phrase strongly recalls: in *Iliad* 7.298, Hector speaks of the Trojan women 'entering the divine assembly' (θεῖον δύσονται ἀγῶνα) in future to pray, i.e. the place on earth where the gods can be reached in worship collectively; in *Iliad* 18.376, Hephaestus is described as constructing automated tripods to wheel him into the 'divine assembly' (ὄφρά οἱ αὐτόματοι θεῖον δυσαίατ' ἀγῶνα), i.e. the assembly of the gods themselves on Olympus.[18] The arrangement of the gods as agents on the divine plane mirrors their arrangement as cult recipients on the human plane and *vice versa*, but Aeschylus adds another dimension: the altar is not the private hearth of King Pelasgus, but belongs to the citizens (365–369; cf. 397–401), and since the supplication therefore affects the city 'as a whole' (τὸ κοινόν, 366), Pelasgus will call together the 'people of the land' (λαοὶ ἐγχώριοι, 517) in order to convince this human collective (τὸ κοινόν, 518), whilst the suppliants remain at the altar to beseech the assembled 'gods of the land' (θεοὶ ἐγχώριοι, 520). The repetition of the adjective ἐγχώριος constructs a parallelism between the λαοὶ ἐγχώριοι and the θεοὶ ἐγχώριοι: the divine and human assemblies act as counterparts whose activities and influence mirror or complement one another. The parallelism suggests the possibility of understanding the divine group before the city as a proto-democratic assembly made in the image of the Argive political system depicted in the play, which, despite having a king, anachronistically displays strong democratic inclinations. These democratic elements contrast with the Danaids' emphasis on autocratic rule and decision making: they conceive of King Pelasgus' power in Argos as sole and supreme (370–375), just as they do that of Zeus in comparable passages (e.g. 595–599),[19] which does not, however, stop them from acknowledging the power of other gods when the situation requires it.[20]

Regardless of whether the ἀγώνιοι θεοί are meant to have political undertones here, the notion of gods in assembly ultimately reflects the Greeks' largely anthropomorphic conception of the divine. The θεοί are ἀγώνιοι not only because their statues stand together on this hill (outside the city and thus hardly in a position to watch over an assembly of the citizen body), but also, it is implied, because the gods themselves are involved, as an assembled collective (whether democratic or not),[21] in the decision their human counterparts will soon be debating, and, indeed,

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17 *LfgrE* s.v. ἀγών.

18 On divine assemblies in Homer (with parallels in other ancient cultures), see especially Bonnet 2017.

19 Cf. Burian 1974, 7–8 = Burian 2007, 203; Papadopoulou 2011, 69.

20 In addition to A. *Supp.* 212–223, cf. the references to Artemis, Aphrodite, and Hera in A. *Supp.* 144–153, 677, 1030, 1034–1042.

21 On the notion of divine assemblies as a place where the gods debate and decide about mortal problems, cf. Bonnet 2017.

in determining the outcome of what one might also call an ἀγών – the contest or struggle of the Danaids and their cousins.[22]

The collectivity of the gods and the terms used to describe it in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* are inextricably bound with the plot and serve, first and foremost, to weave human and divine as well as religious and political elements all the more tightly together; they also reinforce the gravity of the altar as the focal point of a triangle of communication (and rhetoric) involving the suppliants, the Argives, and the gods that stands at the centre of the drama. In the midst of this, the scene juxtaposes terms underscoring the collectivity of the gods and, implicitly, shared sacrifices on their common altar, with verbal appeals concentrating on individual divine domains. This interplay between collectivity and individuality in shared ritual spaces is, unlike the words to describe it in *Suppliants*, not an invention of Aeschylus, but rooted in the historical reality of contemporary cult practice.

In this reality, however, the scattered terms for gods who share cultic space, when viewed in their individual contexts, record slightly different concerns about collectivity and individuality than in drama. The primary difference between the terms used by Aeschylus and those found in inscriptions (and once in Thucydides) is that the latter do not encompass the entire cluster of gods who share a specific cultic space. Instead, they tend to designate those who are not the primary owners of the space, and in this way describe or help create a hierarchic structure in the divine group. One first catches a glimpse of this in the two designations for the same phenomenon as in *Suppliants*, i.e. gods with a shared altar. The terms, σύμβωμος and ὁμόβωμος, each appear once in the classical period. The latter term, ὁμόβωμος, occurs as a substantive in an epigram on a slab of Pentelic marble from the first half of the fourth century, presumably part of an altar, from the sanctuary of Asclepius on the south slope of the Athenian acropolis: the inscription declares that the object was dedicated 'to Asclepius and those with the same altar' and gives the benefactor a founding role in erecting the altar and establishing the sacrifices for the gods ([Τηλέμαχ]ός σε ἱέρωσε Ἀσκληπιῶι ἠδὲ ὁμοβώμοις, | πρῶτος ἱδρυσάμενος θυσίαις θείαις ὑποθήκαις, '[Telemach]os consecrated you to Asclepius and those who share his altar, [being] the first to establish it with sacrifices by divine instruction', IG II² 4355).[23] For this reason, the dedicant has been connected with a certain Telemachos, who is recorded separately on a stele as having established both the sanctuary and the main altar.[24] The second inscription does not use the term ὁμόβωμοι, but instead identifies the recipients of the altar as Asclepius, a second deity whose name is missing, but usually restored as Hygieia (who is depicted on the accompanying relief), and the sons and daughters of Asclepius. Since the gods who share the altar can be

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22 Cf. Gödde 2018, 46 n. 29 and 47–48 n. 45.

23 Cf. Maurer 1885, 2; on the object itself, see Riethmüller 2005, II.265.

24 *IG* II² 4961 and *SEG* 25: 226.

specified on the stele, it is possible that they were also indicated in the iconography of the altar or mentioned in further inscriptions on or near it.

This scenario, which combines specificity (Asclepius, Hygieia, the sons and daughters of Asclepius) with a shorthand reference that defines the gods by the space they inhabit together (ὁμόβωμοι), would correspond with the way the similar term σύμβωμος is paired with a more specific relief on a limestone pillar from Neon Phaleron dating to *c.* 400 BCE (Figure 1).[25] The hexameter epigram proclaims that Xenokrateia dedicated the pillar 'to Kephisos and the gods who have an altar with him' (Ξενοκράτεια Κηφισῶ ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ξυνβώμοις τε θεοῖς διδασκαλίας τόδε δῶρον, lines 1–4), whilst the relief is plausibly thought to show Xenokrateia and her son amongst eleven larger deities, of whom Apollo and the local river-god Acheloos can be identified by their attributes, and Kephisos is presumably the figure slightly left of the centre who is interacting with the two smaller mortals. Assuming that the gods shown depict some or all of the σύμβωμοι referred to in the inscription, the collective term can be seen as emphasising their real, ritual connection to each other in the sanctuary, i.e. the fact that they belong with each other in this context. More importantly, however, it communicates their basic structure in the cult: the terms σύμβωμοι and ὁμόβωμοι do not designate *all* the gods worshipped at

Fig. 1: Relief from Neon Phaleron, *c.* 400 BCE, courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Inv. no. NAM Γ 2756 (Ph. H. R. Goette. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund).

25 Relief: National Archaeological Museum, Athens, inv. no. NAM Γ 2756; for the inscription, see *IG* I³ 987 = *IG* II² 4548 = *LSS* 17 and Kaczko 2016, no. 140, who provides a useful commentary and further bibliography.

the altar, but, specifically, those who share it with the deity who 'owns' the altar or sanctuary (and who is himself not encompassed in the designations σύμβωμοι and ὁμόβωμοι).[26] The two terms thus function as a variation on formulae such as 'all the other gods', found across genres from Homer onwards (e.g. 'Zeus, best and highest, and the rest of the immortal gods', Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι, Hom. *Il.* 3.298), but spatially restrict the 'other gods' from a theoretically infinite pantheon to a divine group with immediate ritual relevance.

The thematically related adjectives [ἐν]τεμένιος, ὁμωχέτης, and ὁμόναος likewise indicate a cultic hierarchy within the shared space. The collective nature of the terms does not, however, mean that the other gods were significantly less important, even if they were not the central god and divine 'owner' of the sanctuary. The term [ἐν]τεμένιος and its context, although post-classical (it first appears in the early third century BCE), provide an important reminder that 'the rest of the gods in the precinct' (οἱ ἄλλοι θεοὶ οἱ [ἐν]τεμένιοι) were regularly tended by the priests as well as the worshippers: the priest in Apollo's sanctuary in Milet is recorded as receiving the same perquisite from sacrifices for the [ἐν]τεμένιοι as for Apollo.[27] Similarly, when the Boeotians exhort their Athenian occupiers in 424/3 BCE to stop treating the sanctuary (ἱερόν) dedicated to Apollo as unconsecrated land, they expressly invoke, according to Thucydides, both Apollo and 'the deities who dwell together [with him]' (τοὺς ὁμωχέτας δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, Th. 4. 97.4): the implication is that the support of these gods is expected no less than that of Apollo, and that the sanctuary is no less important to them than to him.

A final example, the aforementioned adjective ὁμόναος, serves to show that such terms could also form part of more nuanced hierarchical and ritual structures. The term appears in the sacrificial regulations on a late fifth-century BCE marble stele found in the temple wall in the sanctuary of Asclepius in Epidaurus. The regulations are divided into two sections: one for Apollo, who had a prominent role and long history in Epidaurus, and one for his son, Asclepius. As the top of the stele was damaged, the first three and a half lines of Apollo's half have not been preserved, but, based on the types of sacrificial meat mentioned several lines later, must have mentioned a bovine sacrifice for Apollo and another for a second deity or group of deities.[28] The extant text begins with instructions to sacrifice a hen for Leto and another for Artemis on the altar of Apollo, before giving further specifics for cereal offerings and the distribution of the meat from the bovine sacrifices

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26 It is uncertain whether the term ὁμοβώμιος in Thucydides 3.59.2 should be counted together with σύμβωμοι and ὁμόβωμοι, as the context reveals very little about the meaning of this *hapax*: it could refer to 1) gods with shared altars, 2) gods with altars in the city of the speaker and those of the hearers, or 3) gods honoured by all of the Greeks (i.e. in Panhellenic sanctuaries).

27 *LSAM* 46, line 4 = *SEG* 15.678 = *CGRN* 100.

28 The word ὁμόναοι has also been restored as part of the missing lines, but is based only on the beginning of the second set of regulations and will therefore not be considered here.

amongst the participants.[29] Asclepius' section, before repeating the last set of specifics, gives instructions to 'sacrifice a male bovine to Asclepius, and a male bovine to the male [deities] having the same temple [ὁμόναοι], and a female bovine to the female [deities] having the same temple [ὁμόναοι]; these [animals] and a chicken are to be sacrificed on the altar of Asclepius' (τῶι Ἀσσκλαπιῶι θύεν βõ- |ν ἔρσενα καὶ *h*ομονάοις | βõν ἔρσενα καὶ *h*ομονάα- |ις βõν θέλειαν. ἐπὶ τõ β- |ομõ τõ Ἀσκλαπιõ θύε- |ν ταῦτα καὶ καλαΐδα).[30]

The details of the sacrificial rituals and the ways in which the inscription refers to the gods suggests that significant thought went into organising the gods of the sanctuary. In spite of the missing lines, it is clear that Apollo receives, at least officially, an equal or comparable amount of ritual attention and, consequently, financial expenditure in Epidaurus as his son Asclepius. Leto and Artemis share Apollo's altar in ritual (which does not exclude the possibility that they also had altars of their own), and each of the goddesses receives a relatively modest sacrifice, but has the honour of receiving them individually. The deities who receive sacrifices on Asclepius' altar, on the other hand, are grouped according to sex and treated as two collectives: the gods and/or heroes who share Asclepius' temple receive a single bovine of the corresponding sex, and the goddesses and/or heroines in his temple receive a single heifer; each group therefore receives an animal of roughly the same value as that which Asclepius receives all for himself. (Exactly who receives the fowl sacrificed on Asclepius' altar – and whether it should be a hen or a cock – is not specified and must remain a matter of speculation.) The choice of animals may be primarily local and traditional; it may also in part reflect ritual economics, i.e. a pragmatic attempt by the sanctuary officiaries to balance out divine honours and financial expenditure in an acceptable way: the overall higher value of the sacrificial animal (a bovine) for the ὁμόναοι and ὁμόναοι may compensate for their being handled collectively, whilst the individual treatment of Leto and Artemis perhaps balances out the modesty of their sacrifices.

Who are the ὁμόναοι and ὁμόναοι? As in the cults of other deities, the gods and heroes found in company with Asclepius across the Greek world are many and sundry, even if certain figures (such as his children and Hygieia) appear more frequently than others. The cult officiaries in Epidaurus did not catalogue them – perhaps not least of all for the pragmatic reason that the composition of the group could change over time – and we need not try to catalogue them, either. The terms present themselves as encompassing all the other male deities and the female deities in the temple where Asclepius presides, and therefore must also include, amongst others, Asclepius' relations mentioned in the parallel set of regulations for Apollo, namely Apollo himself, Leto, and Artemis. The description ὁμόναος, then, designates a particular

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29 *IG* IV² 1, no. 40 = LSCG 60, lines 1–17 = *CRGN* 34, lines 1–17.
30 *IG* IV² 1, no. 41, lines 1–6 (= *LSCG* 60, lines 18–23 = *CGRN* 34, lines 18–23).

ritual status *vis-à-vis* the primary deity of the temple. This subordinate status and loss of individual importance as part of a collective (or two related groups) represent, at least for three of the ὁμόναοι, a temporary state effective during ritual acts in which Asclepius takes pride of place. This structure and status become irrelevant in the equally prominent ritual which centres on Apollo and his altar, and, accordingly, the status of two of Asclepius' ὁμόναοι is then re-defined *vis-à-vis* Apollo.

As the inscription from Epidaurus shows, terms to designate gods with a shared cultic space had the potential to support and communicate ritual organisation and hierarchies. This is not just true for cults of Asclepius, two of which by chance provide us with three different examples (ὁμόναος, ὁμόβωμος, and σύμβωμος), but would have held true for virtually all cults and cultic spaces: the standard designation of a temple or sanctuary as the property of a particular god (e.g. τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, Th. 1.29.3) hardly represented an inventory of all the gods present and worshipped there, but itself reflected a hierarchy and focal point. Why were such terms not more popular in the classical era? Their scarcity may be partly due to the fickleness of fortune in preserving inscriptions and texts, but is more likely because there was little need to prescribe or describe the honours for less central gods in a cult collectively. The Greeks here prefer specificity and, as we have seen in the parallel regulation for Apollo in the Epidaurus inscription, more often opt for naming the gods individually who are important enough to have sacrifices regulated by the cult.

The usefulness of both specificity and generality in cult brings us back to Aeschylus' usage of terms for spatio-cultic relationships in *Suppliants* and their interplay with appeals to individual members of the divine collective. When calling upon the gods directly, the suppliants address them singly and by name, whereas the collective terms are reserved for speaking about, not to, the gods assembled. This reflects the same preference for specificity when dealing with groups of gods immediately relevant for the worshipper. The point of divergence between Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and the inscriptions is the role of the terms in shaping or describing the internal structure of the gods who share sacred space. In the play, the repeated phrase ἀγώνιοι θεοί, but also the unique word κοινοβωμία with its echo in the designation for the human collective (τὸ κοινόν, A. *Supp.* 518) whose power as a decision-making body runs parallel to that attributed to the gods, are poetic constructions for describing a phenomenon based in cultic reality in such a way as to support the aims and themes of the drama. Specifically, they evoke a council of gods which, unlike its Homeric precedent, has almost democratic undertones to match the proto-democratic city of Argos. Terms for the same phenomenon in inscriptions, on the other hand, are concerned with forming or facilitating ritual hierarchy, of rhetorically and ritually subordinating gods to a primary god who presides over the space.

Post-classical instances of the same and similar terms such as σύνναος, σύμβωμος, and σύνθρονος will retain this concern in part (e.g. Plu. *quaest. conv.* 679d, 708c), but also rely more heavily on the aspect of nearness and near-equality. In

Hellenistic and Roman times, σύνναος usually, but not exclusively, designates a ruler who has been incorporated into the established cult of a god. To share a temple with the god, to share his altar, or to sit on a throne next to him is to occupy a privileged position which reflects a promotion in status from human to divine, but it nevertheless retains the element of subordination to the 'primary' god which predominated in the classical inscriptions. 'Partnership' of this sort, as Nock has shown, could not 'give to the ruler an adequate *locus standi*', and so joint temples for ruler and god never achieved the popularity that might have led to a more widespread use of the terms in later eras.[31]

The terms we have examined, as rare as they may have been, offer a valuable glimpse into the organisation of gods in cult and, occasionally, their ritual choreography. They verbalise a common aspect of cult – the worship of multiple divinities in a single space – and define these gods or heroes by the space they share. Shared altars, temples, and precincts are ultimately a way of expressing spatially the same associations between gods which pervade myth, or, depending on the point of view and situation, myth can be seen as using words and images to express the associations between gods promoted by real spatial nearness in cult: familial relations and unending genealogies, assemblies of gods, and even neighbouring divine domiciles, such as those of the Charites (Graces), Himeros (Desire), and the Muses in Hesiod (*Th.* 60–65),[32] mirror or, more properly, have a reciprocal relationship with the various spatial and local associations of divinities with each other. In this way, cultic space provided an important medium for making more deeply rooted relationships and structures manifest in the ritual reality of ancient Greece.

Short References

CGRN: *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms*, Jan-Mathieu Carbon / Saskia Peels / Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, Liège 2016ff. http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be (seen 26.11.2021)

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31 Nock 1930, 56.

32 Cf. Hes. *Th.* 397–401 (the children of Styx live with Zeus [μεταναίειν] in honour of their mother's loyalty to him) and Hes. *Th.* 758–760 (the houses of Nyx and her children, Hypnos and Thanatos, are located next to each other).

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Fabrizio Gaetano
Les épiclèses toponymiques comme outil interprétatif chez Hérodote : quelques exemples

1 Introduction

La richesse sémantique des mots grecs exprimant le sacré – ἱερός, ἅγιος et ὅσιος[1] – ne rend pas facile la traduction de ces notions dans les langues vivantes; de même, il est difficile de trouver en grec ancien un terme qui puisse correspondre précisément à l'expression moderne *lieu sacré*. Des mots tels que τέμενος, ἱερόν et νάος étaient susceptibles d'indiquer des réalités architecturales très différentes[2] : comme le souligne Ioanna Patera, par exemple, le terme *naos* peut désigner le temple dans son ensemble ou il peut s'opposer au *pronaos*, la partie antérieure du bâtiment.[3]

Cela étant dit, cette contribution ne se penche pas sur le rapport entre signifiant, signification et signe concret. Je propose plutôt d'examiner les fonctions des lieux sacrés qui sont dédiés à des dieux ou héros à épiclèse toponymique. Ces fonctions peuvent être très variées. En outre, lorsque l'on aborde une œuvre spécifique, il s'avère incontournable de réfléchir aux valeurs – pas nécessairement cultuelles ou religieuses – que l'auteur choisit de souligner – bien sûr, par rapport à son public, aux destinataires de son récit.

2 Un exemple préliminaire

Chez un historien comme Hérodote, la notion d'espace – essentielle à la bonne pratique du métier, comme le remarquait déjà Fernand Braudel – est enrichie par un facteur de pluralité, relatif à la multiplicité des fonctions attribuées aux espaces sacrés, qui peuvent être un lieu d'émerveillement (c'est-à-dire un θῶμα, qui est une notion central dans l'ouvrage d'Hérodote),[4] un repère géographique ou, encore, un procédé argumentatif du discours historiographique.

Or, Hérodote rassure souvent ses destinataires à propos de la validité du contenu de son enquête. À cet égard, il est parfois assez explicite en employant le lexique grec de la preuve (τεκμήριον, μαρτύριον), alors que, dans d'autres passages, la

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[1] Cf. Rudhardt 1958, 21–43 ; Di Donato 2001, 19–23; Morani 1997.

[2] Cf. Casevitz 1984.

[3] Patera 2010.

[4] Cf. Vignolo Munson 2001, 232–265.

garantie de bonne foi relève du constat visuel direct de l'historien, de son ὄψις. Dans certains cas cette fonction probatoire est accomplie par les objets que les lieux sacrés gardent dans leur espace et qu'Hérodote a vus. Par exemple, les βουπόροι σιδήρεοι, les *broches en fer* fabriquées par la courtisane Rhodopis, qui se trouvent – νῦν ἔτι, écrit Hérodote, *encore aujourd'hui* – à Delphes, derrière l'autel des Chiotes, prouvent que cette femme ne fut jamais assez riche pour pouvoir construire la pyramide de Mykérinos, que les Grecs lui attribuent par erreur (2.134–135). De même, les πέδαι, les *entraves* qui sont pendues autour du temple d'Athéna Aléa à Tégée, témoignent de la guerre qui se déroula entre Tégéates et Lacédémoniens au cours du VIIe-VIe siècle (1.66).[5]

Le discours historiographique se charge ici de force probatoire grâce à l'examen et à l'interprétation de deux objets qu'Hérodote a pu observer lui-même dans deux lieux sacrés des Grecs. Les ἀναθήματα, les broches et les entraves, sont la confirmation définitive du caractère véridique de la narration historique;[6] l'espace sacré est conçu comme un lieu de mémoire, où les souvenirs des événements du passé prennent la forme visible de matériaux concrets.

Et pourtant, il ne s'agit pas seulement de focaliser l'attention sur ce qui se trouve à l'intérieur d'un sanctuaire ou d'un temple, mais de valoriser aussi l'espace sacré en lui-même.

À la fin du premier récit dédié à l'histoire politique de Samos, Hérodote raconte que le tyran Polycrate chassa de son île des Samiens qui avaient entrepris une guerre contre lui; ceux-ci naviguèrent tout d'abord vers Siphnos, se dirigèrent ensuite vers la ville d'Hermione dans le Péloponnèse et débarquèrent enfin à Kydonia, en Crète. Là-bas les Samiens demeurèrent et vécurent heureux pendant cinq ans, ὥστε τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἐόντα νῦν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν (Hdt. 3.59.2). Bien qu'on ne puisse pas être totalement sûr que ce sont bien les Samiens qui ont effectivement érigé ces lieux sacrés, il est sans doute intéressant de remarquer la corrélation explicite (ὥστε, dans le texte grec) qu'Hérodote semble établir entre le séjour de cinq ans et les travaux de construction des édifices sacrés. L'historien apparaît ressentir le besoin de rassurer son public sur l'exactitude de l'information relative à la longue pause dont les exilés de Samos ont pu bénéficier en Crète. Dans la narration d'Hérodote les ἱερά de Kydonia et le ναός de Dictynna jouent un rôle clair: les lieux sacrés sont les manifestations visibles d'une situation historique par rapport à laquelle ils se configurent à la fois comme conséquence et comme témoignage.[7]

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5 La consécration d'objets appartenant à l'ennemi était une pratique fréquente et répandue (cf. Hdt. 3.59, 5.95, 9.121).

6 Sur l'importance des objets comme source historique chez Hérodote cf. Dewald 1993 et Hedrick 1995, 57–64.

7 La parenthèse narrative sur les Géphyroi (5.58–61), contraints sous la pression des Béotiens de migrer de Tanagra à Athènes, se termine par la mention des ἱερά que ceux-ci érigèrent dans la ville.

3 Epiclèses toponymiques et reconstruction historique

Au cours du deuxième livre, la mention du sanctuaire d'Héraclès Thasios, situé sur l'île homonyme de l'Égée septentrional – un sanctuaire fondé par les Phéniciens qui parcouraient la Méditerranée à la recherche d'Europe – est le point final d'une longue discussion à propos de l'origine de la figure du héros grec, que, selon Hérodote, les Grecs ont emprunté au panthéon des Égyptiens (2.43–44). À cet égard, les τεκμήρια, les preuves plus importantes, consistent, d'une part, en la généalogie des parents d'Héraclès, Amphitryon et Alcmène, dont les ancêtres sont d'origine égyptienne ; de l'autre, dans le fait que les Égyptiens, bien qu'il soient un peuple de navigateurs, n'admettent parmi leurs dieux ni Poséidon ni les Dioscures. À ce raisonnement abstrait notre historien rajoute le récit d'une rencontre avec les prêtres du temple d'Héraclès à Tyr, en Phénicie, et la déclaration d'une observation personnelle du ἱερόν de Thasos (2.44.4: ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὗρον ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἱδρυμένον).[8]

Ce sanctuaire, célèbre dans le monde grec, ainsi que l'épiclèse toponymique qui en découle, témoignent concrètement du fait que les Phéniciens ont pris possession de l'île lors des enlèvements réciproques de femmes mentionnés dans les tous premiers chapitres de l'ouvrage.[9] La fondation du lieu sacré arrête momentanément le temps, ou plutôt, elle fournit un ancrage chronologique qu'Hérodote exploite, même si dans une mesure un peu marginale dans ce cas, pour démontrer avec conviction l'antériorité du Héraclès-dieu des Égyptiens par rapport au Héraclès-héros des Grecs. Le sanctuaire d'Héraclès Thasios est utilisé comme un outil argumentatif qui éclaire la direction du déplacement d'un fait de civilisation, comme le définissait Marcel Mauss : de l'Égypte en Grèce, pas vice versa.

Or, le fait que cette procédure discursive aurait pu aisément persuader le public de l'enquête hérodotéenne est assuré, à mon avis, par l'analyse de deux autres passages, dans lesquels ce sont les acteurs du récit – plutôt que le narrateur même – qui ont recours aux lieux sacrés pour tenter de régler deux disputes historiques de nature différente.

La mention de ces espaces sacrés soutient la théorie d'un long séjour des Géphyroi en Grèce, ce qui leur permit de jouer un rôle essentiel dans la transmission de l'écriture des Phéniciens aux Grecs. Cf. aussi Thu. 2.15 : pour l'historien athénien, avant le synécisme de Thésée Athènes ne se composait que de l'acropole ; la preuve en est que les sanctuaires et les temples les plus anciens sont situés sur l'acropole. Pour une étude de la fonction des espaces sacrés chez Thucydide cf. Schirripa 2015.

8 Cf. Pitz 2016.

9 Cf. Hdt. 1.2 : d'après les savants Perses ces enlèvements sont la cause de la guerre entre la Grèce et leur empire.

À partir du chapitre cent soixante-deux du premier livre, Hérodote raconte l'histoire de la soumission progressive de l'Ionie par Harpage, le général de l'empereur perse Cyrus. Son attaque pousse les habitants de Phocée et de Téos à s'exiler en masse de leurs patries et se termine avec la conquête totale des villes ioniennes du continent – sauf Milet, qui a conclu un accord avec Cyrus. Ainsi, les Ioniens des îles, très effrayés, se soumettent spontanément à l'empereur. Harpage tourne ensuite sa campagne expansionniste vers le sud de l'Asie Mineure, vers les Cariens, les Cauniens et les Lyciens, à chacun desquels Hérodote réserve une brève étude ethnographique (1.171).

Dans l'optique qui est celle de cette contribution, c'est l'ethnographie des Cariens qui est intéressante.

Selon les Crétois, dans l'antiquité les Cariens s'appelaient Lélèges, habitaient les îles et étaient aux ordres du roi de Crète Minos, auquel ils fournissaient les équipages de ses vaisseaux. Beaucoup plus tard, les Ioniens et les Doriens chassèrent des îles les Cariens, qui furent ainsi obligés de s'installer de façon définitive sur le continent. Toutefois les Cariens, raconte Hérodote, ne sont pas du tout d'accord avec les Crétois : plus particulièrement, ils soutiennent de n'avoir jamais changé leur nom et, au contraire, d'avoir toujours habité sur le continent, en étant autochtones de la Carie. Pour prouver leur thèse, les Cariens agissent de la façon suivante :

> Ἀποδεικνύουσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς· τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα. (171.6)

Comme on peut le voir, le bien-fondé de la revendication carienne repose uniquement sur l'existence d'un temple consacré à Zeus Carios dans la région de Mylasa. Ce qui est au cœur de l'argumentation des Cariens est la qualification d'ancien, ἀρχαῖον :[10] il n'est pas suffisant de focaliser l'attention sur un point dans l'espace – le ἱερόν – mais il est davantage nécessaire de préciser un détail qui permet de situer la fondation du temple à une période qui correspond, plus ou moins, au temps des héros. Il s'agit de l'époque où la parenté supposée entre Mysos, Lydos et Car a déterminé la formation d'un lien familial qui a été conservé jusqu'au moment de l'enquête d'Hérodote et qui a abouti à un culte ouvert seulement aux peuples descendants des trois frères et interdit à tout autre ἔθνος.[11] La continuité de ce culte, représentée de façon concrète par le lieu sacré, est la preuve historique de l'enracinement originaire des Cariens dans une région continentale de l'Asie Mineure. Les Cariens allèguent (ἀποδεικνύουσι) le ἱερόν de Zeus Carios afin de s'opposer à la théorie des Crétois; de son côté, Hérodote apparaît accepter sans aucun problème les implications historiques et culturelles de ce sanctuaire.[12]

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10 Cf. Calame 2006.

11 Pour d'autres exemples de cultes exclusifs dans les *Histoires* voir 1.143–144 et 2.178.

12 Cf. Debord 2001.

On retrouve les même dynamiques probatoires dans le récit de la guerre entre les deux villes de la Grande Grèce, Sybaris et Crotone. L'histoire de ce conflit trouve sa place dans le cinquième livre, à l'intérieur de la section sur la vie de Dorieus, demi-frère de Cléomène, l'un des deux rois de Sparte (5.42–48). En tant que fils cadet d'Anaxandride, Dorieus n'obtient pas la royauté et décide de partir avec quelques Lacédémoniens ; il s'installe pendant trois ans en Libye ; il est obligé ensuite à revenir dans le Péloponnèse, où un oracle lu conseille de coloniser le pays d'Éryx en Sicile ; Dorieus s'embarque donc à nouveau sur son navire et se dirige vers le sud de l'Italie.

Selon les Sybarites, Dorieus aida les Crotoniates à l'emporter sur eux et à s'emparer de Sybaris. Les habitants de Crotone, d'autre part, disent d'avoir bénéficié seulement de l'appui d'un devin éléen, Callias. Après avoir reporté cela, Hérodote ajoute :

> μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἑκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε, Συβαρῖται μὲν τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἐόντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κρᾶθιν, τὸν ἱδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπω-νύμῳ Κραθίῃ [. . .] οἱ δ' αὖ Κροτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνῦσι Καλλίῃ μὲν τῷ Ἠλείῳ ἐξαίρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτωνιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίεω ἀπόγονοι, Δωριέι δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπογόνοισι οὐδέν. (5.45.1–2)

Comme dans l'épisode relatif aux Cariens, le verbe ἀποδείκνυμι exprime l'acte de présentation de la preuve que chacun des deux adversaires considère le support décisif de sa thèse. Les Crotoniates soulignent que, contrairement à Dorieus, Callias a reçu de nombreuses terres de choix ; les Sybarites indiquent deux lieux sacrés, un τέμενος et un νηός, que Dorieus aurait dédiés à Athéna Crathia près du fleuve Crathis.

L'opinion d'Hérodote sur les justifications historiques des habitants des deux villes n'est pas facile à saisir. L'historien nous informe que, à son époque encore, les terres données à Callias appartiennent aux descendants de ce dernier. Il est possible qu'Hérodote les ait vues pendant son séjour en Grande Grèce, à Thourioi, au mitan du Ve siècle, mais il est intéressant qu'il n'accorde sa préférence à aucune des deux thèses. Hérodote laisse la question ouverte et permet à ses destinataires de se ranger à l'histoire qu'ils jugent la plus convaincante. Ce manque de certitude dépend probablement du fait qu'Hérodote comprend, à la fois, que le raisonnement des Crotoniates est fallacieux et que l'enceinte et le temple, bien que ils soient des preuves concrètes et visibles, n'impliquent pas nécessairement la participation de Dorieus à la destruction de Sybaris.

Et pourtant, si l'on met de côté le thème, douteux, de l'origine de ces traditions, ce qui reste est une sorte de contraste dialectique entre l'espace politique des terres données et les espaces sacrés à épiclèse toponymique. Le fait que ces derniers soient élevés au rang d'outil acceptable de démonstration du développement du conflit, qui eut lieu plus de cinquante ans avant l'arrivée d'Hérodote à Thourioi, explique bien, à mon avis, la tendance de l'historien d'Halicarnasse à avoir recours aux éléments constitutifs de temples, enceintes ou sanctuaires dans sa démarche de reconstruction historique. Hérodote et son public grec partagent évidemment la conscience du fait

que les lieux sacrés préservent une part importante de la mémoire collective, qu'ils abritent à jamais. L'historien d'Halicarnasse exploite cette potentialité et transforme les espaces sacrés en moyens explicatifs et probatoires.

4 Épiclèses toponymiques et connotation ethnographique

Les épiclèses toponymiques qui accompagnent le noms des dieux ou des héros révèlent parfois une fonction connotative essentielle, c'est-à-dire qu'elles distinguent qualitativement l'espace et introduisent des degrés et des formes de différenciation culturelle. Cela est particulièrement évident au fil du deuxième livre[13] et au cas du paysage religieux de l'Égypte, où quelques épiclèses divines ne servent pas à préciser, tout simplement, où se trouve un sanctuaire, mais ce qu'il est et pourquoi l'espace qu'il occupe est caractérisé par des faits de civilisation rares ou uniques.[14]

On sait bien qu'Hérodote est fasciné par tout ce qui concerne le Nil : ses sources inconnues, son cours mystérieux, son énorme embouchure, ses crues catastrophiques et pourtant essentielles à la vie du pays. L'Égypte, écrit Hérodote, est toute la région que le Nil arrose en la recouvrant, et les Égyptiens sont tous ceux qui, en habitant au nord de la ville d'Éléphantine, boivent l'eau de ce fleuve. Le Nil est le moteur principal de l'espace égyptien en un double sens : il crée activement le territoire et dote ses habitants d'une identité ethnique collective.[15]

En outre, les crues sont envisagées comme un phénomène qui, dans une certaine mesure, permet de regrouper spatialement la population. Parmi les Égyptiens, Hérodote distingue ceux qui habitent au-dessus, à l'intérieur et autour des marécages produits par le fleuve près du Delta. Ainsi, le Nil contribue à la création d'un environnement naturel varié, composé de zones cultivables et de marais, qu'Hérodote récupère afin de proposer une cartographie anthropique de l'Égypte.

Or, à côté des effets du Nil, on peut remarquer que la classification anthropique relève aussi bien de l'organisation administrative et politique établie par les *districts* (les νομοί) que du rôle spatiale de quelques lieux sacrés spécifiques :

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13 Sur ce livre des *Histoires*, les ouvrages de Haziza 2009 et de Coulon/Giovannelli-Jouanna/Kimmel-Clauzet 2013 restent des points de référence incontournables.

14 Prenons le cas de la ville de Chemmis, même si, dans ce cas, il n'y a pas d'épiclèses (2.91). Ici on trouve un ἱερόν consacré au heros grec Persée et on rencontre des Égyptiens, les Chemmites, qui, seuls dans toute l'Égypte, ont institué des jeux gymniques. Ce sanctuaire nous informe non pas sur la position géographique de la ville, mais sur la raison pour laquelle l'espace que Chemmis occupe est caractérisé par des faits de civilisation qu'il n'est pas possible de constater ailleurs.

15 Cf. Gaetano 2020, 42–46.

ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαιέος ἵδρυνται ἱρὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσί, οὗτοι μέν νυν πάντες ὀίων ἀπεχόμενοι αἶγας θύουσι.   (2.42.1)

Hérodote ne nous fournit aucune liste des νομοί égyptiens, mais l'utilisation technique et fréquente de νομός dans le catalogue des satrapies de l'empire perse (3.89–96) nous assure que les destinataires des *Histoires* étaient en mesure d'associer à la mention d'un district de Thèbes l'idée d'une unité politique circonscrite et définie. On sait également que le culte de ce dieu était diffusé de façon homogène dans tout le pays et influençait évidemment les coutumes des personnes qui s'y dédiaient. L'historien ne mentionne aucun autre ἱερόν de Zeus Thébain que celui qui se trouve dans le district qui porte le même nom. Par conséquent, on peut supposer que l'observation cultuelle sur l'abstinence d'un certain type de viande aide le public à construire une sorte de carte mentale thématique, c'est-à-dire relative à la répartition géographique d'un aspect religieux.

Tout comme ceux qui résident dans le νομός mentionné ou qui possèdent le ἱερόν du dieu, les Égyptiens qui habitent dans les marais et hors des marais pratiquent des coutumes et des habitudes particulières. Si le nœud crucial de l'exposition demeure toujours la nécessité de rendre compte de l'ensemble et de la variété des normes coutumières, il semble possible de conclure qu'Hérodote attribue au Nil, aux district et, précisément, aux sanctuaires à épiclèse toponymique le même pouvoir de définition, c'est-à-dire celui de diriger idéalement le regard éloigné des destinataires grecs vers un point de l'espace égyptien. Toutefois, la fonction de géolocalisation du sanctuaire de Zeus Thébain n'est pas prééminente, mais elle est subordonnée par l'historien au message d'intérêt ethnographique que le lieu sacré peut véhiculer.

5 Conclusion

À partir de ces quelques exemples, j'espère avoir montré comment une analyse des lieux sacrés à épiclèse toponymique dans les *Histoires* d'Hérodote implique de prêter attention aux interactions entre l'espace en tant qu'objet d'intérêt, l'informateur qui décrit cet espace et le public qui perçoit sa description. Autrement dit, il faut adopter une approche qui relève à la fois de l'historiographie et de l'examen des mécanismes narratifs. En tant qu'éléments sémiologiques d'une culture, et donc insérés dans un système complexe d'expériences culturelles et de valeurs sociales qui sont ancrées dans un contexte historique précis, chez Hérodote les lieux sacrés sont aussi bien un objet d'explication qu'une opération historiographique. L'historien d'Halicarnasse réussit à conjuguer heureusement la pluralité des significations possibles de ces espaces et les exigences narratives de son discours.

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Andrea Filoni

ΚΥΠΡΙΣ. Ovvero l'interpretazione degli epiteti divini nel Περὶ θεῶν di Apollodoro di Atene (244 *FGrHist* 353)

Venere splende!   (A. Boito, *Otello*, atto I, scena 3)

A Musetta

0 Perché occuparsi di Apollodoro

Nel caso dell'epiteto *kypris*, la spiegazione geografica potrebbe essere quella più evidente per noi moderni – anche se ciò non è così scontato; lo stesso sembrano aver ritenuto gli antichi. Però il grammatico Apollodoro di Atene, autore di un'opera teologica molto influente nell'antichità, anche e soprattutto nella spiegazione dei teonimi e degli epiteti divini, ha ritenuto diversamente: secondo il grammatico, *kypris* rimanderebbe non all'isola dove Afrodite è assai venerata, ma a un potere della dea; inoltre, l'interpretazione geografica non sarebbe solo errata, ma anche recenziore: la attesta Esiodo, ma Omero, l'autore più antico, intenderebbe ancora l'epiteto in senso allegorico. Non ci troviamo dunque non nella sfera della religione popolare, ma di una spiegazione dotta; allo stesso tempo, però, non si può sottovalutare l'importanza di una spiegazione che è stata autorevole ed è entrata in circolo nella cultura antica.

1 Apollodoro e l'importanza del suo Περὶ θεῶν

Le opere del grammatico Apollodoro di Atene (180–110 ca a.C.)[1] hanno avuto una grandissima influenza: i Χρονικά, che descrivevano in forma succinta ma sistematica la storia greca dall'arrivo dei Dori fino all'età contemporanea; il dotto *Commento al catalogo delle navi omerico*, che ricostruisce la situazione geo-politica al tempo dei *Troikà;*[2] il trattato *Sugli dei* (Περὶ θεῶν – d'ora in poi ΠΘ) che giunse sicuramente fino

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1 I frammenti sono raccolti da Jacoby (244), che già lamentava la necessità di uno studio approfondito per recuperare queste opere apollodoree (Jacoby 1926, 775–6; cf. 753). Sulla biografia e l'attività del grammatico, che operò ad Alessandria e forse anche a Pergamo, vedi Montana 2020, 232–4; Pfeiffer 1973, 387–403; Jacoby 1926, 716–8.

2 Jacoby 1926, 778. Il *Commento al catalogo* fu opera antiquaria di riferimento per tutta l'età ellenistica, finché non fu sostituita dai *Geographikà* di Strabone, che vi riassunse il meglio della dottrina apollodorea: Filoni 2021, 229–30.

alla tarda antichità;[3] la materia del ΠΘ, attraverso percorsi ignoti, pervade in forma anonima la tradizione scoliastica e lessicografica.[4] Ciò significa che molti di questi testi, tardivi ma ricchi di informazione sulla religione greca, non riportano dati culturali puri e semplici, ma *interpretazioni* provenienti da questa influente opera.

Di che cosa trattava il ΠΘ? Fine dell'opera era ricostruire la personalità degli dei del pantheon greco attraverso tutta la documentazione disponibile: racconti – che però non sono la fonte principale – riti, iconografia e soprattutto il nome e gli epiteti divini, etimologizzati con molto rigore; a questo aspetto il grammatico dava grande importanza, come se essi conservassero meglio di altri, a mo' di fossili, verità molto antiche.

Apollodoro è riconosciuto come un grande erudito; ma ciò non vuol dire che si appiattisca sulle posizioni dei predecessori; dopo aver raccolto le fonti a disposizione, consultato le opinioni dei dotti precedenti, con l'aiuto di Omero quale fonte principale e delle categorie ermeutiche del maestro Aristarco per interpretarlo, Apollodoro giungeva a una *sua* interpretazione del nome e dell'epiteto divino – o a seguirne una preesistente, se accettabile secondo i suoi parametri. Le sue interpretazioni tradiscono una personalità forte, in grado di produrre opinioni anche molto idiosincratiche – vedi il caso di κύπρις. Ne consegue che quelle interpretazioni che emergono nella letteratura scoliastica e lessicografica non possono essere chiamate a testimoniare una presunta cultura generale: bisogna relativizzare i dati provenienti da questi testi, riconducendoli alla personalità che li ha concepiti e alle categorie che lo hanno guidato.

In questo senso, il fr. 353 è di grande importanza: se il nome e gli epiteti delle divinità sono il mezzo principale per cogliere la loro natura, il fr. 353 è il testimone più ampio e generoso, e ci illustra le categorie utili a interpretarli. Di qui la necessità, se non di una nuova edizione critica – le varianti testuali non sono significative – per lo meno di una rilettura di questo frammento apollodoreo.

2 Lettura del fr. 353 del Περὶ θεῶν

Il fr. 353 della raccolta di Jacoby è un lungo e dotto scolio omerico della famiglia D (o *scholia Didymi*) – riportato anche dalla seconda mano del codice B dell'*Iliade*, nonché dall'*Etymologicum Magnum* – a margine di una delle prime occorrenze omeriche di κύπρις (E 422).[5] Lo scolio si trova in Appendice (*Anhang*), poiché manca il nome del grammatico.[6]

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3 L'ultimo lettore diretto è Porfirio: Filoni 2021, 229–30, 236–7.
4 Vedi l'esperimento fatto in Filoni 2014b, 86–89.
5 La prima occorrenza, in realtà, è *Il*. 5.330; le successive sono 5.422, 458, 760, 883. L'epiteto compare solo in questo particolare libro dell'*Iliade*: Cassio 2012, 418–9.
6 Questa appendice è un omaggio di Jacoby agli sforzi della *Quellenforschung* precedente: Filoni 2018, 403.

La struttura è visibilmente ad anello: A) punto di partenza è l'epiteto κύπρις; ma per spiegarlo, il commentatore fa un lungo percorso attraverso altri epiteti afroditici (φιλομειδής, κυθέρεια e παφίη, anche se quest'ultimo è assente in Omero); B) quindi si prosegue per orbite più esterne, attraverso epiteti di altre divinità – Apollo, Posidone, Atena e Hermes – ed enunciando principi che governerebbero la loro interpretazione; C) infine l'esegesi ritorna al punto di partenza, κύπρις, di cui si 'dimostra' la necessità di una spiegazione allegorica, e non geografica.[7] Leggiamo (*Sch. Hom.* D, E 422 van Thiel):[8]

SEZIONE A: la questione *kypris*, alcuni principi, esempi afroditici e non afroditici.

Kypris	
τὸ ἐπίθετον Ἀφροδίτης, ὃ οὐκ ἐνόησαν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν τί σημαίνει. συμπλανηθέντες τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ ἔδοξαν ὅτι Κύπρις λέγεται, ὥς φησιν Ἡσίοδος, Κυπρογένεια, διότι γεννᾶται „περικλύστῳ ἐνὶ Κύπρῳ" (Hes. *Th.* 199),	L'epiteto di Afrodite, che i miei predecessori non hanno capito cosa significhi. Traviati da Esiodo hanno ritenuto che *kypris* è detto (nel senso di) *kyprogeneia*, perché (Afrodite) è nata „nella Cipro bagnata dai flutti".
philomeidés	
ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν φιλομειδῆ ὅτι „μηδέων ἐξεφαάνθη" (Hes. *Th.* 200). Ὅμηρος δὲ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μειδιάματα φιλοῦσαν, οἷον ἱλαρὰν διὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην αὐτῇ δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῆς συνουσίας.	Come *philomeidés* perché „è comparsa dai genitali". Omero però non lo ha detto, ma (in quanto) „colei che ama i baci", cioè felice per l'energia insita in lei grazie all'amplesso.
metonimia allegorica	
ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ πῦρ Ἥφαιστον λέγει ὁμωνύμως τῷ εὑρόντι (*Il.* 2.426), οὕτω καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ποτὲ τὴν ἀνδρὸς πρὸς γυναῖκα συνουσίαν, ἡνίκ' ἂν περὶ τῶν μνηστήρων λέγῃ „καὶ ἐκ λελαθόντ' Ἀφροδίτης, ἣν ἄρ' ὑπὸ μνηστῆρσιν ἔχον, μίσγοντο δὲ λάθρῃ" (*Od.* 22.444–5).	Quindi, come (Omero) chiama il fuoco 'Efesto', con lo stesso nome del suo scopritore, così talvolta chiama 'Afrodite' l'amplesso tra uomo e donna, quando dice dei Pretendenti „e hanno dimenticato l'Afrodite che (le serve) hanno avuto con i Pretendenti, e si unirono di nascosto ad essi".

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7 La spiegazione moderna è in genere geografica (Cassio 2012, 413–5), come lecito da aspettarsi da una forma aggettivale così trasparente – o apparentemente tale; però il confronto con altre lingue-indoeuropee (lat. *cupio*; vedi la dea picena *Cupra*, e non solo), permette una diversa spiegazione, di Afrodite quale dea del desiderio (Massetti 2016, 44–46); l'assimilazione con Cipro, che data fin dalla *Teogonia* esiodea, non sarebbe che una facile etimologia popolare. D'altronde, le stesse conclusioni presentate da Cassio (κύπρις, caratterizzato da baritonesi, sarebbe una forma eolica, assimilata nell'epos ionico, dove è pur sempre rara) andrebbero a favore della sua antichità, non di un'importazione del periodo orientalizzante.

8 Lo scolio è edito anche da Schironi 2004, 408–9.

SEZIONE A (continued)

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etimo *kypris*	
τὸ οὖν ἐπίθετον τὸ διὰ τοῦ Κύπρις σημαινόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν δυνάμεως Ὁμήρῳ παρείληπται. ἔστι οὖν κατὰ συγκοπὴν εἰρημένον κυόπορις, ἡ τὸ κύειν πορίσκουσα. ἴδιον γὰρ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως γυναῖκες κυΐσκουσιν χωρὶς τῆς ἀφροδισιακῆς συνουσίας.	Dunque l'epiteto espresso da *kypris* è impiegato da Omero (derivandolo) dal potere della dea. Esso dunque è *kyoporis* detto in forma tronca, „colei che permette di generare". Infatti questo è proprio di Afrodite: le donne non concepiscono in altro modo, senza l'amplesso amoroso.

errore dei νεώτεροι	
τὸ δὲ πλανῆσαν τὸν Ἡσίοδον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ θ ῥαψῳδίᾳ λεγόμενον „ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη ἐς Πάφον ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος, βωμός τε θυήεις" (*Od.* 8.362–3).	Ciò che ha fatto errare Esiodo e gli altri è ciò che viene detto nell'ottavo libro: „Essa, Afrodite *philomeidés*, raggiungeva Cipro, a Pafo, dove aveva un santuario e un altare odoroso".

Principio	
οὐκ εἴ τις δὲ ἔν τινι τόπῳ τετίμηται, κεῖθι καὶ γεγέννηται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ ἐπιθέτῳ κοσμεῖται.	Un dio, se è onorato in un qualche luogo, non per questo (bisogna pensare che) vi sia nato e che venga abbellito da un epiteto (da questo luogo)

esempi: Apollo *delios* e *pythios*, Posidone *aigaios*	
οὐδέποτε γοῦν Δήλιος ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρ' Ὁμήρῳ οὐδὲ Πύθιος, καίτοι γε καὶ ἑκάτερον τῶν ἱερῶν οἶδε, δι' ὧν φησι ποτὲ μὲν „Δήλῳ δή ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῷ φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα" (*Od.* 6.162–3), ποτὲ δὲ „οὐδ' ὅσα λαϊνὸς οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἐέργει, Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθοῖ ἐνὶ πετρηέσσῃ" (*Il.* 9.404–5). οὐδ' ἐπεί φησιν „ἵκετο εἰς Αἰγάς, ὅθι οἱ κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔασιν" (*Od.* 5.381), Αἰγαῖός ποτε εἴρηται ὁ Ποσειδῶν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ.	Per lo meno in Omero Apollo non è mai *delios* né *pythios*, eppure (Omero) conosce entrambi i santuari, nei versi in cui dice ora „A Delo (non) ho mai visto un tale virgulto di palma crescere presso l'altare di Apollo", ora „né quanto la soglia di roccia del saettatore dentro contiene, di Apollo *phoibos* nella Pito rocciosa". Né, poiché (Omero) dice „giunse ad Ege, dove ha una illustre dimora", Posidone è mai detto *aigaios* in Omero.

Kythereia	
καὶ ἡ Κυθέρεια δὲ καθ' Ὅμηρον (*Od.* 8.288; 18.193) οὐχ ὅτι „προσέκυρσε Κυθήροις" (Hes. *Th.* 198)· οἶδε μὲν γὰρ τὰ Κύθηρα, οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται. Κυθέρεια δὲ ἡ κευθόμενον ἔχουσα ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὸν πᾶσι τῆς ἐρωτικῆς φιλίας ἐξηρτημένον ἱμάντα, οἷον τὸν ἔρωτα, ὃν πᾶσι τοῖς νέοις ἀφίησιν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦ κεστοῦ ταῦτα παρέπεται· „ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἔνι δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστύς, πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων" (*Il.* 14.216–7).	E *kythereia* (viene citato) in Omero, non perché „è approdata a Citera": infatti (Omero) conosce Citera, ma (l'epiteto) non viene detto certo da questo. *Kythereia* è „colei che nasconde in sé il cinto della passione amorosa, legato a tutti", cioè l'amore, che (essa) invia a tutti i giovani. Ciò infatti avviene per mezzo del cinto: „qui c'è affetto, qui desiderio, qui conversazione, seduzione che rapisce la mente anche di quelli molto assennati".

SEZIONE B: principi generali, esempi non afroditici.

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esempio: Atena *alalkomeneis*

ἐπεί τοι καὶ „Ἀλαλκομενηὶς Ἀθήνη" (*Il.* 4.8; 5.908) παρὰ τοῖς εὖ λογιζομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας, ἡ ἀπαλέξουσα τῷ ἰδίῳ μένει τοὺς ἐναντίους. οὐ γὰρ πειθόμεθα τοῖς νεωτέροις, οἵ φασιν ἀπὸ Ἀλαλκομενίου <τόπου>[9] τινὸς εἰρῆσθαι.	Poiché Atena *alalkomeneis*, per quelli che ragionano correttamente, (deriva) dal suo potere, „colei che respinge col proprio furore i nemici". Infatti non seguiamo gli autori recenti, che dicono che (la dea) sia stata chiamata (così) da un certo <luogo>, l'Alalcomenio.

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esempio: Hermes *akaketa*

οὐδ' ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης (fr. 3 Powell) παρήκουσεν Ὁμήρου εἰπόντος „Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα" (*Il.* 16.185; *Od.* 24.10), ὅτι ἀπὸ Ἀκακησίου ὄρους, ἀλλὰ μηδενὸς κακοῦ μεταδοτικός, ἐπεὶ καὶ δοτὴρ ἐάων (*Od.* 8.335).	Né come Eratostene ha malinteso Omero, che aveva detto „Hermes *akaketa*", (dicendo) che (deriva) da un monte Acachesio, bensì (ritengo che derivi) da „distributore di nessun male", poiché (Hermes) è anche „datore di beni".

Principio

πᾶν γοῦν ἀπὸ τῶν παρεπομένων τοῖς θεοῖς·	Ogni epiteto deriva dalle caratteristiche divine:

Esempio: Atena *glaukopis*

καὶ γὰρ ἡ γλαυκῶπις (Hom. *passim*) οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ „ἥ τ' ἄκρης θῖνα† Γλαυκώπιον ἵζει" (Call. fr. 238, 11 Pf.), ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καταπλήξεως.	infatti *glaukopis* non (deriva) dal fatto che essa „sieda sul colle Glaucopio", ma dalla capacità di colpire insita nello sguardo dei suoi occhi.

Principio

καὶ τἆλλα δὲ τῶν ἐπιθέτων <παρόσον>[10] ἐπιοῦσιν ἡμῖν πάρεστιν ὁρᾶν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τόπων ὠνομασμένα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐνεργιῶν τῶν ψυχικῶν ἢ διὰ συμβεβηκότων περὶ τὸ σῶμα,	Anche gli altri epiteti, <per quanto> ci è possibile vedere quando li percorriamo, non sono derivati dai luoghi sacri, ma dai poteri dell'anima o dalle caratteristiche fisiche delle divinità:

Esempi: Era, Tetide, Apollo

ὡς ἡ λευκώλενος Ἥρη (Hom. *passim*), καὶ ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις (Hom. *passim*), καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων (Hom. *passim*) καὶ ἀκερσεκόμης (*Il.* 20.39).	come Era *leukolenos*, e Tetide *argyropeza*, e Apollo *phoibos* e *akersekomes*;

Principio

καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ πράξεων,	e ancora dalle azioni:

Esempi: Apollo, Artemide Esempi: Apollo, Artemide

SEZIONE B (continued)

ἔκατος (*Il.* 7.83; 20.295) καὶ ἑκατηβελέτης (*Il.* 1.75) καὶ ἑκηβόλος (Hom. *passim*). Ἄρτεμις δὲ καὶ ἀγροτέρη (*Il.* 21.471) καὶ ἰοχέαιρα (Hom. *passim*) καὶ πάντα τὰ παραπλήσια.	*Hekatos* ed *hekatebeletes* ed *hekebolos*. Artemide *agrotera* e *iokheaira*, e tutti i casi simili.

Esempio: Posidone *helikonios*

καὶ γὰρ εἰ σπανίως Ἑλικώνιον τὸν Ποσειδῶνα εἴρηκεν (*Il.* 20.404) ἀπὸ Ἑλικῶνος, ὡς Ἀρίσταρχος βούλεται, ἐπεὶ ἡ Βοιωτία ὅλη ἱερὰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. οὐ γὰρ ἀρέσκει ἀπὸ Ἑλίκης, ἐπεί φησιν „οἱ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ’ ἀνάγουσιν" (*Il.* 8.203)· Ἑλικήϊον γὰρ ἂν εἶπε, συγχωροῦντος τοῦ μέτρου. δύναται δὲ[11] Ἑλικώνιος λέγεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἕλικας καὶ περιφερεῖς εἶναι τὰς τῆς θαλάσσης δίνας.	Infatti, anche se (Omero) ha citato *helikonios* poche volte, (esso deriva) dall’Elicona, come vuole Aristarco, perché l’intera Beozia è sacra a Posidone. Non gli piace infatti (farlo derivare) da Elice per il fatto che (Omero) dice „essi ti conducono offerte ad Elice ed Ege": infatti avrebbe detto *helikeios*, e il metro lo avrebbe permesso. (Posidone) però può essere detto *helikonios* perché i gorghi del mare sono ricurvi e circolari.

SEZIONE C: ritorno alla questione *kypris*, principi, esempi afroditici (παφία) e non afroditici.

Argumentum e silentio: Omero non cita *paphia*

ἔτι δὲ, εἴ περ ἦν ἡ Κύπρις ἀπὸ τῆς Κύπρου, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆς Πάφου, ἐν ᾗ „βωμός τε θυήεις" (*Od.* 8.363) αὐτῆς, Παφίη ἐλέγετο. ἀλλ’ οὐδέποτε Παφίην εἶπε τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ὅμηρος, ὡς οἱ νεώτεροι.	E ancora, se fosse vero che ‘Cipride’ (derivasse) da Cipro, ancor più potrebbe essere detta *paphia* da Pafo, in cui suo è „un altare odoroso". Ma Omero non ha mai definito Afrodite *paphia*, come (invece hanno fatto) gli autori recenti.

Principio

καὶ γὰρ εἴ πέρ γε[12] σπανίως ἐπίθετα ἐξενήνοχε ἀπὸ τόπου, οὐδέποτε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐξ ἡρωικοῦ προσώπου κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς αὐτὰ λέγει.	Infatti, se è vero che menziona pochi epiteti (derivati) da un luogo, non lo (fa) mai in prima persona, ma li menziona per bocca di un personaggio eroico, secondo verosimiglianza.

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11 δὲ B: γὰρ DEt.M.
12 εἴ πέρ γε B: εἴ ποτε DEt.M.

SEZIONE C (continued)

Esempi: Achille, Ecuba	
Ἀχιλλεὺς γὰρ θεσσαλὸς ὢν φησί· „Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικὲ τηλόθι ναίων" (*Il.* 16.233). καὶ Ἑκάβη· „ἀλλ' εὔχεο σύ γ' ἔπειτα κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι Ἰδαίῳ, ὅς τε Τροίην κατὰ πᾶσαν ὁρᾶται" (*Il.* 24.290–1). εἰ γὰρ ἡ Ἴδη τῆς Τροίας, οἰκείως ἡ Ἑκάβη ἔσχηκε παρωνομασμένον τὸν Ἰδαῖον.	Infatti Achille, che è tessalo, dice „Zeus signore di Dodona, Pelasgico, tu che abiti lontano". Ed Ecuba: „Su, tu prega allora il Cronide *idaios* adunatore di nubi, che osserva tutta la Troade". Infatti se l'Ida appartiene alla Troade, Ecuba ha derivato correttamente *idaios*.
Omero cita *kypris* nella narrazione	
ὁ δ' Ὅμηρος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι ἀπὸ τῆς Κύπρου τὸ ἐπίθετον ἐξ ἰδίου προσώπου λέγων „ὁ δὲ Κύπριν ἐπῴχετο νηλέϊ χαλκῷ" (*Il.* 5.330).	Omero non potrebbe citare l'epiteto (*sc. kypris*) (derivandolo) da Cipro quando parla in prima persona: „egli colpì Cipride con il bronzo spietato".

Sezione A

Lo scolio inizia in modo polemico: i predecessori del commentatore non hanno compreso il significato dell'epiteto; essi sono stati ingannati da Esiodo che, facendo nascere la dea a Cipro (*Th.* 199), mostra di aver inteso κύπρις nel senso di κυπρογένεια.

La spiegazione corretta non viene data subito, né in modo diretto. Prima viene spiegato un altro epiteto: la dea è chiamata φιλομειδής non perché sia nata dai genitali di Urano – di nuovo, Esiodo ha dato una spiegazione errata – ma perché è gioiosa e ama i baci; ciò rivelerebbe la vera natura di Afrodite, cioè l'amplesso da cui giunge questa energia. Ciò sarebbe garantito da un altro fatto: come in Omero il nome di Efesto non indica solo il dio, ma anche il fuoco (*Il.* 2.426), così il nome di Afrodite indica anche l'amplesso (*Od.* 22.444–5). Dunque se Afrodite simboleggia l'amplesso, κύπρις non è che una forma tronca di κυόπορις, che significa „colei che permette di concepire".

Lo scolio potrebbe terminare qui; invece il commentatore continua, innanzitutto spiegando la genesi dell'interpretazione erronea. Esiodo e gli altri sono stati ingannati dal passo omerico in cui si racconta la fuga di Afrodite nel suo santuario di Pafo (*Od.* 8.362–3). Emerge qui un principio: non si può dire che un dio sia nato in un certo luogo per il semplice motivo che vi sia venerato. Questo principio è dimostrato da epiteti di altre divinità: Omero conosce i santuari di Delo, Pito-Delfi ed Ege, ma non per questo chiama le divinità qui venerate con gli epiteti di δήλιος, πύθιος e αἰγαῖος. Il commentatore sembra voler dire che non c'è un nesso cogente tra toponimi ed epiteti apparentemente geografici; questo anche nel caso in cui, come in quello di Cipro e κύπρις, il Poeta citasse entrambi. Dunque κύπρις non deriva da Cipro, anche se il poeta cita l'isola – e così suggerisce il senso comune.

Segue un altro epiteto di Afrodite, κυθέρεια: addizione erudita o passaggio utile all'argomentazione? Ritorna lo schema osservato con φιλομειδής e κύπρις: viene criticato Esiodo che lo ha fatto derivare da Citera; poiché ormai conosciamo l'οὐσία di Afrodite, possiamo intuire che l'epiteto significa „colei che ha nascosto in sé il cinto della passione", come è mostrato da Omero (*Il.* 14.216–7). Di nuovo, alla spiegazione geografica se ne contrappone una allegorica; e ritorna l'argomento usato con κύπρις: Omero conosce sia l'epiteto (*Od.* 8.288; 18.193), sia il toponimo (Citera: *Il.* 15.432), ma è errato dire che il primo derivi dal secondo. Dunque, se φιλομειδής è utile a mostrare l'essenza di Afrodite – l'etimo non poteva essere geografico – κυθέρεια condivide la stessa problematicità di κύπρις, poiché sarebbe passibile di un' interpretazione geografica

Sezione B

Questa parte è ancor più sganciata da κύπρις, ma non è meno utile per capirlo: il commentatore tratta rapidamente epiteti di numerose divinità, esponendo i principi che governano la loro interpretazione; inoltre vediamo tornare il medesimo schema, per cui un'interpretazione erronea, di stampo geografico, viene sempre respinta a favore di una allegorica.

Atena è detta ἀλαλκομενηΐς non perché l'epiteto derivi da un qualche luogo, come hanno ritenuto autori recenti (νεώτεροι), ma perché essa respinge gli avversari col suo furore; Hermes è chiamato ἀκάκητα non dal monte arcadico Acachesio, come voleva Eratostene, malinterpretando Omero, ma perché Hermes è "distributore di nessun male" – epiteto complementare a "datore di beni".

Gli epiteti derivano dalle caratteristiche delle divinità: Atena è detta γλαυκῶπις non perché ha dimora nel colle Glaucopio di Atene – questo si capisce da una corrotta citazione callimachea – ma dalla forza con cui colpiscono i suoi occhi. Gli epiteti, per quanto è possibile vedere all'interprete, non derivano dai luoghi, ma dai poteri posti nell'anima o dalle qualità del corpo delle divinità – seguono in modo compilativo, epiteti fisici relativi ad Era, Tetide e Apollo. Oppure derivano dalle loro azioni: segue un'altra serie di epiteti, per lo più apollinei.

Uno spazio maggiore è concesso a Posidone ἑλικώνιος, di cui sono riportate diverse spiegazioni. Un primo interprete fa derivare l'epiteto dall'achea Elice, citata da Omero; Aristarco ribatte che, se così fosse, l'epiteto avrebbe suonato ἑλικήϊος; secondo il grammatico, l'epiteto deriverebbe dal monte Elicona. Dopo queste due spiegazioni geografiche, il commentatore ne propone una allegorica: presupponendo il rapporto del dio con il mare, l'epiteto alluderebbe al potere del dio di produrre gorghi circolari.[13]

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13 Schironi 2004, 413–4.

Sezione C

Con la terza e ultima sezione torniamo al punto di partenza, cioè Afrodite e κύπρις. Viene discusso l'epiteto παφίη, che non è presente in Omero, ma presso poeti recenti; il commentatore sembra voler stabilire un parallelismo con κύπρις: se è vero che il Poeta conosce Cipro ma non fa derivare κύπρις dall'isola, così, pur conoscendo Pafo, non farebbe derivare da esso παφίη – tanto più che il Poeta non cita l'epiteto. Pare tornare l'*argumentum e silentio* incontrato alla fine della sezione A, che punta a dimostrare come non ci sia alcun nesso tra toponimi ed epiteti apparentemente derivati da essi, anche nel caso in cui Omero menzionasse entrambi. Dunque κύπρις risulterebbe libero da un'interpretazione geografica, anche se Omero menziona Cipro. Ciò non vuol dire che Omero non menzioni epiteti geografici: ciò avviene, anche se raramente, a condizione che vengano pronunciati non dal Poeta in prima persona, ma dai suoi personaggi (Achille, che è tessalo, invoca lo Zeus Δωδωναῖος, cioè di una Dodona in Tessaglia;[14] Ecabe invita il marito a invocare lo Zeus Ἰδαῖος, che siede sull'Ida).

3 Perché l'attribuzione ad Apollodoro

Forse è bene non dare per scontata l'attribuzione di questo scolio ad Apollodoro, il cui nome non compare. Lo scolio è stato attribuito al grammatico ateniese da K. Reinhardt, ed è stato accolto da Jacoby (vedi § 1). Possiamo condensare la dimostrazione nella descrizione che Reinhardt fa dello stesso operato di Apollodoro nel ΠΘ, cioè aver adattato „Stoicorum theologiam ad Aristarcheae disciplinae regulas".[15] In altri termini, abbiamo da una parte stimoli – un approccio e soprattutto etimologie – di origine stoica, dall'altra il fatto che queste ultime vengono 'dimostrate' sulla base del metodo aristarcheo applicato alla lettura di Omero, il testimone più importante. Infine vi è il punto sostenuto da Jacoby, cioè la centralità della testimonianza omerica nell'esperienza apollodorea.[16] Cominciamo con quest'ultimo punto (§ 3.1); seguiranno le categorie aristarchee presenti (§ 3.2), quindi gli stimoli di provenienza stoica (§ 3.3).

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14 Sulla dubbia esistenza di questa città, omonima del più noto santuario epirotico, vedi Filoni 2020.

15 Reinhardt 1910, 86.

16 Jacoby 1926, 756: „mein Eindruck ist . . . der dass überall Homer nicht nur den Ausgangpunkt und den Hintergrund, sondern in weitgehendem Masse auch das Ziel der Arbeit bildet, dass es *auch hier* [c.vo mio, cioè anche nel ΠΘ, oltre che nel *Commento al Catalogo*] um eine letzten Grades interpretatorische Leisten handelt . . . ".

3.1 Centralità della testimonianza omerica

La presenza di Omero, considerato la fonte per eccellenza – anche in ambito teologico – è a dir poco ossessiva (più di una decina di volte, tra citazioni esplicite e implicite):

([SEZ. A] . . . Ὅμηρος . . . λέγει . . . λέγη . . . Ὁμήρῳ . . . παρ' Ὁμήρῳ . . . οἶδε . . . φησὶν „*Od.* 6.162–3", „*Il.* 9.404–5" . . . φησιν „*Od.* 5.381" . . . παρ' Ὁμήρῳ . . . καθ' Ὅμηρον . . . οἶδε . . . [SEZ. B] Ὁμήρου εἰπόντος „Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα" . . . εἴρηκεν . . . φησὶν „*Il.* 8.203" . . . εἶπε . . . [SEZ. C] . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέποτε Παφίην εἶπε τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ὅμηρος . . . ἐξενήνοχε . . . λέγει . . . ὁ δ' Ὅμηρος . . .).

Versi omerici sono spesso citati per attestare fatti utili alla discussione:

Il. 2.426:	equivalenza tra Efesto e il fuoco
Il. 8.203:	santuario di Poseidone a Elice
Il. 9.404–5:	santuario di Apollo a Delfi
Il. 14.216–7:	figure che animano il cinto di Afrodite
Od. 5.381:	dimora di Poseidone a Ege
Od. 6.162–3:	santuario di Apollo a Delo
Od. 8.362–3 (x2):	santuario di Afrodite a Pafo
Od. 22.444–5:	equivalenza tra Afrodite e l'amplesso

Gli epiteti citati sono molto spesso attestati anche da Omero – che la fonte sia Omero, è precisato in diversi casi:

ἀγροτέρη:	*Il.* 21.471;
ἀκάκητα:	*Il.* 16.185; *Od.* 24.10 (Ἐρατοσθένης παρήκουσεν Ὁμήρου εἰπόντος „Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα");
ἀκερσεκόμης:	*Il.* 20.39;
ἀλαλκομενηΐς:	*Il.* 4.8; 5.908;
ἀργυρόπεζα:	(Hom. x 13);
γλαυκῶπις:	(Hom. x 92);
δοτὴρ ἑάων:	*Od.* 8.335 (δῶτορ ἑάων);
Δωδωναῖος:	*Il.* 16.233 (Ἀχιλλεὺς γὰρ θεσσαλὸς ὢν φησί „*Il.* 16.233");
ἑκατηβελέτης:	*Il.* 1.75;
ἕκατος:	*Il.* 7.83; 20.295;
ἑκηβόλος:	(Hom. x 9);
ἑλικώνιος:	*Il.* 20.404 (σπανίως Ἑλικώνιον τὸν Ποσειδῶνα εἴρηκεν [*sc.* Ὅμηρος]);
Ἰδαῖος:	*Il.* 24.291 (καὶ Ἑκάβη „*Il.* 24.290–1");
ἰοχέαιρα:	(Hom. x 12);
κύπρις:	*Il.* 5.330, 422, 458, 760, 883 (ὁ δ' Ὅμηρος . . . λέγων „*Il.* 5.330");
κυθέρεια:	*Od.* 8.288; 18.193 (ἡ Κυθέρεια καθ' Ὅμηρον);
λευκώλενος:	(Hom. x 24);

φιλομειδής: *Il.* 3.424; 4.10; 5.375, 14.211; 20.40; *Od.* 8.362
φοῖβος: (Hom. x 52);

Viene considerato anche il fatto che Omero *non attesti* alcuni epiteti:

[SEZ. A] οὐδέποτε γοῦν Δήλιος ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρ' Ὁμήρῳ οὐδὲ Πύθιος . . . οὐδ' ἐπεί φησιν „*Od.* 5.381", Αἰγαῖός ποτε εἴρηται ὁ Ποσειδῶν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ . . . [SEZ. C] οὐδέποτε Παφίην εἶπε τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ὅμηρος . . .

3.2 Categorie aristarchee

Nello scolio emergono, e sono concretamente utilizzate, alcune categorie ermeutiche proprie di Aristarco, maestro di Apollodoro – tanto è vero che lo scolio è stato esaminato da Francesca Schironi proprio come testimone aristarcheo.[17] La presenza di queste categorie è tipica di Apollodoro.[18] Vediamo:

a)   Omero è l'autore più antico, anteriore agli autori detti „recenti" (νεώτεροι), ma anche qualitativamente superiore:[19]

[SEZ. A] „Ἀλαλκομενηῒς Ἀθήνη" (*Il.* 4.8; 5.908) παρὰ τοῖς εὖ λογιζομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας, ἡ ἀπαλέξουσα τῷ ἰδίῳ μένει τοὺς ἐναντίους. οὐ γὰρ πειθόμεθα τοῖς νεωτέροις, οἵ φασιν ἀπὸ Ἀλαλκομενίου <τόπου> τινὸς εἰρῆσθαι . . . [SEZ. C] ἔτι δὲ, εἴ περ ἦν ἡ Κύπρις ἀπὸ τῆς Κύπρου, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆς Πάφου, ἐν ᾗ „βωμός τε θυήεις" (*Od.* 8.363) αὐτῆς, Παφίη ἐλέγετο. ἀλλ' οὐδέποτε Παφίην εἶπε τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ὅμηρος, ὡς οἱ νεώτεροι.

Nel primo caso, „quelli che sanno ben ragionare" interpretano ἀλαλκομενηῒς come „colei che respinge gli avversari con il suo furore", e respingono con decisione la spiegazione dei νεώτεροι, che lo fanno derivare – se accettiamo la verosimile integrazione di van Thiel – da un luogo, probabilmente il santuario beotico. L'opposizione non può essere più chiara: i νεώτεροι scelgono l'opzione errata. Nel secondo caso, l'accezione negativa è velata, ma sussiste: essi citano παφίη, facendo pensare che derive da Pafo; Omero, non citando l'epiteto, mostra che questa derivazione – così come quella Cipro>κύπρις – non esiste (vedi § 2).

b)   gli autori νεώτεροι sono cattivi interpreti di Omero:[20]

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17 Schironi 2004, 408–16 (fr. 53 Schironi).
18 Questo argomento è stato utilizzato da Lehrs per individuare la presenza apollodorea in Strabone (Lehrs 1882, 226: „Apollodorum audimus" – per cui vedi Filoni 2014a, 855–7).
19 Schironi 2018, 652–708 (soprattutto 705–8).
20 Schironi *loc. cit.* (vedi nota precedente). Severyns 1928 indagò con ampiezza questo atteggiamento aristarcheo, in relazione agli epici arcaici.

[SEZ. A] τὸ δὲ πλανῆσαν τὸν Ἡσίοδον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ θ ῥαψῳδίᾳ λεγόμενον „ἡ δ’ ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη ἐς Πάφον ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος, βωμὸς τε θυήεις" (*Od*. 8.362–3). οὐκ εἴ τις δὲ ἔν τινι τόπῳ τετίμηται, κεῖθι καὶ γεγέννηται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ ἐπιθέτῳ κοσμεῖται . . . [SEZ. B] Ἐρατοσθένης παρήκουσεν Ὁμήρου εἰπόντος „Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα" (*Il*. 16.185; *Od*. 24.10), ὅτι ἀπὸ Ἀκακησίου ὄρους κτλ.

Che Afrodite sia nata a Cipro, sarebbe un'erronea lettura del passo che descrive la fuga della dea a Pafo; il commentatore ribatte che non bisogna pensare che un dio nasca in un luogo – e prenda l'epiteto corrispondente – per il semplice fatto di esservi venerato.[21] Anche l'interpretazione geografica di ἀκάκητα da parte di Eratostene è bollata come un fraintendimento di Omero.

c) distinzione tra ciò che viene detto dal Poeta (ἐξ ἰδίου προσώπου) – noi diremmo dal narratore – e da un personaggio dei suoi poemi (ἐξ ἡρωϊκοῦ προσώπου):[22]

[SEZ. C] εἴ πέρ γε σπανίως ἐπίθετα ἐξενήνοχε ἀπὸ τόπου, οὐδέποτε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἡρωικοῦ προσώπου κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς αὐτὰ λέγει. Ἀχιλλεὺς γὰρ θεσσαλὸς ὢν φησί· „*Il*. 16.233". καὶ Ἑκάβη· „*Il*. 24.290–1" . . . ὁ δ’ Ὅμηρος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι ἀπὸ τῆς Κύπρου τὸ ἐπίθετον ἐξ ἰδίου προσώπου λέγων „*Il*. 5.330".

La distinzione è perfettamente incastonata nell'argomentazione, perché permette di interpretare geograficamente gli epiteti pronunciati dai personaggi; il fatto che κύπρις sia citato dal narratore esclude questa possibilità (vedi § 2).[23]

d) spiegare Omero con Omero:[24] l'abbondante presenza del Poeta non è casuale: egli è punto di partenza ma anche mezzo per essere spiegato. Nella fattispecie, l'interpretazione allegorica di κύπρις si regge su quella degli altri epiteti della dea, attestati dal Poeta, e sul materiale da lui offerto (vedi § 3.1).

L'ampia presenza di categorie aristarchee pone la questione se siano aristarchee anche le conclusioni a cui si arriva per mezzo loro, cioè se l'interprete sia Aristarco, e Apollodoro lo abbia seguito, oppure se questi sia giunto a conclusioni autonome con le categorie del maestro. Il caso vuole che una citazione aristarchea – l'interpretazione

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21 La medesima conclusione si trova in uno scolio odissiaco (*Sch. Hom. Od*. 8.362b Pontani): οὗτος ὁ στίχος ἐπλάνησε τὸν Ἡσίοδον εἰπεῖν Κυπρογένειαν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. Non è detto che esso derivi dal ΠΘ: il codice, analizzato in Pontani 2005, 230 ss., riporta scoli di matrice alessandrina; dunque potrebbe trattarsi di un'interpretazione già aristarchea, fatta propria da Apollodoro.
22 Schironi 2018, 510–12.
23 Vedi anche Schironi 2004, 411. In realtà, delle cinque occorrenze omeriche, solo questa è in bocca al narratore; le altre (per cui vedi nota 5) appartengono tutte a discorsi di *divinità*, che riportano la notizia del ferimento di Afrodite. È possibile che il grammatico abbia fatto un uso interessato della testimonianza omerica, valorizzando il passo che gli permetteva la spiegazione desiderata; oppure le divinità, che possiedono un sapere superiore, agli occhi di Apollodoro sono da equiparare al narratore.
24 Schironi 2018, 740–1.

di ἑλικώνιος – sia conservata: essa mostra che maestro e discepolo discordavano nell'interpretare l'epiteto; Aristarco dava un'interpretazione geografica, Apollodoro allegorica (vedi § 2).[25] Dal momento che in tutto lo scolio vediamo un'insistita e argomentata difesa dell'interpretazione allegorica degli epiteti, è verosimile che abbiamo a che fare con qualcuno diverso da Aristarco, ma che abbia fatto proprie le categorie aristarchee, mettendole a servizio di un proprio progetto culturale.

La riprova è nell'uso della distinzione aristarchea tra ciò che viene detto dal Poeta e da un personaggio: il commentatore afferma che solo gli epiteti pronunciati da un personaggio sono geografici (§ 2); in base a questo principio, Aristarco avrebbe dovuto interpretare ἑλικώνιος, menzionato in una similitudine – dunque ἐξ ἰδίου προσώπου – in modo allegorico; ma ciò non avviene: a farlo è l'interprete complessivo. Peraltro, lo spazio dedicato ad Aristarco – nonché la presenza stessa delle sue categorie – parla di un sentimento di rispetto nei suoi confronti; insomma, l'attribuzione dello scolio a un personaggio come l'Apollodoro del ΠΘ, aristarcheo in fuga da Alessandria e ora dedito all'esegesi allegorica, è estremamente verosimile.[26]

3.3 Elementi stoici

L'etimologia apollodorea di κύπρις – „colei che permette di generare" – sembra risalire allo stoico Crisippo (*SVF* II 1098 = J. Lydus *de mens.* 4, 44):[27]

> ὁ δὲ Χρύσιππος οὐ Διώνην ἀλλὰ Διδόνην αὐτὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι ἀξιοῖ παρὰ τὸ ἐπιδιδόναι τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ἡδονάς, Κύπριν δὲ ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ τὸ κύειν παρέχειν, καὶ κυθέρειαν ὁμοίως παρὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις τὸ κύειν ἐπιδιδόναι.

Lido riporta l'interpretazione crisippea di Διώνη – forse inteso come epiteto – κύπρις e κυθέρεια. Il primo, attraverso la più veritiera forma Διδόνη, alluderebbe al piacere della generazione concesso dalla dea; gli altri esprimono entrambi l'idea del concepimento, percepibile nei suoni iniziali (κυ-): κύπρις che la dea „permette di concepire" (παρὰ τὸ κύειν παρέχειν) – qui la presunta forma originaria non è menzionata – κυθέρεια che Afrodite permette di concepire anche agli animali – dunque l'altro epiteto era inteso per l'essere umano.

Vediamo che il ritratto crisippeo di Afrodite, anche se giunto frammentariamente, non è diverso da quello apollodoreo, così come da quello vulgato: Afrodite

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25 Aristarco aveva spiegato anche il cinto di Afrodite: cfr. *Sch. Hom. Od.* H, 8.288d Pontani; questo scolio, nella parte iniziale, riporta *verbatim* l'interpretazione apollodorea di κυθέρεια. Schrader accoglieva la seconda parte dello scolio tra i frammenti porfiriani: Schrader 1880, 194.

26 Schironi, che riconosce la mediazione apollodorea (Schironi 2004, 411), nota il „sapore aristarcheo" dello scolio (Schironi 2004, 414).

27 Jacoby 1926, 757.

rappresenta l'amplesso e permette a uomini e animali di concepire; κύπρις e κυθέρεια indicherebbero questo preciso potere. Vediamo che Apollodoro, che pure ha fatto sua l'interpretazione di κύπρις, non ha seguito interamente lo schema crisippeo: κυθέρεια è interpretato tramite un'altra radice (κεύθω) e un'eco omerica (il cinto: vedi § 2); è possibile che egli vedesse nell'interpretazione crisippea di κυθέρεια una ripetizione rispetto a κύπρις: quest'ultimo, proprio perché generico, aveva già una valenza universale.

Che Apollodoro abbia seguito Crisippo, ce lo dice il fr. 95, dove vediamo una lunga serie di scolarchi stoici, da Zenone ad Antipatro di Tarso, che è quasi contemporaneo di Apollodoro.[28] Oltretutto i loro nomi sono esplicitati: ciò quindi doveva avvenire anche nella trattazione di Afrodite.[29] Il fr. 353 dunque si mostra parzialmente manchevole: esso cita le autorità antiche, i poeti νεώτεροι come Esiodo che hanno malinterpretato Omero, ma non gli interpreti precedenti (οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν) che hanno seguito Esiodo anziché Omero. Dunque il fr. 353, per quanto prezioso, non è un testimone esente da semplificazioni.

4 Frammenti e del testimoni del Περὶ θεῶν su Afrodite

Percorriamo i frammenti del ΠΘ di argomento afroditico nonché quelli che definisco „testimoni privilegiati", cioè autori, che hanno letto ed escerto l'opera apollodorea senza nominarla.[30]

I frammenti nominali purtroppo sono pochi ma non privi di interesse. I frr. 112 e 113 si soffermano sugli aspetti non erotici ma relazionali espressi da alcuni epiteti: la dea venne chiamata ἑταίρα perché riunisce gli amici – questo significava ἑταῖρος[31] – e πάνδημος perché, nell'Atene di una volta, il popolo si radunava davanti al suo tempio.[32] L'aspetto erotico, ben presente nel fr. 353, è toccato solo dal fr. 114: la colomba è sacra alla dea per la sua lascivia, che lascerebbe traccia nel nome.[33] Dei testimoni

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28 244 *FGrHist* 95 = Macr. *Sat*. 1.17. È il capitolo apollineo della 'teologia solare' nei *Saturnalia* di Macrobio (per cui vedi Filoni 2021, 231–44). Il mediatore neoplatonico ha aggiunto le autorità platoniche, che si sommano a quelle stoiche; Crisippo è citato a I 17, 7 (*SVF* 1095).

29 Un indizio in questa direzione è che lo stoico Cornuto, lettore del ΠΘ, torni a identificare i due epiteti secondo l'idea del concepimento (vedi § 6), proprio come Crisippo.

30 La testimonianza di questi ultimi può essere molto preziosa: Filoni 2014b, 67–93.

31 244 *FGrHist* 112: Ἑταίραν δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν τοὺς ἑταίρους καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας συνάγουσαν· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν φίλας, ὡς ἡ Σαπφώ "fr. 160 Campbell" – da notare l'uso positivo di un νεώτερος.

32 244 *FGrHist* 113: Ἀπολλόδορος ἐν τῷ *Περὶ θεῶν* πάνδημόν φησιν Ἀθήνησι κληθῆναι τὴν ἀμφιδρυθεῖσαν περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν διὰ τὸ ἐνταῦθα πάντα τὸν δῆμον συνάγεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἃς ἐκάλουν ἀγοράς.

33 244 *FGrHist* 114: ἡ περιστερὰ ἱερὰ Ἀφροδίτης διὰ τὸ λάγνον· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ περισσῶς ἐρᾶν λέγεται.

privilegiati, Apollonio Sofista mostra numerosi punti di contatto, anche verbali, con il fr. 353,[34] ma non aggiunge nuova materia. Eraclito, autore delle *Allegorie omeriche*, si rifà spesso al ΠΘ,[35] ma questa volta non ci è utile: le spiegazioni razionalizzanti che riguardano la dea paiono derivare da altre fonti.[36] Molto interessante Porfirio – che meriterebbe una trattazione a parte – che nel Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων interpreta allegoricamente una raffigurazione della dea, concordemente con il ritratto apollodoreo: Afrodite quale simbolo di attrazione, amplesso e generazione.[37]

Può essere significativa la trattazione afroditica di L. Anneo Cornuto,[38] non tanto per gli echi dei frammenti nominali, che sono limitati,[39] quanto per quelli con il fr. 353: ritornano infatti le medesime categorie, per quanto contaminate, per cui non possiamo non pensare a una libera reinterpretazione di quanto leggiamo nel fr. 353.[40] Esaminiamo in particolare questo passaggio (24.5):

> κυθέρεια δ᾽ εἴρηται διὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν μίξεων γινομένας κυήσεις ἢ διὰ τὸ κεύθεσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τὰς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίας. ἐκ τούτου δ᾽ ἤδη καὶ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἡ τῶν Κυθήρων νῆσος εἶναι δοκεῖ, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἡ Κύπρος, συνᾴδουσά πως τῇ κρύψει κατὰ τοὔνομα.

Di κυθέρεια sono date due spiegazioni: „dai concepimenti che vengono dagli amplessi" e „per il fatto che i desideri amorosi sono spesso nascosti"; questo è il motivo per cui Citera è sacra ad Afrodite, e lo è anche Cipro, il cui nome assona con la parola „nascondimento".

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34 Chiaro segno che il ΠΘ sia tra le fonti del lessico (vedi già Henrichs 1975, 28 n. 130). Cito solo le voci apolloniane che trattano gli epiteti afroditici: Apollon. 163, 13–4 Bekker (<φιλομειδής:> ἐπίθετον Ἀφροδίτης, ἡ φιλοῦσα τὰ μειδιάματα, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἱλαρὰν σημαίνει); 48, 26–8 Bekker (<Ἀφροδίτη>); 106, 1–2 Bekker (<Κύπρις>). In quest'ultima voce interpretazione geografica e allegorica sono presentate alla pari (οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ), una chiara semplificazione subìta dalla materia.
35 Jacoby accoglie solo il par. 7 (= 244 *FGrHist* 98), dove il grammatico è citato, e 74 (= 244 *FGrHist* 102e); per altri passi che possono derivare dal grammatico, vedi Filoni 2014b, 69 n. 11.
36 *All.* 28.4–7 (Afrodite come ἀφροσύνη); 30.4 (come l'ἀλογιστία che caratterizza i Troiani).
37 Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων fr. 8 Gabriele = 359 Smith: γυναῖκα μὲν ἀνέπλασαν διὰ τὴν γένεσιν . . . Ἔρωτα μὲν παρέστησαν διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν . . . γονῆς αἰτία ἡ δύναμις [*sc.* della dea] καὶ ἐκθρέψεως; una citazione omerica (*Il.* 22.318) sembra indizio del metodo apollodoreo; vedi nota 3. L'opera porfiriana, giunta tramite escerti di Eusebio, è ottimamente commentata da Gabriele 2012.
38 Ἐπιδρομή, cap. 24 (44,2–47,1 Lang).
39 Concorde, quasi alla lettera, con il fr. 353 è la spiegazione di φιλομειδής (24.3: λέγεται δὲ καὶ φιλομειδὴς διὰ τοῦτο· οἰκεῖα γὰρ τὰ μειδιάματα καὶ ἡ ἱλαρότης τῶν τοιούτων συνόδων ἐστί – vedi Reinhardt 1910, 84 n. 1). L'etimologia della colomba, sacra alla dea, è solo allusa (διὰ τῶν ὡσανεὶ φιλημάτων), ma si sovrappone a quella del fr. 114. Sembra in contraddizione con il fr. 113 l'interpretazione di πάνδημος che, assieme a οὐρανία e ποντία, mostra come il potere della dea si estenda per tutto l'universo (24.7); ma se consideriamo che Cornuto seleziona la fonte, e che l'interpretazione cornutea di πάνδημος è in accordo con il ritratto apollodoreo della dea, è lecito pensare che provenga anch'essa dal ΠΘ e conviva con la spiegazione antiquaria del fr. 113.
40 Ciò conferma che Cornuto ha consultato e sfruttato il ΠΘ: in base al principio esposto altrove, a ogni capitolo cornuteo dovrebbe corrispondere la materia di un libro del ΠΘ (Filoni 2018, 404–418, 670–674); quest'ultima però sarebbe soggetta a una forte rielaborazione da parte dello stoico.

Dopo aver letto il fr. 353, non possiamo non sentire una forte somiglianza con i suoi contenuti. La prima spiegazione di κυθέρεια sembra ripetere quella di κύπρις („colei che permette di concepire");[41] solo la seconda etimologia sembra riguardare κυθέρεια, poiché ne analizza i suoni (= κεύθω + ἐράω). Diversamente dal fr. 353, in cui interpretazione geografica ed allegorica sono distinte, Cornuto le contamina: la spiegazione allegorica di κυθέρεια coinvolge il toponimo Citera, poiché è in virtù di questo nesso che l'isola è sacra ad Afrodite. La contaminazione prosegue con Cipro: anche quest'isola è legata ad Afrodite perché il nome riporta l'idea di nascondimento che leggiamo in κυθέρεια. Assistiamo dunque a una doppia contaminazione: tra interpretazione allegorica e geografica, ma anche tra i casi di Citera e Cipro.

L'esito finale può apparire ben lontano dal fr. 353, e senza dubbio lo è; ma se ricordiamo che un'interpretazione apollodorea emerge – quella di κύπρις, sia pur attribuita a κυθέρεια – e apollodorei sono i poli dell'interpretazione, cioè geografia ed allegoria, intuiamo che Cornuto, nel momento in cui contamina il materiale apollodoreo, dipende da esso. Il fatto che i due epiteti iniziassero con i medesimi suoni (κυ-), cosa che aveva ispirato già Crisippo – probabilmente citato nel ΠΘ (§ 3.3) – possono aver spinto Cornuto a vedervi espresso il medesimo potere; questo può spiegare da una parte l'assenza di κύπρις, sentito come un sinonimo di κυθέρεια, dall'altra la sovrapposizione tra i toponimi di Citera e Cipro. La contaminazione tra spiegazione geografica e allegorica, invece, così rigorosamente distinte in Apollodoro, può nascere solo dal fatto che Cornuto non comprendeva o non accettava questa opposizione assoluta; di qui l'estensione dell'etimologia allegorica ai nomi geografici.

Tenendo presente l'approccio cornuteo, possiamo considerare il caso di Pafo e dell'epiteto corrispondente (24.5):

> ἡ δὲ Πάφος ἴδιον αὐτῆς οἰκητήριόν ἐστι, Παφίας λεγομένης, τάχα κατ' ἔλλειψιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπα-φίσκειν, ὅ ἐστιν ἀπατᾶν· ἔχει γὰρ κατὰ μὲν τὸν Ἡσίοδον „μειδήματά τ' ἐξαπάτας τε" (*Th.* 205), κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ὅμηρον „πάρφασιν, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων" (*Il.* 14.217).

Come Citera e Cipro, così anche il toponimo Pafo è degno di accogliere un santuario della dea, detta παφία: l'epiteto è spiegato con l'azione di „ingannare" (ἀπαφίσκειν), radice riconoscibile ammettendo la scomparsa di alcuni suoni; l'etimo è garantito da Esiodo, che pone „sorrisi e inganni" nella sfera della dea (*Th.* 205)[42] e dal cinto omerico di Afrodite, dove risiede la Seduzione (*Il.* 14.217). Come abbiamo visto, con questa etimologia Cornuto non vuole spiegare solo l'epiteto, ma anche il toponimo, e perché questo sia una sede adatta alla dea. Se prescindiamo dalla contaminazione cornutea, che mescola allegoria e geografia, rimane un'etimologia – che a questo punto riguarderebbe solo l'epiteto – molto rigorosa, degna di un grammatico; per di più essa è

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41 Schmidt 1912, 64.

42 La citazione è forse riassuntiva dell'intero passo: vedi *infra*.

basata su lessico poetico, verosimilmente omerico,[43] e coerente con l'idea apollodorea che Afrodite rappresenti attrazione (l'„inganno" della seduzione), amplesso e generazione. Questa etimologia può ben essere apollodorea;[44] le citazioni che seguono, di Omero ed Esiodo, confermano l'attitudine della dea a ingannare. In un contesto apollodoreo, la menzione di Omero non stupisce; dovrebbe farlo invece quella di Esiodo, così criticato nel fr. 353. Ma va ricordato che il νεώτερος è criticabile là dove la sua testimonianza diverge da quella omerica, ma è utilizzabile là dove essa confermi quella del Poeta più antico.[45]

5 Quanto il fr. 353 è fedele al testo originale

Ora è giusto chiedersi se la *Ring-Komposition* che caratterizza lo scolio sia apollodorea. Essa è originale – dunque lo scoliasta ha copiato per esteso un lungo passaggio del ΠΘ – o è frutto di rielaborazione? Segnalo i seguenti fatti:
1) le sezioni AC trattano gli epiteti afroditici, la B quelli non afroditici;
2) la sezione B è compilativa, le sezioni A e C conservano invece precise argomentazioni (non è scontato che κύπρις derivi da Cipro; la distinzione tra narratore e personaggio);
3) le sezioni A e C sono in continuità (l'argomentazione contro la derivazione Cipro>κύπρις è divisa tra le due sezioni);
4) le sezioni A e C sono coerenti (l'ultimo argomento della sezione C dimostra che κύπρις non può essere geografico, come affermato all'inizio della sezione A);
5) la somiglianza verbale con Apollonio Sofista (§ 4);

Per quanto riguarda le sezioni A e C, molti punti spingono a ritenere di trovarsi davanti a una copia piuttosto fedele alla fonte: la continuità tra le due sezioni (punto 3), la coerenza (punto 4), la profondità (punto 2); in questa direzione va la ripresa, quasi *verbatim*, che leggiamo in Apollonio Sofista (punto 5). Certo, abbiamo visto

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43 Vedi *Lexicon des früh-griechischen Epos* s.v. ἀπαφίσκω.

44 La differenza di trattamento di παφίη rispetto al fr. 353 è spiegabile: quest'ultimo sottolinea che l'epiteto è citato solo presso i νεώτεροι, perché siamo nella *pars destruens* (bisogna confutare il nesso toponimo-epiteto, e Pafo è citata da Omero: vedi § 2); Cornuto, invece, conserverebbe la *pars construens*, cioè l'interpretazione allegorica di παφία: l'epiteto, anche se citato solo da νεώτεροι, diventa accettabile perché descrive caratteristiche della dea compatibili con il ritratto omerico. Eustazio da una parte egli conosce l'etimo di παφίη da ἀπαφίσκειν, forse mediato da scolii omerici perduti (Eust. *ad Il.* 9.375 = II 733, 1–3 van der Valk; ad *Il.* 14.160 = III 600, 18–21 van der Valk), dall'altra, come Cornuto, estende l'etimo allegorico al toponimo (*ad Od.* 8.362 = I 303, 31–32 Stallbaum).

45 Il grammatico potrebbe aver accettato anche i versi esiodei circostanti, che descrivono il campo d'azione della dea (*Th.* 203–6); l'emistichio citato potrebbe essere un'allusione a tutti questi versi. Apollodoro potrebbe aver considerato anche l'*Inno omerico* ad Afrodite (5.7): τρισσὰς δ' οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατῆσαι.

che qualcosa manca: la citazione di Crisippo, autore dell'interpretazione κύπρις-κυόπορις (§ 3.3); i predecessori che seguivano Esiodo (§ 4). Ciò vuol dire che l'escertore è stato fedele nel riportare le parti che ha riportato, ma non ha riportato tutto. La sezione B, al contrario, non pare che rappresenti lo stato della fonte: non credo che Apollodoro si limitasse a elencare gli epiteti di Apollo, Era o Artemide nel modo che vediamo, perché ogni epiteto, come mostra lo stesso fr. 353, godeva di una sua trattazione; inoltre Omero, la fonte più importante, andava spiegato; manca qualsiasi traccia di argomentazione.[46]

Come è nato questo testo? È lecito pensare che un compilatore, che poteva ancora leggere direttamente il ΠΘ, per commentare l'occorrenza omerica di κύπρις, abbia copiato (più o meno) fedelmente la trattazione apollodorea, con tutto ciò che era utile a comprenderlo – gli epiteti φιλομειδής, κυθέρεια e παφίη, gli argomenti contro l'interpretazione geografica. Poi, temendo forse di offrire una trattazione molto specializzata – ciò denuncia l'età tardiva dell'operazione – il compilatore avrebbe attinto da altri luoghi dell'opera, riportandoli in modo ora più esteso (ἀλαλκομενηΐς; ἀκάκητα; γλαυκῶπις; ἑλικώνιος) ora più compilativo (gli epiteti di Apollo, Artemide, Era etc.);[47] questo *excursus*, poi, è stato inserito in mezzo, spezzando un'argomentazione molto precisa. Dunque, la sezione B – il cui materiale è comunque apollodoreo – e la *Ring-Komposition* che ne consegue sono opera di questo compilatore. L'impressione è che questi abbia voluto pagare un tributo *una tantum* alla materia epitetica del ΠΘ: un'occasione da sfruttare perché forse non ne sarebbe occorsa un'altra; di qui la necessità di 'salvare' più materia possibile, anche mettendo a rischio la linearità dell'esposizione.[48]

6 Qualche conclusione

Il fr. 353 dunque non è una lunga citazione del ΠΘ: chi ha redatto l'escerto ha riportato molto, ma non tutto quello che c'era nella fonte: non sono precisati i dotti contro i quali Apollodoro si scaglia; manca la citazione Crisippo, che ha ispirato il

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46 Il ΠΘ sembra una collezione di monografie, dedicate alle divinità principali o a gruppi di divinità affini: Filoni 2018, 572–599. Apollodoro menziona casi paralleli per illustrare il caso specifico (Filoni 2018, 472), ma è inverosimile che ciò sconfini in una superficiale elencazione.

47 Per questo la prima persona della sezione B (ἐπιοῦσιν ἡμῖν) spetterebbe al compilatore; invece attribuirei la prima persona della sezione A (οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν) alla fonte ultima. La distinzione in epiteti che descrivono l'anima, il corpo o i poteri della divinità potrebbe essere una grossolana classificazione del compilatore.

48 È possibile che il compilatore sia Porfirio: Filoni 2021, 236; Filoni 2018, 499ss. In questo caso, l'escerto sarebbe nato come capitolo delle sue *Quaestiones Homericae*, per poi essere allegato come scolio a margine di *Il.* 5.422. Schrader, che pure non accolse lo scolio tra i frammenti porfiriani, non escludeva che tra gli scolii del codice B si nascondessero altri ζητήματα del filosofo: Schrader 1880, 367.

grammatico nell'interpretazione di κύπρις (§ 3.3); non sono nominati i νεώτεροι che citano παφίη; la parte centrale dell'escerto è una veloce antologia attinti a diversi libri del ΠΘ (§ 5). In questo senso, è stato utile il confronto con Cornuto, che rilegge in modo personale la materia che leggiamo nel fr. 353, ma conserva l'interpretazione apollodorea di παφίη e mostra che la testimonianza di Esiodo, così maltrattato, era parzialmente accettabile (§ 4).

Quali considerazioni possiamo fare sul metodo apollodoreo grazie al fr. 353? Prima di tutto, l'omerocentrismo: le notizie da lui offerte sono superiori a quelle dei νεώτεροι, che entrano in subordine, criticati se in disaccordo con Omero (Esiodo, *in abundantiam*), accettati con riserva se la testimonianza omerica era parziale o assente. In secondo luogo, le categorie aristarchee: la distinzione tra piano della narrazione e discorsi dei personaggi; l'accantonamento dei νεώτεροι, che spesso malinterpretano Omero e, per converso, lo spiegare Omero con se stesso (§ 3). In terzo luogo, questo escerto dal ΠΘ conserva qualcosa che altri testimoni, più attenti alle conclusioni o all'erudizione apollodorea, non hanno conservato: il procedere – talvolta tortuoso – della sua argomentazione. Per dimostrare che κύπρις non significa „di Cipro" ma „colei che permette di concepire", il grammatico passa attraverso gli altri epiteti della dea, meglio comprensibili, così da confutare la cogenza della derivazione toponimo-epiteto (§ 2).

Vediamo anche come il grammatico tenda a interpretare il più possibile gli epiteti omerici in direzione allegorica: è come se Apollodoro non volesse perdere l'occasione di sfruttare, nel senso desiderato, il materiale offerto dalla sua fonte privilegiata. Questa brama interpretativa, però, conosce dei limiti, che sono le categorie stesse utilizzate: quando un personaggio invoca una divinità (Priamo lo Zeus Ἰδαῖος), l'epiteto deriva da un toponimo. Apollodoro è un esegeta molto controllato.

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Place Names as Divine Epithets in Pausanias

1 Introduction

Pausanias' relevance to the study of divine epithets is obvious.[1] The *Periegesis* has been used as a source for the research on Greek eplicleses by both historians of religion and historically-minded linguists, interested in comparative material. The question remains as to whether Pausanias availed himself of the oral tradition or alternatively of written literary sources while compiling his work.[2] Are divine epicleses related to place names drawn mainly from local informants or from written sources such as scholia, lexica, and literary documents?[3] Is it possible to tell them apart in each individual case? In the absence of parallels in written documents, are we allowed to infer that Pausanias ought to have used them, or else to have profited from a source common both to him and the authors of lexica or scholia? And, for that matter, how are we to prove that he did not make use of a mixture of both written and oral sources?

My contribution is not aimed at sifting through the evidence in order to settle the matter, far from it. Bearing in mind that many epicleses gathered in the *Periegesis* are connected to geographic space and definite locations, it has rather the modest aim of (a) collecting the epicleses related to place names in Pausanias, (b) attempting a most basic semantic classification of them, and (c) referring to (a selection of) parallels in epigraphy, lexicography, and literary documents. It should be viewed merely as a first instalment of a larger study on all the epicleses attested in the work of Pausanias, carried out mainly from a philological point of view. With that in view, I have allowed myself a brief excursus in section 5 ("Combined geographical epithets"), where I try to draw some parallels, mainly from epigraphy, in order to assess a double and otherwise unattested epiclesis of Aphrodite in Pausanias. Even if my classification does not appeal to the reader, the data collected in the appendices will hopefully trigger further research.

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1 Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 2008.
2 Cf. Pretzler 2005.
3 Cf. Gaertner 2006.

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2 Data

There are about 130 place names employed as divine epithets in Pausanias. A full list of epicleses, classified according to the relevant deity, is given in Appendix A, with selective reference to epigraphic, literary, and lexicographic material. These epicleses may be roughly divided up into two groups, topographic and toponymic epithets. As will become clear, this division is undertaken for heuristic purposes and does not always reflect a plain and obvious distinction between place epithets.

2.1 Topographic and Toponymic Epithets

Topographic epithets refer to various locations endowed with the same distinctive features (either natural or man-made). Examples: Ἀγυιεύς 'of the streets', Ἀγοραῖος/-ία 'of the market', Ἀκραία 'of the height', Πολιάς/-εύς 'of the city', Λιμναία 'of the lake', Πρόναος 'before the temple', Προπυλαία 'before the gate', Ἐπιπυργιδία 'on the tower', Ὅριος 'of the borders', Χθονία 'under the earth', Σπηλαΐτης 'of the cave', Δωματίτης 'of the house', Πελαγαῖος 'of the sea', Ἑρκεῖος 'of the front court', and so forth. It should be stressed that they are usually a blend of the generic and the particular: πολιεύς means "of the city" in general *and* of the relevant city to which the epithet applies.[4]

Toponymic epithets are derived from names of cities, villages, settlements, or geographical features such as mountain, promontory, cape, river, cave, hill, etc. endowed with a proper name.[5] Examples include Apollo Παρράσιος 'of Parrhasia' (city in south Arcadia), Artemis Καρυᾶτις 'of Caryae' (town in Laconia), Aphrodite Κωλιάς '(of) Colias' (promontory in Attica), Athena Ζωστηρία 'of Zoster' (cape on the west coast of Attica), Dionysus Λευκυανίτης 'of Leucyanias' (river, tributary of the Alpheius), Zeus Κροκεάτας 'of Croceae' (village in Laconia), Demeter Προσύμνη 'of Prosymna' (town in Argolis), Asclepius Αὐλώνιος 'of Aulon' (town in Messenia), etc.

It is nonetheless not always easy to ascertain whether one is dealing with a toponymic epithet at all. A dozen or so examples are dubious as to the exact reference:

• Apollo Ἀργεώτας '[?]of Ἀργέου νῆσος' (Egyptian islet off Canopus)? • Apollo Ἀκρίτας '[?](of) Acritas' (mountain range and cape in Messenia)? • Apollo Κλάριος 'of Claros'

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4 The same holds e.g., for Helios ἐν τῷ Ἄστει 'in the city' (*I.Lindos* II, 135) and Ennodia Φαστικά (*SEG* 35, 590b). I will not consider here the compound epithet type with local reference such as Athena Πυλαιμάχος 'fighting at the gate/in Pylos' (Ar. *Eq.* 1172), Zeus Σωσίπολις 'upholding the city' (*Magnesia* 2), Athena Φασστυόχος (*IG* V,2, 77, I), Zeus Κρηταγενής 'born in Crete' (*I.Cret.* II, xvii, 1), Zeus Ὀρομπάτας 'roaming the mountains' (*RDAC* [1972]201, B).
5 In other words, whenever a topographic feature receives an individualising proper name, telling it apart from other topographic features of the same kind, I shall consider the epithet related to it as toponymic.

(sanctuary on the Ionian coast) *or* 'of the lots'? • Apollo Μαλεάτης 'of Malea' (Cape Μαλέα in Laconia) *or* related to Malos, the first one to build the altar (Isyll., *Coll. Alex.* 132–1333, 27–28), *or* a different god altogether?[6] • Artemis Μυσία '⸗(of) Mysia' (in Argolis, cf. Paus. 2.18.3) *or* 'of the mouse'?[7] • Similarly, Demeter Μυσία '⸗(of) Mysia', place name in Argolis *or* the man who entertained Demeter? • Athena Σκιράς '⸗of Scirum' (place Σκῖρον near Eleusis) *or* related to the ceremonial canopy called σκίρον, *or* else to the seer Σκῖρος from Dodona? • Zeus Σκοτίτας '⸗(of) Scotitas': what came first, epithet or place name?[8] • Hera Βουναία '⸗of the hill' (βουνός 'mound') *or*, according to Pausanias, because of Bunus (Βοῦνος), son of Hermes? • Pan Νόμιος '⸗⸗of Nomos' (mountain range in Arcadia) *or* related to νόμιος 'of shepherds'? • Hermes Ἀκακήσιος '⸗⸗of Acacesium' (town in Arcadia) *or* does it mean 'sagacious', *or* even 'benevolent'?[9] • Athena Ἀλέα '⸗⸗(of) Alea' (site at Tegea in Arcadia) *or* originally a different goddess, whose name was later adopted as an epiclesis of Athena?[10]

In the last three cases, I strongly believe that no place name epithet is involved. A few examples, on the other hand, attest to the occasional difficulty in telling toponymic and topographic epithets apart. Artemis Κορυφαία, for instance, may be either taken as 'of Mount Coryphon' (near Epidaurus) *or* 'of the peak'; Artemis Λιμναία, either 'of Limnae' (village on the frontiers of Messenia and Laconia) *or* 'of the lake'; Aphrodite ἐν Κήποις, either as 'in the gardens' *or* 'in the Gardens' (a place where Aphrodite's temple was built, on the right sidde of the Ilisus).[11] All ambiguous cases are marked with an asterisk in Appendices B and C.

Others might pertain to ethnonyms rather than to place epithets, like Artemis Περσική 'of the Persians' (or should one interpret it as 'of Persia'?), Athena Λημνία 'of the Lemnians' (or 'of Lemnos'?), Dionysus Κρήσιος 'of the Cretans' (or 'of Crete'?), Hera Σαμία 'of the Samians' (or 'of Samos'?), Apollo, Asclepius, and Hygieia Αἰγύπτιοι 'of the Egyptians' (or 'of Egypt'?).[12] Finally, at least two examples might conceal a

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6 Cf. Parker 2017, 20, and McInerney 2013, 60–67.

7 See Krappe 1944.

8 Paus. 3.10.6 τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ Σκοτίταν τὸ δὲ σκότος οὐ τὸ συνεχὲς τῶν δένδρων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχε Σκοτίτας 'the name of the district, Scotitas, is not due to the unbroken woods but to Zeus surnamed Scotitas'.

9 Cf. Beekes 2009, 48 (s.v. ἀκάκητα).

10 See McInerney 2013, 55–60. Ἀλέα may originally have meant "(goddess) protection" (cf. Macedo 2016, 76).

11 Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 63–66. One may mention Asclepius ἐν τῷ Ἕλει 'in Helos' (*IG* V,1, 602, 10) as against Demeter ἐν Ἕλει 'in the marsh' (Paus. 8.36.6).

12 I will not consider the following epithets that are akin to ethnonyms: Athena Παναχαιίς 'of all Achaea', Demeter Παναχαιά 'id.', Zeus Πανελλήνιος 'of all the Hellenes', Aphrodite Πάνδημος 'of all the people'. This last epiclesis might incidentally be taken as a case halfway between ethnonym and place epithet: the deme πάνδημος refers to may well be evident in each case but is not mentioned.

geographical reference, but are too obscure to enable a decision: Apollo Θυρξεύς (7.21.13), Zeus and Poseidon Λαοίτας (5.14.4; 5.24.1).

As a cautionary remark, one may bear in mind that certain place epithets, while retaining their plain denotative function, may transcend space and take root in the mythic sphere, such as, for instance, Apollo Delios. Others may also be strongly correlated with iconography, like Artemis Ephesia and Aphrodite Cnidia, so that the geographical aspect is only one among others that come to the fore when using the epiclesis. Furthermore, some local epithets refer to isolated sanctuaries and are not necessarily attached to the communities of which the deity is a patron.[13]

2.2 Distribution

Place epithets amount to roughly 30% to 35% of all epicleses in Pausanias (*ca.* 140 out of *ca.* 440 tokens). This figure is evenly distributed among the deities, whose place name epithets range in average from 30% to 40% of their epicleses. Interestingly, Ares has no geographical epithet, nor do Persephone and the Dioscuri, whereas place epithets among Nymphs amount to 50%. Hermes' toponymic epithets may boil down to a single one, Κυλλήνιος 'of Cyllene', the others being of the topographical type.

Artemis, Apollo, and Zeus (in this order) are the deities most of the place epithets are related to. Next come Athena and Aphrodite. Regarding topographic epithets, the natural ones (Λιμνᾶτις-type) and the man-made ones (Ἀγοραία-type) are roughly in equal distribution. As for toponymic epithets, names of cities (or villages and settlements) claim the lion's share; next come names of mountains and their congeners (promontory, hill); epithets related to rivers are the fewest (and three out of eight qualify Nymphs and Muses).

Perhaps not unsurprisingly, mountain-related epithets figure prominently among Zeus' epicleses. Examples: Ἀγχέσμιος, Ἀπεσάντιος, Ἰθωμάτας, Κιθαιρώνιος, Λαφύστιος, Λυκαῖος, Παρνήθιος, and Ὑμήττιος. The importance of this natural feature for the god's epithets is borne out by epigraphical evidence, e.g., Αἰτναῖος, Δικταῖος, Ἰδαῖος, (F)ιδάτας, Κάρμηλος, Κάσιος, Κύνθιος, Τμάριος, Σκύλ(λ)ιος (Mount Scyllion, Crete), Ταλλαῖος (section of Mount Ida in Crete), etc.[14] As is well known, Zeus is also Ἀκραῖος 'of the heights' in Arcadia, Caria, and Magnesia (where the epithet surely refers to Zeus' sanctuary on Mount Pelion[15]). The mainly Boeotian Zeus Καραιός (if from κάρᾱ 'peak') might be related.

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13 See Parker 2017, 97 on Artemis Brauronia, Mounychia, and Amarynthia.

14 Cf. Schwabl 1972.

15 Irrespective of referring to a specific location, I take it as a topographic epithet since the epiclesis itself is not individualising, as against Zeus Ἀκραῖος 'of Acrae' in Sicily (*I.Akrai* 14), which is toponymic.

As may be expected, a handful of topographic epithets are shared among deities in Pausanias: Aphrodite, Hera, and Tyche Ἀκραία 'of the height'; Artemis, Athena, Hermes, and Zeus Ἀγοραία/-αῖος 'of the market'; Artemis and Hermes Προπυλαία/-αιος 'before the gate'; Heracles, Apollo, and Hermes Σπηλαΐτης 'of the cave'; Athena and Hermes Πρόναος 'before the temple'; Demeter and Zeus Χθονία/-ιος 'under the earth' (cf. Athena Πολιάς, Πολιᾶτις and Zeus Πολιεύς). By contrast, toponymic epithets common to more than one deity in Pausanias are fewer: Ὀλυμπία/-ιος 'of Olympus' (Aphrodite, Hera, and Zeus), Λιβήθριαι 'of Libethrion' (Muses and Nymphs), and the dubious Μυσία (Artemis and Demeter).[16]

With respect to the absolute use of place epithets,[17] without the accompanying theonym, one may point out that Pausanias tends to use them after having previously mentioned the pair [theonym + epiclesis]. A curious instance is Apollo Ἀμυκλαῖος 'of Amyklae', referred to three times without the theonym (3.10.8; 3.18.8; 4.14.2), while texts from Laconia (*IG* V,1 863A-C, 1515c), Epidaurus (*IG* IV²,1 445), and Cyprus (*SEG* 25, 1071) always display the accompanying theonym.

2.3 Place of Attestation and Worship

Toponymic epithets may either refer (a) to the place being visited and which the epiclesis stems from or (b) to a different place, related e.g., to an offering or a cult brought from elsewhere or the diffusion of a cult (i.e., place name ≠ cult place). A few examples of (a): Aphrodite Κωλιάς in Book 1 (Attica); Apollo Ὀγκαιάτης in Book 8 (Arcadia); Artemis Ἰσσωρία in Book 3 (Laconia); Asclepius Αὐλώνιος in Book 4 (Messenia); Athena Λαρισαία in Book 7 (Achaea), Demeter Στιρῖτις in Book 10 (Phocis), Zeus Λαφύστιος in Book 9 (Boeotia), the Nymphs Ἀνίγριδες in Book 5 (Elis). It is worth noting that these epithets may have been used not only to *refer* to the relevant deity but also to *worship* them, there being sure cases in epigraphy where the *reference* and *worship* title coincide.[18]

Examples of (b), where place name does not tally with cult place: Aphrodite Κνιδία 'of Cnidus' (Caria) is worshipped in Attica, although the Cnidians themselves (according to Pausanias 1.1.3) call her Εὔπλοια;[19] Artemis Φεραία 'of Phera' (Thessaly) is mentioned in Book 2 (Corinth) and is known to be worshipped in Argos, Epidaurus, Corinth, Athens, Sicyon, Issa (Dalmatia), and western Macedonia,[20] while in Thessaly

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16 Αἰγύπτιος 'Egyptian' (Apollo, Asclepius, and Hygieia) is probably best regarded as an ethnonym. An example of shared toponymic and topographic epithet is Διὶ Κυνθίῳ Ἀθηνᾷ Κυνθίᾳ Διὶ Πολιεῖ Ἀθηνᾷ Πολιάδι 'of Cynthus, of the city' (*I.Délos* 372).

17 Referred to as [abs.] = 'absolute use' in Appendix A.

18 Cf. Parker 2017, 17 n. 63 on dedications from Lousoi to Artemis Lousiatis and similar cases.

19 Aphrodite *Euploia* is attested both in Caria (*I.Mylasa* 84) and Attica (*IG* II² 2872).

20 See Robert 1960.

itself the epiclesis qualifies another goddess, Ennodia (*SEG* 48, 662); Athena Κυδωνία 'of Cydonia' (Crete) is worshipped in Elis (Book 6), in a temple said to have been founded by Clymenus upon coming from Cydonia; Hera Λακινία 'of Lacinium' (mountain near Crotone, Magna Graecia) is also worshipped in Elis.[21]

3 Word Formation

As far as gentilics are concerned, the morphology is quite straightforward. The most common types are: (a) adjectives in -ιο-/-ιᾱ-; (b) nouns in -τᾱ-/-τη- (masc.), -τιδ- (fem.); (c) nouns in -ευ- (masc.); (d) adjectives in -ικό-/-ά̄- (in this order).

A few minor cases may be noted: (i) feminine adjectives in -αδ- like Nymphs Ἰλισιάδες and Athena Πολιάς, Σκιράς, and Σουνιάς;[22] (ii) derivatives in -ᾱ-/-η-: Artemis Αἰτωλ-ή ← Αἰτωλία (Paus. 10.38.12), Demeter Προσύμν-η ← Πρόσυμνᾰ (Paus. 2.37.1);[23] (iii) derivative in *-ī-no-/nā-: Aphrodite Ἐρυκ-ί-νη;[24] (iv) Derivative in *-ē-no-/nā-: Mother Δινδυμ-ή-νη.[25]

Feminine epithets in -ī̆-τιδ- (Aphrodite Μιγωνῖτις, Athena Ἱππολαῖτις, Demeter Στιρῖτις) occur less often than those in -ᾱ-τιδ- and are not restricted to geographical epithets, like Aphrodite Δωρῖτις (1.1.3), Μαχανῖτις (8.31.6 [Athena: 8.36.5]), Athena Ὀφθαλμῖτις (3.18.2). As for the masculine suffix *-ī-tā-, it figures in Σπηλαΐτης, Δωματίτης, and Λευκυανίτης, but the most common are those in *-ā-tā-.

An interesting point is how to analyse some place epithets that could be either the outcome of zero derivation or a noun epithet. Examples: Aphrodite Κωλιάς ← Κωλιάς '(of) Colias' (promontory); Apollo Ἀκρίτας ← ?Ἀκρίτας '(of) Acritas' (mountain range?); Artemis Μουνιχία ← Μουνιχία '(of) Munychia' (hill); Artemis, Demeter Μυσία ← ?Μυσία '(of) Mysia' (place?); Athena Ἀλέα ← Ἀλέα (place?); Athena Ἀσία ← Ἀσία (mountain); Pan Σκολείτας ← Σκολείτας (hill); Zeus Σκοτίτας ← ?Σκοτίτας (woods?). Further examples outside Pausanias are Zeus Ἀπέσας (Call. fr. 223 Pfeiffer) as against Zeus Ἀπεσάντιος 'of Apesas' (Paus. 2.15.3); Zeus Νεῖλος 'Nile' (Σ Pi. *P.* 4.97b; Athen.

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21 For Hera *Lacinia* in Crotone, cf. *SEG* 34, 998 and *SEG* 40, 832.
22 Cf. Athena Καμειράς 'of Cameirus' [city in Rhodes] (*IG* XII,1 786) and Athena Ἀρακυνθιάς 'of Aracynthus' [mountain in Boeotia] (*FGrH* 265 F 59). The ubiquity of the epithet Πολιάς might have influenced the other epicleses in -αδ- related to Athena.
23 Cf. Athena Σικελή 'of Sicily' (*I.Napoli* II, 112) ← Σικελία.
24 For the derivation, cf. Ῥηγῖνος 'of Rhegium'.
25 Cf. Zeus Καρζηνός [*-ē-no-] 'of Karza' (*Marek, Kat. Kaisareia Hadrianop.* 16). This is in fact a quite common derivation among Zeus' epithets. One may mention Zeus Κιμιστηνός, Ἀβοζηνός, Ἀκρεινηνός, Κραμψηνός, Σαρνενδηνός, Καριστορηνός, Καουατρηνός, Βονιτηνός, Ποροττηνός (Porotta = ?Gordus, Lydia), Πεταρηνός, etc.

5.36.203c); Apollo Ζωστήρ [cape in Attica] (*SEG* 42, 112) as against Apollo Ζωστήριος (*IG* II² 5081); Ares Κνωσός 'of Cnossus' [not **Κνώσιος] (*I.Cret.* I, viii, 4).[26]

4 Locative Epithets

These are well represented in Pausanias, with some ten examples: Aphrodite ἐν τοῖς Κήποις (1.19.2), ἐν Κήποις (1.27.3), ἐν Κωτίλῳ (8.41.10); Apollo ἐν Διδύμοις (2.10.5), ἐν Ἀμύκλαις (3.16.2); Demeter ἐν Κορυθεῦσι (8.54.5), ἐν Ἕλει (8.36.6); Zeus ἐν Δωδώνῃ (1.13.3), ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ (5.12.5; 6.19.10); Serapis ἐν Κανώβῳ (2.4.6).[27]

As a rule, a toponymic reference is involved (mostly cities), but topographic sites such as ἐν Ἕλει 'in the Marsh' (Demeter) are not excluded. Parallels are not wanting, such as Aphrodite ἐν Καλάμοις,[28] Poseidon ἐπὶ Ἄκρῳ (*IG* V,1, 1336), Hermes and Heracles κατὰ Παλαίστραν 'close to the palaestra' (*I.Sardis I*, 7, 1, 21), Hera ἐν Πεδίῳ (*IG* XIV 643),[29] Demeter ἐμ Πύλαις (*CID* II 43); Asclepius ἐν τῷ Ἄστει (*IG* II² 974); Zeus ἐξ Αὐλῆς ἐπήκοος θεός (*SEG* 16,753).[30]

In epigraphy, such locative epithets are usually attested at the same place they refer to. Are the epicleses here superfluous or do they lend the relevant deity a "distinctive identity"? Some epigraphical examples are Apollo ἐγ Καλύμναι (*Tit. Calymnii* 77);[31] Artemis ἐν Λούσοις (*IG* V,2 399);[32] Artemis ἐν Παναμάροις (*Panamara* 184); Artemis ἐν Διδύμοις (*Didyma* 8); Asclepius ἐν Ναυπάκτωι (*IG* IX,1² 3.613); Asclepius ἐν τῷ Ἕλει 'in Helos' [Laconia] (*IG* V,1 602); Asclepius ἐν Ἀμφίσσᾳ (e.g. *IG* IX,1² 3, 755); Asclepius ἐμ Βουθρωτῶι (*I.Bouthrotos* 4); Dionysus ἐν Πειραιεῖ (*IG* II² 1011); Dionysus ἐν Ναυπάκτωι (*IG* IX,1² 3.628); Heracles ἐς Θεσπίας (*SEG* 30, 541); Heracles ἐν Ἄκριδι [hill of the Eleusinian acropolis] (*I.Eleusis* 85); Poseidon ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ (*IG* V,1 1226);[33] Zeus Ἥλιος μέγας Σάραπις ἐν Κανώβῳ 'in Canopus' (*IGR* I,5 1050, 1092).[34]

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26 In non-geographical epithets, too: Dionysus Κισσός 'Ivy' (Paus. 1.31.6; cf. Athena Κισσαία [2.29.1]); Dionysus Λαμπτήρ 'Torch' (Paus. 7.27.3).

27 Many expressions solely employed to indicate location ought not to be included here, as for instance **Aphrodite ἐν πλινθίῳ (8.48.1 τῆς ἀγορᾶς δὲ μάλιστα ἐοικυίας πλίνθῳ κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα, Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ναὸς καλούμενος ἐν πλινθίῳ . . . 'the market-place is in shape very like a brick, and in it is a temple of Aphrodite called "in brick"').

28 Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 65, 66 n. 281, 296, 442.

29 Magna Graecia, *ca.* 525–500: τᾶς hέρας hιαρός ἐμι τᾶς ἐν πεδίοι.

30 Which αὐλή is implied? A temple courtyard or Zeus' abode? Cf. *Od.* 4.74 Ζηνὸς . . . αὐλή.

31 Cf. Apollo Καλύμνιος (*Tit. Calymnii* 128B).

32 τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος τᾶς ἐν Λούσοις. Cf. *IG* V,2 397 τᾶι Ἀρτ<έ>μ[ι] τᾶι Λουσιάτι.

33 Cf. Ar. *Ach.* 510 ὁ Ποσειδῶν, οὑπὶ Ταινάρῳ θεός.

34 Paus. 2.4.6: Serapis ἐν Κανώβῳ. Further examples: Artemis ἐν Κεκοίαι (*I.Lindos* II 168, cf. Artemis Κεκοία), Asclepius ἐν Κρουνοῖς, common in Naupactus (*IG* IX,1² 3, 634), Hecate ἐμ Μεγάλωι λόφωι 'on the Big hill' (*I.Priene* 165), Apollo ἐγ Κοίλοις (*I.Erythrai Klazomenai* 60).

Locative reference and place of attestation may nevertheless differ, which is a sure sign that the place epithet is not merely referential. Some examples: Dionysus ἐν Κρη- τίνῃ 'Cretine' [near Ephesus] (*SEG* 34, 1395 [Lycaonia]); Aphrodite ἐμ Βάσσαις 'Bassae' [Oechalia, Messenia] (*IG* IV 757 [Troezen]); Zeus ἐν Νεμέαι [Argolis] (Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen* 105,185a [Seleucia on the Calycadnus]); Demeter ἐφ᾽ Ἱπποδρόμωι . . . ἐν Αἰγίλαι 'at the race-course . . . in Aegila' [Laconia] (*IG* V,1 1390 [Andania, Messenia]); Asclepius ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς ταῖς ἐν Ἄργει 'in Cenchreae in Argos' (*IG* XII,1 26 [Rhodes]).[35]

5 Combined Geographical Epithets

The case of Aphrodite Ποντία καὶ Λιμενία 'of the sea and the harbour' (2.34.11) is intrigu- ing and deserves further discussion. Let us first recall some data and make a little de- tour through epigraphy. Composite epithets made up of two elements linked by the conjunction are not unheard of, like Athena Νικηφόρος καὶ Πολιάς (common in Perga- mon, cf. *I.Pergamon II* 497) and Zeus Πολιεύς καὶ Ἐπάρχειος 'of the city and the prov- ince' (*I.Cilicie* 109), where two topographic epithets are conjoined, as in Ποντία καὶ Λιμενία.[36] Examples in asyndeton are also attested; in fact, they are rather more com- mon, e.g., Poseidon Κρᾱναῖος Πυλαῖος 'of the well, of the gate' (*SEG* 35, 590b), Dionysus Ὄρειος Βάκχιος πρὸ πόλεως 'of the mountains . . . before the city' (*I.Ephesos* 674).[37]

Combining two topographic epithets is only one among other possible patterns that are likewise attested. Overall, there are three combinations that stand out: (i) *functional + topographic epithet*, e.g., Poseidon Πόντιος Ἱππομέδων (*IG* IX,1 130); (ii) *functional + toponymic epithet*, e.g., Apollo Διδυμεύς Σωτήρ and Zeus Λαβραύν- δος Σωτήρ [Didyma and Labraunda, in Asia Minor] (*I.Milet* VI,3 1269); (iii) *topo- graphic + toponymic epithet*, e.g., Zeus Ἀγοραῖος Θάσιος [Thasos] (*IG* XII,8 361), Athena Ἰαλυσία Πολιάς [Ialysus, Rhodes] (*IG* XII,1 786), Hera Ἀργεία Ἑλεία Βασι- λείαι 'of Argos, of the swamp, queen' [Cos] (*IG* XII,4 1.274).[38]

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35 For the sake of completeness, two further classes ought to be mentioned: (a) compound deriva- tives in *-i̯o- based on prepositional phrases, for instance Zeus Ἐγχώριος (*SEG* 18, 62), Ἐπιδήμιος (*Marek, Kat. Kaisareia Hadrianop.* 19), Ἐναύλιος 'in/of the fold' (*I.Byzantion* 20), Poseidon Ἐμπύ- ληος 'in/at the gate' (*IG* VII 2465 [Thebes]: Boeotian for -αιος); and (b) adverbs in *-i, *-si, *-tʰen such as Dionysus Γαργηττοῖ 'in Gargettus' [Attic deme]' (*SEG* 46, 155), Hermes Φενεοῖ 'in Pheneos' (*IG* V,2 360), Artemis Κῡτιλεοῖ 'in Kotileon' (*IPArk* 27), Demeter Στυνφάλοι (cf. Dubois 1988, ii.189), Aphrodite Ἀλωπεκῆσι 'in Alopeke' [Attic deme] (*I.Eleusis* 267), Aphrodite Κεφαλῆθεν 'of/from Cephale' [Attic deme] (*IG* II² 2604).
36 Cf. θεοὶ ἀκραῖοι καὶ πολιεῖς (Poll. 9.40). Note that τε καί is never used.
37 See also Ar. *V*. 875 (a prayer to Apollo): ὦ δέσποτ᾽ ἄναξ γεῖτον Ἀγυιεῦ, τοῦ 'μοῦ προθύρου προ- πύλαιε 'of the street . . . before the gate'.
38 Cf. Poseidon Μεσοπόντιος Ἐρέσιος 'amid the sea, of Eresos' [Lesbos] (Call. *Aitia* fr. 39 Pfeiffer).

Given this overview, one may wonder whether two *toponymic* epithets may also be combined. There are certainly some collocations that resemble such a combination but are not quite the same. In Apollo Δᾶλιος Καλύμνας μεδέων 'Delios, ruling over Calymnus' (*IG* XII,4 2.532 [Cos]), one may note that Καλύμνιος is avoided, although Apollo Καλύμνιος (*Tit. Calymnii* 128B) is quite common. Similarly, Aphrodite Οὐρανία Ἀπατούρου μεδεούση 'Urania, ruling over Apatourum' (*C* 31)[39] does not refer to the goddess as Ἀπατουριάς, which might well have been the case (cf. *CIRB* 1045).[40] In *I.Délos* 2305, one reads Ἀστάρτηι Παλαιστίνηι Ἀφροδίτηι Οὐρανίαι, apparently a pairing of Astarte Palestinian and Aphrodite Ourania, or (less probably) the pairing is between Astarte and "Aphrodite Palestinian Ourania".[41]

As for Pan Κυφαρισσίτᾱς Κυλλάνιος 'of the cypresses (*or* of Cyparissia), of Cyllene' (*I.Cret.* I, xvi, 7),[42] Κυφαρισσίτᾱς probably refers to his haunt in the woods, not to the city. Aphrodite Συρία Φιστυίς 'of Syria, of Phistyon' [Aetolia] (*IG* IX,1² l. 98–104, 106)[43] may involve an ethnonym ('of the Syrians'), not a toponymic epiclesis, and Aphrodite ἐξ Ἰαριδᾶν Φιστυίς 'of Hieridai, of Phistyon' (*IG* IX,1² l. 97), on the other hand, may well refer to the same site.[44] The selfsame site is probably also at play in the following examples: (i) Apollo Διδυμεὺς Μιλήσιος 'of Didyma, of Miletus' (*IGDOlbia* 93);[45] (ii) Asclepius ὁ ἐν [Κ]ρουνοῖς ὁ ἐν Βουττοῖ (*IG* IX,1² 3, 634), for Krounoi is where the sanctuary is located, near Bouttos, territory of Naupactus; (iii) Asclepius ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς ταῖς ἐν Ἄργει 'in Cenchreae in Argos' [Cenchreae is the ancient port village of Corinth] (*IG* XII,1 26).[46]

As regards assuredly different locations, one may mention Apollo Δάλιος Κρήσιος 'of Delos, of Crete' (*Tit. Calymnii* 108)[47] – the usual collocation being Ἀπόλλωνι Δαλίωι Καλύμνας μεδέοντι (*Tit. Calymnii* 109, 110; *IG* XII,4, 2, 532) or τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δαλίου τοῦ ἐγ Καλύμναι (*Tit. Calymnii* Test. XIII, XIV).[48] Is Κρήσιος here an intruding element? Or is Κρήσιος rather to be taken as an ethnonym?[49] The best candidate for the combined use of two toponymic, adjectival epithets is Asclepius Ἐπιδαύριος Περγαμηνὸς διώρυγα κατοικῶν 'of Epidauros, of Pergamon, dwelling in

39 Apatourum is situated on the Bosphorus strait, see Ustinova 1999. Same pattern in Ar. *Nu.* 596 Δήλιε, Κυνθίαν ἔχων . . . πέτραν 'of Delos, dwelling on Cynthus' rock' (Apollo).

40 She is also called ἡ Ἀπάτουρος (Str. 11.2.10).

41 Cf. *TAM* III,1 390 ἱερεία οὐρανίας θεοῦ [,??] Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐφεσίας.

42 [Πανὶ] ὑλοσκ[όπωι] Κυφαρισσί[ται] εὐχὰν. σοί, Κυφαρισσίτα Κυλλάνιε . . .

43 Cf. *IG* IX,1² l. 108 τᾶι Συρίαι Ἀφροδίται ἐμ Φιστύοι.

44 See *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* s.v. Neromana; cf. Talbert 2000, 828.

45 The sanctuary of Didyma was in the domain of the city of Miletus.

46 "Argos" is probably to be taken in broad terms; the inscription is from Rhodes (4th c. BCE).

47 Ἀπόλλωνι Δαλίωι Κρησίωι [Καλύμνας μεδέοντι].

48 And not, for instance, **Δαλίου Καλυμνίου (καλύμνιος is a common epiclesis of Apollo in Kalymnos).

49 Cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.233 Ζεῦ . . . Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικέ . . . Δωδώνης μεδέων 'of Dodona, Pelasgian'.

the canal' (*I.Apameia Pylai* 5).[50] But note the participial-clause epithet as third member: not simply "the Epidaurian Asclepius of Pergamon".

To sum up: the combination of two plain toponymic epithets in the same epiclesis is rare; a double toponymic usage such as the Hittite "Ḫebat of Aleppo of Ḫattuša" (= cult at Ḫattuša of the god Ḫebat of Aleppo)[51] is nowhere to be found. In Greek, both members tend rather to be coordinated, without any clear subordination. When two place epithets are conjoined, they usually link two topographic epithets (as in Pausanias' Aphrodite Ποντία καὶ Λιμενία) or blend a topographic epithet with a toponymic one.

6 Conclusions

That Pausanias draws from an already established epiclesis tradition is emphasised by Gaertner (2006), and Wentzel (1889) had earlier on suggested that Pausanias, Hesychius, and the scholiast to Lycophron may have drawn from the same epithet compilations. Yet judging from the toponymic epicleses attested in Pausanias, many of which are apparently not attested in lexicography, it seems the case that the author may well have also based himself on the oral, local history tradition while going through his work, as highlighted by Pretzler (2005). One may cite a few examples like Aphrodite Μιγωνῖτις, Apollo Δειραδιώτης, Artemis Λυκοᾶτις, Asclepius Καούσιος, Athena Ἱππολαῖτις, Demeter Στιρῖτις, Dionysus Λευκυανίτης, Heracles Βουραϊκός, and Zeus Κροκεάτας.

Topographic epithets (see Appendix B) fulfil the basic function of cult epithets in general by identifying the deity (with reference to a landscape or a man-made site) and focusing on his or her relevant powers (as related to the landscape or site), thus praising the addressed god or goddess, and specifying which protection is thereby requested. *Toponymic* epithets (see Appendix C) could in principle be divided between those mainly restricted to identification (like the less known Artemis Κνακαλησία) and those whose distinctive character is bestowed by their being related to a specific site (like the renowned Artemis Ἐφεσία, of whom Pausanias himself remarks she is worshipped in "all cities, and individuals hold her in honour above all the gods").

Yet is the situation in fact so simple and clear-cut? Why then does Pausanias employ the local epithet related to lesser known sites instead of just stating the deity's name, as he does so many times? There remain a few open questions, for instance: is there a plain difference between *describing* and *addressing* a god? Often, in inscriptions, a given local epithet is used to *address* a deity stemming

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50 Compare Asclepius Διορυγείτης 'of the canal' (*I.Apameia Pylai* 6).
51 Cf. Allen 2015, 206 and Parker 2017, 17.

from the selfsame locality, and the purpose might have been not only to *identify* the godhead, but arguably to focus simultaneously on the powers implied in his or her geographical epiclesis. Still, whether *all* toponymic epithets are able to accord a distinctive character by being attached to a specific site is a matter of controversy.

And crucially, is identification and praise a matter of scale in toponymic epithets? Some of them, by their prestige, are meant chiefly to confer praise and less to pinpoint a specific site (and in this respect they resemble functional epithets), while others are in the main used to identify without relinquishing what little praise is implicit in them. On the other hand, however prestigious the place epithet is, it seems that it always carries a substantial load of identification with it, which probably accounts for the paucity of combined toponymic epithets in cult. Would it be possible, for instance, to worship a hypothetical **Artemis Ἐφεσία Κνακαλησία 'of Ephesus, of Cnacalus', 'the Ephesian Artemis of Cnacalus'? Or, for that matter, to revere an **Artemis Ἐφεσία Βραυρωνία 'the Ephesian Artemis of Brauron'? Given the data briefly discussed above, I very much doubt it.

Appendix A = List of Place Epithets

Book numbers (Pausanias)

1=Attica 2=Corinth 3=Laconia 4=Messenia 5=Elis 6=Elis 7=Achaea 8=Arcadia 9=Boeotia 10=Phocis

APHRODITE

Ἀκραία 'of the height' → 1.1.3; 2.32.6

– Hsch. α 2565, 2551; Str. 14.6.3; *SEG* 8.361; *SEG* 18.578. Cf. Artemis Ἀκραία in Thessaly (*IG* IX,2 303) and Pisidia (*SEG* 57.1617); Mother Ἀκραία in Lydia (*TAM* V,1 528); Zeus Ἀκραῖος in Thessaly (from the Hellenistic period onwards: *SEG* 25, 687; cf. Schwabl 1972, 265), in Asia Minor (*I.Smyrna* 46; *Halikarnassos* 37), and in Palestine (*SEG* 37.1529). Epiclesis also of Hera (2.24.1) and Fortune [Τύχη] (2.7.5) in Pausanias. Ἀκρία, epithet of several goddesses in Argos (Hsch.), is probably the epiclesis of Hera in Corcyra (*IG* IX,1 698).

Ἐρυκίνη 'of Eryx' (mountain in Sicily) → 8.24.6

– *Or* originally related to ἐρύκω 'to hold back', Ἐρυκίνη being "the one who wards off"? Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 256–60; *IG* XIV 281 [Ἀ]φροδίται Ἐρ<υ>-κίν[αι] (Eryx, Sicily).

Κνιδία 'of Cnidus' (city in Caria) → 1.1.3

– *I.Knidos* I 103; cf. *SEG* 29,1074.

Κωλιάς '(of) Colias' (promontory in Attica) → 1.1.5

– *IG* II² 5119; Str. 9.1.21; Hsch. κ 4816; cf. Ar. *Nu.* 52, *Lys.* 2.

Μιγωνῖτις 'of Migonion' (site in Laconia) → 3.22.1
– "Place where people mingle (μίγνυμι)"? Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 212–3.
Οὐρανία 'of heaven' → 1.14.7; 1.19.2; 2.23.8; 3.33.1; 6.20.6; 6.25.1; 8.32.2; 9.16.3; cf. 6.27.6 [abs.] See Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 15–25.
Ὀλυμπία 'of Olympus' (Mount in Thessaly) → 3.12.11; 3.13.2
Παφία 'of Paphos' (city in Cyprus) → 8.53.7
– Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 556, etc.; common in Cyprus from the 4th/3rd c. BCE onwards, cf. *SEG* 6, 805, etc. See Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 271–2.
Ποντία καὶ Λιμενία 'of the sea and the harbor' → 2.34.11
– Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 186–8.
– Ποντία 'of the sea': in epigraphy from the 3rd c. BCE onwards (*I.Olbia* 68; *IG* XII,4 1, 302, 319; *I.Erythrai* 68; *I.Histria* I 173). Cf. Ἐ<κ>άτας Ποντίας (*Herzog KFF* 217) and Aphrodite ἐπιποντία (Hsch. s.v.).
– Λιμενία 'of the harbor': cf. Aphrodite Ἐπιλιμενία (*SEG* 11, 18); Hera Ἐπιλιμενία (*IG* XII Suppl. 409), Λιμενία (*SEG* 11, 226), Ἑλλιμενία (*IG* II² 5148), and ἐν λιμένι (*I.Délos* 1426).
ἐν Κωτίλῳ 'in Cotilum' (place near Mount Cotilium, Arcadia) → 8.41.10
– Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 268.
ἐν (τοῖς) Κήποις 'in the Gardens' → 1.27.3; 1.19.2
– *IG* I³ 369.80 Ἀφροδί]τες ἐν Κέποις; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 34.16 *Venus quae appellatur* Ἀφροδίτη ἐν κήποις. Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 48–66.

APOLLO
Ἀγυιεύς 'of the streets' → 1.31.6; 2.19.8; 8.32.4; 8.53.1, 3 [abs.], 6 [abs.]
– E. *Ph.* 631; *IG* V,1 1441. Epigraphical attestations mainly in Doric cities but also in Athens and Oricum.
Αἰγύπτιος 'of Egypt' → 2.27.6
Ἀκρίτας '(of) Acritas' (?) [mountain range and cape in Messenia] → 3.12.8
Ἄκτιος 'of Actium' (town in Acarnania) → 8.8.12
– *IG* IX,1² 2, 583; *IG* IX,1² 2, 582; *IG* IX,1² 2, 208, 209. Cf. A.R. 1. 403–4 βωμὸν ἐπάκτιον Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκτίου Ἐμβασίοιό τ' ἐπώνυμον ('of the sea-shore') and Theoc. 5.14 (Pan Ἄκτιος 'of the sea-shore').
Ἀμυκλαῖος 'of Amyklae' (town in Laconia) → 3.10.8; 3.18.8; 4.14.2 [all abs.]
– Epigraphic evidence in Laconia (*IG* V,1 863 A-C, 1515c), Epidaurus (*IG* IV²,1 445), and Cyprus (*SEG* 25, 1071) always *with* theonym.
Ἀργεώτας 'of Ἀργέου νῆσος' (?) [Egyptian islet off Canopus] → 4.34.7
Δειραδιώτης 'of Deiras' (place in Argos) → 2.24.1, 2
– *SEG* 38, 320. Not to be confused with the gentilic of the Attic deme Δειράδες.
Δήλιος 'of Delos' (island) → 9.40.4
– Widespread epithet of Apollo in literature and epigraphy; cf. Apollo Δηλιεύς (*IG* XII,7 50).

Ἰσμήνιος 'of Ismenus' (river in Thebes) → 2.10.5; 4.27.6; 4.32.5; 9.10.2

– Hsch. ι 949; *Σ* A.R. 1.536–41b; *Σ* E. *Ph.* 101; Plut. *De e apud Delph.* 385b.

Κλάριος 'of Claros' (sanctuary on the coast of Ionia; *or* 'of the lots'?) → 2.2.8

Μαλεάτης 'of Malea' (?) (after cape Μαλέα in Laconia? *or* after Malos, the first to build the altar [Isyll., *Coll. Alex.*, 132–1333, 27–28]? *or* a different god altogether?) → 2.27.7; 3.12.8

– Common in Epidaurus, near to which the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas is located, but also attested in Laconia and Thera. Zeus is Μαλειαῖος 'of the Cape Malea' (St.Byz.).

Ὀγκαιάτης 'of Onceium' (village in Arcadia) → 8.25.11

Ὅριος 'of the borders' → 2.35.2

– Cf. Zeus Ὅριος (Pl. *Lg.* 842e; D. 7.39; *IG* II² 1358; *SEG* 21, 541; *IG* XII,4 279; *I.Eleusis* 300 Διὸς Ὁρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ὁρίας), Hera Ὁρία (*MDAI(A)* 67 [1942] 76,132).

Παρράσιος 'of Parrhasia' (region/city in south Arcadia) → 8.38.2; 8.38.8

Πλατανίστιος 'of the plane-tree (grove)' → 2.34.6

Πτῷος 'of Ptoion' (mountain in Boeotia) → 4.32.5, 9.23.6

– Common in Boeotia, mainly in Acraephea, but also attested elsewhere (*I.Thespies* 223; *CID* 4, 76).

Πυθαεύς 'of Pytho' (cf. Πύθιος) → 2.35.2; 2.36.5; 3.10.8; 3.11.9; but see 2.35.2: Pythaeus as son of Apollo.

– Common epithet at Lindos (Rhodes) from the 3rd c. BCE onwards; also spelled Πυθαιεύς. Cf. Apollo Πυθαῖος (*Fouilles de Delphes* III 4:372). Already in Thucydides (5.53.1).

Πύθιος 'of Pytho' (region in which lay the city of Delphi) → 1.19.1; 1.42.5; 2.31.6; 5.15.4; 8.15.5; 8.38.8; 8.54.5

– Ubiquitous epithet of Apollo in literature and epigraphy (Pi. *O.* 14.11, etc.), referring to his prestigious sanctuary.

Σπηλαΐτης 'of the cave' → 10.32.5

ἐν Ἀμύκλαις 'in Amyklae' → 3.16.2

ἐν Δελφοῖς 'in Delphi' → 6.3.8: cf. Apollo Δελφικός (Pl. *Leg.* 686a; *Orph.H.* 34.4) and Δελφός (Nonn. *D.* 19.323, 40.401).

ἐν Διδύμοις 'at Didymi' (sanctuary near Miletus) → 2.10.5

– Didyma 19; *IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ* 1714. Cf. Apollo Διδυμεύς, Apollo (and Zeus) Διδυμαῖος.

ARTEMIS

Ἀγοραία 'of the market' → 5.15.4

– *IG* IV²,1 405, *SEG* 20.304 (Ἀγορία). Cf. Themis Ἀγοραία (*SEG* 27, 183), Athena Ἀγοραία (*SEG* 27.184), Aphrodite Ἀγοραία (*I.Histria* III 49).

Αἰτωλή 'of Aetolia' (region) → 10.38.12
– Str. 5.1.9; cf. Ares Αἰτωλός (Call. fr. 621 Pfeiffer).

Ἀλφειαία 'of Alpheius' (river in Elis and Arcadia) → 6.22.8
– Cf. Σ Pi. *N*. 1.3; Str. 8.3.12. See Covini 2014.

Ἀμαρυσία 'of Amarynthus' (town in Euboea) → 1.31.4
– Attested in Attica from the 5th c. BCE onwards (*IG* I³ 426), cf. *IG* I² 865, A; in Euboea from the 4th c. BCE (*IG* XII, 9 191). Strabo: Artemis Ἀμαρυνθία (10.1.10); Hsch. α 3469; Σ Ar. *Av*. 872a.

Βραυρωνία 'of Brauron' (city in Attica) → 1.23.7; 8.46.3
– Common in Attica from the early 4th c. BCE onwards (*IG* II² 1388).

Δερεᾶτις 'of Dereion' (town in Laconia [St.Byz. calls it Δέρα (s.v.), from which the Ethnic names Δεραῖος and Διινερεάτης derive]) → 3.20.7
– Hsch. κ 379.

Ἐφεσία 'of Ephesus' (city on the coast of Ionia) → 2.2.6; 4.31.7; 5.6.5; 5.12.4; 5.19.2; 6.3.16; 7.2.6–7; 7.5.4 [abs.]; 8.13.1; 8.23.1; 8.30.6; 10.26.6; 10.38.6
– Attested since the 6th c. BCE (*SEG* 36, 721). Fairly common in Ephesus.

Ἰσσωρία 'of Issorion' (mountain in Laconia) → 3.14.2; 3.25.4
– Hsch. and St.Byz. s.v.

Καρυᾶτις 'of Caryae' (town in Laconia) → 3.10.7
– Cf. Hsch. s.v. Καρυᾶτις• ἑορτὴ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἱερόν; see Wentzel 1889, 23–4.

Κνακαλησία 'of Cnacalus' (mountain in Arcadia) → 8.23.3

Κονδυλεᾶτις 'of Condylea' (place in Arcadia, near Caphyae) → 8.23.6
– Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.38.3 (Κονδυλῖτις); see Wentzel 1889, 4–6.

Κορυφαία 'of the peak' (*or* 'of Mount Coryphon') → 2.28.2

Λιμναία 'of Limnae' (village on the frontiers of Messenia and Laconia) *or* 'of the lake' → 2.7.6; 3.14.2

Λιμνᾶτις 'of the lake' → 3.23.10; 4.4.2; 4.31.3; 7.20.7–9; 8.53.11
– *I.Apollonia* 16; *IG* V,1 1431, 1458; also attested without the theonym (*IG* V,1 1497, 1375, 1376). Most attestations from Messenia and Laconia. Cf. Minon, *IED* 41 *h*ιαρὸν Ἀρτάμιτος Λιμνάτιος.

Λυκοᾶτις 'of Lykoa' (town in Arcadia) → 8.36.7

Μουνιχία '(of) Munychia' (hill in Piraeus) → 1.1.4
– Attested in Attica from the 4th c. BCE onwards (*SEG* 19, 219; *IG* II³,1 445); cf. τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι [ἐ]ν Μ[ο]υνιχίαι (*IG* II² 1029) and Asclepius Μουνίχιος (*IG* II² 4529). See Viscardi 2010.

Μυσία '(of) Mysia' (?) [place in Argolis, cf. Paus. 2.18.3] → 3.20.9
– *Or* 'of the mouse'? See Krappe 1944. Cf. Demeter Μυσία (Paus. 2.18.3; 7.27.9): after Mysios, a man who entertained Demeter?

Περσική 'of Persia' (*or* ethnonymic 'of the Persians'?) → 7.6.6
– *TAM* V,2 1244, 1245; *SEG* 31, 998.

Προπυλαία 'before the gate' → 1.38.6
- Epithet of various deities (Hermes, Hecate, Apollo, Heracles); cf. Hermes Προπύλαιος (Paus. 1.22.8). Hecate: *Tit.Camirenses* 116b, 110; Hsch. π 3644; cf. Hecate Ἐπιπυργιδία 'on the tower' (Paus. 2.30.2).

Σκιᾶτις 'of Scias' (settlement in Arcadia) → 8.35.5

Στυμφαλία 'of Stymphalus' (town in Arcadia) → 8.22.7, 8
- St.Byz. s.v. Στύμφαλος.

Ταυρική 'of Tauris' (place in the Crimean Peninsula) → 1.23.7; 1.33.1; 3.16.8
- Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3.42.3.

Φεραία 'of Pherae' (city in Thessaly) → 2.10.7; 2.23.5
- Hsch. φ 293; *Σ* Lyc. 1180. Cf. Ennodia Φεραία (*SEG* 48,662).

ASCLEPIUS

Αἰγύπτιος 'of Egypt' → 2.27.6

Αὐλώνιος 'of Aulon' (town in Messenia) → 4.36.7
- Cf. Dionysus Αὐλωνεύς (*IG* II² 5078, 4745): 'of Aulon'? 'of the glen'?

Γορτύνιος 'of Gortyn' (which Gortyn? Cretan or Arcadian Γόρτυνα?) → 2.11.8

Καούσιος 'of Caus' (settlement in Arcadia) → 8.25.1

ATHENA

Ἀγοραία 'of the market' → 3.11.9
- *SEG* 27, 184; *SEG* 41, 743. See Artemis Ἀγοραία above.

Ἀλέα '(of) Alea' (??) [after the place Ἀλέα at Tegea (Arcadia)? *or* originally a different goddess, whose name was later adopted as an epiclesis of Athena? Cf. McInerney 2013, 55–60] → 2.17.7; 3.5.6; 3.7.10; 3.19.7; 8.4.8; 8.5.3; 8.9.6; 8.23.1; 8.45.4; 8.46.4; 8.47.1
- As epiclesis of Athena in Arcadia, cf. *IG* V,2 75; *SEG* 26, 472; *IG* V,2 262; Hdt. 1.66.4; X. *HG* 6.5.27. See Jost 1985, 106–109. For the arguable etymological meaning of Ἀλέα as "(goddess) protection", cf. Macedo 2016, 76.

Ἀσία 'of Asia' (mountain in Laconia) → 3.24.7

Ζωστηρία 'of Zoster' (cape on the west coast of Attica) → 9.17.3
- St.Byz. s.v. Ζωστήρ; Hsch. s.v. Ζώστειρα; *Σ* Lyc. 1279; cf. Wentzel 1889, 14–15.
- *IG* VII 548; *IG* V,1 1116; cf. Apollo Ζωστήρ (*SEG* 42,112).

Ἱππολαῖτις 'of Hippola' (town in Laconia) → 3.25.9

Ἰτωνία 'of Iton' (town in Thessaly) → 1.13.2; 3.9.13; 9.34.1; 10.1.10
- St.Byz. s.v. Ἰτών; Hsch. s.v. Ἰτωνία. Cf. Lalonde 2019, 16–19 *et passim*.

Κορυφασία 'of Coryphasium' (promontory in Messenia) → 4.36.2

Κυδωνία 'of Cydonia' (city-state in Crete) → 6.21.6
- *Σ* Lyc. 936.

Κυπαρισσία 'of Cyparissos' (town in Messenia) → 4.36.7

- *SEG* 23.209–10; 43.143–4. Cf. *IG* V,1 977 [Ἀγρ]οτέρας (=Artemis) Κυφαρισσίας 'of the cypress (?)' and Athena Κυπαρισσία 'of the cypress' (Paus. 3.22.9). Apollo is Κυπαρίσσιος 'of the cypress (grove)' in Cos (*IG* XII,4 1. 284).

Λαρισαία 'of Larisus' (river in Achaea) → 7.17.5

Λημνία 'of Lemnos' (island) → 1.28.2

Πολιάς 'of the city' → 1.27.1, 3; 2.30.6; 7.5.9; 8.31.9

- Ubiquitous epithet of Athena in epigraphy and literature from the 5ᵗʰ c. BCE onwards.

Πολιᾶτις 'of the city' → 8.47.5

Πρόναος 'before the temple' → 9.10.2

Σκιράς 'of Scirum' (?) [after the place Σκῖρον near Eleusis? *or* the ceremonial canopy called σκίρον? *or* the seer Σκῖρος from Dodona?] → 1.1.4; 1.36.4

- *SEG* 21, 527; *IG* II² 1232.

Σουνιάς 'of Sounion' (headland in Attica) → 1.1.1

DEMETER

Ἐλευσινία 'of Eleusis' (town in Attica) → 3.20.5; 8.15.1; 8.5.2, 3 [abs.]; 8.29.5; 9.4.3

- Cf. S. *Ant.* 1120 Ἐλευσινία Δηώ; attested in Eleusis and elsewhere, e.g., Thasos (*SEG* 29, 766). Artemis and Zeus are also given this epithet according to Hesychius.

Λερναία 'of Lerna' (region South of Argos) → 2.36.7

Μυκαλησσία 'of Mycalessus' (town in Boeotia) → 9.19.5–6; 9.27.8

Μυσία '(of) Mysia' (?) → 2.18.3, 7.27.9

- Cf. Artemis Μυσία (Paus. 3.20.9) above.

Προσύμνη 'of Prosymna' (town in Argolis) → 2.37.1

Στιρῖτις 'of Stiris' (town in Phocis) → 10.35.10

Χθονία 'under the earth' → 3.14.5 [NB: after the woman Chthonia at 2.35.5]

- Epithet also of Artemis, Ge, and Hecate; Hermes is χθόνιος, as is Zeus (see below).

ἐν Ἕλει 'in the marsh' → 8.36.6

- Cf. Aphrodite ἐν ἔλει (Alexis 539 F 1 Jacoby); see Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 65–6.

ἐν Κορυθεῦσι 'in Corytheis' (village in Arcadia) → 8.54.5

DIONYSUS

Ἀνθεύς 'of Antheia' (city in Achaea) → 7.21.6

Ἀροεύς 'of Aroe' (city in Achaea) → 7.21.6

Ἐλευθερεύς 'of Eleutherae' (city in north Attica) → 1.20.3; 1.29.2

- Clem. Alex. *Prot.* 4.47; Hsch. ε 2022; *IG* II² 5022, 3687 = *I.Eleusis* 523 (Attica); *IGBulg* I² 324; Σ Ar. *Ach.* 243a.

Λευκυανίτης 'of Leucyanias' (river) → 6.21.5

Καλυδώνιος 'of Calydon' (city in Aetolia) → 7.21.1

Κολωνάτας 'of the Knoll' (hillock in Laconia) → 3.13.7

Κρήσιος 'of Crete' (island) → 2.23.7, 8 [abs.] (epiclesis after the precinct where Dionysus buried the Cretan princess Ariadne)
– Cf. Zeus Κρηταῖος (St.Byz. s.v. Γάζα).
Μεσατεύς 'of Mesatis' (city in Achaea) → 7.21.6
Πολίτης 'of the city, citizen' → 8.26.1

EILEITHYIA
Ὀλυμπία 'of Olympus' → 6.20.2

HECATE
Ἐπιπυργιδία 'on the tower' → 2.30.2; cf. Athena Ἐπιπυργῖτις (Hsch. s.v.).

HERA
Ἀκραία 'of the height' → 2.24.1
– E. *Med.* 1379; *Hom.Carm.Ep.* 2.4. See Aphrodite Ἀκραία above: *IG* IX,1 698 τᾶς Ἀκρίας (Hera?), without the theonym.
Ἀργεία 'of Argos' (city in Argolis) → 3.12.8; 4.27.6
– From the 5th c. BCE onwards: *IG* I³ 1386bis; attested in several cities; in Argos: *IG* IV 517.
Βουναία 'of the hill (βουνός)' (?) → 2.4.7 (*or*, according to Pausanias, because of Bunus [Βοῦνος], son of Hermes)
Λακινία 'of Lacinium' (promontory in Magna Graecia) → 6.13.1
– *SEG* 34, 998; *SEG* 40, 832.
Ὀλυμπία 'of Olympus' (Mount in Thessaly) → 5.14.8
Σαμία 'of Samos' (island) → 5.13.8
– *IG* XII,6 2.571; *TAM* II 406; *FGrH* 541 F2; 536 F3.

HERACLES
Βουραϊκός 'of Bura' (river in Achaea [city: Βοῦρα]) → 7.25.10
Ἰδαῖος 'of Ida' (mountain in Crete) → 5.7.9; 5.8.1; 5.13.8; 6.23.3; 8.31.3; 9.19.5
– *RPh* 41 (1967) 65–68; *Ephesos* 843 (Ἡρακλ[ῆς] Εἰδαῖος). Cf. Zeus Ἰδάτης from the 2nd c. BCE onwards (*I.Cret.* IV 174 Ττηνὸς] τῶ Βιδάταω).
Σπηλαΐτης 'of the cave' → 10.32.5

HERMES
Ἀγοραῖος 'of the market' (1.15.1; 2.9.8; 3.11.11; 7.22.2; 9.17.2)
– From the 4th c. BCE onwards (*IG* XII,8 67); common epithet of Zeus.
Ἀκακήσιος 'of Acacesium' (??) [town in Arcadia] → 8.3.2; 8.30.6; 8.36.10
Κυλλήνιος 'of Cyllene' (mountain in Arcadia) → 8.17.1–2
– Already in Homer (*Od.* 24.1). Hsch. κ 4515; *Suda* κ 2660; *Et.M.* 361.13; Serv. *A.* 4.252; *IG* XII,4 2, 1191.
Πρόναος 'before the temple' → 9.10.2

Προπύλαιος 'before the gate' → 1.22.8
– Attested in Rhodes (*Rhodian Peraia* 59; *Tit. Cam.* 116); cf. Hermes Πυλαῖος (D.L. 8.31) and Artemis Προπυλαία (Paus. 1.38.6). Said also of Apollo and Heracles.
Σπηλαΐτης 'of the cave' → 10.32.5

ISIS
Αἰγυπτία 'of Egypt' → 2.4.6
Πελαγία 'of the sea' → 2.4.6

MOTHER
Δινδυμήνη 'of Dindymon' (mountain in eastern Phrygia) → 7.19.7; 7.20.3; 8.46.2; 9.25.3
– Hdt. 1.80.1; Str. 10.3.12; 13.4.5; Arr. *An.* 5.6.4; Cat. 63.13; Hor. *C.* 1.16.5; *I.Prusa* 1021; *MAMA* VIII 363; cf. A.R. 1.1125 Mother Δινδυμίη = Rhea/Cybele.

MUSES
Ἰλισιάδες 'of Ilisus' (river in Athens) → 1.19.5
Λιβήθριαι 'of Libethrion' (mountain in Boeotia) → 9.34.4

NYMPHS
Ἀνίγριδες 'of Anigrus' (river in Elis) → 5.5.11; cf. Larson 2001, 159.
Ἰσμήνιδες 'of Ismenus' (river in Thebes) → 1.31.4; cf. Larson 2001, 138.
Κυθαιρώνιδες 'of Cithaeron' (mountain between Attica/Boeotia) → 9.3.9
Κωρύκιαι 'of Corycium' (cave on the slopes of Parnassus) → 10.32.7
Λιβήθριαι 'of Libethrion' (mountain in Boeotia) → 9.34.4; cf. Larson 2001, 138.

PAN
Νόμιος 'of Nomos' (??) [mountain in Arcadia; *or* 'of shepherds'] → 8.38.11
Σκολείτας '(of) Scoleitas' (hill in Arcadia) → 8.30.6

POSEIDON
Δωματίτης 'of the house' → 3.14.7
– *IG* V,1 497 Ποσειδῶνος Δωματείτα; *IG* V,1 589, 608; epithet also of Apollo (Σ Pi. *N.* 5.81); cf. Zeus Ἐπίστιος 'of the hearth' (Hdt. 1.44) and Κωματικός 'of the village' (*I.Byzantion* 21–3).
Ἑλικώνιος 'of Helice' (city in Achaea) → 7.24.5–6
– *SEG* 36, 761; *Milet* VI,3 1218; *I.Priene* 211, 103, 213, 196, 195; *I.Sinope* 8; *IG* XII,6 2.1229; *I.Histria* I 143.
Ἴσθμιος 'of the Isthmus' → 2.9.6
– Pi. *O.* 13.4; *I.Cos Segre EV* 18; *Halikarnassos* 2; *I.Mylasa* 59, 141; *Sinuri* 38, 40; *I. Miletos* 253.
Ὀγχήστιος 'of Onchestus' (town in Boeotia) → 9.26.5; 9.37.1

– Cf. *IG* IX,1^2 1.170; *Σ* Lyc. 646.

Πελαγαῖος 'of the sea' → 7.21.7

– Poseidon Πελάγιος in Attica (*IG* II^3,1 416; *IG* II^2 410) and Thera (*IG* XII,3 1347); cf. Zeus Θαλάσσιος (Hsch. s.v.).

Ταινάριος 'of Taenarum' (cape in Laconia) → 3.12.5

– Cf. Ar. *Ach*. 510 ὁ Ποσειδῶν, οὑπὶ Ταινάρῳ θεός; *IG* V,1 1226; *IG* V,1 1227; *I.Delta* I 86 θεῷ Ταιναρέῳ. Artemis is Ταιναρίη (Euphorion, fr. 9 Powell).

ΤΥΧΕ

Ἀκραία 'of the height' → 2.7.5

ZΕΥΣ

Ἀγοραῖος 'of the market' → 3.11.9; 5.15.4; 9.25.4

– From the 4th c. BCE onwards (*SEG* 23, 566); common epithet of Hermes.

Ἀγχέσμιος 'of Anchesmus' (hill in Athens) → 1.32.2

Ἀπεσάντιος 'of Apesas' (mountain above Nemea) → 2.15.3

– Cf. Zeus Ἀπέσας (Call. fr. 223 Pfeiffer): noun epithet or null derivation.

Ἑρκεῖος 'of the front court' → 4.17.4 [abs.]; 5.14.7; 8.46.2; 10.27.2 [abs.]

– Since *Od*. 22.335; ὁ Ἑρκεῖος [abs.] in Paus. 4.17.4; cf. ἑρκεῖον . . . βωμόν (Pi. *Pae*. 6.114); in inscriptions since the 5th c. BCE (*SEG* 32, 760; *LV* 107); cf. Zeus Μεσσαρκεῖος (*Tit. Cam*. 126).

Ἰθωμάτας 'of Ithome' (mountain in Messenia) → 3.26.6; 4.12.7, 8 [abs.]; 4.13.1; 4.19.3; 4.24.7; 4.27.6; 4.33.1, 2 [abs.]

– Cf. Paus. 4.20.4 Δία Ἰθώμην ἔχοντα; Th. 1.103.3 τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα; *IG* V,2 419; *IG* V,1 1468; *Suda* ι 244.

Κιθαιρώνιος 'of Cithaeron' (mountain between Attica/Boeotia) → 9.2.4

Κορυφαῖος 'at the top' = *Jupiter Capitolinus* → 2.4.5

– *TAM* V,3 1540; *IGLS* 3,2 1184; cf. Zeus Ἐπάκριος (*SEG* 21, 541; *IG* XII,6 2.542).

Κροκεάτας 'of Croceae' (village in Laconia) → 3.21.4

Λαρισαῖος 'of Larisa' (acropolis of Argos) → 2.24.3

Λαφύστιος 'of Laphystium' (mountain in Boeotia) → 9.34.5

– Hdt. 7.197; *Σ* A.R. 2.652–4a; Hsch. λ 444. Cf. the god Λαφύστιος (Paus. 1.24.2).

Λυκαῖος 'of Lycaeon' (mountain in Arcadia) → 4.22.7; 8.2.1, 3, 6; 8.30.2, 8; 8.38.4, 7; 8.44.6; 8.53.11

– Since Pi. *O*. 9.96, 13.108 [abs.].

Μεσσαπεύς 'of Messapeae' (village, or rather region around the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus, in Laconia) → 3.20.3

Νέμειος 'of Nemea' (city in Argolis) → 2.15.2, 3; 2.20.3; 2.24.2; 4.27.6

– From the 3rd c. BCE onwards in inscriptions (*I.Cos Segre EV* 18); cf. Zeus Νεμεαῖος (Pi. *N*. 2.4). Zeus Νέμειος already in Thucydides (3.96.1).

Ὀλύμπιος 'of Olympus' (Mount in Thessaly) → 1.17.2; 1.18.6, 8; 1.19.1; 2.5.5; 2.27.2; 3.9.2; 3.12.11; 3.14.5; 5.8.2; 5.13.8; 5.14.8; 5.21.8; 5.24.3; 6.19.6; 7.20.3; 8.42.8–9; 10.28.6; cf. 5.12.5 τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Δία; 6.19.10 τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διί.

 – See Schwabl 1972, 342–344.

Παρνήθιος 'of Parnes' (mountain in Attica) → 1.32.2

Πολιεύς 'of the city' → 1.24.4; 1.28.10

 – See Lebreton 2015. Widespread epithet of Zeus related to several cities.

Σκοτίτας '(of) Scotitas' (?) → 3.10.6

Ὑμήττιος 'of Hymettus' (mountain in Attica) → 1.32.2

 – Hsch. s.v.

Χθόνιος 'under the earth' (2.2.8; 5.14.8)

 – Cf. Paus. 2.24.4 Zeus Καταχθόνιος 'beneath the earth' (Hom. *Il.* 9.457). See Demeter Χθονία above.

ἐν Δωδώνῃ 'in Dodona' (oracle in Epirus) → 1.13.3; cf. 1.17.5.

 – Cf. Zeus Δωδωναῖος (*Il.* 16.233+; *Lamelles Oraculaires* 89); *SEG* 50.543 Ζεῦ, Δωδώνης μεδέων. Zeus Δωδωνεύς in Hsch. s.v.

Appendix B = Topographic epithets

APHRODITE Ἀκραία, Οὐρανία, Ποντία καὶ Λιμένια; **APOLLO** Ἀγυιεύς, Ὅριος, Πλατανίστιος, Σπηλαΐτης; **ARTEMIS** Ἀγοραία, Λιμνᾶτις, *Κορυφαία, Προπυλαία; **ATHENA** Ἀγοραία, Πολιάς, Πολιᾶτις, Πρόναος; **DEMETER** Χθονία, ἐν Ἕλει; **DIONYSUS** Πολίτης; **HECATE** Ἐπιπυργιδία; **HERA** Ἀκραία, *Βουναία; **HERACLES** Σπηλαΐτης; **HERMES** Ἀγοραῖος, Πρόναος, Προπύλαιος, Σπηλαΐτης; **ISIS** Πελαγία; **POSEIDON** Δωματίτης, Πελαγαῖος; **TYCHE** Ἀκραία; **ZEUS** Ἀγοραῖος, Ἑρκεῖος, Κορυφαῖος, Πολιεύς, Χθόνιος.

Appendix C = Toponymic epithets

APHRODITE *Ἐρυκίνη, Κνιδία, Κωλιάς, Μιγωνῖτις, Ὀλυμπία, Παφία, *ἐν (τοῖς) Κήποις; ἐν Κωτίλῳ; **APOLLO** *Αἰγύπτιος, *Ἀκρίτας, Ἄκτιος, Ἀμυκλαῖος, *Ἀργεώτας, Δειραδιώτης, Δήλιος, Ἰσμήνιος, *Κλάριος, *Μαλεάτης, Ὀγκαιάτης, Παρράσιος, Πτῷος, Πυθαεύς, Πύθιος, ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, ἐν Διδύμοις; **ARTEMIS** Αἰτωλή, Ἀλφειαία, Ἀμαρυσία, Βραυρωνία, Δερεᾶτις, Ἐφεσία, Ἰσσωρία, Καρυᾶτις, Κνακαλησία, Κονδυλεᾶτις, *Κορυφαία, *Λιμναία, Λυκοᾶτις, Μουνιχία, *Μυσία, *Περσική, Σκιᾶτις, Στυμφαλία, Ταυρική, Φεραία; **ASCLEPIUS** *Αἰγύπτιος, Αὐλώνιος, Γορτύνιος, Καούσιος; **ATHENA** *Ἀλέα, Ἀσία, Ζωστηρία, Ἱππολαῖτις, Ἰτωνία, Κορυφασία, Κυδωνία, Κυπαρισσία, Λαρισαία, *Λημνία, *Σκιράς, Σουνιάς; **DEMETER** Ἐλευσινία, Λερναία, Μυκαλησσία, *Μυσία, Προσύμνη, Στιρῖτις, ἐν Κορυθεῦσι; **DIONYSUS** Ἀνθεύς, Ἀροεύς,

Ἐλευθερεύς, Λευκυανίτης, Καλυδώνιος, *Κρήσιος, Μεσατεύς; **EILEITHYIA** Ὀλυμπία; **HERA** Λακινία, Ὀλυμπία, *Σαμία; **HERACLES** Βουραϊκός, Ἰδαῖος; **HERMES** *Ἀκακήσιος, Κυλλήνιος; **ISIS** Αἰγυπτία; **MOTHER** Δινδυμήνη; **MUSES** Ἰλισιάδες, Λιβήθριαι; **NYMPHS** Ἀνίγριδες, Ἰσμηνίδες, Κυθαιρώνιδες, Κωρύκιαι, Λιβήθριαι; **PAN** *Νόμιος, Σκολεί-τας; **POSEIDON** Ἑλικώνιος, Ἴσθμιος, Ὀγχήστιος, Ταινάριος; **SERAPIS** ἐν Κανώβῳ; **ZEUS** Ἀγχέσιμος, Ἀπεσάντιος, Ἰθωμάτας, Κιθαιρώνιος, Κροκεάτας, Λαρισαῖος, Λαφύστιος, Λυκαῖος, Μεσσαπεύς, Νέμειος, Ὀλύμπιος, Παρνήθιος, *Σκοτίτας, Ὑμήττιος, ἐν Δω-δώνῃ, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

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1.3 Greece: Local and Regional Approaches

Micaela Canopoli

Artemis and Her Territory: Toponymic and Topographical Cult-Epithets of Artemis in Attica

This paper analyses some topographical and toponymic cult-epithets of Artemis attested in Attica.[1]

In the multiform panorama of Greek religion, epithets had the function of defining the sphere of influence of deities in order to accommodate the needs of the community of worshippers involved in specific cults.[2] Artemis is one of the deities whose sphere of influence is most strongly connected to specific geographical areas. She is frequently honoured in sanctuaries located in borderline and extreme positions from which she presides over initiation rituals and operates as the guardian of the frontiers.[3]

The connection between Artemis and specific geographical areas is testified by Callimachus who details her dominion over the mountains,[4] patronage of thirty cities, and supervision of streets and harbours.[5] Across the Greek world, this connection is demonstrated by a series of topographical and toponymic cult-epithets that variously define her domains and her functions within these domains, as well as the origin of specific cults and their location.

As noted by Lilly Kahil, Attica is one of the Greek regions where the cult of Artemis is most widespread.[6] Here, the relationship between Artemis and different geographical areas is seen through her toponymic epithets which characterised her cult from Late Archaic/Early Classical to Roman Imperial times.

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2 On the function of cult-epithets and their classification see: Brulé 1998; Parker 2003, 175–177; Lebreton 2016.
3 Cf. de Polignac 1995.
4 Call. *Dian.* 18–19.
5 Call. *Dian.* 33–39.
6 Kahil 1979, 74.

Artemis has many cult-epithets in Attica, some of which are related to the names of specific geographical areas (fig.1). These cult-epithets can be divided into two categories: those referring to the Attic territory and those referring to regions outside Attica. Beyond this division, these onomastic features can be further characterised by any additional significance such as the powers of the goddess, the provenience of a cult, and any link between local worshippers, a cult, and the territory from which it originated.

The objective of this paper is to present a picture of the topographical and toponymic cult-epithets of Artemis in Attica, and explore their various meanings to better understand the complex relationship between the goddess and the territory on which she operates as a guardian of boundaries and superintendent to the growth of the youth during the moment of transition between adolescence and adulthood.

Fig. 1: Toponymic Cult-Epithets of Artemis in Attica (Micaela Canopoli from umap.openstreetmap.fr.).

Epithets Referring to Attic Territory

Agraia and Agrotera

Despite the function of Artemis as a protector of the wilderness, and her connection to the open countryside beyond towns and villages,[7] her epithets in Attica do not directly relate to the natural landscape. The only attested example is the epithet *Agrotera* which refers to Artemis in the Ilissos valley.[8] This epithet originated from the word *agros*, uncovered land,[9] but it is also conventionally thought to reference hunting activities because of the semantic relationship between the two words *agros* and *agra*.[10] In this case, the epithet appears to extend beyond its topographical meaning, no longer defining just the landscape over which the goddess holds dominion, but also the activities performed there.[11]

In the Ilissos valley, Artemis also takes the epithet *Agraia*, which refers to the district of Agrai or Agra near Athens where the temple of Artemis *Agrotera* was located. This was the place where Artemis hunted for the first time.[12] According to ancient authors, the district of Agrai was given this name because of the sanctuary of Artemis, and because it was a region rich in wild animals.[13] This richness makes the area particularly suitable for Artemis in her capacities as the goddess of the hunt and *Potnia Theron*.

Recently, Robert Simms assumed that the name Agrai originated from the name of an ancient deity called Agra, who was assimilated into Artemis as Artemis *Agraia*.[14] Although this hypothesis is reasonable, it cannot be confirmed due to the lack of archaeological evidence to Artemis *Agraia*. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence instead clearly testify to the existence of a temple of Artemis *Agrotera*, who was worshipped in Athens until at least the 1st century BC as testified by a series of decrees honouring ephebes for – among other things – having performed sacrifices to the goddess.[15]

Testimonies of the epithet *Agraia* are mainly from literary sources. Although the existence of an area identified as ἐν Ἄγρας is attested by Plato[16] and a bench

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7 Burkert 1985, 150.

8 On the temple in the Ilissos valley, see Marchiandi/Savelli 2011.

9 Chantraine 1969, sv. ἀγρός; cf. Brulé 1998, 23.

10 Kahil 1984, 55 and, more recently, Pautasso 2002, 781, footnote 39.

11 On Artemis *Agrotera* beyond Attica, see: Massimo Giuseppetti's contribution to this book.

12 Paus. I. 19, 6.

13 AB I, sv. Ἄγραι, p. 334.

14 Simms 2003; cf. Daux 1963, 624–625.

15 See the honorific decrees *IG* II² 1029 (96/5 BC) and *IG* II² 1030 of uncertain date ca 105 BC and 98/7 BC, see respectively Tracy 1990, 198, and Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, 247. See also *IG* II² 1040 + 1025 (*SEG* 22.111) dated between 23/2 BC and 19/8 BC: Lambert, Schneider 2019, 2 with previous references.

16 Pl. *Phdr.* 229 c.

seat of the theatre of Dionysos was reserved to the priest of Artemis *en Agras*,[17] only later sources reference a temple of Artemis *Agraia*,[18] while Eusthatius identifies Artemis *Agraia* with Artemis *Agrotera*.[19]

The Artemis of the Ilissos valley was, therefore, a polynomic deity: *Agrotera* referred to her protective function exercised over animals and the hunting activity carried out in this area, while *Agraia* can be identified as a toponymic epithet used by ancient authors to identify Artemis *Agrotera* in reference to the location of her temple in the district of Agrai. Artemis *Agrotera* was a particularly important cult in this district, which was located outside Athens.[20] Ancient sources recognise this when they trace the name of the district of Agrai back to the presence of the temple of the goddess. Here, the functions of Artemis *Agrotera* extend beyond the hunt and the protection of animals. Indeed, the worship of the goddess in the Ilissos valley was also one of the cults of Artemis connected to the memory of the Persian wars.[21] Ancient sources record that an annual sacrifice of 500 goats was offered to Artemis *Agrotera* in the Ilissos valley in gratitude for the victory at the battle of Marathon.[22]

As has been shown, Artemis in the Ilissos valley appears to be equally connected to both the hunt and warfare.[23] Both the hunt and battle marked an intersection between civilisation and savagery. They were also considered complementary activities by Aristoteles[24] and Xenophon recognises hunting as good training for soldiers.[25] The identification of hunting as an important activity in the various stages of the young Greek male's life,[26] as well as its link with the training of soldiers, define the kourotrophic function of Artemis *Agrotera*. Participation at the festival held in her honour in the Ilissos Valley, the 6th of Boedromion, was one of the first religious activities carried out by ephebes at the beginning of their training[27] and was related to the memorial connotation of the cult of Artemis,[28] and her functions as a protector of the young, and defender of the border.

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17 *IG* II/III[3] 4, 1957.

18 AB I, sv. Ἄγραι, p. 326.

19 Eust. 361, 36.

20 AB I, sv. Ἄγραι, p. 334.

21 See Parker 2005, 400 and Monaco 2016.

22 X. *An*. III. 2, 12; Plut. *Mor*. 862 b-c.

23 The connection between Artemis and warfare is testified by Lib. V. 16. On the relationship between Artemis and warfare, see Vernant 1991, 203–204, and Parker 2005, 400–401. On the custom to make a sacrifice to Artemis before battle, see also Vernant 1988.

24 See Ar. *Pol*. 1256b, 23–25.

25 X. *Cyn*. XII 7–8.

26 Cf. Vidal-Naquet 1986, 117–122.

27 All the ceremonies attended by ephebes are discussed in Pélékidis 1963, 211–256.

28 For the memorial connotation of the epithet *Agrotera*, see: Lebreton (forth.). For the involvement of ephebes in other commemoration of Persians wars in Hellenistic and Roman periods, see: Newby 2017.

Oinaia

Another toponymic cult-epithet of Artemis attested in Attica is *Oinaia*. This is attested to by a 2nd or 3rd-century AD inscription carved on a bench seat at the theatre of Dionysos, which indicates the seat reserved to the priestess of Artemis *Oinaia*.[29]

Although the sanctuary of Artemis *Oinaia* has not been identified yet, the toponymic meaning of the epithet is confirmed by the late 5th / early 4th-century BC civic sacrificial calendar of Athens which references Οἰνόησι Ἀρτ[έμιδι — — —].[30] Because of this, the epithet *Oinaia* is thought to have originated from one of the two Attic demes called Oinoe, located near Eleutherai and Marathon respectively.[31]

On the basis of the relationship between the myth of the king Oineus, the sanctuary of Artemis *Oinoatis,* and the introduction of the culture of the grapevine by Dionysus in Argolis, Diana Guarisco locates the cult of Artemis *Oinaia* within the deme Oinoe near Eleutherai, which was the place of origin of the cult of Dionysos *Eleuthereus*.[32]

Stephen Lambert has proposed another theory concerning the location of the cult of Artemis *Oinaia*. He emphasises the absence of evidence for a cult of Artemis *Oinaia* in Eleuteherai. Instead, he points out the proximity between the seats of the priest of Artemis *Oinaia* and the priest of Demeter *Achaia* in the theatre of Dionysos. He identifies Demeter *Achaia* as a goddess honoured in north-eastern Attica and mentioned by the sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. On the basis of this information, the scholar suggests that the proximity of the two priests within the theatre of Dionysos reflects the geographical proximity of the two cults. Therefore, he places the cult of Artemis *Oinaia* in the deme of Oinoe near Marathon, which was part of the Marathonian Tetrapolis.[33]

There is insufficient evidence to confirm Lambert's theory. Although Diana Guarisco's suggestion is equally tenuous, it seems more likely that the deme of Oinoe near Eleutherai is the site where the cult of Artemis *Oinaia* was located. The deme of Oinoe near Eleutherai was located on the north-western border of Attica, between the frontiers of Attica and Boeotia. This position between two frontiers is testified by Thucydides, who defines the district of Oinoe as "*methorios*".[34] Oinoe is also the territory over which Melanthos and Xanthos, kings of Attica and Boeotia respectively, clashed in ancient times. According to scholars, the myth of the fight between Melanthos and Xanthos is related to the ephebia providing the aetiology

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29 *IG* II/III[3] 4, 1985.

30 Lambert 2002 (*CGRN* 45) A, fr. 12, l. 4. For the analysis of the fragment, see: *LSCG*, 32–33, n. 16.

31 Harp. sv. Οἰνόη καὶ Οἰναῖος.

32 Guarisco 2001, 144–148.

33 Lambert 2002, 384.

34 Thuc. II, 18, 1–2. For the meaning of *Methorion*, see: Suid. sv. Μεθόριον, cf. Daverio Rocchi 1988, 33.

for the Apatouria, the Athenian festival which marked the integration of ephebes into the phratry, after consecrating their hair to Artemis.[35] Melanthos has been identified as a model for the ephebes who defend the frontier area.[36] The connection with ephebia, warfare, and the defence of boundaries are elements that characterised the cult of Artemis also in the Ilissos Valley and at Piraeus.[37] Taking into consideration these pieces of information, the deme of Oinoe near Eleutherai so defined, can be identified as the best candidate to host a sanctuary of the goddess.

Brauronia and Mounichia

The last two of Artemis' toponymic cult-epithets that refer to territory within Attica are *Brauronia* and *Mounichia*. These cult-epithets are strictly related to the name of geographical areas, but they have also been connected by ancient authors to the name of two eponymous heroes from which the names of these areas originated.[38]

Pausanias records that Artemis *Brauronia* derives her name from "the deme of Brauron".[39] Brauron is an area located near the east coast of Attica which, in antiquity, was likely a region within the deme of Philaidai rather than a separate deme as reported by Pausanias.[40] The name of the area is testified by a number of other ancient authors who refer to Brauron as a region of Attica where an important sanctuary of Artemis was located.[41] Strabo places Brauron among the 12 *poleis* in which Cecrops first organised the tribes of Attica.[42] According to Stephanus of Byzantium and Photius, this region took its name from an ancient hero called Brauron.[43] The testimony of Strabo together with the relationship established between the name of the region and the eponymous hero testify to the importance of this region which can trace its origin back to the mythical past of Attica.

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35 See Brelich 1961, 55–59.

36 Cf. Vidal-Naquet 1986, 106–122.

37 See below.

38 On all the possible relationships between a place-name and a hero, see: Kearms 1989, 92–93.

39 Paus. I. 23, 7.

40 Brauron is called deme by St. Byz. sv. Βραυρών, while a number of later sources refer to Brauron simply as a τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς; see: Phot.sv. Βραυρών; Hsch. sv. Βραυρών; Suid. sv. Βραυρών. The reference to the deme of *Philaidai* is reported by Suid. sv. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίοις.

41 References to the area of Brauron and the sanctuary of Artemis are made by: Hdt. IV. 145, 2; Hdt. VI. 138, 1; E. IT. 1462–1469; Str. IX. 1. 22, 4; Paus. I. 33, 1; Hsch. sv. Βραυρών; Suid. Βραυρών. On the archaeological remains of the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, see: Papadimitriou 1963, Bouras 1967. Among the most recent publications on the cult of Artemis at Brauron, see: Lippolis 2018.

42 Str. IX. 1. 20.

43 St. Byz. sv. Βραυρών; Phot. sv. Βραυρών.

Like *Brauronia*, the cult-epithet *Mounichia* is connected to both the area in which the sanctuary of Artemis was located and to its eponymous hero.

The cult-epithet *Mounichia* is linked to the Mounichia hill on the west coast of Attica at Piraeus.[44] Ancient authors attribute the origin of the name of the hill to the existence of the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichia* founded by Mounichos,[45] who was an Attic king, son of Pantakles.[46] Other traditions record that the area of Mounichia took its name after Mounichos[47] or after the Minyans from Orchomenus who, after being forced to abandon their lands by the Thracians, received permission to settle in this area by Mounichos and subsequently named the hill Mounichia in gratitude to the Athenian king.[48]

These two explanations are not incompatible. Both are linked to the hero whose name is closely connected to the geographical area where the sanctuary was located and the foundation of the sanctuary itself.

Epigraphic evidence shows that the epithets *Brauronia* and *Mounichia*, as with the epithet *Oinaia*, were used to identify Artemis in dedications, and in administrative documents such as sacred calendars and treasure records from different areas. Among these documents is an inscribed fragment from a dedicatory base dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC which refers to a statue offered to Artemis *Mounichia* in the Agora of Athens[49] and the sacrificial calendar of Thorikos[50] which records a sacrifice made to the same Artemis and testifies to the participation of the deme of Thorikos in the rituals that took place in her sanctuary at Piraeus.[51] The name of Artemis *Brauronia* is also attested in a number of epigraphic documents found in Athens[52] and her sanctuary at Brauron.[53]

In each example, the epithet serves to identify either the specific Artemis honoured in a sanctuary or an object dedicated to that Artemis. This practical function seems to be clear when a specific toponymic epithet refers to a specific cult of Artemis outside the corresponding sanctuary. Nevertheless, the significance of the epithets *Brauronia* and *Mounichia* likely also extended beyond their toponymic meaning.

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44 On the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichia*, see: Palaiokrassa 1991.

45 See Suid. sv. Ἔμβαρός εἰμι; Suid. sv. Μούνυχος. Cf. Viscardi 2015, 60–61.

46 Kearns 1989, 186.

47 Suid. sv. Μουνυχία; EM sv. Μουνυχία (589, 48).

48 See Viscardi 2015, 33–36.

49 *IG* II/III[3] 4, 1063; see also Meritt 1960, 57, n. 84.

50 *NGSL*[2] 1 (*CGRN* 32).

51 Viscardi 2015, 72.

52 References to Artemis Brauronia appear in the inventory lists of the Parthenon and the Erechtheion. See the inscriptions *IG* II[2] 1372+1402 (*SEG* 23, 82); *IG* II[2] 1377; *IG* II[2] 1381+1386; *IG* II[2] 1388+1403+1408; *IG* II[2] 1393+1394+1395+Ag I 1182; *IG* II[2] 1400; *IG* II[2] 1401; *IG* II[2] 1412; *IG* II[2] 1413; *IG* II[2] 1416 (?); *IG* II[2] 1418 (?); *IG* II[2] 1421+1424a; *IG* II[2] 1425; *IG* II[2] 1428 (?); *IG* II[2] 1429; *IG* II[2] 1437; *IG* II[2] 1444; *IG* II[2] 1445; *IG* II[2] 1447; *IG* II[2] 1451. For a complete study of these documents see: Harris 1995.

53 See *IG* I[3] 985 and *IG* I[3] 985adn.

According to literary sources, both sanctuaries were linked to the *arkteia*, an initiation rite involving young girls and one of the most important rituals which took place in Attica in the Classical period.[54] At Brauron and in the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichia* at Piraeus, Artemis was honoured as a goddess of childbirth and protector of women. Artemis *Mounichia* was also believed to have played an important role in the protection of the Greek army at the battle of Salamis,[55] and for this reason, she was worshipped by the ephebes who took part in the festival held in her honour on the 16th of Mounichion.[56] The characteristics of the cult and the importance of the rituals at *Brauron* and *Mounichia* are the basis for assigning a functional value to these cult-epithets. Robert Parker underlines that young Athenian girls at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron probably called the goddess simply Artemis,[57] and dedications from both sanctuaries show the name of Artemis alone without any epithets.[58] Nevertheless, a dedication to Artemis *Brauronia* inscribed on a mirror from Brauron[59] suggests that the meaning of this toponymic epithet likely also extended to the domain and powers that Artemis had in this sanctuary.[60] In fact, there would be little reason to specify the toponymic epithet referring to Artemis in the same sanctuary from which the epithet originated unless it also had a function of strengthening the link between the deity and the worshipper regarding a specific request that fell under Artemis' domain in that sanctuary.

As also pointed out by Robert Parker, the division between topographical and functional epithets should not be considered as absolute, and "Even local epithets that were purely practical in origin often came to be felt to say something about the god". According to Parker, this was the reason why a god with a toponymic epithet could be worshipped outside the place to which the epithet referred.[61]

The cult-epithets *Brauronia* and *Mounichia* are examples of those kinds of epithets that Pierre Brulé identifies as *épiclèses topographiques déplacées*.[62] In fact, Artemis was honoured as *Brauronia* on the Acropolis of Athens and, outside Attica, at Stymphalos[63] and Amphipolis.[64]

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54 On female initiation rituals in Athens, see: Brelich 1969, 229–311. On the literary sources related to the *arkteia*, see: Sale 1975 and Montepaone 1999, 13–46.

55 Plu. *Moralia* 349f.

56 See Pélékidis 1962, 247 with earlier bibliography. Cf. Newby 2017.

57 Parker 2003, 177.

58 See e.g. *IG* II/III³ 4, 1072 (Mounichia) and 1086 (Brauron).

59 *IG* I³ 985adn.

60 R. Parker does not deny that the offerings made at Brauron could be addressed to "Artemis at Brauron" but he has not advanced any hypothesis about the significance of these dedications, see: Parker 2003, 177, footnote 33.

61 Parker 2003, 177–178.

62 See Brulé 2009.

63 See Moretti, *ISE* 55 (*IPArk* 18) (ca. 189 BC).

64 Antip. Thess. *AP* VII, 705.

The presence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* on the Acropolis testifies to the importance of this cult within the Attic religious system.[65] Unfortunately, little can be said about the presence of this cult outside Attica. The existence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* at Stymphalos is confirmed by a 2nd-century BC decree found in the village of Kionia, north-west of Lake Stymphalia. As reported by Luigi Moretti, this inscription is the only testimony to the existence of this sanctuary which, according to the scholar, seems to be different from the sanctuary of Artemis *Stymphalia* mentioned by Pausanias.[66] However, the two cults of Artemis *Brauronia* and Artemis *Stymphalia* share some common elements. Like Artemis *Brauronia*, Artemis *Stymphalia* was likely connected to female initiation rituals, and her sanctuary was located in swampy land.[67] Unfortunately, the limited evidence does not permit a deeper analysis of the relationship between these two cults, nor does it clarify the reasons behind the presence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* at Stymphalos, that, according to Pierre Brulé, was the result of Athenian influence in this area.[68] Nevertheless, the display in the sanctuary of an official decree testifies its importance.

At Amphipolis, the presence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* is only testified by Antipater of Thessalonika, who refers to the goddess as *Aithopie* and *Brauronís*. In the absence of further evidence related to the presence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* at Amphipolis, we can consider this testimony as referring to the sanctuary of Artemis *Tauropolos*, the importance of which at Amphipolis is confirmed by numismatic evidence.[69] This evidence and the relationship between these two sanctuaries will be discussed in further detail below.

Like Artemis *Brauronia*, who was worshipped at other sanctuaries outside of Brauron, Artemis *Mounichia* was likely worshipped at Brauron[70] and, outside Attica, at Epidauros,[71] and in Asia Minor at Sicyon,[72] at Pygela in Ionia,[73] and also at Cyzicus.[74] At Sicyon, the cult of Artemis *Mounichia* is likely to have been established by people from Piraeus, who arrived in the area before the later occupation of the site by Dorians.[75] This cult appears later in Asia Minor and, as pointed out by scholars, may

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65 On the temple of Artemis *Brauronia* on the Acropolis, see: Camia 2010. On the relationship between the sanctuary of Brauron and other sanctuaries of Artemis in Attica, see: Guarisco 2015.

66 Paus. VII. 22, 7.

67 See Moggi/Osanna 2003, 387–388.

68 Brulé 1987, 187.

69 Mari 2012, 135–136, cf. Brulé 1987, 187.

70 The attribution of the 4th-century dedication found in Oropos is not confirmed, and attributed to either the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichia* at Piraeus or that of Artemis *Brauronia* at Brauron: see *SEG* 61, 350 with bibliography.

71 *IG* IV^2 1, 404 (215 AD).

72 Clem. Al. *Protr*. IV. 47. 8.

73 Str. XIV. 1, 20. *IG* XII 3, 171 (late 2nd – early 1st century BC).

74 See Viscardi 2015, 232–250.

75 Viscardi 2015, 233–234.

have been introduced by people from Piraeus or Sicyon. Molossians or the same Minians responsible for the introduction of this cult at Piraeus may have also brought the cult with them. Indeed, the local character of the cult of Artemis *Mounichia* at Piraeus and Sicyon makes the propagation of this cult on the other side of the Aegean unlikely, except through migratory movements.[76] The cult of Artemis *Mounichia* at Cyzicus is attested by two decrees which reference the priestess of the goddess. These do not allow us to say much about the characteristics of the cult nor its relationship with the Attic cult.[77] Strabo details the existence of another temple of Artemis *Mounichia*, this one located in Pygela, a town of ancient Ionia located south of Ephesus, and connects its foundation to Agamemnon.[78] Pygela dates back to the protogeometric period, and in Classical times became a coastal stronghold, and was listed among the member *poleis* of the Delian league. Artemis *Mounichia* at Pygela is depicted as Tauropolos on the city's coinage.[79] She was honoured as a protector of the city and the nearby coastal fortress which was built in 409 BC to protect access to the Lydian inland.[80]

The spread of the cult-epithets *Brauronia* and *Mounichia* outside Attica testifies to cultural and political contacts between regions. The relationship established between the legendary kings Brauron and Mounichos, the geographical areas which bore their names, and the cult-epithets assigned to Artemis, as illustrated above, underline the strong link between these cults, and the historical past of their territory. Thanks to the connection with an eponymous hero, these areas and the sanctuaries of Artemis became part of the mythical history and the evolution of the *polis*, and, over time, the epithets acquired a strong identity value.

Kolainis

Another of the epithets of Artemis in Attica linked to a specific territory is *Kolainis,* although the origin of the name does not seem to be related to any known placename. The spatial connotation of this adjective is clearly expressed in a *scholium* to the *Birds* of Aristophanes.[81] This *scholium* references *Kolainis* as the epithet given to Artemis by the inhabitants of Myrrinous and connects this adjective with other toponymic cult epithets of hers in Attica, such as *Mounichia* and *Brauronia*.[82]

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76 Sakellariou 1958, 56–63. Cfr. Viscardi 2015, 234–235.
77 See Viscardi 2015, 243–246 with earlier bibliography.
78 Str. XIV. 1, 20.
79 *SNG* Cop. Ionia, n. 172–175; *BMC Ionia*, 228, tab. XXIV, 1–2.
80 Viscardi 2015, 239–241.
81 See Brulé 1993, 58–59. Cf. Brulé 2009.
82 Schol. Ar. *Aves* 873.

According to ancient authors, the cult-epithet *Kolainis* originated either from a bird[83] or from Kolainos, a legendary Athenian king who founded the sanctuary of the goddess at Myrrinous.[84] Semantically, this cult-epithet originated from the word κόλος, which was used to indicate oxen or goats without horns, plus αἶνος which is the nominal form of the verb αἴνομαι, meaning "to accept".[85] Therefore, Artemis *Kolainis* is the goddess who accepts animals without horns as a sacrifice. The *scholium* on Aristophanes' Birds also reports that Agamemnon sacrificed a *kolon* to Artemis at Amarinthos and, for this reason, she was also called *Kolainis* in Euboea.[86] Artemis *Kolainis* and Artemis *Amarysia* were worshipped in different sanctuaries in Attica. These were located at Myrrinous[87] and Athmonon[88] respectively, but some inscriptions from Athens suggest the existence of other shrines dedicated to Artemis as *Kolainis* and *Amarysia* in Athens.[89] The tradition of the sacrifice made by Agamemnon establishes a mythical relationship between these two cults, but the limited evidence does not permit further exploration of this link. Nevertheless, the connection with Agamemnon places these two sanctuaries among the other cult places of Artemis linked to the figure of the king and the myth of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, suggesting a connection between all of these sanctuaries and the propagation of a pre-Greek substrate somehow connected to the cult of Artemis.[90] It is clear that *Kolainis* was the name used in Attica to specifically identify the Artemis worshipped at Myrrinous. Here, as confirmed by recent excavation, she has a strong link with nature, vegetation, agriculture, and female fertility. The origin of the epithet *Kolainis* from Kolainos, as also true for the epithets *Brauronia* and *Mounichia*, likely shows a desire to establish a connection between this cult, the mythical past of Attica, and the development of the territory under Athenian control.

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83 This origin is attested by Schol. Ar. *Aves* 873, and Suid. sv. Κολαινίς.

84 Hsch. sv. Κολαινίς; Suid. sv. Κολαινίς. Paus. I. 31, 4–5. Paus. IV. 34, 8 also reports to Kolainos as the founder of the city of Kolonides in Messenia.

85 Chantraine 1969, sv. Κόλος.

86 Schol. Ar. *Aves* 873.

87 On the sanctuary of Artemis *Kolainis* at Myrrinous, see Vivliodetis 2007.

88 On the cult of Artemis *Amarysia* at Athmonon, see below.

89 The cult of Artemis *Kolainis* at Athens is attested by the 1st-century AD dedicatory inscription *IG* II/III³ 4, 1069, from the Olympieion, and the 2nd-century AD dedication *IG* II² 4791 from the Acropolis. The existence of two sanctuaries of Artemis *Kolainis* in Attica is also suggested by the two inscriptions in the theatre of Dionysos, *IG* II/III³ 4, 1976 and *IG* II/III³ 4, 1907, which reference two different seats reserved to the priestess of Artemis *Kolainis*. For the testimonies related to the cult of Artemis *Amarysia*, see below.

90 Cf. Viscardi 2015, 239 and Brulé 1987, 190.

Epithets Referring to Regions Outside Attica

Amarysia

In Attica, there are also epithets that refer to the origin of some specific cults of Artemis from other geographical areas. This is the case with the epithet of Artemis *Amarysia* which is attested in Attica by two boundary stones from a sanctuary located in the ancient deme of Athmonon[91] and by one of the ten "Attic Stelai" on which the poletai recorded the confiscated and sold properties belonging to Hermocopids and profaners of the Mysteries. The inscription specifically references a property near a temple of Artemis *Amarysia* in the deme of Kydathenaion, north of the Athenian Acropolis.[92]

According to Pausanias, the cult-epithet *Amarysia* is derived from the city of Amarynthos in Euboea.[93] Here, Artemis had an important sanctuary.[94] Stephanus of Byzantium, on the other hand, identifies Amarynthos as an island in Euboea which was named after a hunter with the same name.[95] As in the cases of Brauron and Mounichos, the connection between hero, toponym, and cult-epithet, testifies to the historical and cultural importance of this cult within the region.

The spread of this toponymic cult-epithet throughout Attica and Euboea also testifies the relationship between these two regions, but the causes behind this spread are not known. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume a connection between the cult's spread and the presence of foreigners in Attica. According to Strabo, there was a district called Eretria in Athens that, in his time, was occupied by an agora.[96] Emanuele Greco has suggested that the name of this district may indicate the presence of a community of resident foreigners from Eretria, possibly merchants; he suggests that the Athenian Eretria may have lain between the Agora and the Roman Agora.[97] This area between the two *agorai* was included within the ancient deme of Kydathenaion,[98] where the existence of a temple of Artemis *Amarysia* seems to confirm the scholar's hypothesis.

The presence of foreigners who were allowed to live and erect temples within Attica is not surprising. Another example of this phenomenon is that of the goddess

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91 *IG* II/III[3] 4, 1876–1877 (2nd century c. AD).
92 *IG* I[3] 426.
93 Paus. I. 31, 4–5.
94 Amarynthos was also the name of the personification of a river, who was linked to Artemis as *parthenos* and *kourotrophos*, see Breglia Pulci Doria 1975, 39–40. On the cult of Artemis Amarysia in Euboea, see Knoepfler 1972, Knoepfler 1988, Brulé 1993, Knoepfler *et al.* 2018; Reber *et al.* 2019.
95 St. Byz. sv. Ἀμάρυνθος: see Brulé 2009.
96 Str. X. 1, 10.
97 Greco 2001, 34.
98 See Lohmann 2006.

Bendis who was honoured by Thracian communities located in the region.[99] In the same way, one might assume that the existence of the two cult places of Artemis *Amarysia* was originally due to the presence of two communities of Eretrians at Athmonon and Kydathenaion. However, this is not certain. The 5th-century BC inscription IG I[3] 426 identifies the origin of the cult of Artemis *Amarysia* at Kydathenaion as being from Athmonon. This shows a link between the two cult places of Artemis *Amarysia*. The sanctuary at Athmonon may have been the oldest and principal cult site of Artemis *Amarysia* in Attica while the temple at Kydathenaion was later founded in order to satisfy specific religious needs. Indeed, ancient authors identify the Amarysia as an Athenian festival.[100] These testimonies attest to the state's interest in this cult. The presence of a community of Eretrians may have influenced the choice of Kydathenaion as the location of the urban temple. However, the reason behind the presence of a temple of Artemis *Amarysia* in Athens can also be related to the desire to connect the *polis* with its countryside.[101]

Pheraia

According to Pausanias, the Athenians also honoured Artemis *Pheraia*. The cult-epithet derived from the city of Pherae in Thessaly, and the goddess was also honoured at Argos and Sicyon.[102] Giuseppina Paola Viscardi identifies Artemis *Pheraia* with Artemis *Mounichia*,[103] but not much can be said about the cult of Artemis *Pheraia* in Athens.[104]

Tauropolos and Taurike

Before concluding this presentation of the toponymic cult-epithets of Artemis referring to regions outside Attica, it is necessary to mention the overlap of meaning between the epithets *Tauropolos* and *Taurike*. Ancient authors connect the epithet *Tauropolos* to either Artemis' relationship with bulls or to her provenience from Tauris.[105]

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99 On the introduction of the cult of Bendis in Attica, see Simms 1985, 7–58; Beschi 1990 and Beschi 2002.

100 See Paus. I. 31, 4–5; Hsch. 3471 sv. Ἀμαρύσια; Pht. 1134 sv. Ἀμαρύσια.

101 Cf. de Polignac 1995, 81–88.

102 Paus. II. 23, 5.

103 Viscardi 2015, 142.

104 For the goddesses En(n)odia and Pheraia and their assimilation with Artemis outside Attica, see Chrysostomou 1998.

105 See S. Aj. 172; EM sv. Ταυροπόλον (747, 49); Suid. sv. Ταυροπόλα.

Semantically, the epithet *Tauropolos* originated from the word ταῦρος, which means "bull",[106] plus -πολος. This is a nominal form of the verb πέλομαι, which is associated with pastoral, agricultural or religious activities.[107] Together, these define the epithet *Tauropolos* as a functional cult-epithet linked to human activity and fertility.[108]

Nevertheless, the epithet *Tauropolos* in Attica also took a different meaning connected to the provenience of the goddess from the land of the Taurians. This meaning arises from the overlap between the epithets *Tauropolos* and *Taurike*. Artemis is called *Taurike* by Pausanias, who remembers the presence of her cult image at Brauron, Sparta, and Susa.[109] The toponymic epithet *Taurike* comes from the area of modern southern Crimea which overlooks the Black Sea. Annalisa Lo Monaco recently argued that the overlap between the meaning of these two epithets originates from Euripides' general practice of etymologizing the names of places, tribes, or nations by connecting them to characters from tragedy. Euripides gave the epithet *Tauropolos* to the goddess arrived in Attica at the end of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Here, the first part of the epithet *Tauropolos* refers to the land of Tauris, from where the image came, while the last part *-polos*, originates from the verb περιπολεῖν, which refers to the wanderings of Orestes across Greece.[110] The scholar has also pointed out that the adjective *Taurike* was not exclusive to Artemis *Tauropolos*, but was also used to indicate the origin of the cult in different areas. Here, Artemis was defined by different epithets which developed from local traditions.[111] In Attica, Artemis *Taurike* became Artemis *Tauropolos* after Euripides linked the eponymous image of the land of Taurians to the cult of Artemis in the sanctuary at Halae Araphenides. The consequent overlap of meaning between the epithets *Taurike* and *Tauropolos* determines the complexity characterising the meaning of the epithet *Tauropolos*, which in Attica describes the goddess by defining her provenience as well as her power and function.

It is noteworthy that the cult epithet *Tauropolos* that in Attica recalls the origin of the goddess from Tauris, appears to be closely linked to Attica when it is transplanted to Amphipolis. This characteristic is clearly expressed in the testimony of Antipater of Thessalonika who highlights the link between the two cults of Artemis *Brauronia* and Artemis *Tauropolos*. In this paper, it is not possible to dwell on the

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106 Hom. Il. II. 481. Cf. Chantraine 1969, sv. Ταῦρος.

107 Chantraine 1969 sv πέλομαι.

108 Cf. Lo Monaco 2019, 533.

109 Paus. I. 23, 7; Paus. I. 33, 1; Paus. III. 7, 8.

110 Lo Monaco 2019, 334. Wilson 1968, 70.

111 For a complete analysis of the evidence related to Artemis *Tauropolos*, see: Lo Monaco 2019; and especially Lo Monaco 2019, 533–538 on the meaning of the cult-epithet *Tauropolos*. On the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos at Halae Araphenides, see: Kalogeropoulos 2013.

problems that led to the association of these two cults.[112] However, their link, as expressed by Antipater of Thessalonika, rather than saying something about the cult-epithet *Brauronia*, seems to emphasise the different values assumed at Amphipolis by the epithet *Tauropolos*. The presence of the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Amphipolis is connected to the origins of the city, which was founded as an Athenian colony in 437 BC. The sanctuary of Artemis *Tauropolos* was founded by the oikist Hagnon, who was originally from Steira, on the east coast of Attica, not far from the sanctuaries of Artemis *Brauronia* and Artemis *Tauropolos*. The two sanctuaries of Artemis which were mythically connected at the end of the Iphigenia in Tauris. According to G.E. Peasley, Hagnon's establishment of the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Amphipolis can be seen as an illustration of the Athenian attachment to their local cults in the countryside,[113] and Manuela Mari believes that the choice to introduce the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* was likely connected to the desire to install a cult from the motherland which could offer mediation with the local gods.[114] The testimony of Antipater of Thessalonika shows that memory of the Attic origin of the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Amphipolis was still alive in the 1st century BC. Moreover, it is worth noting the centrality assumed by the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* outside Attica. If in Attica Artemis *Tauropolos* was honoured in a sanctuary located on the edge of the region, the same goddess at Amphipolis had her sanctuary in a central position, on the acropolis.[115] In both cases, the presence of the sanctuary refers to the polis. In Attica, the sanctuary placed at the borders marks the limits of the territory controlled by Athens, and outside of Attica shows the power of the *polis* and its expansion.

Conclusion

According to François de Polignac: "the creation of a sanctuary stabilised the cult, rooting the ritual in the earth, in this parcel of land consecrated to the deity and situated at once within the surrounding territory and apart from it: the site was, par excellence, a place of mediation between the men and the gods who, together, were attached to this particular territory".[116] The toponymic cult epithets of Artemis in Attica strengthened this relationship between Artemis and her territories. This connection between Artemis and specific geographical areas becomes even clearer if

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112 On the relationship between the sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* at Brauron and the sanctuary of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Halai Araphenides, see Guarisco 2015, 99–123.

113 Peasley 1989, 197.

114 Mari 2012, 146.

115 See Mari 2012, 125 with previous literature. On the centrality of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Amphipolis, see also Lo Monaco 2019, 545–546.

116 de Polignac 1995, 20.

we look at her functions as a deity of the margins, protector of the borders, and mediator between the civilised space and wilderness. As part of these functions, she presided over initiation rituals carried out by young girls and boys in her sanctuaries located both in suburban and extra-urban areas. In these sanctuaries, her kourotrophic function overlapped with her protective function over the territory and its frontiers.

Significantly, some of the sanctuaries in which the Artemis worshipped was defined by a toponymic epithet were located at border areas. The sanctuary of Artemis *Agrotera/Agraia* was located at one such border area at the limit of Athens. Artemis *Brauronia* and Artemis *Mounichia* marked the frontiers of Attica at eastern and western borders respectively, and Artemis *Oinaia* was likely situated near the north-western border.

This link between a deity and territory becomes even stronger when the foundation of a sanctuary is connected to a mythical founder. The link established between the eponymous hero and the foundation of a sanctuary roots the cult to the territory both in terms of space and time. Within this framework, the foundation of a sanctuary also coincides with the organisation of the territory understood as an area of land that is considered as belonging to a particular community/state and the definition of its boundaries. This connection between the political and religious organisation of a territory is made even more explicit by frequent ambiguities left by ancient sources in regards to whether an area received its name from an epithet of Artemis, or Artemis received her epithet from an existing placename. The same connection with the territory is expressed when a cult is moved from an area to another area. This occurs as a result of a series of mechanisms of diffusion that reflect a community's need to harness or avert the power of a particular deity.[117] Displaced toponymic cult-epithets of Artemis testifies to the spread of specific cults following the establishment of political and commercial contacts between different regions. These epithets had the function of establishing and maintaining a link between the motherland and the new territory.

In conclusion, the analysis of the toponymic and topographical cult-epithets presented here, although limited to the cult of Artemis in Attica, helps to reveal the complexities that characterise the panorama of her epithets.

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117 Davis 2007, 62.

List of Abbreviations

BMC Ionia	Head, Barclay V. / Poole, Reginald S., *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia*, London, 1892.
CGRN	Carbon, Jan-Mathieu / Peels, Saskia / Pirenne-Delforge, Vinciane, *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)*, Liège, 2016– (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be, consulted in [2021]).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873–.
IPArk	Thür, Gerhard / Taeuber, Hans, *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien (IPArk)*, Wien, 1994.
LSCG	Sokolowski, Franciszek, *Lois sacrés des cités grecques*, Paris, 1969.
NGSL[2]	Lupu, Eran, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents (NGSL*[2]*)* (2nd Edition with a Postscript), Leiden, 2009.
Moretti, *ISE*	Moretti, Luigi, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche, I*, Firenze, 1967.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden, 1923–.
SNG	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, 1931–.

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Alessio Sassù

Alla ricerca della "Buona Fama": *Eukleia* tra epiclesi di Artemide e teonimo indipendente

Tra gli aspetti del politeismo greco il ruolo degli epiteti è uno dei più interessanti, senza dubbio quello che permette di cogliere le diverse sfumature cultuali e di istituire analogie e differenze tra le divinità[1]. Importanti studi come quelli di P. Brulé[2] e di R. Parker[3] hanno gettato le basi per una riflessione ampia sull'argomento e costituiscono dei punti di partenza imprescindibili, tanto nella metodologia quanto nell'impostazione del "come" approcciarsi a un tema così complesso. Alla luce di queste considerazioni s'inserisce l'argomento di questo contributo che si propone di riconsiderare la figura di Eukleia nella sua relazione con Artemide con la quale talvolta è identificata[4]. Artemide Eukleia rientra tra i "doppi nomi cultuali" che possono creare qualche problema interpretativo quando si cerca di definire la natura di molte divinità: nella maggior parte dei casi l'elemento secondario in questa categoria di nomi serve a precisare la sfera d'azione della divinità[5], ma spesso le qualità astratte che si trovano associate possono essere invocate in altri contesti, come se si trattasse di divinità indipendenti[6].

Nel caso specifico, la documentazione epigrafica e letteraria mostra come in alcune città greche Eukleia sia un'epiclesi di Artemide, mentre in altre appaia come una personificazione o una divinità autonoma, dotata di un tempio e di un proprio sacerdote. Eukleia rappresenta la "Buona Fama" che deriva da imprese meritevoli che hanno conseguenze positive sulla comunità; nei poemi omerici il termine *eukleia* compare in iniziative che comportano la buona reputazione del singolo[7], e ancora dai tragediografi di V secolo a.C. questa parola è utilizzata in riferimento alla buona reputazione nelle relazioni tra privati[8]. Eukleia è pertanto la fama che accompagna il singolo nelle imprese militari, nelle gare e nelle competizioni ma anche nelle unioni matrimoniali propiziando la futura prole. Questa

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1 Desidero ringraziare gli organizzatori del convegno per l'invito e per l'opportunità a contribuire con questa ricerca. Ai *referee* anonimi, inoltre, va la mia gratitudine per le fruttuose osservazioni e i graditi suggerimenti.
2 Brulé 1998.
3 Parker 2017, 1–32; Parker 2003.
4 In generale su Eukleia si veda: Nilsson 1906, 237–238; Jessen 1907; Guarducci 1938; Hampe 1955; Kossatz-Deissmann 1988.
5 Parker 2005, 221–222.
6 Cfr. Stafford 2000.
7 *Il.* 8, 285; 17, 415; *Od.* 14, 402; 20, 331.
8 S. *Aj.* 436; 462–465. Nell'*Ippolito* di Euripide, Fedra è costantemente preoccupata per la propria reputazione (*eukleia*), dalla quale dipende anche quella dei suoi figli (Braund 1980).

dimensione civica di *Eukleia* rientra perfettamente tra le caratteristiche proprie del culto di Artemide ma dalla tradizione letteraria è noto anche uno Zeus Eukleios, il cui ruolo sembra comunque legato alla sfera del matrimonio, in particolare a quello tra Minosse e Dexithea[9]. Il quadro che emerge dalla documentazione letteraria ed epigrafica appare quindi molto complesso e soggetto a interpretazioni diverse, per via delle specificità cultuali locali, di cui purtroppo poco si conosce. Alla luce di queste considerazioni si riesaminerà la documentazione proveniente dalle città greche, nel tentativo di indagare la natura di Eukleia e di analizzare i rapporti con Artemide.

Beozia

Le più antiche testimonianze su Artemide Eukleia in Beozia provengono da Tebe e risalgono alla seconda metà del V secolo a.C. Nell'*Edipo Re* Sofocle invoca Artemide Eukleia insieme a Atena e ad Apollo per allontanare l'epidemia che aveva colpito la città, e ricorda che la divinità, protettrice di Tebe, era venerata nei pressi di un trono circolare nell'agorà[10]. Sempre a Tebe, Skopas aveva realizzato la statua di culto in onore di Artemide Eukleia per un tempio che doveva trovarsi nei pressi dell'agora e che potrebbe essere stato realizzato sul più antico luogo di culto ricordato da Sofocle[11]. All'interno del recinto sacro si trovavano le tombe di due giovani tebane che si erano sacrificate per favorire la vittoria militare dei Tebani contro gli Orcomeni: Alkis e Androkleia ("colei che possiede la gloria di un uomo") avevano preso il posto del padre Antipoinos, ottemperando così a un oracolo di Artemide Eukleia e ricevendo in cambio l'onore di essere sepolte all'interno del recinto sacro accanto alla divinità[12].

Le notizie sul culto di questa divinità in Beozia si arricchiscono con il racconto plutarcheo di un cittadino di Platea, Euchida, onorato con una sepoltura all'interno del santuario di Artemide Eukleia dopo aver compiuto un'impresa degna di lode[13]. A seguito della vittoria dei Greci sui Persiani, l'oracolo di Delfi aveva infatti pre-

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9 B. *Epin.* I, 116. Sebbene si tratti di un'attestazione letteraria che non ricorre altrove, come spesso accade (Parker 2003, 173–174), questa testimonianza lascia aperta la possibilità che tale epiclesi avesse avuto in origine una sua indipendenza.

10 S. *OT* 161: Ἄρτεμιν, ἃ κυκλόεντ'ἀγορᾶς θρόνον εὐκλέα θάσσει; Finglass 2018, 215–216.

11 Paus. IX, 17, 1. Il tempio potrebbe essere stato costruito nel IV secolo a.C. contestualmente alla dedica della statua di Skopas (Schachter 1981, 104). A Tebe, nell'*Ismenion*, lo scultore avrebbe realizzato anche la statua di Atena Pronaia: Paus. IX, 10, 2; Calcani 2009, 19 e 61–62.

12 Il sacrificio di una vergine che s'immola a favore della comunità in particolari momenti di crisi rientra in una tradizione che trova confronti anche ad Atene nel sacrificio mitico di una delle figlie di Leos in Grecia; Bonnechere 1994, 79–80 e 84.

13 Plu. *Arist.* 20, 4–6.

scritto di dedicare un altare a Zeus Eleutherios, non prima di aver spento i focolari contaminati dai Persiani; Euchida fu incaricato dagli abitanti di Platea di attingere il nuovo fuoco presso l'altare di Apollo a Delfi e, dopo essersi purificato, fece ritorno a Platea nello stesso giorno, morendo per la fatica sotto gli occhi dei suoi concittadini. Come riconoscimento per questa impresa, quindi, essi decisero di onorarlo con una sepoltura all'interno del santuario di Artemide Eukleia a Platea.

A questo punto, però, Plutarco informa il lettore sull'esistenza di una tradizione alternativa riguardo Eukleia. Se per la maggior parte dei Greci era identificata con Artemide, per altri Eukleia era la figlia di Eracle e Myrto, una giovane vergine morta in età prenunziale e venerata in tutte le piazze delle città della Beozia e della Locride, dove aveva una statua e un altare e dove riceveva sacrifici da parte di giovani coppie in procinto di sposarsi[14]. Questi sacrifici prenunziali, funzionali ad assicurare una futura fertilità coniugale, rendevano Eukleia una divinità locale particolarmente apprezzata in Beozia e nella Locride e dalle caratteristiche simili a quelle di Artemide[15]. Del culto poco si conosce ma è indubbio che fosse legato alla costruzione di un'identità comunitaria, pur non avendo Eukleia un tempio dedicato, ma solo un altare e una statua come per alcune figure eroiche ateniesi[16]. Alla luce di queste considerazioni, sfuggono però gli elementi per riconoscere l'intervento di questa eroina locale nelle vicende di Alkis e Androkleia o in quella di Euchida. In queste vicende la fama è la conseguenza di imprese che hanno un legame con la salvezza di una comunità e con una vittoria militare, quella dei Tebani contro gli Orcomeni e quella dei Greci contro i Persiani. Eukleia appare in sostanza come epiclesi di Artemide indicante la fama che deriva da iniziative che determinano un grande prestigio per la comunità: come le due fanciulle tebane sostituiscono il padre Antipoinos ottemperando così a quanto stabilito dall'oracolo di Artemide, allo stesso modo Euchida porta a compimento la missione indicata dall'oracolo di Apollo in tempi eccezionali.

Sullo sfondo è possibile intravedere il ruolo di Artemide e il suo legame con la guerra e ciò non sorprende se si considera che tale divinità era spesso invocata a difesa delle città o per sconfiggere un nemico[17]. A Platea la vittoria sui Persiani rappresenta l'occasione per celebrare il ruolo dei Plateesi nella guerra e si traduce da un lato nell'istituzione del culto di Zeus Eleutherios e dall'altro nella realizzazione di due templi, quello di Atena Areia e, verosimilmente, quello di Artemide Eukleia[18]. Il

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14 Plu. *Arist.* 20, 7.

15 Meno chiaro è invece il carattere infero di Eukleia da alcuni ipotizzato, sulla base di una somiglianza dei nomi Eukleia – Eukles (Guarducci 1938), quest'ultima una divinità attestata sule laminette orfiche provenienti da Thurii e identificata con Ade, cfr. Bremmer 2013.

16 Sul ruolo delle sepolture dell'agora di Atene, cfr. Lippolis 2007–2008.

17 Ellinger 2002.

18 Plu. *Arist.* 20, 6–7; Schachter 1981, 102.

primo fu costruito all'indomani della distruzione persiana avvenuta nel 480 a.C.[19], mentre del tempio di Artemide Eukleia non si hanno altre informazioni; il collegamento con le Guerre Persiane è però garantito proprio dalla vicenda di Euchida e dal fatto che Artemide Eukleia è connessa a rituali che hanno a che vedere con il "fuoco nuovo" e con la rigenerazione della comunità. Come ad Atene all'indomani di Maratona fu istituita una corsa con le torce in onore di Pan[20], è significativo che a Platea l'importanza del fuoco sacro e della "rinascita" sia affidata all'impresa di Euchida, il quale dopo la vittoria del 479 a.C. aveva riportato da Delfi il nuovo fuoco per l'altare di Zeus Eleutherios[21].

Atene

Ad Atene, pur avendo a disposizione un numero maggiore di dati, la natura di Eukleia è controversa[22]. Il fatto che i legami tra Eukleia e Artemide non siano mai esplicitati nelle fonti ha indotto alcuni studiosi a sostenere che la prima fosse in realtà una divinità autonoma, il cui culto sarebbe arrivato ad Atene dalla Beozia, attraverso un processo di rielaborazione del culto beotico di Artemide Eukleia[23], o da Egina, durante negli anni dell'incorporazione della città nella Lega Navale del 458/7 a.C., dove questa figura rappresentava la personificazione della "Buona Fama"[24]. Nel XIII epinicio dedicato alla vittoria di Pitea nel pancrazio, Bacchilide descrive Egina sotto il governo di Arete, Eukleia e Eunomia[25]. La "Buona Fama" e il "Buon Governo" appaiono qui come personificazioni che garantiscono il corretto svolgimento delle funzioni politiche e civiche, e anche la possibilità di celebrare la gloria degli eroi e degli atleti vitto-

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19 Realizzato il bottino di Maratona (Paus. IX, 4, 1) o, più verosimilmente con i proventi derivanti dalla vittoria di Platea (Plu. *Arist*. 20, 1–3), il tempio di Atena Areia custodiva la raffigurazione di Arimnesto, capo dei Plateesi a Maratona e nella battaglia contro Mardonio: Paus. IX, 4,2; cfr. Yates 2019, 168–180.
20 Hdt. VI, 105; Simon 1983, 53; Parker 1996, 163–168; Jung 2006, 38–49.
21 È molto probabile, inoltre, che la leggenda di Euchida avesse costituito l'*aition* per l'istituzione delle Lampadoforie nelle feste in onore di Zeus Eleutherios a Platea (Graf 1985, 234–235). Le feste sono documentate a partire dall'età ellenistica (decreto in onore di Glauco, Étienne/Piérart 1975; Jung 2006, 302–306) e sarebbero state istituite solo dopo la restaurazione di Platea, successiva alla distruzione tebana del 373 a.C., quando i Plateesi rientrarono in possesso delle loro terre grazie a Filippo II (Schachter 1986, 138–141; Yates 2019, 71–80 e 223–226).
22 Per Eukleia ad Atene: Parker 1996, 155, 232, 234.
23 Nilsson 1906, 494.
24 Hampe 1955.
25 B. *Epin*. 13, ll. 182–189: καὶ μὰν φερεκυδέα ν[ᾶσον / Αἰακοῦ τιμαῖ, σὺν Εὐ-/κλείαι δὲ φιλοστεφ [άνωι] / πόλιν κυβερναῖ, / Εὐνομία τε σαόφρων, / ἅ θαλίας τε λέλογχεν / ἄστεά τ'εὐσεβεων / ἀνδρῶν ἐν εἰ[ρ]ήναι φυλάσσει.

riosi[26]. In un altro epinicio la fama (eukleia) è la gloria eterna che deriva da iniziative valorose e che si raggiunge solo attraverso lo sforzo e l'impegno, concetto presente anche in alcuni frammenti attribuiti a Euripide[27]. La vittoria in una competizione poetica o atletica si concretizza nel conferimento di una corona che non a caso è spesso associata a Eukleia: Sofocle[28] e Euripide[29] menzionano una "corona di eukleia" in relazione alle imprese di singoli meritevoli di gloria, mentre Bacchilide definisce Eukleia "amante della corona" (φιλοστεφάνος)[30]. Su alcuni vasi, per lo più appartenenti al circolo del "Pittore di Meidias" (410 e il 400 a.C.)[31], Eukleia compare nell'atto di essere incoronata da Nike o nell'atto di porgere una corona alla personificazione dell'ordine morale e sociale (Harmonia)[32]; altrove è invece intenta a intrecciare una corona per Elena, simbolo alla buona reputazione che accompagna la moglie di Menelao[33]. Nelle raffigurazioni dove Eukleia si accompagna ad Afrodite e ad altre personificazioni, il concetto di buona fama ha invece a che fare con la sfera nunziale[34], ma può anche assumere una connotazione politica in scene dove Eukleia e Eunomia appaiono come virtù civiche necessarie al corretto svolgimento della vita pubblica.

L'associazione tra queste figure è stata interpretata come indizio di un culto comune attivo ad Atene negli ultimi anni del V secolo a.C. Le uniche testimonianze provengono però da documenti epigrafici di età romana che menzionano un unico sacerdote per entrambe[35] e uno ἱερὸν Εὐκλείας καὶ Εὐνομίας[36]. L'edificio figurava tra quelli danneggiati forse dal sacco sillano e, poi, restaurato nell'ambito del programma architettonico augusteo volto a ripristinare i più importanti edifici connessi

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26 Sevieri 2007, 247–248.

27 B. *Epin.* 1, 184. Cfr. *TrGF.* fr. 134 e fr. 454.

28 S. *Aj.* 463–465: πῶς με τλήσεταί ποτ'εἰσιδεῖν γυμνὸν φανέντα τῶν ἀριστείων ἄτερ, ὧν αὐτὸς ἔσχε στέφανον εὐκλείας μέγαν.

29 E. *Supp.* 315: πόλει παρόν σοι στέφανον εὐκλείας λαβεῖν; cfr. *TrGF.* fr. 853: καὶ ταῦτα δρῶν κάλλιστον ἕξεις στέφανον εὐκλείας ἀεί.

30 Cfr. *supra* n. 25.

31 Sulle raffigurazioni di Eukleia in associazione con altre personificazioni o divinità, Shapiro 1993, 70–78 e Smith 2011, 71–76.

32 Così ad esempio su un coperchio di *lekanis* conservato a Napoli (410–400 a.C.), Shapiro 1993, 73 n. 26; Smith 2011, 166, VP 45.

33 *Amphoriskos* attribuito al pittore di Heimarmene conservato a Berlino, Smith 2011, 154, VP 16; Shapiro 1993, 73–78.

34 Smith 2011, 75; cfr. Sabetai 1997.

35 *IG* II² 3738; *IG* II² 4193, Q. Trebellio Rufo sacerdote di Eukleia e Eunomia (85–94 d.C.); *IG* II³ 4, 1898, iscrizione sul sedile della proedria del Teatro di Dioniso che attesta la presenza di un sacerdote di Eukleia e Eunomia (età adrianea).

36 *IG* II² 1035. 53 = *SEG* 26. 121. La datazione dell'epigrafe all'età augustea (Schmalz 2007–2008, 44) è dibattuta. Per un diverso inquadramento cronologico, Parigi 2018 (I secolo a.C.).

con la memoria delle Guerre Persiane[37]. Secondo Pausania il tempio si trovava nei pressi dell'agorà, non lontano dall'*Eleusinion* urbano, e fu costruito con il cospicuo bottino sottratto ai Persiani a Maratona[38], con il quale furono realizzati altri monumenti e *anathema* ad Atene e Delfi[39].

Proprio il collegamento con Maratona rende plausibile l'ipotesi che la costruzione del tempio facesse parte del programma architettonico di Cimone[40]. Oltre alla grande stoà Poikile in cui erano raffigurate le imprese degli Ateniesi, di Milziade, e dell'eroe patrio Teseo[41] a Maratona, è possibile che Cimone avesse fatto realizzare anche il tempio di Eukleia per esaltare una vittoria che era della città ma soprattutto del padre: l'eco di questa impresa si protrasse per lungo tempo e, anzi, gli Ateniesi iniziarono ben presto a percepire questa vittoria come propria, grazie al sostegno all'oratoria attica che contribuì a creare l'immagine di Atene quale "paladina dei Greci" nelle Guerre Persiane[42]. La motivazione ideologica che potrebbe aver spinto Cimone a realizzare l'edificio in onore di Eukleia risiede forse nella celebrazione del ruolo svolto da Artemide nella guerra[43], e più nello specifico a Maratona: una sorta di "risposta" al tempio di Artemide Aristoboule ("dell'Ottimo Consiglio") che Temistocle aveva costruito nei pressi della sua casa nel demo di Melite e dove aveva posto un ritratto di sé esaltando così il suo personale legame con la divinità[44]. Un ulteriore indizio a favore della costruzione del tempio all'indomani della vittoria del 490 a.C. potrebbe inoltre ricavarsi da un ditirambo di Pindaro, datato tra il

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37 Anche se un'attenzione particolare si riscontra per gli edifici che avevano una relazione con la vittoria di Salamina (Spawforth 2012, 107–112), l'intervento di Augusto fu certamente di più ampio respiro.

38 Paus. I, 14, 5. Di recente è stato proposto di riconoscere l'edificio di culto con i resti del Tempio ionico dell'Areopago. Sulle diverse ipotesi si veda da ultimo Di Cesare 2015, 215 con bibliografia.

39 Gauer 1968, 70–71. Oltre il tempio di Eukleia, con il bottino di Maratona furono realizzati il Tesoro degli Ateniesi a Delfi (Paus. X, 11, 5), gli scudi dorati sul tempio di Apollo (Paus. X, 19, 4), le statue opera di Fidia (Paus. X, 10, 1–2) e, infine, la grandiosa statua bronzea di Atena sull'Acropoli (Paus. I, 28, 2 e IX, 4, 1).

40 Di Cesare 2015, 215–216; *contra* Jung 2006, 59–61 (età ellenistica).

41 Paus. I, 15, 2–4. Sul ciclo figurativo da ultimo Di Cesare 2015, 182–192.

42 Lys. 2, 47; cfr. anche Isoc. 14, 59. Lo stesso Lisia riferisce che a Maratona gli Ateniesi avevano combattuto da soli a nome di tutti i Greci contro i Persiani (Lys. 2, 20–26; Dem. 60, 10); Steinbock 2013, 49–55; Jung 2013, 257–262. In realtà a Maratona aveva combattuto anche un piccolo contingente di Plateesi (Hdt. VI, 108), ma il loro ricordo fu cancellato dall'oratoria ateniese negli anni in cui Atene creava la propria immagine di città egemone della Grecia. Sul punto Steinbock 2013, 128–131 (con bibliografia).

43 Monaco 2016; Gartziou-Tatti 2013; Ellinger 2002; Parker 1996, 152–155. L'aspetto guerriero di Artemide connesso alle vicende delle Guerre Persiane è stato di recente ridimensionato sulla base della revisione dei reperti rinvenuti nei santuari (Graml 2019), ma non è scontato che la venerazione di Artemide in connessione con questo evento storico abbia lasciato chiare tracce materiali (cfr. anche Arrington 2020).

44 Per il ruolo di Artemide nella battaglia di Salamina e in quella di Capo Artemisio: Plu. *Them.* 8,4; Plu. *De gloria Atheniensium* 349. Sul tempio di Artemide Aristoboule, in sintesi Carando 2014.

498 a.C. e il 446 a.C.[45]. In questo componimento dedicato agli Ateniesi, Pindaro menziona alcuni dei principali monumenti della città che si trovavano nell'agora[46], definendo quest'ultima πανδαίδαλόν τ᾽ ᾽εὐκλέ᾽ ἀγοράν: il riferimento è certamente agli edifici presenti nello spezio pubblico che conferivano un'ottima reputazione all'agora, ma non è escluso che la scelta dell'aggettivo possa ricondursi anche alla presenza del tempio.

Ad ogni modo, pur essendo il collegamento con Maratona garantito dalla testimonianza di Pausania, non è chiaro quando fu costruito l'edificio e se fosse dedicato alla sola Eukleia o a Artemide Eukleia. Dalla documentazione letteraria ed epigrafica non emerge alcun legame esplicito tra le due figure, tanto che Eukleia appare come una figura autonoma e come personificazione della "Buona Fama". Una relazione con Artemide s'intravede però nella celebrazione della vittoria di Maratona e forse anche nel ruolo dell'efebia: tanto il culto di Eukleia, quanto quello di Artemide Agrotera, furono infatti introdotti ad Atene all'indomani delle Guerre Persiane. Prima della battaglia del 490 a.C. gli Ateniesi avevano promesso di sacrificare ad Artemide Agrotera, in un santuario non molto distante dalla città, una capra per ogni Persiano ucciso; quello che doveva essere un sacrificio occasionale si trasformò ben presto in una cerimonia annuale, nella quale prendevano parte gli efebi e l'arconte polemarco[47]: a quest'ultimo spettava il compito di sacrificare la cifra simbolica di cinquecento vittime in onore di Artemide Agrotera ed Enyalos[48].

Alcune epigrafi di età ellenistica attestano che gli efebi scortavano in armi la processione che si recava al santuario di Artemide ad Agrai dove, certamente nel II secolo d.C., dedicavano i premi di una gara che consisteva in una corsa lungo il "*dromos verso Agrai*"[49]. Questa processione era il primo evento ufficiale celebrato dagli efebi per ricordare l'impresa di Maratona ed è verosimile che prendesse avvio dall'agora, forse proprio dal tempio di Eukleia che con Artemide Agrotera condivideva l'intento celebrativo della vittoria del 490 a.C. Di questo legame, inoltre, potrebbe esserci traccia in un'iscrizione di età romana che riporta la dedica di un gruppo di efebi a un certo Archelao, al contempo cosmeta e sacerdote di Eukleia e Eunomia[50].

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45 Pi. *Fr.* 75. La datazione del ditirambo è dibattuta. Sul punto Neer/Kurke 2014, in particolare 529 n. 2.

46 I due studiosi tuttavia, in maniera non condivisibile, optano per ubicare i monumenti menzionati da Pindaro nell'*archaia agora* (Neer/Kurke 2014, 561 e ss.).

47 X. *Anab.* 3, 2, 11–12; 9, 32, 9; cfr. Ar. *Eq.* 658ss. Le feste erano note con il nome di *Charisteria* e si svolgevano il giorno 6 del mese di Boedromione (Pélékidis 1962, 219–220; Simon 1983, 82–83). Per Artemide Agrotera si veda anche il contributo di M. Giuseppetti in questo volume.

48 Ellinger 2002, 315–316; Gartziou-Tatti 2013, 92–98. L'attività del polemarco è attestata almeno dal IV secolo a.C.: Arist. *Ath.* 58, 1; X. *Anab.* 3, 2, 12; Plu. *Mor.* 862a; Aelian. *VH* 2, 25; *scholia* a A. Eq. 660.

49 Da ultima Monaco 2016, 725–728.

50 *IG* II[2] 3738 (II sec. d.C.). Sulla riorganizzazione dell'efebia in età ellenistica, Friend 2019; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007; Pélékidis 1962, 183–209.

Nel quadro finora delineato va infine segnalata anche una notizia che potrebbe avere una qualche attinenza con il culto. Nel *De Gloria Atheniensium* Plutarco riporta la storia del soldato-maratoneta Eucles che subito dopo la battaglia di Maratona avrebbe riportato ad Atene la notizia della vittoria[51]. La similitudine con la vicenda di Euchida a Platea è evidente, come del resto il legame con la tradizione erodotea incentrata sulla figura di Philippides, il maratoneta ateniese inviato a Sparta per chiedere il sostegno dei Lacedemoni nella celebre battaglia[52]. Secondo L. Athanassaki, il racconto plutarcheo nasconderebbe un interesse della famiglia di Erode Attico nel creare un legame con Maratona attraverso le gesta di Eucles, il cui nome coincideva proprio con quello del primo membro della famiglia[53]. Questa pratica s'inserisce bene nel nuovo panorama religioso ateniese, caratterizzato da un crescente interesse delle *élites* locali romane nella ripresa e nell'appropriazione di tradizioni e culti molto antichi, tra cui anche quello di Eukleia[54]. Pertanto appare molto probabile che la figura di Eukleia fosse stata utilizzata in chiave propagandistica per rafforzare il legame con l'impresa del 490 a.C.[55], non solo attraverso il sacerdozio in onore di Eukleia e Eunomia ma forse anche attraverso qualche iniziativa di tipo evergetico nei riguardi del tempio sotto forma di restauri o di dediche.

Delfi, Corinto, Paro, Verghina

Altrove in Grecia la documentazione epigrafica e letteraria attesta la presenza di Artemide con l'epiclesi Eukleia. Come in Beozia, anche a Delfi Artemide Eukleia mostra il suo aspetto di divinità tutelare e dispensatrice della "buona fama" in ambito familiare. Un'iscrizione della fratria di Labyadai ricordava tra le feste abituali del santuario le *Artimitia*, le *Laphria* e, per l'appunto, le *Eukleia* durante le quali i membri della fratria deliberavano sui doni ricevuti in occasione delle nascite e da coloro che erano in procinto di sposarsi[56]. A Corinto, invece, era noto un luogo di culto di Artemide Eukleia del quale non si hanno evidenze archeologiche, ma che potrebbe trovarsi nell'area vicino al *dromos* dove si svolgevano diverse competizioni tra cui anche le corse con le fiaccole (*Lamapadedromie*)[57]. Le feste in onore di Eukleia, tra

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51 Plu. *De Gloria Athensiensium* 347.

52 Hdt. VI, 105–106.

53 Athanassaki 2016, 221–225.

54 Grijalvo 2005.

55 Per il recupero della memoria Maratona negli anni della Seconda Sofisitica e per l'interesse di Erode Attico: Jung 2013, 263–266; Bowie 2013, 246–252.

56 *CID* I 9 D l. 6–17; Rhodes / Osborne 2003, 2–12; Homolle 1895. Le *Eukleia* cadevano nel mese di Bysios corrispondente all'Eukleios del calendario corcirese.

57 Herbert 1986; Dubbini 2010, 133–136.

le più importanti della città[58], furono sede di un feroce massacro che si verificò negli anni della Guerra Corinzia e del quale conosciamo alcuni dettagli grazie a Senofonte[59]. Durante la celebrazione delle feste nel 392 a.C. molti cittadini corinzi filospartani che si trovavano nell'agora o assistevano ad alcune competizioni nelle immediate vicinanze presso un *theatron*[60] furono trucidati dalla fazione nemica supportata dagli Argivi, dagli Ateniesi e dai Beoti, tutti favorevoli al proseguimento della guerra e all'unione politica tra Corinto e Argo[61]. Tale giorno fu scelto appositamente per uccidere il maggior numero di persone ma è possibile che il motivo avesse anche un significato politico in linea con alcuni aspetti del culto di Artemide Eukleia a Corinto, in particolare al ruolo di garante della divinità tanto nella difesa della città quanto nella buona reputazione della comunità[62].

A Paro intorno alla metà del III secolo a.C. Artemide Eukleia appare tra le divinità onorate nel *temenos* che Mnesiepes aveva realizzato in memoria del poeta Archiloco[63]. Per prime sono ricordate le divinità il cui culto era stato prescritto dagli oracoli e in onore delle quali il poeta aveva scritto alcuni versi (le Muse, Zeus e Atena Hyperdexioi, e Poseidone Asphaleios); subito dopo compare Eracle, eroe glorioso che per Archiloco era considerato il patrono di ogni vincitore, e infine Artemide Eukleia, la divinità dispensatrice di gloria. Anche in questo caso, la prescrizione del culto fa seguito a un oracolo di Apollo ed è per mezzo della gloria dispensata da Artemide che Archiloco acquisisce l'immortalità come poeta rendendo gloriosa anche Paro[64].

Molto interessante è infine il caso di Verghina, dove gli scavi hanno riportato alla luce un santuario attribuito genericamente a Eukleia per via di due iscrizioni in suo onore da parte della regina Euridice, moglie di Aminta III. Lo spazio sacro si colloca ancora una volta nei pressi dell'agora, a nord del palazzo e del teatro, e ciò in maniera coerente con quanto visto a proposito dei luoghi di culto di Eukleia[65]. Le due iscrizioni, del tutto identiche, riportano la dedica della regina alla divinità (Εὐ-ριδίκα Σίρρα Εὐκλείᾳ) e provengono dalle vicinanze del tempio dorico risalente al IV secolo a.C. La prima iscrizione apparve su una base rettangolare in marmo scoperta nel 1982 tra il tempio e la vicina stoa; la seconda invece proviene dal riempimento di una stipe (pit 1990) poco più a nord dell'edificio, dove, tra le altre cose, è stata trovata la statua di una figura femminile interpretata come Euridice o Euk-

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58 Il mese *Eukleios* del calendario corcirese traeva il nome proprio da queste feste (*IG* IX I^2 4, 798); Iversen 2017, 172.

59 Xen. *Hell.* 4, 4, 2–4.

60 Si trattava di competizioni forse musicali e di corse sacre (Xen. *Hell.* 4, 4, 1–4; Diod. Sic. 14, 86, 1).

61 Boehm 2021; Bettalli 2012.

62 Boehm 2021, 319.

63 *SEG* XV, 517; Clay 2004, 9–24, 32–35, 104–118; Privitera 1966.

64 Il culto di Artemide Eukleia è inoltre attestato a Paro in una dedica di sei strateghi (*IG* XII, 5, 220).

65 Kyriakou/Tourtas 2015; Kyriakou/Tourtas 2013.

leia[66]. La mancanza di elementi a sostegno di un culto di Artemide rende verosimile che qui Eukleia fosse venerata come divinità autonoma e personificazione della "Buona Fama". L'occasione delle dediche è stata riconosciuta nell'incontro tra Euridice e il generale ateniese Ificrate nel 368 a.C. il quale avrebbe salvaguardato la discendenza dinastica dei figli della regina contro i tentativi di usurpazione avvenuti alla morte di Perdicca III[67]. In questo senso, la promozione dell'immagine di Euridice a Verghina e il suo collegamento con Eukleia si spiegherebbero alla luce della buona reputazione della regina e del beneficio pubblico che la sua azione aveva garantito. Tuttavia è altrettanto probabile che alla base della popolarità di Eukleia a Verghina vi fosse un riferimento alla fondazione mitica della dinastia dei Macedoni, attraverso le vicende del re Archelao narrate nell'omonima tragedia di Euripide in cui la fama (*eukleia*) è spesso richiamata da Cisseo come giusta ricompensa per le imprese ardue e difficili e per le virtù guerriere ottenute sul campo di battaglia[68].

Osservazioni Conclusive

Il riesame della documentazione epigrafica e letteraria dimostra come Eukleia fosse al contempo un'epiclesi di Artemide e una figura dotata di una propria autonomia, percepita come personificazione della "Buona Fama". Eukleia è un'epiclesi che accompagna Artemide quando la buona reputazione deriva da una vittoria in guerra o dalla difesa della *polis* o quando, in una dimensione civica e privata, essa sovraintende i sacrifici prenunziali e la fertilità della coppia. In Beozia Eukleia appare come secondo elemento nel doppio nome cultuale precisando la sfera d'azione di Artemide in relazione alle iniziative dei singoli che hanno a che fare con un'impresa militare e con un'azione esemplare che contribuisce alla buona reputazione di una comunità (Tebe e Platea). In questi casi la fama deriva da imprese in cui si realizza la volontà di un oracolo, come quello di Delfi che interviene a Platea ma anche a Paro, vaticinando il riconoscimento della fama poetica di Archiloco sancita durante le feste in onore di Artemide.

Anche a Corinto la presenza delle feste in onore di Eukleia suggerisce che Artemide fosse qui venerata con questa epiclesi. La documentazione in nostro possesso, limitata alla notizia di Senofonte, ci priva di conoscere in maniera adeguata le caratteristiche del culto ma non esclude che il ruolo della divinità si manifestasse in diversi aspetti della vita quotidiana, dalla dimensione civica privata connessa con la sfera matrimoniale e della fertilità, a quella politica legata alla buona reputazione della comunità. Ugualmente a Delfi l'epiclesi accompagna Artemide per propiziare la

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66 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2000, 392–397; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1987.

67 Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2000, 395 (con bibliografia).

68 Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 42–45; Di Gregorio 1988, 27–28.

"Buona Fama" e la buona reputazione in attività che non hanno a che vedere con imprese singole degne di lode, ma con riti propiziatori o di ringraziamento che riguardano la famiglia. Ciò non toglie, però, che Eukleia avesse in qualche luogo mantenuto i tratti di una vera e propria divinità autonoma, come suggerisce la tradizione plutarchea in cui Eukleia appare come la figlia di Eracle. In questo caso non solo è difficile comprendere la portata politica del culto, particolarmente famoso nelle città della Beozia e della Locride, ma anche definire i tratti di questa figura.

Ad Atene, invece, Eukleia era venerata pubblicamente come personificazione della "Buona Fama" con esplicito riferimento alla vittoria di Maratona del 490 a.C.[69] e non c'è dubbio che l'introduzione del culto debba rintracciarsi nel valore politico della divinità. Questa venerazione aveva in qualche maniera contribuito alla creazione dell'immagine di Atene quale paladina dei Greci e della grecità contro i Persiani ma non aveva del tutto cancellato il ruolo di Eukleia nella sfera privata, vale a dire come garante della "Buona Fama" in ambito matrimoniale secondo quando testimoniato dalle raffigurazioni vascolari della fine del V secolo a.C. Tuttavia, pur essendo questi aspetti tipici del culto di Artemide, il legame tra quest'ultima e Eukleia non è ad Atene mai esplicitato come, tra le altre cose, dimostra l'esistenza di un tempio e di un sacerdote di Eukleia e Eunomia. Allo stesso tempo, però, è necessario sottolineare come entrambe le figure fossero collegate alla celebrazione di Maratona e alla "Buona reputazione" che interessava tutta la comunità.

Infine, anche a Verghina l'indipendenza di Eukleia da Artemide appare un elemento significativo e il culto riservato alla sfera privata dei membri della famiglia regale. Eukleia è venerata come personificazione della "Buona Fama" e la sua venerazione è funzionale alla buona reputazione che questa figura garantisce in imprese finalizzate al bene comune della famiglia e della comunità. In questo senso è molto probabile che la diffusione del culto dipendesse da ragioni politiche e propagandistiche legate alla necessità di legittimare il potere politico della dinastia macedone, forse in riferimento alla vicenda mitica di Archelao narrata nella tragedia di Euripide dove l'ottenimento del successo e della fama derivano un'impresa militare ardua e difficile. Pertanto anche qui il ruolo di Eukleia sembra legato all'intenzione di veicolare la buona reputazione dei singoli esponenti della dinastia macedone, sfruttando il ruolo di questa personificazione tanto nella sfera privata quanto in quella pubblica, dove la "Buona Fama" è il frutto di imprese militari che hanno un beneficio non solo per il singolo ma per la comunità.

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69 Cfr. da ultima Proietti 2021, 108–109 che inserisce a buon diritto il tempio di Eukleia nel contesto della memoria civica di Maratona a ridosso del 490 a.C.

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Erica Angliker

Insights into the Cult of Apollo and Artemis at the Parian Sanctuaries

Introduction

Apollo and Artemis were widely worshiped across the Cyclades, including in sanctuaries at the most important cult centre in the archipelago, Delos, the island that was considered their birthplace.[1] Other sanctuaries and cult sites dedicated to these gods were found on nearly all of the inhabited islands.[2] These sanctuaries were usually distinct, but, in some instances, Apollo and Artemis were venerated together in parallel cults. Paros was another of the islands with numerous sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo and/or Artemis. There, Apollo was worshipped under the epicleses Pythios and Delios, and with no epiclesis in three or more locations, and Artemis was worshipped as Delia, or under no epiclesis in four or more places. In two instances, the sanctuary on Despotiko and the Delion on Paros, both divinities had cults in the same sanctuary (Fig. 1).

The aim of this paper is to explore the roles of Apollo and Artemis at the Parian sanctuaries from the perspective of the evidence for cultic activity at these latter two sites. This material and epigraphic evidence reveals the nature of the cults, including their differences and similarities. The nature of the worship of Apollo and Artemis on Paros emerges through comparisons between the configuration of the cult of these divinities on Delos, where these gods were worshipped in independent cults located close together. The connections with Delos also inform the consideration of the significance of Artemis' "Delia" epiclesis on Paros as well as the arguments for a Delian cult at the Despotiko sanctuary. The analysis here thus takes into account the nature and meaning of the cults of Apollo and Artemis in assessing the links between the islands of Paros, Delos, and Despotiko. The time span considered here includes the Archaic and Classical periods, when the cults at these sanctuaries were most active. The analysis covers the extent of the interconnections and nature of the Delian divinities and their veneration with reference to an extensive collection of archaeological materials (e.g., cult statues, votives, sanctuary layouts)

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1 Mythological narratives such as the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (1–179) narrate the gods' birth on Delos: the island allowed Leto to give birth on its shores after she had fled around the Greek world to escape of the wrath of Hera. Later Greek and Latin ancient authors retold episodes from the Archaic legends of Delos, sometimes adding additional information. Artemis, for example, is said in some narratives to have been born on Ortygie. For a complete list of ancient authors mentioning the birth and other episodes involving Apollo and Artemis on Delos, see Bruneau 1970, 15–56; Durvye 2021a; Pirenne-Delforge/Pironti 2022, 188–194.

2 For a list of cult sites dedicated to Apollo and Artemis in the Cyclades, see Angliker 2017.
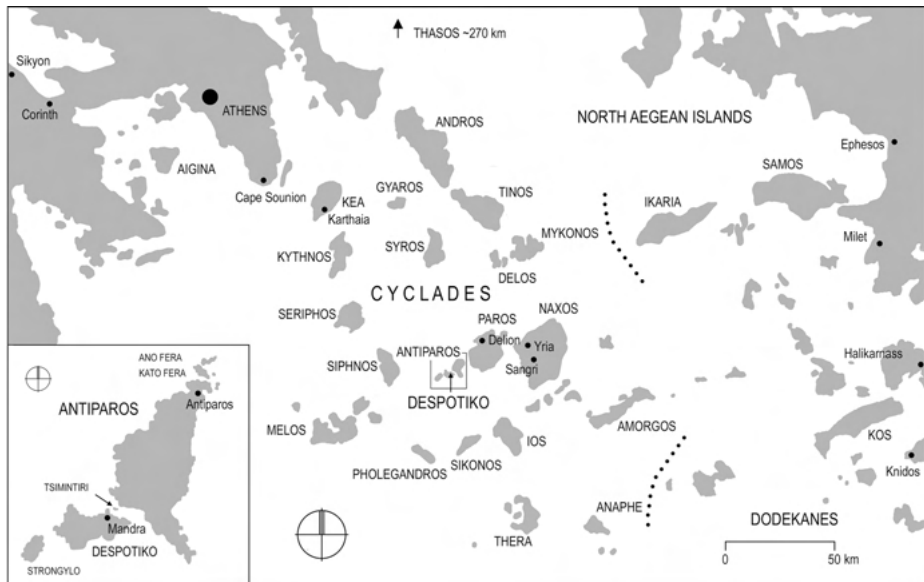
Fig. 1: Map of the Cyclades. Courtesy of Yannos Kourayos.

from Despotiko and the Delion on Paros. A comparison of these sets of votives reveals nuances of the cult activity at two sanctuaries dedicated to divinities venerated by the same population. Overall, then, this study explores the interactions and variations among the cults of Apollo and Artemis in two Parian sanctuaries, demonstrating the complexity and fluidity of their influence and shedding further light on the ancient Greek polytheistic system.

Cults and Sanctuaries of Paros

An overview of the sanctuaries of these divinities on the island will serve to contextualise the discussion on the Parian cults of Apollo and Artemis. The precise configuration of the pantheon on most of the Cycladic islands is unclear owing to the meagre information available about most of the divinities. Paros is privileged in this regard as a place where, despite some gaps, the nature of the local cults of some divinities is relatively well known. Indeed, various types of evidence have served to identify the cult of the divinities on Paros. Unlike most Cycladic islands, Paros has hosted several extensive archaeological excavations, and the materials recovered from the modern and medieval city that now covers the ancient one have been sufficient to reconstruct the ancient cultic sites there. There are, in addition, archaeological artefacts such as statues, their bases, and reliefs that originated in the sanctuaries (though it may be

impossible today to associate them with any specific sanctuary). In addition, inscriptions recovered from several of the island's ancient monuments, along with literary and numismatic evidence, attest to the veneration of various divinities on Paros and, indirectly, to the existence of additional sanctuaries that have not yet been identified by archaeological evidence.[3]

One of the earliest Parian sanctuaries is at Koukounaries on Naousa Bay, where excavations have revealed layers of occupation dating from the Late Neolithic to Early Archaic periods.[4] In the Geometric era, a significant settlement, with organised residential units, public areas, and streets, flourished.[5] The most prominent cult structure at Koukounaries was a sanctuary temple on the southern slope of the hill that consisted of a temple and a square enclosure identified as a temenos.[6] Cult practices in the area antedate the erection of the temple.[7] The earliest material from the deeper strata of the temenos dates to the late LH and PG periods; Schilardi identified a semi-circular stone there as an altar.[8] The temenos was originally intended for hypaethral cult activities and included an altar, a rectangular structure measuring 1.58 x 0.80m that, according to Schilardi, was built atop an earlier Geometric altar.[9] The early Archaic temple was a stone-built, oikos-shaped structure, oriented east-west and measuring 9.50 x 6.40m, erected soon after 700 B.C.[10] The identification of the cult of Athena is based on fragments of votive vessels inscribed with the name ΑΘΗΝΑΙΗΣ.[11]

In addition to Athena, finds from the temple deposit and around the sanctuary suggest the veneration of Apollo on this site. In particular, three Archaic inscribed shards bearing the name of the god found in the temple deposit and in an area east of the temple may indicate the existence of at least one altar dedicated to him.[12] However, the lack of both architectural remains and a final publication of the finds prevents further speculation about this cult. Whatever the case, the settlement on Koukounaries was abandoned around 700 BCE, though the temple of Athena saw

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3 Kourayos/Angliker/Daifa/Tully 2018.

4 For the latest presentation of the site, see Schilardi 2017.

5 Schilardi 1988, 45, Schilardi 2017, 290.

6 Schilardi 1985, 117–136, Schilardi 1988, Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 185–187, 329–330, Schilardi 2017 with earlier bibliography.

7 Schilardi 1986, 193–196, Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 329–330.

8 Schilardi 1986, 193, Schilardi 2017, 288–290.

9 Schilardi 1988, 45, Schilardi 2017, 290.

10 Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 187 with detailed bibliography.

11 Schilardi 1983, 294, Schilardi 1985, 137, plate 50b, Schilardi 1988, 45. On the basis that one inscribed shard bears the letters ΠΟΛ, Schilardi (2017, 288) suggested that Athena was worshipped under the epithet ΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΣ. However, based on the later chronology of the inscribed shard, there is reason for caution regarding the goddess' epithet, at least in the Archaic period.

12 Schilardi 2017, 297–298.

continuous use until the 4th century BCE, as attested by pottery finds and successive paved floors in the sekos.[13] The population that abandoned Koukounaries seemed to move to Paroikia, where a settlement had been flourishing since the Geometric period.[14]

Ancient Paroikia covered a large area that included the ancient fortified city with public and secular areas, cemeteries outside the wall, and several sanctuaries, some inside and some outside the city proper. Since this settlement became covered by medieval and modern development, the sanctuaries and cults can only be reconstructed in part.[15] Rubensohn identified temples in the ancient city and collected several inscriptions discovered in the area.[16] The sanctuaries of Paroikia, however, became better known through the efforts of a group from the Munich Polytechnic School led by Gruben that collected, compared, and studied thousands of architectural fragments and created hypothetical reconstructions of several temples.[17] Temple A (ca. 530–520 BCE) was located on the hill of Kastro; only the foundations have survived, while the marble was removed for reuse in the construction of a castle by the Venetians in 1260 CE.[18] According to the reconstructions, Temple A was an Ionic amphiprostyle temple with six columns and a pronaos, cella, and opisthodome measuring 14.70 x 16.7m and with a door 6.06m high and 2.75m wide.[19] Though scholars initially associated this building with Athena,[20] others have since argued that the existence of a cult of Athena on the site cannot be considered certain.[21] Nonetheless, Athena occupied an important place in the Parian pantheon. A colossal, three-metre-tall statue depicting her as Promachos (480–470 BCE) found on the island suggests that a temple in the ancient city was dedicated to her.[22] The statue obviously refers to Athena's martial character; she was simultaneously a patroness of the city and goddess of war.[23] The fact that she was worshiped for her warrior qualities in Paroikia is also confirmed by epigraphic sources in which she is mentioned under the epiclesis Poliouchos (*IG* XII.5 134 and *IG* XII.5 1029).

Architectural remains have also allowed scholars to reconstruct Temples B (dating to 520 BCE) and C (Late Archaic).[24] While the identity of the divinity worshipped in the latter remains uncertain, it has been suggested – with reservations – that

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13 Schilardi 1983, Schilardi 1985, 141–142, Schilardi 2002, with earlier bibliography.

14 Schilardi 2017, 298.

15 Kourayos 2015, 28–51.

16 Rubensohn 1901, Rubensohn 1902, Rubensohn 1917.

17 Gruben 1972, Gruben 1982a, Gruben 1982b and Gruben 1997; Ohnesorg 1993, Ohnesorg 2005.

18 Kourayos 2015, 28–29, 65.

19 Gruben 1970, 144.

20 Rubenshon 1917, 2–7.

21 Berranger 1992, 73.

22 Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, 69.

23 Kourayos/Angliker/Daifa/Tully. 2018.

24 Gruben 1970; Gruben 1972, 366–368.

Temple B housed a cult of Apollo Pythios since the adyton was suitable for divination rituals.[25] Whatever the case, inscriptions found on the walls of rebuilt houses on Paros suggest that Apollo Pythios was the poliad deity of the main city (e.g., *IG* XII.5 110, 134 and 155).

At Aghia Anna, on the urban perimeter, a cult of Apollo flourished during the Archaic period.[26] Here, a 6th-century relief depicting Apollo and Artemis (Paros Museum A1289) was found, though it is difficult to say whether a cult of Artemis also existed at this site, for the relief could be merely a votive for Apollo in his capacity as the main divinity of the sanctuary. Whatever the case, in the 5th century, the cult of Apollo was overtaken by that of Asclepius. This development, and the presence of a spring at the site, suggest a healing aspect to the Archaic cult of Apollo.[27]

Inscriptions, coins, and literary sources (mostly dating from the Archaic to Classical periods) indicate the veneration of other divinities in the ancient city of Paros, including Hestia, Aphrodite (who may have had a sanctuary at Paroikia), Kore, Demeter, and Zeus Basileos.[28] However, it is difficult to determine with certainty whether any of these divinities were, in fact, worshipped in the city before the Classical period.

Based on the fragmentary archaeological and epigraphic evidence available, no sanctuary seems to have been dedicated to Artemis within the ancient city of Paros, while Apollo may have been associated with the polis and worshipped under the epiclesis Pythios. Outside the ancient city, a "crown" of sanctuaries was established across several sites, some of which have yielded abundant archaeological remains. Outside the city, in addition to the aforementioned cults at Koukonaries, the Parians worshiped divinities such as Zeus Hypatos, Aphrodite, and Eileithyia on Mt Kounados.[29] A colossal statue and relief depicting Artemis at Aspro Chorio indicate that a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess once existed in the area, but, since the area has yet to be excavated or surveyed, it is difficult to say much about the character of the cult.[30] A cave sanctuary that was home to a cult of Artemis, who was especially associated with initiatory rituals for Parian youths, has also been identified on the island of Antiparos.[31]

The Parians also maintained a Delion on the crest of a hill north of Paroikia and another sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Despotiko (Fig. 2). Some scholars have

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25 Rubensohn 1901, Rubensohn 1902, 213–214.

26 Melfi 2002; Kourayos/Angliker/Daifa/Tully, 141.

27 Kourayos/Angliker/Daifa/Tully 141. Rubensohn 1900, Rubensohn 1901, and Rubensohn 1902 argued that the deity worshipped here was Apollo Pythios. However, this assertion is questionable, as no inscription has yet been found in the area; see Kourayos/Angliker/Daifa/Tully, 141.

28 Papadopoulos 2013.

29 Kourayos/Angliker/Daifa/Tully 2018.

30 Kourayos/Angliker/Daifa/Tully 2018, 146–150.

31 Angliker 2020b.

Fig. 2: Aerial View of the Delion on Paros. Courtesy of Yannos Kourayos.

also identified the latter sanctuary as a Delion, but their arguments have not been entirely convincing. Confirmation that the sanctuary near Paroikia was, in fact, a Delion, is provided by epigraphic evidence, including a 4th-century inscription on the base of a statue mentioning the worship of Artemis Delia (Τεισήνορος Ἀρτέμιδι Δηλίηι, *IG* XII.5.211) and six stones found repurposed for medieval construction in Paroika with inscriptions mentioning the cult of Apollo Delios (ὅρος χωρίο | ἱερῦ Ἀπόλλω | νος Δηλίο).[32] The connections of this sanctuary with Delos, therefore, are beyond dispute, though the meaning of these connections and the significance of the local practices at this sanctuary await analysis.

Finally, a Parian sanctuary of Apollo has been identified on the island of Despotiko (Figs. 3 and 6).[33] A profusion of ceramics inscribed with the god's name uncovered from various parts of the sanctuary confirms that the site was dedicated to

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32 Zapheiropoulos 1960, 245–246; Papadopoulou 2010–2013; *IG* 12.5.214; *SEG* 62.572–7. The inscriptions mentioning the cult of Apollo Delios found at Paroikia have been interpreted in various ways. Rubenson 1962, 39 suggested that the inscriptions marked land on Paros belonging to the cult of Apollo on Delos, and Kontoleon 1966 arrived at similar conclusions. More recently, Papadopoulou 2010–2013, 403–409 proposed that the inscriptions were used to mark the extent of the Delion on Despotiko. For a complete list of Delia sanctuaries on the Aegean, see Grandjean/Salviat 2006.

33 For the discussion of Despotiko as a Parian sanctuary, see Kourayos/Angliker/Daifa/Tully 2018.

Fig. 3: Despotiko, Building A after restoration (October, 2020). Courtesy of Yannos Kourayos.

the god, who was also the main divinity of Despotiko.[34] Some scholars have interpreted the sanctuary as a Delion.[35] Papadopoulou cited Pindar (*Fragment* 140a) in support of this interpretation. The fragment tells of Heracles, on the orders of Apollo Delios, founding an altar in the territory of Paros to worship the god under this epiclesis. Her argument is that, because the text mentions the crossing of an isthmus, the sanctuary to which it refers cannot be the Delion on Paros, which is located on a hill with no isthmus nearby, and that the only sanctuary that fits this description is Despotiko, which, in antiquity, was connected to the adjacent island of Antiparos by an isthmus. Moreover, a cult of Hestia Isthmia is, in fact, mentioned on Despotiko.[36] Despite these suggestive connections linking a cult of Apollo Delios to Despotiko, the Pindar passage is inconsistent with the extant evidence where Heracles is said to have found two altars (one for Apollo and another for Zeus) and, so far, no cult of Zeus has been discovered on Despotiko – nor has any inscription from the sanctuary surfaced that mentions the epiclesis Delios or Delia. Even if the status of the sanctuary on Despotiko as a Delion is unproven, the cult there does show some similarities with the cult of Apollo on Delos.

In sum, Apollo and Artemis were worshipped at various cult sites on Paros. Within the territory of the ancient city, this worship seems to have included only

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34 Kourayos 2005, Kourayos 2006, and Kourayos 2018.
35 Papadopoulou 2010–2013.
36 Papadopoulou 2010–2013, 403–409.

Apollo Pythios, while Athena seems to have been the divinity most associated with the city's affairs. There were cult sites dedicated to Artemis alone in the countryside at Aspro Chorio and at the Cave of Antiparos. A cult was dedicated to Apollo at Koukounaries, but the details are unclear since the relevant materials remain unpublished. Outside the ancient city, Apollo and Artemis shared a sanctuary at the Delion and at Despotiko. As discussed presently, though the Parian Delion and the sanctuary on Despotiko housed cults of Apollo and Artemis, the relative presence of and interactions among these divinities appear to have differed significantly across these sites with respect to votive practices and even relations with Delos. The cults at these sanctuaries, therefore, were very different and answered to quite different needs.

The Cults of Apollo and Artemis on Delos: Prerogatives and Networks

The birth of Apollo and Artemis on Delos is narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*. The focus of these mythological narratives is the birth of Apollo, to which is associated the birth of Artemis. Thus, she appears sometimes as a feminine double of her brother but at other times as an independent figure. In these narratives, Apollo is celebrated specifically as the recipient of elaborate songs and dances performed by Ionian seafarers who gather to celebrate him on Delos, and Artemis is a hunter who kills deer on Delos that provide the antlers used to construct the god's altar of the Horns (*keraton*), one of the most sacred places in the sanctuary.[37] In the mythological narratives about Delos, then, Apollo and Artemis appear together at times and at other times alone, and, in general, Artemis is less prominent than her brother.[38]

The prerogatives and networks implicit in the Delian cults of Apollo and Artemis in and around Paros naturally need to be considered in relation to their best-known sanctuaries on the island of Delos. The relevant mythological narratives are found in various literary genres – epic and lyric poetry, epigrams, orations, historical prose, philosophy, lexicography, and the writings of grammarians and scholiasts – that were produced over a period extending from the 7th century BCE to the 12th century CE.[39] The extent to which these diverse texts reflect the actual Delian cult is a complex issue that cannot be explored in detail here. The texts transmit information indirectly about a place that many of the authors never visited, and the information

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37 Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo* 60–62.
38 Durvye 2021a and Durvye 2021b.
39 For a complete catalogue, see Bruneau 1970, 6–56 and Durvye 2021a. See also Prost 2018.

reflects the prevailing culture of their times.[40] Nevertheless, it is possible to deduce some general information concerning the relationship between Apollo and Artemis from this heterogeneous material.

The cults on Mt Kynthos venerated deities whose areas of action were distinct from those of Apollo and Artemis. Hera, worshipped on the island since the Archaic period, like Artemis, looked after family affairs[41] but was a patron of marriage and received a number of dedications from both the Delians and visitors from abroad.[42] The nature of the cult of Zeus is more difficult to determine. Zeus and Athena seem to have been worshiped at this site during the 6th century,[43] and it is only during the Hellenistic period that permanent structures were built for the former god's cult there. There are no Archaic-period inscriptions to provide context, and the votive material from this era is fragmentary at best. Athena and Zeus seem to have been worshiped individually on Kynthos, however, the proximity of their cults reveals a connection between them. Athena, when worshipped in proximity to Zeus, is celebrated especially for her filial loyalty and associated power of influence over him.[44] The east slope of Mt Kynthos was also the site of a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis. The terrace and the structures of the north flank and the reliefs found on them belong to the Hellenistic period, while the altar most likely dates to the Classical period.[45] The character of the cult of Artemis at this sanctuary remains uncertain. Some scholars have associated this cult with Eileithyia, but only tentatively.[46] Whatever the case, this sanctuary of Artemis was located outside the main cultic area of Delos and away from the urban areas of the island. Artemis also had other cultic places in remote parts of Delos and its surroundings, such as an Artemision and a sanctuary on the island of Rhenea (formerly named Orthygia), that are mentioned in the accounts and inventories of Delos.[47]

The sanctuary of Apollo on the west coast of Delos also flourished from the Archaic period onwards (Fig. 4). The buildings in the sanctuary of Apollo, in its earliest phase, included Temple G (*GD* 40) and the Oikos of the Naxians (*GD* 6), beside which stood a colossal statue of the god (*GD* 9) that predated it. Scholars have

40 Durvye 2021a, 31.

41 Plassart 1928. For the cult of Hera on Kynthos, see Pirenne-Delforge 2017.

42 Pirenne-Delforge 2017.

43 Bruneau/Ducat 2005, 285. Gallet de Santerre 1958 proposed that Athena was already worshipped on Mt Kynthos during the Archaic period; however, there is disagreement regarding whether the cult of the goddess existed in this early period.

44 Neils 2001.

45 Moretti 2021, 78–81.

46 Demagel 1922, 83–93; Bruneau 1970, 191.

47 The exact location of these sanctuaries at Rhenea involves complex topographical problems beyond the scope of this paper. The exact nature of the cult also remains to be determined, though exploration of the site resumed recently. For the most recent discussion of these problems, see Moretti 2021, 83–66.

suggested that the Oikos of the Naxians was the first temple dedicated to Apollo on Delos, but this remains only a hypothesis. It is possible that the Altar of the Horns (*keraton*), which was accompanied by a monumental structure only in the 5th century, became the focal point of the cult of Apollo on Delos.[48] A brief look at the topography of the sanctuary over time shows that Apollo received a succession of temples, such as the Porinos (*GD* 11), dated to the second half of the 6th century BCE, the Athenian temple dedicated to him (*GD* 12), and his Delian temple (*GD* 13).[49]
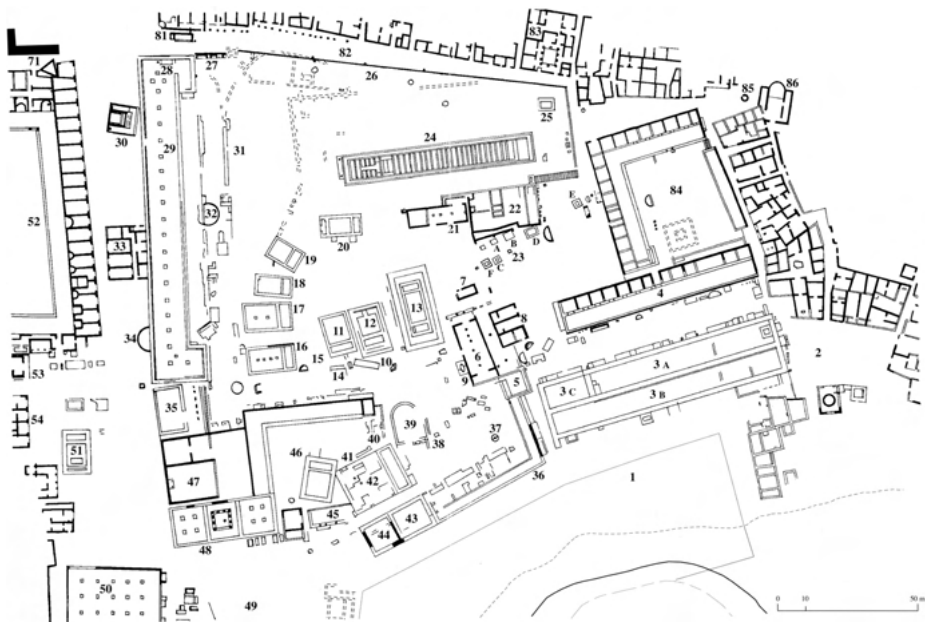
Fig. 4: Plan of the Sanctuary of Apollo on Delos. After Bruneau/Ducat 2005, plan I.

The temples of Artemis (*GD* 46, 7th century BCE) and Leto (*GD* 53, c. 540 BCE) were located near the sanctuary of Apollo, but it is difficult to ascertain whether they were included in the same cultic area. In later times, these sanctuaries were clearly separate.[50] The sanctuary of Artemis was associated with the tombs of the Hyperborean virgins which Herodotus claims to have seen (3.34). The Artemision occupied the northwest part of the sanctuary of Apollo, represented by three successive

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48 The *keraton* was identified as Building *GD* 39. See Tsakos 1999; Étienne 1991, Étienne 1992 and Étienne 2002; and Bruneau/Fraisse 2002. On the problem of the identification of the early temple of Apollo, see Gallet de Santerre 1959, 91; Courbin 1995.

49 Scott 2013, 48–49; Étienne 2018, 25–30.

50 Bruneau/Ducat 2005, 67–77, 222–223; Moretti 2021.

structures, Building Ac (Bronze Age), Artemision E (Archaic), and Artemision D (Hellenistic).[51] Associated with Building Ac (and found within the cella of Artemision D) was a deposit of various precious objects dating from the Mycenaean period through the late 8th century.[52] Given the clear function of Artemision D as a cult building, the discovery of these Bronze and Early Iron Age artefacts have led scholars to wonder whether Building Ac also served a religious purpose related to Artemis. Though the monumental proportions of Building Ac distinguish it from the common dwellings of the period, it differs significantly from known cult buildings of the Late Bronze Age and may thus have served as a residence for a member of the elite. The treasury found in the foundations, likewise, was not necessarily associated with a cult celebrated in the Bronze Age since the heirlooms may have been handed down from one generation to the next.[53] Whatever the case, Artemision E was inserted into the structure that succeeded it, namely, Artemision D. The date of this structure is still subject to debate; the 7th century has been proposed, but it may, in fact, have been built slightly earlier, as Bruneau and Ducat noted.[54] The sanctuary of Artemis also has an altar dating to the third quarter of the 6th century.

This brief presentation of the topography of the cults of Apollo and Artemis shows that both divinities were worshipped on the main plain of Delos at adjacent cult sites. Apollo also received various temples on the main plain of Delos, while Artemins had only one (*GD* 46). Conversely, while there was no cult of Apollo beyond the main plain of Delos, Artemis had cultic sites on the outskirts of Delos, such as on Mt Kynthos, and even off its shores on Rhenea, as mentioned. The sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis located on the main plain of Delos show affinities beyond their topographical proximity. In terms of cult practices, both gods received dedications of a number of kouroi and korai statues in marble.[55] The cult statue of Apollo, and the one dedicated to Artemis, were, according to Pausanias (9.35.3), made by Tektaios and Angelion.[56] The Delian inventories show a few communal dedications to Apollo and Artemis together (along with occasional dual dedications to Artemis and Leto).[57] When worshipped together, Apollo and Artemis were associated with human and animal fecundity and the maturation of young people.

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51 Bruneau 1970, 171–267; Bruneau/Ducat 2005, 207–209; Moretti 2012; Moretti/Fraisse/Llinas 2021.

52 Gallet de Santerre/Tréheux 1947.

53 Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 182; Bruneau/Ducat 2005, 208.

54 Bruneau/Ducat 2005, 209.

55 Hermary 2021, 138–140.

56 Durvye/Moretti 2021, 125, note 52; Hermary 2021, 137–143; Prêtre 2012, 178–179; Marcadé 1969, 210–211.

57 For the dedication to Artemis in the Delian inventories, see Durvye/Moretti 2021 and Sarrazanas 2021.

Despite these similarities, the occasional common dedications, and the proximity of the two sanctuaries, the cults of Apollo and Artemis were clearly distinct in that these gods were worshipped in separate temples, with separate altars, and, especially noteworthy, at separate festivals.[58] The distinction between Apollo and Artemis is also apparent in the composition of the groups that venerated them. Recent investigations of the inventories show that the names of the dedicants, while rarely mentioned, include both male and female names in most cases.[59] Being a virgin herself, Artemis was thought to protect young women, accompanying them until marriage. Literary sources attest to this function of the goddess on Delos, though few dedications in the inventories or deposits have been directly associated with it.[60]

While Artemis received some dedications that obviously functioned as a form of elite display (e.g., the statue of Nikandre dedicated by the Naxians- 630 BCE),[61] Apollo received far more dedications of expensive items such as marble statues and cult buildings. An island network developed around his cult that included participants from across the southern Aegean,[62] serving to strengthen social bonds as well as providing a useful forum for elite competition for prestige.[63] This is the context for the monumentalisation of the god's sanctuary under the sponsorship of the most powerful maritime communities of the time. Thus, the Naxians built the aforementioned Oikos and erected the colossal statue of Apollo and also honoured the god with the famous Terrace of the Lions.[64] Throughout the Archaic period, the Samians made further investments in the cult of Apollo, and their tyrant Polycrates made the unusual dedication of the island of Rhenea to Delian Apollo (Thucydides 1.13.6, 3.104.2). The Athenian tyrant Peisistratos also exhibited interest in Delos by carrying out purifications of the island.[65] Paros established a prominent presence on Delos only in the Late Archaic period, but the dedications made by the Naxians there far exceeded those made by the Parians, in both number and extravagance .[66]

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58 Sarrazanas 2021, 93.

59 Sarrazanas 2021, 97; Prêtre 2002, 246; Constantakopoulou 2017, 198–200.

60 Durvye 2021a, 41–42.

61 Bruneau/Ducat 2005, 86.

62 Constantakopoulou 2007, 61–136; Earle 2010.

63 Earle 2010.

64 On the function of the Oikos of the Naxians, see Courby 1921, 238; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 180–181; Bruneau/Fraisse 2002, 70.

65 Chankowski 2008, 14–15.

66 Prost 2014, 50–51.

The Worship of Apollo and Artemis at the Two Parian Sanctuaries: Delion and Despotiko

Turning now to the Parian sanctuaries at the Delion and at Despotiko where Apollo and Artemis were worshiped, we will encounter several cultic characteristics that were already noticeable at the sanctuary of Delos. At both sanctuaries, Apollo and Artemis are worshipped in proximity but with cults that seem to be independent and there is always a preponderance of one of the divinities. Just like at Delos, there are differences in the votive practices and the public who worship at each sanctuary.

Let's begin the discussion with the Parian Delion on Paroikia, located outside the ancient city of Paros (present-day Paroika), which housed cults that have many connections, not only with the cult of Apollo and Artemis on Delos, but also with other Delian divinities (Fig. 2). This sanctuary was excavated during the 19th century by Rubensohn. Obsidian knives discovered in the area reveal that the site was frequented as early as the Neolithic period; similar objects have also been found on Mount Kynthos, on Delos. On Delos, ceramics appeared during the Bronze Age after a long hiatus; another gap occurred between the Bronze and Geometric eras.[67] For the Parian Delion, on the other hand, the break was even longer as the earliest ceramic evidence dates to the Early Geometric Period, when indisputable evidence surfaced of an effective cult practice.[68] Several vases and ostraca belonging to Parian groups date to this early era, with some pieces coming from Naxos. The cult on this Delion began around a natural stone protuberance at the centre of the sanctuary that functioned as an altar. It is difficult to tell precisely when the rock began to serve this purpose. At some point (now impossible to determine), the natural rock underwent modifications; its surface was partly smoothed and slabs of marble, of which only a few survive today, were arranged around it.[69] It is also impossible to say whether, at this altar, only Apollo or Artemis or both together were worshipped. The construction of this altar made with plaques of marble around a natural rock, the top of which was intentionally left protruding, showing the rough surface, gives it a crude look that is, in some ways reminiscent of the mythical altar of the Horns on Delos. Thus, with caution, one could suggest that the altar was dedicated to Apollo. Furthermore, when a temple was built to Artemis, a new altar was constructed (the old altar with the rock protuberance was not removed and continued to be used).[70] The existence of the two altars may have helped to keep the cult of the two divinities separate. The configuration on

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67 Plassart 1928, 11–144; Gallet de Santerre 1958, 19–30; Bruneau/Ducat 2005, 285.

68 Detoratou 2003–2009.

69 Rubensohn 1962, 5–7; Ohnesorg 2005, 31. For the role of natural stone in the cult of Apollo, see Angliker 2020b.

70 Rubensohn 1962, 1–53; Ohnesorg 1991.

Delos is analogous, where cults for Apollo and Artemis were performed separately. Whatever the case, a temple was built on the northwest side of the sanctuary around the late 6th/early 5th centuries BCE. This temple, which is the most ancient canonical Doric temple in the Cyclades, is a small structure measuring 9.50 x 6m and featuring a cella and pronaos with two columns on the porch. A colossal cult statue of Artemis was placed inside the temple (Fig. 5). A cult statue of Apollo was not found among the remains, but may have been made of perishable materials, in which case it would have disappeared without a trace. Another possibility is that no statue of Apollo was dedicated at all in the sanctuary. In any case, the colossal statue of Artemis placed in a relatively small temple would have somehow overshadowed the cult statue of Apollo if there was indeed one there.

Fig. 5: The colossal statue of Artemis. Courtesy of Yannos Kourayos.

When the temple was constructed, a collection of votives was placed beneath the cella. The items included vases, offering tables, clay statues (mostly of the seated-goddess type), items believed to be apotropaic, such as seals, jewellery, fibulas, protomes, grotesque masks. The items do not reveal any specific prerogatives of the deities as most of them can also be found at other Cycladic sanctuaries. Nevertheless, these

items indicate a strong presence of female participants.[71] Objects such as the protomes are clearly linked with a cult practice related to rituals conducted by young girls before marriage and were important for the maintenance and cohesion of the civic society of Paros.[72] These functions have parallel in the functions of the cult of the Hyperborean virgins within the sanctuary of Artemis on Delos. Also noticeable at the Delion on Paros is the limited presence of *kouroi*, which indicates a cult with little emphasis on elite, male competitions. A small number of *korai*, however, were dedicated at the sanctuary, thus revealing the civic prerogatives of the goddess. The small number of marble statues found at this Delion reveals that this cult was not performed by elite groups competing to demonstrate their social status. The cult therefore has few links with the competitive environments of elites in international settings and seems to be focused mainly on the social and civic activities of the local population of Paros. As we will soon see, the elite competitions were mainly held at Despotiko. The materials from the Delion on Paros (e.g. the cult statuary, the protomes) demonstrate an emphasis on the cult of Artemis, and an orientation toward feminine concerns.

The emphasis on family ties can also be read in the unusual presence of an inscription mentioning Athena Kynthia (*IG* XII.5 210), which has intrigued scholars, helping to reinforce a cult centred on female affairs and family activities with a strong local character. As we saw earlier in this paper, the cults on Kynthos had a strong local character and Athena was worshiped there in connection with Zeus, for whom she played the role of faithful daughter and trusted adviser. One inscription found at Paroikia also mentions a dedication to Artemis and Leto, once more reinforcing the divine prerogative toward family ties.[73]

Simply put, despite all the gaps and uncertainties, the cults performed at the Delion on Paroikia were focused on the worship of Artemis Delia. The cult here focused on practices of essentially local character, centred on the feminine sphere and on family ties. These last characteristics reverberate throughout the divine network of this sanctuary in pairs of gods with close familial links: Artemis-Apollo, Athena Kynthia and Zeus Kynthios (this last one not mentioned in the inscriptions, but supposedly subtended as a pair with Athena Kynthia) and Leto-Artemis. The emphasis on the cult of Artemis and on the feminine sphere in many ways reflects the cult of Artemis on Delos at the sanctuary of Apollo.

Looking now to the evidence at the Delia of Despotiko, we can see that the cult performed there presents differences with the Delion on Paroikia. Here, although Artemis is probably present, the goddess is much less prominent. Furthermore, there is another network of divinities and, as we will see, Apollo covers different areas of competence, and does not act as patron of the families. Ongoing

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71 Rubensohn 1962.

72 Korayos/Angliker 2021.

73 Matthaiou/Kourayos 1992–1998, 438; *SEG* 48.1139.

archaeological research has so far brought to light 23 buildings. Recently, on the uninhabited islet Tsimintiri, east of Despotiko, 8 buildings were discovered that probably served as storage rooms. A round structure, 16m in diameter, may have served as a dance floor.[74] The buildings date to the Archaic period and belonged to Despotiko which was connected to Tsimintiri by a narrow isthmus (Fig. 7). As at the Delion on the island of Paros, the earliest cult on the sanctuary at Despotiko dates to the Geometric period and is evidenced by drinking vases, burnt and un-burnt animal bones, a small quantity of seashells and clay figurines.[75]

Fig. 6: Aerial View of the Sanctuary of Apollo on Despotiko. Courtesy of Yannos Kourayos.

But the peak of the sanctuary is placed in the second half of the 6th century BCE, when a temenos protected by three gates was gradually erected. Its most prominent feature is Building A, which has been identified as the main cult structure. Building A is comprised of the temple, which has been identified as its north side (rooms A1–A2) (560–550 BCE) and included a forecourt, and the *hestiatorion*, which has been identified as its south side (rooms A3, A4, A5) (540–530 BCE) and was fronted by a corridor of Doric columns. A votive deposit with a wide variety of finds was discovered in room A1, including terracotta figurines, different types of Corinthian vases, vases in the form of animals, seals, gold items, bronze fibula, various objects

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74 Kourayos 2018; Kourayos 2012; Angliker 2021.
75 For the Geometric period at Despotiko, see Kourayos/Alexandridou/Papajanni/Draganits 2017 and Alexandridou 2019; for the figurines, see Kourayos/Angliker 2021.

Fig. 7: Aerial View of buildings of the islet of Tsimintiri. Courtesy of Yannos Kourayos.

from Egypt, Syria and Cyprus, ivory objects, beads, agricultural tools such as iron sickles and double-axe heads, and weapons.

The deposit from Room A1 includes a fine female terracotta statue. The figure was made by hand and is preserved only from the waist up (height 25cm). The fine characteristic of this statuette and the careful way in which it was placed on the votive deposit suggests that it may have been the cultic idol of the temple. Again, in building A (room A2), a statue base was found that is comparable to the statue base of the cult statue of Artemis from the Delion on Paros (500–490 BCE). The features of the torso on a female statue, which was discovered incorporated into an animal pen at Despotiko built by pastors in contemporary times, allows us to connect it to the aforementioned base. The torso clearly shows a draped woman with her leg forward, and though smaller, resembles the colossal cult statue of Artemis from the Delion on Paros.

Other cultic buildings in Despotiko comprised the main altar of the sanctuary standing at the exact centre of the temenos, right across from the temple. Two marble *bothroi* – one inside the *hestiatorion*'s *prostoon*, the other, bearing the inscription *Hestia Isthmia*, before the temple's stylobate – served cult purposes as well.

At the north end of the temenos stood Building Δ (520–525 BCE), a temple-shaped edifice related to cult activities. Building E (6th century BCE) and the so-called "Connecting Building" stood outside but nearly touching the temenos. A mere few metres south of the temenos was the South Complex, which was built over earlier structures. Evidence so far indicates that the South Complex, built around the second half of the 6th century BCE, did not serve a cultic purpose, but rather catered to the everyday needs of the priests and visitors. Beyond the temenos, the area extending

down to the coast was occupied by at least eight buildings and a tower also dated to the middle of the 6th century BCE. Finally, we must not forget to mention the most splendid dedications to the sanctuary, the archaic sculptures. Excavation has revealed more than 85 fragments of Archaic *kouroi* and *korai*, as well as many fragments of statue bases.

The great number of buildings on Despotiko already points to a massive and grandiose investment at this sanctuary, which would have required significant involvement of the elites.

Though the absence of inscriptions on Despotiko indicates that this was not a panhellenic sanctuary, the elites who sponsored it were deeply involved in maritime affairs and entrepreneurial activity throughout the Aegean. Furthermore, Despotiko possessed a large bay suitable for many ships, and had a great potential impact on international maritime business. Therefore, even if the sanctuary at Despotiko was built exclusively by Parians, its impact resonates in a much larger context.

To a far greater extent than the Delion on Paros, the sanctuary at Despotiko exposes the power of the Parian elite, which is particularly conspicuous in the construction of the sanctuary's two main cultic buildings: buildings D and A, both erected during the Archaic period when Paros was involved in the profitable commerce of marble (second half of the 6th century BCE). This is also the period that saw the gradual erection of a temenos as well as the most important sacred building of the sanctuary, Building A (Fig. 3). This magnificent building was a temple, partially built in marble with five rooms, including a *hestiatorion*. The presence of this *hestiatorion* indicates that feasting was a very important part of the cult of Apollo. The drinking cups found in Building A and Building D testify of the importance of feasting within the celebrations practiced at Despotiko. The political character of the cult of Apollo on Delos is also suggested by the 85 fragments of Archaic *kouroi* and *korai*, as well as many statue bases. Their presence is associated with an exhibition of elite power and is directly related to the political affairs of Parian society.[76]

Turning now to Artemis, her presence at Despotiko is less prominent. To begin with, while for the cult of Apollo numerous vases with graffiti featuring the god's were found at several locations on the sanctuary, no inscription of any kind mentions Artemis at Despotiko. However, the fine Daedalic clay statue (680 BCE) found in the votive deposit may have been a dedication to her, as well as, probably, a marble statue. The deposit also revealed a number of clay protomes and female seated statuettes; these items, however, are far less numerous than those found at the Delion on Paros. At Despotiko, Artemis still has a fundamental role as patron of young girls of a marrying age. The deities of Kynthos also do not appear at Despotiko and there is nothing linking the cult with Leto. On the other hand, in the Late Classical period,

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76 Kourayos 2012.

the cult of Hestia with the epithet Isthmia appears at a sanctuary on a dedicatory inscription carved on a bothros placed in front of room A1.[77] The cult of Hestia was already known on Paros, where she had received a temple, her veneration being deeply linked with the political life of Parian society.[78]

In conclusion, the sanctuary of Apollo on Despotiko is focused on a cult of Apollo associated with elite competition and with the maritime life of the Parians. The focus on these activities aligns with similar configurations of the cult on Delos itself. At Despotiko, the network of divinities included the cult of Hestia, which played a major role in Parian civic society. Although the sanctuaries at Paroikia and Despotiko were both inaugurated as Delia, a closer examination of their votive practices, building layouts and topography, and network of divinities, reveals slightly different cults, each focused on specific aspects of the Delian divinities. In this way, the existence of two Delia inaugurated by the same society makes perfect sense.

Conclusion

The analysis presented here accounts for some of the complexities of the polytheistic system and its local manifestations by comparing and contrasting the cult practices at two Parian sanctuaries where Apollo and Artemis were worshipped in proximity and similar cults on the island of Delos. The gods occupied several cult sites on the island, but only at the Delion on Paros and the sanctuary on Despotiko was the worship of the two so proximate. The study of Delian divinities (i.e., those whose cults were native to the island of Delos) reveals the intricacies of the relationships between the Delian pantheon and the cults of Apollo and Artemis. The archaeological inventories and the Delian mythological tradition alike indicate that Apollo and Artemis, when worshipped together, functioned as patrons of family ties. However, most of the cult activity directed toward these gods saw them venerated independently at separate sanctuaries where they were honoured with separate offerings and festivals. Their prerogatives also covered different areas of influence: Apollo patronised maritime affairs and political life while Artemis had a more locally-oriented cult emphasising the female experience (specifically, offering protection to young women preparing for marriage).

These subtle differences between the cults of Apollo Delios and Artemis Delia are well exemplified at the two independent Delian sanctuaries erected by the Parians. Specifically, at the Delion at Paroikia, Artemis was the dominant figure. Her cult, oriented toward land-based activities, was rich in female representation,

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77 For the Hestia Isthmia *bothros*, see Kourayos 2012, 122–123, figs. 43–44; Kourayos/Angliker/Daifa/Tully 2018, 115, Fig. 2.
78 For the cult of Hestia on Paros, see Kourayos/Angliker/Daifa/Tully 2018, 145.

functional (i.e., apotropaic), and designed to appeal to a modest local clientele, and its Delian resonances were strong. At the sanctuary at Despotiko, Apollo was the dominant figure, with a cult oriented toward maritime activity and characterised by rich monumentalisation and dedications of *kouroi* that served as a showcase for the Parian elite whose livelihood and prestige derived from maritime trade. Here, no direct reference to Delos is observable, though the wealth of the dedications is suggestive of the intense elite competition associated with the cult of Apollo on Delos.[79]

Abbreviations

IG   *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873–.
SEG   *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden, 1923–.

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Claudio Biagetti

Founders, Leaders, or Ancestors?
Ἀρχηγέτης/-ις: Variations on a Name

The compound ἀρχηγέτης belongs to a group of divine names emphasising the role of a deity in the constitution of a social aggregate or a civic community.[1] As scholarship has at times pointed out, it combines the idea of *leading* (ἡγεῖσθαι) with the notion of *origin* (ἀρχή),[2] alluding to a primaeval act of foundation in a rather different sense than the more widespread κτίστης.[3] Indeed, if one pays attention to the semantic background of its two etymological components, it can be stated that space (ἡγεῖσθαι) and time (ἀρχή) are intimately interwoven in this compound, which takes the shape of a sort of chronotopic unity.[4]

As the late Édouard Will remarked, the epithet ἀρχηγέτης/-ις is endowed with a multifaceted meaning that makes some modern translations (*founder* or *leader*) at the very least conventional and, in any case, semantically restricted.[5] In this case, the par-

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1 Brackertz 1976, 216–223; Leschhorn 1984, 180–185; Malkin 1987, 241–250.
2 Despite the inherent ambiguity of the term ἀρχή (*DELG s.v.* ἀρχή [B]), the notion of *origin* still seems to prevail over the meaning of *command* in the case of ἀρχηγέτης/-ις (cf. Malkin 1987, 243; Detienne 1994, 162). As C. Joachim Classen pointed out, "the early usage of ἀρχή leaves no doubt that it does not mark merely a beginning in time, [. . .] but the first link of a chain, the first step which is followed by others and has consequences as foundation or as determining factor" (Classen 1996, 24). In modern literature this lexical polyvalence has given rise to translations like *founder* or *leader*, as if they were interchangeable and/or referable to all possible contexts indiscriminately.
3 Cf. Casevitz 1985, 246. Οἰκιστής, another word semantically close to κτίστης (cf. Casevitz 1985, 248), appears to be used as a divine epithet only in few and questionable cases (see for example *BMC (Italy)* p. 353, Nr. 85 and p. 355, Nr. 105–108 for a Heracles 'Οἰκιστάς' in the late 5th-cent. coinage of Croton, or *I.Milet* VI 3, 1329, where the emperor Hadrian receives honours as Zeus Ὀλύμπιος, Σωτὴρ καὶ Οἰκιστής – they are, as said, pieces of evidence that deserve a broader discussion).
4 The notion of *chronotopos* draws upon the vocabulary of the natural sciences and was first applied by Michail M. Bachtin to the Human Sciences in the thirties of the 20th century (Frank 2015).
5 Will 1995, 322–323: "Lorsque le mot, désignant un dieu, un héros ou un humain, a pour complément un nom de cité, on le traduit souvent par 'fondateur', ce qui est à éviter. [. . .] Lorsqu'un dieu intervient dans une fondation de cité en tant qu'*archègetès*, c'est en tant que celui 'sous la conduite duquel' ou 'à l'instigation duquel' l'entreprise a été menée: fonction bien connue de l'Apollon de Delphes, dont les oracles indiquaient aux émigrants la direction à suivre et/ou les circonstances où s'arrêter: le dieu est le 'guide', 'celui qui dirige' l'expédition [. . .], non celui qui 'fonde' la cité". On the limits of the translatability of ἀρχηγέτης/-ις into modern languages, see Biagetti 2020.

Note: All dates are BCE, unless otherwise specified.

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tial loss of connotations typical of every translation process has to cope with the parallel limitation of functions assigned to the gods ἀρχηγέται. Basically, these deities are more often regarded as protectors of the colonisation movements along the same lines as Apollo Archegetes, who supported some important colonial expeditions like the undertaking of the Chalcidians to the Sicilian Naxos, or the crossing of the Thereans to Cyrene.[6] However, the contextualisation of every source in its own cultural, geographical, and chronological backdrop is not only needed; it becomes even more crucial in the attempt to grasp – whenever and wherever possible – the most authentic perception of this divine attribute.

Thus, the core of this paper will be a reconsideration of the view associating the epithet ἀρχηγέτης/-ις with the occupation of a land typical of colonial phenomena. Due to the large number of sources, one can tackle the question from many different standpoints and on different levels of interpretation. Hence, we will focus here on three major issues: first, the origin and spread of the compound ἀρχηγέτης/-ις in Archaic and Classical times; second, the gods the epithet is usually attached to and the way they are perceived by civic communities; third, its recurring connection with the royal power from the Archaic period down to Roman times.

1 Tracing the Origins

Although the origins of the compound ἀρχηγέτης/-ις are still open to debate, it is nevertheless indisputable that the earliest records point to a certain dissemination in Doric-Laconic milieu. Indeed, the word does not occur in Homeric poems, wherein functions comparable to those of an ἀρχηγέτης seem to be covered by the cognate ἀρχός,[7] nor in Hesiod's, who makes extensive use of ἀρχή almost exclusively to mean "beginning".[8] After all, it is worth stressing that ἀρχή is not very productive in the formation of compounds in Homeric poetry[9] and not at all in Hesiodic tradition.

The earliest evidence of the use of ἀρχηγέτης/-ις can be found in a funerary inscription from Thera, dating to the late 7th or early 6th century (IG XII 3, 762, l. 2).[10]

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6 See, for example, Robert 1969, 296: "Apollon était [. . .] le dieu archégètes traditionnel de la colonisation par son oracle de Delphes" (cf. BE 1976, Nr. 721). On the alleged Delphic connotations of the Apollo Archegetes, see below.

7 Il. 1, 144, 311; 2, 234, 493, 541, 618, 685, 703, 726, 778, 846; 4, 205, 464; 5, 39, 491, 577 . . . ; Od. 4, 496, 629, 653; 8, 162, 391; 10, 204; 21, 187.

8 Hes. Th. 45, 115, 156, 203, 408, 425, 452, 512; Op. 709; fr. 43a, 61 M.-W.

9 A single case of an adjective-noun compound may be found in Il. 5, 63 (ἀρχεκάκους). As for anthroponymic compounds, ἀρχή contributes to the formation of two names: Ἀρχέλοχος son of Antenor (Il. 2, 823; 12, 100; 14, 464) and Ἀρχεπτόλεμος, son of Iphitos (Il. 8 128, 312).

10 See e.g. Guarducci 1939–1940; Jeffery 1961, 144–146; Nafissi 2010, 105.

The reading of this text does not clarify whether the Therean ἀρκ*h*αγέτας is to be interpreted as a proper name or as a mere title of one of the deceased buried in the *polyandrion*.[11] What is worth highlighting, however, is that ἀρχηγέτης has in all likelihood nothing to do with a deity in this context, but is rather supposed to refer to a mortal.

Indeed, attributing ἀρχηγέτης/-ις to a deity or a mortal constitutes a primary distinguishing point in the study of the term. If one looks at the recipient of the title, a trait of continuity in the case of Thera may be traced to Sparta, where according to a passage of the Archaic *rhetra* reported by Plutarch, the first rulers of the city, i.e. Eurysthenes and Procles, or the ancestors of the local royal houses, Agis and Euryphon, were regarded as ἀρχαγέται (Plut. *Lyc.* 6, esp. 1–3).[12]

A Doric background is implied by sources enlightening the initial phase of the spreading of ἀρχηγέτης/-ις as a divine name, too. The epithet occurs for the first time in the fifth Pythian Ode (v. 60), composed by Pindar in 462 to hail the victory of Arcesilaus the Cyrenean in the chariot race.[13] Here, the poet recalls the foundation of Cyrene (ca. 631/0), emphasising the role played by Apollo as god ἀρχαγέτας.[14] However, Pindar just sketches out a well-known foundation story that shares some features with the parallel account reported by Herodotus (4, 150–158).[15] This myth assigns to the Delphic oracle the fostering of the expedition to Libya by Battos the Therean, and draws a parallel with the contents of the so-called Stele of the Founders (*SEG* 9, 3 = Meiggs – Lewis, *GHI* 5; first half of the 4th century), which records the ἀποικία of Battos as a venture led *according to the prescriptions of Apollo Ἀρχαγέτας* (ll. 10–11: κατὰ τὰν ἐπίταξιν τῶ Ἀπό[λ]|λωνος τῶ Ἀρχαγέτα).[16] The distant referent here is unquestionably the Delphic Apollo who, in the past, was regarded as the quintessential god of colonisation who metaphorically leads settlers to some kind of 'promised land'.[17]

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11 For the interpretation of ἀρκ*h*αγέτας as a personal name, see Guarducci 1939–1940, who followed Boeckh 1836, 78–79 and F. Blass *ap. SGDI* 4808.

12 For the main terms of the debate, see Jeffery 1961, 144–146; Carlier 1984, 310–314; Nafissi 2010, 104–111 (with further references).

13 The chronology of the poem is established by *Sch.* Pind. *Pyth.* 5, *inscr.* (II, p. 171, 24–25 Drachmann).

14 Pind. *Pyth.* 5, esp. 55–88.

15 On these Herodotean chapters, see Nafissi 1980–1981, 186–194; Corcella/Medaglia/Fraschetti 1993, 332–350; Vannicelli 1993, 123–139; Malkin 1987, 60–69 and Malkin 2003. On the relationships between the texts of Pindar and Herodotus, see Calame 1990, 305–319; Nafissi 1980–1981, 194–199; Giangiulio 2001.

16 Significant textual improvements in Dobias-Lalou 1994 (= *SEG* 43, 1185). On the contents of this inscription, see *inter alia* Graham 1960; Jeffery 1961; Dušanić 1978.

17 Cf. *SEG* 9, 3, ll. 16–18: Καταγράφεν δὲ τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν στάλ[αν] | λυγδίναν, θέμεν τὰν στάλαν ἐς τὸ ἰαρὸν τὸ πατρῷιον τ[ῶ] | Ἀπόλλωνος τῶ Πυθίω. Indeed, the traditions recording the selection of the ten ἀρχηγέται of the Athenian *phylai,* and the Aristotelian account mentioning the role played by the Pythia in selecting their names, strengthen this assumption (Arist. *AP* 21, 6; cf. Hdt. 5, 66, 2; Aristoph. *fr.* 135 Kassel-Austin). As for the Apollo Ἀρχηγέτης in the Sicilian Naxos, cf.

The case of Naxos in Sicily has been sometimes brought up to corroborate this image of Apollo as god ἀρχηγέτης and patron of the founders. According to a tradition mentioned by Thucydides (6, 3, 1), which probably drew upon the work of Antiochus of Syracuse,[18] an altar to Apollo Ἀρχηγέτης was erected by the Chalcidian settlers of Naxos, the first Greek colony of Sicily (734).[19] The use of ἀρχηγέτης in the Thucydidean narrative has led a significant part of modern scholars to take for granted an active role of the Delphic oracle behind this colonial enterprise.[20] However, Thucydides does not make mention of an involvement of the Delphic oracle as inspirer of the foundation, nor do later sources like Strabo (following Ephorus), Pausanias and Appianus point to any Delphic intervention.[21] As a matter of fact, this assumption rests on the still widespread idea that every single colonial expedition must have been validated by an Apollinean response, an assertion that has been questioned by a number of studies dedicated to the dynamics of the Greek colonisation.[22] As for the case of Naxos, what is more, the identification of Apollo Ἀρχηγέτης with the god of Delphi has been challenged by rejecting the connections between the Sicilian cult and the worship of Apollo on Delos, the latter being performed at a short distance from the homeland of the Cycladic component of the Naxian settlers.[23] A papyrus fragment of Pindar (*fr.* 140a Snell-Maehler = G8 Rutherford) shows that the epithet ἀρχηγέτης may have been occasionally associated with the Delian Apollo too, something that seems

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Malkin 1986, 960: "Who was Apollo at Naxos? This seems to be the key question. Was he the god of colonization *par excellence*, namely, the god of Delphoi whose oracle played an important role in Greek colonization in the archaic period?". Re-emerging from time to time in the scholarship (see *e.g.* Parke – Wormell 1956, I, 66–67; Forrest 1957, 165 and 172), such a view still meets some acceptance, however not without drawing some criticism (see below in this section).

18 Dover 1953; Luraghi 1991; Murray 2014.

19 The position where the altar stood has not been pinpointed so far. Though conclusive evidence is still lacking, it is usually assumed that it should lie along the coastline north of the ancient site, not far from the current church of *San Pancrazio* in modern Giardini Naxos (Muscolino/Cordano/Lentini/Struffolino 2014).

20 Malkin 1986; Ager 2008, 158; Murray 2014, 463–464, 468–470.

21 Strab. 6, 2, 2 (citing Ephor. *BNJ* 70 F 137a), 4; Paus. 6, 13, 8; App. *BC* 5, 109, 454–455. See also Ps. Scymn. 270–278; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χαλκίς (χ 17 Billerbeck – Neumann-Hartmann, with quotation of Hellanic. *BNJ* 4 F 82).

22 For the Greek foundations in Southern Italy, see the statistics provided by Hall 2008, 400–402. Notoriously, the impact of the Delphic Apollo on the Greek colonisation represents one of the most heatedly debated topics of the entire Greek history (see for example Parke – Wormell 1956, I, 49–81; Forrest 1957; Londey 1990; Lombardo 2011).

23 Scepticism has been expressed by Donnellan 2015, 47 (but cf. however p. 57, where she emphasises the alleged Delphic undertones of the Thucydidean narrative) and especially Sammartano 2018, 73–76. On the identification of the Apollo of Naxos with the god of Delos, see Brelich 1964–1965, 45–47; Brugnone 1980; Sammartano 2018, 76–79 (with further references); cf. also Van Compernolle 1950–1951, who considers plausible a Delphic endorsement behind the colonial undertaking to Sicily (181).

to undermine the Delphic undertones assigned to the Apollo Ἀρχηγέτης of Naxos.[24] What remains of this text, probably deriving from a *Paean*, depicts the arrival of Heracles on Paros, where the Alcides landed abiding by the will of the Delian Apollo, here referred to as the ἀρχαγέτας Δάλου (= G8, 30 Rutherford).[25]

Admittedly, the onomastic option followed by Pindar in the latter fragment has found so far just one mid-Hellenistic parallel for Apollo in the Delian epigraphy.[26] Nonetheless, this choice appears to be by no means the virtuosity of a great poet but may rather betray a good knowledge of Delian cult traditions. Since the second half of the 6th century, the attribute ἀρχηγέτης was tied to the local worship paid to Anios, a son of Apollo who is known by the *Cypria* to be the father of the Oinotropoi and the host of the Achaeans, some time before their expedition to Troy.[27] His cult took place in the Delian sanctuary named Ἀρχηγέσιον,[28] where French archaeologists retrieved hundreds of inscribed ex-votos addressing the dedicatee of the sanctuary as Ἄνιος, θεός, βασιλεύς and – of course – ἀρχηγέτης (*I.Délos* 35, 1–5).[29] Because of the title ἀρχηγέτης, Anios, whom the literary sources depict as soothsayer and king of Delos, is regarded by Francis Prost as *la concrétisation culturelle du souvenir d'une ancienne colonisation*[30] – or, in other words, as the exemplary embodiment of a founding figure associated with a colonial settlement. In this respect, however, one wonders to what extent the notion of 'colonisation' is appropriate for a figure like Anios (be he a local semi-god or hero), given that his functions do not overlap those of, say, the Apollo of the Sicilian Naxos or Cyrene, and nor do they perfectly parallel those of a hero like Battos.[31] A strict categorisation of every single ἀρχηγέτης or ἀρχηγέτις as a *patron of settlers* or *colonial leader* may be misleading. As for the gods ἀρχηγέται, it is perhaps wiser to address the intertwined issues concerning their function and the meaning of their attribute in more blurred terms. It is perhaps more convenient to turn back to approaches that lend attention to the symbolism of the socio-political organisation of space, and appeal to more

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24 This fragmentary text re-emerged in an Oxyrhynchian papyrus dating to the end of the 1st or 2nd cent. CE (P.Oxy. 3, 408 = *LDAB* 3708 = *TM* 62527).

25 For a recent interpretation of the poem, see Lucarini 2011 (with further references).

26 *I.Délos* 1506 (145/4).

27 See for example *Cypr. fr.* 29 Bernabé; Simonid. *PMG* 537; Pherecyd. *BNJ* 3 F 140; Call. *Aet. fr.* 188 Pfeiffer; Lyc. *Alex.* 569–583. These and other literary sources were collected by Bruneau 1970, 413–420.

28 On the sanctuary, see Robert 1953; Prost 2001.

29 Cf. Prost 2001, 110 e Prost 2002, 305–306. Unfortunately, all these materials have yet to be published.

30 Prost 2002, 318. On Anios βασιλεύς or *rex*, see Dion. Hal. *AR* 1, 50; 59; Diod. 5, 79, 2; Verg. *Aen.* 3, 80; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 3, 80. On his mantic skills, see Diod. 5, 62, 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1, 21; cf. Pherecyd. *BNJ* 3 F 140.

31 Cf. Prost 2001, 114–117 and Prost 2002, 317–318. On this issue, see now, more cautiously, Boffa 2019, 187; cf. below, section 3.

inclusive and flexible notions like territorialisation.[32] And this claims not to be a mere change in translation and/or terminology, but rather represents a shift in conceptual and interpretative parameters, which might allay some troubles in profiling the traits of another prominent deity regarded as ἀρχηγέτις: Athena at Athens.

In a disputed passage of the *Lysistrata,* Aristophanes alludes to Athena by evoking her as ἀρχηγέτις (Ar. *Lys.* 643–644).[33] This is the first reliable evidence attesting to the eponymic use in association with the city goddess.[34] Indeed, the poetic framework recommends some care in dealing with ἀρχηγέτις as a proper cult epithet, but it is worth noting that this poetic choice achieved some success from the 4th century onwards, since the attribute came to follow the name of Athena ever more often, both in public epigraphy and in literary sources.[35] It is hardly conceivable that Aristophanes meant to refer to any 'colonial' function of Athena by choosing the term ἀρχηγέτις. As a well-known mythographic and iconographic theme reports, after the conflict with Poseidon περὶ τῆς χώρας, Athena took possession of Athens by planting the olive tree and teaching the first native inhabitants to live in κοινωνία.[36] In a sense, she was not the very *foundress* of the *polis*, but the '*initiatress*' of a new age of cultural, social, and political order.[37]

A comparable conceptual and cosmological background presides over the emphatic use of the name ἀρχηγέτης by Sophron of Syracuse, an author of mimes who lived in the 5th century.[38] In one of his fragments he refers to Zeus as ἀρχαγέτας πάντων (Sophron *fr.* 41 Kassel-Austin), drawing upon a well-established poetical tradition that ascribed to the god the ἀρχή of the cosmic order.[39] Although this attribute

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32 Cf. Detienne 1990; Malkin 1990.

33 Cf. Anderson 1995, 50. The identification of the ἀρχηγέτις with Artemis, assumed and strenuously maintained by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (Sourvinou-Inwood 1971 and 1988, 136–159), has been repeatedly refuted and is outdated (Stinton 1976; Grebe 1999; Perusino 2002).

34 An earlier inscription discovered on the slopes of the Acropolis (perhaps, a phyletic decree concerning a sacred property) is likely to date back to the mid-5th century and hints at an ἀρχηγέτις or ἀρχηγέτης whose identity is unfortunately no longer recognisable due to the serious damage sustained by the stone (*IG* I[3] 1, 252, l. 4: ἀρχεγετ[−]; cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 100). Indeed, the attribution of the name ἀρχηγέτις to Athena seems to have been affected by the cults paid to phyletic and demic eponyms, who were honoured as ἀρχηγέται from the end of the 6th cent. onwards (see above n. 17).

35 Some examples from Hellenistic Athens are *IG* II/III[3] 1, 900 (273/2); II/III[3] 1, 911 (270/69); II/III[3] 1, 1239 (around 200); II/III[3] 4, 1386 (mid-2nd cent.). Cf. Biagetti 2019.

36 Apoll. *Bibl.* 3, 14, 1; Cornut. 20, 40 (cf. also Hdt. 8, 55; Paus. 1, 24, 5). For the representation of the struggle between Athena and Poseidon on the western pediment of the Parthenon, see the overview in Palagia 2005, 242–253.

37 For similar functions of Apollo, cf. Malkin 1989 and Prost 2001.

38 Hordern 2004, 2–4.

39 See for example Terpand. *PMG* 697: Ζεῦ πάντων ἀρχά, πάντων ἀγήτωρ, | Ζεῦ, σοὶ πέμπω ταύταν ὕμνων ἀρχάν. More references in Gostoli 1990, 132–136. For Zeus as god of the order, see for example Linke 2006.

was rarely assigned to Zeus,[40] indeed it depicts very well his divine functions and, more significantly, its use is peculiarly meaningful in the work of the Syracusan Sophron, who was likely not unaware of the cult of Apollo Ἀρχηγέτης in Naxos.

As a preliminary conclusion, it can be said with a measure of confidence that, according to available evidence, the origins of the compound ἀρχηγέτης/-ις can be traced back at least to the end of the 7th century.[41] However, the use of ἀρχηγέτης/-ις as a divine attribute of Apollo occurs in literary sources from the 5th century that attempt to record circumstances going back to the 8th or 7th century.[42] Up to the end of 5th century, one encounters ἀρχηγέτης/-ις associated with the names of three Olympic gods, i.e. Apollo, Athena and Zeus. Nonetheless, the title was attached to other semi-divine figures like Anios on Delos or the heroes ἀρχηγέται in Attica.[43] Taken as a whole, if we look at the functions fulfilled by the gods and heroes ἀρχηγέται in the earliest evidence, they seem to take the shape of tutelary figures presiding over the occupation of a land and protecting at the same time the social and institutional order established on that land.

2 Mapping the Ἀρχηγέται

A second point of this overview looks into the identity of the deities honoured with the attribute ἀρχηγέτης/-ις in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean. As already shown, in Archaic and Classical times, the number of Olympic gods characterised as ἀρχηγέται was essentially restricted to Apollo, Athena, and Zeus. Evidence ranging from the Late Classical period to the Roman times demonstrates a consistent use of the epithet in divine onomastic sequences attested at Cyrene,[44] Delos,[45] and Athens.[46] Meanwhile, during the Hellenistic age, Apollo came to be named ἀρχηγέτης in some large

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40 See *I.Nordkarien* 406, ll. 6–7 (Reign of Claudius); very uncertain is the reading of *IG* I³ 1024, a (ca. 550, from Sounion): – – – ϱον Διὶ ἀ[ρ]χ[εγέτει].

41 *IG* XII 3, 762.

42 Cyrene: Pind. *Pyth.* 5, 55–88; Hdt. 4, 150–158. Naxos: Thuc. 6, 1, 3; App. *BC* 5, 109, 454–455.

43 Anios: *I.Délos* 35, 5. On the Attic ἀρχηγέται, see above n. 17.

44 *IG Cyrenaica* 011000 = *SEG* 9, 3, ll. 10–11 (beginning of the 4th cent.); *IG Cyrenaica* 011200, l. 26 (155). The identity of the Ἀρχαγέτας mentioned in *IG Cyrenaica* 109200 (1st half of the 3rd cent.) without any other specification remains an unsolved question (ll. 8–11: καὶ ἤ̣ κα τοὶ ταμία[ι] | Προθεάρια | τῶι Ἀρχαγέται | θύωντι): although an identification with Apollo has been convincingly argued, nevertheless, the possibility that the recipient of the sacrifices mentioned in this inscription was in fact Battos cannot be ruled out (see Ali Mohamed/Reynolds/Dobias-Lalou 2007, 18, 30–35).

45 *I.Délos* 1506, l. 10 (145/4).

46 *IG* II/III³ 1, 900 (273/2); 1, 911 (270/69); 1, 1239 (around 200); 4, 1386 (mid-2nd cent.); 4, 12 (early Augustan age); 4, 1403 (mid-1st cent. CE); 4, 1406, fr. *b* (1st/2nd cent. CE); 4, 1393 (61/2 CE); 4, 1407 (Roman Imperial times).

cities of the Greek East, such as Hierapolis in Phrygia,[47] Halicarnassos,[48] Attaleia[49] and Apamea in Syria.[50]

To reaffirm and enhance the role of the city god in the constitution of the *polis* – and, thus, reinforce the cohesiveness of the civic body in a new world dominated by the Hellenistic kingdoms and later by the Roman power –, the attribution of ἀρχηγέτης extends increasingly to other deities whose cults still display both tutelary and identity implications. In Hellenistic times, we know of Artemis Ἀρχηγέτις at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander,[51] Leto Ἀρχηγέτις at Xanthos,[52] and Dionysus Ἀρχαγέτας at Teos;[53] later on, one encounters Hera Ἀρχηγέτις at Samos,[54] the goddess Eleuthera Ἀρχηγέτις in Lycia,[55]

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47 *I.Hierapolis Judeich* 2, l. 1 (2nd cent. CE); *SEG* 62, 1216, l. 3 (2nd cent. CE); *Steinepigramme* 1, 02/12/01–04 (*Aufz.*), l. 1 (ca. 165/6 CE); *SEG* 56, 1500 (probably 2nd half of the 2nd cent. CE); Carettoni 1963–1964, 414–415, l. 1 (2nd cent. or 1st half of the 3rd cent. CE); *I.Hierapolis Judeich* 4 = *SEG* 57, 1367, l. 1 (205–207 CE); *SEG* 57, 1368, l. 1 (220–235 CE); *I.Hierapolis Judeich* 153, l. 5 (Roman Imperial times). *BMC (Phrygia)* p. 231, Nr. 23 (2nd cent. CE); p. 233, Nr. 34 (2nd cent. CE); p. 234, Nr. 46 (3rd cent. CE); cf. also *SEG* 62, 1191, l. 6 (1st cent. CE; from the rural shrine of Apollo at Güzelpınar, 10 km. north-east of Hierapolis).

48 Wilhelm 1905, 238, l. 3 (2nd/1st cent.); Wilhelm 1905, 239 (I), ll. 4–5 (2nd/1st cent.); Wilhelm 1905, 239 (II), l. 2 (2nd/1st cent.); Wilhelm 1905, 241, ll. 4–5 (2nd/1st cent.); Michel, *Recueil* 1200, l. 9 (1st cent.); *Syll.*[3] 1066 = *IG* XII 4, 935, ll. 13–14, 16–17 (End of the 1st cent. BCE or beginning of the 1st cent. CE); *I. British Mus.* 893, l. 50 (1st half of the 1st cent. CE); *SEG* 44, 877, l. 7 (undated).

49 *IGR* 3, 780, l. 8 (Roman Imperial times); 781 = *SEG* 6, 651 = *SEG* 17, 586, ll. 4–5 (2nd cent. CE).

50 *SEG* 48, 1844, ll. 15–16 (Reign of Hadrian).

51 3rd/2nd cent.: *I.Magnesia* 37, l. 10 (Athens); 41, l. 6 (Sicyon); 46, l. 19 (Epidamnos); 50, ll. 18–19 (Paros); 52, ll. 11–12 (Mitylene or Eresos, together with Methymna and Antissa); 53, ll. 7–8 (Clazomenai [?] and Ionian cities); 54, ll. 8–9 + 89, ll. 25–26 (Technitai of Dionysus); 56, ll. 12–13 (Cnidos [?]); 60, l. 16–17 (unknown city); 61, l. 26 (Antioch in Persis); 62, l. 3 (unknown city); 63, l. 7 (unknown city); 64, l. 19 (unknown city); 79–80, l. 5 (Antioch of Pisidia or Alabanda); 85, l. 5 (Tralleis); 87, ll. 9–10 (unknown city); cf. also *I.Magnesia* 16, l. 21 (foundation decree of Leucophryena); 18, ll. 7–8 (Letter from Antiochus III); 19, ll. 8–9 (Letter from Antiochus, son of Antiochus III); 100, ll. 18–19 (decree with prescriptions concerning the cult of Artemis Leucophryene).

52 *SEG* 38, 1476, ll. 17–18 (206/5).

53 Rigsby, *Asylia* 154, l. 20–21 (170–140, from Aptera); 155, ll. 33–34 (170–140; from Eranna); 159, ll. 12, 23–24 (170–140; from the Arcadians in Crete); 161, ll. 19–20 (170–140; from an unidentified Cretan city). The Doric ἀρχαγέτας follows the dialect form used by the Cretan communities, which voted for the concession of the *asylia* to the city and territory of Teos. In connection with this, even though the use of ἀρχαγέτας makes good sense in Dionysus' role in the foundation of the Teian community (see below in this section), it cannot be denied that the recurrence of the divine name in the decrees from Crete alone is somewhat problematic and, at least in this case, it does not guarantee that the attribute was really in use among Teians (however, see below n. 57, where the use of ἀρχηγός in *SEG* 38, 1227 is attested).

54 *IG* XII 6, 1, 7, frr. b-d, ll. 46–47 (ca. 5); *IG* XII 6, 1, 305 (Reign of Augustus); *IG* XII 6, 1, 330 (1st half of the 1st cent. CE); *IG* XII 6, 1, 300 (Reign of Caligula); *IG* XII 6, 2, 581 (1st cent. CE); *IG* XII 6, 2, 727 (2nd half of the 2nd cent. CE); *IG* XII 6, 2, 610 = *SEG* 51, 1087 (306–311 CE).

55 Cyaneae: *SEG* 40, 1270 (Reign of Augustus); *IGR* 3, 700 (Reign of Antoninus Pius); Myra: *IGR* 3, 704, II A, l. 9 (Reign of Antoninus Pius); *IGR* 3, 714, ll. 15–16 (Roman Imperial times).

and Artemis Ἀρχηγέτις at Ephesos.[56] Obviously, almost all of these cults took place in the most representative sanctuaries of their respective communities. Moreover, many of them enjoyed renown well beyond the boundaries of their neighbourhoods and, in cases like the cults for Athena at Athens, Artemis at Ephesos and Hera at Samos, they even rose to a Panhellenic dimension.

Interestingly enough (and quite unsurprisingly), the emic point of view largely prevails in the available sources. A number of foundation stories were claimed to underpin the close ties between a human group and their divine patron and, as one would easily expect for an ἀρχηγέτης, they emphasised the intervention of the god in the birth of a city and/or its institutions. In some lucky cases, literary sources explicitly refer to local traditions underlining the genetic relationships between a god ἀρχηγέτης and the land or city under his protection. A couple of examples may be revealing. According to Diodorus (Diod. 3, 66, 1–2), the Teians maintained that Dionysus was born in their territory and proved their claim by showing a spring gushing with wine.[57] Glossing over the universally known role of Athena in the foundation of Athens, the Herodotean account of the foundation of Cyrene (4, 155–159) drew upon traditions reported by Cyrenians, who were concerned *inter alia* with highlighting the involvement of the Delphic Apollo in the establishment of the new settlement.[58] Although the epithet ἀρχηγέτης does not appear in the narrative of Herodotus, it is used by Pindar in a different version of the Cyrenean foundation myth (*Pyth.* 5, 60) that equally relied on local accounts.[59] In cases such as those of Teos, Athens and Cyrene, literary records parallel with epigraphical evidence, the latter attesting the use of ἀρχηγέτης or ἀρχηγέτις for Dionysus, Athena, and Apollo respectively.

As is the case with the literary sources, the inscriptions mentioning the ἀρχηγέται usually come from within a political community. Examples abound and are sometimes even spectacular, as the inscribed dedication on the gate of Athena ἀρχηγέτις in the Roman Agora of Athens shows.[60] In this respect, cases of gods ἀρχηγέται honoured outside their homeland are probably the most telling. In the second half of the 3rd century, for example, a decree of the Athenians relating to some Prieneans attending the penteteric Panathenaea was published at Priene: therein,

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56 *I.Ephesos* 1398, ll. 3, 14 (Julio-Claudian Age); *I.Ephesos* 27, l. 20 (104 CE).

57 A core of this lore could well go back to the Archaic age, when Anacreon named the city Ἀθαμαντίς after Athamas, a homonymous descendant of the husband of Ino, who had hosted Dionysus shortly after the birth of the god (Anacr. *PMG* 118; Pherecyd. *BNJ* 3 F 102; Strab. 14, 1, 3; Paus. 7, 3, 6; cf. *SEG* 38, 1227 [ca. 204; letter of the kings of the Athamanes concerning the *asylia* of Teos], col. I, ll. 10–11: ὑπαρχούσας ἡμῖν συγγενείας πρὸς αὐτὸν | τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς κοινῆς προσηγορίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων).

58 See esp. Giangiulio 2001 (with further references, esp. on p. 121, n. 14).

59 See, once again, the remarks by Giangiulio 2001. On the personal relationship established by Pindar with his commissioners, see Angeli Bernardini 1985.

60 *IG* II/III³, 4, 12 = *IG* II², 3175 (early Augustan era).

Athenians referred to Athena Ἀρχηγέτις as patron goddess of their city (*I.Priene*² 99 = *IG* II/III³, 1, 1239, ll. 11–12). In a striking contrast, a decree of the Prieneans, which was probably approved more than a century earlier, had already proclaimed to send civic envoys to Athens every four years to attend – once again – the Panathenaea for the Πολιάς of Athens (*I.Priene*² 5, ll. 1–6, 10–13). Various reasons could lie behind these two ways of naming the Athena of Athens in Priene; indeed, the fact that each decree was ultimately passed by a different city council is likely to be interpreted as the main ground for this apparent inconsistency.

Numismatics may provide an additional clue when literary and epigraphic sources fail to provide information in terms of self-representation. The laureate head of the young Apollo, for example, appears on the coins of the Sicilian Naxos only in the last quarter of the 5th century.[61] As Lieve Donnellan pointed out, these issues followed some series of coins struck at Leontini since the 460s, which portray Apollo in a similar fashion.[62] According to Diodorus (Diod. 11, 49, 2), Leontini, an ancient sub-colony of Naxos, hosted a group of Naxians after the destruction of their city by Hieron of Syracuse (ca. 476). As Donnellan argues, the cult of Apollo Ἀρχηγέτης may have operated as a shared religious link between the mother-city and its colony during Naxians' exile.[63] No surprise, thus, when one century later the inhabitants of Tauromenion, a city founded in 358 on the ashes of Naxos (destroyed by Dionysius I in 403/2),[64] chose to revive in their new issues some motives of the old Naxian coinage,[65] even adding the legend ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ to the profile of Apollo.[66]

Again, the legend ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΗΣ marks out some imperial series of bronze coins from the Phrygian Hierapolis, which bear on their obverse the bust of Apollo, the city god.[67] Literary tradition sheds little light on the origins of the city. The involvement of Apollo in the foundation of Hierapolis is supposed to be – as in other cases – inspirational only and largely indirect, whether one appreciates the elusive reference to his son Mopsos as a part of a more elaborated founding myth,[68] or embraces the modern assumption of a Seleucid establishment in the name of Apollo, the dynastic god of the Seleucids.[69] Indeed, as heir of an earlier indigenous deity, Apollo may well be regarded as the main patron of Hierapolis from the outset, something that should have contributed to making his temple the most magnificent

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61 *BMC (Sicily)*, p. 120, Nr. 20–22; cf. Cahn 1944, 61–62, 90–93.

62 Donnellan 2012, 176; Donnellan 2015, 52–55.

63 Donnellan 2012, 181; Donnellan 2015, 53–54.

64 Diod. 14, 15, 2.

65 Diod. 16, 7, 1; cf. Diod. 14, 87, 4–88, 4.

66 *BMC (Sicily)*, p. 231, Nr. 15–17; p. 232, Nr. 25–26, 29–32; cf. Cahn 1944, 95.

67 *BMC (Phrygia)* p. 231, Nr. 23 (2nd cent. CE); p. 233, Nr. 34 (2nd cent. CE) ; p. 234, Nr. 46 (3rd cent. CE).

68 *Steinepigramme* 1, 02/12/01, ll. 13–17; *BMC (Phrygia)* p. 232, Nr. 32 (2nd cent. CE). See Pugliese Carratelli 1963–1964, 364–365 and, more recently, Guizzi 2014.

69 See Kolb 1974, 268; cf. J. and L. Robert in *BE* 1976, Nr. 668 and 721.

and representative of the city;[70] on the other hand, however, the remarkable chronological consistency of both numismatic and epigraphic evidence suggests that the attribution of the title ἀρχηγέτης to Apollo occurred at a later stage, most likely between the 1st and the 2nd century CE.[71]

3 The Ἀρχηγέτης and the *Genos*

The allusion just made to Apollo as a tutelary god of the Seleucids leads us to the last point of this overview, i.e. the connections between the epithet ἀρχηγέτης and the monarchic sphere. Since Archaic times, the term ἀρχηγέτης has shown a special relationship with kingship. The Apollo Ἀρχαγέτας of Cyrene was not only the patron of the founder and king Battos; he was also regarded as a divine counterpart of Battos himself, who – like Apollo – was locally revered as ἀρχαγέτας.[72] As pointed out above, two royal ancestors of Sparta, the distant mother-city of Cyrene, were also called ἀρχαγέται in the Archaic *rhetra*.[73] If one looks at the mythical and cultic relationships between the god and the founder-king, the case of Cyrene parallels that of Delos to some extent.[74] There, the figure of the ἀρχηγέτης Anios, alleged son of Apollo and king of the island, received a cult from the 2nd half of the 6th century in the sanctuary named Ἀρχηγέσιον and, like the Cyrenians, the Delians too could address Apollo as their ἀρχηγέτης.

Some centuries later, at the beginning of the Hellenistic era, the Seleucid kings recognised Apollo as their divine ancestor and protector. Indeed, epigraphical evidence echoes the royal claims pointedly.[75] In an honorary decree issued by Iasos dating to the

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70 On the indigenous cult of Apollo Κάρ(ε)ιος, see Pugliese Carratelli 1963–1964, 362–363; Ritti 1989–1990, 862–863 and Ritti 2017, 104–106. On the temple of Apollo at Hierapolis, see Ismaelli 2017a, 320–322 (for the Julio-Claudian age) and Ismaelli 2017b. The earliest piece of evidence that attests to the use of ἀρχηγέτης in the area of Hierapolis (*SEG* 62, 1191) comes from the suburban sanctuary of Apollo Κάρ(ε)ιος at Güzelpınar (1st cent. CE).

71 To posit that the cult of Apollo Ἀρχηγέτης goes back to the times of the foundation of Hierapolis (cf. Ritti 1989–1990, 862; Guizzi 2014, 35) means, in practical terms, that already in the 3rd century BCE the attribute ἀρχηγέτης would have been a possible option in the divine onomastic sequences of the local Apollo, an assertion that enjoys no real support in available evidence. Similarly, identifying the temple B of Apollo as the one of the god Ἀρχηγέτης might be somewhat appropriate for the sacred building erected in the 1st or 2nd century CE, but certainly not for the earlier stages of it (cf. esp. Ismaelli 2017a, 320–322) – unless, of course, new discoveries prove the local use of ἀρχηγέτης also for the Hellenistic period.

72 *IG Cyrenaica* 016700 = *CGRN* 99, l. 22 (325–300). On the monumental tomb of Battos in the agora, see Pind. *Pyth.* 5, 92–95 (with Σ *ad loc.*). On the archaeological activities carried out on the site of the tomb, see Parisi Presicce 2007.

73 Plut. *Lyc.* 6, 1; 3.

74 See above, § 1.

75 See *I.Erythrai* 205, ll. 74–76 (around 281).

beginnings of the 2nd century, Apollo is explicitly stated to be the θεὸς ἀρχηγέτης τοῦ γένους τῶμ βασιλέων, the god ancestor of the royal stock,[76] a claim that is expressed in a similar fashion in a couple of contemporary inscriptions from Ilion (ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ γένους).[77] An indirect reference to the godly roots of the Seleucids may be found in a decree of Tralleis/Seleucia that details an agreement of *isopoliteia* with Miletos (218/7) and that prescribes a common sacrifice for Apollo Didymaeus as shared ἀρχηγέτης τῆς οἰκειότητος.[78] An anecdotal tradition preserved by Iustinus substantiates the epigraphic information on the divine descent of Seleucus I, reporting the colourful story of a dreamlike intercourse between his mother Laodice and the god.[79] Returning briefly to the aforementioned notion of *chronotopos* (and without stressing too much a concept that may sound eccentric in this context), while keeping its temporal undertones unchanged, the name ἀρχηγέτης reduces its spatial connotations to the sole Seleucid *genos*, thus contributing to bringing out the preferential and almost exclusive relationship between the members of the royal family and Apollo, their alleged ancestor.

Since the beginning of the Roman imperial age, likewise, Greek-speaking authors made use of the divine attribute ἀρχηγέτης/-ις to put forward Aphrodite as the ancestress of the Julian family.[80] This onomastic choice belongs to a larger trend that sees an increase in the number of gods honoured as ἀρχηγέται from the reign of Augustus onwards.[81] By means of this title, some civic communities came to lend new emphasis to their genetic connection with a divine ancestor: major examples like the Athenian Athena, the Ephesian Artemis and the Samian Hera have already been recalled in the previous pages. Except for Athena, none of these goddesses were called ἀρχηγέτιδες before and this is conceivably the result of – first and foremost – the Augustan promotion of ancestral cults.[82] However, much more can be said about this. The imperial cult often took place next to the most representative deity of one *polis* and evidence from Athens, Samos and Ephesos shows that

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76 *I.Iasos* 4, ll. 54–55 (200–190).

77 *I.Ilion* 31, ll. 13–14 (281); 32, ll. 26–27 (around 280 or 197). In consideration of the evidence coming from Ilion, Jeanne and Louis Robert suggested restoring the phrasing τὸν ἀρχη[γὸν τοῦ | γένους Ἀπόλλωνα] in *CID* IV 98, A, ll. 13–14, an Amphictyonic decree for Antiochus III dating to 201/0 (*BE* 1955, Nr. 122).

78 *I.Milet* I 3, 143 = *I.Tralles* 20, ll. 65–66; cf. *I.Milet* VI, 1, pp. 176–177. On the notion of οἰκειότης, its meaning and uses in Antiquity, see esp. Will 1995 and Sammartano 2007 (with further references).

79 Iust. *Epit.* 15, 4; cf. Euphor. *fr.* 119 Lightfoot; App. *Syr.* 56, 284–285.

80 Strab. 14, 2, 19; Cass. Dio 43, 22, 2. For Aeneas ἀρχηγέτης of the Romans, see Strab. 13, 1, 27; Cass. Dio 1, p. 4 Boissevain (= Zonar. *Epit.* 7, 1). Other references in Biagetti 2020, 31–34.

81 Similarities and differences between the Hellenistic ruler cult and the Roman imperial cult have often been highlighted by scholars (for an overview, see esp. Price 1984, 23–77 and Chaniotis 2003, 442–443 with further references).

82 On this point, see recently Brélaz 2017. Essential insights into the religious policy of Augustus can be found in Scheid 2005.

the emperor enjoyed the title of ἀρχηγέτης or κτίστης, perhaps – but not certainly – as a consequence of some kind of benefactions towards the community.[83] Interestingly, as happens to heroes and kings in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic times, the figure of the Roman emperor tends to be aligned with that of a god, thus becoming a counterpart of the city deity.[84]

4 Scattered Thoughts from an Ongoing Inquiry

At the end of this overview, some aspects of ἀρχηγέτης as an onomastic attribute of a god deserve some more consideration.

First, ἀρχηγέτης is usually regarded as an epithet which *puts the god and space in equation* almost prototypically. Indeed, a strong interconnection between a divine patron and the land settled in his name is apparent, being at the root of the symbolic dimension of territorialisation. However, explaining the function of a divine ἀρχηγέτης as that of a quintessential god of colonisation – as frequently happens with Apollo – is, in my opinion, misleading: such an interpretation does not fit the available evidence and does not account for other implications that the use of the epithet discloses.

Second, what emerges from a great number of sources is the paramount importance of the god ἀρχηγέτης as the supreme and most representative symbol of the group identity. Marking the god's regulative intervention at the very dawn of the community (since the ἀρχή, as one could say), the epithet ἀρχηγέτης describes the function of the deity who inspired the constitution and the organisation of a social aggregate. Symbolic and indirect as it generally is, his primordial agency is recalled precisely by the attribute ἀρχηγέτης and re-asserted from time to time in the ritual practice of the major sanctuary of the community.

A third point worth stressing is the linkage between a patron deity and kingship. The genetic association of a god ἀρχηγέτης with a mythical or historical ruler usually stems from the desire of a group or a community to enhance the prestige of their own origin. At times, the dynamics of this process led to the superimposition of the attributes of the divine ancestor onto a human founder (or re-founder) and, by a logical consequence, to the establishment and legitimation of a cult for both.

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83 Athens: *IG* II² 3237 (ἀρχηγέτης); Samos: *IG* XII 6, 1, 400 (κτίστης); Ephesos: *I.Ephesos* 252 (κτίστης). It is perhaps Augustus who is evoked as ἀρχηγέτης in *I.Olympia* 53 (l. 29: . . ., καὶ γενόμενος ἀρχηγέτη[ς] | [—]), a decree passed most likely between 6 BCE and 2 CE in the council of an unknown *polis* of Asia Minor. For the celebration of the imperial cult in the context of sanctuaries dedicated to ancestral gods, see esp. Price 1984, 146–156. Pont 2007 casts doubts on the connection between the attribution of the title κτίστης to Roman emperors and acts of building euergetism (but see now Heller 2020, 258, 264).

84 On the heroic echoes of the title κτίστης in the Roman era, cf. Heller 2020, 25, 37.

Indeed, for different reasons, the case of Seleucids is a good example of such a transfer and requires some more thinking.[85] The deities ἀρχηγέται who inspire and protect the common life are reminiscent, in the end, of an Aristotelian passage from the *Politics* where the image of the ideal statesman (or statesmen) is equated with that of a god among men (θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις), intervening to overlap the founding principle of the community itself (νόμος).[86]

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85 A paper on this topic is under preparation.

86 Arist. *Pol.* 3, 13, 1284a.

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Sylvain Lebreton

Zeus « qui-règne-sur Dodone (Hom., *Il.* 16.233–234) » et ses épigones. Les attributs onomastiques construits sur *medeôn, -ousa* + toponyme

À la mémoire d'Alexandru Avram.

Résidents, occupants, propriétaires, protecteurs, gardiens, guides, fondateurs, maîtres, souverains, monarques, despotes. . . Les rôles que peuvent tenir des dieux dans un lieu qui leur est nominalement attribué sont multiples[1]. La multiplicité des épithètes toponymiques, parmi les nombreux attributs onomastiques divins qui peuplent le polythéisme des anciens Grecs[2], en témoigne. Au sein de cette catégorie dominent les adjectifs dérivés de noms de lieux, comme *Ephesia* pour l'Artémis d'Ephèse, *Puthios* ou *Dêlios* pour les Apollon de Pythô (*i.e.* Delphes) ou de Délos. Cependant, d'autres ressources onomastiques peuvent être mobilisées pour attacher des dieux à des lieux. Elles ont notamment été bien mises en évidence dans les sociétés ouest-sémitiques, par le biais d'une typologie qui distingue quatre formes d'associations entre un *Divine Name* (DN) et un *Geographical Name* (GN), à savoir : 1. dieu *de* tel lieu (« DN *of* GN ») ; 2. dieu *dans* ou *à* tel lieu (« DN *in/at* GN ») ; 3. dieu *qui habite* ou *réside* dans tel lieu (« DN *who dwells/resides in* GN ») ; 4. dieu *maître* ou *seigneur de* tel lieu (« DN *lord/ lady of* GN »)[3]. Dans un environnement linguistique certes différent, des constructions équivalentes sont également observables dans l'onomastique divine grecque, que l'on pense à Aphrodite *en Kêpois* (« aux Jardins »), Aphrodite *Kephalêthên* (« (qui vient) de Kephalè »)[4] ou Zeus *Dôdônês medeôn* (« qui règne-sur-Dodone »)[5]. Ces constructions, qui associent donc à un toponyme une préposition, un suffixe ou un participe, sont autant d'attributs onomastiques qui identifient des divinités en les associant chacune à un lieu. Par-delà leurs caractéristiques proprement grammaticales ou linguistiques, elles les situent dans l'espace tout autant que des adjectifs. Le font-elles différem-

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1 La troisième rencontre consacrée aux « Dieux d'Homère » traitait des dénominations divines homériques et de leur circulation (Bonnet/Pironti 2021). C'est donc dans le prolongement de ce qui fut également le premier colloque du programme ERC MAP (le deuxième étant édité dans les présents actes), que s'inscrit cette étude. Sauf indication contraire, les dates sont entendues avant notre ère. Je remercie l'expert.e anonyme pour sa relecture attentive et ses suggestions enrichissantes ; je reste toutefois seul comptable de l'intégralité de cet article.
2 Sur les attributs onomastiques divins, cf. Bonnet *et al.* 2018. Sur les épithètes divines (notamment toponymiques), cf. Brulé 1998 et Parker 2017.
3 Smith 2016, 71–77, avec les références antérieures.
4 Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 48–66 et 79–80 respectivement.
5 Cf. *infra*, p. 295–296.

ment ? Pour le dire autrement, ces attributs onomastiques sous-tendent-ils un mode d'action particulier de la divinité sur le lieu qui lui est associé, plus que les habituels adjectifs toponymiques, qui ne désignent littéralement qu'un rapport vague entre les deux ? Leur emploi procède-t-il de contextes spécifiques ? Leurs usages s'appuient-ils sur des connotations ou des conceptions théologiques déterminées ?

Un aperçu d'ensemble du champ des possibles étant hors de portée du format de la présente étude, celle-ci se concentrera sur les syntagmes combinant le participe μεδέων, -ουσα, « qui règne sur »[6], et un toponyme (le plus souvent au génitif) lorsqu'ils qualifient une divinité, dans une documentation se concentrant principalement sur le monde égéen et pontique, de l'époque archaïque à l'époque hellénistique. Au-delà de sa taille relativement restreinte, le dossier regroupant ces formules permet de poser directement la question du rapport entre le divin et l'espace, telle qu'elle a déjà été abordée dans d'autres cadres spatio-temporels. Ainsi en Anatolie à l'époque impériale romaine, l'onomastique divine – entre autres – désigne-t-elle des dieux régnant sur leurs territoires en monarques justiciers, par le biais d'éléments tels que *basileuôn*, *kurios* ou *despotês*[7]. Dès lors, les séquences onomastiques construites comme Zeus *Dôdônês medeôn* véhiculent-elles des conceptions analogues du divin ? Ou bien les dieux *medeontes* exercent-ils d'autres façons d'occuper, de régir les lieux qui leur sont ainsi attribués ?

Pour tenter d'apporter une réponse à cette question, il est nécessaire d'examiner les occurrences des constructions *medeôn, -ousa* + toponyme en contexte. Dans l'optique de déceler les dynamiques spatiales qui peuvent être encapsulées dans de tels éléments onomastiques, il conviendra d'être particulièrement attentif aux différentes « couches » de localisation possibles. En effet, au moins trois de ces « couches » peuvent être impliquées : celle du lieu dont le dieu est *medeôn*, celle des agents sociaux qui les évoquent ou les invoquent ainsi, et celle de l'endroit où la puissance divine est censée s'exercer, toutes pouvant être similaires ou différentes. De ce point de vue, parce que l'identification de la troisième « couche » de localisation repose respectivement sur la situation d'une action décrite et sur le lieu de découverte et/ou d'origine de la source, les sources issues de la tradition manuscrites (« littéraires ») et les inscriptions nécessitent sans doute d'être explorées successivement.

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6 *DELG*, *s.v.* μέδω.

7 Belayche 2006 et 2020.

1 Les dieux *medeontes* dans la tradition manuscrite

1.1 Des *moirai* territoriales divines exclusives ?

Dans la tradition manuscrite[8], le terme *medeôn, -ousa* est caractéristique de la langue poétique : il est en effet presque totalement absent des textes en prose (lexiques et scholies mis à part). D'autre part, il se rapporte le plus souvent aux dieux[9]. Ceux-ci peuvent être parfois désignés ainsi comme régnant sur un de leurs domaines de prédilection – l'arc pour Artémis chez Euripide, par exemple[10] –, voire sur « tout » comme Zeus-ou-Hadès, toujours chez le Tragique[11], ou encore sur d'autres divinités[12]. Mais le plus souvent, *medeôn, -ousa* est associé à un lieu, en principe au génitif : dans une minorité de cas, il s'agit d'un espace générique, fréquemment la mer[13] ; pour une large part, c'est donc un toponyme qui suit. La carte que l'on peut établir de ces dieux qui règnent quelque part n'est guère surprenante : Aphrodite est chez elle à Cythère, à Chypre et à Éryx, Zeus dans ses grands sanctuaires de Dodone et d'Olympie, ainsi que sur les sommets de l'Ida et de l'Atabyron, Athéna à Athènes, Héra à Samos, etc. (Tab. 1 et Fig. 1).

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8 L'inventaire se veut extensif, mais pas exhaustif : on laisse ainsi de côté la poésie épique tardo-antique (*Argonautiques orphiques*, Nonnos, Quintus de Smyrne). Sauf indication contraire, les éditions et traductions des textes issus de la tradition manuscrite sont celles de la *Collection des Universités de France*.

9 Quelques exceptions : Égine « qui règne sur la mer Dorienne » (Pi. *Pae*. 6.123–124) ; le lion « roi des animaux » (Opp. *C*. 2.165 Mair) ; Ptolémée II est « notre souverain » chez Callimaque (Call. *Jov*. 86).

10 E. *Hipp*. 166–168 : τὰν δ' εὔλοχον οὐρανίαν | τόξων μεδέουσαν ἄυτευν | Ἄρτεμιν. Apollon est « maître des chants » chez Callimaque : Φοῖβον ἀοιδάων μεδέοντα (Call. *Del*. 5). Le chœur des *Cavaliers* d'Aristophane invoque Poséidon « qui règne sur les dauphins », dans une formule qui inclut par ailleurs deux attributs onomastiques toponymiques, *Souniaratos* et *Geraistios* : ὦ χρυσοτρίαιν᾿, ὦ | δελφίνων μεδέων Σουνιάρατε, | ὦ Γεραίστιε παῖ Κρόνου (Ar. *Eq*. 559–561).

11 E., *Cret*. 7 (fr. 912 Nauck).1–3 : Σοὶ τῷ πάντων μεδέοντι χοὴν | πέλανόν τε φέρω, Ζεὺς εἴτ᾿ Ἀΐδης | ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις. Le « Cronien seigneur du tonnerre » est (peut-être) également « le maître de toutes choses » chez Bacchylide : ἀναξιβρέντας ὁ πάντω[ν με]δ[έω]ν (B. *Dith*. 3.66).

12 Une épigramme anonyme (*AP* 9.581) fait d'Apollon le maître des Piérides, des Muses en l'occurrence attachées à un lieu par leur nom : Τοξότα Πιερίδων μεδέων ἑκατηβόλε Φοῖβε.

13 De fait, plusieurs divinités règnent sur l'espace maritime, que se partagent Hélène divinisée – avec le concours des Dioscures – chez Euripide (E. *Or*. 1690 : μεδέουσα θαλάσσης), Poséidon chez Moschos (Mosch. *Europa* 149 : μεδέων πολιῆς ἁλὸς Ἐννοσίγαιε), Ino-Leucothéa dans une épigramme de Philodème de Gadara (*AP* 6.349 : μεδέουσα | Λευκοθέη πόντου ; cf. également *H.Orph*. 74.3), quand il ne s'agit pas d'une collectivité divine dans les *Halieutiques* d'Oppien (Opp. *H*. 5.625 Mair : μακάρεσσιν ἁλὸς μεδέουσι βαθείης) ; à cette liste, il faut encore ajouter Physis, que l'*Hymne orphique* qui lui est adressé exalte comme souveraine céleste, terrestre et marine (*H.Orph*. 10.14). En dehors de la mer, on ne trouve guère que le gymnase, réalité autant spatiale qu'humaine du reste, apanage d'Hermès dans une épigramme de Nicias de Milet (*AP* 16.188). La *polis* et la *chôra* sur lesquelles règne l'Athéna des *Cavaliers* d'Aristophane (Ar. *Eq*. 585 et 763) ne sont pas des espaces génériques, mais relèvent évidemment du territoire athénien (cf. *infra*, p. 300, note 49).

Tab. 1: Divinités qualifiées de *medeôn, -ousa* + toponyme dans les sources de la tradition manuscrite.

	Divinité	Lieu	Attribut onomastique	Source	Date
	Achille	Scythie	ὁ γᾶς Σκυθικᾶς μέδεις	Alc. fr. 354	VIIe-VIe s.
	Aphrodite	Chypre	Κύπροιο ἐϋκτιμένης μεδέουσα	*H.Ven.* 1.292	VIIe-VIe s.
	Aphrodite	Chypre/ Salamine	Σαλαμῖνος ἐυκτιμένης μεδέουσα εἰναλίης τε Κύπρου	*H.Ven.* 3.4–5	
	Aphrodite	Chypre/ Paphos, Cythère	Κύπρου καὶ Κυθήρων καὶ Πάφου μεδέουσ᾽	Ar. *Lys*. 833–834	Ve s.
	Aphrodite	Paphos	Πάφου μεδέουσα	Opp. *H.* 4.28 Mair	IIe s. de n.è.
	Aphrodite	Éryx	Ἔρυκος μεδέουσα	A.R. 4.917–918	IIIe s.
	Athéna	Athènes	Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσῃ	Plu. *Them*. 10.4	IIe s. de n.è.
	Athéna	Athènes	Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσῃ	Aristid. 192 Jebb	IIe s. de n.è.
	Héra	Samos	Σάμου μεδέουσα	Diod. *AP* 6.243	Ier s.
	Hermès	Cyllène/ Arcadie	Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδίης πολυμήλου	*H.Merc.* 1.1–2 (idem *H.Merc.* 2.1–2)	VIe s.
	(Isis)	Égypte	Αἰγύπτου μεδέουσα μελαμβώλου	Phil. *AP* 6.231	Ier s. de n.è.
	Mnémosyne	Éleuthères	γουνοῖσιν Ἐλευθῆρος μεδέουσα	Hes. *Th.* 54	VIIIe-VIIe s.
	Pan	Arcadie	Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων	Pi. *Parth*. fr. 3.1	Ve s.
	Pan	Arcadie	Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων	*PMG* 887.1 (*apud* Ath. 15.694d)	
	Sabazios	Phrygie	Φρυγίης μεδέων	*H.Orph.* 48.5	IIe-IIIe s. de n.è.
	Zeus	Mont Atabyron (Rhodes)	Ἀταβυρίου μεδέων	Pi. *O.* 7.87–88	Ve s.

Tab. 1 (continued)

	Divinité	Lieu	Attribut onomastique	Source	Date
	Zeus	Dodone	Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου	Hom. *Il.* 16.234	VIIIe s.
	Zeus	Mont Ida (Troade)	Ἴδηθεν μεδέων	Hom. *Il.* 3.276 ; 3.320 ; 7.202 ; 24.308	VIIIe s.
	Zeus	Olympie	Πίσης μεδέων	Alc. *AP* 12.64	VIIe-VIe s.
	Zeus	Olympie	Τῷ Πίσης μεδέοντι	Lucill. *AP* 11.258	Ier s.
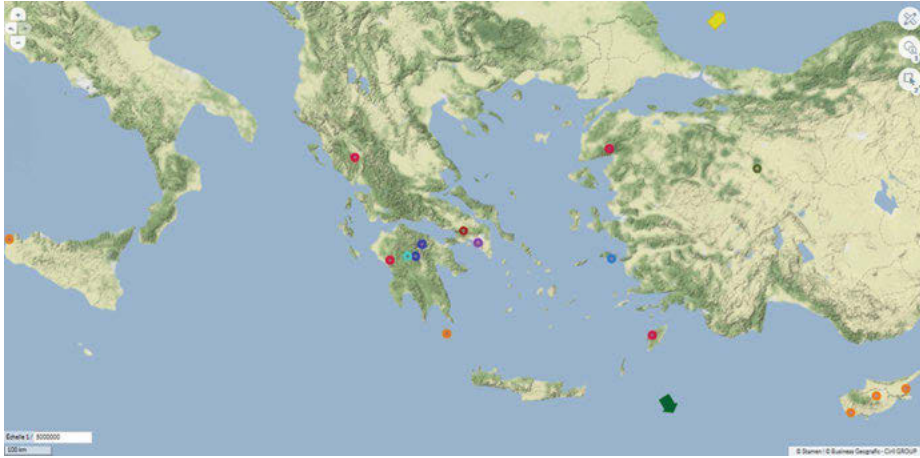
Fig. 1: Carte des lieux sur lesquels règnent les divinités qualifiées de *medeôn, -ousa* d'après les sources de la tradition manuscrite (© S. Lebreton, à partir de l'interface cartographique de la *DB MAP*[14]).

Deux remarques peuvent cependant être formulées. Premièrement, aucune des occurrences textuelles n'associe simultanément plusieurs dieux à un même toponyme : les dieux ne sont pas *medeontes* ensemble[15]. Deuxièmement, et c'en est presque la conséquence logique, chaque lieu ou région identifiable semble être l'apanage exclusif d'un dieu ou d'une déesse – à l'exception de l'Arcadie que régit tantôt Hermès, tantôt Pan. Ce double constat est peut-être révélateur d'un partage de l'espace terrestre strict : les dieux ne règnent ensemble que sur l'Olympe, synthèse cosmique

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14 https://geoapps.huma-num.fr/adws/app/8cc4e1b9-3a92-11e9-8702-e571f836e404/.

15 C'est différent pour les espaces génériques, la mer en premier lieu : cf. *supra*, p. 291, note 13.

des *moirai* territoriales des dieux, si l'on en croît une épigramme funéraire gravée sur une stèle retrouvée à Cnossos[16].

1.2 Régner et rayonner ?

Le participe *medeôn, -ousa* est donc utilisé de façon privilégiée, le plus souvent en poésie, pour associer une divinité à un lieu. Les attributs onomastiques ainsi formés dénotent-ils une dynamique particulière quant à la façon des dieux d'occuper l'espace ? Les cas ne manquent pas[17] qui désignent le ou la divin.e maître.sse des lieux où les évènements évoqués prennent place. Il en va ainsi dans une épigramme attribuée à Alcée priant Zeus qui-règne-sur Pisa d'accorder la victoire à l'éromène chanté par l'auteur au pied du mont Kronion[18]. De même, chez Apollonios de Rhodes, alors que les Argonautes passent près d'Anthémoessa, l'île tyrrhénienne des Sirènes, l'Aphrodite qui-règne-sur Éryx secourt Boutès en proie aux remous et l'établit sur le cap Lilybée[19] : la déesse exerce sa puissance en souveraine du lieu, depuis une éminence dominant un espace autant terrestre que marin ; de fait, son rayon d'action dépasse l'échelle strictement locale. On peut faire un constat analogue dans le cas du Zeus qui-règne-sur le mont Atabyron, sous la protection duquel Pindare place sa VIIe *Olympique*, composée en 464, en même temps que le pugiliste Diagoras de Rhodes qu'elle célèbre[20]. Si la localisation de l'agent bénéficiaire de l'adresse coïncide avec celle du dieu, il y a loin à ce que cette adéquation limite l'attribut onomastique divin à un seul ancrage local. Le maître de l'Atabyron, à l'instar de bien d'autres Zeus sommitaux (le *Lukaios* d'Arcadie par exemple), participe d'une identité supra-civique[21] qu'il est d'autant plus nécessaire de convoquer ici : dans cette ode, le poète revient en effet sur l'origine de la partition de « l'île aux trois cités » (v. 18 : *tripolin nason*), lorsqu'il évoque la naissance des trois éponymes Camiros, Ialysos et Lindos (v. 73–76). De plus, les épinicies de Pindare ont vocation à voyager : la *charis* qu'elles

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16 *I.Cret.* I viii 34 (Cnossos, IIe-Ier s.) : θεοὶ μεδέοντες Ὀλύν(που).

17 On laisse notamment de côté les textes fragmentaires et ceux pour lesquels le contexte spatial est difficile à appréhender (Pi. *Parth.* fr. 3.1 *e.g.*). Voir le Tab. 1 pour le relevé des occurrences.

18 *AP* 12.46. De même, dans une veine satirique, chez Lucill. *AP* 11.258.

19 A.R. 4.912–919.

20 Pi. *O.* 7.87–90 : Ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ, νώτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου | μεδέων, τίμα μὲν ὕμνου τεθμὸν Ὀλυμ-πιονίκαν, | ἄνδρα τε πὺξ ἀρετὰν εὑρόντα, δίδοι τέ οἱ αἰδοίαν χάριν | καὶ ποτ' ἀστῶν καὶ ποτὶ ξείνων. « O Zeus, ô père qui veilles sur la croupe de l'Atabyre, sois propice à cet hymne, dû, selon le rite, au vainqueur olympique ; protège ce héros à qui son poing a conquis la gloire ; donne-lui le respect affecteux de ses concitoyens et des étrangers ».

21 En témoignent notamment les nombreuses dédicaces adressées à Zeus, Zeus *Ataburios*, Zeus *Basileus* provenant de son sanctuaire du mont Atabyron, pour la plupart rassemblées par Jacopi 1932, 236–255, n°145–217.

confèrent au vainqueur, mais aussi à leur propre auteur lui-même, doit leur faire traverser l'espace, diffusant la renommée par-delà les mers, autant que le temps.

Mais c'est probablement chez les poètes épiques que la capacité des dieux *medeontes* à se projeter dans l'espace est la plus évidente. Dans la *Théogonie*, c'est en Piérie (près de l'Olympe) que Mnémosyne, « reine des coteaux d'Eleuthères »[22], enfante de Zeus les neuf Muses dont Hésiode a souligné dès l'ouverture du poème l'attachement à l'Hélicon[23]. L'attribut onomastique de Mnémosyne soutient donc bien l'ancrage de cette dernière et, partant, de ses filles, à la Béotie – ancrage sur lequel on comprend aisément pourquoi le poète d'Ascra s'appesantit. Par là-même, il implique une distance entre le lieu sur lequel la divinité règne et celui où elle agit – ici en mettant au monde les Muses. Le constat est encore plus net chez Homère, où la construction *medeôn* + toponyme n'apparaît que dans l'*Iliade* et n'est attribuée qu'à Zeus. Plusieurs fois le dieu « règne depuis l'Ida (*Idêthen medeôn*) »[24], le suffixe –θεν ajouté à Ἴδη pointant de fait vers l'origine du pouvoir plutôt que son étendue. Mais il est également celui « qui-règne-sur Dodone (*Dôdônês medeôn*) », dans un passage bien connu du chant XVI de l'*Iliade* (v. 220–232). Rappelons-en le contenu : Achille, après avoir harangué ses Myrmidons et placé Patrocle et Automédon à leur tête, s'en retourne à sa baraque. Il sort de son coffre la coupe spécialement destinée aux libations à « Zeus père (*Dii patri*) » ; au milieu de la cour, le regard levé vers le ciel, il verse le vin, sous les yeux de « Zeus à-qui-plaît-la-foudre (*Dia terpikeraunon*) », en accompagnant le geste de la prière suivante :

> Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικὲ τηλόθι ναίων
> Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου

> Zeus seigneur Dodonéen Pélasgique qui résides au loin
> Qui règnes-sur Dodone aux-rudes-hivers[25].

La séquence onomastique utilisée par le héros dans cette invocation est remarquable[26], en ce qu'elle se caractérise notamment par le redoublement de l'association à Dodone de Zeus, d'abord qualifié d'*anax Dôdônaios*, puis de *Dôdônês medeôn*. Plus exactement, c'est un parcours dans l'espace qu'elle dessine, sous la forme d'un emboîtement d'échelles : se succèdent en effet l'ancrage local (*anax Dôdônaios*) puis régional (*Pelasgikos*) du dieu (que partage le héros), l'explicitation de la distance (*têlothi naiôn*) entre cet ancrage et le lieu de la prière (devant Troie), et enfin ce qui

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22 Hes. *Th.* 54.

23 Hes. *Th.* 2 : αἵ θ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε.

24 Hom. *Il.* 3.276 ; 3.320 ; 7.202 ; 24.308.

25 Hom., *Il.* 16.233–234. Traduction de l'auteur.

26 Tout comme le déploiement de la polyonymie du dieu en une petite dizaine de vers seulement, puisque s'y succèdent trois séquences onomastiques distinctes, dans deux contextes de dénomination (référence) et un, celui de la prière, de nomination (adresse) : sur ces contextes d'énonciations des épithètes homériques, cf. Calame 2021.

apparaît comme la synthèse entre ce point de départ et l'étendue de la puissance du dieu dans l'espace – *Dôdônês medeôn*. Ce dernier syntagme paraît ainsi cristalliser la nécessité pour Achille d'étirer dans l'espace la souveraineté que le dieu exerce sur sa région d'origine.

On constate ainsi que, dans les sources issues de la tradition manuscrite, si la formule *medeôn, -ousa* + toponyme peut désigner un ou une divin.e souverain.e locale, elle peut aussi, en particulier chez les poètes épiques, impliquer une distance entre le lieu *sur lequel la divinité règne* et celui *où, ainsi désignée, elle est appelée à agir* ou *évoquée en train d'agir* (selon le contexte d'énonciation – adresse ou référence – du texte). Reste à savoir si ce constat est également valable pour les sources épigraphiques.

2 Les dieux *medeontes* dans les sources épigraphiques

Dans les sources épigraphiques, un premier constat est similaire à celui qui ouvrait l'exploration des sources « littéraires » : *medeôn, -ousa* se rapporte le plus souvent aux dieux[27], combiné dans de rares cas à un domaine de compétence[28] ou à d'autres divinités[29], mais le plus souvent à un lieu, générique parfois[30] ou, dans une majorité de cas, expressément identifié par un toponyme. Une différence est en re-

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27 On relève quelques exceptions, qui portent plutôt sur des lieux génériques : l'empereur Hadrien, « qui règne sur la terre », dans une épigramme honorant celle qui l'a initié aux Mystères d'Éleusis (*I.Eleusis* 454) : il est donc bien envisagé comme « humain » ici, et non pas comme dieu (même s'il est listé après les Dioscures, Asclépios et Héraclès, initiés à Éleusis avant lui) ; de même peut-être pour un autre empereur (? Commode ?) dans une autre épigramme très fragmentaire (*IG* II³ 4 1211). Une femme honorée dans une épigramme de Mytilène d'époque romaine est « maîtresse » ou « soucieuse » d'excellence (*IG* XII Suppl. 68, l. 1).
28 Ainsi le « feu immortel » pour Hestia (*I.Ephesos* 1063, l. 1 ; *ca*. 170 de n.è.), les enfants (?) pour Hermès (*I.Pergamon* 324, l. 19), les « amers fils (de la destinée) » pour la Moire Klôthô dans une épigramme funéraire de Minoa d'Amorgos (*IG* XII 7 301 II, l. 17–18), la barque pour Charon dans un document du même type trouvé à Ptolémaïs (*IG Cyrenaica Verse* 002, l. 3 ; *ca*. 300). La nécessité (Nécessité ?) « maîtresse de toute œuvre » d'une dédicace métrique tardive de Didymes doit-elle être tenue pour une divinité (*I.Didyma* 82) ?
29 Ainsi Isis « qui règne sur les dieux très-hauts » (*I.Egypte métriques* 175). Voir également Hécate, *Diônês hê medeousa* dans un papyrus magique (*PGM* 4, l. 2711–2712).
30 Ainsi dans une épigramme votive trouvée à Signa (Latium) adressée εὐκήλου μεδέων, Ἡράκλεες, ὅρμου (*SEG* 47 1517, l. 1 ; *ca*. 150–250 de n.è.) ; en l'occurrence, le « mouillage sûr » sur lequel règne Héraclès renvoie sans doute à un lieu précis, probablement Monaco, auquel ferait allusion l'attribut onomastique Μόνοικε à la l. 2.

vanche à souligner par rapport aux sources issues de la tradition manuscrite : ces syntagmes *medeôn*, *-ousa* + toponymes apparaissent souvent dans des textes non poétiques. En effet, à côté d'épigrammes ou d'inscriptions métriques[31], on trouve des dieux *medeontes* dans des dédicaces non versifiées, mais aussi sur des bornes, dans des décrets ou des normes rituelles. Au-delà de la différence de forme et de typologie documentaire, c'est donc surtout la question des motivations de l'emploi de ces attributs onomastiques divins qui se pose. Le dossier documentaire ainsi délimité, on dénombre une quarantaine d'attestations épigraphiques de la séquence onomastique *medeôn*, *-ousa* + toponyme, dans des inscriptions datables du VIe s. av. au IIIe s. de n.è. et provenant pour l'essentiel de l'espace égéen et des rivages septentrionaux de la Mer Noire[32]. De telles formules onomastiques ne sont, de fait, pas si fréquentes, et il est donc nécessaire d'envisager plusieurs grilles d'analyse pour tenter de mettre au jour leurs logiques d'emploi.

2.1 Influences littéraires et rôle des oracles

La référence littéraire, et notamment homérique, peut en être une. C'est particulièrement net dans une dédicace datable de la fin des années 330, retrouvée au sanctuaire de Dodone et adressée au divin maître des lieux. Or, pour identifier ce dernier, les dédicants ne recourent pas à l'une de ses dénominations habituelles, Zeus *Naïos* (de loin la plus fréquente) ou *Dôdônaios*[33], mais à Zeus *Dôdônês medeôn* :

> θεός : τύχα·
> Ζεῦ, Δωδώνης μεδέ-
> ων· τόδε σοι δῶρον πέ-
> μπω παρ' ἐμοῦ : Ἀγάθων
> 5 Ἐχεφύλου καὶ γενεὰ
> πρόξενοι Μολοσσῶν
> καὶ συμμάχων ἐν τ-
> ριάκοντα γενεαῖς
> ἐκ Τρωΐας Κασσάν-
> 10 δρας γενεά,
> Ζακύνθιοι.

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31 Une épigramme retrouvée à Rhodes, mais de provenance indéterminée, est adressée Ζεῦ με-δέων | Νείσυρον (Peek 1967, 377–378, n°4b, l. 1–2 ; IIe s. de n.è. ou après) ; l'incertitude pesant sur l'origine de la pierre (Nisyros?) limite l'exploitation que l'on peut en faire en termes de logiques spatiales.

32 L'ensemble des occurrences épigraphiques avec leurs références est accessible depuis la *DB MAP*.

33 Cf. *I.Dodone Evangelidi*, *passim*.

> Dieu. Fortune. Zeus qui-règne-sur Dodone, je t'envoie ce présent de ma part, moi Agathôn, fils d'Échéphylos, et ma lignée, proxènes des Molosses et de leurs alliés durant trente générations, nous Zacynthiens, race provenant de Cassandre la Troyenne[34].

Ce choix entre en résonance avec l'identité affichée par Agathôn et les Zacynthiens, qui prétendent détenir leur statut de *proxenoi* des Molosses depuis Cassandre, depuis Troie, depuis trente générations. L'emprunt, manifeste, de la séquence onomastique à l'*Iliade* vient donc appuyer un message qui s'adresse autant au dieu qu'au *koinon* des Molosses qui contrôlait alors son sanctuaire. Ce cas mis à part, on ne relève dans l'épigraphie aucun autre emprunt aussi direct. Si la référence poétique (homérique ou autre) peut colorer certaines inscriptions adressées ou faisant référence à des dieux *medeontes*, elle ne peut expliquer seule les raisons motivant le choix de dénommer les dieux de la sorte.

Une seconde hypothèse pour expliquer la coloration métrique de ces séquences onomastiques peut être celle de l'inspiration oraculaire. Les dieux *medeontes* + toponyme ont pu être promus, en vers, par des oracles, leur dénomination s'étant ensuite fixée et ayant dépassé la forme poétique, tant et si bien qu'on la retrouve dans des textes non métriques. De fait, les exemples en ce sens existent, mais ils ne sont pas si nombreux. Le plus clair est celui de l'Apollon *Telemessou medeôn* qui apparaît dans une inscription d'Halicarnasse du IIIe s., relative à la fondation familiale d'un certain Poséidonios. Le dieu figure en effet, avec Zeus *Patrôios*, les Moires et la Mère des dieux, parmi les divinités honorées par les ancêtres du fondateur, un « micropanthéon » dont l'oracle consulté par ce dernier a confirmé la composition. Nonobstant les incertitudes pesant sur la localisation de Telemessos, il paraît manifeste que la séquence onomastique désignant cet Apollon local participe de la phraséologie oraculaire[35]. En dehors de ce cas, on ne relève qu'une seule autre divinité *medeôn, -ousa* + toponyme explicitement liée à une prescription oraculaire[36], et deux attestées indirectement[37]. Sans être décisive, cette rareté ne plaide donc pas en faveur de la seule explication de l'utilisation de ce type d'élément onomastique divin par une origine mantique, quand bien même il faudrait envisager cette dernière comme implicite dans tous les autres cas. Ce sont donc, au moins en partie, d'autres logiques à l'œuvre qu'il faut tenter de déceler. L'examen des sources littéraires avait suggéré que l'emploi des formules onomastiques construites sur *medeôn, -ousa* + toponyme pouvait impliquer une distance entre le lieu sur lequel la divinité ainsi dénommée règne et celui où sa puissance était amenée à se déployer. Peut-être de telles dynamiques spa-

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34 *IG* IX 1² 1750 (Dodone, *ca*. 334–330), trad. P. Cabanes, *I.Molossie* 54, légèrement modifiée. Sur la résonance entre le contenu généalogique de cette inscription et l'appareil génital masculin qui orne son support (une plaque de bronze), cf. Fraser 2003.

35 *CGRN* 104, avec Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 96–98 et 106–107.

36 *IG* XII 4 532. Cf. *infra*, p. 304.

37 Athéna *Athênôn medeousa* et Achille *Leukês medeôn* dans une inscription de Leukè (*IGDOP* 48) : cf. *infra*, p. 299–300 et 301, note 55 respectivement.

tiales se donnent-elles à voir dans les quelques dossiers épigraphiques géographiquement bien définis – ce qui ne veut pas nécessairement dire spatialement restreints – qui concentrent la majeure partie des occurrences de *medeôn, -ousa* + toponyme.

2.2 Athéna *Athênôn medeousa* et l'empire athénien

Le premier de ces dossiers, le mieux connu probablement, est celui de l'Athéna *Athênôn medeousa*, « qui-règne-sur Athènes ». La séquence onomastique qui caractérise cette déesse de l'impérialisme athénien est notamment attestée par plusieurs bornes de *temenê* retrouvées à Samos et à Cos et datables de la seconde moitié du Ve s.[38]. Ces espaces délimités et consacrés à la déesse ont d'abord été interprétés comme le cadre d'un culte marquant l'allégeance de ces îles à la maîtresse de l'Empire, instauré localement[39], ou imposé par les Athéniens[40]. Une appréciation plus juste en a été donnée il y a maintenant trois décennies[41] : ces inscriptions ne délimitaient sans doute pas des sanctuaires voués au culte de la déesse, mais des propriétés foncières lui appartenant ; il s'agit, en d'autres termes, de propriétés confisquées par les Athéniens auprès d'alliés dominés et/ou réprimés[42]. Les autres occurrences épigraphiques de l'attribut onomastique *Athênôn medeousa*, quand elles sont exploitables[43], tendent à confirmer qu'il désigne la déesse tutélaire d'Athènes[44] dans ses relations avec les alliés, en parti-

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38 Samos : *IG* XII 6 238–244. Cos : *IG* XII 4 1237.

39 Barron 1964, 43–44.

40 Meiggs 1972, 295–298.

41 Smarczyk 1990, 58–154 ; Parker 1996, 144–145.

42 La datation de ces bornes a évidemment son importance. Les plus anciennes (*IG* I[3] 1492 et 1493 = *IG* XII 6, 239 et 238) seraient ainsi antérieures à 439 (*i.e.* avant la révolte samienne de 440 et la répression athénienne subséquente) selon Barron 1964 (450–440 ? Lewis/Jeffery, *IG* I[3] ; *ca.* 450 Hallof, *IG* XII 6). *Contra* Alfieri Tonini 2005. Sur cette question – et plus généralement celle du *three-bar sigma* – le risque de raisonnement circulaire plane, puisque la paléographie s'appuie sur l'appréciation du contexte historique (*i.e.*, *in fine*, l'interprétation que l'on fait de l'impérialisme athénien). . . et vice versa.

43 Le décret relatif à Colophon *IG* I[3] 37 est trop fragmentaire pour être probant ; mais le fait que la séquence onomastique [τε͂|ς Ἀθενᾶς τε͂ς] Ἀθενο͂ν μεδεόσ[ες] (l. 14–15) apparaisse dans le cadre de relations extérieures est en soi un enseignement. Sur sa datation (cf. note précédente), voir dernièrement Mattingly 2010, 100 et Matthaiou 2010, 21–24 (tous deux favorables à la datation basse *ca.* 428/7). La restitution [τε͂ς Ἀθενᾶς τε͂ς Ἀθεν]ο͂ν μεδ[εόσες] proposée par Bradeen/McGregor 1973 (cf. Smarczyk 1990, 67) à la l. 28 du décret relatif à Thespies et aux autres Béotiens *IG* I[3] 37 ne fait qu'ajouter un *incertum* au dossier.

44 La *Polias* si l'on veut, même si ça n'a pas grand sens de l'exprimer de la sorte – et pas davantage d'affirmer le contraire (ainsi Rumpf 1936, 71, qui concluait : « Die Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα nicht identisch ist mit der Ἀθηνᾶ πολιάς »). De fait, Athéna tout court suffit aux Athéniens pour désigner leur déesse tutélaire, la *Polias* étant d'abord celle qui recevait un culte sur l'Acropole, c'est-à-dire la même, certes, mais d'abord envisagée dans son ancrage spatial (avec les cadres

culier en tant que propriétaire. C'est ainsi que l'on retrouve la déesse dénommée de la sorte dans le décret relatif au don, par le *koinon* des Etéocarpathiens, d'un cyprès pour son temple[45]. Comme pour les bornes de Cos et de Samos, on a supposé que la séquence onomastique relevait de la phraséologie des alliés d'Athènes[46], voire même désignait la récipiendaire d'un culte local[47]. Toutefois, ni l'une ni l'autre de ces interprétations ne fait sens : le décret est bien émis par Athènes et le don, comme la contrepartie (la reconnaissance du bienfait et l'octroi de l'autonomie), sont manifestement d'importance : par conséquent, on imagine mal qu'il puisse être question d'autre chose que de l'Athéna d'Athènes telle que les Athéniens la présentent à l'endroit de leurs alliés/sujets. Ce faisant, les Athéniens réactivent une appellation qui serait apparue la première fois dans le décret de Thémistocle organisant l'évacuation de l'*astu* à la veille de la bataille de Salamine, et donc possiblement en lien avec un oracle[48]. Ils ont ainsi utilisé une ressource onomastique leur permettant de rester, par le truchement de leur déesse, les maîtres en Attique, mais aussi – et surtout en cette seconde moitié de Ve s. – dans l'espace égéen. Si cette appellation désignait d'abord la déesse sous laquelle les Athéniens plaçaient la protection de leur territoire en 480, elle n'a donc pas échappé à la mutation de la *summachia* en *archê*[49] : derrière l'*Athênôn medeousa* qui tirait des revenus de ses terres à Samos et à Cos ou qui recevait un cyprès de la part des Etéocarpathiens, il y avait les trières athéniennes.

2.3 Souverainetés divines en Mer Noire

Athènes et son empire mis à part, c'est de la Mer Noire que vient la documentation la plus riche, que l'on peut répartir en deux dossiers distincts. Le premier puise sa matière dans les inscriptions d'Olbia du Pont, où Apollon *Iêtros*, dieu qui semble avoir joué un

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cultuels associés : sanctuaire, prêtrise, etc.) ; cf. Paul 2016. De la même façon, l'*Athênôn medeousa* serait « la même » *dans le contexte* de la politique extérieure impérialiste du (second) Ve s.

45 *IG* I³ 1454 (probablement peu avant 434/3 : cf. Ma 2009) A, l. 8–11 : ὅτι ἔδοσα[ν] | [τὴν κυπάριτ]-τον ἐπὶ τὸν νε[ὼ]||[ν τῆς Ἀθηναί]ας τῆς Ἀθηνῶμ μ|[εδεόσης].

46 Anderson/Dix 1997, 132.

47 Alfieri Tonini 1999.

48 Plu. *Them*. 10.4 ; Arist. 192 Jebb. L'exemplaire épigraphique du prétendu « décret de Thémistocle », gravé à Trézène au cours de la première moitié du IIIe s. (Meiggs – Lewis, *GHI* 23), a suscité depuis sa publication il y a soixante ans une bibliograhie pléthorique, dont on trouvera un bilan chez Muccioli 2008. Son authenticité paraît de plus en plus douteuse : voir, récemment, Knoepfler 2010. Sur Athéna *Athênôn medeousa* et les récits de l'épisode thémistocléen, voir Anderson 1989, 12–14 ; Johansson 2004, 344, 347–348 (avec les réserves justifiées de Papazarkadas, *SEG* 54 438) ; Knoepfler 2010, 1216–1218.

49 Ce que souligne sans doute Aristophane, qui met dans la bouche du Paphlagonien de ses *Cavaliers*, démagogue va-t-en-guerre dans lequel on reconnaît généralement Cléon, une prière Τῇ μὲν δεσποίνῃ Ἀθηναίῃ, τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεδεούσῃ (Ar. *Eq.* 763–766) ; un peu plus tôt, le chœur invoquait déjà la déesse « qui-règne-sur le pays » (*Ibid*. 585 : μεδέουσα χώρας). Cf. Anderson 1989, 12–14.

rôle majeur pour les colons milésiens d'Olbia et d'Istros[50], se voit précisément dési-gné comme *Istro medeôn* dans une dédicace datable du deuxième quart du Ve s.[51]. La séquence onomastique est intéressante à plus d'un titre. Premièrement, parce qu'elle associe plusieurs attributs onomastiques – à savoir l'épithète cultuelle (*Iê-tros*, le Médecin) et le syntagme *Istro medeôn* – à un seul et même dieu, Apollon, à une époque relativement haute ; l'allongement des séquences onomastiques divines ne serait donc pas exclusif des époques hellénistique et impériale[52]. Deuxièmement, le fait que la dédicace, retrouvée au *temenos* ouest d'Olbia et émanant d'un Olbiopo-lite, désigne le dieu comme maître d'Istros : que le dédicant ait voulu expliciter son ethnique dans sa propre cité, ou que l'inscription ait été originellement vouée à être déposée dans le sanctuaire du dieu à Istros, on constate en tous les cas que l'énon-ciateur est *extérieur* au lieu dont le dieu est désigné comme maître, qu'il s'agisse du fleuve, l'actuel Danube, ou de la cité d'Istros-Histria située près de son embou-chure[53]. La logique est analogue dans une dédicace, contemporaine et retrouvée au même endroit, adressée à la Mère des dieux « qui-règne-sur Hylaiê », contrée si-tuée sur la rive opposée du Dniepr[54]. Le cas est en revanche différent pour Achille « qui-règne-sur Leukè », puisque deux des trois dédicaces qui lui sont destinées pro-viennent de l'île elle-même, même si une au moins émane d'un Olbiopolite[55]. Ainsi, dans cette zone Nord-ouest de la Mer Noire, les dieux *medousin* autant les premiers

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50 Voir Ustinova 2009 ; Petropoulos 2010 ; Trippé 2010 ; Ustinova 2021, 170–173 ; voir également Dana/Dana (2009), 238 sur les noms théophores tels que Iètrodôros.

51 *IGDOP* 58 (cf. *SEG* 51 969) : Ξάνθος Πό[σιος] *vel* Πο[σιδήο] *vel* Πο[σιδέο] | Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρ[ῶι] | Ἰστρō μεδέοντ[ι] | Ὀλβιοπολίτης.

52 Le fait n'est pas isolé à Olbia : cf. *IGDOP* 93 (*ca*. 550–525) et 99 (*ca*. 450). Sur l'allongement des séquences onomastiques, cf. Parker 2017.

53 Cité : Dubois (*IGDOP*), Rusjaeva/Vinogradov 2000 ; fleuve : Bravo 2001, 239–240. Le problème est similaire dans deux inscriptions du VIe s., l'une provenant de Borysthène, l'actuelle Bérézan (*IGDOP* 90, cf. *SEG* 58 742bis), l'autre du téménos ouest d'Olbia (*IGDOP* 57), toutes deux de lecture incertaine. (Apollon) *Iêtros* y est peut-être désigné comme *Borusthenês medeôn*, soit le « maître de Borysthène », sans qu'il soit possible de déterminer si le toponyme renvoie au fleuve, l'actuel Dniepr, à la ville d'Olbia située à son embouchure, à l'île de Bérézan ou à l'entité politique qui re-groupait ces deux dernières : cf. Bravo 2001, 238 ; Id. 2007, 84–85. La restitution Ὀλ[βίης | μεδέοντι (?) Ἀ]πόλλωνι Ἰη[τρῶι] proposée par Vinogradov 1989, 111, note 124 (cf. *SEG* 42 712), dans la dédi-cace *IOSPE* I² 164 (ca. 475–450) est très incertaine et moins économe que celle de Latyshev (*IOSPE* I²) qui envisage de lire l'ethnique du dédicant : Ὀλ[βιοπολίτης (?)].

54 *IGDOP* 81 : [Μητρὶ Θε]ῶν μεδεόσ[ηι] Ὑλαί[ης].

55 Leukè : *IGDOP* 48 (début du Ve s.) b : Γλαῦκός με ἀνέθηκεν Ἀχιλλῆι Λευκῆ<ς> μεδέοντι, παῖ{ε}ς Ποσιδῆō ; la face a porte une possible réponse oraculaire adressée au même Glaukos ; cf. Dubois 1995. Leukè (Olbiopolite) : *IGDOP* 49 (ca. 400–350) : [ὁ δεῖνα Δη]μοστράτō Ἀχιλλεῖ | [Λευκ]ῆς με-δέοντι Ὀλβιοπολίτη|ς. Voir également la dédicace retrouvée à Néapolis de Scythie adressée Ἀχιλλεῖ νήσου [μεδέοντι], où l'île évoquée est sans doute Leukè (*IOSPE*³ III 596, *ca*. 150–100) et, peut-être, celle de Tyras qui lui serait destinée [Ἀχιλ]λεῖ Σκυ[θίας μεδέοντι] (*SEG* 52 749, fin du Ve s.). Sur le culte d'Achille à Leukè, cf. Dana 2007, 177–182 et Ustinova 2021, 168–170 ; sur son rayonnement, perceptible dans l'anthroponymie, cf. Dana/Dana (2009), 238–239.

points d'appui insulaires et péninsulaires (Leukè, Bérézan), que les agglomérations aux embouchures des fleuves (Olbia, Istros) et les arrière-pays (Hylaiê) ; ils contribuent ainsi à mettre en réseau les lieux-dits d'un espace tant marin et insulaire que fluvial et terrestre, un espace parcouru et habité, mais aussi convoité et approprié par les colons milésiens. Ceux-ci ont sans doute – directement ou indirectement, par le truchement d'oracles ou non – tiré profit de la poésie épique et lyrique[56] pour nommer les dieux – emportés avec eux ou rencontrés sur place – qui soutiennent leur colonisation des paysages, sinon des territoires.

Plus à l'est du Pont-Euxin, les dieux *medeontes* ont également fait florès. L'ensemble est, au moins sur le plan documentaire, dominé par l'Aphrodite *Ourania Apatourou medeousa*[57], celle « qui-règne-sur Apatouron », localité de la rive orientale du Bosphore cimmérien, et sans doute plus généralement sur le golfe d'Apatouron que refermait la péninsule de Taman[58]. S'il est difficile de relier directement les premières dédicaces qui lui sont adressées au IVe s.[59] avec les velléités expansionnistes des Spartocides sur le côté asiatique du détroit où elles ont été retrouvées[60], les dynastes de Panticapée se sont durablement approprié la dénomination de la déesse, puisqu'elle est attestée dans leur capitale jusqu'au IIIe s. de n.è. En revanche, il est certain que la ressource onomastique *medeôn, -ousa* + toponyme a délibérément été exploitée dans une optique géopolitique par Leukôn Ier (389/8–349/8). Une épigramme retrouvée à Semibratneye, à une trentaine de kilomètres au nord-nord-est de Gorgippia, en témoigne :

Εὐξάμενος Λεύκων υἱὸς Σατύρ[ο(υ) τόδ' ἄγαλμα]
Φοίβωι Ἀπόλλωνι στῆσε τῶι ΕΝΛ[- - -]
τῆσδε πόλεως μεδέοντι Λάβρύτωμ, Β[οσπόρο(υ) ἄρχων]
Θευδοσίης τε, μάχηι καὶ κράτει ἐξελ[άσας]
5   Ὀκταμασάδεα γῆς ἐΞίνδων παῖδ' Ἑκ[αταίο]
τοῦ Σίνδωμ βασιλέως, ὅς πατέρα ο[- - -]
ἐγβάλλων ἀρχῆς εἰς τήνδε πόλιγ κ[- - -]

[Cette statue], à la suite d'un vœu, Leukôn fils de Satyros
L'a érigée pour Phoibos Apollon qui [. . .]
Qui-règne-sur cette cité des Labrytains, [lui l'archonte du Bosphore]
Et de Théodosia, [après avoir], dans la bataille et par la force, expulsé
De la terre des Sindes Oktamasadès l'enfant d'Hékataios

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56 Cf. Dubois 1995.

57 Cf. Ustinova 1999, 27–173 ; Braund 2018, 187–255 ; Ustinova 2021, 162–165.

58 Sur la localisation d'Apatouron, qui reste énigmatique, cf. Braund 2018, 220–223.

59 Une inscription du début du Ve s. la mentionne peut-être (*CIRB* 1234) ; mais, seulement connue par un dessin d'un voyageur du début du XVIIIe s. de n.è., sa lecture est grandement sujette à caution : cf. Ustinova 1999, 32 ; Braund 2018, 228–229. Pour une revue des sources épigraphiques relatives à la déesse, cf. Ustinova 1999, 32–35 ; Braund 2018, 223–234.

60 Les dédicaces du IVe s. émanent de particuliers, même si la formule de datation implique qu'ils reconnaissent l'autorité des dynastes de Panticapée (*CIRB* 1111 et 971) ; mais la séquence onomastique n'apparaît pas lorsqu'un Spartocide fait une dédicace à la déesse sur la rive est du Bosphore.

> Le roi des Sindes, qui, évinçant son père de son [. . .]
> Empire, a [. . .] dans cette cité.

Cette dédicace à l'Apollon « qui-règne sur *cette* cité de Labrys » (très vraisemblablement Semibratneye) est explicitement adressée à l'occasion d'une intervention militaire contre les Sindes, datable vers 360–355[61]. En affirmant ainsi la souveraineté du dieu sur le lieu, c'est manifestement la sienne même que Leukôn Ier cherche à légitimer[62]. Les dynamiques spatiales à l'œuvre dans les dédicaces adressées aux autres déesses *medeousai* bosporanes sont plus difficiles à déterminer, soit que les lieux concernés ne soient plus lisibles sur la pierre – ainsi pour la Thesmophore de Myrmekion ou l'Artémis de Tanaïs[63] – soit qu'il soit difficile d'y apporter une explication convaincante – comme dans le cas d'une dédicace, trouvée à Panticapée et datée du IIIᵉ s., pour l'Hécate *Spartês medeousa*, « qui-règne-sur Sparte »[64]. Quoi qu'il en soit, le syntagme *medeôn, -ousa* + toponyme semble avoir constitué une ressource onomastique particulièrement prisée en Mer Noire pour désigner des divinités, locales ou héritées des métropoles – ressource au croisement d'enjeux culturels, spatiaux et théologiques en ce qu'elle met en miroir les emprises territoriales divines et humaines dans une langue culturellement surdéterminée[65].

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61 Tokhtas'ev 2006, 2–22 (*SEG* 56 885 ; *BE* 2008 417) avec références antérieures ; cf. Müller 2010, 359–360, nº1 (date) et Dana (2021), 143–144. La séquence onomastique est rendue incomplète par la lacune de la fin de la l. 2. Tokhtas'ev 2006, après d'autres, restitue ἐν Λ[άβρυι], « à Labrys ». *Contra* Philippe Gauthier (*BE* 2003 393), qui proposait l'adverbe ἐνα[ρέτως] « vaillamment », jugeant la lecture problématique sur le plan linguistique (on attendrait ἐλ Λάβρυι) et redondante avec la l. 3. Si la première réserve est difficilement surmontable, la seconde pourrait l'être en envisageant une combinaison de dynamiques spatiales attribuées à un dieu qui rayonne (l. 3) depuis son ancrage local (l. 2).

62 Dana (2021), 144 qui insiste sur l'adhésion aux valeurs culturelles grecques de Leukôn Ier dans cette épigramme.

63 *SEG* 57 709 (Myrmekion, *ca.* 300) : dédicace [Δήμητρι Θεσ]μοφόρωι | [- - - μεδεο]ύσηι (?) par une femme, à la suite d'un vœu. *CIRB* 1315 (Tanaïs, 133 de n.è.) : ex-voto θεᾷ Ἀρτέμ[ι|δι μ]εδεού|[σῃ] ΝΕΩΟΥΩΙ adressé par un certain Parthenoklès (fils) d'Erôs.

64 *CIRB* 22 : Βάθυλλος Δέρκιος | Ἑκά[τη]ι Σπάρτης μεδεούσ[ηι]. S'appuyant sur les associations, attestées dans les sources, entre l'Hécate-Iphigénie de Tauride et Parthénos d'une part, et entre Parthénos et (Artémis) *Orthia* d'autre part, Braund 2018, 30–31, pense que cette dédicace est adressée « in some sense [to] Artemis Orthia [. . .] but it remains to explain the dedicant's conception of her as Hekate ». Il me semble que l'enjeu réside plutôt dans l'attribut onomastique de la déesse. Une fois celui-ci expliqué, le rapprochement entre l'Hécate-(Iphigénie) de Tauride et l'(Artémis) *Orthia* lacédémonienne, toujours activable en puissance, ne fait plus difficulté. Or, les indices manquent pour contextualiser cette *Spartês medeousa*. Pas plus que celles d'éventuelles relations diplomatiques entre le royaume du Bosphore et Sparte ou d'un rapprochement entre le nom de la cité et celui de la dynastie des Spartocides, l'hypothèse d'une origine spartiate du dédicant ne peut être étayée : son nom, Bathyllos, est relativement répandu, mais n'est pas attesté en Laconie, et son patronyme est inconnu par ailleurs.

65 Cf. Ustinova 2021, 177.

2.4 Régner-sur Calymna depuis Délos

Un dernier dossier nous fait revenir en Égée, à la fin de la période hellénistique et au début de l'époque impériale. Au premier siècle avant notre ère, sur prescription oraculaire de Didymes, un homme et ses fils adressent une dédicace à Apollon *Dalios* « qui-règne-sur-Calymna »[66]. La provenance de l'inscription, Cos, a ouvert des hypothèses sur l'origine des dédicants – possiblement Calymniens – ainsi que sur leurs motivations – l'éventuel apaisement de tensions entre les deux îles – que l'inscription seule ne permet pas d'étayer[67]. Ce qui est avéré, en revanche, c'est que le sanctuaire de l'Apollon Délien de Calymna était déjà au cœur des relations entre les deux communautés depuis le IIIe s.[68], et de leur commune intégration à partir du IIe s.[69]. C'est donc un jeu à trois bandes que cristallise la séquence onomastique divine, le syntagme *Kalumnas medeôn* orientant le rayonnement de l'Apollon Délien dans les deux îles. On sait qu'à Cos, le culte d'Apollon Délien articulait une portée locale (mois du calendrier, sanctuaire et prêtre) et extérieure, puisque la cité envoyait des théories à Délos, au moins à partir du IVe s.[70]. Cette séquence onomastique Apollon *Dalios Kalumnas medeôn*, qui combine ainsi deux attributs toponymiques (un adjectif et un syntagme), traduit sans doute cette articulation entre les trois lieux, l'épicentre d'un culte à fort rayonnement (Délos) et deux îles où il est implanté localement. Elle semble s'être institutionnalisée à Calymna, puisqu'on l'y retrouve au Ier s. de n.è. dans trois dédicaces[71] : on observe ainsi que non seulement Apollon a été Délien à Calymna avant d'y être *Kalumnas medeôn*, mais aussi qu'il a porté cette seconde dénomination à Cos avant de se la voir attribuer à Calymna.

3 Conclusion

A l'issue de ce parcours, il appert que ces séquences onomastiques combinant *medeôn, -ousa* et toponyme aient dans leur grande majorité pour point commun d'impli-

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66 *IG* XII 4 532 (*I.Cos Paton* 60 ; *I.Cos Segre* EV 232) : Ἀπόλλωνι Δ[α]λίῳ Καλύμνας | μεδέοντι κατὰ χρησζμὸν | Διδυμέως Λό[χ]ος Λόχου φύσι | δὲ Ξενοκρά[τ]ους μετὰ τῶν | τέκνων κτλ.
67 Voir le commentaire de Paton et sa prudente appréciation par Segre.
68 Cf. *e.g. IG* XII 4 139–141 (Cos, *ca.* 220).
69 Sur l'intégration de Calymna à Cos à la toute fin du IIIe s., peut-être dans le contexte de la première guerre crétoise, cf. Sherwin-White 1978, 124–129 ; Baker 1991, 11–12 ; Habicht 2007, 140–141.
70 Paul 2013, 63–67.
71 *IG* XII 4 4067 (règne de Caligula), 4078 (même date) et 4069 (Ier s. de n.è.). La dédicace 4078, inscrite sur une architrave, est adressée à l'empereur Caius (Caligula) et Ἀπόλλωνι Δαλίωι Κρησίωι [Καλύμνα]ς μεδέοντ[ι]. La séquence onomastique divine comporte donc un troisième élément toponymique qui désigne le dieu comme Crétois (souvenir de la guerre crétoise et de son rapport à l'intégration de Calymna à Cos ? Cf. *supra*, note 69). On peut rapprocher de ce dossier l'Apollon *Dêlou medeôn* qui apparaît dans une épigramme votive gravée à Ténos aux IIe-IIIe s. de n.è. (*IG* XII 5 893).

quer une distance, voire un trajet, entre l'ancrage spatial de la divinité ainsi dénommée et soit le lieu où, soit le lieu d'où on s'adresse à elle – les trois « couches » de localisation évoquées en introduction. Pour le dire autrement, dans la plupart des attestations évoquées, la triangulation dieu / lieu / agent n'est que très rarement en adéquation complète spatialement parlant : l'espace sur lequel le dieu ou la déesse règne est le plus souvent distinct de l'endroit où on la nomme ainsi et/ou d'où viennent les agents sociaux impliqués, à l'instar du cas de Zeus « qui-règne-sur Dodone » invoqué par Achille dans l'*Iliade*. L'Athéna *Athênôn medeousa* est l'Athéna d'Athènes à l'extérieur d'Athènes, pour les Athéniens comme pour les alliés/sujet de l'empire. L'Apollon *Iêtros Istro medeôn*, à Olbia ou à Istros, est ainsi dénommé par un Olbiopolite, que celui-ci désigne ainsi le maître du fleuve Istros sur lequel il a navigué ou celui de la cité d'Histria où le dieu avait, comme à Olbia, un important sanctuaire. L'Apollon Délien a d'abord été dit qui-règne-sur Calymna à Cos avant de l'être à Calymna même.

Ainsi, si l'on tente de cartographier la localisation des dieux *medeontes*, des points ne suffisent pas ; il faut aussi recourir à des figurés de surface, rendant compte d'un rayonnement sur un espace, généralement maritime, parcouru sous l'œil de la divinité qui y règne ; des lignes transcrivant des axes plus ou moins durables sont également nécessaires, que ceux-ci relient le centre d'un empire et les espaces dominés (Athènes avec Cos, Samos et Carpathos), les étapes parcourues puis appropriées par des colons (de Milet vers Leukè et Borysthène, puis Olbia, Istros et Hylaiè), deux parties entretenant des relations diplomatiques (les Zacynthiens et les Molosses), voire deux îles un temps intégrées à la même entité politique (Calymna et Cos). Bien entendu, les dieux peuvent accompagner de telles dynamiques d'essaimage sans être systématiquement qualifiés de *medeontes*. L'existence, à Kydathènaion, dème de l'asty d'Athènes, d'un sanctuaire d'Artémis *Amarusia Athmonothen*[72], autrement dit de l'Artémis d'Amarynthos qui-vient-d'Athmnon, implique non pas un, mais deux trajets, d'Amarynthos en Eubée à Athmonon dans la Mésogée d'abord, puis d'Athmonon à Kydathènaion ensuite – la déesse y gagnant au passage un attribut onomastique. Le cas de l'Apollon Délien « qui-règne-sur Calymna » est semblable, ce qui indique aussi, en retour, qu'une épithète toponymique adjectivale, ici *Dalios*, ne suffit pas toujours à localiser effectivement ou complètement le dieu. Signe qu'il y a plus que de la localisation dans une épithète toponymique ; signe aussi, que « régner-sur » un lieu, pour un dieu, implique de s'y projeter ou d'en rayonner, et semble donc induire nécessairement une dynamique spatiale que l'on pourrait se hasarder à qualifier de « trajective »[73]. Plus simplement, les attributs onomastiques *medeôn*, *-ousa* + toponymes ouvrent un espace à la divinité plus qu'ils ne l'ancrent dans un

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72 *IG* I³ 426 (414/3), l. 66–69.

73 L'emploi de ce qualificatif paraît d'autant plus hasardeux pour évoquer le déploiement des épithètes divines dans l'espace que, d'une part, on a déjà classé la trajection des épithètes parmi les licences poétiques utilisées par Eschyle (Weil 1876, 47–48, à propos de Frey 1875) et, d'autre part, que trajection et trajectivité ont déjà un sens précis en géographie (Berque 1986 et 2016).

lieu. De ce point de vue, ils se distinguent assez nettement d'autres attributs onomastiques analogues dans la forme, tels que les dieux qui (dé)tiennent (*katechontes*) un lieu ou un pays. Ces divinités, généralement désignées collectivement, semblent par comparaison beaucoup moins mobiles, voire même caractérisées par un certain enracinement[74].

Abréviations

Les abréviations des titres de périodiques sont empruntées à l'Année Philologique, *celles des corpus et recueils épigraphiques à la liste* GrEpiAbbr (https://www.aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html), à laquelle on ajoute :

DB MAP   Bonnet, Corinne (dir.), *ERC Mapping Ancient Polytheisms 741182 Database (DB MAP)*, Toulouse, 2017–. https://base-map-polytheisms.huma-num.fr (consulté le 7 décembre 2021).

DELG   Chantraine, Pierre, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*, Paris, 1968–1980.

IGDOP   Dubois, Laurent, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont*, Genève, 1996.

CGRN   Carbon, Jan-Mathieu / Peels, Saskia / Pirenne-Delforge, Vinciane, *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)*, Liège, 2016– : http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be (consulté le 25 octobre 2021).

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Alfieri Tonini, Teresa (2005), "Samo crocevia di scritti d'oltremare", in: Acme 58, 47–57.

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Anderson, Carl A. / Dix, T. Keith (1997), "Politics and State Religion in the Delian League: Athena and Apollo in the Eteocarpathian Decree", *ZPE* 117, 1997, 129–132.

Belayche, Nicole (2006), "'Au(x) dieu(x) qui règne(nt) sur. . .'. *Basileia* divine et fonctionnement du polythéisme dans l'Anatolie impériale", in: Annie Vigourt / Xavier Loriot / Agnès Bérenger-Badel / Bernard Klein (eds.), *Pouvoir et religion dans le monde romain, en hommage à Jean-Pierre Martin*, Paris, 257–269.

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74 L'enquête systématique restant à mener, on se bornera à évoquer deux exemples significatifs. Les dieux « qui détiennent l'Attique » (τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς κατέχουσ[ιν] τὴν Ἀττικήν) sont associés à des sacrifices aux frontières dans un décret éphébique athénien de 127/6 (*IG* II² 1032+ = Reinmuth 1955, l. 24). Les dieux et héros « qui détiennent notre cité et notre territoire (οἳ κατέχουσιν ἡμῶν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν) » ferment la liste des destinataires divins du vœu formulé par les Colophoniens à l'occasion de la reconstruction de l'enceinte de la ville à la fin du IVᵉ s. (Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* 69 ; cf. Lebreton 2019, 32–34, 39).

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1.4 Rome and the West

Audrey Ferlut

The Quadruviae: Cult Mobility and Social Agency in the Northern Provinces of the Roman Empire

Introduction

Silvanis / [et] *Quadr(i)vi(i)s Ca[e]/lestib(us) sacr(um)*, / *Vibia Pacata* (*uxor*) / *Fl(avi) Verecundi* / (*centurionis*) *leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis)* / *cum suis* / *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.[1]

In the mid-second century, the wife of a centurion of the Sixth Legion *Victrix* made this dedication to the Silvanae and Quadruviae in Westerwood on the short-lived Antonine Wall, thousands of miles away from what seems to be the earliest known sanctuary of both the Quadruviae and Silvanae in Carnuntum – a major military and commercial hub on the Danube. This raises the question of what motivated Vibia Pacata to make a vow to a pair – perhaps even a triad – of female plural deities otherwise not attested in Britain. What was her particular interest in the Quadruviae? How did she understand these goddesses and their functions? And how did she become acquainted with them in the first place? This testimony from the Antonine Wall also raises questions about the circulation and mobility of deities, their cults and ritual practices, as advocated by G. Woolf when he wrote that we should not focus on "the spread of religions or conversion, but on the spread of the worship of particular gods (. . .)", as many divine names are often rather localised either in the context of a village, a geographical feature or a small region.[2] It also urges us to investigate the individual social agents involved in creating new votive offerings for the Quadruviae or establishing cult centres far away from established sanctuaries like Carnuntum.

What do we know about the Quadruviae so far? In historical and linguistic studies, one of the main controversies concerns the goddesses' origin. The Quadruviae[3] are widely presumed to be goddesses protecting roads and crossroads as their name derives from the Latin *quadruvium*, 'four roads'. Related to the theonyms

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1 Roger Tomlin reconstructed: "Sacred to the celestial Silvanae and Quadriviae", but as we shall discuss, we might have to re-think the interpretation of *caelestibus* in the inscription. The sandstone altar was found 90m northwest from the fort. *RIB* III 3504, *c*.142–161.

2 Woolf 2018, 113.

3 Variant spellings: *Quadriviae*, *Quadribiae* and *Quadrubiae*.

Biviae and *Triviae*, referring to two and three roads respectively, they seem to replace the Lares Compitales, the Roman 'household deities of the crossroads',[4] north of the Alps; the only known dedication to Lares Compitales *sive* Quadruviae comes from Mogontiacum. But why did the Quadruviae replace the Lares Compitales in these frontier provinces?

Despite the Latin theonym, discussions among scholars aimed at determining the goddesses' origin, i.e. their pre-Roman roots. Ihm[5] argued for a Celtic origin whereas others, notably Heichelheim and Vollkommer,[6] attempted to demonstrate their Illyrian or Balkan origin based on their presence in Pannonia and their association with the *Silvanae* whom they presumed to be Illyrian goddesses. They rejected a Celtic origin due to the absence, at their time, of attestations in the Keltiké, but since the publication of their work, dedications to the Quadruviae have been discovered in Spain,[7] Britain[8] and North Italy.[9] In 1992, Dorcey[10] demonstrated that the *Silvanae* were of local Pannonian origin, notably from the north of Upper Pannonia, in a region where the Illyrian culture had already been eradicated prior to the Roman conquest. This controversy is outdated today as the question of their origin is less significant than the meaning and functions the worshippers attributed to the goddesses in the Roman times that are essential for our interpretation.

The epigraphic, archaeological and iconographic evidence[11] reveals that the Quadruviae were widely worshiped from Thrace to Britain, notably along the military Rhine-Danube Limes. Apart from the Germanic provinces, Raetia, Noricum, Upper and Lower Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia and Upper and Lower Moesia, isolated inscriptions were found in Thrace, Britain, Hispania Citerior[12] and the Italian *regio* X.[13] The evidence allows us to reconstruct a chronological pattern of the cult mobility between the 1st and 3rd century. From Carnuntum, considered to be the potential site of origin, the cult circulated in two directions. In the East, the cult was established (in chronological order) in Moesia, Dacia and Noricum, and in the West, it was installed in Lower Germany, Upper Germany and Britain. In each province, the *cultores*

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4 *CIL* XIII, 6731: *Laribus / Competali/bus siue / Quadrui/is T(itus) Fl(auius) Castus / be(neficiarius) co(n)s (ularis) / c(um) uil(ico) p(osuit)*.

5 Ihm 1909–1915, 1–7.

6 See footnote 13.

7 Carlos Elorza 1967, n° 77.

8 *RIB* III, 3504.

9 *CIL* V, 1863.

10 Dorcey 1992, 42–48.

11 In some provinces, such as Upper and Lower Panonnia, the most common name is *Quadriviae*. See Ihm 1909–1915, 1–7; Heichelheim 1963, 711–719; Vollkommer 1994, VII.1, 611 and VII.2, 489; Panaite 2013, 133–142.

12 The inscription was found in Laguardia. See Carlos Elorza 1967 n° 77: *Segilus et / Rusticus f(ilius) / Laribus Q(uadru)v(iis) / pro salute / u(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*.

13 Ihm 1909–1915, 1–7; Heichelheim 1963, 711–719; Panaite 2013, 134 (map).

attributed specific functions to the Quadruviae. Although the connection with roads, crossroads and the frontier seems clear in some, in others the situation is much more complex considering both the deities' functions and social agency of the cult.

The evidence raises several questions. First, if they were merely road and cross-road goddesses, why were they only worshipped in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire? More significantly, the evidence from Carnuntum suggests that they were not originally considered to be road deities as they were worshipped either alone or with the Silvanae in a sanctuary located at the fringe of the civilian settlement (see Fig. 1). Although the sanctuary is not very far from the frontier and the Amber Road, for which Carnuntum was a major hub, there is no explicit indication that the sanctuary was in any way connected with any major road or crossroad. As we shall see, it is possible that the Quadruviae had another function related to the cult of the Silvanae and Silvanus – a combination that is otherwise only attested in Westerwood. Their identity of goddesses of roads and crossroads presumably appeared first in the Germanic provinces, probably initiated by military personnel who were key agents in the cult's implementation there and maybe along the entire Rhine-Danube Limes, taking into account the significance of military networks. The question arises whether militaries that had connections to Carnuntum were responsible for adopting local goddesses and adapting them – based on their personal
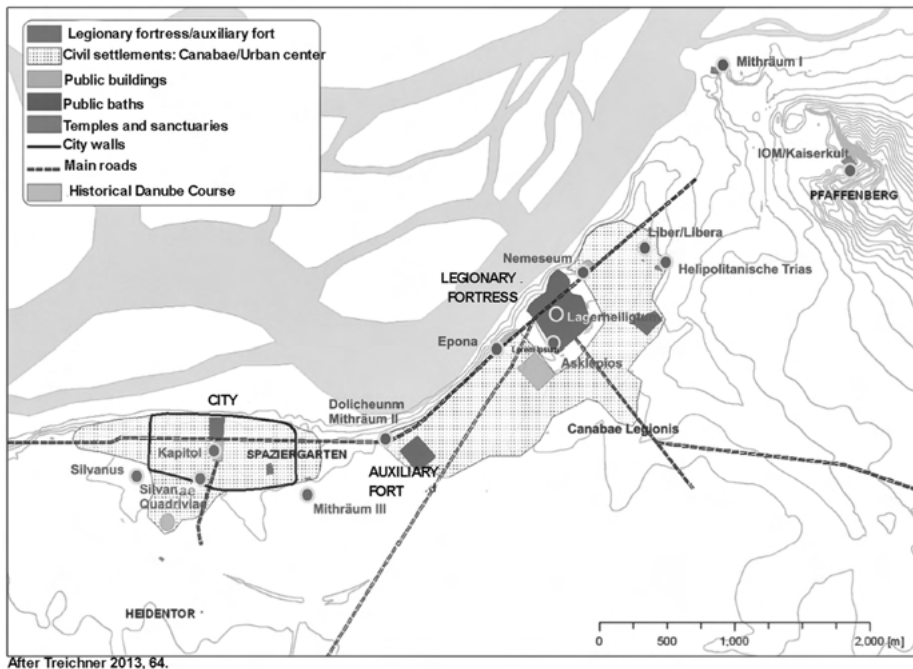
Fig. 1: Cult places in Carnuntum. After Treichner 2013, 64.

comprehension of the goddesses – to a specific need along the Limes.[14] Despite the military connection, it is significant that women seem to have played a key role in the cult, notably at Westerwood and in Dacia, revealing another potential adaptation of the cult whilst still being connected to major road networks and potentially a public[15] cult.

It is therefore important to explore other roles and functions of the Quadruviae based on the specific context, like the association with Silvanae or Caelestis. In this respect, examining examples of social agency is essential for understanding not only the circulation of the cult of Quadruviae across the Empire, but also the creation of local variations. Based on the discoveries made in both military and civilian contexts, we will address the role of the militaries, women, municipal elites and sub-elite devotees as key agents in the circulation of the cult of the Quadruviae. We must adopt a multi-level approach: a chronological approach to identify chronological patterns, a geographical approach to understand cult circulation inside and between provinces, and a sociological approach to recognise the agents and their actions that set in motion not only cult mobility, but also how people adopted, appropriated and adapted the cult, shaping the characteristics of the goddesses according to the local specificities and personal needs. To better comprehend the process, we will engage on a journey from Carnuntum, our earliest Quadruviae sanctuary, to the Germanic provinces, where the goddesses really became road and crossroad goddesses, to Dacia where women were the major agents involved in their cult.

Carnuntum, the Earliest Centre of Worship

Based on the number of dedications to the Quadruviae, one of the major sites of worship was Carnuntum, the capital of Upper Pannonia, composed of a legionary fortress, an auxiliary fort and an urban centre.[16] Moreover, the chronological analysis of the epigraphic evidence allows us to identify Carnuntum[17] as one of the first sites of their cult as the earliest inscriptions date to the 1st century CE. All this has been well documented in the historical and archaeological studies about the city of

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14 The term Limes is used in this article to denote the Roman Empire's Rhine-Danube frontier between North Sea and Black Sea. "Limes" is the official term adopted by the UNESCO for this world heritage site.

15 Public cult refers to a cult practiced in public by some particular elite members of the city in precise circumstances regarding the cities' life but not as part of a civic activity.

16 Kremer 2014, 124 sq.; Kremer 2016, 79 and Taf. XXXI.

17 Kandler 1985, 143–168; Gugl/Kremer 2011, 98–101.

Carnuntum.[18] It was advocated that the Quadruviae were worshipped there as road and crossroad goddesses in a sanctuary where their worship was combined with that of the Silvanae.[19] However, as I pointed out in the introduction, the situation is far more complex. A survey of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence allows us a contextual analysis that provides insights into the worshippers' expectations of those goddesses, thus revealing specific functions that might not be primarily connected to roads and crossroads.

In Carnuntum, many cult places were found in the whole area from the Pfaffenberg in the east to the urban civilian centre in the west.[20] The rather small sanctuary dedicated to Silvanus, the Silvanae (with 56 dedicated altars) and Quadriviae[21] is located *intra muros* in the west of the civilian urban centre in the immediate vicinity of the city walls, away from any major roads or crossroads (Fig. 1). The archaeological and epigraphic evidence (Fig. 2) suggests that the sanctuary was built at the end of the 1st century and remained in use at least until 211 when a veteran renovated the temple.[22] The sanctuary consists of a square temple (3.5 by 3.5 m) with a *cella* together with porticoes and a banquet room (9 by 3 m).[23]

Fig. 2: The temple area at the time of excavation. After Gugl/Kremer 2011, abb. 45.

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18 Kandler 1985, Gugl/Kremer 2011, Kremer 2014 and Kremer 2016.

19 Gugl/Kremer 2011, Panaite 2013, Kremer 2014 and Kremer 2016.

20 Kremer 2014, 124 sq.; Kremer 2016, Taf. XXXI.

21 Kremer 2014, 124 sq.; Gugl/Kremer 2011, 95 and abb. 48.

22 *CIL* III 4441 = *CSIR* Oe-Carn S-1, 711.

23 Gugl/Kremer 2011, 98.

The evidence indicates a specific way for the *cultores* to revere the goddesses and organise their cult. The connection with the Silvanae and Silvanus appears to be central in Carnuntum. With 56 inscriptions, compared to only 12 for the Quadruviae, the Silvanae must have been the sanctuary's main recipients of votive altars, which raises the question of the exact character the devotees worshipped in the Quadruviae. Several hypotheses can be made. First, the Quadruviae might have been goddesses of local origin whose cult was gradually revealed in the inscriptions as more and more devotees adopted the use of Latin inscriptions and Roman-style votive altars. The Quadruviae have a specific connection to the Silvanae, and therefore probably to Silvanus. But who were the Silvanae? Dorcey[24] argued that they were of local origin although some inscriptions were found in Aquincum and in a few places in Dalmatia.[25] The feminisation of the name of Silvanus and the use of the plural form might suggest a local creation of goddesses as female consorts of Silvanus with whom the Quadruviae, also goddesses of local construct, were associated; their Latin theonym does not invalidate the hypothesis of a local origin. Dorcey[26] has argued that the Silvanae were also represented as a triad of nymphs in iconography, often accompanied by Silvanus, especially in Pannonia. If the Silvanae were indeed nymphs of woodlands, it would be feasible that the Quadruviae were seen as nymphs of 'four roads', which would totally change the common perception of the goddesses. Given that Silvanus in Carnuntum was often worshiped as Silvanus *domesticus*, and, during the Principate, as a deity of a perceived vision of agricultural land by those living in urban areas,[27] it is possible that both the Silvanae and Quadruviae referred to a specific aspect of agricultural territories: woodlands for the former and boundaries for the latter, comparable to the Lares Compitales in other areas of the Empire. Correspondingly, the Quadruviae in Carnuntum are not associated with other road goddesses, notably the *Biviae* and *Triviae*, which are so common, for instance, in the Germanic provinces. All of the previous arguments insinuate that the Quadruviae were not worshipped as road and crossroad goddesses, but had a specific local function for the people from the civilian settlement of Carnuntum, though their precise function is difficult to identify.

Second, local people may have organised the cult of the Quadruviae according to their specific needs and requirements. It has been suggested that the offerings and the remains from banquets demonstrated that the sanctuary was frequented by a poorer section of the population compared to other cult places in Carnuntum.[28] This may indicate that sub-elite *cultores* organised, out of personal devotion, a sacred place for the Silvanae and Quadruviae, perhaps at the level of a *vicus* or urban district. This contrasts with the more top-down civic cults or the self-display of elites and magistrates in religious

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24 Dorcey 1992, 42–48.

25 One inscription was found in Albona and the other in Aquae Balissae.

26 Dorcey 1989, 149–150 and Dorcey 1992, 42–48.

27 Dorcey 1989, 149–150 and Dorcey 1992, 42–48.

28 Kandler 1985, 143–168, Gugl/Kremer 2011, 98.

inscriptions. It is feasible that the area of the city where the sanctuary was discovered may at first have been less connected to other social networks and activities in Carnuntum, like its military and commercial role on the Danube or on the Amber Road. However, the banqueting room also insinuates the existence of a *collegium* and thus of social networking in the sanctuary. The possibility of social networking might have attracted soldiers to the sanctuary, though this is rarely attested epigraphically before the Severan period.[29] During its three centuries of existence, the cult was also transformed and evolved, becoming increasingly influenced by the cosmopolitan community living in Carnuntum, especially merchants and militaries, some of whom may have visited the sanctuary while stationed there or merely passing through Carnuntum.[30] The case of the veteran soldier of the 14th legion *Gemina* who, probably as an act of euergetism, offered to renovate the entrance, porticoes and *accubita* which had collapsed due to age, confirms the increasing interest of some soldiers in the sanctuary. Moreover, the official character of the dedication with consular dating suggests that the veteran participated in the cult by using official epigraphic models of contemporary military inscriptions, which may insinuate a more significant and public involvement of the military personnel in the cult:

> *Silvanab(us) et / Quadribi(i)s Aug(ustis) sacrum, / C(aius) Antonius Valentinus, / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XIIII G(eminae), murum a fu/ndamentis, cum suo int/roit<o>, et porticum cum / accubito, vetustate conla/bsum, impendio suo, restitu/it, Gentiano et Basso co(n)s(ulibus).*[31]

While the Quadruviae's *cultores* at Carnuntum had Latin names and Roman citizenship, the demographic structure of the Silvanae's devotees is far more complex, 39% of whom were women[32] and including people without Roman citizenship. This may indicate that the worshippers of these two deities differed in social condition and citizenship despite being worshipped at the same site.

To sum up, Carnuntum seems to be the earliest centre of worship of the Quadruviae. In an urban sanctuary created in the second half of the 1st century, the Quadruviae, goddesses of local construct, along with the Silvanae and Silvanus, were at first probably revered as 'nymph-like' deities and not necessarily road and crossroad deities, by sub-elite *cultores*. Compared to the Silvanae, women and peregrine did not play a major visible role in the cult of the Quadruviae at Carnuntum. It might be significant that, during its long existence, the sanctuary could have been visited by members of military units passing through Carnuntum or stationed there,[33] allowing the adoption, the appropriation and the adaptation of the cult to

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29 *CIL* III 4441 = *ILS* 3574 = *CSIR* Oe-Carn S-1, 711.

30 Kremer 2016, 79–87; Wheeler 2000, 282.

31 Sandstone plaque. 70 by 100 cm. *CIL* III, 4441 = *CSIR*-Oe Carn-S-01, 711.

32 Dorcey 1989, 148–149.

33 Kremer 2016, 79–87; Wheeler 2000, 282.

new needs and requirements as might be suggested by the cult in the Germanic provinces or on the Antonine Wall.

Westerwood: Female Social Agency Connected to Carnuntum's Military Milieu

The most northern attestation of the cult of the Quadruviae comes from Westerwood, a fort on the Antonine Wall where a vexillation of the 6th legion *Victrix* was stationed between 142 and 161 CE. While their worship was short-lived, the dedication, unique in Britain, provides food for thought about the way the cult circulated in the Roman Empire.
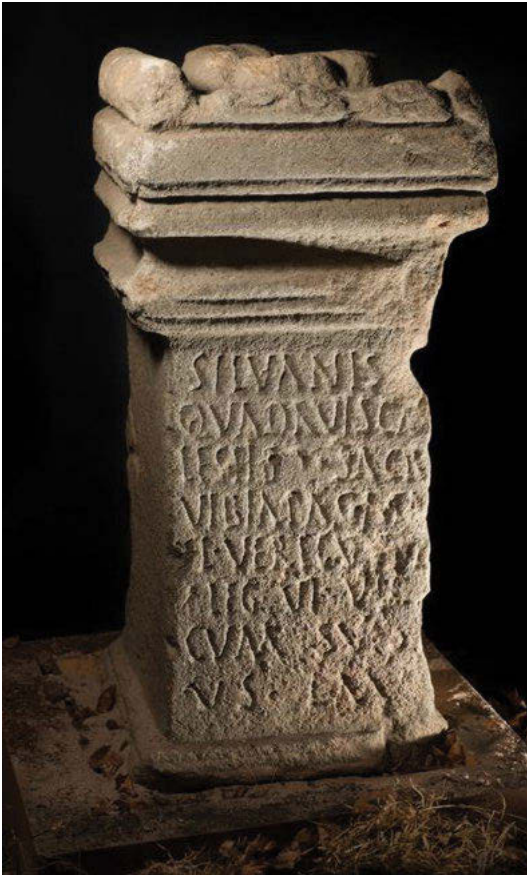
Fig. 3: Altar in Westerwood. 008–000-074-814-R © Crown Copyright HES.

Silvanis [*et*] / *Quadr*(*i*)*vi*(*i*)*s* (et) *Ca*[*e*]/*lestib*(*us*) *sacr*(*um*) / *Vibia Pacata* (*uxor*) / *Fl*(*avi*) *Verecundi* / (*centurionis*) *leg*(*ionis*) *VI Vic*(*tricis*) / *cum suis* / *v*(*otum*) *s*(*olvit*) *l*(*ibens*) *m*(*erito*).[34]

The sandstone altar (Fig. 3), found 90m north-west of the fort, reveals a double social agency: female and military social agency by the intermediary of the woman's husband who was stationed in Carnuntum at some stage of his career. Before we investigate agency, circulation and mobility of people and deities, we first need to clarify the inscription's dedicatory string.

Since its discovery in 1963, the first three lines have been reconstructed[35] as *Silvanis* [*et*] / *Quadr*(*i*)*vi*(*i*)*s* *Ca*[*e*]/*lestib*(*us*) *sacr*(*um*). Birley and Wright[36] not only considered *caelestis* to be an epithet for both deities, but they also erroneously reinterpreted *Silvanis* as the single male god Silvanus. Apart from the fact that we are clearly dealing with the Silvanae, there are also other feasible reconstructions regarding the meaning of *Caelestis*, notably *Silvanis* [*et*] *Quadr*(*i*)*vi*(*i*)*s* (*et*) *Ca*[*e*]*lestib*(*us*), i.e. to three plural goddesses. Several arguments support that reconstruction. First, worshipping deities in a plural form was a habit in the provinces of the Celtic-speaking world as we see from the Matronae, Proxumae and Iunones. Second, Caelestis is attested in a plural form in other provinces, for example in Mauretania between 210 and 241.[37] Finally, Caelestis was revered as an independent goddess in Britain[38] with whom Vibia Pacata could have crossed paths while reaching the Antonine Wall. Despite the distance to the Antonine Wall, these options are worth considering in view of the dedicant and her husband's journey across the Empire.

Birley[39] suggested that Flavius Verecundus was the same centurion who dedicated an altar to Mithras in Carnuntum as a member of the 14th legion.[40] Subsequently, as argued by Birley and Wright, he is said to have been based in Mauretania as a member of the 3rd legion that was stationed in North Africa throughout the Roman Empire[41] – before being transferred to the Antonine Wall. In North Africa, he is presumed to have met his wife Vibia Pacata, as her gentilicium was common there, who followed her husband to the Antonine Wall. In this reconstruction of their movements, a step is missing. As a member of the 6th legion, even as a member of a *vexillatio* sent to the Antonine Wall, Verecundus probably passed through Lower Germany, and as such was transferred from the 3rd to the 6th legion.

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34 *RIB* III 3504. Tomlin reconstructed it "Sacred to the celestial Silvanae and Quadriviae".

35 Wright 1968, 192.

36 Wright 1968, 192; Birley 1984, 230–232; Walker 2020, 186–187.

37 *CIL* VIII, 9015 (210), 20744 (213), 20745 (222), 20746 (241).

38 *CIL* VII, 754 = *RIB*-01, 1827 = *CSIR*-GB-01-06, 217 (Carvoran); *RIB*-01, 1448 = *CSIR*-GB-01-06, 128 (Chesters); *RIB*-01, 1131 = *CCID* 565 = Dessau 9318 = *CSIR*-GB-01-01, 1 = *AE* 1911, 215 (Corbridge).

39 Birley 1984, 230–232.

40 *CIL* III, 4416 = *CSIR*-Oe-01-03, 177.

41 Wright 1968, 192; Foubert 2013, 395–398.

If this reconstruction is correct, Verecundus could have become acquainted with the *Quadruviae* while stationed in Neuss or – perhaps more likely – Carnuntum where he encountered the combination Quadruviae/Silvanae. If his wife had come from North Africa, it is unlikely that she had already been with him in Carnuntum; so he possibly told her about the Quadruviae. However, the hypothesis of the devotee's North African origin, although widely acknowledged,[42] does not stand. A precise and thorough analysis of the list of legionaries and auxiliaries in North Africa reveals that no Verecundus is attested as a legionary[43] or in any auxiliary units.[44] Vibia Pacata's alleged North African origin stands on even more shaky ground as her names are also common in Italy and Southern Gaul. The dangers of presuming people's origin based only on onomastic analyses are well known.[45] In other words, neither Verecundus nor Pacata might ever have been in North Africa. Taking into account the combination of Silvanae and Quadruviae in Pacata's dedication at Westerwood, it is likely that the two already knew each other at Carnuntum as it matches the Pannonian epigraphic habit.

Whether *Caelestibus* was an epithet or a goddess in plural form cannot be resolved since both hypotheses may be correct. Vibia Pacata could have known about the cult to the *Caelestis* and decided to call for the protection of the *Silvanae*, *Quadruviae* and *Caelestis* for herself and her family or she might have considered both the Silvanae and Quadruviae celestial deities which contradicts the idea of them being more chthonic road deities or goddesses of boundaries and woodlands. We also need to consider her husband's contribution who, as centurion in charge of the fort, might have emphasised his official duties based on the Roman official military calendar or addressed to the gods specifically protecting his unit.[46] As a result, he might have instructed his wife to erect an altar in the public domain to goddesses he had already revered in Carnuntum, which is not to deny the agency of women.

The Westerwood altar, although unique, provides important insights about social agency regarding the transfer of religious ideas across the Roman Empire. Women have often been marginalised in scholarship, but they played a significant role, as we shall also see in the case of Dacia. Though deities are predominantly very localised, associated with particular topographical features or ethnic and municipal entities, the Roman Empire's spatial mobility encouraged individuals – not just soldiers and the civilians in their supply train, but also merchants, haulers, etc. (both men and women) – to convey the deities they knew to their new domicile, sometimes

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42 Birley 1984, 230–232; Wright 1968, 192; Foubert 2013, 395–398.

43 Le Bohec 1989a, *ILM.ILat*.

44 Le Bohec 1989b, Benseddik 1979, *ILM.ILat*.

45 Le Bohec 2005, 217–239.

46 Apart from central cult in regions where they were stationed, commanding officers rarely made private dedications to deities that were not part of the official cult of the army: see Ferlut 2019, 170–181.

thousands of kilometres away from the earliest site of worship, suggesting that deities, although not originating from Rome, were adopted, appropriated and adapted to new contexts by people circulating in the Empire. As the Antonine Wall was short-lived and the *vexillationes* were only based in the fort for their mission, it may explain why this dedication to the Quadruviae is so far unique in Britain and why their cult did not develop to other parts of the province. It may indicate that, while travelling across the Empire, people were inclined to continue to worship deities they were familiar with and to combine them to increase the power of protection. In this respect, Westerwood represents an individual initiative by a centurion's wife who may have wished to worship familiar deities, especially in a recently conquered territory of the Empire where she may well have faced solitude in a male-dominated military environment and may hardly have found comfort or a sense of protection in any local deities as those were still unknown. As in Carnuntum, there is no indication of the Quadruviae being road and crossroad deities. Together with the association with the Silvanae, this confirms the connection between Westerwood and Carnuntum, while the road and crossroad function was more prominent in the Germanic provinces.

The Germanic Provinces: The Quadruviae as Road and Crossroad Goddesses

The Germanic provinces have so far yielded the largest number of dedications to the Quadruviae with seven altars in Germania Inferior and 26 in Superior, including one with an iconographic stone representation of the goddesses which is unique in the Empire (see Fig. 4). In contrast to Carnuntum and Westerwood, where the link to the Silvanae and role of the militaries as devotees was apparent, the situation is apparently much more diverse and complex in Germany whether we analyse the geographical distribution, the chronology, the social worshippers' background or the functions they attributed to the goddess. This provides new insights into the social agency of devotees, notably their adoption, appropriation and adaption of the Quadruviae.

The first inscription dates to the end of the 1st century CE in Lower Germany. The main agents who were responsible for the first epigraphic monuments were soldiers who had a probable connection with Carnuntum. The earliest inscription found in the fortress of the 1st legion Minerva in Bonn,[47] dating to 99 according to Alföldy,[48] was set up by Cornelius Priscus' *beneficiarius*. It is feasible that he dedicated the

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47 *AE* 1977, 576.
48 Alföldy 1967.

Fig. 4: Iconographic representation of the Quadruviae in Bad Cannstatt. ID: 7134–1
© O. Harl 2004. Altar. 127 by 53 cm. *AE* 1927, 66. December 29th 230.

inscription in Bonn after having encountered their cult whilst stationed in the Danubian provinces during the Dometianic wars on the Dacian at the end of the 1st century[49] (84–89), as Carnuntum was one of the Roman army's key bases on the Danube at that time where the legate Priscus or his *beneficiarius* may have had business to conduct. Wherever he got to know the Quadruviae, he decided to establish a cult to them in Bonn. But why did he prioritise the Quadruviae over the region's main deities, the *Matronae*? Previous explanations include the units' movement along the Rhine-Danube Limes and/or that the cult to the *Matronae* was still in its early stages in Bonn.[50] This very first inscription, based on our current testimonies, was only addressed to the Quadruviae. Cornelius Priscus' *beneficiarius* was not the only soldier

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49 Wheeler 2000, 282.
50 Spickermann 2010, Raepsaet-Charlier 2019, Ferlut 2021.

involved in the early stages of the implementation of the cult of the Quadruviae in Lower Germany. A veteran of the *ala Noricorum*, Marcus Cocceius Dasius, who might have come across the Quadruviae in the Danube provinces, not only set up a dedication in Cologne,[51] he also seems to have created the unique combination of Quadruviae, Biviae, Viae and Semitae.[52] This shows that the Quadruviae were appropriated and adapted as road and crossroad goddesses by clearly associating them with many other theonyms relating to roads. The meaning behind the unique combination with Semitae remains unclear. Some 50% of the inscriptions by soldiers in the province combined the Quadruviae with other road/crossroad deities, like the Biviae and Triviae, which seems to be specific to the Germanic provinces. In the *Germaniae*, 10 worshippers out of 29 can be identified as soldiers, of whom four were veterans,[53] three *beneficiarii consularis*, in *beneficarius legati*,[54] one centurion,[55] and the others simply *miles*;[56] several of them, especially Cornelius Priscus' *beneficiarius*, belonged to the closer circle of high-ranking officials. Soldiers are clearly overrepresented as social agents in the cult of the Quadruviae in Lower and Upper Germany since only three inscriptions – if we include the centurion's wife in Westerwood – involved soldiers in all the other Roman provinces combined. One explanation may be that the military in the Germanic provinces had severed the link between Silvanae and Quadruviae, and transformed these deities to match their local needs for road goddesses in order to protect the frontier and the Empire.[57] Soldiers gave the Quadruviae specific functions based on their mission, especially the *beneficiarii*. As a result, the Quadruviae replaced the Lares Compitales as we can see in Mainz[58] where one dedication associated the Quadruviae with the *Biviae* and *Triviae*, and the other with the *Lares Compitales*. In the latter, it is worth noticing that the soldier writes *Quadrivis sive Lares Compitalibus*, which indicates that in the devotee's personal understanding the Compitales and the Quadruviae were identical. What is even more striking is that this inscription is the only one that mentions the Compitales in the Germanic provinces. Interestingly, this

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51 *CIL* XIII, 8243 = *RSK* 133.

52 An inscription from Britain (*CIL* VII, 271 = *RIB*-01,725) shows the very same association of the viae and semitae suggesting that this combination had existed for a long period of time and in a broad geographical range.

53 Cologne: *CIL* XIII, 8243 = *RSK* 133; Xanten: *CIL* XIII, 8638; Windisch: *CIL* XIII, 5198; Mainz: *CIL* XIII, 6667.

54 Bonn: *AE* 1977, 576 (*beneficiarius legati*); Bad Cannstatt: *CIL* XIII, 6437 & *AE* 1927, 66; Mainz: *CIL* XIII, 6731.

55 Hochheim: *CIL* XIII, 6429a.

56 See, for instance, in Saverne: *CIL* XIII, 11647.

57 Ferlut 2012a.

58 *CIL* XIII, 6731 = Dessau 3635; *CIL* XIII, 6667 = Dessau 3930a. A third inscription is too damaged to be properly studied (*CIL* XIII, 11823 = *AE* 1904, 181).

inscription seems to mention the mission of a *beneficiarius* involving a farmer,[59] perhaps solving a legal dispute regarding the delimitation of a plot of land, which may have led them to thank deities responsible for delimiting roads and land boundaries. This increases the range of the Quadruviae's functions, insinuating a much more diverse and complex character to which the Latin name Quadruviae alludes.

Finally, the militaries played a significant role in the creation of temples and sanctuaries, showing the role of wealthy militaries being notable in the cult of the Quadruviae. This is particularly significant since there is so far no evidence for the existence of sanctuaries explicitly dedicated to the Quadruviae from other provinces. This shows the major role of individual militaries in implementing, installing and organising the cult, probably due to their social status and their wealth compared to the majority of the inhabitants in the frontier provinces. The construction of dedicated sacred spaces like temples may also imply that the ritual practices of the Quadruviae must have been sufficiently developed among the *cultores* in those provinces. In this respect, two inscriptions that mention temples of the Quadruviae are particularly important for our analysis. In Xanten, a veteran of the 30th legion Ulpia Victrix dedicated a temple to the Quadruviae and the *genius loci*. The inscription, found in the immediate vicinity of the military fortress, mentions a temple with a grove (*templum cum aboribus*), though the temple's architectural layout is unfortunately unknown.[60] The presence of a grove, however, quite surprising for road and crossroad goddesses, might refer to the function of nymphs that was originally attributed in Carnuntum. The other inscription, from Strasbourg, was set up by a certain Septiminus Victor in the mid-2nd century.[61] In Strasbourg, the dedicant offered the altar and the temple in an area close to the Roman fortress. The construction of a temple goes beyond a mere votive dedication to thank the deities and rather shows an act of euergetism, and the integration of the cult in the public space by making it visible to the whole population who could participate in the cult.

Although the militaries were major actors in the adoption, appropriation and adaptation of the cult of the Quadruviae, shaping them as goddesses of roads and crossroads protecting the frontiers of the Empire, they also probably publicised the cult among the civilians, which is confirmed by many monuments discovered in civilian contexts or connecting with some *vici* for instance.[62]

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59 *CIL* XIII, 6731 = *CBI* 126. Until recently, the inscription was reconstructed as such in the end: *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) | c(um) uil(ico) p(osuit)*. In recent publications, it is reconstructed: *b(ene)f(iciarius) {f} co(n)s(ularis) | {C} u(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)*.

60 Two other inscriptions were found in the same area, but the only information about devotees is the Roman citizenship. *AE* 1905, 229 and *AE* 2006, 885.

61 *CIL* XIII, 5971 (Strasbourg); *CIL* XIII, 8638 (Xanten).

62 Sandweier: *CIL* XIII, 6315 = Dessau 3930b; Ladenburg: *CIL* XIII, 6417 = *RSOR* 58.

One particular case demonstrates a different form of appropriation. In Aventicum/ Avenches, the capital of the *civitas Helvetii*, the three inscriptions to the Quadruviae[63] follow a unique pattern by being dedicated to the *Biviae*, *Triviae* and Quadriviae by anonymous worshippers and lacking information on rites and dating. They are not votive inscriptions. They were calling upon the deities for protection and were not in a demarcated sacred space, but on the road, potentially averting evil. They were found at the site *Pré Vert* in the north-west of the city,[64] adjacent to one major *domus* near the *cardo maximus*. The choice of worshipping all three crossroad deities shows their function not only as road deities, but also their role in marking liminal spaces, notably the demarcation between *domus* and *cardo*, comparable to the Lares Compitales that were also associated with the Quadruviae in Mainz. The epigraphic structure of the formula is, however, quite unique. Though the combination of *Quadruviae*, *Biviae* and/or *Triviae* on one inscription is attested elsewhere (e.g. Germ. Sup), the dedicant and the ritual practices are always mentioned. In most places where the Quadruviae were worshipped, the military played a major role as devotees or agents of transmission to the civilians.[65] In Aventicum, there are no military facilities that may indicate any involvement of soldiers in the transfer of the cult. Situated on the main road from Augusta Raurica to Ludgunum, there was a constant flow of people between Upper Germany and central and southern Gaul, which presents one possible scenario for the particular setting-up of these altars: merchants, soldiers and Roman officials may have transferred the cult from across Danube and Rhine to Aventicum. But what we see is a new type of representation of the road goddesses which also does not reflect Aventicum's epigraphic habit.[66] The altars' location may insinuate that the *domus*' owner, who may have had direct or indirect understanding of the deities, for example from travellers, was responsible for setting them up, perhaps to protect his house from the traffic of the nearby cardo. In this case, the function of roads and crossroads deities attributed to the Quadruviae is significant but also suffered from a new form of appropriation and adaptation by the *domus*' owner in Aventicum, the function being different from the one in Carnuntum associating the Quadruviae and the Silvanae or on the Rhine-Danube *Limes*, making the Quadruviae goddesses protecting the frontier.

What the Germanic provinces suggest is that the militaries played a significant role in the transfer of the Quadruviae from the Danube provinces. While adopting and appropriating the cult they discovered and participated in, notably in Carnuntum, they adapted it to their needs and the requirement of two provinces connected to a

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63 *CIL* XIII, 5069 = *IAvenches* 28; AE 1899, 106; *CIL* XIII, 5070.

64 Blanc/Dal Bianco/Francey/Vuichard Pigueron 2007, 227 & 230–231. Archaeological map (i.e. plan archéologique d'Avenches).

65 Rüpke 2011, 192, Rüpke 2018a 144–145 and Rüpke 2018b, 5.

66 Ferlut 2012b. A rapid survey of epigraphic material in Aventicum shows that formulae are rather long and detailed including the name of the dedicant, some function, and sometimes the nature of the offering.

permanently changing military frontier, the Germanic *Limes*. The function they attributed to the goddesses made them roads and crossroads goddesses protecting roads, crossroads and people circulating along and/or in the direction of the military frontier, and extensively goddesses protecting the frontiers of the Empire, while probably maintaining some of the first attributed functions as nymphs.

As a result, the cult became more and more important and entered the public space by the temples and sanctuaries created in the region, and by the representations of the goddesses that may have appeared. Once transferred from the militaries to the civilians, the functions, although continuing to be deeply connected with the crossroads' function, shifted towards a more pragmatic worship like the one in Aventicum.

Around the same time as the cult circulated to the Germanic province, other provinces in the east of Carnuntum also welcomed dedications to the Quadruviae. Around 75–125, the Quadruviae are attested both in Lower and Upper Moesia. An inscription found in *Oescus* (Gigen) can be dated between 71 and 150.[67] In Moesia, the dedication does not mention the devotee, so it is complicated to identify why the cult reached the province in this early period as other inscriptions from Novae and Cenovo[68] can be dated either to the reign of Marcus Aurelius or the Severan period. The lack of sources from any earlier period, i.e. the 1st century CE, makes a full comprehension of the early circulation of the Quadruviae almost impossible. After Moesia and the Germanic provinces, Dacia is the third province where the cult was installed, some 20 years after the conquest as indicated by an inscription from Apulum.[69] The question arises of whether or not the military were involved in the circulation of the cult in Dacia.

Dacia: Female Agency and the Role of the Public Cult

Dacia[70] provides us with examples of social agency that involve women and also indicate how the cult reached the province and how it circulated inside the province. Though we only have six inscriptions altogether – from Apulum,[71] Dobreta, Sarmizegetusa and one

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67 *CIL* III, 12349.

68 *ILNovae* 22, *ILNovae* 23, *AE* 1938, 80.

69 *IDR*-3.5.1, 309 = *AE* 1947, 24. Another from Dobreta is roughly dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries (*IDR*-2, 82).

70 Dacia was Roman from 106 to *c.* 256–257.

71 The discovery site is Partoş, south of the Roman fortress. It had three different statuses: *pagus Apulensis*, which was part of Sarmizegetusa territory in its early years of existence, *Municipium Aurelium Apulenses* while developing as an urban settlement and *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis* under Commodus (source: Szabó 2021).

of unknown origin[72] – Dacia illustrates another pattern of circulation, appropriation and adaptation of the cult of the Quadruviae in connection with both women and the local elite. The exchange of information and mobility of people between Sarmizegetusa and Apulum, one of Dacia's main military centres and an important crossroad, were facilitated by the so-called Roman "Highway" linking Banat to Porolissum.[73] As a major crossroad in the region, it is not surprising to see a dedication to goddesses protecting roads and crossroads in Apulum. But were the Quadruviae merely road and crossroad goddesses in Dacia?

Having so far investigated the importance of military agency in the other provinces, we are now faced with a scenario in Dacia where not a single member of the army dedicated an altar to the Quadruviae, despite the fact that the military are otherwise very prominent in the province's religious epigraphic record. As we should not make any assumption *ex silentio*, this does not mean that the militaries were not involved in the transmission, especially as Apulum, where most of the dedications to the Quadruviae were discovered, was a major military fortress.

The circulation of objects relating to the Quadruviae, like those discovered in Lower Moesia (silver rings), Noricum and Upper Pannonia (plates with representations of the Biviae and Quadruviae), might have also facilitated the exchange of information regarding their cult. As the objects necessitate a certain level of wealth, it is feasible that higher ranking officers would acquire such artefacts in the provinces where they were stationed, or the merchants, craftsmen and settlers who moved to the newly founded Roman towns and *coloniae* in Dacia.

While the involvement of soldiers and merchants remains purely hypothetical, the women and local elite's social agency is intriguing as it is not visible in other provinces. In general, women are comparatively rare among the devotees erecting inscribed altars for any goddess north of the Alps, thus reinforcing the particularity in Dacia.

Let us examine the Quadruviae dedications in a contextual analysis. The earliest inscriptions were dedicated in Apulum around 150–200. They were found in the civilian settlement about 2 km south of Dacia's main legionary fortress, in an area which at that time was part of the *pagus Apulensis*. Before becoming an independent *municipium* or colony, and seat of the governor, Apulum belonged to the territory of Sarmizegetusa, the Dacian capital and the province's first deducted colony (131).[74] This is important for understanding the way the cult of the *Quadruviae* circulated. Two members of Sarmizegetusa's elite participated in the cult, one in the *pagus Apulensis*, on the site of

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72 Apulum: *CIL* III, 1140 = *IDR*-3.5.1, 310, *IDR*-3.5.1, 309 = *AE* 1947, 24, *IDR*-3.5.1, 311; Dobreta: *IDR*-2, 82 = *AE* 2006, 1177; Sarmizegetusa: *CIL* III, 1440 = *IDR*-3.2, 330; unknown: *CIL* III, 8045.
73 Fodorean 2019, 18–19 & 20–22.
74 Piso 1995, 75–76; Marcu/Cupcea 2011, 543–545 & 554–555.

the future Apulum,[75] the other in the capital itself.[76] The dedication in Apulum is a statue base, the sculpture of which is missing, whereas the one in Sarmizegetusa is an altar. The devotee in Apulum was a member of the *ordo decurionum* who made the dedication together with his wife between 131, as the devotee mentioned the colonial status, and 222 when Sarmizegetusa was granted the title of metropolis by Severus Alexander. The presence of a decurion from the capital in Apulum's territory also confirms that, at the time of the dedication, the modern site of Partoş had not been granted the status of municipium yet.[77]

The decurion and his wife may have made a dedication at the *Quadruviae*'s sanctuary in Apulum, assumed to be located in the town's eastern section, out of gratitude for their protection while travelling the 82 kilometres to Sarmizegetusa where the decurion might have regularly participated in meetings of the *ordo*, if we presume that he lived in Apulum.[78] The dedication of a statue appears more like a political act or act of euergetism, displaying his role as a member of the elite of the provincial capital. Interestingly, all the dedications in Apulum include the involvement of women, including the one by M. Gallius Caminas and his wife. This is different from all other provinces (apart from Britain) and other locations in Dacia, raising the question of whether Caminas may have been introduced to the cult by his wife. Although a few inscriptions in the Germanic provinces also attest the presence of women among the devotees,[79] unlike Apulum they are in the minority. But why did women revere deities that are supposed to be road and crossroad goddesses in a place which was part of Sarmizegetusa' extensive territory/*chora* but in the immediate vicinity of Apulum? Nothing in the formulae of the inscriptions made by women indicates a combination with other road and crossroad deities apart from the location of the presumed sanctuary, near the road from Apulum to Sarmizegetusa. Though difficult to determine, these women may have worshipped other characteristics of the Quadruviae, perhaps comparable to the 'nymph-like' one we discussed for Carnuntum.

Another adaptation of the Quadruviae might be indicated by the dedication of an *Augustalis* from the reign of Severus Alexander, as indicated by the term *metropolis*, discovered *intra muros* in Sarmizegetusa.[80]

The chronology of the dedications may suggest that the cult might have been passed from those who lived at first in *pagus Apulensis* to the elites of *Sarmizegetusa*, and that the practice of the cult lasted until the end of the Severan period, even

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75 *IDR*-3.5.1, 311.

76 *CIL* III, 1440 = *IDR*-3.2, 330.

77 Szabó 2021, Szabo 2022, 215; Piso 1995, 75–76; Marcu/Cupcea 2011, 543–545 & 554–555.

78 Fodorean 2019, Fig. 1, 2 & 3.

79 Cologne: *CIL* XIII, 8240 = *RSK* 130 = *AE* 1893, 115 = *AE* 1894, 30 = Espérandieu, VIII, n° 6507; Kruft: *AE* 1922, 61 = Finke 244; Kaiseraugst: *AE* 1991, 1267.

80 The status of *metropolis* was granted by Severus Alexander. Marcu/Cupcea 2011, 543–545 & 554–555.

though only one altar has so far been discovered in the urban centre of the provincial capital. The exact structure of the Dacian capital is difficult to understand. Based on the excavations starting in the 1930s, a series of buildings was interpreted as the hall of the *Augustales* and several cult places, including a potential temple to Silvanus that might have formed part of a sacred district. Some of the finds' precise findspots are uncertain, making it hard to determine exactly where the *Augustalis* set up his votive inscription. Taking into account the archaeological uncertainties, it is hypothetically possible that the Quadruviae were connected to Silvanus,[81] perhaps a similar setup to Carnuntum. It is unfortunately impossible to confirm this based on our current documents.

> *Quadr<u>vi(i)s / M(arcus) Ga[l]lius / [C]am[i]na[s] / [d]ec(urio) [c]ol(oniae) Sar(mizegetusae) / [cum S] abina / [eius coniux] v(otum) s(olvit).*
> Statue base in limestone found east of the civilian settlement. 65 by 38 cm. *IDR*-3.5.1, 311

> *Quadri<v>(iis) / Cl(audius) Anic[e]/tus Aug(ustalis) c(oloniae) / Sarmiz(egetusae) / metrop(olis) / ex voto.*
> Altar. 58 by 32 cm. *CIL* III 1440 = *IDR*-3.2, 330. *c.* 222–250.

Conclusion

Our journey from the Danubian provinces to Britain via the Germanic provinces has revealed a number of important findings regarding how individuals were involved in the circulation and appropriation of the cult to the Quadruviae in a chronological, geographical and sociological perspective. Based on our current evidence, except for a few cases in Hispania citerior and *regio* X, all the inscriptions are located at the fringes of the Roman Empire, close to the Rhine-Danube Limes and the Antonine Wall.

Social agents, who travelled across these areas, were responsible for the mobility of the cult, by adopting, transmitting, appropriating and adapting the cult of the Quadruviae. Militaries were often the major actors in this process, notably in the Germanic provinces. In Britain and Dacia, inscriptions show that civilians, especially women, were primarily responsible for installing the cult, though in areas dominated by military personnel. Individual social agents also initiated adaptations to personal and local contexts. As a result, the functions attributed to the goddesses also changed. We saw that they were associated with 'nymph-like' deities, such as the Silvanae in Carnuntum; in the Germanic provinces, devotees primarily worshipped them as road

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[81] Silvanus was a god from the "Gaulish" area transferred into Dacia, a specific pattern that could be parallel to the Quadruviae circulation in the Danubian provinces. For Silvanus, see Loránd Dészpa 2012.

and crossroad deities, taking the place of the Roman Lares Compitales, and deities predominantly worshipped by women and local elites in Dacia, perhaps also in connection with Silvanus; in contrast to isolated attestations, as in Westerwood, the evidence from Xanten and Strasbourg insinuates more institutionalised forms of cult organisation similar to the hypothetical *collegium* in Carnuntum. We have identified a complex network involving soldiers and women, local elites and sub-elites that actively contributed to the cult's circulation as well as its adaptation to very specific, localised military and civilian contexts, while employing Roman epigraphic and ritual practices. Based on all the available evidence, our analysis has demonstrated that the Quadruviae were much more complex and diverse than just mere crossroad deities and that their functions and characteristics varied from province to province.

Abbreviations

AE	*Année Epigraphique*, 1888–.
CBI	Schallmayer, Egon / Eibl, Kordula / Ott, Joachim / Preuss, Gerhard / Wittkopf, Esther (1990), *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I: Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart.
CCID	Hörig, Monika / Schwertheim, Elmar (1987), *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni*, Leiden.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 1863–.
CSIR	*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*:
GB-01-01	Phillips, Edward J. (1977), *Corbridge, Hadrian's wall east of the north Tyne*, Oxford.
GB-01-06	Coulston, J.C. / Philips, Edward J. (1988), *Hadrian's wall west of the north Tyne, and Carlisle*, Oxford.
IDR	Russu, Ioan I. (1975–1980), *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, Bucarest.
ILM.ILat.	Chatelain, Louis (1942), *Inscriptions Latines du Maroc*, Paris.
ILS	Dessau, Hermann (1892–1916), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin.
ILNovae	Bozilova, Violeta / Kolendo, Jerzy / Mrozewicz, Leszek (1992), *Inscriptions latines de Novae*, Poznan.
RIB	*The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, 1965–.
RSK	Galsterer, Brigitte / Galsterer, Hartmut (1975), *Die Römischen Steininschriften aus Köln*, Köln.
RSOR	Castritius, Helmut / Clauss, Manfred, (1980), "Die römischen Steininschriften des Odenwaldes und seiner Randlandschaften" (RSOR), in: *Beiträge zur Erforschung des Odenwaldes und seiner Randlandschaften* 3, 193–222.

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Beatrice Lietz
Naming the Gods in Roman Sicily:
The Case of Enguium

While studying the archaeological record, scholars are often left puzzled by the attribution of cult places to the divine powers they were dedicated to. The question can be difficult to answer, sometimes even impossible, especially in the absence of written sources. But it is not entirely a modern one. Ancient worshippers could in fact have faced very similar struggles when having to identify a divine power associated with a given place to address it in cult. This was especially true in mixed cultural contexts, when said divine power could already have received a name in a different language. Sometimes, a widely recognized *interpretatio* provided an easy solution. That was the case, for instance, for the major deities of the Greek and Roman pantheon. But when dealing with less renowned powers, a more creative approach was needed.[1] To illustrate this process, I will analyse a case study from Roman Sicily during the Republic: a place of wide cultural interactions, too often dismissed by scholars due to the widespread misconception that the Roman conquest could only have brought decline in a world of Greek cities. On the contrary, I hope to show that the Romans played an active role in the religious life of the island, putting themselves in a direct relationship with its gods in a way that was specific to their culture and independent from the patterns already established by local worshippers. Thus, far from causing the decline of an immovable Greek culture, they added their own contribution to an already rich mix of various cultural influences.

The sanctuary I will focus on belonged to a small inland city, called Enguium, and seems to have been fairly important, at least at a local level, in late Hellenistic times. There is no archaeological record for it, and the city itself has not yet been identified clearly: it could have been modern Troina, as most scholars agree, but definitive proof has yet to be found (Fig. 1).[2] On the other hand, the sanctuary is well known from three literary sources, two in Greek and one in Latin, all originating from the late Republic: Plutarch, who wrote in the 1st Century AD but derives here explicitly from Posidonius of Apamea (2nd-1st Centuries BC); Diodorus of Sicily (1st Century BC), and Cicero in his speeches against Verres (70 BC).

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[1] See, for instance, Parker 2017, 33–76.

[2] The identification with Troina is tentatively accepted by *BAtlas* 47 F3 Engyon and R.J.A. Wilson/ Jeffrey Becker, *DARMC*, Tom Elliott/Sean Gillies/Brady Kiesling/R. Talbert, 'Engyon: a Pleiades place resource', *Pleiades: A Gazetteer of Past Places*, 2018 <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/462195> [accessed: 14 June 2021] and it is the one we used in our map (Fig. 1); other less convincing solutions include Nicosia (Manni 1981) and Gangi (Angelini 1992, 59–66; Giunta/Poisson 2008).

Fig. 1: The cities of Sicily in the 1st century BC, according to Cicero's speeches against Verres and other sources (map made with Google Earth software).

Diodorus, always keen to celebrate the glories of his native island, gives the most complete account.[3] Also, whatever the extent of his local pride, he must be regarded as an especially reliable witness, since he states that Enguium was only 'one hundred stades apart' from his home town of Agyrium, Agira in modern Italian (Fig. 1). His fellow citizens, he assures, had even provided their neighbours with the stone blocks to build a new temple described as 'remarkable for its size (τῷ μεγέθει διάφορον)'. Sadly, Diodorus doesn't give any indication for the time frame of this endeavour. However, he does say that it was carried out through the extraordinary wealth of the sanctuary, which, apart from having received numerous rich offerings through all of its life, had also possessed 'three thousand head of sacred cattle and vast holdings of land', up until 'a short time before our day (βραχὺ γὰρ πρὸ ἡμῶν)'. It seems possible, then, that Diodorus was referring to relatively recent events. On the other hand, the origin of the sanctuary, as well as that of its city, is traced back to mythical times, with the arrival in Sicily of two waves of Cretan colonists: first with the king Minos in his search for Daedalos, then with the hero Merion coming back from the Trojan War.[4] The last of these two mythical characters was also

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3 D.S., 4, 79–80 (translations are from C.H. Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1939, with slight modifications).

4 In reality, although Enguium seems to have had Greek institutions from the classical period, it probably belonged in the beginning to an indigenous Sicilian people, presumably the Sicels (*contra* IACP, 191, with further references).

responsible for founding the temple. Finally, Diodorus stresses the renown and the importance of the sanctuary both at a local and at an international level, still at his time.

Plutarch and Cicero both confirm Diodorus' picture in many details. Plutarch, for instance, recalls both the Cretan foundation and the presence of rich offerings.[5] Furthermore, he claims that some of these offerings were weapons, traceable back to the mythical times by means of inscriptions displaying the names of heroes such as Ulysses and, again, Merion.[6] Then, he goes on telling the story of how Marcus Claudius Marcellus took the city during the Second Punic War and bestowed his exceptional clemency upon its treacherous inhabitants. Cicero, on the other hand, speaks of a 'most revered and most holy sanctuary (*augustissimo et religiosissimo in templo*)' where the great Scipio Aemilianus had left 'breastplates and helmets of Corinthian chased bronze and some large water-pots of the same type, and wrought in the same beautiful style', all of it with an inscription containing his name.[7] Of course, Verres had taken it all away. Nevertheless, Scipio's decision seems to continue the pattern of offering weapons and making the sanctuary a place of conservation and transmission of meaningful historical memories. In this case, as for many other works of art bequeathed by Scipio to Sicilian cities, these objects probably commemorated Carthage's final defeat in 146 BC.[8]

Taken all together, our three sources allow us to draw a pretty coherent sketch. But this blissful agreement meets its limits when it comes to a rather significant point: the name and identity of the divine power the sanctuary was dedicated to. Diodorus and Plutarch, in Greek, both point to a group of plural unidentified entities called 'Mothers' ('Μητέρες' in Diodorus; 'Ματέρες', with doric vocalism, in Plutarch). Diodorus also says that they had come from Crete with the mythical founders of the city and that they were still greatly honoured in their home island.[9] He

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5 Plu., *Marc.*, 20 = Posidon., fr. 257 Kidd (translations are from B. Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1917, with slight modifications).

6 The first of those heroes is referred to as 'Οὐλίξου', with the rather unusual radical 'λ' form of its name that Plutarch immediately explains with the gloss 'τουτέστιν Ὀδυσσέως'. Since such forms are especially attested in ancient epigraphical documents (see *DELG*, s.v. Ὀδυσσεύς), this probably means that he (or more precisely Posidonios) was quoting an existent inscription, actually visible within the sanctuary at some point.

7 Respectively Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 5, 186 and Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 4, 97 (translations are from L. H. G. Greenwood, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1928, with slight modifications).

8 Cicero is the main witness for these monuments (*e.g.* Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 1, 11; 2, 2, 3–4; 2, 2, 85–88; 2, 4, 72–83; 2, 4, 84–92; 2, 4, 93) but we also have other authors (D.S., 32, 24; Liv., *perioch.*, 51, 4; Eutr., 4, 12) and some epigraphical evidence: IG XIV 315 (on which see also Bovio Marconi 1935 and Brugnone 1974, n. 3 and 4) and *CIL* I² 625 (= *CIL* IX 6348 = *ILLRP* I n. 326).

9 A rather surprising confirmation of the presence of such entities in Crete has come from a ritual calendar discovered in Eleftherna and dated to the 2ⁿᵈ Century BC (SEG 41 744 = H. Van Effenterre *et al.* 1991; see also Stavrianopoulou 1993 and Tzifopoulos 2010, with further references).

identifies them with Zeus' nurses, later transformed into the constellations of the two Bears. For their story, he cites some lines from Aratus' *Phaenomena*, which, however, bear no reference to Enguium or any other Sicilian location.[10] Anyway, this interpretation seems to scale down the plural of the Greek name to a group of only two figures. Finally, the goddesses are said to be especially remarkable for their 'sanctity (ἀγνεία)' and their 'manifestation (or appearing) among mankind (κατ᾽ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφάνεια)'.

This later feature is also confirmed by Plutarch, who calls Enguium 'famous for the appearing (ἐπιφάνεια)' of these goddesses. Even more, his story about Marcellus capturing the city appears to be an illustration of this phenomenon. The main character is Nicias, Enguium's leading citizen, who argued in favour of going over to the Romans when most of the city already favoured the Carthaginians. Finding himself in danger of arrest, he managed to flee by faking divine possession by the goddesses: an episode Plutarch describes in vivid detail. First, Nicias began to blatantly speak of the goddesses in an unbecoming matter, overtly despising 'the prevalent belief in their manifestations (τὴν νομιζομένην ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δόξαν)'. Then, he gave a breathtaking performance during an assembly:

> Right in the midst of some advice that he was giving to the people, he suddenly threw himself upon the ground, and after a little while, amid the silence and consternation (ἐκπλήξει) which naturally prevailed, lifted his head, turned it about, and spoke in a low and trembling voice, little by little raising and sharpening its tones. And when he saw the whole audience struck dumb with horror (φρίκη), he tore off his mantle, rent his tunic, and leaping up half naked, ran towards the exit from the theatre, crying out that he was pursued (ἐλαύνεσθαι) by the Mothers. No man venturing to lay hands upon him or even to come in his way, out of superstitious fear (δεισιδαιμονίαν), but all avoiding him, he ran out to the gate of the city, freely using all the cries and gestures that would become a man possessed and crazed (δαιμονῶντι καὶ παραφρονοῦντι). His wife also, who was privy to his scheme, taking her children with her, first prostrated herself in supplication (ἱκέτις προσεκυλινδεῖτο) before the temples of the gods, and then, pretending to seek her wandering husband, no man hindering her, went safely forth out of the city.

Man and wife proceeded to escape towards Syracuse and Marcellus, who enabled them to come back later, the day Enguium was taken. Nicias then begged his saviour to spare his fellow citizens, which he obtained along with other benefits. The possession story exploits most of the vocabulary frequently associated with this kind of phenomena in Greek and it would certainly be worth examining more closely. For our purposes, though, it suffices to say that these Mothers were a very present divine power, thought to be in the habit of manifesting itself in a very distinct way.

Between this and the goddesses' name, the sanctuary might have looked quite unusual from a Roman point of view. This was probably the reason why Cicero chose to

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10 Arat., 30–35.

define it as a *fanum*, a word which, at least during the Republic, seems to have become specific for cult places seen as peculiar or anomalous in one or the other way.[11] And yet, apart from this linguistic hint, nothing else in Cicero's text betrays such a lack of familiarity. On the contrary, abandoning the plural 'Mothers', Cicero calls the resident divine power in a manner his Roman audience could very easily recognize: 'Magna Mater' or 'Mater Idaea', a form which conveniently hints both to Crete and to the official Roman title of this goddess, 'Mater Deum Magna Idaea'.

Now, the striking difference between Cicero's name and the one used by Greek authors has caused a great deal of puzzling, especially given the significant contrast between the plural and the singular. How many goddesses was the sanctuary dedicated to? Who were they and what did the locals call them? Among the scholars who dealt with these questions, some tried to undermine Cicero's version as an ignorant mistake[12] or, at least, as a conscious deformation intending to make the sanctuary closer to the Roman public.[13] But this is way too simplistic. On the one hand, Cicero's speeches against Verres show an intimate knowledge of the island and its realities. On the other, when dealing with cultural features potentially unfamiliar to a Roman eye, he does not seem to hesitate in using their Greek names and then simply explaining them to his readers. Furthermore, as he says, Scipio had already left a gift in the sanctuary some hundred years before and, in doing so, he must have faced the problem of naming its divine power. Most probably, then, Cicero just repeats a previous interpretation, which could be Scipio's or maybe already preexisted this general. In this case, the fact that Cicero seems to have taken it for granted could mean that it was a fairly well recognized one, at least within the sanctuary.

Other scholars, by contrast, tried to reconcile the Greek and the Latin version. Thus, Emanuele Ciaceri saw Cicero's Mater Magna as Rhea, whose cult would have joined the one addressed to Zeus' nurses in late Hellenistic times.[14] Others spoke of assimilation: at some point, the 'Mothers' would have become just one 'Μήτηρ θεῶν', which then translated into Latin as Magna Mater.[15] But these solutions are problematic too, since we do not have any evidence for Rhea nor for a Greek 'Μήτηρ θεῶν' in Enguium. Moreover, translating the Latin 'Magna Mater' into Greek may very well be far less obvious than we normally think.[16] But shall we really take the Latin name as the translation for some lost Greek equivalent?

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11 Dubourdieu, Scheid 2000, 71–74.

12 See, for instance, Holm 1870–1898, III, 312 and Bernabò Brea 1956, 109.

13 See, for instance, Angelini 1992, 17; Polacco 1996, 180; Chirassi Colombo 2006, 244–245; Van Haeperen 2016, 204.

14 Ciaceri 1911, 120–121 and 239–240; followed by Pace 1935–1949, III, 485.

15 F. Pfister, *RE* XV.2, Stuttgart 1932, 1373–1375; Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 153–154; Ead. 2006, 322–324; Pedrucci 2009, 43.

16 See Belayche 2016, 47–50.

To answer this question, it is useful to take a brief detour towards Assorus (modern Assoro), another inland Sicilian town Cicero mentions just before Enguium (Fig. 1). There, Verres had tried to steal a statue of the local river god Chrysas in an extra-urban sanctuary dedicated to him. Apart from this passage, the god is also known through a coin series from the 2nd Century BC, which by the way is the only one Assorus ever minted (Fig. 2).[17] The coins depict the god in a traditional iconography for river deities, as a standing male figure with a cornucopia and an amphora. But above all, they bear a legend in Latin, naming both the city ('ASSORV') on the obverse and the god ('CHRYSAS') on the reverse. The use of Rome's language, which is very rare for Sicily at this time, could have derived from a desire to attract Roman attention towards the sanctuary: a wishful attempt that does not seem to have been very successful. When speaking of this cult place, in fact, Cicero clearly states that Chrysas is a river, flowing through the lands belonging to the people of Assorus, and that 'it was regarded by them as a god (*is apud illos habetur deus*) and worshipped with much reverence.[18]' As we can see, Chrysas' divinity is not accepted as a fact only because Assorus' citizens saw things that way. On the contrary, Cicero seems to doubt it, or at least he presents it as a local theory yet to be verified. From a Roman point of view, a god could only be a god once he had been recognized as such by the terms of Roman theological thought.

Fig. 2: Bronze coin of Assorus showing the river god Chrysas and bearing legends in Latin (image from the database MANTIS, id. n. 1944.100.8320; courtesy of the American Numismatic Society).

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17 *RPC* 1, 665 = *BMC*, *Sicily*, 31, n° 1.

18 Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 4, 96 (translations are from L. H. G. Greenwood, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1928, with slight modifications).

Going back to Enguium, the famous manifestation (ἐπιφάνεια) of the 'Mothers' surely prevented doubts over their divine nature. On the contrary, such manifestations must have fallen under the definition of a *prodigium* demonstrating the presence of some divine force. On the other hand, the name Greeks had given to this force failed to have any obvious, recognized *interpretatio* into Latin and was probably too plural, generic and euphemistic for the standards of Roman polytheism. But in order to address this power in Latin, Roman worshippers had to give it a name in their own language. To do so, though, as in Assorus, they did not have to make any reference to local theological thought, whose speculations about myths can be found in Diodorus. Instead, we may think that they tried to solve the problem in their own terms, starting with observing the features this divine power displayed around its sanctuary. This way, we can easily understand how its maternal and warlike connotations, along with the ability of possessing human beings, could have led them to identify this power as Magna Mater. Far from being a translation, then, the Latin name is better understood as an independent interpretation.

Within this framework, the passage from plural to singular does not cause any problems, since not every new *interpretatio* necessarily needed to account for all the characteristics of a given cult. Furthermore, it did not need to imply a significant change in local cult practices,[19] unless of course the sanctuary received frequent visits from Roman worshippers – a presence which would be interesting to verify through archaeological data. Anyway, the two different interpretations could easily coexist locally as they do in the literary record. They would simply have been used independently, each in its own language, without causing any problem to ancient worshippers.

To sum up, the Romans cared enough about their presence in Sicily to engage in a relationship with its relevant divine forces. But they did not do it through the filter of local theological speculations. Rather, they deciphered the Sicilian supernatural universe abiding to the codes of their own religious logic, which they thought had granted Rome its extraordinary success. In doing so, they added their contribution to an already significant mixture of influences which, as a result, could only have become richer and more interesting. Republican Sicily was not home to a declining and static Greek culture, but a lively harbour of cultural exchange.

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19 See Parker 2017, 69–75.

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2 Mapping the Divine: Presenting Gods in Space

2.1 Egypt and Near East

Audrey Eller

Khnoum d'Éléphantine et Isis de Philae : la lutte pour le contrôle de la première cataracte du Nil et du Dodécaschène

Dans le sud de l'Égypte, au sein du paysage tourmenté de la première cataracte du Nil, la montée en puissance graduelle du culte d'Isis dès la Basse Époque se heurta aux prérogatives détenues depuis des siècles par le clergé de Khnoum, divinité éminente du panthéon égyptien et liée, en cet endroit particulier, au phénomène essentiel de la crue du Nil. Le but de cet article est de faire le point sur les tensions qui émergèrent de ce partage contraint de territoire et sur les manipulations théologiques auxquelles eurent recours les prêtres des époques tardives afin d'asseoir ou de préserver leur pouvoir en fonction du dieu qu'ils servaient.

S'inscrivant dans l'environnement de la première cataracte, véritable frontière naturelle marquant le sud de l'Égypte ancienne[1], la région était d'une importance cruciale pour qui voulait contrôler le pays. Les Égyptiens ne s'y trompèrent pas en installant sur l'île d'Éléphantine, dès les époques historiques les plus reculées, une forteresse verrouillant la limite sud du royaume[2]. Cette construction humaine apportait un niveau de défense supplémentaire à l'environnement naturel de la cataracte déjà peu propice à la navigation. En effet, ces rapides, formées par un affleurement de roche granitique qui parsème sur environ 6 km le lit du Nil d'une myriade d'îles et îlots rocheux, ne laissaient que peu de chances aux bateaux jusqu'à la construction des deux barrages d'Assouan durant le XXe siècle (Fig. 1). De l'autre côté de la cataracte se trouvait la Nubie dont les royaumes successifs, tout au long des époques tant pharaonique que gréco-romaine, présentèrent un degré variable de menace. Si les Égyptiens contrôlèrent le Nil jusqu'à la 5e cataracte, au centre du Soudan actuel, durant la XVIIIe dynastie, ils cédèrent l'ensemble de ce territoire et même parfois au-delà, dans leurs propres terres, aux souverains de Kerma, Napata ou encore Méroé[3].

Mais tout n'était pas seulement question de défense et de démonstration de force. Le commerce occupait une place importante dans cette région stratégiquement située sur une des routes d'accès à l'Afrique et à ses richesses[4]. Les toponymes

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[1] Török 2012, 749. L'auteur relève que cette frontière était tant naturelle qu'ethnique et symbolique. La frontière politique était quant à elle plus fluide.
[2] Au plus tard, à la Ire dynastie, une forteresse est bâtie sur l'île. Ziermann 1993, chapitre 6 ; Vogel 2004, 16–17.
[3] Pour un panorama détaillé et récent de ces invasions mutuelles, voir Rilly 2017, 59–329.
[4] Le contrôle des mines d'or de la Basse Nubie – région adjacente au sud de l'Égypte – constitua l'une des raisons les plus importantes ayant conduit l'Égypte à chercher à maintenir sa domination
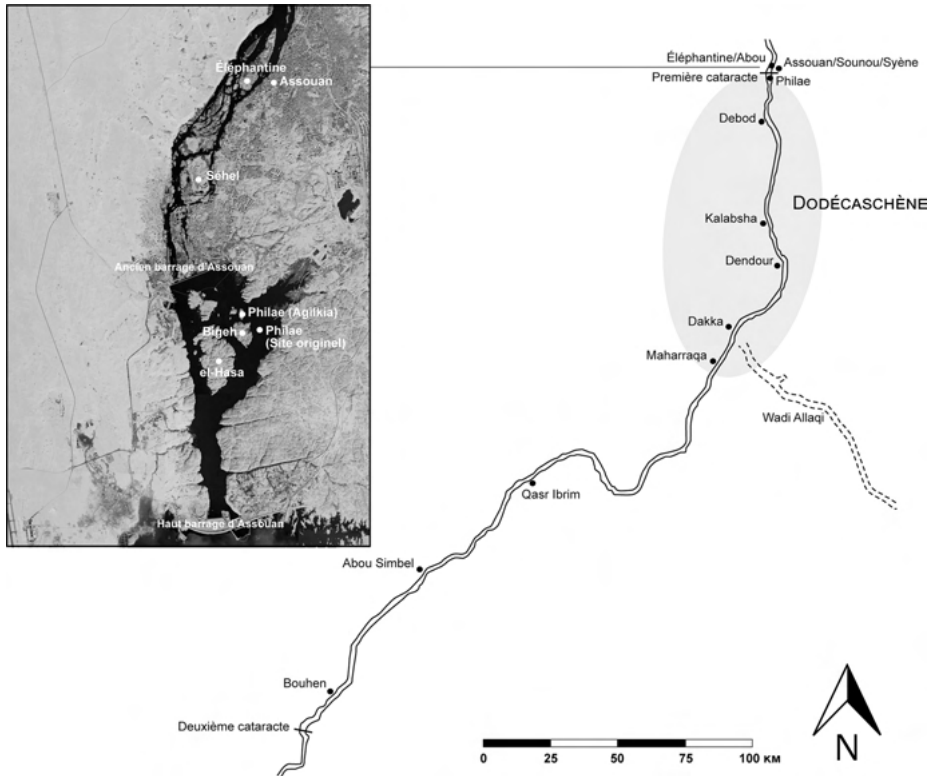
Fig. 1: Plan de la Basse Nubie et de la première cataracte (©A. Eller ; image satellite : Google Earth).

de la région le rappellent sans équivoque. Ainsi Éléphantine est le résultat d'une traduction par les Grecs d'Abou, employé par les anciens Égyptiens, et dont le sens d'« éléphant » mais surtout d'« ivoire » fait indéniablement référence au commerce de ce matériau précieux en ces lieux[5]. Située juste en face, Sounou, la moderne Assouan, la Syène des Hellénophones, a pour signification littérale le « marché »[6]. Elle doit, selon toute vraisemblance, son développement durant le Nouvel Empire à cette fonction économique, mais aussi au fait que, la frontière méridionale de l'Égypte étant largement repoussée vers le sud, la nécessité de vivre dans la ville fortifiée d'Éléphantine était moins grande pour les habitants de la région[7]. Le rôle de plaque tournante commerciale de la région, favorisé par son accès privilégié à la

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à travers les siècles. Rilly 2017, 64 (mines du Wadi Allaqi) ; Török 2012, 749 ; Török 2009, 85, 182, 385.

5 Locher 1999, 22–23. À propos de l'éléphant et Abou, voir Meeks 2004, xvi-xvii.

6 Locher 1999, 60–63.

7 Müller 2016, 216–217 ; Habachi 1975, col. 495–496.

Nubie, était couplé à un autre facteur de prospérité constitué par l'exploitation de ses célèbres carrières de granite rose[8].

En plus du potentiel stratégique et économique de cette contrée, une importante dimension religieuse lui fut assignée dès les époques les plus anciennes de l'histoire égyptienne. Pour les Égyptiens, la première cataracte du Nil était le lieu de naissance de la crue annuelle[9]. Ce phénomène quasi miraculeux, dont la prospérité du pays dépendait annuellement, ne pouvait être que le fruit d'une intervention divine. La première à assurer ce patronage, au plus tard durant l'Ancien Empire, fut la déesse Satet, ainsi que nous informent les *Textes des Pyramides*[10] qui révèlent également que l'eau de la crue sortait d'Éléphantine[11].

Dès la fin de l'Ancien Empire, Khnoum, le dieu bélier, apparaît sur l'île d'Éléphantine aux côtés de la déesse et est dès lors qualifié de « maître d'Éléphantine »[12]. Au plus tard durant la Première période intermédiaire, il est, dans ce contexte géographique, mis en parallèle avec deux autres toponymes : Qebehou, c'est-à-dire la cataracte et Senemet[13], une appellation qui désigne probablement la zone sud de la cataracte et dont il sera question par la suite. Mis en rapport avec la crue au plus tard dans la chapelle d'Antef II (XIe dynastie) à Éléphantine[14], Khnoum va progressivement étendre son influence sur le déroulement de ce phénomène au détriment de Satet. Réuni officiellement avec cette dernière et la déesse Anouket en une sorte de triade au cours du Moyen Empire[15], il devient prééminent dans la première cataracte dès le Nouvel Empire[16]. Les textes nous informent alors que la crue prend naissance sous ses pieds et que la divinité procède au relâchement des eaux en ou-

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8 En sus de cette roche renommée, les anciens Égyptiens ont exploité bon nombre de carrières de quartzite dans la région (Storemyr *et. al.* 2013).

9 Collombert 2017 ; Van der Plas 1986, 171–179.

10 *Pyr. 1116 a-b* : « Satet m'a purifié avec ses quatre cruches de purification d'Éléphantine. » Sur la déesse Satet et l'ancienneté de son culte à Éléphantine, voir Valbelle 1981 ; sur son premier sanctuaire protodynastique, voir Ziermann 1993 ; Dreyer 1986.

11 *Pyr. 864 b-c* : « Reçois cette eau pure qui est tienne, qui sort d'Éléphantine ; ton eau est d'Éléphantine. » / *Pyr. 1908 c* : « Ton eau sort d'Éléphantine. ».

12 Pillon 2017–2018. Le texte du papyrus présenté par l'auteur mentionne Khnoum « maître d'Éléphantine » bien avant ce qui a été longtemps considéré comme la première attestation mettant le dieu en relation avec le toponyme, à la fin du Moyen Empire. Dans le document, le dieu semble visiblement déjà former un couple avec Satet. Un temple dédié à Khnoum devait vraisemblablement exister à la fin de l'Ancien Empire sur l'île ; même si sa trace n'a pas encore été retrouvée, il est mentionné durant la VIe dynastie (Kaiser 1998, 10).

13 Pillon 2017–2018, 130 ; Collombert 2017, 7.

14 Collombert 2017, 8. Sur la chapelle, voir Bussmann 2010, 25–26.

15 Valbelle 1981, 97–98. La triade ne prend pas une forme habituelle parents-enfant, puisqu'il est difficile de considérer Anouket comme la fille du couple formé par Khnoum et Satet.

16 Kaiser 1998, 12. Satet a cédé une partie de ses prérogatives à Khnoum (Valbelle 1981, 121) et le temple de ce dernier devient le sanctuaire principal de l'île (Müller 2016, 226).

vrant les vantaux obturant une ou deux cavernes jouant le rôle de réservoir[17]. Néanmoins, ses deux compagnes jouent toujours un rôle dans le phénomène puisque l'arrivée de l'eau semble encore être due à Satet qui a graduellement été associée à Sothis, personnification de Sirius dont le lever héliaque correspond à l'arrivée de l'inondation. De son côté, Anouket remplit une fonction non moins essentielle, puisqu'elle préside à la décrue du Nil[18].

Grâce au contrôle de l'inondation annuelle par Khnoum, son clergé gagne encore en importance et en influence. Si l'on en croit une inscription gravée sur l'ancien quai d'Éléphantine et datant probablement de la XXe dynastie, le dieu reçoit en donation les terres de la Basse Nubie, région voisine s'étendant entre la première et la deuxième cataracte du Nil[19]. Ce privilège économique fait du clergé du dieu l'un des plus riches du sud de l'Égypte, une situation avantageuse qui est toujours d'actualité à la fin de la Basse Époque[20].

Sous le règne de Nectanébo II, dernier souverain de la XXXe dynastie, le temple de Khnoum est une fois de plus reconstruit et domine largement par sa taille les autres sanctuaires de l'île et de ses environs[21]. La prééminence de l'ancien dieu aurait pu se maintenir ainsi si les souverains de cette dernière dynastie indigène n'avaient décidé de promouvoir, dans la région, le culte d'Isis. En effet, ces rois, originaires de Sebennytos dans le Delta du Nil, développent le culte de la déesse non seulement à peu de distance de leur capitale, sur le site de Behbeit el-Hagar – le potentiel lieu de naissance de la divinité[22] – mais aussi sur l'île de Philae, à l'entrée de la première cataracte[23]. Avec ces deux sanctuaires, chacun situé à un pôle

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17 Gabolde 1995, 237–238. Les Deux Cavernes, *Qrrty*, d'où surgit l'eau de la crue sont mentionnées pour la première fois dans une inscription de Sésostris Ier du temple de Satet. Le texte, malheureusement lacunaire, semble déjà mettre Khnoum en rapport avec le phénomène (Helck 1978, 74–75). Sur ces cavernes, voir Locher 1999, 104–110 ; Van der Plas 1986, 171–179.

18 Sur les rôles des deux déesses, voir Laskowska-Kusztal 2012 ; Valbelle 1981, 140–141.

19 Sethe 1901, 26–28.

20 Zaki 2008, 423–424. L'auteure souligne l'importance du clergé de Khnoum mis en évidence dans un acte notarié datant de la XXXe dynastie et parle même d'une sorte de principauté. On peut également ajouter que les possessions de Khnoum « maître d'Éléphantine » sont nombreuses dans le sud de l'Égypte entre la fin de la Basse Époque et le début de l'époque ptolémaïque ainsi que nous l'apprend le *Grand Texte des Donations d'Edfou*. On constate que Khnoum est le propriétaire de bon nombre de territoires situés entre la première cataracte et la région de Pathyris, soit plus de 170 km au nord d'Éléphantine. Ce texte précise aussi que des donations de terres en faveur du dieu sont encore effectuées par Nectanébo II (Meeks 1972, 25).

21 Niederberger 1999 ; Jenni 1998 ; Ricke/Sauneron 1960. Le sanctuaire mesure 123 m de long, soit à peine moins que le grand temple d'Edfou.

22 Dunand 1973, 1–2.

23 Sur Behbeit el-Hagar, voir Favard-Meeks 1991 ; plus généralement, sur les constructions des souverains de la XXXe dynastie à Behbeit el-Hagar et Philae, voir Minas-Nerpel 2018, 125–128, 142–144.

du pays, le pouvoir pharaonique donne une impulsion nouvelle au culte isiaque et met à profit ses spécificités pour affirmer sa légitimité[24].

Philae, dont les sanctuaires ont été intégralement déplacés sur l'île d'Agilkia, au nord-ouest du site initial, lors des travaux de construction du haut barrage d'Assouan dans les années 1970, n'a pas été choisi au hasard par les souverains de Sebennytos. Les travaux menés lors du démontage et déplacement des monuments ont permis de mettre au jour les premières traces d'occupation sur l'île et de fixer relativement précisément l'apparition du culte d'Isis en cet endroit[25]. Les traces archéologiques datées des époques les plus anciennes sont mineures et il faut attendre la XXVe dynastie pour retrouver un premier élément cultuel, sous la forme d'un reposoir de barque au nom d'Amon de Takompso[26] – un site situé en Basse Nubie, dans les environs de Maharraqa – dédicacé par le roi Taharqa. C'est à la XXVIe dynastie, durant le VIe siècle avant J.-C., que l'on doit la construction d'un premier kiosque mentionnant Isis puis d'un petit temple dédié à la déesse[27]. De cette époque, date aussi la première mention de l'île sacrée, « l'île pure », refuge de la dépouille d'Osiris conservée dans l'Abaton[28]. Ce sanctuaire, situé juste en face de Philae, serait actuellement sous les eaux du Nil, dans une vallée qui sépare les îles de Bigeh et d'el-Hasa, qui devaient à l'origine présenter une continuité terrestre[29].

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24 Protectrice de la royauté en tant que mère d'Horus, le dieu auquel s'identifiaient les pharaons – les « Horus vivant sur Terre » –, Isis doit son nom au signe hiéroglyphique du trône. Ce choix, loin d'être anodin, pourrait signifier qu'elle personnifiait le trône royal. Voir Zaki 2009, 201 ; Dunand 1973, 3–5.

25 Pour une synthèse sur la chronologie de construction des divers monuments de l'île, voir Haeny 1985.

26 Guermeur 2005, 482–484.

27 Le kiosque date de Psammétique II et le temple d'Amasis. L'état du kiosque ne permet pas d'affirmer s'il était principalement consacré à la déesse. Voir notamment Nagel 2019, 111–112 ; Hölbl 2004, 41 ; Arnold 1999, 76–77, 88 ; Haeny 1985, 202–204. L'apport du culte d'Isis et d'Osiris en cette région pourrait être dû au lieu d'origine des souverains de la XXVIe dynastie. Ces derniers partageaient avec les deux divinités la même provenance, le Delta du Nil. Leur activité importante dans la région de la cataracte pourrait les avoir amenés à importer ces cultes (Nagel 2019, 111). Dans ce contexte, il peut être utile de rappeler que l'incorporation progressive du culte d'Isis parmi les cultes d'État a été favorisée par les souverains koushites de la XXVe dynastie, fervents adorateurs d'une déesse qui entretenait un rapport étroit avec le pouvoir royal en terres nubiennes (Yellin 1995, 254–255 ; Leclant 1981, 41–42).

28 La première mention de « l'île pure » (*Ỉw-wʿb*), l'une des deux appellations égyptiennes de l'Abaton (l'autre étant *Ỉ3.t-w3b.t*, « la butte pure »), se trouve sur le kiosque de Psammétique II (« Psammétique, vivant éternellement, aimé d'Isis qui réside sur l'île pure », voir Kadry 1980, 297). Le lien entre Philae et l'Abaton ainsi que l'établissement du culte d'Osiris en ce lieu pourraient dater de la XXVIe dynastie (Kockelmann 2011, 32).

29 Locher 1999, 171–173. Voir aussi Cauville 2021, 19, qui suggère que Bigeh « formait une grande île incluant Agilkia ». Si le sanctuaire principal, l'Abaton, est désormais perdu, un petit temple gréco-romain est en revanche encore visible et accessible à Bigeh, juste en face de l'emplacement original de Philae (Blackman 1915).

À la suite des premières constructions d'importance datant de Nectanébo Ier, les Ptolémées développent considérablement le sanctuaire d'Isis de Philae, percevant l'intérêt idéologique de ce culte dans l'établissement et la légitimation de leur royauté. L'essor particulièrement important de la maîtresse de Philae est à mettre en parallèle avec celui d'Horus d'Edfou, l'héritier royal par excellence, dont l'imposant temple se trouve à une centaine de kilomètres au nord. Véritables vitrines du pouvoir royal, ces sanctuaires rappellent opportunément en ces lieux bien éloignés de la capitale Alexandrie qui dirige le pays et avertissent, d'une certaine manière, les populations locales que les Lagides ont reçu l'approbation et le soutien d'Isis et Horus[30]. La mise en avant de ces divinités et le développement de leur théologie va incontestablement de pair avec la montée en puissance, pendant le Ier millénaire avant J.-C., du culte d'Osiris, dernier membre de cette triade sacrée. Durant ces siècles, le grand dieu, véritable figure de pouvoir, devient incontournable dans la construction de l'imagerie royale. Un véritable processus d'« osirianisation » du souverain se met en place ce qui aboutit, notamment, à la facilitation de l'essor du culte royal cher aux Ptolémées[31].

À ce stade, il peut être utile de rappeler que, dans le *Grand Texte des Donations d'Edfou* – document extraordinaire gravé sous Ptolémée X sur le mur est externe du grand temple d'Horus d'Edfou mais dont la rédaction remonte à la fin de la XXXe dynastie et au début de l'époque ptolémaïque –, Isis « maîtresse de Philae » n'est jamais mentionnée et ne possède donc vraisemblablement pas de terrains dans la partie sud de l'Égypte durant le IVe siècle avant J.-C., au contraire de Khnoum d'Éléphantine[32]. Cette source exceptionnelle souligne l'influence encore limitée de la déesse jusque dans le courant de la XXXe dynastie et corrobore la soudaineté de sa prise de pouvoir dans la région qui la fit passer de divinité mineure à majeure en quelques décennies[33].

Enfin, en sus des raisons idéologiques qui amènent les membres de la famille sacrée à s'installer durablement dans le Sud, on ne peut exclure une raison plus politique à leur implantation en cette région[34]. Le pouvoir et les richesses amassés par le clergé de Khnoum constituaient une menace pesant sur l'autorité de souverains qui siègent alors dans une capitale bien éloignée, à l'autre extrémité du pays, et, par conséquent, sur la stabilité du sud de l'Égypte. Pérenniser et renforcer le culte d'une autre divinité en ces lieux permet d'équilibrer les pouvoirs, les deux

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30 Manning 2003 ; Dunand 1973, 27–45.

31 Coulon 2010, 16–17.

32 Meeks 1972.

33 Ce gain d'influence tardif et plutôt soudain se confirme par l'absence de mentions d'« Isis maîtresse de Philae » en dehors de sa zone d'influence, soit Philae, Bigeh et les temples gréco-romains de Basse Nubie (Debod, Dakka, Dendour et Kalabsha). Voir Leitz 2002 (*LGG* IV), 19–20 (*nbt-Ỉrḳ*), 103 (*nbt-Ḥwt-ḫnty*).

34 Dietze 1994, 73.

clergés devant désormais cohabiter, tout en entrant en compétition pour obtenir ou consolider certaines richesses et prérogatives[35].

Cette compétition va avoir un impact stimulant sur la théologie des triades formées autour de Khnoum d'Éléphantine et d'Isis de Philae. Les prêtres n'hésitent pas à piocher, dans ce qui caractérise la divinité rivale, différents éléments pour étoffer les compétences de leur protecteur et lui assurer ainsi un rôle prééminent au sein de la première cataracte. Et pour conserver l'ascendant sur ce territoire, ils ambitionnent ni plus ni moins la reconnaissance du rôle joué par leur divinité dans la venue de la crue du Nil et la mainmise sur les revenus provenant de la Basse Nubie.

Cette rivalité a été particulièrement mise en lumière ces dernières décennies à la faveur des fouilles menées à Éléphantine et à Assouan, qui ont permis d'exhumer les blocs inscrits de plusieurs sanctuaires, ainsi que du réexamen de certaines sources. Il en a découlé une réévaluation de l'importance, longtemps minimisée, du culte de Khnoum et de son clergé pendant la période gréco-romaine et une vision plus équilibrée des pouvoirs religieux dans la région[36]. En effet, pendant longtemps, la perception des chercheurs a été grandement déformée par l'état très disparate des vestiges visibles de nos jours à Éléphantine et à Philae, qui a contribué à marginaliser l'importance du premier site au bénéfice du second[37]. Pourtant, les recherches ont, depuis lors, révélé que le sanctuaire tardif de Khnoum mesurait le double de la taille du temple d'Isis de Philae. Il faut également préciser que, en raison de la permanence d'un habitat urbain sur l'île d'Éléphantine, l'enceinte cultuelle nord n'a pas encore pu être identifiée puisqu'elle se trouve selon toute vraisemblance sous un village moderne[38]. Il résulte de ces particularités une méconnaissance de l'étendue réelle du complexe religieux dédié à Khnoum et ses compagnes, mais aussi d'une partie de leur théologie puisque les sources épigraphiques sont bien moindres qu'à Philae.

Ces éléments posés, nous pouvons désormais évoquer ce qui suscita des tensions entre les clergés de Khnoum et d'Isis et à quels stratagèmes ils eurent recours pour s'arroger ou conserver certains privilèges.

En 275 avant J.-C., à la suite d'incursions nubiennes au sein de la première cataracte, Ptolémée II intervient militairement dans la région et, repoussant les assaillants bien au-delà, conquiert la Basse Nubie[39]. Ce territoire qui s'étend entre la

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35 Gihane Zaki va même plus loin, affirmant que les Lagides s'appuyèrent sur le clergé d'Isis de Philae pour maintenir une paix civile dans cette région sensible. Ils auraient établi un partenariat avec les prêtres et leur auraient garanti une sorte d'autonomie (Zaki 2009, 199–205).

36 On doit beaucoup, dans ce domaine, aux travaux d'Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal. Voir notamment Laskowska-Kusztal 2013.

37 Du fait de sa proximité avec la ville d'Assouan, les temples et monuments d'Éléphantine ont servi, entre les Ve et XIXe siècle après J.-C., de carrière pour les constructions de sa voisine. Laskowska-Kusztal 2013, 103 ; Kaiser 1998, 16 ; Jaritz 1986, 40. En comparaison, l'isolation relative de l'île de Philae a permis une excellente préservation des divers édifices.

38 Kaiser 1998, 57.

39 Rilly 2017, 191 ; Török 2009, 384–386.

première et la deuxième cataracte est dès lors appelé en grec Triacontaschène. Une fraction de cette terre – entre la première cataracte et Maharraqa – reçoit en parallèle l'appellation de Dodécaschène (« douze schoinoi », le schène étant une unité de mesure d'environ 10,5 km)[40], dont le contrôle assurait à l'État égyptien l'accès aux importantes mines d'or du Wadi Allaqi[41].

Le souverain lagide, bâtisseur du cœur du sanctuaire d'Isis de Philae, décide de favoriser le clergé de la déesse en attribuant les revenus du Dodécaschène à l'entretien de son culte[42]. La donation est notamment exprimée par la représentation sur les murs d'une des salles précédant le saint des saints d'une procession géographique, reprenant la forme des listes canoniques de nomes[43] et figurant les différentes villes et districts de Nubie[44]. Sous Ptolémée IV, cette donation est confirmée par une inscription dans le temple de Dakka, en Basse Nubie[45]. Puis, sous Ptolémée VI, un décret gravé sur une stèle installée dans la cour du temple d'Isis de Philae, à la vue et au su de tous, renouvelle la mesure et se double d'une nouvelle liste géographique[46]. Face à ce privilège accordé à la déesse, on ne peut qu'imaginer le courroux du clergé de Khnoum dont le dieu avait pourtant joui d'une renommée certaine sur la région et avait, selon toute vraisemblance, possédé le Dodécaschène par le passé[47]. Mais l'intervention du pouvoir lagide n'est ni innocente ni maladroite puisqu'elle permet de profiter de l'ascendant déjà ancien d'Isis sur ces terres nubiennes et, par conséquent, d'établir plus facilement sa domination sur la population méroïte qui peuple la région[48]. Par le biais de cette donation, les Ptolémées positionnent les prêtres d'Isis de Philae comme des intermédiaires de confiance entre eux et la population locale de

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40 Locher 1999, 230–256.

41 Ces dernières sont régulièrement exploitées par les Égyptiens au plus tard dès le Moyen Empire (Török 2009, 85).

42 Sethe 1904 (*Urk.* II), 116.9–13. Il faut préciser que les premières donations de terre connues en faveur d'Isis de Philae remontent à Alexandre IV (Locher 199, 133). L'auteur a eu accès à un fragment de stèle non publié provenant de Philae qui indique l'événement sans révéler la localisation des terrains offerts.

43 Les nomes étaient des unités territoriales qui découpaient l'Égypte ancienne. Ce terme d'origine grecque, mentionné pour la première fois par Hérodote, s'applique, dans les faits, à la réalité administrative de l'époque gréco-romaine. Cependant, il est fréquent de l'utiliser également pour parler des divisions territoriales religieuses, aux côtés de l'appellation plus neutre de « province » ou de la dénomination égyptienne « *sepat* ».

44 Bénédite 1893, 3.18–4.5, 8.3–7. Pour une édition récente et commentée, voir Rickert 2015, 287–292. Voir aussi Török 2009, 386–388.

45 Locher 1997.

46 La stèle est connue sous l'appellation de « stèle du Dodécaschène » et date de 157 avant J.-C. Locher 1999, 243–246 (sur les avantages obtenus grâce à ces donations), 341–342 (traduction de la stèle). Sur la liste géographique, voir Rickert 2015, 177–259.

47 Török 2009, 401, 406. Voir plus haut la mention de l'inscription gravée sur l'ancien quai d'Éléphantine durant la XXe dynastie (Sethe 1901, 26–28).

48 Baldi 2015 ; Leclant 1981.

Basse Nubie. Les sanctuaires établis dans cette contrée durant la période gréco-romaine[49] entretiennent d'ailleurs une relation étroite avec Isis de Philae et son clergé[50].

La réaction des prêtres de Khnoum ne se fait pas attendre et leur mécontentement se devine parfaitement dans la stèle de la famine, un texte gravé sur un rocher granitique de l'île de Séhel au milieu de la première cataracte[51]. Cette inscription, rédigée sans l'ombre d'un doute par le clergé du dieu bélier sous le règne de Ptolémée V[52], met en scène le roi Djoser, souverain de la IIIe dynastie, au tout début de l'Ancien Empire, qui accablé par une sécheresse de sept ans se tourne vers Khnoum d'Éléphantine le maître des sources du Nil. En remerciement de la libération des eaux et de la fin de la famine, Djoser émet un décret qui accorde le Dodécaschène au dieu. Avec cette habile forgerie, qui a d'ailleurs longtemps trompé nombre d'égyptologues[53], les prêtres espèrent ainsi regagner ce qui leur semble dû en apportant la preuve irréfutable de l'ancienneté de leur dieu en ces lieux, de son pouvoir sur la crue du Nil et de l'étendue de ses possessions à l'époque d'un souverain quasi mythique. Malheureusement pour eux, ce décret fictif n'eut que peu d'effets, puisque la confirmation de la donation du Dodécaschène à Isis est effectuée quelques années plus tard sous Ptolémée VI. On retient néanmoins de la stèle, volontairement orientée vers le sud de la première cataracte – faisant face aux eaux de la crue montante, à la Basse Nubie que le clergé de Khnoum revendique mais aussi au temple rival de Philae –, que le dieu, sous la forme de Khnoum-Rê et de Khnoum-Shou, est présenté comme l'acteur majeur d'une véritable cosmogonie d'Éléphantine et comme le maître incontestable de la crue annuelle[54].

Néanmoins, les Ptolémées ne se détournent pas de Khnoum. Pour preuve, une stèle en granite provenant d'Éléphantine mais trouvée à Assouan, rassemble dix documents écrits en grec qui relatent des bienfaits accordés au dieu sous Ptolémée IX[55]. Malgré le texte lacunaire, conséquence de la taille ultérieure de la stèle en pilier, les avantages concédés révèlent une exemption d'impôts sur les revenus provenant de l'île de Pso sur laquelle le dieu possédait des terres[56]. On y apprend également que le roi s'était rendu à Éléphantine afin d'y participer aux fêtes célébrant

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49 Zaki 2009, 272–300 ; Hölbl 2004, 99–153.

50 Nagel 2019, 160–163 ; Leclant 1981, 50–51 ; Dunand 1973, 159–162.

51 Barguet 1953 ; Gasse/Rondot 2007, 336. Une bibliographie répertoriant une partie des nombreux travaux et diverses traductions de la stèle est présentée dans Zaki, 2008, 431, n. 54.

52 Török 2009, 403–404 ; Grenier 2004.

53 Voir notamment Sethe 1901, 19–26, qui, malgré quelques doutes sur l'authenticité de la stèle, classe le document comme une source historique du règne de Djoser.

54 Sur ces rôles de Khnoum développés durant les époques tardives, voir Zaki 2009, 206–224.

55 Désormais conservée au British Museum (BM EA1020), la stèle, connue sous l'appellation *OGIS* I 168, a reçu le numéro de référence TM 6403 dans la base de données www.trismegistos.org. On y trouve une bibliographie complète énumérant les nombreuses éditions du texte.

56 Török 2009, 410–411 ; Dietze 1995. L'île de Pso était située non loin d'Éléphantine et a probablement disparu depuis cette époque (Locher 1999, 56–57).

la crue et que les prêtres obtinrent de lui que ces textes, originellement rédigés sur papyrus, soient gravés sur une pierre érigée dans le temple de Khnoum.

Si la reprise du Dodécaschène semble dès lors impossible pour l'ancien dieu local, la riposte s'organise autour de l'origine de la crue et le contrôle de la première cataracte. Sur ces sujets, comme l'attestent les éléments présentés ci-après, l'inventivité du clergé de Khnoum est particulièrement stimulée et, inévitablement, engendre une réponse de celui d'Isis. Ce dernier, ne pouvant tout bonnement ignorer le dieu bélier, doit également composer avec sa présence et l'intégrer dans sa propre théologie. Dans ce contexte, il faut rappeler qu'avec la montée en puissance du culte d'Osiris durant le Ier millénaire avant J.-C., un deuxième mythe concernant l'arrivée de l'inondation se superpose à celui construit autour de la triade d'Éléphantine, dans la région de la première cataracte. Un Abaton, tombeau-reliquaire d'Osiris ou, du moins, de l'un de ses membres, était supposé s'y trouver[57]. Il semblerait que, dans un premier temps, il se soit situé à Éléphantine[58] avant de se déplacer ou, du moins, se dédoubler à Bigeh, en face de Philae, sous l'impulsion du culte d'Isis, sœur et épouse d'Osiris[59]. Dans l'Abaton, était abritée la jambe gauche du dieu, voire même son corps tout entier reconstitué après son démembrement par Seth, dont les humeurs pouvaient s'écouler et donner ainsi naissance à la crue[60]. Dans cette nouvelle narration, le clergé d'Isis de Philae procède néanmoins à un

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[57] Voir la scène du temple d'Hibis datant de la Basse Époque qui présente ce reliquaire, contenant la jambe du dieu, dans le contexte du 1er nome de Haute Égypte (soit la région s'étendant entre la première cataracte et le Gebel el-Silsila au nord ; Davies 1953, pl. 4, 1). L'association d'une relique d'Osiris avec certains grands centres religieux est attestée dès la XXe dynastie (Pantalacci 1987, 110).

[58] Coulon 2005, 37.

[59] Le dédoublement paraît très probable et semble confirmé par l'archéologie (voir ci-après). Des textes provenant des temples gréco-romains de Dendera, d'Edfou, de Kôm Ombo et d'Opet mentionnent l'Abaton d'Éléphantine ou encore la sortie des eaux de la crue d'Éléphantine. *D* I 36, 12–13 : « [Il t'apporte la] crue du Sud sortie d'Éléphantine qui s'écoule de la jambe en son jour » ; *D* X 26, 7–8 (texte des mystères de Khoïak) : « L'Osiris qui préside à l'Abaton (*Ỉ3.t-w3b.t*) à Éléphantine est fait en œuvre de cuve-jardin, à l'intérieur du Temple-de-l'or [. . .] la Grande Noble (=la jambe d'Osiris, *sr.t ʿ3.t*) (. . .) » ; *D* X 181, 11 : « Prends pour toi ton eau fraîche sortie d'Éléphantine. » (*idem D* X 428, 7) ; *E* II 252, 10–12 : « Il t'apporte l'eau-*seremet* qui s'écoule de la jambe apparue dans les Deux Cavernes (*Qrrty*) d'Éléphantine que Sothis a fait jaillir en son jour de l'an et qu'Anouket a fait se retirer en son moment de retrait. » ; *E* VII 297, 14–15 : « Je suis venu vers toi, ô grand dieu, seigneur de la cataracte (=Khnoum), grand *Ba* parmi les dieux, pour t'apporter ce qui jaillit de la jambe à Éléphantine, ce que le Nil [produit] à l'Abaton (*Ỉw-w3bt*). » ; *KO* I 696 : « Il t'apporte le flot Hâpy (=la crue) issu des Deux Cavernes d'Éléphantine » ; *KO* I 808 : « Il t'apporte le flot Hâpy du Sud, sortant d'Éléphantine » ; *Opet* I 210 : « Il t'apporte le flot Hâpy du Noun chargé de ses apports en train de cracher le liquide pour ton *ka* en son temps sans fin ; il vient d'Éléphantine avec Satet et Anouket. ».

[60] À propos de la jambe d'Osiris abritée dans le reliquaire de la première cataracte, voir Beinlich 1984, 209–213. Sur les humeurs du dieu (*rḏw*), voir Zaki 2009, 224–225, et sur ce récit de l'origine de la crue, Junker 1913, 37–41.

compromis : on assigne à Khnoum, dépossédé de son rôle essentiel dans l'origine de ce phénomène, une fonction de machiniste chargé de libérer les eaux[61].

Cette perte du contrôle total de la crue a sans doute incité les prêtres de Khnoum à tirer parti d'un rapprochement effectué entre leur dieu et l'époux d'Isis. En effet, déjà évoqué précédemment, certains de ses aspects sont développés durant la période tardive afin de renforcer son rôle de démiurge et le rendre plus universaliste. Dans ce but, il est combiné à quatre divinités, ce qui lui permet d'intégrer certaines de leurs propriétés. On retrouve ainsi, dans les textes sacrés émanant du centre cultuel d'Éléphantine, Khnoum-Rê, Khnoum-Shou, Khnoum-Geb et Khnoum-Osiris[62] ; un bélier à quatre têtes est également créé, soulignant le rôle de créateur primordial de Khnoum[63].

Son association étroite avec Osiris permet à son clergé de rappeler que c'est à Éléphantine que prend naissance l'inondation aux multiples bienfaits. Des blocs inscrits, retrouvés sur l'île ces dernières décennies et appartenant à un bâtiment (le *Baukomplex X*) construit et décoré entre la fin de la XXXe dynastie et l'époque ptolémaïque, indiquent que la structure à laquelle ils appartenaient endossait le rôle d'Abaton, abritant donc la jambe gauche du dieu Osiris[64]. Se substituant à Horus, Khnoum y est considéré comme le fils d'Osiris et veille sur lui. L'inondation jaillit de ce lieu censé abriter les mythiques Deux Cavernes sur lesquelles le dieu bélier garde le contrôle.

Dans la même veine, l'émergence d'une nouvelle divinité, Osiris-Nesmeti, est favorisée à Éléphantine où lui est construit un sanctuaire à l'époque romaine (*Tempel Y*)[65]. Ce fils de Khnoum incarne un Nil jeune provoqué par l'écoulement des humeurs d'un Osiris-Khnoum reposant dans l'Abaton d'Éléphantine, offrant un contrepoids à Osiris de Philae[66]. En sus de ces manipulations théologiques centrées sur Éléphantine, le clergé de Khnoum exerce une influence certaine sur les cultes pratiqués à Assouan.

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61 Zaki 2008, 425–426. Voir la forme étonnante qu'emprunte Khnoum dans la chapelle osirienne de Philae (une patte surmontée d'une tête de bélier) où le texte nous informe qu'il est venu dans l'Abaton afin de libérer la crue (Cauville 2021, 119–120).

62 Zaki 2009, 206–224 ; Laskowska-Kusztal 2008. Voir, par exemple, Khnoum-Rê (« maître de Senemet ») associé à Hathor (« Œil de Rê ») sur une stèle du roi méroïte Adikhalamani (au tournant du IIe siècle avant J.-C.) retrouvée à Philae. Le souverain adore également, en parallèle, Osiris (« maître de l'Abaton ») et Isis (« maîtresse de l'Abaton et de Philae »), mêlant dans le cintre de cette stèle les différentes théologies de la région (Farid 1978). Il faut préciser que ces formes de Khnoum combinées à d'autres dieux se retrouvent en dehors de la zone de la première cataracte.

63 Une représentation de l'animal quadricéphale a été trouvée sur un bloc du kiosque gréco-romain situé devant le temple de Satet (Laskowska-Kusztal 2008, 456–458). Voir aussi Quaegebeur 1991.

64 Laskowska-Kusztal 1996, 15–21.

65 Laskowska-Kusztal 1996, 21–25.

66 Dreyer 2005, 64–82 (contributions d'Ubertini sur l'architecture et de Laskowska-Kusztal sur le décor). Les textes indiquent également qu'Osiris-Nesmeti a eu avec Isis un fils, Phihor, un mortel déifié déjà connu dans le temple de Dendour. Cette filiation permet au clergé d'Éléphantine de revendiquer son pouvoir non seulement sur la région de la première cataracte, mais aussi sur la Basse Nubie.

Ainsi, le petit temple d'Isis dont la construction débute sous Ptolémée III, peu après l'extraordinaire promotion de Philae, permet d'associer la déesse à Satet-Sothis et de la mettre en relation avec la triade d'Éléphantine[67]. Quant au sanctuaire de Khnoum, construit sous Domitien[68], il met en équation le dieu bélier et Osiris ainsi qu'Anouket et Isis[69]. Mais ces manœuvres, accommodant la théologie locale à un contexte géographique et historique particulier, ne sont pas l'apanage du seul clergé de Khnoum. Dans le temple d'Isis de Philae, les prêtres vont intervenir sur les processions géographiques décorant le sanctuaire pour accorder à ce dernier ainsi qu'à la déesse une place de choix, réorganisant de la sorte le paysage religieux plutôt immuable de l'Égypte et tentant d'affirmer leur emprise sur la région[70].

En plus des deux processions, uniques en leur genre, présentant des districts et villes de Nubie gravées sous Ptolémée II et Ptolémée VI, trois autres défilés de génies androgynes figurant les nomes canoniques d'Égypte et une procession de divinités de nomes sont gravés dans le temple d'Isis[71]. Alors que les exemplaires provenant d'autres temples égyptiens préservés et datant de l'époque gréco-romaine font état d'un 1er nome de Haute Égypte (*Ta-Sety*[72]) centré sur Éléphantine et présentant invariablement Khnoum comme le dieu principal, on observe quelques particularités au sein de ces quatre processions géographiques. Ainsi la première, située dans la salle du couronnement, à proximité du saint des saints, débute par un face à face étonnant et exceptionnel. Alors qu'à la gauche du visiteur, sont représentés les premiers nomes de Haute Égypte, à sa droite commence non pas la procession attendue des nomes de Basse Égypte mais de ceux, apparemment constitués pour l'occasion, de Nubie, rappelant la conquête de la partie septentrionale de ce territoire sous Ptolémée II et l'attribution de ses revenus au culte d'Isis (Fig. 2).

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67 Bresciani/Pernigotti 1978. Sur l'épithète particulière qu'Isis y porte (« à la tête de l'armée ») et ses liens avec Éléphantine, voir Zaki 2008 ; Laskowska-Kusztal 2007. Dans Nagel 2019, 140–145, l'auteure voit, dans ce temple, la réalisation d'un compromis entre les théologies d'Éléphantine et de Philae.
68 Jaritz 1975 ; De Wit 1960 ; Engelbach 1921. Ce temple a parfois été attribué fautivement à Isis. Voir sur ce point, les arguments de Locher 1999, 67–68, en faveur d'un rattachement à Khnoum.
69 Hölbl 2004, 37–39.
70 La structure, les caractéristiques ainsi que la réalité géographique de ces processions sont présentées dans Guermeur 2019, 81–89.
71 La première procession date de Ptolémée II et complète celle, datée de la même époque, présentant la Nubie (Bénédite 1893, 4, 7–9). La deuxième a été gravée sous Ptolémée XII dans la colonnade est de la cour des fêtes précédant le pylône du temple d'Isis (Brugsch 1862–1885, pl. 37 a-b) et la troisième sous Auguste sur le mur extérieur du naos (Bénédite 1895, 88–94, 113–118). La procession de divinités de nomes date de Ptolémée XII et décore le soubassement de la face interne du grand pylône du temple d'Isis (Junker 1958, 110–126).
72 Pour l'emblème du 1er nome et sa signification (« pays de l'arc »), voir Zaki 2009, 309 ; Locher 1999, 202–205.
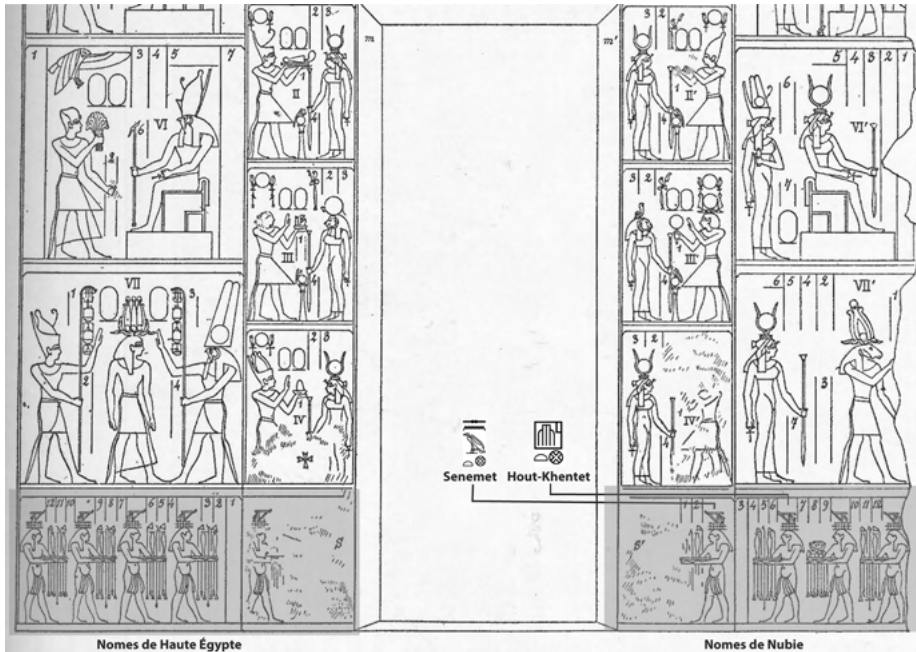
Fig. 2: Procession de nomes datant de Ptolémée II (d'après Bénédite 1893, pl. II).

Ces nomes un peu particuliers sont menés par Senemet, un toponyme qui semble désigner le bassin comprenant Philae[73], en amont de la première cataracte, puis par Hout-Khentet, une des appellations du temple d'Isis de Philae[74]. Ce dernier devient en quelque sorte le point de bascule entre la Haute Égypte et la Nubie, puisque les lieux évoqués à la suite sont tous nubiens[75]. Les prêtres soulignent ainsi l'importance de la déesse en Nubie et proclament sa domination sur un territoire qui fut longtemps sous l'autorité de Khnoum[76]. Les textes accompagnant les

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73 Ce toponyme semble devoir être interprété différemment en fonction des époques, de bassin relativement large comprenant Philae et les îles alentour, aux terres entre Philae et Éléphantine ou encore à l'île abritant l'Abaton. Voir Cauville 2021, 20 ; Rickert 2015, 209 ; Zaki 2009, 227–229 ; Locher 1999, 159–165. Senemet désigne, selon toute vraisemblance, le point le plus au sud du territoire égyptien, avant d'entrer en Nubie. C'est en effet le premier toponyme cité dans l'*Onomasticon d'Amenemopé* qui présente, du sud au nord, un inventaire des toponymes égyptiens ; et l'on peut ajouter que, dans le répertoire similaire et plus ancien de l'*Onomasticon du Ramesseum*, Senemet inaugure une nouvelle colonne, à la suite des forteresses nubiennes [Gardiner 1947, pl. IIᴀ (183) et pl. Xᴀ (12)].

74 Locher 1999, 157–158. Sur cette procession, voir l'édition récente de Rickert 2015, 287–292.

75 Dans la procession de nomes nubiens datant de Ptolémée VI, Hout-Khentet arrive en tête, alors que Senemet n'est pas mentionné (Rickert 2015, 177–179).

76 Pour rappel, Khnoum porte fréquemment l'épithète de « maître de Senemet » (voir plus haut).

personnifications de Senemet et de Hout-Khentet mettent d'ailleurs, sans détour, Isis et Osiris en évidence[77].

L'importance de Philae est encore soulignée dans les deux autres processions de nomes égyptiens datant de Ptolémée XII et Auguste (Fig. 3 et 4). Précédant immédiatement le 1er nome de Haute Égypte, et aussi, dans le cas de la procession d'Auguste, le 1er nome de Basse Égypte – celui de Memphis –, Philae (Iou-Rek[78]), ainsi que l'Abaton (Iat-Ouabet, « la butte pure »[79]), font leur apparition. La place d'honneur accordée à ces lieux, présentés sous la forme de nomes, est hautement inhabituelle et ne se retrouve que dans un sanctuaire d'époque romaine de Basse Nubie, celui de Kalabsha, dont les liens théologiques avec Philae sont notoirement forts[80].

Fig. 3: Procession de nomes datant de Ptolémée XII (©A. Eller).

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77 *Philae* I 8, 3–5 : « Je t'apporte une libation pure, qui sort de la poitrine d'Hésat (=déesse vache personnifiant Isis) (. . .) je t'apporte une libation pure de lait blanc et frais, une offrande pour ton frère Osiris, le maître de l'Abaton, de sorte qu'il en dispose en abondance et qu'il en vive pour l'éternité ».

78 Il s'agit de l'appellation principale de l'île qui est à l'origine du toponyme « Philae » (Locher 1999, 122–128).

79 Sur les noms égyptiens de l'Abaton, voir note 28 et Locher 1999, 165–174.

80 Gauthier 1911, 138 (Iou-Rek précède le traditionnel 1er nome de Haute Égypte). Ces nouveaux nomes rappellent les districts supplémentaires apparaissant dans certaines processions de temples gréco-romains (von Recklinghausen 2014).
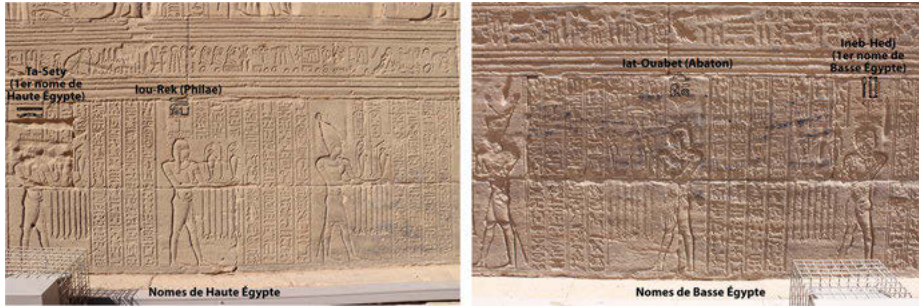
Fig. 4: Procession de nomes datant d'Auguste (©A. Eller).

Il faut également noter que, dans la notice du 1er nome de Haute Égypte canonique de la procession d'Auguste, les prêtres rappellent à dessein que la crue est issue de la sueur d'Osiris et que le dieu a en quelque sorte assimilé Khnoum[81].

Enfin, dans la procession de divinités de nomes de Haute et de Basse Égypte, on s'étonne du fait que seuls Osiris et Horus réceptionnent les offrandes du cortège de dieux, Isis semblant manquer à l'appel (Fig. 5). En réalité, la maîtresse de Philae et de l'Abaton, telle qu'elle est désignée ici, a été déplacée du côté des membres de la procession et précède ceux qui auraient dû la mener, soit Khnoum d'Éléphantine pour la Haute Égypte et Ptah de Memphis pour la Basse Égypte.
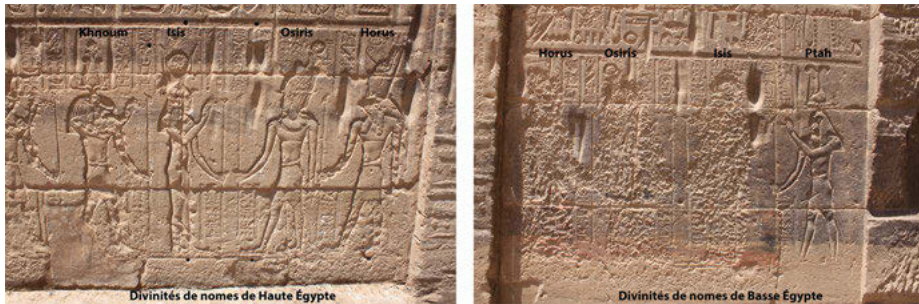
Fig. 5: Procession de divinités de nomes datant de Ptolémée XII (©A. Eller).

Il faut également noter que, dans le texte accompagnant Khnoum (ici : Khnoum-Rê), le dieu est qualifié de « maître de la Cataracte (Qebehou)[82] » et non d'Éléphantine, mais aussi de « pouvoir auguste qui règne sur l'Abaton (Iou-Ouab) ». Par l'utilisation de ces

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81 *Philae* II 88, 17–19 : « Osiris, le grand dieu maître de Philae, de la sueur de qui jaillit l'inondation. (. . .) Khnoum est en toi ».
82 L'édition de Junker est ici fautive. L'auteur avait traduit « Herr von *Elephantine* » alors qu'il s'agit bien de Qebehou, la Cataracte (Junker 1958, 112,6).

toponymes, Khnoum est mis en relation avec Osiris qui porte lui-même l'épithète de « pouvoir auguste, maître de l'Abaton (Iou-Ouab)[83] » dans sa représentation face aux dieux de Basse Égypte.

Ces divers éléments permettent aux prêtres d'Isis d'indiquer, subtilement, que les deux îles sanctuaires qu'ils contrôlent constituent le centre névralgique du 1er nome de Haute Égypte, plus qu'Éléphantine, en aval de la cataracte. Toutefois, les prêtres n'osent pas modifier davantage l'ordre établi en substituant leur déesse à Khnoum dans le défilé des divinités de nomes. De même, ils ne font ni disparaître le 1er nome de Haute Égypte dans les trois processions géographiques, ni ne remplacent son étendard par un autre basé sur l'une des appellations de Philae, respectant, dans les grandes lignes, la tradition. Les libertés prises par le clergé d'Isis peuvent sembler modérées, mais la rareté de ces adaptations dans le contexte de la géographie religieuse souligne, en réalité, une certaine audace de leur part[84]. Ils revendiquent ainsi un territoire pour leur déesse dans une région qui revenait depuis des siècles déjà à Khnoum. L'étalage de ces revendications demeure néanmoins extrêmement local puisque les autres processions géographiques des temples égyptiens grécoromains ne font jamais mention d'Isis de Philae ni de son Abaton, dans les notices du 1er nome de Haute Égypte[85].

En conclusion, il apparaît que la lutte de pouvoir entre les deux puissants clergés d'Isis et de Khnoum a été exacerbée par l'instrumentalisation de la localisation stratégique de leurs sanctuaires, chacun à l'une des extrémités de la première cataracte. Les prêtres ont su exploiter avantageusement une région liminale qui, par la spécificité de son environnement, a favorisé l'émergence de mythes sur l'origine de la crue. Sa situation sur la frontière sud de l'Égypte, au plus près de la Basse Nubie et de ses richesses minières et commerciales, a incité les prêtres à porter leur regard vers ce sud prometteur et à tenter d'y imposer leur dieu. Le temple d'Isis est, d'ailleurs, judicieusement (et inhabituellement) tourné vers le sud, accueillant l'inondation annuelle, incarnation de Tefnout, l'Œil de Rê apaisé ramené de Nubie[86]. Son orientation souligne, au passage, l'emprise indiscutable de la déesse sur cette contrée. Largement mis à profit par les Ptolémées puis les Romains pour contrôler

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83 « Maître » (*nb*) indique une relation particulièrement forte entre le dieu et le lieu évoqué, plus que lors de l'utilisation d'autres prépositions telles que « qui règne sur » (*ḫnt*) ou « parmi/sur » (*ḥry-ỉb*). Pour une discussion sur ces différences, voir Pillon 2017–2018, 130–131.

84 Sur la rareté des modifications touchant les processions de nomes dits canoniques, voir Eller 2022.

85 Les deux seules attestations d'un Abaton (*Ỉw-wˁb*) dans le contexte des notices du 1er nome de Haute Égypte apparaissent à Edfou. Alors que l'une d'elles mentionne sans conteste celui d'Éléphantine (*E* VII 297, 15), l'autre semble également devoir référence à ce lieu plutôt qu'à celui situé à proximité de Philae (*E* I 337, 6 – *Grand Texte Géographique d'Edfou*). Quant à Isis de Philae, bien trop récente au goût des prêtres égyptiens, elle est seulement évoquée dans les sanctuaires grécoromains de Basse Nubie, du fait de leur dépendance à Philae (voir note 33).

86 Török 2009, 406.

la Basse Nubie et sa population indigène, cet ascendant lui procura, sur le long terme, un avantage manifeste[87]. Dans ce contexte sensible, on ne peut, en effet, minimiser l'influence de l'État égyptien qui a su habilement tirer profit des cultes de la première cataracte à des fins idéologiques, tout en contrôlant et limitant le pouvoir de leurs desservants. Avec les donations de terres et l'attribution de privilèges fiscaux, les maîtres de l'Égypte soufflaient le chaud et le froid[88]. Dans ce climat de compétition, l'inventivité des prêtres semble presque sans limite. Dynamisme, originalité et audace caractérisent les théologies élaborées dans ces deux grands centres religieux et devaient permettre, *in fine*, d'accorder la prééminence à une divinité ou de la consolider, garantissant richesse et pouvoir aux hommes qui la servaient.

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87 Le culte d'Isis de Philae fut le culte païen pratiqué le plus longtemps – jusqu'au VIe siècle après J.-C. – au sein de l'Égypte chrétienne (Dijkstra 2008). Les derniers desservants de son culte sont principalement issus de la population nubienne.

88 Dès la fin du Ier siècle avant J.-C., rien n'indique que le clergé d'Isis ait pu continuer à prélever sa part sur les revenus du Dodécaschène, malgré des scènes d'offrande montrant, à Philae et Dakka, Auguste et Tibère offrant la région à la déesse. Il pourrait s'agir d'un rappel du temps passé plus que de la réalité (Török 2009, 400–401 ; Hölbl 2004, 49).

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KO : *Kôm Ombo*, publication des inscriptions et décors de ce temple ; Jacques de Morgan *et al.*, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Egypte antique, Kom Ombos*, Vienne, 1894–1909.

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OGIS : *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, ed. Wilhelm Dittenberger, 2 vol., Leipzig, 1903–1905.

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Nicola Laneri

From High to Low: Reflections about the Emplacement of Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia

Recent political events have demonstrated the continuing entanglement between material culture and religion by believers, which reminds us why we should consider the material aspects of religious beliefs as quintessential elements in the process of investigating and interpreting ancient, modern, and contemporaneous forms of religiosity.

Such a 'material turn' in research is recognizable over the last 30 years within numerous branches of the humanities including religious studies, anthropology, and archaeology, in which the relationship between the spiritual and material dimension of religiosity is envisioned as part of a whole. Thus, the materialization of religious beliefs represents an answer in the process of defining the role played by religious 'things' and 'action' in framing the cognitive schemata of the members of a given group as well as their relationship with the divine and their consequent religious beliefs.

In archaeology, materiality has slowly become a useful tool in the search for the interpretation and reconstruction of ancient religious beliefs and ritual practices, especially in contexts in which textual sources are not available. In fact, as correctly pointed out by Insoll[1] ancient material culture cannot be considered only as just 'there', but rather 'interrogated as to how it symbolizes, represents, misleads, and informs the archaeologist attempting to explore the subtleties of ritual practice and religion'.

Thus, this contribution will follow such an approach within which the materiality of ancient religiosity will be viewed and interpreted as part of a complex network of relationships between forms of materiality and beliefs in supernatural beings. In particular, I will focus my attention towards religious architecture and how it framed the religiosity of ancient Near Eastern communities and specifically how the concept of the High Temple, the so-called ziggurat, originated and developed in ancient Mesopotamian during the fourth and third millennia BCE, slowly becoming a symbol of ancient Near Eastern religions as highlighted in the Old Testament as a negative symbolic element for the emplacement of the divine.

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1 Insoll 2011, 2.

1 The Beginning: Elevating the Sacred

The creation of a physical locale constructed in order to house a community to perform ceremonial acts to stimulate the connection with the supernatural world is a quintessential element in human nature. In the Near East, such a connection between the materiality of 'ritual houses' and the spirituality of the divine essence is visible starting in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic. In particular, the numerous stone enclosures unearthed at the southeastern Turkish site of Göbekli Tepe have been interpreted as the first examples of religious architecture associated with forms of animism during a phase in which the urge to create a sense of community appears pivotal for a society that was transforming towards new subsistence strategies associated with farming. However, these enclosures cannot be called as a clear emplacement of the divine, but rather places that 'brought people together for what was then a novel set of tasks'.[2] It is at the end of the Neolithic period that an increase in the social differentiation is linked to greater complexity in religious architecture dedicated to housing the physical presence of the divine in Mesopotamian cities.

In fact, the egalitarian social organization of the previous periods is slowly substituted by a more complex and hierarchal form of social organization. Starting at the end of the seventh millennium BCE, this increase is especially recognizable in the architecture that begins to emerges in the architectural plan of Mesopotamian villages with the creation of an enlarged tripartite house with a central long courtyard separating two abutted wings of smaller rooms that served the purpose of inhabiting extended families.[3] This kind of architectural plan will become more visible throughout the fifth and fourth millennia BCE when the 'tripartite house plan' will characterize emerging elites in charge of the administrative and political power of Mesopotamia. Within this framework, the establishment of larger centers in Mesopotamia is noticeable in which specialized activities were controlled by emerging elites.

Within the social transformation, a different perspective is needed to define ritualistic and ceremonial places that are used by the community or family to share divine essences. Slowly the connection between the materiality of the architecture of southern Mesopotamian cities and human religiosity will become entangled through the use of tripartite buildings with highly decorated outer surfaces highlighting the visibility of such buildings that were centrally located and, at a certain point, built on high terraces. Such a transformation affected the religiosity of these communities with, as pointed out by Flannery and Marcus,[4] 'a shift from men's houses to temples.'

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2 Bernbek 2013, 44.

3 Butterlin 2018.

4 Flannery/Marcus 2012, 295.

The creation of buildings dedicated to the veneration of deities authorizes new forms of power by the emerging elites to whom they owe their right to lead society.

Within such a transforming social and religious landscape, the increase in social complexity will also bring with it a different perspective on religious practices and beliefs that will move from a belief in spirits embedded either in nature or in ancestral figures, to more complex systems of beliefs based on the veneration of structured cosmological figures that are embedded in the world of the living (*i.e.*, cosmotheism) and the use of specific locales to practice such veneration (*i.e.*, the temple of a god or goddess).

However, it is starting from the fifth millennium BCE (*i.e.* the Chalcolithic period)[5] that the use of buildings dedicated to ritual and ceremonial practices will become a quintessential force in framing Mesopotamian and Iranian communities. Moreover, for defining the beginning of the use of temples for venerating deities during the fifth millennium BCE, Frank Hole[6] has suggested that it is at the most important Iranian site of Susa that we can signal the first correlates of an 'increasing institutionalization of religion' in which control over production starts to be centered in the hands of a small community of priests.[7] This interpretation is based on a series of elements that include: increasing complexity in burial data, the complexity of the decorative motifs depicted on the vessels, the creation of anthropomorphic figures, the presence of the monumental 10 meter high stepped platform of unbaked mud bricks with the possible presence of a temple on top within the 15 hectares village, as well as the iconography engraved on the seals (with the so-called 'master of the animals') at Susa during the late fifth millennium BCE.[8] Within this perspective, Rothman adds that the case of Susa demonstrates how religious ideology, the mobilization of labor in the service of god and community, and the use of pottery style and mortuary behavior to signify new statuses and reward political allies combined to catalyze growth, functional segregation, and the development of leadership in Susiana.[9]

However, it is 'ritual public architecture'[10] that clearly defines a radical transformation with the previous periods. This is especially evident in Mesopotamia where, during the so-called 'Ubaid period (*i.e.*, *ca*. 5000–3800 BCE) such 'ritual public architecture', as pointed out by Stein, is characterized by 'rectangular temples with their corners oriented to the cardinal points [that] share a set of canonical

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5 Butterlin 2018, 141–142.

6 Hole 1983, 315.

7 Butterlin 2018, 206–212.

8 Pollock 2008, 176.

9 Rothman 2004, 102.

10 Roaf 2013.

architectural features such as altars, offering tables, niches, buttresses, and a tripartite, "long-room" ground plan'.[11]

The 17-level building discovered at the ancient settlement of Eridu further proves the importance of the creation of newly founded buildings in high terraces for further connecting humans with higher celestial deities between the fifth and fourth millennia BCE. At Eridu, a series of layers testify to the transformation from a one cella into a tripartite building during this fundamental period of state formation in southern Mesopotamia.[12] The earliest level temple (XVI) is a small squared mudbrick building (*ca.* 2 × 3 m) with a niche opposite to the entrance, in which a mudbrick pedestal is located; whereas another pedestal, that was heavily burnt and covered with ashes, was located in the center of this small building.[13] The building was plastered, but no other signs of outer decoration are visible.

In the sacred hill of Eridu, the transformation both in plan and decoration of the building occurred starting from Level XI onward (*i.e.* Obeid 3–4, ca. 5100–4500 BCE) when the 'temple' was also built on a raised mud-brick platform and decorated with buttresses, recesses and niches that will then become typical of the temples of the fourth millennium BCE.[14] In its final phase (*i.e.* Eridu VIII–VI),[15] the building reaches its definite tripartite plan with a long central room, an altar along the short side, a 90-degree entrance through a staircase and an offering table aligned with the altar located on the opposite one-third of the long room. During these later phases, the two wings of the temple were composed of a series of rectangular rooms and, in one of the corners, a staircase suggesting a second floor was present. Moreover, the surfaces of the outer walls are highly decorated with a series of niches and recesses that will slowly become a marker of southern Mesopotamian tripartite ceremonial buildings.[16]

Thus, the tripartite house that was originally used to inhabit the extended family has reached a new dimension, located in a high place in order to be more visible by the members of the community, but, most of all, to be connected with the cosmological dimension of the divine.[17] The divine that will become a *pater familias* for the whole community and will be represented by a chief and later by the so-called king-priest and finally the pious Mesopotamian king who will use such a position for establishing his charismatic political and ideological power. The temple thus becomes a material form of religiosity that will slowly affirm its role as the house of the god as well as the house for connecting with the divine in order to define sources of power for the king

11 Stein 1994, 39.

12 Butterlin 2018, 146–149.

13 Safar *et al.* 1981, 88, fig. 39.

14 Safar *et al.* 1981, 94.

15 Butterlin 2018, figs. 151–155.

16 Roaf 2013.

17 Butterlin 2018, 178–195.

mediated by the clergy. Thus, as affirmed by Steinkeller,[18] among southern Mesopotamian societies 'the dominant role in that organization of temple communities, that is, massive groupings of nuclear families that exploited collectively economic resources nominally "owned" by individual deities.'

Starting from this period, the construction of terraced religious buildings will become a distinctive element of the Mesopotamian built environment. In particular, Eridu will represent the temple of one of the most important gods of Mesopotamia, that it is Enki the master of freshwater (the Sumerian Apsu). To add to this, according to the famous Sumerian king list, it is at Eridu that kingship descended from heaven. Thus, the series of temples constructed on the terrace of Eridu represents a clear indicator of the relationality between nature, the divine and a form of social authority (*i.e.*, kingship) that will determine the nature of leadership in the Near East.[19]

2 The Constitution: The Creation of the Sacred Terraces at Uruk

Even though the idea of a tripartite building for ceremonial purposes originated during the Ubaid period, the monumentality of the 'ceremonial' architecture reaches its acme during the end of the Chalcolithic period; it is in fact during this period that urban centers are marked by the presence of temples, some of which were built on high terraces, that are similar in architectural plan as those of the previous Ubaid period, but in terms of size their monumentality and decorative pattern are clearly indicating a dramatic increase in the social and economic relevance of such religious-political institutions.[20]

Within such an increase in architectural monumentality, the most important center and probably the one from which architectural monumentality originated is the ancient city of Uruk in southern Mesopotamia, that was marked by the presence of two sacred precincts, the one dedicated to Anu, and the Eanna precinct dedicated to the goddess of love and war, Inana.[21] The two areas were separated but they were both constructed on high terraces in order to increase their visibility.[22] In particular, the Anu precinct shows a terracing system that initiated during the Ubaid period and ended during the mid-fourth millennium when a large tripartite building (17.5 × 22 meters), most probably dedicated to the Sumerian god of heaven, Anu, was located on a high platform

18 Steinkeller 2019, 113.
19 Stein 1994.
20 Roaf 2013.
21 Butterlin 2018, 352–405.
22 Eichmann 2013.

(*ca*. 12 m tall and about 45 × 50 meters at the base) and was reachable by a long staircase that led to a large terrace centred around an altar that testifies to outdoor ceremonies most probably open to the public.[23] The building was built on top of the basement, the corners followed the orientation of the cardinal points and a staircase led to the entrance which was directly connected to the main long-room, and with a 90-degree turn towards the altar that was located on the left short side of the long room; the presence of a staircase suggests access to a second floor. In the Anu precinct, at the bottom of the large terracing system on top of which was constructed the White Temple, a Stone Building (*i.e.* the *Steingebäude*)[24] was constructed with a series of concentric perimetral walls (27 × 32 m) and a sloping ramp going underground as its entrance. The floor was made of stone and at the center was located a pedestal made out of plaster and stone in which five holes formed a small square in which originally was probably located a sacred object. Even though all that remains of the stone building is its underground stone structure, due to the presence of ten evenly spaced postholes on top of the remaining stones of the inner wall it is possible to envision a raised structure. Moreover, the terracing system on which the White Temple was constructed appears to have been started during the Ubaid period and the final platform, on which the White Temple was constructed, is the result of a series of constructions and terracing from the late fifth until the mid-fourth millennia BCE similar to what occurred at Eridu. Clear radiocarbon dates suggest that the final stage of organization of the Anu precinct (with the White Temple and the Stone Building) occurred around 3450 BCE.[25]

The Eanna precinct (*i.e.*, 'the House of Heaven' that was most probably dedicated to the goddess of love and fertility, Inana, as suggested by later written sources) was located not far from the Anu Ziggurat area and composed of a series of buildings located on a 10 meter high-terrace, which included large outdoor spaces, halls and buildings with a tripartite plan.[26] Similar to the Anu Ziggurat area, the Eanna precinct was originally constructed during the end of the fifth millennium BCE, however no traces of the original terrace were found by the archaeologists that instead unearthed relics of 'reed architecture'.[27] Among the over twenty levels, there are four levels dating to the second half of the fourth millennium BCE that are of great interest for reconstructing the role played by the Eanna precinct during the acme of city of Uruk. In particular, the buildings of the precinct are characterized by their monumentality (*e.g.*, the so-called Limestone Building totals 2.280 sq meters in extension, *i.e.*, 76 × 30 m), the continuous use of the tripartite plan combined with a few other squared

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23 Butterlin 2018, 317–318.

24 Eichmann 2007, 438–459.

25 Eichmann 2013, 98.

26 Heinz 2012, 179–185.

27 Eichmann 2013, 99.

open spaces (as is the case of the Great Court that was a low garden with a well for the water), the presence of imported materials for roofing the large courtyard and the foundations with limestone, as well as the use of colored stone and clay cones for the purpose of decorating with different colors and geometric motifs the outer perimeter walls of these buildings.[28] In particular, the monumentality of these buildings as well as the presence of numerous entrances along the remains of the walls have suggested that 'these buildings were meant to hold gatherings of large numbers of people some-how related to administrative functions'.[29] However, it is interesting to notice that within the Eanna precinct there are two superimposed buildings belonging to phases VI–IVb (*i.e.*, the Stone-Cone Building, *Steinstiftgebäude*) and top phase IVa (*i.e.*, the *Reimchengebäude*) that are separated from the rest of the large precinct and are smaller in size as well as in shape. In fact, the earlier Stone-Cone Building has a tri-partite plan, a smaller size as compared to the contemporaneous Limestone building and more similar to the White Temple of the Anu Ziggurat, a strange L-shaped basin coated with bitumen along the northern short wall and the outer walls were deco-rated with stone cones forming geometric motifs; in addition, the foundations of the wall were deeply excavated in the natural bedrock and covered with reeds. The *Reim-chengebäude* is instead very small, underground, and recalls the labyrinthic organi-zation of the inner spaces encountered in the Stone Temple of the Anu area. The similarities are also related to the fact that these are the only buildings in which ritual objects were found stored[30] and they probably belong to the latest phase of occupa-tion during the end of the fourth millennium BCE period, in which a building for as-tronomical observations (*i.e.*, the *Hallenbau*) was erected in the other sector of the Eanna precinct.

Thus, it appears that at Uruk during the second half of the fourth millennium BCE the architecture recognizable in both the Anu Ziggurat and the Eanna Precinct had a primary ceremonial purpose with smaller buildings (*i.e.*, the White Temple, the Stone Temple, the Stone-Cone Building and the *Reimchengebäude*) that were most probably used as religious buildings associated with the quintessential aspect of a temple, that is housing the god, whereas other buildings in the Eanna precinct were probably representing the locale in which the king-priest was delivering his administrative functions to the public. In so doing, it was important to create open spaces not far from the religious buildings that were visible from a distance. The visibility of these religious buildings was of great importance as is recognized in the decoration of the outer wall surfaces made with a very innovative decorative technique, using clay and stone colored cones embedded in a layer of plaster; the mosaic decoration consisted of geometric decorative patterns of losange, zig-zags,

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28 Butterlin 2018, 318–320, fig. 348.

29 Eichmann 2013, 101.

30 Selz 2008.

triangles of white, black and red colors[31] and, together with recesses, niches and buttresses typical of the Uruk architecture, must have imbued the whole building, as well as the precinct, with an incredible interplay of light and color.[32]

The economic and political power of the elites was thus represented by the monumentality of these large tripartite buildings as well as by these outstanding decorative patterns. Moreover, the lack of large indoor spaces within these primeval religious buildings at Uruk can suggest that during the second half of the fourth millennium BCE, Uruk's religious practices were spatially and socially exclusionary and, at the same time, performance-oriented rather than participatory. In fact, in part due to climate conditions it appears that the use of outdoor spaces for the performance of rituals and the public display of power gained by the religious elites was a common religious practice in the Near Eastern tradition and in southern Mesopotamia during the fourth millennium BCE, also recognizable in the iconographic representations seen in the impressions of cylinder seals. Thus, the visibility of monumental religious buildings from afar becomes a priority of Uruk's elites, which was further emphasized by their highly decorated facades that were adorned with either wall paintings or colorful stone and clay cones embedded in the outer walls, to create a sort of proto-mosaic effect. In so doing, religious monuments were built in order to impress not only the entire urban community, but also the people arriving at this large urban center through 'a visual statement of power'.[33]

Within this context, the figure of a political/religious leader (the so-called king-priest) is part of an innovative iconography typical of the late Uruk period. He is usually portrayed standing with a beard and clothed in a rounded hat and net skirt and sometimes bearing weapons while confronting enemies, hunting or offering tributes. This figure was also probably represented in the missing part of the famous meter high Uruk alabaster vase, in which the natural world (represented at the bottom with water, plants and flocks of animal) is linked with the procession of naked humans bestowing offerings to a goddess (most probably Inana) in the upper section of the vase.[34] The scenes depicted on the vessel are part of the hierarchical Mesopotamian system, in which gods and goddesses represent different aspects of nature and mankind, and their earthly representative, i.e., the king-priest, is given their consent to control and dominate nature owing to his pious devotion to them. The representation on the vase was part of a broader network for the materialization of religious practices and beliefs (Fig. 1), where every element of religious materiality was entangled with politics and economics through the performance of ritual activities in which the temple, located on a high platform, was the symbolic reference to this devotion.[35]

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31 Butterlin 2018, 254–264; Eichmann 2013, figs. 16.8–10.

32 Roaf 2013.

33 Pollock 2008, 178.

34 Pollock 2008, 189–190, fig. 7.7.

35 Fowles 2013, 4–12.

Fig. 1: A Reconstruction of the Materialization of Religious Beliefs at Uruk during the Late Fourth Millennium BCE (© author).

3 Reaching High: The Ziggurat for a New Form of Connection with the Cosmic World

At the beginning of the third millennium, the pivotal role played by the temple (Sumerian *esh₃*) among southern Mesopotamian communities is confirmed also by the so-called city-seals in which each city-state was represented by the local god sanctuary as part of an intra-city cooperation as well as common cultic activities that served the purpose of making the southern Mesopotamian city-states resilient in a moment of transformation, as is the case of the collapse of the Uruk world-system.[36]

Thus, the temple will be used as a symbol of continuity among southern Mesopotamian communities within a transforming social organization that will show the emergence of new royal families. It is in fact during the third millennium BCE that the 'High Terraced' temple will become the religious and political point of reference of the communities inhabiting these city-states.[37] The sanctuary of the most important city deity was thus built on top of a terrace through the means of stepped towers (*i.e.*, the ziggurat – *ziqquratu* in Akkadian) reminiscent of the stepped platforms built at Susa and Uruk between the end of the fifth and throughout the fourth millennia BCE, and slowly became the marker of Mesopotamian religious architecture.[38]

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36 Matthews/Richardson 2019.

37 Roaf 2013.

38 Butterlin 2019; Quenet 2016.

The centrality of the High Temple will also represent a perfect replica of the Sumerian cosmology in which the sanctuary was the axis mundi in connecting the celestial world of the above with the earth, the world below and the primordial ocean.

Within Mesopotamian cities, Early Dynastic temples (2900–2350 BCE) could be distinguished by those embedded in the urban fabric and those built on high terraces, or else as those representing institutional religious buildings and those associated with more domestic religious practices. This is clearly evident in important centers such as Khafajah in the Diyala (Iraq), where there was a distinction between institutionalized religious buildings, as in the case of the Temple Oval that represented the tradition of the shrine built on top of a high terrace, along with the Sin Temple, a 'low' temple with a monumental entrance, large open courtyard, a series of annexed rooms and a long cella room with a bent-axis entrance, in contrast to other low and smaller temples (e.g., the Small Temple)[39] built in a different section of the city and embedded in a non-public urban fabric that might have served the purpose of 'popular religion' (*i.e.*, the religion of 'common' people).[40]

Regarding the institutionalized temples built on top of high terraces, these have been clearly recognized by archaeologists in numerous third millennium BCE Mesopotamian city-states in which these construction underwent an evolution marked by earlier examples in which 'the high house of the main god of the city'[41] was not standardized as is the case of those typical of the end of third millennium characterized by a series of concentric storeys, quadrilateral terraces and staircases to reach the top on which the main sanctuary was built. In origin, the terrace of the High Temples of the Early Dynastic period were *ca.* 800 sqm. in size and, in southern Mesopotamia (as is the case of Obeid, Khafajah, Lagash and Girsu), it was part of a larger monumental center with an oval layout.[42]

Among these examples, the famous Oval Temple of Khafajah stands out as one of the best reconstructed examples thanks to brilliant excavation and report done in the '30s by an expedition of the Oriental Institute of Chicago[43] (Fig. 2).

The temple was originally built during the ED II period and went through a series of transformations during the subsequent two phases of reconstruction ending in a more squared temple with a monumental entrance during the latest phase, indicating its later use as the standardized 'high temple' of the Ur III period.[44] As in the case of the fourth millennium BCE stone cone temple of the Eanna precinct, also in this case the temple's construction went through a careful ritual process in which the whole area was excavated to the virgin soil. Together with the ritual

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39 Heinz 2012, 188.
40 Pollock 2008, 192.
41 Butterlin 2019, 199.
42 Lawecka 2011.
43 Delougaz 1940.
44 Delougaz 1940, fig. 103.
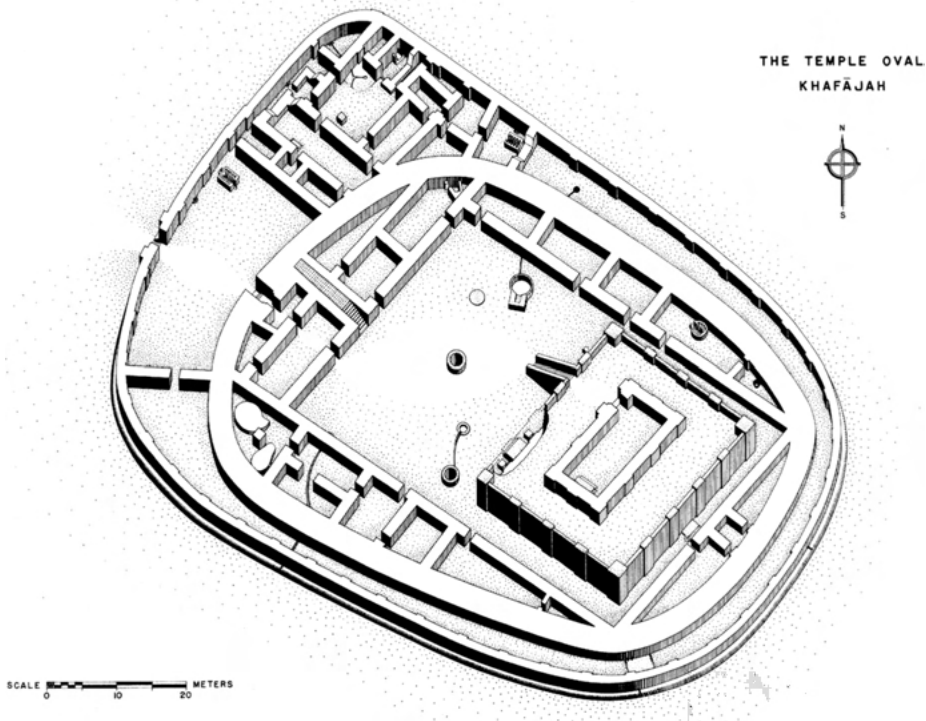
Fig. 2: The Temple Oval at Khafajah (after Delougaz 1940: Plate V).

importance given to assure the purity of the location in which the temple was constructed, its height and monumentality were also fundamental aspects of the Oval Temple. In order to reach the target, the whole building was raised by 70 cm with the need of a few steps in order to enter into the building from the main western gate. The building was then conceived using double concentric walls, oval in shape, with the use of two courtyards and finally a large square terrace on top of which was probably constructed the main temple cella that has been imagined by the archaeologists as a typical long room temple with a bent-axis entrance typical of the Early Dynastic. However, only traces of the terrace to a height of 1 m were found and no traces of the cell have ever been found.

The whole building was conceived as a place for a journey in which the raised levels of the different terraces were reachable thanks to the presence of staircases starting from the few steps of the main gate until the perpendicular staircase located along the northern corner of the wider side of the main rectangular terrace. Another blind staircase was located on the other corner of the same side of the rectangular terrace as well as a long staircase that was embedded within the rooms surrounding the second squared and raised courtyard, exactly opposite to the terrace in which the cella was located. The presence of numerous wells in the higher open

terrace must have been related to ritual activities associated with water in the area, in which the devotes were allowed to gather, probably along with animals, as recognizable by the presence of footsteps on the clay floor of this higher terrace.

However, the temple also had an administrative function as demonstrated by the 'House D' located in the northern corner of the 'lower circle' of the Oval Temple. A building that has been correctly interpreted as the 'private' house of the chief priest and in which a small shrine (probably similar to the cella located on top of the rectangular terrace) was also unearthed. Additionally, the rooms located along the perimeter of the 'higher terrace' must have had a practical function in the ritual activities practiced there, and the burial of some of the ritual paraphernalia in ritual pits within the courtyard suggest a tradition that is typical of the ancient Near East that consists of burying ritual objects at the end of their life giving their materiality a sense of continuity.

Moreover, since its first appearance during the Late Chalcolithic period, the temple functioned not merely as a center for religious activities, but also as a complex administrative structure in which beginning from the third millennium BCE the presence of archives with cuneiform written documents an established control over economic activities by the religious authorities, from the production and exchange of goods to the organization of labor.[45] While it was originally thought that the Mesopotamian cities primarily functioned as 'city-temples', the important role played by the palaces and rulers in controlling the administration of the cities has more recently been defined.

It is still unclear the reason southern Mesopotamian communities constructed oval-shape monumental religious buildings. In the north, this peculiar way of building monumental temples on top of raised terraces probably occurred at the northern Syrian site of Tell Mozan, whereas at the site of Mari along the Euphrates valley the large 'Massif Rouge' was based on quadrilateral terraces allowing us to suggest that 'every terrace was part of a local religious topography',[46] but that the importance of 'raising' the house of the god was a priority in embedding the communities' topography into a cosmological dimension.

It is, however, during the end of third millennium BCE that the need to standardize the ziggurats in ancient Mesopotamia becomes an element embedded with the centralization of the political authority first during the Akkadian period and, later, during the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur as well as the dynasty emerging in Lagash. It is not a random case that, as a consequence of the introduction of political centralization by the rulers in ancient Mesopotamia, we witness a standard of the High Temple that will slowly become the symbol of Mesopotamian religion for the future millennia. In particular, during the Third Dynasty of Ur the phenomenon

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45 Postgate 1992, 109–136.

46 Butterlin 2019, 199.

of standardization of the ziggurats in the most important southern Mesopotamian cities (*e.g.*, Ur, Uruk, Eridu and Nippur) becomes a fundamental element in planning and constructing religious architecture in ancient Mesopotamia. In fact, both in terms of size (*i.e.* they are all between 2000 and 3000 sqm) and architectural plan (i.e., they all have squared terraces and staircases to reach the different levels) they have striking similarities determining the importance of standardization for the new rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur who wanted to be considered as pious rulers devoted to re-constructing Sumerian power in southern Mesopotamia.

This is particularly evident in the case of the famous ziggurat dedicated to the moon god Nanna, the patron deity of their capital city Ur (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3: A View of the Reconstructed Ziqqurat of the Moon God Nanna at Ur (after Nadali and Polcaro 2016: Fig. 4).

The ziggurat was originally built during the Early Dynastic III period when Ur was controlled by the rulers of the First Dynasty, who were buried in the rich Royal Cemetery located near the corner of the religious temenos.[47] However, it is with the first king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (*i.e.*, Urnamma, 2112–2094 BCE) that the whole religious area was reconstructed and the large squared and stepped ziggurat was built, as discovered by the excavations run by the Sir Leonard Woolley and the British Museum during the '30s.[48]

Moreover, at Ur the ziggurat was part of a large raised sacred temenos of an extension of ca. 4 hectares in which the ziggurat and the introductory 'court' were

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47 Benati 2013.

48 Woolley 1939.

located along the northwestern side, whereas the rest was occupied by a series of buildings including the *gipar* (*i.e.*, the temple dedicated to Ningal, goddess of reeds and wife of the moon-god Nanna, as well as residence and burial place of the entu-priestesses of Nanna), the *ganunmah* (*i.e.*, a large brick sacred storehouse) and the palace *ehursag*. By far, the ziggurat and its entrance appendix with a large rectangular outdoor court paved with baked-bricks (the so-called Nanna court) was the central element of the temenos both in size and height.[49] The ziggurat itself had a rectangular ground plan of 62.50x43 meters with corners aligned following the cardinal points and three staircases meeting at a right angle located along the northwestern side; in total it was composed of at least three stages on top of which there should have been the temple dedicated to the god Nanna that was not recovered during the excavation.[50] In addition, recent studies[51] have suggested that the ziggurat might have been built during a Major Lunar Standstill that occurred during the second year of the kingdom of Urnamma (*i.e.*, 2108 BCE) and was probably oriented following the lunar orientation.

Structurally, the building was composed of sun-dried mudbricks and mud mortars, whereas the outer casing and the steps of the staircases was composed of baked bricks and bitumen as mortar. Moreover, the ziggurat was outfitted with a series of drains used to protect it from the rainfall that was then collected in a nearby well. Inscribed bricks allow us to define that the building was originally built by Urnamma and later restored by his son Shulgi and by other later rulers. The temenos and the ziggurat represented such an important religious locale that the whole area was restored and enlarged by the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonedo almost 1.500 years later. In fact, it is starting from the late third millennium that the construction of standardized ziggurats became a typical architectural element in defining the skyline of Mesopotamian cities with the famous É.TEMEN.AN.KI of Babylon (that is 'House of the Foundation Platform of Heaven and Underworld')[52] dedicated to the main Babylonian god Marduk that was probably originally built by Hammurabi, but that possibly became the famous reference to the Tower of Babel in the Old Testament as the building restored by Nebuchadnezzar II in the sixth century BCE. At this time the ziggurat was squared in plan, with a height of ca. 60 meters and a base of 91 meters per side. It has seven stages and staircases to be used to reach the temple that was located on top of the last stage.

Thus, the high temple appears, at least starting from the fourth millennium BCE, a quintessential element in relating southern Mesopotamian communities to the divine world and especially the cosmological figures located in the celestial world. However, this type of religious architecture was also an element connecting the celestial world with the earth and the netherworld as demonstrated by the case

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49 Sauvage 1998.

50 Woolley 1939, 98ss.

51 Nadali/Polcaro 2016, 106–107.

52 George 2007, 78; Quenet 2016, 233–239, fig. 6.

of the Anu Ziggurat and the stone temple, and, most of all, the final stage of this long evolving building represented by the ziggurat of Babylon that represented the link between the heaven and the underworld.

4 Conclusions

In conclusion, it is clear from these data that in the initial construction of southern Mesopotamian religiosity the connection between religious architecture, the altar in which the image of the divine figure was located and the written reference to his/her cosmological representation was pivotal for structuring Mesopotamian polytheism in its early form. Such a connection facilitated the construction of a form of cosmotheism (or panentheism) which the gods pervade and penetrate every aspect of the cosmos. In particular, the High Temple, through the presence of staircases and terraces, creates that physical link between the below and the 'great above' that is visible from far away.

Visibility and relationality are thus the role played by religious architecture in constructing the early form of Mesopotamian polytheism that will slowly be embedded into the cognitive schemata of southern Mesopotamian communities through the oral narration of the connection between the human world and the anthropomorphization of the cosmos that will be, starting from the third millennium BCE, inscribed into the written documents. Such an organization of the divine world will thus become a model to be followed by Near Eastern societies at least until the emergence of the Yahwistic monotheism during the first millennium BCE, when the fight against this connection will be clearly represented in the negative role played by the 'Tower of Babel' as it was represented in the Bible. In fact, as correctly pointed out by Assmann,[53] monotheism was against a cosmotheistic approach, in a sense that 'it was directed against the divinization of the world, which implies a divinization of mastery.'

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53 Assmann 2010, 57.

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Eric M. Trinka

A New Mobilities Approach to Naming and Mapping Deities: Presence, Absence, and Distance at Kuntillet 'Ajrud

Introduction

Despite the recent proliferation of studies exploring divinity in the ancient world, a key methodological component remains absent. Few, if any, present works integrate findings from modern mobility studies. Failure to do so has left noteworthy lacunae not only in our epistemologies of movement and place, but also in our understanding of the relationship between divinity and place that informs the acts of naming and mapping. This essay provides a more solid theoretical grounding for discussing perceptions and processes of human movement and placemaking that undergird the activities of naming deities, locating them in space and time, accounting for their movements and activities, and constructing space in response to assumptions about their personhood and capacities.

The metanarrative that society is essentially sedentary is ancient and persists into the present. Movers, in all of their various dimensions, are thus typically investigated from the perspective of statis and often understood as undermining or destabilizing the structures of "real" (read sedentary) society.[1] Yet, partially in response to the spatial turn, and partially in response to the new mobilities turn, sociologists have begun to question whether society should be studied primarily from the vantage point of its sedentary attributes or, whether the subject is better understood as being constituted by persons and things that are essentially mobile and in dynamic entanglement with one another.

In line with this trend, I approach the topics of naming and mapping deities in the ancient world through a kinetic social model and raise two fundamental questions. The first, is how are human experiences of mobility related to perceptions of divine personhood and engagements with divine or superhuman powers? The second, is how do instances of naming and mapping gods take place in contexts of mobility? Three concepts found at the terminological nexus of religious experience and mobility will guide my investigation: presence, absence, and distance. The specific site that will serve as a case study for this project is Kuntillet 'Ajrud, a 9th–8th century BCE caravansary in the Negev.

Movement does not simply occur in space but is a constituent element of spatial production defined primarily by power relationships.[2] Experiences of mobility or

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1 Nail 2015, 3–5; Urry 2000, 1–3.

2 Adey 2017, 62–69; Cresswell 2006, 1–7.

immobility are always tied to larger contexts of agency and access. Different bodies, including divine bodies, are expected to have and are granted different spectrums of mobility. Power is also a fundamental aspect of divinity in the ancient world and often associated with a deity's presence as it is understood through the experiences of immediacy, accessibility, and efficacy; all of which are attributes connected to a god's ability to move or make others move.

My work follows historian and religion scholar Robert Orsi's critique that, in their studies of divine presence social scientists too often assume divine absence as reality when observing religiosities. In doing so, researchers undermine the accounts of those who claim to experience such presence. The result of this methodological pre-dilection toward absence is that explorations of presence fail as legitimate scholarly enterprises because they commonly degrade into a search for ways to prove that presence, which is already assumed be absent, does not actually exist.[3] An alternative approach is to take the matter of presence, and those who experience it, seriously in order to generate a more accurate picture of religion as it is lived; to, in Orsi's words, "approach history and religion through a matrix of presence."[4]

Site Location and Description

Located in the northeast corner of the Sinai Peninsula, in Wadi Quraiyah, Kuntillet 'Ajrud was in use during the 9th–8th century BCE. Situated just west of the Dharb al-Sha'ira, the site was several days journey from Qadesh Barnea (approx. 50km). Travelers hoping to approach the site from Dharb al-Ghaza could do so by making a small deviation (approx. 15km) from this north-south route via a network of wadis.[5] The spring and wells at the site likely drew merchants, traders, and military personnel traveling in the regions between greater Judah, the Negev, the Sinai, and the Gulf of Eilat. Others making their way down the coastal road and looking to cross over to the southern Transjordan could also have a passed through the site.

Two buildings were perched on an elliptical mesa, the ruins of which now sit lonesome in the intense desert sun with the original access to the top eroded away. The larger of the two was constructed with an open courtyard bordered by several smaller corner rooms or storage spaces. Two sets of stairs potentially indicate a second story, or at least access points to the roof of the structure. The entrance to the larger building was flanked on the left and right by small rectangular spaces known collectively as the "bench room" because of the presence of raised benches in each. The smaller building on the hilltop has decayed significantly more than

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3 Orsi 2016, 1–11.

4 Orsi, 251.

5 Avner 2021, 23–24.

the larger, although, remains of its originally plastered walls preserve floral and geometric painted designs along with inscriptions of two human figures and a bovine creature in a grazing position.[6]

When Kuntillet 'Ajrud was excavated in the late 1970s, it was first identified as an "Israelite religious center in northern Sinai."[7] However, later analysis of the finds raised questions about the site's "Israelite" nature since some of the iconographic and inscriptional remains found there failed to align with biblical accounts of Israelite religion, even those expressed in biblical texts as being explicitly unorthodox (2 Kings 23).[8] Beyond debates over ethnic designations, questions have surfaced regarding the classification of the site as cultic.[9] As a result of disagreements over the site's primary uses, the two buildings there have been variously described as shrines, temples, fortifications, guest houses and a caravansary. Given the realities of interregional mobility I refer to the site primarily as a *caravansary*, a designation that can account for the site's use as both a wayside and point of religious engagement.[10]

What Mobilities Created Kuntillet 'Ajrud?

Reconstructing the past at Kuntillet 'Ajrud requires more than assessing its now static remains. We must consider how place accumulates through the constant flows of movement. Meanings of topographies and architectures emerge and evolve with and according to those who exist in them and move through them. Insomuch, the transition from space to place is an endless act of becoming, with constructions of place compounding in multiplicity and stratification. Like any place, Kuntillet 'Ajrud was constituted by more than the landscape and structures that mark it off from its surroundings. Situated in a relatively isolated locale, it was by most measurements a liminal node in comparison to those with which it was networked.[11] Still, it was a place created by mobilities and one which generated its own mobilities. The people, animals, and objects that passed through it, and those persons who maintained the

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6 Zevit 2001, 371.

7 Meshel 2012, 65–71. The title of Meshel's full site report captures the ambiguity that still plagues the identification of the site.

8 For a full translation of all the inscriptions found at the site see Dobbs-Allsopp et. al. 2005, 277–98.

9 See Lemaire 1984, 131–143; Keel/Uehlinger 1998, 247; Most recently, Jeremy Smoak and William Schniedewind have rejected the designation of the site as "religious". This follows on the heels of a revised site report which revises the language of "religious site". Smoak/Schniedewind 2019.

10 Hadley 1993, 115–24; Thareani-Sussely 2007, 123–41. Na'aman 2011, 309–310; Na'aman 2013, 39–51; Schniedewind 2014, 271–93. Whether the site was a "state-run carvansaraei" is open to debate. Cf. Keel/Uehlinger 1998, 247.

11 Thareani 2017, 409–28. For dating of the site see, Finkelstein/Piasetzky 2008, 175–85; Zevit 2001, 376–78.

daily functions of the site participated in continually reconstituting the site and its attendant meanings through both deliberate and unintentional patterns of being.

It is broadly assumed that the Israelite court constructed and maintained the site, but that it was used by Israelites, Judahites, and potentially by other regional actors. Whether the site was considered to be its own destination or created specifically as a waypoint remains unknown. Regardless, its emergence generated new mobilities that connected new destinations to old ones and offered a new stopover point along a familiar trade route and a place where peoples from different walks of life could have interacted. The site may have even served the strategic purpose of being a transit "pinch point" for monitoring and controlling mobile agents in the region. It is still unclear if the site maintained year-round inhabitants.

Even though the site is not situated directly along a main trade route, material remains recovered from Kuntillet ʿAjrud indicate it might have played a role as a redistribution site for various goods. Excavators recorded finding seashells from both the Red Sea and Mediterranean, as well as remains of wood sourced from as far south as the southern Sinai and as far north as Lebanon.[12] Other finds included loom weights and more than one hundred textile fragments.[13] In addition, the site's storage rooms contained wares and storage jars that originated in Samaria and the southern coastal plain, as well as large pithoi that came from the region around Jerusalem.[14] While the primary visitors were likely traveling merchants, traders, or military personnel, pilgrims to religious sites in the Transjordan and Sinai cannot be ruled out as potential passersby. While we have identified remains from the site and potential persons and objects that transited through it, we still do not know what those traveling to or through Kuntillet ʿAjrud called it. Nor do we know how it may have fit into their cognitive catalogue of sites and routes throughout the region.

Any strict interpretation of the site as a desert religious retreat or shrine is difficult to substantiate from the material cultural record.[15] The sum of the remains found at Kuntillet ʿAjrud do not indicate that it served a strictly religious purpose, but there are objects and spaces that may have been used for ritual purposes. Throughout the site, but primarily in the "bench room" and adjoining rooms of the main building, objects were found that may have played roles in religious activities. Among these are a large stone basin, lamps, vessels made of fine pottery, clay bowels, flasks, and juglets.[16] Some of these items are inscribed with petitionary or blessings content, as well as with images of flora, fauna, and humanoid figures singing and dancing in ways that might be interpreted as religious behavior. The larger of the two buildings also contained the remnants of two ovens. While sacrifice is a common marker of civic religiosities, the

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12 Meshel 1978, 50–54.
13 Zevit 2001, 375, 379.
14 Gunneweg/Perlman/Meshel 2012, 279–88.
15 Meshel 2012, 65–71.
16 Meshel 2012, 51; cf. Zevit 2001, 379–81.

site's chief excavator, Ze'ev Meshel, noted that no evidence of sacrifice was found there.[17] Likewise, there are also no remains of statues or figurines, which stands in contrast to evidence from a similar Iron Age wayside Moabite shrine, WT-13 of Wadi ath-Thamad, and other sites of civic religiosity in Israel and Judah.[18]

Beyond the necessities of sustenance, lodging, and refreshing one's animals, it appears that Kuntillet 'Ajrud was also a place where travelers took stock of their own emotional or spiritual wellbeing and that of others. Arrival to the site would have provided a moment of pause, as travelers transitioned from being on the move to being present in a moment of relative fixity. To draw a modern parallel, we might think of the recalibration that takes place when one arrives at a waypoint or a destination such as an airport. After a long and tiresome journey, we may have the sensation that our body has arrived in the place but that we are still waiting for the rest of ourselves to catch up. A less exacerbated experience of the fragmented self coming to rest attends the activities of trekking or riding on the back of a beast of burden.

Presence, *Absence*, and *Distance* – Theoretical Foundations for Naming and Mapping

Movement is marked by the observable undulation between presence and absence. As we move, we become newly present within changing surroundings and absent from others. The experiences of presence and absence elicit interconnected cognitive and physical responses. In many instances, the intensity of our feelings of presence and absence correspond to physical distance; the further away we are from somewhere, someone, or something, the greater the sense of loss or yearning.

Yet, distance is not merely measured in cartesian spatial terms but also by quantum metrics of relationship and personalism. Our awareness of presence and absence depends on our relationship to particular spaces, people, and things. We may know moments of presence that reverberate with life or love, along with those that are unbearable. Likewise, when absent from someone or something we cherish, we can ache with longing. Yet, absence from other places and people can result in a sense of newfound freedom or gainful escape. Presence in place and presence of place can mean two different things. One might be in close proximity to a person or place and still lack a sense of presence. Those of us who have been found to be absent-minded have experienced first-hand the way cognitive presence in a particular moment can lead to a loss of focus on a task at hand or to the realization that we can't recall why

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17 Meshel 2012, 65–66. Recognizing the lack of an altar or specific cultic paraphernalia, Zevit still argues that the nature of the site is "one planned in advance for a certain purpose, and that is *raison d'être* was cultic". Zevit 2001, 374.
18 Daviau/Steiner 2017, 81–136.

we have ventured into a certain room. To be present is to feel that a multitude of distances between person and place have been bridged in meaningful ways.

Time is a related variable in the calculus of absence, as we measure moments of presence gained and lost or estimate the required pace and means necessary to close gaps between where we are and where we want to be. In all of this, time can appear as an unfixed variable, shortening and lengthening itself against our wills. The many junctures of presence and absence in our lives form a matrix on which we chart the self. Again, the quantum nature of identity comes to the fore as we, who are always in the process of becoming, locate ourselves at different points of intersection depending on context.

Movement not only alters our previous experiences of presence but also generates new ones. For this reason, moments of transition are frequently moments of manifold presence. We take stock of where we have been and might be going, what we have gained and lost in miles, time, and know-how, who we have met and who we have left behind. In their own ways, these actions are processes of naming and mapping. For some, taking account of the self in a moment of transition also includes calling upon the sacred.

Readers may wonder what these reflections have to do with naming or mapping deities. The answer is that the practices of identifying gods and their associations with particular regions or sites are ultimately acts of mediating presence, absence, and distance. Among other things, names are points of access to persons and places that offer a sense of control over those entities. Maps are highly curated scale models of the real world. No map can show reality in its entirety. Rather, each is a tool used to showcase certain aspects such as selected demographic data points, physical features, regions, or boundaries. In line with the cartographic mediation of comprehensive geospatial realities, the practices of *naming* and *mapping* deities are strategies for mediating the comprehensiveness of divine personhood. Neither a name nor a single geographic epithet can express the entirety of divinity. Rather, each provides a set of points for navigating divine personhood and presence in the present.

The texture and contents of space, including the deities that are present within it, are bound up with mobile actors that constitute that space. Cultures of mobility are reflected in the perceived capacities of deities. As deities operate within and beyond the everyday realms of existence, divine presence and mobility are understood as simultaneously analogous and unanalogous to human presence and mobility. Humans accomplish the analogical task of relating to divinity through the practices of *naming* and *mapping*. Naming deities locates them in relation to the self and society. Mapping deities locates them in relationship to place and time. Combining a divine name with a geographic name links the divine entity not only with a particular conception of place but also with a conception of the self at a specific point in time, a point identifiable as a *moment of presence*.

The processes of deciphering and mapping divine epithets are both hermeneutical and cartographic. As was true for ancients who employed these means of

representing and engaging divinity, our own cognitive frameworks of divinity and mobility guide our decipherments of the evidence. With these methodological considerations enumerated, I turn to the primary case study of naming and mapping divinity in contexts of mobility at the site of Kuntillet 'Ajrud.

Kuntillet 'Ajrud: At the Crossroads of Divine Presence(s)

The inscriptional remains of Kuntillet 'Ajrud raise several questions regarding presence in contexts of mobility. Among them is how we ought to interpret multiple instantiations of the epithets "Yahweh of Teman" and a single instance of "Yahweh of Shomron" found in four blessing formulae from the site. For consideration, I present the inscriptions here.[19]

The first, found on Pithos B in the courtyard, reads:

Message of Amaryaw: "Say to my lord, are you well? I have blessed you to YHWH of Teman and his *'asherah*. May he bless you and may he guard you, and may he be with my lord [forever(?)]".[20]

The second, also found on Pithos B in the courtyard, reads:

to YHWH of the Têmān and His *ashera*; Whatever he asks from a man, that man will give him generously. And if he would urge – YHW will give him according to his wishes[21]

The third, found in ink on plaster in the "bench room," a long narrow room in which the stone benches are built along the length of the wall reads:

May] He lengthen their days and may they be satted [. . .] recount to [Y]HWH of Têmān and His *ashera* [. . . because (?)] YHWH of Tê[mān], has shown [them(?)] favour, has bettered their da[ys . . .[22]

The fourth, found on Pithos A in the "bench room," reads:

Message of '[-]M[-]K: "Speak to Yāhēlî, and to Yô'āśāʰ, and to [. . .] I have [b]lessed you to YHWH of Shômrôn and to His *asherah*"[23]

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19 Aḥituv et al. 2012, 73–141. For recent translations and discussions of the inscriptions, see Puech 2014, 161–94 and Smoak/Schniedewind 2019. The translations presented here follow Smoak and Schniedewind's.

20 Aḥituv et al., 95; Inscription 3.6.

21 Aḥituv et al., 97; Inscription 3.9.

22 Aḥituv et al., 105; Inscription 4.1.1.

23 Aḥituv et al., 87; Inscription 3.1.

At the outset, it is important to elaborate several observations about the inscriptions and the objects/surfaces on which they are found:

1) The author(s) of each of these inscriptions are unknown, though it appears that each was generated by a different hand.[24] The identity of their creators cannot be adduced by analysis of the text alone.

2) The geographies of Teman and Shomron may be references to specific sites or to broader regions. The epithets may also indicate specific attributes of Yahweh that are associated with either site/region.

3) It is likely that the "[Y]HWH of Teman" inscription on the plaster wall was put in place by whoever built or administered the site and may indicate a particular religious preference of the site's builders, though not necessarily of those who sponsored the building, since architects or those building the site may have taken their own liberties during construction.

4) Though found in the same locus, the relationship between the "YHWH of Shomron" inscription on Pithos A and the "[Y]HWH of Teman" plaster inscription is a matter of debate. There appears to be no evidence that one was intentionally damaged in favor of another.

5) Pithos B, which was found in the courtyard, on the opposite side of the bench room's interior wall, contains two mentions of Yahweh of Teman that are differentiated by spelling and uses of the definite article: "YHWH of the Teman and His *ashera*" and "YHWH of Teman and his *'asherah*."

6) Each of the inscriptions appears to be a request for similar kinds of blessing. Ostraca found at Arad, and an inscription on the "Edomite" ostracon from Horvat 'Uza, two sites of marked mobility, bear similar blessing formulae.[25]

A full reconstruction of the religious lives of the persons at Kuntillet 'Ajrud is ultimately impossible. Nevertheless, scholars should try to imagine how various forms of movement to the site and throughout it contributed to its enchantment, or to the enchantment of particular objects and spaces there. Brian B. Schmidt's work, *The Materiality of Power*, takes up this task with the remains at Kuntillet 'Ajrud. Recognizing the speculative nature and limits of this type of inquiry, Schmidt contributes to the discussion by demonstrating how modern scholars who are separated from ancient religious subjects and places by time and space can postulate potential scenarios for how sites and objects were understood and used to both create and accomplish religious/magical ends.[26]

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24 Zevit 2001, 377–78.
25 Cf. Arad ostracon 16, *brktk lyhwh* (I bless you by YHWH); Arad 18, *yhwh yš'l lšlmk* (May YHWH seek your welfare); Arad 21, *brktk l[lhw* (I bless you by [YHW]H); Arad 40, *brkt[k lyhw]h* (I bless [you by YHW]H). Dobbs-Allsopp et al. date these ostraca to sometime between 598–587 BCE. Dobbs-Allsopp et al. 2005, 277–98. For Horvat 'Uza, see Beith-Arieh 2007, 122–87.
26 Schmidt 2016, 16–122.

We might ask what visitors to the site knew or were told about the various rooms at the site. Did they know or anticipate that a space like the bench room existed there? Did they expect particular objects or spaces of religious engagement to be there? Did they make deliberate choices in their planning for a journey to pack objects or vessels intended for religious use along the way? Beyond these questions, we can ask about the pithoi on which we find the inscriptions. Having likely come from Jerusalem, we might consider their paths of transit to the site or the types of persons who delivered them there. While all of the particulars of the pithoi's journeys are ultimately unknowable, the intersection of their presence along with that of the persons who are responsible for the various inscriptions has forever influenced our perception of the site. These contingencies, which are related by and large to the various mobilities that created the site of Kuntillet ʿAjrud, are well worth paying attention to. Even if we cannot find answers to specific questions, the exercise of inquiry is worthwhile for deepening our perspective of potential mobilities to, through and at the site that contributed to and characterized moments of presence there.

In a related way, we should also consider how the site's physical environment and its various surrounding landscape features were entangled with practices of mobility and religiosity, as well as with conceptions and experiences of divine presence. For example, the site's location near water sources could certainly contribute to its primary function as a place where rest was taken and resources for the journey were restocked but, the conceivable uses of the site were not limited to strictly utilitarian activities. Once present natural elements such as water, and perhaps even trees, could also have been used for other religious activities by those transiting the site.[27] How did the site's users perceive its relationship to other natural features? How did conceptions of distance and related perceptions of nearness and farness to other sites or relative physical features inform religious belief and practice? Did visitors to the site understand Yahweh of Teman to be uniquely present there given its southern desert location? Would they have understood the desert setting to amplify particular characteristics of Yahweh's divinity? Would they associate particular landscape features with Yahweh's attributes or abilities?

Considering the site's hilltop location may afford us another angle from which to speculate on the activities that took place there. Although they came to the site for a variety of reasons, persons at Kuntillet ʿAjrud may have envisioned it as a type of peak sanctuary like those Zevit discusses.[28] While the bench room was not open-air, the view from the site is elevated and looks out across the desert. The fact that the site is on a hilltop could mean that it was thought of as a kind of mountain residence of Yahweh. Yahweh's association with a particular mountain may also shed light on the epithets at Kuntillet ʿAjrud. If these epithets are meant to identify his ability to appear in

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27 Mazar 2000, 350–352; Naʾaman/Lissovsky 2008, 186–208. See also Schmidt 2016, 17–21.
28 Zevit 2001, 375.

variant places as a mountain, further parallels might also be drawn between the mention of El/ēl as "the head of the mountain" in the inscription just outside the bench room and Yahweh's own status as the head of a particular mountain(s).

Pluriform Presence: Divine and Spatial Multiplicity at Kuntillet ʿAjrud

Recognizing that different users of the site appealed to Yahweh there raises another set of questions regarding the boundaries of divine names, particularly as they relate to different earthly and cosmic geographies. The term typically employed to discuss a deity's multiform presence is multiplicity, meaning the extent to which a deity's person is understood to be divisible and/or capable of being present in multiple locations, either simultaneously or at distinct periods of time. Multiplicity is tied to further questions regarding divine mobility. Does a deity's presence in one location signal absence in another? Likewise, how does divine agency vary across space? Are deities that share the same name, but have different geographic/cosmological associations in, actuality the same deity, just with different local manifestations?

The roots of the discussion about divine multiplicity in Yahwism can be traced back more than a century to when scholars of the Bible and ancient Near East first sought to understand whether conceptions of divinity in the ancient world were essentially localized or universalized.[29] The conversation has frequently spotlighted the various instantiations of Ishtar among Neo-Assyrian and Hittite texts and inscriptions designating the domains of Ishtar of Arbela, Ishtar of the countryside, Ishtar of Heaven, and Ishtar of Nineveh.[30] Early on, scholars posited that each epithet represented a localized manifestation that was understood to share in the identity of the deity. This argument was typically made by reference to lexical god-lists, which some scholars believed to reveal the process of syncretic association or overlap of some deities with others.[31] As a result, the vast pantheons of Mesopotamian deities were understood to be reducible to a number of main gods/goddesses that subsumed the attributes or identities of the multitude.[32] In recent decades, a consensus has begun to form around the position that each Ishtar is a deity wholly distinct from the other Ishtar, though, this by no means a ubiquitous position.[33]

A record of different associative geographies or points of provenance for Yahweh has led scholars to suggest that what is observed at Kuntillet ʿAjrud is the kind

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29 Smith 2016, 71–77.

30 Allen 2015, 2–3, 12.

31 See Beaulieu 2004, 165–72; Lambert 1975, 191–200; Parpola 2006, 165–209.

32 Allen 2015, 18–26.

33 Allen 2015, 26–31.

of "poly-Yahwism" extant throughout the region in the first Millennium BCE.[34] Inscriptional and biblical evidence point to Yahweh's association with multiple sites. In addition to Teman, Seir, Edom, and Paran, which are associated with Yahweh's origins, there are also the examples of Yahweh of Zion/Jerusalem (Ps 65:1, 84:7, 99:2, 132:13, 135:21; Amos 1:2, Joel 4:16) and Yahweh in Hebron (2 Sam 15:7–8). Among the more recent contributors to the conversation, P. Kyle McCarter established what has become the normative assessment of divine multiplicity in ancient Israel and Judah.[35] Building on J.A. Emerton's grammatical work concerning the syntactical relationship between divine names (DN) and geographic names (GN), McCarter forwarded the claim that each manifestation of Yahweh associated with a different geographic location was in effect, if not actually, a distinct deity. Thus, even though McCarter doesn't articulate a defined theory of poly-Yahwism, others have substantiated their own claims for such by using his work. Since McCarter, several other scholars have picked up questions of divine multiplicity in their discussions of divine bodies and personhood throughout the ancient world. The sum of these investigations is robust and cannot be recounted in full here, but several elements that are pertinent to this discussion of Kuntillet 'Ajrud will be briefly elaborated.

Benjamin Sommer has argued that deities can be present in multiple manifestations that are not necessarily different gods. Regarding the epithets at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, Sommer allows those multiple manifestations of Yahweh could exist simultaneously without challenging core monotheistic understandings.[36] According to Sommer, the explicit denial of multiplicity was the product of a later period in which the Priestly and Deuteronomic tradents worked to limit such conceptions of divinity.[37] One challenge to Sommer's work arises with his definition of divine selfhood. Sommer is keen to assert the ontological differences between deities and humans in the ancient world. He therefore focuses on the ways the essential elements of divinity were conceived of as being radically different than that of humans in the ancient Near East. For him, the notion of the self requires that a deity is a conscious being that is cognizant of itself as a distinct entity.[38] While this definition makes sense when the discussion is focused on anthropomorphic deities, it does not function well in the broader Mesopotamian landscape of divinity in which non-anthropomorphic objects and entities could be labeled as divine.

Mark Smith employs the analogy of a kaleidoscope to name the composite and convergent nature of human conceptualizations of the divine. Smith has demonstrated that anthropomorphic representations of God in the Hebrew Bible fall into three categories: God's human-sized "natural" body, God's temple-sized "superhuman" body,

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34 Stavrakopoulou/Barton 2010, "Introduction," 1.

35 McCarter 1987, 137–55.

36 Sommer 2009, 38–57.

37 Sommer 2009, 58–79.

38 Sommer 2009, 12.

and God's "cosmic" body of heavenly proportions. Each of these somatic entities is variously located and interacts with humans within a spatial matrix constituted by material/immaterial, prosaic/numinous, and earthly/heavenly quantities.[39] In addition, Smith maintains that the spaces of temples and cities analogically impart information about divine characteristics while serving as representations of the limits of congruence between humans and deities.[40] The question is whether these bodily categories are simply the constructs of biblical authors or also part of the religious thought worlds of the common person in ancient Israel and Judah.

Smith's specific observations about the divine epithets at Kuntillet 'Ajrud include the claim that the inscriptions represent a kind of map of spatial knowledge across time whereby the old (Yahweh of Teman/the Teman) meets the more recent (Yahweh of Shomron/Samaria). In this regard, the sites are not necessarily juxtaposed to one another in any kind of antagonistic fashion, but are rather simply a record of sacred geographies and affiliations, and perhaps even a marker of appreciation for an ancient tradition regarding Yahweh's origins. As Smith demonstrates, such juxtapositions are also present in the purposeful association of Yahweh with the sites of Hebron and Jerusalem/Zion for the sake of staking political claims to power (2 Samuel 15).[41]

Jeremy Hutton's analysis of the inscriptions leads him to claim the various inscriptions were elements of benign competition between preferred divine epithets that comprised the religious market at the site.[42] By this reading, the multiple inscriptions enumerating Yahweh's associations with Teman and singular instance of "Yahweh of Samaria/Shomron," indicate that the Temanite association for Yahweh is the more accepted expression of divine manifestation at the site.[43]

In his monograph, The Splintered Divine, Spencer Allen highlights the difficulties associated with assuming that Mesopotamian and Israelite/Judahite conceptions of divinity are synonymous. In doing so, he challenges McCarter's reading of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud data and argues that what is true regarding ancient Near Eastern conceptions of divine multiplicity may not hold in ancient Israel or Judah. Allen contends that the glaringly clear, yet commonly overlooked fact is that while biblical authors deal shrewdly (and repeatedly) with the problem of Israel's worship of many gods, they never once engage in a polemic against practice of worshiping multiple Yahwehs. This is not because they fail to recognize that there are multiple manifestations of Yahweh, but because they do not understand the different manifestations of Yahweh to be unique gods.[44]

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39 Smith 2016, 13–30.

40 Smith 2016, 71–108.

41 Smith 2016, 91–94.

42 Hutton 2010, 178.

43 Hutton 2010, 204.

44 Allen 2015, 247–309.

The above review of scholarship reveals that more often than not, studies of divinity in the ancient world portray the geographic and onomastic elements of DN + GN formulae in oppositional terms of flux and stasis. The assumption is that the entity represented by the divine name maintains a fluid and fragmentable identity while the toponym remains a fixed quantity. Infrequently, if ever, are questions raised about the fluid nature of the places with which the deities are associated. The question, then, is what value does calling on Yahweh of Teman or Yahweh of Shomron have at Kuntillet ʿAjrud for those who created the inscriptions? Moreover, can the places of Teman or Shomron transcend distance in an appreciable way through transference or replication?

Even if the above discussion clarifies instances of aspective divine agency or identity, the question of multilayered place at the site requires further consideration.[45] Both *distance* and *absence* can inspire reevaluations of place, persons, and presence. It is common to witness acts of merger, overlap, transference, and translation of geographies and gods as outcomes of human mobility. Movers not only rename places in destination sites using placenames from their former homes, they also seek out ways to recreate or reconstruct those previous sites in new locations, and to access familiar forms of divine presence there. This pattern of spatial transference is observable not only in destination sites or among long-term relocative populations, but also in the practices of short-term movers and at various points along routes where ritualized placemaking brings former sites into existence in new spaces.

At Kuntillet ʿAjrud, passers-by potentially understood that the sites with which Yahweh was associated could be connected to or recreated in new locations. Teman and Shomron may have been understood to have merged in a similar way at Kuntillet ʿAjrud. Perhaps, those transiting the site understood that far-away places with which Yahweh was associated, or where they had experienced an immediacy of presence, could be connected to and overlapped with one another or recreated in new locations, such as Kuntillet ʿAjrud. If such was the case, calling on the Yahweh of Shomron was potentially act of recreating Shomron in a new location in an omni-temporal way, much like biblical authors do with Horeb/Sinai/Nebo/Zion/Saphon. In all of this, however, the recollection or elision of places is not performed simply to call a previous location into existence elsewhere. While the latter is a plausible desire, another intention also exists; that is, to create a map of divine personhood via (his)storytelling that can provide a reliable resource for accessing presence as one makes their way through the world.

The various Teman inscriptional hands may have wished to give prominence to Yahweh's southern origins, to his association with the desert, or to a particular mountain in the South.[46] In doing so, the epithets could accentuate the southern

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45 Hundley 2013, 68–107.

46 Avner 2021, 1–57; Miller 2021, 41–60.

origins of Yahweh, as well as his migratory nature for merchants, soldiers, and pastoralists moving throughout these desert regions. In a different way, the Shomron inscriptional hand, may be wanting to showcase Yahweh's northern-related attributes, mainly his association with a particular mountain in the Israelite capital as well as a more general political affiliation with the Northern Kingdom.

It is also possible that the persons responsible for the inscription recognized and accepted Yahweh's Temanite origins but now believed that Yahweh resided in the royal temple city of Samaria. For this writer, the assumption may be similar to certain biblical authors who see that, while Yahweh had a mobile past, he has in essence settled down. We may also be witnessing a polemic regarding Yahweh's domestication. The Temanite association of Yahweh is one with the wilderness and could highlight characteristics of Yahweh that are seen to be untamed or dangerous. Promoting an association that is primarily city-based, as is Samaria, has the effect of "civilizing" Yahweh according to a worldview that considers society to be essentially sedentary rather than mobile.

While their presence at the site overlapped over the course of its use, the likelihood is that each person who made their way through Kuntillet 'Ajrud maintained different sensations of distance and absence from their sites of origin. Their lived experience of the site as "place" was equally manifold. That they understood themselves in terms of modern geographic categories is unlikely. Nevertheless, like all humans, they would have responded subjectively to the site by mapping themselves onto its contours in myriad ways. The inscriptional evidence from the bench room and the pithoi demonstrate that those present at Kuntillet 'Ajrud shared more than the experience of mobility. Their inscriptions witness to the realities of shared convictions that Yahweh was accessible there, perhaps even present in a unique way. And so, they called on his name.

Blessing as Invocations of Presence

That the four inscriptions under consideration share the characterization of blessing formulae is more important than it may first appear in the broader discussion of the relationship between presence, absence, distance, and naming and mapping. Blessing takes place at intersections and divergences; at the junctures of security and insecurity, at points where the present and future converge, at the crossroads of life and death. Blessing is the language of hospitality; of meeting and departure, of sending and receiving. Blessing is frequently the language of those who are on the move. Among modern migrants, we find many who attend different types of blessing ceremonies where they discern if and when to leave their homes, and petition the divine for safety along the way, both for themselves and their loved ones. Likewise, along their routes, migrants make use of various installations and infrastructures to seek

divine blessing.[47] Even for those who are not spurred to movement by insecurity still often seek traveling mercies.

The act of blessing is naming behavior. In each of the inscriptions, the person offering a blessing names both the receiving party and the deity who they expect will enact the blessing. Constituent to the praxis of naming human and divine parties is that of specifying a cartographic element of divine personhood. In all of this, blessing is the language of *presence*. Invoking presence via blessing is a request for the distance between the divine and human realms to be tangibly bridged. Therefore, the experience of divine presence requires boundary crossing.

Borders are always sites of movement, confluence, and contestation. Even if divine and human realms are understood to be parts of the same whole, the porousness between the two is unpredictable. Just as borders reveal dynamics of power between movers, acts of blessing reveal varying capacities of agency. Blessing is predicated on inequalities between the one who gives the blessing and the one who receives it. The *absence* of equality is what the naming of a divine entity in a blessing formulation turns on. To bless one in the name of a particular god is to invoke the power and authority of that deity over another for their own good. Yet in doing so, neither blessing nor presence are guaranteed.

Blessing functions as a medium through which divine presence is accessed and activated. As with the language of presence, blessing involves both person and place. Naming and mapping, thus, converge through blessing. Throughout the ancestral narratives of the Pentateuch, we find collective memories of naming places and the divine in response to moments of encounter and blessings received while on the move. These sites are charted on the landscape and associated with aspects of divine presence as the act of naming transforms space into place and time into history. In some instances, these sites become part of Israel's liturgical cartography (Gen 32:18–19). In others, they are identified with apostate activities (Amos 4:4, 5:5).

One of the difficulties with the inscriptions at Kuntillet 'Ajrud is that we don't know who wrote them or where to locate those who are named in them. At least two of the texts appear to name persons who were not present at the site during the time the inscriptions were created. Perhaps the texts were left by those passing through as messages to ones that they know will also make a stop-over there. In this case, the texts serve not only to call divine presence into place on behalf of the recipients, but also to preserve the presence of the message writer in absentia after they have moved on. In another reading of the evidence, perhaps each text is intended to be a message for someone located beyond the site who would not journey to Kuntillet 'Ajrud. In this scenario, another traveler passing through the site could have been meant to see and to deliver the contents of the message to their recipients. We can't know if the inscriptions were ever read or received by their intended

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47 Hagan 2008, 3–19; Hagan/Ebaugh 2003, 1145–1162; Sarat 2013.

audiences. Thus, in still another scenario, the blessing may be offered on behalf of the absent party with the knowledge that they would benefit from it but never hear or read it. This last instance may be akin to the countless prayers offered for loved ones left far away but kept close through constant acts of remembrance. Although ultimately unique from one another, each of these scenarios is an attempt to conjure or preserve presence at a distance.

To inscribe a blessing in a fixed location is to situate a point of divine access more tangibly than in speech alone. Thus, some have argued for the numinous quality of inscriptions, including those at Kuntillet ʿAjrud, whereby text becomes a bridge between human and divine realms.[48] I have written at length elsewhere how the artwork that compliments the inscriptions on Pithos A and B are akin to *retablos* created by Central American migrants.[49] These small artworks employ stylized thanksgiving, petitionary, and blessing formulae and serve as objects to direct veneration of particular saints or worship of the divine. In short, they are objects that convey and conjure presence in contexts of mobility, often while displaying particular sites where presence is most intensely encountered. These works of art are generated at the intersection of mobility and presence. They recall memories of times when the realities of distance from home and loved ones were painfully present or when the fear that God or their patron saint was absent in a moment of supreme need. In each of these small votive creations, we repeatedly find proclamations that the Divine met those struggling precisely where they were when they needed it most. In this way, though unique to the situations of their creators, each *retablo* celebrates the triumph of presence over absence by both naming and mapping divinity using the language of blessing.

We can also see, that beyond being the language of presence, and the language of those on the move, blessing is also the language of multiplication (Gen 1:22, 28; 9:1; 17:16, 20; 22:17–18). In addition to associations with prolific offspring, wealth, and health, blessing demonstrates the comprehensiveness of divine personhood. It may, therefore, be constituent to perceptions of divine multiplicity, which relates back to discussions of the different toponymic appellations for Yahweh found at Kuntillet ʿAjrud.

Conclusion

The inscriptional remains from Kuntillet ʿAjrud are but one window into the worlds of ancient persons in contexts of mobility. By examining the words that they have

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48 Schmidt 2016, 54–58, 73–79; Sanders 2019, 327–49; Niditich 2015, 98–99.
49 Trinka 2019, 66–90; Trinka 2022, 162–83. For full discussion of iconography on the pithoi see, Schmidt 2002; Beck 2012, 143–204; Thomas 2016, 121–91.

left behind through a mobilities-informed hermeneutic we find that there is less distance than is sometimes imagined between ancient and modern experiences of presence and between ancient and modern practices of naming and mapping gods. Considering the practices of naming and mapping gods from a mobilities-informed perspective illuminates the intersections of power and place commonly understood as presence. In particular, this essay has demonstrated how practices of blessing and conceptions of divine multiplicity are interlinked with naming and mapping.

Contrary to any assertion that multiplicity inevitably leads to the fragmentation of divine personhood or sacred space, we can acknowledge that both person and place can be endlessly compounded. Such is the agglomerative nature of reality that leads to layered selves rather than fractured or fragmented selves. Contingency begets contingency without necessarily superseding that which came before it. This is not simply coexistence, nor is it always competition. It is, instead, comprehensiveness; the contours of which are often inexpressible and potentially incoherent. Naming and mapping provide a means to articulate the inexpressible in moments of presence.

Naming and mapping, then as now, are epistemological endeavors. Our knowledge of place accrues with experiences of being present in and with it. Likewise, places themselves responsively evolve through our participation. This relational dialectic of presence leads to the multiplicities of person and place that constitute everyday existence and contribute to our experiences of distance and absence. Within this matrix of knowing, the practices of naming and mapping gods ultimately function as means of wayfinding in a world that is on-the-move.

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Hélène Grosjean and Christophe Nihan

Entre espace et puissance : le séjour des morts et la persistance de structures polythéistes dans la Bible hébraïque

1 Introduction

On peut étudier les rapports entre espaces et puissances dans l'Antiquité en s'interrogeant sur la manière dont des puissances se rapportent à différents espaces, par exemple à travers l'étude des épithètes topiques, ou encore en analysant la manière dont des espaces stratégiques, tel que le temple, le gymnase ou le palais, structurent et organisent des panthéons dans une société donnée. Néanmoins il est également possible d'aborder cette problématique en s'interrogeant sur la manière dont les espaces eux-mêmes peuvent opérer comme des puissances dans les religions antiques. L'étude qui suit propose de discuter ce phénomène à partir d'un exemple spécifique, celui du séjour des morts ou « Shéol » (šᵉʾôl) dans l'Israël ancien. D'une part, le cas du Shéol illustre la complexité et la fluidité des rapports entre espaces et puissances dans les religions antiques, plus particulièrement les puissances de la mort ; ainsi qu'on le verra, c'est en étant mis en rapport avec d'autres espaces et d'autres puissances, selon un axe syntagmatique et non seulement paradigmatique, que cette complexité des rapports entre espace et puissance dans le cas du Shéol peut être éclairée. D'autre part, le Shéol illustre également un aspect fondamental de ce que nous appelons ici la « persistance » de structures polythéistes dans la Bible hébraïque (BH) : bien que les textes bibliques tendent à minorer le rôle des puissances autres que le dieu Yhwh, telles que le Shéol, ils ne parviennent cependant pas à les supprimer entièrement. A ce titre, l'étude proposée ici doit permettre de contribuer à déconstruire les oppositions trop rapides entre « polythéismes » et « monothéismes » dans l'Antiquité, pour s'interroger au contraire sur la manière dont les monothéismes antiques – à commencer par le monothéisme juif – demeurent en quelque sorte « travaillés » de l'intérieur par un ensemble de catégories et de structures héritées des religions polythéistes avec lesquelles ces monothéismes coexistent.

Bien qu'il existe déjà plusieurs études consacrées au Shéol[1], cette thématique n'a pas toujours été abordée selon la perspective des rapports entre espaces et puissances esquissés ici. En outre, de nombreuses questions concernant la caractérisa-

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1 Voir déjà l'ouvrage classique de Barth 1987[2], 76–91 ; Tromp 1969 ; plus récemment, voir par exemple Johnston 2002 ; Nutkowicz 2006, 203–255 ; Levenson 2006, 35–81 ; Eberhardt 2007 ; Janowski 2009 ; Suriano 2018, 217–248. La thèse de doctorat de Galenieks 2005 présente également une analyse très complète des principales occurrences du terme Shéol dans la BH qui reste toutefois caractérisée par une approche assez conservatrice. Par ailleurs, différentes études ont également été consacrées à des

tion du Shéol dans la BH et, plus largement, sa place au sein de la religion de l'Israël ancien demeurent ouvertes. La présente étude se propose en conséquence de reprendre ce dossier, sur la base d'une analyse exhaustive des références au Shéol que nous avons conduite récemment. Nous commencerons ici par discuter la caractérisation du Shéol comme espace (2), ainsi que les rapports qu'il entretient avec cet autre espace funéraire fondamental qu'est la tombe (3). Nous continuerons par l'analyse des principales caractéristiques du Shéol en tant que puissance dans les textes bibliques (4) ainsi que les rapports qu'entretient Shéol avec Mawet, autre puissance étroitement liée à la mort et aux morts (5). En préalable à la conclusion, nous nous efforçons également de dégager certaines tendances dans l'évolution de la conceptualisation du Shéol, telles qu'elles ressortent des données présentées dans cette étude (6). Nous terminerons par quelques remarques générales résumant les principaux résultats de cette recherche ainsi que leurs enjeux pour l'histoire de la religion de l'Israël ancien au Ier millénaire av.n.è. (7). Il va de soi que le choix opéré ici consistant à traiter successivement du Shéol comme espace et comme puissance a quelque chose d'artificiel ; ainsi qu'on le verra, dans l'Israël ancien comme dans d'autres religions antiques, ces deux dimensions sont trop étroitement liées pour pouvoir être aisément dissociées[2]. Néanmoins, ce choix a à notre sens une pertinence heuristique, dans la mesure où la caractérisation du Shéol comme espace soulève plusieurs questions méthodologiques spécifiques, notamment en ce qui concerne le rapport du Shéol à la tombe, questions qui demandent à être traitées en préalable à l'analyse du Shéol comme puissance.

Avant de commencer, trois remarques préliminaires de méthode s'imposent. Premièrement, le terme Shéol dans l'Israël ancien est presque exclusivement attesté dans la BH, à travers différents genres littéraires ; en effet, à l'exception d'une occurrence de ce terme dans un fragment d'un récit araméen retrouvé à Eléphantine[3], nous ne disposons pas d'attestations épigraphiques ou iconographiques du Shéol. En outre, bien que le Shéol soit mentionné à plusieurs reprises dans la BH (plus de 60 fois, sans compter les synonymes), cette dernière n'en donne pour autant aucune description systématique ; il s'agit donc de reconstruire la signification et le fonctionnement du Shéol dans la religion de l'Israël ancien à partir de l'analyse en contexte et de la comparaison des différentes occurrences de ce terme dans la BH[4]. Deuxième-

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thématiques complémentaires, telles que les représentations de la mort (voir notamment Hays 2015) ou les interactions entre vivants et défunts (voir en dernier lieu Sonia 2020).

2 Nous remercions notre collègue Dominique Jaillard de l'Université de Genève pour ses remarques sur ce point.

3 Pour l'édition du texte, voir Porten/Yardeni 1993, 54–57 = *TAD* C1.2:6. Pour une discussion générale, voir notamment Porten 2004. Pour la discussion de ce passage, voir les remarques *infra*.

4 Dans l'idéal, il conviendrait également de mieux prendre en compte les différents genres littéraires dans lesquels les occurrences du terme Shéol sont attestées. Toutefois, une telle analyse demanderait une étude d'une autre ampleur.

ment, le terme « Shéol » n'a pas d'équivalent clair dans les autres langues sémitiques, et son étymologie demeure à ce jour disputée. De notre point de vue, le parallèle avec la divinité ᵈšu-wa-la (Šuwala), attestée notamment dans les textes d'Emar, demeure possible[5], mais ne saurait en aucun cas servir de base à une analyse du Shéol dans la BH[6]. Une telle analyse ne peut se fonder, à notre sens, que sur une étude de chaque occurrence du Shéol hébreu dans son contexte. Troisièmement, il est évident que les représentations du Shéol dans la BH ne datent pas toutes de la même époque, mais correspondent en réalité à des textes rédigés à des époques différentes. S'il est vraisemblable que les références les plus anciennes au Shéol, notamment dans les Psaumes, datent de l'époque préexilique, d'autres se trouvent dans des textes de l'époque perse, voire du début de l'époque hellénistique (période lagide). Les références au Shéol dans la BH s'inscrivent ainsi dans un cadre temporel allant de l'époque néo-assyrienne jusqu'au début de l'époque hellénistique. L'objet de la présente étude n'est pas de proposer une datation systématique pour chaque occurrence du Shéol mais bien plutôt d'identifier certaines constantes structurelles dans les représentations de cet espace ; de ce point de vu, l'analyse présente un traitement avant tout synchronique des données, qui demanderait à être complétée par une étude plus franchement diachronique. Nous avancerons toutefois quelques remarques à cet égard dans l'avant-dernière partie de cet article.

2 Le Shéol comme espace

Bien que la représentation du Shéol comme espace ait déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs discussions[7], il nous paraît pertinent de revenir de manière plus systématique sur les principaux lexèmes qui sont employés pour caractériser cet espace, et ce à travers trois tableaux : (i) les principaux synonymes employés pour décrire le Shéol (Tableau 1) ; (ii) les principaux substantifs avec lesquels le terme Shéol est mis en collocation dans la BH (Tableau 2); et (iii) les verbes avec lesquels le Shéol peut être employé en objet direct (Tableau 3)[8].

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5 Voir Emar 385 et 388, et là-dessus Arnaud 1986. Pour une discussion approfondie de la question, voir Nutkowicz 2006, 211–213 ; Hess 2007.

6 Pour un aperçu des différentes hypothèses sur l'étymologie de Shéol, voir par exemple Lewis 1992, 101–102 ; Wächter 1993, 902–903 ; cf. aussi Johnston 2002, 77–79.

7 Voir entre autres Barth 1987², 76–91 ; Nutkowicz 2006, 220–227 ainsi que Levenson 2006, 35–66.

8 Pour les verbes dont le Shéol est le sujet, voir la discussion à la section suivante (*infra*, § 3). La transcription des termes suit généralement la vocalisation massorétique (les exceptions étant explicitement notées). Les abréviations des livres bibliques correspondent à la *Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible* (TOB).

Tab. 1 : Principaux synonymes employés pour décrire le Shéol.

Terme employé	Traduction	Références
'ᵃḇaddôn	« dévastation »	Jb 26,6 ; Pr 15,11 ; 27,20
'æræṣ/'æræṣ taḥᵉtīt	« terre / terre inférieure »	Éz 31,16
bôr	« fosse »	És 14,15 ; 38,18 ; Éz 31,16 ; Ps 30,3 ; Pr 1,12
ḥôšæk	« ténèbre »	Jb 17,13
māwæt	« mort »	2 S 22,6 ; És 28,15.18 ; 38,18 ; Os 13,14 ; Ha 2,5 ; Ps 6,6 ; 18,6 ; 49,15 ; 55,16 ; 89,49 ; 116,3 ; Pr 5,5 ; 7,27 ; Ct 8,6
'āpār	« poussière »	Jb 17,16
šaḥaṯ	« fosse »	Ps 16,10
tᵉhôm	« océan, abîme »	Éz 31,15

Tab. 2 : Substantifs et adverbes avec lesquels le Shéol est placé en collocation.

Collocation	Traduction	Références
baddê šᵉ'ôl	« les barreaux (des portes) du Shéol »	Jb 17,16
bᵉ'imqê šᵉ'ôl	« des profondeurs du Shéol »	Pr 9,18 ; cf. Jb 11,8 : 'ᵃmuqqāh miššᵉ'ôl ; « plus profond que le Shéol »
bᵉša'ᵃrê šᵉ'ôl	« portes, portails du Shéol »	És 38,10
darḵê šᵉ'ôl	« les chemins du Shéol »	Pr 7,27
ḥæḇlê šᵉ'ôl	« les liens du Shéol »	1 S 22,6 ; Ps 18,6
lᵉpī šᵉ'ôl	« bouche, ouverture du Shéol »	Ps 141,7
mibbæṭæn šᵉ'ôl	« du ventre du Shéol »	Jon 2,3
miyyaḏ šᵉ'ôl	« la main (= puissance) du Shéol »	Os 13,14
mᵉṣāḏê šᵉ'ôl	« les pièges du Shéol »[9]	Ps 116,3
'aḏ- šᵉ'ôl taḥᵉtīh / miššᵉ'ôl taḥᵉtīh	« (espace situé) en-dessous »	Dt 32,22 ; Ps 86,13 ; (És 14,9)

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9 Le texte massorétique, qui lit ici mᵉṣārê šᵉ'ōl, relève probablement d'une confusion entre les lettres d/r, voir p. ex. Halot 624 s.v. מֵצַר. Pour le parallèle entre « liens » et « pièges » en rapport avec le Shéol, voir encore 2 S 22,6.

Tab. 3 : Les verbes avec lesquels le Shéol peut être employé en objet direct.

Verbes	Traduction	Références
ḥtr	« entrer au Shéol »	Am 9,2
yṣ'	« se coucher au Shéol »	Ps 139,8
yrd	« descendre au Shéol »	Gn 37,35 ; 42,38 ; 44,29.31 ; Nb 16,30.33 ; 1 S 2,6 ; 1 R 2,6.9 ; És 14,11.15 ; Éz 31,15.16.17.27 ; Ps 55,16 ; Jb 7,9 ; 21,13
ng'	« toucher le Shéol »	Ps 88,4
swr	« se détourner du Shéol »	Pr 15,24
šwb	« retourner au Shéol »	Ps 9,18
špl	« s'abaisser au Shéol »	És 57,9
tmk	« conduire au Shéol »[10]	Pr 5,5

L'analyse de ces données demanderait à être complétée par l'étude des principaux champs lexicaux des synonymes du Shéol dans la BH[11]. Néanmoins, les données présentées ici démontrent l'existence d'un champ lexical cohérent autour du Shéol, au sein duquel il semble possible d'identifier au moins trois isotopies principales. (1) Le Shéol est un lieu sombre, profond et situé sous terre, dont l'accès est principalement caractérisé par des verbes indiquant un mouvement descensionnel, tels que notamment le verbe yrd « descendre » ou encore les verbes špl « s'abaisser » (És 57,9) ainsi que yṣ' (Ps 139,8), qui est ici en opposition à slq « monter, gravir » et signifie apparemment dans ce contexte « se coucher au Shéol »[12]. Cette caractérisation ressort de la plupart des synonymes qui sont employés pour désigner le Shéol, tels que « fosse », « terre inférieure », « poussière », ou encore « ténèbre(s) ». D'autres passages, tels que Pr 9,18 ou Jb 11,8, suggèrent que la profondeur est une caractéristique fondamentale du Shéol[13] ; il est d'ailleurs vraisemblable que certains de ces passages, tels que Dt 32,22 ; Ps 141,7 ou És 14,15, indiquent l'existence de plusieurs niveaux au sein du

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10 Pour cette traduction du verbe tmk dans le contexte de Pr 5,5, et avec un espace comme objet, voir p. ex. HALOT 1751.

11 Voir là-dessus p. ex. Tromp 1969, 129–151 ; Wächter 1993, 903–905.

12 Cet usage du verbe yrd avec le Shéol comme objet est également documenté dans le fragment araméen retrouvé à Eléphantine et déjà mentionné en introduction. Voir *TAD* C1.2:6, et pour les références la note 3 *supra*. Sur la signification de cette expression, voir plus en détail la discussion ci-dessous.

13 Voir p. ex. sur ce point Kosior 2014, 35–37, bien qu'il ait tort à notre sens de séparer le champ lexical et sémantique concernant la profondeur du Shéol du champ lexical de sa construction comme espace. A notre sens, la « profondeur » est beaucoup plus un aspect du Shéol qui relève de sa spatialisation, comme le montrent les données présentées ici.

Shéol, bien qu'une telle stratification du séjour des morts ne fasse là encore jamais l'objet d'une description géographique cohérente. Notons enfin que l'obscurité et la ténèbre caractérisant le séjour des morts sont explicitement mentionnés dans certains poèmes qui évoquent la condition des défunts, tels que Ps 143,3 ou Lm 3,6. (2) Le Shéol est systématiquement présenté comme un espace clos, dans lequel les morts sont enfermés et dont ils ne peuvent pas revenir : cette caractérisation est notamment dénotée par différentes collocations, telles que les « portes » du Shéol, les « barreaux » du Shéol, ou encore les « liens » ou même les « pièges » du Shéol. Cette représentation correspond d'ailleurs à une image du séjour des morts qui a de nombreux parallèles dans le Proche-Orient ancien[14] ; elle est encore corroborée par d'autres passages de la BH, identifiant les morts à des captifs, incapables de s'échapper du Shéol et sombrant ainsi dans l'oubli[15]. (3) En tant qu'espace souterrain et dont les défunts sont captifs, le Shéol est également logiquement identifié comme un espace antithétique de la civilisation, et associé en conséquence aux puissances du chaos. Plusieurs textes caractérisent ainsi le Shéol comme un espace stérile ou désertique. Cette caractérisation est particulièrement claire dans l'emploi de certains synonymes pour désigner le Shéol, tels que notamment « océan, abîme » (Éz 31,15) ou « dévastation » (Jb 26,6 ; Pr 15,11 ; 27,20) ; de la même manière, en Pr 30,16 le Shéol est mis en rapport avec la « femme stérile » ainsi qu'avec la « terre qui n'a pas assez d'eau » (voir encore dans le même sens Jb 24,19). Cette association au chaos et aux puissances du chaos explique que, dans d'autres contextes, le Shéol puisse être mis en rapport avec des images évoquant la puissance destructrice de la mer et des eaux[16], là encore un topos bien établi dans le Levant, voire plus généralement dans le Proche-Orient ancien. 2 Samuel 22,5–6 fait précéder la mention du Shéol (v. 6) par la description suivante : « car les vagues de Mawet m'ont englouti, les torrents de Bélial m'ont recouvert (?) ». Jonas 2 est encore plus explicite sur ce point : le Shéol y est identifié au « ventre » du poisson qui a avalé Jonas (v. 2), et la prière de Jonas au fond de la mer est décrite comme une supplication adressée depuis « le ventre du Shéol » (v. 3) ; on peut dire dans ce cas que l'équivalence entre le Shéol et l'élément marin est ici rendue explicite.

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14 Ce point est illustré clairement dans le récit mésopotamien de la Descente d'Ishtar aux Enfers, où la déesse elle-même se retrouve prisonnière du séjour des morts. La défaite de Baal par le dieu Môt et sa captivité subséquente dans le séjour des morts représentent également un aspect important du « Cycle de Baal » à Ougarit, voir *KTU* 1.5–6.

15 Voir notamment Ps 31,13 ; 88,6.10 ; 115,17 ; 143,3. Sur le statut des morts dans le Shéol, voir p. ex. Nutkowicz 2006, 234–244. Sur la conception selon laquelle les morts, au Shéol, sont séparés du dieu Yhwh, voir la discussion ci-dessous.

16 Sur cet aspect voir déjà en détail Tromp 1969, 131–133 ; plus récemment par exemple Rudman 2001.

3 Le Shéol et la tombe

Une question plus complexe est celle du statut de cet espace et de son rapport à cet autre espace funéraire fondamental qu'est le tombeau. La recherche plus ancienne a souvent postulé une relation assez étroite entre le Shéol et la tombe, plus exactement le caveau familial. Dans cette conception, le Shéol n'est certes pas simplement identique à la tombe, mais il est en quelque sorte le prolongement collectif dans le monde souterrain, de la tombe individuelle[17] ; de cette manière la descente du défunt au Shéol se déroule en parallèle avec l'inhumation de ce dernier dans le caveau familial. Cette lecture se fonde notamment sur l'observation selon laquelle plusieurs des synonymes employés pour désigner le Shéol, tels que bôr ou šaḥaṯ (« fosse »), appartiennent à un champ lexical proche de celui du tombeau[18]. Cette représentation du Shéol comme espace étroitement associé à la tombe a joué un rôle important dans la recherche, et se retrouve encore chez plusieurs auteurs dans la seconde moitié du 20ème siècle[19]. Plus récemment, toutefois, certains auteurs ont souligné que cette conception d'une homologie étroite entre la tombe et le Shéol ne faisait pas nécessairement droit à la complexité des données à notre disposition[20]. De fait, plusieurs indices tendent à suggérer la nécessité de mieux différencier ces deux espaces dans la BH.

Pour commencer, il est frappant d'observer qu'il n'existe que très peu de passages dans la BH dans lesquels le Shéol et la tombe sont effectivement mis en parallèle. Les textes qui évoquent l'inhumation d'une personne dans le caveau familial ne mentionnent jamais le Shéol ; et les termes employés pour désigner la tombe ou le caveau familial – tels que qæḇær ou qᵉḇûrāh – sont distincts des synonymes du Shéol, tels que bôr ou šaḥaṯ. Corrélativement, les passages qui évoquent le Shéol dans la BH ne mentionnent que très rarement la tombe ou les pratiques d'inhumation, et les principaux passages concernés, tels que Éz 32 ou Ps 88, sont problématiques. Ézéchiel 32,16–32 évoque le sort des soldats égyptiens ainsi que d'autres nations qui demeurent

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17 Cf. p. ex. Quell 1925, 29 : « Genetisch betrachtet bedeutet Scheol wohl nichts anderes als eine Summierung der Familiengräber unter einer universalen Persepktive ». Comparer la position très similaire chez Pedersen 1954, 460–462. Cette conception se retrouve encore, avec quelques nuances, dans l'étude classique de Barth 1987[2], 85 qui parle du Shéol comme « Summe aller Gräber ».

18 Voir là-dessus par exemple Lewis 1992, 102–103, pour un aperçu des principales interprétations reliant le Shéol au tombeau. Lewis résume bien la situation de la recherche lorsqu'il affirme que « Sheol is intimately connected to the grave, although the degree to which it is identified with the grave has been debated » (*Ibid.*, 103). Sur la proximité lexicale entre les termes bôr ou šaḥaṯ avec la tombe, voir par exemple Wächter 1993, 906.

19 Voir p. ex. Tromp 1969, 139–140. Cette proximité entre la tombe et le Shéol a engendré plusieurs hypothèses historiques sur la manière dont la représentation du Shéol se serait développée à partir des pratiques funéraires de l'Israël ancien.

20 Voir notamment Levenson 2006, 67–81 ; Nutkowicz 2006, 203–243 ; Suriano 2016 ; Id. 2018, 217–248.

au Shéol, et mentionne à plusieurs reprises dans ce contexte « leur tombeau » (au singulier selon le texte grec)[21]. Toutefois, il est clair qu'il s'agit ici de soldats morts sur le champ de bataille et qui n'ont par conséquent précisément *pas* fait l'objet d'une sépulture, de sorte que c'est le Shéol qui leur sert de tombeau par défaut. Dans le Ps 88, le Shéol n'est pas mis en parallèle avec la tombe à proprement parler mais avec la « fosse » (bôr, v. 4–5) ; ce dernier terme ne désigne pas une tombe mais est bien plutôt un synonyme pour le Shéol ainsi que nous l'avons vu plus haut. Il est vrai que le verset suivant (v. 6) mentionne cette fois-ci le terme hébreu qæḇær ou « tombeau ». Toutefois le contexte du Ps 88 suggère là encore qu'il s'agit de personnes décédées de mort violente[22], de sorte que le terme qæḇær semble désigner ici non pas une sépulture ordinaire mais bien plutôt une fosse commune. Les autres textes qui ont parfois été invoqués à l'appui de la thèse posant une relation étroite entre le Shéol et la tombe, tels qu'És 14,9–11, sont également problématiques[23].

On peut encore prolonger cette analyse par l'étude des expressions employées pour dénoter la descente au Shéol et la mise au tombeau. Bien que l'on ait souvent voulu mettre ces expressions en parallèle, elles semblent en réalité désigner des réalités distinctes dans le contexte de la BH et, par extension, de l'Israël ancien. Les textes qui décrivent des pratiques d'inhumation emploient souvent une phraséologie assez stéréotypée, comprenant des expressions telles que « être rassemblé ('sp niphal) à son peuple ('am) »[24], ou – notamment pour les rois de Juda et d'Israël – « être couché » et/ou « enterré » « avec ses pères »[25]. Ces expressions suggèrent l'existence d'une forme de « communauté » funéraire, sur laquelle on reviendra. Par contre, les textes en question n'emploient jamais l'expression « descendre au Shéol », avec le verbe yrd suivi du terme šᵉ'ôl en objet direct[26], ni d'ailleurs aucune expression similaire. L'analyse des occurrences de cette expression confirme qu'elle

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21 Le texte grec, significativement plus court, mentionne le « tombeau », au singulier, aux v. 22 et 26, alors que le texte hébreu emploie le plus souvent le pluriel (sauf une fois au v. 23) et introduit deux références supplémentaires aux « tombeaux » aux v. 23 et 25. À notre sens, il y a de bonnes raisons de considérer que le texte grec est ici plus ancien, et que le texte massorétique représente une expansion.

22 En particulier, au v. 6 le locuteur du psaume se compare aux « transpercés » (ḥᵃlalîm) qui reposent dans la « tombe » et qui sont oubliés de tous. Il est clair que le terme qæḇær ne peut pas désigner ici le caveau familial, mais renvoie plutôt à une fosse commune.

23 On notera d'ailleurs qu'en És 14, il n'est pas clair que le roi de Babylone ait été effectivement enterré, puisque le v. 19 affirme qu'il a été privé d'un tombeau. Ce texte complexe mériterait une discussion plus approfondie, que nous espérons reprendre ailleurs.

24 Voir Gn 25,8.17 ; 35,29 ; 49,29.33 ; Nb 20,24 ; 27,13 ; 31,2 ; Dt 32,50(2x).

25 Voir par exemple les références suivantes où les deux expressions apparaissent ensemble : 1 R 14,31 ; 15,24 ; 22,51 ; 2 R 8,24 ; 15,7.38 ; 16,20 ; 2 Ch 21,1 ; 26,23. Voir là-dessus par exemple Nutkowicz 2006, 234–237.

26 Pour les occurrences, voir le Tab. 3 ci-dessus.

n'entretient pas de rapport direct avec les pratiques d'inhumation. Dans une minorité d'occurrences, cette expression semble simplement désigner la mort comme condition naturelle de l'être humain[27]. Dans la plupart des passages, cependant, l'expression « descendre au Shéol » semble être notamment utilisée dans le cas de morts atypiques ou problématiques[28], telles que des personnes mortes dans la douleur[29], des personnes mortes de manière prématurée[30], voire des personnes privées de sépulture[31]. L'usage de cette expression dans le fragment araméen retrouvé à Eléphantine et mentionnant la descente au Shéol (*TAD* C1.2:6) peut s'inscrire dans cette perspective, du moins si l'on comprend qu'il s'agit ici d'échapper à une mort prématurée. Dans quelques textes, la descente au Shéol est même présentée comme une punition divine à l'encontre de criminels, dont il est dit que le Shéol les avale vivant[32]. Dans ces derniers exemples, il est clair que la descente au Shéol n'a rien à voir avec l'inhumation du défunt : bien au contraire, ce motif représente l'exact opposé de la pratique traditionnelle consistant à inhumer le défunt dans le caveau familial.

En résumé, l'étude des données indique que, en dépit des caractéristiques spatiales qu'ils partagent, le Shéol et la tombe présentent des champs lexicaux et sémantiques qui ne se recoupent pas, et qui renvoient au contraire à des réalités distinctes. De ce point de vue, l'hypothèse traditionnelle selon laquelle le Shéol et la tombe seraient deux espaces étroitement liés, voire quasiment synonymes, demande à être substantiellement revue, et la question de l'articulation et de la distinction de ces espaces doit être reprise à nouveaux frais. La proposition la plus récente, qui est probablement aussi la plus élaborée, est celle avancée par M. Suriano.[33]. Sans prétendre résumer ici l'ensemble de son argumentation, assez complexe, nous nous contenterons de souligner brièvement certains points décisifs.

Pour l'essentiel, Suriano envisage le Shéol et la tombe comme deux espaces à la fois homologues et antithétiques. Espaces homologues dans la mesure où, pour Suriano, le Shéol entretient des rapports étroits avec la tombe, voire désignerait lui-même une espèce de tombe[34] ; antithétiques, parce que ces deux espaces correspondraient à deux expériences différentes, et même opposées de la mort. Le séjour des morts dans le Shéol correspond à ce que Suriano désigne comme un processus de « marginalisation » du défunt : dans plusieurs textes de la BH, les morts qui résident

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27 Voir notamment Jb 7,9 et 17,16, à quoi l'on peut éventuellement ajouter És 38,18. Voir p. ex. Porten 2004, 440–441.

28 Sur ce point, voir déjà les remarques importantes de Levenson 2006, 67–81.

29 Voir notamment Gn 37,35, 42,38, 44,29 et 44,31, où il est question de la mort (prématurée ?) du patriarche Jacob suite à l'annonce du décès de son fils Joseph.

30 Notamment victimes d'homicide, voir à ce sujet 1 R 2,6.9.

31 C'est le cas dans les textes d'És 14 et d'Éz 32 discutés plus haut.

32 Voir à cet égard Nb 16,30.33 ; És 5,14 et Ps 55,15.

33 Voir principalement Suriano 2016 et comparer également Suriano 2018 notamment les pages 200–216 ainsi que 217–248.

34 Voir p. ex. Suriano 2016, 2–3 et Suriano 2018, 217–248, notamment 218–219.

au Shéol sont présentés comme un collectif indifférencié, coupé aussi bien du monde des vivants que de la divinité[35] ; en conséquence, ils sont destinés à l'oubli et à l'effacement[36]. Bien que Suriano lui-même n'utilise pas exactement cette catégorie, on pourrait dire que le Shéol est typiquement caractérisé dans la BH comme un espace dans lequel la logique contractuelle qui lie les dieux et les humains dans les religions antiques n'est plus opératoire[37]. A l'inverse, la tombe peut être envisagée, selon Suriano, comme un « espace rituel » représentant un « environnement contrôlé » permettant de contenir, sinon de maîtriser les aspects les plus chaotiques de la mort[38], et de recréer ainsi une forme de communauté entre les vivants et les morts, notamment à travers les rites pratiqués dans cet espace funéraire (rites d'inhumation et rite d'entretien). La tombe peut ainsi être vue comme un espace permettant une certaine ritualisation, et donc une structuration de la mort, laquelle permet aux défunts de rejoindre la communauté des ancêtres et d'échapper ainsi au sort des morts dans le Shéol. En ce sens, Suriano peut dire que le Shéol est un stade « intermédiaire » dans le processus funéraire : si la descente au Shéol est la condition inévitable de tous les morts, elle ne représente pas pour autant l'unique expérience de la mort ; pour les défunts bénéficiant d'une inhumation la tombe et ses rituels représentent la possibilité d'une autre expérience de la mort, celle qui permet d'acquérir le statut d'ancêtres : « An ideal death meant reunion with the ancestors inside the tomb, and the tomb offered a sense of closure that was a type of qualified immortality »[39].

La thèse de Suriano est importante et permet d'éclairer de manière originale et pertinente plusieurs aspects de la relation entre le Shéol et la tombe dans la BH. En particulier, l'idée selon laquelle ces deux espaces correspondraient pour l'essentiel à deux expériences distinctes de la mort et du séjour des morts, le Shéol correspondant à une représentation des morts comme collectivité indifférenciée et séparée des vivants alors que la tombe représente la possibilité d'une « bonne mort » à travers la ritualisation de la mort et la réunion du défunt à ses ancêtres, nous paraît à même de faire droit aux descriptions distinctes de ces deux espaces dans la BH tels que nous les avons relevés plus haut. Sur ce point en tout cas, l'analyse de Suriano peut donc

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35 Certains passages de la BH insistent sur le fait que les morts ne peuvent pas célébrer (ydh) Yhwh au Shéol, et qu'ils n'ont par conséquent rien à attendre du dieu en retour : « Car personne chez Mawet ne se souvient de toi, au Shéol qui te célèbre ? » (Ps 6,6). Voir encore dans le même sens És 38,18.

36 Voir notamment Ps 31,13 ; 88,6.10 ; 115,17 ; 143,3. Sur ce motif, voir par exemple la discussion chez Nutkowicz 2006, 234–237.

37 Sur les religions antiques comme religions « contractuelles », et sur les logiques d'échange entre les dieux et les hommes qui les caractérisent, voir notamment C. Bonnet dans Bonnet/Niehr 2014, 125–127.

38 Voir Suriano 2016, 6 : « The tomb, as ritual space, represented a controlled environment (to use Jonathan Z. Smith's term), within which the uncontrollable and chaotic aspects of death could be contained ».

39 Suriano 2016, 31.

être suivie. La question qui demeure concerne la nature de l'articulation entre ces deux espaces. Ainsi qu'on l'a vu, Suriano envisage ces espaces comme formant une espèce de « système » funéraire cohérent dans lequel le passage du défunt au Shéol représenterait un moment intermédiaire et liminal dans le processus de ritualisation entourant l'inhumation du défunt. Cette conception est possible mais, comme le relève d'ailleurs Suriano, elle relève plus d'une reconstruction qui n'est véritablement documentée par aucun texte[40]. Il est très vraisemblable que la ritualisation de la mort dans la tombe était représentée, dans l'Israël ancien comme ayant un effet sur le statut du défunt dans le Shéol. Toutefois, sur la base des données bibliques il est difficile de se faire une idée précise de la relation entre ces deux espaces, du fait de la quasi-absence de textes traitant explicitement cette question. L'argument de Suriano semble notamment reposer sur la conception traditionnelle associant, voire identifiant le Shéol à une espèce de tombeau, mais ainsi que nous l'avons déjà vu, cette conception est en réalité problématique. Le fait que plusieurs textes de la BH décrivent la condition des morts au Shéol semble déjà indiquer que le Shéol désigne, dans l'Israël ancien une expérience de la mort qui persiste ou perdure malgré l'inhumation funéraire, et en quelque sorte à côté de cette dernière. Il faut donc vraisemblablement envisager le Shéol et la tombe comme renvoyant à deux représentations distinctes de la mort et de la condition des morts, qui sans être simplement juxtaposées, n'étaient pas pour autant intégrées dans un système funéraire entièrement cohérent. De ce point de vue, l'identité du mort était en quelque sorte une identité duelle : à côté de sa représentation comme ancêtre, qui devait évidemment être la manière principale de se représenter le défunt dans le cadre familial, il faisait simultanément partie de ce grand collectif indifférencié comprenant les morts résidant dans le Shéol. Il faudra attendre les grands récits judéo-chrétiens sur la résurrection et l'au-delà qui se développent à partir de l'époque hellénistique pour trouver une conception véritablement intégrée du statut des morts et de leur sort post-mortem.

4 Le Shéol comme puissance

A côté des références à la dimension spatiale du Shéol, on trouve également plusieurs indications qui confèrent une certaine agentivité à cet espace. Cette caractérisation du Shéol comme agent ou puissance est déjà suggérée par certaines des collocations employées pour le Shéol, telles que mᵉṣādê šᵉʾôl « les pièges du Shéol »[41] ; elle se manifeste également à travers une série de verbes d'action et d'état dont le Shéol est le sujet grammatical (Tableau 4).

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40 Voir par exemple, Suriano 2016, 30.
41 Voir ci-dessus Tab. 2.

Tab. 4 : Verbes d'action et d'état dont le Shéol est le sujet.

Verbe employé	Références	Contexte d'usage
gdh (ouvrir)	És 5,14	« le Shéol ouvre grand sa gorge (nap̄šāh) »
gzl (enlever)	Jb 24,19	« le Shéol enlève les pécheurs »
lô' + ydh (louer)	És 38,18	« le Shéol ne te loue pas »
sbb (entourer)	2 S 22,6 ; Ps 18,6	« les liens (ḥæḇlê) du Shéol m'ont entouré »
'wr[42] (éveiller)	És 14,9	« il [le Shéol] éveille les Rephaïm, tous les chefs de la terre »
p'r (ouvrir)	És 5,14	« il [le Shéol] ouvre sa bouche (pīhā) »
qwm (se lever)	És 14,9	« il [le Shéol] fait se lever de leurs trônes tous les rois des nations »
rgz (s'agiter)	És 14,9	« le Shéol en dessous s'agite pour toi »
rḥb (élargir)	Ha 2,5	« le Shéol élargit sa gorge (nap̄šô) »
lô' + śb' (être rassasié)	Pr 27,20 (cf. Pr 30,16 !)	« le Shéol n'est pas rassasié »

On notera encore, dans ce contexte, que certains de ces passages, tels que notamment És 5,14 et Ha 2,5, se caractérisent par l'ascription de caractéristiques anthropomorphiques au Shéol, qui est décrit avec une « gorge » (næp̄æš) et une « bouche » (pæh). Une telle caractérisation du Shéol se retrouve encore dans quelques autres passages de la BH, tels que Jon 2,3, qui évoque le « ventre » du Shéol, ou Os 13,14, qui mentionne la « main » (ici, avec le sens de « puissance ») du Shéol (voir encore similairement Ps 49,16 ; 89,49)[43]. Bien que ces termes ne soient pas nécessairement à prendre au sens littéral, ils participent néanmoins de la construction d'une forme d'agentivité du Shéol.

De manière générale, une analyse de ces données suggère l'identification de principaux champs lexicaux, qui sont d'ailleurs là aussi étroitement interconnectés. Le premier caractérise le Shéol comme une puissance dotée d'une faim insatiable : on peut rattacher à ce champ les passages qui représentent le Shéol comme avalant des humains (És 5,14 ; Ha 2,5 et Jb 24,19), et qui évoquent dans ce contexte la « gorge » du Shéol, voire sa « bouche » ou peut-être même son « ventre ». On peut également inclure dans cette catégorie les passages qui invoquent la faim insatiable du Shéol (voir notamment Pr 27,20 et par extension Pr 30,16, où le Shéol est mis en rapport avec le feu qui ne cesse de brûler), ainsi que les différents passages dans lesquels la même

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42 Nous suivons ici le texte hébreu de 1QIsaᵃ, qui lit les verbes 'wr et qwm au féminin et les met ainsi explicitement en rapport avec le Shéol comme sujet. Le texte massorétique, qui lit pour sa part ces deux verbes dans une forme au masculin singulier, est plus ambivalent. Sur ces variantes et leur signification, voir plus en détail la discussion ci-dessous.

43 Voir là-dessus p. ex. Kosior 2014, 35–38 ainsi que Barstad 1999, 768–769.

image est employée mais avec un terme synonyme de Shéol comme sujet : voir notamment Nb 16,30.32–34 ; 26,10 ; Dt 11,6 et Ps 106,17 où la « terre » ('æræṣ) avale les membres rebelles de la communauté ; et comparer également Ps 69,16 où le locuteur demande à la divinité de ne pas être « avalé » par l'Abîme (mᵉṣūlāh) ni « dévoré » par le Puits (bᵉ'êr), deux termes qui sont ici clairement synonymes du Shéol. De même, les images parfois utilisées dans la BH qui comparent le Shéol à un feu (Ct 8,6) ou une sécheresse (Jb 24,19) qui dévorent tout participent de la même conception. Le second champ lexical caractérise le Shéol comme une puissance qui prend les humains au piège (voir notamment 2 S 22,6 et Ps 18,6, et voir encore p. ex. Ps 116,3) ; ce champ lexical est lui-même lié à la description du Shéol comme un espace clos dont les morts sont éternellement prisonniers, telle que nous l'avons déjà analysée plus haut (§ 2). On peut encore ajouter ici les passages qui évoquent la « main » ou la « puissance » du Shéol (Os 13,14 ; Ps 49,16 ; 89,49), et qui expriment le pouvoir qu'a le Shéol de retenir les humains captifs dans son espace. Ainsi qu'on l'a souvent observé, ces deux champs lexicaux ont là encore des parallèles bien documentés dans le Proche-Orient ancien, à commencer par la description du dieu Môt à Ougarit[44]. On notera encore qu'És 14,9 fait exception, et associe au Shéol plusieurs verbes d'action supplémentaires (selon le texte du grand rouleau d'Ésaïe à Qumrân, 1QÉsᵃ) : selon ce passage, le Shéol « s'agite » (rgz) à la venue du roi de Babylone, « éveille » ('wr polel) les rois défunts et les « fait se lever » (qwm hiphil) de leur trône. Une telle description représente un *unicum*, et ne saurait par conséquent être étendue sans autre à l'ensemble de la BH ; elle confirme néanmoins la tendance consistant à reconnaître une forme d'agentivité au Shéol[45].

Bien que l'on ait parfois proposé de voir dans l'emploi de ces lexèmes pour caractériser le Shéol une simple figure de style ou une licence poétique[46], cette interprétation nous paraît problématique à plus d'un titre. D'une part, comme le signalent déjà les parallèles ougaritiques que nous venons de mentionner, l'emploi d'images pour caractériser le séjour des morts et les puissances qui y président est un lieu commun dans le Proche-Orient ancien, mais qui ne signifie pas pour autant que ces puissances n'auraient qu'une réalité littéraire ou symbolique. Plusieurs images mobilisées pour décrire l'agentivité du Shéol sont ainsi déjà employées à Ougarit à propos du dieu Môt, sans que ce dernier ne soit considéré pour autant comme une simple figure littéraire ou poétique. Autrement dit, l'emploi d'images et de métaphores pour décrire le Shéol n'implique pas encore que l'agentivité conférée à ce dernier serait elle-même purement d'ordre métaphorique et symbolique.

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44 On peut par exemple citer les descriptions de la « gueule » (npš) et des « lèvres » de Môt : « "[Ma] gorge [= celle de Môt] est la gorge des lions du désert, la gueule de l'animal de la mer [. . .] c'est vraiment vrai, ma gorge dévore un âne" » (*KTU* 1.5 i 12–19) ou encore « Une lèvre à terre, une lèvre au ciel, Il [Môt] plaça sa langue contre les étoiles » (*KTU* 1.5 ii 2–3).

45 Voir là-dessus von Nordheim-Diehl 2009, ainsi que la discussion *infra* (§ 6).

46 Voir par exemple Barstad 1999, 768–770.

D'autre part, et surtout, certaines descriptions du Shéol dans la BH ne se comprennent qu'à condition de voir dans le Shéol une puissance qui dispose bien d'une certaine forme d'agentivité sur les humains. Un exemple particulièrement intéressant à cet égard concerne les psaumes dits de délivrance dans la BH, dans lesquels une personne demande au dieu Yhwh de délivrer sa næp̄æš du Shéol[47]. Comme on l'a depuis longtemps reconnu, la personne qui s'exprime ici ne se trouve à proprement parler pas encore dans le Shéol mais s'adresse à la divinité dans un contexte qu'elle estime caractérisé par la menace d'une mort imminente, telle qu'une maladie grave[48]. La délivrance dont il est question dans ces textes désigne très concrètement une intervention divine du vivant de la personne : ainsi par exemple dans le Ps 30, où la personne qui remercie Yhwh pour l'avoir délivrée du Shéol indique avoir été guérie par le dieu : « Yhwh mon dieu j'ai crié vers toi et tu m'as guéri, Yhwh tu as fait monter ma næp̄æš du Shéol, tu m'as fait vivre parmi ceux qui descendent » (Ps 30,3–4). Le fait que, dans ces Psaumes, Yhwh intervienne pour délivrer une personne du Shéol *du vivant de cette dernière* implique que le Shéol ne peut pas désigner ici simplement le séjour des morts en tant qu'espace. Il s'agit bien plutôt d'une puissance agissante, qui est capable d'exercer une forme de pouvoir sur les vivants et que seul Yhwh est apparemment en mesure de tenir à distance[49].

Cette analyse repose en conséquence la question des rapports entre Yhwh et le Shéol, qui demanderait une discussion plus approfondie qu'il n'est possible de le faire dans les limites de cette étude ; il est clair, en particulier, que cette conception n'est pas statique mais qu'elle a fait l'objet d'une évolution historique au cours du Ier millénaire av.n.è.[50]. Nous dirons cependant ici que ce rapport n'est pas à envisager dans le sens d'un véritable dualisme, mais bien plutôt au sens de deux puissances gouvernant des espaces distincts, comme nous l'avons évoqué plus haut, sans que leur champ d'action ne se réduise cependant à ces espaces. La maladie grave, ou toute autre forme de mort prématurée, est représentée dans les textes bibliques comme une expérience anticipée du pouvoir du Shéol par les vivants sans que ces derniers ne se trouvent encore de manière complète et définitive dans le domaine de cette puissance, en tout cas pas au

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47 Voir notamment Ps 6,4 ; 30,4 ; 49,15 ; 86,13 ; comparer encore Ps 16,10 et Ps 89,49 qui ne sont pas formulés comme des demandes mais qui reprennent l'idée selon laquelle Yhwh délivre la næp̄æš du Shéol. Il est clair que ces psaumes et les conceptions religieuses qu'ils présentent ont connu un développement important entre les époques néo-assyrienne et hellénistique, dont la discussion n'est pas possible dans les limites de cette étude ; voir là-dessus notamment Leuenberger 2009.

48 Voir là-dessus en détail Barth 1987[2], 77–89 ; plus récemment p. ex. Barr 1993, 33 ; Nutkowicz 2006, 244–255, et dans le cas du Ps 88 spécifiquement Suriano 2016, 21–22.

49 Sur ce point, voir Tromp 1969, 129–140, part. 136–137, où il propose de distinguer entre « être dans le domaine de la mort » et « être dans le domaine des morts », et où il commente à juste titre : « For, as remarked before, many descriptions of Sheol should be taken qualitatively (i.e. as symbols of a fatal situation) rather than locally » (137).

50 Voir là-dessus notamment Eberhardt 2007, bien que certains aspects de sa reconstruction diachronique demanderaient à être discutés.

point qu'une sortie de cet espace soit définitivement exclue, ainsi que c'est le cas pour les défunts. A l'inverse, la guérison ou toute autre forme d'intervention divine en faveur de la personne vivante, mais sous l'emprise du Shéol, est typiquement décrite dans les psaumes de délivrances comme une victoire du dieu sur le Shéol. A la lumière de cette analyse, il faut donc concevoir le Shéol à la fois comme espace et comme puissance, ces deux notions étant étroitement liées sans se superposer simplement. Le pouvoir du Shéol se manifeste en quelque sorte exemplairement dans cet espace spécifique qu'est le séjour des morts, mais il peut également s'exercer sur les vivants, comme le démontrent notamment les psaumes de délivrance dans la BH.

5 Shéol et Mawet

Un aspect complémentaire de l'étude du Shéol, qu'il nous reste à discuter, concerne la question des rapports entre Shéol et Mawet, la mort. En effet, dans plusieurs textes de la BH Shéol et Mawet apparaissent comme des synonymes, notamment dans le contexte de passages poétiques où l'occurrence de ces termes dans des membres parallèles implique, sinon une identité complète, en tout cas une analogie étroite entre ces deux entités[51]. Les données que nous présentons ici comprennent les substantifs avec lesquels Mawet se trouve en collocation (Tableau 5), ainsi que les verbes dont Mawet est le sujet (Tableau 6).

Tab. 5 : Substantifs qui sont placés en collocation avec Mawet.

Collocations	Traduction	Références
'êmôt māwæt	« terreurs de Mawet »	Ps 55,5
d^eḇāræḵā māwæt	« fléaux de Mawet »	Os 13,14
ḥæḇlê māwæt	« liens de Mawet »	Ps 18,5 ; 116,3
k^elê māwæt	« armes de Mawet »	Ps 7,14
m^ehūmat māwæt	« terreurs de Mawet »	1 S 5,11
môq^ešê māwæt	« pièges de Mawet »	2 S 22,6 ; Ps 18,6 ; Pr 14,27
mišb^erê māwæt	« vagues de Mawet »	2 S 22,5
'aḇar māwæt	« poussière de Mawet »	Ps 22,16
ša'^arê māwæt	« portes de Mawet »	Ps 9,14 ; 107,18 ; Jb 38,17

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51 Voir *supra* Tab. 1. En dehors de Shéol, le seul autre véritable synonyme documenté pour Mawet est '^aḇaddôn « dévastation » (Jb 28,22 ; Pr 15,11).

Tab. 6 : Verbes dont Mawet est le sujet.

Termes	Références	Contexte d'usage
'mr (dire)	Jb 28,22	« Abaddon et Mawet disent . . . »
'pp (submerger)	2 S 22,5 ; Ps 18,5 ; 116,3	« Car les vagues (mišbᵉrê) de Mawet m'avaient submergé » (2 S 22,5) ; « Les liens (ḥæb̠lê) de Mawet m'avaient submergé » (Ps 18,5 ; Ps 116,3)
ydh (louer)	És 38,18	« Mawet ne te loue pas »
npl (assaillir)	Ps 55,5	« Les terreurs ('êmôt) de Mawet m'assaillent »
'lh (monter)	Jr 9,20	« Car Mawet est monté par nos fenêtres »
qdm (se refermer)	2 S 22,6 ; Ps 18,6	« Les pièges (môqᵉšê) de Mawet m'avaient surpris »
r'h (faire paître)	Ps 49,15	« Mawet les fait paître »
śb̠' (ne jamais être repu)	Ha 2,5	« Comme Mawet, il n'est jamais repu »

Les données que nous présentons ici indiquent que Mawet présente un phéno-mène en grande partie similaire à celui du Shéol, dans le sens où cette entité est représentée dans la BH à la fois comme puissance et comme espace[52]. A bien des égards, la représentation de Mawet comme puissance semble toutefois prédomi-nante : cette dimension est notamment indiquée par plusieurs des attributs qui lui sont associés, tels que la mention des « armes » de Mawet en Ps 7,14 ou des « ter-reurs » de Mawet en Ps 55,5 ; par l'association de Mawet avec des démons ou des puissances malveillantes tels que notamment Débèr (Os 13,14 et Ps 78,50) ; ainsi que par certains verbes d'action employés avec Mawet comme sujet. Selon Ps 49,15, Mawet conduit les morts vers le Shéol à la manière d'un berger conduisant son trou-peau ; en Ps 55,16, Mawet « trompe » les méchants pour les faire descendre au Shéol ; enfin, en Jr 9,20 Mawet s'introduit dans les maisons pour s'emparer des ha-bitants de Jérusalem. Le champ d'action de Mawet peut d'ailleurs être encore en partie élargi si l'on admet la lecture selon laquelle certains termes des Psaumes, comme la mention de l'« ennemi » ('oyēb), font en réalité référence à Mawet[53]. Si cette interprétation doit être jugée au cas par cas, elle fonctionne en tout cas très bien pour certains psaumes, comme Ps 7,6 ou 143,3, qui évoquent l'« ennemi » pourchassant la næp̄æš d'un humain et faisant résider cette dernière dans le séjour des morts.

À côté de ces références, on trouve également plusieurs passages qui caractéri-sent Mawet comme espace. Bien qu'elle soit moins explicite que dans le cas du

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52 Sur Mawet voir par exemple, Tromp 1969, 99–128 ; Healey 1999, 598–603 ; Day 2000, 185–197.

53 Voir là-dessus déjà Tromp 1969, 110–119.

Shéol, cette dimension est néanmoins clairement indiquée dans plusieurs textes ; en outre l'analyse du langage employé suggère que la représentation de cette puissance comme espace reprend pour l'essentiel les principaux champs lexicaux et sémantiques déjà dégagés dans le cas du Shéol. Dans la BH, Mawet peut désigner un espace qui est clairement situé sous terre, puisqu'on y descend (Pr 5,5 ; 7,27) et qu'il est associé à la poussière (Ps 22,16). Comme le Shéol, cet espace est un espace fermé puisqu'il dispose de portes ou de portails (Ps 9,14 ; 107,18 et Jb 38,17) ; la référence aux pièges (2 S 22,6 ; Ps 18,6 ; Pr 14,27) ainsi qu'aux cordes (Ps 18,5 ; 107,3) de Mawet doit être comprise dans le même sens, et correspond à l'image de Mawet comme une puissance qui retient prisonnier dans l'espace qui est le sien. Enfin, en tant qu'espace et puissance Mawet est logiquement associé au chaos et aux espaces sauvages, antithétiques de la civilisation, comme le signalent notamment l'emploi du terme 'ᵃbaddôn comme équivalent de Mawet (Jb 28,22 ; Pr 15,11) ainsi que la mention des « vagues » de Mawet en 2 S 22,5. Il semble en conséquence que la caractérisation de Mawet comme espace reprenne les trois isotopies déjà identifiés dans le cas du Shéol : un séjour souterrain, associé au chaos et à la ruine, et représentant un espace clos dont les morts ne peuvent s'échapper.

Cette analyse suggère une interprétation plus nuancée des rapports entre Shéol et Mawet qu'on ne le dit habituellement. Deux remarques, en particulier, peuvent être faites ici. D'une part, en ce qui concerne la description de Mawet comme espace, les isotopies employées recoupent très largement celles déjà identifiées pour le Shéol ; autrement dit, la caractérisation spatiale du Shéol et de Mawet est pour ainsi dire identique. Par contre, les choses sont différentes en ce qui concerne la caractérisation de l'agentivité de ces deux puissances ; comme nous l'avons vu, le champ d'action du Shéol est assez restreint, et s'articule autour de deux champs lexicaux fondamentaux, la faim insatiable et la prise au piège des humains, alors que le champ d'action de Mawet est clairement plus large. D'autre part, et en lien avec cette première remarque, l'importance qui est donnée aux dimensions d'espace et de puissance n'est pas la même pour Shéol et Mawet. Dans le cas du Shéol, c'est surtout la dimension spatiale qui prédomine ; alors que pour Mawet cette dimension reste assez peu soulignée, et la dimension d'agentivité est plus proéminente. Ce constat est encore corroboré par certains passages, comme Ps 49,15 ou 55,16, qui évoquent ensemble Shéol et Mawet, en donnant clairement à Mawet le rôle d'agent et au Shéol celui d'espace. Ps 49,15 évoque ainsi les morts qui sont conduits au Shéol par Mawet, faisant ici office de berger : « Comme un troupeau de petit bétail, ils (les morts) sont parqués(?) au Shéol, Mawet les fait paître . . . »[54].

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[54] Il est possible qu'il faille lire le verbe šwṭ « aller, voyager », et non šyt « placer, poser » (confusion ṭ/t), auquel cas on peut comprendre que les morts « cheminent » vers le Shéol comme un troupeau de petit bétail dirigé par Mawet.

Ces observations suggèrent que la relation entre Shéol et Mawet dans la BH est à comprendre en réalité au sens d'une certaine complémentarité. Chacun de ces deux termes désigne une entité qui représente à la fois un espace et une puissance, ce qui explique qu'ils soient régulièrement employés comme synonymes dans la BH. Cependant, ces deux termes – et, par extension, les entités qu'ils désignent – ne sont pas pour autant simplement identiques : comme le montre l'analyse proposée ici, dans le cas du Shéol, c'est la dimension d'espace qui prédomine, alors que pour Mawet la dimension qui prédomine est au contraire clairement celle de puissance. Cette conclusion peut être mise en rapport avec les données onomastiques dont nous disposons, et qui suggèrent là encore que la dimension de puissance était plus manifeste dans le cas de Mawet que du Shéol : si des noms hébreux construits à partir de Mawet sont occasionnellement attestés[55], il n'existe par contre à ce jour aucun exemple clair de ce phénomène avec le nom « Shéol ».

6 Le Shéol comme espace et comme puissance dans une perspective diachronique

L'analyse qui précède a étudié l'ensemble des données à disposition sur le Shéol, dans une perspective systématique et sans véritablement prendre en compte les questions liées à la datation des textes concernés. Il resterait à compléter cette analyse pas une étude plus franchement diachronique, qui ferait droit cette fois à la provenance historiquement différenciée des sources bibliques discutées ici, dont la rédaction s'étend grosso-modo de l'époque néo-assyrienne (IXe-VIIIe siècle av.n.è.) au début de l'époque hellénistique (IIIe voire début du IIe siècle av.n.è.)[56]. Toutefois, il est intéressant de relever que la représentation du Shéol comme puissance, et non seulement comme espace, se retrouve aussi bien dans des textes relativement anciens – tels que Ps 18,5–6[57]//2 S 22,5–6 ou Ha 2,5, datant de l'époque néo-assyrienne ou du début de l'époque néo-babylonienne – que dans des textes plus tardifs tels que Jb 24,19, És 5,14[58]

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55 Pour les données, voir p. ex. Healey 1999, 602.

56 Cette fourchette correspond à l'époque de la première composition des textes ; il est clair que dans le cas de plusieurs livres mentionnés ici, et notamment des Psaumes, le texte transmis est resté fluide et a pu être substantiellement modifié jusqu'à une époque encore plus tardive.

57 Sur l'origine préexilique du Ps 18,5–6 voir notamment la discussion récente chez Salo 2017, 22–26 avec plusieurs références supplémentaires.

58 Le chapitre 5 du recueil d'Ésaïe a une histoire rédactionnelle complexe. Selon Kaiser 1981, 109–110.111–112, le v. 14 fait partie d'un ensemble d'ajouts tardifs qui réinterprètent le poème original dans une perspective eschatologique.

ou És 38,18[59] qui sont eux d'origine postexilique (époque perse, voire hellénistique).
Le même constat peut être fait en ce qui concerne les passages mettant en scène Mawet
en tant que puissance, ainsi que de manière plus générale pour les passages mettant en
parallèle Shéol et Mawet. Si cette conception se retrouve dans des textes anciens tels
que Ps 18,5–6, déjà mentionné plus haut, ou encore Ps 7,14[60], elle est surtout documen-
tée dans des textes tardifs tels que Jb 28,22, És 38,18, Ps 9,14 ou Ps 49,15[61]. Certains de
ces textes, tels que notamment Ps 9, peuvent même dater du début de l'époque hellénis-
tique[62]. Ces observations, qui demanderaient à être précisées et affinées, indiquent
néanmoins que la représentation du Shéol et de Mawet comme puissance ne représente
pas seulement une réminiscence de traditions anciennes mais qu'il s'agit au contraire
d'une structure fondamentale, laquelle s'est maintenue et même développée tout au
long de la formation des textes bibliques durant le Ier millénaire av.n.è.

   Cette conclusion concernant la persistance de certaines structures fondamenta-
les dans les représentations du Shéol à l'époque de la formation et de la première
transmission des textes bibliques invite à reprendre également la question de l'évo-
lution et de la transformation des rapports entre Yhwh et le Shéol. On a depuis
longtemps relevé que les rapports entre Yhwh et le Shéol avaient fait l'objet de dé-
veloppements importants dans le courant du Ier millénaire av.n.è., selon un proces-
sus allant dans le sens d'une emprise toujours plus grande de Yhwh sur le Shéol.
Certains travaux, notamment par G. Eberhardt et M. Leuenberger, se sont efforcés
de reproduire de manière détaillée ce processus[63]. Sans pouvoir entrer ici dans le
détail de ces reconstructions, le développement général qu'elles retracent est certai-

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59 L'hymne placé dans la bouche du roi Ezéchias en És 38 (v. 10–20) est selon toute vraisemblance
une composition postexilique qui reprend le langage des Psaumes et de Job. Voir là-dessus Berges
2012, 291–292.

60 Selon Hossfeld/Zenger 1993, 71–72, le Ps 7 est une composition homogène datant de l'époque
préexilique, voire de l'époque exilique.

61 Le Ps 49 est selon toute vraisemblance une composition postexilique en plusieurs étapes qui
présente des parallèles étroits avec les traditions de sagesse, voir là-dessus notamment Hossfeld/
Zenger 1993, 303–308 ; et comparer plus récemment Oeming/Vette 2010, 54–61.

62 Pour la datation du diptyque formé par les Ps 9 et 10 à l'époque hellénistique voir déjà Hoss-
feld/Zenger 1993, 81–83 ; et plus en détail Hartenstein 2010, notamment 253–258.

63 Voir Eberhardt 2007 et Leuenberger 2011, 73–193. Eberhardt conçoit l'évolution diachronique
entre le Shéol et Yhwh selon quatre axes principaux qui se développent en parallèle les uns des
autres en fonction du rôle de Yhwh (1. « JHWHs exzeptionelles Handeln in der Unterwelt » ; 2. « Der
solare/theophanische JHWH und die Unterwelt » ; 3. « Der strafende/rettende JHWH und die Unter-
welt » ; 4. « Der Schutzgott JHWH und die Unterwelt »). Si les trois premières catégories se basent
essentiellement sur des textes du corpus biblique, la quatrième n'est documentée que par les inscrip-
tions de Ketef Hinnom et de Khirbet el-Qôm. L'évolution diachronique des relations entre Yhwh et la
mort est plus linéaire chez Leuenberger. Elle commence au IXe s. av.n.è. avec une opposition entre,
d'un côté Yhwh et la vie, et, de l'autre, la mort et le séjour des morts (cf. p. ex. Ps 13 ; 18 ; 30). Au fil
des siècles, cette opposition aurait diminué pour laisser place, aux IIIe et IIe s. av.n.è., à une souve-
raineté de Yhwh sur la mort (cf. p. ex. Ps 22 ; 49 ; 73 ; És 25).

nement correct. L'étude qui précède suggère cependant de compléter cette analyse sur deux points.

En premier lieu, l'emprise croissante de Yhwh sur la mort et le séjour des morts, telle qu'elle se manifeste dans certains textes postexiliques comme 1 S 2,6 et Jon 2,7, ne semble pas s'être exercée immédiatement au détriment de la représentation traditionnelle du Shéol comme puissance. Au contraire, les deux conceptions semblent avoir coexisté à l'époque perse et au début de l'époque hellénistique. Il faudra apparemment attendre la seconde moitié de l'époque hellénistique et le début de l'époque romaine, pour trouver des attestations systématiques de la tendance consistant à relativiser, voire à nier toute forme de puissance au Shéol. Un exemple de ce phénomène est fourni par certaines versions d'És 14,9, qui cherchent visiblement à minimiser le rôle actif du Shéol dans la description de la descente du roi de Babylone sous terre : le texte massorétique donne une forme au masculin singulier, ce qui peut laisser entendre que le sujet est le dieu Yhwh et non le Shéol (puisque le Shéol possède en général le genre féminin), alors que le texte grec ancien rend pour sa part le verbe hébreu par un aoriste passif pluriel, laissant ainsi ouverte la question de savoir quelle puissance est à l'origine de l'éveil des rois qui accueillent le souverain de Babylone dans le monde souterrain. Toutefois, le texte du grand rouleau d'Ésaïe à Qumran[64] conserve le verbe au féminin, dont le sujet ne peut être autre que le Shéol, ce qui correspond vraisemblablement à la leçon originale[65] (Tableau 7).

Tab. 7 : Ésaïe 14,9 dans le TM, 1QÉsaïe[a] et la LXX.

TM	1QÉsaïe[a]	LXX
šᵉ'ôl mittaḥat rāgᵉzāh lᵉkā liqra't bô'ekā 'ôrēr lᵉkā repā'îm kol-'attûdê 'āreṣ hēqîm mikkis'ôtām kol malkê gôyim	š'wl mtḥt rgzh lk lqr't bwk 'w[r] rh lk rp'ym kl 'twdy 'rṣ hqymh mks'wtm kl mlky gwym	ὁ ᾅδης κάτωθεν ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σοι, συνηγέρθησάν σοι πάντες οἱ γίγαντες οἱ ἄρξαντες τῆς γῆς οἱ ἐγείραντες ἐκ τῶν θρόνων αὐτῶν πάντας βασιλεῖς ἐθνῶν
Le Shéol en dessous s'agite pour toi, venant à ta rencontre à ton arrivée, il (= Yhwh) éveille pour toi les Rephaïm, tous les béliers (= chefs) de la terre, il fait se lever de leurs trônes tous les rois des nations	Le Shéol en dessous s'agite pour toi, venant à ta rencontre à ton arrivée, il (= Shéol) éveille pour toi les Rephaïm, tous les béliers de la terre, il fait se lever de leurs trônes tous les rois des nations	L'Hadès en dessous, s'est pris d'amertume en te rencontrant ; ils ont été réveillés pour toi, tous les géants qui étaient les souverains de la terre, qui faisaient se lever de leurs trônes tous les rois des nations

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64 Sur le dossier des versions anciennes d'És 14,9 et leur implication pour les représentations du Shéol, voir l'étude détaillée de von Nordheim-Diehl 2009. Voir également les remarques ci-dessus au point 4.
65 Dans le texte grec, la forme verbale ἐγείραντες doit probablement être comprise au sens de « faire se lever » plutôt que « se lever » ; comparer p. ex. Le Boulluec/Le Moigne 2014, 39.

Cet exemple montre que si la représentation du Shéol comme puissance a pu faire débat dans les derniers siècles avant notre ère, elle n'avait pour autant pas disparu à cette époque.

En second lieu, certains aspects de l'analyse qui a été proposée dans cette étude suggèrent que même si la thèse générale d'une évolution dans les rapports entre Yhwh et le Shéol dans le courant du Ier millénaire est globalement correcte, il convient vraisemblablement de ne pas envisager cette évolution de manière trop exclusivement linéaire. En particulier, les attestations épigraphiques qui mentionnent le dieu Yhwh en contexte funéraire, telles que les deux plaquettes d'argent de Ketef Hinnom[66] ainsi que l'inscription retrouvée à Khibet el-Qôm ont souvent été interprétés dans la recherche récente comme l'indice d'une évolution des rapports entre Yhwh et la mort au sens d'une plus grande présence du dieu dans le monde des morts[67]. Or l'analyse présentée plus haut concernant la nature complexe et différenciée des relations entre le Shéol et la tombe suggère que cette lecture n'est pas nécessairement fondée. En réalité, cette tension disparaît si l'on prend au sérieux le fait que le Shéol et la tombe représentent des espaces certes reliés mais néanmoins distincts, selon la perspective que nous avons défendue ici, de sorte que le dieu Yhwh pouvait être présent dans l'un (la tombe) tout en étant absent de l'autre (le Shéol).

7 Conclusion

En conclusion, l'analyse que nous avons proposée ici a permis d'éclairer la double dimension du Shéol, à la fois espace et puissance, et d'étudier les rapports entre ces deux dimensions. La caractérisation du Shéol comme espace correspond à trois isotopies fondamentales, qui définissent le Shéol comme un séjour souterrain, associé au chaos et à la ruine, et représentant un espace fermé dont les morts ne peuvent s'échapper (§ 2). En outre, cet espace entretient des rapports complexes avec cet autre espace funéraire fondamental qu'est le tombeau ; selon l'analyse proposée ici, le Shéol comme espace désigne le séjour anonyme et indifférencié qui est la condition générale des morts, alors que le tombeau a pour fonction de préserver un espace alternatif dans lequel ces mêmes morts peuvent bénéficier des soins des vivants (§ 3). De ce point de vue, les relations entre ces deux espaces doivent être envisagées de

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66 Pour l'édition de ces plaquettes voir notamment Barklay 2004, ainsi que Na'aman 2011 ; sur leur signification pour la conception de la mort et du séjour des morts, vor p. ex. Berlejung 2008. On peut également mentionner dans ce contexte l'inscription funéraire de Khibet el-Qôm ; pour l'édition, voir Renz/Röllig 1995, 202–211. Sur les implications de cette inscription funéraire pour la question des rapports entre Yhwh et les morts, voir p. ex. Eberhardt 2007, 375–392.

67 Voir p. ex. Eberhardt 2007, 366–392 ; Macchi 2010, 22–24 ; Leuenberger 2011, 109–113.

manière plus différenciée qu'on ne l'a fait parfois. En tant que puissance, le champ d'action du Shéol est étroitement lié au séjour des morts, mais plusieurs textes le représentent également comme pouvant intervenir dans l'espace des vivants (§ 4). En ce sens, le Shéol est étroitement lié à cette autre puissance de la mort qu'est Mawet, ce qui explique que les deux termes soient régulièrement employés comme synonymes dans la BH. Toutefois, l'analyse proposée ici indique que c'est la dimension spatiale qui prédomine dans le cas du Shéol, et la dimension de puissance dans le cas de Mawet (§ 5). Cette conclusion ouvre là aussi la voie à une analyse mieux différenciée des rapports entre Shéol et Mawet, en envisageant notamment ces rapports au sens d'une certaine complémentarité comme le suggèrent certains passages tels que Ps 49,15. Par ailleurs, le fait que les aspects du Shéol étudiés ici se retrouvent aussi bien dans des textes relativement anciens, d'époque néo-assyrienne ou néo-babylonienne, que dans des compositions plus tardives, y compris d'époque hellénistique, suggère qu'il y a bien une forme de continuité dans la représentation du Shéol en tant que puissance du Ier millénaire av.n.è. (§ 6). Cette conclusion ne remet pas en question l'importance ainsi que l'intérêt d'une étude plus franchement diachronique de l'évolution du Shéol au premier millénaire, mais elle souligne à quel point cette évolution ne doit pas être conçue de manière exclusivement linéaire. Le « dispositif » monothéiste qui se met progressivement en place dans la seconde moitié du premier millénaire n'a pas simplement remplacé ou aboli la représentation traditionnelle du Shéol comme puissance : la relation entre ces deux données, fondamentales pour la religion de l'Israël ancien, est clairement plus complexe, ainsi que le montrent les exemples discutés ci-dessus. À cet égard, La question des rapports entre le dieu Yhwh et le Shéol demanderait à être reprise à nouveaux frais, et permettrait d'éclairer le phénomène plus général relatif à la « persistance » (au sens de J.Z. Smith) de structures de type polythéiste au sein des monothéismes juifs et chrétiens qui émergent dans l'Antiquité tardive.

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2.2 Phoenician and Punic World

Giuseppe Garbati

Death at the Centre of Life: Some Notes on Gods and the Dead, Temples and Tombs in the Phoenician Context

1 On the Threshold: Between Temple and Funerary Cult

In the sciences dedicated to the ancient world – including research on the Phoenicians – it is common, if not actually customary, to distinguish between the study of the religious dimension relating to the temple and sanctuary cult, which was practised by the living for the gods and for the living, and the research that focuses instead on the ritual sphere linked to the funerary world, carried out by the living for the dead (and sometimes for the gods and the living themselves).[1] For a high-profile – and prestigious – example of this sort of "separation", one needs only recall the publication by Oxford University Press, in 2011 and 2013 respectively, of two handbooks, the first dedicated to the *Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, edited by Timothy Insoll,[2] and the second to the *Archaeology of Death and Burial*, edited by Liv Nilsson Stutz and Sarah Tarlow.[3] As one might easily imagine, this distinction first depends on considering the two areas – the funerary and the "temple" cult (so called only conventionally and for the sake of synthesis)[4] – as different expressions of human existence, whose borders are marked by that event, individual and social, biological and cultural, which remains the most definitive experience for human beings, namely death. The two existential expressions therefore need to be investigated using specific theoretical approaches, methodologies and tools.[5]

Yet, although this division certainly boasts a widely recognized operability, it is not difficult to see from the material and literary data how much the two areas can overlap and interact, communicate and correspond in some respects, almost, at times, to the point of being confused; both of them respond, after all, to a common and much broader field of human experience, that is to say, that relating to the cult

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1 See in the second case (living – dead – living), for instance, the necromantic practices.

2 Insoll 2011.

3 Nilsson Stutz/Tarlow 2013.

4 It is worth underlining that some scholars prefer a different terminology. For instance, in her study on the Roman Palestinian necropolis of Beit Shearim, Anne Katrine De Hemmer Gudme (2020, 123) affirms that "the term mortuary ritual is more accurate than the more common designation funerary ritual, because it is a category that encompasses more than the interment of the dead body and the immediately related ritual practices".

5 Not necessarily and not always interchangeable.

or (to use a much-discussed and problematic category) to the religion of a certain community.[6] Turning briefly to some concrete examples, it is well known, first of all, that one of the most peculiar aspects of the Phoenician religious system was the presence, at the top of the pantheons, of male divinities strongly linked with death; I am referring, as one might easily deduce, to figures such as Melqart and Eshmun, who in myth experienced, according to some direct and indirect sources, death and rebirth (Melqart) or annihilation and awakening (Eshmun).[7] Another excellent example of the complicated relationship between the temple and the funerary cult is undoubtedly represented by that peculiar type of sacred area called the *tophet*, which combines elements of a funerary kind, recognizable in the depositions of cremated children (and small animals), with elements that can clearly be related to a sanctuary context, as in the case of the usual dedication of the offerings, including children, to specific divine figures.[8] Last but not least, again within the Phoenician culture, the use of the same typologies of products both in sacred and funerary contexts is very well attested, obviously with the relative transformation of the objects' meanings, even if only partially: some celebrated examples are to be found in the category of terracotta masks.[9]

Starting from these premises, then, in the following notes I will try to present some examples, taken from epigraphy and archaeology, of the deep relationship and moments of interference that seem to occur, on some occasions, between the ideologies and practices related to the temple cult and those inherent in the funerary cult. Of course, it is not my intention here to provide a complete picture of the available evidence; rather, I would like to concentrate on certain case studies, concerning especially the Phoenician settlements in the western Mediterranean (although not exclusively), in order to highlight some aspects of the fluid and mobile boundary line that separates, and at the same time unites, those that are usually considered as two different areas of human experience.

6 It may be of interest to point out, from this perspective, that in the volume Renfrew/Bahn 2016, the section dedicated to the *Archaeology of Death* is dealt with in the broader and more general context of the *Archaeology of Religion*, which also includes an examination of the ideologies and ritual practices of the sanctuary cult; the volume thus clearly shows the oscillation between separation and integration that we are trying to highlight.

7 See, for example, Ribichini 1985, 41–73; Xella 2001. Of course, figures such as those of the dying gods were certainly not the only ones to be linked to death in the Phoenician sphere. One might mention here figures such as Astarte and – even more – Baal Addir, who are sometimes evoked by the dead to protect their eternal sleep (respectively *KAI* 13 and 9), or the two goddesses in a Carthaginian inscription called the "Lady, Mother" and the "Lady of the *ḥdrt*" (*CIS* I 177), who are perhaps close to the Greek Demeter and Kore in their functions (see below on these deities).

8 Baal Hammon and Tinnit, who, therefore, are also connected to death. On the *tophet* see Xella 2013b; on the two gods specifically see Garbati 2013.

9 Cf. Garbati 2016a with references.

2 A Common Language: Remarks on Linguistic and Iconographic Codes

2.1 The "Divine" Dead

If we begin with epigraphy, some inscriptions indicate that in certain cases the funerary terminology recalls or coincides with that of the cult that occurred in a sanctuary. For example, five *paterae* made of lead,[10] found in the necropolis of Sainte Monique in Carthage, carry a bilingual inscription (Punic-Greek), which seems to refer to the deceased (given the context) using the term *'lm*, "god" (literally: *l'lm*; "to the god").[11] The same Punic text (without the Greek letters) is engraved again on a *patera* in lead from the same Carthaginian funerary sector.[12] A similar description (from the formal point of view, at least) can be found in 1 Samuel 28:13, where the spirit of the deceased, Samuel, which is asked to "rise from the earth", is called *'elohim* (*'lhym*).[13]

Likewise, a Phoenician text found on a funerary urn from Thebes in Egypt[14] records the expression *šd 'lnm / 'bdḥmn bn 'bṣ[d]*, carrying the meaning of "field of the gods, Abdhammon son of Absid". The formula *šd 'lnm*, in particular, has been interpreted as a probable calque from the Egyptian *ḫr.t nṯr*, "necropolis" (literally "what lies under the god"). Indeed, as David Calabro has proposed, "the phrase indicates where the remains of the deceased are placed, coinciding with the purpose of the urn. This, then, would be a calque, with *šd* 'field' corresponding to Egyptian *ḫr.t* and *'lnm* "gods" corresponding to Egyptian *nṯr*".[15] The same formula would also be similar to the Ugaritic *bḫrt ilm*, referring to the earth – *arṣ* – with the latter con-

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10 The morphology and the function of the objects are still ambiguous and discussed: about one of them, Delattre in Berger 1903, 194, for instance, writes: "C'est un disque de plomb, de 0 ᵐ 095 de diamètre, sorte de patère légèrement concave, dont la partie convexe est décorée des palmettes et porte vers le centre une inscription disposée en cercle". Nonetheless, from the available descriptions and photos (see notes 11–12 for specific references), the findings can be interpreted as small *paterae* with a navel.

11 The Greek text is ΑΕΟΛΣΙΦΗΑΜΥ, which follows the Punic letters and remains difficult to explain. See *CIS* I 6055 (in which only two of the five texts are recorded) = *RES* 508; Berger 1903; van den Branden 1970; cf. also Ferron 1964–1965; Garbini 1970; Garbini 1986, 29 (with previous bibliography).

12 *CIS* I 6054 = *RES* 552. Ribichini 1987, 150–151; Ribichini 2004, 16, note 74.

13 Grottanelli 1987, 197–202.

14 *RES* 1512.

15 Calabro 2015, 106–107. The term *šd* as "field" is also used in *KAI* 118, in the expression *šd lwbym*, "field/plain of the Lybians" [probably to understand as *Provincia Africa*]; cf. *DNWSI*, II, 1110 (s.v. *šd*). I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for this indication.

ceived as the world underground (= *bḥrt ilm arṣ*).[16] It must be said, however, that a different interpretation of the Theban *šd 'lnm* has been offered by Edda Bresciani:[17] the scholar has suggested that it might be understood as "terra degli dèi" and therefore as "terreno sacro" in the sense of temple property. She has also proposed to compare the expression with two other Phoenician formulae on vases that again come from Thebes – *šd qr/dy* (RES 1510) and *šd bnh'm* (RES 1511) – to be explained as names of private fields ("field of . . . "; "properties of . . . ");[18] all these sequences should manifest "l'origine del prodotto contenuto nel vaso (non vino, sembra, ma forse olio o altra materia alimentare)".[19] Despite the plausibility of such hypothesis, the context – a necropolis – and the use of the vase – as an urn – suggest preferring, for the *šd 'lnm* engraved on the finding from Thebes, the translation "field of gods" as referred to the funerary area (conceived as something sacred), following also the considerations of David Calabro.

Together with the texts from Carthage and Thebes, a Neo-Punic epigraph from Cherchel, then, seems to speak of a kind of link between the necropolis and the sanctuary. In the inscription, in the framework of a process of divinization of the Libyan king Micipsa, the monument for the dead king is called, according to a widely accepted opinion, *myqdš qn'm*, "funerary sanctuary" (?).[20]

It is not easy to understand the reasons behind the fact that the deceased in the Phoenician context, on some occasions, could be depicted literally as "divine being". It is certainly possible, as Sergio Ribichini has indicated, that *'lnm* had a similar value to the Greek *makarioi*, "blessed", referring to all the dead.[21] At the same time, however, as Cristiano Grottanelli underlined when commenting on the passage from

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16 *KTU* 1.6.I.14–31: *tštnn bḥrt ilm arṣ*, "she placed him in a grave of the gods of the underworld" (see Wyatt 2017, 822); cf. Caquot *et al.* 1974, 247, note e; Benichou-Safar 1982, 287 (*šd 'lnm* = "cimetière divin"); Ribichini 2004, 16, note 73. In the case of *šd 'lnm* in the Theban inscription, it is difficult to establish whether the expression, as a probable calque from Egyptian, could be related to a certain influence on Phoenician ideologies by Egyptian funerary traditions, belonging to the otherworldly sphere; although this seems plausible, it is also possible that those traditions had interfered or come into contact with similar Phoenician ideologies (as apparently indicated by *CIS* I 6054 and 6055 from Carthage). See also De Simone 2006a, 80–82.

17 Bresciani 2002, 159.

18 According to the scholar, the vases carrying the inscriptions are "riferibili a una tipologia cipriota molto diffusa tra il V e il III a.C." (Bresciani 2002, 159).

19 Bresciani 2002, 159.

20 *KAI* 161: *myqdš qn'm ḥy ḥym mkwsn*: "Sanctuaire funéraire du Vivant des vivants, MKWSN (= Micipsa)": Février 1951, 148. As suggested by Paolo Xella, however, "il senso del termine *qn'm* è tutt'altro che chiaro in questo contesto; esso può significare letteralmente 'persona', e si potrebbe pertanto formulare l'ipotesi di un santuario "personale" (o, se si vuole, 'della persona')": Xella 2013a, 145 (nonetheless, the author agrees with Février's reading and interpretation). Cf. also *DNWSI*, II, 1014 (s.v. *qn'm*); on Micipsa: Livadiotti/Xella 2018.

21 Ribichini 1987, 150–151.

Samuel mentioned above, the term *'elohim* could perhaps have implied "la credenza nella natura in qualche modo divina di certi trapassati".[22] In particular, in the passage in question, the one who is described in this way, as mentioned, is the deceased Samuel, evoked by Saul through the action of a necromancer, with the aim of asking him some help against the Philistines. In this regard, it is useful to remember that Hélène Benichou-Safar places the aforementioned Carthaginian inscriptions from Sainte Monique, with a dedication to the *'lm*, in an analogous context of necromancy.[23] Following these readings, then, we must envisage the existence of ideologies that allowed the Phoenicians (and other cultures) to perceive the deceased as capable of being active – or, better, of being *activated* – in order to become involved in the lives of the living. It was perhaps this ability that made it possible to see the dead in certain circumstances as superhuman beings, with powers in some way comparable to those of divinities (and thus to define the necropolis, possibly, as *šd 'lnm*).

A further hint in this direction is the fact that the Phoenicians, as attested in some inscriptions, could call the dead *rp'm*, *Rephaim*, from the root *rp'*, "to heal, to cure" (and maybe, more largely, "to protect").[24] This definition, which recurs in the epigraphs of Kings Tabnit and Eshmunazor II,[25] may perhaps have underlain, as just emphasized, ideologies according to which the dead (or some of them) were entrusted with the capacity to help and intervene in daily life. After all, it is well known that in the Late Bronze Age the term *Rephaim* first described the royal ancestors of Ugarit (the Rapiuma), who received a cult and into whose ranks the kings would have been received after their death;[26] sometimes they could also be called "divine/divine beings".[27] The term *Rephaim*, moreover, is repeated in a later period in a bilingual (Neo-Punic-Latin) text from El-Amrouni, in extreme south-eastern Tunisia: belonging to a mausoleum of the 2nd century AD (of a certain *Quintus Apuleius Maximus*), the inscription opens with the dedication *l'll['n]' r'p'm*, "To the gods Rephaim", to which, in the Latin text, the formula *Dis Manibus Sac(rum)* corresponds.[28]

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22 Grottanelli 1987, 205. Hélène Benichou-Safar has stressed in turn that "sans être élevé au rang de dieu, le défunt a pu être l'objet d'une vénération religieuse" (Benichou-Safar 1982, 287). Moreover, I agree with the scholar when she emphasizes that the dead person cannot simply be regarded as a *mort-dieu* and the tomb as a temple, as suggested by Jean Ferron (Ferron 1968, 95 in particular); the fact that the dead person was the recipient of cult practices and could be conceived as "divine" does not mean, necessarily, that he/she was simply understood as a god; see the concluding remarks below.

23 Benichou-Safar 2008, 71.

24 *DNWSI*, II, 1081–1082 (s.v. *rp'*).

25 *KAI* 13 and 14.

26 Pitard 1999; Merlo/Xella 2001.

27 *KTU* 1.6.VI.43–48; *KTU* 1.20.I.1–7; *KTU* 1.22.II.19–24. Cf. Merlo/Xella 2001, 282–283.

28 *KAI* 117; Jongeling 2008, 9–10. Cf. also Vattioni 1980–1981; De Simone 2006b, 164. It must be underlined, however, that the word *Rephaim* may have been ascribed by the Phoenicians to all the dead, losing (partly, at least) its original connotations; cf., for instance, Xella 2017, 102–103.

2.2 An Aedicule for Gods and the Dead

The concepts that the epigraphic texts allow us to perceive – i.e. the existence of a linguistic code that united, even if only partially, the ideologies linked to the world of the gods with those pertaining to the world of the dead – seem to find parallels in some archaeological materials; in this case, as we are about to see, the communicative code is developed specifically on the iconographic level. The topic is introduced, in particular, by a contribution that Ida Oggiano wrote some years ago concerning the representation of the sacred space in the Phoenician context.[29]

Among the cases analysed by the author, the one on which the discussion is centred, and which remains the most revealing for us, is the well-known iconography of the Egyptianizing aedicule, widely diffused in the Phoenician context. Distinguished by some recurring elements (though not all were necessarily present in every instance) – such as the architrave with a winged solar disc and the Egyptian frame decorated with a row of *uraei* – this aedicule characterizes both religious buildings and some handicraft products: it therefore passes from actual shrines, such as those of Amrit (Fig. 1a) and Ayin el-Hayat in the East[30] and those of Nora in the West (of which only the top part is preserved today; Fig. 1b),[31] to copies reproduced on various artefacts (e.g. ivories, cups, scarabs), often in precious materials, but also made from terracotta and above all from stone.[32] An excellent testimony to the circulation and use of this iconography is the category of stelae, widely used in the "colonial" regions within the *tophets* (Fig. 1c). In the examples configured as an Egyptianizing aedicule, the representation of a cult place is expressed through the reproduction of its front part, the façade, conceived as a sort of "'frontescena' teatrale all'interno della quale gli artigiani collocavano le scene cultuali, le immagini divine e/o di offerenti, sacerdoti".[33]

A specific iconographic element of the aedicule that often recurs, but which is not necessarily constant, as already mentioned, is the winged solar disc, frequently accompanied by *uraei*. A study by Nicholas Vella dedicated to the temples of Umm el Amed, about 20 km south of Tyre,[34] has highlighted how a similar symbol, repeatedly placed above doors and entrances (both on the monumental doors that led to the sacred area from outside, and on the smaller religious units placed inside the sanctuary space), may have marked and defined a border: what was below it and beyond the entrance, towards the interior, was strongly demarcated by a cultic and superhuman character. As Vella proposes, "for the worshipper, the act of crossing and entering a

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29 Oggiano 2008.

30 Dunand/Saliby 1985 (and Garbati/Pedrazzi 2019, 213–216, with references).

31 Oggiano 2005.

32 Oggiano 2008, figs. 4–7 in particular.

33 Oggiano 2008, 291.

34 Vella 2000.

Fig. 1: a: Amrit. Aedicule (after Pedrazzi 2009, 45, fig. 5); b: Nora. Aedicule's frame (after Moscati 1988, 275); c: Monte Sirai. Stele (after Moscati 1988, 319).

succession of sacred spaces becomes a persistent engagement with these symbols (*the solar disk and other*; a.n.). Access to the divine is not free and simple, but regulated through thresholds and steps".[35] A comparable situation has been recognized by Ida Oggiano in the sanctuary of Kharayeb, in the hinterland of Tyre (Fig. 2a).[36] Both the Egyptianizing aedicule as a whole and some of its elements therefore must have

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35 Vella 2000, 43.
36 Oggiano 2018.

provided the viewer – the devotee – with the coordinates by which to immediately recognize the context he/she was facing and, in this case, the affiliation of that context to the sacred dimension, to the sphere of the supernatural and to the world of divinities.

Returning to the subject of these notes, it is worth underlining that the image of the Egyptianizing aedicule could also be repeated in the funerary environment. Tomb 79 of the Tuvixeddu necropolis in Cagliari (Sardinia) is indeed characterized by such a representation (Fig. 2b): the entrance to the room is framed at the top by an architrave that, to quote Donatella Salvi, is "scandito da una sequenza di otto urei in vista frontale che sovrasta, separata da un solco e da un listello piatto, altra fascia con il sole alato i cui margini, svasati a comporre una gola, proseguono in parte anche lungo i lati del portello a disegnare una sorta di edicola".[37] The framing of the door, therefore, is similar to that of the Levantine shrines and that of the stele mentioned above and, most of all, as Salvi also suggests, to that of the small aedicule found in Nora. Moreover, Tomb 79 is not the only example in Cagliari that could reveal some connections between the funerary figurative language and the architectonic features of certain votive buildings or objects. For some time now, it has been clear that numerous tombs of Tuvixeddu show, in their structure and their decoration (painted and in relief), many similarities with the production of votive steles, traditionally placed in the *tophets*.[38] Elements that commonly characterize this class of materials – from frames to single motifs (from lintels to the "sign of Tanit", from the disc with or without crescent moon to lotus flowers, the bottle idol, etc.) – are repeated inside and outside the burial chambers and on the walls of the access wells. Furthermore, this phenomenon is also attested outside the Cagliari necropolis. Regarding Nora itself, for example, Giovanni Patroni recalls, in his work of 1904, a well-tomb decorated, on the wall above the entrance, with a disc with a "lunula" and a frieze of *uraei* (the latter placed in the highest part of the well's wall; Fig. 2c).[39] In Carthage, a tomb in the sector of Sainte Monique presents, above the entrance, a moulded frame enriched by a cornice of dentils; according to Hélène Benichou-Safar, other similar tombs must have characterized the same funerary area (Fig. 2d).[40]

At present, it is not possible to establish whether the particular configuration of the Tomb 79 entrance in Tuvixeddu (and of the other examples mentioned)[41] reflected the personal will of the deceased or his family or instead followed certain codified ideologies at the public, community level. But if we give credit to the reading of these

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37 Salvi 2019, 1341; cf. also Salvi 2013, 1102, Tab. 1, Fig. 2.

38 Stiglitz 1999, 56–58; Mattazzi/Paretta 2007 in particular pp. 42–50. In the opinion of Paola Mattazzi, these similarities can "assottigliare il limite distintivo tra necropoli e tofet" (Mattazzi/Paretta 2007, 50).

39 Patroni 1904, col. 153, fig. 11.

40 Benichou-Safar 1982, 113.

41 Especially those characterized by the presence of symbolic elements.
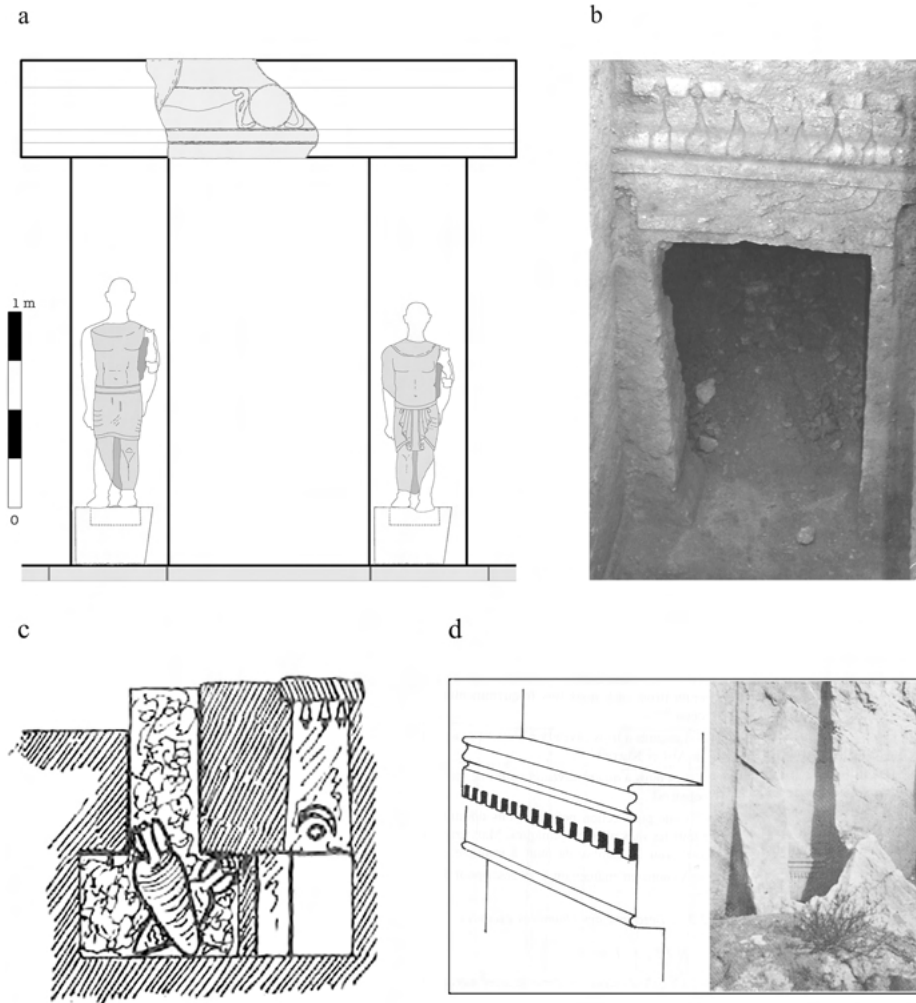
Fig. 2: a: Kharayeb. Reconstruction of the entrance to the main building of Hellenistic phase I (after Oggiano 2018, 21, Fig. 6); b: Cagliari. Entrance to tomb 79 (after Salvi 2013, 1103, Fig. 2); c: Nora. Well's decoration of a Punic tomb (after Patroni 194, col. 153, fig. 11); d: Carthage. Moulded frame and cornice of dentils of a Punic tomb (after Benichou Safar 1982, 114, Fig. 60).

iconographies, as we have seen, as indications of access to "another" space, which is to be shared, it is possible that in the Cagliari tomb the reproduction of the Egyptianizing aedicule may have satisfied the ideological – and visual – need to differentiate two spaces: the earthly and the other-worldly. More specifically, given that the image in question usually distinguishes areas of a cultic type, marked by the relevant divine presence, as in Nora, Umm el Amed or even in the *tophets*, it is natural to ask whether the configuration of the Tomb 79 access is to be understood as the result of

conceptions that saw certain dead figures as "extra-ordinary" characters who were in some way linked to the dimension of the divine – i.e. a conception that could come close to the denomination of the dead as 'lm or 'lnm, which we have described above. In Sardinia itself, on the other hand, the fact that some of the deceased could boast a privileged position – and perhaps also be at the centre of processes of heroization – is most likely documented by the internal architecture of some tombs in the Sulcis region: the chamber of Tomb 7 in *Sulky*, for example, which has been dated to the second half of the 5th century, has a pillar in the centre that bears, in high relief, what could be read as an image of the heroized deceased, portrayed in a forward position and with one arm brought to his chest (Fig. 3a).[42] Not by chance, images of this kind are repeated on other supports – including stelae and statuary works – that are also used in sanctuary areas.[43]

3 Goddesses and Necropolises, the Dead and Temples

3.1 Statuettes for Divine (Other-Worldly) Ladies

The analysis of some terms and expressions and, at the same time, the examination of certain iconographies have made it possible to perceive how the funerary and the temple cults could use similar communicative codes, almost certainly re-functionalized based on the different contexts. Now, the interactions I have just referred to find other concrete examples in some archaeological contexts of the western Mediterranean, on which I would like to briefly focus. A first case study, which is very revealing, concerns the creation of some votive deposits in the vicinity of funerary areas: it is a phenomenon that seems well attested above all in the Phoenician West and, in particular, in settlements such as Carthage (Tunisia), Olbia (Sardinia), and Villaricos and Ibiza (Spain).

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42 Bernardini 2004, Bernardini 2005, Bernardini 2007; Garbati 2010.
43 The possibility of highlighting some elements of sharing between the funerary and the temple cult in the iconographic language finds further support in another famous product of Phoenician art which, for reasons of space, we can only mention here (but which merits a study of its own). I refer to the well-known "throne flanked by sphinxes". Such an object often seems connected with the world of the divine; this is well indicated, for example, by the famous "throne of Astarte" belonging to the sanctuary of Eshmun in Bostan esh-Sheikh (Sidon). It is worth remembering, however, that the same element (perhaps in its iconographic prototype) already appears in the equally famous sarcophagus of Ahiram of Byblos: it is referred to, specifically, as an attribute of the male figure positioned on the extreme left of one of the two long sides, to be identified probably with the deceased. Again, therefore, an element well attested in the sphere of the divine can appear in a funerary context (most likely as a function of the representation of the heroized dead). See, on this, Vella 2000, 39–43 (with references); cf. also Porada 1973, 363.

Starting with Carthage, the context that could be among the most emblematic of the close relationship between the funerary and temple cult is the well-known "favissa" that Alfred-Louis Delattre found in 1923 near the hill of Sainte Monique (on the plateau of Bordj Djedid).[44] More specifically, the deposit of terracottas, comprising hundreds of figurines from the III–II century BCE, consisting mainly of female-headed *thymiateria* (but also anthropomorphic statuettes and busts), was identified inside a small room of about two square metres (1.90 x 1.10 m); the materials were originally placed one on top of the other, almost forming two series, one lower (very flattened) and the other upper, divided by a thick layer of clay (about 20 cm; Fig. 3b). Ever since his first presentation of the discovery, Delattre proposed that the finds be attributed to the presence of a temple; considering the iconography of the *thymiateria* and the statuettes, traced back to the image of the Greek Demeter, the structure (otherwise unknown) must have been dedicated, according to the scholar, to the cereal goddess, whose cult would have been confused with or would have followed that of Tinnit, giving way in the Roman age to the veneration of *Ceres Africana*.[45] The hypothesis suggested by Delattre, albeit with some small modifications, has become a solid feature of the scientific literature, to the extent that it has rarely been questioned; moreover, it has benefited above all from the (possible) connection with a famous passage from Diodorus Siculus: according to the historian, the cult of Demeter and Kore was officially introduced to Carthage in 396 BCE.[46]

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44 Delattre 1923. On the problematic use of the term "favissa" see the reflections in Garbati 2008, 16–18.

45 More specifically, Delattre suggested linking the terracottas to other archaeological materials found in previous years "sur le plateau tout voisin" (Delattre 1923, 357), including, for example, an inscription recording the dedication of two temples to Astarte and Tinnit in Lebanon (*blbnn*: *CIS* I 3914 = *KAI* 81), which was found in the area of Sainte Monique (other materials were also discovered, such as "une tête de Cérès, une statue de la même déesse, des tronçons de serpents comme ceux qui, dans les sculptures antiques, traînent le char de Cérès, enfin une inscription latine se rapportant à un monument, sans doute un sanctuaire, élevé aux frais de tous les *sacerdotes Céréales*"; Delattre 1923, 357); on this see also the observations in Pena 1996, 47, who does not consider it plausible that a temple was present in the zone. Moreover, in an article of 1952, Pierre Cintas added another datum to those collected by Delattre: a stone fragmentary statue dated to the 3rd-2nd century BCE, the so-called *Grande Dame*, found in 1898. According to the scholar, the simulacrum, portraying a female figure seated on a throne flanked by sphinxes, should be recognized – although he does not provide convincing reasons – as the oldest representation of Tinnit then known; it must therefore have occupied "la place d'honneur dans le sanctuaire de la colline de Carthage" (Cintas 1952, 20).

46 XIV 77,4–5. Recently, the link between the Delattre "favissa" and the Greek goddesses has been repeated by Giovanni Distefano: "certamente un santuario extraurbano dedicato a divinità fertilistiche esisteva quindi nel III–II sec. a.C. nella Cartagine punica, sul promontorio di Santa Monica, a Bordj Djedid, vicino al mare ed è molto probabile che la morfologia demetriaca, alquanto palese stando ai rinvenimenti nella favissa Delattre, sia dovuta ad una vera e propria 'adozione' di un culto straniero, siciliano, forse siracusano. Ovviamente questo con tutte le cautele del caso" (Distefano 2016, 541).
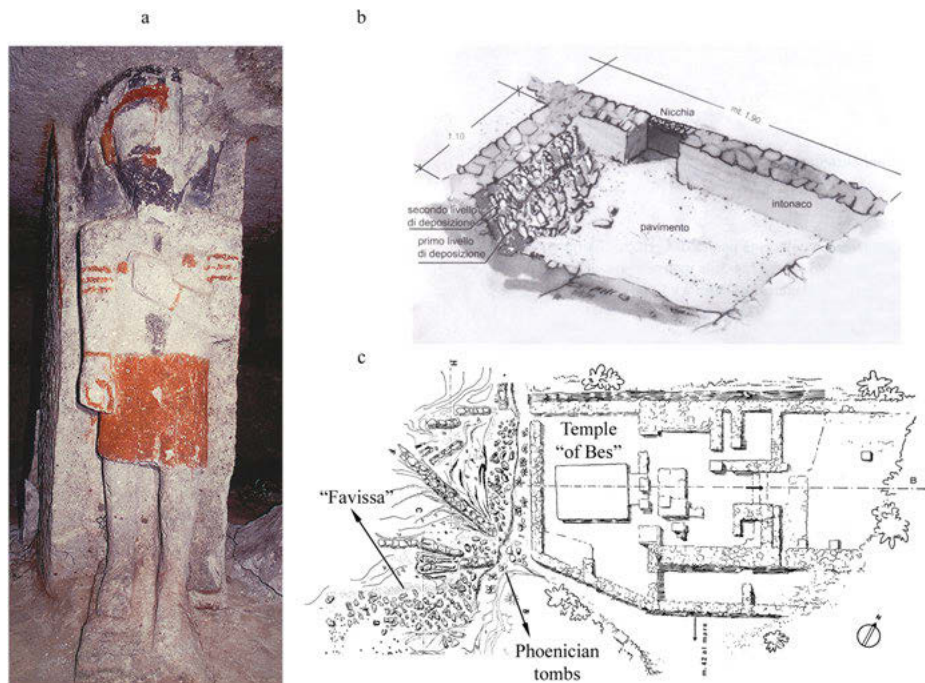
Fig. 3: a: *Sulky*. The high relief in Tomb 7 (after Bondì *et al.* 2009, 302, Fig. 4); b: Carthage. Reconstruction of the Bordj Djedid "favissa" (after Distefano 2016, 540, Fig. 2); c: Bitia. Temple "of Bes" (author's elaboration after Pesce 1965, figs. 16–17).

Now, we do not wish to revisit here the age-old problem of the presence of Greek goddesses in Carthage or, more broadly, in the Phoenician settlements of the West;[47] after all, it is well known that some female iconographies circulating in the Phoenician regions, borrowed from the Greek figurative language, could be invested with a polysemic value (which at least raises doubts as to whether the terracottas usually interpreted as connected with the cult of Demeter are really to be read invariably as such).[48] Rather, in this context it is useful to emphasize a specific aspect of the "favissa" in question. The deposit, as mentioned, was found on the plateau of Bordj Djedid, not far from the so-called necropolis of *des Rabs* (a sector of the burial area near the hill of Sainte Monique).[49] As María José Pena has pointed out, therefore, "el depósito votivo estaba fuera del recinto urbano de la ciudad pún-

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47 On this topic see: Garbati 2008, 71–78; Garbati 2016b. Cf., moreover, Fantar 2008; Ribichini 2008; van Dommelen/López Bertran 2013 (all with references).

48 Garbati 2016b.

49 The name *des Rabs* for the funerary sector is used in Delattre 1923, 355.

ica y próximo a una zona de necrópolis".[50] The funerary area, specifically the sector near the hill "voisine de Sainte Monique", has yielded a high concentration of tombs dating back to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, the period to which the figurines recovered by Delattre are dated.[51] In her volume dedicated to the Carthaginian tombs, Hélène Benichou-Safar showed how in precisely that sector, starting from the 3rd century BCE, the funeral equipment of the burials began to include new elements and, in particular, "un nouveau type de brûle-parfums" with the "forme d'une tête de femme creusée à son sommet".[52] This is, of course, the type found in Delattre's "favissa".

At this point, two elements clearly emerge: on the one hand, the proximity of the deposit of terracottas to an area of necropolis; on the other hand, the presence in contemporary tombs of a product – the female-headed *thymiaterion* – that is most characteristic of the deposit itself.[53] I wonder, therefore, whether the particular context of Bordj Djedid may have had some kind of connection with the nearby tombs. In this regard, it must be stressed that a picture that is so strongly characterized could be linked to a phenomenon well attested in Hellenistic Carthage (and in other settlements in North Africa): the presence in the city of cults paid to female divinities characterized by chthonic and fertility traits. Some inscriptions clearly testify to this, as in the case of KAI 83 (= CIS I 177): the text records a dedication to a couple of goddesses; it opens in fact with the formula *lrbt l'm' wlrbt lb'lt ḥḥdrt*, "To the Lady, to the Mother, and to the Lady, the Lady of *ḥdrt*".[54] The term *ḥdrt*, to be understood as an epiclesis of the second deity mentioned, has been variously explained, although generally with a reference, which is largely accepted, to a subterranean cavity (a sense that is also broadened by some scholars to include the idea of Hell).[55] Thus, the presence of such divinities could have corresponded to the

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50 Pena 1996, 46. This opinion was recently taken up, literally, by Danilo Andrade Tabone: "le dépôt votif était hors de l'aire de la cité et autour de la zone de la nécropole" (Tabone 2018, 116).

51 Benichou-Safar 1982, 317–321.

52 Benichou-Safar 1982, 318. The author also ascribes the introduction to Carthage of the specific type of *thymiaterion* to the episode narrated by Diodorus Siculus.

53 The diffusion of *thymiateria* in burials is certainly not unknown in the rest of the Phoenician world of the West. For example, one can think of the attestations in Sardinia: Campanella/Garbati 2007.

54 In *DNWSI*, II, 1049 (s.v. *rb*), the sequence is translated as follows: "for the Lady Amma and the lady Ba'alot . . . ". Hesychius α 3692 identifies an *Ammas*, with which the Carthaginian *'m'* could be compared, with the nurse of Artemis and with other deities (specifically Rhea and Demeter). Cf. Lipiński 1995, 375; Ribichini 1995, 14–15.

55 As in Lipiński 1995, 375 (*b'lt ḥḥdrt* = "souveraine des Enfers, littéralement 'des Hypogées'"); cf. also Lipiński 1973; Sznycer 1975; Ferjaoui 1992, 401 (who understands the term as "chambre") and *DNWSI*, I, 350 (s.v. *ḥdrh*). In addition, an inscription from Wadi Freshiha (Libya) opens with the dedication *l'lm hrznt mylkt 'rṣ*, "to the goddess, the princess and queen of earth", probably referring to a chthonic deity (the text could also cite a *krw' b'lt* to be identified, largely hypothetically, with Kore: Elmayer 2008; Jongeling 2017; De Simone 2019).

diffusion, in the vicinity of the sepulchral areas, of votive deposits connected with those same goddesses, possibly even to the point of inserting products related to the cult itself – as in the case of the *thymiateria* – inside the tombs.

Cases in some ways comparable to that of Carthage have been recorded, as mentioned, in Olbia, Villaricos and Ibiza. First of all, the excavations carried out in the Sardinian city – in Via S. Fera close to the church of San Simplicio, in a sector occupied by the Punic-Roman necropolis – have brought to light a Late-Republican group of hundreds of statuettes in terracottas, found in the corridor of an unusual burial chamber, the so-called "tomba della sacerdotessa".[56] The group, which can be placed in the 2nd-1st century BCE, was mainly composed of a large series of moulded statuettes (goddesses with veils; *kourotrophoi*; offering bearers, etc.);[57] the figurines, following the interpretation of Rubens D'Oriano, were "fratturate ritual-mente al fine di staccarne in genere la testa, anch'essa però depositata nel con-testo".[58] The discovery of the terracottas in an extra-urban area with a sepulchral function, together with some characteristics of the votive iconographies, has led to the hypothesis that a cultic place was present on the site and that the rituals were addressed to the female and chthonic sphere, with a particular reference, once again, to the veneration of Demeter and Kore.[59] From this point of view, it is symp-tomatic that fragmentary statuettes – again voluntarily broken and comparable ty-pologically to those from the *dromos* – were placed inside many other tombs of the same area.[60]

Closer to the picture drawn by the Bordj Djedid "favissa" is the situation re-corded in Villaricos, the ancient Baria, in Spain. Based on the reconstruction by José Luis López Castro, a rural temple dedicated to female divinities with fertile and once again chthonic qualities must have been built on the south-western slopes of

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56 Rubens D'Oriano has particularly remarked "la presenza nella tomba, assieme ai resti schele-trici del defunto, di ossa ad altri inumati non più in posizione anatomica, tra le quali un gruppo di quattro crani, ameno due dei quali forati intenzionalmente, per le quali è difficile dire (. . .) se pro-vengano da altrove o se siano pertinenti a precedenti inumazioni spostate per far luogo all'ultima" (D'Oriano 2018, 389). Cf. D'Oriano *et al.* 2018.

57 Basoli 1990; Antona *et al.* 1997, 50–65; D'Oriano 1997 (nn. 419–428).

58 D'Oriano 2018, 389.

59 The sacred place was possibly active from the Phoenician and Greeks phases of Olbia. The II century BCE (hypothetical) structures probably preceded the temple dedicated to Cerere by Atte, as indicated, as is known, by the architrave inscription now preserved in the Monumental Cemetry of Pisa: D'Oriano *et al.* 2018 (with references). Moreover, as stressed by Giovanna Pietra, "al santuario è (. . .) riferibile un accesso monumentale da est, direttamente connesso alla strada in uscita dalla città. Uno spazio, a salire verso il culmine della collina, già in età repubblicana dotato di una sua specificità, occupato da sepolture monumentali non altrimenti attestate a Olbia, e in età flavia pavi-mentato a mattoni e separato mediante due strutture murarie parallele dalla circostante area fu-neraria, dove le sepolture (oltre 400 databili tra il III–II secolo a.C. e il III secolo d.C.) affollano ogni minimo spazio disponibile" (Pietra 2015, 815).

60 Usually, a fragment of one statuette in each tomb (D'Oriano *et al.* 2018, 386).

Cerro del Montroy;[61] testifying to this, there is a large group of terracottas from the end of the 4th to the 2nd century BCE, among which a hundred female-headed *thymiateria* stand out, both whole and fragmentary; the group was found in a small, plastered pit (1.0 x 0.6 m), created inside an enclosure dug into the rock, located near the necropolis of the settlement (about 250 m away).[62] Furthermore, a "cueva" was annexed to the enclosure, also carved into the rock (which indeed makes us think of the expression of a cult with chthonic features).[63]

Finally, in Ibiza, near the necropolis of Puig des Molins ("al pie de una montaña de olivos donde se encuentra emplazada la Necrópolis . . . "[64]), the discovery in 1950 of hundreds of female terracottas, consisting of figurines with *kalathos*, shell-shaped veil and various types of objects in their hands (including the typical torches), initially led to the theory that an artisan workshop existed on the site; however, the objects have also been interpreted as pertaining to a "favissa" linked to a sanctuary built near the burials.[65] Once again, then, it seems possible to recognize a hint of the specific relationship between certain funerary areas and votive materials, addressed to female divine entities: one cannot exclude the possibility that such a tradition might be much more diffused than suggested by the few cases I have briefly described.

3.2 The Living, the Dead and the God: The Peculiar Case of the Temple of Bes in Bitia

A final example, which may help to delineate the strong connection between the temple and the funerary cult, is represented by a very emblematic context. I refer to the so-called temple of Bes in Bitia; once again, then, the data take us to Sardinia.[66] The temple, probably built in the 4th century BCE, if not earlier, was located within the local necropolis, used by the Phoenicians from the end of the 7th century and situated along the sandy, flat coastal strip that extended westward from the slopes of the

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61 López Castro 2001–2002.

62 López Castro 2001–2002, 79. The deposit was first published in Almagro 1983 and most recently studied in Horn 2007. On the necropolis of Villaricos see Astruc 1951.

63 The similarities of the deposit with that found in Carthage (and with that of Ibiza, which we are about to describe), as well as the proximity of the finds to funerary areas, are clearly underlined by López Castro himself (López Castro 2001–2002). The connection of the votives of Villaricos with the necropolis is also emphasized in Jiménez Flores 2002, 134: the scholar highlights the discovery of a female statue seated between the burials in the northern sector, close to the point where the votive deposit lay; she stresses, therefore, "el hecho de aparecer entre varias sepulturas puede llevar a pensar en una divinidad protectora de los difuntos aquí enterrados o de toda el área de necropolis".

64 San Nicolas 1981, 27.

65 San Nicolas 1981, 28–30.

66 Pesce 1965 and Pesce 1968.

Chia tower (towards Mount Cogoni).[67] The sacred building, whose rooms were partly set above and near some of the most ancient Phoenician tombs (Fig. 3c),[68] was dedicated to a male deity and, at least for a certain period, reserved for healing rites. These two aspects are suggested on the one hand by the presence in one of the temple's rooms of a cult statue depicting the Egyptian god Bes, an iconography probably used to represent a Phoenician deity,[69] and on the other hand by the deposition of about two hundred terracotta statuettes of so-called "suffering devotees", mostly found outside the temple, within a deposit (other figurines of the same type were found inside the structure).[70] The attendance of the temple, then, together with the use of the area as a necropolis (both until the late Imperial age) were elements, at least in certain phases, of the same ideological dimension.[71]

It is certainly not easy to reconstruct the complex of beliefs that led to such a particular situation; some elements of understanding, however, can be gleaned from the figurines of "suffering devotees" found in the place of worship. As their name indicates, the statuettes must have been functional to the performance of rituals of a therapeutic kind; more precisely, they reproduce individuals who indicate with their hands the areas of the body that are diseased or in which disease might manifest.[72] This interpretation has achieved almost general acceptance since the discovery of the terracotta group; moreover, it is partly confirmed by the association of the finds, in their place of discovery, with anatomical ex-votos of Italic tradition, often linked – albeit not invariably – to such devotional tendencies.[73]

Now, the connection between these ritual forms and the necropolis, to be ascribed to the healing dimension, could be related to the fact that disease must have been conceptually (and ritually) understood as the boundary that divided the sphere of mortals from that of the afterlife – a liminal condition, therefore, belonging to a border area.[74] Thus, some of the practices that took place in the sacred building and in its vicinity could include the request to the god venerated in the structure, the Phoenician deity portrayed as Bes, and perhaps to the dead who were under and around it, to intervene favourably on behalf of the living, especially in relation to the dimension of *sanatio*. Indeed, it is precisely in the Phoenician world that the close bond that united some of the deceased to the protection of health had ancient origins; specifically, it found its principles in the rituals related to those

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67 Bartoloni 1996; Ciccone 2001.

68 The most ancient tombs are represented by small wells with cremated bodies.

69 Garbati 2009; Stiglitz 2012.

70 Uberti 1973.

71 I addressed this relationship specifically in Garbati 2014.

72 See, in particular, Galeazzi 1986 and Galeazzi 1991.

73 It is, moreover, a type of ritual dimension which, as is well attested in numerous contexts, became widespread in Sardinia at least from the 3rd century BCE, culturally integrating the island (and Bitia in this specific case) into a much wider Mediterranean sphere: Garbati 2008.

74 Garbati/Peri 2008.

well-known figures of illustrious ancestors (mentioned above) – the Rapiuma (*Rephaim* in Phoenician) – who populated the other-worldly imaginary in the Late Bronze Age: as touched upon in the previous pages, the dead of this particular kind were worshipped in Ugarit, where they were also called "divine"[75] and could be called forth from the afterlife to bring benefits; it is useful to repeat that their name, not surprisingly, derives from the root *rp'*, whose meaning is "to heal, to cure". One cannot exclude the possibility, therefore, that in the Sardinian settlement the celebration of a cult (including healing rites) in the necropolis area depended on conceptions that allowed certain of the deceased to be raised to the rank of ancestors, whom one could ritually address and from whom a concrete beneficial action was expected. In essence, if the proposed reading is correct, the necropolis of Bitia, on which the temple was built, could actually be configured as a sort of *šd 'lnm*, that is, a "field of gods".[76]

4 Concluding Remarks

As we now move towards the conclusions of these notes, it seems clear that what has been presented here permits us to outline an idea, albeit still partial, of the intersections and interactions that may have occurred between what are normally considered different worlds, to be ascribed to different dimensions: the temple and the funerary cult. Indeed, we have been able to follow clues relating to a language applicable to some elements that are common to the two areas – a language belonging to both words (with the "divine dead") and images (with, for instance, the Egyptianizing aedicule). We have also been able to observe contexts – the deposits of terracottas and the Bitia temple – that seem to oscillate between those that are often understood as two diverse spheres, delineating very fluid boundaries. Of course, this aspect should not surprise us: as I said in my opening reflections, the two areas are parts of a single and broader cultural product, i.e. that pertaining to religious thought and practice; thus, within a certain culture, they could not but interact and communicate, even if only partially. Such fluidity, which is clearly perceivable, for example, in the votive objects found near the necropolis or inside the

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75 Cf. notes 24–27.

76 Of course, it is just a suggestion and several elements remain to be explained; one may ask, for example, what relationship, what hierarchy, what type of dynamics, later reflected in the rituals, would have linked the dead to the local god. In this regard, it is worth remembering, merely as a preliminary observation, that the statue of Bes has often been interpreted as an image of Eshmun, a Phoenician deity with strong therapeutic connotations, well documented in Sardinia by the trilingual inscription of Santuiaci (in which, in the Phoenician version, the devotee affirms that he has been healed); he is a divinity, moreover, closely connected in morphology to the aforementioned *Rephaim* (Garbati 2011).

tombs, obliges us to constantly consider how the definition of distinct categories, which are unavoidable in the delimitation of research areas, cannot always correspond perfectly to the reality of the processes and cultural phenomena that developed within a given ancient community; rather, the boundaries between these categories can become liquid and mobile.

At the same time, however, one must admit that the possibility of the two existential dimensions communicating does not mean – as might be envisaged – that certain ideologies belonging to the temple cult, for instance, could simply be projected, directly and rigidly, on to the level of funerary cult in a sort of anarchical process (and vice versa). The case of the "divine" dead seems to be eloquent from this point of view. We have seen that sometimes the definition of the deceased could originate from a vocabulary that, at least theoretically, had to belong to the temple cult. Nonetheless the meaning assumed by that definition – as in the case of *'lm* – must have acquired its own particular values according to the specific context of use. The case of the Bes temple in Bitia, after all, speaks in favour of this "remodulation": although it can be assumed that (a sector of) the local necropolis could actually be conceived as a "*šd 'lnm*" ("field of gods") due to the temple and the ritual practices that were carried out there, at the same time, the evocation of the dead (for healing rites) must necessarily have involved the cult paid to a deity, who cannot but configure himself as the first recipient of the offerings (materially represented by the statue of Bes). In this way, it is possible that the choice to name the dead "gods" on some occasions may have been dictated by the need to understand the dead themselves as beings able, as we have already stressed, to be active (and to be activated) in order to intervene in favour of human wellness; thus, the dead could be *divine*, while not being actual gods. This same choice, therefore, may have responded to specific cultic interests and needs (as probably attested, after all, by the lead *paterae* from Carthage, which may have been used during necromantic rites).

In essence, the relationship I have tried to highlight seems to oscillate between, on the one hand, contact, interference and communication and, on the other hand, distinction, differentiation and particularity. Again, the word that is key to historically interpreting this relationship is *fluidity* and, together with it, *contextualization*, keeping in mind the analytic need to define boundaries, delineating different cultic spheres, while constantly considering the mobility and liquidity of those same boundaries.

Abbreviations

CIS = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars prima*, *inscriptiones phoenicias continens*, Paris 1881–1962.

DNWS = Hoftijzer, Jacob / Jongeling, Karel (1995), *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, Leiden, New York, Köln.

KAI   = Donner, Herbert / Röllig, Wolfgang (1971[3]; III vol. 2002[5]), *Kanaanäische und
          aramäische Inschriften*, I-III, Wiesbaden.
KTU   = Dietrich, Manfried / Loretz, Oswald / Sanmartín, Joaquin (1995), *The Cuneiform
          Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (*Abhandlungen zur Literatur
          Alt-Syrien-Palastinas und Mesopotamiens* 8), Münster.
RES   = *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*.

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Ida Oggiano

In and Out What Archaeology Can Tell Us About the Role of Liminality in the Phoenician Rites

In this paper, I will analyse the archaeological information about Phoenician "sacred space" and in particular the concept of liminality and the way it was expressed in the archaeological documentation (e.g. the presence of a temenos, a door and images etc.) from a Phoenician context.

1 The Concept of Liminality

The concept of *liminality* was first developed in the early twentieth century by Arnold Van Gennep and later taken up by Victor Turner.[1] It is well known that over time the concept has been applied to different areas of investigation: anthropology, ethnography, history of religion, philosophy, psychology and architecture etc. etc.

In recent archaeological studies, attention has been devoted to several interpretative themes that draw heavily on the idea of rites of passage: states of being and personhood; passages to other worlds; boundaries, portals, thresholds, and transformations; and liminality and "sacred domains".[2] In this paper the attention is obviously directed to the theme of boundaries, portals, thresholds, and transformations.

C. Renfrew, who remains a point of reference for the study of archaeology of cult and religion, quoting the conventional diagram of Leach, reminds us that This World and the Other World are conceived as topographical spaces separated by a liminal zone, which partakes of the qualities of both. The liminal zone is the focus of ritual activity (e.g. churches, graveyards, shrines etc.) and Leach's diagram reminds us that the sacred area for the practice of rituals is likely to be a place apart, associated with prescribed observance and proscriptions, with special requirements of purity and the attendant risk of pollution.[3]

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1 Van Gennep 1960 (English version of the book *Les rites de passages* published in French in 1911); Turner 1967; 1969.
2 Garwood 2011, 9.
3 Renfrew 1985, 17, fig. 1.1.

Given that this paper focuses on the role of liminal spaces in archaeology, with particular reference to architecture, we simply must discuss the works of Parker Pearson and Richards. Exploring the theme of the archaeology of rites of passage, they underline the role of architecture in structuring the ritual action. They observed that

> Walls, gateways and entrances serve to mark transitions between domains such as inside/outside, sacred/profane, male/female, public/private, enemy/friend, elite/commoner or initiate/uninitiated.[4]

> Architectural forms thus reify conceptual divisions, define bounded contexts for the spatial articulation of cultural meanings, and guide the enactment of specific practices. Portals – especially – provide means of traversing classificatory boundaries and thus act as (liminal) thresholds between different conceptual domains and states of being.[5]

Visualizing the concept of liminality in a concrete form is not a difficult task. In fact, apart from the term chosen to describe the concept itself (from Latin word *limen*, meaning threshold), architectonic metaphors are frequently used to explain it. Mary Douglas, in her famous book "Purity and Danger", underlines how Van Gennep saw society as "a house with rooms and corridors in which passage from one to another is dangerous".[6]

On the other hand, if a *limen*, a threshold, is something fixed and stable "the act of going somewhere else to gain access to liminal, and to return, required movement".[7] This explains the choice of the title of this contribution. Focusing on the movement, we emphasise the conditional construct of liminality that "only makes sense with reference to what went before and what comes after".[8]

In short, the primary focus of this paper is to investigate how the concept of liminality has been transported into physical space in the Phoenician cult place: the presence of architectural elements such as threshold, lintel and columns in sanctuaries, temples and shrines as testified in archaeological remains and the written sources. These places of passage can have a symbolic meaning and, at the same time, represent a physical place where specific rituals took place.[9]

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4 Parker Pearson/Richards 1994, 24.

5 Garwood 2011, 13.

6 Douglas 1966, 66; Garwood 2011, 2.

7 Garwood 2011, 5.

8 Garwood 2011, 17: "The common tendency in archaeology to focus on just the liminal stage of the ritual process ignores how 'liminality' is a conditional construct that only makes sense with reference to what went before and what comes after".

9 In Levantine archaeology the theme of the applicability of the concept of liminality to the archaeological analysis of cultic context, in particular in Middle and Late Bronze Age Southern Levant, is dealt by Susnow 2020.

2 Liminal Architecture

We'll start our study by identifying an indicator of liminality in a Phoenician cult place using archaeological remains and inscriptions as a source of information.[10]

2.1 The Gate / Door

Two of Van Gennep's statements are fundamental in this regard:

> The door is the boundary between the foreign and domestic worlds in the case of a temple. Therefore, to cross the threshold is to unite oneself with a new world. It is a unite oneself in the case of a temple. It is thus an important act in marriage, adoption, ordination and funeral ceremonies.[11]

And we have to remember that

> to understand rites pertaining to the threshold, one should always remember that the threshold is only a part of the door and that most of the rites should be understood as direct and physical rites of entrance, of waiting, and of departure – that is rite of passage.[12]

The gate is, ultimately, an element of connection and separation, with the role of establishing where the interior space begins and where the exterior space ends.

We know that, from the Middle Bronze Age, the city gate assumed a central role within the urban panorama of the Near East cities as a place of transit, trade and community assembly. Among the various activities that took place near the city gate, religious activity must have been important and linked to the symbolic meaning of the "passage" between the two worlds, the world inside and outside the city.[13] In terms of the Southern Levant, we have different examples of these traditions: Megiddo VA,[14] Tell el-'Ureyme,[15] Beer-Sheba V,[16] the discussed evidence from the city of Tell el-Far'ah North.[17] The best examples of the role of luminal space assumed by the gate are Tell Dan[18] and Tell el-Bethsaida (et-Tell).[19] In the Phoenician region, archaeological evidence of the liminal role of the gate (attested in epigraphy as *dl*, *dlt*, *ptḥ*, *š'r*)[20] in sacred architecture mainly dates from Hellenistic times. At Tas Silġ (Malta), an

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10 Porzia 2017; Susnow 2020, 5–6.

11 Van Gennep 1960, 20.

12 Van Gennep 1960, 20.

13 See various contributions in Michel 2017.

14 Bernett/Keel 1998, 63.

15 Fritz 1990.

16 Bernett/Keel 1998, 61.

17 Chambon 1984; De Vaux 1951; Stager/Wolff 1981.

18 Biran 1994, 238–241.

19 Arav/Freund 1995; Bernett/Keel 1998**.**

20 Porzia 2017, 361.

altar was discovered near the entrance to the temple, with three quadrangular cavities, covered with lead and arranged at regular intervals, where ashes and burnt bones were unearthed (Fig. 1). It is therefore evident that certain sacrifices took place at the very threshold of the sanctuary.[21]

Fig. 1: Tas Silġ (Malta), altar at the entrance to the temple with three quadrangular cavities (Ribichini 1975 Tav. XXI).

To all this, we must also add information deduced from the inscriptions: the double inscription of Kition (*CIS*, I, 86), which states the number of staff at the temple, speaks of "20 keepers of the lock and [of] men in charge of the door"; that of Piraeus (*KAI* 60) speaks of "door attendants"; another from Bostan esh-Sheikh mentions a certain 'Abdmilk, "door attendant". In addition to this, the stele on the gate of Umm el-'Amed of a certain Baalshamar qualifies his father as "head of the gate-keepers", revealing the existence of a category of religious personnel in charge of cults located at the gate (Fig. 2). The fact that he belongs to the priestly milieu is evidenced by the stole he wears on the engraved image.[22]

Beyond the threshold, which does not seem to have had a particular shape (if compared with, for example the wonderful example of the 'Ain Dara temple), was the space in front of the jambs and the lintels that were well characterized as *limen*.

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21 Amadasi Guzzo/Cazzella 2004–2005; Ciasca 1993; Ribichini 1975.

22 Oggiano 2013; Porzia 2017.

Fig. 2: Umm el-'Amed. Funerary stele of Baalshamar (*Liban l'autre rive* 1988, fig. 161).

2.2 The Door Flanked by Statues or Columns

The cultic importance of the columns (*'md* in the epigraphs) as a framing element of the passage is testified in the literary sources. On the one hand, Herodotus (*Historie*, II, 44) documents the existence of two gold and emerald columns at the entrance to the temple of Melqart in Tyre. Here, you can see a representation of an Assyrian relief found in Khorsabad in which the escape of Luli of Sidon from Tyre is depicted. R.D. Barnett thought that the building with an arch-shaped entrance flanked by two columns visible at the right end of the relief might represent the temple of which Herodotus would later speak.[23]

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23 Barnett 1956.

On the other hand, the Bible mentions two non-load-bearing columns – Yakin and Boaz – at the entrance to the temple in Jerusalem, built with the help of Tyrians, according to the Bible. Beyond the symbolic meanings envisaged by the authors, the location of these columns at the entrance to religious structures clearly underlines the role we have already imagined for the door.[24] Two non-load-bearing pillars were present at the entrance to the temple of Kition Kathari in Cyprus as markers of the passage to the more sacred space of the temple, the cella (Fig. 3).[25] And still in Kition, a double inscription seems to be associated with the cult of pillars themselves, with personnel in charge of these structures dedicated to the divinity Mikal.[26] In the Hellenistic period, the presence of two anthropomorphic statues placed next to the entrance is attested at Umm el-'Amed, Kharayeb (Fig. 4) and, perhaps, Sarepta (the twin statue).[27]
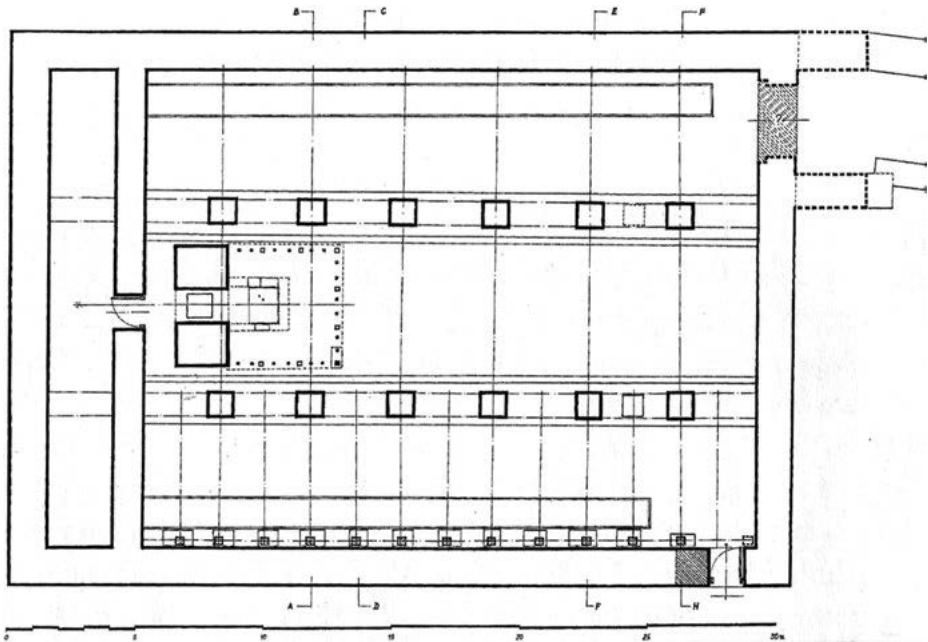
Fig. 3: Kition. The temple 1 of Kathari (800–600 BCE) (Yon 2006, fig. 48).

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24 Porzia 2017; Prokop 2020.
25 Yon 2006, 86–87, fig. 48.
26 Porzia 2017, 371. See also Amadasi Guzzo 2003, 49.
27 Oggiano 2018 with previous bibliography.
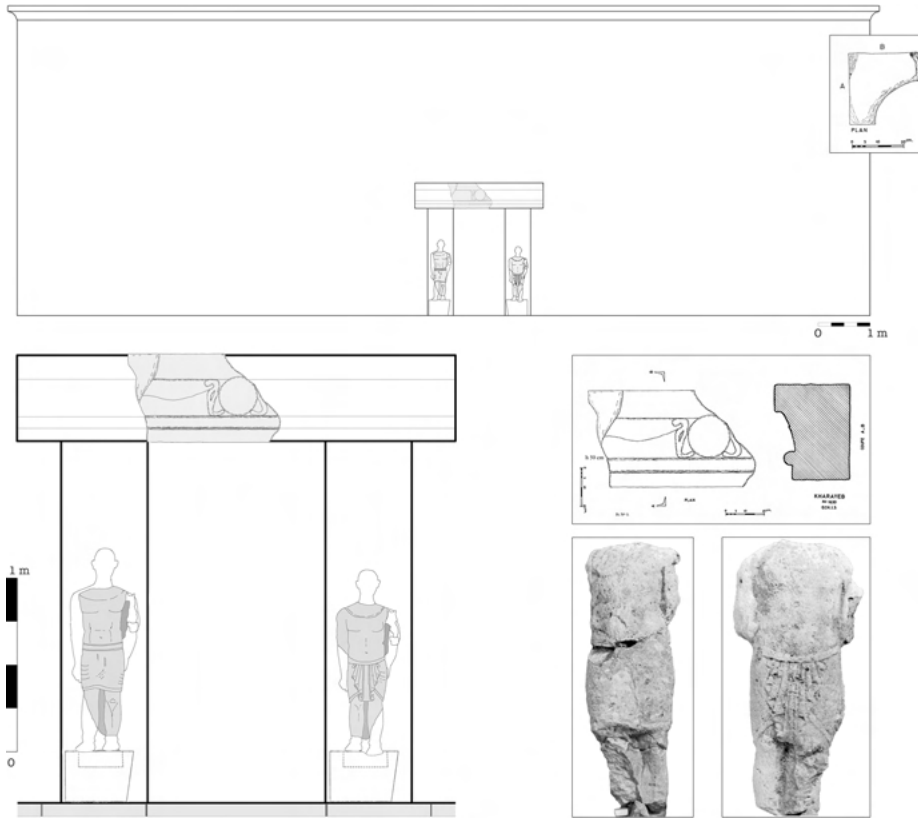
Fig. 4: Kharayeb. Entrance of the temple (Oggiano 2018, Fig. 6).

2.3 The Door / Entrance Shape

As for the constituent parts of the door, such as the jambs and the lintel, their precise conformations and decorations are clear markers of the liminal character of these architectonic elements.

One typical shape is the so-called "recessed opening". The word *recess* derives from the Latin word "*recessus*", a retreat, from *recedere* to recede. The recessed pattern is created by making the wall narrower around the opening in even stages, parallel to the opening sides, creating a stepped, interlocking frame, one inside the other. This very ancient motive, which has prevailed in modern times, was used in sacred architecture and funerary architecture, from Cyprus (e.g. the entrance of the tombs of Salamina
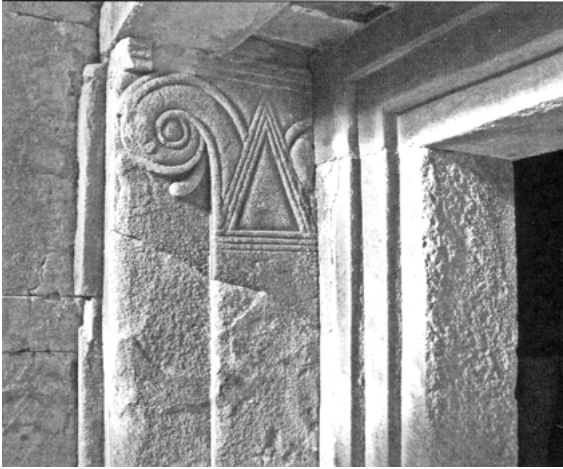
Fig. 5: Tamassos. Tomb 5 entrance (Mumcuoglu/Garfinkel 2018, fig. 159a).

and Tamassos; Fig. 5) to Phoenicia (the tombs of Umm el-'Amed).[28] It is interesting that this kind of window frame was used in the group of ivories where it represented the so-called "woman at the window" motive: baluster and recessed openings are both typical markers of liminality and, in this case, also "gender liminality" (Fig. 6).[29]

The lintel, often decorated with a winged solar disk, is a common element in Hellenistic Phoenicia, for example at Umm el-'Amed and Kharayeb. The winged solar disc, sculpted repetitively in an eminent position on the lintel of the various entrances, with its "redundancy", gives meaning to the door itself and its essence of "liminality".

2.4 The Porch (*'rph*)

Columns and porches are not only the natural solution to the common architectonic problem of providing a long, unenclosed and sheltered space. In architecture, balconies, porches, and windows are considered elements of vibrant communicative life.[30]

While in modern and public architecture these "border zones" are considered opportunities for the communicative life of the public environment and home, in ancient, sacred architecture this transitional zone invited communication between

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28 For a synthesis on the topic of recessed opening in architecture of Ancient Near East see Mumcuoglu/Garfinklel 2018, 43–163.

29 On the motif of the woman at the window Suter 1992; Winter 2016.

30 Gehl 2011.
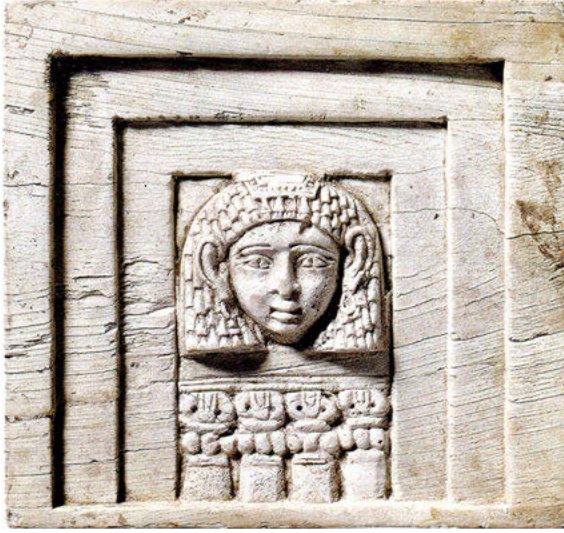
Fig. 6: Ivory from Arslan Tash with "woman at the window" motif (Aruz/Graff/Rafic 2014, p. 154, fig. 51b).

the human being and the divine world. Flexible boundaries in the form of transitional zones, that neither fully belonged to This World nor completely to the Other World, were often able to function as connecting links. They made it easier, both physically and psychologically, for the participant in the ritual to move back and forth between a human and divine dimension, between "in and out". Liminal space provides a period of preparation for things to come. The porch of Amrit is a perfect example of the function of the porch as a resting area where worshippers could, possibly, sleep, waiting for the gods' answer in the rite of incubation (Fig. 7).[31]

2.5 The Roof

It's not only the porch that was considered a border-zone, the roof also had a particular role. In the epic of Gilgamesh, Queen Ninsun goes up onto the roof to offer incense to the god Shamash (Gilgamesh III ii 1–10); in an Ugaritic text, King Keret climbs onto the roof to perform sacrifices and pray there (Keret 73–80). Even in the Bible, King Josiah "tears down the altars that were on the terrace of the upper room of Akhaz" (2 Kings 23:12), while the prophet Jeremiah criticises the offerings on the roofs (using the verb qṭr, often related to the burning of incense) "to all the host of heaven and . . . to other gods" (19:13), or to Baʿal (32:29).

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31 Oggiano 2012.

Fig. 7: Amrit. Remains of the pool with porch in the background (© Ph. Oggiano).

Although there are no examples for the Phoenician area itself, the roof was the place where certain rites were performed even at domestic level. For example, in Ashkelon,[32] an altar was found on the roof of an administrative building from the 7th century, while in Tel Jawa,[33] figurines and ceramics have been discovered, probably used for liquids and aromatic offerings, in a domestic context which can be dated to the 8th–7th centuries.

3 Iconography of Liminal Space: The Façade as Figurative Synecdoche

In this part of the study, I will try to identify the image of "liminal space" through its depictions on the various Phoenician and Punic categories of objects: from stone crafts to coroplastics, from glyptics to numismatics. Which images from sacred architecture did artists and craftsmen choose to represent the "sacred" space? As

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32 Stager 1996, 66.
33 Daviau 2001.

we'll see, it's the limen, the door, the passage that visually symbolises the focus of attention.

The most commonly reproduced form of cult place was the Egyptizing naos, more precisely its facade.[34] It inspired the creation of various objects: small stone monuments that accurately reproduced the naos (such as the well-known examples of Sidon) or part of it (the steles of Akziv and Burg esh-Shemali and the relief of Sidon with a seated divinity) and the terracotta models that only featured the façade (naiskoi by Ayaa and Helalieh).[35] Finally, the representation of the chapel on objects that were intended for palatine and elite environments such as ivories (those from Nimrud dating to the 8th century BCE, for example) and bowls (such as the one from Olympia).[36] These objects were used in the cultural context but in different ways, as suggested by the variety of dimensions and materials used in their production and their different chronological framework.

A lintel with a winged solar disk was often found on the top of the naos façade. The symbolic function of the winged solar disk motif, which we talked about with regard to Umm el-'Amed and Kharayeb,[37] is confirmed by its repetition on different categories of objects suggesting to the viewer that what takes place "below" the winged solar disk has a "cultic" character: from the king of Byblos sitting in front of the Lady of Byblos to commemorate the construction of a portico built in honour of Baalat Gebal, to the Preneste cup where the solar disc overlooks the altar where a prince sacrificed a deer he had hunted The naos (or shrine or aedicule) becomes the predominant motif represented on the steles of the tophet. In this case, it is a synthetic rendering of the façade of a building, a sort of theatrical "fronte scena" within which the artisans positioned the religious scenes, divine images and/or worshippers or priests. This presentation is, however, too brief to cover the relationship between these representations and monuments existing within the tophet in detail. In any case, the stylistic variety of the steles and naiskoi throughout the different periods of use of the tophet is testimony to just how important it was to the stonecutter.

Now for some final observations. First of all, between the realistic and the symbolic form of representation, the latter was certainly the one favoured by Phoenician and Punic artisans, according to a trend that has its roots in the coastal Levant of the first millennium. Among the favourite representative conventions, there was certainly that of "the part for the whole", the *representative synecdoche*, which rather than being tied to the greater or lesser skills of the craftsman, was based

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34 For this part of the study see Oggiano 2008.

35 For Akziv, Moscati 1965; for Sidon, Gubel *et al.* 2002, 84, n. 75; Gubel 2000, 190–192; on the terracotta *naoi* of Ayaa and Helalieh, Caubet 1999, 9–14.

36 For the ivories see, e.g. Barnett 1975, pl. CXXXV, Suppl. 22; for metal bowl, Markoe 1985, 204–205, 316–319, n. G3.

37 For Umm el-'Amed, Vella 2000; for Kharayeb, Oggiano 2018.

around an iconographic and artistic tradition of craftsmanship which also included productions of great value like ivories.

The façade of the temple, for which it is almost impossible to find a precise connection with known types of temples, is only the symbolic boundary of an action, which, thanks to this frame, is immediately qualified by the viewer as a cultic one. Reduced to an icon, a symbol, it can vary in style (Levantine, Egyptizing, Grecizing, Roman), but not in the meaning it has as a sign, not unlike what happened with the winged solar disc. It can be said that the placement of an object, a space and an action "under" or "inside" a symbol ("under" the winged sun and "inside" the "edicola") provided the viewer with an immediate clue allowing them qualify objects, spaces and actions as pertinent to the sphere of the sacred (Figs. 8–9).

Fig. 8: Stele from the tophet of Monte Sirai (*I Fenici* 1988, p. 319).

In conclusion, the Phoenicians identified the liminal space as a "storage unit"[38] formed by a gate with columns, pillar and lintel that human beings had to cross in order to pass from the earthly to the divine, to pass "Dal terreno al divino".[39]

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[38] Turner 1968, 1–2.

[39] Oggiano 2005.

Fig. 9: Stele from the tophet of Sulki (*I Fenici* 1988, p. 325).

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Barbara Bolognani

Graeco-Phoenician Figurines in Phoenicia. A Medley of Imports, Derivatives, Imitations, and Hybrids

1 Introduction

The Mapping Ancient Polytheisms project (ERC Advanced Grant 741182) aims at understanding the ways people addressed their religious feelings, both in the community and as individuals through the analysis of divine epithets in the Greek and Western Semitic world.[1] However, in ancient times, sometimes devotees used other means to express emotional needs, especially when the average writing skills were not as advanced. As a result, the visual communication was often preferred to words and clay figurines, due to their widespread use, play a crucial role in defining the religious complexity of ancient societies. Simultaneously, the study of coroplastic subjects tells us something about the worshippers behind them. The figurine is, in fact, an object that is commissioned or chosen; it is never an innocent object and responds to specific needs. Thus, figurines are purchased since they are first and foremost a materialization of a precise unexpressed idea and only play a minor role as an object of artistic value. Interest in certain types of figurines increases as a person understands a particular value or use of the object. As already Poma has argued,[2] if the attestation of imported terracottas can generally be explained as the commercialization of goods appreciated for their aesthetic value, the practice of re-casting figurines from original moulds or reworking certain types presuppose a step forward. In other words, these actions imply the acceptance and assimilation of a figurative language distinct and somehow alien to their own culture. In this way, figurines become temporary personal possessions and thereafter they fulfil commercial purposes – like those fostering the circulation of pottery – which does not apply entirely to these objects.[3]

This relevant premise informs the central argument of this paper, which proposes some initial input for a methodological approach to the so-called Graeco-Phoenician production. Indeed, a certain cultic liveliness has been noted on the coastal Levant during the Persian period with the appearance of clay figurines

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2 Poma 2013, 87.
3 Uhlenbrock 1985, 299; 1988, 150.

belonging to distant geographic centres. As already stated in a previous contribution,[4] the great variety in subjects and manufacturing techniques during this period resulted from the coexistence of autochthonous and allochthonous coroplastic specimens. The phenomenon of imported Greek figurines in the Levant can be first detected towards the mid-6th century BCE where one sees the appearance of new coroplastic subjects distinctly different from the local production, i.e., the so-called Phoenician II group. The rise of the Graeco-Phoenician production seems to have been contemporary with another Phoenician-related production, namely the Cypro-Phoenician group. While this last group can be easily defined through certain parallels with the nearby island and other artefacts in stone, more careful attention should be directed to the presumed Greek imports. Part of this last group and its local development is introduced in this paper.

2 The 'Greek' Component

The problem of a Greek component in the Phoenician coroplastic during the Persian period was first approached in detail during the 1980s by E. Stern when the so-called "western-style" figurines were distinguished at Tel Dor. According to Stern, these figurines were Greek in origin due to their physical features resembling the archaic Greek sculpture.[5] Nevertheless, Stern's first attempt in defining this Greek element was never developed by the author himself, who focused more strictly on theological aspects related to Israelite religion.[6] Furthermore, the "western-style" figurines collected from the two *bothoroi* at Tel Dor were reconducted by him to a local Greek temple, which was never found. In the rest of the literature, a general sense of confusion surrounds references to this topic. This is hardly ever explored beyond the evidence of a Greek stylistic influence on the Persian period production in the Levant, for instance.[7] The result to date is that a complete study of the finds in Phoenicia has never been carried out,[8] apart from a partial catalogue by A. Nunn.[9] Only in recent times, the works by R. Martin[10] and I. Cornelius[11] have shed light on this topic on a contextual and material level. Cornelius also transposed the issue to the Edom, Yehud, and Idumea regions, where a distinction among the local production and

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4 Bolognani 2020.

5 Stern 1982, 165, 172; 1995, 436; 2001, 492, 500. See also Bisi 1990 for the importations and Negbi 1966 for materials from Tel Sippor.

6 See Stern 1989; *contra* Cornelius 2014.

7 Moorey 2005, 219–220.

8 Bisi 1989; Poma 2013, 47.

9 Nunn 2000.

10 Martin 2014.

11 Cornelius 2014.

other circulating Levantine types can be observed. However, none of these studies inform us about the level of foreignness, the relative dating of these figurines and their impact on the local production.[12]

Graeco-Phoenician figurines are certain Greek imported figurines reaching the Levantine coast through different routes, both from a chronological and geographical point of view. These figurines were diffused only in a few sites and their attestation constitutes less than 10% – increased to 25% considering local productions – of the coroplastic assemblage during the Persian period.[13] A first import phase can be traced back to the mid-6th century BCE where occasional coroplastic specimens from Eastern Greece can be observed,[14] presumably from the Anatolian coast or Rhodes. During the first phase, the Greek imported figurines are rather limited to some centres in the region of Sidon. Instead, according to a few petrographic analyses,[15] imported figurines are rarer in southern Phoenicia and more derivative figurines can be noticed. Later, towards the end of the 6th century BCE, the first import wave suffered a setback for historical reasons not yet explainable.[16] Therefore, between the beginning of the 5th until the 4th century BCE, new coroplastic subjects begin to arrive, albeit in a smaller number. This time, their typological origin can be traced back to mainland Greece. Indeed, as Poma has observed, terracottas reflect an Ionianizing taste during the first phase, while from the 5th century BCE onwards, this was replaced by the Attic one.[17] This trend seems to align with that of ceramic imports shifting from East Greek types to purely Attic wares.[18] At the same time, this second wave had a stronger impact on southern Phoenician productions, where Greek-style terracottas were more frequent compared to the North.[19]

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12 An attempt in defining the "Greek" element has been instead deeply discussed for the Hellenistic period. Cf. Nitschke 2011; 2013; Martin 2017.

13 Nearly 1000 figurines fragments were analysed from 60 sites along the Levantine coast, about half of them can be dated to the Persian period. Cf. Bolognani 2020. Uhlenbrock (1985) observed a similar trend (low frequency) in all attested locations in the Mediterranean and she interpreted it as an indirect/bazaar trade.

14 Poma 2013, 87.

15 Cf. Negbi 1964; 1966, 5–9, tables 1–2; Stern 1982, 182.

16 According to Uhlenbrock, 6th century BCE eastern Greek figurines stopped to be diffused within the Mediterranean due to the Persian advance. Uhlenbrock 1992, 19.

17 Poma 2013, 88.

18 Perreault 1986; Élayi 1988; Lehmann 2005, 24; 2008, 144–145; Fantalkin 2006, 204.

19 Nunn 2000, 72–73.

3 First phase: East Greek Types (Mid-End 6th Century BCE)

During the first phase, typical coroplastic subjects are the Archaic period *korai* and *kouroi* figurines,[20] enthroned female figures with high or low polos, enthroned couples, reclining bearded men, crouching dwarfs, and a few female *protomai* (Fig. 1). Considering Levantine retrieval contexts, the enthroned ladies were presumably recovered within the necropolis of Amrit[21] and one tentatively from Tyre.[22] More complete figurines of this type from unknown locations along the Levantine Coast are displayed in some museums today.[23] Regarding the *korai* and *kouroi* types, only two male specimens are attested in Amrit,[24] two specimens were retrieved in Tartus,[25] three others in Sidon (Fig. 2, "import"),[26] while five more originate from unknown locations along the Syrian/Lebanese coast.[27] One complete figurine of a reclining bearded man was found within a disturbed grave in the South-Eastern cemetery of Atlit.[28] The *protomai* are notably attested in Al Mina,[29] Sarepta,[30] within the *favissae* of Tel es-Safi[31], and Tel Sippor.[32] A complete example was also collected from the Israeli coast.[33] No original dwarf figurines have been excavated yet; these are indirectly attested through the presence of derivatives.

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20 Already known in literature as the "Aphrodite Group" or "Rhodian/Samian *Korai*". Cf. Higgins 1954, 20–21, pls.10, 12–13.

21 The numbers of figurines recovered in Amrit should be greater according to Heuzey's catalogue, but it seems that some of them are now lost. Cf. Heuzey 1891, 86–90, nos.202–213; 1923, 75–8, pl. XI.1,3–6; Bossert 1951, 44, 200, no.659; Nunn 2000, 70, type 38. Louvre Museum AO 22939, AO 25989.

22 Gubel 1986, 94, no.11; Yon, Caubet 1993, 63, no.26.

23 Haifa Maritime Museum, 3369, Zemer 2009, 88, fig.53; Louvre Museum, AO 25988, AO 25990, Perrot, Chipiez 1885, fig.20; Heuzey 1891, 86–87; 1923, 76–77, pl.XI.5, Nunn 2000, 70, type 38.

24 Acquaro 1988, 592, no.48. Louvre Museum AO 25994, AO 25996.

25 Rey 1867, 373, no.15, Perrot Chipiez 1885, fig.142; Poulsen 1949, 8–9, pl.II. Louvre Museum AO 25993.

26 Heuzey 1891, 95–97, nos.222,227; 1923, 75–78, pl.XII.1,3; Culican 1975-1976, fig.4b; Gubel 1986, 119, no.48; Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 98, fig.2; Nunn 2000, pl.33, no.106. Louvre Museum AO 1581, AO 26001.

27 Nunn 2000, 70, type 39; Poulsen 1949, 7–8, pl.I. Louvre Museum AO 25992, AO 25998, AO 25997.

28 Johns 1933, 78, pl.XXVI, no.624.

29 Woolley 1938, 165, 168, pl.XI, MNN97,107.

30 Pritchard 1988, 47, fig.13, no.61.

31 Bliss 1899, 328; Bliss, Macalister 1902, 39, fig.13, pl.70.13; Avissar 2004, 72, figs.38–39; Avissar *et al.* 2007, 85, table 1.

32 Negbi 1966, 14–15, nos.43–44, 47–49.

33 Eretz Israel Museum MHP18862.

Fig. 1: Eastern Greek figurines imported in Phoenicia during the first phase.

The non-local origin of these figurines in Phoenicia can be easily detected by certain technical features. This includes the adoption of a double mould (except for the *protomai*), for instance, which was still unknown in contemporary Levantine productions. Other non-native characteristics are the particularly refined trait of the mould and the reduced thickness of the figurine's section. Figurines are also often covered with a whitish chalky slip and then accurately painted with polychrome patterns. Red, white, black, light blue, and green paint is applied to the surface, in order to reproduce geometric motives of the attires or to enhance physical features. Despite the limited number of attested specimens, Poma has attempted a typology based on a few examples conserved at the Louvre Museum.[34] From her accurate analysis, one can ascertain that the stylistic variety of the subjects indicates the presence of several workshops and perhaps slightly different chronologies. The *protomai*, for instance, appear in the coroplastic repertoire towards the end of this production. They are all part of the Klazomenian type (Group G) already identified by Croissant[35] as the most characteristic group of the Rhodian production. In particular, the Levantine specimens pertain to variant G3.[36] They can be described as female oval faces framed by a veil and *stephane*. Their facial features are characterized by thick eyelids, long noses,

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34 Cf. Poma 2013, 105–112, types GO A-B.

35 Croissant 1986, 155–180.

36 Cf. Croissant 1986, pls.54–61, nos.95–100.

and full lips with corners curved upwards towards the cheeks. The forehead is surrounded by three bands of wavy hair. Group G was initially dated to the early 5th century BCE based on contextual data from the cemeteries of Kamiros.[37] More recently, however, Croissant has proposed a higher dating (540–520 BCE) based on an alleged Attic stylistic influence.[38] Croissant's dating at the last quarter of the 6th century BCE finds confirmation in Sicilian contexts, especially from the excavations of Gela.[39] Therefore, contextual data proved his hypothesis. The remainder of the figurines belongs to what Higgins renamed "Aphrodite Group"[40] to be dated no later than the end of the 6th century BCE. Although to date broad-spectrum petrographic analyses lack both for the Levantine and other Mediterranean specimens, the few studies on the subject have recently downsized Rhodes' role as a place of major production in favour of Miletus.[41]

In terms of parallels abroad, this production was particularly prolific in Eastern Greece and on the Western Anatolian Coast. In Rhodes, several specimens were excavated in the necropolis of Kamiros,[42] Lindos,[43] and Ialysos.[44] More figurines were recovered in other East Greek islands, such as Delos,[45] Kos,[46] Samos,[47] Thasos,[48] and Thera.[49] As for the Anatolian Coast, terracottas are known in Klazomenai,[50] Erythrae,[51] and Ephesos,[52] in particular. The great propagation of these types in the Mediterranean is also attested in Thrace,[53] Cyprus (Amathus),[54] Etruria (Gravisca),[55] and several sites in Magna Graecia, specifically in Sicily (Catania, Gela, Megara

37 Higgins 1954, 25–31.

38 Croissant 1986, 164.

39 Cf. Uhlenbrock 1988, 105.

40 Higgins 1954, 2021, pls.10,12–13.

41 Cf. Jones 1986, 667–673; Boldrini 1994, 25–26; Uhlenbrock 1986, 104, 109, 147; 1992, 19; 2007, 724, n.18; Pautasso 2010, 248; Poma 2013, 87, 96–97, n.287, 353.

42 Jacopi 1931, figs.80, 108, 181, 221, 305, 319, 327–328, 349, 446–450; 1932–33, figs.181–182; Higgins 1954, nos. 47–49, 57–58, 62, 65, 67–68, 71–72, 74–75, 77–78, 81, 83–84, 86, 88, 139–145; Mollard–Besques 1954, no.B200, 202, 215–216.

43 Mendel 1908, pl.II.4–5; Blinkenberg 1931, pls.95–96, 108, 110, 116–117, nos.2103, 2106, 2108, 2114, 2115B, 2117–2120, 2123, 2125–2126, 2313–2318, 2344, 2463, 2487, 2489.

44 Jacopi 1929, figs.66, 118–119, 135–136, 194, 227; Laurenzi 1936, figs.81–82, 142, 179–183.

45 Laumonier 1956, nos.51–52, 55–57, 59–60, 63–64, 69–77, 82, 98–99, 193–195, 129–131, 161–162, 169–172.

46 Mendel 1908, pl.III.8–14; Mollard–Besques 1954, nos.B187, 190.

47 Karydi 1995.

48 Aubry *et al.* 2014; Huysecom–Haxhi 2016a, 2016b.

49 Uhlenbrock 1985, 302.

50 Mollard–Besques 1954, B331.

51 Bayburtluoğlu 1977, 80–81, pls.9, 11, 16, nos.17, 19, 27.

52 Higgins 1954, nos.64, 87.

53 Mollard–Besques 1954, pls.XXX–XXXIII.

54 Hermary 2000, pl.46, nos.695–700.

55 Boldrini 1994, nos.24–125.

Hyblaia, Morgantina, Mozia, Naxos, Selinunte, Syracuse), Apulia (Taranto), and Campania (Cumae).[56] Finally, in North Africa, they are known in Cyrenaica (Cyrene, Tocra),[57] Egypt (Naukratis, Memphis),[58] and Tunisia (Carthage).[59]

Returning to the Levant, how does one explain the mild popularity of these figurines here? The understanding of their original contexts can perhaps offer an interpretive lens for Levantine contexts too. According to the latest research horizons, the absence of permanent attributes does not allow us to associate the terracottas with prefixed deities. Most likely, in cultic contexts, each figurine was a standardized and idealized image of the person making the offering represented at different stages of their life and social status. This was, for instance, the interpretation of the many Archaic period figurines found in Thasos.[60] Thus, any attempt in connecting them with the worship of a specific deity shall be refused since these figurines appear in temples dedicated to multiple deities.[61] As a result, identical figurines were offered at the sanctuaries of Artemis, Athena, Aphrodite, Apollo, Hera, Demeter and Persephone.[62] This evidence suggests a manifold use of these coroplastic subjects as they were well-suited to ritualistic needs in different contexts. Their 'universal' cultic use would therefore explain their widespread diffusion. Furthermore, the spread of the *alabastron* types was likely connected to the circulation of perfumed oils as luxury goods within the Mediterranean area.[63] Yet, as suggested by Uhlenbrock, no historical conclusions can be drawn regarding these imports, i.e., in terms of commercial routes, religious tourism, migratory phenomena.[64] The dating, as well as the manipulation of these figurines in the Levant, can be only ascertained through the parallels with the Greek world. That is the case as most of the specimens in the Levant have been illicitly purchased or stolen from presumed funerary contexts. The fact that the figurines are almost entirely complete confirms that they must have come from local graves. No certain facts can be contributed to the abrupt interruption of these imports, which perhaps coincided with the interruption of the

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56 Alexander 1934, n.3; Higgins 1954, no.90, Uhlenbrock 1985, 302; 1988, 105–107, nos.53–53a; 2004, 20, see all references in n.12; Poma 2013, pl.XI.6–7.

57 Boardman, Hayes 1966, 152–155, pls.96–100, Uhlenbrock 1985, 302; 2004; 2010.

58 Gutch 1898–1899,76–78, pl.10.2; Higgins 1954, nos.60–61, 63, 85, 92; Ducat 1966, 73–74; Fourrier 1999, 171; 2001, 49; Ashton, 2003, 77, UC47941; Poma 2013, 94, n.334.

59 Poma 2013, pls.XI.9–10, XII.1–2.

60 Huysecom–Haxhi, Muller 2007, 237, 243–245; 2015, 429, 432; 2017, 59–60, fig. 3; Muller 2009; *contra* Hermary 2015.

61 On recent criticism in identifying terracottas as figural images of peculiar deities see, Uhlenbrock 2019.

62 Uhlenbrock 1992; 2004, 24–26; 1985, 303; 1988, 141; 2019; Huysecom–Haxhi, Muller 2007, 237, 242; 2015, 423–424.

63 Higgins 1954, 20.

64 Uhlenbrock 1988, 147–148; 2007, 725–728.

Milesian trade around 540 BCE due to the Persian presence.[65] Nonetheless, something can be said about their local development and how they were perceived in an aesthetic sense.

3.1 Derivatives, Imitations, Hybrids

According to Uhlenbrock,[66] one can explain the spread of Greek figurines in the Mediterranean through four means: the circulation of original moulds; the presence of itinerant coroplasts; the diffusion of pattern books; and the *surmoulage* technique. The Graeco-Phoenician production was likely diffused in the Levant thanks to this last technique. Figurines produced through *surmoulage* are derivative figurines manufactured from casts taken by Greek prototypes. They are well distinguished from the originals by some technical features, such as their smaller dimensions, the massive shape, and the less marked traits of the cast. Furthermore, these figurines are often plain, and the painting is not as accurate as Greek models. Several examples of *korai* and *kouroi* figurines of this type have been collected from the Ayaa Necropolis in Sidon[67] and from the nearby temple of Eshmun in Bostan Esh-Sheikh,[68] from the sanctuary in Kharayeb[69] (Fig. 2, "derivative"), and the *favissa* of Tel Sippor.[70] Within this category, one can also find derivative female *protomai* with hand-modelled details (ears and hair locks) from the area of the Obelisk temple in Byblos,[71] from the North-East sanctuary of Tel Sukas,[72] in a domestic context in Beirut,[73] and in Sidon likely from funerary context.[74] In the absence of any imported prototypes, one dwarf figurine from Kharayeb is tentatively included within the derivative types in this context.[75]

Contemporarily, but especially during the 5th century BCE, the prior diffusion of East Greek types in the Levantine market would have inspired the creation of both local imitations and hybrid figurines halfway between the Greek and Phoenician tradition. Imitations are figurines created through new local moulds shaped in "Greek-style" forms with some variations dictated by local taste, i.e., hairstyle fashion. These are distinguished by derivative types, by the fact that some typical Greek features are

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65 Uhlenbrock 1988, 109.

66 Uhlenbrock 2016.

67 Contenau 1920, 310–311, fig.106h; Nunn 2000, pl.32, nos.104–105.

68 Macridy 1903, pl.XI.15–16,18; Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, pl.31, nos.58–59.

69 Oggiano 2015, 259, figs.4b–d.

70 Negbi 1966, 10, 15, nos.5, 6, 45–46, 51–52.

71 Dunand 1954, 333, no.10008.

72 Riis 1961–1962, 138, fig.9, right; Plough 1973, 88, 90, 109, pl.XIX.420.

73 Élayi 2010, fig.17b.

74 Louvre Museum AO 25664, AO 25673.

75 Kaoukabani 1973, 48, pl.X.3.

missing or simply replaced with other elements. The *stephane* in the *psi korai*, for instance, is substituted with a simple veil or the hairstyle with multiple braids is simplified into two loose locks with bulging bangs. Furthermore, imitations are frequently made with single moulds and the backs are left convex or flattened, which makes the profiles unnaturalistic. As pertains to the derivatives, even the imitations have very thick sections, if these are not completely fused at times so that the resulting figurine is solid in the end. The painted decorations, when present, are limited to the colour red. The best examples once again can be found from the necropolises (Ain Hilwe, Ayaa, Hlaliyeh) and one *favissa* in Sidon (Fig. 2, "imitation"),[76] and the temple of Eshmun in Bostan Esh-Sheikh.[77] More are known from the *favissa* at Tel Sippor,[78] within a 5th century BCE context in Area C at Tel Dor,[79] from the sanctuary in Kharayeb,[80] and undetermined context in Tyre.[81] One complete *psi kore* from unknown locations in Lebanon and three *kouroi* from Syria are also conserved at the Louvre Museum.[82]

Instead, hybrid figurines are rare eclectic specimens made from the merging of a Phoenician mould with the addition of a feature encountered only in Greek prototypes. They differ from imitations by the clear desire to overcome the Greek model and absorb it into the local culture. This is the case with four fragmentary female *protomai* from a waste dump context in a domestic unit in Porphyreon.[83] In fact, they present both Greek features, such as the circular earrings, the *stephane*, the curled smile, and the wavy hair. At the same time, the abundant use of red decorations, the raised facial lineaments, and the addition of Egyptian-like symbols are typical of Phoenicians. Other examples are the hybrids of the *psi korai*, made from some popular moulds of the local production (Phoenician II) depicting a nude female subject cupping her breasts, to which outstretched arms were later added. Thus, the typical Greek sacral dancing gesture with the outstretched arms was literally merged to the Levantine breast cupping one. The outcome was a figurine performing two gestures at the same time, even if the hands cupping the breasts were often erased during the manufacturing of the object. This was probably done to avoid unrealistic images. Several hundreds of these figurines have been excavated in different spots in Beirut, specifically in the courtyard of a temple tentatively

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76 Heuzey 1891, 95–97, nos.222, 227; 1923, 84–85, pl.XII.1–2; Contenau 1920, 310, figs.105a,c; Culican 1975–1976, figs.4a,c; Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 98, fig.1; Nunn 2000, pls.30, 33–34, nos.101–102, 111–113. Louvre Museum AO 1370, 1377, 1379–82, 1386, 1388, 1390–92, 1835, 7491A, 25777, 25991.

77 Macridy 1903, pls.XI.20–21, XIII.1; Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, pl.31, nos.52–55, 57, 61–62; Nunn 2000, pl.31, nos.103, 108.

78 Negbi 1966, 10, nos.3–4, 7.

79 Wenning, Stern 1985, pl.F, fig.4, no.43050.

80 Oggiano 2015, 259, fig.4a.

81 Louvre Museum MNB 1656.

82 Louvre Museum AO 2214, 25754, 25761, 25766.

83 Gwiazda 2016.

dedicated to Astarte in BEY 010, within a *favissa* in BEY 004, in the domestic quarters near the port in BEY 019–020, and out of context in BEY 008.[84] Thus far, only one single example has been published from Sidon from an unknown context,[85] while in Southern Phoenicia, a very eccentric figurine is known from Tel Megadim (Fig. 2, "hybrid").[86] Additionally, the original local mould of this last figurine has been found at Tel Dor.[87] In hybrid figurines, we can also observe that Greek costumes that are kept in the derivative and imitation prototypes are now replaced with nudity, except for the *stephane* that appears in a few specimens.
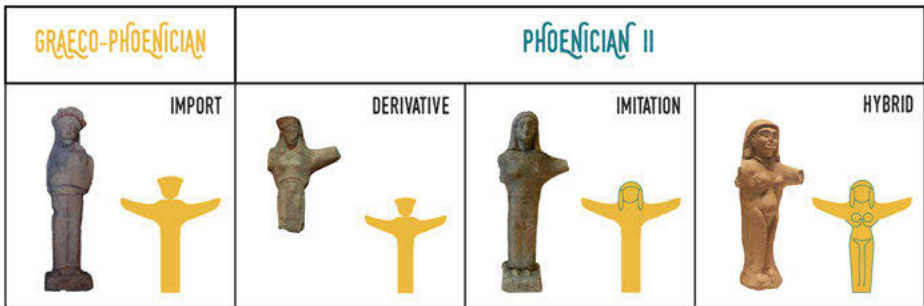
Fig. 2: Development of *psi kore* types in Phoenicia. Import from Sidon (AO 260001 © *Musée du Louvre*, photo by the Author). Derivative from Kharayeb (after Oggiano 2015, Fig. 3, right). Imitation from Sidon (AO 1835 © *Musée du Louvre / Antiquités orientales*). Hybrid from Tel Megadim (1967–2091 © Israel Museum, photo by the Author).

The nakedness of the figurine does not have to be perceived in a hedonic sense, but as an attempt to perform youthful aesthetic standards in the Levant. Young maidens are then presented with a marked Levantine taste. Thus, we can observe an abandonment of foreign customs not suited for local receptacles. The theme of nudity is by no means new to Phoenician coroplastic. As Gubel already mentioned, this female iconography goes back to the Syrian Middle and Late Bronze Ages traditions.[88] The theme was then abandoned for the greatest part of the Iron Age, being preserved only in the Akkar Plain, where a micro-regional tradition developed between the late 9th -end 7th centuries BCE.[89] In Gubel's opinion, this iconography would be attribut-

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84 To date, only a few of these figurines have been published. Cf. Gubel 1982, fig.2; Curvers, Stuart 1996, figs.1c–d; Lehmann-Jeriche 1997, figs.11d–f; Élayi 2010, figs.17a,d.

85 Culican 1975-76, fig.4d; Nunn 2000, pl.23, no.68.

86 Broshi 1969, 126, upper left. Israel Antiquities Authority 1967–2091.

87 Cf. Stern 1989, 23.

88 Gubel 1982, 228–229.

89 Bolognani 2020, 41–42.

able to the Syrian fertility goddess.[90] Élayi also adds that the figurines should have represented Astarte and were *ex-votos* deposited in a temple (presumably) dedicated to her in Beirut.[91] However, these claims have limitations in contextual data. In fact, if the *psi korai* represented goddesses, it is not clear why their local imitations were found together with male specimens in the temple of Eshmun in Bostan Esh-Sheikh or that of Kharayeb. Furthermore, this raises the question as to which deity those in a funerary context must have been dedicated. It, therefore, seems more logical to assume that they should rather represent a segment of the population, perhaps young dancing maidens at marrying age showing their natural splendours.[92] The fact that they evoked mortal icons and not goddesses would also explain their cultic versatility, which is quite analogous to the Greek models in a way. As proof that derivative, imitations, and hybrid figurines were used by devotees of various kinds, it is necessary to get a glimpse at what happens in the following centuries.
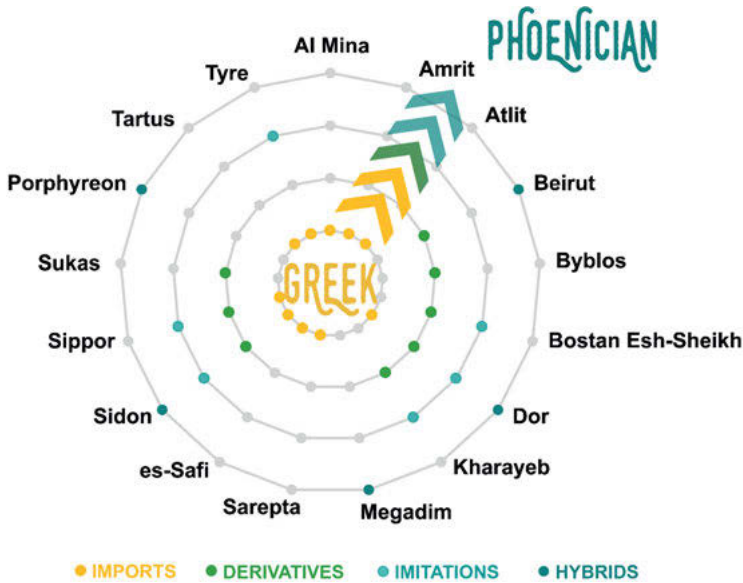
Fig. 3: Degree of assimilation of Greek prototypes of the first phase.

90 Gubel 1982, 231.
91 Élayi 2010, 165–166.
92 Cultic dancing was a religious performance attested both in the cult of Astarte and Eshmun. Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 101.

4 Second Phase: Attic Types (5th-4th Centuries BCE)

The second phase of imported Greek figurines is more problematic due to the heterogeneity of coroplastic subjects and their fragmentation. To date, contrary to the first import phase (Fig. 3), piecing together the steps of their local development is particularly challenging, especially regarding the distinction between imports and derivatives. As we will see once again, the most interesting aspect related to this production is the influence on the local *repertoire*.

On the one hand, at the beginning of the 5th century BCE, one still detects a faint continuation of the tradition of the enthroned female figurines. Some important innovations are introduced, such as the importation of Attic enthroned figures with their typical winged back throne in Arsuf[93] and unknown locations in Southern Phoenicia;[94] or the "Aegine" type with a low seat from Sidon.[95] A base fragment with feet tentatively attributed to these late enthroned figures came from Tell Sukas.[96] Meanwhile, some further derivatives are known from Kharayeb[97] and Tel Sippor.[98] On the other hand, the importation of *korai* and *kouroi* figurines – except for one late *psi kore* from Sidon[99] – seems to fade. This production is now replaced until the 4th century BCE with some rare Attic Sever Style *peplophoros* terracottas. One must, however, say that a major part of the finds are heads, while the bodies of these *peplophoroi* are frequently missing. This fact may suggest that the objects were ritually offered.[100] Considering the interchangeability of the heads, it seems difficult to know whether they belonged to standing or seated figurines (Fig. 4, left). As for the attested specimens, two tentatively imported heads and one body fragment are known from Al Mina[101] and two heads from the *favissa* of Tel es-Safi,[102] while three derivatives heads and two seated bodies came from the *favissa* of Tel Sippor.[103] Although these are only a selection of a larger coroplastic group characterizing the second import phase, the geographical origin of the imports in Phoenicia cannot be ascertained with certainty. In fact, the 5th century BCE enthroned

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93 Roll, Tall 1999, fig.4.52.1.

94 Israel Museum IAA 1940–322; Haifa Maritime Museum, 3363, 3775, Zemer 2009, 88, figs.54–55; Eretz Israel Museum, MHP 18462.

95 Nunn 2000, pl.33, no.107. Louvre Museum AO 1583.

96 Plough 1973, pl.XIX.422, no.TS4364.

97 Kaoukabani 1973, 45, pl. III.1.

98 Negbi 1966, 12, no.35.

99 Nunn 2000, pl.42, no.147. Louvre Museum AO 21071.

100 The attestation of Archaic period beheaded figurines has been also noticed in the 85% of terracotta finds from the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene. The ritual breakage was ascertained for specimens dating from the 5th century BCE onward. Uhlenbrock 1992, 17.

101 Woolley 1938, 164, pl.X, MN29, MN87, MN108.

102 Bliss, Macalister 1902, 104, 141, fig.14.3, Rockefeller Museum 694.

103 Negbi 1966, 12–14, pls.VI–VII, nos.25–26, 30–32.

ladies are attested both in Eastern and Western Greece.[104] The same can be affirmed for the Athenian *peplophoroi*, which are also sporadically spread in the Western Mediterranean.[105] Despite the limited numbers of the finds, the mild diffusion of *peplophoroi* played a pivotal role in shaping the aesthetic of the local coroplastic. As has been stated, during the Persian period, we see the rise of the Phoenician II production. Among the many coroplastic subjects widely diffused along the coastal Levant, the most innovative class is composed of some pillar-shaped hollow figurines standing on pedestals.[106] In this class, one can see some first attempts in moving towards a local mass production. Again, despite the evident Levantine style of the specimens, fully expressed in the rendering of some anatomical details and local symbols. A reworking of Greek models – the *peplophoroi* – can be observed in the adoption of some features connected to the ritualistic use of these objects and in some aesthetic details probably dictated by the taste of the worshippers. These include, for instance, the systematic use of high pedestals, the occasional presence of a libation bowl (the Greek *phiale*), and the characterization of the garments (Fig. 4, right).

Fig. 4: *Peplophoros* figurines in Phoenicia with tentative reconstructions and their assimilation in the local *repertoire*. To the right, Al Mina (after Woolley 1938, pl.X), Tel es-Safi (after Bliss, Macalister 1902, fig.14.3), Tel Sippor (after Negbi 1966, pl.VII, nos.30–33). To the left, pillar-shaped figurines from the Phoenician coast (H3308, H3303, H3332, H3304, H3301, H3460 © Hecht Museum, photos by the Author).

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104 Cf. for Rhodes, Jacopi 1931, fig.89; Blinkenberg 1931, pls.96–97, nos.2129, 2133, 2137–2142 ; Higgins 1954, nos.121–126, 243, 658–659; for Delos, Laumonier 1956, no.79–83; for Attica, Higgins 1954, no.657.
105 Cf. eastern Greece, Mendel 1908, pl.II.12, Blinkenberg 1931, pls.105–107, nos. 2274, 2283, 2283, 2292, 2300, Jacopi 1931, figs.85–86, 181, Higgins 1954, nos.204–213, 220–224, 673; Laumonier 1956, nos.240–242; for western Greece, Higgins 1954, nos.669, 671, 678–670, 682, for Carthage and Tharros, Higgins 1954, nos.675, 677.
106 Nunn 2000, 68–69, type 35; Bolognani 2020, 43, fig.5j.

What ultimately suggests this permeation of styles at the local level? Hybridization is an important phenomenon in understanding the religious and social context in which these figurines were manipulated. Indeed, we cannot ignore the fact that in some sites, especially in the south,[107] Graeco-Phoenician figurines have been found together with both the Phoenician and other Levantine productions. Contrary to some statements from the past,[108] this data does not tell us that there was a one-to-one relationship between local deities and other allochthonous with similar features. Nor does it tell us that these were locally worshipped due to an active syncretism. These figurines only reproduce a varied set of devotees, probably from different geographic origins and social backgrounds,[109] whose cultic practises are largely unknown to us. However, it is in this period that we observe the adoption of common religious codes in the material evidence, stimulating a homologation of cultic expressions between the Greek and Phoenician worlds. From a historical perspective, it could perhaps be said that religious syncretism was stimulated in the first instance by material needs and only later by ideological ones. Thus, figurines produced in different locations might have been used within the same temple regardless of the venerated divinities since the worshippers shared similar cultic wills (fertility, good luck, protection, healing, etc.).

5 Conclusions

This paper has highlighted the importance of considering material evidence of any kind in its complexity. As already stressed by Pedrazzi, "it is necessary to investigate the material culture more thoroughly, in order to recognize in a given local repertoire precisely what kind and degree of 'foreignness' is detected in an apparently "non-local" artefact (imitation, import, hybrid production, autonomous reworking of foreign models, and so on)". Regarding the Graeco-Phoenician figurines, this preliminary analysis shows that there was not a sharp division between the so-called Eastern and Western coroplastic production in Phoenicia during the Persian period, because on a closer look a more nuanced situation is revealed. Many figurines that may look essentially "Greek" at first glance, are for the major part derivative figurines, if not local imitations or a blending between Greek and Levantine iconographic subjects. In light of the proposed analysis, the phenomenon of Greek imported figurines shall be considerably resized, but much more attention should be put on their long-lasting assimilation in local contexts. Thus, future research will certainly have to trace the circulation

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107 Cf. Cornelius 2014, 81, map.1.
108 Stern 1989, 29.
109 Lipiński 2003, 301–304. Cornelius adopts the term "otherness" when referring to Yehud society through the coroplastic eye. Cf. Cornelius 2014, 81.

routes of these figurines through the analysis of their fabrics. Once the original locations are identified, it is essential to reconstruct the social value attributed to these cult objects in Phoenicia. This value can only be reconstructed if enough importance to local retrieval contexts is given and, possibly, when the specimens of specific types are enough to determine a statistical weight.[110] In this regard, renewed analyses shall be conducted for the *corpora* from Sidon and Beirut (first phase), and those from Tel es-Safi, Tel Dor, and Tel Sippor (second phase). Finally, in the author's view, although the reasons behind the circulation of clay figurines at an international level can be sometimes elusive, Phoenician commercial trades can only explain the phenomenon partially. While considering the local impact of the Graeco-Phoenician production, the possibility of a mixed audience attending some cosmopolitan cultic centres along the Coastal Levant shall still be kept open.

Abbreviations

AASyr.	Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie
ABSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies
BAAL	Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BARev.	Biblical Archaeology Review
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BMB	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
Collection ISTA	Collection de l'Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité
IES	Israel Exploration Journal
IstM	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JHS	The Journal of Hellenic Studies
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
RSF	Rivista di Studi Fenici
QDAP	The Quartely of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
ZOrA	Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie

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110 Uhlenbrock 2007, 741.

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Marianna Castiglione

The Gods of the Others: Images of Foreign Deities in the Hellenistic Cult Place of Kharayeb

The study of the terracotta figurines discovered by Maurice Chéhab and Ibrahim Kaoukabani in the cult place of Kharayeb, located in the hinterland of Tyre, and now stored in the Beirut National Museum, is part of the wider *Kharayeb Archaeological Project*, headed by Ida Oggiano of the Istituto di Scienze del Partimonio Culturale (CNR-Rome).[1] The assemblage includes figurines of some Hellenistic gods, whose iconographies can shed light on the ways of divine re-presentation in this geographical area during the so-called *koine*, and may suggest cults and rituals in the sanctuary, as well as cultural and religious habits. From a technical and artisanal point of view, these objects allow a deeper understanding of the widespread circulation of moulds and artistic patterns along the Mediterranean, which determined the deliberate adoption or the 'unconscious' choice of foreign iconographies, also generally well-known thanks to various media, such as statues or seals, for example. The history of exchanges between Greece and the Levant – it is well known – is lengthy and stretches for centuries: consequently, high points of art and culture were directly related to their familiarity, that did not ensure a clear and easy transfer of symbols. Therefore, all the data from Kharayeb, here examined in this broader perspective, offer a more fine-grained analysis of those cultural dynamics, resulting from the longstanding contact between the Phoenician people and the Greeks,[2] and which peaked with the conquests of Alexander the Great.

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1 I am very grateful to Ida Oggiano for the opportunity to study the Hellenistic terracotta figurines as a member of the *Kharayeb Archaeological Project*, and for the fruitful exchange of ideas on the archaeology of the ancient Levant. I am also thankful to the anonymous reviewers for their valuable remarks and comments.
2 On this topic, cfr. Castiglione 2021.

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1 The Cult Place of Kharayeb and the Terracotta Figurines

The sanctuary of Kharayeb, despite its location in the Tyrian rural hinterland, was remarkably well connected and had regular access to the coast, as suggested by the features of the great building and its architectonic elements, the inscriptions, and some technical similarities in the production of figurines, comparable with the nearby coastal centre.

In the earlier excavations, structures and many archaeological finds were discovered in the paved courtyard and in the *favissa*, and then they were published.[3] The recent works at the site, headed by Ida Oggiano and Wissam Khalil from the Université Libanaise, provided a visual reconstruction of the archaeological context (Fig. 1) and a chronology for the complex from the 7th to the 1st century BCE, supported by the analysis of the figurines.
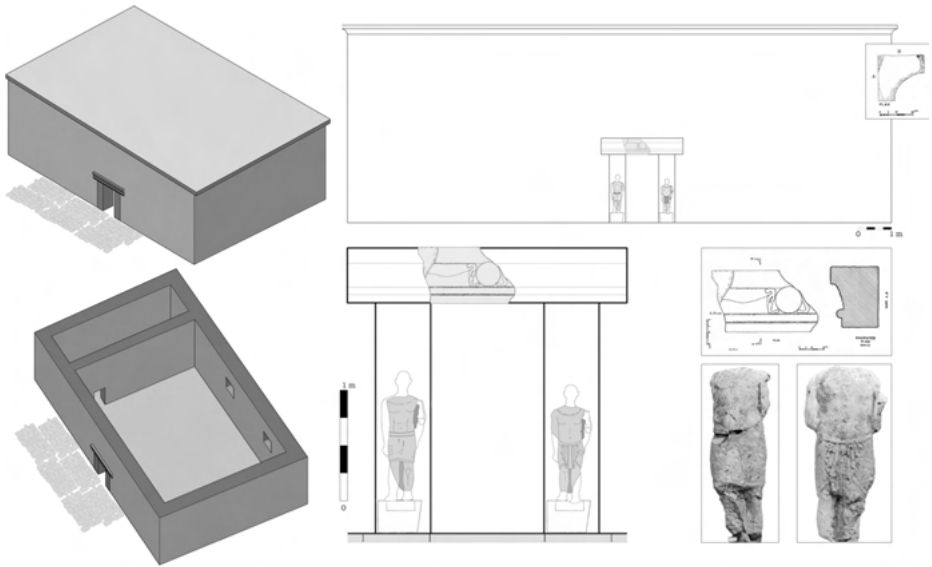
Fig. 1: Reconstruction of the cult place of Kharayeb. Composition by the author after Oggiano 2018, 20–21, figs. 4–6.

The first occupation connected to cult practices can be dated back to the Iron Age II/ Persian Period (with pottery dating back to the 9th-8th century BCE),[4] while at the beginning of the Hellenistic period (c. late 4th century BCE) a larger and squared

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3 Chéhab 1951–1952; Chéhab 1953–1954; Kaoukabani 1973.

4 Cfr. Oggiano *et al.* 2016, 198–203 (F. Nuñez Calvo), 206–210 (I. Oggiano); Oggiano 2018, 18; Oggiano 2020, 268.

edifice was built, with a paved courtyard and a *favissa*. The walls, made of blocks extracted from the quarries located upstream of the sanctuary, were probably covered with plaster and a stucco decoration.[5]

The renewed study of the whole coroplastic assemblage considers in detail the manufacture, iconography, and stylistic aspects, useful to determine a likely chronology.[6] While in the Iron Age II and Persian period (c. 9th-late 4th century BCE), figurines were hand-made or single moulds produced and inspired by both the regional repertoire and an Eastern-Greek style,[7] in the Hellenistic period (late 4th-1st century BCE) they were realised using double moulds and showed a broader variety of iconographies, inspired by Egyptian, Greek and local patterns. Most of them depict the worshippers involved in different religious and daily activities, and present typologies very popular in Greece, Asia Minor and Alexandria: pairs of lovers, mothers and children, draped men and women, infants and youngsters, musicians, and dancers. On the contrary, figurines of Egyptianizing and Greek gods account for approximately 5 percent of the total fragments. The Hellenistic terracottas were discovered in a secondary position (the *favissa*), as well as in two different layers – the "première" and "deuxième couche" –, in which the exact indication of their original context is not always specified further. Therefore, the precision of the dating provided here, mostly based on technology, iconography, and style, depends on the possibility of comparing the divine figurines found in Kharayeb with similar terracottas from other geographical contexts, having a defined chronology deriving from stratigraphic data, or with some Greek statues offering a *terminus post quem*. Thus, the following analysis not only allows us to better refine the chronological and cultural framework of the coroplastic assemblage, as well as to understand the cults and religious practices in the sanctuary, but it may also suggest, more extensively, economy, social aspects, cultural and artistic trends of Hellenistic Phoenicia.

2 The Hellenistic Gods: Some Methodological Remarks

Mythological dictionaries – fruit of centuries of antiquarianism – have recomposed artificially the biography of each divinity and have reduced their personalities to static labels. But a god is not a person in the narrow sense, even less a personality; rather, a god is a "divine power," which is a part of a system of multiple deities, and continually reconfigures itself within both cultic contexts and narrative traditions. [. . .] The Greek gods are indeed plural and polyvalent, but they are not interchangeable. [. . .] *Furthermore, it is necessary to consider that* the Greeks

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5 Cfr. Oggiano *et al.* 2016; Oggiano 2018.

6 Cfr. Oggiano 2012; Oggiano 2015a; Oggiano 2015b; Oggiano *et al.* 2016; Castiglione 2019; Roumié *et al.* 2019; Castiglione 2020a; Castiglione 2020b; Oggiano 2020; Castiglione in press; Oggiano/Castiglione in press; Oggiano *et al.* in press.

7 Cfr. Oggiano *et al.* 2016, 206–209.

produced various representations of their gods, which have their specific place within a precise context of elaboration and communication.[8]

Considering the quotation from Gabriella Pironti, it is possible to state that Hellenic deities were generally recognisable in a particular context also thanks to their features and attributes, important agents of communication. These peculiarities canalized the viewer's visual perception of the divine in a particular direction, without entirely confining it, explaining the essence, and alluding to the properties of the figure, making it distinguishable. But in the articulated and ductile language of polytheism, often not accessible to us and in which new sentences were always possible, the meaning of some attributes was often polyvalent and not always as precise as an epiclesis.[9] These issues let us infer that, on the one hand, the images of Hellenistic gods and heroes were easily identified by the contemporary observers, thanks to their contexts and attributes, or because they were fixed figures canonized during previous periods. But, on the other hand, this one-to-one semantic system did not work everywhere and, above all, in every time, also in the original context. For example, in the Archaic period (7th-early 5th century BCE), the Greek divine or heroic figures, which were not clearly understandable in ancient narrative scenes, were usually identified by accompanying inscriptions, as extensively shown, for example, by the richly painted François Vase (570 BCE), or by an almost contemporary Attic black figure *dinos* signed by the painter *Sophilos* (580 BCE) or, previously, by an earlier Naxian amphora (mid-7th century BCE).[10]

Other debating points are related to the meaning and understanding of those foreign iconographies in different cult places. While it is obvious that, in the original context, divine or heroic images alluded to specific religious activities, there is, however, no guarantee that they had the same meaning if used in other spaces or times. In fact, the appropriation of imported iconographies and artistic styles in order to represent local deities does not necessarily reflect the adoption of foreign religious ideas and cult practices, also because the sphere of influence of divinities could vary considerably from place to place.[11] Therefore, it is questionable how images were understood away from the Egyptian or Greek world, for example, whether they were connected to practices and rituals also in Kharayeb, or if they had an economic and aesthetic value only, derived from the use of moulds and typologies widespread along the Hellenistic Mediterranean.

So, we will discuss our data in a broader and more comprehensive perspective, keeping in mind all the mentioned issues, the role of the intercultural exchanges

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8 Cfr. Pironti 2010, 113–114, 119 (in the quotation, I added the words in italics). On the complexity of the Greek polytheism and on the multiplicity and plurality of gods, which were a source of anxiety to ancient Hellenic worshippers or maybe a concern about their efficiency, as well as a new, cognitive linguistic approach to the topic, see Peels-Matthey 2021.

9 Cfr. Mylonopoulos 2010; Pironti 2010.

10 Carpenter 1991, 35.

11 Cfr. Nitschke 2013, 254–255; Martin 2014a; Martin 2017.

and interactions in acquiring foreign images and artistic styles to represent and visualise divinities and hero-gods and to perceive and worship them,[12] as well as the words of Jessica Nitschke concerning the new or restyled meaning of imported motifs in Phoenicia: "determining cultural provenance of a motif does not in itself explain what meaning it has in the new context, or why certain motifs were chosen while others were rejected. Clearly the Phoenicians were selective, and had good reasons for picking certain motifs while rejecting others".[13]

3 Images like Statues

Considering the previous remarks about the reinterpretation of iconographies in a cultural setting (Phoenicia) different from that in which they originated (Greece or other Mediterranean areas), it is clear that the meaning of images related to daily life was surely well understandable and easily shareable, because of their common sense. Sometimes, they also had parallels with Greek sculpture, like a figurine found in Myrina echoing the Lysippian *Apoxyomenos*, or some terracottas of a boy playing with a goose found in Kharayeb and Tarsus, inspired by the much-copied group of a naked, chubby baby boy grappling playfully with a goose almost his own size, recalling the famous statue by Boethos.[14] Although we cannot confirm whether those statues were really known along the Mediterranean, their echo in coroplastic production means that they may have shared some Hellenic cultural habits and a significant degree of feelings for the childhood condition.[15]

The figurines of deities and hero-gods from Asia Minor (e.g., Smyrna), the Levant and Mesopotamia also referred to famous statues by Lysippos such as the Weary Herakles or the *Epitrapezios*, by Kallimachos like the Aphrodite *Genetrix* (du Fréjus), and by Praxiteles such as the Aphrodite of Arles and the *Knidia*.[16] To explain the acquisition of these foreign images, that were obviously less linked to daily life, it is necessary to consider the spread of technical and artistic issues in the whole Mediterranean, the movement of peoples, patterns and ideas, and also the influence of socio-demographic and religious aspects.

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12 Cfr. Nitschke 2013.

13 Nitschke 2015.

14 For the statue and its sculptor cfr. Plin. *HN* 34.84.

15 Cfr. Castiglione 2020b.

16 Cfr. Hasselin Rous 2016.

4 The Hellenistic Gods: Egyptianizing and Greek Iconographies

Many Egyptianizing divinities are documented in Kharayeb: Harpocrates alone or with Isis (at least 173 examples, among which at least 5 Isis *lactans*), Bes (at least 7 examples), "Baubò" (at least 2 examples), *Ptah-Pataikos* (at least 2 examples) and Apis (at least 1 example) (Fig. 2).

These typologies were strictly connected to the Alexandrian productions, as testified by some iconographies and technical aspects, although moulds have not been discovered at the site and the petrographic and PIXE analysis of the fabrics suggests that those objects were locally made or created in Tyre.[17] Although it is reasonable to hypothesise a probable production of the Hellenistic figurines in some great workshops located in that coastal centre,[18] whose scope probably reached Tel Kedesh too,[19] it is however difficult to know if the connection concerning the Egyptian and Alexandrian terracottas or craftspeople with the Levant was direct, or mediated by Delos, where Phoenician and Egyptian communities were settled, and/or by centres of Asia Minor. Furthermore, it is also necessary to consider that the group of Isis *lactans* documented in Kharayeb was different from the original Egyptianizing archetypes, because it was probably inspired by Syrian manufacturing and produced in

Isis with Harpocrates   "Baubò"   Harpocrates   Bes   *Ptah-Pataikos*   Apis

Fig. 2: Figurines of Egyptianizing gods from Kharayeb. Composition by the author, after Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. X 4, XXXII 3, XXX 2, and colour photographs by Ida Oggiano.

17 Roumié *et al.* 2019; Oggiano/Castiglione in press; Oggiano *et al.* in press.
18 On the topic related to the connection between the sanctuaries and the coroplastic production centres in the Levant, I delivered a paper in the International Scientific Seminar "*Trabajo Sagrado II*", held in Rome in December 2021, and I am going to publish it.
19 For the petrographic analysis of a terracotta figurine from Tel Kedesh, indicating a possible origin near Tyre and testifying to the spread of the Tyrian production, see Erlich 2017, 43 and note 13.

local workshops by moving artisans or using imported moulds or the *surmoulage* technique.[20]

Among the Greek-type gods, generally connected to emotions and elements of daily life, we can mention various deities: Dionysus with or without satyrs, or represented like a child with Silenus (at least 52 examples); Hermes (at least 39 examples); Eros alone (at least 34 examples) and with Psyche (at least 8 examples); Herakles (at least 28 examples); Aphrodite (at least 19 examples); Apollo *kitharodos* (at least 13 examples); a probable Demeter (at least 9 examples); Artemis *Kynegetis* (at least 5 examples) and a single terracotta of Zeus[21] (Fig. 3).

Dionysus and Satyr   Hermes   Eros   Aphrodite   Apollo   Demeter?

0   5 cm
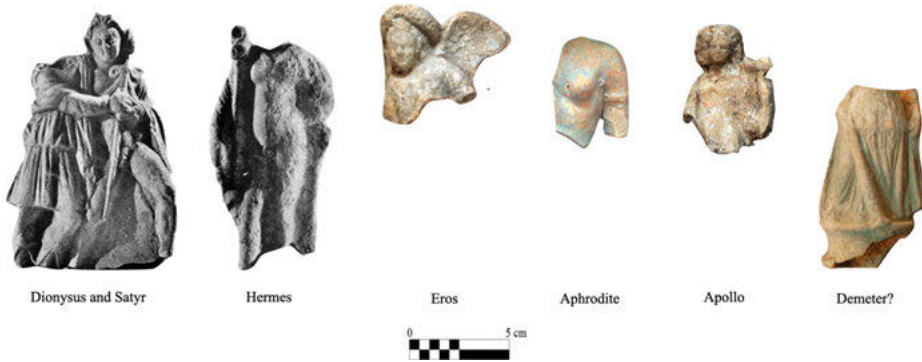
Fig. 3: Figurines representing some Greek gods from Kharayeb. Composition by the author, after Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXII, and colour photographs by Ida Oggiano.

The figurines associated with Dionysus, with or without satyrs, his regular companions, sometimes have drinking vessels, or, less often, present the child god with Silenus (Fig. 4).

They account for the most significant proportion of the corpus,[22] different from the case of nearby Palestine, for example. To explain his substantial presence, it is necessary to consider that the Dionysiac religion had a special home in Macedonia long before Alexander's eastern campaigns, and that the oriental heritage of the god made him more significant for the Macedonians in the face of their eastern quest. Moreover, representations of *Papposilenoi*, actors and theatrical masks referring to the New Comedy of Menander, also testified in Kharayeb,[23] were frequently found within the context of Dionysiac devotion, probably due to being linked to the festive celebrations of the god of wine. Thus, these figurines could reflect both the

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20 For the Egyptianizing figurines from Kharayeb, see Castiglione 2019.

21 Cfr. Lancellotti 2003, 356.

22 Chéhab 1951–1952, 29–31; Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XX-XXIV, XXV.1–2.

23 Cfr. Castiglione 2020a.

Fig. 4: Figurines of Dionysus, with satyrs and Silenus. Composition by the author, after Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XX, XXI 2, XXII, XXIII 2–3, and colour photographs by Ida Oggiano.

impact of the cult of Dionysus and the influence of theatre in the daily lives of people and soldiers posted in the eastern lands.[24]

Several terracottas represent a standing Hermes wearing the *clamis*, with the *kerykeion*-caduceus and a wide-brimmed hat, known as *petasos*.[25] He is also depicted as Hermes *Kriophoros*,[26] even if the youngsters carrying a ram cannot be unequivocally and directly identified with the god (Fig. 5).

The popularity of Hermes in the sanctuary and in the *hinterland* of Tyre is certainly due to his particular role as protector and god of thieves, merchants, passengers and shepherds,[27] among which we must probably include some of the worshippers in Kharayeb.

In the cult place, the god Eros is also documented, recognisable thanks to the wings, the supernatural features distinguishing him from the mortal children.[28] He is generally standing, in a front-facing position or leaning on a probable support, with an almost naked body and a short mantle or a short tunic,[29] and at least in one case holding a duck.[30] The young god occasionally has a cylindrical wreath on his head and he is sometimes represented frontally, seated on the back of a robust bird, turned to the right.[31] Eros playing with or riding swans, ducks, or, more rarely,

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24 Cfr. Connelly 1990, 212–214.

25 Chéhab 1951–1952, 26; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXV.3–4.

26 Chéhab 1951–1952, 26–27; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXVI; Kaoukabani 1973, 45, pl. V.2–3.

27 Cfr. Başaran/Ergürer 2018, 249–252.

28 Cfr. Langin-Hooper 2020, 189–190.

29 Chéhab 1951–1952, 27–28; Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XV-XVII.

30 Kaoukabani 1973, 45, pl. IV.2.

31 Chéhab 1951–1952, 28; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. V.5.

Fig. 5: Figurines of Hermes. Composition by the author, after Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XXV 3–4, XXVI 1–2, and a colour photograph by Ida Oggiano.

peacocks, is an iconography popular in the workshops of Greece, Asia Minor and Southern Italy, from the late Hellenistic period onwards[32] (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6: Figurines of Eros. Composition by the author, after Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. V 5, XV 1–3, and a colour photograph by Ida Oggiano.

In few cases, he is represented with Psyche: the couple is often depicted in a frontal pose and Psyche stands on the right, in a relaxed attitude, hugging Eros with her right arm. He occasionally has a *periskelis* in the shape of a coiled serpent

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32 Cfr. Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2017a.

around his left thigh,[33] visible on similar items from Myrina and on some figurines of Aphrodite.[34] Another group, similar to terracottas from Maresha and probably dated to the 3rd century BCE,[35] represents the god holding a comic mask with his left hand. Sometimes, the upper part of Eros slightly turns towards Psyche and his right hand supports her head as she turns to accept his kiss.[36] From the iconographic point of view, the specific type of the two figures hugging each other is very popular and known from a series of copies from a possible late-Hellenistic original sculpture[37] (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7: Figurines of Eros with Psyche. Composition by the author, after Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XIV 1 and 3, XVI 3–4, and a colour photograph by Ida Oggiano.

The hero-god Herakles is represented as a standing nude young male, with the weight resting on the right leg, the right hip raised slightly with the right arm bent on it. The left arm bends slightly at the elbow and leans on the voluminous folds of the heavy *leontè*, one of his distinctive attributes.[38] He has already accomplished the first

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33 Chéhab 1951–1952, 28; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XVI.

34 For a figurine of Aphrodite from Mt. Carmel, see Klinger 2017. For a similar coiled snake garter around the left thigh of a figurine of Aphrodite with a *strophion* from Nea Paphos, see Michaelides 2015, 330–331.

35 Erlich/Kloner 2008, 40–41, 161 pl. 21.108–109: in Maresha, the group is interpreted as a couple of lovers.

36 Chéhab 1951–1952, 28–29; Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XIV, XVI.1,3–4, XXXI.

37 For some parallels, see Kasapoğlu 2015, 178–186; Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2017b; Zografou 2017; Langin-Hooper 2020, 204.

38 Chéhab 1951–1952, 25; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXVIII.2.

labour, the bout with the Nemean lion: the animal's large head is marked with deep-set, sagging eyes and a broad snout (Fig. 8a). Some figurines have a baldric slung diagonally from the right shoulder to left hip and crossing the pectorals, that makes the hero look well-armed and more menacing[39] (Fig. 8b). This type was found, for example, throughout Mesopotamia, Susiana and on the island of Failaka, in the Kuwait gulf, and it was considered an appropriate patron for the troops maintaining the frontier.[40] A mature and musclebound Herakles, with a lined forehead, a thick and luxuriant beard and the lion-paws of the lionskin knotted on his chest, is also documented,[41] and it recalls a statue type probably originated in the 4th century BCE[42] (Fig. 8c). Another figurine seems to represent the third labour of the hero-god, implying his incredible stamina and patience, and consisting in the capture of the Erymanthian boar (Fig. 8d). An adventure also testified in the sanctuary, at least by one figurine, is the wrestling with the giant Antaeus:[43] in Libya, before getting to the garden of the Hesperides to steal the golden apples, Herakles used his wits to complete this labour, because his strength did not suffice (Fig. 8e). Then, the hero-god undertook his last labour, obtaining the golden apples, as revealed by the figurines showing a pome in the left hand, that refer to a statue type, probably dated to the middle/third quarter of the 4th century BCE[44] (Fig. 8f). Finally, after all these feats, Herakles could rest. He is represented as a mature, fully nude man, with wide sagging shoulders, heavily muscled arms, a powerful body and well-defined abdominal musculature. These terracottas have the head inclining downward, the body dynamically positioned in a contrapposto pose, the right arm held behind the back and the club resting in the left armpit to support the weight of the upper body.[45] All these characters echo the Lysippian Weary Herakles sculpture: in particular, the body of an athletic figure and the unexaggerated muscles naturally rendered, let us infer that these figurines could relate to statues which were closer and more faithful late-Hellenistic, 2nd-1st century BCE copies of the original Lysippian or his Sikyon School Herakles, probably elaborated in Pergamon and the most popular in number and diversity of copies.[46] Such figurines, widespread in the Near East, testify, on the one hand, how the ancients grasped and exploited a sculpture or a sculptural motif and, on the other hand, the direct influence of the visual traditions of the Hellenistic *koine* in this part of the Mediterranean world[47] (Fig. 8g).

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39 Chéhab 1951–1952, 25; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXVIII.1.

40 Connelly 1990, 210–211.

41 Chéhab 1951–1952, 25; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXVII.3.

42 Cfr. Richter 1954, 73–74 no. 121, pl. 93; Zanker *et al.* 2020, 23, 80–81, no. 24, fig. 50.

43 Chéhab 1951–1952, 33; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XCVIII.1.

44 Cfr. Richter 1954, 74 no. 122, pl. 94; Zanker *et al.* 2020, 23, 82–83, no. 25, fig. 51.

45 Chéhab 1951–1952, 25; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXVII.2.

46 These statues, on which the figurines are based, belong to Vermeule's second group of the Weary Herakles classification (Vermeule 1975, 325–326, 328. Cfr. Mazor/Atrash 2021 for a marble statue of the Weary Herakles recently discovered in Palestine).

**47** Cfr. Hasselin Rous/Yalçin 2018; Langin-Hooper 2020, 153–154, 212–213.
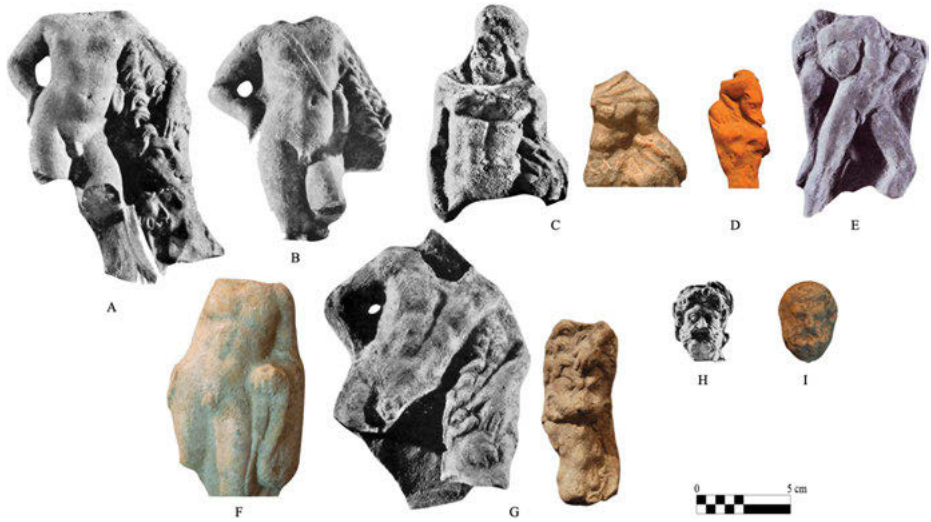
Fig. 8: Figurines of Herakles. Composition by the author, after Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XXVII 1–3, XXVIII 1–2, XCVIII 1, and colour photographs by Ida Oggiano.

The high percentage of Herakles' terracottas in Kharayeb, which is on a parallel with Sidon and Maresha, allows us to better define the broader spread of these typologies, especially the Lysippian one, found in Asia Minor (e.g., Pergamon, Tarsus), the Levant and Mesopotamia (e.g., Susa, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Nippur, Uruk), and it also suggests that the moulds widely travelled throughout the Near East.[48] Together with these technical issues, it is important to consider that the worship of Herakles in the Greek East and Alexander's special devotion along the campaign routes are well attested in the literary sources, which report Alexander's frequent stops to offer sacrifice to his famous 'ancestor'.[49] Furthermore, the role played by the cult of Herakles in the siege of Tyre must have forged a special relationship between the Macedonian troops and the hero-god.[50] As Stephanie Langin-Hooper pointed out for the Hellenistic Babylonian figurines, it is probable to argue that the users of figurines in Kharayeb were also interested in experimenting with the bodily forms, the athletic poses, and the styles of the dynamic lion hunters.[51]

A single terracotta, interpreted by Maurice Chéhab as a probable Zeus[52] (Fig. 8h), could also possibly be included in the group of figurines depicting the Lysippian

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48 Cfr. Connelly 1990, 217.

49 Alexander the Great, between 332 and 331 BCE, performed some rites in the precinct of the temple of Herakles/Melqart (Arr., *An.*, 2.24, 3.6.1; D.S.,17.46; Plu., *Alex.*, 29. Cfr. Le Guen 2014).

50 Cfr. Connelly 1990, 211–212.

51 Langin-Hooper 2020, 153–154. Cfr. Le Guen 2014, 350–351.

52 Chéhab 1951–1952, 26; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXVII.1.

Herakles *Epitrapezios*, a type widespread in Athens, Delos, Tarentum, on the north of the Black Sea – on the west side of the Kerch-Kimmer Strait (e.g., Tyritake, Myrmekion) –, in Asia Minor (e.g., Priene, Smyrna, western Anatolia, Tarsus, Parion)[53] and Egypt. His physical features – a strong face structure, prominent cheekbones, a big nose, thick moustache and a bushy and voluminous beard, partially deformed in two large masses on the chin – are certainly reminiscent of Zeus, Asclepius, Hephaistos and Serapis as well, but the hero-god cannot be excluded. In addition, the laurel wreath crowning the head could also lead to the identification of Herakles *Epitrapezios*, which is also known in Kharayeb through other figurines (Fig. 8i).

Aphrodite is another popular divine iconography in Kharayeb. The goddess is usually represented alone, standing in contrapposto, naked or often half-nude, echoing the pose of the *Knidia*, the famous marble statue by Praxiteles, and sometimes adorned with a round armlet, emphasising her allure and seduction[54] (Fig. 9a). Some figurines depict the famous *Anadyomene*, based on a painting by Apelles (late 4th century BCE), emerging from the waves and raising her hands to wring two locks of wet hair (Fig. 9b). Similar terracottas, widespread in the Levant and Egypt,[55] have been found in Tyre, Beirut and Sidon, while a small later bronze statuette (c. 1st-2nd century CE), now displayed in the Beirut National Museum, has been discovered in Baalbek. Other terracottas could be identified as the half-draped *Anadyomene*,[56] a variant of the naked version dated to the 3rd century BCE and often associated with the representation of mortal women in the guise of the goddess.[57] The left hand holds the garment at the waist and the right arm is raised to the level of the head, probably to arrange or wring seawater from the hair (Fig. 9c). This hypothetical reconstruction is based on coroplastic parallels with opposite sides, found in Corinth, Ephesus, Tarsus, and Palestine (e.g., Hippos-Sussita), or on identical figurines from Gerasa (early 2nd century CE);[58] in addition to those examples, there is also a comparable marble statuette from Sidon.[59] Many other terracottas of Aphrodite have a naked upper torso and covered legs, with the drapery knotted immediately below the pudenda, and with thick folds falling to the feet[60] (Fig. 9d). Similar forms of drapery with the central knot are widely known, notably in statues of the goddess from Egypt and surrounding

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53 Başaran/Ergürer 2018, 252–253; Hasselin Rous/Yalçin 2018.

54 For a figurine of Aphrodite from Mt. Carmel wearing many jewels, see Klinger 2017. For two figurines of Aphrodite from Nea Paphos, completely naked and wearing similar bracelets on both wrists (Armed Aphrodite) or with a pair of large, rounded earrings and a *periskelis* in the shape of a coiled serpent around her left thigh (Aphrodite with a *strophion*), see Michaelides 2015, 330–333.

55 Erlich/Kloner 2008, 11–12.

56 Chéhab 1951–1952, 25; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXVIII.1.

57 Cfr. Walker 2009.

58 Merker 2000, MF 1981–1; Erlich 2009a, 55, 58–59; Krinzinger/Ruggendorfer 2017, 316, TK 18, pl. 362.

59 Walker 2009.

60 Chéhab 1951–1952, 24–25; Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XXVIII.2, XIX.2.

regions under the Ptolemaic control, like Phoenicia, where some examples have been discovered in Sidon, Homs and Salamiyah, now in the Damascus Museum. The arrangement of the knot and the cascading folds, as well as the presence of the left hand holding the knot in place, recall a version of the *Pudica* Aphrodite, called the semi-draped *Pudica*, based on the semi-draped *Anadyomene*.[61] Finally, a figurine of a seated woman, identified by Maurice Chéhab as Aphrodite,[62] and which is on a parallel with another terracotta published by Ibrahim Kaoukabani as a crouching female washing herself,[63] seems not to have fitting comparisons, and it may perhaps be interpreted as a figure connected with the goddess, like the hetaera (or *hierodule*) visible on one side of the Ludovisi Throne, or as a simplification and significant variation of the Crouching Aphrodite, a well-known Hellenistic statue by Doidalsas (c. mid-3rd century BCE)[64] (Fig. 9e).
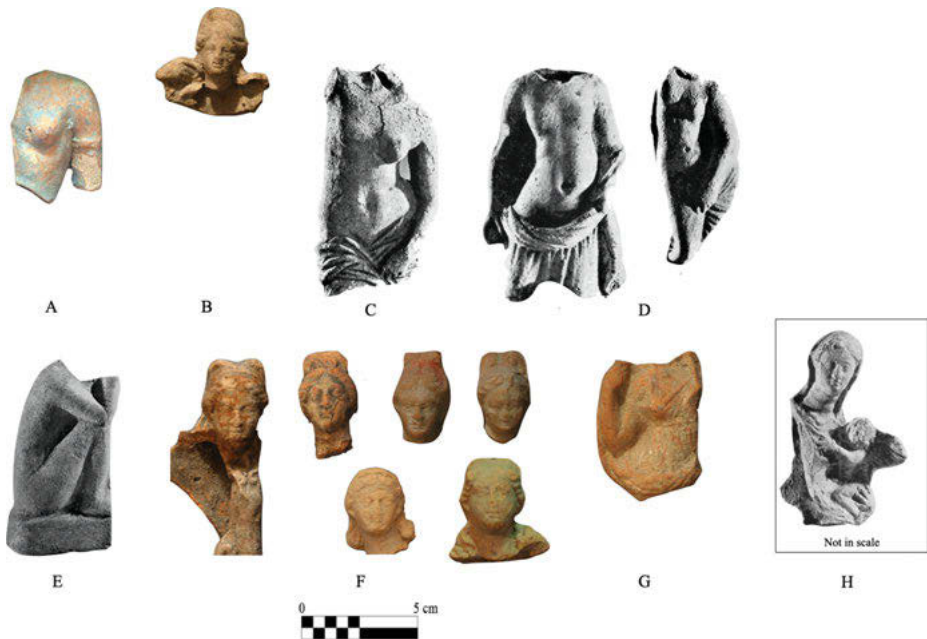
Fig. 9: Figurines of Aphrodite. Composition by the author, after Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XVIII 1–2, XIX 1–2, XXXIII 2, and colour photographs by Ida Oggiano.

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61 Cfr. Denti 1985, 139–145.

62 Chéhab 1951-1952, 25; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XIX.1.

63 Kaoukabani 1973, 45, pl. V.4.

64 Cfr. Christofi 2019, 142.

Some fragments of figurines have heads with an elaborate double-bun hairstyle originally derived from the topknot or bow of hair seen on several famous statues of the goddess (Fig. 9f). These features and the attitude probably belong to terracottas imitating the first statue of the naked Aphrodite, sculpted by Praxiteles, and purchased by the city of Knidos, that was a popular creation much copied in various sizes and different media found all over the Mediterranean.[65] But the nudity of the goddess, expressing her erotic power and influence over sexuality, did not transfer from the divine realm to the world of mortal women: as Aphrodite was shedding her clothes, her mortal worshippers were putting on more layers.[66] Some hairdos, as well as the gesture of unveiling, known as *anakalypsis*, are referable both to Aphrodite and mortal women, with a significant crossover of iconography between figurines intended to unambiguously depict the goddess, and those with less specified identities (Fig. 9g). This flexibility was common throughout the Hellenistic world,[67] when the contemporary kings and queens styled themselves as *neos* Dionysus and *nea* Aphrodite, for example, like Arsinoe II of Egypt, who was associated and worshipped as Aphrodite long after her death. Moreover, the connection between the goddess and Arsinoe offers a likely explanation for the popularity of the figure in Egypt and in its Ptolemaic dependencies.[68] Direct evidence for this interplay between goddess and mortals, shown by hairstyles and gestures, also comes from a figurine of Aphrodite standing and fully clothed, carrying on her left shoulder the son Eros[69] (Fig. 9h). The presence of the wings certainly suggests this identification, but if they had not been depicted, the female figure could easily have been seen as a mortal *kourotrophos* woman.[70] If the goddess could dress and pose this way in Hellenistic Asia Minor (e.g., Myrina, Tarsus), Cyprus (e.g., Amathous), Cyrenaica, Egypt,[71] Phoenicia and Mesopotamia (e.g., Uruk),[72] then virtually any female figurine could be Aphrodite, if the occasion called for it and the users wanted to see it in that way. Therefore, the woman can be identified as Aphrodite, but also as a young bride, since Eros symbolises marriage and future childbearing. To explain the popularity (or not) of Aphrodite along the Mediterranean,[73] it is important to remember that the goddess was associated with physical beauty, love, overt sexuality, fertility, marriage, entertainment, and luxury, but also with water, navigation, trade, travel and naval battles, as well as with perpet-

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65 Cfr. Cyrino 2010, 73–77.

66 Cfr. Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 200.

67 Cfr. Langin-Hooper 2020, 205–209.

68 Walker 2009.

69 Chéhab 1951–1952, 32; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXXIII.2.

70 Cfr. Tassignon 2019, 102–103.

71 Tassignon 2019, 102–103.

72 Langin-Hooper 2020, 205–209.

73 Cfr. Sharpe 2014, 151; Çakmak 2017, 177–178. At Maresha, for example, Aphrodite is represented by only one figurine (Erlich/Kloner 2008, 11–12, 145 pl. 5.19).

ual rebirth, wealth and health.[74] Moreover, the Greek goddess was also worshipped with other gods, as a guardian of magistrates, both civic and military, and even as a guide of a whole city, in 3rd-century Athens for example, or on Thasos and Delos during the 3rd-1st century BCE.[75]

Looking at the figurines of Apollo, they show the god in the contrapposto position, with the weight on the left leg, his relaxed right leg slightly forward, standing barefoot on a base, half-naked with a short cloak over the shoulder or wrapped around the right arm. He probably holds a plectrum (*plektron*) in his right hand, while the left supports the *kithara* next to the chest[76] (Fig. 10a). The terracottas draw their inspiration from the statuary type of Apollo *Kitharodos*, known from Attic vase-painting of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE.[77] Similar figurines, depicting the god and common boys in the same attitude, have been found in Greece (e.g., Athens, Olynthus, Thessalonica), Asia Minor, Mesopotamia (e.g., Babylon), Alexandria and rarely in Cyprus (e.g., Arsinoe).[78] Furthermore, the many terracottas from Kharayeb representing children, youngsters and women playing an instrument and dancing could be rightly connected to Apollo and his semantic system, alluding to the musical compositions offered to the god.

The iconography of Demeter was rare in the Levant, where the main topics were passion, fertility, love, and hunting. In our cult place, it is possible to count at least nine examples of a probable Demeter with the torch face downwards (Fig. 10b) and a group of two embracing females interpreted as the goddess with the daughter Kore.[79] Finally, two other figurines representing a young female holding an unsure piglet[80] could also relate to Demeter and her rituals (Fig. 10c).

Artemis, represented as *Kynegetis*, is another divine type rarely documented in Kharayeb.[81] Like a huntress, she wears a sleeved, undergirded, knee-length chiton with a deep *kolpos* and possible shoulder straps, not clearly visible, and high leather boots (ἐνδρομίδες). The goddess extends her right hand to the head of an animal, most probably a deer looking up at her (Fig. 10d). Although sanctuaries of Artemis are numerous in Greece and Cyprus, this iconography is uncommon. Terracottas of the goddess comparable to those from the Phoenician cult place have been discovered in Corinth and Cyprus (e.g., Arsinoe, Amathous, Salamis), where this peculiar representation may derive from creations in stone: a limestone statuette of

74 Cfr. Klinger 2017, 94–96.

75 Cfr. Ustinova 1999, 139–140.

76 Chéhab 1951–1952, 37; Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XL.2, XLI.2.

77 Cfr. Tzanavari 2017.

78 Raptou 2019, 74, 81; Langin-Hooper 2020, 217–219.

79 Chéhab 1951–1952, 31–32; Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XII–XIII.1,3.

80 Chéhab 1951–1952, 51–52; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. LX.3.

81 Chéhab 1951–1952, 24; Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. XXIX.

Fig. 10: Figurines of Apollo (a), Demeter ? (b-c) and Artemis (d). Composition by the author, after Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. XIII 1, XXIX, XL 2, XLI 2, LX 3, and colour photographs by Ida Oggiano.

Artemis, depicted in a similar stance, was found in the sanctuary of Apollo at Pyla, dated to the late 4th century BCE.[82]

5 Concluding Remarks

The Hellenistic figurines from Kharayeb confirm the strong influence of Greek images and culture in the cult place,[83] as also suggested by the probable Greek-style masonry plaster and stucco walls of the great building and by some imported pottery (Attic bowls) found at the site.[84] However, the local Phoenician presence was significant, still alive and kicking. Terracottas of gods and goddesses are among the most *koine*-specific motifs in the assemblage. The more frequent are the Ptolemaic figures as well as Dionysus, Hermes, Eros, Herakles, and then Aphrodite, with a percentage smaller than 10%. In other Phoenician centres, such as Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and Baalbek, similar preferences are confirmed: the most popular iconographies include Alexandrian typologies, especially Harpocrates, and Greek-types like Herakles, Eros and Aphrodite, together with a few examples of Hermes. Aphrodite and Eros were the most documented divine images in Cyprus, whereas in Palestine the Ptolemaic gods were abundant, as well as Eros and Herakles, while Aphrodite was not particularly widespread. This trend was common in the whole Levant, maybe because the goddess was considered too linked to sexuality, as Adi Erlich has stated for the figurines

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82 Cfr. Sørensen 2009; Raptou 2019, 79. For Corinth, see Merker 2000, MF 1156.

83 Cfr. Castiglione 2020a; Castiglione 2020b.

84 For the building, see Oggiano *et al.* 2016; Oggiano 2018. For the imported pottery, see Oggiano *et al.* 2016, 204–205 (C. Nervi).

from Maresha.[85] An opposite datum comes from the archive of Tell Kedesh, in the Tyrian hinterland, where Aphrodite was one of the most frequent Greek deities to occur, accounting for approximately 4 percent of the total bullae and 9.5 percent of those bearing Hellenic mythological subjects. Lisa Ayla Çakmak, in explaining this percentage, in contrast with the lower ones from the contemporary archives at Seleucia on the Tigris, Uruk, Carthage and Cyrene, and with the total absence at Selinus,[86] has suggested that at Tell Kedesh some cosmopolitan individuals would have reasonably recognised Aphrodite, but others may have thought of Astarte, while "there were likely others who did not see a 'who' but a 'what' – a naked or half-naked woman, which, in that time and place, could be considered to be a relatively 'new' symbol", certainly ignoring that the naked imagery of a goddess had been prevalent in the region several centuries earlier.[87] So, she argued that the rings with Aphrodite could have been selected not for their religious connotations, but just because this iconography was a new symbol from abroad and, as such, reflected an individual's access to foreign merchandise.[88] Thus, a similar conclusion could be hypothesised for the figurines from Kharayeb and other Phoenician centres too, where the goddess was very popular.

The hero-god Herakles was widespread in the Levant, because, like Hermes, he was the patron of many activities, including athletic training and trade. His popularity was also linked to the associations with Alexander[89] and the use of his figurines as votives by members of the Seleucid army. Other divine iconographies could also be related to the rulers of the region: the few terracottas of Apollo can be connected to his role as patron deity of the Seleucid Empire, as well as Aphrodite who was the guardian of civic and military magistrates, and the presence of Dionysus, accompanied by his *thiasos*, was certainly influenced by the Hellenistic rulers, often assimilated to the god, and by the festivals they held. However, images of Dionysus are uncommon in the areas near Kharayeb, and its assemblage finds fitting comparisons, in terms of percentages, with the ancient site of Tarsus. In this Cilician centre, located at the crossroads of routes linking the Aegean coast to the nearby cities of the East and the Levant, Herakles, Dionysus, Aphrodite, and Eros were particularly favoured, while Zeus, Hera, Artemis, and Demeter were rarer.[90]

Furthermore, the coroplastic patterns documented in Kharayeb were inspired by statues by Lysippos, Praxiteles and Boethos, even if the craftspeople who created those figurines deviated somewhat from the sculptures. Such differences show how

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85 Erlich 2019, 226–228. For an overview of the paucity of the iconographic evidence of Aphrodite in the Hellenistic Levant cfr. Çakmak 2017, 177–178.

86 Çakmak 2017, 167–168.

87 On the naked goddesses in the Levant see, more recently, Oggiano 2020.

88 Çakmak 2017, 182–183.

89 Cfr. Nitschke 2013, 265.

90 Cfr. Hasselin Rous/Yalçın 2018.

the global influence of the Hellenistic *koine* was not received via passive absorption, but rather selectively engaged with, adapted, and deployed to meet particularly local needs.[91]

Another point is about the cult and rituals in Kharayeb as suggested by terracottas, always bearing in mind that, in the nonrigid and static system of polytheism, one of the most significant traits of deities was polyvalence.[92] So, the different divine figures probably shared spheres of competence, being connected in a complex network linked to human fertility, healing, motherhood, childhood, and puberty. The many female figurines, the *hydrophoroi* and *kourotrophoi*, the youngsters, children and birds seem to confirm this hypothesis, as well as the presence of monkeys, referring to children's life protection,[93] and/or baboons, alluding to the liminal condition attributed to the dead foetus.[94] Images of Egyptianizing and Greek gods contribute to the same semantic system and also infer the existence of rites of passage, marking the transition from childhood to puberty and the consequent incorporation into the ranks of adults, differentiated according to gender. Isis, Demeter and Aphrodite had a *kourotrophos* aspect; Bes was a guardian against bad souls, the patron of births and children;[95] *Ptah-Pataikos* was connected to the foetus;[96] Harpocrates was a symbol of childhood; "Baubò" was a mythical example of a wet nurse and she was important for female sexuality and fertility, as well as Aphrodite and Eros;[97] Herakles had a prophylaxis value and was connected to the troubles of the newborn children;[98] Dionysus was linked to the transition from childhood to puberty;[99] Apollo, the *kouros* god *par excellence*, was the guide for youth during passages of age and was often named with the attribute of *kourotrophos*;[100] Artemis was worshipped as *kourotrophos* and was the protector of the family and children, regardless of gender: she often coincided with *Eilithyia*, patron of pregnancy and childbirth, and was also associated with girls' transitions and to critical phases in the lives of women, such as the passage from childhood to puberty and the preparation for marriage and motherhood;[101] Hermes, the patron of children, had an important role in their education;[102] finally, Dionysus with Silenus recalled the education with the pedagogue.[103] Although the

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[91] Cfr. Langin-Hooper 2020, 204–205.

[92] Cfr. Pironti 2010, 113–114.

[93] Cfr. Bellia 2014, 60.

[94] Cfr. Dasen 2015, 211.

[95] Cfr. Lancellotti 2003, 350, 356.

[96] Cfr. Dasen 2015, 147–148.

[97] Cfr. Bellia 2014, 58–59; Dasen 2015, 102–103.

[98] Cfr. Bonnet 2015, 249.

[99] Cfr. Bonnet 2015, 249.

[100] Cfr. Nobili 2013, 157.

[101] Cfr. Benissi 2019, 211.

[102] Cfr. Nobili 2013, 157.

[103] Cfr. Dasen 2015, 302; Benissi 2019, 210.

study of the figurines dated to the Iron Age II and the Persian period is in progress, and, at the moment, it is not possible to make a precise comparison between numeric proportions and percentages in the different periods, it is still interesting to note that the semantic horizon and the spheres of competence of the Hellenistic divine iconographies consisting in Egyptian and Greek-types, sometimes merged and adapted to local patterns, are linked to fertility, motherhood and childhood probably in continuity with the previous traditions, testified by some figurines discovered in the cult place and representing Bes, monkeys, pregnant women and women holding their breasts. Furthermore, it seems that the significant presence of infants, children, and youngsters' imagery in the Hellenistic assemblage did not occur in the same proportions among the terracottas of the previous periods in Kharayeb. This specificity could be derived from the particular interest in the many aspects of childhood and adolescence, including the passages of age, which was already known from the Persian period (see the case of Bostan esh-Sheikh for example) but widely increased during the Hellenistic period, in terms of various artisanal representations and works of art that reached much more places and social contexts, being appreciated by many and different kinds of people.

A last issue is whether the emergence of images of foreign gods affected the practice of cult in Kharayeb, and, if so, to what degree.

One possibility is certainly that some of this Egyptian and Greek-type divine imagery was simply selected and used because it portrayed, included or immediately referred to infants, children or youngsters without involving a direct role of the foreign deities in the local religious practices, and without more important religious implications, following the suggestions of some artefacts discovered on Cyprus and in Palestine and surely related to Alexandrian art, for example.[104] In this perspective, the worshippers of Kharayeb adopted those 'international' images for their polysemic values, expressing a syncretism of patterns and forms adapted to local religious needs (e.g., fertility, protection, healing). They become part of their own mentality without changing their behaviours and remaining deeply involved in local traditions and rituality.[105]

But it is also necessary to consider that the interchange between Greek and non-Greek religious traditions was the most significant feature of Hellenism. It consisted of points of continuity and areas where new forms of conduct evolved, or in 'active' and 'passive' aspects of religion that resulted from the transformation of the power structure of the vastly expanded Greek world. There were two basic models of interaction: one resulted in the alteration of a local god into a shape of a Greek divinity, usually retaining the original identity in the form of a specific cult title;

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104 Cfr. Jacobson 2007; Erlich 2009b; Papantoniou 2009; Papantoniou 2012; Papantoniou 2013; Castiglione 2019.
105 Cfr. Castiglione 2019.

the other consisted in the adaptation of the divinity under its own name into a Hellenic context or form, and in this case the use of Greek as a vehicle for expression did not necessarily mean that the cult was 'Hellenized' in the sense that it was transformed by Greek ideas.[106] The iconographic repertoire of the Hellenistic Levant, like images in transition, was indeed characterised by the adoption and adaptation of some Greek traits, with processes of influence and interference. Hellenic features were widespread and appreciated for their connection with dynamic social systems, sharing many aspects of local habits, culture, and emotions, also considering that terracotta figurines were usually made in the Phoenician heartland.[107] As seen in Bostan esh-Sheikh, where the Tribune of Eshmun, commonly identified with Asclepius, presents a relief depicting his father Apollo, in the sanctuary of Kharayeb it is also possible to suppose a fluid reality, a 'middle ground option' encouraging the process of glocalization, consisting in the inclusion of local culture and behaviours in a broader Mediterranean framework.[108] In this perspective, images and visualizations of gods inform us of the complex processes of religious syncretism, interaction/intersection and intercultural exchanges, characterising the open and voluntarily cumulative polytheistic system of Hellenistic Phoenicia.[109] But to better understand the full context behind the creation and adoption of foreign iconographies, and to see more clearly the different levels of meaning and translatability that such images had, it is crucial to abandon restrictive dichotomies and opposed categories. Cultures cannot be approached as fixed entities: they have porous boundaries, and they are part of dynamic social systems with changing structures in response to internal and external factors. Therefore, it is important to consider the flexibility of intercultural encounters between the Greek and Near Eastern worlds, retaining that "the Phoenicians could embrace Greek views (both intellectual and artistic) of their god(s) while still maintaining their own traditions".[110] Thus, on the one hand, these foreign images were easily recognisable by a small segment of Greek administrators, immigrants and/or Hellenophiles who would have been familiar with the Hellenic pantheon and its complex and overlapping network of Olympians, demigods, heroes and daemons. On the other hand, it is

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106 Cfr. Potter 2005, 408, 424–426.

107 Cfr. Martin 2014b, 289–299; Roumié *et al.* 2019; Oggiano/Castiglione in press; Oggiano *et al.* in press.

108 Cfr. Bonnet 2013; Bonnet 2019: "Middle ground focuses on the spaces and actors of mediation and the creative in-betweens where cultures meet, learn to understand each other, and intertwine their destiny, without ignoring the harshness of power relations that conditioned the processes of cultural adaptation on both sides".

109 For syncretism as an essence of polytheistic religious systems and as a process of syncretization, i.e. the evolvement of religion in a syncretistic process of inter- or intracultural encounters, see Pakkanen 2011. On the cultic practices as elements of mediation and multicultural arrangements, see Bonnet 2019.

110 Nitschke 2013, 279 (in the quotation, I changed the word "god" in the plural form).

also plausible that these gods were worshipped using a name in the local dialect,[111] and that their iconographies became part of the indigenous 'social imaginary', as testified by the many Orientalizing figurines and statuettes found in Greek contexts, where they were rarely identified by the title from their originating culture but, rather, called by Hellenic divine names.

Following the theoretical concept of materiality, in order to understand and explain foreign images as a particular cultural symbol, it is necessary to detail religious and cultural infrastructures, like the situated knowledge always embedded in a particular time and space. Just like the knowledge, objects were also invested with meanings through the social interaction they were caught up in, and these interpretive senses changed and were renegotiated through their life.[112] So, in the cult place of Kharayeb, figurines of foreign gods might have led to the introduction of new practices and/or to the reinterpretation of established ones, which, in turn, generated new ideas[113] and surely gave voice to the many multicultural worshippers, mostly children and youngsters, who were seeking divine help on their path towards maturity.

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111 For a comparison with Bactria, see Potter 2005, esp. 419–420.

112 Cfr. Gosden/Marshall 1999; Çakmak 2017, 165–166, 182–183.

113 Cfr. Stavrianopoulou 2013, 179–180.

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Pauline Maillard

Remarques sur le rôle du sel dans les pratiques votives de Kition : un exemple d'interaction entre les figurines divines et leur milieu

Introduction

La présente recherche se concentre sur un espace sacré spécifique de l'ancienne Kition, ville chypro-phénicienne située au sud-est de l'île de Chypre. Ce lieu de culte, localisé pour la première fois en 1864[1], est connu localement sous le nom du sanctuaire « des Salines » ou sanctuaire « d'Artémis Paralia ». Installé sur les rives du lac salé de l'actuelle Larnaca, le culte se développe sans doute dès l'époque chypro-archaïque. Il connaît un essor particulier au cours de l'époque chypro-classique, soit entre le VIe et le IVe siècles av. J.-C., période où Kition est l'épicentre d'un royaume indépendant. L'espace des Salines n'ayant à ce jour livré aucun vestige architectural, son étude est basée sur l'examen de son corpus d'offrandes et des quelques inscriptions (grecques et phénicienne) trouvées sur les rives du lac salé. L'étude du corpus coroplathique provenant des Salines permet de détailler certaines des pratiques votives attestées dans la population de Kition au cours des périodes chypro-archaïque et chypro-classique[2]. La présente communication se focalise sur un seul aspect de la recherche concernant les cultes locaux, c'est-à-dire l'interaction entre les divinités locales de Kition et l'environnement physique dans lesquels ils se déroulent. Je m'intéresserai donc à la topographie des espaces de culte périurbains, en m'attachant à décrire la relation établie entre la population et son paysage sacré. Cette communication propose donc d'explorer plus en détail la géographie de l'espace rituel dans la région au sud de Kition, voisine du lac salé.

En préambule, il est nécessaire de préciser quelles sont les divinités présentes dans le corpus cultuel de la ville. Les différents théonymes sont documentés par les témoignages épigraphiques ou identifiés par la riche onomastique des noms théophores de la population, usage qui s'accorde en la matière avec la pratique phénicienne[3]. Les noms les plus couramment attestés à Kition sont ceux de Baal, Eshmoun, Melqart (également dans un théonyme composé d'Eshmoun-Melqart), Reshef et Pumay, pour les noms des divinités masculines. Le dernier, Pumay, étant essentiellement connu à Chypre, notamment dans le nom du dernier souverain de Kition : le roi Pumayyaton.

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1 Sur la découverte des Salines : Bonato 2015 ; Maillard 2016 et Maillard, *à paraître*.

2 Maillard, *à paraître*.

3 *Kition III*, 205–217 ; Amadasi Guzzo 2007, 198f.

Le corpus des théonymes féminins est quant à lui plus restreint. Il est à ce jour limité à Astarté, Anat et une troisième divinité appelé Mère, ʾm en phénicien, sur laquelle j'aurai l'occasion de revenir plus en détail. Précisons encore que pour Baal, Reshef et Astarté, quelques attributs onomastiques sont également connus grâce à la documentation épigraphique. Cette liste se complète bien entendu par des sources en grec qui mentionnent la présence de divinités telles que Dionysos, Zeus, Apollon et Asclépios, ainsi qu'Athéna, Artémis et Hygie. Il est important de préciser enfin que ces théonymes grecs sont uniquement documentés à compter de la période hellénistique, c'est-à-dire au plus tôt dès le IIIe siècle avant J.-C., moment où le contrôle de l'île entre dans la sphère lagide.

Les cultes autour du lac salé

À ce jour, seuls deux espaces de culte ont été formellement identifiés dans la zone périurbaine qui jouxte le lac salé. Nous éviterons ici d'user du terme de « sanctuaire » pour ces deux lieux puisque leur fouille, malheureusement très ancienne, n'a pas conduit à la mise au jour de structures construites, mais à celle de dépôts qui semblent parler davantage en faveur de lieux de cultes « de plein-air », comprenant pas ou très peu de structures bâties.

Fig. 1: Carte des lieux de culte situés autour du lac salé de Larnaca. *SIG* de la mission archéologique de Kition.

Le premier de ces espaces est connu sous le nom de *Batsalos*. C'est le nom de la colline sur lequel il a été découvert au XIXe, sur un promontoire au sud-est du lac salé de Larnaca (Fig. 1)[4]. Il constitue à ce jour l'unique lieu de culte kitien dont le nom de la divinité est identifiée précisément par des inscriptions[5]. Il s'agit en effet d'un espace consacré au dieu Eshmoun-Melqart, rare exemple donc de l'emploi de ce théonyme phénicien double. L'aspect très homogène du matériel votif mis au jour à *Batsalos* doit être souligné puisqu'il s'agit quasi exclusivement de fragments de bassines en marbre à lèvres biseautées, inscrites sur le rebord. Le récipient particulier évoquant sans doute l'implication de liquides dans les rituels.

Le second espace est situé plus proche du centre urbain, plus au Nord, et jouxte les anciennes Salines de Larnaca où l'on entassait les pains de sel issus de la production du lac jusqu'à la fin des années 1980. De cet espace proviennent des milliers de figurines en terre cuite trouvées par différentes équipes qui se succèdent sur place dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle[6]. Les investigations menées dans les environs, qui nous renseignent malheureusement très peu sur le contexte de ces découvertes archéologiques, ont permis la mise au jour de plusieurs inscriptions – trouvées probablement dans des sortes de fosses qui contenaient en partie les figurines. Le document épigraphique le plus ancien, contemporain du plus grand dépôt de figurines daté du milieu du IVe siècle, est une dédicace à la déesse phénicienne ʾm hʾzrt[7]. Cette séquence onomastique constitue un *hapax* dans la documentation phénicienne. Le terme ʾm, « Mère », prend ici le rôle de théonyme[8], alors que le terme ʾzrt, reste pour l'heure difficile à interpréter. Il apparaît dans plusieurs documents ougaritiques, phéniciens mais aussi puniques, dans des textes ou des inscriptions toujours liés à des questions de généalogie ou d'héritage[9]. Il faut préciser d'emblée que ce qualificatif de la déesse appelée « Mère » et en adéquation avec les nombreuses figurines de types courotrophiques offertes dans les dépôts du lac salé (Fig. 2–3).

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4 La colline de *Batsalos* a été explorée par L. Cesnola probablement entre 1869 et 1870 puis par John Myres en 1894 : Myres 1897, 171. Voir également Nicolaou 1976, 112f.

5 Les inscriptions de *Batsalos* sont publiées dans : *Kition-Bamboula V*, n°s 1003 à 1025.

6 Maillard 2019, pour l'étude complète : Maillard, *à paraître*.

7 *CIS* I, 13 ; *Kition III*, n° A 27 ; *Kition-Bamboula V*, n° 1027, 177.

8 Ce nom est également attesté sous la forme d'un théonyme dans trois inscriptions provenant toutes du *tophet* de Carthage : *CIS* I 101 = *KAI* 303 ; *CIS* I 195 ; *CIS* I 380. Je remercie Corinne Bonnet d'avoir attiré mon attention sur ces inscriptions.

9 Ceci sera l'objet d'une étude à venir.

Fig. 2: Statuette de type « *Dea Gravida* » provenant de Kition, Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire de Lausanne, n° 6969, H. 18,1 cm. ©P. Maillard.

Fig. 3: Statuette de type « *Dea Gravida* » courophore, provenant des fouilles des Salines de Kition, British Museum, n° 1866/1-1/211, H. 11 cm. ©P. Maillard.

Le corpus épigraphique, limité à la déesse *ʾm hʾzrt* pour l'époque classique, est davantage étoffé pour la période impériale romaine, puisqu'au court du IIᵉ siècle ap. J.-C., au moins quatre dédicaces mentionnant toutes la déesse Artémis *Paralia* sont déposées auprès du lac salé[10]. Le qualificatif inédit de la déesse peut être ici lu de deux manières qui se complètent plus qu'elles ne s'opposent. Il pourrait tout d'abord s'agir d'une Artémis « du rivage », ainsi que l'a proposé Jean Pouilloux[11], mais aussi, dans une hypothèse développée par Marguerite Yon, d'une Artémis se trouvant à côté du sel, autrement dit une Artémis du marais salant[12]. Cette interprétation repose sur une traduction du nom d'Artémis *Paralia*, formé sur le terme grec

Fig. 4: Statuette de femme trônante portant un jeune enfant provenant des fouilles des Salines de Kition, Musée du Louvre, MNB 139, H. 13 cm, (d'après Caubet/Fourrier/Queyrel [1998], nᵒ 828).

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10 Les dédicaces à Artémis *Paralia* trouvées à Larnaca sont toutes regroupées dans *Kition-Bamboula V*, nᵒˢ 2005 à 2008.

11 Pouilloux 1988.

12 Yon 1992.

hals (ἅλς) désignant le sel. Artémis de Kition ne serait donc pas uniquement liée à la mer ou à la côte, mais elle serait honorée en tant qu'Artémis du marais salant, soit en tant que celle qui se tient près du sel (Fig. 4)[13].

Kition et l'exploitation du sel

Le lien postulé entre la ressource minérale et le culte local amène plusieurs remarques. L'hypothèse de M. Yon a été guidée par la relecture d'une stèle funéraire kitienne provenant de la nécropole classique d'*Aghios Georgios* (au nord-ouest de Kition). Selon la lecture qu'en a fait J. Teixidor, elle aurait appartenu à Eshmounâdon, descendant du *mlḥtyt*, soit d'un « homme du sel »[14]. Cette mention d'un *mlḥtyt* témoigne de l'exploitation du lac et de ses ressources dès le IVe siècle av. J.-C. au plus tard[15]. Quant à savoir si ce préposé au sel faisait partie de l'élite kitienne, cela n'est pas vérifiable. Il ne fait cependant plus aucun doute que les Salines furent exploitées au moins dès l'époque classique[16], même si nous manquons par ailleurs de témoignages archéologiques pour caractériser sa production. La connexion établie entre une divinité locale et la ressource que constitue le lac salé n'est en rien étonnante, comme je le montrerai en dressant un aperçu de la géographie sacrée des Kitiens.

La ressource précieuse que fournissait le dépôt annuel laissé par la mer à la fin de chaque saison sèche ne pouvait tout simplement pas avoir été ignorée[17], tant elle constitue une matière économique précieuse et nécessaire à la population. Ce phénomène naturel devait au contraire constituer une manne financière pour le royaume puisqu'à Kition aucune intervention humaine n'est nécessaire pour obtenir du sel. Le

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13 L'hypothèse n'est pas acceptée par C. Carusi qui préfère y voir une Artémis du rivage : Carusi 2008, 97–98. Un parallèle chypriote important est constitué par la mention d'un Apollon qualifié d'*Heleitas* sur une inscription de Tamassos, rattaché selon O. Masson au substantif ἕλος qui désigne la prairie humide ou le marécage, où se trouvait peut-être le sanctuaire du dieu (ICS n° 215, 224–226). Pour J.-B. Cayla, l'Apollon *Heleitas* pouvait désigner « un dieu qui règne sur les plaines à assécher, à assainir, sur ces espaces qui ne sont fertiles qu'en germes morbides » : Cayla 2005, 233.

14 Musée de Larnaca (n° d'inventaire MLA 1094 = CS 2251/40). Lors de sa première publication, le cippe funéraire a été lu comme appartenant à *ml ḥtyt* « Moula la Hittite » (in *Report of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus* 1984, 101–107). La proposition de J. Teixidor (Teixidor 1986, 489) est désormais largement acceptée (Yon 1992, 303 ; Manfredi 1992, 5 ; Puech 1990, 103–104 ; *Kition-Bamboula V*, n° 1133, 197). Sur l'emploi du mot *mlḥ* et sa signification dans les langues sémitiques : Aubaile-Sallenave 1988, 304–305.

15 Teixidor 1986, 489 ; Yon 1992, 302–303 ; Yon 2006, 46.

16 L.-I. Manfredi postule même l'exploitation du sel par les Kitiens dès la fin de l'âge du Bronze (Manfredi 1992, 5).

17 Le sel du lac de Kition est déjà mentionné au début de l'époque hellénistique par Antigone de Carystos (voir le fragment publié et commenté dans *Kition-Bamboula V*, 26).

lac, qui se situe en légère dépression par rapport au niveau de la mer, se remplissait naturellement de l'eau venue du large, complétée chaque hiver par les eaux de pluie. L'évaporation provoquée durant la période estivale permettait ensuite de dégager l'abondante croûte de sel qu'il suffisait ensuite de ramasser[18]. Pline rapporte d'ailleurs que les marais salants de Salamine et de Kition étaient exploités au court du Ier siècle ap. J.-C. et qu'il suffisait de laisser le sel sécher au soleil[19]. Il y a donc fort à parier qu'il en était déjà ainsi à l'époque chypro-classique. L'usage de ce minéral à Chypre devait être d'autant plus important que le sel entre dans le procédé du traitement du minerai pour la préparation du cuivre[20]. L'archéologie du sel et l'étude de son industrie antique a récemment démontré que l'exploitation des marais salants se limitait à des installations en bois parfaitement rudimentaires, susceptibles de ne laisser que peu, voire, aucune trace archéologique de leur fonctionnement[21], ce qui expliquerait qu'à Chypre le travail du sel ne soit pas documenté. Selon ces différentes études, l'intervention de l'homme dans les marais salants devait essentiellement se concentrer sur le soin apporté à la circulation de l'eau, voire éventuellement le creusement de canaux ou de bassins dans la croûte de sel et que l'on pouvait maintenir à l'aide de planches en bois afin de lutter contre l'érosion[22]. Les installations liées à son extraction étaient donc liées à des structures légères, voire éphémères, sans mentionner le problème de l'évolution du paysage littoral et des fluctuations liées au changement de la ligne côtière[23]. Si de telles installations furent présentes à Kition, cela implique que certains membres de la population ont effectivement dû être chargés non seulement de la récolte, mais aussi du maintien et de l'entretien des aménagements[24],

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18 Les Salines de Kition ont été exploitées par l'homme jusqu'à la fin des années 1980, selon ce même procédé élémentaire qui n'employait que l'humain et les bêtes de somme pour le transport (voir, sur ce point, Yon 1992, 303 ; Yon 2006, 141). La production des Salines de Larnaca pouvait alors atteindre 3000 à 4000 tonnes de sel par an.

19 « Une autre espèce de sel est produite spontanément par l'eau de mer sous la forme d'une écume abandonnée à l'extrême limite du rivage et sur les rochers. Tout ce sel provient de la condensation des embruns et celui qu'on trouve sur les rochers est plus piquant (. . .). Près de Citium à Chypre et aux environs de Memphis on extrait le sel d'un lac, puis on le sèche au soleil », Pline l'Ancien, *HN*, XXXI, 74. Sur les salins de Salamine : « Parmi les sels marins, le plus estimé est le chypriote de Salamine », *HN*, XXXI, 84. Voir également la même distinction chez Dioscoride, *De Materia medica*, V, 109.

20 Le sel facilite la fusion du métal et permet une meilleure élimination des stériles miniers : Moinier 2008, 346. Son emploi dans la séparation des métaux a probablement joué un rôle tout aussi notable dans les comptoirs phéniciens de la Péninsule ibérique où l'on compte de nombreux sites de salaisons et de marais cités dans les sources antiques : Moinier/Weller 2015, 137–139.

21 La saline antique de « O Areal » en Galice constitue un rare exemple de structures construites liées à des marais salants : Castro Carrero 2008. Sur l'archéologie du sel, voir également l'étude récente de Garcia Vargas/Martinez Maganto 2017.

22 Moinier/Weller 2015, 29–30.

23 Carusi 2008, 357.

24 C'était peut-être la fonction de « l'homme du sel » que l'on a mentionné ci-dessus.

puisqu'une mauvaise gestion du littoral était susceptible d'accroître les problèmes d'insalubrité dus aux eaux stagnantes[25]. On n'hésitera donc pas comme le fait C. Carusi à qualifier l'économie du sel de mer antique de « commerce invisible »[26]. Aucune opération de chauffe n'étant nécessaire à sa production, son industrie ne laisse aucune trace ; de même, les contenants utilisés pour son transport étaient probablement faits de textiles ou de cuir[27].

Chez Pline et les auteurs latins, les salins sont désignés par le terme *salinae* ou plus spécifiquement le marais salant par *salsa palus*. Dans les sources grecques, le terme *halai* s'applique de façon générale aux lieux où le sel est produit[28]. Il peut désigner des marais salants ou des lieux d'extraction du sel fossile. Il est souvent accompagné de l'adjectif *automatos*, terme qui selon B. Moinier pourrait désigner sa production spontanée[29]. Cet emploi, ainsi que les nombreux termes dérivés du mot grec *hals* (ἅλς) dans la littérature grecque, vient soutenir l'hypothèse de M. Yon pour lier l'épiclèse de la déesse *Paralia* à son environnement naturel fort particulier, même s'il faut garder à l'esprit le saut chronologique qui sépare les sources relatives au IVe siècle et les inscriptions grecques d'époque impériale romaine. Le sel de Chypre, de Salamine ou de Kition, était toutefois resté un élément connu de la pharmacopée, ce qui soutient la longévité de son exploitation par l'homme[30]. Les vertus du sel de Kition traversent d'ailleurs les âges et se retrouvent même consignées dans les ordonnances des médecins et des érudits romains. C'est le cas notamment dans *Histoire naturelle* de Pline l'Ancien, où dans son long chapitre dédié aux propriétés du sel, le minéral de Kition revient plusieurs fois, on y apprend notamment qu'il est utilisé comme un « anti-âge » pour gommer les rides[31].

Usages antiques du sel

Plus largement, quels étaient les différents usages du sel dans l'Antiquité, et à Kition plus spécifiquement ? Comme c'est toujours le cas de nos jours, l'usage antique du sel était très étendu. Il améliore tout d'abord considérablement le goût des différents aliments, hier ou aujourd'hui, tout est bien meilleur avec du sel. Il ajoute donc de la saveur, mais il complémente aussi l'Homme en minéraux essentiels. A ce titre, il joue aussi un rôle important dans la santé des animaux et notamment du bétail qui, dans l'Antiquité déjà, était lui aussi complémenté en sel, essentiel à leur bonne

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25 Moinier/Weller 2015, 38.

26 Carusi 2007, 222.

27 Carusi 2007, 222.

28 Sur la terminologie grecque et latine liée au sel : Moinier/Weller 2015, 29.

29 *Ibid*. Voir la mention chez Hérodote, IV, 53.

30 Dioscoride, *De Materia Medica*, V, 109.

31 Pline, *HN*, XXXI, 41.

santé. L'ajout de sel dans le régime du cheptel conduit à une meilleure production de lait et à une qualité supérieure de la viande, comme en témoignent les textes de Pline et d'Aristote[32].

Les lagunes saumâtres appâtent de ce fait les animaux, dont le régime inclut une part quotidienne de sel[33]. La présence de sources salées conditionne donc aussi naturellement le trajet et les lieux de pâture des troupeaux[34], à ce titre il joue un rôle non négligeable dans la rationalisation que l'Homme apporte à ses ressources vivrières. Il est probable que l'exploitation commerciale du sel, les vertus curatives qu'on lui attribue ainsi que son apparition saisonnière sous la forme d'une croûte « miraculeusement » sortie de la terre après le retrait de l'eau, ont dû conduire au patronage du sel ou des marais salants par les divinités[35]. Nous en avons plusieurs traces dans le paysage antique, où Aphrodite affiche, sans grande surprise, un lien privilégié avec le sel de la mer qui l'a vue naître. Le sanctuaire de Vénus Erycine, à la pointe ouest de la Sicile, domine visuellement (et contrôlait peut-être ?) les importants marais salants du cap Lilybée. Ceux-ci sont aussi nombreux à proximité du comptoir phénicien de Motyé à l'ouest du même cap, où l'on exploitait le sel de mer et produisait des salaisons de poissons dont on a trouvé quelques traces archéologiques[36].

L'exploitation du sel dans le monde phénicien et punique se distingue par la rareté des sources qui en témoignent. Toutefois, la renommée des Phéniciens dans de nombreuses industries, dont la production de pourpre ou de salaisons, impliquait que ceux-ci disposaient d'un accès facilité au minéral[37]. La fondation des comptoirs phéniciens en Sicile, en Sardaigne et le long du littoral espagnol, régions où les salines sont nombreuses et leur exploitation aisée, n'y est peut-être pas étrangère[38]. Strabon mentionnait d'ailleurs que les Phéniciens de Gadès échangeaient du sel – probablement issu de leurs salins[39]– des peaux, des récipients en

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32 Aristote, *HA*, VIII, 10 ; Pline, *HN*, X, 73.

33 Moinier/Weller 2015, 41.

34 Voir à ce sujet l'étude d'H. Gillet sur les transhumances dans les sociétés pastorales du Sahara : Gillet 1988. Dans le sanctuaire de Golgoi-*Aghios Photios*, la dédicace de plusieurs statuettes en calcaire représentant des vaches allaitant leurs veaux suggère que la bien portance du bétail était aussi placée sous la protection des dieux locaux. Voir les objets publiés dans : Hermary 1989, 458–461.

35 On connaît par ailleurs l'habitude toute chypriote de lier les activités artisanales, notamment la production métallurgique, avec les divinités locales.

36 Tisseyre *et al.* 2017 ; Botte 2017, 515. Sur l'exploitation du sel de mer en Sicile, notamment à Géla : Pline, *HN,* XXXI, 39–41.

37 Dans le royaume d'Ougarit, l'exploitation des marais salants situés au sud du territoire fait déjà l'objet d'un conflit avec le royaume vassal de Siyannu. Un document atteste la préciosité de la ressource dont on règle le partage des différents arpents de terres à l'amiable (*PRU* IV 17.335) ; voir le commentaire de ce texte dans : Carusi 2008, 98–99.

38 Sur l'économie du sel dans l'Espagne barcide voir : Manfredi 1992 ; sur les salaisons de poissons dans les comptoirs phéniciens d'Italie : Botte 2009, *passim*.

39 Strabon, III, 4,2.

céramique et en bronze contre du plomb et de l'étain[40]. L'industrie saline est une réalité en Sardaigne punique puisqu'une inscription trilingue déposée autour du Ier siècle av. J.-C dans un sanctuaire près de San Nicolò Gerrei[41], au nord-ouest de Cagliari, conserve la dédicace d'un esclave « préposé aux salines »[42]. Cette inscription votive, gravée sur un objet en bronze en forme de base de colonnade, présente plusieurs particularités, dont celle de porter trois inscriptions (latine, grecque et phénicienne) qui donnent trois versions légèrement différentes et adaptées d'un même texte. L'esclave au nom grec, Cléon, *salari(orum) soc(iorum) s(ervus)* s'acquitte de son vœu envers le dieu Esculape *Merre*, nommé Asclépios *Merre* en grec et Eshmoun *m'rḥ* en phénicien. En latin, Cléon précise son statut servile et indique sa fonction associée aux salines, alors qu'en grec et en phénicien il est simplement « préposé aux salines ». L'emplacement d'un sanctuaire dédié à Eshmoun en ces lieux est connu depuis l'époque nuragique[43]. L'épiclèse du dieu est inconnue, dans le domaine sarde tout comme dans le monde punique[44], mais sa proximité linguistique avec le toponyme moderne de « Gerrei » suggère peut-être d'y voir un Eshmoun local[45]. Le texte phénicien, qui précise que le dédicant a été guéri par l'action de la divinité, donne du crédit à l'hypothèse qu'il s'agit d'un dieu guérisseur, dont la qualité paraît assez sûre suivant le théonyme lui-même et ses différentes traductions. De plus, comme le rapporte E. Culasso Gastaldi, le lieu de culte découvert à la fin du XIXe siècle était situé à proximité d'un puits d'eau fraîche auquel on attribuait des vertus salutaires[46]. Ce préposé aux salines, qui rappelle « l'homme du sel » de Kition, trouve aussi un parallèle à Carthage sur une dédicace à Tanit et Baal par un fils « de l'homme des salines »[47].

Les traces de l'importance du sel dans l'économie antique transparaissent aussi de quelques rares documents grecs. Une lamelle d'argent découverte dans le sanctuaire d'Artémis à Éphèse fait dire à C. Carusi que la déesse recevait de longue date

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[40] Strabon, III, 5,1.

[41] La datation est débattue. On a d'abord placé cette inscription au début du IIe siècle av. J.-C. : *KAI* II, 81–82 ; Amadasi Guzzo 1967, 91. Plus récemment, sa datation a été abaissée au début du Ier siècle av. J.-C : Culasso Gastaldi 2000.

[42] Voir en dernier lieu : Bonnet/Bianco 2018, 49–50, 57–58 ; Culasso Gastaldi 2000 ; Amadasi Guzzo 1967, n° 9, 91–93. Pour l'établissement du texte latin et grec : *CIL* X, 7856 ; *IG* XIV, 608 pour le texte phénicien : *CIS* I, 1, 143, *KAI* II, n°66, 81–82, Amadasi Guzzo 1967, n° 9, 91–93. Les trois textes sont donnés avec traductions dans Bonnet/Bianco 2018, 49–50.

[43] Culasso Gastaldi 2000 avec la bibliographie antérieure.

[44] D'après E. Culasso Gastaldi, on pourrait éventuellement le traduire par « celui qui soulage » *rwḥ*, Culasso Gastaldi 2000, 19, n. 19. Voir également Lipiński 1995, 165–166. L'épiclèse a également été rapprochée de la racine *'rḥ* dans le sens de « celui qui conduit » : Bonnet/Bianco 2018, 58.

[45] Bonnet/Bianco 2018, 58.

[46] Voir le premier commentaire du découvreur de l'inscription rapporté par Culasso Gastaldi 2000, 20, n. 24.

[47] *CIS* I, 351.

les revenus tirés des salines voisines, dont l'emplacement est rapporté par Strabon[48]. L'apparition dans une inscription romaine du sanctuaire d'un *halophoros*, un « porteur de sel », prenant part à la procession honorant la déesse éphésienne suggère, selon C. Carusi, un lien fort entre la substance minérale et le culte de la divinité[49]. L'hypothèse semble fragile, puisque le sel fait partie intégrante du rituel du sacrifice grec et il entre donc à ce titre dans les denrées gérées par le personnel sacré. Il ne s'agit donc peut-être pas d'une spécialité éphésienne liée à la personnalité de la déesse[50]. À Délos, par exemple, des inventaires décrivent que les statues étaient lavées au moyen d'un mélange d'eau et de nitre, avant d'être recouvertes d'huile[51].

Hormis son emploi bien attesté dans le régime des êtres vivants et son emploi au sein du sacrifice grec, le sel remplit de nombreuses fonctions destinées à améliorer le quotidien de ceux qui l'utilisent. De façon générale, la fonction essentielle du sel est de retarder la décomposition et la putréfaction. À ce titre, on l'utilise abondamment pour conserver les aliments : le salage des viandes et des poissons, la préparation des condiments mais aussi la conservation des produits laitiers. On use du sel pour la préparation des peaux[52], qu'il s'agisse des peaux animales et du cuir ou encore des processus de momification. Les nombreuses vertus médicinales du sel ont conduit, et ce, probablement très tôt, à son intégration dans la pharmacopée ancienne, notamment grecque puis romaine. Les marais salants jouent un rôle particulier pour les bêtes sauvages qui viennent aussi s'y baigner pour débarrasser leur peau des différents parasites. Ainsi le sel fait son apparition dans les premiers traités de médecine vétérinaire, notamment chez Pline et Columelle, où l'on recommande de baigner les brebis dans l'eau salée pour éliminer la gale[53]. Les vertus du minéral sur la bien portance des bêtes se reflètent aussi plus généralement dans la médecine humaine. Le sel entre dans la composition de très nombreux remèdes en dermatologie, en rhumatologie mais aussi dans le traitement de l'épilepsie et des infections, notamment celles qui sont consécutives aux morsures[54]. Mais l'emploi le plus étendu du sel se trouve incontestablement en gynécologie où les différentes recettes se confondent avec la superstition. Par exemple chez Pline l'Ancien, le poisson séché et salé porté en bracelet est un remède préventif contre le risque de fausse couche[55]. Surtout, de nombreux auteurs dès l'Antiquité font un lien entre sel et conception. On trouve ainsi chez Plutarque plusieurs anecdotes liant le sel

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48 Carusi 2008, 84–85 ; Strabon, XIV, 1, 26.

49 *I.Ephesos*, Ia, n° 14, ligne 19. Carusi 2008, 85 ; hypothèse suivie par Ellinger 2009, 59–60.

50 Pour le lien entre sel et sacrifice, j'y reviendrai plus loin.

51 Voir le texte cité par R. Ginouvès (Ginouvès 1962, 283).

52 Strabon, V, 1, 8.

53 Pline, *HN*, XXXI, XXXII, 65. Columelle, *De l'agriculture*, VII, 5, 9.

54 Celse, *De Medicina*, IV, 2, 2–6 ; Pline, *HN*, XXI, XLIV, 96.

55 Pline, *HN*, XXXII, 3.

aux fonctions génésiques, chez la femme comme chez l'animal. Les femelles des rats se trouvant à bord de navires transportant du sel ont plus de petits du fait du sel qu'elles ont à lécher[56].

Les observations relayées par les auteurs grecs reflètent en réalité un effet chimique avéré du minéral sur la santé humaine, puisqu'un régime riche en sel favorise chez les humains la fécondité et améliore aussi la lactation. *A contrario*, la carence minérale de l'iode et du sodium affecte à la fois la fertilité et la croissance des petits, une réalité qui marqua fortement les Anciens et qui contribua sans doute à l'association du sel et de l'appétit sexuel. On le voit ainsi apparaitre comme composant de pommades ou d'onguents destinés à stimuler les performances masculines[57]. De nombreux autres emplois sont encore attestés et dont je ne pourrai pas ici livrer un aperçu exhaustif. Je m'attarderai toutefois encore sur une utilisation qui reste dans le champ de la reproduction, il s'agit de l'apparition, assez récurrente, du sel dans les soins du nouveau-né. Nous savons par exemple grâce à différents traités médicaux antiques, dont celui qu'a laissé Soranos d'Ephèse, intitulé *peri alismou*, que le sel jouait un rôle central dans la toilette du nouveau-né. L'enfant était alors frotté avec du sel, mêlé d'huile, de miel et de décoctions de plantes, avant d'être baigné dans l'eau tiède puis saupoudré à nouveau de sel. La pratique du « saupoudrage » du nourrisson est en réalité bien attestée chez les Romains et les Grecs puisqu'on la retrouve également mentionnée chez Galien et Rufus d'Éphèse[58]. Ce traitement si particulier est aussi évoqué parmi les populations sémitiques. Ainsi chez Ezéchiel (16:4) l'absence du saupoudrage du sel est dans la littérature prophétique une image d'exclusion. Ne pas être lavé et saupoudré de sel c'est alors resté « souillé » par le sang. La pratique consistant à frotter le nouveau-né avec du sel est par ailleurs indiquée et conseillée dans de nombreux traités pédiatriques de médecins arabes du Haut Moyen-Âge[59], sans doute signe d'une importante longévité et donc d'un usage répandu. Une pratique à laquelle fait probablement écho une tradition très établie parmi les premiers chrétiens et consistant à déposer une pincée de sel dans la bouche du futur baptisé, dans l'idée de repousser le démon pouvant lui nuire. La prescription de ce geste semble ici en quelque sorte mêler la coutume avec le rituel[60].

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56 Plutarque, *Mor.,* 685.

57 *Papyrus Démotique Magique de Leiden* XIV, 1155–1162, voir le texte publié et traduit par Betz 1992², 248.

58 Galien, *De sanitas tuenda* I, 7 ; Rufus, *Fragments extraits d'Oribase*, 27.

59 Forcada 2012.

60 Elle a toujours court en Moldavie où l'on a pour coutume de « saupoudrer le nouveau-né avec du sel pour repousser les futures maladies, de mettre du sel sur sa langue pour qu'il ne soit pas atteint par le mauvais œil » : Curca 2007, 267.

Conclusion

Ce bref aperçu permet d'une part de souligner le rôle vital des ressources en sel dans la vie des Hommes comme dans celle des bêtes, mais aussi de mettre en évidence la valeur symbolique que revêt cette ressource. Son importance dans de nombreux domaines liés à la vie quotidienne des Kitiens a probablement conditionné son association avec les divinités. Le statut du sel dans les cultures de l'Antiquité s'inscrit donc naturellement à la croisée de son pouvoir thérapeutique réel et de tout un système de croyances qui oscillent entre sa capacité bactéricide, son rôle déterminant dans la reproduction des êtres humains et des animaux et les coutumes qui sont associées à sa large gamme de fonctions : purifiant, fécondant, préservateur. Ainsi, son action prévenant la décomposition des corps installe probablement l'idée qu'il est capable de repousser la mort. Dans le monde grec, il étend ses fonctions aux rituels de purifications où la souillure du meurtre est lavée par des rituels et des libations impliquant le sel marin[61]. Il paraît évident dès lors que le sel kitien, dont on a vu la portée à la fois économique, salutaire et culturelle, jouait un rôle dans les pratiques rituelles des habitants, et plus particulièrement autour du lac salé. L'apparition presque systématique de la figure d'Héraklès-Melqart – dont l'image était à Kition associée au pouvoir royal – sur le monnayage des villes phénico-puniques où le sel faisait l'objet d'un commerce important, a d'ailleurs conduit L.-I. Manfredi à postuler l'existence d'un lien entre le dieu et le contrôle des ressources salines[62].

On ne niera pas cependant l'aspect fortement ambivalent du sel, à la fois nécessaire à la vie, mais capable aussi de rendre toute terre stérile. À son rôle bénéfique s'ajoute donc un pendant néfaste dont il est indissociable. Répandre le sel sur la ville, c'est rendre toute culture impossible et bannir la présence des hommes qui ne peuvent y prospérer[63]. Le sel s'inscrit donc avant tout dans un registre duel, tant il est indispensable et destructeur. C'est là un panel d'actions que l'on retrouve chez nombre de divinités antiques qui sont à la fois adorées et redoutées et s'affichent comme maîtresse de ressources dont elles dispensent tour à tour les faveurs ou les méfaits. La déesse installée sur la rive du lac salé s'intègre elle aussi parfaitement à cet environnement, puisqu'en tant que souveraine du monde végétal, animal et humain, elle choisit de préserver la vie ou de donner la mort. La même ambivalence s'observe dans le tempérament de la déesse Artémis, présente à l'époque impériale, puisque celle que l'on appelle à l'aide lors de l'accouchement est

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61 Comme le mentionnent des documents épigraphiques provenant de Kéos et de Sélinonte : *SEG* 43, 630. Pour l'inscription et le commentaire de l'inscription de Sélinonte : Jakubiec 2016 ; Eck 2012. Pour le document trouvé à Kéos, voir Beaulieu 2018, 208.

62 Manfredi 1992, 10–14.

63 Une tradition locale à Larnaca, attestée dès le XVIe siècle, voudrait d'ailleurs que les eaux saumâtres du lac salé de Kition aient été maudites par Saint-Barnabé.

aussi celle qui tue, comme l'a remarquablement écrit Pierre Ellinger : « il y a donc chez Artémis aussi une ambigüité que l'on ne peut résoudre »[64].

Peut-on alors parler de coïncidence si les Kitiens installent auprès de leur lac salé, tour à tour une déesse Mère (ʾm), fortement engagée dans la filiation puis une Artémis du sel ? J'espère contribuer à démontrer grâce à ce rapide survol que la continuité est ici parfaitement logique. L'explication fournie par M. Yon de l'épiclèse de *Paralia*, et qui fait de la déesse maternelle du royaume classique de Kition une aïeule de l'Artémis du marais salant met parfaitement en lumière l'attachement singulier que revêtaient les ressources « brutes » fournies par le lac et dont l'importance est parfois encore relativement sous-estimée dans la recherche moderne. Le glissement qui s'opère de l'une à l'autre, probablement avec le concours intermédiaire d'autres divinités comme Hygie ou Asclépios[65], aussi attestés dans la zone du lac salé au cours de l'époque hellénistique – s'explique aisément par l'affinité qu'entretient Artémis avec la courotrophie et le patronage des eaux, en particulier les eaux saumâtres et stagnantes. L'apparition à Kition de toute une gamme de déesses, garantes du renouveau végétal, animal et humain, protectrices des différentes étapes de la parturition et desquelles on craignait peut-être aussi le pouvoir de répandre la stérilité, s'affiche somme toute en osmose complète avec les croyances liées au sel. La remarque de Pline, qui précise que le sel de Kition était bénéfique appliqué sur le ventre des femmes en couches, résume à elle seule la fusion durable qui s'opéra entre les cultes des Salines et le lieu qui les accueille. Dernière exemple de la fusion opérée localement entre les divinités de Kition et leur milieu géographique : la présence de la Mosquée Hala Sultan Tekke (figure 1), sur le rivage sud-ouest du lac, qui constitue dans la tradition islamique un lieu de pèlerinage. La mosquée est érigée sur le tombeau d'Umm (*sic*) Hâram, qui ne fut autre que la nourrice du prophète Mahomet et dont la sépulture fut localement associée à des propriétés miraculeuses.

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64 Ellinger 2009, 115.

65 *Kition-Bamboula V*, nº 2030, 241 et 257 = Musée de Larnaca nº d'inventaire MLA 418.

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Adriano Orsingher

On Gods and Caves: Comparing Cave-Sanctuaries in the Ancient Western Mediterranean

1 Caves and Liminal Landscapes

Sanctuaries were sometimes established near a prominent natural feature such as a spring, river, mountain or cave.[1] Although these natural places could become sacralised spaces without any need for construction activities, they sometimes developed into built sacred areas, where these elements may even have been monumentalised.[2] This occurred more rarely in the case of cave-sanctuaries, which often preserved their original (and sometimes already monumental) aspect, especially when these caves were in remote locations or accessible only by sea.[3]

This paper explores the topographical, historical and social context which influenced the establishment of cave-sanctuaries in the ancient western Mediterranean and shaped the ritual activities that were performed there, by considering three case studies: 1) Gorham's Cave in Gibraltar; 2) Es Culleram in Ibiza, and 3) Grotta Regina in Sicily. The study and interpretation of these cave-sanctuaries is affected by some factors resulting from the history of their excavations,[4] such as the partial destruction of the stratigraphic basin and/or their incomplete investigation, which was often carried out in times when little attention was given to stratigraphy or to the

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1 Among the others, see the recent essays in Häussler/Chiai 2020.

2 A good example is the so-called Sacred Area of the Kothon at Motya, where a pond was later transformed into a sacred rectangular pool, which was surrounded by temples and other buildings and enclosed by a circular wall (Nigro 2018, 56–67).

3 Horden/Purcell 2000, 414–417. On cave-sanctuaries in Greece, see Katsarou-Tzeveleki/Nagel 2021.

4 For Gorham's Cave, see Finlayson *et al.* 2014, 509–512; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2019, 1786–1789, with references. For Grotta Regina, see Orsingher 2020, 229–230, with references. For Es Culleram, see Marín Ceballos *et al.* 2010, 134–137, with references.

collection and analysis of the entire data-set (e.g., animal/human remains, seeds, pollens, etc.).[5]

All this notwithstanding, the comparison of these cave-sanctuaries will proceed through the identification of features and common elements, considering what is outside/around and inside the natural cavities, their finds and how they can be related to the deities and the ritual activities performed in these liminal spaces.

2 Cavescapes and Religious Practises

In some regions where particular geological and other kinds of conditions exist (e.g., chemical and climatic factors, type of rocks, geological structure and state of fracturing), it is not unusual to find groups or a concentration of natural caves. When this occurs and only one of them was chosen for ritual activities in antiquity, one may wonder what reasons explain its selection. This is the case of both Gorham's Cave and Grotta Regina,[6] while Es Culleram appears to be an isolated cavity.[7] Additionally, one may also consider the question of whether the natural features of a cave and/or the landscape surrounding it determined the kind of ritual practises performed in – and possibly around or immediately outside – these spaces and, consequently, the choice of the deities to whom these actions were dedicated, or whether it was the other way round, and accordingly, the types of rites and gods that were the main criteria behind the cave's selection. Alternatively, it may not have been such a linear process and it cannot be excluded that both possibilities could work in different cases.

2.1 Outside

By looking at the landscape outside and around these caves and at their position, it is possible to understand their visibility and possible importance in maritime and inland routes, but also to determine their relation to nearby settlements and how they could have been reached in antiquity.

Gorham's Cave is the largest of a group of seven natural sea cavities at the base of the cliffs on the east side of Gibraltar, which is located at the eastern end of the bay of Gibraltar/Algeciras and represents the south-eastern tip of the Iberian Peninsula (Fig. 1, 1–2).

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5 A remarkable exception is the methodology that has been adopted in the Gibraltar Caves Project since 1997 (Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2001, 15–16; Giles Pacheco *et al.* 2001, 53–54).

6 Currently, 213 cavities have been catalogued on the Rock of Gibraltar and at least 26 of them contain archaeological deposits (Finlayson *et al.* 2014, 506). On the caves in the area of Palermo, see Battaglia 2014.

7 For a list of caves in Ibiza, see Encinas 1997, 126–127.
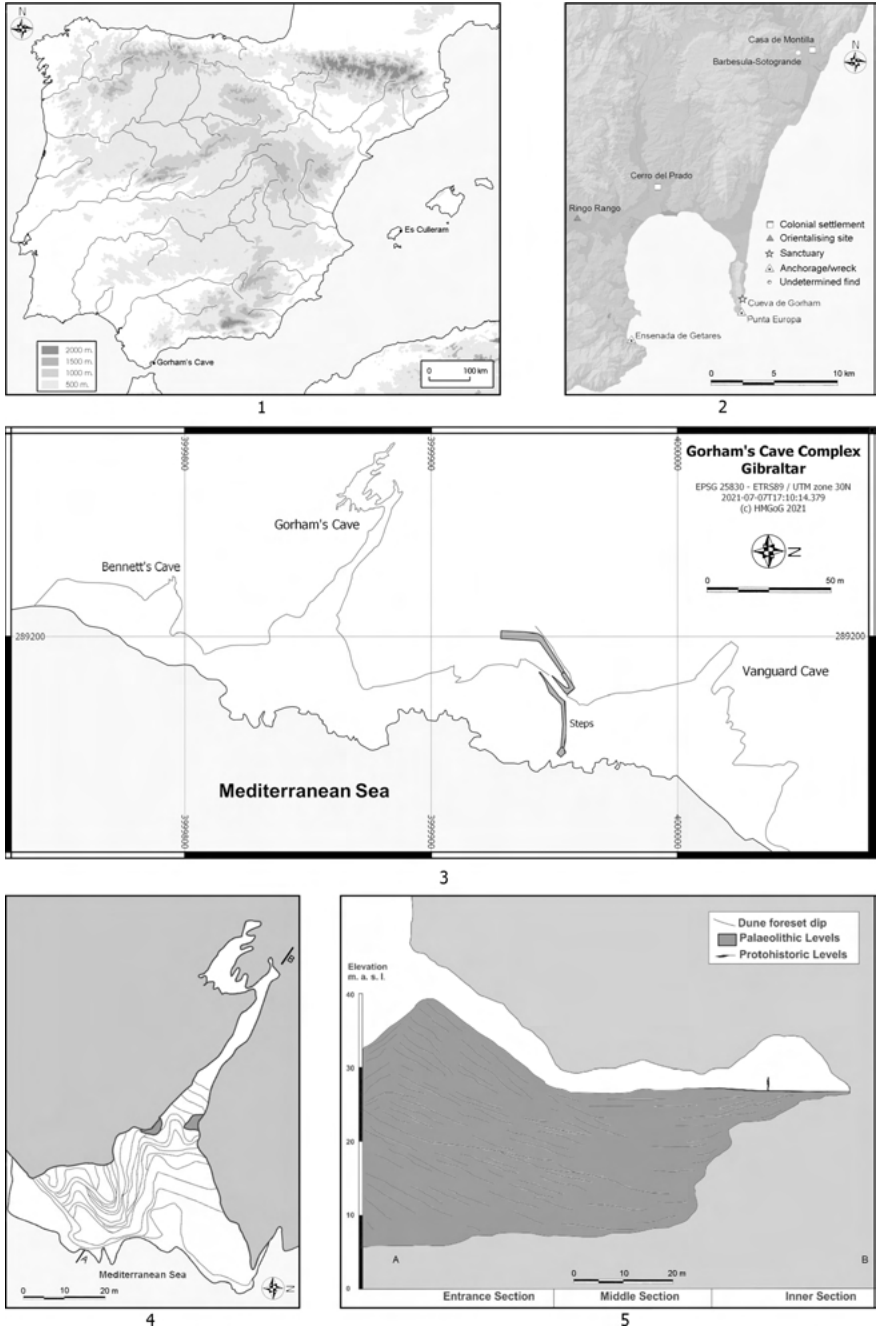
Fig. 1: 1. Map of the western Mediterranean with the position of Gorham's Cave and Es Culleram; 2. Map of the bay of Gibraltar/Algeciras, with Gorham's Cave and other sites mentioned in the text, c. 7th-6th centuries BC (adapted after Jiménez Vialás 2017, Fig. 40; courtesy of Helena Jiménez.

Although this is currently a small peninsula (c. 5.2 × 1.6 km) forming part of the northern shore of the Strait of Gibraltar and connecting the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, it was probably an island during the 1st millennium BC,[8] when it was known as the "Pillars of Herakles". Accordingly, the cave was likely accessed only by boat. This observation recalls a passage in Avienus (*Or. Mar.*, 354–361) claiming that the "Pillars of Herakles" should be identified with two islands completely covered by dense vegetation and hosting "temples and altars to Hercules". According to the Roman writer, foreign embarcations were allowed to land there to offer sacrifices to the divinity, but it was considered sacrilegious to stay there. At the same time, it has been observed that the earliest evidence of settlements in the bay of Gibraltar (e.g., Cerro del Prado, Ringo Rango) currently dates back to the mid-7th century BC,[9] raising the unanswered question of who started a ritual use of the cave: were they locals from a more distant territory in the Iberian Peninsula, overseas sailors or someone else? At the moment, the question remains open, even though it can be observed that the earliest finds currently include Phoenician-type ceramics manufactured in the Levant.

The cave-sanctuary of Es Culleram is located, at a height of 150 m a.s.l., on the south-western slope of one of the foothills of the Serra des Port, in the north-eastern part of Ibiza (Fig. 2, 1–2).[10]

From the cave's entrance – which opens towards the south – it is possible to see below the Sa Cala de San Vicent valley, the nearby bay of Cala Maians or de San Vicent, about 1.5 km away, and a stretch of the sea that extends from Punta d'en Valls to the island of Tagomago and further north. In the San Vicent valley, the stream of Sa Cala runs in an east-west direction towards the bay. Currently, there is no botanical data to establish whether the area of the cave was covered in antiquity, as today, by dense Mediterranean scrub (e.g., pines and brambles),[11] but – in any case –, its entrance could have been hardly visible to those who travelled the nearby stretch of sea.[12] This observation would strengthen the bond between this cave and the people inhabiting the valley below, where – according to the results of

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Fig. 1 (continued)

Vialás); 3. Gibraltar, Governor's Beach: plan of the Gorham's Cave Complex (adapted by the author; courtesy of the Gibraltar Caves Project;); 4–5. Plan and section of Gorham's Cave (adapted after Finlayson *et al.* 2021, Fig. 2).

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8 Jiménez Vialás 2017, 101–104.

9 Jiménez Vialás 2017, 175–189.

10 Aubet 1968, 1; Marín Ceballos *et al.* 2010, 134.

11 Aubet 1968, 1.

12 Aubet 1968, 1. The transit of boats in this stretch of sea – in the same period as this cave's use – is indicated by the presence of shipwrecks near Tagomago (Ramón 1985b; Hermanns/Ramón 2018), which can also be considered indicative of the dangers of navigation in this area.
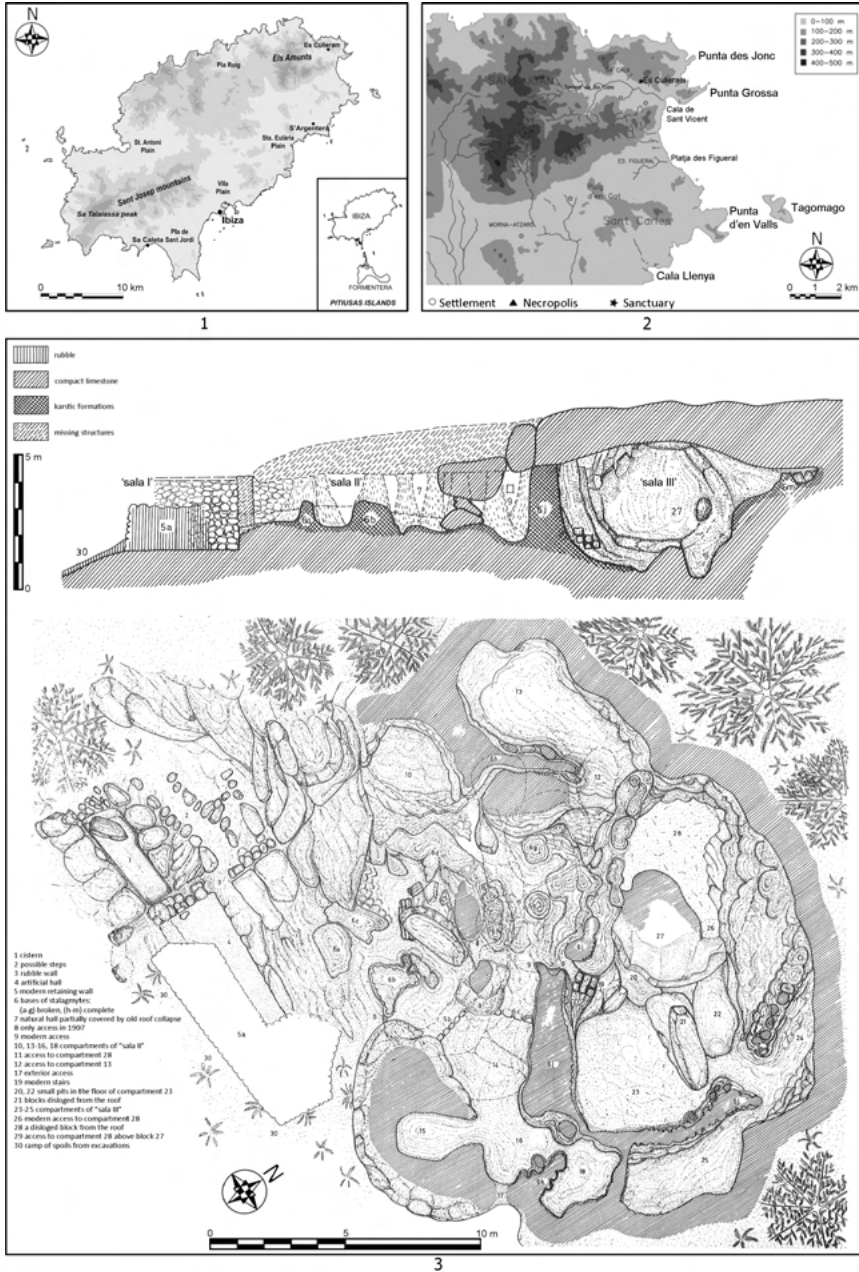
Fig. 2: 1. Map of Ibiza and the Pitiusas Islands (adapted after Gómez Bellard 2008, Fig. 3.1); 2. Map of north-eastern Ibiza, with the position of Es Culleram and rural settlements, c. 5th-4th centuries BC (adapted after Gómez Bellard *et al.* 2005, Fig. 3); 3. Plan and section of Es Culleram, c. 5th-2nd centuries BC (adapted after Ramón 1985a, Figs. 1–2).

a survey – farms and small villages would have been located.[13] The possible presence of a water source nearby, a few hundred meters below the cave, would be a reasonable hypothesis explaining the origins of its use.[14]

Grotta Regina is a cave located on the seaward slope of Mount Gallo, near Mondello, to the north of Palermo in north-western Sicily (Fig. 3, 1–2).

Its large entrance, scarcely visible either from the sea or the coastal path, is positioned at a height of 130 m a.s.l., facing north. This region is rich in natural caves, many of which contain archaeological deposits primarily dating back to the Prehistoric period.[15] However, there is currently no evidence of sites located near to Grotta Regina and coevally occupied (c. 5th and the 2nd/1st centuries BC).[16] Accordingly, the coastal area where this cave lies appears to have been isolated and far from the main settlements of this period (e.g., Palermo, Monte Iato, Segesta), and sparsely or not at all populated. It can be observed that it could have been reached both by boat and by foot, implying that its visitors could have been both locals and foreigners.

2.2 Inside

These caves show several distinctive features, with regards to their size, shape, light conditions, sound effects, thus exemplifying the large variability of sensory environments that individuals and/or groups visiting and/or performing in these sanctuaries could have experienced.

The original appearance of Gorham's Cave has been distorted by marine erosion and the excavations carried out by John d'Arcy Waechter in the outer area of the cavity.[17] During the 1st millennium BC, this cave – despite the monumentality of its great triangular-shaped vault at the foot of the cliff – would have had a narrow low opening, entered by a wide slope of at least 17 metres, below which would have extended a stretch of beach.[18] Gorham's Cave consists of a 102-metre-long gallery developing in a south-east/north-west direction that progressively narrows from a monumental vestibule with a 40-metre-high and 20-metre-wide entrance (Fig. 1, 3–5). From the

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13 Gómez Bellard *et al.* 2005.

14 Aubet 1968, 2.

15 Mannino 2016.

16 Orsingher 2020, 233, note 26, with references.

17 Waechter 1951; 1964.

18 Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2012, 314–317, where it is pointed out that the large stalagmitic column in the gallery, being buried under several metres of prehistoric sedimentation, was not visible at that time. This observation would invalidate its interpretation given by some scholars (e.g., Belén/Pérez 2000, 531) as an aniconic image of the cave's deity and one of the reasons behind its choice for ritual purposes.
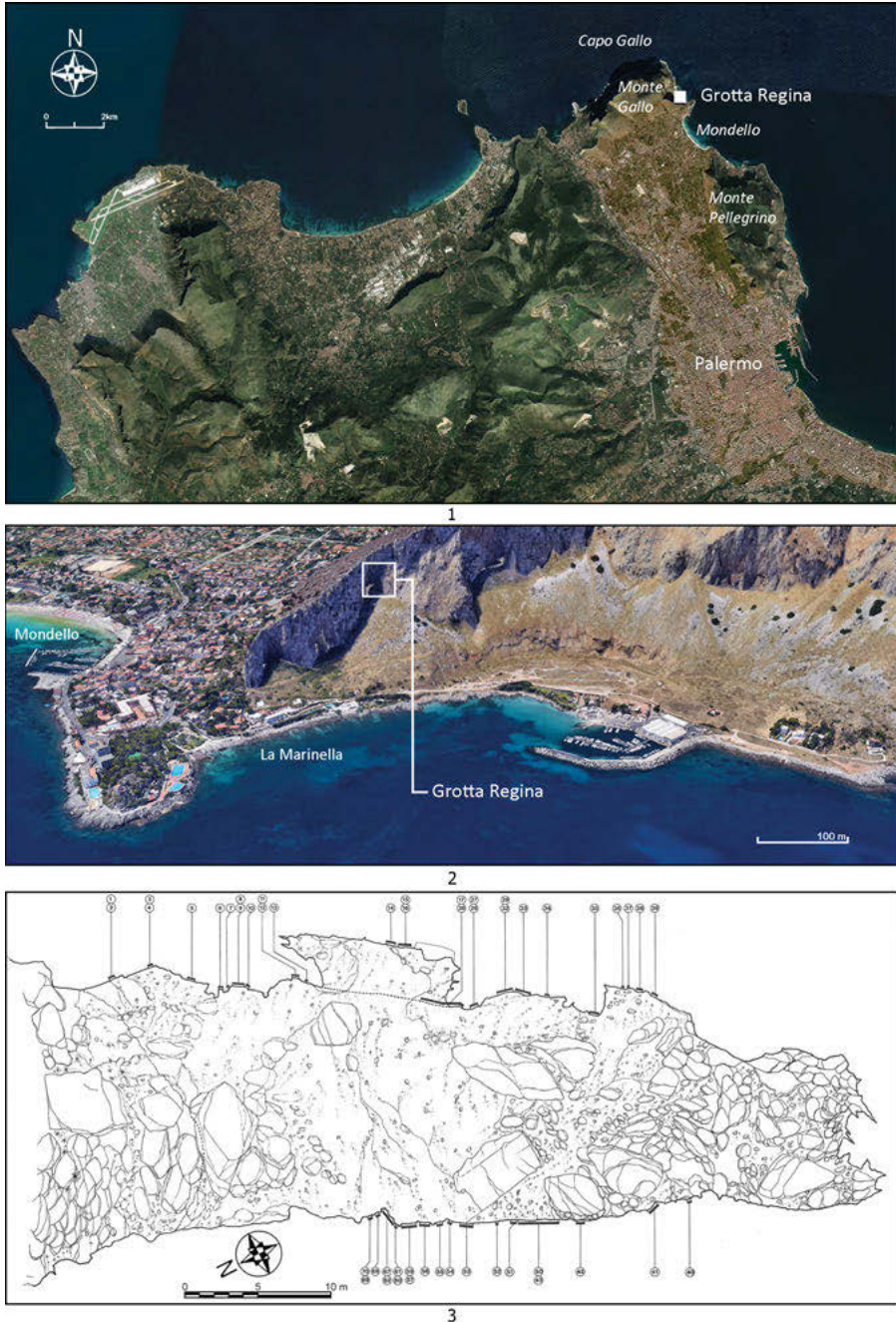
Fig. 3: 1. Satellite view of Palermo and its surroundings, with the position of Grotta Regina; 2. Mondello, La Marinella: aerial view of Grotta Regina, from the north-west; 3. Grotta Regina: plan of the cave with the position of the inscriptions and drawings (adapted after Coacci Poalselli *et al.* 1979, Fig. 1).

bottom of this corridor, which could probably not be reached by natural light, one can access a secondary gallery, which initially takes a north-south direction for 15 m and then widens again for another 19 m on an east-west orientation.[19]

The ritual use of Gorham's Cave corresponds to Level I (formerly known as A) of its stratigraphic sequence.[20] This uppermost thin layer (c. 0.05/0.15 m) consists of sandy sediment of dune origin, which was rich in organic matter and contained ceramics and other artefacts. As it was largely disturbed, no clear stratigraphic distinction could be made inside this level.[21] This phase is currently dated between the end of the 9th/first half of the 8th and the mid-2nd century BC.[22] The larger quantity of materials dating to the 5th-3rd centuries BC suggests that the ritual activities peaked during this period, while the rarity of finds dating to the 2nd century BC and the current absence of materials belonging to the following century[23] would mark the decline in its use and the later abandonment, which have been respectively explained as the outcome of the Second Punic War (c. 206–202 BC) and the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC.[24]

The cave-sanctuary at Es Culleram was composed of several chambers/spaces. Joan Ramón has distinguished three areas (Fig. 2, 3).[25] One of them had a quadrangular layout ("sala I") and was built with small and large stones outside the southwestern side of the cave. This space – flanked by a plastered cistern (c. 4.30 × 1.32 m) – was probably a later addition, which allowed entry into the natural cave.[26] The second and larger area ("sala II"), approximately 70 m², was divided into several small rooms with an irregular layout and characterised by the presence of karst formations.[27] A narrow passage between two stalagmites led to the innermost part of the sanctuary ("sala III"), which was interpreted as a sancta sanctorum. Its surface (about 80 m²) included a 5-metre-high room with an irregular oval floor plan and two further and distinct spaces.[28]

Ramón has identified two main occupation periods. Some handmade sherds are evidence of prehistoric domestic use of the cave, probably during the Bronze

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19 Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2012, 307.

20 The circa 18 metres of stratigraphy inside this cave has been divided into four levels, which correspond to different occupation periods: I) Phoenician; II) Neolithic; III) Upper Paleolithic; IV) Middle Paleolithic (Finlayson *et al.* 2014, 511–512).

21 Waechter 1951, 22; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2012, 313–314.

22 Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2020, 1286; Finlayson *et al.* 2021, 3.

23 Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2012, 338–339, 355–359.

24 Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2012, 363–365.

25 Ramón 1982, 13.

26 Ramón 1985a, 233–234.

27 Ramón 1985a, 234–235.

28 Ramón 1985a, 235–236.

Age.[29] The second period, which has been subdivided into four phases, is currently dated between the last quarter of the 5th century BC and the 3rd century AD.[30]

Grotta Regina is a single imposing chamber about 15 m high, 20 m long, and 50 m wide, which narrows towards the back (Fig. 3, 3).[31] The current floor level is irregular, sloping towards the centre of the cave, and then rising again to the back of the chamber, where many medium-sized stones and some large boulders are accumulated. The central part of the chamber is mostly free of large stones, and it seems to have been the only space where a group of people could have originally gathered, or a ritual performance could be hosted. A huge boulder, roughly rectangular, with a flat upper surface is positioned at the south-western edge of this area, which could have originally offered convenient support for many ritual actions. Two niches open in the eastern wall; the one closest to the entrance has a carved triangular pediment. Votive inscriptions and various kinds of drawings were painted in black on both the western and eastern walls of the cave.[32] As a result of this cave's use until recent times, its stratigraphy has been partially removed in antiquity and compromised by post-depositional disturbance.[33] The position of the inscriptions and drawings on the cave walls is the only parameter to get an idea of where and at what height the original floor should have been approximately positioned, although it cannot be established if it was horizontal or irregular and, more generally, how much of what is visible today corresponds to its appearance in antiquity. The ritual use of this cave is currently dated to between the 5th and the 2nd/1st centuries BC, mostly based on the shape of the letters in the Punic inscriptions.[34]

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29 Ramón 1985a, 248–251.

30 Very few finds can be currently assigned to its earliest phase (c. 425–230 BC). Most of the others date to the following phase (c. 230–150 BC), which represents the apogee in the use and frequentation of the cave. It corresponds to a period when – according to the results of a survey (Gómez Bellard *et al.* 2005) – this part of the island was densely occupied. The small number of artefacts that can be dated after the mid-2nd century BC (e.g., pottery, coins) suggest that a sporadic frequentation of the cave continued until the 3rd century AD.

31 Orsingher 2020, 224.

32 Orsingher 2020, 224–226.

33 Orsingher 2020, 229.

34 Orsingher 2020, 224, note 4. The cave also contained finds dating to the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Bronze Age and Islamic periods, testifying to a frequentation of uncertain nature during these phases (Orsingher 2020, 224, 229, note 18).
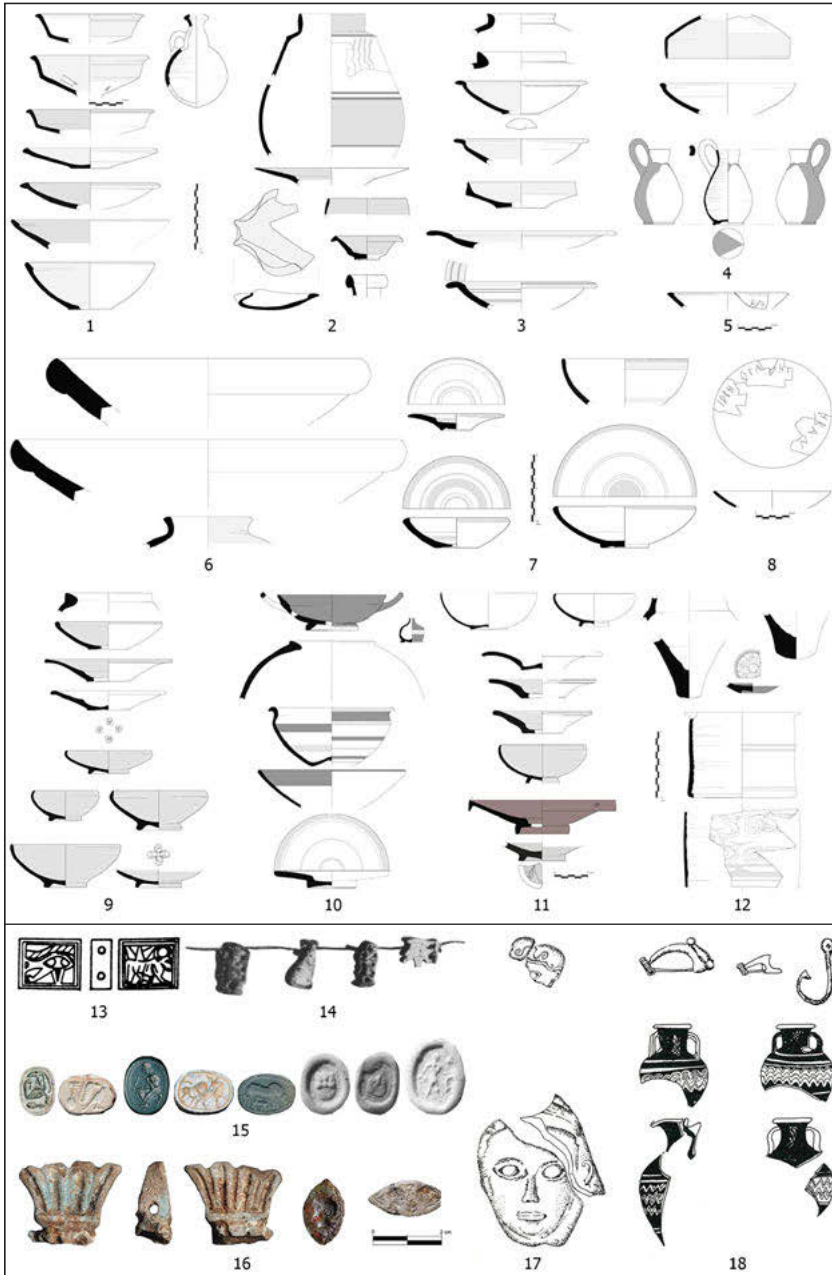
Fig. 4: Gorham's Cave, a selection of the finds: archaic pottery from 1. the Levant, 2. Carthage, 3. the Mediterranean coast of Andalusia (Gutiérrez López *et al*. 2019, Figs. 6–7); 4. Archaic East Greek pottery (Gutiérrez López *et al*. 2010, Fig. 10); 5. Plate rim with Phoenician inscription (Zamora López *et al*. 2013, Fig. 2); 6. Mortars from Carthage and "Sant'Imbenia"- type amphora (Gutiérrez López *et al*. 2010, Fig. 8);

2.3 Finds

There does not appear to have been a regularised system of offerings at Gorham's Cave (Fig. 4, 1–12). Although a percentage estimate of the different groups of finds is not currently available,[35] one can observe that most of the materials deposited in the cave are pottery vessels, particularly open shapes (e.g., plates, bowls, lids, basins and mortars),[36] more rarely closed vessels (e.g., jugs, juglets, oil bottles, dippers, olpai, fusiform unguentaria),[37] and – to a lesser extent – cooking ware,[38] storage and transport amphorae,[39] as well as other vases of uncertain typologies.[40] The analysis of the pottery repertoire has shown the presence of finds from neighbouring and more distant regions during the entire duration of this cave's frequentation, albeit with variations over time in the regions from which they were manufactured and in their quantity.[41] Apart from the very general

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Fig. 4 (continued)

7. Punic pottery from Carthage (Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2010, Fig. 12; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2012, Fig. 3); 8. Plate rim with Greek-Iberian inscription (Zamora López *et al.* 2013, Fig. 6); 9. Punic pottery from the bay of Cádiz (Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2010, Fig. 13); 10. Attic imports, Ibero-Turdetan and Ebusitanian productions (Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2010, Fig. 15); 11. Pottery from the Strait of Gibraltar area (Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2010, Fig. 14; Zamora López *et al.* 2013, Fig. 10c); 12. Italic and northeast Iberian peninsular ceramics (Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2010, Fig. 16); 13. Amulet. Open-work plaque with an udjat-eye on one side and a cow suckling her calf on the other. Pierced twice horizontally for suspension (after Culican 1972, Fig. 1); 14. Necklace with amulets (after Culican 1972, Fig. 5); 15.-16. Egyptian and pseudo-Egyptian scarabs, Bes figurine, and decorated rings (after Padró i Parcerisa 1980–1985, Pl. CLXV, 31.22–31–23, 31.26; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2010, Fig. 11); 17–18. terracottas, faience amphoriskoi, fibulae and a fish-hook (after Culican 1972, Fig. 14).

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35 The only exception so far is the group of the so-called "grey ware", which represents 1.5% of the total amount (Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2020, 1290).

36 Barnett 1963–1964, 84, Pls. XXXIX, c, f; XL, a, c–d, f; Culican 1972, Fig. 6–9; 10, p–v; 11; Bélen/Pérez 2000, 532–533, Figs. 3–5; 7, 6–8; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2001, Figs. 1–5; 2012, 2962–2966, Figs. 2–3; 2019, 1792–1794, 1796–1798, 1801–1802, 1805–1807, Figs. 4–5, 7–8; 2020, Figs. 2–4.

37 Barnett 1963–1964, 84, Pls. XXXIX, d; Culican 1972, Figs. 10, w; 12; Bélen/Pérez 2000, 533, Figs. 6, 1, 5–12; 7, 1–3; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2001, Fig. 2; 2019, 1794–1795, 1798, 1806–1807, Figs. 4–5, 8.

38 Bélen/Pérez 2000, 533, Fig. 7, 4–5; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2001, 16, Fig. 1.

39 Culican 1972, Fig. 3, xxii–xxiii; Bélen/Pérez 2000, 533, Fig. 6, 2–3, 13–14; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2012, 2960, 2962, Fig. 2; 2019, 1795, 1799, 1801, 1805, Figs. 5–7.

40 Bélen/Pérez 2000, 533, Fig. 6, 15–17.

41 The ceramics have been divided into two main groups. The earliest one, which has been labelled "archaic" and roughly assigned to the 8th-6th centuries BC, has been associated with five main geographic areas: 1) the south-western Iberian Peninsula (i.e., Tartessian handmade pottery, "grey ware"), 2) the Levant, 3) Carthage/North Africa, 4) the central Mediterranean and 5) eastern Greece. The later group, which corresponds to the Punic phase of the cave-sanctuary, includes ceramics dating to the 5th-mid-2nd centuries BC. They mainly came from the Iberian Peninsula, especially from the centres in the Bay of Algeciras and the Baleares, while some vessels were imported from Carthage and Attica (Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2010, 320–337, 339–350; 2019, 1792–1808; 2020).

reference to bones and marine shells in the account of the first excavations[42] and, more recently, to one example of *Pecten Maximus* covering a fibula with a double-coil spring,[43] there is currently no published data on faunal and botanical remains found in association with these ceramics.[44] Accordingly, at the present moment, one can only speculate arguing a frequent use of the open vessels in association with the consumption of solid food, without excluding their possible association with drinking and pouring liquids, which – more probably – could also have been poured from the various types of pottery and faience closed vessels.[45] The occasional presence of lamps[46] would justify the use of the inner part of the cave, where natural light usually did not reach. Not only do plates and bowls appear to have been the most frequently used ceramic types in the ritual activities performed in the cave, but they are currently the only ones that are engraved with inscriptions (of uncertain reading) and other signs.[47] Although it remains unclear whether they were all, in part or not at all, of votive nature, this scanty epigraphic corpus, which includes one Phoenician graffito (c. 6th century BC), one Greek-Iberian inscription (c. end of the 5th-early 3rd century BC) and seven signs/marks (c. 9th/8th-3rd/ early 2nd centuries BC) largely engraved on Phoenician-type ceramics, would support the scenario of the initial frequentation, mostly in the framework of Phoenician-speaking mobility, and its gradual opening to individuals or groups of other provenance and/or cultural backgrounds.

The small finds from Gorham's Cave include a wide range of personal items (Fig. 4, 13–18). Among them, only the scarabs appear to be a rather consistent group,[48] while many others are only represented by one or a few examples, such as ornaments and dress fittings (e.g., rings, necklaces, pendants, beads, amulets,[49] fibulae,[50]), but also faience vessels,[51] fishhooks,[52] and terracottas.[53]

As pottery fragmentation has been observed at Gorham's Cave, one may wonder whether it was the outcome of ritual activities or post-depositional processes.[54] Also, small depressions excavated into the underlying level of the Neolithic phase

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42 Waechter 1951, 85.

43 Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2019, 1791.

44 However, C. Finlayson (*pers. comm.*, 7/7/2021) has informed me that bird and mammal remains come from Level I.

45 Culican 1972, Fig. 14, c–f.

46 Bélen/Pérez 2000, 532, Fig. 6, 4; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2001, 24, Fig. 5; 2019, 1797–1798, Fig. 5.

47 Zamora López *et al.* 2013.

48 Culican 1972, 111–120, Figs. 1–5; Padró i Parcerisa 1980–1985, 129–149; Posadas 1988; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2001, 24, 26; 2019, 1807–1808.

49 Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2001, 26.

50 Culican 1972, Fig. 14, g–h; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2001, 26; 2019, 1791.

51 Culican 1972, 130, Fig. 14, c-f.

52 Culican 1972, 131, Fig. 14, i.

53 Culican 1972, 129–130, Fig. 14, a-b.

54 Giles Pacheco *et al.* 2001, 59; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2019, 1790; 2020, 1289.

have been tentatively interpreted as ritual pits where offerings were deposited.[55] It can be observed that this practice is well documented in pre-building phases of some sanctuaries in the Iberian Peninsula and other regions that were inhabited by Phoenician-speaking groups.[56] The presence of scattered charcoal fragments, the distribution of which may depend on the water circulation in the cave,[57] suggests that the burning of substances may have been among the activities carried out inside the cave. It can also be connected to the traces of burning visible in some open vessels, even though for the bowls a possible use for lighting as an alternative to oil lamps has been also suggested.[58] More recently, very partially disturbed or intact archaeological deposits have been identified. One of them includes some plates that were probably manufactured in the same workshop, which were found stacked or arranged nearby.[59] They would support the hypothesis that groups of people may have visited and performed in this cave at the same time.

The case of Es Culleram is very different. Here, the greater part of the finds was discovered during the first excavations when hardly any attention was paid to the original position of the artefacts and/or the stratigraphy inside the cave (Fig. 5).

Accordingly, they can only be studied on typological grounds. Six main groups can be distinguished: 1) terracottas, 2) pottery (e.g., amphorae, jugs, bowls, mortars, cooking ware),[60] 3) metal artefacts,[61] 4) stone sculptures (i.e., a small altar, three conical stones, a now lost lion's head),[62] 5) bone/ivory artefacts,[63] and 6) faunal remains.[64]

Given their large number, terracottas have been the main focus of scholars' attention and the subject of many works. Besides the first commentaries,[65] Maria Eugenia Aubet's comprehensive classification[66] and – along with short summaries and typological remarks[67] – the recent detailed iconographic studies resulting from

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55 Gutiérrez López *et al*. 2019, 1790.

56 E.g., Pappa 2013, 32, 66; Nigro 2009, 243–244, Fig. 2.

57 Gutiérrez López *et al*. 2019, 1790.

58 Bélen/Pérez 2000, 534; Gutiérrez López *et al*. 2019, 1790.

59 Gutiérrez López *et al*. 2019, 1791.

60 Ramón 1985a, 240–248. Handmade ware, most probably dating to the Bronze Age, is also documented.

61 They include a double-inscribed bronze plaque, fishing tools (i.e., weights, sinkers), jewellery, coins, iron knives, rings, rivets and appliques (Almagro Gorbea/De Fortuny 1971, 10–16; Ramón 1985a, 238–240; Ramón 2016, with references).

62 Román 1913, 81, Pls. LXXVIII-LXXXI.

63 Román 1913, 81, Pl. LXXIII; Almagro Gorbea/De Fortuny 1971, 17–18.

64 Morales Pérez 2011.

65 E.g., Román 1913, 75–81, Pls. XXXIV–LXXII, LXXIV–LXXVII; Mañá de Angulo, 1947.

66 Aubet 1968, 8–38; 1976; 1982, 13–32.

67 E.g., Ramón 1985a, 236–238; Almagro Gorbea 1980; San Nicolás Pedraz 1987, 8–9, 31–37, 47, 68–74.

the project led by María Cruz Marín Ceballos are noteworthy.[68] Aubet's distinction of five main groups of terracottas is usually maintained: 1) bell-shaped female figurines, 2) enthroned figurines,[69] 3) female flat figurines, 4) incense-burners in the shape of a female head, and 5) various types of difficult classification. The first group is the largest one, which numbers about 1020 examples and represents 91% of the entire assemblage. It portrays a female figure wearing a kalathos headdress and a cape or mantle formed by two large, folded wings. The best parallels, possibly used as prototypes, are attested at Carthage. Within this group, a variable number of subtypes has been distinguished based on differences in hairstyle and headdress, ornaments and religious symbols on the chest.

The quantity of terracottas suggests that they were frequently used in ritual practices at Es Culleram. As some/most of them were reportedly found mixed in a deposit of ashes and burnt bones in the innermost part of the cave, their deposition may have been accompanied by sacrificial meals. Juan Vicente Morales Perez analysed a group of animal bones collected in a secondary position outside the cave. The majority were burnt skull remains of ovicaprid. It has been inferred that the head, possibly with other parts (e.g., the viscera and fats), may have been offered to the deity, while the rest of the body would have been distributed among the officiants and the offerer.[70] This interpretation could perhaps be linked to the presence of cooking ware.

In contrast with what has been observed at Gorham's Cave and Es Culleram, the cave-sanctuary of Grotta Regina has yielded very few finds that can be assigned to its religious use. Apart from very few fragmentary pottery vessels (e.g., jugs, transport amphorae),[71] most of the evidence of a cult inside this cave is inferred from the votive inscriptions addressed to Shadrapa[72] and the corpus of images[73] on the cave walls (Fig. 6).

Overall, there are roughly 70 groups of inscriptions and images, but this number is conditioned by the difficulty of distinguishing, in some cases, the signs traced on the walls of the cave, especially when they are superimposed.[74] While there is no

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68 Marín Ceballos *et al.* 2010; 2014a; 2014b; 2015; 2016; 2020, 210–216.

69 They include seven sub-groups: 1) figurines with torch and small animal; 2) figurines with multiple necklaces, 3) figure performing the veil gesture, 4) figures of musicians, 5) figures with high kalathos and belt, 6) tanagras, 7) busts.

70 Morales Pérez 2011.

71 Orsingher 2020, 229, note 16, with references.

72 Two types of inscriptions are currently documented (Orsingher 2020, 224, note 6, with references). The most numerous one consists of the formula "bless" or "may bless Shadrapa" followed by the name of the dedicator and possibly the genealogy, while a single incomplete inscription shows the formula "vow that (someone) vowed".

73 The imagery from Grotta Regina includes military ships, warrior/knight figures, animals, aniconic symbols and possibly monsters (Orsingher 2020, 224).

74 Orsingher 2020, 230.

Fig. 5: Es Culleram, a selection of the finds: 1. double-inscribed bronze plaque (after Lipiński 1983, Pls. V–VI; Richey 2019, Fig. 16.2); 2. gold medallions (after Almagro Gorbea/De Fortuny 1971, Pl. I); 3. enthroned figurine (after Almagro Gorbea 1980, Pl. LXXXVIII, 1); 4. Incense-burner in the shape of

data about the fabric of the wall fragment of a jug (Fig. 6, 7),[75] the two rims of Punic amphorae (Fig. 6, 3–4) can be identified with the types Sol/Pan 7.1 and 8.1 (c. 310–270/250 BC),[76] which were manufactured in the area of Palermo/Solunto.

3 Deities

Apart from the very general textual reference from Avienus to the temples and altars of Hercules in Calpe (i.e., the Latin name for Gibraltar), which would probably imply a connection to Melqart, there is no clear archaeological indication of the deity or deities worshipped in Gorham's Cave. Although Astarte and Tinnit have often been considered the main candidates for being the tutelary divinity of the sanctuary,[77] one can observe the presence of several male images. Not all of them are certainly recognisable as deities[78] and, most importantly, the size and material of these artefacts argue against their identification as proper cultic images. The only recurring iconography is that of Bes, which – in any case – is depicted only in a fragmentary amulet and two/three scarabs.[79] However, Bes has been proposed as the *genius loci* of the cave.[80] More recently, special attention has been paid to the presence of some terracotta fragments of what has been tentatively interpreted as a plaque – or, less likely, a small portable altar or a shield – depicting a Gorgoneion (the head of the Gorgon Medusa), which – on stylistic

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Fig. 5 (continued)

a female head (after Aubet 1982, Pl. XXV, bottom right); 5. bell-shaped female figurine (after Almagro Gorbea 1980, Pl. XCIX); 6. figure performing the veil gesture (after Almagro Gorbea 1980, Pl. XXXVI, 1); 7. ivory lion (after Aubet 1982, Pl. XXVII, 2); 8. small altar (after Román 1913, Pl. LXXXI); 9. conical stone (after Román 1913, Pl. LXXVIII).

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75 The outside of this jug is engraved with a Neo-Punic inscription dating to the 2nd century BC, which is followed by an undetermined sign. It has been tentatively read as "ʿB ṢDNY" and translated as "ʿB of Sidon". The first word is connected to a root meaning something dark or dense, which has been intended as the content of the jug. Given the mention of Sidon, wine has been considered as an intriguing possibility (Garbini 1983, 101).

76 For parallels, see Bechtold 2015, 9–10, 17, 19, 37, Figs. 4, 7; 5, 5; 12, 7; 17, 9; 38, 2.

77 Aubet 1986, 616; Belén/Pérez 2000, 534; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2019, 1810.

78 The identification of divine imagery in Phoenician/Punic areas remains problematic, especially when considering that the same image could have been used for a variety of deities. On this issue, see Orsingher 2021, with references. As it has been recently pointed out (Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2019, 1786, note 14, with references), the thesis that the large stalagmite would have been an aniconic representation of the cave's deity, determining its choice for a ritual use, cannot be sustained, as it would not have been visible at that time, when it was covered by the prehistoric stratigraphy.

79 Culican 1972, 114–115, Fig. 3, xxii–xxiv; Padró i Parcerisa 1980–1985, 142–143, 145, nos. 31.22–23, 26, Pl. CXLV; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2001, 26; 2010, 351–352, Fig. 11, 6.

80 López de la Orden 1990, 36–37; 1995, 121; *contra* Velázquez Brieva 2007, 84–85.

Fig. 6: Grotta Regina, drawings, inscriptions and pottery fragments: 1. Group 29 (after Coacci Poalselli *et al.* 1979, Fig. 30); 2. Group 15 (after Coacci Poalselli *et al.* 1979, Fig. 17); 3. Group 16 (after Coacci Poalselli *et al.* 1979, Fig. 18); 4. Inscription 32 (after Coacci Poalselli *et al.* 1979, Fig. 32bis); 5. Inscription 30 (after Coacci Poalselli *et al.* 1979, Fig. 31); 6. Transport amphorae rims (after Bisi 1969, Fig. 11, 3–4); 7. jug wall fragment with a Neo-Punic inscription (adapted after Garbini 1983, 101).

grounds – has been dated to the (first half of the) 6th century BC and considered to have been manufactured in Greek Sicily, southern Italy or Corinth.[81] Overall, the variety of images discovered so far in the cave supports the absence of a titular deity and suggests that the different visitors to this cave may have worshipped several gods, possibly those connected to sea travel and, in particular, its dangers.[82] A possible interpretation would be to emphasise the liminal character of both Bes and the Gorgon, which would reflect the liminality of this region acting as a threshold between two seas and corresponding distinct worlds.

At Es Culleram, the dataset appears to be more consistent. The Punic texts inscribed on the bronze plaque attest the religious use of the cave.[83] However, the debate continues as to whether or not the earliest inscription (c. final decades of the 5th – early 4th century BC), possibly mentioning Reshep–Melqart, could have been made elsewhere, and the plaque only brought to Es Culleram at a later stage when the second inscription was added. Occasional examples of male imagery are documented, including a gold medallion showing a bearded figure (Fig. 5, 2).

The later inscription (c. first half of the 2nd century BC) makes it possible to attribute the cult in the cave to the goddess Tinnit, as well as to tentatively consider the mention of building works as a reference to the single quadrangular room that was added to the exterior of the natural cave.

As the abovementioned bell-shaped female figurines have been considered as a representation of the goddess Tinnit cited on the bronze plaque, its iconographic elements have been analysed with the aim of better characterising the deity's facets and her cult. Accordingly, it has been argued that the caduceus would hint at protection in any activity or trip, but especially in the journey to the netherworld, while the astral symbols would refer to the celestial space inhabited by the deity, and the lotus flower would symbolise creation, life and rebirth.[84]

The epithet Gad, namely "the (good) fortune", has been connected to incense burners in the shape of a female head wearing a wall crown as a headdress, which would suggest the role of poliade goddess or patron of the city and its territory for

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81 Finlayson *et al.* 2021.

82 Culican 1972, 132; Padró i Parcerisa 1985, 128.

83 Many scholars have dealt with this plaque (e.g., Delcor 1978; Lipiński 1983, 154–159, Pls. V–VI, with references). Most recently, see the translation given by Madadh Richey (2019, 231–232, Fig. 16.2) and that by José Ángel Zamora López mentioned in Marín Ceballos et al. 2020, 216, note 16. Following these studies, the earliest one (side A) should be translated as: "To the lord Reshep–Melqart this is the sanctua[ry] / that dedicated ʾŠʾDR son of [Y]ʿ[Š . . . ?] / son of BDGD son of Eshmunḥille[ṣ]"; while side B would be: "Made, dedicated and restored this construction(?) / Abdeshmun, son of Azorbaal, / the priest, for our lady Tinnit, the mighty one / and the fortune, and he directed the work himself, at his expense."

84 Marín Ceballos et al. 2020, 210–216.

Tinnit, possibly indicating that this cave sanctuary was a symbolic landmark of the northern limits of Ibiza's territorial and economic extension on the island.[85]

In a similar way, the epigraphic corpus of Grotta Regina provides evidence of the deity worshipped in the cave-sanctuary. Various inscriptions mention the healing god Shadrapa (Fig. 6, 4–5), to whom ritual invocations of blessings are addressed.[86] These standard blessing formulae are found in several other inscriptions in the Phoenician/Punic epigraphic corpus and other Iron Age North-West Semitic languages.[87] Accordingly, they do not shed much light on the cult and ritual activities performed in this natural cave. Given the paucity of finds, considering the images drawn on the cave walls is the only way to attempt a better characterisation of the kind of cult officiated at Grotta Regina. The presence of many war-related images (e.g., military ships and warrior/knight figures) recalls the representation of Shadrapa as a smiting god in the so-called stele of Amrit, and as a Roman soldier on some bas-reliefs of Palmyra.[88] Finally, the presence of a goddess at Grotta Regina has sometimes been sustained, although data in this regard is scant and its interpretation is uncertain. A cult of Tinnit has been proposed based on the presence of the so-called sign of Tanit,[89] while the name of Isis has been tentatively read on a problematic inscription.[90]

4 Conclusions

Although the absence of precise stratigraphic data and information on the archaeological contexts prevents their accurate comparison, these three caves show common and distinct features regarding their position, landscape, sensescape, provenance/type of finds, titular deities and the ritual activities performed inside their spaces.

All three sanctuaries lie in landscapes presenting diverse combinations of sea and mountains/hills and are located in an elevated position: a few metres above sea level for Gorham's Cave, over a hundred metres a.s.l. for the other two. The strategic position of Gorham's Cave at a maritime crossroad, its visibility and access only by boat account for the wide geographic provenance of its finds. In the absence of residue analysis and associated bioarchaeological remains, it is still unclear whether or not the overwhelming presence of open vessels should indicate that a specific ritual activity was performed in this cave. The current absence of a

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85 Marín Ceballos 2007; 2010; Marín Ceballos et al. 2020, 216–217. On Tinnit and the epiclesis "the fortune", see the observations in Garbati 2013, 534–535.

86 Most recently, on this deity, see Bartoloni 2011, with references.

87 Smoak 2017, 334–335, with references.

88 Orsingher 2020, 230–232.

89 Brody 2005.

90 Coacci Polselli *et al.* 1979, 44–45, no. 29A, Fig. 30, Pls. XIV-XVI.

main group of locally produced artefacts, particular ritual behaviours and/or patterns in the iconographic repertoire, as well as the heterogeneity of finds, raises the question of how – or even if – the cave's cult was administered. This contrasts with the hundreds of terracottas showing the same iconography at Es Culleram or the dozens of inscriptions on the walls of Grotta Regina. In the two latter cases, one's first impression is that of an administered cult, probably involving someone living in the San Vicent valley's farms and villages for Es Culleram, while it cannot be determined who was responsible for Grotta Regina. Although both these caves show connections to the landscape and seascape,[91] their accessibility by land would strengthen their relationship with the territory and the local people. This is especially the case with Es Culleram, where there are very few imported objects (e.g., gold medallions) and the maritime finds (e.g., weights and sinkers from fishing nets) are scant and may be preferably explained as the result of local peoples' sea-exploitation instead of their involvement in navigation. Accordingly, Es Culleram should have mainly been visited and used by local people, which would fit with its scarce visibility from the sea or the bay. On the contrary, navigation appears to be a prevailing theme at Grotta Regina.

All three sanctuaries show, to various degrees, a connection to Carthage. The presence of Carthaginian imports at Gorham's Cave is the result of the central position of the North African metropolis in western Mediterranean maritime trade since the 8th century BC. On the contrary, the existence of Carthaginian parallels and prototypes for some of the terracottas used at Es Culleram, as well as for various images on the cave walls of Grotta Regina, but also the local adoption of deities attested at Carthage (e.g., Tinnit, Shadrapa), probably depends on the political and – more subtle – cultural hegemony of this city during the 5th-2nd centuries BC. Furthermore, the warlike character of many drawings at Grotta Regina recalls the North African metropolis' military activity in Sicily during the same centuries.[92]

One additional feature shared by these cave-sanctuaries is their border position: they were located on the edge of an inhabited territory or in remote areas away from everyday routes. Going to – or stopping by – these sanctuaries thus implied a choice. Accordingly, the journey by sea and/or land – which entailed sailing, walking and climbing – was an essential part of the religious experience linked to these cave-sanctuaries. While the soundscapes of these spaces cannot (yet?) be clarified, one can observe that the innermost part of these caves was often the one showing the earliest evidence of use (i.e., Grotta Regina)[93] or where most of the offerings were deposited (i.e., Gorham's Cave, Es Culleram). It can be assumed that frequenters of these sanctuaries gave special importance to dark or low-light environments. To

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91 *Contra* López-Bertran 2011, 98.

92 Orsingher 2020, 232.

93 Orsingher 2020, 225–226.

reach these inner areas at Gorham's cave and Es Culleram, worshippers would have needed to carry a lamp or another source of light (which would have represented an olfactory stimulus and contributed to the creation of a specific smellscape) and perhaps even to grope their way forward, touching the cave walls.[94]

However, whatever their position, caves are liminal spaces, thresholds between familiar and invisible worlds.[95] This explains why they are often understood as entrances to the netherworld and connected to chthonic deities. At Es Culleram, this

Tab. 1: Table summarising the possible ritual actions performed in the sanctuaries of Gorham's Cave, Es Culleram and Grotta Regina, with the indication of the correspondent archaeological evidence between square brackets (elaboration by A. Orsingher).

Ritual actions	Gorham's cave	Es Culleram	Grotta Regina
Libation/ aspersion of liquids	x [closed vessels, open vessels?]	x [closed vessels, cistern]	x [inscription on a jug possibly mentioning Sidonian wine; closed vessels]
Burning of substances/Firing activities	x [scattered charcoal, burning traces on open vessels]	x [ashes, burned bones]	
Pottery fragmentation	x?		
Offering/ consumption of food	x [cooking ware, open vessels, shells]	x [cooking ware, open vessels]	
Animal sacrifice	x? [bird/mammal remains?]	x [ovicaprid, iron knives]	
Deposition of personal objects	x [ornaments and dress fitting]	x [gold medallions]	
Deposition of terracottas	x	x	
Ritual pits	x		
Drawing of inscriptions and/ or images			x

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94 On sensorial approaches in cave-sanctuaries, see López-Bertran 2011.

95 Wilford 2019, 68–69.

feature is further emphasised by the proximity of the sanctuary to another liminal place such as the necropolis.[96] Hence, one cannot be surprised that these three sanctuaries, and the deities that received a cult inside them, show a connection to both physical and spiritual/otherworldly journeys (as seemingly alluded to by the wings in the terracottas of Ibiza, the ships and what seem to be (sea?) monsters of Grotta Regina).

The different ritual activities performed in these spaces (Tab. 1), as well as the number of deities and their multiple facets and connections (e.g., agriculture, healing, war) that can be identified through the archaeological and epigraphic records show the variety of religious responses to the environment of these cave-sanctuaries.

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96 Gómez Bellard *et al.* 2011, 101, Fig. 1.

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Romina Carboni

Between Astarte, Isis and Aphrodite/Venus. Cultural Dynamics in the Coastal Cities of Sardinia in the Roman Age: The Case Study of Nora

The transition period between Carthaginian and Roman rule in the western Mediterranean has always been a stimulating field of study, particularly regarding cultic dynamics. These emerge from the examination of the various processes of cultural interaction, evidenced both by changes and persistence within the sacred areas and by the votive offerings from them. In this paper, attention will be focused on some female divinities, connected with the agrarian-fertilistic sphere, as well as with navigation and trade, and on the relative places of worship, with particular attention to Sardinia, an island that in the course of time has played a crucial role in commercial exchanges on the western side of the Mediterranean.

The island has provided abundant evidence of the complex cultic dynamics that developed according to phenomena essentially of exchange between the Roman-Italic component, influences from North Africa and the Eastern world.

In this respect, the cultural stratification found in the island's coastal towns is of particular interest, as they are characterised by a commercial vocation that made them a meeting place for foreign peoples who contributed to the spread not only of material goods but also of religious beliefs.[1] An interesting example of this is the diffusion of certain Eastern cults linked to divinities of agrarian-fertilistic and navigational spheres, such as Aphrodite and Isis, which seem to overlap, with the same competences, with divine entities of Punic origin that are well documented in the territory.[2]

In Sardinia, as in many other Mediterranean centres, it is common practice to erect places of worship in coastal cities and harbours for deities such as Astarte, Isis and Aphrodite/Venus, who are often worshipped as patron goddesses of navigation and are therefore referred to as *Pelagia* ("of the sea"), *Euploia* ("protector of good navigation") or *Pharia* ("guide to entering the harbour").[3]

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1 On the role of negotiatores and mercatores in the diffusion of religious beliefs in Sardinia, particularly through the Campania region, see Gavini 2008. More generally see Colavitti 1999.
2 On the modalities and characteristics of the diffusion of Isiac cults in Sardinia, see Gavini 2014 and, more generally for the Italic peninsula, Fontana 2010. Regarding the evidence of Aphrodite's cult on the island, see Carboni 2020a (with previous bibliography).
3 See, on these topics, the reflections in Bonnet 1996 (where there is also a focus on Sardinia, pp. 109–111); Pironti 2007; Ieranò 2019; Bricault 2019.

It is no coincidence, for example, that lead anchor stocks, dating from the Republican to the early Imperial age, have been found in various parts of the Sardinian seabed, bearing inscriptions with theonyms referring to Isis alone (with the epithet *Soteira*) or in association with Ceres and probably Mercury.[4] While theonyms may often refer to the names of ships, in some cases they seem to refer to the requests for protection addressed to Isis by worshippers who relied on her protection during dangerous sea voyages.[5]

These devotional practices included the erection of places of worship in honour of the goddess at ports and trading posts. The discovery in Olbia, a coastal town in northern Sardinia, of votive clay figurines linked to the cult of Aphrodite and perhaps belonging to a coastal sacellum, is in line with this logic.[6] This link with Aphrodite emerges from the presence of some votive offerings such as a statuette with a dove, found together with a leaden miniature anchor with a V-shaped mark and a shell, also leaden. The interesting aspect is the link, testified to by the simultaneous finding of a statuette of Osiris, to a further connotation of the attested deity, which in this case refers to the Isiac sphere.[7]

A similar scenario can be found in two important sites on the southern side of Sardinia: Karales and Nora, both coastal city centres characterised by cultural and cultic multi-layering. The site of Nora in particular is a case study of considerable interest, since the excavations carried out in the centre starting in 2013 by the University of Cagliari have brought to light new and interesting data that allow us to expand our knowledge of the island's cultic landscape. Nora, an ancient centre built on the promontory of Capo di Pula (Fig. 1), was founded as a Phoenician commercial emporium and, after the arrival of the Carthaginians on the island, it took on the features of an urban centre, with structures and spaces for residential, sacred, and funerary purposes.[8] With the Roman domination, which can be placed in the second half of the 3rd century BC, and the constitution of the Provincia Sardinia et Corsica in 227 BC, Nora would be characterised by an exponential development of urban spaces, infrastructures, and places of worship.[9] Among the various forms of veneration attested in the centre, of particular interest, especially in the light of recent discoveries, are the testimonies relating to the cult of a goddess who can be traced by iconographic tradition to Aphrodite/Venus, linked to the Roman *interpretatio* of a female

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4 Fenet 2016, 316–317, 570–573 (nos. I13, I22, I23) (with previous bibliography). More generally on the dedication of anchors, see also Gianfrotta 1975, Gianfrotta 1994 and Demetriou 2010.

5 On this topic, see Fenet 2016, 272ff. and Demetriou 2010.

6 D'Oriano 2004; D'Oriano/Pietra 2012, 182–183; Pietra 2013, 63.

7 D'Oriano 2004, 109, 115, fig. 7. In this regard, the discovery in Olbia of a bronze statuette of Isis-Fortuna from the 1st-2nd century AD, which is supposed to be related to a private lararium or temple, is also worth mentioning (Pietra 2013, 236, fig. 88; Gavini 2014, 27, fig. 10).

8 Finocchi 2013; Bonetto 2016; Bonetto 2021.

9 Bejor 1994a; Bejor 1994b; Bonetto *et alii* 2020.

Fig. 1: Nora, Former Military Area (edited from Google Earth).

divinity whose roots lie in the local Punic substratum and who finds points of contact with other oriental divinities, such as Isis.[10] Among the most interesting testimonies in this sense, we mention here the recent ones coming from a sector of the ancient city of Nora, unexplored until about a decade ago and known as a former military area, because it had been owned for a long time by the Italian Navy.[11]

In this area, a building complex with a residential-craft function was discovered, which also revealed the presence of a sacred context (Fig. 2).[12] To be precise, it is an agglomeration divided into two sectors by an *ambitus*, which separates the part located further uphill from the one that, following the slope, reaches the road below, which is one of the main roads of the city.[13] In a room (A) of this complex, a votive deposit in primary lying was found below the level of preparation of a beaten floor.[14] The deposit, which contained material dating from the end of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century AD, was probably related to a foundation rite. This seems to be confirmed by the sealing of the context after the deposition, by the choice of selected types of votive clays and by the presence of widespread traces of combustion and burnt soil, signs of the action of an intense fire.

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10 Carboni 2020a, 121ss.

11 See, for a general overview: Carboni/Cruccas 2018 (with previous bibliography) (University of Cagliari); Bonetto 2018 (with previous bibliography) (University of Padua).

12 Giuman/Carboni 2018a and Carboni 2020, 17–27.

13 Lanteri 2016; Carboni/Cruccas 2017, 10–12.

14 Carboni 2020a, 25–27.

Fig. 2: Nora, Former Military Area. Neighbourhood on Tanit Hill (UniCa Archive).

The interesting point here is that the terracottas from the deposit in question all point towards the same cultic direction, the aphrodisiac sphere. Among the figurative typologies that exemplify this, we mention first of all the one consisting of two figures side by side, one male and the other female (Fig. 3).[15] The female figure is a full-length standing figure, covered from the pelvis down, with the upper part of her body framed by a shell-shaped veil. The figure's arms are raised towards her head, from which her hair falls over her shoulders in long wavy locks. Next to her is a smaller, naked male figure, also with his arms raised: the right one is raised towards the head, while the left one disappears behind the female figure. In this iconographic typology, attested in a repeated manner by as many as 25 whole specimens plus several other fragmentary ones,[16] the features of the faces of the two figures are not always well defined. This is partly due to the poor state of preservation, partly due to the use of worn moulds that compromise the precise reading of the figurative details. In the case of the male character, however, it is possible to observe the presence of grotesque features and a beard, which, along with his reduced height, contribute to characterising him as a dwarf character.

In terms of interpretation, the inspirational pattern for the female character is clearly that of the *Anadyomene*, the goddess intent on wringing out her hair after a bath, sometimes accompanied, as in this case, by a *paredros*.[17] However, the

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15 For a comprehensive discussion of the various exemplars, see Carboni 2020a, 30–49.

16 Carboni 2020a, 30ff.

17 Such representations are widespread, particularly between the late Hellenistic period and the 1st century AD (cf. Burr 1934, 33, pl. IV.9; Delivorrias 1984, 54–57 – naked goddess, 76–77 –

Fig. 3: Nora, Former Military Area. Clay statuette with two figures (UniCa Archive).

representation from Nora shows variations on the canonical model, denoting further influences, the result of a cultural and cultic tradition of assimilation between different divinities worshipped throughout the Mediterranean, including Sardinia.[18] In fact, the presence of different cultural matrices influencing artistic productions can be perceived in a period marked by a fundamental transitional phase for the island. This was a period in which the local element, strongly influenced by the Punic cultural background,

partially covered goddess, 68 – with Priapus; Jentel 1984, 157–158, nos. 68–69 – with Triton). At Tharros the subject is repeated on some leaden *aediculae*, where the goddess appears alone (Barnett/Mendleson 1987, 183, no. 15/27, pl. 103.15/27, Tomb. 15) or with a *paredros* (Baratta 2013).
18 See Bonnet/Motte 1999; Xella 2009.

came into contact with the allogenic Roman and Italic ones, where oriental cults, particularly the Isiac, exerted a decisive influence.[19] It is in this cultural climate that one finds, for example, the representations of Isis in the guise of (Aphrodite) *Anadyomene*, with her hands raised to her head in the act of wringing out her hair, partially covered and in the company of a *paredros*.[20]

Returning to the representations from Nora, it should be noted that the goddess is depicted in the act of bringing her hands to her head, but not in the act of wringing out her hair, and the same character who stands next to her is not one of the usual *paredroi* of Aphrodite in this form. This is probably because several inspirational models can be traced back to the basis of the depiction. The scheme of the goddess/heroine characterised by partial or total nudity, with a bulging veil at the shoulders, with or without a *paredros*, acquired over time a polysemic value that allowed it to be used in relation to various figures, as can be seen for example in the case of the Nymphs and Maenads.[21]

An interesting example for this discussion is given, among many others, by two pictorial representations from Pompeii, which show that there is clearly a cultural koine common to the different Mediterranean cultures. In this case we are dealing with two representations of the heroine Io who, after long travels, is welcomed by Isis in Canopus in the presence of the personification of the Nile.[22] The girl, identified by the small horns on her head, a clear reference to her past metamorphosis into a heifer, is none other than a personification of the goddess Isis. In the paintings the figure is rendered partially nude with a bulging veil behind her and associated with a male figure with a beard and grotesque features, i.e., the personification of the Nile. Without wishing to make a direct comparison, given the different context of reference and the differences in the type of support and in the articulation/complexity of the scenes, the affinity with the representation from Nora emerges, also due to the presence of a *paredros* with feral features, but in a subordinate position with respect to his companion.[23]

Returning to the context of Nora (room A, Former military area), the type of statuette with a bird (Fig. 4),[24] probably a dove, in the company of a character, whose leg

19 See Pilo 2012; Gavini 2014. As for the specific case of Nora, the so-called Hellenistic braziers found in the contexts of Nora under examination, with depictions of crocodiles, dogs, jackals, and hippopotamuses, also refer to the Nilotic area. For further information, see E. Cruccas in Carboni/ Cruccas 2019, 289–292.

20 Tran tam Tinh 1990, 780, n°253.

21 See Rendić-Miočević 2015 and Pochmarski 2015.

22 MNN, inv. 9555 (Pompei VI, 9, 1). Cf. Yalouris 1990, 670, n. 66 (with previous bibliography); MNN, inv. 9558 (Pompei VIII, 7, 28). Cf. Yalouris 1990, 670, n. 65 (with previous bibliography); Sampaolo 1998, 836–837, fig. 206.

23 For a more detailed discussion on this topic, see Giuman/Carboni 2018b, 102 ff.

24 Carboni 2020a, 70–71, 4.4; 98–99. Another find of the same iconographic typology from Nora can be found in Magliani 2016, 130, 132, fig. 4.

Fig. 4: Nora, Former Military Area. Clay statuette with a bird (UniCa Archive).

can be seen, perhaps Aphrodite herself, according to a model that is also widespread in sculpture and reliefs, probably refers to the circle of Aphrodite.[25]

The interest in the aphrodisiac cultic sphere can also be seen in the statuettes from Nora (room A, Former military area), which reproduce an iconographic scheme inspired by that of Aphrodite fastening or removing her sandal to take a bath (Fig. 5).[26] Here the goddess, balanced on her right leg and with her left arm resting on a support, has her left leg raised and bent so that her foot is in contact with the hand on the opposite side. The prototype of this iconography is often found in large-scale statuary, from which numerous replicas have been drawn over time, widely attested also in the coroplast of the Hellenistic and Roman ages.[27] In representations of this typology, one sometimes finds a small Eros touching the footwear, which one might perhaps recognise as the element under the goddess' left foot.[28]

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25 For example, see Schmidt 1997, 211, n. 193; 145, fig. 193.

26 Carboni 2020a, 49–51, 2.1–2.3; 94–95.

27 Among the many available comparisons in the Italic area, the Hellenistic statuettes found in Saturo (Bernardini 2018, 177–178, pl. VI) and those from Centuripe (Musumeci 2010), where the type with raised left leg is widespread, as in the case of Nora, are an example. In Sardinia, this iconographic typology, which is inspired by a statuary prototype, is rarely attested. An iconographic comparison is provided by an imported Parian marble specimen from the 3rd-2nd century BC found in the sea of Nora and now in a private collection (Angiolillo 2010).

28 To complete the picture of attestations of the goddess, it is also worth mentioning the discovery from a house in Norense, the so-called "Casa del Direttore Tronchetti", of a statuette of Aphrodite/

Fig. 5: Nora, Former Military Area. Aphrodite's statuette with sandal (UniCa Archive).

Examination of the finds from the excavations in the sector of the former military area of Nora, shows quite clearly that the site must have witnessed with some certainty a cult whose value was clearly linked to the sea, to maritime activities and therefore to worshippers who practised such activities. As we know, it was in fact merchants and sailors who addressed prayers and offerings to a deity, worshipped as *Pontia*, *Pelagia*, *Euploia*, to protect them from the dangers of the boundless sea.[29] It is no coincidence that in association with the clay votive offerings, a large shell of the *Charonia Lampas* type and the reproduction of an anchor engraved on a stone slab were also found in the context of Nora (room A, Former military area), in accordance with

Venus *pudica*, with the dedicatory inscription *VENER[I S]ACRUM* on the base, accompanied by a dolphin (Carboni/Cruccas 2021).

29 Demetriou 2010; Ieranò 2019, 15–30.

the consolidated practice of offerings reproducing boats or parts of them.[30] As we have already seen, the custom of dedicating votive offerings and epigraphs to the patron goddess of seafarers by individual devotees, but also by religious confraternities, as well as the erection of places of worship in her honour at ports and trading posts, is widely attested.[31] Nora is not an exception, as the existence of a form of veneration towards a goddess comparable to Aphrodite is demonstrated by the cultural evidence resulting from the recent archaeological investigations in the former military area, mentioned above. These cultural manifestations, as seems to be deduced from the available data, cannot, however, be linked to public ceremonies directly connected to a temple structure, but rather to cultural dynamics linked to a small group of devotees, evidently sharing common interests and cults.[32] If, on the other hand, it seems plausible to assume the presence of a temple in honour of the goddess in the centre of Nora, it is not so easy to establish the exact location of its hypothetical site, also because of the large portion of the ancient settlement still unexplored. In this regard, however, it is interesting to recall that in Nora places of worship have already been identified that are significantly related to the aspects illustrated in this contribution. It is worth mentioning, in fact, the presence of two open-air sanctuaries located on the two hills overlooking the sea, the promontory of Coltellazzo and the so-called hill of Tanit, probably connected with cults of protection of sailors.[33] A third significant place of worship is a sanctuary probably destined for Aesculapius,[34] who, as is well known, in the course of time and in different geographical contexts, is accompanied by Astarte/Aphrodite/Venus,[35] under the different names of Melqart, Bes, Eshmun and Adonis.[36] The association of these deities, even in the context of the probable

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30 For the specimen from Nora, see Carboni 2020a, 130–131, fig. 78. More generally, see Gianfrotta 1975 and Demetriou 2010.

31 See, for example, for mainland and island Greece: Ieranò 2019, chapter III; for the Italic peninsula, e.g. Gravisca, Fiorini 2005, pp. 181–182; for Sardinia, e.g. Cagliari, Olbia, see above.

32 The discovery of a column base within the structure, possibly reused as a small altar, also points in this direction (Carboni/Cruccas 2017, 9–10; Carboni 2020a, 23–24).

33 Grottanelli 1981. For a more specific bibliography on the two places of worship see, among the numerous publications, Melchiorri 2012 (Area Sacra del Coltellazzo, with previous bibliography) and Tirabassi 2016 (so-called Alto Luogo di Tanit, with previous bibliography).

34 The discovery of a votive shrine that yielded four statuettes of offerers and two larger statuettes of sleepers reclining on their sides (Angiolillo 1985, 104–106), one of which was wrapped in the coils of a snake and traced back to the ritual of *incubatio* (Jouanna 2011, 229–231; von Ehrenheim 2015), refers to his cult.

35 The identification of the possible female deity with Astarte was proposed in Pesce 1972, 93. On the Roman interpretation of Astarte as Aphrodite/Venus, see Cadotte 2007, 201–252; the same scholar also mentions the association between Astarte and *Caelestis* (Cadotte 2007, 65–111). See also Pirenne-Delforge 1994, Bonnet/Pirenne-Delforge 1999, Lietz 2012.

36 Cf. for the connections between Eshmun and Asclepius / Aesculapius the example of North Africa (Benseddik 2010, 51–54). For the debated identification between Eshmun and Adonis, see the summary in Ribichini 1981.

duality of the cult within the temple, characterised by a bipartite *adyton*,[37] would be justified by their common nature as divine entities linked to the marine world, without forgetting their shared function as deities with curative powers. In this sense, it is significant that, as with Asclepius/Esculapius, Aphrodite is remembered for her ability to communicate with the worshippers in dreams and how her appearance as Pelagia was a good omen for seafarers.[38]

This evidence is also interesting in the light of the situation of the wider geographical and cultural context of the stretch of coast of southern Sardinia, which goes from Nora to Karales.

It is precisely in Cagliari, a few dozen kilometres from Nora, that we find, in addition to various scattered attestations, evidence of two places of worship in honour of the goddess. Starting from the well-known theatre-temple of via Malta, located in the town centre and probably a place of worship for Venus, perhaps in association with Adonis.[39] The temple, built between the middle of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC and now completely obliterated by the modern settlement, is one of the buildings of Italic tradition and reflects the links between Sardinia and the central Italian peninsula in the late Republican period.[40] A temple dedicated to Venus, perhaps the one in Via Malta, is also referred to on a coin from the 1st century BC, in which the obverse depicts the busts of two *sufetes*, one of whom wears a toga, and the reverse shows a tetrastyle temple accompanied by the inscription *Veneris Kar*, perhaps to be read as *Veneris Kar(ales)*.[41]

The second important piece of evidence relating to the cult of the goddess in Karales is linked to a promontory overlooking the sea, Capo Sant'Elia.[42] To be precise, it is an epigraph engraved on a block of trachyte stone belonging to a wall, attributed to a possible temple. The inscription, dating from the 3rd century BC, refers to Astarte, probably from Erice, and to the offering of a bronze altar in her honour.[43] The inscription constitutes a fundamental starting point for establishing a connection between the hill of Cagliari and its cultural destination. The presence of a temple of Astarte on the hill is in fact an ideal place as a reference point for those who landed in the Gulf of Cagliari. In the Punic period, this route corresponded to

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37 For an accurate description of the structure, see Tomei 2008, 180–198.

38 Cf. Artem. 2, 37, 115–120.

39 Angiolillo 1986–1987; Ibba 2012 (with previous bibliography). A different point of view on the identification of the deity(ies) to be worshipped can be found in Tomei 2008, 79–99. For the identification of the deity, it is also interesting to mention the discovery of an 'isiac' statue in the area of the temple structure (Mingazzini 1949, 272–274; Angiolillo 1986–1987, 73).

40 See Carboni 2020b, 112–113 (with previous bibliography).

41 See Angiolillo 1986–1987, 66–67 (with previous bibliography) and Tomei 2008, 82–99.

42 Angiolillo/Sirigu 2009; Sanna/Sirigu 2012; Ibba *et alii* 2017.

43 See, among others, Zucca 1989, 774–779 and Bonnet 1996, 110–115.

numerous places of worship for the three Phoenician deities Astarte, Ba'al Shamin and Melqart, both at the landing points and along the shipping route.[44] This function of the hill has remained over time, as evidenced by the construction of a church, probably on the site of the former place of worship.[45]

The epigraphic evidence from the promontory of Capo Sant'Elia, referring to a goddess from the eastern world, can be set in the context of Punic culture, but given the period of reference linked to the transition to Roman rule on the island, it seems plausible to hypothesise a continuation of the cult of the goddess of Erice, now assimilated to Venus, even in Roman *Karales*.[46] This is not surprising, since it is well known that the Astarte of Erice is identified with the goddess of seafarers, Aphrodite/Venus Ericina.[47] In support of a hypothesis that sees the sanctuary still active in imperial times, it should be remembered, in fact, that at the time of the acquisition of the cult of the goddess of Erice by the Romans,[48] Karales, unlike the rest of the Sardinian territory, provided support for Roman expansion during the Ampsicora insurrection.[49]

In light of all this, the link between the contexts of Cagliari and Nora is evident: on the one hand, a place of worship for the goddess of good navigation located on a promontory overlooking the Gulf of Cagliari, and on the other hand, a form of worship linked to the figure of Aphrodite/Venus within the nearby trade centre of Nora, visible from the hill of Capo Sant'Elia and active from the Phoenician to the Roman period.

In this context, the data coming from the context of Nora, still being explored and therefore a harbinger of further elements, allow us to add a further piece to our knowledge of the cultural landscape of Sardinia in the Roman period and its interaction with the wider context of the Mediterranean basin, through which not only goods and products, but also ideas, knowledge and religious beliefs travelled.

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44 See the considerations in Ibba *et alii* 2017, 357 (with further bibliography).

45 Ibba *et alii* 2017, 357.

46 Zucca 1989, 776; Angiolillo/Sirigu 2009, 193–195.

47 Lipiński 1995, 144–147 (with previous bibliography); Bonnet 1996, 147–150; Angiolillo/Sirigu 2009, 186 ff.; Acquaro/Filippi/Medas 2010.

48 On this topic, see Coarelli 2014, 174–189.

49 For S. Angiolillo it seems credible that a relationship could exist between the two situations and that the common cult to Venus Ericina was evidence of the close relationship between Karales and Rome (Angiolillo/Sirigu 2009, 195).

Abbreviations

LIMC   Boardman, John / Ackermann, Hans Christoph (eds.), *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, I-VIII, Suppl. and Indices, Zürich-München 1981–2009.
ThesCRA   *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, I-VIII, Basel-Los Angeles 2004–2014.
UniCa Archive University of Cagliari Archive.

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2.3 Archaic and Classical Greece

Ombretta Cesca

Déplacements, mobilité, communication. Quelques réflexions sur le mode d'action d'Iris dans la poésie archaïque

Introduction

La poésie grecque archaïque, à partir des poèmes homériques, connaît deux messagers divins non occasionnels[1] : Hermès et Iris. Si le premier agit comme tel surtout dans l'*Odyssée*, dans le *corpus* hésiodique et dans les *Hymnes homérique*s[2], dans l'*Iliade* c'est en revanche Iris – absente de l'*Odyssée* – qui est présentée comme l'ἄγγελος par excellence[3]. La livraison de messages, nouvelles et exhortations est la tâche qui lui revient le plus souvent. Elle agit généralement sur ordre d'un autre dieu – de Zeus, dans la plupart des cas, une fois d'Héra –, plus rarement de manière spontanée[4]. Souvent appelée à reporter, voire à répéter *quasi* mot-à-mot, les discours d'autrui, les compétences discursives d'Iris sont d'un côté partie intégrante de son mode d'action, de l'autre côté un trait qu'elle partage

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1 Dans la langue homérique, ἄγγελος, « messager » désigne une fonction occasionnelle et non un statut professionnel (Durán López 1999, 30–33). Une autre puissance divine présentée comme messagère non occasionnelle dans l'*Iliade* est Ὄσσα (2.93–94).

2 Hermès est dit ἄγγελος en *Od*. 5.29 ; chez Hésiode (*Op*. 84–85) ; cinq fois dans les *Hymnes* (*hHerm.4* 572 ; *hHerm.18* 3 ; *hDém.2* 407 ; *hPan19* 28 ; *hHest.29* 8, éd. F. Càssola). Il est le κῆρυξ, « héraut » des dieux ou des immortels chez Hésiode (*Th*. 939 ; *Op*. 80 ; fr. M.-W. 170*).

3 Iris est « la messagère des dieux immortels » (ἥ τε θεοῖσι μετάγγελος ἀθανάτοισι) en *Il*. 15.144. Dans ce poème, sur les vingt-huit occurrences d'ἄγγελος et ses composés (vingt-cinq occurrences d'ἄγγελος, deux de μετάγγελος et une de ψευδάγγελος), onze se réfèrent à cette déesse (*Il*. 2.786 ; 3.121 ; 15.144 ; 15.159 ; 15.207 ; 18.167 ; 18.182 ; 23.199 ; 24.169 ; 24.173 ; 24.194). En revanche, Iris n'est pas explicitement mentionnée dans l'*Odyssée*. Seul au début du chant 18 (5–7), le surnom donné au mendiant Arnée (Iros) représente une allusion à la déesse messagère. La présence / absence d'Iris et Hermès dans les deux poèmes et leurs rôles respectifs ont été l'objet d'explications différentes. Voir par exemple Gartziou-Tatti 1994/1995 ; Nieto Hernández 1994; Pisano 2014, 41–48 ; 66–87 et 2017 ; Cesca 2022, 255–267; 278–280.

4 Iris est envoyée par Zeus en *Il*. 2.786–807 ; 8.397–425 ; 11.185–210 ; 15.157–219 ; 24.74–99 ; 24.117–188. Elle est envoyée par Héra, mais sans que Zeus ne le sache, en *Il*. 18.165–202. La situation est sensiblement différente dans les textes d'époque classique et hellénistique où Iris se présente comme la collaboratrice d'Héra, avec l'exception des *Oiseaux* d'Aristophane où elle est l'envoyée de Zeus (voir *infra*). Dans l'*Iliade*, elle intervient de manière spontanée en 3.121–140 ; 5.353–369 ; 23.198–213.

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avec d'autres messagers divins et humains[5]. Si les modalités de ses missions peuvent varier d'un épisode à l'autre et même, quoique exceptionnellement, s'écarter de l'ἀγγελία – comme cela arrive en *Il.* 5.353–369 –[6], un élément apparaît systématiquement dans toutes ses interventions : le déplacement[7]. Ceci est vrai non seulement dans l'*Iliade*, mais dans tous les textes poétiques de l'époque archaïque. C'est donc à cet élément, apparaissant comme caractéristique du mode d'action de la déesse, que nous consacrons cette étude.

1 Déplacements spatiaux d'Iris : les sources textuelles

1.1 *Iliade*

Pour étudier l'attitude d'Iris en déplacement, il faudra commencer par les vers de l'*Iliade*, la source textuelle où cette déesse apparaît avec plus de fréquence. Pour délivrer un message, communiquer une nouvelle, convoquer une divinité auprès de Zeus, Iris se déplace d'un point A à un point B. Quelquefois, seul le lieu d'arrivée est explicite, mais la présence d'un verbe de mouvement est révélatrice de son déplacement[8]. Tous les lieux qui sont le théâtre des principaux évènements racontés par l'*Iliade* sont visités, tôt ou tard, par Iris. Elle est en effet la seule puissance di-

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5 La répétition *quasi* mot-à-mot n'est pas une pratique réservée à Iris dans le poème. Il s'agit d'un procédé adopté par d'autres messagers, humains et divins, ainsi qu'une stratégie fréquente dans la reproduction des discours (*speech reporting*) des personnages homériques et dans la poésie homérique en général. Sur ces questions, voir de Jong 2004, 180–185 et 241–245 ; Cesca 2022.

6 Au chant 5 (353–369), Iris emprunte le char d'Arès pour sauver Aphrodite, qui vient d'être blessée par Diomède, et la conduire sur l'Olympe. Dans cette scène, la déesse ne prononce point de discours.

7 La mobilité et le rapport à l'espace d'autres déesses du panthéon grec, telles que Hestia, Athéna, Artémis, Aphrodite, Déméter et Héra, ont été étudiés par Konstantinou 2018. Les déplacements des messagers divins dans l'épopée homérique ont fait l'objet d'une étude récente de la part de Gabriela Cursaru (2019, 82–134). Autour d'Hermès, voir aussi Cursaru 2012, notamment la p. 46. Pisano (2014, 44–48 et 66–84 ; 2017) a étudié la question de la répartition des lieux en relation aux modes d'action d'Iris et Hermès dans la poésie homérique, sans toutefois pouvoir parvenir à une division très nette.

8 Dans la narration : ἦλθε(ν), « vint » (*Il.* 2.786 ; 3.121 ; 18.166 ; 23.199) ; βῆ, « alla » (*Il.* 8.410 ; 11.196 ; 15.169) ; ἔνθορε, « s'élança » (*Il.* 24.79) ; ἀϊχθήτην, « s'élancèrent » (*Il.* 24.97 [avec Thétis]) ; ἷξεν (*Il.* 24.160) ; ὦρτο, « surgit » (*Il.* 8.407 ; 24.75 ; 24.157). Dans le « discours d'instruction » de Zeus : βάσκ' ἴθι (*Il.* 8.399 ; 11.186 ; 15.158 ; 24.144). Dans le « discours de livraison » d'Iris : ἦλθον (*Il.* 15.175) ; εἶμι (*Il.* 23.205). Autre : ἧκε (*Il.* 18.182). Pour les expressions formulaires récurrentes dans les interventions des messagers divins, lorsqu'elles sont structurées en deux temps (départ / arrivée), voir Cursaru 2019, 123–134.

vine qu'on voit à la fois sur l'Olympe, sur l'Ida, dans le campement des Grecs, dans la citadelle et sur la plaine de Troie, dans les profondeurs de la mer et dans la maison de Zéphyr. Dialoguant avec les Vents, elle déclare également vouloir se rendre vers la terre des Éthiopiens[9]. On trouve ici, de manière schématique (Tab. 1), la liste de ses déplacements dans l'*Iliade* :

Tab. 1: Liste des déplacements d'Iris dans l'*Iliade*.

Il.	lieu de départ / lieu d'arrivée	mandataire / destinataire
2.786–807	Olympe / Troie	Zeus / Troyens
3.121–140	(Olympe) / Troie	ø / Hélène
5.353–369	plaine de Troie / Olympe	–
8.397–425	Ida / Olympe	Zeus / Héra et Athéna
11.185–210	Ida / plaine de Troie	Zeus / Hector
15.143–148	Olympe / Ida	convoquée auprès de Zeus
15.157–219	Ida / plaine de Troie	Zeus / Poséidon
18.165–202	Olympe / camp des Achéens	Héra / Achille
23.198–213	(Olympe) / maison de Zéphyr	ø / Vents
24.74–99	Olympe / profondeurs de la mer et retour	Zeus / Thétis retour avec Thétis
24.117–188	Olympe / Troie	Zeus / Priam

Iris fonctionne comme trait d'union entre espaces divins et espaces humains – l'Olympe, l'Ida et les espaces de la guerre (le camp des Achéens, Troie et la plaine de Troie)[10] – mais aussi entre des espaces divins éloignés entre eux. C'est le cas du Mont Ida, près de Troie – Zeus s'y déplace quand il veut favoriser les Troyens[11]– et du fond de la mer, où, au chant 24 (74–99), Zeus envoie Iris, du haut de l'Olympe, chercher Thétis. Il s'agit dans tous les cas de déplacements verticaux. L'Ida, la montagne la plus élevée de la Troade, se situe à une altitude mineure par rapport à l'Olympe[12] ; puis, de l'Ida, semblable à une tempête de neige ou à de la grêle portée

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9 Sur les Éthiopiens, qui vivent, selon Hérodote (3.17.1 ; 3.21–23) dans « la mer du sud » (νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ), voir Nadeau 1970 ; Tsagalis 2012, 147–148.

10 Sur la topographie des espaces humains dans l'*Iliade*, voir Strauss Clay 2011.

11 L'Ida, comme l'Olympe, représente un espace thématisé et symbolique (Tsagalis 2012, 148). Quand Zeus prend place sur cette montagne, qui se trouve dans l'arrière-pays de la Troade, c'est pour donner de l'aide aux Troyens (Mackie 2014 ; Woronoff 2001, 38–44).

12 Mackie 2014.

par le souffle de Borée[13], Iris descend encore vers la pleine de Troie. Un autre voyage d'Iris, de l'Olympe au fond de la mer, est décrit par une comparaison assimilant sa descente à celle d'un plomb de pêche dans l'abîme[14]. C'est également à une descente que correspond le déplacement de la déesse de l'Olympe vers la Maison de Zéphyr, que l'*Iliade* semble placer en Thrace, à nord-ouest de Troie[15]. Une telle fonction de trait d'union la rapproche d'ailleurs au phénomène atmosphérique avec lequel la déesse partage son nom : l'arc-en-ciel (ἴρις). Même si, dans la poésie homérique, un lien explicite entre la déesse et le phénomène atmosphérique n'est jamais thématisé (l'arc-en-ciel est mentionné deux fois dans l'*Iliade*, jamais en relation avec Iris)[16], on ne peut pas oublier cette association productive dans l'imaginaire ancien, association qui se manifeste d'ailleurs dans la poésie hésiodique par le fait qu'Iris descend de Thaumas (de θαῦμα, « objet d'émerveillement » et θαυμάζω « s'émerveiller »)[17].

Certains des déplacements d'Iris reflètent également une verticalité hiérarchique : s'éloignant de Zeus ou d'Héra, le « power couple » du panthéon iliadique, Iris se dirige vers d'autres divinités qui leur doivent obéissance, comme Athéna, Poséidon et Thétis, ou alors vers des interlocuteurs mortels. Aux déplacements d'Iris et d'autres envoyés divins correspond alors une immobilité volontaire de Zeus et Héra, immobilité qui souligne leur position de pouvoir au sein du panthéon olympique[18]. En revanche, pour la communication à distance entre les espaces humains, sur un axe horizontal (parmi les Grecs et parmi les Troyens, ou entre ces deux peuples), d'autres figures sont mobilisées : des messagers humains occasionnels, des hérauts, des héros fonctionnant comme des ambassadeurs[19]. Il est malheureusement impossible de savoir selon quelles modalités Iris intervenait dans les poèmes du cycle. La seule donnée dont nous disposons, grâce au résumé que Photius fournit, dans sa *Bibliothèque*, de la *Chréstomathie* de Proclus, c'est qu'elle informait Ménélas de la relation amoureuse entre Hélène et Paris (Ἶρις αγγέλλει τῷ Μενελάῳ τὰ γέγοντα κατὰ τὸν οἶκον, 110).

Venons-en maintenant aux modalités de déplacement d'Iris dans l'*Iliade* : elle se déplace principalement en courant, quelquefois vole, une autre fois emprunte le

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13 *Il.* 15.170–172. Un voyage divin est souvent illustré par une comparaison (Richardson 1993, 285). Dans ce cas spécifique, la comparaison n'exprime pas seulement la rapidité impétueuse d'Iris, mais également la violence de la menace qu'elle doit délivrer à Poséidon (Janko 1994, 246).

14 *Il.* 24.80–82.

15 En 23.229–230, après que les Vents on fait flamber le bûcher de Patrocle, ils se retirent « vers chez eux, par la mer de Thrace » (οἶκόνδε . . . Θρηΐκιον κατὰ πόντον). En *Il.* 9.5 également, Borée (vent du nord) et Zéphyr (vent de l'ouest) sont dits souffler de Thrace.

16 *Il.* 11.27–28 ; 17.547–550.

17 Pour un développement, je renvoie à Bonadeo 2004.

18 Konstantinou 2018, 67. Héra est elle-même l'envoyée de Zeus en *Il.* 15 54–58 et 143–149.

19 Sur ces figures dans l'*Iliade*, je renvoie à Durán López 1999, 30 et à Cesca 2017.

chariot d'Arès[20]. Dans tous les cas, elle se déplace très rapidement. C'est en effet la rapidité qui constitue le trait commun des nombreuses épithètes qui lui sont attribuées : ταχεῖα, « véloce » (*Il.* 8.399 ; 11.186 ; 15.158 ; 24.144), πόδας ὠκέα, « aux pieds rapides » (*Il.* 2.790 ; 2.795 ; 3.129 ; 8.425 ; 11.199 ; 11.210 ; 18.202 ; 24.87 ; 24.188), ἀελλόπος, « aux pieds de tempête » (*Il.* 8.409 ; 24.77 ; 24.159), ποδήνεμος ὠκέα, « rapide aux pieds de vent » (*Il.* 2.785 ; 5.367 ; 11.194 ; 15.167, 15.169 ; 15.199 ; 18.165, 18.182 ; 18.195 ; 24.94) ; χρυσόπτερος, « aux ailes dorées » (*Il.* 8.398 ; 11.185). Selon les études de Françoise Bader, le nom d'Iris ainsi que certaines de ses appellations formulaires, telles qu'ἀελλόπος et ποδήνεμος ὠκέα, remonteraient à des racines indoeuropéennes renvoyant, par métaphore, à la rapidité des vents et des oiseaux de proie[21]. La rapidité est d'ailleurs la seule caractéristique manifeste des épithètes attribuées à Iris ou à d'autres messagers[22]. Il n'y a qu'un seul cas, dans l'*Iliade*, où l'on mentionne la fiabilité d'un messager (par le biais de l'adjectif ἐτήτυμος), et c'est pour en dénoncer l'absence[23]. Même si Iris fait preuve de fiabilité et d'efficacité, ces éléments n'ont pas de contrepartie dans les épithètes : la recommandation de Zeus en *Il.* 15.159 de ne pas être ψευδάγγελος est la seule allusion – encore une fois en termes négatifs – à la nécessité d'être un messager fidèle.

Si la mobilité est un trait omniprésent dans les interventions iliadiques d'Iris, Eleni Peraki-Kyriakidou constate que ses déplacements ne font jamais l'objet de description[24]. Le lecteur averti de l'*Iliade* ne sera toutefois pas surpris, car ce n'est pas une donnée qui concerne exclusivement les voyages d'Iris : dans le poème, il n'y a pas de vraie description des lieux ou des paysages[25]. Selon Christos Tsagalis, cela permet au narrateur et au public de se focaliser sur l'interaction des personnages telle qu'elle est développée par l'intrigue[26]. On y reviendra.

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20 Une alternance entre vol et course s'observe également dans l'iconographie : voir Bonadeo 2004, 67–68. Ces modalités de déplacement ne sont pas différentes de celles des autres dieux. S'il est vrai qu'Iris est la seule divinité explicitement décrite comme ailée dans le poème (Kirk 1990, 330), elle n'est pas la seule à voler (voir de Jong 2012b, 43–48 ; Kullmann 1956, 89–93 ; Sowa 1984, 212–235).

21 Bader 1991a et 1991b.

22 La rapidité est un élément omniprésent de la représentation poétique et narrative des messagers humains et divins, non seulement dans le cadre de l'épopée grecque mais aussi dans les mythes proche-orientaux (West 2007, 84). Je renvoie à Meier 1988 (notamment 23–25) pour l'étude de la documentation biblique, ougaritique et mésopotamienne (textes sumériens et accadiens). Dans une étude qui met en parallèle des témoignages grecs et hittites, Dardano (2012) a analysé les liens entre le lexique du messager et celui de la rapidité des pieds et du vent.

23 *Il.* 22.438. Pour un commentaire, voir Létoublon 1987 et 1990.

24 Peraki-Kyriakidou 2017, 63–70 ; de Jong 2012b, 45.

25 Les descriptions interviennent seulement quand elles sont significatives pour l'intrigue (de Jong 2012a, 21). La chercheuse remarque également que les descriptions de lieux les plus longues se trouvent dans l'*Odyssée* (de Jong 2012a, 31).

26 Tsagalis 2012, 23 et 101.

1.2 *Hymnes homériques*

La remarque de Peraki-Kyriakidou sur l'absence de description des déplacements d'Iris peut être étendue également aux *Hymnes homériques*, où la déesse intervient deux fois (Tab. 2)[27]. Dans l'*Hymne à Déméter* (314–324), la déesse est envoyée par Zeus à Éleusis, où Déméter s'est réfugiée après l'enlèvement de Perséphone. Dans l'*Hymne à Apollon* (102–114), les déesses réunies à Délos pour l'accouchement de Léto envoient Iris convoquer Ilithyie, qui est restée, ignorante de tout, sur l'Olympe. Dans les deux cas, le déplacement d'Iris est mentionné de manière succincte : toutefois, on y trouve une expression (μεσ[σ]ηγύ) désignant l'espace intermédiaire entre son lieu de départ et sa destination, qui n'apparaît pas avec cette même valeur dans les vers iliadiques[28] : « elle franchit rapidement avec ses pieds la distance » (μεσσηγὺ διέδραμεν ὦκα πόδεσσιν, *hDém*. 317) ; « elle combla promptement toute la distance » (ταχέως δὲ διήνυσε πᾶν τὸ μεσηγύ, *hAp*. 108). Comme dans l'*Iliade*, dans les *Hymnes* Iris est ποδήνεμος ὠκέα, « rapide aux pieds de vent » (*hAp*. 107) et χρυσόπτερος « aux ailes dorées » (*hDém*. 314).

Tab. 2: Liste des déplacements d'Iris dans les *Hymnes homériques*.

h.	lieu de départ / lieu d'arrivée	mandataire / destinataire
Dém. 314–324	Olympe / Éleusis	Zeus / Déméter
Ap. 102–114	Délos / Olympe retour	déesses / Ilithyie retour avec Ilithyie

1.3 *Théogonie*

Bien différent est le cas de la *Théogonie*, où la mission d'Iris qui nous intéresse (780–787) s'inscrit dans une section décrivant le Tartare, là où les Titans ont été relégués après avoir tenté, sans succès, de détrôner Zeus[29]. Les lieux sont, dans ce cadre, importants. Dans le Tartare habite la terrible Styx, « puissance odieuse aux immortels » (στυγερὴ θεὸς ἀθανάτοισι, 775) dans un lieu éloigné des autres dieux (νόσφιν δὲ θεῶν, 777). Iris est la seule déesse olympienne à s'aventurer – quoique

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27 Pour les *Hymnes homériques*, je me réfère à l'éd. de F. Càssola. Pour les hymnes à Déméter (2) et à Apollon (3), j'omettrai dorénavant la numérotation.

28 Pour μεσσηγύς dans *Il*. 24.78, voir *infra*.

29 Hésiode, *Th*. 721–819.

rarement (παῦρα, 780) – dans cette contrée, lorsqu'elle vient se promener « sur le large dos de la mer » (ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης)[30], envoyée par Zeus[31] :

> παῦρα δὲ Θαύμαντος θυγάτηρ πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις
> † ἀγγελίη πωλεῖται ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.
> ὁππότ' ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ὄρηται
> καί ῥ' ὅστις ψεύδηται Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἐχόντων,
> Ζεὺς δέ τε Ἶριν ἔπεμψε θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον ἐνεῖκαι
> τηλόθεν ἐν χρυσέῃ προχόῳ πολυώνυμον ὕδωρ
> ψυχρόν, ὅ τ' ἐκ πέτρης καταλείβεται ἠλιβάτοιο
> ὑψηλῆς [. . .][32]

> Rarement la fille de Thaumas, Iris aux pieds rapides, vient († en tant que messagère) sur le large dos de la mer. Lorsqu'une querelle ou une discorde surgit parmi les immortels et que l'un de ceux qui habitent les demeures olympiennes ment, alors Zeus envoie Iris chercher au loin le grand serment des dieux dans une aiguillère d'or, la fameuse eau froide qui coule goutte à goutte d'un rocher escarpé, élevé.

Pour se rendre au Tartare, le voyage est long. Quelques vers plus haut (721–725), le poète avait expliqué que la distance entre la terre et le Tartare est telle que, pour la couvrir, une enclume de bronze en chute libre aurait besoin de neuf jours et neuf nuits. Cette distance est équivalente à celle qui sépare le ciel de la terre (τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης, 720). Encore une fois, Iris, dite πόδας ὠκέα comme dans certains passages iliadiques, accomplit un déplacement vertical, de l'Olympe aux profondeurs de la terre. Mais c'est surtout la généalogie qui, dans la *Théogonie*, nous renseigne au sujet de la capacité de déplacement d'Iris et de sa rapidité. Fille de Thaumas et d'Électre, Iris « rapide » (ὠκεῖαν, 266) a comme sœurs les Harpyes Aëllô et Okypète qui « accompagnent les souffles des vents et les oiseaux, avec leurs ailes rapides » (αἵ ῥ' ἀνέμων πνοιῇσι καὶ οἰωνοῖς ἅμ' ἕπονται / ὠκείῃς πτερύγεσσι, 268–269). Le lien avec ces puissances aériennes ailées, qui ont toute la violence du vent impétueux, exprime les notions de vitesse et de mobilité attribuées, chez Hésiode aussi, à la déesse ἀελλόπος et ποδήνεμος ὠκέα[33]. Le lien

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30 L'expression ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης fait partie du formulaire épique : *Il.* 2.59 ; 8.511 ; 20.228 ; *Od.* 3.142 ; 4.313 ; 4.362 ; 4.560 ; 5.17 ; 5.142 ; 17.146 ; Hésiode, fr. 193.18 M.-W. ; *hDém.* 123. Au v. 728 de la *Théogonie*, on apprend qu'au-dessus de l'extrémité supérieure du Tartare, qui est entourée par un mur, « ont poussé les racines de la terre et de la mer inféconde » (γῆς ῥίζαι πεφύασι καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης). Sur la topographie du Tartare hésiodique, voir : Northrup 1979 ; Ballabriga 1986, 257–274 ; Pironti 2008, XXV-XXVI ; Ricciardelli 2018, XL-XLIII et bibliographie citée à la p. 166 de cette dernière référence.
31 Les très rares incursions d'Iris dans cet endroit ne font que renforcer l'idée d'éloignement. Pensons aussi à Hermès qui rejoint Calypso sur son île en *Od.* 5.99–102.
32 Je suis pour ce passage l'édition de West. Sur les problèmes d'établissement de texte relatifs à la forme ἀγγελίη du vers 781, je renvoie au commentaire *ad locum* (West 1966, 372–373).
33 Voir *supra*, p. 583 pour ces épithètes homériques d'Iris. Pour une discussion sur la généalogie d'Iris, ses variantes et sa réception, Bonadeo 2004, 4–15.

avec le vent s'exprimera également dans la généalogie qu'Alcée lui attribue: selon le poète de Mytilène, Iris est l'amant du vent Zéphyr et la mère d'Éros, « terrible parmi les dieux »[34].

1.4 Au-delà du corpus archaïque

Les généalogies d'Hésiode et d'Alcée seront plusieurs fois reprises et réélaborées dans la production littéraire postérieure. Toutefois, à l'époque classique et hellénistique, la question de la mobilité d'Iris semble devenir moins prépondérante qu'elle n'était dans la poésie archaïque. Dans l'*Héraclès* d'Euripide (822–872), sur ordre d'Héra, Iris convainc Lyssa, puissance démoniaque de la folie, à rendre fou Héraclès. Après avoir accepté, Lyssa enjoint Iris à retourner sur l'Olympe. De cette affirmation on peut déduire qu'Iris était partie de l'Olympe pour rejoindre Thèbes, mais ce déplacement n'est qu'un détail secondaire, tenu pour acquis. Dans l'*Hymne à Délos* de Callimaque (66–69, 157–159 et 215–239), Iris est, avec Arès, une sentinelle d'Héra, chargée de veiller à ce que nulle terre, sur le continent ou parmi les îles, n'accueille Léto, qui est sur le point d'accoucher d'Apollon. Pour mieux surveiller les îles, Iris s'est envolée au sommet du Mimas (ἐπαΐξασα Μίμαντι, 66), le promontoire de la côte d'Asie Mineure, au sud de Chios. Quand Délos, qui avait été jusqu'à ce moment une île errante, appelée Astéria, accepte d'accueillir la déesse en travail, Iris retourne sur l'Olympe pour avertir Héra. Son discours terminé, elle va s'asseoir au pied du trône de la déesse comme une chienne de chasse[35]. Dans l'*Idylle 17* de Théocrite (133–134), une Iris encore vierge (ἔτι παρθένος Ἶρις) est décrite en train de préparer le lit conjugal pour Zeus et Héra. Dans aucune de ces scènes le déplacement d'Iris n'est thématisé : le déroulement de la mission qu'Héra lui confie prend le dessus dans la narration. Et d'ailleurs, à la différence de l'*Iliade* et des *Hymnes homériques*, ses missions ne consistent pas à délivrer un message d'un personnage à l'autre, en reliant deux espaces éloignés.

Il existe toutefois deux exceptions significatives à cette tendance. Dans les *Oiseaux*, Aristophane fait la parodie de la capacité épique d'Iris à pénétrer tous les espaces, capacité qui ne peut pas s'appliquer à Coucouville-les-Nuées : envoyée par Zeus avec la mission de délivrer un message aux mortels, la déesse ailée est bloquée par les gardiens des oiseaux et renvoyée sans égards par Pisthétère sur l'Olympe. Plusieurs éléments indiquent que c'est bien l'Iris de l'*Iliade* qui est ici parodiée[36]. Aussi, dans les *Argonautiques* d'Apollonios de Rhodes, pour qui l'épopée homérique sert de modèle, Iris est constamment en mouvement. Au livre 2 (286–300), elle

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34 Alcée, fr. 327 *PLF* 2.

35 Callimaque, *hDel.* 228–231.

36 Aristophane, *Av.* 1199–1259 ; sur la parodie d'Iris dans cette pièce d'Aristophane, je renvoie à Cesca 2021, 82–83. Sur Iris dans les *Oiseaux* voir aussi : Scharffenberger 1995 ; De Cremoux 2009.

se déplace de l'Olympe à la terre, et retour, pour empêcher Zétès et Calaïs, fils de Borée, de poursuivre les Harpyes[37] ; au livre 4 (753–781 et 770–781), envoyée par Héra, elle se rend de l'Olympe à la mer Égée, où habite Thétis, puis à la demeure d'Héphaïstos et à celle d'Éole pour favoriser le voyage de Jason et de ses compagnons jusqu'à l'île des Phéaciens. Comme dans l'*Iliade* et dans les *Hymnes homériques*, elle est dite ποδήνεμος ὠκέα, « rapide aux pieds de vent » (2.286) et est pourvue d'ailes (θοῆσι πτερύγεσσιν, 2.300 ; λαιψηρῆσι πτερύγεσσιν, 4.758 ; κοῦφα πτερά, 4.771). Plusieurs verbes de mouvement signifiant « aller » ou « s'élancer » lui sont attribués[38]. Il est donc possible d'affirmer que c'est lorsque la narration se construit en dialogue avec l'épopée homérique – avec l'*Iliade*, essentiellement – que la mobilité d'Iris et la fréquence de ses déplacements sont mis en avant. Regardons maintenant du côté des images.

2 Les stratégies des images

L'iconographie a aussi ses stratégies pour décrire les attitudes d'Iris en déplacement. Si les images sont, forcement, immobiles, la déesse messagère est souvent caractérisée par des postures ou des attributs qui suggèrent ses déplacements et sa rapidité[39]. Dans certaines images de l'époque archaïque, on la trouve représentée « suivant le schéma du démon ailé », dans une posture de course agenouillée, les bras ouverts et la tête tournée de côté[40]. La veste qu'Iris porte, parfois courte parfois longue[41], présente souvent des ondulations, comme si l'air la faisait bouger sous l'effet du vol ou de la course[42]. Les ailes, parfois absentes dans les représentations plus anciennes – comme celle du vase François (570 av. J.-C. environ)[43] –, constituent aussi une allusion à la capacité de déplacement de la déesse et trouvent un parallèle explicite dans les traditions narratives plus anciennes où Iris est dite

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37 Sur les influences de la généalogie hésiodique dans ce passage, Bonadeo 2004, 13–14. Sur Iris chez Apollonios de Rhodes, voir aussi Peraki-Kyriakidou 2017, 70–72.

38 ἐλθέμεν (*Il.* 4.761) ; ἐλθεῖν (4.764) ; ἆλτο (2.286, de ἄλλυμι) ; ἀνόρουσεν (2.300, de ἀνορούω) ; θοροῦσα (4.770, de θρώσκω).

39 Sur l'iconographie d'Iris, voir : Kossatz-Deissmann 1990 ; Bonadeo 2004, 67–76 ; Caillaud 2017.

40 Bonadeo 2004, 13 et 72. Cette représentation est commune aux Harpyes ainsi qu'à Niké. La distinction entre Iris et ces autres figures est parfois douteuse (p. ex. *LIMC*, *s.v.* Iris I, 3). Pour l'iconographie des Harpyes, voir : Smith 1892 ; Kahil 1988. Pour Iris et Niké : Arafat 1980 ; Caillaud 2016. Sur les problèmes d'identification entraînés par le grand nombre de divinités ailées présentes dans l'iconographie grecque : Caillaud 2016 et 2017. Certains aspects de l'iconographie d'Iris sont aussi superposables à l'iconographie archaïque des Érinyes et des Furies (Aellen 1994, I, 30).

41 Sur la variabilité des formes de la veste d'Iris, qui parfois constitue un élément de distinction par rapport à d'autres divinités ailées, voir Bonadeo 2004, 71–74.

42 P. ex. *LIMC, s.v.* Iris I, 104 (statue N du Fronton Ouest du Parthénon).

43 *LIMC, s.v.* Iris I, 126 (= Cheiron 42).

χρυσόπτερος. En ce qui concerne les sandales ailées, un décalage existe entre textes et images, comme Alessia Bonadeo l'a bien montré[44]. S'il est vrai que la déesse est εὐπέδιλλος, « aux belles sandales » dans un fragment d'Alcée (fr. 327 *PLF*) et que, dans l'*Hymne à Délos* de Callimaque, elle porte des chaussures de course (ταχείας / ἐνδρομίδας, 237–238), il faut pourtant remarquer que ni ses πέδιλα ni ses ἐνδρομίδες ne sont jamais caractérisés comme ailés. La seule attestation textuelle qui montre Iris chaussant des sandales ailées se trouve, beaucoup plus tardivement, chez Nonnos de Panopolis, lorsque la déesse veut prendre l'aspect d'Hermès (*Dion.* 20.261 s.)[45]. L'apparition de sandales ailées dans les représentations imagées d'Iris pourrait donc s'expliquer comme un emprunt à l'autre messager des dieux, ou alors comme une déclinaison de l'imaginaire du messager divin (aux pieds rapides comme le vent) qui n'a pas eu de fortune dans les traditions poétiques mais qui s'est affirmée dans l'iconographie[46]. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, il est possible que ce développement ait servi à signifier la capacité de déplacement et la rapidité d'Iris dans un mode communicationnel – celui des images – qui avait dans ce domaine moins de ressources à disposition que la poésie.

3 La mobilité comme mode d'action d'Iris

Revenons maintenant à la poésie archaïque, témoin d'un imaginaire religieux où le mode d'action d'Iris semble indissociable du mouvement, et arrêtons-nous pour formuler deux considérations qui peuvent nous aider à mieux comprendre comment la mobilité de la déesse s'articule avec ses compétences communicationnelles d'ἄγγελος. La première considération a trait à une capacité qu'on pourrait définir de « transfert » dont Iris fait preuve à chaque fois que, par ses déplacements, elle relie des espaces éloignés ; la deuxième concerne le lien entre la mobilité de la déesse et ses tâches communicationnelles.

3.1 Mobilité « réflexive » et « transitive »

L'action de l'Iris homérique – nous l'avons vu – met en communication des espaces distincts, souvent très éloignés et disposés sur un axe vertical. Si l'on prend en compte l'ensemble des occurrences textuelles présentées, il est possible de consta-

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44 Bonadeo 2004, 67–68.

45 Sur les sandales (ailées ou non) d'Hermès, je renvoie à Cursaru 2012.

46 Voir Dardano 2012 pour une mise en parallèle des formules grecques décrivant le messager divin rapide comme le vent avec la formule hittite *INA* GÌR^MEŠ-*za* ^KUŠE.SIR ^ḪI.A- *uš liliu̯anduš* IM^MEŠ - *uš šarku̯e-*, « chausser sur (ses) pieds comme sandales les vents rapides ».

ter que la capacité d'Iris de rendre les espaces pour ainsi dire « perméables » ne s'exprime pas exclusivement par la transmission d'un message verbal d'un lieu à un autre, ou d'un personnage à un autre. Les interventions d'Iris impliquent également le transfert d'autres éléments : des objets ou des « personnages ». Dans la *Théogonie*, Iris va chercher l'eau du Styx dans le Tartare, pour la ramener auprès de Zeus dans une aiguillère d'or. Dans le chant 5 de l'*Iliade*, après qu'Aphrodite a été blessée par Diomède, elle intervient pour ramener la déesse sur l'Olympe à l'aide du char d'Arès[47]. C'est précisément cette intervention *ex machina* qui a poussé Nitzsch, il y a quelques 160 ans, à définir l'Iris iliadique comme une sorte de machine au service de la narration[48]. Mais nous ne croyons pas qu'Iris soit ici un simple « outil » narratif ni voulons considérer cette scène, qui se soustrait au schéma de l'ἀγγελία, comme une scène atypique par rapport aux missions habituelles de la déesse[49]. En revanche, on peut rapprocher le secours d'Aphrodite des scènes où Iris convoque et accompagne d'autres divinités auprès de Zeus : Thétis dans *Il.* 24 et Ilithyie dans l'*Hymne à Apollon*[50]. Dans ces deux scènes la transmission d'informations et le transfert d'un personnage d'un lieu à l'autre s'entrelacent : avant d'accompagner les deux déesses, Iris délivre un message de la part de ses mandataires. À Thétis, elle dit que Zeus l'appelle ; à Ilithyie, qui est la seule à ne pas être informée du travail de Léto, elle apporte, avec la nouvelle, un message des déesses qui réclament sa présence[51]. Or, à bien des égards, la transmission d'informations elle-même peut être vue comme un type de transfert : le transfert d'un objet verbal[52]. Dans la langue homérique, le verbe φέρω « porter » est plusieurs fois employé dans le cadre d'une transmission de message, tout comme dans nos langues modernes (fr. *apporter un message* ; it. *portare un messaggio* ; ang. *to carry a message* ; esp. *llevar un mensaje* . . .)[53]. Dans un lécythe d'époque archaïque, Iris est d'ailleurs re-

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47 *Il.* 5.353–369.

48 Nitzsch 1862, 96. Pour une autre interprétation ancienne de ce passage, en relation avec les interventions d'Iris aux chants 2 et 3, voir Hentze 1903.

49 Dans la même optique, Bonadeo (2004, 21) a donné une explication qui met en valeur la fonction commune d'Iris et de l'arc-en-ciel.

50 Iris est elle-même convoquée auprès de Zeus, avec Apollon, par Héra en *Il.* 15.54–58 et 15.143–149. Dans l'iconographie également, Iris accompagne d'autres divinités. Sur le vas François, elle ouvre le cortège qui va chercher Thétis pour l'amener chez son futur époux, Pélée (*LIMC*, *s.v.* Iris I, 126 = Cheiron 42). Aussi, elle apparaît à côté de Memnon, quand Hypnos et Thanatos emportent son cadavre (*LIMC*, *s.v.* Iris I, 146).

51 *Il.* 24.88 ; *hAp.* 111–112.

52 Nous trouvons un parallèle intéressant dans un texte hittite concernant la déesse Ištar. En *KUB* 41.8 II 8´-11´ (*CTH* 446.C), la rapide Ištar prend dans la main droite l'eau et dans la main gauche les paroles. Voir Dardano 2012, 69 ; Otten 1961, 124–125.

53 En *Il.* 15.174–175 Iris déclare, s'adressant à Poséidon : « je suis venue ici t'apporter un message » (ἀγγελίην τινά τοι . . . / ἦλθον δεῦρο φέρουσα . . .) ; quelques vers plus tard, après avoir écouté les protestations du dieu, elle demande : « dois-je rapporter à Zeus cette parole dure et violente ? » (τόνδε φέρω Διὶ μῦθον ἀπηνέα τε κρατερόν τε, *Il.* 15.202). Au chant 10, pendant une mission qui a

présentée avec le caducée dans une main et une ou plusieurs tablettes dans l'autre, ces dernières voulant signifier le message qu'elle porte en tant que messagère des immortels[54]. De ce point de vue, l'intervention d'Iris en faveur d'Aphrodite au chant 5 n'est pas à considérer comme atypique, mais plutôt comme une des possibles expressions de son mode d'action, caractérisé par une mobilité non seulement réflexive mais aussi transitive : Iris se déplace et déplace.

3.2 Déplacement et communication: deux aspects complémentaires

Notre deuxième réflexion découle de la remarque de Tsagalis, déjà citée, selon laquelle « by refusing to describe the landscape or any setting at length, the Iliadic tradition was able to focus on character interaction as dictated by the unraveling of the plot »[55]. Ce principe nous semble d'autant plus valable en regard des déplacements des messagers, parmi lesquels ceux d'Iris. Les déplacements de la déesse d'un lieu à l'autre coïncident presque toujours avec un déplacement d'un personnage à l'autre (du destinateur au destinataire du message). L'identité des personnages impliqués prend souvent le dessus sur celle des lieux. Considérons l'exemple des deux premières interventions iliadiques d'Iris.

Au chant 2 (786–807), sur ordre de Zeus, Iris se déplace à Troie pour avertir Priam que l'immense armée des Grecs est en train d'avancer et exhorte Hector à préparer sa propre armée pour la bataille. Elle prend la voix du Troyen Politès, fils de Priam (786–790) :

> Τρωσὶν δ᾽ ἄγγελος ἦλθε ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἶρις
> πὰρ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο σὺν ἀγγελίῃ ἀλεγεινῇ·
> οἳ δ᾽ ἀγορὰς ἀγόρευον ἐπὶ Πριάμοιο θύρῃσι
> πάντες ὁμηγερέες ἠμὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες·
> ἀγχοῦ δ᾽ ἱσταμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις·

> Aux Troyens vint en tant que messagère Iris rapide aux pieds de vent, de la part de
> Zeus qui tient l'égide, avec la terrible nouvelle. Ils étaient réunis en assemblée aux
> portes de Priam, tous ensemble, les jeunes et les vieux. Et allant se placer tout proche,
> Iris aux pieds rapides dit : [. . .].

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l'air d'une ambassade, Tydée « portait un mot d'amitié aux Cadméens » (αὐτὰρ ὃ μειλίχιον μῦθον φέρε Καδμείοισι, *Il.* 10.288). Chez Homère, le verbe φέρω a des objets de nature variée : des personnes, des animaux (vivants ou morts), des objets, mais aussi des entités abstraites (p. ex : le κλέος). Les occurrences sont trop nombreuses pour être listées ici ; je renvoie à *LfgrE*, *s.v.* φέρω.

54 *LIMC*, *s.v.* Iris I, 16. Le lécythe, conservé au Musée du Louvre, a été daté entre 525 et 475 av. J.-C.

55 Tsagalis 2012, 23.

Au chant 3 (121–140), en revanche, Iris apparaît à Hélène sous les traits de sa belle-sœur Laodice : « Et Iris vint en tant que messagère auprès d'Hélène aux bras blancs » (Ἶρις δ' αὖθ' Ἑλένῃ λευκωλένῳ ἄγγελος ἦλθεν, 121) et « la trouva dans la grande chambre » (τὴν δ' εὗρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ, 125). Dans les deux passages cités, l'ordre des informations est le même : d'abord un datif exprimant le destinataire de la mission d'Iris (Τρωσὶν / Ἑλένῃ), puis le syntagme ἄγγελος ἦλθεν et seulement plus tard un complément de lieu (ἐπὶ Πριάμοιο θύρῃσι / ἐν μεγάρῳ). Quant à la provenance d'Iris, elle n'est pas mentionnée explicitement en termes spatiaux. Au chant 2, l'information qu'elle vient « de la part de Zeus porteur de l'égide » est suffisante à faire comprendre qu'elle descend de l'Olympe. Au chant 3, rien n'est dit : c'est une des rares scènes où le mandataire d'Iris n'est pas explicité[56]. Dans les deux cas, le pôle de la communication qui a le plus d'importance est le destinataire, mentionné en premier. Pour cette raison, l'indication du lieu de destination n'est pas strictement nécessaire au public, qui connait bien l'emplacement spatial respectivement des Troyens et d'Hélène. L'indication qui suit n'est donc qu'une précision : à Troie, mais plus précisément aux portes du palais de Priam ; dans le palais de Troie, mais plus précisément dans la grande chambre. Cela permet au destinataire de la narration de se faire une image mentale de l'arrivée d'Iris auprès du destinataire. En effet, la destination finale du déplacement d'Iris est très souvent à côté des destinataires, comme en témoignent les expressions « allant se placer tout proche » (ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱσταμένη, *Il.* 2.790 ; 3.129 ; 11.199 ; 15.173 ; 18.169 ; 24.87) et « se plaça près de Priam » (στῆ δὲ παρὰ Πρίαμον, *Il.* 24.169). En outre, si le lieu d'arrivée n'est pas spécifié, une description des conditions dans lesquelles Iris trouve (formes d'εὑρίσκω) son destinataire existe souvent (*Il.* 2.125–128 ; 15.152–153 ; 23.200–203 ; 24.83–86 ; 24.98–99 ; 24.160–168).

Revenons maintenant sur quelques-uns des faits que nous avons mis en évidence jusqu'ici. Dans le corpus textuel archaïque, et tout particulièrement dans l'*Iliade*, l'élément qui émerge avec force des épithètes attribuées à la déesse est la rapidité, une rapidité assimilée à l'impétuosité des vents et des tempêtes, qui sous-entend et implique les nombreux déplacements d'Iris. Ce trait l'emporte sur d'autres auxquels on aurait pu s'attendre, comme la fiabilité et la précision, traits qui ne sont pourtant jamais explicitement énoncés ni pour Iris, ni pour d'autres messagers. Ces faits s'expliquent peut-être, comme Françoise Létoublon l'a soutenu dans un article célèbre, en raison du fait que « la véridicité du messager va de soi dans cette culture »[57]. Rappelons en effet que les événements racontés dans l'*Iliade* se déroulent dans un univers communicationnel exclusivement

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56 Déjà les scholiastes soulignaient le caractère exceptionnel d'une intervention d'Iris en qualité d'αὐτάγγελος et postulaient une implication implicite de Zeus comme mandataire de la mission (*Sch. vet. in Il.* 3.121). Kennedy (1986) et Pucci (2003, 92–93) s'opposent à cette lecture et préfèrent, avec des formulations légèrement différentes, attribuer métaphoriquement l'initiative de cet envoi au narrateur lui-même, qui exploiterait l'intervention d'Iris pour enclencher la scène de la *Teichoscopie*.
57 Létoublon 1987, 132.

oral où la seule manière de faire parvenir un message à quelqu'un (dieu ou homme) qui se trouve loin de son mandataire est celui d'envoyer un messager[58]. Du moins est-ce le seul moyen que l'épopée archaïque thématise et auquel elle s'intéresse[59]. D'un côté, ce sont donc la capacité de déplacement du messager et sa rapidité, éléments essentiels à la bonne réussite de sa mission, qui sont mis en avant de manière systématique et répétée, à travers les épithètes et les adverbes[60]. Quant à la fiabilité, le public peut souvent la vérifier grâce à la présence d'une répétition *quasi* mot-à-mot de la part du messager. Mais de l'autre côté, conformément à une tendance générale du poème, on voit que ce ne sont ni les déplacements des messagers, ni les lieux qu'ils traversent et dans lesquels ils arrêtent leur course, qui font l'objet de description détaillée. Ce qui compte, ce ne sont pas les lieux mais les acteurs de la communication : le mandataire, le messager et surtout le destinataire, car c'est auprès du destinataire que l'efficacité de la communication se mesure. On en vient ainsi à se rendre compte que les deux dimensions – spatiale et communicationnelle – sont strictement entrelacées. L'emphase placée sur la mobilité et la rapidité d'Iris, éléments évidents de son mode d'action, n'est pas sans lien avec sa capacité à communiquer. En qualifiant cette puissance de divinité ailée rapide comme le vent, la poésie homérique dit également ses qualités communicationnelles d'ἄγγελος, qui rendent possible la jonction d'espaces séparés par l'utilisation de la parole.

4 Conclusions

Si l'on considère les textes poétiques d'époque archaïque où l'on voit agir la déesse Iris – l'*Iliade*, la *Théogonie* d'Hésiode, l'*Hymne à Apollon* et l'*Hymne à Déméter* –,

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58 Le cas de la communication par des signaux est différent et les textes archaïques en offrent très peu d'exemples. Sur ce sujet, Longo 1976 et 1981, 87–98.

59 Un exemple homérique de message écrit pourrait être identifié dans la tablette repliée (πίναξ πτυκτός) que le roi Proétos livre à Bellérophon au chant 6 de l'*Iliade* (155–178, dans le récit de Glaucos). Ce passage a été interprété de différentes manières, qui mobilisent ou non l'intervention de l'écriture. Quelques références bibliographiques importantes dans ce débat, sans prétention d'exhaustivité : Bellamy 1988/1989 ; Steiner 1994, 10–16 ; Brillante 1996 ; Shear 1998 ; Ceccarelli 2013, 60–62 ; Cesca 2022, 113–116 et 155–159. Même si l'on admet que l'épisode de Bellérophon témoigne d'une conscience, dans le monde grec archaïque, de l'existence de l'écriture (lointain héritage de l'époque mycénienne ? emprunt au monde proche-oriental, qui employait largement cette technologie ?), il faut noter que l'histoire de Bellérophon reste un récit isolé. Les poèmes homériques sont centrés sur la communication orale, dont ils explorent les potentialités.

60 Pour les épithètes d'Iris, voir *supra*. Antiloque est πόδας ταχύς en *Il.* 18.2. Les adverbes les plus fréquents sont : τάχιστα, parfois renforcé par ὅτ(τ)ι, « très rapidement » ou « le plus rapidement possible » (*Il.* 4.193 ; 9.165 ; 9.626 ; 15.146) ; αἶψα, « immédiatement » (*Il.* 12.341 ; 17.691 ; renforcé par μάλα en 24.112). En outre καρπαλίμως (*Il.* 2.168) et κραιπνῶς (*Il.* 15.172), « rapidement », αὐτίκα (*Il.* 6.103) et εἶθαρ (*Il.* 12.353), « tout de suite ». Voir aussi la recommandation d'Athéna à Ulysse en *Il.* 2.179 : μηδ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἐρώει, « ne tarde plus ».

on peut remarquer que le déplacement spatial est un élément caractéristique de son mode d'action. Il ne s'agit pas seulement de sa propre mobilité, qui pousse Iris à se diriger vers des espaces souvent très éloignés, espaces où d'autres dieux n'osent pas s'aventurer, mais aussi de sa capacité à transférer d'autres « éléments » : des discours qu'elle rapporte fréquemment mot-à-mot, des objets qu'elle déplace physiquement, mais aussi d'autres divinités qu'elle accompagne d'un lieu à un autre. Ces transferts se réalisent le plus souvent sur demande d'autrui. La transmission d'ordres, de nouvelles, d'exhortations – activité à laquelle Iris est le plus fréquemment vouée – peut donc être vue comme une déclinaison de l'attitude, propre à la déesse, de rendre les espaces « perméables » grâce à sa mobilité non seulement « réflexive » mais aussi « transitive ». Dans les cas, très fréquents, où Iris agit en tant qu'ἄγγελος, nous avons également mis en évidence un lien fort entre spatialité et communication, qui passe, entre autres, par l'énonciation réitérée et formulaire de sa rapidité. Dans un contexte oral comme celui de la Grèce archaïque, la mobilité de l'ἄγγελος dans l'espace est une condition nécessaire et indispensable à la réalisation de la communication à distance. Ainsi, penser la communication à distance c'est penser l'espace, et vice-versa. Iris, l'ἄγγελος de l'*Iliade*, accueille tous ces aspects dans sa puissance : l'attitude vis-à-vis du déplacement, la perméabilité des espaces qu'elle relie, la possibilité de transférer d'un lieu à l'autre des paroles – potentiellement considérées comme des objets textuels –, la nécessité de le faire le plus rapidement possible pour que la communication soit efficace. Sa puissance et son mode d'action trouvent nécessairement leur raison d'être dans la dimension orale où sont enracinés les textes qui la mettent en scène.

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Michel Briand

Spatialité, *performance*, choralité divines et humaines : les Charites de Pindare et Bacchylide

Les *Charites*, chez Pindare et Bacchylide, dans les épinicies ou « odes de victoire », offrent un bel exemple des façons grecques de (re)présenter les divinités dans l'espace, par la *performance* poétique. Notre analyse, d'abord linguistique, philologique et littéraire, participe d'une réflexion générale sur les divinités, puissances plus que personnes, agissant dans le cadre d'espaces référentiels et imaginaires produits par des cultes et mythes, associant niveau local et panhellénique. On s'intéresse ainsi au paysage multisensoriel, à la fois spatial et temporel, que composent ces textes, traces de pratiques et représentations discursives, mentales, anthropologiques : par le nom des *Charites*, en réseau avec le nom commun *charis* et avec d'autres noms de divinités actives, la *performance* musicale, vocale, orchestique et textuelle énergise une géo-histoire culturelle faisant du poème un espace dynamique.

En lien avec les notions de spatialité (ou espace vécu et relation réciproque d'un sujet ou objet avec l'espace), corporéité (ou relation à soi et aux autres comme corps et expérience du corps vécu), et agentivité (ou capacité d'agir), plusieurs questions se posent, au sujet du rôle des Charites : dans le contexte d'énonciation et la pragmatique rituelle, spectaculaire et fictionnelle du poème ; dans le rapport entre humains et divinités et ses enjeux spatio-temporels, tels la circulation horizontale et verticale et la diffusion du divin ou du sacré, d'un site à l'autre et au niveau local, panhellénique, cosmique ; par rapport aux agents de la *performance*, membres d'un *kômos* (cortège festif) ou d'un chœur[1] dansant et chantant par exemple devant un sanctuaire, mais aussi au *je* poétique ; par rapport aux spectateurs-auditeurs et co-participants, humains, héroïques et divins, puis aux lecteurs du poème ; à des figures à la fois cultuelles et métapoétiques, comme les Muses et Apollon.

Ces questions sont d'abord une affaire de pragmatique poétique. Le caractère divin des Charites n'est pas un préalable, mais le résultat d'un processus rituel et social, réalisé dans et par le texte et ses modalités multi-médiales, associant, par la μουσική, texte, chant, musique instrumentale, danse. Notre approche, multidisciplinaire, alliera ainsi linguistique, stylistique, anthropologie, *cognitive poetics* et *sensory studies*. Ces poèmes, qu'ils accompagnent des pratiques cultuelles ou qu'ils les décrivent, participent à la production d'identités et communautés sociales,

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1 Dans la suite de ce chapitre, le « chœur » est toujours un groupe à la fois chantant et dansant, correspondant à ce qu'une certaine critique appelle *song-dance culture*.

culturelles et religieuses, et au dialogue entre mythe et actualité, ainsi qu'entre les humains et le *kosmos*, dynamiquement ordonné par les divinités, comme les Charites, et par les rites poétiques qu'on leur adresse[2]. Quant à la perspective sensorielle, elle amène à insister sur la kinesthésie et la synesthésie, le rapport entre danse (déplacement et gestes) et texte (marques sensorielles décrites et performées)[3]. De là un débat parfois vif sur le *mélique* ou le *lyrique* ou la performativité et la littérarité des poèmes[4]. Des deux côtés, la poésie est une sorte de *charis* et les Charites aussi des divinités de la création poétique.

De la χάρις aux *Charites*, on suivra quatre étapes : une analyse du nom χάρις, « rétribution, don/contre-don » et « grâce » ; l'étude, chez Pindare et Bacchylide, de Χάρις et Χάριτες, désignant, par des noms dits propres, des puissances à la fois médiatrices et inspiratrices, voire des allégories en devenir ; une synthèse sur Ἀγλαΐα, Εὐφροσύνα et Θαλία, suivie de l'étude textuelle et esthétique d'une sorte d'*Hymne aux Charites*, l'*Olympique XIV*; enfin un épilogue situant notre corpus à la fois rituel et poétique au début d'une transition, confirmée par des données plastiques, entre *Charites* cultuelles et *Charites* méta-poétiques, encore indissociables dans cette poésie mélique proto-classique.

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2 Il n'est pas possible d'indiquer toutes les références utiles. D'où notre choix très partiel, auquel on se reportera pour un état des lieux plus complet. Sur la pragmatique de l'épinicie, dans ses dimensions spatio-temporelles, rituelles et figuratives, voir Steiner 1986, Bonifazi 2001, l'ensemble des travaux de C. Calame, par exemple Calame 2008 et Calame/Ellinger 2017, ainsi que Stehle 1997, Kowalzig 2007, Agócs *et al.* 2012, Athanassaki/Bowie 2011. Sur les aspects cognitifs et sensoriels de la poésie mélique, à partir de l'exemple de Sappho, voir Olsen 2019 et Briand 2021, et, sur Pindare, Kirichenko 2016. On se réfère aussi à la notion de *lyric archaeology*, empruntée à Neer/Kurke 2019, dans la filiation de Kurke 1991, croisée avec l'histoire des arts visuels, de l'archéologie des espaces rituels et des études sur le paysage sensoriel et le rite ainsi que la *performance* poétique comme expérience sensorielle (voir Grand-Clément 2011). Pour la rédaction de ce chapitre, je ne connaissais pas encore Steiner 2021, étude fondamentale pour la notion même de choralité.
3 Sur la synesthésie, voir Butler/Purves 2013 ; sur la kinesthésie dans un texte littéraire, ancien ou moderne, Bolens 2008 ; sur la *deixis*, Felson 2004 ; et sur la danse chez Pindare, par exemple le rôle de la triade, en particulier de l'épode, dans la structuration de l'épinicie, Mullen 1982.
4 On se réfère ici à la notion de *textual events*, associant textualité et performativité, empruntée à Budelmann/Phillips 2018. Voir Fearn 2017, sur le rapport entre esthétique, surtout visuelle, et culture matérielle. Tout en s'opposant à la conception évolutionniste de la métaphore chez Pindare et de la littérature selon Maslov 2015, on renvoie volontiers à Maslov 2016, sur les Muses, différentes chez Pindare et Bacchylide. Sur la réception spectaculaire par le public ancien, Peponi 2012. Sur l'interaction imagination/spectacle chez Pindare, Briand 2016, et sur le rapport érotique/rituel et kinesthésie/synesthésie, chez Sappho, Briand 2021. Sur le débat pragmatique/littérarité, on renvoie par exemple, d'une part à C. Calame, parlant de *mélique*, catégorie émique, pour éviter les implications post-classiques, voire subjectivistes, du « lyrisme », d'autre part à D. Fearn, pour qui les textes relèvent d'une littérature comparée et réflexive évitant l'idéal reconstruit d'une *performance* originelle.

Figures pindariques et bacchylidéennes de χάρις

Les *Charites* sont nommées d'après le nom commun χάρις, désignant la fertilité et la prospérité d'un espace empreint d'excellence, humaine et divine, et la profusion festive de l'inspiration poétique. Les déesses, comme l'implique l'origine de leur nom, participent à des évocations visuelles (floraison), sonores (belles voix), kinesthésiques (danses harmonieuses), gustatives (miel), olfactives (encens). Ainsi quand χάρις et χαίρω/χαίρομαι connotent la grâce joyeuse issue de l'éloge et de la gloire ; la beauté persuasive et puissante du rite ; la gratitude du dédicataire et de sa cité et la faveur des divinités. Dans tous les cas, il s'agit de mise en espace et temps, de corporéité sensorielle et d'agentivité, dans le rapport qui s'éprouve entre la χάρις, don/contre-don, gratitude, puis splendeur, gloire, richesse, et surtout grâce poétique, et, d'autre part, les divinités la représentant, Charites, mais aussi Muses.

Les lexiques de Pindare et Bacchylide, suivant la tradition, comme dans les dictionnaires de langue du type Liddell-Scott, considèrent χάρις comme polysémique. Le nom des divinités, en tant que personnifications d'un terme abstrait, notion d'ailleurs à nuancer, reprendrait les dénotations du nom commun : pour Slater[5], chez Pindare, centrée sur la gloire aux Jeux, pourvoyeuse d'éclat lumineux et sonore et d'honneur, la *charis* est une *faveur* et, en retour, la *gratitude*, alors que le nom de *Charis* et des *Charites* est associé d'abord au *charme* et à la *grâce*, spatialement et temporellement située, surtout à Orchomène et dans le cadre cultuel d'une épinicie ; chez Bacchylide[6], corpus plus réduit, le sens basique serait, pour Gerber, celui de *gratitude*, puis de *beauté*, et pour les divinités la *splendeur* dont elles parent les succès aux Jeux et le chant les célébrant. On mettra à part les emplois périphrastiques, du type χάριν comme préposition (plutôt postposition) à l'accusatif, régissant un génitif ou datif, rattachés à un sens ou l'autre du terme propre, sans qu'on détaille le sens de départ : la *gloire* pour Slater, moins nettement pour Gerber. Les autres éléments de la famille lexicale, surtout verbes et adjectifs, sont rattachés aux sèmes de *joie* et *bonheur*.

J'évoque ailleurs une polysémie marquée de connotations et associations variées liées aux contextes et co-textes d'emploi. Et je choisissais de traduire d'abord par le terme anachronique de *grâce*, ce qui certes revient à ne guère traduire[7] :

> χάρις « grâce », terme très polysémique, qui peut désigner la splendeur d'un exploit, par exemple sportif, et la gloire qui s'ensuit, la beauté gracieuse et persuasive du chant épinicique et la puissance de ses effets esthétiques et sociaux, la gratitude, la reconnaissance du dédicataire ou de sa cité à son égard, ou encore la faveur d'une divinité. D'autres associations d'idées se fondent sur la personnification en Grâce ou Grâces, plus liées à la fertilité, la profusion de

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5 Slater 1969.

6 Gerber 1994.

7 Briand 2014.

l'inspiration poétique ou la beauté enthousiasmante des danses et chants, de cortège (κῶμος) ou du chœur, et, plus largement des fêtes de victoire (ἀγλαΐα).

C. Eckermann[8] défend, lui, un usage anthropologique et socio-économique : χάρις a d'abord le sens dénotatif de *compensation*, *rétribution*, ou *réponse à un bienfait*, dans une culture du don/contre-don réciproque. La notion de *grâce*, don accordé par un supérieur, lui paraît, à juste titre, trop hiérarchique. Le sens de *compensation* est alors vu comme soit abstrait, soit métaphorique, pour désigner les effets de la poésie, à visée d'abord rhétorique. Et les autres traductions (beauté, splendeur, charme) sont dites esthétiques[9] :

> Pindar and Bacchylides use χάρις in two ways: χάρις either denotes requital as an abstract noun (regularly understood as an instantiated phenomenon (as in the example noted above, *O*. 1.75)) or it works metaphorically (usually denoting epinician song crafted in response to a perceived or constructed obligation to praise an achievement, as at B 3.92).

Cette approche monosémique[10] intègre la *charis* dans un réseau de valeurs anthropologiques, pour éviter l'anachronisme de la notion de *grâce* et la dilution abstraite qu'induit l'emploi de termes hétérogènes comme *splendeur*, *honneur*, *gloire*. On a les mêmes difficultés, quand on traduit φάος (« lumière ») par *gloire*, *richesse*, *beauté*[11]. Mais la notion de *rétribution* ne rend guère compte des effets poétiques de la χάρις. Une solution imparfaite peut être réaffirmée : traduire en première intention par *grâce*, comme équivalent transhistorique, tout en gardant à l'esprit que sa première valeur est économique, directement et symboliquement, et que diverses occurrences renvoient à des modes d'application particuliers dans les domaines de la gloire, de la richesse, de l'honneur, de la beauté[12]. On pourrait, pour les divinités, simplement transposer en *Charis* et *Charites*, plutôt que *Grâces*, trop informé par l'histoire de la littérature et de l'art modernes, en gardant à l'esprit ce qui vient d'être noté : une traduction par *Rétribution* (ou *Compensation*) et *Rétributions* n'est guère possible, ne serait-ce que du point de vue poétique. Les effets esthétiques et sensoriels ne sont pas qu'une parure ornant des messages d'ordre social, politique

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8 *Per litteras electronicas* et Eckerman 2015b : « In epinician poetry, then, *kharis* is not "très polysémique" ».

9 Voir Eckermann 2015a et Eckermann 2015b, à propos de Briand 2014 ; ainsi que, sur les aspects religieux, Pirenne-Delforge 1996 et, sur la notion de *charis* dans les scholies à Pindare, Pontani 2013. Sur le don et la compensation, voir Nagy 1990, 65–66, et Scheid-Tissinier 1994.

10 Elle s'affirme comme non polysémique, malgré les nuances apportées ensuite : « The purpose of this paper, then, is not to emaciate the power of Pindar's and Bacchylides' striking imagery, by stripping χάρις of the supposed multiple denotations that contemporary scholars see in this word. Rather, while using 'requital' as the fundamental denotation for χάρις, we see that Pindar and Bacchylides use χάρις in new and exciting manners, in their rhetorically and ideologically driven poems ».

11 Briand 2016.

12 Cf. Bacache-Beauvallet/Delattre 2016.

ou religieux : le fond ne saurait faire l'économie de la forme, qui le rend sensible et convainquant à la fois.

N. Fisher donne une bonne synthèse, associant, plus que distinguant, d'une part les effets pragmatiques de la bienveillance partagée et du plaisir, situés dans le temps et l'espace, d'autre part les actions à l'origine de ces effets, dans un réseau d'interrelations positives, entre humains, héros et dieux[13] : « *kharis* 1. "a sense of shared goodwill combined with pleasure at a moment in time", 2. "any or all parts of the following: good deeds, thanks, gratitude, return, payback, that is designations of parts or all continuous relationships" ».

Χάρις et Χάριτες chez Pindare et Bacchylide

La déesse Χάρις apparaît quatre fois chez Pindare, par exemple dans la première *Olympique*, mise en tête des quatre recueils d'épinicies par les Alexandrins[14]. Cette divinité « fabrique tout ce qui est agréable (litt. de miel) aux mortels » et « fait croire souvent à tout ce qui est incroyable ». Ce sacré est inouï, lié à des événements inattendus et splendides : *Olympique I*.30–34, Χάρις δ', ἅπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μείλιχα θνατοῖς, / ἐπιφέροισα τιμὰν καὶ ἄπιστον ἐμήσατο πιστὸν / ἔμμεναι τὸ πολλάκις·

Les Charites, au pluriel, sont très présentes dans la poésie épinicique, par 26 occurrences chez Pindare et six chez Bacchylide. Chaque cas mériterait une observation aussi détaillée que pour la quatorzième *Olympique*, en termes de spatialité (et temporalité), corporéité (et sensorialité), et agentivité. On n'en donne ici que des exemples significatifs.

Une première série d'occurrences concerne les Charites comme médiatrices spatiales et culturelles, produisant et distribuant gloire et prospérité, dans une logique de don/contre-don. En *Ol.II,* elles relient la cité du dédicataire, Agrigente, aux sites sacrés de Delphes et Corinthe, par la victoire athlétique et la couronne qu'elles décernent. Ainsi, v.48–52, à propos de Théron et son frère Xénocrate, les Charites, présidant aux Jeux pythiques et isthmiques, contribuent, au niveau panhellénique, à la participation des tyrans siciliens à une compétition athlétique, cultuelle et politique centrale pour la culture grecque : Ὀλυμπίᾳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτός / γέρας ἔδεκτο, Πυθῶνι δ' ὁμόκλαρον ἐς ἀδελφεόν / Ἰσθμοῖ τε κοιναὶ *Χάριτες* ἄνθεα τεθρίππων δυωδεκαδρό-μων / ἄγαγον· « Car à Olympie, c'est lui qui / reçut le prix, et à Pythô, à part égale, vers son frère, / et à l'Isthme, ensemble, ce sont les fleurs des quadriges aux douze courses que les Charites / apportèrent ». Dans la cinquième *Néméenne*, à Pythéas d'É-gine, v.52–54, les Charites « blond fauve » (σὺν ξανθαῖς *Χάρισσιν*), à la fin du dernier vers du poème, président à la double victoire du dédicataire, à Épidaure, et à sa célé-

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[13] Voir Fisher 2006 et Fisher 2011, 74.

[14] Pour Eckermann, il n'y a pas de majuscule en *Ol.1.30* et *Ol.7.11*, où l'on a donc le nom commun.

bration dans sa cité, devant le temple d'Éaque : l'image de la « couronne de feuillage et de fleurs » (ἀνθέων ποιάντα φέρε στεφανώματα) est encore prégnante, associant gloire, beauté et prospérité. Dans la quatrième *Olympique*, v.6–9, comme dans la quatorzième, les Charites accueillent en même temps le dédicataire vainqueur et la célébration épinicique (τόνδε κῶμον), comme un échange de don et contre-don, dotés de traits sensoriels, culturels et politiques analogues. Le *kômos*, adressé à Zeus, « maître de l'Etna » (ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις), vainqueur du « grondant Typhon aux cent têtes » (ἑκατογκεφάλα Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου), illumine d'une « lumière qui dure » (χρονιώτατον φάος), grâce à l'action des Charites (Χαρίτων θ᾽ ἕκατι), les exploits du dédicataire, Psaumis de Camarine, vainqueur au char.

Dans une autre série d'occurrences, les Charites sont les principales inspiratrices de l'épinicie. À l'ouverture de la neuvième *Pythique*, v.1–4, dont le dédicataire est Télésicrate de Cyrène, vainqueur à la course en armes, on retrouve l'annonce et le souhait adressés au public humain et divin, reliant Delphes et la cité lybienne, par l'intermédiaire des déesses « aux ceintures profondes » (σὺν βαθυζώνοισιν . . . Χαρίτεσσι), pourvoyeuses de fécondité et richesse, et du « couronnement de Cyrène qui mène le char » (διωξίππου στεφάνωμα Κυράνας) que constitue l'épinicie. Plus loin, à la fin de la quatrième et avant-dernière antistrophe, v.89–92, les Charites « sonores » (κελαδεννᾶν) produisent, en synesthésie, un « pur éclat lumineux » (καθαρὸν φέγγος) figurant l'inspiration poétique par laquelle le chœur, constitué en *kômos*, relie le passé proche (la victoire de Télésicrate aux jeux thébains des *Iolaia*), le passé mythique (geste héroïque d'Héraclès et Iphiclès), et l'actualité cyrénéenne de l'épinicie présidée par les déesses, qui font évoquer au poète d'autres victoires à Égine et Mégare. Les déesses jouent un rôle crucial dans un réseau vivant, d'envergure panhellénique, auquel la cité du dédicataire se trouve associée, grecque, pieuse et prospère. Dans la sixième *Néméenne*, v.34–38, Égine est ainsi reliée à Pythô, surtout la fontaine de Castalie, par l'action conjuguée du dédicataire, Alcidamas, lutteur, de Léto « à la navette d'or » (χρυσαλακάτου), mère d'Apollon et Artémis, et des Charites, associées à l'éclat d'une lumière dorée (φλέγεν, en valeur en fin de période) et à une clameur de louanges (Χαρίτων . . . ὁμάδῳ).

Bacchylide n'est pas en reste, dans son premier *Dithyrambe*, v.47–49, peut-être commandé pour une célébration hymnique d'Hélène, à Sparte. La troisième et dernière triade met en scène en discours direct une célébration poétique de la Justice adressée aux Troyens par le héros Ménélas. Le dispositif général n'est pas celui d'une épinicie, même mise en abyme, mais le discours d'éloge célébrant une valeur religieuse, morale et sociale est inspiré par la Muse associée aux Charites, maîtresses des paroles efficaces : Μοῦσα, τίς πρῶτος λόγων ἆρχεν δικαίων; / Πλεισθενίδας Μενέλαος γάρυϊ θελξιεπεῖ / φθέγξατ᾽, εὐπέπλοισι κοινώσας *Χάρισσιν*, « Muse, qui le premier commença de justes discours ? Le fils de Plisthène, Ménélas, de sa voix aux paroles qui enchantent, en prononça, accompagné des Charites aux belles tuniques ». Dans sa douzième *Pythique*, v.25–27, Pindare ne célèbre pas un athlète mais un aulète, Midas d'Agrigente. Orchomène (« cité des Charites » πόλιν Χαρίτων) est

représentée métonymiquement par « le sanctuaire de la fille de Césiphos » (Κα-φισίδος ἐν τεμένει), la nymphe Kopaïs, et par les Charites qui la protègent : la cité apparaît, sans mention de nom, comme « aux beaux chœurs » ou « aux belles pla-ces de danse et chant » (καλλίχορον), et les spectateurs sont de « fiables témoins des choristes » (πιστοὶ χορευτᾶν μάρτυρες). Le passage décrit l'invention de l'*aulos* par Athéna, instrument typique de l'art choral, remarquable par l'acuité sonore du bronze et des roseaux dont on le fait (λεπτοῦ διανισόμενον χαλκοῦ θαμὰ καὶ δονά-κων). La prospérité est ainsi produite et diffusée à la fois par les déesses et par la *performance* rituelle et spectaculaire qui les honore, avec leur cité. Aussi au début de son cinquième *Dithyrambe*, v.1–5, pour les Athéniens, Bacchylide associe Muses Piérides, pourvoyeuses d'immortalité, et Charites « aux paupières violettes » et « qui portent des couronnes » (ἰοβλέφαροί τε καὶ φερεστέφανοι), divinités de l'ins-piration textuelle et musicale. On note des effets synesthésiques, associant vision, audition et mouvement, tels la figure du poème comme « chemin de vers immor-tels » (κέλευθος ἀμβροσίων μελέων) et tissage de vêtements raffinés et glorieux (ὕφαινέ). Même s'il n'y a pas de procession, les images mentales que se forme le public s'enchaînent dans un parcours sensible dont le poète, représenté par le chœur, se veut le guide et interprète, reliant la « très aimée et prospère Athènes » (πολυηράτοις . . . ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις) à la cité de Bacchylide, Céos : πάρεστι μυρία κέ-λευθος ἀμβροσίων μελέων, / ὃς ἂν παρὰ Πιερίδων λάχησι δῶρα Μουσᾶν, / ἰοβλέ-φαροί τε καὶ φερεστέφανοι *Χάριτες* βάλωσιν ἄμφι τιμάν / ὕμνοισιν: ὕφαινέ νυν ἐν ταῖς πολυηράτοις τι κλεινὸν ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις, / εὐαίνετε Κηΐα μέριμνα, « Disponible est une immense route de chants immortels, / pour quiconque a reçu les dons des Piérides, les Muses, / et dont les Charites aux paupières de violettes, filles porteuses de couronnes, entourent d'honneur / les chants : tisse maintenant, pour la très aimée et prospère Athènes, quelque chose de nouveau, esprit fameux de Céos ». Enfin, dans sa première *Épinicie*, v.146–149, le « rossignol de Céos » célèbre Pan-théides, père du dédicataire, Argéios de Céos, vainqueur isthmique, et de quatre au-tres fils, victorieux à divers Jeux, comme « bien doté par les Charites » (εὖ δὲ λαχὼν *Χαρίτων*) et « admiré par de nombreux mortels » (πολλοῖς τε θαυμασθεὶς βροτᾶν), en accord avec Apollon, divinité de la santé et de l'hospitalité. Les Charites dispen-sent à la fois la gloire et l'inspiration poétique.

Les Charites sont souvent à la fois médiatrices et inspiratrices. Au début du *Péan 6, fr.52f S.-M.*, v.1–11, pour les Delphiens, à l'occasion des Théoxénies, Pindare s'adresse à Pythô en tant qu'espace oraculaire, et associe les Charites, les Muses Piérides, dont il est le « chantant porte-parole » (ἀοίδιμον . . . προφάταν), et Aphro-dite, toutes divinités tutélaires de la *performance* poétique en l'honneur d'Apollon Pythien. Ensuite s'entrecroisent des passages à fonction déictique et mimétique ren-voyant au culte auquel le texte participe, près de la source de Castalie, et des nota-tions mythologiques sur la guerre de Troie. Le temporel et le spatial sont encore interdépendants. Le péan que les Charites aident le poète et le chœur à accomplir, comme des Muses, ouvre l'espace rituel en associant présent, histoire lointaine et

avenir espéré. La danse et le chant choral (χορεύσιος) ont un pouvoir de consolation proportionnel aux mérites du poète et à la diffusion dont le rite se veut le centre. La parole suit un circuit vertical, de Zeus Olympien à Delphes, par les Charites, puis du poète aux divinités, comme une célébration hymnique, mais aussi horizontal, des sanctuaires panhelléniques à l'ensemble du monde grec, par le poète, soutenu par les Charites et les Muses dont il porte la parole :

> *Péan* 6, fr.52f S.-M., v.1–11 :
>
> Πρὸς Ὀλυμπίου Διός σε, χρυσέα κλυτόμαντι Πυθοῖ,
> λίσσομαι *Χαρίτεσσίν* τε καὶ σὺν Ἀφροδίτᾳ
> ἐν ζαθέῳ με δέξαι χρόνῳ
> ἀοίδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν.
> ὕδατι γὰρ ἐπὶ χαλκοπύλῳ ψόγον ἀϊὼν Κασταλίας
> ὀρφανὸν ἀνδρῶν χορεύσιος ἦλθον
> ἔταις ἀμαχανίαν ἀλέξων τεοῖσιν ἐμαῖς τε τιμαῖς.
>
> Au nom de Zeus Olympien, toi, fameuse par tes devins, Pythô dorée,
> je te prie, en compagnie des Charites et d'Aphrodite,
> de m'accueillir dans ce temps sacré,
> comme le chantant porte-parole des Piérides :
> de l'eau aux portes de bronze entendant le murmure de Castalie,
> privé de chœurs d'hommes, je suis venu
> pour éloigner l'impuissance de tes parents et de mes honneurs.

Le nom des Charites est souvent au datif d'accompagnement ou d'agent (σὺν *Χάρισιν* « avec l'aide » et « en compagnie des Charites »), par exemple dans la cinquième *Isthmique*, v.19–25[15]. Après Corinthe et Némée, le texte se concentre sur la cité du dédicataire, Égine, par le geste déictique « vers cette cité aux bonnes lois que voici » (τάνδ᾽ ἐς εὔνομον πόλιν) : l'excellence athlétique, sociale et religieuse est figurée comme une route, au long de laquelle les Charites accompagnent l'épinicie, en même temps que les exploits du vainqueur. Le poète et le dédicataire, avec sa « cité aux bonnes lois » (εὔνομον πόλιν), partagent la bienveillance des Charites, qui relie aussi les Éacides, ancêtres tutélaires, et les fils de Lampon, Phylakidas, le dédicataire, et son frère Pytheas (v. 21). L'image est encore celle du chemin du rituel, parcouru réellement ou dans l'imaginaire des spectateurs et lecteurs, et de la vie excellente dont est fait l'éloge (« la route pure des exploits accordés par les dieux », θεοδότων ἔργων κέλευθον . . . καθαράν), en l'honneur d'une dynastie que protège des envieux le chant (ἀοιδᾷ), conforme à la volonté divine.

De même, à la fin de la neuvième *Néméenne*, v.53–55[16], Pindare s'adresse à Zeus, se réclamant du soutien des Charites et des Muses. Dans un vœu pour la gloire commune du dédicataire et de sa poésie, il se veut athlète « lanceur de mots » visant

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15 Pour l'Éacide Phylakidas d'Égine, victorieux au pancrace.

16 Pour le vainqueur au char, Chromios d'Etna.

l'à-propos, c'est-à-dire atteindre « au plus près la cible des Muses » : Ζεῦ πάτερ, / εὔ-χομαι ταύταν ἀρετὰν κελαδῆσαι σὺν *Χαρίτεσσιν*, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν τε τιμαλφεῖν λόγοις / νίκαν, ἀκοντίζων σκοποῖ ἄγχιστα Μοισᾶν, « Zeus père, / je prie pour pouvoir célébrer cette excellence, avec l'aide des Charites, et, par mes discours célébrant la victoire, beaucoup / en surpasser, en lançant mon javelot au plus près de la cible des Muses ». Enfin, Bacchylide commence sa neuvième *Épinicie*, v.1–8[17], par une adresse directe aux « Charites à la quenouille d'or » (v.1, ὦ χρυσαλάκατοι Χάριτες), tisseuses d'espace, temps et gloire (δόξαν, premier mot du poème), en accord avec le poète, « porte-parole divin » (θεῖος προφάτας) qu'accompagnent les « Muses aux paupières bien vio-lettes » (Μουσᾶν γε ϝιοβλεφάρων) : le lieu de la victoire, Némée, est relié à celui de la première *performance* poétique, réelle ou imaginaire, ainsi que les figures héroïques comme Héraclès aux divinités olympiennes Zeus et Héra « aux bras blancs » (λευκώ-λενος) et au dédicataire, à Phlionte. Le passage frappe par la vigueur de ses effets sen-soriels et de ses images végétales (plaine florissante de Némée, εὐθαλὲς πέδον) et animales (lion de Némée « à la voix lourde », βαρύφθογγον).

Ces occurrences, et d'autres, mériteraient une analyse développée. On en souli-gnera quelques points. Sur le plan spatial et temporel, les Charites sont souvent à l'issue ou au commencement d'un parcours cultuel, réel ou imaginaire, décrit ou performé, par exemple en *kômos*. Elles sont aussi plusieurs fois invoquées au début, voire au premier vers, ou à la fin, voire au dernier vers d'un poème. En ter-mes de corporéité et sensorialité, les instances énonciatives décrites, invoquées ou en *performance* accordent une grande place à la synesthésie à dominante visuelle et sonore et à la kinesthésie. Le rite épinicique, soutenu par l'action des déesses, associées aux Muses, Apollon ou Zeus, construit des espaces-temps multiples, dy-namiques, empreints de sensations et d'émotions : présent immédiat (à Orchomène, par exemple), passé proche (à court et long terme), avenir craint ou espéré (dans le monde grec, à travers une culture et des réseaux panhelléniques ; pour la postérité, le public des *re-performances* et des recueils écrits). Enfin, en termes d'agentivité, le poète se revendique des déesses inspiratrices et pourvoyeuses de gloire, prospérité, beauté, que sont les Charites : l'invocation répétée à ces divinités proches des Muses et parfois d'abstractions personnifiées, de registre éthique et religieux, est au cœur de la poétique mélique.

Ces quelques quarante emplois de Charis et Charites, dont on n'a présenté que quelques cas, montrent le lien que mettent en scène Pindare et Bacchylide entre micro- et macrocosme, entre le sacré et la sensorialité corporelle du spectacle rituel, qui associe et fait jouer entre eux les espaces des Jeux (Olympie, Pythô, Némée, Co-rinthe), des cités (Syracuse, Égine, Athènes, Cyrène, . . .), des lieux mythiques où excellaient les héros, et surtout de la célébration actuelle.

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17 Pour Automédès de Phlionte, vainqueur au pentathle à Némée.

Aglaia, Euphrosyna et Thalia

Par ailleurs, tirés de noms communs désignant des phénomènes sensoriels et émotionnels forts, les noms spécifiques des trois Charites, *Aglaia* (« Splendeur, Fête »), *Euphrosyna* (« Esprit joyeux ») et *Thalia* (« Floraison »), interrogent le rapport esthétique, linguistique et spatio-temporel entre quasi-allégories, du type *Charis*, mais aussi *Dikê*, *Thémis*, *Nika* ou *Eunomia*, par exemple. Dans la quatorzième *Olympique*, à laquelle on revient plus loin, les trois désignations individuelles des Charites sont associées, mais on trouve ailleurs d'autres emplois d'Ἀγλαΐα (une fois chez Pindare et Bacchylide), Εὐφροσύνα (cinq chez Pindare, trois chez Bacchylide, dont une avec Νίκα) et Θαλία (Bacchylide, avec Εὐνομία).

Dans un éloge de Lacédémone et des pratiques guerrières, discursives, cultuelles et artistiques qui en caractérisent l'excellence aristocratique, *Aglaia* « Splendeur » est une divinité du chœur chantant et dansant (χοροὶ), ainsi que de la sagesse et de la combativité, associées à la Muse : Pindare *fr. 199.3*, ἔνθα βουλαὶ γερόντων / καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύοισιν αἰχμαί, / καὶ χοροὶ καὶ *Μοῖσα* καὶ *Ἀγλαΐα*, (« Sparte) où les conseils des vieux / excellent, et les lances des jeunes hommes / et les chœurs, la Muse et Aglaia ». Chez Bacchylide, sur les juments de Hiéron de Syracuse, victorieuses à Olympie, près de l'Alphée, *Aglaia* est associée à ὑπερόχῳ Νίκᾳ « Victoire suprême », reliant l'exploit athlétique et sa célébration festive, dont elle porte l'un des noms (ἀγλαΐα « splendeur », donc « fête »), avec les connotations culturelles et esthétiques de l'attribution de la couronne au vainqueur : *Épinicie 3.6*, Σεύον]το γὰρ σὺν ὑπερόχ,ῳ τε *Νίκᾳ* / σὺν *Ἀγ]λαΐᾳ* τε παρ'εὐρυδίναν / Ἀλφεόν, τόθι] Δεινομένεος ἔθηκαν ὄλβιον τ[έκος στεφάνων κυρῆσαι, « Car (les juments) s'élancèrent avec la suprême Victoire / et avec Splendeur, près des larges tourbillons / de l'Alphée : c'est là qu'elles accordèrent au prospère rejeton de Deinoménès de remporter ses couronnes ».

Le nom Εὐφροσύνα « Esprit joyeux » ne désigne une Charite que dans la quatorzième *Olympique*, on le verra. Dans les textes grecs archaïques et classiques, d'énonciation d'abord orale, puis dans des éditions écrites d'époque hellénistique, majuscules et minuscules ne sont pas toujours différenciées, et l'opposition nom propre / nom commun n'est pas aussi tranchée que dans les langues modernes. Le substantif εὐφροσύνα renvoie au contexte pragmatique de la *performance*, et à ses effets poétiques et rhétoriques, dans cinq occurrences chez Pindare, et trois chez Bacchylide, comme dans la onzième *Épinicie* de ce dernier, v.9–12. Le poète s'adresse à Νίκα γλυκύδωρε « Victoire aux doux présents », par qui « la ville de Métaponte, qu'honorent les dieux », est pleine des *kômoi* et fêtes des « jeunes aux bonnes cuisses », louant le vainqueur[18] : . . . σέθεν δ'ἕκατι / καὶ νῦ[ν Με]ταπόντιον εὐγυίων κατέχουσι νέων / κῶμοί τε καὶ *εὐφροσύναι* θεότιμον

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[18] Alexidamos de Métaponte, vainqueur à la lutte aux Jeux pythiques.

ἄστυ, / ὑμνεῦσι δὲ Πυθιόνικον παῖδα θαητ[ὸ]ν Φαΐσκου, « grâce à toi, / aussi maintenant Métaponte est habitée par les jeunes gens aux belles cuisses, / dans leurs processions et festivités, ville qu'honorent les dieux, / et ils chantent le vainqueur à Pythô, l'enfant bien visible de Phaiskos ».

De même, le nom Θαλία « Floraison » n'apparaît que dans la quatorzième *Olympique*. Le substantif est plus fréquent, sept fois chez Pindare. Dans sa treizième *Épinicie*, v.91–100, à propos des Éacides d'Égine, Bacchylide associe l'« abondance », connotant fertilité, prospérité, bonheur, gloire, paix, et une autre triade éthique et politique que forment trois noms accompagnés d'épiclèses, Ἀρετά « Excellence, Valeur » (« qui brille pour tous » et provoque la gloire), Εὐκλεία « Bonne-Gloire » (« qui aime les couronnes ») et Εὐνομία « Bonne-Loi » (« à l'esprit sage », dirigeant les fêtes pieuses et sauvegardant la paix) :

> Bacchylide, *Épinicie* 13.91–100
>
> οὐ γὰρ ἀλα[μπέσ]ι νυ[κτὸς
> πασιφανὴς *Ἀρετὰ* κρυφθεῖσ᾽ ἀμαυρο[ῦται δνόφοισιν,
>
> ἀλλ᾽ ἔμπεδον ἀκ[αμάτᾳ βρύουσα δόξᾳ
> στρωφᾶται κατὰ γᾶν [τε
> καὶ πολυπλάγκταν θ[άλασσαν.
> καὶ μὰν φερεκυδέα ν[ᾶσον
> Αἰακοῦ τιμᾷ, σὺν *Εὐκλείᾳ* δὲ φιλοστεφ[άνῳ πόλιν κυβερνᾷ,
> *Εὐνομία* τε σαόφρων,
> ἃ *θαλίας* τε λέλογχεν
> ἄστεά τ᾽ εὐσεβέων ἀνδρῶν ἐν εἰρήνᾳ φυλάσσει.
>
> Car non, par l'obscurité de la nuit
> l'Excellence visible par tous n'est pas cachée, ni obscurcie de ténèbres.
> Au contraire sur le sol, gonflée d'une infatigable gloire,
> elle persiste sur la terre et . . .
> sur les nombreuses errances de la mer.
> Et vraiment, porteuse de renom, elle honore
> l'île d'Éaque, avec Bonne-Gloire, qui aime les couronnes et gouverne la cité,
> et la sage Bonne-Loi,
> qui a en partage les fêtes
> et maintient en paix les villes des hommes pieux.

Ces jeux de noms indiquent que la frontière entre nom de divinité et substantif à valeur morale, esthétique ou civique, n'est pas étanche : Charis et Charites influent sur des espaces et entités qui les infusent de la *charis* dont elles représentent la vivacité.

La quatorzième *Olympique*: un *Hymne aux Charites*

Un bon exemple du rôle des Charites et de leurs diverses désignations dans les épinicies et dans leur contexte d'énonciation, factuel et imaginaire, est la quatorzième *Olympique* : s'y déploie l'action conjuguée du rite poétique et des divinités (Charites, soit Aglaé, Euphrosyne, Thalie, et Apollon Pythien, Zeus Olympien, Perséphone, Écho), à travers des paysages sensoriels relevant de trois temporalités principales : présent de la *performance*, liée au culte des Charites, à Orchomène ; passé proche (exploit olympien du dédicataire) et lointain (« antiques Myniens ») ; avenir proche (transmission du rite épinicique par Écho, jusqu'au père mort du vainqueur, aux Enfers) et plus ou moins lointains (*re-performance*, puis publication du poème écrit, voire constitution d'un recueil à lire). Le dédicataire est Asopichos d'Orchomène, « cité des Charites » (v.2–3), en Béotie, vainqueur à la course des garçons au stade. Le poème fut peut-être exécuté en 488, non en 476, comme disent des scholies, incompatibles avec les listes connues de vainqueurs : ce serait alors la plus ancienne *Olympique*. C'est une épinicie non triadique, en deux strophes, ou une strophe suivie d'une antistrophe, en mesure dite éolienne et mode lydien (v.17), réputé gracieux, approprié à la célébration d'un athlète de la classe la plus jeune : le style du poème et de ce qui l'accompagne serait conforme à sa visée cultuelle. Ces traits singuliers résonnent avec les caractéristiques rituelles et esthétiques des Charites : les Alexandrins ont placé en tête du recueil le triptyque des *Olympiques* 1, 2 et 3, parce que ces trois poèmes, constitués en groupe à part[19], concernent des dédicataires et des épreuves de statut supérieur, tyrans siciliens vainqueurs à la course de char. La quatorzième *Olympique* au contraire est dédiée à un jeune vainqueur, issu d'une cité d'importance moyenne, et vainqueur à une épreuve moins prestigieuse. La placer à la fin du recueil revient à la réévaluer, en écho avec les premiers poèmes du recueil. Elle devient alors une ouverture vers la postérité, adressée d'abord à des lecteurs, comme si Pindare avait pensé à son œuvre dans sa globalité et à sa réception future. Les Charites sont ici à la fois cultuelles – reliant les niveaux épichorique béotien, à Orchomène, et panhellénique, à Olympie – et méta-poétiques, reliant la culture grecque archaïque et classique et son devenir littéraire. Le lecteur moderne accueille les Charites anciennes par plusieurs médiations, de la réception ancienne à nos jours, à travers les *re-performances*, réelles ou virtuelles, éditions, traductions, usages divers de ce qui est devenu une œuvre plutôt qu'un rite : les Charites sont alors des divinités de la parole inspirée, sans autre culte que symbolique.

Observons la première strophe :

Olympique 14, v.1–12

Καφισίων ὑδάτων   Str. 1.
λαχοῖσαι ταί τε ναίετε καλλίπωλον ἕδραν,

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19 J. Strauss Clay 2011.

ὦ λιπαρᾶς ἀοίδιμοι βασίλειαι
Χάριτες Ἐρχομενοῦ, παλαιγόνων Μινυᾶν ἐπίσκοποι,
κλῦτ', ἐπεὶ εὔχομαι· σὺν γὰρ ὔμμιν τά τε τερπνὰ καί   v. 5
τὰ γλυκέ' ἄνεται πάντα βροτοῖς,
εἰ σοφός, εἰ καλός, εἴ τις ἀγλαὸς ἀνήρ.
Οὐδὲ γὰρ θεοὶ σεμνᾶν *Χαρίτων* ἄτερ
κοιρανέοντι χοροὺς
    οὔτε δαῖτας· ἀλλὰ πάντων ταμίαι
ἔργων ἐν οὐρανῷ, χρυσότοξον θέμεναι πάρα   v. 10
Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνα θρόνους,
αἰέναον σέβοντι *πατρὸς Ὀλυμπίοιο* τιμάν.

Les eaux du Céphise / sont votre lot, et vous habitez une demeure aux beaux poulains, / ô célébrées reines de la brillante / Orchomène, Grâces, et des antiques Minyens les protectrices, / écoutez, quand je prie. Car c'est grâce à vous que tout ce qui est plaisant et / ce qui est doux s'accomplit, entièrement, pour les mortels, / si habile, si beau, si brillant est un homme. / Car même les dieux sans les Charites sacrées / ne commandent pas de chœurs ni de festins : dispensatrices de tous / les exploits au ciel, ayant posé, près du dieu à l'arc-doré, / Apollon Pythien, leurs trônes, / éternel, elles vénèrent du père olympien l'honneur.   (trad. Briand 2014)

On pourrait intituler ce passage *Les joies des Charites*, où l'on voit trois effets en tension. Du point de vue spatial, on va d'Orchomène au présent (qu'habitent les Charites, v.4 et 8[20], et « demeure aux beaux poulains », v.1, cité « brillante », v.3) et au passé (anciens habitants, Minyens, v.3)[21], jusqu'à Pythô (Delphes), où les Charites trônent près d'Apollon, v.10–11, et à l'Olympe, où elles célèbrent leur père Zeus[22], aussi celui des hommes et des dieux, leur souverain[23]. Cette ascension est celle des prières des humains (v.5, « écoutez, quand je prie », avec toute la richesse du « je » pindarique, issu d'un processus dit de délégation chorale), puis de la célébration des grands dieux par les Charites, médiatrices des exploits humains : la victoire aux Jeux s'intègre dans un culte universel confirmant la maxime ou *gnômê* des v.5–8.

En termes sensoriels, on relève les notations visuelles (v.3 éclat luisant de *liparos*, 7 brillance d'*aglaos*, 10 « arc doré »), sonores (v.5 « écoutez », 9 « chœurs » et 12 « célèbrent »), kinesthésiques (par exemple les jeux d'enjambements et (contre-)rejets prosodiques, associés ou non à des hyperbates : v.1–2, 3–4, mettant en valeur le nom *Charites*, v.5–6, 8–9, 10–11). La clôture de la strophe est remarquable, après un parcours sophistiqué sur le plan rythmique et sensoriel, peut-être ponctué de gestes déictiques ou mimétiques, d'où des synesthésies, mises en abîme et effets de parachoralité, c'est-à-dire par la figuration mimétique et imaginaire de danses cho-

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20 Cf. « eaux du Céphise », v.1. Pour Orchomène, voir aussi *fr. 244 S.-M.*
21 D'après le roi Minyas, fils de Poséidon.
22 Hésiode, *Théogonie* 907–909.
23 Cf. *Olympique* I.57.

rales[24] : ainsi, v.9 « chœurs » et « festins », qui assimilent l'épinicie à l'action des Charites et aux activités festives des dieux supérieurs. Le contexte et les modalités de la *performance* sont remontés au niveau de l'Olympe : l'espace de la strophe est ascendant.

En termes d'agentivité, les Charites, parallèlement aux déplacements évoqués, sont désignées au vocatif, v.4–5 (« Charites . . . écoutez ») ; par un pronom de deuxième personne « avec vous », v.5 ; puis à la troisième personne, au pluriel et féminin, v.8 « sans les Charites », v.9–10 « dispensatrices de tous les exploits », v.10 et 12 « ayant posé . . . leurs trônes » et « elles vénèrent ». En début de strophe, la *deixis* de proximité domine, renvoyant à la *performance* rituelle en cours et à la fête des *Charitesia*, qui comportaient concours musicaux et poétiques, et danses : attestée par des données épigraphiques, à Orchomène, l'institution en était attribuée au roi mythique Étéocle. Les déesses sont réceptrices et dispensatrices d'habileté, beauté et splendeur individuelle (v.7), aux Jeux, et de richesse, éclat et gloire collectives (v.1–4). Surtout, elles président à la *mousikê*, en cela proches des Muses hésiodiques, aussi béotiennes, dans le proème de la *Théogonie*. L'action poétique est aussi rituelle et cosmique, du point de vue du poète et du chœur comme de celui des Charites[25].

De même dans la seconde strophe (ou antistrophe), avec des échos entre les deux passages :

Olympique 14, v.13–24

<Ὦ> πότνι᾽ Ἀγλαΐα	Str. 2.
φιλησίμολπέ τ᾽ *Εὐφροσύνα*, θεῶν κρατίστου	v.15
παῖδες, ἐπακοοῖτε νῦν, *Θαλία* τε	
ἐρασίμολπε, ἰδοῖσα τόνδε κῶμον ἐπ᾽ εὐμενεῖ τύχᾳ	
κοῦφα βιβῶντα· Λυδῷ γὰρ Ἀσώπιχον ἐν τρόπῳ	
ἐν μελέταις τ᾽ ἀείδων ἔμολον,	
οὕνεκ᾽ Ὀλυμπιόνικος ἁ Μινύεια	
σεῦ ἔκατι. Μελαντειχέα νῦν δόμον	v.20
Φερσεφόνας ἔλθ᾽, Ἀ-	
χοῖ, πατρὶ κλυτὰν φέροισ᾽ ἀγγελίαν,	
Κλεόδαμον ὄφρ᾽ ἰδοῖσ᾽ υἱὸν εἴπῃς ὅτι οἱ νέαν	
κόλποις παρ᾽ εὐδόξοις Πίσας	
ἐστεφάνωσε κυδίμων ἀέθλων πτεροῖσι χαίταν.	

Ô souveraine Aglaé, / et toi qui aimes les danses chantées, Euphrosyne, du plus puissant des dieux / les enfants, écoutez maintenant, et Thalie, / qui adores les danses chantées, vois ce cortège-ci pour un sort bienveillant / légèrement s'avancer. Car en mode lydien, Asôpichos, / par mon art, en le chantant, je suis venu, / puisque vainqueur olympique est la cité des Minyens, / grâce à toi. Maintenant, vers la maison aux murs noirs / de Perséphone, va-t-en,

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24 Power 2017.

25 Sur les figurations cosmiques du chœur, voir Gagné 2019.

> Écho, à son père porter la fameuse annonce, / pour que, voyant Kléodamos, de son fils tu puisses dire que, / dans les glorieux vallons de Pise, il a couronné des ailes des jeux illustres sa chevelure.
> (trad. Briand 2014)

Sur le plan spatial, le déplacement cette fois est horizontal, puis descendant, d'Orchomène, par Olympie, jusque chez Perséphone, aux Enfers. On part de la situation d'énonciation actuelle (v.16–21), dominée par le dispositif du *kômos* festif[26], qui se dirigerait vers ou se déploierait devant le sanctuaire des Charites[27]. Dans la suite de la strophe on a d'abord deux adresses : aux trois Charites, par le *kômos*, et, par le chant d'éloge, au dédicataire Asopichos, nommé v.17, puis désigné par un pronom de deuxième personne, v.20 « grâce à toi ». Sa victoire à Olympie (v.19 « olympionice la cité des Myniens »), reliant Orchomène et les Jeux, le hausse au niveau panhellénique. Ce déplacement contemporain puis rétrospectif, entre espace actuel et passé proche, accompagne une transition que souligne νῦν « maintenant », v.20, à teneur à la fois pragmatique et temporelle. Il est suivi et amplifié par un déplacement prospectif, que le *je* poétique appelle de ses vœux : une rencontre à venir entre Écho, déesse métapoétique, et le père mort du dédicataire, Cléodamos (v.22), dans « la maison aux murs noirs de Perséphone » (v.20–21), symétrique de la « brillante Orchomène », au début du poème[28]. Cette diffusion lointaine de la parole poétique, dont Écho est la messagère, achève, ouvrant sur la gloire des dédicataires et du poète qui les célèbre, non seulement la quatorzième *Olympique*, mais l'ensemble du recueil : les philologues alexandrins le commencent par le poème le plus prestigieux, en termes de dédicataire, d'épreuve et de style, la première *Olympique*, et placent à la fin la quatorzième *Olympique*, en adresse à la postérité et aux futurs lecteurs. Ce dernier déplacement, d'Orchomène aux Enfers, est une ultime étape dans le parcours que constitue la lecture suivie des *Olympiques* de Pindare, sous l'égide des Charites.

En termes de corporéité et sensorialité, les divinités sont d'abord spectatrices du *kômos* (v.17), que le poète les invite à accueillir avec bienveillance. On note le parallèle des v.5, à dominante sonore « écoutez quand je prie », et v.16–18, à dominante synesthésique, visuelle et sonore « vois ce cortège-ci » et « en chantant, je suis venu ». La visualité domine moins l'antistrophe, au profit des notations sonores et cinétiques, sur les Charites, puis Asôpichos (v.17 « mode lydien », réputé plus doux et ouvragé que son équivalent dorien)[29], et surtout sur Écho portant son « an-

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[26] Sur le lien *kômos* et Charites, voir *Ol.III.5–6*, « ajuster au pas dorien la voix au brillant cortège » (Δωρίῳ φωνὰν ἐναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ / ἀγλαόκωμον).

[27] Une association similaire des déesses et du *kômos* apparaît dans la quatrième *Olympique*, v.9, adressée à Zeus, « le vainqueur olympique / accueille-le et, pour les Charites, le cortège que voici », Ὀλυμπιονίκαν / δέξαι Χαρίτων θ' ἕκατι τόνδε κῶμον.

[28] Sur la parole épinicique aux Enfers, voir *Ol.VIII.77–84* et *Pythique 98–103*.

[29] Cf. *Ol.V.19* et *I.101*, ainsi que *N.IV.45*, avec la même formule, aussi pour un garçon.

nonce glorieuse (litt. sonore) »[30] au père d'Asopichos, pour lui annoncer sa victoire glorieuse, à Pise, c'est-à-dire Olympie). Dans ce dernier vers (v.24), le poème est figuré comme une couronne athlétique posée sur la chevelure de l'athlète, image visuelle et cinétique des ailes de la « Victoire », Nikê, comme dans la peinture vasculaire classique. Ces notations positives sont soulignées par une note funèbre, v.20, « demeure aux murs noirs ».

Enfin, en termes d'agentivité: le nom des Charites n'apparaît plus, remplacé et développé individuellement par les trois noms au vocatif, sémantiquement motivés, de chaque Charis, v.14–17 : *Aglaia* « Splendeur, Fête », « qui aimes les chants – danses », renvoyant à la gloire d'Orchomène et d'Aisopichos et à la fête épinicique, cf. *aglaos*, v.7 ;[31] *Euphrosyne* « Esprit joyeux », renvoyant à divers plaisirs et bonheurs, comme le banquet, et à l'hospitalité ; *Thalie* « Floraison, Abondance », renvoyant à la croissance végétale, la fertilité, la fécondité, plus largement la prospérité et la jeunesse. Ensuite, entre les espaces d'Orchomène et Olympie, rassemblés par la célébration athlétique, et les Enfers, v.20, l'expression en rejet σεῦ ἕκατι « grâce à toi » peut se référer à la dernière nommée des Charites (Thalie, v.15) ou au dédicataire (Aisopichos, v.17). L'exploit de l'athlète, sa famille et sa cité connaissent une gloire permanente grâce à l'action du poète, aidée par les Charites, puis par Écho, qui relient Orchomène à l'Olympe et aux Enfers, en même temps qu'à Delphes et Olympie.

Épilogue. Le nom des Charites : entre culte et méta-poésie

Au début d'une épigramme attribuée à Simonide de Céos (*ép. LXVII*) par l'*Anthologie palatine*, 7.25, v.1–4, le culte des Charites est remplacé par le culte quasi-héroïque du poète Anacréon, qu'accompagnait, dans ses chants d'amour, Charites et Érotes.

> Οὗτος Ἀνακρείοντα τὸν ἄφθιτον εἵνεκα Μουσέων
> ⠀⠀ὑμνοπόλον πάτρης τύμβος ἔδεκτο Τέω,
> ὃς *Χαρίτων* πνείοντα μέλη, πνείοντα δ'Ἐρώτων
> ⠀⠀τὸν γλυκὺν ἐς παίδων ἵμερον ἡρμόσατο.

> Ici, c'est Anacréon, immortel grâce aux Muses,
> le créateur de chants pour sa patrie, Céos, qu'accueille la tombe,
> lui qui, dans ses vers parfumés par les Charites, parfumés par les Érotes,
> pour le doux désir des garçons, crée l'harmonie.

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30 Voir la proclamation de la victoire par les juges à Olympie et l'*Aggelia* personnifiée, *Ol.VIII.81*.
31 *Molpê* est un équivalent de *khoros*, devenu obsolète à époque post-classique.

L'espace, développé par le poème et l'imaginaire des lecteurs, est centré sur la tombe d'un poète immortalisé par les Muses. Ce dispositif confirme que l'épigramme n'est guère authentique[32] : le poème, de facture hellénistique, voire plus tardive, a été composé dans un contexte culturel où les Charites sont moins des divinités jouissant d'un culte public, comme à Orchomène, que des conventions pragmatiques figurant l'inspiration des poètes, comme dans la poésie hellénistique, puis latine. Cette évolution est en germe chez Pindare et Bacchylide qui, tout en se référant aux Charites cultuelles, pourvoyeuses de biens et constructrices d'espace-temps, utilisent leur(s) nom(s) dans un système de réflexivité métapoétique plus explicitement mis en scène par les recueils hellénistiques, puis les éditions romaines et modernes.

Dans une perspective temporelle similaire, on peut comparer deux figurations exemplaires, entre lesquelles se situent Pindare et Bacchylide, puis le poème attribué à Simonide. D'une part, juste avant la pleine floraison du genre épinicique, le *Relief des Grâces*, du début du Ve s., contemporain attique de nos poètes (Fig. 1). On y voit en général, par comparaison, Hermès et les trois Charites, entraînées par un aulète, qui dansent en se tenant par la main, suivies d'un jeune garçon nu : elles participent activement à un culte civique, peut-être éphébique, qui se tenait aux Propylées[33].

Fig. 1: *Relief des Grâces*, sculpture archaïque, 500–490 av., 0,395 x 0,425 m, marbre de Paros, Musée de l'Acropole, Athènes, *Akr. 702* © Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA, 2.5 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.5/deed.en), https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charites#/media/Fichier:Three_Graces_Louvre_Ma287.jpg.

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32 Simonide de Céos (556–467) est plus âgé que Pindare et Bacchylide. Considéré comme le premier auteur d'épinicies, adressées à des hommes, non à des héros ou à des dieux, il s'est vu attribuer de nombreuses épigrammes, désormais considérées comme non authentiques.

33 Pirenne-Delforge 1996, 207, pense que le jeune homme nu peut-être un éphèbe.

D'autre part, *Les trois Grâces*, copie romaine d'un original hellénistique, conservé au Musée du Louvre (Fig. 2). Ces déesses, dont les têtes ont été recréées en 1609 par Nicolas Cordier, sont des conventions culturelles, poétiques et plastiques et des allégories mythologiques, qui ont leur place dans un Musée, dès Alexandrie. Sous influence praxitélienne, leur style vise à émouvoir l'esthète cultivé, sensible à leur dynamique et belle sensualité et au dynamisme, et non à représenter un culte, ni les déesses d'un sanctuaire. Elles correspondent plus au poème attribué à Simonide, et se retrouvent tout au long de l'histoire de l'art des fresques pompéiennes, puis Cranach ou Botticelli, à Canova, puis Picasso ou Niki de Saint-Phalle . . .

Fig. 2: *Les trois Grâces*, copie romaine en marbre d'un original grec d'époque hellénistique, restaurée en 1609, Musée du Louvre, Collection Borghèse © Wikimedia Commons : https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charites#/media/Fichier:Three_Graces_Louvre_Ma287.jpg.

On est passé ainsi du rite à la mythologie. La constitution de la poésie archaïque et classique en littérature écrite, à l'époque hellénistique, correspond au mouvement attesté par les arts visuels. On a vu, pour les Charites, combien Pindare et Bacchylide jouent des tensions et variations entre désignations communes, noms propres et pragmatique rituelle, spectaculaire et, déjà, textuelle. Les *Charites*, dans les épinicies, sont encore de véritables divinités, mais elles acquièrent une dimension méta-poétique et symbolique amorçant ce qui les caractérise, en tant que *Grâces*, à partir de l'époque gréco-romaine. Les poètes épiniciques jouent avec virtuosité de cette plasticité, dans les espaces du poème, du culte, de l'actualité sociale et politique, ainsi que de l'histoire proche ou lointaine et du mythe.

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Doralice Fabiano

Linking Centre and Periphery: Nymphs and Their Cultic Space in Euripides, *Electra* 803–843

1 "Nature deities" and Their Relation to Cultic Space

Historians of ancient Greek religion usually consider nymphs as being part of the general category of "nature deities". This category includes both "cosmic" deities, such as Selene, Helios, and Okeanos, and "personifications" of natural features of the local landscape, such as river gods and nymphs.[1] Gods more generally linked to wild spaces, such as Pan, who is a well-known companion of nymphs, are also counted among the "nature deities".[2] Nymphs are usually thought to show specific competences concerning "wild spaces" (mountains, woods, springs) and especially the fertility of "untamed nature".[3] Scholars who maintain this view underline that nymphs' cults are almost exclusively located outside the city, in mountain caves, groves, or near springs, i.e. spaces that are distinct from the urban centre of the *polis*, though there is also evidence of urban cults.[4] This argument has two main implications: while these feminine deities are considered as having nothing or little to do with the political dimension, they are at the same time invoked by "marginal" members of society, such as women and shepherds, who are deeply concerned by fertility issues, be they related to a human community or flocks. So, in this perspective, nymphs are not only "nature deities" but also "popular deities" that are worshipped in particular by country people, living far from the refined urban civilisation, as Martin Persson Nilsson has argued in his influential book *Greek Popular Religion*.[5] Yet whether such a polarising division adequately reflects ancient Greek thinking about their pantheon requires further investigation. As the following brief overview on nymphs as "nature deities" will show, this category is clearly based on spatial criteria, and more specifically on the idea that "urban spaces" and "wild spaces" are distinct in ancient Greek thought.

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1 Larson 2007.

2 On Pan, see Borgeaud 1979 and Aston 2011, 109–119.

3 Nilsson 1961, 14–15; Larson 2001, *e.g.* 5, 212 and 2007, 57.

4 Nilsson 1961, 14. There are some nymphs' cults located within the urban space, not to mention the single and anonymous "nymph" worshipped on the acropolis of Athens (Dalmon 2011). Nymphs are attested, for example, in Athens, at the springs Empedo and Kallirhoe (Larson 2001, 126–27), as well as in Megara (Pausanias 1, 40, 1).

5 Nilsson 1961, 14–17.

The dichotomy between "urban spaces" and "wild spaces" is usually understood as part of a larger, universal opposition, that of nature vs. culture.[6] Between 1960 and 1970, this interpretive construct emerged as an important trend in classical studies, under the influence of Claude Lévi-Strauss' structuralism: scholars such as Jean-Pierre Vernant, Marcel Detienne and, more famously, Pierre Vidal-Naquet focused on the cultural representations of *eschatiai* – the wild regions at the borders of urban territory – understanding them as a space antithetic to the city and its institutions.[7] The grounds on which this pair of opposite concepts are based have been deeply questioned by the work of anthropologists such as Philippe Descola and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro.[8] Although these scholars hold very different views on the subject, both have suggested that the opposition "nature vs. culture", far from being universal, is a product of Western thought and history and cannot be applied to cultures where humans and non-humans (whether they are gods, animals, plants, or parts of a landscape) are thought to exist on a continuum rather than being ontologically different from each other.

Moreover, the category of "nature deities" may appear quite outdated from a historiographical perspective, as this notion played an important role in the first attempts by classicists such as Ludwig Preller, Friedrich Max Müller, and Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher to give a global interpretation of ancient polytheisms in the second half of the nineteenth century.[9] In their view, all polytheistic deities are "nature deities", i.e. personifications of natural elements (rain, thunder, earth, etc.), created by ancient peoples to explain natural phenomena. In light of this framework, therefore, the concept of "nature deities" can be considered as a means to express the difference between polytheistic gods, who have a perceptible "body", and the transcendent and immaterial "god" of monotheism. Roughly in the same decades, anthropologists Edward Burnett Tylor and Wilhelm Mannhardt recognised in "nature deities" the survival of primitive religious thought (which they called "animism") in Greek and Roman religion.[10] Although this explanation is now rejected, and nobody would claim that all ancient Greek gods are nothing but personified natural elements, it seems that the above-mentioned "nature deities" are still considered an exception and form a group with peculiar characteristics, such as being seen as embodiments of specific elements of a landscape.[11]

More recently, Jennifer Larson has tried, within the framework of cognitive studies of religion, to provide a new understanding of the peculiarities of "nature

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6 Larson 2007, 58–59.

7 Vernant 1996, Detienne 1979, Vidal-Naquet 1998. For a more critical point of view, see de Polignac 2011, Ma 2013, Baumer 2017.

8 Descola 2005 and 2011, Viveiros de Castro 2012 and 2014.

9 Konaris 2016, 1–129.

10 Hunt 2016, 53–54, Fabiano 2021.

11 Larson 2007, 56.

deities" in ancient Greek religion, updating the classical notion of "animism". Larson uses Scott Atran's concept of folk biology to explain why in mythology nymphs are particularly connected to trees, and Pascal Boyer's discussion of the "minimally counterintuitive concepts" to clarify how a tree can be conceptualised at the same time as a tree and as a nymph.[12] In her view, nymphs are part of the reflective, "mythological" beliefs generated by the (not always conscious) intuitive idea that springs, trees etc. are sentient beings (i.e. "granted with mind", from the perspective of cognitive science of religion). In her approach, however, intuitive thinking (i.e. trees are sentient beings) and mythological beliefs (i.e. nymphs inhabit trees and they can be harmed if a mortal cuts down the tree) are an inseparable unit and do not represent two consecutive stages of religious development, as they did for Edward Burnett Tylor.

It should further be noted that "animistic views" of "nature deities", whether ancient or modern, also emphasise the particular relationship between these gods and the space they inhabit. However, these cognitive theories do not take into consideration the opposition between centre and periphery which is so characteristic of nymphs' cultic spaces.[13] Rather, such views focus on the importance of the consubstantiality of natural elements (perceptible to the senses) and invisible divine agency (not perceptible to the senses) in the construction of polytheistic deities. In doing so, these approaches point out another distinctive feature of this category, which is the fact that "nature deities" have a divine body that is perceptible and deeply rooted in local space. The logical consequence of this perspective is that the agency of these deities is limited to the cultic space where they are supposed to live, that is the 'wild space' outside the *polis*.

As this brief synopsis of current theories on nymphs as "nature deities" has demonstrated, the spatial dimension is essential in defining this category. The relationship between "nature deities" and the rest of the pantheon is most commonly understood as a sharp opposition between a centre within the *polis* occupied by the Olympian gods and a periphery, populated by the "lower classes" and inhabited by "nature deities", who are in some way "embedded" in the local landscape and, therefore, assumed to be in charge of the "good functioning" of natural elements and wild spaces. The present article aims to reassess this established scholarly notion to better understand the role of the nymphs within the spatial dynamics of Greek religion. I would like to argue that these goddesses – far from being deities "of nature" and "of the margins", cut off from the political space of the *polis* and physically located at the borders of the territory – play an important role in linking

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12 Larson 2019.

13 However, it should be noted that urban cults of the nymphs are sometimes attested, for ex. in Athens, where a single and anonymous nymph is honoured since the archaic period in a precinct in the south part of the Acropolis (Larson 2001, 112), and in the island of Thasos, where nymphs are depicted in a famous relief carved in the so-called '*theoroi* passage' (Larson 2001, 170–171).

centre and periphery. In this context, I also suggest that the relationship between centre and margins in Greek religion should not be understood as a clear contrast based on the 'nature *vs.* culture' dichotomy, but as a more subtle and dynamic association.

In order to show how, in ancient thought, the actions and powers of nymphs are perceived in relation to a spatial dimension, this article will refer to a specific text, a passage from Euripides' *Electra* which describes a sacrifice to the nymphs, performed by Aegisthus outside the city of Argos with the help of a stranger who in reality is Orestes in disguise (v. 803–843). As we shall see, the victim's entrails indicate the nymphs' hostility towards Aegisthus and their benevolent disposition toward Orestes, who later succeeds in killing the usurper of his father's throne at the very same altar where the sacrifice is held. The relationship of nymphs to space can be observed at two points in the ritual: first, during the invocations of both ritual agents to the nymphs (v. 805–810) and second, during the reading of the victim's entrails (v. 826–833). I will argue that, in both cases, the nymphs show specific competences as guardians of the territory: by controlling the borders of Argos and by granting access to the political centre of the city, i.e. the royal palace. This brief passage, therefore, suggests that nymphs are not only concerned with wild spaces, 'nature', and fertility, but that they can also play an important role in connecting the centre and the margins in the context of a fight for political power.

2 For the Sake of the Children

The sacrifice scene in Euripides' *Electra* is not performed on stage but is told to Electra by a messenger sent from Orestes. Agamemnon's son has reached the place where the sacrifice for the nymphs is held and has been invited by Aegisthus to take part in the ritual. The entrails' reading shows Aegisthus that danger is approaching, which soon comes true as Orestes kills the usurper and is acclaimed as king by Aegisthus' guards. The rite constitutes the central element of one of the most crucial moments in this tragedy, when Orestes seems quite close to obtaining the sovereignty of Argos, after murdering Aegisthus but before killing his mother and consequently being banished. The sacrifice scene is therefore the last, precarious, moment of balance between Orestes and the gods.

The occasion for the sacrifice celebrated by Aegisthus is not given, but Orestes offers two hypotheses (v. 626): according to the first hypothesis, Aegisthus' sacrifice is intended to invoke the goddesses' protection for the imminent delivery of a child born from the relationship between the usurper and Clytemnestra; according to the second hypothesis, the sacrifice aims to thank the goddesses because the children already born to the royal couple have reached adulthood. In the latter case, the use of the word *tropheia* – the literal meaning of which is "wet nurse salary" – clearly

specifies the kourotrophic domain as one in which the nymphs have agency.[14] So, both of Orestes' hypotheses hint at well-known competences ascribed to nymphs, who protect children and lead them safely to their coming of age.[15]

Specific characteristics of the sacrificial victim offered by Aegisthus point to the same direction: the usurper chooses a calf (*moschos*), an animal hardly attested as a victim, neither in literary nor epigraphic sources.[16] Its young age would likely be considered an appropriate reflection of the equally young age of Aegisthus' children if, that is, the sacrifice was indeed celebrated to ask for the goddesses' benevolence towards them. Moreover, as far as it is possible to infer from the lexicon used by Euripides, this kind of victim was highly valued in sacrificial practice: the verb employed in this passage – *bouthutein* – is repeatedly used in Euripides' tragedies to refer to sumptuous sacrifices celebrated by wealthy citizens, as opposed to rites performed by the poor.[17] To sum up, Aegisthus' sacrifice to the nymphs aims at showing the social status of the usurper and very possibly concerns his descendants, whose presence in the royal palace replaces that of Agamemnon's children, who were banished from their rightful home. At the same time, as we shall see, Orestes solicits the nymphs' help for essentially the same reason: in fact, as Florence Dupont has convincingly argued,[18] he presents himself as a young *ephebos* who is trying to accomplish his passage to adulthood by recovering his father's throne. Orestes' liminal position matches Electra's condition, which is that of a failed *nymphe* – married but without a child – who does not accomplish the task of continuing Agamemnon's lineage. In fact, the maternity of Electra is only evoked when the Argive princess lies to her mother, telling her that she has just given birth to a child, to lure Clytemnestra into her house and kill her. To sum up: throughout the play, nymphs are expected to intervene in human affairs in order to establish or restore a legitimate lineage ruling over Argos.

3 Home Sweet Home

Based on this analysis, we can also infer that the close relationship between the sacrifice to the nymphs and Aegisthus' concern for his family lineage is instrumental in determining where the ritual should be held. The sacrifice takes place on a plot of land which belongs to Aegisthus and is located at the borders of the territory

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14 *LSJ s.v.* τροφεῖα, τά.

15 Larson 2001, 5, 30 *passim*, Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 106–108.

16 Georgoudi 1988. The *moschos* is attested twice in the corpus of 'sacred Greek laws' *LSCG* 77 = *CGRN* 82, D l. 38 γαίαν μόσχον (ritual regulation of the Labyades, Delphi, 450–435 B.C.); *LSCG* 177 = *CGRN* 96, l. 26 (ritual regulation of Heracles Diomedenteios).

17 Euripides, fr. 327, ll. 2–7 Kannicht (= *Danae* fr. 12 Jouan – van Looy).

18 Dupont 2001, 140–143.

of Argos (v. 636), not far from Electra's home, the remoteness of which the once princess complains much about. Aegisthus' land is described as a rich aristocratic domain, where the usurper breeds his horses and has cultivated fields and an orchard (*kepos*, v. 623, 776–779). It is not clear where exactly in Aegisthus' countryside residence the sacrifice takes place. However, both Aegisthus repeatedly inviting Orestes to "enter [his] home" (v. 787, 790) and the mention of a roof under which Aegisthus' servants are preparing sacrificial objects (v. 802), imply the presence of some kind of house next to the orchard. This house and its domain are not an Euripidean invention but a location already found in the *Odyssey*, a text that represents one of the most evident literary models for *Electra*:[19] in the fourth book, Menelaus tells Telemachus about Agamemnon's final days, making an implicit comparison between Odysseus' son and Orestes, who are both in need of recovering their father's throne (*Odyssey* 4, 512–537).[20] In his version, Menelaus mentions Aegisthus' domain at the margins of the territory of Argos, where the cultivated fields surrounding the *polis* give way to wild spaces (v. 517–518, *agrou ep'eschatien*). This place previously belonged to Thyestes, and its marginal location, far away from the urban centre, is in obvious contrast with the royal palace in Argos, from where Atreus' lineage exercises its power. Some other verses in the *Odyssey* attest that this is where Aegisthus takes Clytemnestra during Agamemnon's absence and where he kills the king soon after the latter arrives back in Argos.[21] By mentioning this house, Euripides intentionally evokes the Odyssean version of Agamemnon's return to Argos and identifies the place where the sacrifice to the nymphs takes place with the ancestral home of Aegisthus and his father Thyestes.

The choice of this particular place for the sacrifice, especially if considered together with the reason given for the celebration and the specific kind of victim used, shows that the central issue of this rite is Aegisthus' concern for his descendants as well as the attempt to ensure their access to the political power he usurped. In this context, it is highly significant that Aegisthus looks for the nymphs' favour near his father's house and not in the royal palace, where he lives with Clytemnestra and their offspring. The reason behind his choice is that the latter place is connected to Atreus' banished descendants, i.e. Orestes and Electra, and therefore not appropriate for a rite celebrated to benefit Aegisthus' children. So, it is possible to infer that the nymphs who inhabit the marginal space of Thyestes' domain are invoked both because of their connection with Aegisthus' lineage and because of their kourotrophic competences in a ritual that also claims the royal status of the officiant through the choice of a sumptuous victim, the calf.

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19 Lange 2002, 59–101.

20 The parallel is also explicit in Athena's words (*Odyssey* 1, 298–302).

21 *Odyssey* 4, 521–537.

4 The Nymphs of the Rocks

Before killing the calf, both Aegisthus and Orestes address an invocation to the goddesses: the usurper, the major actor of this rite, speaks clearly and loudly to attract divine favour to his family and to avert dangers coming from his enemies; at the same time, Orestes, who is in disguise, whispers a silent prayer to recover his father's throne. This verbal interaction between the two men and the goddesses is highly significant in understanding the spatial dynamics of the nymphs' cult.

To substantiate this interpretation, it is useful to study the verses which describe this double invocation to the nymphs carefully, as reported by the messenger to Electra (v. 803–810):

> Then your mother's husband took barley grains and cast them at the altar, saying as he did so: "You nymphs of the rock, may I and my wife, Tyndareus' daughter, who is at home, live to offer many such sacrifices while we enjoy our present good fortune, but may my enemies" – he meant you and Orestes – "fare badly". But my master prayed inaudibly for the opposite, that he should get back his father's house.[22]

In my reading of this passage, the double reference to the "house" is the most important element of both invocations, that of Aegisthus (v. 806 *kat'oikous*) and that of Orestes (v. 810 *domata*). In both cases, this expression refers to the royal palace in Argos, but with significant differences: on the one hand, Aegisthus' prayer uses the term *oikos* in a periphrastic expression that designates Clytemnestra (v. 806 *ten kat'oikous Tundarida damart'emen*). Of course, at first reading, this choice of words could simply allude to the fact that Clytemnestra is at home when Aegisthus celebrates the sacrifice. In fact, another passage in the tragedy states that she is planning to join her husband for the banquet following the rite (v. 1132–1134). However, a different interpretation of these lines is possible: the placement of *kat'oikous*, inserted in an attributive position between the words "my" and "wife", suggests that the relationship with Clytemnestra represents the means through which Aegisthus has obtained access to the royal palace and consequently power over Argos. Therefore, she is not only the accomplice who participated in Agamemnon's murder but also the tangible symbol of Aegisthus' royal status. This is why, in Euripides' *Electra*, Aegisthus does not take Clytemnestra with him to his ancestral home (as the Odyssean version attests and which would be normal practice in Greek culture) but remains in her house, the royal palace. In some respects, Aegisthus' situation can be compared to that of Menelaus in Sparta, because Agamemnon's brother also assumes power by marrying Tyndareus' daughter and subsequently stays in her home

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22 λαβὼν δὲ προχύτας μητρὸς εὐνέτης σέθεν / ἔβαλλε βωμούς, τοιάδ᾽ ἐννέπων ἔπη· / Νύμφαι πετραῖαι, πολλάκις με βουθυτεῖν / καὶ τὴν κατ᾽οἴκους Τυνδαρίδα δάμαρτ᾽ ἐμὴν / πράσσοντας ὡς νῦν, τοὺς δ᾽ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς –/ λέγων Ὀρέστην καὶ σέ. Δεσπότης δ᾽ἐμός / τἀναντί᾽ηὔχετ᾽, οὐ γεγωνίσκων λόγους, / λαβεῖν πατρῷα δώματ᾽ (translation by David Kovacs).

instead of taking her to Argos. When Helen is abducted by Paris, it is not only Menelaus' honour that has been offended, it is the symbol of the legitimacy of his reign that has been stolen.

On the other hand, the 'house' is also the central element of Orestes' invocation (v. 810): for Agamemnon's child, coming back to 'his father's house' would mean resuming his rightful position in society and finally succeeding to the throne.

Ultimately, both Aegisthus and Orestes ask the nymphs to grant them access to the real centre of the tragedy, the royal palace, i.e. also to support them as the lawful kings of Argos. This request is not disconnected from the kourotrophic competences of the deities: if by celebrating the sacrifice in his ancestral home, Aegisthus aims at directing the nymphs' benevolence towards his children, then by alluding to the royal palace in his prayer, the usurper seems to ask the goddesses to install his children – and not Electra and Orestes – in Agamemnon's house. At the same time, Orestes, asking to reenter his father's house and assume his rightful place in society, aims at obtaining the nymphs' protection by presenting himself as his father's legitimate heir. Legitimacy is at the very centre of both prayers and falls within the nymphs' sphere of competence: by protecting a family's children, the goddesses also ensure the continuity of a particular lineage in relation to a certain place.

It is significant that at the very moment when Aegisthus and Orestes invoke the goddesses to have their permission to enter the centre of Argos, i.e. the royal palace, the nymphs are qualified with an epiclesis referring to their position at the periphery (*petraiai* "of the rock"): it seems quite likely that this adjective refers either to nymphs who inhabit the mountains surrounding Electra's and Aegisthus' house (v. 805) or to some rock spring.[23] So, while the nymphs' location is marginal, the goddesses are not unrelated to the political centre of the territory. Quite the opposite: they seem to have the power to grant access to this centre from their peripheral position. This epithet, therefore, suggests that there is no radical opposition between centre and periphery, urban and wild spaces; rather, the marginal space inhabited by nymphs is fully integrated into the political sphere.

5 Gatekeepers of Argos

The role of nymphs in linking centre and periphery is also evident from Aegisthus' reading of the victim's entrails after the killing. The usurper recognises at first sight some anomalies in the internal organs of the calf: on the one hand, a lobe (v. 827

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23 A nymph named *Petraie* is known from Hesiod, *Theogony* 357, and Pausanias (9, 34, 4) mentions a water spring named *Petra* ("the rock") situated next to the cave where the Nymphs Leibethriades were worshipped.

lobos) of the liver is missing; on the other hand, the "door" (v. 828 *pulai*) and the "receptacles" (*dochai*) near the gallbladder (presumably the portal vein and biliary vessels) have an ominous aspect because they bear the signs of an exterior attack (*kakas prosbolas*). For Aegisthus, these peculiar features of the entrails reveal that there is some kind of trap waiting for him before his door (v. 832 *dolon thuraion*), and consequently that the danger is coming from his worst enemy, Orestes, who is ready to wage war against the usurper's home (v. 833 *polemios emois domois*). This detail is of great importance for understanding the spatial dimension of the nymphs' sphere of competence, because the reading of the calf's entrails is based on a parallel between the liver, which is represented as a closed space undergoing an attack from the exterior, and the royal palace, which is threatened by Orestes, who is trying to recover his father's house.

The common element between the liver and the royal palace is the presence of a "door", which is the main symbolic feature of both spaces and marks the boundary between the exterior and the interior. These "doors" under attack are mentioned twice in the text, the first time as *pulai* (of the liver, v. 828), the second time as *thura* (of the royal palace, v. 832). This *variatio* in the terms employed for the doors presents striking similarities with the double mention of the house (*domois*, *oikos*) in the invocations to the nymphs, noted earlier. Both passages show that the real concern behind the sacrifice is access to the political centre of the *polis*, which is a new acquisition for Aegisthus and something to win back for Orestes. Moreover, the recurring presence of door images in the reading of the liver makes it possible to presume that the role of the nymphs is that of "doorkeepers" of the Argive territory, a function particularly suited to their marginal position. Considered from this perspective, one may wonder whether some archaeological monuments, such as the representation of nymphs in the Thasian "*Theoroi* passage" (a monumental passage giving access to the ancient *agora* with lists of the names of the Thasian magistrates inscribed on its walls), could hint at the nymphs' function as guardians of the city.[24] This interpretation further supports the idea that the nymphs, from their peripheral position, can grant access to the political space symbolised by the royal palace in Argos. Actually, they are invoked to decide whose descendants – Aegisthus' or Agamemnon's – should inhabit this place and rule over Argos. Their sphere of competence, therefore, does not only concern the protection of children but also the grounding of a specific family lineage in a certain place – in this case, the royal palace, which consequently involves the acquisition of the political power over the *polis*.

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24 For a recent discussion of this monument, see Graham 2000, 306–311.

6 Conclusion

The sacrifice scene in Euripides' *Electra* provides a valuable source for redefining the significance of the cult of the nymphs' marginal location in relation to both the urban space and the political sphere. This text, although representing the goddesses in their usual habitat – a *kepos* far from the city walls –, illustrates that their location in a marginal space does not necessarily mean that their powers are limited to wild areas and concern only the fertility of nature and women. In this specific context, nymphs play the role of "local deities" who preside over the integration of individuals and families in a territory: while Aegisthus asks for the installation of his children in the royal palace, Orestes looks for the goddesses' help to be reintegrated in his father's house.

The depiction of nymphs in *Electra* is not the only ancient source pointing in this direction: Irad Malkin's reading of their role in the *Odyssey* draws a similar picture, following Papadopoulou-Belmehdi's interpretation.[25] In books 13–17, Odysseus' return to Ithaka is mediated by nymphs, who help the hero reintegrate into his homeland after a long absence: the goddesses are the first Odysseus addresses in ritual once he is back in Ithaka; they protect the treasure given by Alkinoos to Odysseus in their sacred cave near the port (13, 356–360); with Hermes, they take part in the hospitality meal offered by Eumeus in the woods where he herds the royal pig livestock (14, 434–436); the goddesses are also worshipped near the fountain built by the eponymous heroes of Ithaka (Ithakos, Neritos, and Poliktor) just before the doors of the *polis*, the place where Odysseus first encounters Melanthius, the goat herder who is loyal to the suitors (17, 204–214). In all these instances, the nymphs act to protect Odysseus' return and help him settle again where he belongs, i.e. the royal palace of Ithaka.

Based on these parallels, it is worth asking whether the sphere of competence of the nymphs could be broader than the label "nature deities" suggests. The text passages discussed here reveal another aspect of the nymphs' activities, scarcely noticed by modern scholarship, namely their role as "local deities", deeply grounded in a specific territory in the same way the natural elements are. It is also because of this strong relation to particular and significant places that nymphs appear to be primarily involved in the integration of foreigners into a territory or in the reintegration of individuals who have been far away from home for too long into a society.

The power of rooting individuals in a certain place could also be connected to the name of the goddesses (*nympha* means "bride") and to their presence in wedding rituals,[26] as has recently been suggested by Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge:[27] in ancient

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25 Papadopoulou-Belmehdi 1994, 95–110, Malkin 2001.

26 Ballantine 1904, 97–106; Dalmon 2011.

27 Pirenne Delforge 2020.

Greece, the central element of the marriage ritual sequence is the *nymphagogia*, i.e. the procession that leads the bride from her father's house to the groom's house. It is very important to note that in this context great emphasis is put on doors, both in iconographical sources (where the groom's mother is often shown waiting for the bride at the door with torches in her hands) as well as in texts (attesting that guests sing loudly all night in front of the door of the bridal chamber).[28] The Greek *nymphe* is, therefore, a figure of displacement, passage, and movement, who must settle in a new space, where she is expected to continue her husband's family lineage by giving birth to new descendants, a very important role also in colonisation narratives such as the foundation of Cyrene.[29] All these elements seem to be present in the sacrifice episode in *Electra*, because the goddesses are invoked both by Orestes and Aegisthus as "doorkeepers" of Argos' territory precisely to anchor their family lineage in the royal palace. Therefore, although being placed by Greek religion at the margins of a territory, nymphs play an active role indeed in linking centre and periphery.

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28 Vérilhac/Vial 1998, 321–326. I would like to thank Corinne Bonnet for this suggestion.

29 Calame 2011, 158–163. On this theme see also Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 112–116.

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2.4 Rome and its Empire

Francesca Prescendi

La *plebs* des dieux. Réflexions sur la hiérarchie et la spatialité des dieux romains

1 Le concile des dieux

Quand une divinité est imaginée de manière anthropomorphe, elle est censée aussi occuper de l'espace[1]. À partir des textes homériques, les dieux grecs sont décrits se déplaçant d'un endroit à un autre, et parfois se retirant dans leur sanctuaire[2], surtout quand ils peuvent se réjouir de la fête qui y est célébrée annuellement en leur honneur. Le reste du temps, la plupart d'entre eux sont imaginés dans le ciel ou sur l'Olympe, autour de la demeure du roi des dieux[3]. De manière analogue, les poètes romains se figurent les dieux à la fois dans leurs temples et dans le ciel. En s'inspirant d'Homère[4], Virgile (*A*. 10, 1–7, trad. pers.) représente les dieux réunis en assemblée dans la somptueuse demeure de Jupiter.

> *Panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi*
> *conciliumque uocat diuum pater atque hominum rex*
> *sideream in sedem, terras unde arduus omnis*
> *castraque Dardanidum aspectat populosque Latinos.*
> *consident tectis bipatentibus, incipit ipse:*
> "*Caelicolae magni, quianam sententia uobis*
> *uersa retro tantumque animis certatis iniquis?*"

> Entretemps, la maison du tout-puissant Olympe s'ouvre ; le père des dieux et roi des hommes convoque son conseil dans le siège étoilé, d'où il regarde d'en haut toutes les terres, les camps des Dardanides et les peuples latins.
> Ils s'assoient dans la salle aux deux portes, et il commence :
> « Grands habitants du ciel, pourquoi donc chez vous ce recul, ce revirement, et ces rivalités si vives et si injustes?"

Cette demeure est décrite comme un palais ouvert des deux côtés (*bipatens*). Dans son commentaire à ce vers, Servius explique que l'adjectif, remontant à Ennius, donne l'idée d'une maison ouverte à l'est et à l'ouest[5]. Ce détail sert clairement à souligner l'ampleur du palais de Jupiter qui grâce à ces deux ouvertures peut regarder à 180 degrés.

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1 Je remercie Corinne Bonnet et Clémentine Souchaud d'avoir relu mon texte.

2 Cf par exemple *h. Ap.*, 140–150.

3 Cf par exemple Hom., *Il*. 1, 221–222; 1, 595–604.

4 Cf par exemple Hom., *Il*. 11, 75–77; et aussi d'autres passages cités *infra*.

5 Servius, *A*. 10, 5.

Ovide joue avec ce même modèle dans la fameuse description des *Métamorphoses* 1, 167–176 (trad. pers)[6]. Jupiter est ici représenté pendant qu'il se prépare à annoncer sa volonté d'inonder la terre par le déluge suite à la faute de Lycaon. Il appelle donc les autres dieux en assemblée:

> *conciliumque vocat: tenuit mora nulla vocatos.*
> *Est via sublimis, caelo manifesta sereno;*
> *lactea nomen habet, candore notabilis ipso.*
> *hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis*   170
> *regalemque domum: dextra laevaque deorum*
> *atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.*
> *plebs habitat diversa locis ; hac parte potentes*
> *caelicolae clarique suos posuere penates ;*
> *hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur,*   175
> *haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia caeli.*

Jupiter convoque le conseil; aucun retard ne retient les dieux convoqués. Dans les cieux les plus hauts, il y a une voie visible quand le ciel est serein ; elle porte le nom de Voie lactée, remarquable par sa blancheur éclatante. C'est le chemin des dieux d'en haut pour se rendre à la maison du maître du tonnerre, à sa royale demeure. À droite et à gauche s'étendent les maisons des dieux nobles, ayant les portes ouvertes ; la plèbe réside dans divers lieux; mais c'est dans ce quartier que les dieux célestes et puissants ont établi leurs pénates. Je n'hésiterai pas à définir ce lieu, si on me permet un langage si audacieux, le Palatin du ciel.

Comme Virgile, Ovide imagine que les dieux, respectueux de l'autorité du roi, accourent sans tarder pour se réunir en assemblée (*concilium*) dans la maison du roi. La topographie du ciel est peinte sur le modèle d'une cité terrestre traversée par un chemin qui permet d'accéder au palais du souverain. Cette voie dans le ciel est la *via lactea*, une expression qui relève d'un choix explicite d'Ovide. En effet, le poète préfère l'image de la route à celle du cercle, utilisée par d'autres auteurs grecs et latins (*lacteus orbis* et *lacteus circulus*)[7]. C'est selon toute probabilité la première attestation de cette image qui deviendra habituelle dans notre imaginaire[8]. Le fait qu'Ovide utilise le terme *via* ne laisse aucun doute sur l'importance qu'il attribue à cette comparaison entre la ville céleste et la ville terrestre, c'est-à-dire Rome. Ovide rebondit d'ailleurs sur ce concept à la fin de l'extrait que nous avons lu : le siège des dieux est

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6 Sur ce passage, cf. en général les commentaires de Bömer 1969 ; Anderson 1997 ; Barchiesi 2019 ; et en outre Doblhofer 1960, 71–74 ; Feeney 1991, 198–199.

7 *Lacteus orbis* : Cicero, *Arat.* 532; *Rep.* 6, 16 ; Manilius 1, 753; *lacteus circulus* : Plinius, *Nat.* 18, 280 ; Je remercie Christoph Riedweg de m'avoir signalé le texte de Porphyrius, *Antr.* 28, selon lequel Pythagore aurait affirmé que la galaxie est le chemin employé par les âmes pour monter au ciel. Cf. Riedweg 2021. Si l'image du déplacement tout au long de cet axe pouvait être connu en Grèce, cependant Ovide me paraît être le premier à élaborer cette image précise de *via* pour désigner la galaxie.

8 Barchiesi 2009, 126–127 ; Barchiesi 2019, à la note correspondante.

le Palatin céleste. Il va de soi que la maison du roi des dieux correspond à celle d'Auguste[9]. M. Perfigli[10], qui a écrit la partie concernant Rome dans un excellent article en collaboration avec G. Pironti, et auquel le présent travail doit beaucoup, souligne qu'Ovide représente la société des dieux sur un modèle non seulement humain, mais romain de son temps. Elle renvoie justement à une observation de A. Barchiesi[11], selon laquelle des écrivains antérieurs ont comparé au Capitole l'espace habité par les dieux, tandis qu'Ovide décrit la demeure des dieux comme le palais augustéen sur le Palatin. La *via lactea* est ainsi une image de la rue conduisant à cet endroit.

Cette communauté divine, qui ressemble tant à celle des humains, est fortement hiérarchisée[12]. Au centre est le souverain, et tout autour les grands dieux qui ont établi leurs « pénates » près de sa demeure[13]. Ovide insiste sur la localisation de dieux nobles, proches du centre du pouvoir (*hac parte potentes / caelicolae clarique suos posuere penates*) ; et il les oppose à la *plebs*, qui habite ailleurs « dispersée en différents lieux » (*diversa locis*)[14], et dont on ne sait si elle est admise dans la maison du souverain. Dans un autre passage des *Métamorphoses* (7, 72–73) il recourt à la même image : « les douze dieux du ciel, rangés autour de Jupiter avec une auguste gravité, sont assis sur des sièges élevés ; l'image de Jupiter est celle d'un roi »[15]. C'est une assemblée qui rappelle le Sénat romain, à laquelle, comme le remarque Barchiesi[16], le peuple, mais aussi les poètes romains – qui n'étaient pas sénateurs, sauf exception – ne sont pas admis.

Puisque les dieux qui entourent le souverain sont certainement les grands dieux du panthéon romain, qu'entend Ovide quand il parle de *plebs* ? Nous nous concentrerons désormais sur cet aspect.

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9 Sur la comparaison entre Jupiter et Auguste à propos de ce passage, cf. Buchheit 1966, spécialement à partir de la page 85 ; Barchiesi 2009. Cet article de Barchiesi est riche d'informations pour cette recherche ainsi que pour la bibliographie citée.

10 Pironti/Perfigli 2014.

11 Perfigli 2014, n. 36 cite Barchiesi 2005, 183.

12 Sur la hiérarchie des dieux dans le culte, cf. Scheid 1999.

13 Sur la disposition des maisons nobiliaires sur le Palatin, cf. Carandini 1986 ; Wiseman 1987 ; *Digital Augustan Rome*.

14 Ovide utilise cette expression aussi in *Met*. 1, 40, pour parler de la répartition des fleuves qui est différente d'une région à l'autre.

15 Ovidius, *Met*. 7, 72–74 : *bis sex caelestes medio Iove sedibus alti / augusta gravitate sedent; sua quemque deorum / inscribit facies: Iovis est regalis imago*.

16 Barchiesi 2009 remarque que cette comparaison est typique dans la poésie romaine.

2 La *plebs deorum*

Qui sont donc les dieux désignés par le terme *plebs*[17] ? Le passage du 1er livre des *Métamorphoses* laisse entendre seulement que ces dieux sont censés avoir un statut socialement inférieur aux autres divinités et qu'ils n'habitent pas dans un lieu unique, mais dispersés dans une multiplicité d'endroits différents (*diversa locis*).

Selon D. Müller[18], Ovide, intéressé surtout par la comparaison avec la société de l'époque d'Auguste, a comme but principal de répartir les dieux dans les deux groupes qui constituent la société romaine de son temps, c'est-à-dire d'un côté le Sénat, qui fréquente l'empereur et vit proche de lui, de l'autre le peuple sans importance, pour lequel on ne précise même pas le lieu d'habitation. Selon Müller, donc, *plebs* est une expression qui relève moins d'une réflexion théologique du poète que de son intérêt pour les rapports sociétaux de son époque. Contrairement à Müller, je pense que cette description complexe témoigne, certes, d'un intérêt du poète pour la société humaine de son temps, mais révèle aussi une conception particulière du panthéon divin.

Cette affirmation peut être justifiée d'emblée par une première constatation. Si en effet on peut penser que l'expression *plebs deorum* est une catégorie courante, une recherche dans les lexiques montre au contraire qu'elle n'existe pas avant Ovide. Avec prudence, on peut avancer l'idée qu'elle constitue une invention de notre poète, connu pour sa grande créativité et son acuité théologique. Cette hypothèse basée premièrement sur une recherche dans le *ThLL* (*s.v. plebes*) est confortée par une épître de Sénèque, qui associe étroitement notre poète à cette définition : « Oublie pour le moment l'opinion reçue de quelques-uns, selon laquelle à chacun de nous est attribué un guide, dieu non ordinaire, mais de qualité inférieure, à ranger parmi ceux qu'Ovide appelle "les dieux de la plèbe" »[19]. Je ne veux pas me concentrer ici sur le contenu de cette lettre ni sur cette allusion au dieu guide de chaque humain – que nous découvrons dans la suite du passage être un génie ou une junon[20] –, mais exclusivement sur l'expression « dieu plébéien » et sur son renvoi explicite à Ovide. Cela montre que cette expression n'était pas courante à l'époque de Sénèque, car si tel avait été le cas, il n'aurait pas rappelé sa paternité ovidienne. Elle représentait donc plutôt un trait original de notre poète. Cette *plebs* désigne, selon Sénèque, des dieux inférieurs aux dieux définis ici comme « ordinaires ».

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17 Je ne traiterai pas ce terme du point de vue de l'histoire romaine, pour lequel je renvoie aux interprétations actuelles des historiens, cf. par exemple Walter 2017 ; Ungern Sternberger à paraître (je remercie l'auteur de m'avoir permis de lire son travail avant la publication).

18 Müller 1987,.

19 Seneca, *Ep.* 110, 1 (trad. H. Noblot 1991, modifiée) : *Sepone in praesentia quae quibusdam placent, unicuique nostrum paedagogum dari deum, non quidem ordinarium, sed hunc inferioris notae ex eorum numero quos Ovidius ait 'de plebe deos'.*

20 Sur cet aspect, cf. la conférence de J. Scheid 2019.

L'expression *plebs deorum* semble donc ne pas avoir existé avant Ovide. Cependant, cela ne signifie pas que le poète est le premier à présenter une hiérarchisation entre grands et petits dieux, ou à faire recours au critère de noblesse pour définir les dieux.

Déjà Plaute (*Cistellaria* 512 et 522) avait rangé les dieux en trois catégories, d'abord par rapport à leur localisation : *superi*, *inferi* et *medioxumi* ; ensuite selon un ordre hiérarchique : *magni, minuti, et patellarii* « grands, petits et de la "petite assiette" »[21]. Plaute avait donc organisé les dieux par rapport à leur placement vertical dans l'espace mais aussi à leur « taille », en distinguant entre la catégorie de grands et celles des petits sur la base de critères qui malheureusement ne nous sont pas révélés.

Après Plaute, on peut évoquer quelques passages de Cicéron. Dans les *Tusculanae disputationes*, celui-ci utilise l'expression *maiorum gentium dii* par laquelle il indique les dieux les plus nobles parce que plus anciens[22]. Cette expression vient du langage politique et désigne les sénateurs des *gente*s créées par Romulus : on pourrait dire les « dieux patriciens d'ancienne souche ». Ils s'opposent à ceux qui viennent des *gentes* créées par Tarquin l'Ancien, dits *patres minorum gentium*[23]. Il est évident que cette expression renvoie à une conception hiérarchique des divinités.

Un autre passage de Cicéron peut être cité dans ce contexte. Il s'agit d'un paragraphe des *Academica* 2, 120 (ou 38, trad. P. Pellegrin 2010, modifiée), où le personnage mis en scène par Cicéron est en train de réfléchir aux différents aspects du pouvoir divin et à la façon dont celui-ci est visible dans la nature quand il affirme :

> *Negatis haec tam polite tamque subtiliter effici potuisse sine divina aliqua sollertia; cuius quidem vos maiestatem deducitis usque ad apium formicarumque perfectionem, ut etiam inter deos Myrmecides aliquis minutorum opusculorum fabricator fuisse videatur.*

> Vous niez que les choses puissent être faites de manière tant raffinée et élégante sans une certaine habileté divine et vous faites descendre cette majesté jusqu'à la perfection des abeilles et des fourmis tant qu'il vous paraît qu'il existe parmi les divinités un certain Myrmécide, chargé de construire les menus ouvrages.

Parmi les dieux, existeraient des divinités qui, comme le sculpteur Myrmécide, agissent dans des domaines minuscules. Le sculpteur en question, en effet, était connu

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21 Cf. Perfigli 2014 ; Prescendi à paraître.

22 Cicero, *Tusc*. 1, 29 : *si vero scrutari vetera et ex is ea quae scriptores Graeciae prodiderunt eruere coner, ipsi illi maiorum gentium dii qui habentur hinc nobis profecti in caelum reperientur* (« si vraiment j'essayais d'analyser les informations anciennes et parmi celles-ci de sortir celles transmises par les écrivains grecs, nous constaterions que les mêmes dieux, qui constituent le patriciat, sont partis de ce monde-ci pour gagner le ciel », trad. pers.).

23 Sur la dénomination *patres maiorum gentium / minorum gentium* cf. aussi Cicero, *Rep*. 2, 35 ; Livius 1, 35, 6 ; Richard 1978, 319–320.

pour faire des œuvres miniatures, si bien qu'elles pouvaient tenir sous les ailes d'une mouche[24].

Les auteurs avant Ovide donc, pensaient les rapports entre les dieux selon des critères de grandeur ainsi que de rang social, bien que la catégorie de *plebs deorum* ne soit pas évoquée explicitement. Après Ovide, au contraire, cette catégorie est entrée dans l'usage. Nous avons déjà fait allusion à un passage de Sénèque, et nous pourrions en citer un autre tiré de son ouvrage perdu *Contre la superstition* (*ap.* Aug., *Civ.* 6, 10, 3), où le philosophe définit la multitude des dieux spécifiques comme *ignobilis turba*, expression dans laquelle « ignoble » est à comprendre au sens littéral (« non noble »). Le terme *plebs* a un grand succès auprès des Pères de l'Église, quand ils critiquent la multitude des dieux du système polythéiste[25].

Dans l'imaginaire romain à propos du monde divin, Ovide représente donc une étape importante parce qu'il a su cristalliser la hiérarchie divine dans une expression comme *plebs deorum* qui relève non seulement de la société humaine, mais plus spécifiquement romaine. Si l'image des grands et petits dieux peut être présente en dehors de la culture romaine, les définir en termes de patriciens et plébéiens est une manière de les romaniser.

3 Qui sont ces dieux ?

Il est intéressant à présent de s'interroger sur l'identité de ces dieux. À qui pense Ovide quand il parle de *plebs deorum* ? Pour répondre à cette question, il est nécessaire d'analyser d'autres occurrences de cette expression chez le même auteur, qui l'utilise dans d'autres passages. Par exemple dans *Fast.* 5, 16–20 (trad. R. Schilling 1992), il fait allusion au fait que la *plebs* des dieux existait dès l'âge d'or, époque au cours de laquelle elle était sur un pied d'égalité avec les grands dieux. En s'adressant à Saturne, il affirme :

> *sed neque terra diu caelo, nec cetera Phoebo*
> *sidera cedebant: par erat omnis honos.*
> *saepe aliquis solio, quod tu, Saturne, tenebas,*
> *ausus de media plebe sedere deus.*

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24 Cf. Plinius 7, 85 ; 36, 43.

25 Le passage le plus évident est celui d'Augustinus, *C.D.* 7, 2 : *si propterea, quia opera maiora ab his administrantur in mundo, non eos inuenire debuimus inter illam quasi plebeiam numinum multitudinem minutis opusculis deputatam* (« si c'est en raison de leurs tâches plus hautes, nous ne devrions pas les rencontrer parmi cette foule des divinités, presque plébéienne, affectée à des rôles insignifiants », trad. G. Combès 1996). Cf. aussi Arnobius, *Nat.* 1, 32 : *plebeia atque humiliora* ; Augustinus, *C.D.* 4, 11 : *turba quasi plebeiorum deorum.*

> Mais longtemps Terre ne voulut pas s'incliner devant le Ciel, ni le reste des astres devant Phoe-
> bus : tous les honneurs étaient à égalité. Souvent un dieu de rang plébéien osait s'assoir sur le
> trône que toi, Saturne, tu occupais.

L'âge d'or est censé être l'époque de l'absence des différences sociales, tant chez les
humains que chez les dieux. Bien qu'intéressant pour focaliser l'attention sur ce
concept de hiérarchie, ce passage ne précise cependant rien de plus sur les dieux qui
composent cette *plebs*. Une autre attestation de ce terme se trouve dans *Ib.* 81–82, où
il fait partie d'une invocation qui énumère plusieurs dieux selon un ordre hiérar-
chique décroissant, d'abord les divinités de la mer, ensuite celles de la terre, et enfin
celles qui sont associées à des éléments de la nature. Les derniers de cette liste sont
les suivants:

> *Vos quoque, plebs Superum, Fauni Satyrique Laresque*
> *Fluminaque et nymphae semideumque genus*

> Vous aussi, plèbe des dieux d'en haut, Faunes, Satyres et Lares, Fleuves, Nymphes et races
> des demi-dieux.

Ce passage, qui utilise *plebs* accompagné du génitif *superum*, nous fait enfin compren-
dre quelles sont nos divinités. À ce groupe appartiennent des êtres divins qui résident
dans les éléments naturels (Faunes, Satyres, Fleuves, Nymphes), auxquels s'ajoutent
les Lares. L'expression *semideum genus* peut se référer tant aux êtres qui viennent
d'être nommés qu'à d'autres qui pourraient compléter cette liste et constituer le dernier
maillon de cette succession, tout en bas de cette hiérarchie des dieux.

Nous arrivons donc à l'idée que derrière cette expression ovidienne il y a des di-
vinités attachées à des éléments terrestres : grottes, fleuves, arbres et aussi maisons.
Cette conclusion peut être confirmée par le texte qui a servi de modèle à l'assemblée
des dieux des *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide (cité auparavant) c'est-à-dire le passage Ho-
mère (*Il.* 20, 4–12) où la déesse Thémis est décrite comme allant partout (ἄρα πάντῃ
φοιτήσασα) à la recherche des divinités habitant la terre, qui ne doivent pas manquer
à la grande réunion de tous les dieux. Les fleuves et les nymphes répondent à cet
appel[26]. Ce texte, bien qu'il constitue un modèle, présente cependant une différence
par rapport au passage d'Ovide, dans lequel il n'est pas sûr que la *plebs* aussi parti-
cipe à l'assemblée, comme nous l'avons relevé plus haut.

Une autre possible confirmation vient d'une épigramme de Martial, qui s'ins-
pire de la description d'Ovide. Je ne vais pas l'étudier en détail, mais seulement
souligner le fait qu'il esquisse une assemblée des dieux tenue après leur victoire sur
les Géants. Jupiter y figure assis au milieu de la *plebs deorum*, entouré par des Fau-

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26 Je remercie Doralice Fabiano d'avoir discuté avec moi de ce passage. Sur la reprise par Ovide de
ce texte, cf. Herter 1982, 118–119.

nes qui boivent du vin en sa compagnie[27]. Même pour Martial donc, les Faunes font partie de cette *plebs*.

Enfin, si nous revenons à notre passage des *Métamorphoses* et lisons les vers qui suivent ceux que nous avons analysés, nous y retrouvons « nos » dieux. Au sein de l'assemblée des dieux, Jupiter annonce son intention de lancer le déluge et fait part aux collègues de sa préoccupation concernant les êtres divins qui résident sur la terre (1, 192–195, trad. pers.) :

> *sunt mihi semidei, sunt rustica numina, nymphae*
> *faunique satyrique et monticolae silvani;*
> *quos quoniam caeli nondum dignamur honore,*
> *quas dedimus, certe terras habitare sinamus.*

> J'ai à moi des demi-dieux, des divinités rustiques, les Nymphes, les Faunes, les Satyres, hôtes des montagnes, que nous ne jugeons pas encore dignes du ciel, permettons leurs au moins d'habiter sans dangers la terre, que nous leur avons donnée.

Jupiter se préoccupe de donner aux *rustica numina* un lieu d'habitation qui ne soit pas exposé aux dangers pouvant venir des personnes scélérates comme Lycaon, qui a osé défier Jupiter. Pour parler des Nymphes, Faunes et Satyres habitant les montagnes, le roi des dieux utilise *mihi*, pronom par lequel il souligne son attachement à ce genre de *semidei*. On remarque que *monticola* est un hapax[28], créé par Ovide pour souligner l'attachement de ces divinités à leur lieu de résidence. Cet adjectif reprend la forme *silvicola* (« habitant des bois ») utilisée par Naevius[29], mais surtout s'oppose à *caelicola* que Virgile (*Aen*. 10, 6) et Ovide (*Met*. 1, 174)[30] utilisent dans leurs descriptions respectives de l'assemblée des dieux pour désigner les dieux réunis dans la demeure royale. Nous retrouvons dans ce passage tous les éléments évoqués pour définir la *plebs deorum* : il s'agit des puissances qui ne sont pas encore dignes de monter au ciel, précision qui montre leur enracinement dans le sol terrestre, et qui ont un statut qui les situe entre les humains et les dieux, comme le révèle

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27 Martialis 49, 1–5: *Quanta Gigantei memoratur mensa triumphi / Quantaque nox superis omnibus illa fuit, / Qua bonus accubuit genitor cum plebe deorum / Et licuit Faunis poscere vina Iovem / Tanta tuas celebrant, Caesar, convivia laurus* (« si magnifique qu'ait été le banquet par lequel fut fêté le triomphe remporté sur les Géants, si admirable qu'ait paru à tous les dieux de la nuit fameuse pendant laquelle leur père prit familièrement place au milieu de la plèbe des dieux et où il fut permis aux Faunes de réclamer du vin à Jupiter, non moins splendide est le festin par lequel, César, tu célèbres tes victoires », trad. H. J. Izaac 1961, modifiée) .

28 Sur les composés utilisés par Ovide, cf. en particulier Kenney 2002, 63 ; Anderson 1989, 95.

29 Naevius, *bell. Poen.* fr. 11 Strzlecki.

30 Cf. aussi Ovidius, *Met*. 8, 637.

l'adjectif « demi-dieux »[31]. Anderson[32] met en avant l'attitude « snob » de Jupiter face à ces êtres : « this housing discrimination, which Jupiter blandly admits, seems to be based partly on the fact that these beings are not full gods, but very definitely also on the fact that they are crude rustics, not qualified to live in the urban mansions of this most civilized, most "Roman" of divine dwellings ». Le « Palatin céleste » n'est pas prêt à accueillir ces êtres seulement à moitié divins et si terriens.

4 La localisation comme critère pour hiérarchiser les dieux

Dans cet imaginaire, un critère fondamental pour hiérarchiser les dieux est leur distribution dans l'espace. Jupiter est au centre, autour de lui les nobles, et plus éloignés les dieux plébéiens, éparpillés partout (*diversa locis*) et en particulier habitant le sol terrestre, proches des humains. Ces derniers ont un domaine non seulement d'action, mais aussi de résidence plus limité par rapport aux grands dieux d'en haut, qui peuvent voir tout le monde d'un regard surplombant[33]. Un célèbre épisode de la mythologie romaine, souvent cité pour d'autres raisons[34], le montre clairement. Il s'agit de la rencontre de Numa et Jupiter Elicius, et du dialogue qu'ils conduisent à propos du rite pour arrêter les foudres. Avant de dialoguer avec Jupiter, Numa s'adresse à deux autres divinités. C'est Égérie, la compagne de Numa, qui lui explique (3, 291–292) : « le rite de conjuration ne pourra t'être transmis que par Picus et Faunus, qui sont, tous deux, des divinités du territoire romain » (*Romani numen utrum soli*). On comprend d'emblée que pour résoudre un problème qui concerne la terre sur laquelle les Romains vivent, il faut des divinités agissant sur le sol. Numa se rend donc dans un bois sur l'Aventin. Selon l'imaginaire qui avait déjà été celui de Virgile[35], la forêt est décrite comme sombre et dégageant une puissance divine : « à sa vue, on pouvait affirmer : "une divinité y demeure" (*numen inest*) ». La puissance de ces divinités est donc perceptible dans le lieu où elles habitent. Numa s'adresse à eux en les appelant *di nemo-*

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31 Ovide est probablement le premier qui utilise *semideus*, cf. Kenney 2002, 64 ; Barchiesi 2005, 185. Cet adjectif se retrouve aussi chez les poètes qui s'inspirent de lui. Il désigne à la fois soit des *numina rustica* (Ovidius, *ep.* 4, 47–50 ; Grattius 1, 62–66 ; Statius, *Theb.* 6, 110–113) ; soit des personnages héroïques (Statius, *Theb.* 5, 361–375). Ces textes ne mettent pas particulièrement en avant le caractère mortel de ces êtres surnaturels, mais plutôt leur statut d'infériorité dû à leur localisation ou origine. Sur ce terme cf. aussi Doblhofer 1960, 71–74 ; Fishwick 1975 ; Delattre 2007, cependant une étude plus détaillée dans le cadre de la culture romaine serait souhaitable.
32 Anderson 1989, 95.
33 Bonnet 2020.
34 Cet épisode était raconté par Valerius Antias, *ap.* Arnobius 5, 1 et par Plutarchus, *Num.* 15. Cf. Scheid 1985 ; Prescendi 2007, 189–198 ; Lentano 2020.
35 Vergilius, *A.* 8, 351–356.

rum (3, 309 : « dieux des forêts »). Quand il leur demande la formule pour conjurer les foudres, Faunus répond que cela dépasse leurs capacités et explique : « notre pouvoir divin a ses limites. Nous sommes des dieux rustiques (*agrestes*), ayant pour domaine les sommets des monts ; c'est Jupiter qui décide dans son palais »[36]. L'architecture hiérarchique est claire : dans son palais céleste, Jupiter détient le pouvoir décisionnel (*arbitrium*), les deux divinités appartiennent aux bois et ne peuvent jouer aucun autre rôle que celui d'intermédiaires. Leur puissance divine ayant des limites (*fines*) est bien ancrée dans le territoire. Ces dieux terrestres fonctionnent donc comme intermédiaires pour que le roi puisse atteindre le dieu suprême, mais aussi comme « aides » de Jupiter, puisqu'ils lui permettent, grâce à leur formule, de descendre et donc de mettre en pratique son attribut onomastique *Elicius*. En ce sens, Jupiter, Faunus et Picus fonctionnent comme un réseau de dieux qui agit en collaboration.

Le deuxième passage d'Ovide (*Met*. 8, 740–779) auquel je voudrais me référer constitue aussi un texte célèbre[37]. Il s'agit du récit d'Erysichthon, roi de la Thessalie, qui, méprisant les dieux, veut couper un bois sacré de Cérès, dans lequel se trouve un chêne très grand et antique, orné d'ex-voto, de bandelettes, de tablettes commémoratives et de guirlandes de fleurs, et autour duquel dansent les Dryades. Erysichthon veut abattre aussi cet arbre et, puisque ses serviteurs hésitent à le faire, il le fait lui-même. En annonçant au chêne qu'il le coupera[38], il montre qu'il sait qu'il s'agit d'une déesse. Effectivement cet arbre abrite une nymphe. La nymphe prend ensuite la parole et décrit son lien avec l'arbre : « je suis sous ce bois une nymphe très chère à Cérès » (8, 770 : *nympha sub hoc ego sum Cereri gratissima ligno*, trad. pers.). La nymphe, non seulement réside dans le bois, mais elle fait corps avec l'arbre qui la présentifie. L'abattage de celui-ci cause de ce fait sa mort. Ses compagnes Dryades s'habillent avec des habits de deuil pour demander à Cérès le châtiment d'Érysichthon. En décrivant les nymphes comme affligées par la perte qui touche en même temps le bois et elles-mêmes, Ovide souligne davantage le rapport de réciprocité entre ces divinités et l'élément auquel elles appartiennent[39].

L'épisode se conclut par la décision de la déesse d'infliger à Érysichthon, homme impie par excellence, d'être dévoré par la Faim. Puisqu'elle-même, déesse de la croissance des céréales, ne peut pas aller rencontrer la Faim, elle envoie une

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36 Ovidius, *Fast*. 3, 314–316 : *habent finis numina nostra suos / di sumus agrestes et qui dominemur in altis / montibus ; arbitrium est in sua tecta Iovi* (trad. R. Schilling 1992).

37 Cf. Scheid 2012.

38 Ovidius, *Fast*. 8, 755–756 : *Non dilecta deae solum, sed et ipsa licebat / Sit dea, iam tanget frondente cacumine terram* (« bien qu'elle soit non seulement cher à la déesse, mais une déesse même/ Il va toucher la terre de sa cime verdoyante », trad. pers.)

39 Ovidius, *Met*. 8, 777–779 : *Attonitae Dryades damno nemorumque suoque, / omnes germanae, Cererem cum vestibus atris / maerentes adeunt poenamque Erysicthonis orant* (« les Dryades sont consternées par cette perte qui les frappe en même temps que la forêt ; toutes, en pleurant leur sœur, vêtues de noir, vont trouver Cérès et lui demandent le châtiment d'Érysichthon », trad. G. Lafaye/H. Le Bonniec 2000).

nymphe de la montagne (786 : *montani numinis unam*) à sa place, en lui prêtant son char. Grâce à ce moyen, la nymphe se déplace rapidement dans les airs et atteint son but.

Cet épisode exemplifie de manière claire comment Ovide perçoit le statut des nymphes, dont la vie est liée à l'élément dans lequel elles habitent et qu'elles peuvent cependant quitter pour accomplir des missions. Elles vivent en lien étroit avec Cérès, à qui elles s'adressent pour demander justice, comme à une protectrice. Celle-ci les écoute et satisfait leurs demandes par l'intermédiaire d'une autre nymphe. Une fois de plus ces divinités terrestres se situent dans l'entourage des dieux majeurs et semblent collaborer avec ceux-ci dans un jeu complexe d'échange de services.

En parlant des divinités des bois et de leur rapport avec des dieux considérés comme majeurs, on ne peut pas négliger un dernier passage très significatif des *Métamorphoses*, où le dieu Virbius définit clairement son statut ainsi que son rapport avec son supérieur après que ce nouveau dieu s'est établi dans le bois de Nemi. Le dieu affirme que Diane lui avait annoncé ainsi son nouveau statut : « Toi qui fus Hippolyte, me dit-elle, sois maintenant Virbius ». En remémorant cela, il ajoute « Depuis lors, j'habite ce bois, je suis un des dieux mineurs et, caché sous la protection de ma maîtresse, je suis son serviteur[40] ». Ce vers (545) : *hoc nemus inde colo de disque minoribus unus* indique clairement l'étroite dépendance entre le fait d'habiter dans ce bois et son statut de dieu inférieur.

Conclusion

En partant de la description de l'assemblée des dieux dans le premier livre des *Métamorphoses*, nous avons réfléchi à ce que signifie *plebs deorum*. Nous avons vu que cette expression a son origine dans la poésie d'Ovide. Le poète l'élabore pour cristalliser par une image efficace l'idée de hiérarchie divine, déjà présente dans des textes précédents comme les passages de Plaute et de Cicéron. Bien qu'elle connaisse ensuite du succès dans les écrits polémiques contre la religion polythéiste, comme par exemple chez les Pères de l'Église, elle n'est pas utilisée par Ovide pour affirmer une

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40 Ovidius, *Met*. 15, 541–546 (trad. H. Le Bonniec, modifiée) **. . .** *« qui » que « fuisti / Hippolytus », dixit « nunc idem Virbius esto! » / hoc nemus inde colo de disque minoribus unus / numine sub dominae lateo atque accenseor illi*. Dans ce passage il faut noter tout spécialement le dernier verbe, qui renvoie à l'organisation de l'armée et de la société romaine. En effet, ce terme servait tout d'abord depuis Tarquin l'Ancien à définir des citoyens inscrits comme supplémentaires dans les légions et qui combattaient sans être armés, et plus tard, à désigner les serviteurs des personnes ayant des charges politiques. Varro, *L.* 7, 58 explique ainsi ce terme : *accensos ministratores Cato esse scribit; potest id ab acciendo ad arbitrium eius cuius minister* (« Caton a écrit que *accensi* a le sens de "serviteurs": ce mot vient probablement de "faire venir selon la volonté de celui dont on est serviteur" », trad. pers.).

disposition méprisante envers les dieux. À travers cette image, le poète révèle en effet plutôt son imaginaire du monde divin, comparable à la société humaine, et particulièrement romaine, et réglée par une hiérarchie entre les classes (noblesse / plèbe) qui sont cependant en constante collaboration et échange. Dans cette construction pyramidale, la spatialité s'avère un critère de définition important. La résidence de Jupiter, considérée comme le centre du pouvoir et autour de laquelle résident les dieux nobles, est tout en haut, dans un ciel éclairé par les étoiles de la Voie Lactée. Éloignés de ce centre sont les dieux plébéiens, éparpillés partout sur la terre. Ceux-ci, les *rustica numina*, sont en effet attachés de manière indissoluble aux éléments terrestres, comme les arbres et les bois, qui non seulement les abritent, mais aussi les présentifient.

À propos de la description de l'assemblée des dieux dans les *Métamorphoses*, M. Perfigli affirme que cette hiérarchisation des dieux n'a pas seulement une valeur politique (associer Auguste à Jupiter), mais aussi « cognitive »[41], parce que la société divine peut plus facilement être pensée en passant par ce rapprochement avec l'expérience quotidienne. Je me rallie à cette opinion et j'ajoute que la description des *Métamorphoses*, lue en dialogue avec les autres passages ici analysés, est révélatrice d'une vision cohérente et articulée du monde divin. Cette vision est tellement significative qu'elle construit un imaginaire auquel les écrivains postérieurs ne cessent de se référer.

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41 Perfigli 2014.

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Gabriele Roccella

A Contest for the Control of Ideological Space in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* XI 146–94: Apollo/Augustus, Pan, and an Allegory of the Romanization of Hellenistic Lydia

Introduction

It is now common,[1] but still meaningful, to note that for all mythologies space is a non-neutral cultural construct; space and items in it have a multiplicity of meanings that are created and negotiated in many ways.[2] A landscape is a social construct[3] that "overlaps, connects, puts in relation and contextualizes [. . .] in a human dimension, through its connection with territorial appropriations, the political assets [. . .], the construction of ideologies, the elaboration of divine pantheons or of folkloric narrative".[4] Of course, elements in a landscape often have, in myths, the added potential of becoming actual actors in narrative constructions – they become more than their objective reality, allegorically and metonymically embodying larger social ideas.

In this paper, I shall analyze some constituent features of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* XI, 146–194: the musical contest of Pan and Apollo in Lydia, at the presence of the mountain Tmolus, personified, and King Midas. In this tale natural features play a fundamental role in the development and resolution of the events; it is natural to wonder at the socio-cultural implications of these elements, especially if we consider that Ovid's poetry, always allusive, invites the reading of its "hyperanthropomorphic divinities as embodying contemporary concerns – political [. . .] psychological and social".[5] It has been long recognized that the *Metamorphoses* conceal allusions to the political reality of Augustan Rome, the Palatine and Augustus

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2 Cf. Gilhuly/Worman 2014, 1–2.
3 *Ibid.*, 4.
4 Cardete del Olmo 2016, 33; the translation of the original Spanish is my own.
5 Miller 2009, 349.

himself as associated with Apollo and Jupiter, and that such political readings are triggered by "imperial symbols" and allusions.[6] Why should we not then consider also geographical settings and natural features as being loaded with, and exploited in a multi-layered network of coexisting cultural symbolic values?

Here, I explore the implications of the contest episode as a multi-level literary and historical allegory, involving the relationship between Apollo and Augustus; I will suggest an innovative reading of the invention and structuring of the contest episode as an allegory of the history of the Romanization of Asia Minor.

The argumentation of this contribution is organized into 7 sections, followed by a general conclusion. In the first section, I will briefly outline some relevant traditional symbolic traits that the main characters appearing in this context possess – specifically, the gods Pan and Apollo, and mountains in general. This is to showcase the repertoire of motifs Ovid could exploit. As the analysis progresses, we shall see how the traditionally established features of the characters are enriched by additional features taken, I argue, from allusions to the historical and political contexts that Ovid conceals in the narrative, thereby lending a new significance to the mythical episode. Thus, in Section 2 we shall consider some implications of the well-known association between the god Apollo and the *de facto* emperor Augustus, that was also promoted and exploited by the *princeps* himself. We shall then turn, in Section 2.1, to a structural analysis of the contest episode in *Met*. XI 146–194, teasing out characters, motifs, plot lines, and possible poetic inspirations and models for Ovid's narrative. An analysis of previous scholarship's allegorical interpretations of this episode follows in Section 2.2.

Section 2.3 brings together, into a new allegorical interpretation of the structure and meaning of this episode, both previous scholarship and my own novel interpretations of a) the Ovidian episode, with reference to his own (tendentially subversive) poetics; b) the re-semantization of mythological traits of Apollo in the Augustan age; c) the consideration of the historical context in relation to the place where the episode is set (Asia Minor) as a key to unlocking the trans-temporal allegorical power of the mythical narrative as a mock-history of Roman and Augustan control of the Province of Asia Minor and the territory of Lydia in particular. Section 2.4 summarizes this new approach to the episode into the consideration of just how Ovid could have crafted the structure of the episode. A shorter following section, 2.5, attempts to relate the implications of the mythological and textual interpretations to a facet of material evidence from Lydia – coins bearing the image of Apollo and other gods, as well as those of Augustus and other emperors. The aim of the section is to ascertain whether and to what degree my novel interpretation of Ovid's construction of the episode, as a somewhat satirical allegory of the history of the region, matches the association between gods and rulers and their perception in the region itself – rather than relying

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6 *Ibid.*, 350.

solely on the point of view of the poet from Sulmona. A final section offers some concluding remarks as it summarizes the main findings of this contribution.

What I hope to show is a confirmation of the complexity and endless flexibility of mythical discourse as a medium to convey social and (geo)political reflections. Agreeing with Lincoln that myths cannot be considered as simply replicating the established structures of society,[7] and also agreeing with Winkler that myths can also be used and/or appropriated by certain sectors of society to subtly criticize and make fun of ideological structures,[8] we shall see that in Ovid's case the potentials of mythical discourse with the contest episode are directed, as in many other instances in his poetry, at "pricking the bubble of authority".[9]

1 Essences, Symbols, Actors: a Survey of Gods and Natural Features

The contest between Pan and Apollo, set in Lydia (an important detail, as stated below), is an episode in which an actual mountain in the region, Tmolus (modern-day Bozdag) is animated. It is possibly split into two selves, taking a humanoid form and sitting as judge (upon itself!) between the two gods, with the famous legendary King Midas as audience. The episode can be construed as a power play between two gods, Pan and Apollo,[10] and then between the human supporter of Pan and the winning god, in defiance of the pronouncement of another quasi-divine being as a judge and Pan's formal acceptance of defeat.

Let us consider the natural features appearing in the episode in terms of cultural configurations[11] shared by ancient Greeks and Romans. Mountains had in ancient Greek and Roman cultures an attribute of perceived wildness: they were at the fringes of the human world, places where encounters with the unrestrained divine could occur, or regressions to a pre-civilized state. Mountains were also powerful symbols for autochthony, regional identity and external identification. In their non-urban, uncivilized condition, or in their use as a pasture they were usually perceived as the domain of one god: Pan, the embodied idea of the perception of wilderness and primitiveness.[12] His primary activities were hunting, singing, and shepherding. Mountains associated with him were perceived as uncultured places where shepherds and

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7 Lincoln 2014, 5.

8 Winkler 1990.

9 Barchiesi 1997, 238.

10 I have published the initial outcomes of my research on the relationships not only between these two gods, but between them and Hermes too in Roccella 2019.

11 Pisano 2011, 87.

12 Cf. Borgeaud 1988, 3–6.

woodcutters would go; hunters too, and this is a shared feature with another deity sometimes associated with mountains: Apollo. His ties to mountaintops and sacred groves clearly signify the fact that "Apollo's power is recognized at the point where order is not fully established",[13] and that he was perceived to be most effective "in a boundary zone where the process of incorporation into a state of order took place".[14] In short, Apollo represents an ordering and civilizing principle. These associations were surely present to Ovid. Table 1 illustrates a series of traits that the two gods may share or not and with a few differences.[15]

Tab. 1: Mythological motifemes of Pan and Apollo on Nature/Civilization spectrum ("+" = "present", "-" = "absent"; based on Borgeaud 1988, Buxton 1992, Birge 1994, West 2003, Graf 2009, Cardete del Olmo 2016).

Motifemes	Pan	Apollo	Sphere
mountains	+	+ (Civilizing factor)	Nature
shepherding	+	+	Nature
sensuality/sexuality	+	+/- (A. has histories of unfulfilled or violent love experiences – see below – but lacks Pan's explicit sexualization)	Nature
reeds	+ (Syrinx)	–	Nature
oak (& acorns)	+ (nymph Dryope; Arcadians as *balanophagoi*, acorn-eaters)	–	Nature
pine	+	–	Nature
laurel	–	+ (Daphne)	Nature
theriomorphism	+	–	Nature
hunting/warfare	+ (primitive)	+ (sophisticated)	Nature/Civilization
sacred groves	+	+	Nature/Civilization

13 Birge 1994, 14.
14 *Ibid.,* 18.
15 Some of these traits are not exclusively associated with either Apollo or Pan. A full prospectus of the divine associations of the 'oak' or the 'mountain' motifemes for example, which are also associated with Zeus and Dionysus, would require a much broader and more extensive research. As a starting point for the study of the anthropology of mountains in Ancient Greece, see Buxton 1992. On the "Dionysization" of Pan, see Porres Caballero 2012.

Tab. 1 (continued)

Motifemes	Pan	Apollo	Sphere
music	+ (panpipe/syrinx)	+ (lyre)	Nature/Civilization
unhappy love	+ (Echo, Syrinx)	+ (Daphne)	Nature/Civilization
possession/ prophecy	+	+	Nature/Civilization
hunting/warfare	+ (primitive)	+ (sophisticated)	Nature/Civilization
healing/disease	–	+	Civilization
being cultured (clothing, ornaments, hairstyle/hair control)	–	+	Civilization

Mountains are represented in the table as a shared domain presenting an opposition between uncultured and cultured, as we can see in the hunting/warfare aspect and that of music, with the distinction between panpipes and lyre also representing an opposition of genres. The syrinx embodied the bucolic/pastoral genre[16] while Apollo's lyre had long since become a symbol for elevated poetry such as hymns and, most importantly, lyric and epic poetry. Another important symbol that distinguishes them and that will effectively become an actor in the Ovidian narrative is the reed: a panic symbol, because the syrinx is made from reeds. Oaks and acorns are also panic symbols,[17] whereas laurel is, famously, Apollo's.[18] We shall explore in the following sections how the features and associations of these gods and natural elements are employed and even assigned new meanings (much beyond their neutral appearance as natural features) in the context of the contest, with a special attention to the use of the figure of Apollo and its propagandistic use in the Augustan period.

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16 This metonymical association became an unavoidable identification in literature since at least the times of Theocritus' *Idylls* (cf. Fantuzzi/Papanghelis 2006 *passim*), but it had naturally been a 'folkloric' reality since long before: see Lelli 2017, 9–41.

17 For details on the not-too-well-known association between Pan and oaks and acorns, see Borgeaud 1988, 7–8, 15, 23–24 *et passim*, and Bader 1989, 34–38.

18 Sauron 2000, in ch. VIII and IX, explores the formation of an Apollinean aesthetic based on vegetation and plant symbolism in the age of Augustus, integrating the literary perspective (Virgil and Ovid respectively in each chapter), the historical perspective (Augustus *vs*. Marc Antony), and iconography. Acanthus and laurel appear to be emblems of the Apollinenan/Augustan order, and though it is the ivy and the vine that are most explicitly Dionysiac (and thus point to Antony), also the notion of "dissymétrie" (185) and wildness appears to be anti-Augustan/Apollinean.

2 Apollo and Augustus: Public Image, Ideology, and Poetry

This second section is concerned with outlining, in very broad strokes, some features of the deep relationship between the *princeps* Augustus and the god Apollo – a relationship that can be seen as one of the many focal points in Roman history in which, for a full comprehension of the stakes, it becomes "unrealistic to try to separate out religious, political, and military elements"[19] as though they were operating in isolation from one another. Thus, we must acknowledge that in Augustan times there was an association, evident in literature and the figurative arts as well as in the political discourse, between Apollo and Augustus.[20] Augustus is known to have promoted and indeed very personally endorsed the expansion of the cult of Apollo. Suetonius tells us about Augustus tying the god to his own fortunes by erecting a temple after the victory of Actium,[21] and that among other public works he had a temple to Apollo built after a thunderstrike on his own property on the Palatine, an event interpreted by the *haruspices* as an omen (*Aug.* 29: *templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitauit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant*).[22]

I am not going to expand on this relationship as there is ample literature on the relationships between Apollo and Augustus.[23] Instead, it is useful to remember that the identification of Augustus and Apollo also had uncomfortable sides.

Of course, the identification between a ruler and a god was nothing new in the ancient Mediterranean by the end of the first millennium BCE, but it was not at all customary in Rome, where in the I century BCE it could have been seen as an act of impiety[24] and it certainly would have encountered disapproval – even by Nero's time it was still perceived as "outrageous".[25] However, the association between Augustus and Apollo was pushed to the point of impersonation by the *princeps* himself, as witnessed by the statue of Octavian with the dress and features of Apollo in the library complex next to the Palatine temple[26] (as reported by the scholiast to Hor. *Epist.* 1.3.17 and Servius on Virg. *Ecl.* 4.10).[27] Additionally, there were rumors about Augustus' infamous

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19 Wiseman 1995, 13.
20 There is abundant bibliography on the ideological relationships between Augustus and Apollo; as essential references, see Gagé 1955; Zanker 1988; Sauron 1992 (513, *passim*); Barchiesi 1997; Miller 2004–2005 and 2009.
21 Suet. *Aug.* 28.
22 Text from Ihm 1908.
23 See note 20 above.
24 Champeaux 2002, 129.
25 Graf 2009, 127.
26 See also Sauron 1992, 75–76 n. 256.
27 See Bowditch 2009, 410–412.

cena [. . .] δωδεκάθεος ("dinner [. . .] of the 12 gods"),[28] where he reportedly impersonated Apollo in a lush feast while the city was experiencing food shortages – an Apollo *Tortor* in the eyes of the opposers.

At the same time, the *vox populi* also told a story of Apollo being Augustus' father,[29] possibly encouraged as well by the fact that Augustus' hair was *subflavum*:[30] direct divine descent is clearly a Hellenistic trope, which might not have been looked well upon by Romans. In the contest episode, *flavum* is also used by Ovid for Apollo's hair (165) and one must not forget that in the ancient world an identity of color elicits the recognition of an identity of substance, since colors in their materiality channel "fonctions sociales, et [. . .] un imaginaire affectif et collectif"[31] – some would see it not as an idle detail but as a meaningful *signum*.

Nevertheless, important values that appeared to be symbolized by Apollo in Augustan and Ovid's poetry, values very dear to Augustan propaganda, were an idea of the restraint and control over displayed wealth, an ethos of *labor*.[32] Wealth, in Augustan discourse,[33] was not to be flaunted: there had to be a degree of control and that is what opposed Rome to a perception of Hellenistic kingdoms. In fact, interpreters of the appearance of Apollo at the contest note that the appearance of the god is indeed rich as befits a deity (*Met.* XI, 165–169):

> *ille caput flavum lauro Parnaside vinctus*
> *verrit humum Tyrio saturata murice palla*
> *distinctamque fidem gemmis et dentibus Indis*
> *sustinet a laeva, tenuit manus altera plectrum;*
> *artificis status ipse fuit. [. . .]*[34]

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28 Suet. *Aug.* 70: *Cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit, quae uulgo δωδεκάθεος uocabatur; in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse conuiuas et ipsum [scil. Augustus] pro Apolline ornatum [. . .] adclamatumque est postridie: omne frumentum deos comedisse et Caesarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem, quo cognomine is deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur.* ("There was besides a private dinner of his, commonly called that of the "twelve gods," which was the subject of gossip. At this the guests appeared in the guise of gods and goddesses, while he himself was made up to represent Apollo [. . .] and on the following day there was an outcry that the gods had eaten all the grain and that Caesar was in truth Apollo, but Apollo the Tormentor, a surname under which the god was worshipped in one part of the city". Text from Ihm 1908, transl. by Rolfe 1914).
29 Suet. *Aug,* 94.
30 Suet. *Aug,* 79.
31 Grand-Clément 2021, 296.
32 Hadjittofi 2018, 289.
33 I adopt this fortunate expression from Barchiesi 1997.
34 "He [Apollo], the blond head encircled with laurel of Parnassus, swept the ground with the mantle, dipped to the full in Tyrian purple, and holds high with the left hand the lyre, filled with gems and Indian ivory, the other hand held the plectrum. His very pose was that of an artist / he himself was the ideal condition of the artist". Text from Tarrant 2004; the translation is my own – the two options at the end of the passage show an (intentional?) ambiguity of the text, discussed below.

Each attribute, with its provenance signalled by adjectives (*Parnaside, Tyrio, Indis*) aptly summarizes the breadth of Augustus' power.[35] The detail of the golden hair of the god tied, *vinctus*, by laurel has been however recognized by previous scholarship as symbolizing a restraint and control over appearances. This attitude of restraint has been likened to Augustus' own averting the downfalls of declaring a Golden Age, because "the gold in the Golden Age was not literal, as a foolish Midas (or Hellenistic king) would have it, but a metaphor for ongoing physical and moral effort".[36] Apollo is a god who "knows how to keep the dangers of his goldenness under control",[37] unlike the famous King Midas of the Golden touch, who appears in the episode of the contest and is indeed a symbol for some tropes of Hellenistic kingship.

But a darker parallel emerges: "most of Apollo's markers of imperial authority are, at the same time, symbols of Oriental luxury and decadence".[38] The refinement in garment and clothing was also meant to contrast Pan's rusticity and savageness, but it may have also reminded of the outfit of a rich Hellenistic king. This depiction of the tropes and risks of a certain type of regal aesthetics does not only involve Apollo's attire, but it applies first and foremost to the human world in the figure of the ridiculed King Midas, the embodiment of "failed Hellenistic kingship".[39] As Hadjittofi writes: "if Ovid's myth of Midas is constructed as a joke, it is a very political joke: one that also stands as a warning against Rome's adoption of the cultural tropes and narratives of Hellenistic imperial ideology".[40]

We can imagine how this ambiguity in the significance of Apollo's dress in Ovid might have been received by Augustus while the *princeps*' own use of the iconography of Apollo on the Palatine was much more controlled, authoritarian.[41] Indeed the appearance of Apollo as he arrives at the contest has long been compared and even equated by scholars[42] to the statuary type of the *Apollo Citharoedus*, of which the now-lost possibly Skopadic cult statue that was in the temple of Apollo *Palatinus* was an example. This type is best represented by the sculpture of the *Apollo Citharoedus/Musagetes* from the II century CE (Fig. 1) that was found among the ruins of Longinus' villa near Tivoli.

Commentators recognized a play on the ambiguity of the expression *artificis status*, with an oscillation between the objective and the subjective value of the gen-

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35 Miller 2009, 350.

36 Hadjittofi 2018, 289.

37 *Ibid.*, 302.

38 *Ibid.*, 301.

39 Hadjittofi 2018, 278.

40 Hadjittofi 2018, 279.

41 See Bowditch 2009, 410–428 especially.

42 Barchiesi 1997, Miller 2009, Hadjittofi 2018.

Fig. 1: Statue of *Apollo Citharoedus/Musagetes*. Museo Pio-Clementino; Hall of the Muses, Inv. 310. Photo: Public domain.

itive.[43] This ambiguity, whereby Apollo being described as an artist and at the same time possibly as a work of an artist, compels listeners and readers to think about actual works of art. Indeed, there are some similarities with the description: the hair (*caput . . . lauro . . . vinctus*); the tunic (*verrit humum . . . palla*); the playing of the lyre. However, the first element of the hair is such a topical element in the iconography of Apollo that it is scarcely an argument for the consideration of Ovid's description as an *ekphrasis* of this statuary model; the third one is decidedly different: the lyre is held by a strap in the statue and the left hand as well as the right one appears to be plucking the strings (and there is no plectrum, as opposed to the text's description). The second element, that of the vest, is actually the only point of identity, with a brief but suggestive literary *comparandum* to the realism in the rendition of the effect of wind and motion on clothing, characteristic of Skopas' style.

I think that instead a better match to Ovid's description of Apollo's arrival, when it comes to ornaments and details, is quite possibly the painted plaster of the *Apollo Citharoedus* that was found near the *Scalae Caci* on the western side of the

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43 Miller 2009, 236 n. 108 and Hadjittofi 2018, 301.

Palatine Hill (Fig. 2) – stairs that were leading from the *Forum Boarium* to the House of Augustus and to the temple of Apollo.[44]
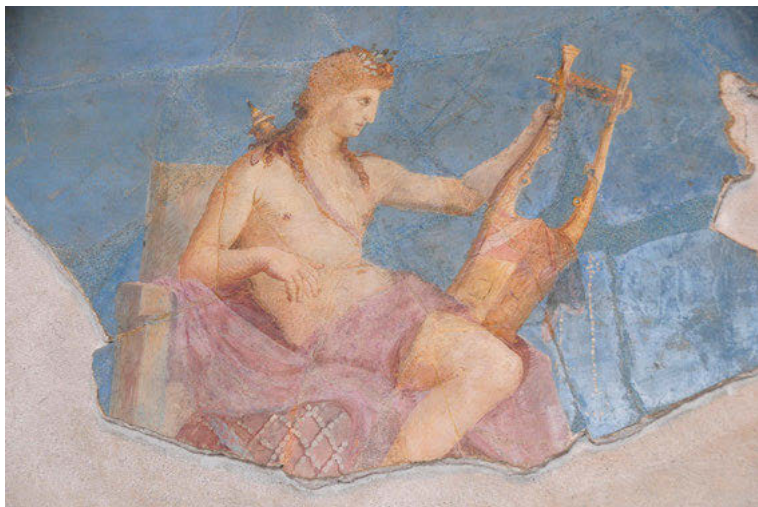
Fig. 2: Painted Plaster of *Apollo Citharoedus*, Antiquarium del Palatino, Inv. 379982. Photo: Eye Ubiquitous / Alamy Stock Photo.

Whereas the previous statue was not holding the lyre with the left hand, Apollo does that in this painting. The instrument is also adorned with gems and possibly an inlaid ivory piece. Notice the Tyrian purple dye of the mantle. *Artifex* does not exclusively mean 'sculptor': it refers to anyone who is exercising any *ars*, a technique, in general;[45] why not 'painter', too?

I do not wish to discount statuary as possible *focus* of recognition by the audience: the lost Skopadic statue of the *Apollo Citharoedus* in the Palatine temple could have been a closer match than the Tivoli one[46] – at least another model the audience could have easily recognized. However, I believe the pictorial parallel would be a better fit if we are to compare the details of it and of Ovid's text – moreover, that artwork was just as accessible to the public as the cult statue in the temple.

Thus, the text's description would have had at least two different artistic referents in the reality of the Palatine alone: one hypothetical, through the use of an example of the same sculptural type; the other from an actual artwork from the Palatine. We are not considering the countless other representations of Apollo that

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44 Miller 2009, 2 presents the painting as being in the House of Augustus itself and does not make a comparison to the text discussed here.

45 *TLL,* sub voce.

46 Barchiesi 2006, 415 seems to push for the Tivoli statue.

anyone living in Rome could see in their daily life, but simply focusing on the Palatine as the *fulcrum* of the ideological appropriation of the cult of Apollo on the part of Augustus.[47]

Teasing out the most significant aspects investigated in this section, we could state that the close association (to the point of filiation or even partial identification) between Apollo and Augustus, was very much an ideological reality and a tool of the Augustan regime. This association presented advantages, but it also came with darker sides. Just as Augustus himself was aware of it and actively exploited its potential, so Ovid too would have been, like most educated Romans of his time, very much conscious of it. We have also seen that the poet did not shy away from drawing inspiration from, or in any case very likely alluding to, real-world elements like sculptures or paintings in his verbal description of a highly politicized god like Apollo in the contest episode – and as he was possibly hinting at those real-world items, he certainly knew where they were located: Augustus' grounds.

2.1 The Contest: Events, Structure, Motifs and Models

Let us now move to the events of the contest. An outline of the contest episode, with line numbers, events and motifs that appear is shown in Tab. 2:

Tab. 2: Events and motifs in the Contest episode (*Met.* XI, 146–194).

Events (*Met.* XI, 146–194)	Motifs
146–9: Midas flees wealth and goes to the mountains, worshipping Pan.	Midas flees to the mountains after the Golden Touch story (*Met.* XI, 85–145) is resolved; mountains as Pan's domain; Midas is still foolish. (*silvas et rura colebat / Panaque montanis habitantem semper in antris, / pingue sed ingenium mansit*).
150–2: Description of the setting – Mt. Tmolus; mention of Sardis and Hypaepa.	
153–6: Descr. of Pan's panpipe songs to nymphs, playing there (*ibi* – near Hypaepa, at the feet of Tmolus). He spurns *(contemnere)* Apollo's music, and the contest is set; Tmolus is called to be the judge.	The instrument is referred with the *pars pro toto* mention of the *harundo*, the reed. The contest is defined *inpar* (uneven) by the poet even before it begins.
157–161: Tmolus is animated. He sits and takes the pose of the judge.	Imposing height of Tmolus. Oaks and acorns surround ears and head (the mt. is inherently panic).

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47 See Kellum 1985.

Tab. 2 (continued)

Events (*Met.* XI, 146–194)	Motifs
161–3: Pan plays *barbarico . . . carmine* and is pleasing to Midas, who happened to be close by when the contest takes place.	Barchiesi (2006, 416) notes that Pan would play in the Phrygian mode.
163–9: Description of the arrival of Apollo.	Apollo's attire, richly died, the refined and recherché 'international' ornaments of the instrument, his restrained and beautiful pose mark him as in another class altogether and already the winner.
169–170: Apollo starts playing a chord.	Apollo does not even play a full song/hymn.
170–1: Tmolus declares Ap. The winner and orders *(iubet)* Pan to submit his reeds *(cannas)* to the lyre.	Tmolus, inherently 'panic', instantly recognizes Apollo's superiority and bids Pan to concede. Allegorical interpretation #1: hierarchy of literary genres.
172–4: All agree with the judgement except Midas.	Because of his foolishness, Midas does not recognize Apollo's superiority. Midas' "ill-advised decision to declare a judgment in the competition between Pan and Apollo, is unattested before this poem" (Hadjittofi 2018, 297).
174–9: Transformation of Midas' ears into those of an ass.	A probably innovative aetiology for the feature of Midas' ass ears, already current in Greece by the V cent. BCE (Aristoph. *Plut.* 287).
180–2: Midas hides his shame under a purple turban.	Purple is an Apollinean color (the god's own mantle was dipped in Tyrian purple). Does it represent an only superficial adhesion to Apollo's values as he hides the shameful punishment?
183–9: Midas' servant/barber knows of the king's secret; digs a hole and tells it to the ground.	Midas does not have full local support.
190–194: Reeds grow in that spot and tell of Midas' shame. Apollo is avenged *(ultus)*.	Apollo's victory is considered complete with the public humiliation of the dissenter, for which the help of the former opponent Pan in his distinctive symbol, the reeds, was instrumental.

King Midas flees from his Kingdom of Phrygia to the neighboring region of Lydia and roams the mountains around Mount Tmolus, where he worships Pan, as is appropriate. Tmolus is flanked by the cities of Sardis to the North and the small town of Hypaepa to the South. It is right there or close by (*ibi* in line 153) that the contest takes place. Pan's music is so beautiful that Pan himself boasts about the superiority of his music over Apollo's, initiating the contest. Tmolus is called to be

the judge, and the mountain god – this most basic symbol of authority – is animated and anthropomorphised. Pan plays his song and Midas likes it, then it is Apollo's turn.

We have already discussed the lines (165–9) describing his attire. The refined ornaments and his restrained pose mark him as the winner: the match is qualified proleptically by the poet as uneven (*inpar*, 156) before it even starts. Tmolus, an inherently *panic* place, has no choice but to instantly recognize Apollo's superiority and he orders Pan to submit his reeds (*submittere cannas*, 171),[48] a metonymy for the panpipe. Because of his foolishness, Midas does not recognize Apollo's superiority and here is when the transformation takes place: his ears become those of a donkey – a possibly new aetiology for a feature that was linked to Midas and already very popular in Greece in the V century BCE, as two lines (286–287) from Aristophanes' *Plutus* show: ὄντως γὰρ ἔστι πλουσίοις ἡμῖν ἄπασιν εἶναι; / ΚΑΡΙΩΝ: νὴ τοὺς θεούς, Μίδαις μὲν οὖν, ἢν ὦτ᾽ ὄνου λάβητε ("*Chorus leader:* You mean it's really possible for us to be wealthy? *Cario*: So help me god, you'll be Midases if you can find a pair of ass's ears!").[49]

When Pan is introduced in lines 146–9, the term *harundo*, "reed" first appears in the contest episode as a metonymy for his instrument.[50] The term occurs again at the end: as the wind blows, the reeds tell the secret, delegitimizing the king and avenging Apollo.

Jacqueline Fabre-Serris acutely observed that the development of the Ovidian 'cycle of Midas' as a whole, with the inclusion of the episode of the capture of Silenus and the golden touch before and leading up to the contest, shows both an important structural opposition between *cultus/ars* and *rusticitas*,[51] and an inversion of motifs: Midas starts as the refined Hellenistic king living in luxury, and is later shown living as an uncultured simpleton in the wilderness.[52]

The idea itself of this contest between the two gods, however, and the addition of the involvement of Midas both appear to be Ovid's invention, not without inspiration from previous models as it seems:[53] Barchiesi recognized a precedent for the idea of a contest of gods in Callimachus *Ia.* 4, with its contest between the laurel and the olive tree (naturally symbolizing Apollo and Minerva) that is also set on Tmolus.[54] The idea of superiority of lyric poetry over bucolic poetry being represented in the actions

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48 *Canna*, *harundo*, and *calamus* are all interchangeable terms for the plant and the musical instrument in the *Met.*, often appearing close to one another in context (book I, 705–712, here, and in book XIII, 890–894).

49 Text and transl. Henderson 2002.

50 But not for the first time in the *Met.*: see note 49.

51 1995, 358: "la *rusticitas* est vaincue par l'*ars*, étroitement associé, dans la description du dieu [*scil.* Apollo], aux raffinements précieux du *cultus*: le laurier, la pourpre, l'ivoire et les pierreries".

52 1995, 358–359.

53 Cf. Hadjittofi 2018, 277.

54 2006, 408 n. 11.

of gods can be seen when Pan putting down ("forgetting") his pipe after singing one of Pindar's (lyric) hymns had appeared in an epigram attributed to Antipater (*AP* XVI.305).[55] Barchiesi also noted the incongruence of having a musical contest between different categories of instruments, resolving it in his analysis of the passage as an allegory of the hierarchy of genres.[56]

To further explain the reason for this "mixed category" contest (another meaning for the qualification of the *certamen* as *inpar*) I suggest looking at another significant precedent: Verg. *Ecl.* IV, 55–59. I argue this is a fundamental model for Ovid's construction of the contest episode, but I have not seen it detected or discussed in relation to *Met.* XI by other commentators:[57]

> *Non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus*
> *Nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,*
> *Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.*
> *Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,*
> *Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum.*[58]

The debts of Ovid to Virgil go beyond genre and metre to involve the sphere of poetic fantasy and matter as well. At this point in the *Eclogues,* we have a recognition of the necessity for a higher style to praise a consular offspring,[59] and in this higher version of the bucolic not even Orpheus and Linus, mythical (semi-)human fathers of lyric poetry, could defeat Virgil's pipe. Here we have a hypothetical contest between lyres and pipes, and a direct precedent for Ovid. Furthermore, even Pan would concede in a contest, as he does is Ovid's contest episode. Virgil's contest is judged by a personified land, Arcadia, that is a famously mountainous region and the home of Pan – like Mt. Tmolus where, according to Ovid, Pan always has his home (*Met.* XI, 147: *Panaque montanis habitantem semper in antris*). In both Virgil and Ovid, Pan is defeated in his own home. In Virgil, Pan is defeated even in bucolic poetry itself since Virgil's is a higher style, a bucolic that transcends itself to become politically engaged. In Ovid, Pan is defeated by a lyric style that is higher by default, but the whole question of genres is recast and complicated into multiple levels: Ovid's epic poem (lvl. 1) assumes pastoral tones in the contest (lvl. 2), wherein the lyric/epic genre is declared winner (lvl. 3), but the verdict is questioned and needs the material help of the *harundo*, metonymy for the bucolic (lvl. 4) to

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55 See Barchiesi 2006, 415 for a brief discussion, text and translation of this epigram.

56 Barchiesi 2006, 413–415. See also Section 2.2 below.

57 Huxley 1996, 86–87 does refer to lines 58–59 as an inspiration for Ovid, but for a different excerpt of the *Met.* and only in terms of metre (IX, 488–489).

58 "Then shall neither Thracian Orpheus nor Linus vanquish me in song, though mother give aid to the one and father to the other, Calliope to Orpheus, to Linus fair Apollo. Even were Pan to compete with me and Arcadia be judge, then even Pan, with Arcadia for judge, would own himself defeated"; text and translation adapted from Fairclough 1916.

59 *Sylvae sint consule dignae*, l. 3.

really be implemented – it is the *harundo* that, in the contest, whispers the secret shame of Midas' ears and deprives the king of the last shreds of his credibility. Virgil's bucolic poetry wins over 'normal' bucolic poetry because it elevates itself through the choice of a special subject matter. Ovid's bucolic formally loses to lyric/epic, but lyric/epic are really kept in place by the subservient help of bucolic in the metonymy of the reeds. It is a highly subversive message; before we explore it more in depth, let us also note that, before mentioning a Pan who professes himself defeated in contest by the judgement of a personified place, Virgil mentions Orpheus – and it hardly seems a coincidence that Ovid decided to open book XI with the description of Orpheus' death (followed by the description of the transformation of the Bacchants into trees, meta-poetically signaling the shift from a tragedy-like *sparagmos* to more bucolic-like *silvae*) and the beginning of the section on Midas, initiated to the orphic mysteries by the legendary poet himself (*cui Thracius Orpheus / orgia tradiderat*; *Met.* XI, 92–93).

We have considered the plot structure and very likely poetic inspirations or models for this Ovidian episode, teasing out motifs and situating the places in which the contest takes place: Asia Minor. We shall now turn to discuss the ways in which previous scholarship has found relevant layers of meaning to this story, with a special focus on allegorical interpretations of both a metaliterary and a historical nature.

2.2 Allegorical Readings

An obvious allegorical interpretation that has been amply explored reads the episode as symbolizing the inferior character, in the hierarchy of literary genres, of bucolic poetry to lyric and epic – an interpretation thoroughly explored in its significance by Barchiesi (2006) and already discussed by Fabre-Serris (1995), as we have seen. In addition, we noted that the final moments of the episode show a degree of playful subversion of the established and expected outcome of a contest between genres even as it appears, on the surface, to be confirmed.

The subversion is evident when Apollo's dignified music still needs the recognition and the help of the defeated *harundo* to clear the victory. It is not really a *revenge* of bucolic poetry – in fact, it is Apollo who gets avenged, *ultus*. Rather, Ovid appears to indicate that bucolic poetry, rightly inferior, will have to acknowledge its subservience and use to Augustan and Apollinean discourse, in order to continue existing legitimately. The crucial intervention of the *harundo* at the end of the episode, however, subtly reinstates its importance and effectively downgrades Apollo's own victory, undermining the recognition of his self-sufficiency for peaceful domination.

Aside from a *Kreuzung der Gattungen* with which scholars of Ovid are familiar, that involves mixing conventions of different genres within one work, one may say that there is an ideological *Kreuzung der Gattungen* under the sign of Apollo's dominion:

the recognition of the superiority of Apollo's lyric/epic has to be, on some level, always present and shown in all other genres. Ironically, the lyric/epic supremacy cannot be fully established without the acquiescence, and ultimately the disguised help, of bucolic poetry. Ovid himself, in his epic/didascalic *Metamorphoses*, subsumes and plays with the conventions of other genres within the poem itself, bucolic included.[60] It appears that Ovid's underlying meta-poetic message is that poetic genres can no longer be clearly and wholly independent if Apollo must be recognized as victor by all; they are inferior when juxtaposed to the nobility and "natural" superiority of lyric/epic. But Ovid is also subtly letting us know that the change brought by Apollo is not fully effectual – there is some (human) resistance to be countered; nor is it fully self-sufficient. Ultimately, it is just a display of power on Apollo's part, who simply has to appear and pluck a chord – and a display of subordination on the part of the now-subservient genre of bucolic, which is actually doing the "dirty work" of avenging Apollo and consolidating his authority. A message with clear political tones.

These implications of the contest episode bring us to the consideration of political allegories underlying the myth. Indeed, it is easy to read the episode as a structural allegory symbolizing a clash of ideals between cultured and uncultured, from the Roman perspective mediating between the notion of a previously barbaric/Hellenistic and now Romanized Lydia, Phrygia and Asia Minor. The study of this allegorical level of the contest episode has been recently opened with the study of the depiction of King Midas in the *Metamorphoses* as an embodiment of the tropes of Hellenistic kingship.[61]

I argue, however, that the political and ideological implications, and indeed perhaps the foundations themselves for the construction of the contest episode, are deeper – in the implications of the Apollo/Augustus identification discussed above, and in the consideration of the political history of the province of Asia Minor and Hypaepa themselves, especially when considered with Augustus' strategies in the reorganization of the provinces. It has been remembered how Apollo's attire in the episode may be taken to summarize the span of Augustus' rule: Hadjittofi notes that it is appropriate for such an "imperial" Apollo to defeat Pan and his barbarian follower Midas, stating that "it is also historically accurate: Rome did, after all, vanquish the Hellenistic kingdoms".[62]

It is necessary to acknowledge, however, that the opposition between Apollo and Pan, *cultus/ars* and *rusticitas*, however stark it may appear in this episode, is in the reality of the Augustan ideological program more nuanced and softer: Pan is an Arcadian and the images of peace, serenity and prosperity in simplicity that are

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60 See Barchiesi 2006 on the play between bucolic and epic in Ovid's *Met.* On the intertextual play between Ovid, Theocritus and the bucolic Virgil of the *Eclogues* in particular, and the way Ovid's epic in the *Met.* subsumes the genre, in relation to Pan specifically (though the contest episode is not discussed), see Landolfi 2020.

61 Hadjittofi 2018.

62 2018, 301.

associated within the Latin bucolic genre itself[63] with the trope of a Golden Age (very much a part of the Augustan *principatus*' ideological *milieu*, though never declared), as well as the astrological form of Pan as Capricorn as the chosen zodiac birth-sign of Augustus,[64] appearing also in the iconography of the *princeps*[65] – all these elements point toward the desire to integrate 'panic' elements into the 'apollinean' Augustan ideals of the *pax Romana*.[66]

Let us then explore, in the next two sections (2.3 and 2.4), the possibility of a broader allegory underlying the contest episode and take a closer look, in most general lines, at the history of the province of Asia Minor, and Hypaepa. This history will include the discussion of relevant events that took place under Augustus, and it will hopefully provide a clear link between what came before, in Sections 2, 2.1 and the current section, and the way in which Ovid, I argue, has reused the topical traits discussed in Section 1, combining them with the Augustan re-functionalization of the figure of Apollo and with what he might have conceived of the local political history and religious traditions of the region of Asia Minor.

2.3 The Contest as a Historical Allegory: a Sketch of the History of Asia Minor

As is known, the last king of Pergamon Attalus III bequeathed the Kingdom to Rome in his testament in 133 BCE. However, Aristonicus-Eumenes III fought the donation and started a revolt that had some support in the region. A feeling of unrest in the new republican province continues throughout the history of the Republic long after it is pacified by the consul Marcus Perperna in 129 BCE. The province had always had the misfortune to pick the losing side in the wars between Mithridates and Rome, Pompey and Caesar, the Caesaricides and Antony, Antony and Octavian.[67] It was a province that never quite caught the spirit of what was happening. The claim that the province was a strong supporter of Rome is frail – it is evident in the event of Tiberius having to choose where the temple for his cult in Asia would have been located. In Tacitus' *Annales* IV, 55 the historian tells of eleven cities that had sent deputations to plead their case; a common argument for those hearings was the claim of their support of the Romans in wars like again like that against

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63 See Simon 2015.

64 See Sauron 1992, 513 n. 133 and Barton 1995, 34ff.

65 As in the *Gemma Augustea*, where the Capricorn appears over Augustus' head about to be crowned with a wreath of laurel; see Zanker 1988, 230ff.

66 As we shall see, this perspective fits very well with my allegorical interpretation of the ending of the contest (*harundo* and Cicero Minor; see below).

67 *ODCW*, s.v. "Asia, Roman Province".

Aristonicus. Delegates from Hypaepa are mentioned at the opening of the sentence among those dismissed as having too weak a case:

> *neque multum distantia inter se memorabant de vetustate generis, studio in populum Romanum per bella Persi et Aristonici aliorumque regum. Verum Hypaepeni Trallianique Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul tramissi ut parum validi.*[68]

In the same sentence that mentions the more famous and important city of Magnesia as well, and just after Tacitus had noted the use of the argument of support to the Roman cause, I do not think that the judgement of being *parum validi* is merely a matter of city size.[69] On the contrary, it appears that the question is significantly overshadowed by politics and the consideration of the attitudes during the periods of crisis for the Roman rule in the region's history.

When Augustus finally brings an end to the Civil Wars in 31 and 30 BCE and reorganizes the State as well as the administration of its territories, he also reorganizes Asia Minor as a proconsular province. A governor that stood out in the process was Marcus Tullius Cicero Minor. His story is fascinating: he had sided with his father at Pharsalus and was afterwards pardoned by Caesar; he then sided with Brutus and Cassius, but Octavian pardoned him after the battle of Philippi. As expected, he had no sympathies for Antony, whom he works against as a faithful ally of Octavian. He was then proconsul of Asia Minor – since he was *consul suffectus* with Augustus in 30 BCE, it is entirely possible that he was there as Augustus started his reorganization, as Grant 1944 argues, before formally returning the power to the Senate in 27 BCE.[70] Marcus Tullius Cicero Minor was arguably the first proconsul of the province as it was being reorganized (29–27 BCE).

His is the perfect paradigm of a former opposer who, defeated, becomes a servant of the regime and an instrument for pacification – much like the *harundo* at the end of the contest. There, Apollo is finally qualified by the adjective *ultus*, and if we go back to the descriptive program of the reliefs on the doors of the temple on the Palatine "evoking Apollo as an avenger" – it is interesting to note that "in these and other sculptural features [. . .] scholars have seen various allegorical permutations of the civil wars and Octavian's successful vanquishing of Antony and the forces of the East".[71] Though Antony is the stark opposer, the eastern Dionysus to Augustus' Apollo, it seems appropriate for Pan – a god who, though in contrast with Apollo, still fits into the propaganda of the *Pax Augusta* – and his symbols to be an allegory for opposing forces that ultimately find their place in the new order, contributing to it, just like Cicero Minor.

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68 Text from Jackson 1937.

69 *Contra* Altınoluk 2013, 80.

70 See Atkinson 1958 for a contrasting, though not fully convincing, opinion on the dates of Cic. Minor's proconsulate.

71 Bowditch 2009, 411–2.

There is a fascinating intertwining of the themes of the provincial restructuring of Asia, the veneration of the victor of the Civil Wars, and Augustus' role in promoting specifically the cult of Apollo in that province in a paragraph from Augustus' own literary monument, the *Res Gestae* (24):

> In templís omnium civitátium pr(ovinci)ae Asiae victor orna|lmenta reposui, quae spoliátim possederat. § Statuae (mea)e pedestrés et equestres et in | quadrigeis argenteae steterunt in urbe xxc circiter, quas ipse | sustuli (§) exque eá pecuniá dona aurea in áede Apol(li)nis meó nomi|ne et illórum, qui mihi statuárum honórem habuerunt, posui.[72]

We must agree that the restructuring of the province, the stabilization of governance, the promotion of the *princeps*' figure and that of the cult of Apollo are all facets of the same reality as constructed by Augustus himself.

That Asia Minor was perceived as a place with a particular abundance or fondness for trials, contests and the show of justice can be seen also in an observation of Cicero Minor's illustrious father. In a letter to Quintus, when he was *propraetor* in Asia (61–59 BCE), Cicero wrote: *ac mihi quidem videtur non sane magna varietas esse negotiorum in administranda Asia, sed ea tota iuris dictione maxime sustineri.* ("As it seems to me, the administration of Asia presents no great variety of business; it all rests in the main on the dispensation of justice"; *Ep. Ad Fam.* I. 2).[73]

Ovid himself could have noticed it in his travels; in *Tristia* I, 2, 77–78 he mentions in passing that he had visited the cities of Asia Minor: *nec peto, quas quondam petii studiosus, Athenas, / oppida non Asiae, non loca visa prius* ("nor am I on my way to Athens as once I was while a student, nor to the cities of Asia, nor the places I have seen before".)[74] As he was a student in Athens and the Eastern provinces, sitting at public trials would have no doubt been seen as a good opportunity to learn Greek and improve one's skills in the *ars loquendi,* as well as enjoy some entertainment.

The history of the Province of Asia Minor, as well as the (perceived) cultural features just discussed, lends itself quite well to suggesting stories, to a creative, poetical mind, of contested authority, unsettled rule, judiciary entertainments, and elements of the supernatural or divine, due to its exoticness and foreignness to Roman eyes. The wilderness of the locales was also highly suggestive and poignantly conducive to relevant cultural *topoi* (those on mountains and natural features discussed in Section 1), through which a mythological narrative of transformations, clashes between the civilized and uncivilized and, inevitably, clashes of cultures could easily be imagined.

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72 "After my victory I replaced in the temples in all the cities of the province of Asia the ornaments which my antagonist in the war, when he despoiled the temples, had appropriated to his private use. Silver statues of me, on foot, on horseback, and in chariots were erected in the city to the number of about eighty; these I myself removed, and from the money thus obtained I placed in the temple of Apollo golden offerings in my own name and in the name of those who had paid me the honour of a statue". Text (with diacritics and integrations) and translation from Shipley 1924.

73 Text and transl. Shackleton Bailey 2002.

74 Text and transl. Wheeler 1924.

2.4 Ovid, the Structuralist Poet?

This deeper historical allegory would see this contest as a mythicized sketch of the history of Roman sovereignty in Lydia and Pergamon, subtly recalling events closer to Ovid involving Augustus and Asia Minor. Indeed, with the donation of the Kingdom of Pergamon to Rome the principle of Rome's authority is explicitly and unequivocally attributed, but it is contested by Aristonicus, the principle of unrefined sovereignty that Midas represents. The sovereignty of the region tries to hide the shame in a purple turban (181: *purpureis* [. . .] *tiaris*), an Apollinean and very much institutionally Roman color[75] (remember the *Tyrio* [. . .] *murice* at 166); it externally accepts Roman governance, but not without incidents. Finally, a former enemy of Augustus/Apollo turned ally helps bring order to a region mythically portrayed as desiring to be ruled by Apollo's Romans (remember Tmolus' decision), with a ruling class – foolish like Midas – that was not always compliant. The mention of Hypaepa as seat of the contest could be a telling clue for this interpretation.

Then, as a "structuralist poet" of sorts, Ovid could have symbolized this history in a clash of principles symbolized in the structurally significant characters and natural features, animated or not, that he uses in the episode and which we can rightly call actors.

Tab. 3: Contest Episode: Actors and Structural Significance.

Actors	Structural significance
Midas	Uncultured, excessive sovereignty in Lydia and the Seleucid, then Attalid, territories in Anatolia ("failed kingship" paradigm). Opposer of Apollo = rebellious local authorities, not recognizing the victory of a new/higher authority.
Pan	Principle of projected un-culturedness of the region. First appearing as a principle of defiance to Apollo's supremacy, later he stands as the graceful loser who concedes victory and cooperates.
Reeds	Panic element and metonymy for the musical instrument. Instrumental in delegitimizing Midas and asserting Apollo's authority = a former (instrument of the) adversary, now an instrument of the new regime.
Tmolos	Principle of autochthony; basic embodiment of the notion of sovereignty and authority; hence, the *truest* authority of a region, the mountain being a metonymy for the region itself.
Apollo	Principle of order and of Roman authority (= Augustus and Augustan values).

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75 Cf. discussion on colors above.

The outline of my proposed new allegorical interpretation for the episode as a whole, with a description of the function each of the relevant actors would play, is presented in Tab. 3 above. What this level of interpretation would ultimately describe though, is indeed on the one hand a political satire at the expenses of both the local ruling class of Lydia and the surrounding regions, and of Augustus; on the other hand, it would still be a limited – however rich and layered and sophisticated – and subjective perception of the political and religious[76] history of a territory that is foreign to Ovid (however long he sojourned in Asia Minor, his perspective was not that of a local). In the next section, I shall briefly attempt a survey of the numismatic evidence that may point to a greater complexity in the local envisioning of the relationships between gods and rulers in specific areas of Asia Minor.

2.5 Apollo, Augustus, and Coins from Asia Minor

In reality, the iconography of Augustus and Apollo in coins from the cities of Tmolus, Hypaepa, and Sardis in Lydia and Hierapolis in Phrygia shows a more complex side to the relationships between the locals and Augustus, and his use of the figure of Apollo. While it may have been used as a symbol for Roman propaganda and as a poetic device for conveying Augustan values, in Lydia in Augustus' times it appears that the god was not really appropriated as a symbol for Roman authority in coinage. Thanks to the raising of "trust and faith in him both in the entire Empire and Hypaipa" that Augustus was able to elicit, Hypaepa started to "mint coins in his reign and struck at least nine emissions".[77] Strikingly though, Apollo does not appear in local coins from his reign: the source of divine authority shown on the reverse lies predominantly in the Hellenistic model of the bearded Zeus. Later, Apollo appears on the reverse of coins of Nero and Commodus.[78]

As for Tmolus,[79] there are twenty coin types from Hadrian to Gordian III. Eight of these types are considered pseudo-autonomous coinages, the remaining 12 portray emperors or their wives on the obverse. On the pseudo-autonomous ones, the most represented figures are Tmolus, Silenus, Herakles, Omphale, Dionysus. There is only one dubious representation of Apollo. On imperial coinage, Apollo appears twice, on a coin type of Sabina and on one of the four types of Commodus.[80]

In Sardis, Apollo is a dominant figure in the civic coinage in the II century BCE, up to the years of Attalus III and in the civic coinage with local magistrates up to

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76 Ovid indeed appears to be implying, with the episode, that the supremacy of Apollo – in other words, his cult – was all the more strengthened as an outcome of the contest.

77 Altınoluk 2013, 95.

78 Cf. *Ibid*., 87–96 and Appendixes II–III.

79 See Foss 1982 for a complete description.

80 *Ibid.*

the beginning of the Common Era. The god is not present in the extant imperial coinage, except for one type of Commodus and one of Valerian I – a sign that possibly he was too much of a symbol for the previous political regime and could not be easily appropriated by Roman authority there.

In Hierapolis in Phrygia, instead, Apollo – with his prominent cult as Apollo Lairbenos in the local temple – was successfully appropriated and used by the emperors on their coins, from Augustus to Gallienus. It is interesting that in the contest episode Midas, a Phrygian king, can oppose Apollo's supremacy while in Lydia!

Resistance to the use of Apollo in coinage from Lydia in the imperial period may well be interpreted as a sign of a partial resistance by the region to the Apollinean propaganda of the Augustan regime, in the *Res Gestae* and as filtered through a mythical lens in Ovid's poetry. More work can be done to investigate the geopolitical implications for the religious and political ideology of the *principatus* as they emerge from the use of divine iconography on coins.

Concluding Remarks

The older and wiser Octavian may not have been too happy with Ovid's use of the identification between himself and Apollo; in the first place, because it was not always a positive one and it reflected a Hellenistic trope of divine kingship, which might have been resisted by part of the Roman aristocracy. Secondly, the variety of the provenance of Apollo's ornaments in the contest of Book XI does summarize the span of Augustus' dominion but, for all the symbolism of the restraint of the golden hair, it sits uneasily with a *princeps* investing time and effort in condemning excess.

Ovid portrays Apollo as not self-sufficient for completing his victory but pacifying a territory by enlisting the cooperation of humbler gods who were formerly with the opposing side, who are defeated and who conceded victory – like Augustus and Cicero Minor. In light of the associations that were being strongly pushed even by Augustus himself between him and Apollo, is Ovid talking about Apollo or is it really Augustus?

Augustus did not like to be made the subject of poetry or literature, with the except of writings of the most serious kind: *componi tamen aliquid de se nisi et serio et a praestantissimis offendebatur* ("but he took offence at being made the subject of any composition except in serious earnest and by the most eminent writers"; Suet., *Aug.* 89).[81] Ovid was among the most eminent writers of his time – but was he regarded by most contemporaries as capable of writing "in serious earnest"? A work that could have been regarded by the *princeps*' circle as a "serious" poetical

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81 Text from Ihm 1908; transl. by Rolfe 1914.

effort might have been seen in the incomplete *Fasti*, but that is a topic best left for other occasions.[82] One doubts that the circle of the *princeps* may have regarded the author of the *Ars Amatoria* and the *Remedia Amoris*, among other works, as a *serious* author.

In conclusion, I think Ovid's subversive, technicalized[83] use of myth, even in the contest episode, might have constituted one of the many little drops that filled the measure of the *princeps'* patience with the poet.

I have already mentioned how Ovid's allegorical reference might be considered a *mise en abyme* – we risk not appreciating the full significance of the mythological narrative without considering the hidden historical allegory, while the quasi-historiographical sketch emerges if considered as a narrative sequence. And yet we also must recognize that the circular relation between the two is somewhat elusive and difficult to grasp firmly, behind the scenes of a beautifully constructed story of gods, kings, and natural features high (a mountain) and low (the reeds). Yet, it is in such an enticing ineffability, in that feeling of vague familiarity and relation to history, that some most effective mythical narratives thrive and live on in a cultural tradition.

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82 For an overview of its compositional history, style, and the political and religious valences see Miller 2002 and Fantham 2002.

83 Kerényi 1993, 116.

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Jaime Alvar Ezquerra

The Gods at Play: Mapping the Divine at the Amphitheatres in Hispania

In all probability, one of the last gestures made by performers before going on stage was to turn to the gods.[1] What was at stake varied from spectacle to spectacle, so the issue is a complex one, given that amphitheatres were one of the main arenas for the representation of *romanitas*. The *animus* of all those involved in the show would depend on their assigned role. We can imagine that many in the audience did not share the participant's needs to communicate with the gods. Their passive role as spectators limited their level of engagement; for them, there was not much at stake. Therefore, it can be said that the involvement of donors in the performance is a relevant factor in the testimonies of religiosity found in amphitheatres.

Like all public spaces in Roman cities, amphitheatres hosted areas for the gods; niches, shrines, altars and inscriptions were reminders of the respect the gods were due, and spaces for an intimate moment of withdrawal before or after the show. These places, more or less discreet, more or less visible, channelled the devotion of those who believed themselves in debt to the divinities, aspired to their favour, or were, simply, thankful.

Depending on the relationship between each individual and the show, the need for communication with the supernatural could change, as could the target divinities, the way they were invoked, and the request that was made of them. As a result, we could expect copious evidence of religious practices in amphitheatres, but this is not the case, at least in *Hispania*, where only five out of 26 amphitheatres have yielded religious inscriptions. More surprising still is the fact that in some cities with a rich *corpus* of gladiatorial inscriptions, religious expressions are lacking. For instance, fifteen inscriptions related to gladiators have been found in the capital of *Baetica*, *Colonia Patricia Corduba*, but none of them contains the slightest reference to religious practices. This cannot be interpreted as a lack of interest in religion, but rather suggests that the inscriptions that have survived are related to other matters, probably simply a matter of chance. In other words, we must take into consideration the location of finds for us to be able to interpret the evidence consistently.

When the *Lex Vrsonensis* (V, *pars a*, col. 21, ln. 8–10) points out that *eisque pontificib(us) augurib(us)q(ue) ludos gladiatoresq(ue) inter decuriones spectare ius potestasque*

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est, it is clear that priests and augurs in the colony of *Vrso* (Osuna, Seville) enjoyed the privilege of attending gladiatorial games in the seats reserved for decurions. If these priests were to perform a religious ritual in these circumstances, it is to be expected that the target divinities would differ from those invoked by the gladiators at the centre of the show.

The law points out that magistrates, duumviri and aediles had the obligation to co-fund *munera* and stage performances, with a minimum of 2000 sesterces, to which they could add another 2000 from the public coffers (V, *pars b*, col. 22, ln. 11–14). The law prescribed that these spectacles be dedicated to the Capitoline Triad (V, *pars b*, col. 22, ln. 8–9), although they could simultaneously be dedicated to other gods (*deis deabusque*, without further detail).[2]

A good example of this is found in Cástulo (*Municipium Castulonensis*, *Tarraconense*, Linares, Jaén), in which Lucius Licinius Abascantio honours his city for his appointment as sevir. The inscription on the pedestal of a lost silver statue of Antoninus Pius erected in AD 154 indicates that he organised several spectacles, including two days of gladiatorial games, which he dedicated to the divine emperors and their house.[3] Abascantio, therefore, did not involve any of the expected divinities, but directly addressed the emperor and the imperial house as a show of loyalty and in the expectations of promotion. That is, he was not grateful to the gods in general or to any god in particular for having reached the sevirate, for being in the position of practicing evergetism, or for the success of the spectacles that he had organised. Abascantio is not placed in a 'horizon of expectation', but in a 'space of experience',[4] sheltered by the divine power that he found most propitious at that time: the tutelage of the divine emperor.

The rules conveyed by the colonial law of Vrso do not differ substantially from those in the Flavian municipal laws, nor, specifically, from those prescribed by the *Lex Irnitana*.[5] This law does not give that many details about the obligations of magistrates, who were still responsible for the organisation of spectacles, although with more lax rules. The fact that no limitations are placed on the use of public funds and that no minimum spending cap is imposed on the magistrates seems to suggest that

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2 See the acute comments by Rüpke 2006 and Gómez-Pantoja 2009, 38–42.

3 *AE* 1976, 351; *AE* 1978, 439; *HEp* 5, 1995, 424; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, 80, no. 13; *HEpOL* 13771.

[*Im*]*p*(*eratori*) *Caes*(*ari*) *T*(*ito*) *Aelio* / [*Ha*]*driano Antonino* / [*Au*]*g*(*usto*) *p*(*atri*) *p*(*atriae*) *pont*(*ifici*) *max*(*imo*) *tri*/[*bu*]*niciae potest*(*atis*) *XVIII* / *co*(*n*)*s*(*uli*) *IIII* / [*L*(*ucius*)] *Licinius Abascantio* / [*in republic*]*a Castulonensi VI viratu functus ex indul*/[*gentia*] *splendidissimi ordinis quos* [*is*] *gerendos in hono*/*res d*[*ivoru*]*m et d*(*ivinae*) [*d*]*om*[*us*] *cen*[*sue*]*rat edi*[*tis*] *in amp*[*h*]*iteatro gladi*/[*atoribu*]*s bis spectaculorum die*[*r*(*um*) -*c*.-2-4-] *item in theatro* / [*civ*(*ibus*) *et incolis*] *acroamatibus frequenter editis statu*[*am*] / [*imp*(*eratoris*) *Ant*]*onini Aug*(*usti*) *p*(*atri*) *p*(*atriae*) *optimi maximique prin*/[*cipis ac*]*cepto loco a republica Castulonensium* / [*ob hon*]*orem VIviratus* / [*d*(*ono*)] *d*(*edit*).

4 Koselleck 1993, 337: experience and expectation are two adequate categories to thematise the historical time, past and future cross in the present.

5 Gómez-Pantoja 2009, 44.

the state was no longer as concerned about the success of a model begun with colonial laws in the republican period. To begin with, the cultural expressions of *romanitas* were by then firmly established in the Empire; magistrates did their duty, and there was no need for legislators to be so punctilious; this is even without taking into consideration the fiscal issue which, undoubtedly, must have played a significant role in changing the norms that regulated the organisation of public spectacles.[6] *Municipia* and their magistrates seem to have been given much more freedom of action than that bestowed by the colonial law, which gives precise details about how to proceed. This sort of emancipation continued rewarding evergetism with prestige,[7] while liberating those magistrates who, not being in the position to face such an economic burden, could endanger the occupation of magistracies by making them seem undesirable. For the state, it was more important for local administration to run smoothly than to have more or less luxurious public spectacles organised. Imperial cities had become monumental enough to need to continue building arenas for the representation of *romanitas*; cities now operated within well-set parameters, and the *up down* vector was not as necessary as in the republican period.

Inscriptions describing the operation of those offering public spectacles present evidence for this. Let us see the example of G. Cexaecus Fuscus (fig. 1), who offered an ex-voto to Ermaeus Devorix for the success of a gladiatorial show near *Aquae Flaviae* (Conventus Bracaraugustanus, Chaves, Villa Real, Portugal).[8] Although the document is hardly exceptional or particularly eloquent, it supports my previous arguments. The inscription reads as follows:

> *Ermaeei De/vori ob ev/entum bo/num gladi/atori mun/eris / G(aius) Cexaec/us Fuscu/s {x} ex / voto*

The authors that have examined this document agree in accepting the hypothesis that the subject is *G(aius) Cexaecus Fuscus*, whom Hübner identified as *G. Ceraecius C. fil. Quir(ina tribus) Fuscus, Aquifla(viensis) ex convent(u) Bracaraug(ustano)*, who reached the position of provincial flamen (*CIL* II 4204).[9] The idea is suggestive, but uncertain.

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6 The *SC de re gladiatoria* or Bronze of Italica, dated to Marcus Aurelius' reign, reveal many details about the complex ways in which games were funded. Cf. See the long and rich commentary by Gómez-Pantoja 2009, 44–66.

7 Melchor Gil 1994; Andreu Pintado 1999, 453–471; Melchor Gil/Rodríguez Neila, 2003, 209–239; Melchor Gil 2004, 255–266; Melchor Gil 2009, 145–169; Melchor Gil 2018; Melchor Gil 2019, 167–180.

8 On a granite altar used in a bridge and preserved in a chapel in Azinheira, north of Chaves (Villa Real). *CIL* II 2473; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 12, 80–81; *HEpOL* 8300. 2nd century AD.

9 *C(aio) Ceraecio / C(ai) fil(io) Quir(ina) / Fusco Aquifl(aviensi) / ex convent(u) / Bracaraug(ustano) / omnib(us) h(onoribus) in r(e) / p(ublica) sua func(to) / [flamini p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris) / p (rovincia) H(ispania) c(iterior)]*. For the character, see Alföldy 1973, no. 18; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, 81, with earlier bibliography.

Fig. 1: Cexaecus' altar near Aquae Flaviae. © Archivo Hispania Epigraphica.

The donor, therefore, offers a programme of games in his city, not necessarily *ob honorem flaminatus*, because this is not specified. It would more likely be in connection with his local career, which he shows thanks for with an *editio gladiatori munerum*.

The divinity invoked in the ex-voto is Hermes, with the peculiar spelling: *Ermaeei*.[10] Scholars agree that *Cexaecus* has chosen Mercury because of this god's relevance for Celtic religiosity, which was famously confirmed by Caesar and Tacitus.[11] On the other hand, the worship of Mercury was relatively common in the NW of the Iberian Peninsula, especially in areas with a strong Celtic element.[12] Tovar[13] related this Hermes with the Celtic god Lugu, a popular divinity in its region of origin, which brings to the fore an interesting connection to the choice of *Cexaecus*. An inscription from Genouilly refers to this Celtic god as *Luguri*, a dative of *Lugurix*,[14] which helps to explain the meaning of the epithet *Ermaeei*. Indeed, this feature is as unparalleled as the theonym used: *Devori*. It is accepted that this word replaces the expected *Devorici*,

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10 Better than the suggestion of separating the words: *Ermae Eide*/*vori* (Rodríguez Colmenero 1987, no. 78, 107–109, reading followed by Olivares Pedreño 2000, 129 and Baratta 2001, 78). The initial reading of the theonym was *Marti Deo Victori* (*CIL* II 2473), later corrected by Leite de Vasconcellos (1913, 505–507) with *Ermae*, which has since been followed.

11 Caes. *Bell. Gal.* VI, 17: *Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plurima simulacra, hunc ómnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc at quaestus pecuniae mercaturasques habere vim maxime arbitrantur.* Tac. *Germ.* IX, 1: *Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent.*

12 Baratta 2001, 111. Distribution map in p. 113.

13 Tovar 1981, 281–282.

14 Tovar 1981, 282.

with nominative *Devorix*.[15] The word is constituted by two terms *Deus/-a* and *Rex*,[16] that is, Hermes is invoked as 'King of gods', an argument supported by the above-noted comments by Caesar and Tacitus. The combination of a Greek theonym with such a rare epithet merits special attention.

The relationship of Mercury with amphitheatres was mentioned by Tertullian (A*d Nat*. I, 10, 46 and *Apolog*. XV, 5),[17] when he mocks the characters of Mercury, whose mission was to ensure that, at the end of fights, the loser was dead by applying a red-hot iron to the chest, and of *Dis Pater* who, should that not be the case, finished them off with a hammer. These scenes must have been uncommon, although Tertullian claims to have witnessed them. At any rate, this sporadic appearance of the god to check that the loser in a fight is dead does not seem sufficient reason for a munera editor to invoke Mercury. This is a psychopomp Hermes that is depicted in a *defixionis tabella* in the amphitheatre of Carthage,[18] which does not fit well with the epithet *Devorix*, an exaltation of supreme divinity[19] that does not become an infernal god.

The use of the Greek theonym has been highlighted by Giulia Baratta, who stresses Mercury's relationship with gymnastics and entertainment in the amphitheatre; Hermes was, as well, the protector of youth, sports and practice in the palaestra, so in this case, in addition to the mixture with an indigenous god, there is also an influence of the Greek god over the Roman one.[20] This, however, does not explain why the Greek denomination is chosen over the Roman one. In my opinion, there are two additional angles to the enquiry.

It is clear that context, which has to date dominated the interpretation, is important, but the perspective of the dedicator has been neglected. We know two things about him that are, in my opinion, essential to understand his motivations. First, he was the organiser of the spectacle; second, while not totally certain but still likely, he was a religious specialist. Concerning the former, in addition to everything that I have already mentioned with regard to Hermes/Mercury and his relationship with spectacles, it must be remembered that *Cexaecus* was investing a substantial amount of money, so it is not secondary that he chose a supreme deity with an unquestionable economic dimension. We can easily imagine that *Cexaecus*

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15 Tovar 1949, 142.

16 Albertos 1956, 294–297, argues that its meaning is 'King of Goddesses'.

17 *Risimus et meridiani ludi de deis lusum, quod Ditis Pater, Iovis frater, gladiatorum exsequias cum malleo deducit, quod Mercurius, in calvitio pennatulus, in caduceo ignitulus, corpora exanimata iam mortemve simulantia e cauterio probat.* The text of the Apologetic reads: *Risimus et inter ludicras meridianorum crudelitates Mercurium mortuos cauterio examinantem, vidimus et Iovis fratrem gladiatorum cadavera cum malleo deducentem.* Cf. Ville 1981, 377–379.

18 Vid. Peyras 1996, 127–141.

19 Qualitative, relational, hierarchical epithet according to EPIDI's taxonomy. Alvar *et al.* 2023 forthcoming.

20 Baratta 2001, 111–112.

wanted to take no risks and invoked a god that protects the economic interests of his devotees, and who is also related to the amphitheatre.

The god was re-dimensioned by the religious specialist *Cexaecus*. He chose the god in his Greek denomination to add exoticism to the Roman Mercury and thus increase its prestige. That this was the choice of an expert may be confirmed by the spelling, to which little attention has been paid to date. The double –e is used to represent the long Greek vowel, also found in a *defixio* from Carthage, in which Hermes' name, in Greek, is written with a double epsilon.[21] In conclusion, I do not think that this was a mistake by the engraver, but rather that the spelling seems to be intentional. The exotic choice that seeks the prestige of antiquity is compounded with a similarly exclusive epithet.

If Hermes comes down to the arena with *Cexaecus*, Martial brings Hercules. There is no certainty that Hercules was connected with the amphitheatres, in this case the one in *Segobriga* (*Municipium Saegobrigensis*, prov. *Tarraconensis*, Saelices, Cuenca). The inscription is succinct, so we cannot determine the context in which the altar on which it is engraved was consecrated: *Herculi / Martialis / exvoto.*[22]

It is related to the amphitheatre because it was found in a nearby building, in which three other altars dedicated to Hercules were also discovered.[23] None of the altars draws a direct link between Hercules and spectacles, so all conclusions must remain speculative. A number of arguments can be put forth to suggest this connection, but none is conclusive. First, Martial's economic position seems anything but affluent, based on the poor quality of the inscription and his name, which is indicative of a low socio-economic status. In addition, Hercules was a popular deity among gladiators and their followers owing to his heroic credentials and physical strength.[24] At any rate, this would be the only testimony to link Hercules and the amphitheatre in the Iberian Peninsula, where approximately fifty invocations to Hercules have been found.[25] The most common epithet in them is *Invictus*, although most of these inscriptions bear no epithet at all.

That those fighting in the arena in *Segobriga* could access a space dedicated to the cult of Hercules is a possibility. Similar cases, with different deities, are found in the amphitheatres of *Emerita*, *Italica* and *Tarraco*. Only one full word survives in a fragmented inscription found in the amphitheatre of *Colonia Triumphalis Tarraco*,

21 Peyras, 1996 129. For the use of defixiones in amphitheatres, see Gordon 2012, 47–74.

22 Almagro Basch 1982, 341 and 1984, no. 6, 67–68; *AE* 1982, 598; Oria 1996, 157–158; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 70, 194–195. *HEpOL* 6731.

23 As suggested by Almagro Basch 1984, nos. 4, 5 and 7 (Martial's was number 6).

24 Ville 1981, 333; Berlan-Bajard 2019.

25 This number comes from a quick glance using the Hispania Epigraphica online search engine, sub uoce Hercul. See in addition, Oria 1989, 263–274; Oria 1993, 221–232; Oria 1996; Oria 1997, 143–151; Oria 2002, 219–244.

the theonym of the god to which the altar was dedicated: *Iovi*.[26] The absence of an epithet and the uncertain reading does not allow us to reach further conclusions other than that, like with Hercules in *Segobriga*, Jupiter was invoked in the amphitheatre of Tarraco, but in the same place in which an altar dedicated to Nemesis stood (about which more shortly). The circumstances of the find, in fact, suggest that the altar was located in a sacred area in which the main divinity was Nemesis. We shall presently examine the presence of this goddess in the amphitheatres of *Italica*, *Emerita* and *Tarraco*. For now, I shall only emphasise the small epigraphic presence of Jupiter, to whom, according to the municipal laws and the law of Vrso, gladiatorial games were dedicated. This does not mean that this god and the triad to which he belonged had its own cult space in every amphitheatre; in fact, the flexibility of religious practice and the adaptability of agents and divinities was such that the cohabitation of various gods is unsurprising.[27]

In consequence, the list of gods related to amphitheatrical spectacles is reduced to the Capitoline Triad (a legal obligation), Hermes and perhaps Hercules and Jupiter. Nothing particularly surprising, except for the paucity of the evidence. This paucity, however, is mitigated by the constant presence of Nemesis, the true divine leading role in Hispania's amphitheatrical games.

From the capital of Lusitania, *Augusta Emerita*, comes a dipinto found high on the right-hand wall of the northern access to the amphitheatre (fig. 2). It is a no longer preserved *titulus pictus* on red stucco, shaped like a *tabula ansata*. The white letters were well sketched, following the horizontal incisions.

The text reads:

> *Deae Invictae* | *Caelesti Nemesi* | *M*(*arcus*) *Aurelius Fhilo* (!) | *Roma v*(*otum*) *s*(*olvit*) *a*(*nimo*) *l*
> (*ibens*) | *sacra v*(*ota*) *s*(*olvit*) *m*(*erito*).

For a long time, García y Bellido's suggestion that the name of the dedicator was that of an imperial freedman or someone acquiring citizenship as a result of the *constitutio Antoniniana* was accepted.[28] However, as pointed out by Gómez-Pantoja, nothing sustains this interpretation.[29] There is little that we can infer about the dedicator, other than his Roman origin. His motivations, however, are clear, since he himself states that he wished to fulfil his sacred vows. Whether this was triggered

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26 Alföldy 1975, 28; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 74, 200–201; *HEpOL* 19483: *Iovi* [- - -] / *L*(*ucius*) *S*(- - -) [- - -] follows Alföldy's reading, which is also followed by all later authors except for Gómez-Pantoja, who assumes that the beginning of the text is lost, and suggests [——] / *Iovi* [*v*(*otum*) *a* (*nimo*)] / *l*(*ibente*) *s*(*olvit*).

27 For this matter, see Beatriz Pañeda's essential doctoral thesis *Divine Cohabitations in Sanctuaries of the Graeco-Roman World*, UC3M – EPHE, defended on May 31st 2021. Although this phenomenon is less common, or is less explicitly expressed, in the western provinces, the conclusions of the dissertation are applicable to the whole practice of Graeco-Roman polytheism.

28 García y Bellido 1957 and García y Bellido 1959, 128.

29 Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 58, 181.

Fig. 2: Dipinto from the amphitheatre of Emerita. © Archivo Hispania Epigraphica.

by his participation in a combat is difficult to say, but it is worth pointing out that, although he was from Rome, he decided to leave his testimony in a dipinto situated 4 m high in one of the entrances to the amphitheatre, which suggests that this was no banal gesture, as confirmed by the statement of his obligation and the good will with which he faced it: *v(otum) s(olvit) a(nimo) l(ibens) / sacra v(ota) s(olvit) m(erito)*.

This document brings us straight to the issue of the divinity that was most closely associated with amphitheatrical spectacles in *Hispania*, Nemesis. In this instance, the onomastic sequence seems to suggest the identification of *Dea Caelestis* and Nemesis, that is, that the devotee is addressing a single divinity, not two. The logic that underlies these identifications is always hard to determine.[30] Perhaps the devotee simply thought that *Caelestis* and Nemesis was one and the same goddess (i.e. a direct identification). This is probably the phenomenon to which authors that describe syncretism were referring. However, the union of theonyms can also respond to a cumulative logic if what the dedicator intended was to address a divine entity in which the powers of *Caelestis* and Nemesis converged, which would, therefore, be superior and distinct from both of them. This more complex meaning outlines the meaning of syncretism for Motte and Pirenne-Delforge,[31] whom Wallensten follows to argue: "if a deity or a cult were to qualify as a syncretism, the end product had to be something more than its constituent parts; in other words, that the outcome of a meeting between two initially foreign ingredients, be they iconographical, conceptual or other, should be a new entity with distinctive characteristics".[32]

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30 Bonnet *et al.* 2018, 567.

31 Motte/Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 11–27.

32 Wallensten 2014, 160.

However, the logic behind the accumulation of powers does not necessarily have to crystallise in a new divine entity that can be worshipped as such. The complexity of this process has been emphasised by Daniela Bonanno, who examines practices of heteronomy, eponymy, superposition and juxtaposition.[33]

The fact that this is the only epigraphic association between *Caelestis* and Nemesis makes it hard to believe that this is the result of a process of syncretism, according to the principles outlined above. The proximity of these goddesses becomes especially clear in the amphitheatre of *Italica*, but there, these goddesses were worshipped separately.

A third option is that Nemesis is an onomastic attribute[34] of *Dea Invicta Caelestis*, which would clarify the reason for which the latter was being invoked. In that case, the onomastic sequence would not express identification, but rather juxtaposition. It would be peculiar, however, for Nemesis to be reduced to an epithet in this dedication, given her relevance in amphitheatrical contexts.

Emerita was not the only city whose amphitheatre hosted a cult space for Nemesis. We have already seen the inscription mentioning Jupiter in *Tarraco*. To this, we must add an altar found in the centre of the northern side of the seating area which was erected by two or three people. The gender determinant of the first two is missing, so most authors have interpreted them as men, while the third was a woman. Gómez-Pantoja prefers to interpret all three of them as women, with no relation of kin between them. However, the following reading seems more acceptable:

> [*N*]*um*(*ini*) *s*(*anctae*) / *Nemesi*[*s*] / *Cornel*[*ius*] / *Senecia*[*nus*] / *et Valeria Po*/*mpeia pro sa*/*lute Numm*(*i*) / *Didymi* / *v*(*otum*) *p*(*osuerunt*).[35]

The beneficiary of this request is *Nummius Didymus*, perhaps a *venator*, as the inscription was found right below a painting depicting a hunting scene. It is impossible to determine what the relationship between the dedicators was and how they were related to *Didymus*. Our only certainty is that Nemesis was worshipped in the amphitheatre, where she may have had her own cult area. It is interesting that the divine power invoked is not the divinity itself, but her numen, which reaffirms the awareness of Nemesis' capability of action through her numen. This was not a capricious choice, because what was being consciously invoked were the healing qualities of the goddess,[36] which is referred to as *sancta*, the meaning of which will be analysed in relation to the following inscription.

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33 Bonanno 2020, 1–20.

34 Bonnet 2017.

35 *RIT* 45 = *AE* 1956, 24 = *AE* 1965, 52 = *HAE* 861 = *CIL* II2/14, 2, 848 = *HEp* 18, 2009, 422: *HEpOL* 19488; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 71, 195–197, lám. XXXIX, Fig. 2 (312).

36 A dedication found in Emerita attributed to Nemesis: *Dominae cur*(*atrici*) *anima*[*e*] / *palmam* [*ex p*(*ondo*) - - -]III / - - - - - - is put in relation with another one from Italica, the reading of which is more doubtful as I will show later, which could be read: *Lucanus Fedelis* / *Domin*(*a*)*e cur*(*atrici*) *ani*/*mae*.

In the same amphitheatre, another inscription was found in association with four anepigraphic altars. It reads as follows:

Sanc(tae) / Augus/{s}t(a)e Neme/si ex vot(o) / [- M]ess[ius][37]

There is no evidence on the identity and social status of the dedicator, only that he or she set up this altar in the area reserved for Nemesis in the amphitheatre, in which Jupiter was also invoked. This association is less surprising if we take into account the second of Nemesis' epithets, *Augusta*, a divine, operational, institutional, political and power-related epithet, according to the EPIDI classification;[38] this epithetic block is typical of Jupiter, so it can be argued that the *cultores* indulged in a sort of conceptual association that they did not find aberrant. In addition, the first epithet, *Sancta*, is also divine, although also qualitative, intrinsic and substantial. The implementation of this classification can help us to distinguish conceptual spheres in a reasonably flexible way. In this instance, two epithets that could initially be seen as redundant or simply as a mechanical choice with no defined motivation, turn into the expression of the mental space within which the practitioner places the invoked divinity.

An opistographic stele with *vestigia* on both sides possibly comes from the same context as the previous ara (fig. 3). The inscription, which is poorly preserved, has been thoroughly reconstructed by Gómez-Pantoja:[39]

Cum me mo<rit>u(rus) Se/verus, cautius cu/[rent no]s scuta, victo(rem) ta(ndem), Neme(sis), me (fac)!

Fig. 3: Opistographic plate with *vestigia* from Tarraco. © Archivo Hispania Epigraphica.

37 *RIT* 46 = *HEp* 4, 1994, 840 = *AE* 1965, 53 = *HAE* 870 = *CIDER* 74 = *CIL* II2/14, 2, 849 = *HEp* 18, 2009, 423; *HEpOL* 19489; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 72, 197–198, lám. XXIX, Fig. 3 (312).
38 Alvar *et al.* 2023 forthcoming.
39 Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 73, 199–200. *RIT* 804 = *HEp* 5, 1995, 768 = *CIL* II2/14, 2, 847 = *HEp* 18, 2009, 424; *HEpOL* 18809.

The dedicator seems to have been a gladiator who was about to confront another, called Severus, invoking Nemesis to give him victory. The interpretation of this plaque is not easy due to both its opistographic nature and the disposition and meaning of the text. Gómez-Pantoja suggested that if the text had a magic character, the inscribed face would have probably remained hidden; instead, he thought it more likely that the anepigraphic face was initially going to be inscribed, but that the tracing of the *plantae pedum* left almost no room for this, so it was decided to turn to the other face. In my opinion, an experienced engraver would have had no problem to inscribe the text, poorly fitted on the currently anepigraphical face. The text appears to have been engraved after the tracing of the *plantae*, so it seems that what we have here is a 'preformed' plaque featuring a text for which it was not originally conceived. The engraver thus struggled to write down the dedication to Nemesis on an already patterned plaque, fitting the letters to the lines. Following Valentino Gasparini's interpretation of *vestigial*,[40] the gladiator found in them an instrument to communicate with the divinity, in which feet soles have a changing symbolic meaning, depending on individual memory and will. This is the reason why it is so difficult to determine whether the footmark is human or divine, because its presence is in fact suggestive of an encounter between mortal and deity; footmarks are an appropriate place to link with the supernatural, and therefore they will have a different meaning for each observer. In this instance, pre-carved footmarks, devoid of any meaning, acquire one through their appropriation by the gladiator who asks Nemesis to help him in his fight against Severus. Magical attributions are an elusive solution; we are used to epigraphic texts *post eventu*, and it is hard to recognise individuals oriented towards future expectations.[41] The logical sequence of events was for the triumph over Severus to be followed by the setting up of a votive altar. If this is not a magical gesture, we must clarify why the gesture that led to it is. The answer lies in the 'magical' *formulae* used: *cum me moriturus* or *me fac*. This gladiator appears to have had no issue with his imprecation being visible, against standard marginal behaviour. In any case, the inscription on a bronze sheet found in the amphitheatre of *Carmo*, the magical nature of which is uncertain, does not consolidate the strictly magical interpretation that has been put forth.[42] I tend to think that we are, once more, witnessing ambiguous behaviour, easier to tolerate for the users than for modern scholars. Before we leave Tarraco's amphitheatre, it must be pointed out that the building hosted a *sacellum* specifically dedicated to Nemesis, although dedications to other gods, such as Jupiter, were also deposited in it, as archaeology has demonstrated.

From Carmona (*Carmo*, *conventus Hispalensis*) comes a bronze sheet with a hanging ring, seemingly found in the vicinity of the amphitheatre and now lost.

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40 Gasparini 2021, 272–365.

41 Vid n. 4.

42 Gómez-Pantoja 2009, 200.

The inscription has been variously interpreted. The text seems to read: *Om/p(h)e r(ei)p(ublicae) s(erva)* / *August(a)e* / *Nemesi.*[43] The dedicator, a public slave, wears a Greek *cognomen*. Gómez-Pantoja suggests that the sheet would have been fixed in a *sacellum* dedicated to Nemesis in the amphitheatre. Certainly, she was not engaged in a spectacle; at most, we can argue that the inscription is an expression of private devotion, set up in a suitable context for the cult of Nemesis.[44]

I have left for last the most substantial assemblage of epigraphic evidence for the presence of Nemesis in amphitheatres, which comes from Italica. Fortunately, this assemblage has been analysed in two comprehensive studies that make my task lighter.[45]

At least two sacred areas have been identified in Italica's amphitheatre. The first was dedicated to the cult of *Dea Caelestis*, and the other corresponds to the *sacraria* to Nemesis in the east aisle. In addition to this, a *sacrarium* to Hecate may have also existed.[46]

Caelestis's sacred area is located to the north of the eastern access. It is outlined by the amphitheatre's structure, which forms a space reserved for private use, as indicated by the doorjambs. Sometime around AD 200, the room was redecorated and paved with marble slabs, and a statue of *Caelestis* was erected. Only the base survives, at the foot of which was a plaque paid by *C. Se[n]tius Africanus* for *Caelestis Pia Augusta* (fig. 4).[47] The length and the height of the vault must have made for an imposing room, similar to other amphitheatrical *sacraria*, such as the one in Tarraco.

Other *vestigia*, dedicated to Nemesis, were found in the corridor outside. According to Beltrán and Rodríguez (2004, 71–77), Nemesis' *sacraria* were independent from the closed area dedicated to *Caelestis*; Gómez-Pantoja (2009, 190) however, argues that it was all part of a single context, both because of the proximity of the different elements and because of the 'syncretism' that brought these divinities together in Hispania. It would appear that the intention existed to keep the dedications to both deities neatly separate; those to Nemesis were not deposited inside *Caelestis*'s sacred area, but displayed in the corridor, outside. The wish to distinguish between them seems clear, especially since these goddesses are not known to share the same ex-voto, at least in Italica; the identification of both

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43 *CILA* 841; Stylow 2001, 99–100; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 59, 182–183; *HEpOL* 4904.

44 Alvar 2001, 483.

45 Beltrán/Rodríguez 2004 and Gómez-Pantoja 2009.

46 A painting of Hecate was discovered on a wall in the ring corridor under the podium, near the main eastern aisle. This may have constituted a *sacrarium* to this goddess. Cf. Beltrán/Rodríguez 2004, 79–81.

47 *Caelesti Piae Aug(ustae)* / *G(aius) Se[n]tius Africanus cum liberis* / *a(nimo) l(ibente) v(otum) s (olvit)*, *HEpOL* 4734; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 63. A dedication to *Caelestis* by an *Africanus* is unsurprising, although the use of these *cognomina* are not full proof evidence of *origo*.

Fig. 4: Italica. Africanus' plate dedicated to *Caelestis*. © Archivo Hispania Epigraphica.

deities seems, therefore, implausible. That is, that their names were not juxtaposed in epigraphic texts, and that there was no other sign of cohabitation.

Among the evidence for worship systematically compiled by Beltrán and Rodríguez, we are especially interested in those that provide specific information about the way amphitheatrical divinities were venerated. Of great interest is a rare plaque with *vestigia* bearing the transliteration of a Latin text in Greek characters; the words are written in reverse from right to left and from bottom to top (fig. 5).
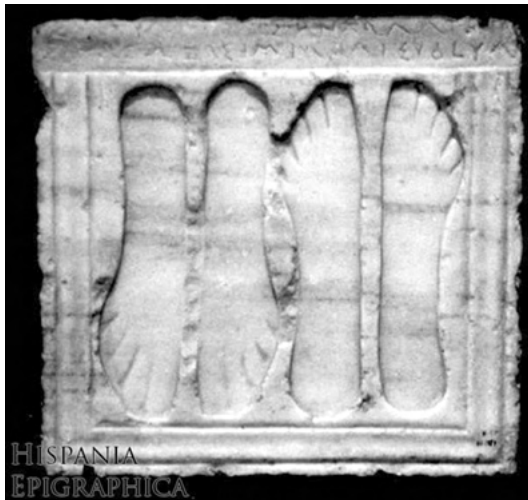
Fig. 5: Italica. Zosimos' dedication to Nemesis. © Archivo Hispania Epigraphica.

The apparently indecipherable *soikuL. muoisnekilatI. P / somisoZ isemeN eat-suoguA*, turns into Αὐγούσταε Νέμεσι Ζώσιμος / π(- - -) Ἰταλικήνσιουμ Λύκιος. This game of letters and words makes perfect sense if, as pointed out by Gómez-Pantoja, we interpret it as a magical spell with which the public slave Zosimos tried to conceal his invocation from indiscreet eyes.[48] Another interesting document is that dedicated by *Aurelius Polyticus / Nemesi Praesenti*.[49] The epithet (divine > qualitative > inherent > potential) is uncommon, but it emphasises the dedicator's wish for the goddess' protective presence.

Yet more complicated is a plaque with *vestigia* in its central area and texts on both faces (fig. 6).

Fig. 6: Italica. Fedeles' plate with *vestigia*. © Archivo Hispania Epigraphica.

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48 Vid Gómez-Pantoja 2007, 59–76. For this text, see Beltrán/Rodríguez 2004, no. 2, 90–92; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 62, 185–188. *HEpOL* 25771.

49 Beltrán/Rodríguez 2004, no. 3, 92–94; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 60, 183–185; *HEpOL* 553. Another inscription from Italica uses the epithet: [――] / [*Nemesi*] *Praesenti*. Beltrán/Rodríguez 2004, no. 7, 98; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 64, 190–191. The photograph in *HEpOL* 4736 is cropped and the P from *Praesenti* is not visible; in the photograph published by Beltrán/Rodríguez it can be appreciated clearly.

The first three letters on the left can be read as *Lu/ca/nus*, and the three to the right as *Fe/de/les*, which gives us the name of the dedicator. The fourth line features the letter M to the left of a foot and the letters AE to the right of the other foot. One possible reading is the theonym Mae; otherwise, it could be an acronym to be freely interpreted by contemporary scholars. The last line reads DOMINECVRANI, which for some scholars means *Domin(a)e cur(atrici) ani//mae*, the three final letters featuring in the preceding line, while for others it can be developed as *Domin(a)e C(aelesti) Vrani(ae)*. According to Beltrán and Rodríguez, the latter interpretation, put forth by García y Bellido, is the most compatible with the context.[50] As such, the dedication would be to Ma (Bellona) and *Caelestis Vrania*, a redundant epithet, but one that is also consistent with the theonym; according to EPIDI's taxonomy, the epithet aims to exalt the intangible topography of the divinity. However, the similarity of the formula with that on a previously noted inscription from Emerita[51] compels us not to overcomplicate the matter beyond plays of words, such as those indulged in by Zosimos. In this instance, the theonym is avoided and only Domina is used, a common epithet for Nemesis. It seems clear that it is her that a priest in Italica is invoking while assigning her epithets of power, *Domina* and *Regina*.[52] Another epithet of power is Augusta, with which Victoria invokes Nemesis in a *tabula ansata* with a hanging ring attached, found among the other inscriptions discovered in the corridor.[53]

Much has been debated about the dedicators of these religious testimonies. Originally, they were thought to be gladiators asking for Nemesis' protection.[54] This notion was challenged by Alicia Canto, who argued that all those inscriptions had been set up by magistrates and priests involved in the *munera* who, in this way, expressed their gratitude for their position.[55] Later studies have been more prudent and have argued for a variety of origins, despite the relative homogeneity of the inscriptions, which would be explained not by their association with a given social network but by what was on offer in the local workshops; these specialised in plaques that depicted feet, which had little to do with the proposition of the *pro itu et redditu*, but were a communication strategy with the gods, as noted above.[56] More interesting perhaps are the connections of the *cultores* with North Africa, the origin

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50 Beltrán/Rodríguez 2004, no. 15, 105–108; *HEpOL* 4728 for further information.

51 *Dominae cur(atrici) anima[e] / palmam [ex p(ondo) - - -]III / - - - - - - - HEpOl* 22751.

52 *Dominae Regi(n)ae / P(ublius) B(- - -) Fortunat/us / sac(erdos) c(oloniae) A(eliae) Aug(ustae) Ital(icensium)*; cf. Beltrán/Rodríguez 2004, no. 16, 108–110; *HEpOL* 540.

53 *Vict[o]ria vo/tum demisit / Augustae / Nemesi*. Gómez-Pantoja 2009, no. 68, 192–193. *HEpOL* 4741.

54 García y Bellido 1970, 133.

55 Canto 1984, 190.

56 Gasparini 2021, 272–365.

of *Caelestis*; although its identification with Nemesis seems shaky to me, as I have pointed out above.

The important role played by Nemesis in the amphitheatre is further confirmed by an enormously interesting document from Évora (Portugal), which expresses the relationship of gladiators with the goddess through religious and funerary colleges.[57]

Conclusions

Nine amphitheatres have been identified in Baetica, twelve in Tarraconensis and five in Lusitania, a total of 26.[58] In only three of them, *Tarraco*, *Emerita* and *Italica*, have cult spaces been recognised inside the building (sometimes more than one). The eastern access gallery of the *Italica* amphitheatre yielded a *tabula ansata* and eight marble plaques with *plantae pedum* linked with Nemesis; a *sacrarium* to *Dea Caelestis* has also been identified, turning this into the amphitheatre with the most evidence for religious practices. In *Emerita*, the only religious testimony is the dipinto to Nemesis found near the northern entrance to the amphitheatre. Finally, the *lucus sacer* in the amphitheatre of Tarraco was located in the northern sector of the seating area. In addition to this, the bronze sheet with a hanging ring also documents devotion to Nemesis in the amphitheatre of *Carmo*. To these, we can only add a dedication to Hercules in *Segobriga*.

These were the gods that descended to the arena. It is, however, uncertain if all of them were directly involved in the games. This depends on what was on the *cultores*' minds when they decided to leave a testimony of their religious act. It has been shown that when the act unfolds in the dimension of Koselleck's 'expectation of future' this involvement is much clearer. When the dedicator is in the space of 'experience of the past', the relationship is less obvious. Naturally, sometimes even in these cases the connection is unequivocal, like with the example posed by *Ermaeeus Devorix*. However, in most instances the relationship between the deity and the games is unclear, for instance with the *Sanc*(*ta*) *Augus*{*s*}*t*(*a*) *Nemesis* de *Tarraco* and the Hercules of *Segobriga*.

Unfortunately, practitioners were not generous with the epithets that they attached to their gods. The succinct nature of most inscriptions prevents us from delving deeper. Moreover, epithets are used almost exclusively with *Nemesis-Dea Caelestis*,

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57 *T*(*itus*) *Calleus* / *Marcianus* / *an*(*norum*) *XX h*(*ic*) *s*(*itus*) *e*(*st*) *s*(*it*) *t*(*ibi*) *t*(*erra*) *l*(*evis*) / *Cas*(*sia*) *Marcella* / *sob*(*rino*) *pin*(*nirapo*?) *f*(*aciendum*) *c*(*uravit*) / *item amici* / *Nemesiaci* / *ex lapide s*(*estertii*) *n*(*ummos*) II // *Emesiaci*. This is a funerary ara dated to the 2nd century AD, *CIL* II 5191; Gómez-Pantoja 2009, nº 15, 84–85. García y Bellido 1967, 92 compares this inscription with a monument from *Ventium* (Maritime Alps) in which a *collign*(*ium*) (sic) *iuven*[*um*] *Nemesiorum* contributed to the epitaph of a person with connections with the *ars gladiatoria*.
58 Gómez-Pantoja 2009, 220–224.

who can be indistinctly made *Invicta*, *Augusta*, *Praesens*, *Dea* and *Sancta*. Only one other god is granted an epithet: *Ermaeeus Devorix*. The EPIDI's taxonomy enables us to perceive how they operated within a flexible classificatory network. All of them are divine epithets (as opposed to environmental and human epithets). *Dea* and *Sancta* are qualitative, intrinsic and substantial; that is, they belong to the sphere that substantiates the deity. *Praesens* is qualitative, intrinsic and potential; that is, it appeals to a capacity that is not necessarily constant, making it important to make it explicit to ensure that it becomes manifest. *Devorix* is qualitative, relational and hierarchical, putting it in an adjacent area to the previous ones. They are epithets that describe specific abstract qualities. The remaining two, *Invicta* and *Augusta*, sit side-by-side, in an institutional space. The former is an operational, institutional and military epithet, while the latter is also operational and institutional, but not military, being instead political and power-related. *Devorix* is susceptible of occupying the same space, because the classification is not rigid and the epithets are semantically variable. Operational and qualitative epithets are complementary; the former act in relation to human activities, while qualitative epithets constitute the deity's identity; operational epithets are related with expectations, channelling potency that is being mobilised for an expected benefit, under the shelter of physical strength or of the stability of the political system.

This means that the *cultores* did not always use epithets as mere courtesy formulas, but as communication tools that mobilised the machinery of divine protection. This, naturally, does not mean that all users were fully aware in all instances of the scope and reach of their choice; they were mediated by their socialisation space. Precisely for this reason, the uses attested in amphitheatres reveal that worshippers sought divine favour through the exaltation of the gods' qualities or abilities, as becomes the religious habit. In the first case, they are an expression of the submissive suppliant and, in the second, of divine intervention that is shaped by the request.

Finally, we have seen that the choice of communication mechanisms has specific motivations. Sometimes, the users pull risk-management levers,[59] to minimise potential hazards for both the organisers of *munera* and those who performed in them; in other instances, the dedicator acts guided by resonance, replicating habits, such as the recurrent presence of Nemesis in amphitheatres, but also modifying them to suit their specific circumstances, for instance, by her association with *Dea Caelestis*. It is this sort of resonance that links a normative Hermes/Mercury, required for the *curator* in the expectation of success, with a local epithet.

In this way, we can start weaving the networks within which generalised habits are reshaped by specific circumstances. Nemesis, *Dea Caelestis*, Hercules, Hermes

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59 Eidinow 2007 has analysed magic as a strategy to cope with critical situations. Later, Richard Gordon (2012, 47–74), applied Eidinow's arguments to the analysis of agonistic *defixiones* in Carthage. Alvar Nuño (2017, 321–325) presents a state of the art about this issue. More laterally, Alvar Nuño (2018, 528–544) presents a study on different forms of personal religiosity as risk-management strategies in times of uncertainty.

and Jupiter are summoned to the bloody games of the arena, but the dedicator addresses or thanks a specified Hermes, *Dea Caelestis*, and Nemesis with an epithet or a particular attribute to assure the correct name when communicating with a particular deity.

Abbreviations

AE	*L'Année épigraphique*, 1888–.
HEp	*Hispania epigraphica*, Madrid, 1989–2014, online repository (https://www.ucm.es/archivoepigraficohispania//numeros-de-hispania-epigraphica).
HEpOL	*Hispania Epigraphica OnLine* (http://eda-bea.es/).
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 1863–.
RIT	Alföldy, Géza (1975), *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlín.
HAE	*Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica*, Madrid, 1950–1969.
CIDER	Piernavieja, Pablo (1977), *Corpus de inscripciones deportivas de la España romana*, Madrid.
CILA	*Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía*, Sevilla, 1989–2002.

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Csaba Szabó

Spaces of Reinvented Religious Traditions in the Danubian Provinces

The Danube represents one of the main hydrographic corridors of Europe: it unites the major macro-units of the continent, creating a living bond between the Western regions, the Central-European area and South-East Europe.[1] This living connectivity has existed since the Neolithic ages and it shows a historical continuity, intensified especially in classical antiquity when this entire region became part of a single, administrative-political, and cultural macro-entity, the Roman Empire. Before the conquest of this macro-region, the Danubian area was inhabited by various Celtic, Illyrian, Thracian, Greek and numerous other communities with a heterogenous political and cultural identity in late Iron Age Europe.[2] This region became part of the Roman Empire in several phases; however, the age of Augustus and Trajan represents the major steps of the reorganisation of the Danubian area. While the Upper Danube region (Raetia, Noricum) is the result of Augustus' policy, the Lower Danubian area – especially the conquest of Dacia and the reorganisation of the two Pannoniae – is the heritage of emperor Trajan. The provinces formed along the Danube (Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior and the three Daciae)[3] never gained a common, united "identity" in antiquity, however their economic, political and military connectivities were reflected in numerous, extra-provincial institutions, human and material networks, such as the *publicum Portorii Illyrici* or the intense military dislocations.[4] The Danubian provinces were also in the middle of numerous major commercial routes, uniting macro-regions beyond the administrative limits of the Empire, such as the Alpine route in Raetia, the Amber road between Aquileia-Poetovio and the edges of Noricum and Pannonia, the commercial routes between Pannonia and Dacia or the maritime routes starting from Moesia Inferior (Dobrudja) and ending in Egypt or the former Hellenistic world.

In this context, religious communication between divine and human agency was constantly shaped by these major, macro-spaces and large, cultural or economic clusters. While Roman provincial archaeology has focussed until recently on micro-spaces and local case studies of sanctuaries, divinities or rarely, on urban

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1 This study was supported by the Postdoctoral Research Grant PD NKFI-8 nr. 127948 by the National Research, Development, and Innovation Office of Hungary (2018–2021). See also: Szabó 2022. Miklós 2010, 20, fig. 1.12.

2 Rustoiu 2018.

3 For a definition of the Danubian provinces, see: Alföldy 2004, Szabó 2020a.

4 Beskow 1980, Farkas 2015.

religion or provincial units,[5] religious studies, since the material turn, have opened new spatial perspectives too, where macro-, meso- and micro-spaces are active agents in religious communication, interacting with each other. In this paper, I will focus on reinvented religious traditions of the Danubian provinces through the lance of these spatial categories and the notion of religious glocalisation.

Religious Glocalisation and the Spaces of Reinvented Religious Traditions

Spatial theory only entered Roman religious studies in the 1980s, focusing especially on the interaction of objects (material agency) and humans in micro-spaces or imaginary spaces.[6] For a long time, spaces of religious communication were marginally analysed in the paradigmatic works of the discipline. Introducing new, space theories in Roman religious studies, however, is essential to understand how Romans in various historical contexts created, maintained, controlled, and abandoned spaces of religious communication. This process is described as space sacralisation, which is a transformative and creative act of human intervention, creating special spaces with high religious intensity and material-density where human and divine actors are in dialogue.[7] In space sacralisation, micro-spaces (the human body, domestic constructions, houses, house-shrines) play a crucial role, however the interaction between human and divine becomes more complex when we talk about sacralised spaces of small-group religions (meso-spaces), where religious communication goes beyond the individual and creates a network or hub of personal, economic, social, and religious bonds.[8] Religious appropriation and individuation are much higher in these two categories. Communicating with the gods in public spaces represents not only a well-defined legal frame, but also creates several controlled actors, such as priests, public performances and festivals, complex, architectural environments, and a great variety of religious investments. All these sacralised spaces, however, need to be interpreted in a much more complex spatial taxonomy, where external factors, such as urbanity, Roman administrative units, customs systems, natural environment, climate, or commercial roads play a significant role. These macro-spaces represent the global agents of religious communication; however, their interpretation always needs an in-depth, focus-based analysis. This approach, which unites the global, overarching factors with the local religious

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5 For case studies, see: Zerbini 2015.

6 Cancik 1986 as an important reference.

7 Rüpke 2016. See also: Szabó 2018, 1–10, Szabó 2020b, 255–260.

8 On this category, see: Nielsen 2014. On small group religions, see also: Lichterman *et al.* 2017.

appropriations can be analysed through the innovative method of glocalisation in religious communication.[9]

Local religious appropriations in the Danubian provinces carried not only the regional aspects and local traditions from pre-Roman times, but due to the intense mobility and connectivity, religious knowledge, visual narratives, and material agency of religion, was shaped by global, universal aspects too.[10] Not only the materiality of religion, but also divinities were glocalised: local, religious divine agents were universalised and reshaped with global features.[11] In this transformative process, pre-Roman religious traditions not only "became Roman", but they also used the method of reinventing traditions, creating the façade and strategies of archaizing, and translating global religious tools and agents in the dynamic process of religious communication, which often also served as social and political language, especially for the local elite or the growing groups of urban society.

Case Studies: Reinventing Jupiters

Jupiter, the supreme god of the Roman Empire – long associated with the imperial power too[12] – was the ideal case study for local religious appropriation. The universal and global aspects of the divinity were translatable for most of the pre-Roman societies and could be easily associated with local divine agency. This local religious appropriation – named by the older literature as *interpretatio Romana, interpretatio barbarica* or religious syncretism[13] – didn't happen as a simple adoption or association between pre-Roman and Roman gods. The recently invented "*interpretatio indigena*" seems to be a much better methodological framework for reinvented religious traditions and glocalisation.[14] Reinventing pre-Roman divinities and appropriating religious knowledge in the newly established provincial context is one of the most complex processes in Roman religion during the Principate. The following paper will focus on a few specific examples of religious glocalisation and reinvented traditions from the Danubian provinces, focusing on the glocality of Jupiters in Pannonia and Moesia Superior.

Pannonia had a very dynamic history in the late La Tène period, producing not only military conflicts between pre-Celtic (Pannonian), Celtic (*Boii, Eravisci*) and Roman powers, but also an intense cultural interaction which can be observed in the

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9 On religious glocalisation, see: Van Alten 2017, Roudometof 2018.

10 On the problem of creating glocal visualities, see also: Gordon 1979, Dalglish/Adrych 2020.

11 On the notion of global divinities, see also: Woolf 2018.

12 Fears 1981. See also: Szabó 2018, 35–36.

13 On the problematic notions, see: Ando 2006, Nemeti 2019, 31–73.

14 Häussler 2012. See also: Gasparini 2015, 480–484.

glocality of religion in this area.[15] István Tóth identified three major regions with different religious specificities in the later territory of Pannonia: the Western part (concentrated around the Amber road – *Via succinea*[16]), a smaller, predominantly Eraviscan area in the North-Eastern part of the Danube and a large, South and South-Western part with numerous pre-Roman populations (*Scordisci, Pannonii*).[17] The three regions had different cultural and religious backgrounds and traditions.

The first region (Western Pannonia, a large part of the later Pannonia Superior) was dominated by the Amber road, which served not only as an economic route and connection between Northern Europe and the Mediterranean world, but also as the major route for military campaigns of the Scordisci, Dacians and later the Pannonians in the region.[18] These features marked the religious landscape of the later Pannonia Superior in the late La Tène period. Archaeological evidence of sacralised spaces before the Roman conquest is scarce. In Szalacska, a large Celtic oppidum in what is today Hungary, an important coin-mint was identified with glocal religious features: the coins imitate the Macedonian tetradrachmae, but their iconography is interpreted as a local appropriation of religious visual language, with several astronomic symbols and a possible connection with a local cult of Hermes.[19] István Tóth presumed that the famous funerary inventory of a Sol-Luna priestess from Nagyberki-Szalacska also reflects a pre-Roman religious heritage and proves the presence of a Solar cult in this region.[20] The first part of the rich material was found in 1899 in the private garden of Sándor Vigyázó without further archaeological investigation.[21] The find was already associated by Melhard with the pre-Roman oppidum nearby, although the datation of the objects (especially the Norican-type fibulae and the bronze vessels) is clearly from the Roman period.[22] The importance of the oppidum in Szalacska was especially documented in the second half of the 20th century and although there were no traces of sacralised spaces discovered, the relationship between the Sol-Luna priestess and the pre-Roman settlement seems to be plausible.[23] Traces of the cult of the "Celtic Ianus", a two-faced male divinity attested in numerous statuary representations in Celtic Europe,[24] was also identified in pre-Roman Pannonia at the site of Badacsonylábdihegy.[25] The statuary representation

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15 On these major political changes in the region between 268 BC and 15 AD, see: Szabó 1990.
16 On the importance of long-distance economic mobilities, see: Woolf 2013.
17 Tóth 2015, 21, fig. 1.
18 Mócsy 1974a, 14–19.
19 Tóth 2015, 22–23. See also Holzer 2008, 405.
20 Melhard 1900, Thomas 1963, Tóth 2015, 23.
21 Melhard 1900, 386–388.
22 Thomas 1963, 75.
23 Burns 2003, 195–200.
24 For analogies, see: Sireix *et al.* 2002.
25 Szabó 1963. For analogy, see: Tóth 2015, 34.

was unfortunately discovered without an archaeological context; therefore, sacralised spaces cannot be associated with the find.

The second region – with a much more complex and dynamic ethnic and cultural interconnectivity between the Celtic and pre-Celtic populations, is the southern part of contemporary Hungary and the large area between the Drava and Sava rivers. Archaeological evidence is also very laconic in this area when it comes to pre-Roman sacralised spaces, but the epigraphic sources indicate a rich divine agency worshiped between the Drava and Sava rivers.[26] River cults (Sava, Drava, Danube) and spring cults (Aquae Iasae) are well documented in Roman times, however their pre-Roman presence in archaeological evidence is missing. The same problem is present in the Taurisci area between Emona and Poetovio: the rich epigraphic material suggests that numerous indigenous divinities were worshiped in pre-Roman times, however their sacralised spaces and pre-Roman archaeological sources are not yet clarified.[27] István Tóth presumed numerous "sacralised mountains", hilltops worshiped by Celtic populations and the cult of various animals (boars, pigs) in the Southern region.[28] Based exclusively on a few figurative monuments and especially on later, Roman iconographic representations and epigraphic sources, his thesis remains a romantic hypothesis which is often criticised now.[29]

The third region with specific, mostly Celtic (*Eravisci*) settlements and environment offers several important case studies of space sacralisation before the Roman conquest. The region is also an example for Celtic and Illyirian (*Boii, Eravisci, Azalii*) interconnectivity. The region is the only one where statuary representations of pre-Roman, Celtic divinities are attested (for example, a statuette of Artio from Szentendre).[30] An important sanctuary from the pre-Roman period was identified in 1969–1971 at Pákozd.[31] The small-sized sacralised space had several sacrificial pits (often called *favissae*, although the notion was even contested for the Roman contexts[32]) with animal and human osteological material too. The sanctuary was interpreted as a site of human sacrifice and a place for the head cult of Esus.[33] Based on a single Roman brick found in one of the sacrificial pits with the remains of a sacrificed dog,[34] Éva Petres argued that the Pákozd sanctuary was also used in the Roman period.[35] Even if the continuity of the sacralised space is uncertain, the large number of sacrificial pits

26 Rendić-Miocević/Segvić 1998.

27 Šašel-Kos 1998.

28 Tóth 2015, 22–26.

29 Nagy 2016.

30 Tóth 2015, 33, fig. 11.

31 Fitz 1998, 53, Szabó 2005, 100–101.

32 Haynes 2014, Szabó 2018, 85.

33 Szabó 2005, 100. See also: Ardagna *et al.* 2004. Literary sources: Diod. Sic., xxxiv. 13; Strabo, iv. 4; Orosius, v. 16; Schol. on Lucan, Usener's ed. 32.

34 For analogies from pre-Roman Dacian case studies, see: Sîrbu/Dăvîncă 2020.

35 Petres 1972.

reflects a successful religious communication maintained and performed by multiple generations. Similar archaeological contexts were identified in the large cemetery from the Late Copper Age used also in the Iron Age at Pilismarót-Basaharc.[36] The pre-Roman cult of Cernunnos was associated with the large amount of osteological material of stags in Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, Szakály, Sé and Balatonőszöd-Temetői dulő.[37] In the case of Balatonőszöd, the well documented archaeological context also helped the publisher to identify the period of the year when the unique, non-repetitive sacrificial act happened.[38] Horváth presumed that some of the sacrificial pits correlate with the Celtic *Lugnasadh* festival from early August. Such important archaeological finds need to be centralised and contextualised as glocal sources of Celtic religious communication following the well-known Celtic calendar and religious traditions also represented on the Gundestrup cauldron.[39]

The osteological material discovered in the domestic environment in Sé in a house indicated the same forms of religious communication in private, micro-spaces and public, mezzo-spaces too.[40] Similarly, with the so-called *pseudokernos* vases from the late Bronze Age and the Hallstatt period in the later territory of Pannonia, these domestic sacrifices and osteological evidence can be both "profane" or "religious" too: without clear evidence and arguments, the functionality and agency role of these objects in religious communication can only be presumed.[41] These examples in many senses put in context the literary sources and help us to deconstruct both the Roman ethnographic layers and the contemporary historiographic interpretations on pre-Roman, Celtic religion in provincial contexts.[42]

For a long time, the Gellérthegy near Aquincum (today the hills of Buda) and the Pffafenberg (near Carnuntum) were considered the main Celtic sanctuaries of pre-Roman Pannonia dedicated to the local supreme gods, Teutanus and the sky god of the mountain Karnuntinus.[43] Careful archaeological excavations and re-analysis of the old historiographic data, however, questions the pre-Roman cultic activity on the Gellérthegy which remains only a hypothesis.[44] The 17 Roman altars dedicated to Teutanus and discovered at Bölcske in the 1980s were also associated with this "central" sanctuary, however there are no direct links between the two discoveries.[45] The case study of the *civitas Eraviscorum* shows that the indigenous

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36 Szabó 2005, 100–101.

37 Horváth 2019.

38 Horváth 2019, 121.

39 Maumené 2016.

40 Ilon *et al.* 2001.

41 Fischl 1999, 133.

42 Webster 2015.

43 Fitz 1998, 53, Tóth 2015, 38–39.

44 Maráz 2007, 36.

45 Szabó 2005, 94–95. The altar discovered at the Tabán (Rezeda street 14.) is the only link between the cult of Teutanus and the metahistorical "sanctuary" on the Gellérthegy (*CIL* III 10418).

settlement – or the memory of it – existed long after the Roman military settlement was transformed into a *municipium* and the *civitas* became part of its territorium.[46] The invention of Jupiter Teutanus as an appropriated divine agent of the indigenous population represents an important step in the emergence of a local elite, which would consciously transform its principal god to integrate into the social and political network of the new administration and the Roman world.[47] In this process of reinventing and maintaining a new divine agency, the local urban elite seems to have a predominant role: many of the inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter Teutanus are dedicated collectively by the civitas Eraviscorum[48] or by the *duumviri* and augurs of the city.[49]

The inscriptions which attest the cult in Aquincum are from the late 2nd and 3rd centuries AD which indicates the successful "Romanness" of the re-invented god of the Eravisci. István Tóth suggested that the celestial gods and major divine agencies of the pre-Roman communities were worshipped at the same time, following a common religious calendar, as a collective Celtic heritage of the *civitas Boiorum* at the Pfaffenberg (Jupiter Karnuntinus) and the *civitas Eraviscorum* (Jupiter Teutanus) at the Gellérthegy.[50] Identified by him as a "national holiday" of the pre-Roman communities, celebrated on both Mons Sacer, the sacred hills of the Boii and Eravisci, the 11th of June appears on a late inscription from 237 AD in Gellérthegy dedicated to Jupiter Teutanus. The same date was associated with an inscription from the Pfaffenberg sanctuary from 159 AD and 297 AD.[51] This theory of Tóth seems to be anachronistic and lacking any solid proof, especially of a common religious heritage between the Pfaffenberg community and the Gellérthegy.[52] The existence of a pre-Roman, common religious calendar is not impossible however, as in many Celtic traditions religious calendars and iconographic representations survived the Roman administration, being re-invented and appropriated as a new tool and

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46 Kovács 1999.

47 On the cult of Teutanus, see: Póczy 1999.

48 *AE* 2003, 1411: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Teut(ano) pro / sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(eli) A/nt(onini) P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) et in/columitate civita/tis Eraviscorum / [3]NIVIIO / [6] / [6] / [3] col(oniae) Aqu(incensium) / [3] dedicav/[erunt 3] / [6] / [3]o co(n)s(ulibus).*

49 *AE* 2003, 1408. See also: *AE* 2006, 01097.

50 Tóth 2015, 97–99.

51 *AE* 2000, 1186: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [pro salute] / Im[p(eratoris) Caes(aris) T(iti) Aeli] / An[ton]ini Aug(usti) [Pii] / et M(arci) [A]urel(i) Ca[es(aris)] / c(ives) R(omani) cons(istentes) Ca[rn(unti)] / intra leug(am) / C(aius) Pompon(ius) Saturn[i]n[us] / C(aius) S[at]urnin(ius) Candi[dus?] / P(ublius) [—]I Vale[—] / [-] An[n(ius)? Pl]acidus / [mag]istri mont[i]s / [Qui]ntillo et [Prisco c]o(n)s(ulibus). AE 1982, 783: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) K(arnuntino) / [p]ro salute dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) / [Di]ocle[tiani et] / M[aximiani Aug(ustorum)] et / C[onstanti et Max]i/m[iani —] / [— // Deder unt [d(edicaverunt)] III [Idus] / I[u]nias d[d(ominis) nn(ostris) / [Ma]ximi/[ano Au]g(usto) V e[t Maxi]/[mi]ano n[ob(ilissimo)] / [Ca]es(are) II c[o(n)s(ulibus)].*

52 For the critique of Tóth, see: Nagy 2016.

temporal agent in religious communication.[53] Controlling the indigenous population and their religious dialogue with the old gods in new shapes needs successful strategies, religious power elite and central sacralised spaces: the Pfaffenberg sanctuary was such a place, for example.

The sacred area was established on a hill, North-East of the legionary fortress in the territory *extra leugam*, which means that the sacralised places on the hill were not under the legal authority of the *legatus legionis*.[54] During the Roman period, the sacred area was under the control of the so-called *magistri montis*, the priestly officials of the *c(ives) R(omani) cons(istentes) Ca[rn(unti)] intra leug(am)*.[55] All of the epigraphic[56] and statuary material suggests[57] that the sanctuary was only used after the Roman conquest and that the legionary fort was established in the second half of the 1st century AD. The earliest inscription is dedicated to Victoria by the legio XV Apollinaris, which suggests a military foundation of the site.[58] The foundation of this hill-sanctuary might suggest an analogy with the early, probably Trajanic, inscriptions from Sarmizegetusa Regia and the Hațeg Mountains dedicated to Apollo and Victoria in Roman Dacia right after the conquest.[59] Although numerous, earlier literature tried to identify a pre-Roman, Celtic sacralised space on the hill, the archaeological evidence shows no traces of continuous religious communication as we can observe in some cases from Raetia or Noricum. The monumentalisation of the landscape – which was also a strong, visual message for the Barbaricum and the indigenous settlements in the *territorium* of the fortress – begun probably by Lucius Aelius Caesar who often stationed in Carnuntum as a governor of the two Pannoniae and in 137 AD too.[60] The heir of the emperor played a crucial role in the spread of the hero-cult of Antinoos (Antinous), lover and divinised favourite of emperor Hadrian in the Danubian provinces.[61] This is attested in the Pfaffenberg and Sočanica (Moesia Superior) too.[62] If the construction of the small amphitheatre and the first buildings (temple 1) of the sacralised space on Pfaffenberg is related,[63] it could indicate the official cult of the new,

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53 On the Coligny calendar, see: Rankin 1987, 282, Swift 2002.

54 Piso 1991, 140.

55 Piso 1991, 137, Dészpa 2017, 138.

56 Piso 2003.

57 Kremer 2004.

58 The earliest inscription is from the Iulio-Claudian period. *AE* 2003, 1381: *Victoriae / [s]a[c]rum / [- Val]erius / [—] Fabia / [— l]eg(ionis) XV / [Apol(linaris) ——].*

59 Opreanu 2000.

60 Vita Hadr. 23, 11; Vita Ael. 3, 2. See also: Šašel Kos 2009, 182.

61 Šašel Kos 2009. On the cult of Antinoos, see: Vout 2005, Jones 2010, 74–84. On the military history of the region in 135–140 AD: Mócsy 1974b, Juhász 2019, 45–46. A representation of an Egyptianized emperor or Antinoos, see: Lupa 13687.

62 Piso 2003, 19–20, cat. nr. 4.

63 The inscriptions show the same chronological period: Jobst 2003, 11–12.

Roman hero celebrated also with occasional games.[64] The Pfaffenberg temples and complex sacralised space reflect a society in transformation, where the political elite used monumentalisation to establish their own position in a macro-political, imperial connectivity (the fidelity of Lucius Aelius Caesar) and the local elite – where, in the early period, we can also probably find local, indigenous individuals too – embraced the new sacralised spaces as new strategies in religious communication and political *cursus honorum*. The emergence of an Oriental type of imperial cult is reflected not only by the possible presence of the cult of Antinoos and a significant number of Egyptianized materials, but also by an inscription from the amphitheatre area dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus from the same period, one of the earliest attestations of the cult in the Danubian provinces.[65] Although it is debated whether the local, indigenous population was involved or not in this sacralised space, the materiality of religious communication of the three temples and the entire hill reflects an Oriental (Roman) provincial visuality of religion[66] and also some Germanic influences, especially with the famous Jupiter-columns present on the hill.[67] István Tóth rightly recognised that the iconographic representation of Jupiter Teutanus and Jupiter Karnuntinus is similar, which suggests an interesting association with the celestial and aquatic aspect of the gods: the trident on the head of the divinity is a unique representation from the two former Celtic settlements which might indicate a visual appropriation between the water (Danube) and the celestial (hills, mountains) aspects of the supreme god.[68] In this case, the two divinities attested on the Pfaffenberg and the Gellérthegy indicate a pre-Roman divinity re-invented and re-appropriated in the new context of Roman public religion and imperial cult. After the hypothesis of Michael Sage however, the cult of the Jupiter on the Pfaffenberg is related to one of the divinations of emperor Hadrian from June 129 AD which he experienced in Anatolia on Mount Casius[69] and he associated the divinity with Jupiter (Zeus) Kasios.[70] This event – together with the Egyptianized cults and the activity of Lucius Aelius Caesar in Carnuntum – gives a much more interesting context of the sacralised space on the Pfaffenberg, where memorialisation of imperial divination and religious individualisation, Oriental and Germanic religious traditions seems to be united in a very interesting local form.

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64 Hérvas 2019.

65 Dészpa 2017, 137. *AE* 1936, 132: *Pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) C/aes(aris) Tra(iani) Hadr(iani) Aug (usti) / p(atris) p(atriae) porta(m) et muru(m) per / pedes lon(gum) C altu(m) p(edes) VII / iuvent(us) colen(s) Iove(m) Doli/chen(um) inpe(n)sa sua fec(it).*

66 Jobst/Piras 2018.

67 Kremer 2004. See also: Woolf 2001.

68 Tóth 2015, 104–105. See also: Cook 1925, 786.

69 HA *Vita Had.* 14.3. See also: Sage 1987, 161, Collar 2020.

70 See also: Jobst 1977.

A particular case study is represented by the large number of votive inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter Paternus in Moesia Superior.[71] This epithet is associated with numerous divinities (Sabazios, Asclepius, Dolichenus),[72] however the large number of inscriptions in Moesia Superior (17 votive dedications in contrast with 1 in Moesia Inferior and 2 in Pannonia Inferior) suggests that this divinity might be a local appropriation and reinvention. The dedications of Jupiter Paternus predominantly come from Singidunum and Naissus from military context.[73] The identity of a possibly pre-Roman divinity remains hidden in this newly invented and re-appropriated divinity, Jupiter Paternus: religious communication changed its materiality (votive, stone monuments, epigraphic habit), visuality (Hellenistic and Roman visual narratives and architectures) and knowledge too (epithets, names of the gods, Roman sacrifices and performances), however this paternal, local figure of the supreme god reflects a very strong bond with a pre-Roman religious tradition. Moesia Superior is very rich in such subtle and well-constructed glocal reinventions. While the divinity of Jupiter Paternus – a presumably important, celestial male figure from the pre-Roman religious pantheon – is strongly related to the fidelity of the Roman army and the newly-established Roman power, the cult of the so-called Danubian Rider (or lately, associated by some with the cult of Domnus et Domna)[74] was a much more complex case of religious appropriation. In the case of this cult, the material evidence shows a well-established and complex visual narrative ("a story" or a "myth") in Hellenistic-Roman tradition, with several well-known figurative elements used in classical Greek and Roman iconography too.[75] The central problem of this cult, however, is the identity of the divine agents: the central figure seems to be a celestial, divine being (Dominus?), associated often with solar attributes. This could also be Jupiter Paternus, a celestial being popular in Pannonia and Moesia too. The female divine figure – usually represented in the secondary register with the Dioscuri – seems to play a secondary role in the narrative.[76] The lack of narrative and religious knowledge from the materiality of religion makes it impossible to understand exactly how these new divinities emerged and what their purpose and longevity was in the new, Roman society of Moesia Superior after the 1st century AD.

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71 *CIL* III, 6303 (p 1454); *CIL* III, 8148 = *IMS* I, 9; *IMS* I, 10; *IMS* I, 11; *IMS* I, 13; *IMS* I, 21; *IMS* I, 102; *AE* 1913, 176; *CIL* III, 14565; *AE* 1979, 521; *IMS* IV, 20 = *AE* 1934, 207; *IMS* IV, 22 = *AE* 1979, 522; *IMS* IV, 23 = *AE* 1979, 523; *AE* 2013, 1324; *AE* 1995, 1311; *ILJug* II, 572 = *AE* 1971, 427; *EDCS*-11201467. See also: Gavrilović-Vitas 2020, 82 and 121.

72 See also the paternal gods of the Maurii: Nemeti 2019, 123–129.

73 Gavrilović-Vitas 2020, 82, footnote nr. 744.

74 After the theory of Ádám Szabó: Szabó 2017.

75 Hijmans 2016, 96–98.

76 Szabó 2017, 57 and 67.

Conclusions

The reinvention of pre-Roman divinities was essential both for the newly emerging Roman elite, the administrative staff and the local population. Shaping, creating, and re-appropriating religion was one of the central forces of a changing society, which created a natural and long-lasting bond between the new political and administrative power and the indigenous, local society. Reinventing new divine agents and building their new sacralised spaces created a glocal religious landscape, radically different from the previous, pre-Roman religious communication. The case studies presented in this paper show how local groups built their religious traditions in the new materiality and visuality of Roman religion. The case of Jupiter Karnuntinus, Teutanus and Paternus are productions of reinvented glocal traditions, where the central celestial divinity is reimagined with pre-Roman features. In contrast with the exotic nature, otherness, and attractiveness of Persianism in the cult of Mithras or the Egyptianism of the Isiac cults,[77] these reinvented traditions served as a cultural commodity and communicational concordance in the religious market after the Roman conquest.

Abbreviations

AE	*L'Année épigraphique*, Paris, 1888–.
ANRW	Haase, Wolfgang / Temporini, Hildegard (eds) (1972–), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt/Rise and Decline of the Roman World. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung,* Walter De Gruyter et Co., Berlin-New York.
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum*.
Clauss-Slaby	*Epigraphik Dantebank Clauss-Slaby*, https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/hinweise/hinweis-fr.html (seen 29.05.2022).
EDH	*Epigraphic Database Heidelberg*, https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/ (seen 29.05.2022).
IDR	*Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae* I-III, București/Paris.
ILJug	*Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia . . . repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, 1963–1986.
IMS	*Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, Beograd, 1976–1982.
lupa.at	*Ubi Erat Lupa Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern* by Ortolf Harl.
RIU	Barkóczi, László / Mócsy, András (1972–1991), *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Amsterdam.

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77 Gordon 2017, Gasparini/Gordon 2018.

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Kevin Bouillot

Where Did the Gods Speak? A Proposal for (Re)defining "Oracular Sanctuaries" on the Basis of Anatolian Data of the Hellenistic and Roman Period

When reading ancient Greek and Latin authors like Cicero, Strabo, Plutarch or Pausanias, one can easily observe how numerous the sanctuaries performing divinatory rituals were, being called as a consequence "oracles": μαντεῖον or χρηστήριον in Greek, *oraculum* in Latin. However, modern historical studies focused on a few oracular sanctuaries, most of them being apollonian. Delphi, of course, was regarded by ancient literature, from Herodotus to Augustine, as the archetypical oracle, and was often called "the oracle", ancient readers knowing which sanctuary it meant.[1] This ancient and literary shortcut gave birth to the modern and historical idea of a certain homogeneity – or even unity – of the oracular phenomenon: oracles were mostly apollonian, essentially of Pythian type, thus based on the inspiration of a rather feminine medium, answering the questions asked after some preparatory rituals.

However, ancient literature also shows many other oracular shrines, with much less fame and reputation, not dedicated to Apollo, using other divinatory methods, and having very different profiles.[2] Studying these sanctuaries allows to reconsider the oracular phenomenon in its variety, complexity and importance and to show oracular sanctuaries were not only large and prestigious but seldom apollonian sanctuaries copying the Delphic model.[3] Doing so implies (1) studying these less famous and "smaller" (when compared to "bigger" ones such as Delphi, Dodona, Claros or Didyma) but numerous oracular sanctuaries, (2) comparing them with one another and with the "bigger" and well-documented sanctuaries, starting with Delphi. The first step requires the preliminary identification, description and mapping of these sanctuaries, as precisely as the documentation allows it. Such a work can hardly be done for the whole Greek world, especially within the frame of an article. Consequently, this reflection will rely only on the Anatolian case.[4] Anatolia was vast, rich and populated enough to shelter hundreds of sanctuaries and provide us with significant literary,

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1 Some major publications on Delphi: Amandry 1950; Delcourt 1955; Parke/Wormell 1956; Fontenrose 1959; Defradas 1972; Roux 1976; Fontenrose 1978; Bowden 2005; Kindt 2016.

2 As illustrated by Bouché-Leclercq 1879–1882.

3 Even though Claros and Didyma seemed to have willingfully adopted some Delphic characteristics such as divinatory methods, symbols and/or architectural programs (Bouillot 2019a).

4 And on the conclusions of a doctoral thesis defended in 2019, under the supervision of Nicole Belayche (École Pratique des Hautes Études) and Pierre Bonnechere (University of Montreal): Bouillot 2019b.

epigraphic and archaeological documentations for the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It was also a culturally and religiously mixed territory, with Greek-founded cities in the West and pre-Greek but later Hellenised cities and peoples in the Centre and East.[5] Such geographical, historical, cultural and religious backgrounds produced numerous and various oracular sanctuaries, some being very close to the Delphic "model" (i. e. Claros and Didyma), others being very different.

This study aims at illustrating the plasticity of the oracular phenomenon, in relation with the *ERC MAP* study of the links between space and the gods, and of the definition and the designation of divine places. The method used for identifying the oracular sanctuaries of Anatolia will first be explained, before describing in broad lines Anatolian oracular sanctuaries and their variety. Then this article will offer a few perspectives regarding the mapping and (re)definition of these places where the gods used to speak.

1 Identifying and Listing Oracles: Preliminary Method

Studying oracles first requires a method of identification of these sanctuaries. To be as exhaustive as possible, such an inventory must take into account all the elements that designated sanctuaries as oracles.[6] Since the available documentation is mostly literary and epigraphic, these markers are lexical ones. Then Hellenistic and Roman Anatolia also displayed some religious specificities that must be considered and dealt with when looking for oracular sanctuaries.

1.1 Lexical Markers: Which Sanctuaries Were Oracles?

Lexical markers designating a sanctuary as oracular are basically all the characteristic terms displayed by already-identified oracles (starting with Delphi, Claros, Didyma of Dodona) in related literary or epigraphic documentations. Some of them directly and obviously designate the oracular shrine, others do it more indirectly and subtly.

The first of these terms is the explicit designation of the sanctuary as an oracle: μαντεῖον and χρηστήριον in Greek, *oraculum* in Latin,[7] since Delphi, Claros, Didyma

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5 See Mitchell 1993.

6 Such inventories were made already, but for a specific region (i. e. Bonnechere 1990), or a specific god, or remained incomplete: Parke 1967; Parke 1985; Curnow 2002; Friese 2010.

7 On the etymologies and origins of these terms, Chantraine 1999, *s. v.* μάντις and *s. v.* χρησμ-.

or Dodona were thus designated by ancient authors.[8] For instance, in his *Description of the Bosphorus*, Geographer Dionysius of Byzantium attests this way of an oracular sanctuary (χρηστήριον) of Apollo in Chalcedon of Bithynia, that would not be known otherwise.[9]

Then every sanctuary where oracles were given as answers to questions asked by consultants should also be regarded as oracular. The words designating oracular responses are thus other lexical markers, when associated to a precise sanctuary:[10] μαντεῖον and its feminine variant μαντεία or χρησμοί in Greek, and again *oraculum* in Latin.[11] The *Greek Anthology* evokes an oracle (χρησμός) given by Apollo to Olympias, Alexander the Great's mother, while she was in Cyzicus in Mysia.[12] Though historically doubtful, the anecdote testifies at least the existence of this oracular sanctuary.[13]

The titles worn by the specific staff of oracular sanctuaries can also be regarded as oracular markers.[14] Though Pythias only existed at Delphi,[15] prophets etymologically "speaking for" [the deity] were attested in many of the "big oracles".[16] Delphi, Claros and Didyma had prophets of Apollo.[17] Greek authors even used this term for oracular sanctuaries out of the Greek world, such as the Libyan oracle of Siwah and its "prophets of Amun-Zeus".[18] Other terms and titles should also be taken into account because of their use in oracular sanctuaries, such as *chresmodos* (χρησμῳδός) or *thespiodos* (θεσπιῳδός), etymologically designating someone who "sings oracles", or "sings under inspiration".[19] "Promantis" (πρόμαντις) is also used for what is elsewhere called a prophet(ess).[20] Some oracular sanctuaries also had a mantiarch, a

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8 For instance, Delphi is called a μαντεῖον by Herodotus (I, 46; 53), a χρηστήριον by the same author (I, 13; 23; 46; 86; IV, 150; 155; 163; V, 42; 79; VI, 19; 35; 66; 86; 125; VII, 239) and an *oraculum* by Cicero, (*De divinatione*, I, 1; 19; 43; II, 117).

9 Dionysius of Byzantium, *De Bospori navigatione*, 111, 35 (edition by Güngerich 1927). On this oracle, Bouché-Leclercq 1879–1882, 721–722; Parke 1956, 179–180; Robu 2007.

10 Again the example of Delphi and its oracular productions called μαντεῖον by Herodotus (I, 46; 55; IV, 164; V, 80; 89; V, 92; VIII, 51; 142), or μαντεία (VI, 57) and χρησμός (I, 66; III, 58; IV, 164) by the same author, and *oraculum* by Cicero (*De divinatione*, I, 37; II, 57).

11 Ernout/Meillet 2001, *s. v. oro*.

12 *Greek Anthology*, XIII, 114. Paton 1910, XIII, 114.

13 Which epigraphy then allows to confirm: *IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ* 1759; *IMT Kyz PropKueste* 1919 and 1922.

14 On this very complex subject, see Georgoudi 1998.

15 And in relation with the Delphic myths, as explained by the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 363–369.

16 Chantraine 1999, *s.v.* φημί and *s.v.* πρό. On the history of the term and its uses in oracular context, see Motte 2013.

17 Considering again the example of Delphi, see Herodotus (VIII, 37), Strabo (IX, 3, 5) or Plutarch (*On oracles*, 414b).

18 Plato, *Alcibiades*, II, 49b. On this oracle, Anson 2003.

19 Iamblichus calls "χρησμῳδός" the prophetising woman of Didyma (*On the mysteries*, III, 11), and Diodorus of Sicily calls θεσπιῳδός the Delphic Pythia (XVI, 26, 6.)

20 Herodotus mentions προμάντεις in Dodona's oracle (VII, 111 and VIII, 135).

"chief of diviners", attesting a hierarchised divinatory activity in the sanctuary.[21] To all of these Greek terms should be added their Latin equivalents used by Roman authors, even though the translation from Greek into Latin was often complex, the Romans speaking of *vates*, *vaticinor*, *divinantis*, *hariola*, *augur*, *interpres*, etc.[22]

More indirect markers can be found in dedicatory inscriptions whose text specified they had been made κατὰ χρησμόν or κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν, "in accordance with an oracle".[23] This mention is probably based on quite constant a scenario: the dedicator first consulted a god in an oracular sanctuary about some project, and the god told them to make an offering to another god or to themselves, in order to succeed. A sanctuary displaying several of these inscriptions is very likely to be oracular, with a tutelary deity asking for dedications for themselves, as did Apollo of Claros.[24]

Eventually, all terms applied to a sanctuary and carrying an oracular meaning or background can attest of the oracular dimension of the said sanctuary. An epiclesis designating the local god as oracular can, for instance, allow to consider the sanctuary as oracular.

1.2 Dice and Alphabetical Oracles and Confession Stelae: Divinatory Rites but Non-Oracular Sanctuaries

Historians of ancient divination are familiar with three major peculiarities of Hellenistic and Roman Anatolia that look very close to oracular sanctuaries but cannot be considered such.

The first two of them are the "alphabetic and dice oracles".[25] The latter's are 21 inscriptions from southwestern Anatolia, dating from the 2nd-3rd centuries CE. They are lists of 56 oracular responses, each attributed to a god and corresponding to one of the possible results of the throwing of five four-sided dices. The "consultant" addressed a question to the gods, rolled the dices and considered the result as answering their question. The alphabetical oracles, from the same centuries and region, are twelve in number, and operate according to the same principle, but with

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21 Such as the apollonian oracle of Pyla in Cyprus, Robert 1978, 338–344 and Vernet 2015.

22 Cicero being the main source of information on the matter: *De divinatione*, I, 2; 11; 32; 41; 58; II, 5; 26; 41; 72 (*vates*); I, 18 (*vaticinor*); I, 56; II, 5; 21 (*divinantis*); I, 49; 50; II, 3; 4, 63; 64 (*divinus*); I, 2 (*hariola*); II, 4; 35 (*haruspex*); I, 3; 4; 15–18; 34–35; 39–41; 43; 47–48; 58; II, 5; 30; 33–39; 53 (*augur*); II, 54 (*interpres*); I, 41 (*magus*); I, 1; 41; II, 33; 41–44; 47; 53; 72 (*Chaldaeus*); I, 34; 43 (*sacerdos*).

23 On these questions and documents, Kajava 2009.

24 Merkelbach/Stauber 1996.

25 For a general study, Nollé 2007, 19–222, but also Graf 2005 and Duval 2016.

24 responses starting with a different Greek letter.[26] These stelae partly assumed an oracular function: they enabled one in search of decision-making aid to consult "the gods". But they were not sanctuaries, nor sacred places. Even though they may depend on a sanctuary, no such link has been established so far.

The third of these Anatolian specificities is a constantly growing list of "confession stelae" or *Beichtinschriften*, also from western and southwestern Anatolia.[27] Their authors told of being afflicted by a misfortune, having discovered it was a punishment from a specific deity, for a fault they had committed. They explained having recognised it, and hoped to be reconciled with the deity thanks to these inscriptions. Historians raised questions about how these dedicators identified the offended god and the nature of the offense. The stelae rarely provide information on this point, but some use terms which may suggest the god had been consulted on these questions.[28] But the sanctuaries where such "confessions" were made did not display any of the oracular markers previously identified, and thus can be attributed none of the oracular activities attested by them. For this reason, these sanctuaries will not be regarded as oracles.

2 Studying and Reconsidering Oracles and Their Variety: Main Characteristics and Examples

The study of the great oracular sanctuaries long suggested that oracles were mostly dedicated to Apollo, rather using what Bouché-Leclercq called "inductive divination" – and the Greeks called enthusiasm – that is a human medium receiving inspiration and responding directly to the questions asked.[29] In addition, oracles seemed to be "big" sanctuaries, frequented by private individuals but above all by cities, kings and emperors, like Delphi, Claros or Didyma. But once Anatolian sanctuaries have been identified, listed and described, they draw a more various profile.

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26 Nollé 2007, 223–280.

27 For inventories of such inscriptions, Petzl 1998a; Petzl 1998b; Ricl 1995 and 2003. The name given to these inscriptions is due to Steinleitner 1913. For a critical analysis of such documents: Belayche 2006.

28 On this issue, see Chaniotis 2009.

29 Bouché-Leclercq 1879, 95–278. On this issue and its Delphic example, Flacelière 1938; Amandry 1950; Flacelière 1950; Dietrich 1992; Maurizio 1995; Lehoux 2007.

2.1 Variety and Differences: Three Sanctuaries As Examples (Hadrianoi, Aegae and Sura)

Though reviewing all of these oracular sanctuaries attested in Anatolia is impossible and is not the point of this article, three brief examples among them illustrate the results of this identification method.

In Hadrianoi of Mysia, a small and badly-known city,[30] lexical markers allow the identification of an oracular sanctuary of Zeus Kersoullos ignored by literary documentations.[31] Though the temple has not been localised, eighteen inscribed dedications from the 1st to 3rd centuries CE mentioned the name of the prophet of the local god:[32]

> Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ
> Κλέανδρο[ς] [. . . . .]
> Πόλεως Ἀδ[ρι]ανῆς
> Διὶ Κερσούλλ[ῳ] τὸν
> καίονα ἀνέστ[η]σα
> ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων [προφη]
> τεύσα[ντος] Ἀπολλοω-
> νίου Ἐπιθυμήτου

> With good fortune, Cleandros [son of ?], from the city of Hadrianoi, erected the pillar for Zeus Kersoullos from his own resources, Apollonios son of Epithymetos being prophet.[33]

As illustrated by this example, the prophet's name is used as a way to date the dedication, without any explicit intervention of the prophet in the dedication process. But other dedications from Hadrianoi were made "according to an order" of the god (κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν Διὸς Κερσούλλου).[34] Such a mention could illustrate the very last stage of an oracular consultation: after having asked how to achieve a project, the consultant was answered (as a "order") they should dedicate to the very god they were consulting. Consequently the epigraphic corpus of Hadrianoi gives us a glimpse into the way private consultants used local oracular sanctuaries.

In Aegae of Aeolid, five inscriptions mention a local Apollo with an explicitly oracular epiclesis (Ἀπόλλων Χρηστήριος):

> [Φιλέταιρος]
> Ἀττάλω
> Ἀπόλλωνι
> Χρηστηρίῳ

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30 See Schwertheim, *IK Hadrianoi* and Boatwright 2000, 70–71.

31 On this god and its peculiar epiclesis, see Jones 2012.

32 Mainly *IK Hadrianoi* 6, 12, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35.

33 Battistoni/Rothenhöfer 2013, 122–123, n°17.

34 For instance *IK Hadrianoi* 8.

τὰν χώραν
ἀνέθηκε
ὡς αἱ στᾱλ-
αι ὁρίσζοισιν.

[Philétairos], son of Attalus, dedicated this land, as limited by the stelae, to Apollo Chresterios.[35]

Among these five inscriptions, three (including the one above) were dedications made by the royal dynasty of Pergamum,[36] illustrating the importance of this sanctuary, at least at local scale. The other two were (1) a similar dedication made by the people of the city (ὁ δᾶμος), and (2) a private dedication mentioning the emperors (τοῖς Σ[ε]βαστοῖ[ς]) and illustrating the continuity of this cult during the imperial times, long after the end of the Attalid dynasty.[37] There is, as a matter of fact, no literary evidence of the oracular sanctuary, and no other documentation on this matter.[38] Without this explicit epiclesis, the oracle of Aegae could not have been identified.

The last example is associated to the Lycian city of Sura, where an apollonian oracle used quite a peculiar method to get answers, illustrating the oracular variety. This time the case is known by literary documentation mostly, starting with a quotation of the historian Polycharmus by Atheneus:

οὐ κατασιωπήσομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐν Λυκίᾳ ἰχθυομάντεις ἄνδρας, περὶ ὧν ἱστορεῖ Πολύχαρμος ἐν δευτέρῳ Λυκιακῶν γράφων οὕτως· 'ὅταν γὰρ διέλθωσι πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὗ τὸ ἄλσος ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἡ δῖνα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάθου, παραγίνονται ἔχοντες οἱ μαντευόμενοι ὀβελίσκους δύο ξυλίνους, ἔχοντας ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ σάρκας ὀπτὰς ἀριθμῷ δέκα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς κάθηται πρὸς τῷ ἄλσει σιωπῇ, ὁ δὲ μαντευόμενος ἐμβάλλει τοὺς ὀβελίσκους εἰς τὴν δῖναν καὶ ἀποθεωρεῖ τὸ γινόμενον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τῶν ὀβελίσκων πληροῦται θαλάσσης ἡ δῖνα καὶ παραγίνεται ἰχθύων πλῆθος τοσοῦτον [καὶ τοιοῦτον] ὥστ' ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸ ἀόρατον τοῦ πράγματος, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τοιούτων ὥστε καὶ εὐλαβηθῆναι. ὅταν δὲ ἀπαγγείλῃ τὰ εἴδη τῶν ἰχθύων ὁ προφήτης, οὕτως τὸν χρησμὸν λαμβάνει παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ὁ μαντευόμενος περὶ ὧν ηὔξατο. φαίνονται δὲ ὀρφοί, γλαῦκοι, ἐνίοτε δὲ φάλλαιναι ἢ πρίστεις, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀόρατοι ἰχθῦς καὶ ξένοι τῇ ὄψει.

And I will not pass over in silence, either, the fish-diviners of Lycia, an account of whom is given by Polycharmus in the second book of his History of Lycia. He writes as follows: "Near the shore of the sea is the sacred grove of Apollo, in which there is a pool on the borders of the sand. Whenever they pass through to it, those who would consult the oracle come with two wooden rods, on each of which are pieces of roasted meat, ten in number. The priest seats himself in silence near the grove, while the man in quest of a sign puts the rods into the pool and watches the result. After the rods are put in, the pool is filled with sea-water, and there comes a quantity of fishes, so great and so extraordinary, that one is astounded by the

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35 *SEG 36*, 1110.

36 *SEG* 36, 1110, *CIG* 3527, Malay, *Researches* 22,3.

37 *OGIS* 450 and *Alt. von Aegae* 23(1).

38 Even though Aelius Aristides, *Sacred tales*, V, 19–22 mentions "seers" (μάντεις) in a mountain sanctuary located in the area and that could be the one of Aegae.

unheard-of spectacle, while he is also rendered cautious by the size of such creatures. And when the spokesman reports the kinds of fish, the oracle-seeker gets from the priest the prophecy of those things which concern his prayer. There appear sea-perch, grey-fish, sometimes even whales or pristes, and also fishes never before seen, and strange to the eye."[39]

Such a divinatory method, known as ichthyomancy, has no equivalent in any other Greek oracle. This Lycian peculiarity may have Hittite origins. D. Lefèvre-Novaro and A. Mouton compared this ichtyomancy with rituals attested by Hittite tablets and based on the observation of an aquatic animal trapped in a pool and fed by priests.[40] The said animal, called *MUŠ* in the tablets, could be an eel, thus a fish. Sura's oracle could consequently be an illustration of continuities between pre-Greek and Greek sanctuaries, cults and rites, including oracular ones. This would contribute to explain the association of Apollo, god of divination in general, to a mode of consultation and an animal that do not fit his traditional (and Delphic) attributions, but that may have been inherited from a previous cult and pre-Greek deity.[41]

These three examples show how different these Anatolian oracular sanctuaries could be from one another and from the well-studied and big ones.

2.2 Various Gods, Methods, Staffs and Few Preserved Answers: Comparing Oracles

Using the previously established list of lexical markers allows to identify forty-six Anatolian sanctuaries that can be considered oracular (including the previous three, but out of Claros and Didyma).[42] Though not all of them are precisely described by the available documentation, their comparison allows to study four main characteristics: the oracular deity, the oracular method, the oracular staff and the recording of oracular answers.

Among oracular deities, Apollo clearly prevails, with 19 of the 40 oracular shrines whose tutelary deity is known (Fig. 1). But the list includes many other deities, some of which are quite surprising as counselling deities: Cronos, Ares, or Hades and Persephone. There are also mythological heroes like Amphilochos, son of Amphiaraos who owned another oracular sanctuary at Oropos, in Attica.[43] More historical figures are on the list, such as Peregrinos, a 2nd century CE philosopher.[44] Remarkable is also the absence, in this list, of female oracular deities, at least alone.

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39 Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophistae*, VIII, 8. Translation by W. Heinemann, Loeb, 1930.
40 Lefèvre-Novaro/Mouton 2008, 7–51.
41 On the sanctuary itself, and for further analysis, see Borchhardt 1975.
42 On these lists, see Bouillot 2019.
43 See Sineux 2007b.
44 On the philosopher, his life and the available documentation, see Hornsby/Hazel 1933, Edwards 1989, Jones 1993.
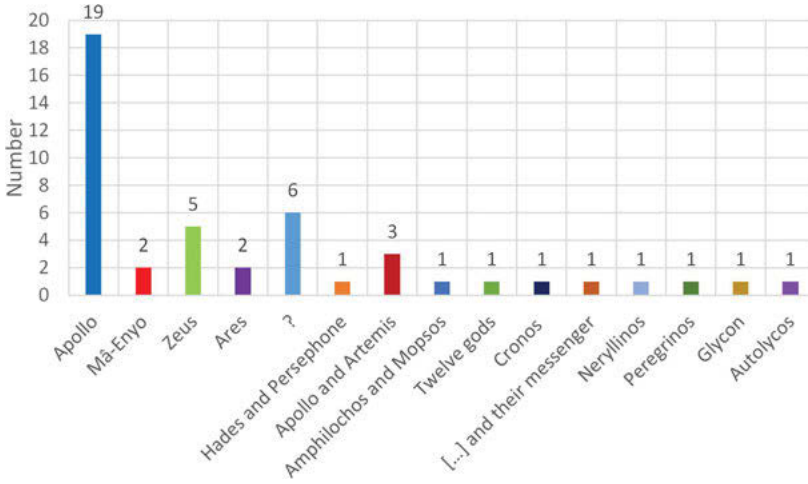
Fig. 1: Deities and heroes of the "small" oracular sanctuaries attested in Anatolia (© Bouillot).

The divinatory method used in these forty-six Anatolian oracular sanctuaries is very rarely specified by the documentation (Fig. 2). But Pythian-type enthusiasm does not prevail, since it is totally absent from the seven small Anatolian sanctuaries whose ritual mode of consultation is known today. Though it is very difficult to conclude from such a small sample, one can state the diversity of methods. Incubation, which was also used in the healing sanctuaries of Asclepius, was quite common in oracular shrines.[45] Other methods used in Anatolian oracular shrines are more surprising, such
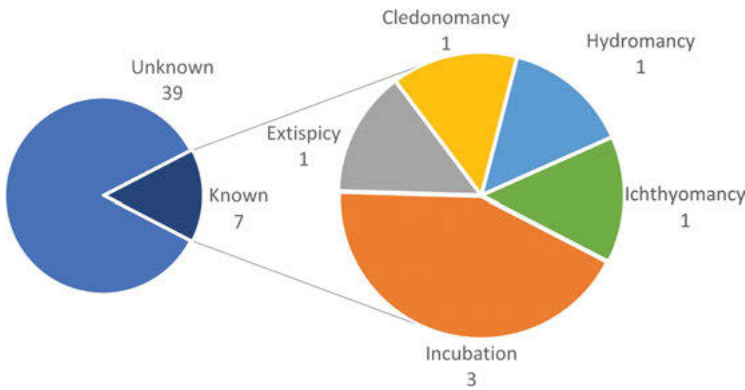
Fig. 2: Divinatory methods of the "small" oracular sanctuaries attested in Anatolia (© Bouillot).

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45 On such sanctuaries: Sineux 2004; Riethmüller 2005; Sineux 2007a; Ehrenheim 2015. And on dreams and incubation in general: Renberg 2017, 310–326.

as hydromancy at Cyaneae of Lycia.[46] The methods are therefore diverse, and the gods are clearly not associated to a proper or unique method, as the great oracles of Apollo using enthusiasm suggested.

Another major point of variety among the Anatolian oracles stems from the titles worn by the religious staff in charge of oracular rites. The prophets dominate numerically, but this is no hard and fast rule (Fig. 3). It is also possible that in some of the shrines for which we have no indication, the person(s) in charge of these rites did not bear any explicitly oracular title but were simply called priests. Female titles are very seldom attested, thus divination was more of a male activity, contrary to Delphi or Didyma's cases, where only women prophesied for Apollo.
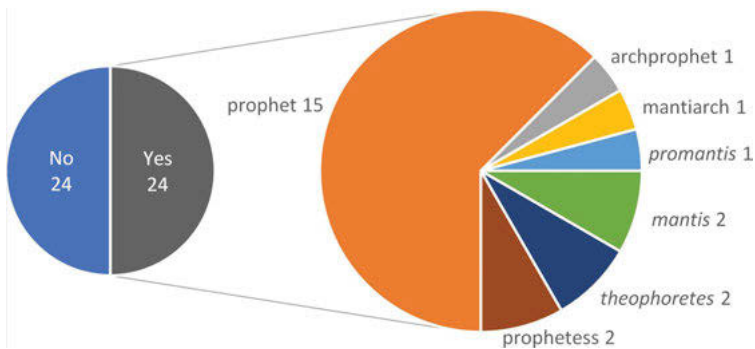
Fig. 3: Oracular staff of the "small" oracular sanctuaries attested in Anatolia (© Bouillot).

A fourth and last remarkable point is that only 10 of the 46 oracular sanctuaries can today be associated with at least one oracular response recorded by literature or epigraphy. This low figure is of course partly due to the documentation itself. But it also shows the lack of interest of the Ancients for the exact word of these divine answers. Anatolian epigraphy attests dozens, perhaps hundreds of consultations by private consultants (i. e. through the dedications "after an oracle"). However, not a single of the received answers has reached us, showing that most (if not all) of the consultants of these oracles must have been too poor and/or their motives of consultations too private to have it inscribed on stone. Only cities sometimes had the answer inscribed.[47] Literature was more interested in the preservation of exact oracular words, but only in contexts of great politics or philosophical reflection, thus excluding private consultations again.[48] The oracles in beautiful and carefully

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46 Pausanias, VII, 21, 11–13.

47 As illustrated by the oracular catalogues of Delphi (see Fontenrose 1978), Didyma (Fontenrose 1988) or Claros (Merkelbach/Stauber 1996).

48 As illustrated by Herodotus: Crahay 1956.

preserved iambic verses seem to have been constructed more by literary tradition than by the actual and daily practice of oracular sanctuaries.

3 Mapping and (Re)defining Oracular Sanctuaries: Some Conclusions

Such a number of oracles and such a variety in their main characteristics eventually question our vision of the oracular phenomenon, and the operational definition historians use when studying such sanctuaries. They also allow some reflection on the geography of these sanctuaries and their distribution at the Anatolian scale, in relation with the *ERC MAP*.

3.1 A Geography of Anatolian Oracular Sanctuaries

It is no surprise that the geographical distribution of oracular sanctuaries in Anatolia matches the population density of ancient Anatolia and the density of the available documentation, with a West-East gradient, from the more populated, more urbanised, more Hellenised, more excavated Aegean coast, to the less populated, urbanised, Hellenised, excavated Central and Eastern Anatolia[49] (Fig. 4). But a more detailed study of the distribution of these oracles also shows their almost systematic proximity to the main ancient traffic routes (whether land, river or sea ones). Only 5 of the 46 documented oracular sanctuaries are located more than 20 km (a day's walking distance) away from the sea and / or what seems to be the main ancient traffic routes. It is possible that other, more distant, more isolated shrines also existed but still elude the available documentation. But it is also probable that the development of the oracular function of a sanctuary was linked to its ability to attract consultants beyond its immediate geographical area, either through its own influence or by taking advantage of the circulation of populations through its civic territory.

All these elements therefore make it possible to put the historical profile of the oracular sanctuary into perspective. Variety prevailed in all domains, in terms of oracular divinities, divinatory method, oracular staff, size of the sanctuary, or geographic influence. If some of these Anatolian oracular sanctuaries could be compared to Didyma, Claros or even Delphi, others were small local sanctuaries, relying on a small population pool and a limited number of consultants.

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49 Again, on ancient Anatolia and its geography, history and demography, see Mitchell 1993, but also Sartre 2004, 228–258.
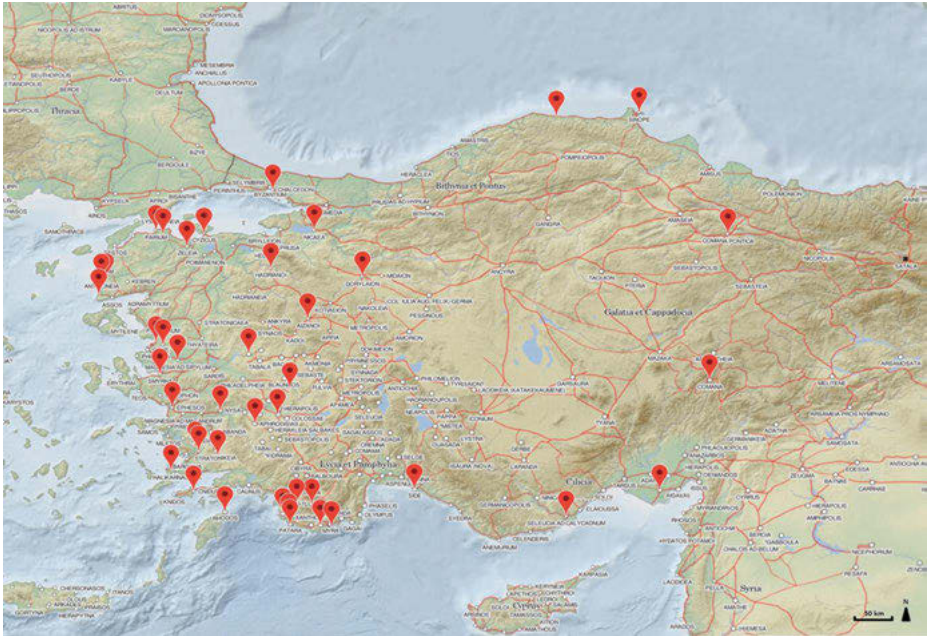
Fig. 4: Attested "small" oracular sanctuaries in Anatolia (© Bouillot / base map from Pelagios.org).

3.2 Reconsidering the Definition of Oracular Sanctuaries After the Anatolian Case

Auguste Bouché-Leclercq proposed three essential criteria for the qualification of a sanctuary as an oracle: *un dieu inspirateur ; un sacerdoce qui soit lui-même ou qui gouverne l'organe de l'inspiration divine ; et un lieu où la tradition ait enraciné les rites prophétiques*.[50] These three points were obviously defined according to the Delphic example and its extensive ancient documentation.[51] They are valid for the smaller Anatolian oracular sanctuaries as well, but their identification is not always possible for poorly documented sanctuaries. Furthermore, in the light of these new and numerous examples, the oracular phenomenon appears much more complex than the great oracles were and that modern historiography long thought. Bouché-Leclercq's ternary definition is therefore not sufficient to identify and encompass the whole phenomenon. By requiring the preliminary identification of the three criteria, it leads historians to exclude from the catalogue all the sanctuaries for which one or two of these elements cannot be attested for lack of documentation. Furthermore, it focuses

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50 Bouché-Leclercq 1879–1882, 429.

51 For example the extended description of Delphi by Pausanias, X, 9–16.

on the characteristics of the sanctuary which are only the consequence and not the very essence of its function.

Therefore any sanctuary which, whatever its importance, wealth, architecture, god, or geographical influence, has adopted ritual, human and mythical frameworks aimed at facilitating and highlighting oracular activities – that is to say, mediated access to the divine, allowing questions to be addressed and answers to be received – should be considered oracular. This definition includes all these Anatolian sanctuaries, large, medium, small or very small, whose inspiring god, prophetic rites or oracular priesthoods we do not always know, but whose oracular markers indicate they had sought to give themselves this privileged mode of communication with the divine.

This redefinition therefore insists on the internal initiative, specific to priests, worshippers, cities, and which resulted in the establishment and enhancement of divinatory rites leading to the qualification of the sanctuary as oracle. Such a definition raises the question of the reasons, modalities and origins of this initiative. But these reasons are systematically hidden behind a founding myth, readily transmitted by literary documentation and eluding the human reasons.[52] Why have these forty-six Anatolian sanctuaries made the choice, at some point in their history, to develop and enhance these divinatory rites and fixed them for centuries while justifying it with a mythical construction? The advantage, in terms of number of consultant-worshipers and therefore offerings, is quite obvious. But responding with this "economic" argument means turning the question around: why have other non-oracular sanctuaries refused this specialisation, if it brought so much and was that easy? The significant number and various sizes of Anatolian oracle sanctuaries show this specialisation was not uncommon and did not require specific and uniform conditions. All sanctuaries are, after all, places of privileged contact with the divine. All are therefore potential oracles, even if only a minority – albeit much larger than has long been thought – have actually taken the plunge. To answer the question of these "reasons" for the oracle thus appears impossible today, for lack of documentation first, and because the answer was undoubtedly not one and uniform, but specific to each sanctuary, whether "it" made that choice or not.

Conclusion

Studying Anatolian oracular sanctuaries means considering dozens of sites, each having its own history, origins (including non-Greek ones sometimes), myths, traditions and rites. Even though considering all of them in details is impossible here,

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52 As illustrated by the myth of Delphi, for instance narrated by Strabo, IX, 1, 12.

drawing some conclusions about the overall Anatolian catalogue and then about the Greek oracular phenomenon in general is possible.

1. Oracles were much less rare than historians have long thought, and could actually be found everywhere, at every scale and in connection with a very large number of gods.

2. Variety seems to be the only rule in oracular matters, and no dominant pattern can be identified, except for a certain domination of Apollo and the male prophets.

3. All this leads, once again, to reconsider the place made by the Greeks for divination, which was neither anecdotal, nor irrational, as Jean-Pierre Vernant already showed.[53]

4. Eventually, the "oracular sanctuary" category, though useful and operative for us, was not that clearly defined for the Ancients, who seemed to admit a certain fluidity and left many doors open.

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SEG: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden, 1923–.

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53 Vernant 1974, opposing Halliday and Dodds's vision: Dodds 1951, 7–10 and Halliday 1913, 40–97.

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3 Gods and Cities: Urban Religion, Sanctuaries and the Emergence of Towns

3.1 Egypt and Near East

Briana C. Jackson
Akhenaten and His Aten Cult in Abydos and Akhmim

The Amarna Period in ancient Egyptian history, comprising the reigns of Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun, and Ay, is marked by unprecedented reforms in religion and art, as well as political instability.[1] Akhenaten, originally named Amenhotep, reigned for seventeen years from ca. 1352 to 1336 BC. It was Akhenaten who modified traditional Egyptian art, rendering both male and female figures as somewhat grotesque with elongated heads, hollow cheeks, thin limbs, pronounced breasts, and voluptuous hips and thighs. More importantly, Akhenaten transformed the traditional religion, elevating his favored god, Aten, the sun-disc, seemingly to the exclusion of all other gods. His reforms were initially carried out in Thebes, the traditional religious capital of the New Kingdom, and where his father, Amenhotep III, celebrated three sed-festivals (jubilees) following his deification.[2] Part of Akhenaten's new religious program included the unprecedented excision of Amun from existence by means of closing Amun's temples and removing all images and inscriptions of the god and his name throughout the Egyptian empire.

Akhenaten commandeered the ritual space of the Karnak temples in Thebes (Luxor) by constructing four large temples dedicated to Aten and built of talatat. Talatat are uniquely sized blocks, approximately 52 x 25 x 25 cm, cut from limestone or sandstone. It appears that they are particular to the Amarna Period, and were each transportable by a single person, which allowed for atypically quick construction of monuments dedicated to the Aten. This same style of blocks was used at the new capital that Akhenaten founded at Akhet-Aten (modern day Tell el-Amarna, henceforth Amarna), and because of their singular use during Akhenaten's reign, they are a clear marker for Akhenaten's monuments.

Talatat have been found at several sites in Egypt and Sudan outside Amarna and Thebes, and are often believed to have been transported to these sites during the reign of Ramesses II and reused in the construction of his monuments. At Karnak, Horemheb, Seti I, and Ramesses II completely dismantled Akhenaten's temples and reused the temples' building material in their own monuments, namely Pylons Two, Nine, and Ten, as well as the Hypostyle Hall.[3] At Hermopolis, Ramesses II reused the majority of the talatat that made up the Aten temples at Amarna. Limestone blocks that were not reused were likely broken down to make lime.

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1 The subject of this paper is further examined in relation to multiple ancient Egyptian sites in Jackson 2021.
2 Berman 1992, 38–39; Johnson 1998, 75.
3 Smith/Redford 1976.

Because Amarna and Thebes were the major centers of Akhenaten's political and religious activity, scholars have consistently mostly addressed only those two sites. As a result of this, talatat that turn up at other sites are often not addressed. However, indisputable evidence from ancient Memphis and Heliopolis confirm Aten temples were indeed constructed in other cities in Egypt.[4] This paper examines material evidence dating to Akhenaten's reign that was found at the provincial sites Abydos and Akhmim, both of which were important sites but not major administrative centers like Heliopolis and Memphis, and raises the possibility for Aten cult having been practiced at these sites.

Chronology of the Amarna Period

Almost immediately upon his succession to the throne, Akhenaten began a well-organized temple building program at Karnak in very close proximity to the Amun temple complex.[5] The tens of thousands of talatat blocks recovered from Pylons Two, Nine, and Ten, as well as the Hypostyle Hall of Karnak reveal that the early stages of Amarna art developed rapidly. The iconography of the Aten changed drastically between regnal years one and two, transforming from a falcon-headed deity to the unique representation of a sun-disc in the sky possessed of rays terminating in human hands.

The didactic name of the Aten was also enclosed in two cartouches at that time. The name underwent three stages of development, the first of which remained in place through Akhenaten's eighth regnal year, and the last two developments occured between years nine and twelve. Therefore, the Aten's name aids in the dating of monuments, and will be particularly useful for dating the talatat discussed in this paper. Epithets applied to temple names also underwent developments and will be further examined below. Produced here are the variants of the Aten's name:

Phase 1: Re-Horakhty lives, rejoicing in the horizon in his name of Shu which is in the Aten.

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4 For Heliopolis cf. Habachi 1971; Löhr 1974; Bakry 1993-1994; Wegner 2017. For Memphis cf. Löhr 1975; Zivie 2004; Angenot 2008; Pasquali 2011; Raven/Van Walsem 2014. These are select publications, and there is considerably more scholarship on Akhenaten's activities at these sites. For general surveys, see Chappaz/Tiradritti/Vandenbeusch 2008; Hoffmeier 2015, 165–192; Paqua 2015.

5 For the purposes of this paper, it is necessary to note that chronology in Amarna studies is a contentious subject, namely due to debates concerning whether there was a coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. This paper does not incorporate the coregency argument and instead follows the chronologies offered by Fairman in *CoA* III 1951, 152–160 (though Fairman supports the argument for a coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten); Doresse 1955, 118–121; and Wegner 2017, 33–40.

Phase 2: Re-Horakhty lives, rejoicing in the horizon in his name of Re the father who has come as the Aten.[6]
Phase 3: Re lives, the ruler of the two horizons in his name of Re the father who has come as the Aten.

In regnal year five, Akhenaten founded the new capital city Akhet-Aten (Amarna), and commemorated this event on colossal rock-cut boundary stelae.[7] More stelae were carved in year six, and "updates" to the inscribed texts were made on some stelae in year eight. The Aten's name and temple epithets appear to have changed during this year, which suggests it was the year when the royal family finally settled in the new city.

Material Evidence from Akhmim

The site of Akhmim was already significant during the reign of Amenhotep III. It was the home of his chief wife, Tiye, and her parents Yuya and Tuya. They were not members of the royal family, but Yuya held a high position in Amenhotep III's court, holding numerous titles and appointments.[8] Tiye seemed to have continued to have spent time in Akhmim during her marriage, as it was a possible location for the pleasure lake Amenhotep III had built for her, which is attested on several commemorative scarabs that were issued during his reign.[9] Akhmim was also the cult site of the creator god Min, of whom Yuya was also the "overseer of cattle" and priest in Min's temple.[10] After the Amarna Period, particularly during the reign of Ay, Min rose to prominence once again in Akhmim. As pharaoh, Ay built a chapel celebrating Min at the quarries el-Salamuni near Akhmim,[11] and one of his highest-ranking officials, Nakhtmin, high priest of Min, had erected stelae in Akhmim.[12]

Discovered in 1989 at what had been a very large temple at Akhmim, in the foundations of the colossal statues of Ramesses II and Meritamun, were thirteen limestone blocks, most of them quite large,[13] decorated with sunk relief, dating to

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6 Often, scholars discuss only the first and last phase of the Aten's name, but Wegner includes what he calls the "Intermediate" name, which I have listed here as "phase 2"; Wegner 2017, 36, fig. 15.
7 Murnane 1993.
8 Kozloff/Bryan 1992, 41.
9 Blankenberg-Van Delden 1969, 16; Kemp/O'Connor 1974, 110.
10 Kozloff/Bryan 1992, 41.
11 El-Masry 2002, 397 n.24; Kuhlmann 1983, 185–186.
12 Dodson 2009, 107.
13 For complete dimensions of each block, see El-Masry 2002, 392–394. The maximum width is 124 cm, maximum height is 90 cm, maximum thickness is 115 cm.
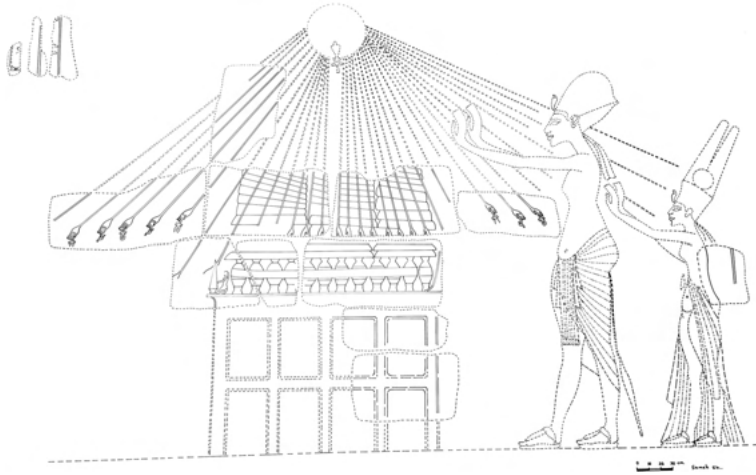
Fig. 1: Reconstruction of the Aten Temple Blocks Found at Akhmim. Drawing by Sameh Shafik.

the Amarna Period.[14] The blocks are considerably larger than talatat, over twice the measure of a talatat's width, almost four times the height, and almost five times the depth. Reconstructed (Fig. 1), these blocks reveal a scene of worship at an altar that is piled with bread and vessels that are consumed by the rays of the Aten whose hands hold ankhs and *wȝs* scepters. One of the blocks displaying the leftmost section of the surface of the offering table shows the figure of Akhenaten, kneeling with his arms supporting a vessel topped by a tall triangular bread loaf. This figure has been hastily and sloppily erased, perhaps during the reign of Ramesses II, when the blocks were reused as fill for the statue foundations.

Two blocks contain depictions of the Aten's rays terminating in hands that produce the ankh and *wȝs* signs; another block contains only the rays, which suggests it would have been placed higher on the wall than the other surviving blocks. Two blocks are decorated with squares that would have formed the base of the offering table. Two blocks (one broken in half) contain depictions of the layers of jars on the offering table, as well as the aforementioned kneeling figure of Akhenaten. Two blocks depict a heap of bread loaves with superimposed rays of the Aten. One block is interpreted as depicting part of Nefertiti's back.[15] The smaller fragmentary blocks were suggested to have belonged high on the wall though what the relief depicts is unclear.[16] Blocks depicting Akhenaten worshipping at this altar appear not to have

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14 El-Masry 1998, 763; Id. 2002, 391.

15 *Ibid.*, 394.

16 *Ibid.*

survived, or they are possibly still buried under the modern town and therefore are impossible to excavate.

Were these blocks part of a temple dedicated to the Aten at Akhmim? Or were they reused from a temple in another city? The large size of the blocks may point to an origin at Akhmim, as they are not the talatat singular to Amarna Period stone architecture, and therefore are less easily transportable. El-Masry postulates convincingly that the blocks may have been cut from the nearby limestone quarries at el-Salamuni.[17] Moreover, blocks of this size at Amarna would be unusual because the architecture appears to have consisted mostly of talatat, and Aten temples at Karnak were built primarily of sandstone. An origin at Akhmim for these blocks seems the most likely possibility.

A talatat that was discovered at Akhmim displays the standard temple name formula (discussed below) as well as the term *p3-'Itn* (the Aten) which may form the temple name *Gm-p3-'Itn*.[18] This was the name of a temple built both at Thebes and Amarna. Therefore, the question stands whether this block may have been reused from one of the temples in Thebes or Amarna, or whether a temple named *Gm-p3-'Itn* existed in Akhmim. It would not be unusual for an Aten temple to have been built there, due to Akhenaten's family ties to the site.

Material Evidence from Abydos

Considerably more evidence for Atenist activity is present at Abydos. The most convincing is found in the Osiris Temple enclosure, where a chapel had been erected by Amenhotep I, dedicated to both his father, Ahmose, and Osiris. W. F. Petrie discovered two blocks from this chapel where the name Amenhotep had been excised from the reliefs,[19] indicating that Akhenaten's program to erase Amun's existence had reached Abydos. Interestingly, the image of Osiris had not been erased.

Another example of this phenomenon was discovered in 2003 in the Osiris Temple enclosure, excavated by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University expedition.[20] Carved on the ebony fragment was the text "Nebmaatre, son of Re, whom he (Re) loves, [Amenhotep], beloved of Osiris, Lord of the Abydene nome." The name Amenhotep had been erased, but the hieroglyphs spelling Osiris' name had been left untouched, which may suggest that the object was still used during reign of Akhenaten, perhaps for Osirian rituals performed in Amenhotep III's chapel within

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17 *Ibid.*, 397; Kuhlmann 1983, 84–86; Kuhlmann 1979, 184–185; Klemm/Klemm 2008, 128–130.

18 The fragmentary inscription contains such familiar phrases as *ítn ʿnḫ-wr ímy ḥb sd* . . . and . . . *m 3ḫt* . . . *p3 'Itn p3* . . . Kuhlmann 1983, 21.

19 Petrie 1902, 30, pl. lxii.

20 Ann Michelle Marlar kindly provided a photograph to me for study purposes; O'Connor 2009, 113.

the enclosure. Within the Early Dynastic mudbrick enclosure of Peribsen, which had stood adjacent to the location of Khasekhemwy's mudbrick enclosure,[21] a New Kingdom period grave was discovered that contained a tiny scarab amulet decorated on the underside with a relief carving of a depiction of Akhenaten as a sphinx together with his throne name, Neferkheperure.[22] It is possible this individual was buried during Akhenaten's reign, thereby suggesting that funerary activities continued to take place at Abydos during the Amarna Period.

Fig. 2: Talatat discovered by Petrie in the Osiris temple enclosure. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. No. ÄM 23719, Photographer: unknown.

The most significant finds are the twenty-eight talatat that have thus far been discovered in Abydos. The first (Fig. 2) was found by Petrie within the Osiris Temple enclosure.[23] Its decoration depicts part of Akhenaten's so-called royal barge, distinguished by the "smiting kiosk" at the prow of the boat. Only the bottom portions of the figures survive, but the scene is comparable to some others represented on talatat and tomb reliefs found in other sites in Egypt and can be reconstructed with confidence.[24] The figures are undoubtedly Akhenaten carved in a smiting pose, accompanied by Nefertiti and their eldest daughter Meritaten. An enemy would also have been represented on his knees before Akhenaten.

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21 Khasekhemwy's enclosure was erected after the destruction of Peribsen's.

22 Ayrton *et al.* 1904, 49, pl. xxi.2.

23 Petrie 1903, 37, pl. xxxix.

24 Compare, for example, the talatat at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts 63.260 and the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1985.328.15.

In the late 1960s, the University of Pennsylvania Museum expedition to Abydos recovered twenty-six talatat from the Portal Temple of Ramesses II.[25] Seven talatat are decorated, three of which are inscribed with texts that name two different cult buildings. These cult building names also incorporate an epithet that follows a formula found in the names and epithets of Aten temples and chapels built in Amarna and Thebes/Karnak. One fragmentary block (Fig. 3) contains the name *Rwd-ꜥnḫw-ʾItn* (Enduring are the lives of Aten), which was also the name of a temple in Amarna. It also occurs on a talatat discovered in Assyut.[26] Two other blocks, one of which is reproduced in Fig. 4 as a line drawing, contain the name *Ḳd.f-ꜣḫt-n-ʾItn* (He fashions the horizon of Aten). This name is also attested elsewhere on four "sphinx panels" (Fig. 5), which are unprovenanced.

Finally, one talatat decorated with the hands and rays of the Aten was discovered by the German mission to Umm el-Qaab, the royal cemetery of the earliest kings of Egypt, among architectural remains of New Kingdom chapels at a location called Heqareshu Hill.[27] This site was along the processional route of the Osiris festival, situated just to the east of Umm el-Qaab, and likely rituals were carried out there during the Osiris festival.

Dating the Talatat from Abydos

Dating the Abydos talatat is largely based on the inscriptions on three of the blocks. Not only do these three blocks contain the names of two temples, but also the text is comprised of a name and epithet formula singular to the Amarna Period. This formula, like the Aten's name, developed over time. Together with the format of the Aten's name, the format of the temple name/epithet formula allows with some confidence for ascribing a date to Atenist monuments. The earliest format follows the following formula:

> *ʾItn ꜥnḫ wr ímy ḥb-sd nb pt nb tꜣ ḥry-íb* [temple name] *m ꜣḫt-ʾItn*

> Great living Aten who is in jubilee, lord of the sky and earth, who resides in [temple name] in Akhet-Aten.

Some time in Akhenaten's eighth regnal year, the formula was modified to include the phrase "lord of all the Aten encircles", composed thus:

25 O'Connor 1969, 34; Simpson 1995, 76–77; Silverman 1989, 273–275.

26 Gabra 1931.

27 Effland/Effland 2013, 28–29.

ʿnḫ wr ímy ḥb-sd nb šnn(t) nb(t) ʾItn nb pt nb tꜣ ḥry-íb [temple name] m ꜣḫt-ʾItn

Great living Aten who is in jubilee, lord of all the Aten encircles, lord of the sky and earth, who resides in [temple name] in Akhet-Aten.

Both of these formulae typically appear with the first phase of the Aten's name. With the transformations of the Aten's name into the second and third phases some time between regnal years nine and twelve, the temple name/epithet formula was further modified into phase three. Instead of the phrase *ímy ḥb-sd,* the new phrase *nb ḥbw-sd* (lord of jubilees) was introduced. Also, the preposition *ḥry-ib* was changed to *m*, though the latter preposition seems to convey the same meaning as *ḥry-ib*, essentially meaning "in". Therefore, the second phase of the temple name/epithet formula may be securely dated only to regnal year eight. The Abydos talatat inscriptions match this second phase and may subsequently be dated to year eight. The complete reconstructed text is as follows:

ʾItn ʿnḫ wr ímy ḥb-sd nb šnn(t) nb(t) ʾItn nb pt nb tꜣ ḥry-íb Rwd-ʿnḫw-ʾItn m ꜣḫt-ʾItn

Great living Aten who is in jubilee, lord of all the Aten encircles, lord of the sky and earth, who resides in "Enduring are the lives of Aten" in Akhet-Aten   (Fig. 3).

ʾItn ʿnḫ wr ímy ḥb-sd nb šnn(t) nb(t) ʾItn nb pt nb tꜣ ḥry-íb Ḳd.f-ꜣḫt-n-ʾItn m ꜣḫt-ʾItn

Great living Aten who is in jubilee, lord of all the Aten encircles, lord of the sky and earth, who resides in "He fashions the horizon of Aten" in Akhet-Aten   (Fig. 4).
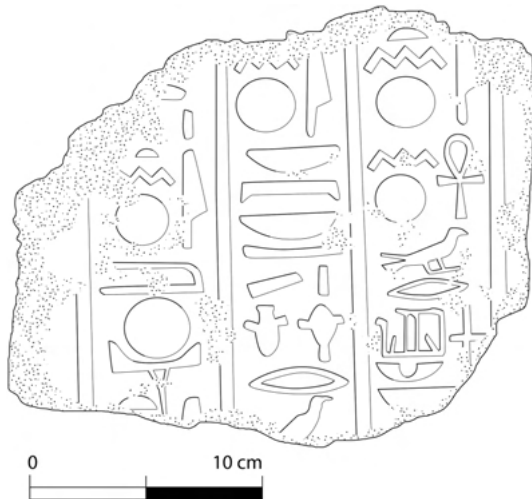
Fig. 3: Talatat naming the *Rwd-ʿnḫw-ʾItn.* Line drawing by Ahmed Abd el-Halim.
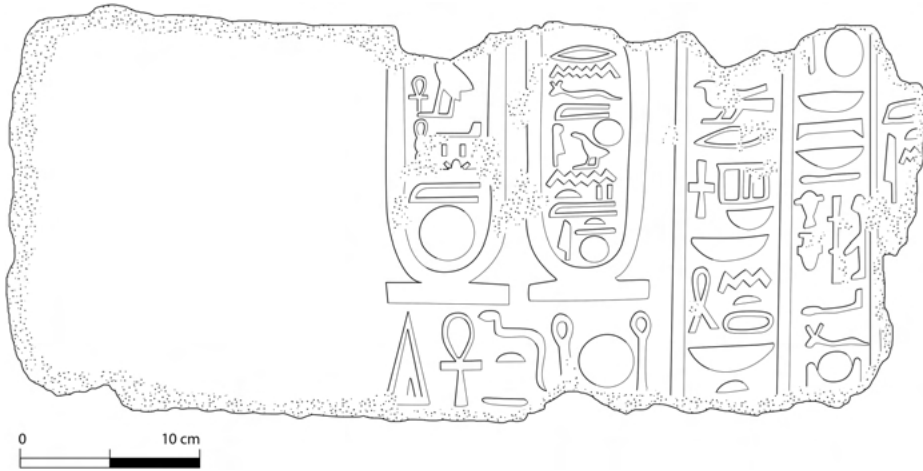
Fig. 4: Talatat naming the *Ḳd.f-ꜣḫt-n-ʾItn*. Line drawing by Ahmed Abd el-Halim, redrawn after Simpson 1995, 76, fig. 136.

Placing the Talatat from Abydos

Assigning origin to these talatat is more challenging namely because of the site specifier that completes the formula. The text indicates the temples that are named on the blocks were built at Amarna, though this does not necessarily mean the blocks themselves originated at Amarna. A temple by the name *Rwd-ꜥnḫw-ʾItn* definitely existed at Amarna, probably in the location modernly called Kom el-Nana, confirmed by inscriptions on block fragments found at Kom el-Nana, two ostraca, and a text on the ceiling of Ay's rock-cut tomb at Amarna. The temple also housed a sunshade chapel that may have been built for Nefertiti.[28]

This same temple name is found on a limestone talatat uncovered at Assyut,[29] which is situated approximately halfway between Amarna and Abydos. Because two talatat with this temple name were found at two sites other than Amarna, it seems possible to assert that they were brought to those sites for reuse after dismantling the temple at Amarna. While this interpretation should not be ruled out, other interpretations are worth considering. These shall be discussed below.

The *Ḳd.f-ꜣḫt-n-ʾItn* is attested on four unprovenanced "sphinx panels" (Fig. 5) that once belonged to a sunshade chapel. Generally, sunshades are attributed to the royal women; Tiye, Nefertiti, Kiya, Meritaten, and Ankhesenpaaten each had

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28 For a comprehensive study of this structure see the works of Williamson 2008, 2013, 2016, and 2017.

29 Gabra 1931.

Fig. 5: Sphinx panel from the sunshade in the *Ḳd.f-ȝḫt-n-'Itn.* Photograph © 2021 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

their own sunshades. However, the sunshade to which the sphinx panels belonged is not attributed to any of the royal women. Its text includes the first phase of the Aten's name and follows the first phase of the temple name/epithet formula, with the exception of the inclusion of the term "sunshade chapel":

> *'Itn ꜥnḫ wr ímy ḥb-sd nb pt nb tȝ ḥry-íb Swt-Rꜥ m Ḳd.f-ȝḫt-n-'Itn m ȝḫt-'Itn*

> Great living Aten who is in jubilee, lord of the sky and earth, who resides in the sunshade chapel in "He fashions the horizon of Aten" in Akhet-Aten.

Missing here is the phrase "lord of all the Aten encircles". It has been suggested elsewhere that its exclusion may have simply been a "shorthand" version of the temple name formula,[30] which may have been a standard for texts inscribed on sunshade blocks. However, a door jamb from the sunshade chapel of Meritaten discovered at Heliopolis includes the entire formula.[31] The exclusion of "lord of all the Aten encircles" must have been a conscious choice, and may indicate the sunshade dates to before regnal year eight, which is the first year that "lord of all the Aten encircles" was added to the formula.

Therefore, this would mean that there were two cult buildings named *Ḳd.f-ȝḫt-n-'Itn*, and one of these may have been originally built at Abydos where the discovered talatat assuredly date to year eight. The other *Ḳd.f-ȝḫt-n-'Itn* may have been built at Amarna, as the text indicates, some time between regnal years six and eight, during which time the city was being constructed. A cult building by this name at Abydos would have been built following the construction of the temple at Amarna.

The *Rwd-ꜥnḫw-'Itn* presents a similar situation. Among the architectural fragments recovered from Kom el-Nana at Amarna, block fragments from a sunshade

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30 Williamson 2013, 149.

31 Wegner 2017, 21.

belonging to this temple were found, inscribed with the temple name/epithet formula. Whether the formula follows the first phase or the second phase is unclear, but Jacquelyn Williamson reconstructs the text as following the second phase.[32] However, based on the fragments that she has published, the reconstructions are debatable.

One fragment includes part of the beginning of the formula, *imy ḥb-sd nb*, but the hieroglyphs that follow *nb* and which would confirm whether it contains the phrase "lord of all the Aten encircles" are damaged. Without this confirmation, it is not possible to affirm the block is contemporary with those found at Abydos and Assyut. If it does not include this phrase, then it might date to before year eight, indicating the temple at Amarna dates to earlier than the talatat found at Abydos and Assyut. What this may mean is that a cult building by that name was built at both provincial sites following the construction of the *Rwd-ʿnḫw-ʾItn* at Amarna.

What these two cases show is that possibly two Aten cult buildings, perhaps small-scale chapels, were built at Abydos. The site at which they were erected within Abydos may be the Osiris temple enclosure. Another possibility is that one chapel was built inside the Osiris temple enclosure while a second was built at Hekareshu Hill along the Osiris festival processional route. The level of activity during Akhenaten's reign present in the archaeology of the Osiris temple enclosure points to a high probability that one (or both) of the Aten structures was built there. Most, if not all, kings of the first half of the 18th Dynasty contributed to the architecture of the Osiris temple enclosure either by adding to the temple itself or constructing "ka chapels" in its vicinity.[33]

I suggest Akhenaten had built a chapel in this area, probably beside or as an annex to his father, Amenhotep III's chapel. If both Amenhotep III and Akhenaten's chapels were in use simultaneously, it might explain why Amenhotep III's nomen on the aforementioned ebony fragment was erased. The object to which it belonged was possibly still in use.

The Akhet-Aten Site Specifier

One of the most prominent problems in assigning an origin of the Abydos talatat to Abydos is the inclusion of the site name Akhet-Aten at the end of the temple name/epithet formula. It might be easily presumed that the talatat originated at Amarna and were transported to Abydos for reuse in the Ramesside monuments, such as what occurred in other instances near Amarna and Karnak. Two similar cases may provide support for an alternative interpretation.

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32 Williamson 2016, 158, fig. 3.5.

33 Kemp 1968, 140–148; O'Connor 1992, 90.

Foremost of these comes from the tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara. Meryneith served as a priest in the House of Aten in Memphis during the reign of Akhenaten, and had changed his name to the more acceptable Meryre. Texts on Meryneith/re's dyad statue, depicting him together with his wife, list his offices he held at the Aten temple, *Pr-'Itn,* which is given the site specifier "*m Ꜣḫt-'Itn m Mn-Nfr*" or "in Akhet-Aten (and) in Memphis".[34] Debate surrounding this unusual text has focused on whether the temple's full name is "House of Aten in Akhet-Aten" followed by the site specifier Memphis to indicate that Memphis is the city where it was originally erected,[35] *or* if the text is actually giving two site specifiers: one is merely a reference to Amarna while Memphis is the city where the temple was originally erected.[36]

A somewhat similar case is found in the texts inscribed on the door jamb of Meritaten's sunshade that was discovered in Heliopolis.[37] As with the talatat, an argument may be made that the large block was transported to Heliopolis for the purpose of reuse. Evidence for this can be found in the text that describes the sunshade as having been situated "in the House of Waenre in Akhet-Aten". A House of Waenre may therefore have existed at Amarna and could have been the origin of the sunshade block. However, in the tomb of May at Amarna, a text refers to a "House of Waenre in Heliopolis." It is clear a House of Waenre existed at Heliopolis, and as a result may have enclosed Meritaten's sunshade despite the inclusion of the site specifier Akhet-Aten.

What these two instances reveal is it may not always need to be taken literally that blocks come from Amarna despite including Akhet-Aten in the text of the temple name/epithet formula. Moreover, the use of *ḥry-ib* in the text formula of the Abydos talatat may provide further support for this analysis. In Katherine Eaton's study of the phrase *ḥry-ib,* she examines the use of the phrase in the text of Seti I's temple at Abydos in relation to the barques of several deities that were placed in the temple's shrines.[38] She suggests that the term indicates the god was worshiped in that space but did not necessarily reside there permanently. The god may have actually visited from another place temporarily in order to receive its daily cult.

To apply this interpretation to the Abydos talatat, the phrase *ḥry-ib* signifies that Aten was worshiped in the chapel that may have been set up at Abydos, but the god's main residence was in Amarna. The Aten chapels may have served as temporary houses, perhaps during rituals performed by the king during visits to the various Aten temples that had been built in Egypt. Or, the chapels at Abydos may have been permanent residences of Aten, each having a different and specific

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34 This statue is on display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. See also the monograph on Meryneith's tomb, Raven/Van Walsem 2014.
35 Angenot 2008, 15.
36 Raven/Van Walsem 2014, 42–43.
37 See the monograph on this block, Wegner 2017.
38 Eaton 2012, 113–115.

purpose that perhaps mirrored the purposes of the Aten's main residences by the same name that were built at Amarna. The possible Abydos Aten chapels may have been branches of the original temples, which may also explain why they were built after the construction of temples by the same name at Amarna.

Relationship to Sites and Creator/Regenerative Gods

The purpose for establishing Aten cult buildings at Abydos and Akhmim is unclear. Aten temples at both Heliopolis and Memphis are established, but building at these sites may be explained by their administrative and religious significance being equal to that of Thebes and, later, Amarna. Akhmim and Abydos are provincial sites that, though cult centers for major creator gods Min and Osiris respectively, did not hold the same importance as the other sites.

Interest in Akhmim may have been due to family ties. It may not be unusual for Akhenaten to have shown attention to the home of his mother, who maintained a prominent role during Akhenaten's reign. But Abydos is a more mysterious choice. I suggest that Akhenaten chose Akhmim and especially Abydos as sites for Aten cult buildings because they were the home of creator/regenerative gods. Heliopolis and Memphis were also cult centers for creator gods Re and Ptah respectively, and it must be noted that the Aten was itself a creator god, responsible for the re-creation of the world every day.

I suggest that such sites were meant to support the creative properties of the Aten by assimilating the creative properties of other creator/regenerative gods. While I submit that it is challenging to argue confidently that Min was included due to the absence of any representations of Min in the hitherto discovered Amarna Period remains at Akhmim, it must still be considered because Akhenaten's maternal grandfather was connected to the priesthood of Min. This god may have continued to hold importance during Akhenaten's reign, and was certainly elevated once more during the reign of Ay.

The abundant evidence that Osiris continued to be accepted at Abydos during Akhenaten's reign implies that the Osiris cult was still active alongside the practice of Atenism. The burial within the enclosure of Peribsen indicates funerary activities continued to take place there during Akhenaten's reign. Furthermore, if the Osiris Festival also continued to take place, and if the Aten chapels were placed both in the Osiris temple enclosure and at Hekareshu Hill, then rituals pertaining to Aten cult may have been enacted in connection with the celebration of the mysteries of Osiris's life, death, and regeneration. Furthermore, Williamson argues that the *Rwd-ꜥnḫw-ʾItn* built at Amarna, and by extension its sunshade chapel, may have had a funerary

purpose.[39] For a *Rwd-ꜥnḫw-'Itn* chapel to appear at Abydos in connection with the cult of Osiris, a funerary purpose may be conceivable. However, this shall remain debatable. Because the purpose of sunshade chapels in general is unknown, and because such structures were sometimes built outside Amarna, applying a funerary purpose to all of them is problematic.[40]

The case of Assyut poses a problem to this analysis because it was not the center for worship of a major creator god. It is possible that the talatat found there *did* originate from Amarna and were transported to be reused in Ramesses II's temples. There is a possibility that both interpretations may be true, and that what applies to one site may not apply to another. One other concern is that talatat may simply have not yet been discovered at other provincial sites. However, the unusual size of the blocks at Akhmim and their close proximity to the limestone quarries of el-Salamuni strongly support the argument that a temple had been built there.

Though the arguments for the purpose of building cult structures at Akhmim and Abydos that I have proposed remain debatable, what is clear is Akhenaten had great interest in sites well outside Amarna and Thebes. The implications of this are that the Aten religion was much more complicated and far-reaching than is usually presented in scholarship.

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39 Williamson 2017, 117–123.

40 See the sunshade of Meritaten in Heliopolis in Wegner 2017; see a sunshade possibly built for Ankhesenpaaten in Memphis in Pasquali 2011.

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Bernhard Schneider

Nippur: City of Enlil and Ninurta

Introduction: Location as Advantage

Nippur flourished for over five thousand years, well into the Early Islamic period (until about AD 1000), something documented by the establishment of Nippur/ Niffer as the seat of a bishop. In this way, it was a city of religious importance for nearly four thousand years. Also, the preservation of the name of the city, with only a slight shift of the middle consonants, attests to the longevity of this settlement.

The importance of Nippur may be explained by its strategic position at the borders of North and South Babylonia or, earlier, between Akkad and Sumer. Additionally, the favourable conditions for agriculture facilitated by natural levees might have provided an early push for the settlement.[1] Furthermore, Nippur is also situated at the crossroads of the main trade routes from west to east in the direction of Susa (Persia) as well as north to south leading up via Assur to Anatolia and along the Euphrates down to Uruk and the Persian Gulf with Dilmun/Bahrain and Magan/ Oman as its next trade hubs. Trade could have been the reason for an early connection between Nippur and Dēr, BÀD.AN.KI (Sum.), "bolt of heaven and earth" on the border region towards Elam in the east, possibly already at the beginning of the 3rd Millennium BC. The writing of the city name seems to be an allusion to DUR.AN.KI (Sum.), "bond of heaven and earth" in the eastern part of the city, known from the inscriptions of Šulgi at the Inana Temple (Mound VI).[2]

The name Nippur was written logographically as EN.LÍL[KI], meaning literally "place of Enlil". This could lead us to the conclusion that this "place of Enlil" existed before a venerable city surrounded it. Besides other questions, this hypothesis will be tested archaeologically in this paper.[3]

A comparable case exists with the god Aššur in his city (akk.) Aš-šur[KI] (sum. AN-SÁR[KI]). First, there was the rock rising above the Tigris river as a sacred place, then the city followed. It even developed in such a way that Wilfred Lambert stated, " . . .

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1 Wilkinson/Jotheri 2021, 243–255.

2 Later, the Babylonian chronicles use this term, seemingly, for Nippur as a whole.

3 During the conference in Toulouse, the paper benefitted from the comments of Nicola Laneri and Rocio da Riva. An advanced version of this paper was given at a Zoom-talk organised by Abather Sadoon, Al-Muthanna University, Iraq. Some of the arguments given in this article benefitted from the discussion with Jana Matuszak during this talk. Numerous discussions with Aage Westenholz ("Nippur Digitized") concerning the excavations on the "Westmound" inspired quite a few points I raise here. Therefore, I extend my thanks to him. Everything discussed in this paper is under the sole responsibility of the author. Hans Neumann, Heather Baker, and Janine Wende provided me which otherwise would have remained inaccessible to me.

that the god Aššur is the deified city."[4] It is interesting that the immediate surroundings of both cities were occupied up until the Ilkhanid period (AD 1258–1410) and the mounds continued to be used as graveyards until modern times.[5]

History of Research

Nippur has been explored since the mid-19th century by several British expeditions, although it was the French-German Assyriologist Jules Oppert who identified the ruins of Niffer with Nippur.[6] Up until 1948, the University of Pennsylvania had conducted the largest scale excavations at the site, but since 1948, the size of the University of Chicago's excavations has surpassed those of the Pennsylvania excavations. From the early 1970s, McGuire Gibson, as director of the Nippur excavations, conducted several studies concerning the urban layout of Nippur in various historical periods.[7] Most recently, Hans Neumann dedicated a study to the earlier history of Nippur up until the beginning of the 2nd Millennium BC.[8] The aim of this paper is to add some new information concerning the build-up of the mounds in Nippur through an integrated approach including archaeological and epigraphic sources without repeating all the main conclusions these most recent studies provide.

Archaeological Evidence

The mounds composing the ruins of Nippur/Niffer began to accumulate from Ubaid times in the 5th Millennium BC (in the Hajji Muhammed phase, c. 5000–4300 BC: Ubaid 2). The town must have already been considerable when the influence of the Uruk expansion, a phenomenon of widespread urbanization, reached the site during the second half of the 4th Millennium BC. Later, following the Jemdet Nasr and Early Dynastic I period, from about 3100 BC onwards, Nippur was home to a sanctuary related to the god Enlil. This is suggested as the city name of Nippur itself was already written with the name of the god Enlil.

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4 Lambert 1983, 83.

5 Gibson 1992; Schneider 2018a.

6 Oppert 1863, 270–271.

7 See for example, Gibson 1992; Gibson 1993; Gibson/Hansen/Zettler 2001.

8 Neumann 2018. I want to thank Hans Neumann for providing me with a copy of this paper. For further bibliographic references and a broader consideration of Southern Mesopotamian urbanism during the 2nd and 1st Millennium BC see now also Baker 2022.

The Build-Up of the "Temple Mound" (Mound III)

The earliest settlement can be dated to the Hajji Muhammad phase (Ubaid 2) of the Ubaid period, generally set around the beginning of the 5th Millennium BC (more recently, 5400–5200).[9] At this depth, the excavators could barely distinguish between structures and the surrounding clay because of the dampness of the material close to the water level. This was at least partly the result of the raising of the ground water level in the region by the local Ottoman government in around 1900, documented by the early excavators. There are some sherds published by Dougherty in the 1920s after his survey through Southern Mesopotamia, which were found in the then still open trenches at the East Mound of Nippur ("Temple Mound", No. III on Fig. 1; see also Fig. 2).[10] The post-World War II soundings made towards the northwest of this mound could trace Ubaid sherds from a depth of 78.95 m.[11] It is therefore believed that it was from this area that the Parthians extracted the material
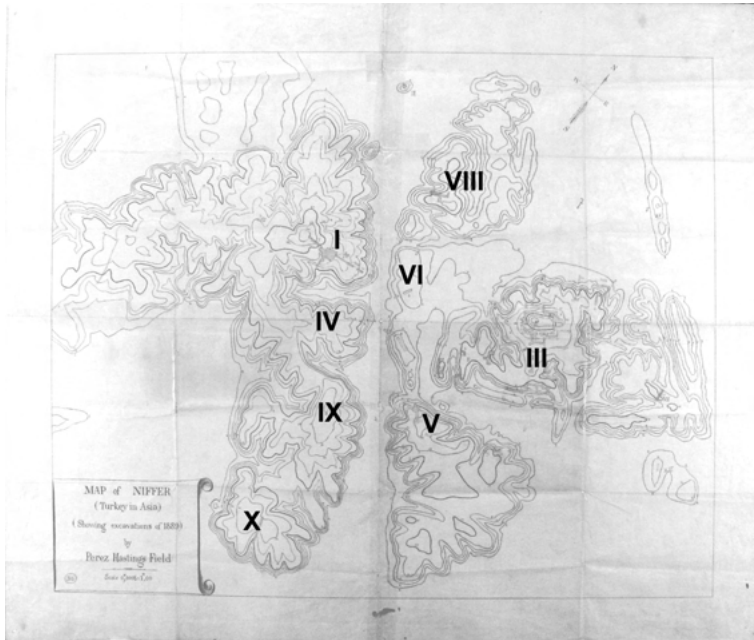
Fig. 1: The mounds of Nippur as surveyed by Perez Hastings Field, architect of the expedition of 1889 with the numbers of the mounds mentioned in the text. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (© B. Schneider).

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9 Aurenche *et al.* 2001. See the section published by Fisher 1905/06, Pl. 17.
10 Dougherty 1926, Fig. 30.
11 McCown/Haines 1967, 156–157.

for the later "Parthian Fortress" on "Temple Mound." According to one of the excavators, the higher bricks showed tentatively earlier material than the lower ones in this massive construction project.[12]

Not surprisingly, it is in the Ubaid time that Hans Neumann, in his recent assessment of the early history of Nippur, searched for the roots of Nippur as a cultic site. By the Late Uruk period, Nippur was still a small town of about 25 hectares, much smaller than more southern sites, such as Eridu with 40 hectares and, naturally, Uruk with up to 100 hectares. To some extent, this might be a reason for the great amount of overlay which accumulated at Nippur in the following four thousand years and onwards. Additionally, painted clay cones made in the mud brick material were spread during the heavy construction work during the Parthian period (until about AD 150). That Nippur was part of a "Network of Southern Mesopotamian Cities" becomes clear later with the mention in the "City Seals" of the Jemdet Nasr/Early Dynastic I period from 3100 until about 2700 BC.

Neumann also mentions the place for the river ordeal, known from the Early Dynastic texts, which could have been another reason for the importance of Nippur.[13] Still in the Ur III times, the ordeal god Ilurugu, together with Allatum, received sacrifices on the 7th day of the Inana festival of the 6th month of the year.[14]

"Clean/Holy Mound", du$_6$.kug (Sum.) as Venerated Artificial Hill (Tell)?

It is in the Ubaid/Uruk time when the first artificial Tell started to accumulate at East-Nippur (No. III on Fig. 1).[15] From then on, it must have been one of the most prominent places and therefore was chosen to eventually house the main temple of the city.

During Ur III times (c. 2100–2000 BC), the king himself took part in a festival dedicated to the "Clean/Holy Mound" dukug (Sum.) on the 7th month of the year.[16] For example, a text from the 46th year of the reign of Šulgi, around 2000 BC, mentions the "Clean/Holy Mound" dukug (Sum.) inside the Ekur complex, although without referring to the exact location.[17] Other times, this so far not physically located feature seems to be set somewhere else, outside of the temple, following the

12 Personal communication with Edward J. Keall (Toronto).

13 Neumann 2018, 42.

14 Sallaberger 1993, 128–129.

15 Fisher 1905–06, Pl. 17.

16 Sallaberger 1993, 130.

17 Pitts 2015, 29.

lists with sacrifices.[18] This suggests that we should identify dukug with the Tell of the "Temple Mound" (No. III on Fig. 1), pre-existing before the foundation of Ur-namma in Ur III times, probably already before the foundation of Narām-Sîn and Šarkališarri.[19]

Mythological Evidence of Foundation

According to the myth, "The creation of the pickaxe/Song of the hoe" (see below), Nippur was built by a hoe at the place, which was still known to be located at the site during the 1st Millennium BC, where a temple dedicated to the goddess Inana stood from about 2900 BC onwards, at the latest. This might be no coincidence as, from a perspective dominated by the Uruk-ideology – with Inana as the main goddess -, this made sense and found its way into the literary tradition, right up until the 2nd and 1st Millennium BC.

Political Instrumentalization of the Sanctuary: An Overview

As the main Southern Mesopotamian sanctuary, sometimes referred to as the Mesopotamian Vatican, instrumentalization was omnipresent at the Ekur (Fig. 1: Mound III). Lugalzagesi, the Early Dynastic ruler of Umma, celebrated an enormous banquet here during the 24th century BC, the scale of which can only be estimated through hundreds of preserved fragments of stone bowls with a votive inscription commemorating his supremacy from the upper sea until the lower sea.[20] This was a short-lived success, as only a few years later he was brought to the gate of the very same temple, this time in fetters and a neckstock as a clear sign of submission, after being defeated by Sargon of Akkad.[21] The Akkad period (see below) saw the rise of Enlil besides Ištar to the head of the pantheon of the Early Empire of

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18 Such-Gutierrez 2003, 88. For Old Babylonian times, see Richter 2004, 41–51.

19 Concerning the materiality of the foundation of the Ekur at Nippur during Ur III times, see Schneider (forthcoming) 2022a.

20 They were found spread all over the remains of the sanctuary but the main accumulation appeared in a layer containing fragments of stone vessels with votive inscriptions mainly dating to Early Dynastic IIIB (c 2450–2350 BC). Another early example is the stone fragments of votive vessels from Lugal-kiginne-dudu.

21 Sallaberger 1997.

Akkad.[22] During this time, it even seems that Enil was succeeded by his son, Ninurta, who went on to be identified as the city god of Nippur.[23]

The Ekur temple construction project of Urnamma, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, seemingly designed to surpass the earlier Akkadian foundation, is another case where Nippur, with its main sanctuary, served as the religious centre of the state, politically centred at Ur.[24] Although at first glance it seems that Urnamma wanted to wipe out any knowledge of the legacy of Akkad with this new gigantic building project, a closer look at the materiality of this foundation shows that there was continuity via an intermediate stratum which, besides the earlier brick stamps made of terracotta, even incorporated the older temple archive.[25] Furthermore, an installation which cannot be connected with any other level of construction seems to have served as some sort of building ritual.

Later, during the Middle Babylonian period, beginning with the 14th century BC, rulers of foreign, Kassite origin, best described as outsiders in the centuries before, revitalised the Enlil cult in Nippur[26] and dedicated a newly built residence in Dur-Kurigalzu, modern 'Aqar Quf, on the growing outskirts of modern Baghdad, to the same god. Here, the choice of Enlil as a main god may have been favoured by the similarity of his qualities to those of the Kassite god Ḫarbe.[27] But, more importantly, with Enlil's cult at Nippur there was a religious and ideological counterprogram with the ability to oppose the Babylon-centred cult of Marduk, which was firmly established by the Hammurabi Dynasty during the first half of the 2nd Millennium BC.

However, the sacking of Babylon by the Hittites in 16th century BC (1595/1499), as current knowledge seems to reveal, with the help of Hanaeans (situated around the Middle Euphrates in Syria), as well as Kassites, and the exile of the Marduk statue at Hana in the aftermath, opened the way for the newcomers.[28]

Even when it seemed that religious realities may finally have changed in favour of a full domination of the Babylonian cult of Marduk at the end of the 2nd

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22 Hansen 2002; for the pottery (excavated 1948–50) from the Akkad period until Kassite times from the "Enlil Temple" to the northeast of the ziggurat, see Scazzosi 2014/15. Concerning the archaeological evidence of the whole Ekur, see Schneider 2018b.

23 Sallaberger 1997.

24 Sallaberger 1993.

25 See Schneider (forthcoming) 2022. For the content of this archive, see Westenholz 1987. The foundation laid during the Akkad period was comparably cut into earlier layers as the Ur III foundation did. See Schneider 2018b.

26 For the Kassite Ekur, see Schneider 2015; Schneider 2016; Schneider 2020a; Schneider 2020b. For the political history, see Paulus 2014b.

27 Balkan 1954, 101–106; Balkan 1954, 219.

28 Paulus 2014b.

Millennium BC, Nebuchadnezzar I (c. 1121–1100 BC) still introduced official documents drafted at Nippur with a hymn to Enlil as the supreme god, and not Marduk![29] And even in the 1st Millennium BC, during the Assyrian domination of Mesopotamia, it is still Enlil who is venerated at Nippur, although building inscriptions appear with the more pragmatic writing of the god's name as DINGIR 50, which interchangeably stands for Enlil as well as Aššur. In Neo-Babylonian times, the same designation could stand for Marduk, although there are nearly no royal inscriptions extant from Nippur later than the Neo-Assyrian period, with a single brick containing the inscription of Aššur-eṭel-ilāni commemorating construction work at the Ekur temple as the most recent one.[30] The stamped bricks of Nebuchadnezzar II which were found *in situ* in the "Enlil Temple" of the Ekur, to the northeast of the ziggurat, regrettably add no further information concerning the exact construction work executed. A six-line standard inscription mentions the king as caretaker of Esangil and Ezida.[31] At least two additional examples of unpublished, fragmentary bricks, found in later layers, were documented by the excavators.[32] Further bricks with the same inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II were found during several archaeological surveys conducted in the broader surroundings of Nippur. They seem to attest at least a modest amount of public construction work also during this period and suggest that from this time onward this rural area became more developed than ever before.[33]

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29 Paulus 2014a, 491–502 (Nbk I 1). In the introductory dedication of this document, Enlil is clearly presented as the highest god. For this study, it is interesting that this document (Akk. *kudurru*) was called "Ninurta and Nusku are the ones who set the *kudurru* for posterity" (o. I–II). Furthermore, Nebuchadnezzar I is given the title "the one who awaits Enlil and Ninurta fearsomely" (II 11). For the Post-Kassite evidence at the Ekur, see Schneider 2017. The fragmentary inscription on a *kudurru* of Nebuchadnezzar I which recently found its way back to Iraq (2019) via the British Museum seems to also concern Enlil and not Marduk. I am indebted to Jon Taylor (British Museum) for providing me with his unpublished work concerning the content of this object (e-mail of 26 March 2020).
30 When I was able to copy this brick inscription in the Hilprecht Collection (Jena), access kindly provided by Manfred Krebernik, it was interesting to see that its edges were cut to the size of the inscription. A paper squeeze preserved in the Nippur archive at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology made it apparent that it was cut into such a format (broken) in antiquity. See Schneider 2018b.
31 See Schneider 2018a; Schneider 2022.
32 According to the list of finds with inscriptions (1948–50) preserved at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Nippur archive.
33 To study the rural area nearby Nippur mainly during the 1st Millennium BC is the aim of a project currently developed by the author. Concerning the Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid transition and the archaeological evidence of the Arad-Gula dossier of the "Ekur-archive" see Schneider (forthcoming) 2022b. On the analysis of a burial type from the Late Achaemenid/Seleucid period see Schneider (forthcoming) 2022c.

The Administrative Structure at Nippur during the Akkad-Period

Following the study of Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian texts conducted by Aage Westenholz, the Ekur was headed traditionally by a sanga (Sum.), with a literal meaning of "head", which was now also supervised by a šagina (Sum.), who was designated by and had to report to the leaders of the Empire of Akkad.[34] In 1987, Westenholz coined the term "Mesopotamian Vatican" for the Old Akkadian Ekur, with which he primarily meant the organisational level, as an independent unit within the city of Nippur. Despite its original intentions, during the 3rd Millennium BC, as the Southern Mesopotamian religious centre, Ekur was indeed comparable to the current centre of Catholicism in terms of its cultic importance as well as its layout with a main forecourt that housed several divine statues instead of statues of saints.[35]

The administration under the ensí (Sum.), the "city ruler" of Nippur, concentrated on the part dominated by the Ninurta temple, called Ešumeša. He was also the head of this temple. The ensí had to make regular trips to Akkad, which is documented in the "Onion Archive" from the north-western part of the "Westmound" of Nippur (Mound I, Fig. 1), published by Westenholz in the same volume in 1987.[36]

Later on in the Ur III period, Ninurta was already accumulating some of Ningirsu's qualities. This might have been a reversed assimilation as, even earlier, the Lagaš-dominated pantheon headed by Ningirsu was incorporating Enlil as the father of the god, at one point even with the construction of his own temple called È.AD.DA (Sum.), "house/temple of the father" while the king of Lagaš even included the title "obedient shepherd of Enlil".[37]

Localizing the Temple of Ninurta

If we look at the layout of the ruins of Nippur, two parts appear prominent (Fig. 1). They consist of main parts that can be simplified as the "Westmound" and "East Nippur" with a relation of roughly 3:2. Several finds lead different researchers to favour either the "Westmound" or "East Nippur" as the location of the Ninurta temple. In the following two sections, the main arguments will be summarised with additional evidence.

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34 Westenholz 1987; Westenholz 1999. I am very thankful that I was able to discuss some of this with Inger Jentoft and Aage Westenholz in person when they invited me, with my wife and child, to their house in Denmark in September 2017.

35 Another comparison with a more local Christian main sanctuary such as, for example, the Stephansdom in Vienna, would be the possibility of setting up of measuring equipment within the perimeter of the building. See Schneider 2020a, 162.

36 Westenholz 1987.

37 For a summary of the evidence, see Selz 1992.

The Evidence for Ninurta on the "Westmound"

Regrettably, the Ninurta temple was not found, despite about 170 years of archaeological exploration at Nippur. Furthermore, it was not even added to the Middle-Babylonian city map of Nippur.[38] This can be explained by the fact that this was a strategic plan, concerning the defence of the city. Hence, only strategically important structures like the city walls, moats and water ways were indicated on this map. This also makes it clear that the Ekur temple of Enlil, with the adjacent temple of his divine consort Ninlil, could have been used as a fortress in times of crisis. This might have been the case several times in the long history of Nippur.

On his schematic plan of Nippur, Westenholz indicated the reconstructed approximate findspot of the tablets from where the aforementioned "Onion archive" of the city ruler of Nippur was excavated: Here, at the south-east slope of the north-western part of the "Westmound", designated by the early excavators as Mound I or "Camp Hill" (see Fig. 1).[39]

Fig. 2: Drone image over the "Westmound" (Mound X, with Mound IV and Mound I above) towards East Nippur (Mound III). (© K. Mohammadkhani / Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

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38 See Oelsner/Stein 2011.
39 Westenholz 1987, 94. For the approximate location of the Onion Archive, see ibid. 88: Fig. 2. Westenholz added several convincing finds to the main arguments that the Ninurta Temple is to be found at the "Westmound".

After 1990, when Gibson identified the WA temple (Mound I, Fig. 1) as Gula's temple, it was considered that the temple of her consort Ninurta could also be found nearby.[40] In my opinion, this seems to be highly likely if we keep in mind that the equally unexcavated Ninlil Temple was also indicated on the Nippur city map bordering the Enlil Temple on its northeast side.[41] The latter evidence is also strengthened by the fact that a door socket containing a dedication to Ninlil by a Kurigalzu I/II was found along the line of the north-eastern wall of the ziggurat courtyard.[42]

One of the finds which points towards an identification of the excavated structure as the Gula/Ninisina temple as well as the Ninurta temple would be the fragmentary part (5.7 x 4.9 x 2.3 cm) of a green stone axe[43] with an inscription "property of ^{d}NIN . . . " which should be reconstructed as ^{d}NIN.EZEN.NA as suggested by Miguel Civil according to the traces left on the published photograph.[44] This writing of Ninisina was in use during the time of Adad-apla-iddina (1069–1048 BC) and his inscriptions from Isin can be found on brick.[45]

Further to the southeast in WB (Mound IX, Fig. 1), a list concerning regular offerings, *satukku* (Akk.), was found. It is of a type postdating the *satukku* lists discussed by Sigrist. The latter contain dates preserved until Rim-Sin of Larsa, (c. 1822–1763 BC).[46]

In an even more south-eastern part of the "Westmound" (Mound X, Fig. 1) two contracts were found among a burial mention *naditus* of Ninurta from "Place of the lukur-priestesses", ki-lukur-ra (Sum.). From another burial came a pink diorite (lOB) cylinder seal which belonged to a "lukur of Ninurta". Additionally, a jug with the Old Akkadian inscription of Urdu, the chief potter of Ninurta, was found. It derives from a disturbed context on the foot of the northeast slope of Mound X, besides other votive offerings which were described by Haynes in his reports of early 1895, during the 3rd campaign, as being eroded down from the mound.

Also pointing in the same direction is the name for the "gate of the cultically impure women", abul mu-us-sú-ka-tim (Akk.) which is known from the Middle Babylonian city map and has to be located on the north-western part of the "Westmound". The name of this gate alludes, according to Andrew George, to a "procession of these ladies" during a festival, when Ninurta returns to his temple Ešumeša on the 15th day in Ayyaru (April/May).[47]

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40 Gibson 1990; Stone 1991, 235–236.

41 Stein 2017, Fig. 14.

42 Concerning the evidence of the findspot, see now Schneider 2020a. For a reconstruction see Scazzosi 2014/15, 11–12: Fig. 3.

43 Gibson 1975, 38, 45, Pl. 28: 3a-b.

44 Gibson 1972, 134–135.

45 Hrouda *et al.* 1977, 89–90 (IB 148ab 38 x 38 x 6,5 cm). It was found within the Level IV temple WA 12, Room 2, Floor 12; Hrouda *et al.* 1977, 38.

46 Westenholz 1987; Sigrist 1984. The date given is following the Middle Chronology.

47 George 1990, 157–158.

Some Evidence for Ninurta at "East Nippur"

The main argument for Zettler's (1992, n. 41) location of Ninurta's Temple near to the Inana Temple was that, within the later Parthian platform of the Inana Temple, *"Vaughn Crawford noted that tablets from the archive of the Ninurta temple were in the fill of the northwestern part of the platform, whereas tablets from the archive of the Inanna temple were in fill of its center and southeastern sectors (Crawford, Nippur, the Holy City, 77–78)."*

To this, we should add the bricks dedicated by Išme-Dagān of Isin (c MC 1953–1935 BC) for the socket of Ninurta's 50-headed mace excavated by Peters in 1890 near to the Ekur.[48] It is not really surprising that Ninurta had a socket for his mace near to this temple as he was considered to be the "hero of the Ekur".

There might still be a chance to find this temple to some degree intact as Zettler rightly added that *"since the Ninurta temple tablets date to the Isin-Larsa period, the Parthian builders probably did not disturb earlier levels of that temple."*[49]

Conclusions Concerning the Site of the Temple of Ninurta

Both Mound I and Mound III rise far over the rest of the mounds of Nippur which would indicate a somewhat similar general accumulation process of both mounds.[50] So far, a localization of the Ninurta temple on the northern "Westmound", possibly on Mound I, should be preferred. The overwhelming evidence concerning Ninurta on the "Westmound" leads me to prefer a location of the Ninurta temple on this part of Nippur.

With Mound I as the likely site of the Ninurta temple Ešumeša, one could deduce that the tablets from the temple archive found their way into the northwestern part of the Parthian foundation of the Inana temple (Sounding B) via mud bricks and filling material which originally came via the "canal in the mid of the city". This would also explain the big wadi, separating Mound I to the north and Mound IV to the south of it (see Fig. 1).

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48 Peters 1897.
49 Zettler 1992.
50 This should rather be seen as an approximation, but with a history of more than 5000 years of both mounds a generalization is more trustworthy than at a mound with just a few periods of occupation.

The Archaeological and Textual Evidence of Ekur (Mound III)

The stratigraphy from the site of the Ekur temple of the main god Enlil clearly shows structures of a temple from about 2200 BC onwards. Before this time, one has to speculate whether the earlier sanctuary was being buried under the still standing ziggurat, founded in the 21st century BC. Early Dynastic stone vase fragments with votive inscriptions were buried below a much later floor, datable to about 1000 BC and provide the only information. At least there is some scanty evidence about 80 m further to the southwest at the site of the Inana temple from about 2800 BC onwards. The sanga priest of Enlil must have been interrelated with the same position at the neighbouring Inana temple (Mound VI, Fig. 1). This could be the reason why, for example, the fragment of a statue of a sanga of Enlil was found there (IT VIIB).[51] According to the mythology *Enlil and the creation of the pickaxe (*or *Song of the hoe),* the site of the Inana temple, the uzu-mú-a (Sum.), "(place) where flesh sprouted forth", is the place where Enlil drove his pickaxe into the ground and mankind emerged.[52] Still, in a much later foundation cylinder for Inana's temple dedicated by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (683–669 BC), Inana is called "great mistress of Nippur, ruler of uzu-mú-a (Sum.)".[53] The same mythological text tells us:

> "The Ekur, the temple of Enlil, was founded by the hoe (Sum. al). By day it was building (sum.) and by night it caused the temple to grow (Sum. al-mu-mu)."[54]

Both the temple of Enlil and that of Inana are still mentioned in the last dated documents from Nippur, in the reign of Demetrios I. from 154 and 152 BC concerning baker's prebends of the temples.[55] So, the general structure of East Nippur still prevailed until the very end of the Seleucid period. What also becomes apparent from these two latest documents is that, besides Enlil, Ninurta is still equally prominent within personal names. On one occasion, even his divine consort Gula appears within one name. It could be possible that, at this time, the old pantheon was kept together within one multi-purpose building called, just like nearly 2000 years earlier, É DUR.AN.KI (Sum.), which was preserved until about 150 CE (Sounding B),

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51 Evans 2012, 193–194, fig. 69.

52 Jacobsen 1946.

53 Gibson/Hansen/Zettler 2001, 522.

54 Translation from: https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.5.5.4# (accessed 10th October, 2021).

55 Van der Spek 1992, 235–260. For the Neo- and Post-Assyrian constructions at the Ekur proper, see Schneider 2018a; Schneider 2022.

still in the traditional Babylonian style and on the original site of the Ur III Inana Temple to the southwest of the so-called "Parthian Fortress".[56] Near to the site of the Inana Temple (Mound VI), the early excavators of the University of Pennsylvania found a Sasanian "Fire temple" at the end of the 19th century.[57]

What happened on the "Westmound" we can only infer from the meagre evidence of well documented excavations in this part of the city. In Achaemenid times, there still existed a small shrine of which only the last two to three layers of bricks were preserved.[58] This building functioned until the later Seleucid period during the second century BC, at least. Although we don't know who was venerated there at this time, it is possible that a later version of Ninurta was still venerated at West Nippur.

The Localization of a Procession Street from Mound III to Mound V at Nippur

A fragment of a baked tablet (20N 3139) which was recently (2019) found by Abbas Alizadeh, Director of the Chicago Nippur expedition, and read by Susanne Paulus, contained a real estate sale with an indication that the property was situated on the "broad street, walkway of the god[s and king . . .]".[59] The findspot of this tablet on the surface of the north slope of "Tablet Hill" (Mound V, Fig. 1) is situated on the backfill of the excavations which began in February 1889,[60] presumably not too far from its original place of deposition. This prominent spot of "Tablet Hill" originally had a view to the central stairway, still visible nowadays at the ziggurat on the "Temple Mound" (Mound III, Fig. 1).[61] Therefore, for the first time, an approximation of a ceremonial procession street can be made while connecting the ziggurat and the findspot, approximately the spot where III and V are written on Fig. 1.

Interpretation and Some Further Remarks

The greater bulk of the two main parts of Nippur, with about two thirds to the southwest and approximately one third towards the northeast, separated by the current

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56 Zettler 1992. For traces of cultic function of the "Parthian Fortress", see Schneider 2018b.

57 This identification was confirmed to me by Edward J. Keall (personal communication).

58 Gibson 1975.

59 Paulus 2021; Concerning street designations see Baker 2022 with further bibliographic references. See also the contribution by Da Riva in this volume.

60 After personal examination of this slope of the "Tablet Hill".

61 Personal communication with Abbas Alizadeh, e-mail of 24 December 2020 and during the 21st Season of the Oriental Institute, Chicago at Nippur in 2021. Concerning the dating of the central staircase, see Schneider 2016; Schneider 2020a.

wadi of the Shatt en-Nil, the ancient *Canal in the heart of the city* from the Kassite city map, seems to have been settled around the two main sanctuaries of the city: the Enlil Temple towards the northeast and the so-far unlocated temple of Ninurta, Enlil's son,[62] which seems to lie buried in the mounds towards the southwest.

So, the ancient sanctuaries and not an ancient canal could have been the reason for the main setup of two main bulks of mounds at Nippur. Here, definitely, sanctuaries shaped the outline of the whole ancient city of Nippur, still visible in the remains of the ruins preserved today. This seems to be a pattern which is also visible at other Southern Mesopotamian sites, such as ancient Kiš and Uruk.

During the 1st millennium BC, we have an example of an intersection between space and language with the Akkadian word for temple *ekurru* deriving from the Sumerian name of Enlil's temple Ekur at Nippur. This coincides with an apparent decrease of the supraregional importance of Nippur in favour of Babylon. Despite the loss of its status as the main sanctuary of Babylonia around the end of the 2nd Millennium BC with the rise of Marduk of Babylon, the importance of Nippur would not diminish. In the time of domination by the Isin II Dynasty, within the names of the city walls of Nippur and Babylon the gods were switched, with Enlil appearing in the names of the city walls of Babylon (Imgur-Enlil and Nimit-Enlil) and Marduk at Nippur (Imgur-Marduk and Nimit-Marduk). Additionally, the sanctuary of Marduk was modelled, at least ideologically, on the Ekur of Nippur.

Still in Hellenistic times, knowledge from temple scribes of Nippur was preserved in the form of cuneiform tablets which could be transferred to Uruk. Furthermore, the revived cult of Anu at Uruk was also modelled on the cult of Enlil at Nippur, probably via transmission from Babylon or even Assur.[63]

Although the status of public work at Nippur seems to be diminished compared to earlier periods, in the second quarter of the 1st millennium BC the Chaldean Dynasty was actively intensifying agriculture in the hinterland of Nippur with the help of deported people. In this way, they were continuing the policy of Assyria, which has been recently documented, for example, in the "Erbil Plain" survey by Jason Ur as well as the "Land of Niniveh" survey by Daniele Morandi Bonacossi in the current Kurdistan Region of Northern Iraq. This trend also continued during the following Achaemenid period[64] and is best documented there in the Murašû archive, excavated at Nippur.[65]

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62 Tummal, the cultic place of his wife Ninlil lies about 22 km to the southeast of Nippur. Beside Puzriš-Dagan (Drehem) it will be the focus of excavations led by Abbas Alizadeh during the next couple of years.

63 Beaulieu 1997.

64 These periods are the focus of a project recently started by the author with the aim to identify sites known through the texts only in the Nippur region for the first time archaeologically.

65 See for example Stolper 1985.

Conclusions concerning the Basic Layout of the City

The earliest settlement developed to the west and the east more or less simultaneously around two cores with the "sacred hill", dukug (Sum.) is the Tell of the Temple Mound (Mound III). If we have to search for Ninurta's temple at the "Westmound" (Mound I?), and most of the indications point towards a location on Mound I, then this part of Nippur should be seen as "Ninurta's city (quarter)" whereas "Enlil's city (quarter)", Duranki, "the bond between heaven and earth", is found at East Nippur (Mound III). The consequence of this two-partite city, separated by the wadi of the Shatt en-Nil (Arab.), would also be that we would expect to find the "City council" at the "Westmound" while the "Divine assembly" resided in Ekur. Hence, the city administration would also have to be expected on the west side. This would in turn be an indirect hint to a probable findspot (Mound X?) for the scribal school, called "Tablet House", Edubba (Sum.), according to the Old Babylonian literature and founded by Šulgi, the son of Urnamma of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The temple scribes would have mainly lived in "East Nippur" which would explain why school tablets, so far, were found only in private contexts at Tablet Hill (Mound V).

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Rocío Da Riva
Urban Religion in First Millennium BCE Babylonia

Introduction

In ancient Mesopotamia, cities and religion were deeply interconnected.[1] From the very beginning of urban life, religious practice played a key role in the emergence and development of cities; it shaped their location, nature, structure and topography[2] in such a way that the history of Mesopotamian religion can be studied as an urban history.[3] However, as recent critical spatial research has underscored,[4] the relationship between religion and place was reciprocal: cults and rituals shaped urban settlements and spatial organization[5] in the same way that the interplay with urban space manifoldly modified religious practice.

In order to scrutinize modifications under urban conditions, religion has to be analyzed as "an (active) agent, preparing and pushing processes of urbanization, as well as a (passive) patient, reacting and adapting to urban conditions and thus becoming part and parcel of urbanity".[6] When dealing with city-induced religious change, I follow Jörg Rüpke's "heuristic grid" of processes,[7] which are selected by virtue of their relevance to the spatial aspects of religious practices. These practices are defined as "communication with [or concerning] not unquestionably plausible addressees, with actors beyond the immediate situation, with deceased ancestors

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1 This paper is the result of fruitful participation in the online conference *Naming and mapping the Gods in the Ancient Mediterranean: Spaces, mobilities, imaginaries*. Toulouse, 10–12 February 2021. I would like to thank C. Bonnet and E. Guillon for their incredible organization in an extremely challenging situation, and J. Rüpke, E. Urciuoli and A. Lätzer-Lasar for welcoming my paper in the session "Urban Religion" and to J. Rüpke for his suggestions and comments. The research was carried out under the auspices of the R+D Research Project of the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation *PID2019–104191GB-I00*. All maps of Babylon (Fig. 1–5) are published here with the permission of Olof Pedersén of the Department of Linguistics and Philology at Uppsala University, for which I would like to express my deepest gratitude. The figures were downloaded in April 2021 from https://www.lingfil.uu.se/research/assyriology/babylon. All webpages cited here were last consulted in May 2022.
2 Liverani 1986; Wilhelm 1997; Liverani 2013; Baker 2014.
3 van de Mieroop 1997, 215–226; Pedersén *et al.* 2010. For the concepts of "city" and "religion", see Rau/Rüpke 2020.
4 Rüpke 2015; Urciuoli/Rüpke 2018; Lätzer-Lasar/Urciuoli 2021.
5 Baker 2014.
6 Rüpke 2020.
7 See the contribution of Jörg Rüpke in this volume.

or gods".[8] As in the case of other cultural practices, communication affects human agency and reshapes social and power relations; it is "spatio-temporal" in that it is forged by spatial configuration and at the same time redesigns space, going beyond the "the immediate and unquestionably given situation (. . .) [and] temporarily and situationally enlarging the environment".[9] Moreover, religious communication has a distinct spatial character, that is, it involves place-making (organizing and characterizing space) but also movement across boundaries: it is about dwelling but also about crossing.[10] In addition, the spatial nature of religion is emphasized by the sacralization of places and objects, and by the creation of sacred space by means of physical and rhetorical strategies deployed to conquer the city. Accordingly, religious practice should be considered first and foremost as spatial practice in two apparently contradictory yet related ways: space is religiously occupied by action (sacralization of space), but religion is also action that is not restricted by space but transcends it.[11]

Finally, as recent studies focusing on the spatial dimension of social phenomena have demonstrated, "spaces are also cultural products (. . .) they become mapped, visitable or even habitable spaces through cultural decisions and practices".[12] Therefore, the spatial dimension of religion in urban contexts can be scrutinized through a) the "use and production of structurally plausibilizing media" (monumentalization of the urban space; public display and theatricalization of communication with the divine; the adoption of urban technologies, like the use of writing in religious contexts; and growing division and specialization of labor); b) processes linked to the formation of human nodes and networks (individualization of urban actors; formation of religious groups across geographical and family boundaries); c) the interplay between religious practices and time; and d) the development of discourses on the nature of cities beyond one's own urban environment.[13]

In the following pages I would like to scrutinize the reciprocal relationship between urban space and religion by focusing on Babylon during the Neo-Babylonian period (626–539 BCE). In particular, I will focus on the progressive enlargement of the city and its increasing monumentality; the public display of official religion by means of an urban road network devoted to divine processions; and the use of cuneiform writing to convey the entanglement of religion and urbanity through imperial ideology.

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8 Rüpke 2015 (see the contribution of Jörg Rüpke in this volume).
9 Urciuoli/Rüpke 2018, 126.
10 Tweed 2006.
11 Rau/Rüpke 2020.
12 See the contribution of Jörg Rüpke in this volume.
13 See the contribution of Jörg Rüpke in this volume.

Babylon in the Neo-Babylonian Period: Building a City and Shaping Imperial Rhetoric under Divine Aegis

Babylon is known as the "gate of god" (Sumerian KA.DINGIR.RA[ki] = Akkadian *Bāb-ili*) in both Sumerian and Akkadian texts,[14] which demonstrates that the city's close connection with the divine dates back to its very naming. The ruins of Babylon can be found in present-day Hillah, the capital of the Babil Governorate,[15] some 55 miles south of Baghdad in Iraq. The city, which served for nearly two millennia as a center of Mesopotamian civilization and was for a time the largest urban settlement in the world[16] and capital of an extensive empire, is today a huge open space along the Euphrates, filled with shattered mud-brick buildings and rubble, and dotted with mounds, or tells, of varying sizes and heights: Kasr, Merkes, Homera, Ishin-Aswad, Sahn, Amran and Babil (Fig. 1: Tells of Babylon). The Euphrates has both dominated the landscape around the city and shaped its urban, social and economic development.[17]

Even though the earliest evidence for dating the city comes from a series of potsherds from the middle of the third millennium[18] and contemporaneous documents indicate that Babylon was an important center in the times of King Hammurapi (19th–18th centuries BCE), the high groundwater has not permitted modern archaeologists to reach the most ancient levels. As a result, the currently available archaeological information dates to the first millennium BCE, particularly the time of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty and the Hellenistic and Parthian periods, because the associated levels are near the surface and extensive excavations could be conducted. Therefore, most of the Babylon that we study today corresponds chiefly to the Neo-Babylonian city, which was enlarged and developed between the end of the seventh and the second half of the sixth century BCE, with some later additions.

Indeed, for such a relatively short span of time, the Neo-Babylonian period has left a large number of constructions and an even larger quantity of texts that record the constructions.[19] These building projects and the documents celebrating them

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14 Babylon had different names, and three of them coincided with the names of city districts: Šuanna, Ka-dingirra (*Bābilu*) and Eridu (George 1992, 19).

15 The modern province preserves the ancient name of the mythical city.

16 A summary of the topography of Babylon can be found in George 1992, 13–29. For the city of Babylon in ancient times and in the historiographical tradition, see André-Salvini 2008; Marzahn/Schauerte 2008; Wullen/Schauerte 2008; Finkel/Seymour 2009.

17 Pedersén *et al.* 2010, 132–135.

18 Sollberger 1985; Pedersén 2011.

19 Da Riva 2008, 110–113.
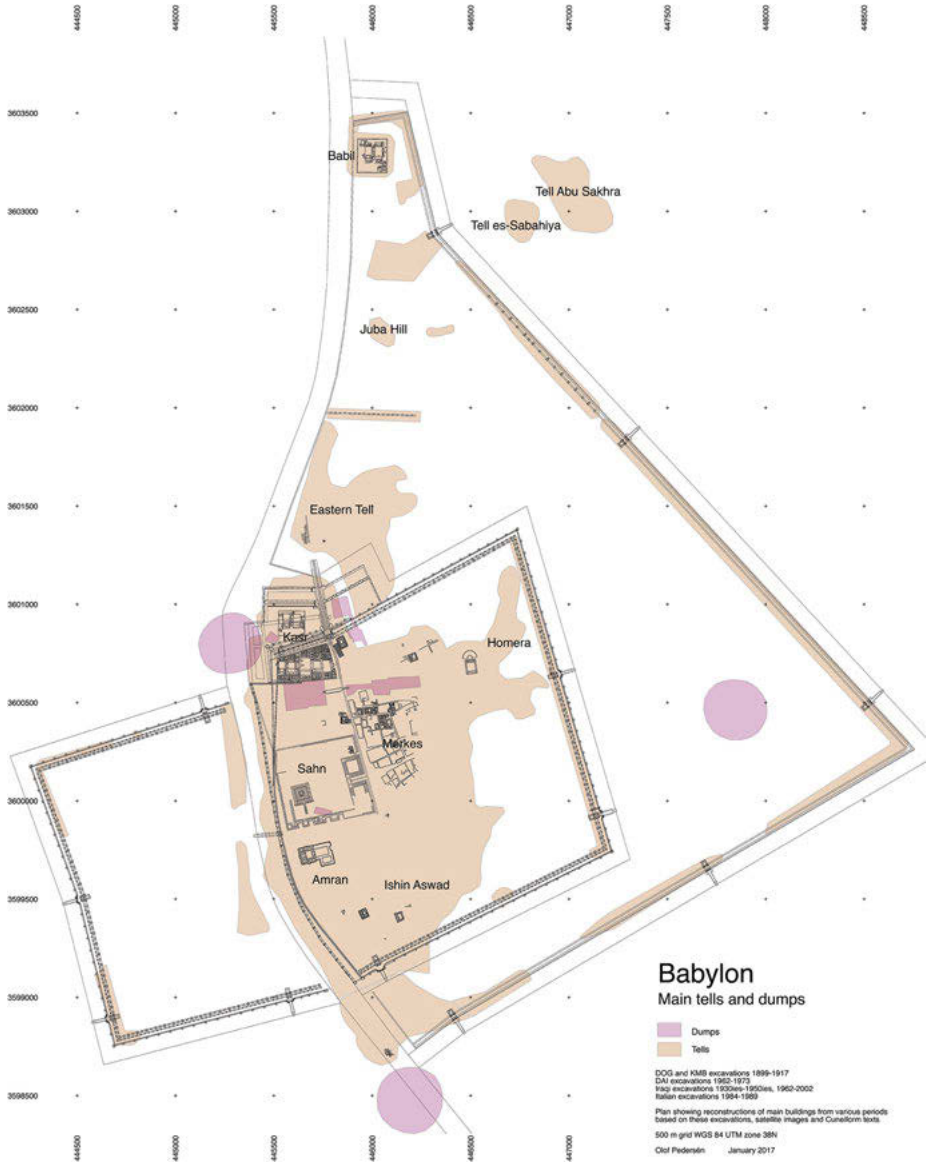
Fig. 1: Tells of Babylon (Babylon500_TellsDumps.pdf).

are an extraordinary case in point for the interplay of religion and urbanity,[20] that is, of the space-sensitivity of religious practice, because they illustrate the physical and rhetorical strategies used to conquer and sacralize space in cities. This spatial conquest, as Rüpke reminds us, "is preceded by a selection, (. . .) recognizing and accepting the character of spaces as defined by previous, common or prescribed usage, but it is also modifying the space through performance and thus also changing the future memory of the place. Even religious 'traditions' are not simply given but need permanent reproduction and are modified by the micro (and sometimes revolutionary) modifications of the users."[21]

The frenetic building activity, which took place not only in the capital Babylon but also in other cities of Mesopotamia, was the result of a combination of historical, economic and political factors. In the first decades of the Neo-Babylonian period, building was an imperative in a country where the cities had been devastated by a long civil war. The success of the building programs demonstrated the rulers' abilities and their divine support. The significance of royally sponsored buildings, however, went beyond ideological and religious considerations: construction was a central feature of the dynasty's political and economic program. In the first place, it responded to the need for urban renewal: building and rebuilding was a recurrent obligation of Babylonian kings. In a country lacking durable construction materials (stone, timber), any buildings, even large and significant ones such as temples and palaces, were made of sun-dried or baked bricks and were therefore very fragile. On one hand, the maintenance of any construction was a fundamental duty of the reigning monarch: a careful treatment of buildings was indicative of the level of social and political stability in the land. On the other hand, the constant growth of the Neo-Babylonian economy and the expansion of urban centers, particularly Babylon, meant that cities had to expand, and new public structures (gates, walls, bridges, streets, canals) had to be built and maintained. In addition, the Neo-Babylonian building program was reinforced by unprecedented economic development and a massive influx of wealth from the periphery of an ever-expanding territorial empire. Accordingly, building became an expression of territorial conquest; management and control of lands, peoples and resources; and imperial power. Buildings of special significance, such as the temples Esagil and Ezida, the ziqqurats in Babylon (Etemenanki) and Borsippa (Eurmeiminanki), and the Royal Palaces in Babylon, accumulated and displayed goods and wealth amassed in the course of military campaigns. As the territory of the empire expanded, so did the size of its cities and their buildings, which became supreme symbols of universal dominion and material expressions of the reciprocal relationship between religious and spatial practices in the context of a political-ideological program

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20 An online edition of Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions can be consulted at RIBo Babylon 7: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/ribo/pager. New editions are forthcoming in Weiershäuser and Novotny 2022 and 2023.

21 See the contribution of Jörg Rüpke in this volume.

whose two main pillars were the monarch's religiosity and his safeguarding of the country and its gods through an intensive program of building works.

King Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon (605–562 BCE), perhaps one of the most charismatic rulers of all time, boasts in his royal inscriptions that he transformed and expanded Babylon into a "wonder to behold".[22] In the extensive corpus of Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions, those composed during his long reign form the largest and most varied group. The abundance of the monarch's inscriptions is due not only to archaeological finds, but also to economic and political considerations, such as the existence of a conscientious building program in a very favorable economic context. Babylonia became a world power under Nebuchadnezzar, reaching its maximum territorial extent, annexing extensive areas formerly under Assyrian control, and curtailing Egyptian influence in the Levant. All these military campaigns had a religious motivation in the background, specifically a need to expand the territory and obtain wealth in order to glorify the gods who had previously granted Nebuchadnezzar support in his political enterprises. Thus, one can read in the inscription of Brisa, which celebrated the conquest of Lebanon WBC IX 13–32:

> On that day, Lebanon, the mountain of cedars, the luxuriant forest of Marduk of sweet smell, whose excellent cedars, which not [. . . for the cultic] place(?) of another god, and had not been taken [for the palace] of another king, I cut [with my pure hands] and – the king Marduk had called me (to bring this into effect) – (cedars) which (for) a palace of a ruler [. . .] Babylon [. . .], were fit for a symbol of royalty – (Lebanon) where a foreign enemy had exercised rulership, and whose produce (the enemy) had taken away by force, so that its people had fled, had taken refuge far away. With the strength of my lords Nabû and Marduk, I sent [my armies] regularly to Lebanon for [bat]tle. I expelled its (Lebanon's) enemy above and below and I made the country content. I reunited the scattered people and I brought them back to their place.[23]

As a result of these campaigns, an unprecedented amount of raw materials and manufactured goods flowed from distant regions into the great capital of the empire, where the king commissioned the construction of magnificent temples to glorify the deities, built great palaces to celebrate his own might, and established a sophisticated urban infrastructure of streets, canals and city walls. The interdependencies between urbanization processes and religious change are linked to the very essence of the political ideology of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty.

In order to address the religious framework of Babylonian urban development, it is necessary to become acquainted with the city's size and the spatial configuration of its built environment. In Nebuchadnezzar's time, the urban space inside the city walls (for its outer and inner wall system, see below) occupied an area of

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22 Spectators of such wonder are both the gods, to whom the buildings are dedicated, and the people (subjects and enemies alike, present but also future), particularly the urban populations who witnessed the magnificent display of official cult.

23 Da Riva 2012; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II WBC.

approximately 800 ha.[24] The compactness of the settlement is uncertain, because only a very small fraction of the entire site has been studied.[25] Nonetheless, we know that Babylon included an inner city surrounded by a double wall system – the inner one was called Imgur-Enlil and the outer one Nemetti-Enlil – that was pierced by eight city gates bearing divine names and surrounded by massive, wide moats. Most monumental buildings (temples, palaces) as well as some densely populated neighborhoods were located within the inner city.[26]

The urban area was organized in districts and crisscrossed by streets and waterways that facilitated connections between the different areas and from one bank of the river to the other. Because the inner city was cut in half by the river, which flowed from north to south, bridges and barges connected the two halves of Babylon.[27] Since antiquity the course of the Euphrates has shifted to the west and the archaeological remains of most of Babylon's west side are not accessible. In the eastern part stood the districts of Tê, Alu-eššu (literally "New Town"), Ka-dingirra ("Gate of the Gods", site of the Old Palace; which was designed by King Nabopolassar (626–605 BCE) and enlarged by his successors: see below). Eridu, Šuanna and Kullab.[28] Eridu was home to the ziqqurat Etemenanki and the Esagil, the sanctuary of Marduk, the city's two most important religious buildings. As for the Ka-dingirra neighborhood, it was structured around the north–south axis of Procession Street, which led to the famous Ištar Gate.[29] The German archaeologist Robert Koldewey, however, excavated only the eastern part of the city, leaving practically unknown the western area (where the districts of Kummar and Tuba, which are mentioned in diverse textual sources, would have been located).

As noted above, sacred expression is distinctly spatial, as it presupposes the organization and characterization of space. As Rüpke reminds us, "[g]ods [. . .] are made present in acts of religious communication. The primary mode of a more permanent

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24 Pedersén 2011, 11.

25 Only some 12 hectares of the site have been excavated, which corresponds to approximately 1.5% of the whole city area (Pedersén 2011, 11), but many surveys and soundings have supplemented the data obtained from excavations. Most of these studies, however, have focused on the monumental areas of the city (temples, palaces, walls, wide streets), to the detriment of residential quarters and marginal areas. The same can be said for the study of written sources that refer to the urban space and experience: scholars have favored texts referring to the great deeds of kings and have seldom been concerned with the experience of ordinary inhabitants (Baker 2011).

26 Non-monumental city districts and houses have not received as much attention as grandiose buildings in monumental districts. However, see Baker 2011; Baker 2014.

27 In the ancient texts the river is called Euphrates or Arahtu indistinguishably. The latter was the name of the western branch of the Euphrates that flowed through the city, whereas the eastern branch passed through the neighboring cities of Kish and Nippur (Jursa 2010, 62, Fig. 1).

28 Some districts were named after Sumerian or Akkadian cities, while others had popular names; see George 1992, 19–21.

29 Both the street and the gate can be seen today, partially rebuilt, in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin.

presence of these types of religious signs is the setting apart of specific places."[30] In Babylon, the intersection of religion and urbanity can be observed clearly in the different cultic places present in the various city districts. These places functioned as landmarks in the urban space, and the festivals and ceremonies organized in and around them drew attention to their respective neighborhoods,[31] creating a dense topographical mesh of sacred nodes. According to evidence from the topographical texts *Tintir*,[32] there were more than 40 temples, as well as many altars, street shrines, stations, etc., in the different sectors of the city.[33] In *Tintir* V 82–88,[34] we find a summary of the city's sacred and topographical features listed on the tablet:

> Total: 43 cult-centers of the great gods in Babylon; 55 daises of Marduk; 2 circumvallations; 3 rivers; 8 city gates; 24(!) streets of Babylon; 300 daises of the Igigi and 600 daises of the Anunnaki; 180 shrines of Ištar; 180 stations of Lugalirra and Meslamtaea; 12 stations of the Divine Heptad; 6 stations of Kūbu; 4 stations of the Rainbow; 2 stations of the Evil God; 2 stations of the Watcher of the City.[35]

Beyond the rectangular area surrounded by the inner walls, there was an extensive space that included not only the inner city but also suburbs with fields and unbuilt land[36] that were, in turn, encircled by an outer city wall, which was trapezoidal in layout.[37] Unfortunately, the area beyond the inner walls has not been archaeologically investigated, so it is uncertain whether it was as religiously impregnated as the urban center. However, I would suggest that it was, considering, on one hand, the deep entanglement of sacred practice and urban place-making in Babylonia and, on the other hand, the religiously liminal role played by city walls. In the north-eastern sector of the trapezoid in what is today the tell Babil (the highest hill of the site),[38] Nebuchadnezzar raised a building that has been called the "Summer Palace" by archaeologists, although it was really an arsenal or defensive structure of the outer city wall (Fig. 2: Areas of Babylon).

The data currently available to study the city of Babylon during the Neo-Babylonian period come, on one hand, from the German excavations of Robert

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30 See the contribution of Jörg Rüpke in this volume.

31 Such attention was probably garnered through a phenomenon that Richard Lim (see the contribution of Jörg Rüpke in this volume) has called "urban talk", that is, the spread and exchange of information about religious sites and events through word of mouth.

32 George 1992.

33 Baker 2011.

34 George 1992, 68–69.

35 There are discrepancies between the full lists and the statistics in the summary section (for example in the number of streets, see below) because in all probability they were compiled independently from each other, based on already existing documents from different traditions, see George 1992, 13.

36 Baker 2009.

37 Pedersén *et al.* 2010, 136f.

38 Pedersén 2021, 13.

Koldewey (1899–1917) and later Iraqi, German and Italian excavations and surveys (Fig. 3: Excavations of Babylon)[39] and, on the other hand, from contemporaneous building inscriptions,[40] some of them found at the site (Fig. 4: Inscriptions of Babylon), as well as thousands of cuneiform clay tablets in archives and libraries[41] and also topographical and metrological texts.[42]

In recent years, the data obtained from successive excavations in Babylon have been combined with the textual evidence to create a digital model using the architectural programs ArchiCAD and Artlantis, with the aim of analyzing the different construction phases of the city in the time of Nebuchadnezzar.[43] The virtual model can be used to study issues related to urban development and planning as well as the impact of historical or environmental factors on the city, including religious features. The virtual model created by O. Pedersén, which integrates archaeological and textual information dated to the Neo-Babylonian period using modern technologies (integrated GIS analysis), allows us to study the development and evolution of Babylon on different historical levels.

Babylon was shaped by cultic practice; from its very name to the diverse elements of its morphology and lived experience, religion impregnated the urban fabric. At the same time, religious change bore a relation to certain social and spatial conditions that prevailed in the city. The two most significant features in the historical evolution of Babylon between the end of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century BCE are the progressive enlargement of its size and the continuous increase in its monumentality. Both aspects are linked to the role of Babylon as capital of a huge territorial empire ruled by monarchs whose official discourse was based mainly on two key aspects: on one hand, religious piety and ritual concern and, on the other hand, the fulfilment of extensive building programs aimed at the well-being of both the gods and their imperial subjects.[44] Indeed, the two aspects are intertwined: the worship of the gods is expressed in the construction and magnificence of their temples, which in turn ensure their support. In many cases, the gods' support is gained through military conquest, and military conquests in turn bring wealth in the form of tribute and booty from the periphery of the empire to the center. And wealth is what one needs to pursue an effective building program.

All these elements (economy, military, religion and ideology) are related and appear articulated in the construction of royally sponsored buildings in urban

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39 For a comprehensive study of the results from the different archaeological investigations in the city, see Pedersén 2021.

40 Da Riva 2008.

41 Pedersén 2005.

42 George 1992; George 1995.

43 Pedersén 2011.

44 Da Riva 2008; Da Riva 2018. It is important to highlight that the king of Babylonia had the monopoly of commissioning religious buildings.
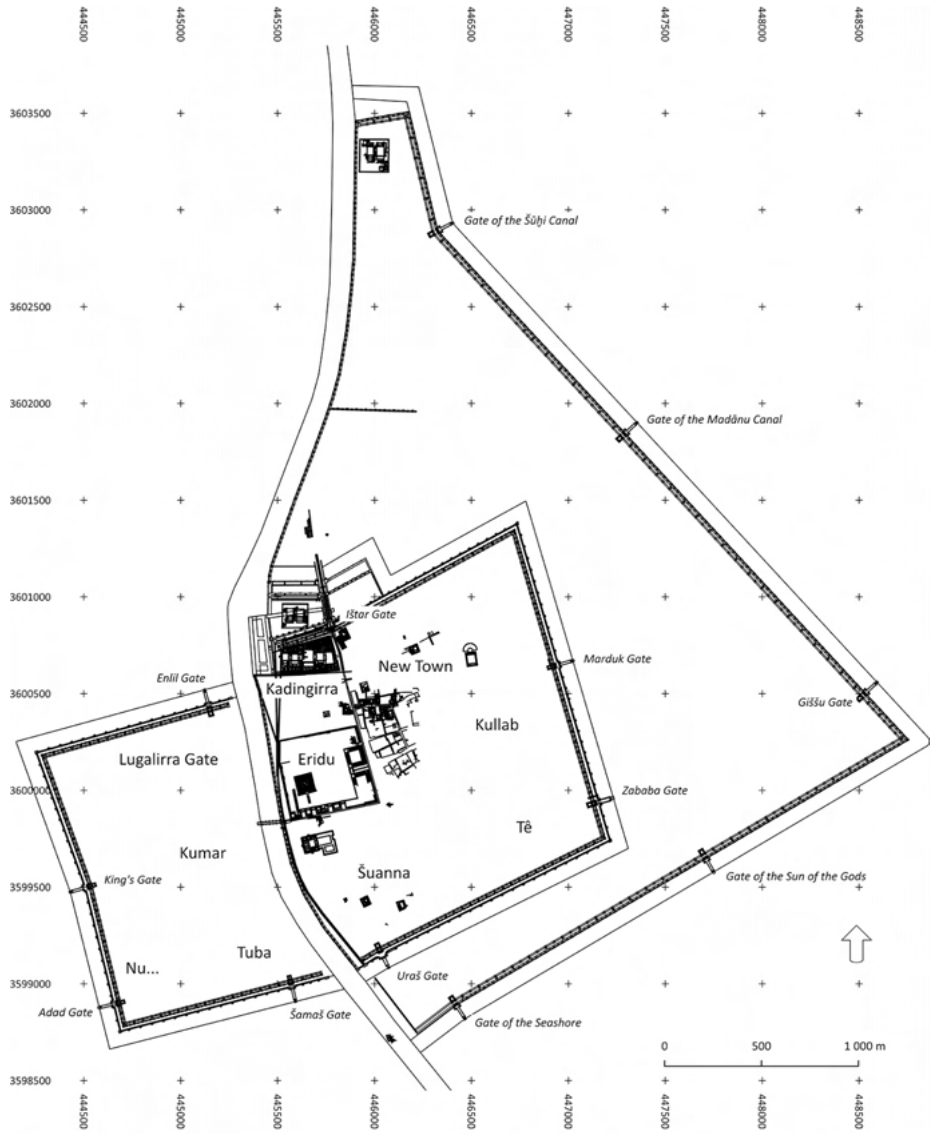
Babylon
City Areas and City Gates

Plan showing reconstructions of main buildings from various
periods based on excavations, satellite images and cuneiform texts
500 m grid WGS 84 UTM zone 38N
Olof Pedersén   September 2020

DOG and KMB excavations 1899-1917
DAI excavations 1962-1973
Iraqi excavations 1938-2002
Italian excavations 1984-1989

Fig. 2: Areas of Babylon (Babylon500_Areas_2.1).
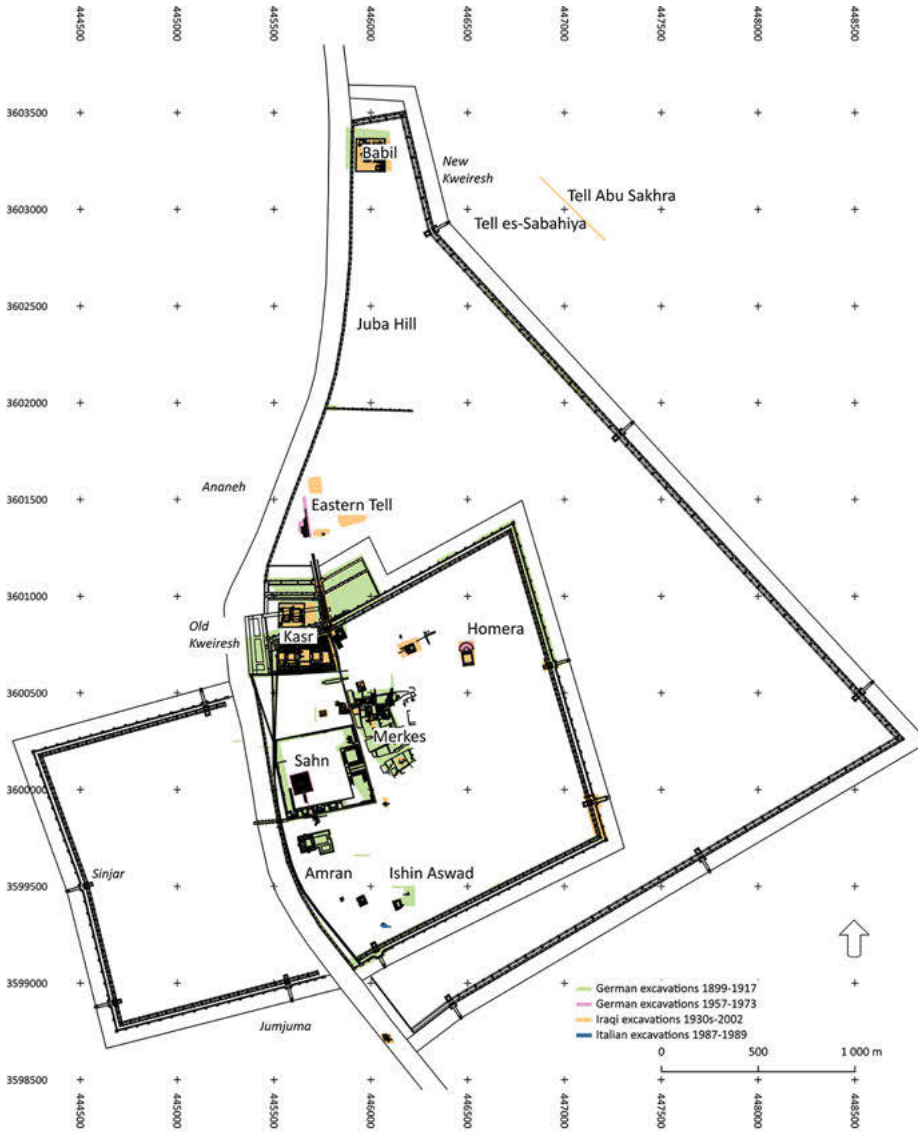
Fig. 3: Excavations of Babylon (Babylon500_Excavations_1.4).

Babylon
Royal Inscriptions from All Periods

Plan showing reconstructions of main buildings from various
periods based on excavations, satellite images and cuneiform texts
500 m grid WGS 84 UTM zone 38N
Olof Pedersén   September 2020

DOG and KMB excavations 1899-1917
DAI excavations 1962-1973
Iraqi excavations 1938-2002
Italian excavations 1984-1989

Fig. 4: Inscriptions of Babylon (Babylon500_Inscriptions_1.5).

contexts. These ideas are deeply rooted in Babylonian tradition, where the symbolic aspects of royal ideology find their monumental materialization in architecture. The firmness and stability of a building (temple, palace, wall, gate, etc.) reflects imperial cohesion and the solidity of a kingship, while a dilapidated construction is a clear indication of a country in decline, led by a poor ruler who is bereft of divine favor. If the buildings are successful, the monarch clearly enjoys the support of the gods.

Thus, the construction of a royally sponsored building goes beyond a mere architectural task to become a challenge and a political test of sorts. For this reason, the commission of building works was one of the most important duties of the Babylonian king towards the gods and towards the people, and most of the ideological compositions from the Neo-Babylonian period (the royal inscriptions) deal with building works in urban contexts. These inscriptions were produced to celebrate the construction or restoration of politically and religiously significant public buildings and infrastructure (temples, palaces, city walls, bridges, canals, streets and roads, etc.) not only in the city of Babylon, but also in other leading political and religious centers of the land.[45]

The evolution of Babylon's urban model in the period transformed religious practices, inasmuch as the expansion and growing magnificence of the city, its buildings and its infrastructure afforded a new spatial arena in which to perform religious practice. These sacred spatial practices can be explored in relation to the urban space from the viewpoint of the archaeological remains and from the rhetoric of the royal inscriptions. To test the Urban Religion approach in this particular context, I will focus on the development of the network of public streets in order to show the deep interdependency of religion and urban planning.

The Streets of Babylon

The extent and layout of Babylon in the Neo-Babylonian period is not well known. As noted above, the site has only been partially excavated and the documentary sources on the urban topography are not as detailed as one might wish. However, textual references and archaeological evidence from the German and Iraqi excavations point to the existence of a network of public streets that linked the different city districts and gates and allowed the movement of people, animals, goods and

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45 For this reason, Neo-Babylonian inscriptions are not rich in historical data. They contain hardly any direct factual information and, of course, are not so exciting as Neo-Assyrian texts, whose narration of royal military exploits lends a dynamism to the texts that is seldom found in other documents of the Mesopotamian historical tradition.

divine images.[46] However, the actual configuration and layout of the street network, even the actual identification of the city gates, is poorly known.[47]

Secondary streets and main streets leading to temples, sacred places, etc. (together with other components like spatial organization, the presence of public powers, and processional routes) are fundamental elements of the built environment and play a crucial role in the spatial arrangement of cities and the synergies that lead to the creation of sacred space within urban contexts.[48] Administrative and economic documents point to a hierarchical ranking in the mesh of Babylonia's urban thoroughfares, distinguishing between major and minor public streets: *sūqu rapšu mūtaq ilī u šarri* or "broad street, way of the gods and the king"; and *sūqu qatnu mūtaq nišē* or "narrow street, way of the people".[49] However, this dual perception of urban streets has so far only been attested in the first millennium BCE in Babylon.[50] Babylonian houses and monumental public buildings lacked addresses in the modern sense of the term. However, the main streets did have names, which were directly connected to the dynamics of religious practice in most cases: major public streets were often identified as the processional routes of specific deities. Accordingly, in the royal inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, one finds references to "the wide street Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša, the thoroughfare of the great lord Marduk" (WBA VII 45–46), and to "the wide street Nabû-dayyāan-nišīšu, thoroughfare of Nabû the son of the prince" (WBA VII 49–50).[51] These streets, and many others, are known from archaeological and textual sources. Most of them are located in the inner city of Babylon, because this area has been the object of archaeological interventions and because the topographical landmarks mentioned in the documents are concentrated in the urban center, even though streets continued beyond the double wall system.[52]

The topographical features of the inner city are the concern of the *Tintir* series, which is the most important cuneiform source for reconstructing the layout and

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46 Pedersén 2021, 201–232.

47 See the critical approach to topographical reconstructions of the city in Baker 2019.

48 Urciuoli 2021, 33.

49 See CAD M/2, 297–298.

50 Baker 2011, 537. In addition to wide and narrow streets, blind alleys gave access to houses (Reuther 1926, 64–77; Baker 2019). The evidence suggests that good houses were located in the main streets of Babylon (Baker 2011, 542–543).

51 See Da Riva 2012.

52 Other streets were associated with urban features outside of the inner city, such as the road leading to the Akītu temple, which is mentioned in the Brisa inscription WBA V 41–52: "For the coming of the lord of the gods, the pre-eminent lord of lords, from the anchorage of the (processional barge) Maumuša to Esiskur (the Akītu temple), (the endpoint of) the processional street of the great lord Marduk, the lord who increases abundance, I placed tall firs right and left. The platform of Esiskur, the (end-point of the) processional street of the great lord Marduk, I made its smell as sweet as a grove of pure cedars." (Da Riva 2012).

configuration of the city at the end of the second millennium (edition in George 1992). A comparison of this material with the topographical information provided by first millennium archaeological data and textual sources, such as everyday documents and royal inscriptions, shows that the general layout of the city changed very little from the twelfth to the fifth/fourth centuries BCE. These changes, moreover, seldom affected sacred places, which stubbornly tended to persist in their engagement with urban space.

The cuneiform tablet *Tintir V* lists features of the inner city of Babylon, such as temples, shrines of Marduk, walls, rivers/canals, city gates, quarters, etc. In lines 62–81, for instance, one finds the name of 20 streets:[53]

Street: "He hears his seeker"	the Wide Street;
Street: "Bow down, O haughty one"	the Narrow Street;
Street: "May the arrogant not flourish"	the Street of Babylon;
Street: "His protection is good for the feeble;"	
Street: "What god compares to Marduk; Do not [. . .];"	
Street: "Nabû is the judge of his people"	the Street of the Uraš Gate;
Street: "Zababa is the destroyer of his foes"	the Street of the Zababa Gate;
Street: "Marduk is the shepherd of his land"	the Street of the Marduk Gate;
Street: "Ištar is the guardian angel of her troops"	the Street of the Ištar Gate;
Street: "Enlil is the establisher of his kingship"	the Street of the Enlil Gate;
Street: "Sîn is the establisher of his lordly crown"	the Street of the King's Gate;
Street: "Adad is the provisioner of his people"	the Street of the Adad Gate;
Street: "Šamaš is the protection of his troops"	the Street of the Šamaš Gate;
Street: "Pray, that he may hear . . . ";	
Street: Street of Damiq-ilīšu;	
(Street:) Four Ways;	
Street: Street of the Divine Heptad;	
(Street:) Street of the Divine Twins;	
Street: "Gladden(?) his land! Worship is his gift!";	
Street: "He listens to the distant"	the Street of Marduk.

It is interesting to note that most of the names of the main streets are related to the gods and refer directly to their patronage of the monarch and of his people, land, troops, kingship, crown, success in battle, etc. All the street names are directly associated with divine assistance and support provided by the gods as reward for the king's religious zeal and his steadfastness as a builder.

The network of main streets in the inner city of Babylon can be roughly located by means of the eight gates (most of which have not been excavated) of the double wall system from which the streets started, but the location of the gates and the streets is not based on archaeological evidence, as our knowledge is mostly based on the texts, so their layout is uncertain. Moreover, the Ištar Gate is the only securely identified; the

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53 George 1992, 66–69, commentary pp. 358–367; see also Baker 2019.

identifications of the other gates are far from certain. The eight gates are also mentioned in *Tintir* V, 49–56:[54]

City Gate: "The enemy is abhorrent to it"	the Uraš Gate;
City Gate: "It hates its attacker"	the Zababa Gate;
City Gate: "Its lord is shepherd"	the Marduk Gate;
City Gate: "Ištar overthrows its assailant"	the Ištar Gate;[55]
City Gate: "Enlil makes it shine"	the Enlil Gate;
City Gate: "May its founder flourish!"	the King's Gate;
City Gate: "O Adad, guard the life of the troops!"	the Adad Gate;
City Gate: "O Šamaš, make firm the foundation of the troops!"	the Šamaš Gate.

Some of the main streets that start from the city gates are attested in cuneiform texts, such as the Way of Nabû, running from the Esagil to the Uraš Gate in the Šuanna district in the south of the city; the street to the Zababa Gate in Tê (SE); the street to the Marduk Gate in the east, where the central wide segment may be the Wide Street mentioned in the text above, between Kullab and New Town; and the street to the Šamaš Gate in Tuba, on the western bank of the Euphrates.

At present, only one main street has been the object of intense archaeological studies, namely the Ay-ibūr-šabû ("May the arrogant not flourish"), the processional way of Marduk running north from the Esagil temple, passing through the eastern wall of the Etemenanki enclosure and the South Palace, and crossing the Ištar Gate (near where the street changed its name and was known as Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša ("Ištar is the guardian angel of her troops"),[56] before continuing north along the eastern wall of the North Palace. In addition, some 500 meters of a west-east axis of a thoroughfare, which runs from the Euphrates bridge along the southern precinct of the ziqqurat, has been documented by means of trenches.[57]

Ay-ibūr-šabû could be identified by means of royal inscriptions by Nebuchadnezzar found in the course of excavations, some of them *in situ*, such as the inscribed limestone blocks from the upper layers of street (LBl 1 and LBl 2) that bear two versions of the same inscription.[58] For the sake of simplicity, I will only refer to one of them here:

[Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, son of Nabopolass]ar, king of Babylon, am I. (As for) the stre[et of Babylon (Ay-ibūr-šabû), for the proc]essional street of the great lord, the god Marduk,

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54 George 1992, 66–67, commentary pp. 336–343; Baker 2019.

55 This is the only city gate identified and dated (to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar) by means of a cuneiform inscription found *in situ* by the Germans at the beginning of the twentieth century, see George 1992, 339.

56 George 1992, 364.

57 Pedersén 2021, 204–206.

58 LB2 can be found online in RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II 005. Similar inscriptions have been found in the breccia flagstones of the street (BP1), see Da Riva 2008, BP1; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II 007.

[I beautified] (its) access way with slab(s) of stone quar[ried from the mountain(s)]. O Marduk, my lord, grant me a [long] l[ife]!].[59]

For the purposes of this article, it is very interesting to note that the limestone slabs were written in archaizing (Old Babylonian) script[60] in four to eleven lines in keeping with the antiquarian ideology and appeal to tradition that were common to the monumental inscriptions of the period. In some cases, they bear Neo-Assyrian inscriptions on the other side, which means that the Babylonian kings reused ancient inscriptions when rebuilding or enlarging the street.[61]

Further documentary evidence of the street's building works comes from inscriptions commemorating repairs and enlargements of the South Palace and the eastern canal of Babylon, the Lībil-ḫegalla, which flowed along the southern side of the palace (Fig. 5: Center of Babylon).

Thus, in the Nebuchadnezzar inscription referring to works on the canal, we can read about the construction of a bridge over the waterway C22 I 10–II 12:

> (As for) Lībil-ḫegalla, the eastern canal of Babylon, which had a long time ago turned into ruins, become clogged with eroded earth, and filled with silt deposits, I sought out its (original) site and (then) (re)built its embankments with bitumen and baked brick from the bank of the Euphrates River to Ay-ibūr-šabû. On Ay-ibūr-šabû, the street in Babylon, I constructed a bridge over the canal for the processional street of the great lord, the god Marduk, and widened (its) access way.[62]

Apparently the bridge's lavish decoration matched the magnificence and splendor of the processional streets that crossed it, as the Brisa inscription WBC IV 12*–27* indicates:

> As for Lībil-ḫēgalla, the eastern canal [of Babylon], which since distant days [had been abandoned]: I sought out its course, and rebuilt [its (u)sukku-wall] with bitumen and [baked brick]. On Ay-[ibūr-šabû], the street [of Babylon, I constructed] a canal bridge for the processional street [of the great lord Marduk], and I covered in bronze the (elements made of) *musukkannu*,

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59 Da Riva 2008, LBl 1; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II 006.

60 The Neo-Babylonian inscriptions were drafted in two kinds of cuneiform script: contemporary and archaizing. The former corresponds to Neo-Babylonian script, whereas the latter corresponds to an archaizing form inspired by Ur III or Old Babylonian, for example, the script found in the Code of Hammurabi. The "Neo-Babylonian" signs are very similar in shape to those used in administrative documents of the 7th–6th centuries BCE. Thus, one cannot speak of a "monumental" Neo-Babylonian writing that was exclusive to royal inscriptions and similar texts. The archaizing script imitates the signs used in monumental Old Babylonian texts; rather than a spontaneous script, it is consciously archaizing. The scribes therefore had to learn this old script, and while studying the signs they also learnt the Old Babylonian variant of Akkadian and the archaic use of signs, grammatical and syntactic peculiarities, etc. which they sometimes reproduced in the inscriptions (Da Riva 2008; Da Riva 2012).

61 Da Riva 2008, 40.

62 Da Riva 2008, C22; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II 035.
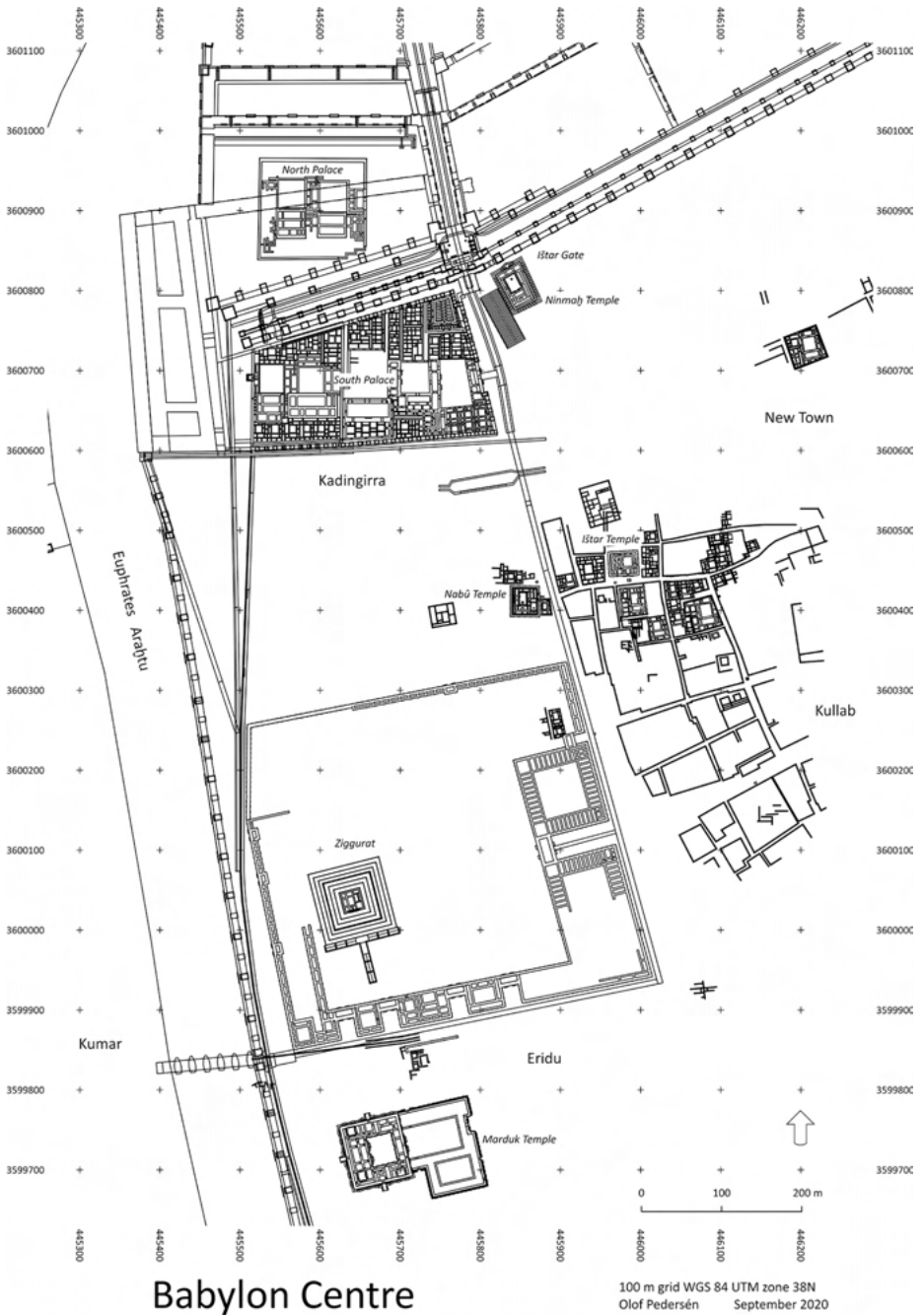
Fig. 5: Center of Babylon (Babylon100_Centre_6.2).

[the eternal wood], (of) [mighty] cedars, (and of) huge firs, and (laying) them three deep, [one] on top of the [other] <I created its span>. [I improved] the road [with bitumen] and baked brick.[63]

The Ay-ibūr-šabû was a fundamental urban axis linking the northern and southern sections of the inner city on the eastern bank, from the area of the Esagil temple and the ziqqurat up to the palaces and further north towards the Akītu temple beyond the city walls. However, it was even more important in its religious and mythological function as a thoroughfare in the processions of Babylon's patron god,[64] particularly the processions that took place on the days of 8 and 11 Nisan during the New Year Festival (Akītu). The sacred functionality of the street is revealed by its befitting epithet *uruh akīti* "road of the Akītu(-temple)",[65] because it was the setting of the first segment of the procession, which covered the distance from the Esagil, the temple of Marduk, to the Ištar Gate.

The Akītu was celebrated at the beginning of the year, between 1 and 11 Nisan.[66] According to the sources, gods came from different cities to visit Marduk in Babylon during the festival, when grandiose processions, "physically constrained and topographically oriented mass mobility",[67] crisscrossed the urban space and the high priest of the Esagil recited the Babylonian epic poem Enūma eliš.[68] Enūma eliš celebrates Marduk's triumph over the sea monster Tiamat and his elevation to the head of the Babylonian pantheon, replacing Enlil. The re-enactment of the creation myth orchestrated the cultic activity and the public religion's representations in the city for the duration of the ceremony,[69] when the cultic processions, which took place in the city's streets and along the Arahtu, displayed the cultic paraphernalia among the urban populations.

The textual evidence mentioned above has been confirmed during the archaeological excavations. The Germans opened trenches and documented more than 1,000 meters of the street, and the Iraqis have uncovered approximately 800 meters of it.[70] The archaeologically documented sections of the street attest to its complex and sophisticated structure, which features several layers, including a foundation of bricks, in some sections probably dating to the reign of Nabopolassar or the

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63 Da Riva 2012; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II WBC.

64 Pongratz-Leisten 1994.

65 Da Riva 2008, C36; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II 032 II 34.

66 For the sequence of the different ceremonies, see Black 1981, 42–48; Zgoll 2006, 21–42; Cohen 2015, 400–401.

67 Urciuoli 2021, 33.

68 Lambert 2013.

69 The socio-political significance of the Near Year Festival, and its cultic and cosmic dimensions have been studied by many scholars. Among the recent studies, which do not all coincide in their interpretation, one could mention Bidmead 2002; Zgoll 2006; Ristvet 2014, 153–158; Cohen 2015, 389–408; Kosmin 2018, 31–42; Debourse 2022.

70 Pedersén 2021, 201; see also George 1992, 359–361.

beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and an upper level made up of several thousand blocks of limestone and reddish breccia stones, in some cases inscribed with cuneiform texts.[71]

While the precise date of the processional thoroughfare is not known, an Old Babylonian building was found in the street area. Given that Andrew George dates *Tintir* to the twelfth century BCE[72] and the text mentions the street, it is reasonable to suppose that the street must date at least to the Middle Babylonian period. In any case, the oldest possible date for the street depends on the dating of the *Tintir* text, so the argument becomes circular. Based on epigraphic evidence, however, we know that some paving stones that make up the street date to the Neo-Assyrian period, while others date to the Neo-Babylonian.[73] In the East India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II,[74] the king records the continuation of a building project begun by his father Nabopolassar (626–605 BCE), ST V 12–20: "From Du-ku Ki-namtartarede, the Dais of Destinies, to Ay-ibūr-šabû, the street of Babylon opposite Ka-sikilla, he (Nabopolassar) beautified the access way of the processional street of the great lord, the god Marduk, with slabs of breccia."

Apparently the works of Nabopolassar were limited to the first segment of the processional way (leading from the Dais of Destinies to the main gate of the temple, Ka-sikilla, located on the eastern side of the Esagil compound, connecting with the processional way running north to south), whereas the segment from the temple to the Ištar Gate was completed by his son,[75] ST V 38–53:

> (As for) Ay-ibūr-šabû, the street of Babylon, I filled (it) in with a higher infill for the processional street of the great lord, the god Marduk. I improved Ay-ibūr-šabû, from Ka-sikilla to Ištar-sākipat-tēbîša, with slabs of breccia and slabs of stone quarried from the mountain(s) to be the processional street of his divinity and (then) I adjoined (it) to the part that my father had built and beautified the access way.

While there are no inscriptions of Nabopolassar that can corroborate this information, it is not unreasonable to think that one of the first building projects of the founder of the dynasty would have been work on the processional way of the national god in the imperial capital.[76] Not only did Babylon stand in need of the restoration and reconstruction of urban infrastructure, but it was also a pressing issue symbolically for an upstart warlord and tribal ruler who became king of Babylon by force of arms, profiting from the appropriate social and military connections[77] but

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71 Pedersén 2021, 211.

72 George 1992.

73 Pedersén 2021, 232.

74 Da Riva 2008, ST; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II 002.

75 George 1992, 360.

76 Da Riva 2013, 2–13.

77 Jursa 2014; Levavi 2017.

attributing his success to divine aegis.[78] Therefore, the maintenance and embellishment of Ay-ibūr-šabû was not only a religious duty, but also a political obligation.

Such an infrastructure needed continuous conservation. Both the archaeological evidence and the documentary sources confirm the modifications undergone by the processional street during the Neo-Babylonian period.[79] The archaeological investigations have made it possible to identify the levels of the street and, accordingly, to establish their chronological sequence. In addition, the resulting data can be compared with the textual sources, since the construction, renovation and upkeep of this important, sacred, urban arterial thoroughfare is often mentioned in the royal inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II. In the East India House inscription mentioned above, the king refers to the repaving of the street, and the same information can also be found in the Brisa inscription WBA VII 43–53:

> From Ištar-sākipat-tēbîšu to Ka-sikilla, (in) the wide street Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša, the thoroughfare of the great lord Marduk; (and) from lkkibšu-nakar to Nabû's entrance in Esagil, (in) the wide street Nabû-dayyāan-nišīšu, thoroughfare of Nabû the son of the prince, I made a massive infill, and improved the road with bitumen and baked brick.[80]

A highly detailed account of successive works on the processional street is the subject of C214, a cylinder found *in situ* during the Iraqi excavations, I 8–II 7:

> At the time, the broad streets of Babylon, whose interior(s) had become too low – (as for) Nabû-dayyān-nišīšu, the street of the Uraš Gate, and Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša, the street of the Ištar Gate, I filled (them) in with six cubits of infill for the processional street(s) of the great lord, the god Marduk and the god Nabû, the triumphant heir, the son beloved by him, and beautified (their) access way(s) with bitumen and baked brick. For a second time, (and) more than before, I filled (them) in with eighteen cubits of infill and improved (their) access way(s) with bitumen and baked brick. For a third time, I filled in Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša with a large seventeen-cubit infill. (In total) I filled Ištar-lamassi-ummānīša with a high forty-one-cubit infill and broadened (its) access way.[81]

From the dedication of the text it is clear that the reconditioning of the street was theologically linked to the New Year Festival. As C214 II 7–II 24 indicates: "O great gods who go in procession on the way to the Akītu(-house) on Ay-ibūr-šabû with the god Marduk, the king of the heavens and netherworld, say good thing(s) about me in the presence of the god Marduk, the great lord." According to the inscription, therefore, the reign of Nebuchadnezzar witnessed three successive infillings to raise

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78 Beaulieu 2003; Da Riva 2017. In his inscriptions, Nabopolassar presents himself as a man whose deep piety has earned him divine assistance; thus, the king affirms in his inscription C12/1 8–12 (Da Riva 2013, 54ff.; RIBo Nabopolassar 07): "Šazu/Marduk (. . .) perceived my intentions and he placed me, me the insignificant one who was not even noticed among the people, to the highest position in my native country. He called me to the lordship over land and people (. . .)."

79 Pedersén 2021, 216–217, 220–222, 224.

80 Da Riva 2012; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II WBA.

81 Da Riva 2008, C214; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II 034.

the street: first by 6 cubits (3 m); then by 18 cubits (9 m); and finally by 17 cubits (8.5 m), making a total of 20.5 m, which roughly accords with the archaeologically attested street levels 5, 4 and 1 "within a deviation of a few decimeters".[82]

These religiously justified "infilling" projects in the street modified the urban morphology of Ka-dingirra, the monumental sector of the city, because they lifted the processional way several times and it became necessary to raise the surrounding buildings that had ended up below street level. Several street levels have been archaeologically documented, and they seem to be dated to different restoration works during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.[83] The Ištar Gate, some temples in the area, and the bridge over the eastern canal mentioned above had to be reconstructed, and even the royal palace (South or Old Palace) had to be rebuilt, as Nebuchadnezzar mentions in the East India House inscription, ST VII 34–56:

> In Babylon, the city of my choice that I love, (as for) the palace (. . .) which Nabopolassar, the king of Babylon, the father who engendered me, had created with (sundried) brick(s) and taken up residence inside, its foundation(s) had become weak on account of flood water (and) the gates of that palace had become too low as a result of the raising (of the level) of the street(s) of Babylon.[84]

Incidentally, the royal palace built by Nabopolassar to the south and west of the Ištar Gate, named in the texts of Nebuchadnezzar as the "palace in the Ka-dingirra district" after the area where it stood, often appears in the texts because Nebuchadnezzar expanded and restored it around his seventh year,[85] before he decided to build a new palace. In the East India House inscription, Nebuchadnezzar justifies the new construction and the ensuing modifications of the urban plan in the following terms, ST VIII 27– IX 2:

> In Babylon, the private chambers of my residence were not decorous enough for my status as king. Because worshipping the god Marduk, my lord, was present in my heart, in order to widen the residence of my royal majesty, in Babylon, the city (under) his (Marduk's) protection, I did not change its street(s), displace its dais(es), nor block up its canal(s). I searched far and wide for (the site of a new) *kummu*-building and, so that no arrow (during) battle can come close to Imgur-Enlil, the wall of Babylon, 490 cubits distance outside of Nēmetti-Enlil, the outer wall of Babylon, I built two strong embankments with bitumen and baked brick (and) a wall like a mountain. I fashioned a baked brick structure between them and, on top of it, I built a large *kummu*-building as the residence of my royal majesty with bitumen and baked brick to a great height. I added (it) to the palace of my father and in a favorable month,

82 Pedersén 2021, 75.

83 Pedersén 2021, 71, 73, 74.

84 Da Riva 2008, ST; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II 002.

85 According to the date mentioned in the Prism, a royal inscription in which the construction of the palace is mentioned, see Da Riva 2014.

on an auspicious day, I secured its foundation on the surface of the netherworld and raised its superstructure as high as a mountain. I completed its construction in (just) fifteen days[86] and made the seat of my lordly majesty resplendent.[87]

Thus, Nebuchadnezzar justifies the building of the New Palace on the grounds that the Old Palace was too small for him, and claims that a complete renovation of the building was difficult to undertake without altering the main plan of the town, which might have been considered sacrilegious towards Marduk and the city under the god's aegis. Given that the eastern canal and some constructions (probably buildings of significance, but there are no archaeological data about them) were located just south of the Old Palace, any enlargement of the building to the south would have meant altering the course of the waterway and the ground plans of the buildings. Nor could the palace be expanded to the north, because of the inner city's double wall system. In addition, the Arahtu canal flanked the palace on the west, so that no expansions to the river were possible. Finally, an enlargement to the east would have meant altering the layout of the Procession Street of Marduk, and that would not have only been considered irreverent, but it was obviously difficult to undertake as well, given the street's previous maintenance works that the king had commissioned. For these reasons, Nebuchadnezzar had to build a new seat of government and residence, the North Palace, outside of the double wall system, beyond the Ištar Gate.

To Sum Up: Babylonian City-Scape and Religious Agency

Documentary sources and archaeological data alike demonstrate the increasing size and monumentality of Babylon in the middle of the first millennium BCE. The city's well-organized public space served as the setting in which the Neo-Babylonian kings displayed political and religious paraphernalia linked to their ideologies of territorial conquest and world dominion. Under the protection of the gods, particularly that of Marduk, the supreme deity of the national pantheon, the kings commissioned the building and embellishment of temples, palaces, city gates and ramparts, turning the urban space into a backdrop for processions and cultic journeys.

All these buildings are celebrated in the royal inscriptions, texts that on the one hand represent the Babylonian monarch in his religious function and in dialogue with the gods, and on the other illustrate how the space was appropriated by those

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86 The figure of fifteen days simply expresses speed, the construction must have taken at least ten years.
87 Da Riva 2008; RIBo Nebuchadnezzar II 002.

who could understand the texts, either reading them or having them read aloud for them.

In addition, the impact of Babylon's topography on the organization and structure of religious festivals is an aspect that must be considered in order to understand their ideological context and social impact. The dialectic between city and religious practice in Babylon is a crucial element in understanding royally sponsored interventions in the urban space, which facilitated both the dimensional organization of the festivals and their temporal arrangement.

These interventions demonstrate the capacity of religion to create dynamic space, which is fundamental to understanding new uses and meanings, both real and imaginary, that become attached to a particular location.[88] Religious festivals were performed all over the city, both inside temples and outside of sacred spaces, and their expected participants were not only the king and the priests and members of the clergy mentioned in the texts, but also the citizens of Babylon. The different urban settings in which the festivals took place indicate both their cultic complexity and their deep social impact. The ceremonies (e.g. processions, rituals, chants and songs) appropriated the urban space and created an imaginary one beyond the physical locations of the festivals, thereby organizing and ritualizing the streets, the city districts, the rivers and canals, and the double wall system that marked the limit between the realm of order inside the city and the domain of chaos beyond. These spatial practices can be detected analyzing the archaeological remains of buildings and urban infrastructures as well as the rhetoric of the inscriptions commissioned by the kings to celebrate the constructions of such buildings and structures, confirming the validity of the Urban Religion approach to show the interdependency of religion and urban planning in an expanding empire.

List of Abbreviations

C and number (C12, C22, C214, C36)	Cylinders with inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar (Da Riva 2008)
LBl	Limestone Block with inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar (Da Riva 2008)
RIBo	The Royal Inscriptions of Babylonia online (RIBo) Project
ST	Stone Tablet, East India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar (Da Riva 2008)
WBA	Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar at Brisa (Lebanon), version in archaizing cuneiform script (Da Riva 2012)

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88 Urciuoli/Rüpke 2018, 127.

| WBC | Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar at Brisa (Lebanon), version in contemporary cuneiform script (Da Riva 2012) |

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Aleksandra Kubiak-Schneider

Hatra of Shamash. How to assign the city under the divine power?

Introduction

The title of this paper was inspired by the name of the panel "Putting Gods and Places in Equation" of the conference which was held online from Toulouse in February, 2021.[1] The organisers defined this session as follows:

> Attributing cult places to the divine is a difficult process, even impossible in certain cases. Additionally, the current trend is to study, even deconstruct erroneous ancient attributions, often handed down from the Middle Ages. However, can we identify landscapes, spatial configurations or even specific constructions for certain gods or groups of gods?

The main focus of this panel was the issue of how divine epithets and names can relate to the places where the gods are worshipped, what is the play between the society, hierarchies and the ritual practices. This approach to the religions of the ancient Mediterranean was coined by the team of "Mapping Ancient Polytheisms", led by Corinne Bonnet, as follows:

> The question of how cults, in both the Greek and Semitic areas, are inscribed in specific places and landscapes, not specifically urban, is at the centre of the ERC Advanced Grant "Mapping Ancient Polytheisms: Cult Epithets as an Interface between Religious Systems and Human Agency" (. . .) which employs a specific and original approach: the naming processes. (. . .) The cross-referencing of names and spaces has rarely been taken into consideration, at least on a global scale. Due to the expansion of Greek and West Semitic languages over the Mediterranean world, the diffusion of divine names and the integration of more and more places into a bigger linguistic scale is also to be observed as a network of names and places evolving in time.[2]

That's why I decided to look closely at the name: Hatra of Shamash, which appears on the coins from this city, and its relation to the local religious life. Hatra, located in what is now Iraq, in the Nineveh Governorate about 90 km south-west of Mosul, 50 km west of Ashur and situated on the Wadi Tartar as a source of water, is a city with a round(ish) layout and a huge complex of sacral buildings in the middle of

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it.[3] The sanctuaries and the sculptures from were recently in the news as the monuments were tragically destroyed by the terrorists of so-called Islamic State, just as in Palmyra and Nineveh.

Hatra provides many Aramaic inscriptions (around 1000) of various sorts: dedications to the gods, curses, graffiti, construction texts, etc. written in script characteristic both for Parthian Hatra and Ashur. Most of the texts have some sort of reference to the religious sphere of life It is in vain to search for such texts there, just as with the Tax Law from Palmyra or honorific or funerary inscriptions known from the other places of the Near East. The Hatrene epigraphic corpus provides a glimpse into the religious and political life of the inhabitants.

Hatra flourished in the period between around 90 and 240 CE until the ultimate conquest of Sassanids resulting in the major abandonment (due to deportation) of the population.[4] The city was between two major powers of this era: Roman and Arsacid-Parthian Empires, oscillating towards Arsacids and being their vassal kingdom.[5] It was ruled by the local kings. Thanks to the current research of the Italian mission,[6] we know that after 240 the city was not totally empty as it was believed.[7] The mention of Ammianus Marcellinus, who visited the city around 363 CE, influenced the theory of a total abandonment.[8] However, the old buildings were rather squatted, maybe seasonally, shown by the graffiti left on the walls.[9] In spite of that, the city did not come back to its former splendour.

Cassius Dio, a Graeco-Roman historian, described two unsuccessful attempts by Romans to conquer Hatra: first, concerning Trajan's siege, he wrote that the seized city was not big and very wealthy, surrounded by a desert. What is more, he pointed out the divine protection of Sun god (Helios) who made the Roman siege impossible.[10] In a further passage, Dio refers to the second Roman invasion, this time under Septimius Severus, describing the religious character of the city and the numerous offering to the Sun-god.[11]

Together with the legends of the coins, *Hatra dy Shamash* – Hatra of Shamash, minted there, these passages emphasise the role of the Sun god as a divine protector of the city and its people. This paper poses the following questions: how much can the worship of a deity influence the real space and topography of a city? And how much can a city itself influence the worship of a god? This paper focuses on

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3 Hauser/Tucker 2009, 108; Foietta 2018, 57–58.

4 *Ibid*., 369, https://iranicaonline.org/articles/hatra (accessed on 28.06.2021).

5 On the history of Hatra between Rome and Parthians, see Sommer 2013, 35–38.

6 Official website: https://hatrasite.com (accessed on 28.06.2021).

7 Moriggi/Bucci 2019, 14.

8 Amm. Marc. 25.8.5.

9 Graffiti published recently by M. Moriggi and I. Bucci in Moriggi/Bucci 2019.

10 Kaizer 2000, 232; Cass. Dio 68.31.1.

11 Cass. Dio 67.10–12. For comments on Dio's passages on Hatra, see Sommer 2013, 33–35.

the cult of Shamash in Hatra taking into account the local religious politics of the rulers, temple life, the ancient cultic traditions looking at the vicinity of Assur and its ancient heritage and the image of the god in the epigraphic and iconographic evidence with a diachronic approach concerning the cult of the god.

Etymology of the Name Hatra

To understand what it means to assign the city under divine protection and power, I would like to focus for a moment on the etymology and meaning of the name of the city: Hatra. This issue will clarify how to understand the brief inscription, so characteristic of the Hatrene coinage, with the connection to the divine name Shamash.

There are theories which link the name to Arabic roots. Michael Macdonald explains the etymology of this name through the Arabic *al-ḥadr < ḥadara* meaning "to camp near perennial water".[12] This theory results from the mention of the "Arabic tribes" (i.e. nomadic) living in northern Jazira in Graeco-Roman sources like Strabo and Dio Cassius and also from the unclear local royal title: governor of Arabs, used by the kings of Hatra and of Edessa.[13] What is more, this region, so west and north of the city of Assur, was described in the 1st millennium BCE as Arabia.[14] However, despite a lively debate about the "Arabs" and their origins in this part of the Near East and all speculations (still without a strong consensus), the association with the Arabic word seems quite dubious. In my opinion, seeing Arabic (including Northern and Southern dialects of the language) connections here could be a secondary consequence.

The root *ḥṭr* is also attested in the Aramaic sources, e.g. from the Achaemenid period, and it means "scepter" or "rod".[15] This meaning is interesting in the light of the symbols of Shamash, but I will come to this point later. Furthermore, Palmyrene Aramaic attests it as meaning "enclosure, wall" derived from *ḥṣr* and denoting a fortified settlement.[16] This etymology is a common explanation in the studies on Hatra.[17]

Taking into account the vicinity of such an ancient metropolis as Assur and its power in the 1st millennium BCE, we cannot avoid referencing the Akkadian sources. Textual and archaeological sources confirm that this land was either inhabited or rented. The Wadi Tharthar is attested in the 8th century BCE texts during the reign of

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12 Healey 2009, 16, MacDonald 2015, 34.

13 MacDonald 2009, 282; MacDonald 2015, 34–35; Beyer 1998, H223, H231; Healey 2009, As36, As47.

14 Cole 1996, 36.

15 *DNWSI* v. *ḥṭr₁*; see also Wiggermann in *RlA* s.v. Shamash.

16 *DNWSI* v. *ḥṣr₄*.

17 Tubach 1986, 213; Dirven 2005–2006, 368–369; Jakubiak 2013, 7.

Sargon II.[18] The archaeological research of the Italian mission from the University of Turin led by Roberta Venco Ricciardi detected 6 urban phases, where phase no. 1 of the first village starts at the end of the 5th century BCE or the beginning of the 4th century BCE.[19] It was a small village that already had a sanctuary. The time of phase 1 corresponds to the Achaemenid rule over this region. One of the characteristic formations of the Persian empire was a structure called ḫaṭru / ḫadru[20] in the Akkadian sources. This term appears only in the archive of the Murashshu family from Nippur dated to the late 5th century BCE.[21] What was a *hatru* then? Citing Stolper, it can be defined as a "small scale fiscal district producing and extracting taxes for the Achaemenid state and landholding group divided into fiefs". So, the hatrus or hadrus were linked to the land management and were rural units bringing in important economic income.[22] The *hatrus* were rural communities of identical ethnicities (Arab, Carian, etc.) providing their services to the royal house of Achaemenids.[23] This unit was located in the hinterland of a big city, which would correspond also to Hatra in, still, the hinterland of Assur. Each of these associations was led by a foreman, a sort of "fiscal officer" and mayor who was in strict cooperation with the Achaemenid administrators.[24] The trenches opened by the Italian archaeologists were exactly in the area of the monumental complex of sanctuaries and revealed material (mostly pottery and a lamp) from the period of the late 5th century BCE and some remains of mud-brick constructions.[25] Although it was not a large settlement, composed only of a few houses, it may match the idea of Achaemenid *hatrus*. Applying this to Hatra, we can envisage that this small village in the area's first stage of development was such a rural settlement, maybe owned by the population of Arab origins and somehow involved in the cult of the Sun god. It's possible that, in the Parthian times, the local mayors of the settlement evolved first into the lords, *mry*, and while gaining power and more privileges from the Arsacids, then became vassal kings.[26]

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18 Cole 1996, 36.

19 https://hatrasite.com/la-citta/ (accessed on 29.06.2021); Foietta 2018, 443.

20 Stolper 1985, 70–104.

21 *Ibid.*, see also Schneider 2018b, 347–348.

22 Jursa 2010, 247.

23 Stolper 1985, 70–71 and Jursa 2010, 247.

24 Stolper 1985, 79.

25 Foietta 2018, 443.

26 This is a working hypothesis which merits more profound studies. However, the connections of this territory first to the Achaemenids and then to the Arsacids should be taken more into consideration. The economic role of Hatra was never a proper subject of research.

Estate or Village of Shamash

If the analogy of the Achaemenid structure is right in this context, the legend of the coins would mean as much as the estate or a rural settlement of Shamash.

The cult of the Sun god played a significant role in the city. Looking at the plan of the city, the central localisation of the great complex of monumental buildings of religious functions: temples, iwans, banquet halls, a huge courtyard, is striking. In the 1st century BCE, there was already a religious enclosure, maybe not monumental at all, but delimiting the space around the temples which is usually interpreted as the most ancient in Hatra: Great Iwan, Temple of Maran, Temple of Samya and the Temple of Shahiru according to the study of E. Foietta.[27] The final temenos, dated from the 3rd century CE, is 435 m long x 322 m wide within the city of 2 km diameter.[28] The enclosure wall was originally 5 m high according to the stairway ramps preserved along the inner sides. This impressive height allowed the wall of the sacred area and the taller main temples to be visible from different points of the city and probably beyond its ramparts. The studies of the sacral landscape of Hatra brought the conclusion that the domestic area must have been developed around the Great Temenos. The topography and urban plan make a huge difference between these two zones: one central and the "periphery" with much smaller buildings and temples. A monumental wall divides the space from the central complex and the rest of the city, as if split into two different spheres. It looks like a border between the worlds and marks an extremely important construction.[29]

This enormous sacral complex is described in the inscriptions as *beit alaha*: the House of God(s).[30] It is a very common concept for temples in the Near East from the 3rd millennium BCE which is still observed in the cities of the Parthian and Roman East of the 1st-3rd centuries CE such as Palmyra (the temple of Bel)[31] and in Hatra itself. The temples in pre-Hellenistic Mesopotamia were designated by specific names like E-Sangil: House Most High – temple of Marduk-Bel in Babylon, E-Babbar: White or Shining House – the temple of Shamash in Sippar and Larsa, Ekur: House Mountain – the temple of Enlil in Nippur, Bit Resh: Capital House – the sacral complex in Uruk with the Anu-Antum temple, highly significant in Hellenistic times because of the providing texts of rituals and astronomy.[32] The location

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27 *Ibid*., 10.

28 Dirven 2005–2006, 367; Foietta 2018, 109; Jakubiak 2013, 7.

29 I do not mean here the division between sacred and not sacred because we have inscriptions related to the religious sphere from the entire city, as well as sanctuaries. The area of the temenos seems to centralise the cult within the urban space which is also evidence of assigning the city under divine protection.

30 Beyer 1998, H272, H344.

31 *PAT* 0248, *PAT* 1353.

32 Names of the temples, see George 1993, 63ff.

of the entire complex of urban sanctuaries in the central spot of the city corresponds to the traditional feature of Babylonian cities where the religious buildings were often placed in the centre of the urban plan.[33]

The main gods worshipped in the Hatrene Great Temenos are called Maran, Martan and Barmarin. The so-called Temple E was probably dedicated to Maran as he is the addressee of most of the texts found within the so-called Temple E in the Great Temenos – there are at least 41 inscriptions which mention his name.[34] The names of the Hatrene triad have a transparent meaning and I would rather classify them as titles, composed with the royal title mr / mrt and the suffix pronoun of the 1st person plural meaning inasmuch: Our Lord, Our Lady and Son of Our Lords.[35] The Hatrene epigraphic material is a big help to the scholar community and brings evidence for the precise association of the title Maran, Our Lord, and Shamash, the Sun god. The inscription H 107:

> [..]Y BR [ʻ]BYGD BR KBYRW
> MN BNY RPŠMŠ ʻDRB.
> 4. LŠMŠ ʼLHʼ RBʼ ʻBD
> ṬBTʼ BYT ḤDYʼ ʻLYʼ
> SGYL HYKLʼ RBʼ DY BNʼ
> BRMRYN LŠMŠ ʼBWHY ʻL
> 8. ḤYY WʻL ḤYY MN DY RḤYM LY K[LHN]

> I . . ., son of ʻAbigad, son of ʻAbigad, son of Kabiru, from the tribe Raphshamash ʻDRB., for Shamash, the great god who did good things in the construction of the House of Joy upon Sagil, the great temple constructed by Bar-Marin for Shamash, his father. In the sake of my life and the life of all who is friend to me.

Moreover, the inscription H 280 confirms further this association of Barmarin, the son of the god Shamash:

> SMYʼ DY BNY ʼQLTʼ
> DY BRMRYN BR ŠMŠ
> ʼLHʼ

> The standard (image) by the association of male temple servants (or male inspectors)[36] of Barmarin (Son of Our Lords), son of Shamash, the god.[37]

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33 This is also the case in Nippur, see B. Schneider in this volume and Schneider 2018a. It is also the case in Babylon.

34 Kaizer 2000, 238.

35 Kubiak 2016, 342; Kubiak-Schneider 2021a and 2021b.

36 Meaning of the word, see http://cal.huc.edu (accessed on 13.07.2021).

37 All translations by the author.

The monumental size, urban plan and the number of inscriptions mentioning the holy Hatrene triad indicates the central role in the city of the cult of Shamash and his divine family.

Shamash, the Sun god: His Cult, Representation, Origins, and the Near Eastern Context

The identification of Maren and Shamash does not leave any doubt – the god states himself that he is the son of Shamash and his referring title is Bar – son, Marin – (of) Our Lords. The titles *Our* Lord, *Our* Lady and the Son of *Our* Lords, with a strong emphasis on the suffix pronoun -n attached to the Aramaic mr', relates to the community feeling and is a construction that underlines a special feature of Hatrenes: the people bonded to their city gods.

But who is Hatrene Shamash? How is he represented in the iconography and inscriptions? It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that Shamash, in Hatra as well as in the entire region of Northern and Southern Mesopotamia, in the North Western Semitic world: Aramaic and Phoenician and in Palmyra, is a masculine deity.[38] The reliefs from Hatra depict him as a young deity with the horned crown[39] and sun rays behind his head, the same image figures on the Hatrene coins.[40] Some of the reliefs show Shamash emerging from the mountains.[41] It is a clear reference to the idea present in the Babylonian and Assyrian theology of the god who rises from the Zagros mountain in the East. This latter motive is well represented by the Assyrian and Babylonian stamp seals showing the Sun god between the mountains.[42]

Some texts, together with the iconographic representations, state that the zoomorphic form of Maran was an eagle: Maran Neshra – Our Lord, the Eagle.[43] It relates to the image of this bird on the local coins.[44] What is more, inscriptions[45] mention this particular feature of Shamash with the connection to the Hatrene royals: Sanatruq I and Sanatruq II and their families. The first one, H 79, dated approximately to 240 CE, puts in equation the divine "onomastic sequence" Our Lord, the

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38 In the Arab world, Shams is rather a female deity.

39 It might look like the horns come directly out of his head, however it should be seen as an equivalence of the Mesopotamian horned crown of the deities.

40 For coins, see Walker 1958; for the representation of Shamash, see e.g. https://hatrasite.com/la-vita-religiosa-di-hatra/ (accessed on 28.07.2021).

41 See Hikmat 2013, the image is labelled Maran.

42 http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/amgg/listofdeities/utu/index.html (accessed on 28.07.2021).

43 H 88, 155.

44 The presence of the eagle can also be connected to the mimesis of the Roman coins with an eagle on the obverse.

45 H 79, 232e and 341.

Eagle with the Fortune or rather Protector of the king Sanatruq (II). The last text, H 341, is a construction of a gate at the Great Temenos by Sanatruq II for "the Eagle, Our Lord, for the sake of the victory by his father (over Septimius Severus)".

The connection of Shamash with an eagle is quite unusual, because Shamash was never associated in the history of Mesopotamian religions with this animal.[46] The Assyrian and Babylonian sources depict him, most frequently, as a Sun disc.[47] In the early 2nd millennium BCE text Enki and the World Order, a Sumerian mythological composition, Shamash describes himself as a bull.[48] Furthermore, in the 1st millennium BCE, in an inscription by Sennacherib, the four bulls were called "sons of Shamash".[49] In the Neo-Assyrian times (912–612 BCE), on the stelae and boundary stones, Shamash is represented as a winged disc, motive also seen later in the Achaemenid times, but also in the cultures of Anatolia (Hittites, Hurrians), Urartu and Phoenicia.[50] This particular image of an eagle in Hatra as the "avatar" of Shamash can be a reference to, and an evolution of, the iconography of the winged disc.

The sphere of divine competences of Mesopotamian Shamash was justice and divination. He was invoked in treaties, oaths, business transactions, but also in prayers for justice and incantations. From the 2nd millennium BCE his symbols were rod and ring, the signs of a fair and just rulership.[51]

If we look beyond Mesopotamia, Shamash is attested in Phoenician and Punic texts, where his name composes the anthroponyms, and is worshipped as a "Eternal Sun" or "Sun of the Universe".[52] The latter onomastic sequence is even attested in the Southern Syrian region of the Hauran from 2nd century CE. He receives banquets and has his association in Palmyra, in the 1st – 3rd century CE, where he had his shrine probably in the vicinity of the temple of Allat according to the recent publication by M. Gawlikowski on the sanctuary of Allat.[53] Going further South, in the Nabatea, Dushara, the main god of Nabateans, also had a solar aspect and was a god of justice.[54] He was invoked in curses in funerary texts, as Master of the Eternity, compatible also with the image of Shamash as the chthonian deity who descends to the

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46 Could be connected to the Zeus and Seleucid and Roman coins? Many deities worshipped in the post-Hellenistic Near East are represented with or as eagles. This bird is associated with e.g. Bel and Baalshamin in Palmyra as well as with other deities like Nabu and Rabbasire and was depicted on the cultic niches in the temples in this city.

47 Black/Green 1998, 168; Woods 2004, 26. http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/amgg/listofdeities/utu/index.html by R. Horry (accessed on 28.07.2021).

48 For the text, see https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section1/tr113.htm (accessed on 28.07.2021).

49 Black/Green 1998, 170.

50 *RlA* s.v. Shamash.

51 http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/amgg/listofdeities/utu/index.html (accessed on 28.07.2021) together with the bibliography.

52 Bonnet 1989, 98–102.

53 Gawlikowski 2017, 91; Kubiak-Schneider 2019.

54 Healey 2001, 85.

netherworld in the evening to rise again on his chariot (in the Mesopotamian context either with bulls, lions or horses) in the morning.[55]

Concerning the Hatra of the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, Maran is invoked in the votive dedications, remembrance texts (graffiti), but also in the curses together with the rest of the divine family.[56] Some inscriptions mention that certain constructions were made "following the counsel of the god": ʾlhʾ.[57] With Great Temenos as the central point, called House of the God, and Shamash as the patron of the city with the competences of Shamash as councillor, it is very likely that Maran-Shamash as the one who is referred to here. However, the executor of the justice was Nergal, attested in some of the Hatrene inscriptions as such.[58] This perception, alive and vivid in the 3rd century CE must have influenced the authors of the incantations placed on the magic bowls dated from the period between the 4th – 8th centuries CE and from the territories between Tigris and Euphrates. Shamash and Nergal (transcribed as Nerig NRYG, Nergol NRGWL) are very popular figures mentioned in these texts among other Babylonian gods such as Bel, Nabu, Nannai, but also Ereshkigal – sister of Shamash and goddess of netherworld, fate and destiny.[59]

Hatrene Kings and their Role in the Religious Life of the City

The divine title "mrn": Our Lord relates as well to the ideology of royal power.[60] Before 176 CE, the Hatrene rulers were called the lords *mry* and after this date *mlk*, the change most probably indicated the transformation of Hatra into the vassal state of Arsacids.[61] That was a "shaknu", a foreman of the property, area belonging and dedicated to the Sun god.

In the scope of the politics of Hatra, the local rulers had a religious function, besides the political and diplomatic function of a head of the city state. The title of great afkal of Shamash is found beside the name of the king Nasru (128/9 – 137/8 CE).[62] In the case of the inscription H345, the title of great afkal of the great god Shamash can be applied to Nasru and fulfilled along with his son Sanatruq I (140–176/7 CE).[63]

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55 Healey 2001, 102; Alpass 2013, 280.

56 Kaizer 2000; Kubiak 2016, 341–343.

57 Beyer 1998, H 336 and 343.

58 Salihi 1971.

59 Moriggi 2014.

60 Kubiak-Schneider 2021b, 125 and 129.

61 Gregoratti 2013, 50.

62 For the title *ʾpkl rbʾ* in Hatra and Palmyra, see Kubiak-Schneider 2021b, 77–79.

63 For the kings of Hatra, see Gregoratti 2013, 50–54.

Unfortunately, this title does not appear in all inscriptions mentioning Nasru so we cannot be sure if it was only a cultic function of this particular ruler or if it was shared by his followers. The inscription H1020 attests that Sanatruq I was entitled to priesthood, expressed by a common Aramaic term *komra: kmr'* as well. Regrettably, we do not have more textual evidence attesting the cultic and ritual functions of other Hatrene kings: both before Nasru and after Sanatruq. We can only refer to the neighbouring Assur, where (at least) in the 1st millennium BCE, the kings were appointed to be the highest priest of Ashur, the eponymous city god.[64] Concerning the link between Shamash and Assyrian kings, he was a highly significant deity (next to Ashur) to the Neo-Assyrian royal court. The kings were chosen by Ashur and Shamash to be a shepherd of "four corners of the earth".[65]

What were then the competences of the king as a great afkal or priest of Shamash? The term used in the Aramaic inscriptions from Hatra: *'pkl rb'* is quite enigmatic. Most of the translations provide the generic meaning "priest" or "high religious official", but there is a differentiation in the Aramaic between these two functions. I do not doubt the direct reference to the Sumerian abgal and Akkadian apkallu and all the implications which this brings, and this etymology is for me more convincing than the Arabic connections (the term appears as well in the Safaitic, Thamudic and dialects of Southern Arabia).[66] In the Mesopotamian part of the ancient world, to which Hatra definitely belongs, this term means wise one, expert, but also a diviner. The term *'pkl rb'* would be translated, to be more precise, either as a great expert or great diviner. It corresponds to the Assyrian tradition where the king was also the highest priest, therefore cultic expert, of the god Ashur. In my opinion, it can be understood, in terms of competences, as sort of a Mesopotamian *pontifex maximus* who cares about the ritual correctness and himself takes an active part in the rituals.

Coins

The kings played an essential role in the construction and the cult in the central sanctuary[67] and definitely had an impact on the local mint. According to Albert de Jong, Hatra started to strike coins after the military confrontations with Romans, which could point to the clumsy copy of SC on the local coinage.[68] John Walker, in his

64 Dirven 2005–2006, 376.

65 Faist 2010, 16; Liverani 2017.

66 See Ociana database: http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/ (accessed on 30.07.2021).

67 Drijvers 1990, 822–823.

68 Written in the mirror reflex or upside-down. De Jong 2013, 147. See also Butcher and Heidemann 2017.

paper on coins of Hatra, differentiates between two types of coins.[69] One, which he calls type A, represents on the obverse side a face of a young man, without a beard and with sun-rays, an image showing a sun-god. On the reverse, there is a laurel wreath upon which stands an eagle with outstretched wings and its head turned upwards towards the left. Type B shows on the obverse a bust of a beardless young man's face with a crescent, representing a moon-god, and the legend says: Marelahe, the god.[70] Marelahe is the name, or rather title, of the god worshipped in Harran and Edessa and is another designation of Sin, the moon-god. Marelahe is a composite name meaning the Lord of the Gods.[71] We do not know anything about the cult of Sin in Hatra except these coins and one inscription matching Sin with his cultic title Marelahe. His cult is deeply rooted in the pre-Hellenistic era, especially in the times of Nabonidus (7–6th century BCE), who ranked this worship more highly in this territory.[72] However, we see that Hatra, Harran and Edessa were somehow connected religiously, but this is a topic for further research.

Conclusion

Hatra is definitely the most remarkable example of a city which grew around a sacred area, beside Assur, where the name of the god became the name of the city (or the city gave the same name to the head deity?). What does it mean then for the people and for the urban life with a central focus on the religious issues? First of all, it has an impact on the urban planning. The centre is occupied by the monumental sacred area which must have been the primary complex before it grew to be a city. It needed a supply of personnel (and their family of course), of goods and the entire infrastructure. To see Hatra as the divine estate seems here very appropriate. The citizens describe themselves in the inscriptions as *Hatraya*: the Hatreans, the inhabitants of the "estate" or the people (*'mr*) of Hatra, of the "estate".

Many statues of the kings were found in the Great Temenos, according to Enrico Foietta.[73] This strengthens the link between the royal house and the worship of the divine protector. The place of Shamash in the civic cult is also strengthened by the role of the local rulers who were the religious experts dedicated to Shamash, who was also perceived as the kings' fortune and patron. In this way, the relationship between the city, its population and urban planning was solid and powerful. The urban politics and religious ideology of the Hatrene kings emphasised the connection

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69 Walker 1958, 168.

70 *Ibid.*

71 Kubiak 2016.

72 Green 1992, 21.

73 Foietta 2018, 377.

between the god and the people, making the sacred area in the central scope of the landscape of the city.

The worship of Shamash as a city protector is marked not only in architecture, but also in onomastics and in numismatics. Many names of the Hatrenes combine either the theophoric particle Maran or Shamash: Maranihab, Alahshamash, etc.[74] The legends on Hatrene coins are noteworthy, bringing together the name of the city and the city deity. What's more, the cultic title of Shamash – Maran is also combining the people living in Hatra with the central figure of the divine assembly. To answer the question set in the beginning of this paper: how the city influences the worship of its god, we need to take into consideration factors such as: the way of naming the main deity: Maran, Our Lord, placing his cult in the central spot of the city in the monumental sanctuary complex and bounding the local rulers with the god, first as the great priests of Shamash, and second calling the god "the protector of king".

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74 For Hatrene onomastics, see Marcato 2018.

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3.2 Greek World

Lucio Maria Valletta
Un réseau de rapports symboliques. Santuari, territorio e pratiche collettive nella Sparta arcaica

1 Introduzione

Già in alcuni contributi programmatici[1], C. Bonnet e il suo gruppo tolosano colloca-vano il metodo e gli scopi delle loro ricerche nell'alveo di un approccio innovativo al politeismo greco – di cui Gernet aveva gettato le basi in modo chiaro nel 1932, allor-ché affermava[2] che *positivement, un dieu est un système de notions*, e che sarebbe stato successivamente portato avanti da J.-P. Vernant, in occasione del Convegno sui „Problèmes de la personne" promosso da I. Meyerson[3] nel 1960. Vernant ebbe ad os-servare[4] che *les dieux helléniques sont des Puissances, non des personnes* e che cia-scuna di esse *n'a réellement pas d'« existence pour soi », mais exclusivement par le réseau de relations qui l'unit au système divin dans son ensemble*, affrancando la no-zione stessa di *persona*[5] (quando si tratti del pensiero religioso dei Greci) da qualsiasi accezione essenzialista, propria piuttosto di altri e più recenti contesti culturali[6].

Una tappa ulteriore, tra le più recenti, sono stati i due convegni organizzati a Toulouse nel 2014 sul tema della nozione di "puissance divine", dedicati proprio a Vernant in occasione del centenario della nascita – i cui atti sono stati raccolti e

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1 Bonnet 2017; Bonnet *et al.* 2018.

2 Gernet/Boulanger 1932 (1970), 222.

3 Il debito di Vernant nei riguardi di Meyerson e del suo metodo su queste questioni è ben ricono-sciuto da Vernant già in *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* (1965), ove questi studi vengono pubblicati per la prima volta: è a Meyerson che in effetti Vernant dedica il volume (dal sottotitolo *Études de psychologie historique*) – e nella *Préface* all'edizione del 1985 lo stesso Vernant definisce quest'o-pera come il volume *qui inaugurait en France les recherches de psychologie historique dans le do-maine de la Grèce ancienne*, affiancando in tal modo l'apporto di Meyerson e quello di Gernet allo sviluppo del proprio metodo di ricerca.

4 Vernant 1960 (1965), 362.

5 Si veda a questo proposito l'introduzione dello stesso Meyerson agli atti del colloquio (= Meyer-son 1960 [1973]a) e l'*excursus* di tipo storico sulla nozione di *persona* dato all'interno dello stesso colloquio (= Meyerson 1960 [1973]b).

6 Queste premesse fissate da Gernet e Vernant sono state il punto di partenza di numerosi contri-buti recenti sul tema del politeismo greco: Detienne 1997 e – per quanto riguarda più precisamente la funzione svolta dai nomi che gli uomini danno a questi poteri all'interno di un pensiero religioso di tipo politeistico – Brulé 1998, nonché il volume collettivo dedicato alla questione di *Nommer les dieux* (Belayche *et al.* [éd.] 2005) in contesto francofono, e gli studi di R. Parker in quello anglofono (Parker 2003).

pubblicati nel 2017[7]. Al loro interno giova in particolare ricordare lo studio a firma di V. Pirenne-Delforge e J. Scheid[8] e quello di G. Pironti[9].

Quest'ultimo – a partire dai risultati di L. Gernet e J.-P. Vernant – offre delle osservazioni perspicue sulla maniera in cui la pluralità delle *Potenze divine* si configura e funziona nel pensiero e nella pratica religiosi dei Greci. È tuttavia il contributo di V. Pirenne-Delforge et J. Scheid che – nel chiarire aspetti precisi del legame tra le riflessioni di Gernet e quelle di Vernant (e, in particolare, il debito che quest'ultimo aveva verso il contesto culturale nel quale lavorava, incluso I. Meyerson) – illustra il ruolo centrale che le designazioni degli dei avevano già nelle riflessioni di Gernet sul politeismo. In particolare, tra le tante osservazioni circa l'approccio di Vernant alla questione[10], sono da considerare:

– il *nome* (e, dunque, le *epiclesi*) quale componente essenziale della *rappresentazione*[11] di un dio, allorché strettamente connesso all'attributo/prerogativa (o, se si vuole, alla nozione/potenza) che al dio è richiesto di esprimere in relazione ad un culto a lui rivolto;

– la necessità che ne consegue (su cui Vernant insiste[12]) di osservare i *riti* sempre in articolazione con i *miti* (e, quindi, con le forme del racconto che li trasmettono) – affrancandosi da un approccio basato esclusivamente sulla dimensione 'empirica' dei riti.

Proprio sul rapporto tra la ricerca di Gernet e quella di Vernant, qualche ulteriore osservazione è nondimeno necessaria: in particolare[13], l'incontro con I. Meyerson (e

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7 Bonnet *et al.* (dir.) 2017.

8 Pirenne-Delforge/Scheid 2017.

9 Pironti 2017.

10 Pirenne-Delforge e Scheid osservano che l'affermazione di Vernant che "*gli dei greci sono Potenze, non persone*" ritorna anche nel suo articolo su "La société des dieux" (= Vernant 1966 [1974], 103–20), in cui Vernant si concentra piuttosto su di "*une analyse des structures du panthéon mettant en lumière la façon dont les diverses puissances divines sont groupées, associées, opposées, distinguées*" (pp. 110–11). In particolare su questo argomento si veda anche Pironti 2017, 91–95.

11 Oppure la 'costruzione' di un dio nei tratti (es. prerogative, modi di agire) che lo caratterizzano nella percezione degli uomini. Si veda, a riguardo, Belayche/Pirenne-Delforge (dir.) 2015.

12 In particolare nel volumetto *Mythe et religion en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1990.

13 Si veda, specificamente, Di Donato 1990, 20–21. Si veda anche la *Postface* di Di Donato alla nuova edizione dello studio di Meyerson (= Di Donato 1995).

Lo studio del 1990 di Di Donato può considerarsi una tappa intermedia di un legame personale e scientifico più che trentennale tra Vernant e l'ambiente universitario pisano, i cui inizi sono da ritrovarsi in un seminario organizzato da A. Momigliano nel 1970 alla Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa.

Un primo prodotto di questo legame tra Vernant e Pisa potrebbe dirsi la pubblicazione a Parigi nel 1983 (trad. it. Roma 1986) della raccolta di inediti di Gernet, dal titolo *Les Grecs sans miracle*, curata da R. Di Donato e con la prefazione di Vernant – che segue quella dell'*Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*, curata da Vernant nel 1968. Nello stesso 1983, peraltro, Di Donato cura l'edizione

con il suo metodo, della *psicologia storica*[14]) era stato determinante anche per le ricerche di L. Gernet[15], proprio nel periodo in cui questi lavorava ai materiali per il suo studio del 1932 sulla religione greca[16]. I primi due capitoli di questo studio (sulle "Feste di contadini" e "La leggenda eroica") evidenziano, anche in questo caso, la necessità di studiare i *riti* senza tralasciare il loro rapporto con i *miti* – un nesso, quello tra *riti* e *miti*, che nel caso di Vernant risulta evidente anche da un'ultima testimonianza del debito che il proprio metodo aveva nei confronti di quello di I. Meyerson: un'intervista del 2003[17], in cui Vernant precisava (a proposito di Lévi-Strauss) che *il existe un ordre du récit* e che *une architecture se dégage*, ma che, d'altra parte, *je ne suis pas sûr qu'on puisse passer sans prendre beaucoup de précautions des mythes grecs à des mythes africains, amérindiens*, per concludere, infine, che *la psychologie est historique*[18].

Nondimeno – sul versante delle pratiche collettive che i santuari ospitavano – non si può tralasciare l'apporto (già nelle riflessioni di Gernet e Meyerson[19]) delle ri-

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italiana della stessa *Anthropologie* (con la *Prefazione* di Vernant, al pari dell'edizione originale in francese).

Il momento conclusivo di questo stesso legame potrebbe dirsi la partecipazione di Vernant alla giornata di studio tenuta a Pisa nell'autunno 2004 in occasione della pubblicazione di una raccolta di altri inediti di L. Gernet – contenuti nelle *Archives Louis Gernet* (*ALG*) conservate a Pisa – dal titolo *Polyvalence des images*, Pisa 2004.

14 Un metodo che Meyerson enuncia pienamente e mette in pratica per la prima volta nel suo lavoro sulle *Fonctions psychologiques et les œuvres* (= Meyerson 1948 [1995]). Si veda Di Donato 1990, 20.

15 Nel 1928, a cui risale lo studio sulle "Frairies antiques" (Gernet 1928 [1968], 21–61), che riflette in particolare il lavoro di M. Granet sulla religione dei contadini in Cina – nello specifico, *Danses et Légendes de la Chine ancienne* (1926) – in quanto, per Gernet, le leggende testimoniavano stati di civiltà che non possono essere ricostruiti altrimenti. Fu in effetti attraverso Meyerson che Vernant entrò in contatto con Gernet.

16 Materiali ora conservati a Pisa, quali parte delle *Archives Louis Gernet* (*ALG*). Il cartone che li contiene è *ALG V* (https://lama.fileli.unipi.it/fr/archivi/louis-gernet/).

17 Le Goff/Vernant 2014, 32–34.

18 Evidente, a mio avviso, il contributo della linguistica di F. de Saussure – che aveva avuto un ruolo centrale anche nello sviluppo della *psicologia storica* di I. Meyerson (Meyerson 1948 [1995], 79–85), accanto ad altri, come E. Cassirer (Cassirer 1923; Meyerson 1948 [1995], 37–41) – per quanto riguarda, ad esempio, la distinzione tra *langue* (nel nostro caso, l'ordine del racconto) e *parole* (le forme concrete in cui esso si realizza all'interno delle diverse civiltà). Si veda, su tutte queste influenze, Di Donato 1995, 237 e 264.

Una medesima influenza di Saussure è evidente nella distinzione che L. Gernet (1948 [1968], 100) pone tra due 'qualità discorsive', per così dire, proprie dei miti e dei processi in cui i singoli elementi di cui essi si compongono (ciascun elemento inteso linguisticamente come *significante*) si combinano tra loro, precisamente, a me sembra, nei termini di quell'*ordre du récit* a cui Vernant faceva riferimento – due 'qualità discorsive' che pertanto diventano termini operatòri: quella delle *connexions* (*qui existent entre les éléments ou les moments d'une même histoire*) e quella delle *associations* (*en vertu desquelles un épisode, un motif ou une image évoquent une série similaire*). Si veda anche Di Donato 2007.

19 Per quest'ultimo caso, si veda in particolare Di Donato 1995, 234–37.

cerche di M. Mauss sulla nozione di *persona*[20] (e, più in particolare, sulle *tecniche del corpo*[21]), allorché Vernant – occupandosi della rappresentazione degli dei greci – descrive il corpo divino quale modello "splendente"[22] del corpo umano, mostrando altresì come quest'ultimo fosse pensato dai Greci come qualcosa di *plurale* che – analogamente anche alla descrizione di un dio greco come *système de notions* proposta da Gernet – era ritenuto anch'esso esprimere *certaines puissances* [. . .] *qui appartiennent en propre à la divinité*[23].

Per questo, il carattere *non-personale* degli dei come *systèmes de notions* (Gernet) o come *Puissances* (Vernant) e la percezione *plurale* che i Greci, quali soggetti umani, avevano di sé e del proprio corpo sembrerebbero essere due aspetti complementari di una medesima forma del pensiero che dei Greci era propria. In effetti, questa percezione dell'umano avrebbe plasmato all'origine anche il modo di concepire gli dei, se è vero che (come Vernant osserva altrove) *c'est à travers des formes – et par ces formes – que la pensée construit ses objets*, e pertanto *la nature de ces puissances sacrées apparaît étroitement liée à leur mode de représentation*[24]. Ma questi modi della rappresentazione – comprese le denominazioni degli dei che definiscono le dinamiche in cui questi si articolano all'interno di un sistema di culti – sono determinati, a ben vedere, per il tramite della forma *discorsiva* del mito[25], sia nella forma di *testo* sia in quella di *immagine*.

In questi termini, dunque, occorre osservare sotto una nuova luce, per il caso di Sparta, la costruzione stessa del *paesaggio religioso*[26] che si configura perciò come "una rete di rapporti simbolici" tra molteplici luoghi sacri, nella misura in cui – attraverso il sistema di pratiche collettive che comportavano l'azione di un certo agente divino, oltre ad articolare la percezione del territorio da parte delle comunità che lo abitavano – essa plasmava l'immagine *culturale* dell'individuo con le qualità necessarie ad essere integrato nel suo gruppo umano di riferimento e, in tal senso, permette di affrontare sotto una luce nuova la questione di un tratto di civiltà da sempre al centro degli studi sulla società spartana, l'*agōgē*.

Sulla base di queste premesse, si procederà:

1. ad una ricostruzione topografica dei maggiori luoghi sacri nel territorio di Sparta – in relazione al *policentrismo* che lo caratterizzava;

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20 Mauss 1938 (1950).

21 Mauss 1935 (1950).

22 Riprendo, con questo aggettivo, il titolo dell'articolo di Vernant "Corps obscur, corps éclatant" (= Vernant 1986 [1989]).

23 Vernant 1960 (1965), 364–65. La qualità 'abbagliante' delle potenze espresse dal corpo divino – rispetto alla qualità 'ordinaria' con cui esse si esprimono a livello dell'umano – è ben evidenziata anche dalla maiuscola scelta da Vernant quando parla di "Puissances".

24 Vernant 1962 (1965), 325.

25 A questo proposito, si veda e. g. Brulé 2005, 5–11.

26 Scheid/Polignac 2010.

2. ad alcune riflessioni sulle *epiclesi* degli dei coinvolti in queste articolazioni spaziali;
3. in conclusione, ad un breve bilancio su come l'articolazione tra differenti divinità all'interno di un *territorio* comporti anche una complementarietà delle pratiche collettive legate ai differenti luoghi sacri.

2 Una topografia della città di Sparta: dallo spazio al "paesaggio religioso"

La formazione della città di Sparta e le dinamiche identitarie dei suoi cittadini – il suo *sinecismo* in epoca arcaica, nonché la storia dei santuari e dei culti comunitari, tenendo conto anche dei dati archeologici – rilevano, in particolare, una differenza tra il sito di Sparta e la valle circostante in epoca classica e la distribuzione degli insediamenti presenti nelle epoche precedenti, da cui dipendono anche le possibilità di ricostruire la situazione dei villaggi di cui Sparta dovesse essere costituita, considerando altresì siti legati alla civiltà micenea: l'*Amyklaion* o il *Menelaion*, o anche *Vaphio* e *Hagios Vasilios*, o quelli menzionati dal *Catalogo delle Navi* (Hom *Il.* II 581–7), che gli archeologi hanno ugualmente individuato sul terreno[27].

La natura 'aperta' di Sparta comportava varie forme di comunicazione tra gli insediamenti lungo l'alto corso dell'Eurota, dei quali alcuni avrebbero costituito il nucleo originario della città: relazioni al tempo stesso concrete e simboliche, di prossimità e distanza, scandite in modo complementare sull'asse *temporale* (la memoria di personaggi ed eventi di un passato più o meno lontano) e sull'asse *spaziale* (in quanto questa memoria è conservata da segni visibili che spesso si rivelano di natura religiosa). Nel caso, ad esempio, dei quattro santuari dedicati ad Artemide *Limnatis* o a *Limnai* nominati da Pausania[28], il legame di questa dea con l'elemento naturale delle acque paludose[29], o altresì "de l'eau douce et courante"[30], diventa il segno simbolico di un confine sia in termini di comunicazione che di separazione.

Pertanto – pur datando già alla metà del VI sec. a. C. le prime tracce dell'organizzazione politica della città, con il suo centro sull'acropoli[31] – è proprio il muro che a partire dell'età ellenistica circonda Sparta l'ostacolo principale alla comprensione della sua reale organizzazione *kata kōmas* in epoca arcaica, di cui parlava

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27 Si vedano, ad esempio, Waterhouse/Hope-Simpson *ABSA* LVI (1961), 173–75 ed Hope-Simpson/Lazenby (1970, 74–76).

28 Si veda oltre, al paragrafo 3 di questo articolo.

29 Calame 2019, 277–78.

30 *Ibidem*, 255.

31 Un processo di accentramento culminato nell'immagine di Sparta descritta da Polibio (V 22, 1–4) come una città dalla pianta circolare.

anche Tucidide (Thuc. I 10, 2) e che è altresì possibile cogliere dalla conformazione del territorio che, ad esempio, presenta numerose alture. L'ipotesi che le *kōmai* di Sparta non fossero soltanto le quattro località comunemente nominate negli studi (Pitanē, Cynosoura, Messoa, Limnai), ma che fossero distribuite in un'area più vasta, configurando una realtà più ampia e dispersa, è stata avanzata negli ultimi anni da M. Lupi[32]. Per questo, saranno piuttosto le porte e le strade che dal centro della città (la zona tra l'*agora* e l'acropoli, innanzitutto) conducono ai vari luoghi della pianura di Sparta e ai limiti della Laconia che devono essere prese in considerazione – come rileva anche E. Kourinou[33] nel descrivere la topografia della città, e come sembrerebbe confermare anche il testo della *Grande Rhetra* (Plu. *Lyc.* 6, 1), se si tiene conto dell'indicazione topografica (μεταξὺ Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακιῶνος, "tra Babyka e Cnacione").

Affrontando, quindi, la questione dell'organizzazione urbana e sociale di Sparta in età arcaica in tale prospettiva, e considerando le testimonianze testuali e i luoghi dove sono state portate alla luce tracce di epoca arcaica, potremmo distinguere:

1. il villaggio di *Pitanē*, che comprende la zona tra l'*agora* e l'acropoli, nonché il *Dromos* e il *Platanistas*: probabilmente il nucleo più antico della città che chiamiamo Sparta;
2. la località di *Limnai* (Paus. III 16, 7) – ai margini del villaggio di *Pitanē* – e il santuario di Artemide *Orthia*;
3. l'*herōon* presso l'Eurota (III 16, 6);
4. la strada che dalle *Erme* conduce a Sparta e il santuario di Apollo a *Thornax* (III 10, 8);
5. la località di *Tsacona* e il santuario di Zeus *Messapeus* (III 20, 3);
6. il santuario dell'*Achilleion* sulla strada verso l'Arcadia (III 20, 8);
7. la località di *Therapne* e il santuario del *Menelaion* (III 19, 7–9);
8. la località di *Talete* e l'*Eleusinion* (III 20, 4–5);
9. la località di *Amicle*, con i santuari di Agamennone e Alessandra e di Apollo/Hyakinthos (III 18, 6–19, 6);
10. i santuari liminari di Artemide – *Limnatis*, sulle alture del Taigeto (a *Volimnos*, Paus. IV 31, 3), e *Caryatis*, al confine tra Laconia e Arcadia (presso il villaggio moderno di *Caryai/Arachova*, Paus. III 10, 7).

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32 Lupi 2006; Lupi 2017, 65–69.
33 Kourinou 2000, 278–79.

3 Configurazioni spaziali e articolazione delle epiclesi: alcuni casi del pantheon di Sparta

L'articolazione del territorio e del popolamento di Sparta – ricostruibile dai luoghi sacri, riconosciuti e/o scelti come tali per alcune caratteristiche *funzionali* simbolicamente percepite e/o necessarie e (per questo) associati ad una data divinità che, nel pensiero religioso degli Spartani, le esprime in modo preminente[34] – può pertanto leggersi anche in termini di articolazione tra divinità che esercitano nella vita di una comunità un certo tipo di *azione* coerente con le prerogative che esse esprimono, e con le quali la stessa comunità interagisce attraverso le varie forme di *comunicazione* definite dai riti.

Nel quadro di questa interazione – come pure Vernant osservava[35] – il legame tra una data comunità e le divinità "insediate" nei diversi santuari si pone (secondo il vivere umano nello *spazio* e nel *tempo*) nei termini *dinamici* della *discorsività*[36], essenzialmente a due livelli interdipendenti:

– il formarsi di una *memoria* condivisa, articolata in uno o molteplici episodi relativi ad un passato più o meno lontano, descritti da uno o una serie di racconti (per i quali utilizzo, rispettivamente, i termini di *mito* e *leggenda*) che questa stessa memoria ordina reciprocamente tra loro e nei singoli elementi interni a ciascuno;
– la fabbricazione – che ne consegue – di *epiclesi* che, come già precisato, definiscono e mettono in evidenza una particolare funzione (che si realizza in un certo modo di azione) della divinità rispetto ad una data esigenza degli umani.

In questa prospettiva, dunque, l'articolazione spaziale (evidente, in particolare, dalle tracce individuate dall'archeologia) tra divinità ed eroi, diventa essa stessa determinante (se non essenziale) nell'affrontare una riflessione sulle epiclesi divine all'interno di un determinato contesto cultuale. Se, in effetti, allo scopo di definire chiaramente le prerogative e le funzioni di una divinità rispetto alle istanze degli uomini, è necessario considerarla non in maniera isolata ma rispetto alle altre divinità con cui entra in relazione[37] – per cui le stesse *structures du panthéon*[38] variano da un caso all'altro, e sono eventualmente desumibili anche dalla configurazione del paesaggio religioso – i

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34 Si veda, in particolare, Scheid/Polignac 2010, 433–434, in cui si precisa che ad un approccio eminentemente "naturalista", allo scopo di determinare ed intepretare il paesaggio religioso di una comunità, nella scelta dei luoghi sacri si accompagnano sempre ragioni di ordine sociale (storico e culturale, dunque) che come tali sono anche soggette a mutare nel tempo, comportando mutamenti di vario tipo anche nella conformazione stessa del "paesaggio religioso".

35 Vernant 1966 (1974), 104–106.

36 Si ricordi, a riguardo, anche Brulé 2005.

37 Vernant 1966 (1974), 109–111.

38 *Ibidem*, 110.

rapporti (spaziali e non) che legano i santuari dedicati ad una divinità e i monumenti che preservavano la memoria di personaggi locali diventano uno strumento tanto per descrivere il paesaggio religioso in termini di diacronia, tanto per comprendere appieno la funzione delle pratiche cultuali collettive e delle divinità a cui esse erano indirizzate, allo scopo di *intégrer l'individu humain à des groupes sociaux ayant leur règle de fonctionnement, leur hiérarchie; d'intégrer à leur tour ces groupes sociaux dans l'ordre de la nature, de rattacher enfin le cours même de la nature à un ordre sacré*[39].

Se, pertanto, il sistema di relazioni tra le diverse potenze divine all'interno di un *pantheon* è definito secondo determinate forme del pensiero, quale quella *genealogica* (si pensi alla *Teogonia* di Esiodo) – per cui, ad esempio, Zeus non può essere pienamente definito se si trascurano le relazioni che lo legano ad Era[40] o ad Atena – nel caso di Sparta (che, in tal senso, risulta interessante)[41] una definizione di questo tipo (condotta attraverso l'esame delle *epiclesi*) deve tener conto:

- delle denominazioni comuni a più divinità – che associano queste stesse divinità nel soddisfare una medesima funzione;
- dell'articolazione – necessaria per la definizione di una certa divinità – di nomi multipli che, come tali, associano funzioni (e, pertanto, anche veri e propri dei) differenti in un unico *agente* divino;
- delle particolari epiclesi che – in relazione ad una funzione/prerogativa/attività di una data *divinità* – trovano origine in un episodio mitico che ha tra gli esiti la fondazione di un santuario da parte dell'*eroe* che di quell'episodio è protagonista.

Nel caso del *pantheon* di Sparta non potremmo comprendere, ad esempio, Era se trascurassimo il santuario di Era *Aigophagos* fondato, nella memoria degli Spartani, da Eracle (Paus. III 15, 9) oppure, nel caso di Atena, se trascurassimo il santuario di Atena *Axiopoinos* fondato da Eracle (Paus. III 15, 6), oppure quello di Atena *Ophthalmitis*/*Optilletis* fondato da Licurgo (Paus. III 18, 1; Plu. *Lyc*. 11).

Allo stesso modo, non si può comprendere Atena a Sparta se si trascura che ella condivideva con Zeus ben quattro epiclesi (tra cui *Xenia*, Paus. III 11, 11; *Amboulia*, 13, 6[42]; *Syllania*, Plu. *Lyc*. 6, 1[43]). Ad esempio, l'epiclesi di *Xenios* (che rimanda alla tutela degli *stranieri* e, come tali, *ospiti*), è altresì rilevante per la contiguità con il santuario delle *Moire* e con quello di *Hestia* – tutti nella zona dell'*agora*. Un discorso simile vale anche per l'epiclesi *Chalkioikos*, che qualifica l'A-

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39 *Ibidem*, 109.

40 A questo riguardo di veda, in generale, Pirenne-Delforge/Pironti 2016.

41 Si veda, piuttosto di recente, Christien 2010 che, tra l'altro, riprende a propria volta le osservazioni di Vernant 1966 (1974), 106–116.

42 Epiclesi che Atena condivide anche con i Dioscuri.

43 Caso particolarmente rilevante, quest'ultimo, trattandosi del testo della cosiddetta *Grande Rhetra* – relativa all'organizzazione della popolazione di Sparta in *phylai* ed *obai* e alla definizione delle procedure di ammissione dei nuovi individui nella compagine dei cittadini di pieno diritto.

tena a cui è dedicato il santuario sull'acropoli (Paus. III 17, 2), se teniamo conto che (coerentemente con una certa caratterizzazione delle dimore regali nei poemi omerici) la stessa casa di Zeus é definita χαλκοβατὲς ("dalla soglia di bronzo")[44].

Una tale articolazione, nel *pantheon* locale, tra le due divinità – Zeus e Atena – a cui maggiormente nel pensiero dei Greci sono associate nozioni come 'ordine' e 'giustizia' si inquadra pertanto in un sistema più ampio di configurazione della *regalità*, che convolge anche gli eroi di maggior rilievo – segnatamente i *Tindaridi* e gli *Eraclidi*, entrambi progenie di Zeus – e che trova la propria sede privilegiata nei monumenti e nei santuari dell'acropoli associati a quello preminente della *Chalkioikos* (Paus. III 17, 2–6; 18, 1):

– il santuario di Atena *Erganē*;
– il tempio di Zeus *Kosmeta*[45];
– la tomba di Tindaro;
– il santuario delle *Muse*;
– il santuario di Afrodite *Areia*;
– la statua di Zeus *Hypatos*/*Hypsistos* (iscrizioni);
– la statua di Afrodite *Ambologēras*.

Occorre poi osservare che il culto della divinità che successivamente ci appare quale Atena *Chalkioikos* è testimoniato sull'acropoli fin dall'età geometrica (secoli IX–VIII a. C.), risultando così (al pari di santuari quali il *Limnaion*, il *Menelaion*, o l'*Amyklaion*) uno dei santuari più antichi nonché, rispetto a quel *policentrismo* più arcaico, verosimilmente il santuario 'identificativo' del villaggio di *Pitanē*[46], come il *Limnaion* per *Limnai*, il *Menelaion* per *Therapne*[47], l'*Amyklaion* per Amicle[48]. In tal senso, come accennato, la costruzione della regalità che si sviluppa intorno al santuario della *Chalkioikos* assume maggior peso (arrivando al proprio perfeziona-

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44 Hom. *Il*. I 425; XIV 173; XXI 438 e 505; *Od*. VIII 321; Allo stesso modo è caratterizzata la dimora di Alcinoo (*Od*. XIII 4).

45 Woodward-Hobling *ABSA* XXVI (1923/24–1924/25), 241–ss.

46 Forse, rispetto ad altri santuari, anche meno importante nelle dinamiche di interazione tra differenti gruppi umani, quali descritti, ad esempio, da Gernet.

47 Località, questa, corrispondente verosimilmente alla *Spartē* di Omero. Si vedano, ad esempio, Waterhouse / Hope-Simpson *ABSA* LVI (1961), 173–75; Hope-Simpson / Lazenby 1970, 74–76; Hope Simpson *SMEA* 51 (2009), 315–35.

48 Rispetto a questo policentrismo, peraltro, è da notare che ad alcune località si lega la memoria di altrettanti personaggi mitici:

– i *Tindaridi* a *Pitanē*;
– *Menelao* a *Therapne*;
– *Agamennone* nella località di *Amicle*, nel santuario che condivide con Alessandra (Paus. III 19, 6).

mento) a partire dalla prima metà del VI secolo, quando *Pitanē* emerge chiaramente quale luogo centrale all'interno del sistema dei villaggi di Sparta[49].

Lo studio di Massimo Osanna[50] è tra i primi ad evidenziare, per l'acropoli, l'articolazione entro questi culti di divinità differenti e, nondimeno, complementari – rilevando anch'egli, d'altra parte, la possibilità che essi esistessero fin da epoche remote[51]. A questo riguardo, Osanna ricorda una serie di iscrizioni su cocci di ceramica[52], antecedenti al V secolo a. C.[53], recanti il termine ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΑΣ – ritenuto dai primi archeologi un'epiclesi di Atena, ma che Osanna non esclude che possa riferirsi all'altra divinità femminile presente, vale a dire Afrodite[54]. Né ad Osanna sfugge la relazione tra questi culti e divinità sull'acropoli ed altri installati altrove sul territorio di Sparta/Pitanē, quali l'Afrodite *Areia* sull'acropoli e le due denominate rispettivamente *Hōplismenē* ("in armi")[55] e *Morphō* (Paus. III 15, 10–11), in un santuario articolato in due livelli presso l'*agora*, nella zona antistante i cosiddetti *Booneta*.

E il quadro non sarebbe completo senza il complesso cultuale (Paus. III 13, 8–9) che associa Afrodite-Era[56], Era *Argiva* – il cui santuario sorgeva su un'altura limitrofa a quella che accoglieva il tempio di Dioniso *Colonata* (sulla cui localizzazione precisa rispetto al complesso dell'*agora* e dell'acropoli, tuttavia, le opinioni degli archeologi sono discordanti) – ed Era *Hypercheiria*[57]. Rispetto ai templi dell'acropoli e alla nozione della *regalità* – considerando le informazioni di Pausania – questo complesso di santuari in cui Era è preminente si lega effettivamente ad una serie di personaggi femminili[58] che, al pari della dea, nelle genealogie mitiche di Sparta es-

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49 Epoca a cui verosimilmente risalgono, tra l'altro, una statuetta di Atena ed un'altra di Afrodite. Si veda, in particolare, Dickins *ABSA* XIII (1906/07), 142–49.

50 Osanna 1990, 81–94.

51 Questo, tuttavia, sulla base della descrizione che Pausania (III 23, 1; IX 16, 3 e 40, 3) fornisce di alcune statue di culto, la cui foggia indicherebbe un'alta antichità delle stesse e risentirebbe di influenze orientali.

52 Hondius/Woodward *ABSA* XXIV (1919/20–1920/21), 121–22 e Woodward *ABSA* XXX (1928/29–1929/30), 250.

53 Negli anni successivi furono scoperte anche altre dediche ad Atena incise su cocci di vasi, risalenti al VI e V secolo a.C. Si veda Woodward *ABSA* XXX (1928/29–1929/30), 241–43.

54 Presente a Taranto proprio con questa epiclesi (si veda e. g. Hesych. s. v. βασιλίνδα), attestata anche da un'anfora attica del terzo quarto del VI secolo a. C. Presso l'*agora* di Sparta, accanto alla *Skias* (Paus. III 12, 11), è in effetti Afrodite (a dispetto di Atena) a condividere con Zeus l'epiclesi *Olympioi*.

55 Si veda anche Plu. *Mor.* 239a (= *Inst. Lac.* 28).

56 Questa grafia si pone, a mio avviso, in quanto – benché possiamo scegliere di considerare Era quale epiclesi di Afrodite – è forse più opportuno pensare che i due nomi si determinino reciprocamente nel definire una *Potenza* che unisce in sé le prerogative delle due divinità.

57 A ben vedere il testo di Pausania, non è scontato che i tre culti fossero ubicati l'uno vicino agli altri, laddove Pausania indica il santuario di Era *Argiva*.

58 Leda, pronipote di Pleurone e sposa di Tindaro; Euridice, figlia di Lacedemone e sposa dell'argivo Acrisio.

primono in termini matrilineari il prestigio che, d'altra parte, caratterizza dinasti come Lacedemone, Tindaro, Eracle e, in ultima istanza, Zeus medesimo.

Studi recenti, dedicati alla figura di Afrodite nel *pantheon* dei Greci[59], hanno ulteriormente riflettuto sulla funzione di questi complessi di santuari spiegando, ad esempio[60], come la qualifica di βασιλις per l'Afrodite *Areia* sull'acropoli sia corroborata proprio dalla presenza, altrove, di un tempio per Afrodite-Era, ed evidenziando[61] il ruolo determinante di entrambe le dee nel processo sociale di crescita che avrebbe preparato le fanciulle al matrimonio[62] – preminente[63] altresì nel caso del duplice culto di Afrodite *Morphō*[64] e Afrodite *Hoplismenē*, ugualmente legato ad episodi e personaggi del passato mitico di Sparta.

Il caso di questa Afrodite "armata"[65] – che nelle prerogative che la caratterizzano può essere assimilata all'Afrodite *Areia* sull'acropoli – si inserisce così, nel caso di Sparta, in un sistema cultuale ove "Potenze divine" diverse e complementari configurano una nozione di *regalità* (di cui le dinastie radicate sul territorio sono le detentrici) al cui interno l'elemento guerriero – proprio innanzitutto dell'Atena dell'acropoli[66], e al quale tutti i cittadini sono chiamati a conformarsi – è determinante ed interessa anche divinità apparentemente coinvolte piuttosto nella sfera femminile, quali Afrodite che, nel caso dell'acropoli, verosimilmente beneficiava, appunto, anche del titolo di βασιλις[67].

Se, dunque, accade anche che una data divinità (intesa quale *sistema di nozioni* o *potenza divina*) "muti" coerentemente al mutare del sistema di relazioni in cui è inserita[68], il fenomeno per cui un dato santuario (luogo di un culto locale di una certa divinità, esclusivo del gruppo sociale insediato in quella porzione di territorio)

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[59] In particolare, Pirenne-Delforge 1994; Pironti 2007.

[60] Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 208–210.

[61] *Ibidem*, 197–198.

[62] Era in termini di legittimazione del *gamos*, Afrodite in termini di seduzione indispensabile allo stesso.

[63] Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 199–204.

[64] Epiclesi, questa, che rimanda all'idea della "forma" e, quindi, della "bellezza". Il caso di *Morphō*, menzionato da Pausania come nome divino autonomo è, in tal senso, affine a quello di *Orthia* (<*Orthria*), anch'esso presente nelle iscrizioni come nome a sé e non come epiclesi del nome di Artemide.

[65] Si veda anche Pironti 2007, 231–233; 240; 262–268.

[66] Su questa connotazione preminentemente guerriera di Atena – a cui è associata anche Afrodite – si veda anche Piccirilli 1984.

[67] In tal senso, G. Pironti (2007, 235–241; 262–268) fa osservare che non solo la connotazione guerriera dell'Afrodite spartana non sia da ritenersi insolita, ma che trovi la propria spiegazione in una precisa funzione di Afrodite *en vue de la sauvegarde de la communauté* (p. 236) che, nel caso specifico di Sparta, si esercitava, tra l'altro, nel tutelare *l'épanouissement physique des jeunes garçons et leur passage à l'état de guerriers accomplis* (p. 263) – funzione a cui contribuisce, pertanto, anche la presenza di Afrodite *Ambologēras* (Paus. III 18, 1).

[68] A questo riguardo si veda anche, in particolare, Pironti 2017.

viene successivamente integrato in un *système divin*[69] più articolato – un 'réseau de rapports symboliques' che, di conseguenza, coinvolge altri gruppi umani ed altri santuari legati anch'essi precedentemente ad una dimensione locale quale quella dei singoli villaggi di Sparta – deve essere osservato alla luce di precise dinamiche storiche, e si spiega in virtù di quei fenomeni di interazione tra gruppi umani (alla base anche dei differenti processi di *sinecismo*) che, come abbiamo accennato, Gernet stesso poneva come argomento preliminare alla descrizione dei fatti religiosi.

Rispetto, dunque, a quanto osservato a proposito dell'articolazione dei culti di Zeus, Atena, Era e Afrodite in relazione al ruolo progressivamente acquisito da *Pitanē*, occorre anche ritenere che alcuni santuari (il santuario di *Orthria* a *Limnai* e quello di Apollo/Hyakinthos ad *Amicle*) – ciascuno in sé stesso prestigioso, nella primissima età arcaica, quale luogo di riunione ed interazione tra i gruppi residenti nel territorio limitrofo[70] – riconfigurino la funzione delle divinità titolari, nel momento in cui queste diventano elementi complementari di un *système divin* più articolato, deputato nel suo complesso a far fronte alle esigenze di una comunità anch'essa mutevole.

Trattandosi, quindi, di analizzare in una prospettiva diatopica l'articolazione delle epiclesi attribuite ad una divinità – Sparta ci fornisce un caso particolarmente interessante (cui si è fatto brevemente cenno) relativo ad Artemide *Limnatis*/en *Limnais*, che chiama in causa il rapporto tra la denominazione (epiclesi/funzione) forse più caratteristica di Artemide nel *pantheon* di Sparta e la tipologia del territorio circostante dove è collocato il suo santuario. In particolare, Pausania ci testimonia quattro santuari la cui denominazione rimanda all'idea del paesaggio acquitrinoso (non sempre corrispondente, però, alle caratteristiche naturali del luogo ove ciascun santuario è collocato):

1. il *Limnaion* (Paus. III 16, 7), il santuario nella località di *Limnai*, limitrofa a *Pitanē*, dove Artemide è venerata principalmente come *Orthria* > *Orthia*[71];
2. il santuario di Artemide *Issoria*/*Limnaia* (Paus. III 14, 2)[72], nella località del *Théomelida* a *Pitanē*;
3. il santuario di Artemide *Limnatis* (Paus. III 23, 10), sulla strada da Boiai a Epidauro;
4. il santuario di Artemide *Limnatis* a *Limnai* (moderna Volimnos; Paus. III 2, 6; IV 4, 2–3; 31, 3; Strab. VIII 4, 9), in prossimità del confine tra Laconia e Messenia.

Di questi santuari, solo nei casi nn. 1 e 4 (entrambi risalenti al più tardi all'VIII secolo a. C.) vi è un legame tra l'epiclesi della dea (*en Limnais*/*Limnatis*) e il nome del

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69 Vernant 1960 (1965), 362.

70 Nel caso di Amicle, studi recenti (Vlachou 2017; 2018) hanno messo in luce tracce di pratiche collettive (culti funerari/eroici, con la condivisione di pasti tra i partecipanti) molto simili a quelle che Gernet descriveva.

71 Alcm. fr. 3, 61 Calame. Si veda Lipourlis 1968; nonché Vegas Sansalvador 1996.

72 Si veda anche Paus. II 30, 3.

luogo (*Limnai*), ma solo nel caso n. 1 il toponimo descrive un'effettiva caratteristica ambientale (le paludi): al contrario, il n. 4 è posto sul monte Taigeto, in una zona elevata ed impervia, per cui è presumibile che il tratto toponimico della dea altrove venerata come *Orthia* abbia dato il nome anche a questo luogo.

I santuari n. 2 e 3 non sono stati ritrovati, ma l'*Issorion* (sede del santuario n. 2) era un'altura ugualmente descritta dalle fonti come inaccessibile: la doppia epiclesi della dea (*Issoria/Limnaia*) eventualmente, dunque, rivelerebbe l'*inaccessibilità* (propria di paludi e montagne) come congrua, in qualche modo, alla funzione della divinità in questione e, pertanto, la possibilità che – nell'impiantarne il culto altrove – non sia solo la funzione/epiclesi che viene mantenuta, ma anche la presenza di un certo tratto ambientale ad essa connesso.

D'altra parte la configurazione dei quattro santuari di Artemide presi in esame non sarebbe del tutto chiara se si trascurassero prerogative di Artemide come quella di *kourotrophos* (al pari di Apollo), evidente eventualmente non solo dall'epiclesi *Orthia* (< *Orthria*), ma anche da altre quali *Korythalia* (titolare di un santuario tra *Pitanē* ed *Amicle*)[73], sotto la cui tutela si celebravano i *Tithenidia*. In tal caso, la relazione eventualmente funzionale con il culto di *Hyakinthos* si rivela una delle forme locali in cui si esprime, in generale, la complementarità di Artemide e Apollo, da analizzarsi anche alla luce degli altri culti con cui queste due divinità erano venerate a Sparta (è il caso di Apollo *Karneios*) o di quelli delle divinità con cui esse 'interagivano' (è il caso di Dioniso[74]).

4 Una conclusione: articolazione dello spazio e complementarità delle pratiche collettive

Alla luce di quanto visto, dunque – a guisa di conclusione – possiamo osservare la complementarità delle differenti *Potenze divine* alla luce delle pratiche collettive che ciascuna sovrintende, partendo da due brani di poesia drammatica che – seppur fonti esterne alla società di Sparta – forniscono un quadro sintetico di questa stessa complementarietà.

Si tratta, rispettivamente, di due passaggi dell'*Elena* di Euripide (E. *Hel.* 219–28; 1465–77) e della *Lisistrata* di Aristofane (Ar. *Lys.* 1296–1321[75]), dei quali – in relazione ai personaggi di Elena ("la casta figlia di Leda"; Ar. *Lys.* 1314–15) e dei Dioscuri ("i gemelli di Zeus", E. *Hel.* 220–21; "i valorosi Tindaridi", Ar. *Lys.* 1300) – ciascuno offre un'immagine del paesaggio religioso di Sparta e delle pratiche collettive in cui giovani

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73 Polemone d'Ilio *FGH* III fr. 86 p. 142 (= Athen. IV 139a-b) Si veda già Mellink 1943, 53–55.

74 Si veda, tra gli altri, Constantinidou 1998.

75 Si veda in particolare Bierl 2011.

si cimentavano. In esse si fa menzione della *Chalkioikos*, dell'*Amyklaion*, e molto probabilmente del *Limnaion* (con il riferimento alle correnti dell'Eurota) – menzionando per ciascuno di essi vari generi di danze e competizioni, nonché feste tra cui quelle notturne. Nel caso di Elena poi, una terza fonte (Theoc. *XVIII*, 22–31; 39–48) distingue chiaramente i due luoghi in cui Elena aveva culti propri a Sparta (il *Platanistas* e il *Menelaion*).

Emerge nondimeno – nel caso di personaggi mitici quali i discendenti di Tindaro, accanto ai luoghi in cui essi erano destinatari di un culto – che in altri luoghi se ne conservasse la memoria come di modelli massimamente eccellenti del devoto, a cui gli stessi individui dovevano conformarsi nella pratica dei culti delle divinità titolari: in tal senso, nel caso di Elena a *Therapne*, ella diventa in qualche modo 'vicaria' di una divinità 'maggiore' venerata altrove, le cui caratteristiche ella incarna in massimo grado[76].

Tenendo conto di quanto osservato, dunque, il carattere guerriero/armato della *Chalkioikos* induce ad ipotizzare piuttosto un tipo di rituali (al cui riguardo le informazioni sono molto più esigue[77]) che celebrassero la cittadinanza di pieno diritto (acquisita in quell'occasione o già posseduta) – coerentemente con la posizione centrale di *Pitanē* quale abbiamo descritto – allorché santuari come il *Limnaion* e l'*Amyklaion* (con le divinità che vi erano insediate) garantivano, con i loro culti e le pratiche collettive che ospitavano, lo svolgimento di un corretto ed accurato percorso di formazione che avrebbe condotto a quel traguardo.

Abbreviazioni

ABSA   *The Annual of the British School at Athens.*
PP   *La Parola dei Passato. Rivista di studi antichi.*
REG   *Revue des Études Grecques.*
SMEA   *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.*

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76 È il caso di Hdt. VI 61, 2–5.

77 Si veda Plb. IV 22, 8 e 35, 2–3.

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Sabine Neumann

Spatializing 'Divine Newcomers' in Athens

Various influences characterize ancient Greek religion. Ancient Athens provides several archaeological and written sources for the study of the cults of non-Greek deities. At different times, 'Divine Newcomers' entered Athens and were integrated into the local pantheon.[1] While earlier studies focused primarily on the spread of these cults in the Greco-Roman world, more recent research employed novel methodological approaches.[2] In the last decades, for example, the category of "Oriental religions" popularized by Franz Cumont[3] has been deconstructed.[4] Studies of cult diffusion have been modified by methods of social network theories.[5] Meanwhile, the focus has shifted to the many possible meanings that the new cults could have assumed in the various local contexts. Accordingly, the integration of the new cults into a foreign context is understood as a process of selection and appropriation.[6] The categories of space and place play an important role in the investigation of cult diffusion. However, it has also much to offer for the study of the implementation of the cults in their new contexts.[7]

My article aims to analyze *how* the cults of the new deities were introduced and embodied in the sacred landscape of Athens. I will go beyond solely mapping by presenting some ideas on *how* the 'Divine Newcomers' have been spatialized. But what does it mean to spatialize new gods? Where does space come in? Today we understand space as being constructed out of the relations of social phenomena.[8] A basic assumption is that space is socially constructed as well as material and embodied. While I understand "space" as the more abstract category, I use "place" in the sense of a space inhabited and appropriated by human and non-human actors.[9] By "spatialize" I mean according to Setha Low to produce and locate social relations, institutions, representations, and practices in space.[10] To bring all these

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1 Parker 1996, 152–198; Anderson 2015.

2 See, for example, the methodological development in the study of the cults of the Greco-Egyptian deities in several recent conference proceedings: Bricault/Versluys/Meyboom 2007; Bricault/Versluys 2010; Bricault/Versluys 2013; Gasparini/Veymiers 2018.

3 Cumont 1929; Cumont 1931.

4 Auffahrt 2007; Bonnet *et al.* 2008; Bonnet 2009; Bonnet/Rüpke 2009; Lahe 2012; Witschel 2012; Bonnet *et al.* 2016.

5 Collar 2007; Collar 2011; Collar 2015; Glomb *et al.* 2018 (for the Greco-Egyptian gods).

6 De Certeau 1984; Hahn 2004; Versluys 2010; Rüpke 2014.

7 The author of this article is preparing a monograph on the implantation of Greco-Egyptian gods in Athens.

8 Cf. Lefebvre 1974; de Certeau 1984.

9 Low 2017, 11–15.

10 Low 2017, 7.

social and spatial relations together, I apply the concept of the Social Imaginary, based on the theory of Cornelius Castoriadis and Charles Taylor.[11]

The Social Imaginary and Ancient Religion

In his main book "The Imaginary Institution of Society" Castoriadis defines the imaginary as the central category of the social.[12] It is important to emphasize that the imaginary is not placed in opposition to reality or considered secondary to it. Rather, it is presented as an independent and constitutive part of social reality. The term "Social Imaginary" emphasizes imagination, dreams, fantasy, and creativity. The focus is therefore on the "in-the-making", which reaches beyond the existing and contains the possibility of creating something completely new.[13] At the same time, the imaginary can connect to existing ideas, and memories of things past or from foreign contexts. According to Castoriadis, social structures and institutions are also products of the Social Imaginary.[14] Therefore, explorations of social imaginaries comprise inquiries not only into horizons of cultural meaning that fundamentally shape each society but also into their further articulation as instituted (and instituting) cultural projects of power and social actions.[15] According to Castoriadis, the institutions are the *scaffolding*, which only acquires meaning through the constitutive *magma*: the imaginary dimension of the practices, stories, symbols, and objects. The *magma* is the respective local manifestation of the practices with which the institutionalizations are realized.[16] This *magma* is expressed, for example, in the infrastructure (for instance the architecture of the sanctuaries) that intends and enables the solidification of the institutions.

Castoriadis understands individual elements of religion such as rituals, symbols, and institutionalizations as socially imagined.[17] In his work, however, he draws a rather rigid understanding of religion as a factor that threatens the production of the Social Imaginary, formulating a belief system that is fixed, canonized,

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11 Castoriadis 1987. For the concept of the Social Imaginary see furthermore: Castoriadis 1990; Taylor 2002; Taylor 2004; Strauss 2006; Delitz 2010, 111–126; Gertenbach 2011; Castoriadis 2012; Stavrianopoulou 2013; Adams *et al.* 2015; Herbrik/Schlechtriemen 2019; Herbrik/Schlechtriemen 2020.
12 Castoriadis 2012, 19f.
13 Adams *et al.* 2015, 19–20.
14 Castoriadis 2012, 20.
15 Castoriadis 2012, 22–23. 31; Gertenbach 2011, 283.
16 Castoriadis 1987, 340–344; Castoriadis 2012, 22.
17 Castoriadis 1987, 129: "Consider the institution of Mosaic religion. Like all religions, it is centred around an imaginary. And as a religion, it must establish rites; as an institution, it must surround itself with sanctions. But it can exist neither as a religion nor as an institution if, around the central imaginary, there is not also the proliferation of a secondary imaginary".

and determined, and thus does not allow for questioning.[18] In his work, Castoriadis has primarily the modern monotheistic religions in mind when he describes religion as heteronomous and closed to innovations. Religion is for him primarily dogmatic and in the form of texts, confessions of faith, and rules. In contrast to this are the polytheistic ancient religions, which are the subject of the present article. To use the theory of the Social Imaginary for the study of ancient religion, we need a more holistic approach that allows for a broader understanding of what is understood as religious phenomena. I, therefore, propose to analyze ancient religions not autonomously but embedded in the social, economic, and political contexts of societies as an element of the Social Imaginary.[19]

The Social Imaginary of individual actors and groups has implications for the spatial aspect of the cults, as will be explored in this article. In a city like Athens, there are sanctuaries for several thousand gods, forming a sacred urban landscape. One question to be investigated here is the connection between cult topography and the function of a cult. Archaeologists usually tend to carefully describe the sanctuaries and their material remains. Rarely, however, is there an attempt to explain why a sanctuary is located in a particular place; and why it is close to a sanctuary of other deities.[20] I would argue that the concept of the Social Imaginary can help to approach these questions because it focuses on the imaginary of a particular deity, which is always connected to space but not limited to spatial boundaries.[21] This approach opens up new questions: Why is a sanctuary in a specific location? How has it developed in its present form? Which social processes and unequal power relations between the individual actors led to the choice of the site? How did people give meaning to the sanctuaries of the gods in their new contexts?

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18 Fassa 2013, 115.

19 See also Fassa 2013, 116.

20 See recently on these questions Graf 2019, 262–263.

21 Arjun Appadurai's studies show how the concept of the Social Imaginary can be linked to space as a lived social space that is not limited by spatial boundaries. He sees the imaginary as a social driving force in today's world, providing new resources for identity construction and social groups beyond the nation-state. In his study "Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization," he examines how, in times of globalization characterized by mass migration and digitization, images of lifestyles, popular culture, and self-representation circulate internationally through the media and are often borrowed in surprising and inventive ways (for their creators). "The image, the imagined, the imaginary – these are all terms that direct us to something critical and new in global cultural processes: the imagination as a social practice [. . .] the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility [. . .]. The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order" (Appadurai 1996, 31). Applying the concept of the Social Imaginary to a globalized world characterized by migration and multiculturalism opens up new perspectives on the widely ramified, fragmented contexts that Appadurai attempts to structure with the help of Scapes.

In what follows, I will analyze the shrines of various non-Greek deities through the lens of the concept of the Social Imaginary. In the first part, I examine the foundation of sanctuaries against the background of negotiation processes between the individual actors involved. In the second part, I investigate the construction and imagination of the new cults in urban space through individual meanings, intentions, thoughts, and dreams.

Shaping of Religious Urban Spaces through the Imaginary of Individual Actors

The question of how space and place came into being against the background of planning and development has always been a central field of investigation in archaeological research.[22] However, understanding the construction of sanctuaries as the product of the Social Imaginary goes beyond mere top-down urban planning. Similar to concepts of the social production of space and place-making,[23] urban spatial structures are not seen as fixed, but as the result of negotiations between individual actors. They draw their meaning from the social, political, and economic forces and class relations that produce their spatial, material, and social form. Urban public space often provides opportunities for spatial contestation, as complex structures and differentiated social institutions often clash and compete for control over material and symbolic resources.[24] In the epigraphical and archaeological record, negotiation and decision-making processes between different groups can be identified for the establishment of the new sanctuaries.

A stele from Piraeus documents the request of a group from Kition, Cyprus, to the Athenian council to be allowed to acquire a piece of land to erect a sanctuary for Aphrodite Ourania on it.[25] Land ownership was generally reserved for Athenian citizens. The granting of land was regulated by the state and non-citizens were only allowed to acquire land in justified exceptional cases and upon request. Migrants first had to obtain special permission to acquire land in Attica.[26] According to the decree, the famous statesman Lykourgos acted as a guarantor for the citizens of Kition. As a precedent, a group of Egyptians is cited who also acquired a piece of land

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22 On cognitive approaches, spatial theories and the material turn in archaeology and religious studies, see the current summary by Fritz Graf 2019, 255–256.

23 Hou 2013; Courage *et al.* 2021; Lätzer-Lasar 2022.

24 Low 2017, 75–81. For the political dimension of the Social Imaginary in urban spaces see also Schwenk 2019.

25 *RICIS* 101/0101 = *IG* II[3] 1, 337. Ascough/Harland/Kloppenborg 2012, 26–32 Nr. 3 (with translation, commentary, and further literature).

26 Pecirka 1967; Papazarkadas 2011, 201.

to build a sanctuary for Isis on.[27] Based on the preserved inscription, it can be assumed that the Kitians' request was successful as well. Sometime earlier, in the 5th century B.C., a group of Thracians received permission to acquire a plot of land to build a sanctuary for the goddess Bendis on it.[28]

Requests for land acquisition by non-Athenians (*enktesis*) are frequently attested in Classical times, but only these three groups of migrants are known to have received permission from the Athenian council to buy land in order to erect a sanctuary on it.[29] In the older research, it was mostly assumed that with the decree the groups were permitted to introduce a new cult.[30] However, it is more likely that, as attested in other epigraphic sources, it was the right to acquire land, which was reserved for Athenian citizens under Athenian law.[31] The cults may have been pre-existing and practiced privately as part of household cults or in the sanctuary of other deities; moreover, the claimants may have already formed an association.[32] With the support of patrons, the groups now received the privilege of *enktesis* by the Athenian state. The acquisition of land for the construction of their sanctuary meant, on the one hand, a higher prestige for the cult, on the other hand, it offered the possibility to lease the land and finance the expenses for the cult with the income.[33]

Another way to build a new shrine was to receive a donation of land. The Athenian strategist Apollodoros, son of Sogenes, of Otryne supported a group of Sarapiastai in Rhamnous by donating them a piece of land so that they could build a sanctuary for Sarapis on it.[34] A contemporaneous association of Sarapiastai in Athens probably also received a generous donation from an Athenian woman

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27 [. . .] δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι δοῦναι τοῖς ἐμπόροις τῶν Κιτιέων ἔνκτησι[ν] χ[ω]ρίου ἐν ὧι ἱδρύσονται τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἱερὸν ἱδρύνται.

28 *IG* II² 1283. Ascough/Harland/Kloppenborg 2012, 125–132 No. 23.

29 Another, later example is the association of the Herakleiastai on Delos, who sent an envoy to Athens in 153/52 B.C. to obtain permission to purchase land to build a shrine to Heracles: *IDelos* 1519. Arnaoutoglou 2007, 319.

30 Foucart 1873, 127–28; Ziebarth 1896, 168; Versnel 1998, 122.

31 Poland 1909, 81; Radin 1910, 52; Jones 1999, 40; Baslez 1988–89, 14. Arnaoutoglou 2003, 90 argues that the council's decision on permission for land acquisition is simultaneously a decision on the introduction of cults by groups of migrants. However, it is not clear from the surviving sources whether migrants, merchants or metics, unlike Athenian citizens, had to obtain their own permission to introduce a cult.

32 Arnaoutoglou 2003, 90; Papazarkadas 2011, 201; Ascough/Harland/Kloppenborg 2012, 29.

33 Papazarkadas 2011, 201.

34 *RICIS* 101/0502 = *IRhamnous* 59 = *SEG* 49.161. Arnaoutoglou 2007 (Commentary, translation and discussion of the inscription with reference to further literature); Arnaoutoglou 2018, 249–251; Matricon-Thomas 2012, 44–46.

named Nikippe.[35] In return, she received the otherwise unknown office of the *proer-anistria* and was allowed to perform the sacrifices.[36]

The foundation of sanctuaries for non-Greek gods in urban Athens is thus extremely dynamic. It seems that the sanctuaries were not founded by a political order, but were based on the initiative of groups supported by influential individuals. However, only a few groups were successful in establishing new sanctuaries. Many foreign cults were probably practiced in the context of domestic cults. Since they thus did not receive public visibility, they are usually invisible to us. The stele of Apollonios from the Sarapeion A on Delos, which attests to the founding of the cult of Sarapis on the island, reports that Apollonios' grandfather first practiced the cult in his home.[37] Studies of the Hellenistic terracotta of the Greco-Egyptian gods on Delos may also make it likely that the cults were practiced as part of household cults.[38] For Athens, however, the finds are too few.[39] This may also be since in Athens the residential quarters have hardly been researched.

Structural inequalities and struggles for places in the urban space are also evident in the location of the sanctuaries. The sanctuary of the Thracian goddess Bendis is attested in Piraeus from the 2nd half of the 5th century B.C.[40] From Xenophon, we learn that a road leads from the Hippodamian agora to the sanctuary of Artemis Mounychia and the sanctuary of Bendis (fig. 1).[41]

On the southwestern slope of the hill Mounychia, several inscription stelae mentioning Bendis were found, so the location of the sanctuary must be assumed

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35 *IG* II² 1292 = *RICIS* 101/0201. Dow 1937, 188–197; Ascough/Harland/Kloppenborg 2012, 139–143 No. 26; Lambert 2020, 38–43 No. 5.

36 Dow 1937, 192–194.

37 *RICIS* 202/0101 = *IG* XI 4, 1299. Roussel 1915/16, 71–78; Longo 1969, 106–116; Bruneau 1970, 459–461. 464–465; Dunand 1973, 85–88; Engelmann 1975; McLean 1996, 205–208; Merkelbach 1997, 130–131; Dignas 2008, 75–76; Martzavou 2018, 139–140; Moyen 2011, 282–286 Appendix I (text of the inscription based on the edition of Engelmann 1975 with few corrections and alternate conjectures, English translation).

38 Thompson 1966, 12–13, 18, Taf. 5 Nr. 21; Barrett 2011. Cf. also the house altars in Deir el-Medina, Egypt: Weiss 2009.

39 Barrett 2011, 439.

40 For the dating of the sanctuary in Piraeus see *IG* I³ 136. Pappadakis 1956; Simms 1988, 63–64. 74; Sakurai 2014. At almost the same time another (?) sanctuary of Bendis is attested in the treasure list of the other gods on the acropolis of Athens: *IG* I³ 383 (429/28 B.C.); *IG* I³ 369 (423/22 B.C.). For the cult of Bendis in Athens: Hartwig 1897; Nilsson 1942; Popov 1975; Simms 1985, 7–58; Garland 1987, 118–122; Simms 1988; Beschi 1990; Deoudi 2003/04; Deoudi 2004; Deoudi 2010, 48–53; Wijma 2014, 126–155; Arnaoutoglou 2015. See recently also Graml 2017; Graml 2020, 91–94. However, Graml's thesis of a veneration of Bendis in the Kerameikos is not proven. In my opinion the woman on the relief from the precinct of Artemis Soteira does not wear a Phrygian cap, so that the only, in any case questionable argument to recognize a worship of Bendis in the relief is omitted.

41 X., *HG* 2, 4, 11.

Fig. 1: Plan of Piraeus with Mounichia Hill to the east and the promontory of Heetonia to the west.

there,[42] near a sanctuary of the nymphs.[43] The location of the shrine of Bendis is prominent near the Hippodamian agora and the port of Mounichia. As we learn from an inscription, the sanctuary also housed one of the few springs in Piraeus, the water from which was sold by members of the cult association.[44] In the opening scene of his Politeia, Plato tells about the Bendideia, a festival for the goddess held in the sanctuary.[45] The highlight of the festival was a grand procession that started in the city center at the Prytaneion.[46] This is the place where the hearth fire of the city burned and where foreign legations were received.[47] From here the procession went along the road between the Long Walls until it reached the Piraeus. The road passes through several Athenian neighborhoods. It was an important trade route and access to the port. The use of this central road and the mention of the procession in Plato, illustrate the importance of the Bendideia in the Athenian cityscape. The prominent location of the sanctuary possibly reflects the political and financial influence of the cult association, which also included Thracians.[48] In contrast, two altars and several bases for votives for other, non-Greek deities, including the Phoenician god Baal Sochen, stand in the Eetioneia of Piraeus, in a remote area near the city walls, were very likely existed a settlement of foreign metics and merchants.[49] In the area of Pigada, located west of the Zea Habour, there was a quarter of Cypriot merchants from Salamis and Kition. Many inscriptions found here refer to cults of Syrian Aphrodite, Aphrodite Ourania, and Eros Ouranios. A sanctuary of Sabazios has also been located in this area.[50]

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42 Garland 1987, 162.

43 The document stele found in this area mentions a procession for Bendis from the Asty to Piraeus, stopping at the Nymph Sanctuary. The relief that belongs to the stele shows three nymphs, Hermes, Pan, Bendis, and a male Hero, possibly Deloptes. Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek NCG 462. *IG* II² 1283. Simms 1985, 34 (assumes that the Nymphaion was in the same precinct with the sanctuary of the Bendis); Larson 2001, 134 (suspects that it is a separate sanctuary); Deoudi 2003/04. For the findspots of further Nymphreliefs in this area see Hartwig 1897, 11; Edwards 1985, 553–557 Nr. 34.

44 *IG* II² 1361. Garland 1987, 145. 232 Nr. 39.

45 Pl., *R.* 327a-328a. 354a.

46 The procession and the sanctuary in the Piraeus are also mentioned in several inscriptions quoted and commented by Simms 1988.

47 For the location of the Prytaneion see Greco 2011, 517. 523 [F. Longo], 525–526 [M. Saporiti], 535–537 [R. Di Cesare].

48 It seems that the Athenians had a great interest in the cult of Bendis since its beginnings in Athens. Already in the 2nd half of the 5th century B.C. the cult was administered by the state and appears in the treasury list of the Acropolis. Besides Athenians, however, Thracians are also attested for the cult. Already Plato mentions two independent processions of the Athenians and the Thracians. The inscription *IG* II² 1283 from the year 240/39 B.C. two independent Thracian cult associations are mentioned.

49 Curtius/Kaupert 1881, 52–53, see also p. 19 fig. 13 (map with the findspot of the altars); Garland 1987, 149.

50 Steinhauer 2012, 120–122.

Studying the sanctuaries of the new gods as Social Imaginary offers new insights into the negotiation processes between the ancient actors. It explains how and why the sanctuaries came into existence, who was involved in their emergence and when and under what conditions this took place. It demonstrates that the materiality of places is shaped by specific power dynamics, hegemonic practices, economic strategies, and political control: the *magma* in the words of Castoriadis. In the process, power relations and boundaries through social institutions become visible, as well as the agency of the people who used the sanctuaries. Examining cults through the lens of the Social Imaginary opens up further perspectives by revealing semiological systems of space and meanings of places.

Imagining New gods in Religious Spaces

According to Charles Taylor, the social environment is "imagined" by the inhabitants of a community and expressed through the use of images, stories, and legends. For Taylor, the Social Imaginary means:

> Something much broader and deeper than the intellectual schemes people may entertain when they think about social reality in a disengaged mode. I am thinking, rather, of the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations. There are important differences between social imaginary and social theory. I adopt the term imaginary (i) because my focus is on the way ordinary people "imagine" their social surroundings, and this is often not expressed in theoretical terms, but is carried in images, stories, and legends. It is also the case that (ii) theory is often the possession of a small minority, whereas what is interesting in the social imaginary is that it is shared by large groups of people, if not the whole society. Which leads to a third difference: (iii) the social imaginary is that common understanding that makes possible common practices and widely shared sense of legitimacy.[51]

The formulation of these "imagined" landscapes and perceptions influenced the cultural and religious practices within society. The Social Imaginary shapes the iconography of gods, mythological notions, emotional and affective aspects of space and place. I will therefore now examine the sanctuaries of the new gods for the imagination of their spatial manifestations.

The cults of the Divine Newcomers often had already undergone some changes before they came to Greece. Furthermore, Jörg Rüpke assumes that not "complete" gods and cults were adopted, but individual aspects were transferred and translated.[52] The concepts of the gods were influenced by various factors and had specific

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51 Taylor 2004, 23.
52 Rüpke 2007.

manifestations. The local extents and diversifications took place on a mythical and cultic level. This influenced also under which aspects the deities were worshipped at the respective places. In Attica, the new cults had local characteristics visible through the epithets, the iconography of the images of the gods, and the neighboring cults. The deities I have studied usually shared a *temenos* with other deities. The phenomenon of *theoi entemenioi* and *symbomoi* is very revealing in terms of the Social Imaginary because it exposes similarities in cultic aspects. The sanctuaries of longer-established Greek deities were not arbitrarily chosen, but new gods were connected to them. This can be seen, for example, in the type of offerings and in individual cultic aspects that occasionally find expression in the iconography.

An altar from the 1st century B.C. was found on the southern slope of the Acropolis of Athens (fig. 2).[53]

Fig. 2: Altar for Hermes/Aphrodite/Pan, Nymphs, and Isis, from the South-slope of the Acropolis of Athens. Courtesy Ephorate of Athens: Acropolis Excavations.

The names of the deities worshipped together at this altar are carved on separate stelae: Hermes/Aphrodite/Pan, Nymphs, and Isis. Due to the small size of the altar, only small animals were sacrificed. A layer of clay formerly placed on the top is now lost.[54] The existence of a common altar testifies to the close connection of the gods

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53 *RICIS* 101/0219 = *IG* II[3] 4, 1804. Köhler 1877, 229–260; Dow 1937, 214–215; Walker 1979, 246 plate 30b; Trianti 2008, 400–401. Fig. 16; Greco 2010, 187–188 [M. C. Monaco]; Monaco 2015, 76–83 Fig. 29–33.

54 The block was wrongly interpreted as a statue base, stele or trapeza. A statue base is to be excluded due to the genitive of the names of the gods; likewise it is not a stele. During an autopsy on site, I had the opportunity to examine the block. There is a long rectangular depression on the top, which is not smoothed on the inside. There was probably once a fireproof layer of clay here, which

in the cult. Since Hellenistic times, the Greco-Egyptian goddess Isis was worshipped on the narrow terrace on the southern slope of the Acropolis near the sanctuary of Asclepius.[55] The other deities mentioned on the altar were worshipped in the area earlier, as archaeological findings from the immediate vicinity testify.[56] A cult site of the nymphs existed on the terrace on the southern slope of the Acropolis as early as the 6th century B.C.[57] In the 5th century B.C., they were joined by the Arcadian god Pan.[58] Votive reliefs from the Classical period show the god Hermes together with Pan and nymphs.[59] The sanctuary of Aphrodite was also located in the neighborhood. West of the Asklepieion a sanctuary of Aphrodite with the epithet *epi Hippolyto* was situated, which, according to literary tradition, was founded by Phaidra on the slope of the Acropolis.[60] Inscriptions found in the area refer to the name of Aphrodite with this epithet.[61] The exact location of this sanctuary is unknown, but it is assumed that it was near the tomb of Hippolytus mentioned by Pausanias not far from the temple of Themis, of which the foundations survived alongside those of the later temple of Isis.[62] The finding of an anatomical relief depicting a female breast with a votive inscription on Aphrodite shows that the goddess of love was worshipped here as Kourotrophos.[63] This characteristic of Aphrodite *epi Hippolyto*, moreover, fits well with the hero Hippolytos, who in ancient times was also associated with birth and marriage.[64] Because of the spatial connection and the shared altar, Isis was closely connected with the Greek deities worshipped here. The gods also have close similarities in their cultic aspects. They were associated in terms of human fertility, childbirth, and kourotrophos.[65]

Besides Isis, the Greco-Egyptian Sarapis was also worshipped in this sanctuary. The spatial proximity to the sanctuary of Asclepius is certainly no coincidence. As we learn from the Roman writer Varro, who passes down some fragments of the lost

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is now lost. Burn marks on the edges testify that here, unlike a trapeza, the sacrifices were burned. It is therefore a sacrificial altar on which the named deities were connected in cult.

55 Sources collected at: Walker 1979; Kleibl 2009, 183–185; Bricault 2001, 4; Monaco 2015, 124–135.

56 Monaco 2015, 63–135.

57 Monaco 2015, 83–98. On the question of the localization of the sanctuary see Neumann 2020, 76–78.

58 Neumann 2020, 76.

59 Discussed in detail in Monaco 2015, 83–98.

60 D.S. 4, 62, 2. On the sanctuary see Beschi 1967/68, 514; Greco 2015, 189 [M. Saporiti]; Monaco 2015, 98–111.

61 *IG* I³ 383, 1, 233–234; *IG* I³ 369, 1, 6.

62 Paus. 1, 22,1–4. On the temple of Themis see Greco 2010, 186–187 [M. C. Monaco]; Monaco 2015, 112–124.

63 Athen, Nationalmuseum Inv. No. EM 8420, *IG* II³ 4, 1511. Monaco 2015, 105–106 fig. 43. However, it cannot be excluded that the relief fell from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos, who was also worshipped as Kourotrophos, located further west on the slope.

64 Lietzmann 1913, 1866–1868.

65 Köhler 1877, 247.

satire Eumenides of Menippus, Sarapis was worshipped here primarily as a healing deity who cured by incubation:

> *Hospes, quid miras auro curare Serapim? quid? quasi non curet tanti idem Aristoteles. In somnis venit, iubet me cepam esse et sisymbrium "Ego medicina, Serapi, utar!" cotidie praecantor. intellego recte scriptum esse Delphis: θεῷ ἕπου.*

> Stranger, why do you wonder that Serapis cures for gold? Why? As if Aristotle wouldn't cure for just the same? He comes in my sleep, and orders me to eat onion and mint. "I shall avail myself of medical treatment, Serapis!" Every day I chant prayers. I understand that it was rightly written at Delphi, "Follow the God".[66]

Epigraphic sources also attest to a close connection of Sarapis with Asclepius, who had been residing in the sanctuary for some time. A now lost inscription from around 120 A.D. reports the dedication of a statue of the enthroned Asclepius according to a dream instruction.[67] The dedicator was Eukarpos, son of Dionysios, from the demos Phyle, who dedicated in his name and the name of the priest Dionysios, from the demos Marathon.[68] From another inscription, we learn that the same Eukarpos held the office of *zakoros* and *hagiaphoros* in the cult of the Greco-Egyptian gods at the time of the dedication.[69] The dedication of Eukarpos thus might testify a close connection of the gods Sarapis and Asclepius. Already from Ptolemaic Alexandria, we hear about Sarapis as a healer, who healed through dreams, incubation, and oracles. With these aspects, he ties on the one hand to older Egyptian deities (Imhotep, Osiris, Oserapis), but also to the Greek god Asclepius.[70] The healing of Sarapis by incubation and oracle thus connected him with Asclepius in his sanctuary at the southern slope of the Acropolis. Sarapis was also closely associated with Asclepius in other places in Athens. A statue from the 3rd century A.D. was found in the Agora (fig. 3).[71]

It was discovered in a lime kiln of the late antique "Omega House", but might originates from a sanctuary of the Greco-Egyptian gods. It shows a standing god, wearing a chiton, holding as an attribute a serpent-entwined staff. The chiton covering the god's chest is without parallel in Asclepius statues, but it is a feature of Sarapis. As Brian A. Martens has further noted, the sculpture has tool marks on the lower right leg, indicating that it was originally a group.[72] Martens adds a Kerberos –

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66 Var., *Men.*, *Eumenides*, fr. 128, 138, 152 Astbury (= fr. 145, 147, 144 Cèbe), translation Gil Renberg. Arguments for the localization of the sanctuary in Athens: Cèbe 1972–99, 4, 557–564; Renberg 2017, I, 348–349, note 33; Renberg 2018, 658–659.

67 κατ' ἐπίταγμ[α.

68 *RICIS* 101/0222 = *IG* II³ 4, 1120.

69 *RICIS* 101/0221 = *IG* II³ 4, 1130. Aleshire 1989, 55; Walker 1979, 255–256; Matricon-Thomas 2012, 51.

70 Renberg 2017, I, 332–347. 394–483.

71 Athens, Agora Museum, Inv. no. S 1068. Martens 2015.

72 Martens 2015, 53–55 fig. 6.4. See also 55–56 fig. 6.9. for a statue of Sarapis found in Leptis Magna showing the same combination with the serpent-entwined staff, the chiton and the Kerberos.

Fig. 3: Statue of Sarapis with serpent-entwined staff from the Agora of Athens, Agora S 1068. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

another attribute of Sarapis, as attested on the famous statue of Bryaxis in Alexandria. However, the serpent-entwined staff usually belongs to Asclepius, so obviously emphasizes the healing function of Sarapis depicted in the statue.

In Eleusis, the cult of the Greco-Egyptian gods was closely connected with the gods of the underworld. A statue found in the sanctuary replicates the type of the cult statue of Sarapis in Alexandria (fig. 4).[73] The enthroned Sarapis is dressed in chiton and cloak, on his head, he wears a modius. His right leg is extended, and in his left hand, he holds a scepter. With his right hand, he touches the head of the Kerberos. The statue is thus closely associated with Pluto, the god of the underworld. The goddess Isis, who also possessed a cult at Eleusis, was equated here with the Eleusinian Demeter. As a fertility goddess, Isis was associated in Greece primarily with grain, which was imported from Egypt. Herodotus already equated Isis with Demeter: "*This town is in the middle of the Egyptian Delta (meaning Bubastis in Egypt. Author's note), and there is in it a very great temple of Isis, who is Demeter in the Greek*

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73 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Inv. no. 87.1907. Budde/Nicholls 1964, 30f. no. 55 plate 18; Kater-Sibbes 1973, 87 No. 487; Hornbostel 1973, 73 fig. 12a-c plate IX–X. For the cult statue of Sarapis in Alexandria see: Hornbostel 1973, 35–130; Clerc/Leclant 1994.

Fig. 4: Statue of seated Sarapis from Eleusis. Courtesy The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

language".[74] In total, a large number of translations of the two goddesses can be found in the written sources.[75] In the oldest preserved Isis-Aretalogy from Maroneia from the middle of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st century B.C. there is an almost complete equation of Isis with Demeter in Eleusis:

> *You honored Athens most of all Greece: for there you brought the crops to light for the first time, Triptolemos harnessed your sacred serpents and distributed the seeds on the chariot to all Greeks. Therefore we are anxious to see Athens from Greece, but Eleusis from Athens, for we hold for the adornment of Europe the city, but for the adornment of the city the sanctuary (of Eleusis).*[76]

The reference to Eleusis and the almost complete equation of Isis with the Eleusinian Demeter shows the close connection of the goddesses in the Greek and probably also the Egyptian imagination. The worship of Isis in the sanctuary of Eleusis is thus to be understood against this background and refers to the functions of the

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74 Hdt 2, 59, 2.
75 Hdt. 2, 171, 2–3; D.S. 1, 14, 4. 5, 5, 2; Plu., *Moralia* 361e. On this phenomenon cf. Bianchi 1980; Pakkanen 1996, 91–96.
76 *RICIS* 114/0202 (line 36–41). Grandjean 1975, comment on the passage on page 92–98.

goddess with fertility, harvest, and the underworld. In myth, the goddesses also share some similarities, highlighted in particular by Plutarch in his 1st century A.D. work *De Iside et Osiride*.[77] Both goddesses lost a beloved member of their family, after whom they searched the whole world until they finally found her/him again, thus symbolically defeating death.

Another sanctuary for the underworld deities existed at Teithras.[78] In the late 1st century B.C., there was – according to an inscription on a column base – also a sanctuary for the Greco-Egyptian gods, administered by the Athenian state.[79] The same column base contains another slightly later inscription from the early first century A.D. which mentions a man named Demophilos who dedicated some architectural elements.[80] The two inscriptions give information about the administration of the cult, the rituals including a possible interdiction, and the furnishing of the sanctuary. A naos is mentioned, which might have stood near the church of Metamorphosis. A stoa was probably also part of the sanctuary. A balustrade dedicated by Demophilos according to the inscription may have been either a freestanding fence or placed between the columns of a building, for example, the Stoa.[81] The temple for the Greco-Egyptian gods was, according to the locations of the inscriptions, in close vicinity to the sanctuary of the chthonic Zeus. The deities may also have been connected in the cult, and the Greco-Egyptian gods here apparently had a close connection to the underworld. In the inscription, Demophilos refers to himself as the carrier of the hegemon, an office that is related to the rituals.[82] A parallel is found in Sarapeion C on Delos, which mentions an Anubis hegemon.[83] In the Egyptian cult, the god Anubis is closely associated with the underworld, as he guides the souls of the deceased to the afterlife. Anubis is occasionally associated with Hermes (Hermanubis) who in Greco-Roman thought leads the souls down to Hades. The inscription from Teithras may refer to a mask of Anubis worn by Demophilos in the procession for Isis.[84] The office of the carrier of the hegemon is to be understood in connection with the nearby sanctuary of the underworld deities.

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77 Plu., *Moralia* 360–361.

78 Fragments of a cult calendar testify cults to Athena, the chthonic Zeus and Kore: *SEG* 24, 542. The sanctuary of the chthonic Zeus was probably located on the site of the church of Metamorphosis, in the courtyard of which several reliefs and inscriptions were found: Travlos 1988, 335. For Teithras see furthermore: Traill 1975, 5. 41 note 13. 68. 112 no. 133 table 2; Lohmann 2002.

79 *RICIS* 101/0401 = *IG* II³ 4, 1132 I. Pollitt 1965; Dunand 1973 II, 14–15; Matricon-Thomas 2011, 265–266; Martzavou 2014, 174–176.

80 *RICIS* 101/0402 = *IG* II³ 4, 1132 II. For the dating of the inscriptions see Pollitt 1965, 126.

81 Pollitt 1965, 130.

82 Δάφνος βαστάζων τὸν ἡγεμόνα. Pollitt 1965, 129–130.

83 *RICIS* 202/170 = *IG* XI 4, 1253.

84 Pollitt 1965, 129–130; Bricault 2001/02, 31.

These testimonies illustrate that, when the sanctuaries of the new gods were erected, reference was made to the deities who had already been resident at the site for some time. Thus, certain aspects were emphasized in the iconography, which pointed to specific functions. This reveals the creative potential of the Social Imaginary at each site. The divine newcomers were spatially connected to the existing through adaptations, innovations, transformations, and the highlighting of individual aspects. The study of the *theoi entemenioi* and *symbomoi* allows insights into the Social Imaginary that led to cult foundations at the sites. The neighboring gods thereby provide information about ideas of the new gods that enabled their integration into the Attic religious landscape. As we have seen so far, the locations of the sanctuaries to neighboring shrines provide evidence of the functions and facets of the deities worshipped in these places.

Expressing Religious Aspects in Natural Elements

Imaginary aspects of the gods also occasionally appear in natural elements connected to the cults. Some Divine newcomers, like Adonis, Aphrodite Ourania, and Pan were imagined with natural elements such as gardens and caves. These connections expressed certain aspects of the gods. Here it becomes clear that the conception and implementation of new deities are expressed on many different levels and are also reflected in the worship and religious practices of the actors. The worship of the deities through and with the natural elements also has spatial implications, as they shaped the urban space of Athens.

Adonis, the Syrian god, and lover of Aphrodite was worshipped in Athens since the mid-fifth century or even earlier.[85] From middle-comedy poets and later literary sources, we learn that the Adonis festival in Athens was celebrated mainly by women.[86] These women planted small gardens for the god in ceramic sherds, which were placed on the roofs of the houses. In the gardens, small idols were put. Representations of these Adonis gardens are depicted on vases from the 5th century B.C (fig. 5).[87]

During the festival, the women mourned the young deceased god. Researchers have speculated whether the gardens, with their rapid sprouting, were meant to symbolize fertility, or whether their fast perishing in the sun reflected the god's death.[88] However, the original purpose of the gardens of Adonis is unrecoverable.

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85 Simms 1997; Simms 1998, see p. 124 for the date.

86 Ar., *Lys*. 387–396. Men., *Sam*. 38–46.

87 Simon 1972; Servais-Soyez 1981, 227–229; Zarkadas 1989; Detienne 1994. For a written mention of these gardens see Pl., *Phdr*. 276b.

88 For a critical discussion on the older research see Simms 1998, 128–129.

Fig. 5: Attic lekythos depicting Adonis gardens in the cult of Ahprodite and Eros.
Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe.

But it is clear that they had a specific function in the festival as it was celebrated in Athens and that they were connected with death. Possibly they symbolized the flower-covered tomb of Adonis.[89] In Athens, no sanctuaries of Adonis are attested. The cult took place only in the private sphere. This contrasts with his worship in the Levante and Cyprus, where large public shrines with temples are attested.[90] There, too, the Adonis festival included mourning for the god and a procession in which the idols were subsequently thrown into the water.[91] Gardens for Adonis however are not attested.[92] They appear for the first time in the Athenian context and are later mentioned in the Adoneia in Alexandria.[93]

Aphrodite, possibly with her epithet *Ourania* (the Heavenly), had sanctuaries in Athens in the form of gardens, too. Sanctuaries of Aphrodite *en kepois* were located on the northern slope of the Acropolis, in the area of Ilissos, and Daphne, a suburb of Athens.[94] The gardens contained many flowers and fruit trees. With their beguiling smells and colors, they probably symbolized certain aspects of the goddess of

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89 Simms 1998, 129–132.

90 Friese 2009.

91 Friese 2009, 95. 103.

92 Winfried Held, however, suspects that the tradition of sacrificing on the roof originated in the Levant: Held 2015, 133.

93 Theoc., *Idylls* 15, 110.

94 Simms 1985, 264–273; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 48–74; Rosenzweig 2004, 29–44. 59–81; Robertson 2005; Machaira 2008; Delivorrias 2008; Bumke 2015; Machaira 2018.

Fig. 6: Cave of Pan on the North Slope of the Acropolis of Athens.

love, such as sensuality, sexuality, and fertility.[95] These aspects can also be de-
duced from the votive offerings showing female and male genitalia.[96]

The god Pan was worshipped in caves in Athens and Attica from the 5th century
B.C.[97] This is remarkable because Pan had temples and rural sanctuaries in his home-
land Arcadia.[98] In other Greek landscapes, the cult of Pan in cave sanctuaries is hardly
attested before the 5th century B.C.[99] The cave is probably an Attic phenomenon that
was only later adopted in other parts of the Greek world. The erection of his main sanc-
tuary underneath the Acropolis seems to have played a distinct role in the association
of Pan and the cave.[100] The choice of the cave as a place of worship may have been

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95 Bumke 2015, 59.

96 Broneer 1933, 342–347 fig. 14. 18; Broneer 1935, 140 fig. 30; Machaira 2008, 47–77. 109–124 fig.
18–20 plate 22, 1–6. 38, ϛ΄. 46, ε; Bumke 2015, 53–55 fig. 4–6.

97 On the cult of Pan in Athens see most recently: Scott 2017; Neumann 2020. On the introduction
of the cult see Garland 1992, 47–63.

98 Borgeaud 1979, 78–81.

99 Sporn 2013, 207.

100 Neumann 2020, 68. 69–76. 85–88.

due to Pan's mythical descent from the nymph Kallisto.[101] The cave was probably particularly suited to embody the birthplace of the god as well as the idea of wilderness that was closely associated with him.[102] The association of Pan with caves strongly symbolized the character and the origin of the shepherd's god from Arcadia. At the same time, the cave of Pan underneath the Acropolis shaped the character of the urban space of Athens by integrating the natural element in a central position of the city.[103] The cave had a particularly strong imaginary effect, as it became a permanent place of worship for the god and also found its way into literature and images.[104]

Conclusion

As we have seen, Castoriadis' theory can be used to examine various ways in which new deities were implemented and spatially embodied in the sacred landscape of Athens. The imaginary has a representative function through the symbolic, in which a society becomes aware of itself. At the same time, the imaginary is a creative force that brings forth the new and connects to the existing. The appropriation of new influences through the imaginary can manifest in space and place. Spatial connections with neighboring gods illuminated some aspects of the new gods in their respective places. Also, the association with natural elements expressed certain aspects of the gods and shaped the urban space of Athens. By their invention, these imaginations have been closely linked to the individual deities. Later on, they were transferred to other areas in the Greco-Roman world, too. Finally, the imaginary is also political. Every creation of meaning produces exclusions, evokes objections, and provokes conflicts. Who is allowed to assign imaginary meaning to places in urban space depends on positions of power, politics, and negotiations between actors. Thus, studying the social construction of space can also identify power dynamics that underlie existing social and spatial relations.[105]

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101 Epimenid. fr. 16 DK.plu.

102 Sabetai 2018, 148.

103 Lavagne showed how the cave was conceived in antiquity as a countersymbol ("*l'habitation inhabitable*") to the polis. It is only with the introduction of the cult of Pan in Athens that it is integrated into the urban space, but retains its liminal character: Lavagne 1988, 31–81. On the Pan cave in Athens see page 57–70.

104 Sabetai 2018, 148–152.

105 Schwenk 2019, 101–104.

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1   Modified after Papachatzes, Nikolaos D. (1974), Παυσανίου Ελλάδος Περιήγησις. Αττικα I,1 1974, 100–101, fig. 25, plan: Η. Μουτόπουλος.
Fig. 2   Courtesy Ephorate of Athens: Acropolis Excavations. Photograph: Sabine Neumann.
Fig. 3   Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations. Photograph: Craig Mauzi.
Fig. 4   Courtesy © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Photograph: Amy Jugg. Creative Commons License (BY-NC-ND).
Fig. 5   Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe. Photograph: Peter Gaul.
Fig. 6   Photograph: Sabine Neumann.

List of Abbreviations

IDelos   Durrbach Félix, *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris, 1926–1937.
IG   *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873-.
IRhamnous   Petrakos, Vasileios C., Ο δήμος του Ραμνούντος: σύνοψη των ανασκαφών και των ερευνών 1813–1998, II Οι επιγραφές, Athens, 1999.
RICIS   Bricault, Laurent, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques (RICIS)*, Paris, 2005.
SEG   *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden, 1923-.

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Natacha Trippé

L'articulation de l'espace religieux et de l'espace civique : l'exemple du sanctuaire de Zeus sur l'agora de Thasos

L'étude du sanctuaire de Zeus sur l'agora de Thasos s'inscrit dans le programme collectif « Archépolis : Archéologie et histoire de l'espace public à Thasos » dont l'objectif est l'étude des monuments civiques et religieux de l'agora thasienne, par le questionnement croisé de l'architecture, de la sculpture et de l'épigraphie[1]. Il s'appuie notamment sur un Système d'Information Géographique (SIG) du centre monumental de Thasos[2], qui permet d'exploiter les données des fouilles, de les stocker, de les faire dialoguer et de les valoriser. Le WebSIG permet aussi de nouvelles interprétations concernant la topographie religieuse de Thasos : en cartographiant l'ensemble des témoignages attestant une pratique cultuelle, cet outil offre un moyen de mieux saisir l'inscription des dieux dans l'espace de la cité et contribue à appréhender le rapport étroit entre le développement de l'urbanisme et l'implantation des espaces sacrés, qu'il s'agisse d'un sanctuaire monumentalisé ou d'un modeste point de culte. L'agora de Thasos, cœur politique de la cité et siège de nombreux cultes, constitue un champ d'investigation particulièrement propice pour observer la façon dont s'articulent espace public et espace sacré. À ce titre, le sanctuaire du Zeus Agoraios Thasien concentre sans nul doute un faisceau de questionnements quant à l'« inscription du divin » dans un espace bien spécifique, l'espace civique. Le propos n'est pas de livrer ici une description exhaustive des vestiges du sanctuaire mais d'exposer les nouvelles recherches sur ce secteur qui, bien que dégagé, ne fut jamais publié, et de formuler de premières remarques sur la place qu'occupe cet ensemble dans l'espace de l'agora[3].

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1 Ce programme est inscrit dans le quinquennal 2022–2026 de l'École française d'Athènes et est soumis aux autorisations de l'Éphorie de Kavala. Y participent G. Biard (Université Aix-Marseille), L. Fadin (EFA), J. Fournier (Université Strasbourg), P. Hamon (Paris Sorbonne Université), M. Imbs (architecte du patrimoine), S. Kriemadi (architecte), N. Trippé dir. (Université Bordeaux-Montaigne).
2 Le WebSIG de Thasos, mis en ligne en 2020, est disponible à l'adresse suivante : https://sig-thasos.efa.gr/. Pour une présentation de ce programme, voir Trippé 2019.
3 L'étude du sanctuaire de Zeus Agoraios, menée en collaboration avec M. Imbs, vise à fournir d'une part l'étude architecturale et archéologique de cet ensemble cultuel, désigné sous les numéros *GTh* 33–35 dans le *Guide de Thasos* (Grandjean/Salviat 2000) et de mettre en lumière les différentes phases de son évolution ainsi que ses rapports topographiques avec les autres édifices et points de culte de la place ; à proposer d'autre part, en convoquant les témoignages épigraphiques, une réflexion historique sur la place de Zeus dans le panthéon thasien, dont le culte est étroitement lié aux événements politiques et à la vie de la cité.

La cité de Thasos, fondée vers 670 par des colons pariens menés par l'archégète Télésiclès, emprunte à sa métropole nombre d'éléments essentiels de son identité : les institutions, les noms propres, l'organisation du corps civique et les principaux cultes[4]. Paros, en implantant sa colonie de Thasos, répond au modèle de migration en œuvre dans la Grèce archaïque : les divinités de la métropole, voyageant avec les colons, sont installées dans la nouvelle cité et garantissent la filiation religieuse avec la cité-mère, événement qui est au fondement de la communauté nouvellement créée. Le paysage thasien se caractérise ainsi par un nombre important de sanctuaires, dont l'installation a selon toute vraisemblance joué un rôle dans la délimitation du territoire de la colonie[5].

Dans ce paysage, l'espace central de l'agora (Fig. 1), cœur monumental de la ville basse, abritait également plusieurs sanctuaires dont beaucoup demeurent malheureusement anonymes. Se distingue toutefois l'ensemble désigné par les numéros 33–35 du *Guide de Thasos* et reconnu comme étant le sanctuaire du Zeus de l'agora.

Description des vestiges du sanctuaire

La fouille de l'agora de Thasos, menée par l'École française d'Athènes de 1948 à 1955, mit en œuvre des moyens d'ampleur exceptionnelle qui permirent le dégagement de l'ensemble de la place et des édifices la bordant (Fig. 1). Elle donna lieu à une moisson épigraphique considérable qui prouvait l'importance politique de la zone et qui fut publiée rapidement par les soins de J. Pouilloux et Chr. Dunant en 1954 et 1958[6]. L'ensemble religieux désigné par les numéros *GTh* 33, 34 et 35 du *Guide de Thasos* (Fig. 2) fut mis au jour dès les premières années de l'exploration archéologique : l'enceinte circulaire était déjà apparue lors du creusement de deux tranchées exploratoires en 1946. En 1948, une longue base rectangulaire (*GTh* 33) fut mise au jour, en même temps que les sections d'un péribole, les vestiges d'un autel ainsi que la façade d'un édifice. L'ensemble fut dégagé entièrement l'année suivante et les fouilleurs identifièrent alors définitivement le sanctuaire : ils proposaient en effet de replacer dans l'une des bases du péribole, sur le petit côté sud-est, un pilier inscrit portant au génitif le théonyme de Zeus Agoraios Thasios (Fig. 5) qui avait été découvert au début du siècle en remploi dans le dallage d'un chemin se situant entre l'agora et le port. L'activité archéologique dut toutefois se concentrer rapidement sur d'autres secteurs, puis hors de l'agora, de sorte que le sanc-

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4 Sur la colonisation de Thasos par Paros, voir notamment Pouilloux 1954 ; Muller 2010 ; Holtzmann *et al.* 2019 avec bibliographie antérieure.

5 Muller 2002, 2010.

6 Pouilloux 1954 ; Dunant/Pouilloux 1958.

Fig. 1: Plan restitué de l'agora avec indication du sanctuaire de Zeus Agoraios
(© N. Trippé, C. Guillaume / École française d'Athènes).

tuaire, bien que constituant un ensemble particulièrement intéressant, ne fit jamais l'objet d'une étude architecturale complète et les résultats de la fouille furent uniquement publiés dans les Chroniques du *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*[7].

Le péribole

Cet ensemble cultuel occupe l'angle nord de la place publique, à proximité du portique nord-ouest et du bouleuterion (*GTh* 11). Trois années de campagnes, menées de 2017 à 2019, nous ont permis de dresser le plan de l'ensemble des vestiges et de réaliser le relevé des blocs que nous attribuons à l'élévation. Le sanctuaire est enceint dans un péribole de forme trapézoïdale, dont sont conservés le côté nord-ouest (sur une longueur de 14,54 m), le côté nord-est (sur une longueur de 15,17 m) ainsi qu'une petite section du côté sud-est (sur une longueur de 6,20 m). Le côté sud-ouest est manquant et la lecture des angles est et ouest est quant à elle perturbée respectivement par l'enceinte circulaire *GTh* 35 et la grande base *GTh* 33.

Les côtés nord-est et nord-ouest du péribole (Fig. 2) présentent un dispositif identique : huit bases carrées libres au nord-est, sept bases au nord-ouest, espacées régulièrement de 0,98 m à 1m en moyenne[8]. Ces bases sont pourvues de mortaises carrées[9], destinées selon toute vraisemblance à recevoir les piliers d'une clôture à claire-voie, entre lesquels se tenaient des barrières, très certainement en bois, comme l'illustre la formule adoptée sur le monument des héros éponymes à Athènes[10]. En l'état actuel, seuls ces deux côtés du péribole présentent des entrées, constituées de deux seuils quasiment identiques, flanqués de deux demi-bases, qui viennent se caler contre l'enceinte circulaire et contre la grande base *GTh* 33. Le système de fermeture était assuré par une porte à double vantaux, de largeurs inégales, ouvrant vers l'intérieur du sanctuaire[11].

Sur la section sud-est conservée (Fig. 3), le dispositif de clôture est différent : entre les bases à mortaises, sont intercalés des blocs dont la surface indique que, sur cette section, le péribole était constitué de piliers entre lesquels venaient prendre place des plaques, sur le modèle de l'enceinte entourant l'autel des Douze dieux sur l'agora d'Athènes[12]. Un pilier du péribole fut retrouvé sur le site. Entier, il

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7 *Chronique des fouilles*, BCH 71–72 (1947–48), 419–422 ; BCH 73 (1949), 538–547 ; BCH 74 (1950), 333–341.

8 Ces bases qui mesurent en moyenne 0,606–0,625 m × 0,588–0,618 m, pour une hauteur moyenne de 0,38 m sont dressées seulement dans la partie supérieure de leurs faces latérales.

9 Mesurant entre 0,342 et 0,370 m de côté pour des profondeurs variant entre 0,082 et 0,117 m.

10 Shear 1970.

11 Le seuil A, jouxtant l'enceinte circulaire, présente une longueur totale de 1,745 m et le seuil B, situé près de la grande base, une longueur de 1,728 m.

12 Crosby 1949 ; Gadbery 1992. On peut également mentionner la clôture enserrant l'autel d'Artémis à Épidaure (Roux [1961], 221 et pl. 54).
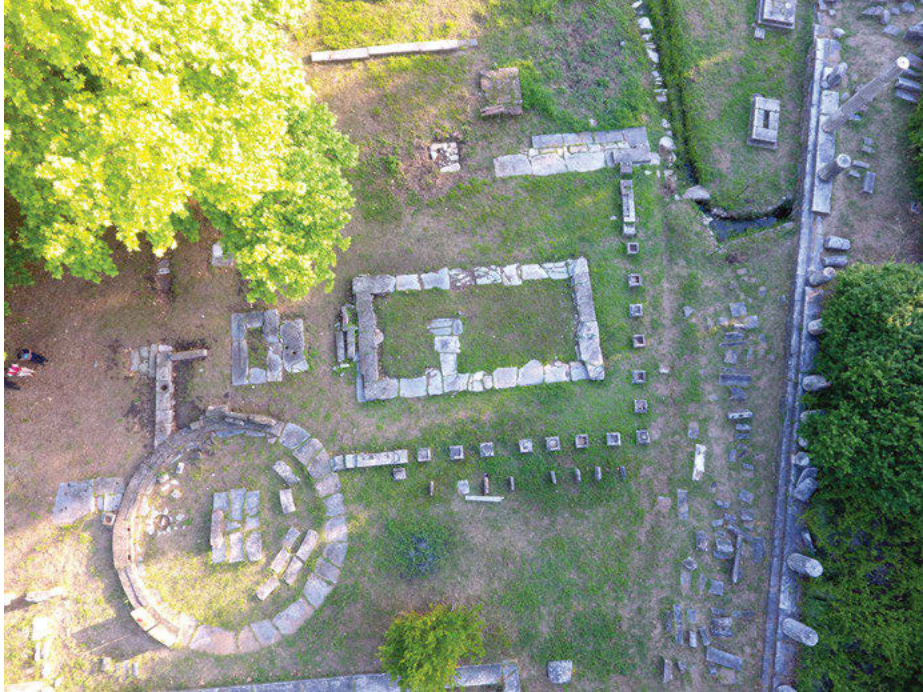
Fig. 2: Photographie par drone du sanctuaire (© L. Fadin, N. Trippé / École française d'Athènes).

présente une hauteur d'1,70 m et une section carrée de 0,31 m de côté à la base, pour adopter ensuite une forme légèrement pyramidante. Ses faces latérales semblent indiquer qu'il se trouvait à la jonction des deux systèmes de fermeture : sur l'une sont aménagées six mortaises carrées, de 0,85 m de côté, destinées à recevoir les éléments de bois de la clôture à claire-voie; l'autre présente une bande démaigrie haute d'1, 30 m, large de 0,115 m, correspondant à l'emplacement d'une plaque du parapet[13]. La dernière mortaise latérale est à cheval sur la face supérieure du pilier, indiquant qu'un couronnement achevait le dispositif.

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13 La faible profondeur du démaigrissement et l'absence de mortaise de fixation invitent à restituer un dispositif constitué de plaques de bois.

Fig. 3: Section sud-est du péribole (© N. Trippé / École française d'Athènes).

Le temple et l'autel

Le temple occupe la partie nord du téménos, le long côté nord-ouest étant parallèle au péribole. L'édifice ouvre à l'est, dans l'axe de l'autel situé à 3,50 m. Seules sont conservées les fondations constituées de grandes dalles de gneiss où l'on rencontre parfois des blocs de marbre, ainsi que l'assise de réglage mêlant marbre et gneiss sur les petits côtés (Fig. 4). L'édifice mesure aux fondations 12 m sur 6,10 m, ménageant un pronaos d'une profondeur de 4,60 m et un naos d'une profondeur de 7,40 m, ce qui en fait un édifice relativement modeste. En façade, un dispositif constitué de trois petits orthostates de marbre liaisonnés, que l'on est tenté d'interpréter comme une eschara sur la base de parallèles thasien[14], s'appuie contre l'euthynteria. Il est encore trop tôt pour déterminer la forme architecturale de l'édifice. Toutefois, la disposition des blocs aux angles de l'euthynteria, qui présentent leur petit côté en façade, peut faire songer à un dispositif d'antes, sans que cela ne soit complètement certain. De l'élévation, peu d'éléments sont connus mais des blocs errants sur l'agora ou en remploi dans les édifices voisins sont des candidats possibles pour être attribués au temple, ce que le travail de restitution permettra de vérifier.

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[14] Notamment au passage des théores (Blondé/Muller/Mulliez 1995, 686 et fig. 38).

L'autel n'est conservé qu'en ses fondations, constituées de grandes dalles de gneiss, formant un rectangle de 3,55 m sur 2, 39 m. L'espace central, laissé libre, était destiné à recevoir un blocage de terre et de moellons, autour duquel il faut restituer un habillage de marbre composé d'orthostates selon une formule que l'on retrouve sur d'autres autels thasiens[15]. Le corps de l'autel proprement dit reposait sur une crépis dont le dernier degré constituait la prothysis sur laquelle se tenait l'officiant, face au levant[16]. Sur le long côté nord-ouest de l'autel s'appuie une dalle de marbre à gros grain, dont la surface particulièrement usée présente trois mortaises carrées alignées[17]. Une hypothèse, eu égard aux dispositifs que l'on rencontre dans l'aménagement sacrificiel, est d'interpréter ces cavités comme des mortaises destinées à recevoir, dans une gaine de plomb, le tenon maintenant l'anneau auquel était attaché l'animal avant d'être abattu[18]. Notons enfin que fut également mis au jour un caniveau partant de l'autel et contournant le temple au sud-ouest, destiné très vraisemblablement à l'évacuation du sang des sacrifices[19].

L'enceinte circulaire

L'enceinte circulaire *GTh* 35 (Fig. 2) présente aux fondations un diamètre extérieur de 10,50 m pour un diamètre intérieur au toichobate de 8,50 m[20]. Les fondations largement débordantes à l'intérieur, sont constituées de deux assises de grands blocs de gneiss sur lesquelles reposent le toichobate en marbre, comme l'ensemble de l'édifice[21]. Au centre de la structure se trouvent des fondations de gneiss, d'une emprise de 3,10 m sur 2,20 m, qui furent interprétées lors de la fouille comme les fondations d'un autel. L'entrée de l'édifice se trouve au sud-est, ménagée par un seuil avoisinant 1,95 m. Le système de fermeture indique une porte à deux vantaux ouvrant vers l'intérieur. L'élévation présente deux types d'appareil : à l'extérieur, un grand appareil composé d'orthostates convexes, positionnés en avant d'un ressaut d'une trentaine de

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15 Citons, parmi d'autres, le grand autel (*GTh* 23) situé sur l'agora thasienne ou les autels du Poseidonion.

16 Sur la définition exacte du terme de prothysis, voir Ginouvès/Guimier-Sorbets 1991, 279 et Ginouvès et *al.* 1998, 50.

17 Ces mortaises, espacées de 0,27 et 0,28 m, mesurent 0,13 m par 0,15 m pour une profondeur de 0,035–0,045 m.

18 Comme on le rencontre sur l'autel des *Caesares* (*GTh* 30), situé non loin de l'autel étudié. Toutefois, nous ne trouvons pas d'explication satisfaisante aux dimensions importantes des mortaises. Sur l'iconographie du sacrifice, présentant l'animal attaché par une corde enroulée autour de ses cornes et passée dans l'anneau fixé au sol, voir notamment l'hydrie Ricci provenant de la nécropole de la Banditaccia à Cerveteri (Rome, Musée de la Villa Giulia, inv. 80983) (Ugaglia/Grand-Clément 2017, 82–84).

19 Chronique des fouilles menées en 1948 dans *BCH* 73 (1949) 544.

20 Voir également Chronique des fouilles menées en 1946 dans *BCH* 71–72 (1947–48), p. 419–422.

21 Onze blocs du toichobate sont conservés.

Fig. 4: Le temple et l'autel après leur dégagement (© École française d'Athènes).

centimètres tandis que l'élévation intérieure est composée de moellons concaves, de marbre également. La face de parement des orthostates est soigneusement traitée à la pointe fine et mise en valeur dans un cadre délimité par un listel[22]. Les deux séries d'orthostates, les panneresses et les chaperons conservés permettent de restituer une élévation minimale d'1,72 m environ, d'environ 2 m avec le couronnement.

Il convient de préciser d'emblée que la fouille de l'ensemble architectural qui nous occupe a incontestablement souffert des à-coups de l'exploration archéologique et des contingences logistiques. Le secteur fut en outre perturbé à la fin de l'Antiquité par l'installation d'un cimetière byzantin, associé à la basilique construite au Ve siècle p. C. (*GTh* 13) à partir des blocs des édifices voisins : un certain nombre de tombes, aussi indigentes soient-elles, ont été découvertes à des niveaux particulièrement bas. Enfin, une activité de débitage de blocs, comme en témoigne une épaisse couche de débris de marbre et de tuiles dégagée en fouille, se tint à la limite sud-ouest du sanctuaire[23]. La consultation des carnets de fouille permet toutefois de rassembler quelques indices stratigraphiques : autour de l'autel fut observée une terre mêlée de cendres, contenant des restes fauniques, essentiellement des os de porc ; concernant le temple, qui fut arasé jusqu'en ses fondations, les archéologues notent qu'il était remblayé

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22 De 0,037 à 0,045 m environ.

23 Les fouilleurs identifièrent comme un four à chaux une structure en tuf située au nord de l'autel de Théogénès, mais cette attribution nous paraît peu assurée. Cette constatation les conduisit par ailleurs à prêter une attention moins fine à la stratigraphie du secteur.

d'une couche de sable contenant des fragments de marbre et des tessons archaïques. Le seul sondage profond qui y a été pratiqué est une tranchée est-ouest dans le naos, profonde de 0,92 m. Elle semble avoir été creusée dans une couche homogène, constituée de sable marin de couleur grise, contenant des coquillages et des tessons de céramique à vernis noir, sable qui aurait servi de remblaiement.

Quant à l'enceinte circulaire, une tranchée fut creusée en arrière des fondations de l'autel, perpendiculairement au péribole de Zeus Agoraios, mais nous ne disposons d'aucun élément de datation. Les observations stratigraphiques menées lors de la fouille de l'agora sont donc ténues et difficilement exploitables. Cette difficulté est encore augmentée par le fait que les niveaux de circulation sont restés à peu près identiques de l'époque archaïque à l'époque romaine. On est donc en grande partie contraint de s'appuyer sur les relations des édifices entre eux et sur l'observation des techniques de construction. L'inscription qui porte la mention de Zeus Agoraios et qui permit l'identification du sanctuaire fournit toutefois des éléments de datation absolue.

L'inscription de Zeus Agoraios Thasios

En 1899 fut mis au jour un pilier de marbre inscrit, découvert dans le pavement d'un chemin qui longeait la frange nord-ouest de l'agora, en arrière du port (Fig. 5).
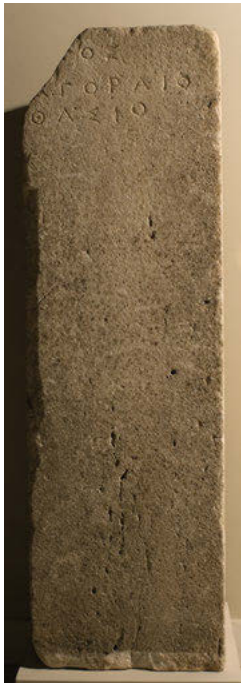
Fig. 5: Bloc inscrit portant la mention de Zeus Agoraios (© Ph. Collet / École française d'Athènes).

Inv. 580. Pilier de marbre blanc à grain fin, lu par G. Mendel et P. Perdrizet en 1899 alors que la pierre était en remploi dans le pavement du chemin qui menait « de la tour génoise au konak ».
La pierre est brisée dans l'angle supérieur gauche. Elle est aujourd'hui exposée au musée de Thasos.
Stoichedon.
H: 1,132 m; l: 0,35 m; prof: 0308 m à droite et 0,342 m à gauche.
h.l: 0,021 m (lett. rondes 0,019 m); interl.: 0,024 m; esp. entre lettres: 0,025 m.
Éd. G. Mendel, « Inscriptions de Thasos », *BCH* 24 (1900), 270, n°10; *IG* XII 8 361.
Cf. « Chronique des fouilles en 1949 », *BCH* 74 (1950), 336.

<div align="center">

[Δι]òς
Ἀγοραίō
Θασίō
De Zeus Agoraios Thasios

</div>

L. 1 : le départ de l'*iota* dans sa partie inférieure se devine très légèrement.

La face inscrite, soigneusement lissée, est délimitée à l'arête inférieure par un bandeau en léger relief. Les faces latérales sont soigneusement travaillées : elles présentent, le long des arêtes, excepté le long de l'arête postérieure, un cadre lisse d'une largeur de 0,035 m, auquel succède une délicate frise de triangles, réalisés au ciseau. À l'intérieur de ce cadre, la surface présente un traitement fortement fracturé, réalisé au moyen de la smille. La face arrière du bloc n'est pas plane : elle présente sur toute sa hauteur une section démaigrie large de 0,154 m, impliquant deux profondeurs, 0,308 m à droite et 0,342 m à gauche. Le lit de pose, non visible, est connu par un relevé réalisé au début du XXe siècle : le bloc est fendu et il n'est pas exclu qu'il s'y trouvât une mortaise de goujon. Au lit supérieur, la pierre présente une mortaise de goujon à canal de coulée[24]. L'écriture et l'absence de la diphtongue à la désinence du génitif invitent à dater cette inscription de l'extrême fin du Ve siècle ou des toutes premières années du IVe.

L'identification du sanctuaire comme étant celui de Zeus Agoraios ainsi que sa datation, que les archéologues plaçaient au début du IVe, reposent donc sur cette inscription. Ces derniers proposèrent de replacer la pierre dans l'une des bases du péribole, plus précisément sur la section sud-est, en raison de ce qu'ils interprétaient, sur les faces latérales, comme des anathyroses destinées à recevoir les plaques du parapet. Mais les observations que j'ai menées sur la pierre s'opposent résolument à cette restitution : la face arrière présente, on l'a dit, deux profondeurs, qui coïncident curieusement avec les bases carrées du péribole. De plus, il ne fait aucun doute que les faces latérales de la pierre ne sont pas, comme l'ont estimé les fouilleurs, pourvues d'anathyroses, mais qu'il s'agit en réalité d'un traitement décoratif, où la surface interne, dont l'aspect fracturé ménage un jeu sur les reliefs, est mise en valeur par un cadre réalisé au ciseau. On notera aussi que la pierre portant

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24 La mortaise, disposée à 0,060 m de l'arête droite, mesure 0,065 m de côté.

l'inscription est bien moins haute que le pilier que l'on restitue dans le péribole. Au vu de ces constatations, il ne nous paraît donc pas possible de restituer le pilier inscrit dans le dispositif de péribole du sanctuaire *GTh* 34. Il semble en réalité évident que ce pilier, qui ne recevait pas d'éléments sur ses faces latérales, se situait à l'extrémité d'un muret composé d'orthostates. Or on connaît bien à Thasos ce type de construction : ce pilier n'est pas une borne mais l'« ante »[25] de l'autel sur lequel étaient célébrés les sacrifices en l'honneur du dieu, dont le nom figure au génitif d'appartenance, comme l'illustrent de nombreux exemples ailleurs dans le monde grec[26]. Les hypothèses de restitution élaborées avec M. Imbs nous indiquent que l'autel de l'espace sacré *GTh* 34 tel que connu par les dimensions des fondations est un candidat possible pour recevoir le pilier inscrit. Sur les fondations en gneiss, on restitue ainsi une assise d'euthynteria en marbre, faisant office de prothysis, flanquée de part et d'autre de piliers, dont celui de droite porte le nom du dieu. Le corps de l'autel se compose d'assises d'orthostates, enceignant un blocage de terre et de moellons et protégeant la table d'autel proprement dite sur laquelle se tenait le foyer. La mortaise de goujon au lit supérieur du pilier est selon toute vraisemblance destinée à recevoir un élément de couronnement, qui pouvait prendre la forme d'un fronton ou d'un parallélépipède décoré, comme les fouilles thasiennes en ont livré plusieurs exemples. La hauteur du monument, si l'on se fonde sur une hauteur de l'assise d'euthynteria à 0,15–0,20 m et un couronnement à *ca* 0,25 m, atteindrait ainsi *ca* 1,58 m.

Les techniques de construction, ses dimensions ainsi que sa forme inscrivent donc sans ambiguïté l'autel de Zeus Agoraios dans la série des autels appareillés dit communément « autels à antes », et désignés plus justement par la formule « autels en *pi* »[27], bien illustrés à Thasos à l'époque classique[28]. Tous ces autels présentent ainsi la même forme architecturale, où la table d'autel est enceinte dans un mur en *pi* qui s'achève

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25 Nous revenons ci-après sur la signification du terme dans le cas d'un autel.

26 Les inscriptions nommant le dieu propriétaire de l'autel sont soit au génitif soit au datif. Pour des exemples au génitif : à Épidaure : Athéna Erganè (*IG* IV² 1, 270) ; Artémis Lusaia (*IG* IV² 1, 275) ; Artémis Prothyreia (*IG* IV² 1, 276); Artémis Soteira (*IG* IV² 1, 277) ; Aphrodite Meilichia et Zeus Meilichios (*IG* IV² 1, 282) ; Aphrodite Ourania (*IG* IV² 1, 283) ; Gè (*IG* IV² 1, 284) ; Zeus Apotropaios (*IG* IV² 1, 290) ; Zeus Xenios (*IG* IV² 1, 291) ; Zeus Sôter (*IG* IV² 1, 294). À Thasos : Zeus Keraunios (*IG* XII 8, 362), Zeus Kataibatès (*IG* XII *Suppl.* 406) ; Athéna Patroiè (Rolley 1965, 448, n° 7). À Délos : Poséidon Nauklarios (*ID* 2483).

27 Sur les difficultés de l'élaboration d'une typologie des autels, voir Cassimatis/Étienne/Le Dinahet 1991 et Ginouvès/Guimier-Sorbets 1991 (Ces derniers réservent la formule « autel à antes » aux autels qui sont à proprement parler enceints dans un mur de bordure s'achevant par des antes). Voir également Ohnesorg 2005, 4–5. Les autels dont il est ici question présentent des pilastres disposés de part et d'autre de la face antérieure de la table d'autel. Pour des commodités de formulation, on utilisera plutôt l'appellation « autel à pilastres » ou « en *pi* ».

28 Mentionnons, au Dionysion (*GTh* 56), un autel à pilastres daté de la fin du Ve siècle ou du début du IVe siècle (Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 93–94), au Poseidonion l'autel d'Héra Epiliméniè (*IG* XII *Suppl.* 409) et un autel demeuré anonyme (*GTh* 58*)*, ou encore un autel situé au Passage des théores

par deux pilastres placés de part et d'autre de la prothysis sur laquelle se tient l'officiant. En l'état actuel de l'étude, il n'y a pas lieu de remettre en question l'identification de cet ensemble cultuel comme étant le sanctuaire de Zeus Agoraios.

Place du sanctuaire de Zeus sur l'agora

La moitié nord-ouest de l'agora a révélé plusieurs petits autels et enclos cultuels parmi lesquels ont pu être identifiés l'autel du héros Théogénès (*GTh* 31), et un peu plus à l'est, l'autel des *Caesares* (*GTh* 30), lieu d'expression du culte impérial (Fig. 1). Dans cette zone cultuelle de l'agora, le sanctuaire de Zeus Agoraios fait figure de point nodal, clairement délimité par son péribole. Mais le sanctuaire a également incontestablement un rapport topographique avec les édifices civiques : son orientation est en effet celle de l'édifice à *paraskenia* (*GTh* 12) de la 2ᵉ moitié du IVᵉ siècle, dont les murs portaient les listes des archontes de la cité, et du *bouleuterion* (*GTh* 11), daté du IIIᵉ siècle, orientation que respecta par ailleurs plus tard l'autel des Césars. Il ne fait pas de doute que cet ensemble monumental procède d'un programme commun. Le secteur au sud de l'édifice à *paraskenia* est mal connu[29], mais il n'est pas impossible qu'il ait pu constituer une esplanade vide de constructions, dominée par la façade de ce dernier et celle du temple de Zeus. La fouille a en outre dégagé, sur le flanc nord-est du temple, un alignement de blocs verticaux, qui sont très vraisemblablement des supports de bancs : l'espace laissé libre entre ces derniers et le *bouleuterion* ménageait, avant la construction de l'enceinte circulaire, un espace de circulation permettant de longer les édifices civiques de la bordure nord-est, en allant jusqu'au passage des théores, liant ainsi le bâtiment du conseil, le bâtiment des archives et le sanctuaire de Zeus Agoraios.

Une question de taille, que seule la fouille pourra résoudre, est celle de l'enceinte circulaire. Si le pilier inscrit appartient bien à l'autel de *GTh* 34, on estime une construction de ce dernier au tournant des Vᵉ et IVᵉ siècles[30]. Si le faciès du sanctuaire *GTh* 34 est aisément compréhensible – un temple, précédé d'un autel, le tout enceint dans un péribole – il n'en va pas de même de sa relation tant chronologique que fonctionnelle avec l'enceinte circulaire. La destination réelle de cette dernière n'est pas non plus assurée : l'identification par les archéologues de la structure au centre comme les fondations d'un autel est séduisante mais pour l'instant impossible à

(*GTh* 46) que flanquait une base à deux degrés, dédiée à Athéna Propylaia. Sur ce type d'autels, voir également Grandjean/Salviat 2000, 217.

29 L'édifice fait l'objet d'une étude complète par J. Fournier dans le cadre du programme Archépolis.

30 En l'absence de nouvelles données stratigraphiques, on retient pour le moment également cette date pour l'érection du temple.

prouver. Allant dans ce sens, nos premières observations semblent montrer que la structure n'était pas couverte. Les techniques de construction, tout comme le traitement du parement, semblent relever de l'esthétique architecturale qui se fait jour à la Porte de Zeus et Héra (*GTh* 74) et confirmerait une date de l'enceinte circulaire vers le début du IIIe siècle. Or l'observation des fondations de l'enceinte circulaire et du péribole, mais aussi des fondations de la grande base *GTh* 33 à l'angle nord-ouest de ce dernier, montrent clairement qu'elles ont été recreusées pour installer les bases adjacentes. Il nous semble donc que le péribole, soit pour partie, soit entier, fut installé postérieurement à l'enceinte circulaire et à la base[31].

Or la construction de l'enceinte circulaire, datée du IIIe siècle selon des critères formels, vient fermer la voie de circulation nord-est, laissant un passage étroit de moins d'un mètre entre celle-ci et le *bouleuterion*. Dès lors, il devint nécessaire de passer par le nord-ouest. C'est peut-être pour cette raison qu'on édifia un péribole, afin de délimiter et restreindre l'accès à cet enclos sacré en forçant un cheminement sur le côté nord-ouest. On aura ainsi souhaité clôturer le tout, en prenant soin de conserver un lien structurel entre les différents monuments. On ne peut en effet qu'être frappé par la volonté de lier les deux ensembles, qui a pu être dictée par des besoins constructifs qui nous échappent, à moins qu'il ne faille privilégier une explication religieuse. On remarque en effet certaines similitudes, notamment aux deux entrées, comportant la même base de statue avec une plinthe circulaire. La forme circulaire de l'enceinte pose également question : faut-il l'associer ici à la célébration d'un culte de nature héroïque, en outre dissimulé aux regards ? il y aurait des candidats sur l'agora : Télésiclès ou encore Héraclès, dont on a découvert un règlement religieux en remploi non loin du passage des Théores. Dans l'attente de nouveaux sondages exploratoires, les questions demeurent ouvertes.

Le culte de Zeus à Thasos

Le Zeus honoré dans l'agora et protecteur des activités qui s'y déroulent n'est pas le seul attesté à Thasos. Ainsi, une stèle, malheureusement fragmentaire, indiquait peut-être l'emplacement d'un petit *téménos* de Zeus Hyperdexios et Athéna Hyperdexiè si l'on se fonde sur l'emploi du génitif dans les théonymes[32]. Si l'écriture indique une date au IIe siècle a.C., l'usage des désinences ioniennes peut faire songer à la regravure d'un texte plus ancien. L'emploi de l'épiclèse Hyperdexios est peut-être un écho de la place prééminente du dieu dans le panthéon thasien, qui se lit dans la variété de ses épiclèses : il est ainsi Sôter, dans la dédicace d'une colonnette où il est

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31 Ce peut être peu d'années après.

32 Pouilloux 1954, n° 124.

associé encore une fois à Athéna à la fin du IIIe siècle a.C.[33]; il est Boulaios aux côtés d'Hestia Boulaia dans les dédicaces des apologues au IIIe siècle a.C[34]. Il est Tedseergos aux côtés d'Athéna Erganè[35], Eubouleus célébré dans le culte de Déméter[36] ou encore Ktèsios Patroios[37], sans mentionner les nombreux cultes des *patrai* thasiennes dont il est l'objet[38]. Ajoutons encore qu'une base portant le théonyme de Zeus Kataibatès était dressée contre le mur arrière du *bouleuterion* (*GTh* 11)[39].

La grande majorité des témoignages du culte de Zeus à Thasos provient de l'agora ou de ses abords immédiats[40] et bien qu'il s'agisse de documents modestes, il n'en reste pas moins qu'ils témoignent d'une concentration des points de culte de Zeus autour de la place publique. Si le siège du culte de Zeus Boulaios se situe selon toute probabilité non loin du bâtiment du Conseil ou peut-être dans le prytanée en raison de son association à Hestia, il n'est pas exclu que le sanctuaire de Zeus Agoraios ait abrité d'autres cultes de Zeus, tel celui de Zeus Patroios ou de Zeus Hyperdexios, dont la portion de *téménos* réservée pouvait être matérialisée par ces bornes. C'est ainsi un dieu aux fonctions civiques que dessinent les épiclèses thasiennes, au premier rang desquelles se trouve le titre Agoraios. Mais à Thasos, le Zeus de l'agora porte une double appellation toponymique car il est aussi thasien (*Thasios*), qualificatif destiné à rappeler l'identité collective de la cité[41].

Ces attestations du culte de Zeus, concentrées dans la ville basse aux abords de l'agora témoignent ainsi de la place occupée par le dieu dans le panthéon de la cité aux IVe et IIIe siècles. C'est en effet au début du IVe siècle que la figure de Zeus semble prendre de l'ampleur dans la vie religieuse de la cité : le Ve siècle constitue une période particulièrement mouvementée de l'histoire thasienne, au cours de laquelle la cité doit faire face à l'hégémonie athénienne et connaît des heures sombres lors de la Guerre du Péloponnèse, ballotée entre les deux camps. Thasos entre dans le IVe siècle particulièrement éprouvée et ce n'est qu'à partir de 370 que revient la stabilité politique, qui se manifeste par un changement des institutions, un nouveau monnayage mais aussi un programme de construction sur l'agora dont l'édifice à *paraskenia* est l'illustre exem-

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33 Chronique des fouilles menées en 1980, *BCH* 105 (1981), 942.

34 Hamon 2019, n° 71–73.

35 *IG* XII Suppl. 380 (fin Ve siècle a.C.).

36 Salviat 1959 (Ier siècle a. C.).

37 *IG* XII Suppl. 407 (fin Ve siècle – début IVe siècle a.C.).

38 Rolley 1965 (ces inscriptions font l'objet d'une nouvelle publication par l'auteur dans le *Corpus des Inscriptions de Thasos* II).

39 *IG* XII Suppl. 406 (Ier siècle a.C.).

40 Font exception les inscriptions des *patrai* thasiennes provenant du Thesmophorion (*GTh* 61) et un autel de Zeus Keraunios découvert au voisinage de l'Heracleion (*GTh* 76–80).

41 Cette épiclèse toponymique qualifie aussi Héraclès, dieu tutélaire de la cité, dans le règlement de son culte sur l'agora, datant de 430 environ (*IG* XII Suppl. 414). L'hypothèse que le héros Théogénès ait été lui aussi qualifié de Thasios a été abandonnée (Pouilloux 1994 avec la bibliographie antérieure).

ple. C'est aussi à cette période que les Thasiens entreprennent de graver les listes récapitulatives de leurs magistrats sur des édifices de l'agora[42]. Dans sa synthèse sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos, J. Pouilloux montre que cette réorganisation institutionnelle et économique s'est accompagnée d'une réforme des cultes. Sans aller jusqu'à parler de réforme, il ne fait pas de doute que l'on assiste, dans les premières décennies du IVe siècle, à une forme de restructuration des cultes et du panthéon. C'est dans cet horizon chronologique de la vaste réorganisation civique et monumentale que se situe selon nous le sanctuaire de Zeus Agoraios tel que connu par les vestiges actuels, et qui figure parmi les premiers monuments du secteur.

La reprise de l'étude de ce sanctuaire de l'agora pose indubitablement un nombre important de questions et, pour certaines d'entre elles, seuls des sondages exploratoires permettront d'apporter des réponses. Toutefois, l'analyse architecturale, l'inventaire des nombreux blocs pouvant appartenir à l'élévation des bâtiments de ce sanctuaire, combinés à l'étude des témoignages épigraphiques permettent de dresser une image de ce culte, qui illustre, selon nous, le rapport étroit entre les événements d'ordre politique vécus par la cité et la vie religieuse[43]. L'implantation du sanctuaire obéit incontestablement à une volonté d'installer le dieu au cœur de la place publique, objet de profondes restructurations au IVe siècle. Mais Zeus Agoraios est aussi symboliquement le dieu de la communauté thasienne unifiée, dieu civilisateur comme l'indiquait R. Martin[44], garant de la concorde civique après les troubles du Ve siècle. De manière aiguë se lit donc à Thasos une adéquation du rythme civique et du rythme religieux qui se traduit topographiquement par le dialogue qu'entretient le sanctuaire avec les édifices civiques dont ils patronnent les activités de sa présence tutélaire, présence tutélaire qui accueillera à ses côtés d'autres points de culte. Aussi, bien que certains éléments demeurent encore en suspens, nous semble-t-il que le cas de Zeus sur l'agora thasienne offre un exemple éclairant de l'inscription du divin dans l'espace public.

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42 Notamment sur l'édifice à *paraskenia* (cf. ci-dessus) : Hamon 2015–2016, 2017 et 2020.

43 Pour un inventaire des attestations de Zeus Agoraios, dont le culte se développe dans les cités grecques à partir du IVe siècle, voir notamment Antonetti 2009.

44 Martin 1951, 164 sq.

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BCH : *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Athènes, 1877–.
IG : *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873–.

Daniela Bonanno

Squaring Nemesis: Alexander's Dream, the Oracle, and the Foundation of the New Smyrna

1 Introduction

The ancient history of Smyrna is deeply rooted in the complex and intricate accidents that marked the Greek *ktiseis* in Asia Minor.[1] Originally located on the slope of Mount Sipylus, the *polis* is associated with extraordinary figures, whose names, like *agalmata* of memory, have enlightened a past as troubled as it is obscure. The accounts of its founding are mostly late, and based on a patchwork of traditions among which it is difficult to establish any order, but all of these curiously agree in awarding the city a particular prestige and an enviable territorial position.

In the speeches of Aelius Aristides, who chose Smyrna as his adopted homeland, it figures as a city favoured by the gods.[2] The *polis* had also embraced the Athenian Theseus as founder, and was competing with many others for the position of Homer's birthplace.[3] In later times, other prominent figures were inscribed in its memory: first and foremost Alexander the Great, to whom the sources of the Imperial age attributed the refounding of the city, on the other side of the river Meles.

Less glorious and idyllic is the portrait conveyed by more ancient sources: Herodotus' work, for instance, provides us the image of a *polis* contended by the Aeolian and Ionian worlds, and which was conquered through deceit by a group of inhabitants in exile from the nearby Ionian Colophon, who drove out the Smyrnaeans after allowing them to keep only their movable belongings.[4] From this moment, Smyrna was populated by the exiles from Colophon and then became fully Ionian.[5] Because of its new civic composition, it probably came to be represented within the *Panionion*, the confederation of Ionian cities in Asia Minor, through the

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2 Aristid. *Or.* 17.3–6; Aristid. *Or.* 18.2. The translation of the complete works of Aelius Aristides is Behr 1981.

3 Aristid. *Or.* 17.5; Aristid. *Or.* 15; Aristid. *Or.* 18.2; Aristid. *Or.* 21.8. A list of the seven cities that disputed the status of Homer's homeland is reported in *Anth. Pal.* 16.298.

4 Hdt. 1.150.

5 Smyrna is referred to as fully Ionian in 688 BCE, when it is remembered as the homeland of Onomastus, the successful boxer of the Olympian Games: Paus. 5.8.7. On Smyrna's passage to the Ionian dodecapolis: Moggi 2005.

duplication of the Colophonian vote.[6] Afterwards the city was destroyed by the Lydian Alyattes around 600 BCE, and then gradually came under the control of the Persian Empire.[7]

Strabo reports, in the first century BCE, that before their city's refounding the Smyrnaeans were a dispersed people, forced to live *komedon*, in villages. He was not aware of the tradition that attributed the new founding to Alexander, and instead assigns to his successors the initiative of the city's reunification: first to Antigonus Monophthalmus and then to Lysimachus. Finally, the geographer states unequivocally that the city was "the most beautiful" of that time.[8] The notion that the rebirth of Smyrna was due to Alexander began instead to circulate in the Imperial age. Pliny the Elder relates that it was founded by an Amazon and *restituta* by Alexander,[9] but it is Pausanias, in the seventh book of his *Periegesis*, who reports this episode in detail, affirming that Alexander was encouraged by the divine epiphany of the Nemeseis to lead the Smyrnaeans to the new site and that, before moving, they requested advice from the oracle of Claros.

Starting from the analysis of the Pausanias passage, this paper aims at investigating the role played by specific cults and sanctuaries in the process of the Smyrnaean refounding, in order to show in what terms these contributed to the construction of a new memory and to the reshaping of a new identity.

2 A Glorious Past for Smyrna

Pausanias includes the account of Smyrna's rebirth in a long digression on the Ionian and Aeolian colonisation in Asia Minor.[10] He stresses the profound gap between the city's ancient and painful past and its most recent and glorious one, which began when the arrival of Alexander the Great changed forever the fate of the *polis* and its position among the other cities of the area. He reports the visit of the Macedonian ruler in the following words:

Σμύρναν δὲ ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα πόλεσιν οὖσαν Αἰολέων καὶ οἰκουμένην τῆς χώρας, καθ' ἃ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι πόλιν [ἣν] καλοῦσιν ἀρχαίαν, Ἴωνες ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ὁρμηθέντες ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς

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6 *Schol.* Pl. *Tht.* 153c. On the structure and functioning of the Ionian Confederacy: Cassola 1958; Moggi 1976, 40–43, n°11; Ragone 1986 esp. 177.

7 Hdt. 1.16. Sources on the synoecism between Smyrna and Colophon are collected in Moggi 1976, 40–43 n°11.

8 "After Smyrna had been rased by the Lydians, its inhabitants continued for about four hundred years to live in villages (κωμηδόν). Then they were reassembled into a city (ἀνήγειρεν) by Antigonus, and afterwards by Lysimachus, and their city is now the most beautiful of all (καὶ νῦν ἐστι καλλίστη τῶν πασῶν)[. . .]", Str. 14.1.37, transl. Jones.

9 Plin. *HN* 5.118.

10 For an analysis of this digression within the framework of Pausanias work, see Moggi 1996.

Αἰολεῖς ἔσχον· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἴωνες μετέδοσαν Σμυρναίοις τοῦ ἐν Πανιωνίῳ συλλόγου. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Φιλίππου τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλεως ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς κατ' ὄψιν ὀνείρατος· Ἀλέξ- ανδρον γὰρ θηρεύοντα ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Πάγῳ, ὡς ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας, ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς Νεμέ- σεων λέγουσιν ἱερόν, καὶ πηγῇ τε ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ πλατάνῳ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πεφυκυίᾳ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ πλατάνῳ καθεύδοντι κελεύειν φασὶν αὐτῷ τὰς Νεμέσεις ἐπιφανείσας πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκίζειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐς αὐτὴν Σμυραίους ἀναστήσαντα ἐκ τῆς προτέρας· ἀποστέλ- λουσιν οὖν ἐς Κλάρον θεωροὺς οἱ Σμυρναῖοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων σφίσιν ἐρησομένους, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεός· τρὶς μάκαρες κεῖνοι καὶ τετράκις ἄνδρες ἔσονται, οἳ Πάγον οἰκήσουσι πέρην ἱεροῖο Μέλητος.

οὕτω μετῳκίσαντο ἐθελονταὶ καὶ δύο Νεμέσεις νομίζουσιν ἀντὶ μιᾶς καὶ μητέρα αὐταῖς φασιν εἶναι Νύκτα, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοί γε τῇ ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι θεῷ πατέρα λέγουσιν εἶναι Ὠκεανόν.

Smyrna, one of the twelve Aeolian cities, built on that site which even now they call the old city, was seized by Ionians who set out from Colophon and displaced the Aeolians; subse- quently, however, the Ionians allowed the Smyrnaeans to take their place in the general as- sembly at Panionium. The modern city was founded by Alexander, the son of Philip, in accordance with a vision in a dream. It is said that Alexander was hunting on Mount Pagus, and that after the hunt was over he came to a sanctuary of the Nemeses, and found there a spring and a plane-tree in front of the sanctuary, growing over the water. While he slept under the plane-tree it is said that the Nemeses appeared and bade him found a city there and to remove into it the Smyrnaeans from the old city. So the Smyrnaeans sent ambassadors to Cla- rus to make inquiries about the circumstance, and the god made answer: –
"Thrice, yes, four times blest will those men be
Who shall dwell in Pagus beyond the sacred
Meles."

So they migrated of their own free will, and believe now in two Nemeses instead of one, saying that their mother is Night, while the Athenians say that the father of the goddess in Rhamnus is Ocean. (Paus. 7.5, 1–3, transl. Jones)

In the first part of the account it is easy to perceive a clear echo of a remote past when Smyrna was still Aeolian. Later, when occupied by the Colophonians, it was accepted in the assembly of the *Panionion*. Pausanias then moves abruptly to the events of the fourth century BCE: he describes Alexander, wandering on Mount Pagus after a hunt, finding rest in the shade of a plane tree, near a spring, exactly where the sanctuary of the Nemeseis was located. An epiphany of the deities comes in a dream to the sleeping king, bidding him to found a city right in that place and to lead the Smyrnaeans there. But the Smyrnaeans themselves, not considering Alexander's vision sufficient, request a confirmation of the oneiric message from the oracle of Claros, whose sanctuary was in the territory of Colophon, twelve kilometres from the city.[11] The divine voice promises the inhabitants of the new *polis* wealth and prosperity. Pausanias' account follows here a typical narrative pattern, already

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[11] The first oracular response of Claros reported by the sources is precisely that mentioned by Pau- sanias concerning the refounding of Smyrna. Traces of these divine verses have been identified in an honorary decree from the second century BCE: see *I.Smyrna* II, 1 647=*SEG* 18.495; 26.1296.

used in similar situations, for example the refounding of Messene in 369 BCE.[12] Nevertheless, apart from the repetition of an oft-used model (dream-oracle-foundation), the rebirth of Smyrna in Hellenistic times does not seem to have any of the intensity that accompanied the reintegration of the Messenians into their native land.

The dramatic emphasis Pausanias uses in his description of the Messenians' *pathemata*[13] is absent from the charming and delicate account of the Smyrnaean rebirth, which one might have thought should also have included some painful events. It is evident, however, that we are dealing with a tradition that was invented in order to fabricate a glorious past for a city[14] that in the Imperial age was a flourishing centre of Greek culture.[15] The seat of a library, gymnasium, *musaion*,[16] and medical school,[17] Smyrna was also the favourite place for the orators of the second Sophistic, including Polemon and Aelius Aristides himself.[18] Loyalty towards Rome was rewarded through significant privileges such as, for instance, the exemption from taxes, internal autonomy, the repeated designation of the city as a seat of Imperial *neokoria*,[19] and, last but not least, support for the reconstruction of the *polis* destroyed by a terrible earthquake in 178 CE.[20] On this occasion, the orator Aelius Aristides once again evokes the extraordinary beauty of a city wounded by an unforeseeable catastrophe, in comparison with which other painful episodes, deeply impressed in Greek memory, such as the Trojan War, Athens' disastrous expedition to Sicily, or the destruction of Thebes, appear to be meaningless.[21] The orator directly addresses the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, who had visited the city some time before,[22] to urge them to intervene in the reconstruction of the city, in a letter whose tenor reveals his close relationship with the Imperial elites. Rome's support came quickly, so much so that Aelius Aristides, a few years later, after the reconstruction works had already begun, observes in the *Palinodia* how the city, founded by Theseus and brought to its present condition by Alexander,

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12 Paus. 4.20.4. On Pausanias and the Messenians, I cite Bonanno 2013 with further bibliographic references.

13 Cf. for instance, Paus. 4.6.1; 8.4; 13.5; 14.5; 21.9–10, 26.6; 27.9–11; 29.13.

14 The concept of "invention of tradition" was initially explored, even if in relation to other historical contexts, in the essaies collected by Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

15 Broughton 1938, 750–752; Klose 1987, 5.

16 Robert 1994, 9.

17 Str. 12.8.20; 14.1.37.

18 On Smyrna as centre of the Second Sophistic, see Franco 2005, esp. 361–368. On Polemon and the Smyrnaeans, Campanile 1999, 275–285.

19 On the grant of *neokoria* to Smyrna and more in general on this privilege, see Burrell 2004, esp. 38–54. More specifically about the administrative functioning of its relationship with Rome, Dmitriev 2005, 246–265.

20 On the earthquake and its chronology, see Cadoux 1938, 279, n. 3; *I. Smyrna* II, 1, n. 628; Franco 2005, 471–474; on Imperial aid to cities destroyed by natural disasters, Winter 1998.

21 Aristid. *Or.* 18.7.

22 Aristid. *Or.* 19.3.

while recognising two *archegetides* now desires a pair of founders (ἐπόθει δ' ἄρα καὶ ἡ τῆς πόλεως φύσις οἰκιστὰς διττοὺς, δύο τὰς ἀρχηγέτιδας νέμουσα).[23] By these words the orator is undoubtedly referring to the two emperors and the two goddesses of Alexander's dream, which had been portrayed for the first time on the reverse of a bronze coin under Marcus Aurelius thirty years earlier, in 147 CE.[24] The same scene is represented on the reverse of other coins, under Gordian III and Philip the Arab (242–249 CE).[25]

The relationship between the scene engraved on these coins and Pausanias' accounts is self-evident; it seems indeed to be the figurative representation of the Periegete's description. An analysis of its iconography provides further information: we see a languid Alexander alone under the shade of a tree, leaning on his shield. Two divine figures stand over him and face each other, wearing a *chiton* and *himation*, and covered with headdresses. A *bucranium* – as it has been interpreted[26] – seems to suggest a sanctuary setting as well as the performance of sacrificial rites that must have accompanied the founding of the new city (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: *The dream of Alexander at Smyrna. Staatliche Münzsammlung*, München. Photo Nicolai Kästner.

In comparison to the scene on the coin, however, Pausanias' account adds two important pieces of information, which have to be examined here: first, it notes the role of the Claros oracle in confirming the legitimacy of the Smyrnaeans' move to

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23 Aristid. *Or.* 20.20.
24 Klose 1987, 29; Taf. 39–40 (R1–R13). Obv.: ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, Rev.: ΘΕΥΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΣ.
25 Klose 1987, 29; Taf. 52 (R14); Taf. 54 (R1).
26 Dahmen 2007, 83, n. 192.

their new territory and, second, it emphasises the peculiarity of the Smyrnaean cult, in which not one but rather two Nemeseis were worshipped.

3 The Oracle of Claros and the Sanctuary of the Nemeseis

In Pausanias' account, the epiphany of the Nemeseis and the response of the Claros oracle appear as not perfectly aligned but merely as overlapping in the storyline: as observed by Herbert W. Parke, the oracular response did not contain any reference to the two deities or their divine command, but only a prediction about the wealthy future of the Smyrnaean people in the new territory.[27] This almost imperceptible gap between the two different phases of the foundation could be interpreted as an indication of a tradition that was built up through successive stratifications, and only later brought together in the synthesis of the *Periegesis*.[28] An attempt to contextualise the different narrative units of this account may highlight the simultaneous interaction of different memories which contributed to the construction of the Smyrnaean past and support us in the understanding of the cult of the two Nemeseis. Above all, the role attributed to the oracle of Claros may well be understood in light of Smyrna's claim to be part of the Ionian dodecapolis, attested already in Herodotus.[29]

The historian mentions the wish of the Smyrnaeans to participate in the *Panionion*, which originally gathered, in Archaic times,[30] around the sanctuary of Poseidon *Helikonios* at Mycale.[31] In the first half of the fourth century BCE, the religious centre at Mycale was gradually abandoned because of several conflicts in the region, which obliged the Ionians to move the celebration of the *Panionia* to Ephesos.[32] The cult was later reactivated on a territory controlled by the newly rebuilt Priene,[33] after the

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27 Parke 1985, 127–128.

28 A very persuasive reading of Alexander's dream as a foundation myth of the new Smyrna has been proposed by Kuhn 2012.

29 Hdt. 1.143.

30 The constitution of the Ionian confederacy has been variously dated by scholars: for a summary of the several suggestions, see Paganoni 2014, 46–47.

31 Hdt. 1.148.

32 D.S. 15.49.1–4. For the identification of these conflicts: Paganoni 2014, 49.

33 Scholars have identified at Otomatik Tepe, near the village of Güzelçamli, on the slope of Mount Mycale, the location of the *Panionion* since the classical period. The location of the archaic *Panionion* is still debated: cf. on this topic Kleiner/Hommel/ Müller-Wiener 1967, 18–45, Herda 2006 and, more recently, Lohmann/Kalaitzoglou/Lüdorf 2017, 40. For a *status quaestionis* on the location of the *Panionion,* see Biagetti 2008; Horster 2013, 178 n. 3. On the role of the Prieneans and Prienean priests in the Ionian festivals, see Strab. 8.7.2; Strab. 14.1.20; Horster 2013, *passim*.

arduous recovery of the *aphidrymata*[34] from the ancient altars in Helike, in Achaia, former homeland of the Ionians.[35] Claros, for its part, also enjoyed an illustrious past, closely linked to that of Apollo at Delphi, of which it represented a branch of sorts in Asia Minor.[36] In the tradition circulating during the Hellenistic period, thanks to the poems of Nicander of Colophon, poet and priest at Claros, the sanctuary there was considered the first point of arrival of the Ionian colonisation, where the preliminary partitioning of the land among the colonists took place.[37] Vitruvius, in a very controversial passage of his work *De architectura*, reports that the sanctuary of Apollo *Panionios* was the first built by the thirteen colonies on the coast of Asia Minor, which were led by the Athenians and Ion, who gave the name to the entire region.[38] It is difficult to establish whether Vitruvius' reference to Apollo *Panionios* rather than Poseidon as the ancestral deity of the Ionians is to be interpreted as an oversight by a late author or a mistake in the philological transmission[39] or, as has been more reasonably assumed, as a reflection of the growing prestige of the oracular centre of Claros since the Hellenistic period.[40] Its deity seemed indeed to be worshipped also in Athens, as testified by an Attic inscription from the first century BCE on an altar consecrated to *Apollon Aguieus Prostaterios Patroios Puthios Klarios Panionios*.[41] Moreover, Vitruvius specifies that Smyrna was not originally among these Ionian cities founded on the Athenian initiative, but was only later integrated into the *Panionion*.

It is evident that Claros' positive answer for the founding of the new Smyrna thus provides a definitive solution for the aspirations of its citizens. This solution includes the consent of the Colophonians, former conquerors of Smyrna, in whose

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34 The *aphidrymata* were probably reproductions on a small scale of the ancient altars. On their symbolic meaning, see Bonnet 2009.

35 This episode is reported by and by D.S. 15.49 and Str. 8.7.2. An analysis of these events is in Prandi 1989; Paganoni 2014, 49–50.

36 On the relationship between Claros and Delphi, see Sakellariou 1958, 153–154; Ragone 1986, 183–186; Ragone 2006, 62–63; Mongiello 2017, 198–200.

37 Cf. Nic. *Al.* 9–11 and *Schol.* Nic. *Al.* 9–11. On the testimony of Nicander, see Sakellariou 1958, 151–152; Ragone 1986, 185–186; Ragone 2006, 65 n. 205.

38 Vitruvius (4.1.4) adds that Smyrna was accepted among the members of the Ionian League thanks to Attalus and Arsinoe (*regio Attali and Arsinoe beneficio*). As commonly assumed, the text should probably be corrected by reading Lysimachus, husband of Arsinoe, instead of Attalus. On Smyrna and Lysimachus with respect to the Vitruvius passage, see Franco 1990, 115–117, and 1993, 315–317. Ragone 1986, 205 considers that the substitution of Attalus for Lysimachus in the Vitruvian testimony shows that the Roman author uses a source dating from a period in which the ruler of Pergamon had established his influence over the Ionian cities and had consolidated his relations with Smyrna and Claros, as the statues in honour of the Attalids seem to prove.

39 This is the opinion of Cassola 1958, 162, n. 28.

40 Ragone 1986, 186. On the importance of Claros in Hellenistic and Roman times, see Mac Sweeney 2013, 111.

41 *IG* II/III[3] 4. 1764 ll. 2–3.

territory the sanctuary fell, to the refounding of the city,[42] but also acknowledges their clear ethnic belonging and completely obliterates their Aeolian past.[43] The Smyrnaeans, for their part, never ceased laying claim to this kinship with the Ionian world and especially with Athens: the reference to Theseus during an embassy sent to the Roman emperor Tiberius in 26 CE, in order to request his agreement to the building of a temple in his honour, is a significant example, as are the several allusions to the relationship with Athens in the orations of Aelius Aristides.[44] As Tacitus reports,[45] in a shortlist of eleven cities coming to Rome to compete for the privilege of *neokoria*, claiming among their merits greater antiquity and their relationship with the Roman people, Smyrna prevailed: its ambassadors, after having quickly mentioned their ancestors, and Theseus among them, recalled incisively their constant loyalty to Rome. No reference was made to the cult of the two Nemeseis,[46] to which the *Palinodia* of Aelius Aristides would later express a strong identarian meaning for Smyrna, as attested also by the gift of two statues of the deities sent to the city by Emperor Trajan.[47]

Given this complicated framework, it is clear that any reconstruction of the background of Smyrna's foundation tradition involving Alexander and, above all, any explanation of the "originality"[48] of the cult of the double Nemesis under whose protection the rebirth of the city was placed, still remain problematic, in spite of all previous attempts.[49]

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42 As incisively stated by Mac Sweeney 2013, 156, explaining the relationship between this *polis* and the sanctuary: "Claros was synonymous with Colophon, just as the Artemision was synonymous with Ephesus".

43 The tradition of Smyrna's original belonging to the Ionian world probably arose in the Hellenistic period. Strabo (14.1.4) for instance seems to follow this tradition when he states that the *polis* was founded by the Ephesians coming from a district of their city called Smyrna, and he adds that Ephesos itself was originally named Smyrna, from the name of the homonymous Amazon. On this latter aspect, see Moscati-Castelnuovo, 1999, 160–161. On the Strabo passage, see Ragone 2006, 102–103. Moreover, according to Philostr. *VA* 4.5, *Panionia* were also celebrated in Smyrna in the first century CE.

44 See for instance: Aristid. *Or.* 17.6; Aristid. *Or.* 18.2; Aristid. *Or.* 20.5; Aristid. *Or.* 21.4. On the role of Theseus in the construction of the Smyrnaean past, Franco 2005, 433–434.

45 Tac. 4.55–6.

46 According to Kuhn 2012, 20: "In the time of Tiberius the idea of Alexander as founder (*ktistēs*) had obviously not yet taken shape in the collective memory of Smyrnaeans". One may argue that the reason for the omission was perhaps that one of the requirements for obtaining the privilege of *neokoria* was having the most ancient lineage, which could have been more effectively claimed by referring to Theseus than to Alexander, who on the contrary would have evoked the relatively young history of the city.

47 D. Chr. *Or.* 40.14.

48 As Fleischer 1978 has shown, goddesses worshipped in pairs occur also in other cities in Greece and in Syria. Nemeseis are represented as a couple also in Ephesos, in a dedication probably belonging to a Smyrnaean, who wished to worship in another city the goddesses of his homeland.

49 See for instance Kuhn 2012.

4 Two Nemeseis at Smyrna

The peculiarity of the Smyrnaean cult of the two Nemeseis has raised a huge debate among scholars, who have variously interpreted it[50] either as an allusion to the positive and negative aspects of retribution, or as the simultaneous devotion to both the European and the Asian Nemesis,[51] or finally as the association of the cult of the goddess in the old and the new city into a single cult.[52] Unfortunately it is not easy to provide a definitive solution.

Even if we grant that this duplicated Nemesis aimed at combining past and present in the new poleic entity, this does not seem sufficient for explaining the association with Alexander and the spreading of this tradition only in the Imperial era. Furthermore, Pausanias' passage states clearly that the shrine of the two Nemeseis existed before Alexander's arrival in the region, and up to the rebirth of the city at the new site.[53]

In order to identify the elements that contributed to the success of this tradition, it is necessary to consider first of all the importance of Nemesis in the region and the profile of the goddess; secondly, the tradition's relationship with the personal story of Alexander; and, finally, the reasons that may have led the city, in the Imperial age, to promote the cult of Nemesis.

The worship of Nemesis must have been quite deep-rooted in Asia Minor. Pausanias seems to project the Smyrnaean cult of the Nemeseis far back in time when he states that the Smyrnaean *agalmata* were surmounted by two golden Charites made by Bupalus, a craftsman of the sixth century BCE.[54]

Furthermore, in the first book of the *Periegesis*, he gives precise details on the iconography of the goddess, stating that neither the Athenian statue nor the *xoana* of Smyrna have wings, because only later artists gave her wings, persuaded as they were that she manifests herself in matters of love.[55] The expression *ta hagiotata xoana*

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50 A *status quaestionis* of the different positions can be found in Coman 1931, 28, n. 2; Herter 1935, 2363 ff.; Cadoux 1938, 220–221.

51 Schweitzer 1931, 203; Cadoux 1938, 220–221.

52 Farnell 1896, II 494; *contra* Klose 1987, 28, who states that the duplication of the goddess did not have any particular meaning for the essence (*das Wesen*) of the cult, since in Smyrnaean coinage Nemesis is represented both as a single figure and as a couple.

53 Cf. *supra* p.873.

54 "At Smyrna, for instance, in the sanctuary of the Nemeses, above the images have been dedicated Graces of gold, the work of Bupalus (ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Νεμέσεων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων χρυσοῦ Χάριτες ἀνάκεινται, τέχνη Βουπάλου)" (Paus. 9.35.6, transl. Jones). On Bupalus and his chronology, see the discussion in Cellini 1994, 90–95.

55 "Neither this nor any other ancient statue of Nemesis has wings, for not even the holiest wooden images (τὰ ἁγιώτατα ξόανα) of the Smyrnaeans have them, but later artists, convinced that the goddess manifests herself most as a consequence of love, give wings to Nemesis as they do to Love (οἱ δὲ ὕστερον – ἐπιφαίνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν θεὸν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρᾶν ἐθέλουσιν – ἐπὶ τούτῳ Νεμέσει πτερὰ ὥσπερ Ἔρωτι ποιοῦσι)", Paus. 1.33.7, transl. Jones.

("the holiest *xoana*"), used to describe the Smyrnaean statues, reveals Pausanias' assumption that these were very ancient artefacts, because the adjective *hagios* is mainly used in relation to monuments whose belonging to a remote past, a time of greater proximity between gods and men, made them particularly venerable.[56]

In the seventh book, at the end of his *excursus* on the refounding of Smyrna, he returns to Athens, further emphasising the differences in the worship of Nemesis in comparison to the Smyrnaean cult, which included two divine figures instead of one, and ascribing to the latter cult a belief in the deities' descent from Night rather than Ocean.[57] The indication of Night as the mother of the two Smyrnaean Nemeseis must be interpreted in the context of Hesiod's verses. In the *Theogony*, Nemesis is in fact evoked within a sequence of obscure forces born from Night, as *pema thnetoisi brotoisi*, a misfortune for mortal men. These mostly include the afflictions that shape humans and impose limits on their lives; they are forces that define the human temporal and physical spheres of action and outline their vulnerability.[58] Nemesis is a plague for the human race precisely because of her name, which derives from the Greek verb *nemo* and contains an allusion to the correct division of the parts that were broken by the Promethean ruse, which in turn condemned mankind to a life of grief and led to the definitive separation between mortals and immortals. In the same manner, as Night represents the limits of the *kosmos* in the Hesiodic *Theogony* and constitutes the space for all those forces that threaten it, the offspring she generates largely defines the aspects that keep man away from divine grace.[59]

The profile of Nemesis drawn already by Hesiod is therefore that of a double-faced power, whose effectiveness is realised in the simultaneous interaction of warning and containment. This duality must have found fertile ground in the Aeolian context, where Hesiod's work was certainly well-known, as shown by the poet's cursory references to his father's journeys from Aeolian Cumae.[60] Moreover,

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56 Starting from an analysis of the vocabulary of the *Periegesis* and in particular of the seventeen occurrences of *hagios* in the work, Pirenne Delforge 2006 has shown that the preference accorded by Pausanias to the antiquity of a place or an object is an expression of piety towards the gods and indicative of a time when the proximity between mortals and immortals was closer: this is a view of the past that V. Pirenne Delforge defines as "religieusement orientée"(p. 226).

57 "So they (*scil.* The Smyrnaeans) migrated of their own free will, and believe in two Nemeses instead of one, saying that their mother is Night, while the Athenians say that the father of the goddess in Rhamnus is Ocean (δύο Νεμέσεις νομίζουσιν ἀντὶ μιᾶς καὶ μητέρα αὐταῖς φασιν εἶναι Νύκτα, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοί γε τῇ ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι θεῷ πατέρα λέγουσιν εἶναι Ὠκεανόν)", Paus. 7.5.7, transl. Jones slightly modified.

58 Hes. *Th*. 211–225, esp. 223.

59 The inclusion of Nemesis among these powers constitutes – even with her threatening presence – an instance of regulation necessary for human social life and for the survival of mortals on earth. I have dealt with the figure and role of Nemesis in Hesiod's works in Bonanno 2016.

60 Hes. *Op*. 631–638.

Herodotus, another author from Asia Minor, gives us more precise indications about this divinity's mode of action. At the very beginning of his work, he programmatically declares his intention to deal with both small and great cities, being fully aware that those that were once great had become small and vice versa, since, as he remarks, "human prosperity never continues in the same place".[61] The emblematic example of this changing fate, that suddenly and radically overturns human life, is undoubtedly the Lydian ruler Croesus, son of Aliattes, who once destroyed Ionian Smyrna. This sovereign, ingenuously confident in the power of his wealth, is the only figure in Herodotus' work expressly to face the catastrophic effects of the *ek theou nemesis megale* also announced through an oneiric vision, which triggers a sequence of reversals that will carry the Lydian kingdom to collapse.[62]

This evidence now allows us to postulate the widespread perception of Nemesis as a fearsome divine power with a dark and violent side, whose action is intrinsic to the human life and whose effects may be contained and even avoided through a correct code of behaviour. This sense may also apply to the verses celebrating Nemesis in the *Orphic Hymns*, a collection of poems dated to the second century CE, which were probably intended to accompany the celebration of nocturnal rituals performed by a Dionysiac association,[63] perhaps performed in Pergamum in Asia Minor.[64] In *Hymn* 61, devoted to Nemesis, the goddess represents a form of justice able to oversee the thoughts and words of mortals, urging them to a moderate and thoughtful life.[65] Nemesis was thus a figure that firmly inhabited the religious imagination of Asia Minor.[66] In Smyrnaean coinage she appears on several occasions in

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61 Hdt. 1.5. Transl. Godley.

62 Hdt.1.34.1.

63 Graf 2009.

64 Kern 1910 suggested Pergamon as place of origin for the *Orphic Hymns*. A *status quaestionis* on the different hypotheses proposed on this problem by scholars can be found in Ricciardelli 2000, XXVIII-XXX. A new insight has been offered by Lebreton 2012 who, while not providing a definitive answer to the problem, persuasively suggests that the *pantheon* of a group of *mystes* like that in the *Orphic Hymns* did not necessarily correspond to the civic *pantheon* of a specific city in Asia Minor.

65 For an analysis of the portrait of Nemesis in the *Orphic Hymns*, see Bonanno 2021.

66 However, the first concrete record of a Nemesis cult in Asia Minor can only be found in a fragment quoted by Strabo from Antimachus of Colophon, a poet who lived in the fifth and fourth centuries (Str. 13.1.13=Antim. Fr. 131 Matthews). He relates that on the banks of the river Aesepus, in the Troas, there stood an altar to Nemesis, built by the king Adrastus and that here the goddess was worshipped under the name of Adrasteia. I have dealt with the question of the relationship between Nemesis and Adrasteia elsewhere (Bonanno 2020), but would like to emphasise here the substantial overlap between two deities who, until the fifth century, appeared to be worshipped independently of each other, but who were later found increasingly side by side, probably by dint of the attribution to them of liminal spheres of competence, which encouraged worshippers to evoke them as a single onomastic pair in an attempt to intercept the power of one and/or the other. This was a fact that must not have been unfamiliar to Pausanias, who originally came from those same areas. This is demonstrated by the cross-references that can be traced in his work between

the Imperial age, alone in winged form from the age of Nero, and in pairs, without wings, from the age of Domitian.[67]

5 Alexander and the Double Nemesis

In comparison to the threatening and intransigent portrayal of Nemesis that was circulating at the time, the description provided by Pausanias of the Smyrnaean cult gives us a different view of this divine power. The Nemeseis of Alexander's dream appear as benevolent figures that promise positive change and the city's rebirth.

Nevertheless, the closer parallel established by Pausanias with the Athenian Nemesis worshipped at Rhamnous triggers a comparison between these two cults, encouraging us to further explore our preliminary impression. The account of the *aition* of the dedication of the Nemesis statue in Rhamnous, identified by Pausanias in the support given by the goddess to the Athenians against the "barbarians" on the occasion of the battle of Marathon,[68] seems in fact to run, quite as a subtext, through the tale of Alexander's dream in the seventh book. The historical tradition that makes Nemesis a force at the Athenians's disposal against the "barbarians" is echoed in the storytelling that surrounded Alexander's expedition to Asia, which – as already proclaimed by his father Philip – sought to liberate the Greek cities of Asia Minor and to take revenge on the Persians for the devastation of their sanctuaries during the Persian Wars.[69] The first goal Alexander achieved in a very short time. A symbolic geography locates the initial clash between Alexander and the Persians on the so-called Adrasteia plain in the Troad where, according to Callisthenes of Olynthus, one of Alexander's historians, a cult of Nemesis was based.[70] This is

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the presentation of the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous in Attica and that of the divinities who appeared to Alexander in his dreams on the occasion of Smyrna's refounding, as pointed out above.

67 Klose 1987, 28–29.

68 "About sixty stades from Marathon as you go along the road by the sea to Oropus stands Rhamnus. The dwelling houses are on the coast, but a little way inland is a sanctuary of Nemesis, the most implacable deity to men of violence (ἣ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὑβρισταῖς ἐστιν ἀπαραίτητος). It is thought that the wrath of this goddess fell also upon the foreigners who landed at Marathon. For thinking in their pride that nothing stood in the way of their taking Athens, they were bringing a piece of Parian marble to make a trophy, convinced that their task was already finished. Of this marble Pheidias made a statue of Nemesis [. . .]", Paus. 1.33.2, transl. Jones.

69 D.S. 16.89.

70 Prandi 1985, 79. "This country was called 'Adrasteia' and 'Plain of Adrasteia,' in accordance with a custom whereby people gave two names to the same place, as 'Thebe' and 'Plain of Thebe,' and 'Mygdonia' and 'Plain of Mygdonia': According to Callisthenes, among others, Adrasteia was named after the king Adrastus, who was the first to found a temple of Nemesis", Kallisth. *FGrHist / BNJ* 124 F 28; Str. 13.1.13, transl. Jones.

where after the defeat of the "barbarian" troops on the shores of the river Granicus the mission for Greek freedom from the Persian yoke began. Alexander's celebration of this first victory over the Persians is immediately placed in continuity with the role that was once played by Athens. Plutarch reports that Alexander sent three hundred captured shields to Athens, along with an inscription celebrating the success of all the Greeks, with the exception of the Spartans, who had been absent at Marathon.[71]

According to the tradition elaborated in Smyrna, the city was among those affected by Alexander's road to liberation: here the conqueror was welcomed by the two Nemeseis, who are later represented in coinage, facing each other and in the act of bowing their heads to their chests, a gesture usually interpreted as "spitting on the bosom", which in literary sources often accompanies the invocation to the goddess.[72]

This practice seems to represent a spontaneous form of *deminutio capitis*, which the devotees of Nemesis impose on themselves in order to avoid punishment whenever they have dared to indulge in verbal or non-verbal expressions of arrogance.[73] The two figures on the coin are not simply copies of each other, but iconographically distinct in their attributes: one holds a bridle, the other a measuring stick; one therefore has the faculty to physically restrain, to limit action and speech, and to ensure full control of the passions, while the other suggests with her warning faculty the obligations to be followed. Both attributes certainly fall within the sphere of management and control of the passions and, above all, of power.[74] Moreover, the bridle seems to be particularly related to the individual story of Alexander and his relationship with Philip. Well-known is the episode when, in spite of his father's mistrust, Alexander managed to tame the particularly rebellious horse Bucephalus, making of it a devoted war partner for the following thirty years. When Philip saw his son being successful in such a difficult enterprise, he told him to look for a kingdom worthy of him, since Macedonia was too small.[75] The story can be seen as prefiguring the king's future achievements in

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71 Plu. *Alex.* 16.17; Arr. *An.* 1.16.7.

72 Call. fr. 687 Pfeiffer; Teoc. 6.39; *Anth. Graec.* 12.229; *Anth. Graec.* 12.251; Mesom. *Hymn.* 3.12. On the Nemesis gesture, see Hornum 1993, 12 and *passim*.

73 Bonanno 2020 § 35.

74 On the attributes of the Nemeseis, cf. Klose 1987, 29 and Dahmen 2007, 83, n. 192. Measuring and weighing are activities typically related to the exercise of authority. This close relationship between measuring and power has been analysed by Grimaudo 1998, 156–159. The bridle, or, to use the Greek term *chalinos*, often appears in the sources in the context of Nemesis (*Anth. Pal.* 16.223; Mesom. *Hymn.* 3.3.1; Vett. Val. 1.261.29), and is also undoubtedly a symbol of power. As stated by Villari 2001, 12 the *chalinos* as a divine gift (cf. S. *OC* 714) symbolizes power. It furthermore has an ambiguous nature that lends itself to multiple interpretations: either it can be considered as an instrument of violence and oppression in the exercise of power, or as a device of control against those who, incapable of withstanding the bridle, are equally unable to adhere to the code of aristocratic ethics, and are therefore automatically marked as *hybristai* (p. 67).

75 Plu. *Alex.* 6; 61.

Asia Minor and the ability with which he dealt with the delicate and unpredictable context of the former Persian Empire.

It is thus two complementary divine figures that appear in Alexander's dreams. Their different attributes allow us to postulate the profile of a composite power that, in the plural form of the name, does not merely reveal a generic doubling, but a concrete amplification of its range of competences:[76] we are dealing with a rigorous and highly complex "syntax" in which no detail is irrelevant.[77] The two Nemeseis, facing each other, each reflects the image of the other, and they seem to emphasize the importance of a didascalic message aimed at recommending to mortals that they should be careful in their interaction with this divine entity.

Another meaningful detail is that the epiphany of the two Nemeseis occurs in the shade of a plane tree, near a spring, in a setting clearly alluding to the oracular function of this tree, attested already in the *Iliad* by Calchas' inauspicious prediction about the ten-year duration of the Trojan war, a mythical archetype of every Greek expedition against the "barbarians".[78] In addition, plane trees frequently provide peaceful sceneries for philosophical conversations,[79] which a ruler like Alexander, who combined in himself military virtue and philosophy,[80] would certainly have appreciated.

In this lovely location full of symbols, the Macedonian king's encounter with the two Nemeseis takes place. Like the Athenians against the Persians at Marathon, he is favoured by the same power, which appears to him in an augmented form so as to emphasize his ability to accelerate history and to elicit unexpected changes from fate.

Plutarch clearly speaks of Alexander as a man of the *nemesis*, recalling the words pronounced by Darius III when pursued and trapped by an enemy whose temperance and magnanimity he was forced to acknowledge due to the fairness shown towards his wife:

> [. . .] but if, then, a fated time has now come, due to the *nemesis* and the vicissitudes of things (ὀφειλόμενος νεμέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ), and the sway of the Persians must cease, grant that no other man may sit upon the throne of Cyrus but Alexander.
>
> (Plu. *Alex.* 30.4, transl. Perrin, slightly modified)

The great Macedonian ruler is therefore responsible for the definitive overthrow of the Achaemenid Empire, and champion of the Athenians' long-awaited revenge, who are evoked several times during the expedition in Asia.[81]

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76 On the double representations of gods in Greece, see Hadzisteliou Price 1971.

77 Wallensten 2014, on the dedications to double or composite deities, speaks specifically of syntax.

78 Hom. *Il.* 2.307.

79 Cf. for instance, Pl. *Phdr.* 230b. On plane trees in the ancient world, see Giammatteo 2007.

80 Cf. Plu. *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute* 4=*Mor.* 327f-328b.

81 The ancient sources report for instance that Alexander avenged the impiety of the Persian Xerxes against the Attic temples by burning down the royal palace in Susa, after having listened to the claims of the Athenian *hetaira* Thaïs, (Plu. *Alex.* 38; D.S. 17.72). Some time later, having reached the extreme limits of the Persian Empire and preparing for the clash with the Indian ruler Porus, he arrived on the banks of

After all, Alexander's expedition merely reverses the fate of the Greeks, in particular the Athenians, and the Persians by conquering the throne that once had belonged to Cyrus the Great. Alexander is a ruler who is keen to manage multiple turns of fate and to elicit the epiphany of a double Nemesis able to change good into evil and vice versa. In fact, the deity is presented in exactly these terms by the dream interpreter Artemidorus from Daldi, near Smyrna. In the section of his work devoted to the oneiric epiphanies of the gods, he writes:

> Nemesis is always good for those who live lawfully and moderate men and philosophers. [. . .]
> And some say that the goddess turns good things for the worse, and bad things for the better.
> (ἡ θεὸς αὕτη τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τρέπει, τὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον).
>
> <div align="right">(Art. <i>Oneir.</i> 2.37, transl. McCoy)</div>

6 Worshipping Nemeseis at Smyrna

At the end of this overview it is evident that, by placing the refounding of their city under the sign of Alexander and of a double Nemesis, the Smyrnaeans were merely redrawing the opaque image of a past that perhaps had never existed or was in any case too difficult to recover, and that could therefore only be invented. They made up a tradition that may have known different stages of elaboration and to which the process of Alexander's mythmaking might also gradually have contributed. In Hellenistic times, such a tradition, even if prestigious, must have been very ineffective for a city that claimed a role within the Ionian *koinon*, to which it could legitimately have aspired merely by asserting a direct lineage from Athens. This tale would have appeared equally inconvenient in the early Imperial age, when a reference to Alexander would have indicated a relatively recent history of the city. Various instances probably contributed to the formation of this legend with all its components, but its main purpose was to pursue a prominent position for the city in the highly competitive context of Asia Minor in the Imperial age.

Was it perhaps the city rulers' intention to claim the status of a *polis*, whose sanctuaries favoured their dreams of glory,[82] in imitation of other important centres like the nearby Pergamum or Ephesos?[83] Or was there an aspiration to represent oneself as a city of many lives, able to resist multiple turns of fate, a city of which the two

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the Hydaspes, which had become dangerous due to torrential rain, and cried: "O Athenians, can ye possibly believe what perils I am undergoing to win glory in your eyes?", Plu. *Alex.* 60, 1–3, transl. Perrin.

82 Cf. Weber 2015, 9–11.

83 As observed by Dmitriev 2005, 251, Smyrna could not compete with the cultural prestige of Pergamon, former capital of the Attalid kingdom, or with the administrative position of Ephesos, which was the seat of the Roman provincial governor, but by the time of the emperor Caracalla it was granted the title of "first of Asia in beauty and greatness and most brilliant and *metropolis* of Asia and thrice temple warden of the Augusti", as testified in *I.Smyrna* II, 665, 2–4 (214–215 CE).

Nemeseis *archegetides* were perhaps an effective representation that emphasized the resilience of its inhabitants? The city of Smyrna had to appeal to this resilience again when thirty years after the first coin with Alexander's dreamlike vision on the reverse and the effigy of another philosopher ruler, Marcus Aurelius, on the obverse, it was forced to reinvent itself in an arduous task of rebuilding, even if it was supported by the Roman emperors' usual generosity.[84]

Unfortunately, the ancient sources do not provide us with precise information about the worshipping practices devoted to these divine powers, and the evidence we do have is complex and problematic. Nevertheless, the few details we can get from the epigraphic and archaeological material agree in assigning these deities an absolute centrality in the city's religious life. The two Nemeseis were probably worshipped on the south of the *agora*, on the slopes of Mount Pagus in the city's largest sanctuary.[85] Athletic competitions were organized under their name, as shown by the occurrence of an agonothete of the *megalon Nemeseon*.[86] Their sanctuary was subject to enlargement works, which are mentioned in a dedication from the beginning of the third century CE.[87] Here, a certain Papinius, who in the inscription refers to himself as a philosopher, in the fulfilment of a vow to the *kurios Serapis*, under whom he had been *en katoche* (ἐγκατοχήσας), dedicated an *oikos*, probably on land granted by the Emperor Caracalla in the area of the *Nemeseion*, and he consecrated it to the *kuriai Nemeseis*. By repeatedly using the adjective *kurios*,[88] as an onomastic attribute for Serapis and the *Nemeseis*, Papinius was declaring the similarity of his relationships to the deities, to whom he evidently acknowledged an authority over

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84 Kuhn 2009 has showed in a very stimulating way how the construction of the Smyrnaean past by the city elites was able to articulate Greek memory as well as local traditions, and to foster efficient relations with the central government of Rome.

85 Robert 1974, 187 [=1960, 331]. The *Nemeseion* at Smyrne is mentioned twice in the Pausanias' *Periegesis* (7.5.1 and 9.35.6). Scholars have proposes several hypotheses about its localization. Cadoux 1938, 221, places it directly upon Mt. Pagus. Petzl (*I.Smyrna* II, 1, 628 suggests that the shrine bordered the *agora*. Further hypotheses are collected in Kiliç 2014, 840–841 fig. 7, who adds that the temple should have been located in the area of the theatre on the northern slopes of Mt. Pagus. The only iconographic representation of the *Nemeseion* is found on the reverse of a *cistophorus* from the Hadrianic period, which shows a tetrastyle temple on a three stepped podium, with the Nemeseis facing each other: Metcalf 1980, 31, n° 28 and 37, Plate 8, fig. 115.

86 *I.Smyrna* II, 1, 650 and 697. For a discussion on the *Nemeseia* in Smyrna, see Tataki 2009. For an overview of the onomastic attributes given to Nemesis, see Schweitzer 1931, 178–179.

87 *I.Smyrna* II, 1, 725. It should be noted that the inscription is known to us only through an apograph. For this reason the attribution to Smyrna, even though highly probable, cannot be considered certain.

88 On the use of the adjective *kurios*, see Chantraine 1968 *s.v.* κύριος, and, although in a different context, Campa 2019.

his own person, which perhaps should be understood in connection with his particular experience as *enkatochos*.[89]

In 250 CE, at the time of Decius' persecutions, the sanctuary of the Nemeseis, which probably also hosted the emperor's cult,[90] was the scene of a new affair that significantly marked the history of the city: the priest of the Catholic church Pionios, addressing the citizens and the little Jewish community in Smyrna, proudly declared his refusal to sacrifice to the goddesses and the emperor, and proclaimed his belief in the "living god" (θέος ζῶν).[91] On that occasion the city was able to resist the change that the devotees of the new religion would have brought about, and it ordered the martyrdom of Pionios, albeit reluctantly. Nevertheless, the two Nemeseis, once celebrated as an emblem of the rebirth of Smyrna, one of the major capitals of the Second Sophistic, had been definitively delivered by Christian rhetoric to the world of the idle *eidola*.[92]

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89 On the institution of the *katoche* in general, cf. Delekat 1964 and more specifically on this inscription p. 163–164; 171. On the relationship between Caracalla and the philosophers, see Motta 2016, with reference to the dedication of Papinius, 171–172.

90 *Mart. Pion.* 7.2; Robert 1994, 64–66; Dmitriev 2005, 258.

91 *Mart. Pion.* 3.4; *Mart. Pion.* 20.4.

92 Several occurrences of this word and its derivatives can be found in *Mart. Pion.* 4.9; *Mart. Pion.* 24; *Mart. Pion.* 13–14; *Mart. Pion.* 16.1.

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3.3 Rome and the West

Jörg Rüpke
Gods in the City

Recent research has pointed to the space-sensitivity of action, religious practices and ideas included.[1] This "spatial turn" is highly relevant for the understanding of Ancient Mediterranean polytheisms and their constructions of the divine, too, as the overall argument of this conference highlights. Within that wider framework, this paper addresses the narrower field of religious changes that can be seen as results of and factors in processes of urbanisation. The constellation of many people and a densely built environment leads people to experience a specific atmosphere of cities that is described as "promise" or "security". The numerous services provided and the communicative and topographical open spaces offered are a contrast to the countryside, the non-urban. The city promises the control of the natural environment.[2] This starkly contrasts with the specifically religious ascription of agency and even whimsy to divine agents. The gods are construed as an element beyond the controlled environment and targets of control at the same time. This chapter intents to analyse polytheistic practices and ideas regarding the divine against the background of these tensions, thus providing a different framework for observations on seemingly oddities of religion in the ancient city of Rome.

1 Historicizing the Gods

In his forty-one scrolls of the "Antiquities of Human and Divine Things", Marcus Terentius Varro (110–27 BCE) described the political institutions first, and only afterwards „the divine things". The rationale is preserved (as are many other quotations from the work, which has survived only in fragments) in the late antique theologian Augustine: "As the painter is rather earlier than the painting, the craftsman rather than the building, so also the civic institutions precede what has been established by the polities" (fr. 5 Cardauns = Aug. *civ*. 6,4). The gods as such precede the humans, but the selection of the deities to be worshipped, the institutions and rules of the cult, the cultic practice itself is based on political decisions that already presuppose the institutionalisation of the polity. Varro himself pursues this consideration in a thought experiment: "If he founded a new *civitas*, he would rather establish the gods and their names according to the prescription of nature.

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1 The chapter is part of a cooperation between the ERC project MAP and the Erfurt DFG Research Centre in Humanities (KFG) "Religion and Urbanity: Reciprocal Formations".
2 For the range of expectations and "aspirations", Keith 2014; van der Veer 2015b.

But being already among an ancient people, he must hold on to the history of names and epithets preserved by the ancients, as it has been handed down, and for this very purpose he will write down those things and search them out, that the multitude may rather revere than despise these gods" (fr. 12).

Varro's *civitas* is the Roman one and Augustine explicitly locates his birth and education in the city of Rome (Aug. *civ* . 4.1, p. 146). It is Augustine's localisation and identification of Varro's *civitas* with the physical fabric and the geographical space of the city of Rome that is the hermeneutical key for his reading of Varro. It is our reading of his projection and selection that give us the main access to the text lost in its integral form. It was, I presuppose, not Varro's intention to use *civitas* in order to stress a participatory community that inhabited a vast geographical space beyond the boundaries of the city. Instead, it was his reading of the city as a space lived (above all) by Roman citizens without being blind to the fact that the inhabitants of the same space went far beyond persons with Roman citizenship. I do not claim that Varro shared my intention to analyse the history of religion at Rome as an urban history. However, he can be read as a Roman of the first century BCE whose image of the city, whose, as I would like to say, urban imaginary,[3] or more simply: whose urbanity entailed the notion of religious institutions and their gods having an urban history. A history even that might be compared with developments and gods in other places.

Varro's fragmentary text is even more valuable as he was not the only one entertaining the opinion that the worship of the gods had a history. Other Romans were aware of this at the latest since the early second century BCE.[4] Cult foundations and cults were remembered and could often be linked to memories of other, political, epidemic or military, events. These memories were not always reliable in a historical-critical sense. But especially where fictitious history, that is, history constructed later was involved, the importance of the religious framework of historical memory becomes particularly clear: after all, there would have been alternatives to a religious associations of such "events".

In the following I will focus on the history of the stabilization of notions of the divine in contexts of urban settlements with their characteristics of density of living as well as interaction. Thus, I will not only enlarge Varro's perspective, but even more set him into a larger context of city-induced religious change. More precisely, my interest is in the development of polytheism as an urban history.[5] The term polytheism refers to religious beliefs that assume the existence of several superhuman beings who are conceptualized by the human protagonists as belonging to a class of "gods". Typically, its characteristics are supposed to include an even more complex

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3 On the notion used by Castoriadis see Bloomfield 2006.

4 See Cancik 2001; Rüpke 2014.

5 For polytheism in an inter-urban development, Berthelet, Van Haeperen 2021; see also Bonnet *et al*. 2017. Cf. for a more neo-structuralist approach Pirenne-Delforge 2020.

symbolic arrangement, as sketched by Burkhard Gladigow in his analysis of structural problems of polytheistic religions: "'Polytheism' denotes a form of religion that assumes a plurality of person-like gods as acting. This acting is conceptualized as interaction among the gods and as acting upon the 'world' and concerning mankind".[6] This definition stipulates that these gods are seen not only as objects of cult but subjects and factors of the universe. In polytheistic frameworks the gods' impact on human life, the fact that their acting could be experienced in human life, cannot be reduced to only one global and ultimate principle: Instead, the model of explanation available for human experience of contingency, is the activity of not totally transparent, not totally fixed divine agents, that – in certain circumstances – could even be in conflict with each other. These assumptions in modern research on polytheism have typically been aligned with the assumption of a naming system which combines a limited range of names with local or occasional cognomens in order to respecify the large divine powers. "Mapping ancient polytheism" has questioned these very assumptions[7] and I will try to contribute to this enterprise. Before I focus on the specific Roman development, I will briefly sketch the analytical tools for this enterprise. The religious practices and concepts presented by Varro, which have been regarded as an example for the distance of antiquarian systematisation and current religious practices, can serve as an excellent case study for processes that are building blocks for urban histories and their religions across history. Thus, it is a deliberately wide concept of city and of religion that is presented in the following two sections.

2 Terms

Cities are changing religion extensively and in very different ways. In the metropoleis of today, places of traditional religious practices are becoming "cultural heritage"; religious practices are settling in pedestrian zones and backyards; religious organizations are providing urban services and infrastructure from kindergartens to nursing homes, cinemas are becoming spaces for religious experiences.[8] Religious groups enter into alliances, religious identities enable distancing from the world around them in a way that is otherwise hardly possible. Such changes are not new. This dynamic is a basic feature of urban religion. Religion – as will be shown in the case of ancient Rome – has always been the motor and victim, designer and overcomer of urban settlements. What religion seems to be today – in its different media and organizational forms, its diversity from individual spirituality to utilization by the state – is to a large

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6 Gladigow 1998, 321 (my translation).

7 E.g., Bonnet *et al.* 2019.

8 On heritage, Kong 2011; Bosco 2015; Narayanan 2015; Sirisrisak 2015; van de Port/Meyer 2018; cinema, Luckmann 1967.

extent the result of this process. And *vice versa*, these new religious practices and ideas have shaped urban space, urban coexistence and ideas of urbanity within and outside of cities.[9] As often, insights from the study of antiquity are valuable beyond. "Urban religion"[10] is neither a pre-modern survival nor just a contemporary accident.

Religion and urbanity, living with distant invisible forces and living with oppressively close people, are two of the most successful strategies of the human species. By "religious practices" I mean communication with not unquestionably plausible addressees, with actors beyond the immediate situation, with deceased ancestors or gods.[11] From the archaic advanced civilizations to recent and contemporary complex and less complex societies, such practices and ideas that manifest themselves or even become explicit in them are not just somehow attested. Rather, they seem to have played and continue to play a visible, even important or superior role in a multitude of societies, whether in the legitimation of rulers, the construction of public spaces and communication or, to express dissatisfaction and dissent with the ruling administration.[12] Communication with or concerning such "divine" agents might reinforce or reduce human agency, create or modify social relationships and change power relationships.[13] And such relationships have spatial settings and create spaces.

The phenomenon of urbanisation is much younger. Even though individual monumentalized centres for the gathering of a larger number of people in Asia Minor were already being built in the 9th millennium BCE (Göbekli Tepe[14]) and huge circular structures appeared comparatively early in the Northern and Central European Bronze Age,[15] it took further millennia until permanent settlements were established, which are referred to as "cities" due to their size and function in production and exchange. Networks of such large settlements were founded independently of each other in the great river valleys of China and the Indus, of Mesopotamia and Egypt or in the hinterland of the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean, in the fertile crescent and on Crete; only later in Central America and the west coast of South America.[16] But even in the first millennium CE, in the urbanized regions of the Mediterranean, hardly more than ten percent of the population lived in such settlements.[17] Even in the European high medieval period, the percentage is unlikely to have exceeded this dimension. It was probably only around 1500 that Cologne became the first German city to cross the threshold of 40,000 inhabitants and it is only in the very last few

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9 On the general state of the art, Rau/Rüpke 2020.

10 On the concept Urciuoli/Rüpke 2018; Rüpke 2020b.

11 See Rüpke 2021.

12 Bellah 2011; Wunn 2005; Rüpke 2016; dissent: Fuchs *et al.* 2019.

13 The following passages are quoted from Rüpke 2020a.

14 Schmidt 2006; Schyle 2016.

15 On temporary centres Smith 2019, 68–75.

16 Overview: Yoffee/Terrenato 2015.

17 For attempts at quantification see Clark 2013.

years that more than half of humanity on a global scale have become city dwellers, and according to United Nation estimates we are rapidly approaching the sixty percent mark.

Of course, one can and must be careful with these figures. Just as one is not yet religious when one dusts off a statue of Buddha or Mary and puts it back on the shelf, so somebody is not a city dweller when she is in a place classified as a city. Critical spatial research in recent decades has taught us to see that spaces are also cultural products, that they become mapped, visitable or even habitable spaces through cultural decisions and practices. From this it follows, as Benno Werlen puts it, that "geographical conditions of human action are to be seen primarily as a social product and only secondarily as a biophysical condition . . . the constitutive processes of geographical realities are fundamental for a multitude of processes of shaping social and cultural realities", especially also urban realities.[18] Space shapes culture, but it is primarily the culturally shaped space that is capable of doing this.[19]

"City" is not simply an objectively measurable quantity – given from so many hectares, from so many inhabitants, from so many population densities, from so many functions. Many high medieval Western European cities enjoying full city rights, the South-Western French *bastides* for instance, had hardly more than a thousand inhabitants and might have even been smaller than some large villages. Many people who stayed in cities were not only no permanent residents, but often no city dwellers either: tourists from rural areas, farmers and traders from the surrounding area or schoolgirls, students, sick people, shoppers from the near or far surroundings. Administrative incorporations of cities in the 20th and 21st centuries did not give millions of inhabitants an urban attitude to life; sometimes this was just giving people headache with now more distant authorities. And *vice versa*, millions of city dwellers have moved to the outskirts, into sub- and peri-urban areas for reasons of cost, in certain phases of life, without giving up their urban identity.[20]

In short, if we take space as a cultural product seriously, it is not city but urbanity that is relevant:[21] the perception of being in a city, the will or even pride, desire or burden of it. This can be temporary urbanity, also an urbanity that one seeks to realize outside of a city – and which can at any moment encounter forcibly displaced, forcibly migrated non-urbanites in the same city, who reject precisely this urbanity for themselves or in general and who reject the claim that urbanity is positive as part and parcel of urban ideology. No urban research, if it remains self-reflexive, can escape this problem.

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18 Werlen 2017, 31; 2021.

19 For a further systematization, Lévy/Lussault 2013 and Lussault 2013 for the mutual constitution of the spatial capacity of the human actor and the space resulting and preceding such action.

20 On suburbanisation, see for example Zimmermann 2015. For the peri-urban: Eckardt 2015.

21 Rau 2020.

3 Religion and Urbanity in Mutual Dependence

Part of a widespread urban self-image is to equate urbanisation and modernisation. Yet, already depictions from early cities in Crete from the second millennium BC reveal an unquestionably urban self-perception and self-stylisation in their depiction of a multitude of varying as much as similar houses or multitudes of spectators in fresco scenes. The concept of *urbanitas* as a narrowly defined, even arrogant norm of urban social and educational elites dates back to Roman antiquity, two thousand years ago.[22]

For religion and urbanity, the age of the latter concept is telling with regard to the relationship of both. Whenever Modernity determines the self-image of observers, that relationship is often narrated as if the one had replaced the other: urbanization and modernization drove religion out, the cities are the ultimate godless places.[23] My approach replaces such a hypothesis by another one. Both, religion and urbanity, have developed in close interaction. There is no doubt that there was religion before the city, and urbanity was also elaborated for motives other than religious. But in concrete coexistence, in their forms and ideas, the mutual influence is unmistakable. It could hardly be overestimated. The 19th century construction of parish churches and organized pastoral care, revival movements, the Salvation Army and the YMCA, specifically urban forms of assembly rooms and rituals – especially cities prove to be centres of religious dynamics.[24] This is true not only in the present, when often only the religion of immigrants has drawn attention to this nexus. Then and now, small shrines and makeshift or mosques are built in the middle of shopping malls or in industrial backyards.[25]

As a consequence, we cannot simply speak of religion in the city, but need to speak of urban religion. We must ask how religion has changed under certain spatial and social, namely urban conditions, and how such practices and notions of life in the city and as a city, in short: how urbanity has changed under certain religious conditions. Any analytical grid must cover the vastly different processes in the early urban cultures of China, India and the Ancient Orient, in the urban networks of the Mediterranean and Central America, in recent developments in Europe, Asia, and even worldwide, have differed in detail. Only comparison enabled by overarching concepts can capture differences *and* the similarities and the recurring constellations. Only in such a framework the evidence from ancient Rome is of relevance for a wider history of religion.

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22 Briefly, Rau 2014; detailed Russo 2016.
23 Orsi 1999.
24 See for example Day 2014; Lanz 2014, 20; Collins 2009, 60.
25 See the articles in van der Veer 2015a for contemporary Asia, Urciuoli/Maier 2020 for the Mediterranean of the imperial period.

On the basis of the research pursued so far in the research group "Religion and urbanity: reciprocal formations",[26] I suggest a heuristic grid of nine processes that are distinct, even if not fully independent. They are selected due to their importance of the specific medial and spatial aspects of religious practices.[27] If religious communication is addressing agents beyond the immediate situation with regard to that situation's social (human) and spatial limitations, such references to the beyond need to plausibilize the success of the contact by an intensive use and production of short-term and long-term, i.e., structurally plausibilizing media (1–4). The non-territorial, but network-like character[28] of such religious communication allows for a corresponding formation of human nodes and networks (5–6) and corresponding, discontinuous take on time (7). Finally, the literally spatial reference to a beyond of the situation is given the form a corresponding discourse on the character of urbanity and urban space itself (8–9). Thus, the processes comprise

1) the monumentalization of urban space and the gods,
2) the display, the theatricalization of communication with gods, making them tangible even for urban crowds,
3) the imaginative and increasingly widespread use of scripture in religious activity and thought, that is, in discourses about divinities,
4) the increasing division of labour and professionalisation, which often precedes or surpasses the division of labour in production technology in the religious sphere – not least in the effort to aestheticise it,
5) the individualisation of urban actors who do not remain mere descendants of their ancestors,
6) the formation of religious groups, on a neighbourly basis or in networks across geographical and family boundaries,
7) the religious structuring of time and the temporal structuring of religious ideas and practices,
8) the surpassing of world-views centred on one's own city beyond the city walls, by looking onto other cities, to the underworld and heavenly worlds, and finally
9) the imagination of alternatives to the city, the religious exaggeration of the rural and natural environment.

In their sum, such analyses would produce a highly differentiated image of the "gods of the city", their production and decline, their changing stability and fluidity, their polytheistic interrelation and the changes in the local and translocal networks built by the use of the privileged religious symbols treated as "gods". What is

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26 For a repositorium of research contributions see "Religion and Urbanity online", https://www.degruyter.com/database/urbrel/.

27 On spatial practices Rau 2019, 115–121.

28 See Lévy 2013a; b.

important to keep in mind is that it is not religious phenomena in urban space that are foregrounded by such an approach. Interest is in the attestation of religious change under urban conditions thus captured and how they have also changed the urban lifestyle and way of life, that is, urbanity, at the city or cities analyzed. In this chapter, it is the first and the third process that provide the focus of my analysis of religious change upon the role of architecture and language in construing, multiplying, and destabilising gods in the city.

4 Temples

Gods and other "special" addressees are made present in acts of religious communication. In many, and in particular in ancient Mediterranean societies, the primary mode of a more permanent presence of these types of religious signs is the setting apart of specific places. In small settlements, typically one such location is marked out and is serving as a religious multi-purpose site, sometimes elaborated by architecture.[29] In many instances, the divine recipient is not made obvious; most probably the site allowed for different manners to construct more specific addressees and went hand in hand with their instability, countered maybe by family traditions and other forms of oral communication. Within a type of settlement that is declared as urban by monumental walls and frequently – not always! – characterized by the scarcity of space within, marking out of such places is also made in highly visible and even monumental forms. The multiplicity of divine agents easily assumed in a settlement composed of many and diverse people is reflected in a plurality of sites with much more specific assignations, as can be observed in the city of Rome, to which I now turn. The Greek terms of venerability, hagnós and hierós, find their equivalents in the Roman proprietary term *sacer*, "property of a deity". Translating both semantic strategies as "sacred" is common, but blurs the differences. The *consecratio*, the "sanctification", presupposes clear ownership or even the established absence of private property claims, and allows a permanent placing *and* naming of the divine recipient.[30] Making a god is place-making.

It should not go unmentioned that this – as far as sources are reliable – was a very slow process and a process accompanied by a further differentiation. In early Rome, veneration of ancestors, the most or even more important group of other addressees of religious communication, later called the *di manes*, was driven beyond the city walls. Servius' claim at the end of the fourth century CE that this process led to the differentiation of domestic gods (*penates*) and ancestorial spirits (*lares*) might be a good guess of the religious implications of the new urban type of the

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29 Short overview for central Italy in Rüpke 2018b, 55–82.
30 For ancient and modern theories of Roman consecration, Rüpke 2019b.

appropriation of space. Space was now increasingly subjected to the demands of a property market and the exchangeability of plots of land, built-up or empty, without any *religiones* induced by the presence of divine forefathers (and -mothers).[31]

Yet, cities were not only densely populated places, but cities were and are hubs of internal *and* external flows. Within the urban landscape of Rome, there was a mixture of sacred places of "international", regional, and purely local importance, such as those in neighbourhoods (*vici*).[32] Furthermore, the "international" (or at least superregional) level would include monumental buildings like the Capitoline temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva (and its multiple re-buildings) as well as probably very tiny structures, as in the case of the sanctuary of Aesculapius on the Tiber island.[33] It was, however, the major sanctuaries that comprised the self-image of urbanity discourses and its display to the members of the wider inter-urban network. They were major assets in inter-urban competition and hierarchical ranking, in terms of visuality as in terms of the services provided, divination, games, entertainment.

All of these sanctuaries were the results of contingent, situational, sometimes individual decisions. An important source for the establishment of temples were – economically speaking – the decisions of victorious generals to allocate parts of their booty to the gods (which they had to share with their soldiers and the public treasury), or – speaking in terms of a new religious innovation of the period – the fulfilment of vows made on the battlefield.[34] The differentiation of the divine thus produced went hand in hand with major processes of state formation – and above all accelerated urban growth of what was quickly becoming the capital of Italy.[35] Between 302 BC, when a temple to Salus vowed in 311 was dedicated on the Quirinal Hill, and 44 BC, when the legacy of Julius Caesar was acknowledged by the decision to build a temple to Clementia Caesaris, at least 76 temples were erected at Rome. These temples were built on public land, dedicated by ordinary magistrates or specifically appointed magistrates (*duoviri aedibus dedicandis*). Apart from booty, extraordinary public money (e.g., penalties, as in the case of Venus Obsequens) or the decision of the Senate to ward off prodigies (as in the case of Apollo, according to tradition) would form the basis of the decision to build. The alphabetical arrangement demonstrates the systemic result of the irregular and only slightly regulated process.[36]

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31 In more detail Rüpke 2018b, 250 on Serv. *Aen.* 5.64 and 6.152. – The following draws on Rüpke 2018c.

32 Lott 2004; Flower 2017.

33 A courtyard with rooms? See *MAR* 42.

34 Orlin 1997; Rüpke 2019a. For the invention of the vow, Rüpke 2018a.

35 For the concept of state formation, Terrenato, Haggis 2011. A closer look at the transformation of religious sites in architectural and ritual perspectives is taken by Arnhold 2020.

36 Siehe Ziolkowski 1992, 187–188; Wissowa 1912, 594–596.

In urban terms, these architectural ensembles were an important means of demonstrating a city's piety, power, and wealth, as much to the inhabitants as to visitors. Monumentalization did not only concern single temples, but connected independent but adjacent temples by pavements or porticoes, as in the case of the Largo Argentina. Whole building complexes in the centre of the city and adjacent spaces like the Campus Martius, including porticoes, theatres, and basilicas, were realized by leading figures like Pompey or Caesar. The latter's building project lasted well into the Augustan period.

How did people know about the sanctuaries and the specific powers of a god? We hardly know. Rituals and the staging of a popular festival were certainly important. Integration into processional routes must have been important. And for the rest, spread by word of mouth was probably ubiquitous. Such "urban talk" (Richard Lim) about religious sites and above all events (in expectation as in the aftermaths) must have been a basic feature of the intersection of religion and urbanity.

Private foundations on private grounds accrued. They were regarded as *sacraria*, places of individual and family worship that were not binding for the buyer (*emptor*) of the house or garden but should and could be easily transferred.[37] Nevertheless, in some cases such sanctuaries might last for generations (although we should not be overconfident as to the continuity of private cults and colleges). In many quarters, open-air shrines of various local or religious groups could be found. Beyond the largesse of the emperor and his patronage and sponsorship, important above all in the very capital, the multitude of such intramural and extramural – funerary – initiatives defined the many, overlapping, and changing religious spaces of action and experience for the wide variety of urban actors.

Religiously, the large variety of memories and gods related to the foundation and probably even more the different atmospheres and opportunities afforded by the sites and institutionalized (and developing) practices catered for biographical needs in contingencies of big decisions, economic or political daring, illnesses, and the insecurities of daily life in neighbourhoods or cross-urban networks. This polytheism is a spatial urban configuration, not a theological system, but an assemblage of overlapping local, social, and associative networks of sites, characterized by growth and decay, intensification, innovation of practices or individual falling into disuse. Ever more often important public events were marked by their indiscriminate use, the so-called *supplicatio ad omnia pulvinaria*, that is in plain English: pray at whatever site with a minimum of religious infrastructure. This was what Roman religion was like in the first century BCE. Augustus boasted of more than 800 of such holidays during his reign.

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37 Ulp. *Dig.* 1.8.9.2 with Ando 2008, 112–113.

5 Names

Urbanistic theory was not the only way to come to grips with the urban shape of religion that had not only produced a differentiated "pantheon", but produced a dissipated monumental form and ritual practices that reached ever larger audiences, the processes numbered 1 and 2. By the 1st century BCE even theatres – given temporary structures for reasons of political security only so far – were built up in monumental form. Competition and role differentiation had produced priestly roles that were professionalised only on the social margins of society but were hardening in terms of institutionalisation of subaltern personnel, to add number 4. Yet, for the last section of this chapter, I will focus on number 3.

As architecture allowed to give permanent shape to conceptions of the divine beyond material gifts and depictions, writing allowed the fixation and elaboration of names beyond and apart from place-making. Again, I would like to stress the urban context of these developments that betray the urban rather than some archaic character of the divinities involved.[38]

Hermann Usener chose the gods in question here as the starting point for his conceptualisation of *Sondergötter* ("special gods").[39] The Latin keyword is *indigitamenta*. Servius, who provides the corresponding Varronian fragment (87 Cardauns) from the beginning of the fourteenth book,[40] obviously understands the word as a synonym for priestly books, but the meaning does not go beyond invocations: it seems that here a remark by Varro about the Pontifices in the context of the lists of gods led to a corresponding reception.[41] Objectively, it is about compilations of gods that are assigned to certain areas in a very detailed way. The oldest example of this is provided by one of the earliest writers on religious issues, Fabius Pictor, who probably belongs to the first half of the second century BCE. He "enumerates the gods whom the Flamen invokes when he performs the Ceres sacrifice to Tellus and Ceres: the furrow-breaker, the re-plougher, the furrow-sower, the over-plougher, the harrower, the chopper, the weeder, the reaper, the gatherer, the scourer, the retriever."[42]

Varro enriches our knowledge in the middle of the first century BCE with gods "from the conception of man" (the number of which he begins with Ianus) and continued the series until the death of a decayed man (and concludes the gods concerning

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38 The following is based on Rüpke 2005.

39 Usener 1948 (1896), 75–79.

40 Servius, *Georgica* 1.21.

41 For the use of language, see Paul. Fest. 101 L: "Indigitamenta are (sung) invocations (*incantamenta*) or symbols (*indicia*)"; cf. Serv. auct. *Aen.* 2.141.

42 Fabius Pictor, Pontifical Law 16th Book (fr. 6 Seckel/Kübler): *Fabius Pictor hos deos enumerat quos invocat flamen sacrum Cereale faciens Telluri et Cereri: Vervactorem, Redaratorem, Inporcitorem, Insitorem, Obaratorem, Occatorem, Sarritorem, Subruncinatorem, Messorem, Convectorem, Conditorem, Promitorem.* The fragment comes from Serv. *Georg.* 1, 21.

man himself with the goddess Nenia, who sings at the burial of old men); then he began to depict other gods that do not concern man himself, but what belongs to the human realm, as food and clothing and everything else necessary for life.[43] The fact that Varro includes these gods in his work as *di certi,* "exactly known deities", is connected with the declared aim of not only explaining the deities to his fellow citizens in genetic-historical terms, but also of making them useful to the urbanites by finding out in each case the purpose of any successful invocation: "which god we must invoke and summon in each individual case."[44]

Insofar as the Varronian fragments or the parallel tradition still reveal ritual contexts, the relevant deities are invoked alone or in pairs, at most in groups of three.[45] This points to an unsurprising separation of cult and speculation and suggests that the Varronian compilations are incomplete; on the other hand, the later interest in precisely these – this is the Christian reception perspective – absurdities ensured a detailed tradition: over forty percent of the fragments of the sixteen-volume work come from the fourteenth book *De dis certis in* Cardaun's count.

The material should be presented at least in outline. The following deities are named for the process from conception to the care of the newborn: *Ianus* opens the entrance for the semen, *deus Consevius presides over the* insemination, *Saturnus* is responsible for the semen itself, *Liber* frees the man from semen during coitus, *Libera* the woman who, according to Varro, also contributes semen to the act of procreation. *Fluvionia* nourishes the child in the womb; *Dea Mena,* who, according to Augustine's sequence, "precedes" menstruation, directs the monthly blood flow to the growth of the foetus;[46] *Alemona* is responsible for intrauterine rearing; *Vitumnus* strengthens the life force, *Sentinus* the sensory force of the foetus. The three goddesses of fate, *Parca*, *Nona* and *Decima, ensure* birth at the right time, namely in the ninth or tenth month. As *Diespater,* Iuppiter leads the foetus to the day, *Lucina* brings it to light – the etymological designations, the consonance of thing and deity become clear even in the translation. Here, methods developed in Greek philosophy and firmly established in Roman antiquarian reasoning are lavishly employed. In addition to the *cult of* Lucina and *Diana* during the birth, a table (with gifts) is set up for *Iuno in the* following week; at the end of the week,[47] the *dies lustricus* probably, the *fata scribunda,* perhaps the gods of fate who write down names and the like, are invoked. In Cardauns' not always unproblematic but well-justified sequence of fragments, we return to the birth situation after this digression. For those giving birth for the first time under candlelight, *Candelifera* is important. Two Carmentes, *Postverta* and *Prorsa,* take care of the head or breech position of the child and at the same time announce

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43 Aug. *civ*. 6.9 = Varro *ant*. *rer*. *div*. 88 Cardauns.

44 Varro *ant*. *rer*. *div*. 3 Cardauns.

45 Pairs: *ibid*., fr. 101, 103, groups of three: 98, 199.

46 See the commentary by Cardauns 1976, 193 AD locum.

47 *Ibid*., 198.

the fate of the newborn. *Fortuna* joins them in an unknown function. *Opis* presents the newborn laid on the earth with a gift. With the *deus Vaticanus* lie the first sounds of the newborn, the "Vas". Aius, Farinus and Locutius as well as Fabulinus (for the first speech) are also responsible for speech.[48] The *dea Levana* supports the father, who lifts the child from the earth and thus acknowledges it; the role of the *Albana* is unknown. Three deities protect the mother in the following: *Intercidona*, *Pilumnus* and *Deverra* – speaking names in relation to symbolic activities of three men. *Cunina* protects the cradle; *diva Rumina* brings the breast close; *diva Potina* and *diva Educa* provide drink and food.[49] Deities who look after the standing of children, their departure and return home, their mental health and the like continue the list; *Numeria*, for example, teaches counting.[50] Accordingly, the jurisdiction of various representatives of the *di nuptiales* or *coniugales*[51] *ranges* from dowries to details of the sexual act, from position to defloration. Embarrassed, Augustine sometimes refuses precise factual explanations. Even, if we are deep into Varronian idiosyncrasies, he is only part of a wider process of systematisation of religion enabled by the use of writing.

These reflections were part of longer processes of rationalisation in general and systematisation of religion during the two final centuries of the Roman Republic in particular.[52] Varro himself is to be placed in a broader stream. Varro's lists reflect the urban development of a systematised polytheistic structure with the help of philosophical theology and the latter's inherent monotheistic tendency. That Varro saw this theoretical conflict in his elaboration long before any conflict with Jews or Christians is revealed by his frequent attempt to interpret the deities mentioned as appearances of Iuppiter.[53] Even more important, however, is that Celsus affirms what the preface to Varro's fourteenth book only suggests, but which the fragmentary state of the text makes unverifiable: these lists of gods by no means address everything.

Where is the common denominator? It is about human action. In particular, it is about risky human action. Although such risks are also accompanied ritually in individual cases, it is obvious that specific rituals are missing or that the precision of the theological assignment far exceeds the ritual differentiation. Pictor's Flamen addresses twelve gods in a prayer, in the ritual framework of the *sacrum cereale* – he does not offer twelve sacrifices. If one reads the lists as elements of a theory of action, they do not add up to a unified theory – abstraction is omitted. What is recognisable, however, is a reflection that breaks down complex actions and processes

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48 On the latter, whose mention is certain for Varro but not for the *Antiquitates,* see *ibid.*, 204.
49 The series presented in frr. 90–114.
50 *Ibid.*, fr. 137.
51 Frr. 144–156.
52 See Rüpke 2012.
53 See Aug. *civ.* 4.11 on Varro *ant. rer. div*. 100. 104–107. 112–114 Cardauns.

into minimal parts, atomises them.[54] Without excluding the pleasure of playing with thoughts in individual cases, the attempt to concentrate the formation of units on risks, on situations in which there are alternatives to action or the course of the process,[55] becomes clear.

It is important to pay very precise attention to the use of language and to consider possible changes to the text through the fragmentary units of transmission. The assignment of the deity to its domain forms a separate area of reflection. *Praeesse,* "to preside over", is probably the most common formulation.[56] Alternatives to this are two substantive formulations, both of which can probably be traced back to Varro: It is about *officia* or *munera,* about offices and duties of the deities.[57] In the introduction to Varro's first book, further terms are added: power, ability, authority – *potestas.*[58]

Linguistically, the relationship of the deities to their domains is described according to the pattern of public power relations – an "administration" that might be distinguished from this does not exist in the late Republican Rome. Such an attribution is to be seen against the background of a concept of office that does not positively describe official power as a bundle of precisely described competences, but first of all limits unrestricted power casuistically and through mechanisms such as collegiality, short terms of office and appeal instances. Projecting such notions onto theological concepts and thus developing systematics of urban administration in religious terms, the parallelism of urban administration and religious space of reflection becomes clear:[59] the multiplicity of gods limits their domain temporally as well as collegially; in individual cases, divine competitions remain side by side in collegial construction, without clear superordination or subordination: Nona and Decima, Prorsa and Postverta offer examples of this.[60] At the same time, it is precisely the strict thematic

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54 Cf. Aug. *civ.* 4.16 p. 165,24 gf.: . . . *cum deos singulos singulis rebus et paene singulis motibus adtribuerunt* . . . .

55 However, the parallel tradition for Varro, which exists at least sporadically, allows us to consider this factor to be small. It is difficult to prove that he actually invented names' (Cardauns 1976, 240). Both Wissowa's fundamental criticism of the value of the names (Wissowa 1904) and Otto's attempts to save them, for example, as gentile names (Otto 1909), are to be rejected in principle (not in every detail).

56 *Ibid.*, *passim*: Cf. Serv. auct. Aen. 2.141 (= Varro fr. 1 Agahd): . . . *quia et pontifices dicunt singulis actibus proprios deos praeesse.*

57 Varro ant. rer. div. 88 as well as (*officia*) Aug. *civ.* 6.9 p. 262,29 and Serv. Georg. 1.21.

58 Varro *ant. rer. div.* 3 Cardauns: . . . *quam quisque deus vim et facultatem ac potestatem cuinsque rei habeat.*

59 The same parallelism is evident in Cicero's mutual mapping of magistracies and religious institutions in *De legibus*. Against the background in the newer research in the precariousness of power, Graeber/Sahlins 2017, 3, stress the importance of cosmic models and their "metapersons" in regard to the configuration of human power.

60 Cf. Gladigow 1990, 246 f. for Greek alternatives in dealing with competition problems.

separation – theologically it is about human individual life, not urban structures –
that opens up the space for comprehensive, systematic reflection.

Abbreviation

MAR   Haselberger, Lothar (2008). *Mapping Augustan Rome*. Journal of Roman Archaeology
         suppl. series 50. Portsmouth, RI.

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Asuman Lätzer-Lasar

« Religious Ancient Placemaking » : une nouvelle approche méthodologique pour l'évaluation des religions à l'époque antique

1 Introduction

L'objectif de cet article est de proposer une nouvelle approche pour étudier les religions anciennes en utilisant une méthode multi-scalaire, mobilisant des approches variées/transdisciplinaire[1]. Après avoir passé de nombreuses années dans des institutions de recherche interdisciplinaires, il m'est apparu urgent de combiner les résultats des recherches archéologiques avec ceux provenant des sources écrites (émanant des études menées en histoire ancienne, en philologie/littérature latine et en épigraphie), des études culturelles et de l'histoire des religions. En conséquence, j'ai développé une grille d'analyse comprenant six éléments (voir ci-dessous), qui doit servir de point de départ pour l'exploration des religions anciennes. La grille, que j'ai nommée « Religious Ancient Placemaking (RAP) »[2], n'est ni une théorie large qui aborde les grandes questions relatives aux sociétés anciennes, ni un concept étroit qui élabore des phénomènes spécifiques à une échelle microscopique. Il s'agit plutôt d'une théorie intermédiaire mertonienne[3], qui permet de cartographier en profondeur, par exemple, une microrégion, telle qu'une ville, ou le culte d'une divinité spécifique à différentes échelles. Pourtant, ces six éléments semblent, au premier abord, être évidents, voire même particulièrement simples,

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The footnotes

2 Le nom de cette grille émane de l'approche urbaniste de l'aménagement du territoire de nature anthropique, approche décrite dans le point 2. Ce nom met en exergue la perspective praxéologique qui permet d'enquêter sur les sociétés du passé. Elle doit être associée à l'approche « Lived Ancient Religion » qui a été récemment développée pour comprendre les religions vivantes de l'Antiquité (Gasparini *et al.* 2020).
3 Merton 1968, 39–174.

lorsqu'il s'agit d'analyser les formes de la vie sociale ou même de la comprendre. Toutefois, ces éléments revêtent une importance particulière dans la formation des communautés religieuses. Grâce à l'approche proposée par la grille « placemaking », l'examen de l'interaction entre une sociabilité qui façonne et qui détermine les sociétés et les paysages devient plus évidente. Cette méthode peut être visualisée grâce à la cartographie profonde (*Deep Mapping*) Le concept de cartographie profonde, ou le produit résultant de cette technique a pour avantage d'évoluer continuellement lorsqu'un élément supplémentaire y est ajouté. La carte profonde peut contenir une gamme presque illimitée de sources qui, lorsqu'elles sont reliées entre elles, ne montrent pas une vue fixe d'un lieu, mais plutôt une identité dynamique du lieu, évoluant au gré des expériences humaines. Par conséquent, non seulement les « proxies durs », tels que les sites topographiques, les découvertes et les trouvailles, par exemple les bâtiments, les monnaies et les céramiques, mais également les informations « douces » sur les acteurs et leurs pratiques religieuses appréhendés du point de vue spatio-temporel, ainsi que leurs conceptions du monde sont inclus dans la carte afin de pouvoir décrire l'imbrication réelle de la religion et de l'environnement dans une optique holistique[4].

Malgré les récentes recherches visant à mieux définir l'archéologie des rituels[5], cette approche dynamique entre l'environnement, l'humain et la religion ne semble pas avoir été assez mise en oeuvre en archéologie. Bien que l'apport du « spatial turn »[6] ait bénéficié aux études archéologiques, les thématiques liées à la religion ancienne, en particulier la religion vécue, ont reçu beaucoup plus d'attention de la part des Préhistoriens. Pour la période classique, cette orientation a été principalement portée par les historiens.[7] Ce n'est que récemment que les historiens des religions, associés aux archéologues classiques, ont ouvert le champ de « l'archéologie des religions anciennes »[8].

Bien qu'une définition claire et complète des espaces sacrés ou sacralisés ait été proposée pour le Moyen Âge[9], une définition pour les espaces religieux dans l'archéologie classique fait encore défaut. On peut l'expliquer par un manque de clarté dans l'effort visant à différencier et définir les termes « lieu » et « espace », ainsi que les termes « sacré » et « religieux ». Leur sens et leur utilisation ne sont pas suffisamment délimités les uns par rapport aux autres : d'une part, ils sont en-

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4 Rosa 2016, 82–95.

5 Insoll 2011, 147–156; Wescoat/Ousterhout 2014, 365–376.

6 Bachmann-Medick 2006.

7 Bonnet/Scheid 2007; Hölkeskamp 2015; pour des tentatives de recherche limitées comme l'évaluation des images divines comme outil de communication de messages politiques voir Mylonopoulos 2010.

8 Raja/Rüpke 2015; Albrecht *et al.* 2018; Gasparini *et al.* 2020.

9 Rau/Schwerhoff 2008, 10–71.

trés dans le domaine de l'archéologie par le biais d'autres disciplines, comme la sociologie[10] ; d'autre part, l'archéologie classique a traditionnellement étudié les structures monumentales sacrées telles que les temples et les structures funéraires, où la prémisse de leur définition en tant qu'"espace sacré" était déjà donnée/ donc une analyse détaillée du pourquoi et du comment de la sacralisation de l'espace n'a pas été poursuivie plus avant[11].

C'est pourquoi une approche systématique et multi-méthodologique qui analyse la culture matérielle et sensible des espaces religieux, y compris les espaces religieux socialement vécus, du point de vue de diverses sources matérielles, telles que l'architecture, les autels votifs, les inscriptions, la littérature ancienne, les restes osseux des sacrifices d'animaux, ou les imaginaires sociaux fait défaut à ce jour. Le concept de « Religious Ancient Placemaking » s'efforce donc de regrouper ces informations hétérogènes sur le passé afin de comprendre, tout d'abord, comment la religion a été expérimentée et vécue de manière multisensorielle et multiscalaire[12]. Deuxièmement, il permet d'explorer en détail comment les religions ont conduit à des changements sociaux et environnementaux. Troisièmement, il inclut la notion de dynamisme des religions puisque celles-ci n'ont pas été statiques, mais ont été constamment remodelées et réinterprétées par leur environnement et leurs habitants. Et enfin, il permet d'admettre que la communication religieuse[13] et les espaces religieux ont scandé/rythmé la vie quotidienne, créant une stabilité sociale, au point que cette scansion pourrait avoir renforcé la résilience. À l'inverse, la création d'espaces religieux permanents ou éphémères peut également entraîner une concurrence et des démarcations socioculturelles, voire des conflits et des guerres dans les cas les plus dramatiques.

La cartographie profonde (*Deep Mapping*), comme produit ou outil, permet de saisir le passé en tant que contextes spatio-temporels, appelés chronotopes, qui ont constitué des sociétés et induit des changements constants[14]. Ces chronotopes consistent en des espaces socialement construits[15] affectés et même considérablement modifiés par les acteurs, les objets, les pratiques et les entités intellectuelles, telles que les aspirations, les connaissances (les conceptions de divinité, les noms, etc.) ou les idées. Dans une interaction réciproque, les espaces permanents ou éphémères ont été créés, modifiés, utilisés, convertis ou même abandonnés par les populations, de sorte que divers paysages religieux, au sens de « Religioscapes »,

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10 Espace social contre espace : Lefebvre 1974, 68–168; de Certeau 1984, 102–118; Ingold 2011, chap. 2 « Against space ».

11 Sur le problème de la définition conceptuelle peu claire voir Hofmann/Lätzer-Lasar sous presse.

12 Orsi 1999, 1–78.

13 Cela inclut toute adresse active ainsi que l'expressivité passive ou l'affordance entre les entités divines, les humains, mais également toutes les médias possibles (image et objets); Rüpke 2015.

14 Bakhtin 2014, 7–9.

15 Lefebvre 1974, 9; Soja 1996; Day 2018, 11.

ont pu s'alterner dans le temps[16]. Ces paysages religieux pouvaient également se chevaucher en partie ou émerger l'un à côté de l'autre (co-spatialité) Les établissements polythéistes comme les villes en sont, par exemple, l'une des meilleures illustrations[17]. Les espaces générés de manière dialectique – selon le philosophe Wesley Salomon –, où le lieu est mis en relation avec les personnes[18], ont donc eu un effet sur la structuration et la constitution des sociétés. Ces sociétés ont d'ailleurs autorisé, influencé, voire contrôlé ou empêché des pratiques, des mouvements et donc des expériences[19]. Dans cette optique, les quatre éléments mentionnés ci-dessus (acteur, objet, pratique et entité intellectuelle) doivent être considérés et analysés conjointement avec deux autres éléments, à savoir l'espace et le temps, ou plus précisément la spatialité et la temporalité, afin de pouvoir saisir les processus sociaux antiques dans leur complexité.

2 Le cadre théorique

J'ai découvert le terme « placemaking » en lisant le livre *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* de Jane Jacobs, qui a lutté avec succès contre les réaménagements fonciers dévastateurs des années 1960 à Greenwich Village/New York[20]. Son idée consistait à déplacer les processus décisionnels du niveau macro au niveau méso et micro, en impliquant les habitants de la ville dans la conception de lieux publics, ou du moins en tenant compte de leurs besoins lors de la planification de ces espaces. Pour Jacobs, l'aménagement des lieux publics n'avait pas pour objectif premier d'attirer les investisseurs, mais devait plutôt refléter les valeurs, l'éthique et l'esthétique de la communauté urbaine. Elle affirme que l'amélioration des qualités de vie et de l'utilisation des lieux publics dans le cadre d'un processus de collaboration stratégique favorise la création d'une identité collective et d'une cohésion sociale, non seulement en mettant les gens en relation avec le lieu, mais aussi en mettant les gens en relation avec d'autres personnes dans des lieux spécifiques.

Les résultats de l'affirmation de Jacob ne peuvent pas être appliqués tels quels au monde méditerranéen antique. Néanmoins, nous ne devons pas ignorer cette perspective et supposer que les autorités ou les acteurs dirigeants avaient certainement à l'esprit les pratiques contemporaines de la population lorsqu'ils ont conçu l'espace public. Ces acteurs – pour la période romaine, il pouvait s'agir du Sénat ou

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16 Hayden/Walker 2013, 407.

17 Lévy/Lussault 2003, 236–237, voir « cospatialité ».

18 Salmon 1984, 135–146.

19 Giddens 1984, 162–168, 244–255; Salmon 1984; Tilley 1997, 7–34; Cetina/Schatzki/von Savigny 2001, 10–23; Sheller/Urry 2006, 207–226; Schatzki 2021.

20 Jacobs 1961.

de ses membres, de l'empereur ou des magistrats par exemple – respectaient, promouvaient ou entravaient les habitants par le biais de l'environnement bâti ou de règlements tels que les lois.

Façonné à partir du concept de « placemaking » de Jacob, j'ai développé le cadre théorique du « Religious Ancient Placemaking » (RAP), dans lequel les contextes archéologiques liés spatio-temporellement se composent de six éléments analytiques principales[21] :

1.) **Le lieu.** Comme pour le terme espace[22], le sens du mot « lieu » est double, du moins dans ma compréhension et mon utilisation. D'une part, le lieu est un emplacement topographique donné, qui est physiquement mesurable par des coordonnées, par exemple une ville, une montagne, un coin de rue, une étagère[23]. Ces lieux changent en fonction de facteurs conditionnels, par exemple sous l'effet de la nature – une montagne s'érode sous l'effet du climat, une forêt brûle à la suite d'un incendie, un nouveau territoire émerge par sédimentation – ou sous l'effet de l'homme qui construit le paysage ou façonne un environnement bâti. Néanmoins, ce type spécifique de lieu partage "des traits qui transcendent les particularités culturelles et peuvent donc refléter la condition humaine[24]. D'autre part, le lieu perd sa composante abstraite et représente par la suite exactement le contraire, dès lors qu'il acquiert un « sens » ou une « identité » qui résulte de l'attribution par les personnes d'une valeur et d'une signification[25]. Ce facteur d'impact est lié à la culture et à la société. Par conséquent, la sémantique d'un lieu peut varier d'un moment à l'autre, d'une situation à l'autre ou d'un groupe à l'autre. Le sens du lieu change constamment/ peut même être contingent[26]. Le lieu ne représente plus alors qu'un instantané d'un moment donné, ou ce que Tuan appellerait une « pause »[27]. Et même si l'on ajoute une dimension temporelle à cet instantané, comme dans le concept du « lieu de la nostalgie », il s'agit toujours d'une prise de vue momentanée qui ne pourra probablement plus jamais être vécue ou comprise de la même ma-

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21 Les explications suivantes des termes sont abrégées et reflètent uniquement la direction dans laquelle j'inscris ma démarche.

22 Lefebvre 1974, 68–168; Park 1994, 1–30; K. Hofmann 2014; Löw 2016, 105–6 vs. Ingold 2011, 145–155.

23 La fonction typique de l'espace comme conteneur.

24 Traduit par l'auteur : « . . . traits that transcend cultural particularities and may therefore reflect the human condition ». Tuan 2011, 34.

25 Les signes comme marqueurs visibles des lieux, voir (Döhl/Jansen van Rensburg 2019, 7–16).

26 Pour l'impossibilité d'une interprétation cohérente du monde, voir Haug sur la base de Lyotard; Haug 2003, 290 note de bas de page 1374.

27 Tuan 2011, 6.

nière. Par analogie avec la compréhension de l'espace, le lieu peut également être relationnel et le résultat de processus de sociabilité matérialisée[28].

2.) **Acteur.** Dans l'archéologie de la Grèce et de Rome antiques, l'attention des chercheurs s'est souvent portée sur l'étude des élites et de la classe dirigeante. Ce n'est pas surprenant, puisque la plupart des vestiges renseignant des noms ou attribués à des individus spécifiques sont des architectures monumentales ou des sources littéraires qui sont écrites par, pour ou sur l'élite. Heureusement, au cours des dernières décennies, l'intérêt s'est déplacé de l'élite vers les différents types d'acteurs, tels que les migrants et les femmes[29], ou vers les couches sociales inférieures, comme les esclaves[30]. Cependant, on traite assez rarement de l'agentivité (*agency*) réelle des esclaves[31], surtout s'ils ne sont pas des *liberti* (affranchis) par exemple. Dans la mesure où l'action des groupes subalternes ou pseudo-invisibles n'est pas facile à saisir en archéologie avec les approches de recherche habituelles[32], les archéologues ne peuvent totalement éviter de se fonder sur des hypothèses pour modéliser l'existence, les pratiques et la matérialité des différentes parties prenantes. Une approche différente, également valable pour l'investigation des religions ou des pratiques religieuses, consisterait à attribuer cette organisation/catégorie/action non pas à des individus mais plutôt à une foule indéterminée[33]. Par exemple, lors d'une procession, la foule qui avance peut créer un sentiment de communauté significatif dans un moment de décharge, comme Canetti appelle le phénomène de masse, qui peut être important pour l'auto-identification ou qui sert le but plus élevé et partagé de l'action[34]. Mais les spectateurs passifs qui apparaissent dans les rues ou dans les structures de divertissement de masse, comme les cirques, doivent également être pris en compte dans l'évaluation de la scène événementielle[35]. Par la suite, même la simple supposition que certains acteurs de couches sociales infé-

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28 Pour un large aperçu de la théorie de l'espace (relationnel) utilisé par la sociologie, voir Löw 2016, chap. 4 et 5.

29 Funke 2006; James/Dillon 2012; Hemelrijk 2013; Budin/Turfa 2016; Ligt/Tacoma 2016; Clackson *et al.* 2020; Hemelrijk 2020.

30 Initié plus particulièrement par des historiens antiquisants qui consacrèrent une série entière à un sujet particulier. Voir par exemple Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei (Franz Steiner Verlag) .

31 *Agency* traduit ici par « agentivité » est compris dans son sens sociologique. Il s'agit de la constitution réciproque d'agents individualisés et de structures sociales. Voir Emirbayer/Mische 1998, 981.

32 Une autre approche pourrait être par exemple « unseen agency » ou agentivité pour enquêter sur les actions des femmes qui ne sont pas toujours visibles. Voir Lätzer-Lasar/Neumann/Steinhauer, s. d.; ou l'approche de Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak sur les modalités de communication des groupes subalternes sans nié leur activités potentielles, voir Rees/Schreiber 2019, 5–6.

33 Canetti 1981, 62; Chwe 2013, 8, 19–73.

34 « This is the moment when all who belong to the crowd get rid of their differences and feel equal » (Canetti 1981, 17).

35 Voir Williamson/van Nijf 2016, voir le paragraphe « common knowledge ».

rieures étaient également impliqués/ pas seulement dans des rôles mineurs ou en tant que figurants, peut ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives sur la vie religieuse dans l'Antiquité. Les acteurs ne doivent pas seulement être compris comme ceux qui produisent ou participent activement à l'action; c'est pourquoi les questions sur la visibilité (que pouvaient-ils voir, quel était l'axe de vue ou l'éclairage ?), l'accessibilité (quand et comment pouvaient-ils entrer ou participer, physiquement à travers l'environnement [construit], mais aussi y avait-il des règles ?)/ le paysage sonore (que pouvaient-ils éventuellement entendre ?) peuvent ouvrir d'autres perspectives.

3.) **Objet.** Différents types d'objets apparaissent et sont utilisés dans un contexte religieux, dans lequel ils fonctionnent comme un outil d'assistance ou comme un moyen de communication avec le *numen* (puissance divine)[36]. Cependant, ces contextes sont souvent des assemblages qui peuvent également être constitués d'objets qui n'ont pas nécessairement été fabriqués dans ce but spécifique[37]. Dans divers cas, les archéologues ont l'impression que les récipients trouvés dans les tombes étaient uniquement utilisés dans les contextes funéraires. Cependant, des analyses archéométriques et l'évaluation d'autres contextes de découverte semblent réfuter cette hypothèse[38]. D'autres objets sont spécialement fabriqués pour des contextes religieux, comme les statues de culte ou les *tabellae defixiones* (tablettes de malédiction) Qu'ils soient fabriqués spécialement ou à usage multiple – comme une simple lampe à huile qui facilitait le déroulement d'une représentation/cérémonie religieuse dans un hypogée, tout en créant une atmosphère unique dans la pièce, voire un paysage olfactif important -, ces deux types d'objets sont dotés d'un certain pouvoir et ne possèdent donc pas seulement une signification fonctionnaliste[39]. À la suite de ces considérations, je favorise les ontologies plates de Schatzki – pour autant que je les comprenne – car leur planéité assure la déconstruction d'une certaine hiérarchie entre les entités, telles que les sujets, les pratiques mais aussi les objets. De même, Latour a essayé de mettre les acteurs et les objets dans une position d'égalité[40]. En ce qui concerne la temporalité, certains objets ont été conçus pour un usage permanent, comme les temples. Même s'ils avaient une connotation et un usage réel hétérogène (archives, banque, salle de réunion, asyle,

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36 Rieger 2020, 52–59.

37 Schreiber 2018, 91–124.

38 Deux exemples peuvent être cités ici: la céramique blanche hellénistique classique de Lagynos, supposée n'apparaître que dans des contextes funéraires, est de plus en plus mise au jour dans des contextes domestiques. Un spécimen portait même une inscription, indiquant qu'il contenait une pâte blanche qui pouvait être du maquillage ou un onguent médicinal. Dans le second exemple, des récipients funéraires britanniques de l'âge du bronze, censés n'avoir été fabriqués que pour des sépultures, ont été examinés à l'aide d'une analyse des graisses lipidiques, qui a prouvé que les récipients avaient été utilisés pour cuisiner pendant une longue période. Voir Lätzer 2020, 20, cat. 178; Soberl 2011.

39 Hoskins 2006, 74–77; Schreiber 2018, 96–99, 221, 227.

40 Cetina/Schatzki/von Savigny 2001; Latour 2008, 63–86; Schatzki à paraître.

centre de santé, etc.), leur territoire était clairement défini comme un espace rendu sacré par le *templum* (limite territoriale d'un temple) D'autres objets sont caractérisés par une durabilité semi-permanente (autels votifs, pierres tombales, canaux de libation) : ils peuvent avoir été planifiés et mis en place pour l'éternité (de l'individu) mais peuvent être modifiés ou même retirés sans grand effort. Cela vaut par exemple pour les autels ou objets votifs qui étaient placés à l'intérieur des sanctuaires. Par manque d'espace, il fallait régulièrement les enlever et, souvent, ils étaient enterrés dans un terrain sacré[41]. L'analyse devient difficile à mener avec les objets éphémères, rapidement destructibles ou décomposables, comme les fleurs ou les plantes[42], la nourriture, les fluides, les masques de cire[43], les huiles et parfums. La plupart des informations sur leur utilisation proviennent de sources littéraires et/ou partiellement des arts visuels[44]. Cependant, ils doivent être considérés comme faisant partie intégrante de l'ensemble formé par un contexte religieux.

4.) **Pratiques.** Comme les objets, il existe également différents types de pratiques qui, d'une part, sont faciles à détecter et à attribuer à des contextes religieux, d'autre part, sont généralement des pratiques humaines qui n'ont acquis une connotation manifestement religieuse qu'à travers des paramètres supplémentaires. Les pratiques spécifiquement religieuses sont les divers modes de communication directe avec et vers les puissances surnaturelles[45]; elles s'expriment par la dédicace d'autels ou de stèles à des divinités, des prières[46], la commémoration du défunt[47], l'offrande des sacrifices[48], ou l'utilisation de la « magie »[49]. En outre, il existe une multitude de pratiques non spécifiques, par exemple le marquage spatial (via l'architecture), la dénomination (par exemple, les dénominations des divinités), la narration (par exemple, les mythes,

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41 Cette tradition est bien connue à travers la pratique grecque du *bothros*, voir Scheid 2013, 21–25; Graeve 2019, 123–134. Sur le déplacement des autels du temple dédiés aux *matrones* à Nettersheim (Allemagne), voir Forrest/Ortisi 2015, 111–126.

42 Pour une description édifiante des corps en cours de décomposition et des objets funéraires dans les sarcophages trouvés entre le XVe et le XIXe siècles, voir Graham/Devlin 2015.

43 Carroll 2011.

44 Apulée décrit dans le livre 11 des *Métamorphoses* que des pétales de roses étaient jetés dans la rue; leur parfum embaumait alors les environs durant la procession d'Isis. Des prêtresses d'Isis portant un encensoir, un sistre, de la vaisselle et d'autres objets nécessaires lors au rituel sont représentées sur un relief. Pour voir ce relief au Museo Gregoriano Profano, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/21574 (20.6.2021) .

45 Communication avec des agents surhumains/surnaturels, voir Rüpke 2016, 13–34; Rieger 2020, 52–59.

46 Patzelt 2018.

47 Borg 2018.

48 Cf. J. Scheid in Faraone/Naiden 2012, 84–96 et aussi Rüpke 2006, 137–53.

49 Alvar 2008, 114–118; Gordon/Simón 2013.

les « traditions inventées », etc.[50]), ou l'alignement (par exemple, l'intégration ou le placement en corrélation avec d'autres sites significatifs), qui peuvent être transposés dans un contexte religieux. Les pratiques sous-tendent différentes temporalités : en soi, elles sont éphémères, mais le résultat peut être permanent. En outre, la répétition constante des mêmes pratiques assure l'établissement de structures et de normes, qui aident l'homme à naviguer dans la vie. L'importance de cette connaissance des pratiques religieuses éphémères et de leur importance pour la société romaine se reflète par exemple dans l'établissement de calendriers des fêtes, à savoir les *fasti*.

5.) **Entités intellectuelles**. Comme l'a déclaré l'UNESCO dans les années 70, le concept de culture a été élargi aux « activités incluant toutes les formes de créativité et d'expression (. . .), tant dans les modes de vie que dans les activités artistiques »[51]. La restriction aux seules activités artistiques me dérange particulièrement, car les pratiques rituelles et religieuses, en tant que forme d'interaction entre les humains ou entre les humains et les entités surnaturelles, doivent également être considérées comme des activités culturelles. Les activités culturelles doivent donc être assimilées à des pratiques sociales. Et ces pratiques sociales sont fondées sur ou émergent d'entités intellectuelles qui, pour les archéologues, peuvent être cachées dans la matérialité et doivent donc être découvertes de manière déductive. Cependant, ce processus n'est pas linéaire ou causal, car les entités intellectuelles peuvent se développer réciproquement en raison de l'évolution des pratiques. L'une de ces entités est par exemple l'ensemble des idées religieuses. Leur diffusion par le biais du commerce et des réseaux sociaux, ainsi que, plus spécifiquement, par le biais des mobilités religieuses (par exemple, le pèlerinage) a fait l'objet d'une attention accrue ces dernières années[52]. Les connaissances ou systèmes religieux ont également été remis en question à plusieurs reprises en ce qui concerne leur dynamique et leur pouvoir de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes[53]. Les pratiques religieuses, comme les rituels, reflètent ainsi les croyances spécifiques et les relations entre soi et les sociétés passées[54]. Cependant, les différents types d'aspirations qui se cachent derrière les croyances ont moins souvent fait l'objet de recherches[55]. On peut citer par exemple le désir d'une vie meil-

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50 Hobsbawm/Ranger 1983, 1–14.

51 « . . . to include all forms of creativity and expression (. . .), both in their ways of life and in their artistic. » (traduit par l'auteur) (UNESCO 1976, Annex I, 3 (a), 32.

52 Elsner/Rutherford 2005; Eidinow 2011; Collar 2015; Bonnet/Bricault 2017.

53 Rüpke 2006, 67–198; Woolf 2018, 111–128.

54 Bonnet/Scheid 2007, 1–72.

55 Goh et Van der Veer comprennent les aspirations selon la description que fait Arjun Appadurai du terme « aspirer » en tant que capacité de l'homme, qui inspire l'action collective, mais aussi l'action des pratiquants religieux, cf. Goh/van der Veer 2016, 370–371.

leure ou désir deleuzien[56], soit dans le monde vivant, soit dans des lieux imaginaires, comme le monde des dieux ou l'au-delà[57]. Il est intéressant de noter que, dans certains cas, l'interchangeabilité des divinités dans une pratique de vénération et la sémantique polyvalente des divinités montrent clairement que ce n'est pas la divinité elle-même, mais plutôt les aspirations sous-jacentes qui ont été déterminantes pour le choix de l'entité à honorer et des pratiques qui lui sont associées.

6.) **Temps.** Le dernier élément comprend toutes sortes de temporalités qui pourraient avoir affecté les contextes religieux. Au niveau micro, il peut s'agir de pratiques religieuses quotidiennes qui suivent un calendrier individuel routinier, comme les hommages quotidiens aux Lares[58]. À l'échelle macro, les saisons et les constellations cosmiques jouaient un rôle central dans la détermination du moment où une fête était célébrée en l'honneur d'une divinité particulière. Afin de faire face aux nombreuses divinités qui apparaissaient dans les grandes agglomérations à l'époque romaine, un calendrier annuel des fêtes (*fasti*) a vu le jour et a façonné de manière décisive la vie et la structure des sociétés antiques. Les manifestations matérialisées de pratiques répétitives à dates fixes étaient également un moyen de contrôler les grandes communautés et d'éviter le chaos urbain, comme par exemple les jours de fêtes officielles où les rues étaient bondées en raison des processions. Cela avait un impact réel non seulement sur la vie économique, mais aussi sur la vie juridique. Au niveau méso, certaines pratiques religieuses étaient actualisées plusieurs fois par an ou plusieurs fois au cours de la vie, comme la commémoration des défunts le jour de leur mort ou de leur anniversaire[59], la dédicace d'un autel à une divinité après un voyage en mer réussi, etc., ou encore des rituels individuels d'initiation qui devaient être renouvelés au terme d'une période déterminée[60]. Ainsi, le temps n'est ni linéaire ni absolu[61], mais plutôt une construction fluide qui peut être instrumentalisée de manière dynamique et dont les différentes dimensions peuvent coexister en même temps[62].

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56 Le désir est une notion conceptuelle comme la force positive qui n'est pas seulement réservée aux humains, mais aussi aux animaux, aux objets et aux structures, voir Deleuze/Guattari 1987; « (. . .) desire is actualised in the course of practice». Voir Gao 2013, 407.

57 Flower 2018, 2.

58 Flower 2018, 10.

59 Hope 2018, 388.

60 Dans le cas de Mater Magna et du *taurobolium* par exemple, le rituel devait être renouvelé tous les vingt ans, voir Alvar 2008, 270.

61 Le temps n'est pas objectif et n'est pas mesurable/quantifiable systématiquement. On peut l'observer dans le cas du concept de « nostalgie urbaine », où le passé est constamment rappelé dans le présent. Cette relation au temps n'est pas naturelle, voir Ingold 2000, 189–208; Gloy 2006.

62 Les initiations, par exemple, associent deux types de temporalité, comme le souligne Alvar (2008, 218): « From this perspective, initiation is to be seen as a rite of transition whose main feature was a fictive death and rebirth to a new life. In so 'dying', the initiand is able to quit his real temporal existence and gain access to the mythical time of divinity ».

Je défends l'idée que les relations qui interagissent entre elles ou l'enchevêtrement réciproque entre les six éléments forment une dynamique qui crée une force de transformation qui façonne le paysage religieux. Par conséquent, je propose d'en analyser les preuves matérielles avec une approche multi-perspective et transdisciplinaire qui prend en compte chacun de ces six aspects.

3 Études de cas sur la ville de Rome

La ville de Rome se caractérisait par sa diversité, sa densité et l'imbrication de multiples couches temporelles et spatiales, comme toute autre grande agglomération. Cependant, la colonisation d'autres territoires et la transformation en Empire ont sans aucun doute forgé l'image de la ville. Ceci a eu un impact sur la vie de ses habitants et leur a permis de vivre une expérience spécifique. En ce qui concerne la vie vécue dans l'espace urbain, des chercheurs, tels que Lefebvre ou Amin et Thrift, ont affirmé que chaque ville crée ses propres rythmes – dans le sens de « localized time/temps localisé » et « temporalized place/lieu temporalisé »[63]. Le rythme sert de coordonnées à travers lesquelles les habitants de la ville sont capables de structurer leur expérience urbaine. C'est précisément cette expérience qui permet aux urbanistes de définir ce qu'est une ville – indépendamment de la période ou de la région – plutôt que de rechercher uniquement des paramètres physiques ou législatifs. En conséquence, des chercheurs ont récemment proposé de définir une ville comme la combinaison des différentes dimensions qu'offre l'expérience de cette ville. Cela peut être l'imagination (imaginé), le déploiement physique (mesuré) ou les interactions et les événements qui se produisent dans une ville (vécu)[64]. Cette dernière dimension semble être cruciale pour la sociabillité, puisque l'interaction implique nécessairement une certaine forme d'expérience et, par la suite, fait de cette expérience l'un des paramètres importants du changement religieux.

Comme étude de cas, j'ai choisi de me concentrer sur la ville de Rome. Cependant, il est difficile d'appliquer le « Religious Ancient Placemaking » comme une sorte de théorie intermédiaire Mertonienne, à la ville antique de Rome pour diverses raisons. Malgré la richesse des sources écrites et l'abondance des fouilles effectuées au cours des derniers siècles, une grande partie des informations est toujours manquante en raison de l'urbanisation galopante de la ville, sans compter que les informations ne sont pas reliées entre elles. C'est pourquoi on trouve plus souvent des travaux de recherche axés sur des monuments isolés que des enquêtes sur l'intégration urbaine des bâtiments, à l'exception peut-être des *fora*. Heureusement, une nouvelle collection a été créée récemment, qui se concentre sur l'espace social et culturel de la ville, ainsi

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63 Lefebvre 2004; Amin/Thrift 2002, 22; Rau 2018, 10.

64 Salama/Grierson 2019, 4–5.

que sur l'étude des lieux liés aux expériences sensorielles et affectives[65]. C'est pour-
quoi, je me concentrerai uniquement sur deux exemples : la vénération de Mater
Magna dans la ville Rome et les enterrements *intra-muros*. De ces deux exemples, je
ne discuterai que de quelques éléments concrets et spécifiques.

Pour la vénération de la déesse Mater Magna, quelques informations essentielles
doivent être brièvement mentionnées ici, afin de comprendre la portée de mes analyses.
La divinité autrefois connue sous le nom de Cybèle était vénérée en Phrygie/Asie Mi-
neure et son culte s'est répandu ensuite en Grèce, dans les colonies grecques/ puis en
Italie[66]. Les premières traces de sa présence en Italie se trouvent à Brindisi et en Sicile à
la fin du IVe siècle avant notre ère[67]. Cependant, on ne sait pas exactement quand son
culte a été introduit dans la ville de Rome et il n'existe aucune preuve archéologique
d'une quelconque pratique religieuse concernant la déesse dans la ville avant la fin du
IIIe siècle avant notre ère. Les auteurs antiques, tels que Tite-Live, Virgile et Ovide, dé-
crivent rétrospectivement les circonstances de l'introduction du culte comme ayant eu
lieu en l'an 204 avant notre ère[68]. Selon eux, les livres sibyllins et l'Oracle de Delphes
prédirent que la victoire de Rome sur Hannibal et ses troupes, qui occupaient une partie
de l'Italie, n'aurait lieu que lorsque la Grande Mère de la montagne de l'Ida serait ame-
née à Rome. À cette époque, Rome était aux prises avec deux ennemis de taille : les
forces de l'ennemi juré, Carthage, menées par Hannibal et le roi Philippe V de Macé-
doine impliqué dans le cadre de la première guerre de Macédoine (entre 215 et 205
avant notre ère)[69]. Il semble que l'introduction de la déesse à Rome ait également fait
partie d'une stratégie diplomatique visant à renforcer les liens de Rome avec son allié,
le royaume de Pergame, sur le territoire duquel se trouvait le mont Ida, qui était égale-
ment considéré comme le berceau de l'un des ancêtres mythiques de Rome, à savoir
Énée. Une tactique similaire avait déjà été utilisée auparavant, en 217 avant notre ère,
pendant la deuxième guerre Punique, lorsque les Romains avaient transféré la Vénus
Erycina gréco-punique d'Eryx en Sicile à Rome[70]. L'intégration de divinités étrangères
dans le panthéon romain était censée être une garantie de succès militaire. Cependant,
nous ne pouvons pas être certains que ces récits ultérieurs reflètent réellement la vérité
historique. Vers 133 avant notre ère, Rome est confrontée à une lutte politique interne
acharnée entre les différentes *gentes* (familles politiques), comme les Gracques, la *gens*
Cornelia et la *gens* Claudia[71], exactement au moment où le récit concernant l'importa-
tion de la déesse apparaît pour la première fois. L'histoire est devenue une arme poli-

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65 Cette série s'intitule *RomeScapes* et est publiée par les Edizioni Quasar, Caldelli/Ricci 2020.

66 Naumann-Steckner 1983; Borgeaud 1996; Roller 1999; Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018; Van Haeperen 2018.

67 Vermaseren 1977, 44–46; Silvestrini 1989, 67–84; Pedrucci 2009.

68 Berneder 2004, 82–98; Tite-Live 29.14.13; Virgile, *Énéide* 6; Ovide, *Fastes* 4.

69 Gehrke 2003.

70 Orlin 2010.

71 Berneder 2004, 82–98.

tique, chaque parti tentant d'utiliser à son avantage le récit de l'arrivée de la Mater Magna à Rome, en reliant sa *gens* aux succès militaires qui ont suivi, afin de renforcer la position de son parti dans la mémoire collective de la ville (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Autel dédicatoire de Claudia Quinta, avec la représentation de la *navisalvia*. Rome, Musées du Capitole (Photographie B. Malter, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 79.441/Mal317-02).

I Aligner l'immatériel

Au niveau macro-urbain, « faire place » à la déesse impliquait la construction d'un temple monumental à côté du temple de Victoria déjà existant, tous deux dans le centre historique où la ville est censée avoir été fondée à l'origine. Le place sur lequel le temple a été construit avait déjà été sacralisé plusieurs siècles auparavant, comme l'indiquent les fouilles des restes d'un temple monumental archaïque, probablement pour la déesse Juno Sospita. Néanmoins, plusieurs citernes et maisons indiquent un quartier urbain hétérogène, socialement diversifié et polyfonctionnel pour la période archaïque, déjà peuplé de sanctuaires mais aussi de maisons privées[72].

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72 Bruno 2017, 227–233; Pensabene 2017, 3–12.

Les déesses Mater Magna et Victoria étaient étroitement liées l'une à l'autre, non seulement sur le plan topographique mais aussi sur le plan sémantique, car toutes deux représentaient la force et le succès militaires de Rome. Leurs statues étaient portées l'une après l'autre dans les rues lors de processions triomphales[73]. Les édiles curules (acteur), qui organisaient et finançaient les fêtes annuelles de la divinité, frappaient des pièces de monnaie, appelées *bigati*, avec Victoria sur le revers et Mater Magna sur l'avers. Cette dernière est représentée à l'aide d'un nouveau motif, jusqu'alors inconnu pour Mater Magna. Il s'agit d'une innovation romaine qui a été transposée dans l'iconographie : la déesse est représentée sur une *biga* (un char de course romains, ou char à deux chevaux), mais elle doit quand même s'asseoir sur un trône et la *biga* sera pas tiré par des chevaux – comme dans le cas de Victoria – mais par des félins, principalement des lions (Fig. 2). Cela reflète les aspirations qui ont été vues et ainsi exprimées en rapport avec la déesse combative.

Fig. 2: Statuette en bronze, la déesse trônant sur un bige avec deux lions. Metropolitan Museum New York (Wikimedia Creative Commons Zero CC0).

Il n'est pas surprenant que les jours de son festival annuel soient l'occasion de courses de chars, qui étaient probablement l'un des jeux les plus populaires dans la société romaine, quelle que soit la classe sociale. De plus, la présence permanente de la déesse dans le Circus Maximus était assurée – au moins attesté par des représentations sur les mosaïques de l'antiquité tardive – par l'érection d'un simulacre d'elle avec un lion sur

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73 Scène de la procession triomphale sur le couvercle d'un sarcophage: Arachne Database, n°194681, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7705884 (20.6.2021) .

la *spina* (la barrière de séparation au milieu de l'hippodrome)[74]. C'est l'interaction de diverses stratégies de médiatisation, ainsi que la répétition de pratiques spécifiques, comme l'organisation de courses de chars en l'honneur de la déesse, qui ont formé un alignement sémantique qui a duré depuis longtemps au sein de la ville de Rome. La répétition de ces événements spectaculaires et l'expérience intense auxquels ils donnaient lieu ont été gravées dans la mémoire de presque tous les habitants de la ville. C'est pourquoi l'événement lui-même était vital dans la réalisation d'aménagements religieux durables qui ont non seulement persisté pendant des siècles, mais qui ont également été diffusés dans les provinces en tant que marqueur de la vie urbaine[75].

L'alignement immatériel (sémantiquement et iconographiquement) puissant de Mater Magna avec Victoria et avec le cirque est évidente dans la culture visuelle, ainsi que dans les pratiques qui visent à honorer la divinité. Il est intéressant de noter qu'il ne se reflète cependant pas dans la mise en place physique et architecturale de son sanctuaire. Dans aucune de ses phases de construction, le temple de Mater Magna n'est physiquement aligné ou orienté vers le temple de Victoria, bien qu'il y ait eu suffisamment d'espace à l'ouest du plateau[76] (Fig. 3).
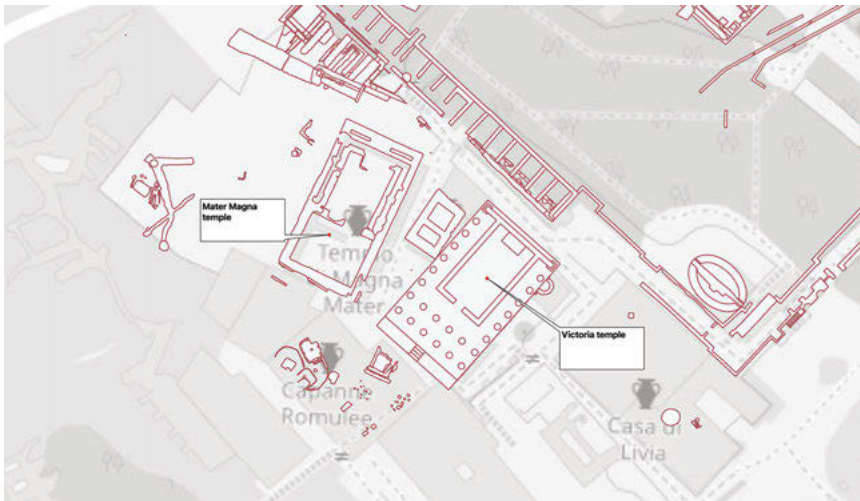
Fig. 3: Localisation des sanctuaires Mater Magna et Victoria sur le Palatin (d'après les données SITAR). Réalisation A. Lätzer-Lasar.

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74 L'image est pratiquement devenue la marque de fabrique du Circus Maximus et de la vie urbaine spectaculaire de Rome, une image qui a été ensuite diffusée dans les provinces, comme l'illustrent de manière édifiante plusieurs mosaïques en Afrique du Nord (Carthage) http://penelope.uchicago.edu/~grout/encyclopaedia_romana/circusmaximus/carthage.jpg (20.6.2021) .

75 Sur l'expérience vécue éphémère dans la ville et son pouvoir de formation d'une identité propre et d'une appartenance locale, voir Borries 2004, 9, 26.

76 Mattern 2000, fig. 2; Pensabene 2017, 13, 24.

Vu d´en haut, le bâtiment du temple semble être orienté vers le Circus Maximus (Fig. 4).

Compte tenu de sa taille plutôt réduite, on peut toutefois se demander dans quelle mesure le temple était réellement visible. Pour tester sa visibilité du bâtiment à partir de différents quartiers de la ville, j´ai préparé plusieurs analyses de bassins visuels (viewshed analyses) avec une hauteur d'yeux à 1,60 m et un rayon de vision de deux kilomètres. J'ai également suivi la reconstitution du temple de la Mater Magna proposée par Huelsen, qui table sur une hauteur d'environ 20 mètres pour le bâtiment, y compris l'escalier monumental de presque 10 mètres situé devant le temple[77]. Le toit du temple, qui commençait à une hauteur d'environ 15 mètres, était visible de presque tous les endroits de la ville, à l'exception de la colline du Caelius, de la colline de l'Oppius et du bas Campus Martius (Fig. 5).

Cela signifie que les personnes se tenant sur le Champ de Mars ou sur les parties les plus importantes de la colline du Caelius ne pouvaient même pas voir le toit. La moitié de la population de la ville, comme les enfants et les personnes handicapées, ne pouvait même pas apercevoir le temple, à moins d'avoir déjà pénétré sur le plateau ou de se trouver dans d'autres lieux élevés de la ville (par exemple les *insulae* à plusieurs étages) Le bâtiment du temple dans toute sa hauteur n'était visible que depuis le sud de la ville (Fig. 6).

Contrairement à mon hypothèse initiale, le temple était à peine visible de l'intérieur du Circus Maximus. Pour cette raison, on peut penser que l'alignement entre le temple de Mater Magna et le Circus Maximus n'était pas prévu, ou bien qu'il s'agissait d'une connaissance limitée aux initiés, tandis que la plupart des habitants de la ville l'ignoraient[78]. Vers quel bâtiment ou lieu le temple de Mater Magna était-il aligné, ce qui pourrait expliquer la déviation de l'orientation des bâtiments, si ce n'est vers le temple Victoria ou le Cirque ? Une possibilité pourrait être un alignement avec la maison de Romulus. Mais même dans ce cas, cet alignement n'aurait pas été visible de manière évidente, mais plutôt construit de manière abstraite et conceptuelle (entité intellectuelle)

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77 Huelsen 1895, 11.

78 L'étape suivante consisterait à calculer le paysage sonore et à analyser quels sons ont pu être entendus dans le cirque à partir des rituels pratiqués au temple. La musique forte (*tympanon*) suivie de danses frénétiques jusqu'à la transe était caractéristique du culte de la déesse. La représentation de pièces de théâtre (de préférence des drames) sur l'escalier monumental en face du temple faisait également partie des jours de fête (*ludis scaenicis*), cf. Bernstein 1998, 187–205.
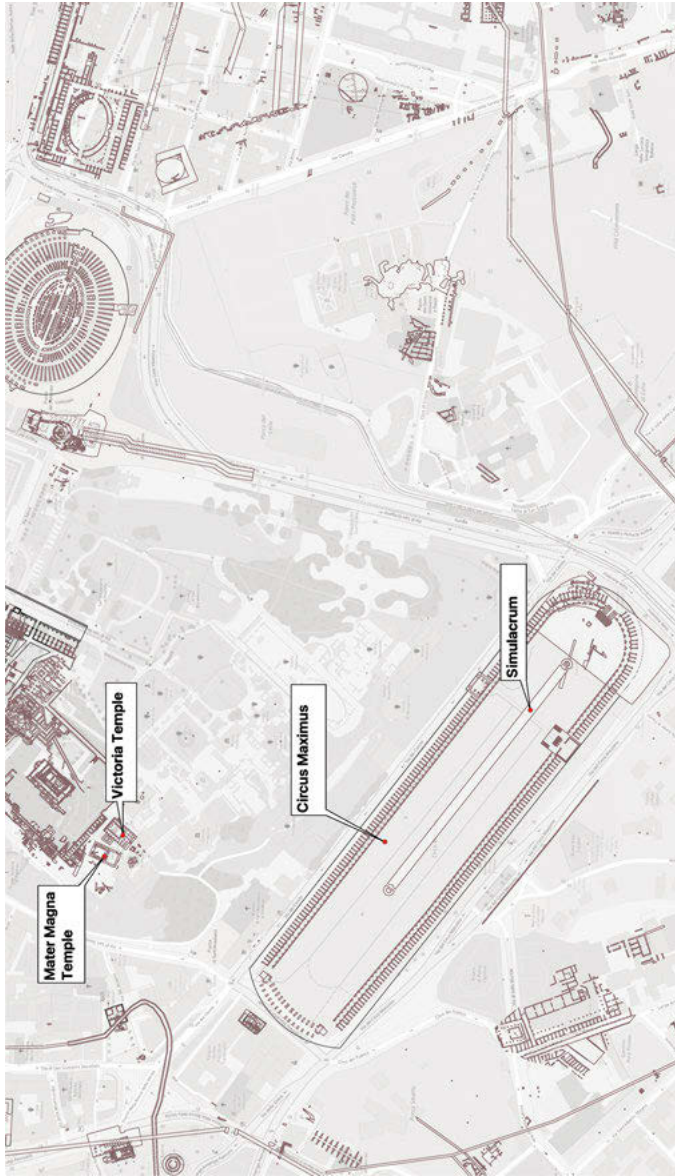
Fig. 4: La zone du Palatin et du Circus Maximus (d'après les données SITAR). Réalisation A. Lätzer-Lasar.
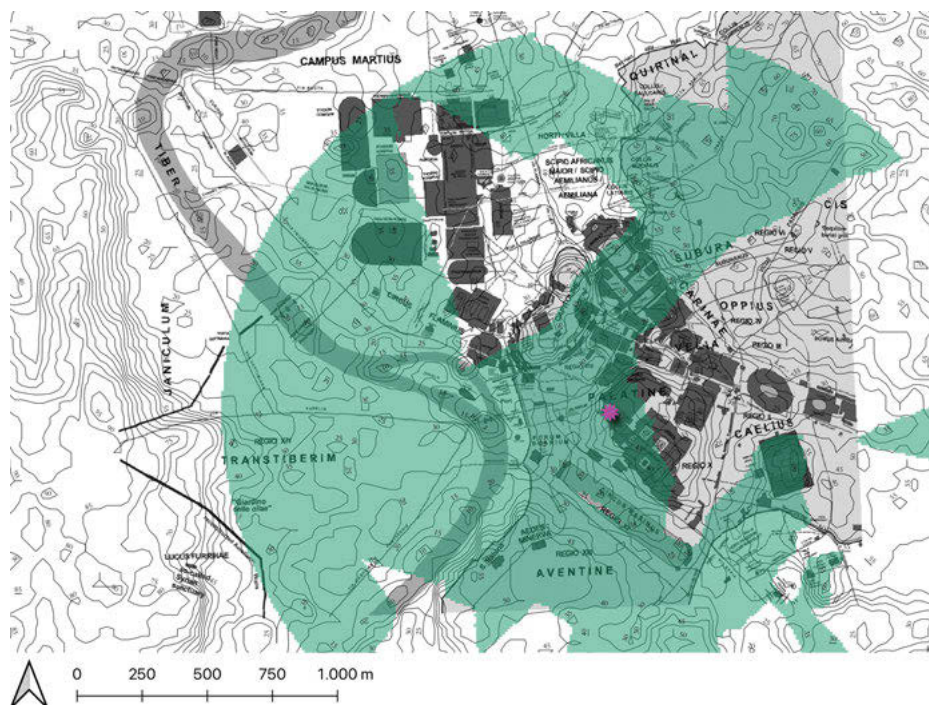
Fig. 5: Analyse du champ de vision depuis une vue sur le toit (l'étoile rose = temple). Réalisation N. Schnorr (avec son aimable autorisation).

II Créer l'identité d'un lieu

Néanmoins, ce n'est pas un hasard si le temple Mater Magna a été placé dans l'angle ouest du plateau. Outre le lien avec Victoria, la plupart des lieux mythologiques qui ont joué un rôle central dans l'histoire de la fondation de la ville ont été construits ou reconstruits dans cette zone précisément, comme la maison de Romulus (cabane de l'âge du fer), ou le Lupercal, une grotte où la louve aurait nourri les jumeaux (Fig. 7).

Puisque la maison de Romulus se trouvait juste en face de l'escalier, nous pourrions tout aussi bien envisager une orientation du temple Mater Magna par rapport à ce bâtiment en paille, comme déjà mentionné ci-dessus[79].

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79 La cabane a brûlé à plusieurs reprises pendant la République et la période impériale, Dionys. I.79; Plut. Rom. 20; Cass. Dio XLVIII. 43; Liv. 29. Cependant, elle a toujours été reconstruite en utilisant les techniques anciennes. La stratégie de préservation indique que le concept est celui d'un musée en plein air, ce qui semble correspondre à la stratégie de restauration du temple de Mater Magna, qui consistait à le reconstruire non pas en marbre, comme Auguste le demandait habituellement, mais en utilisant les techniques anciennes de construction, cf. Mattern 2000, 145–148.
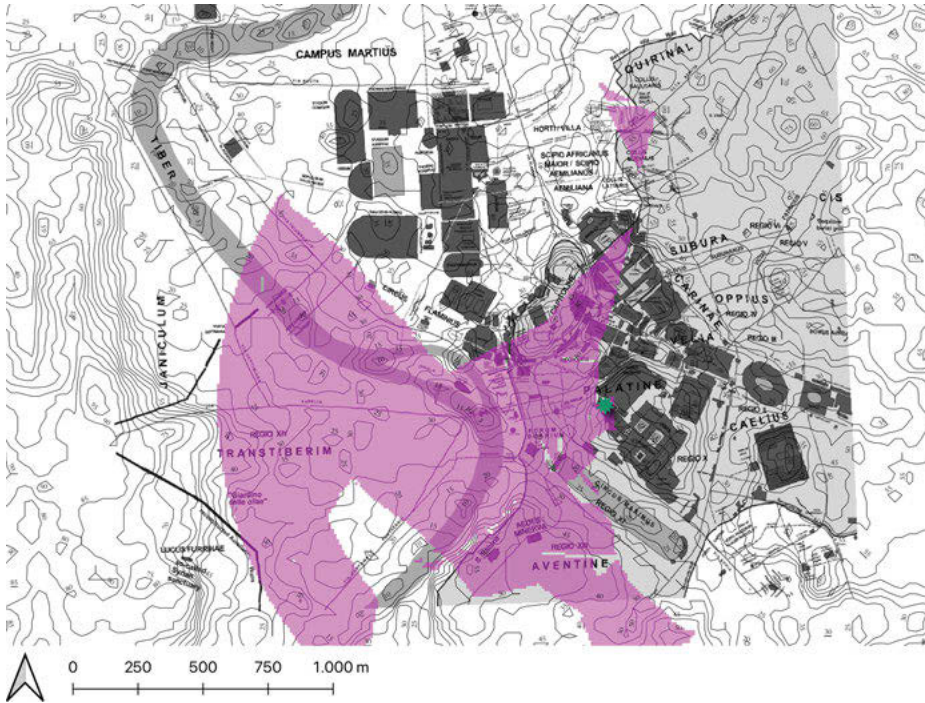
Fig. 6: Analyse du champ de vision avec vue sur les escalier (l´étoile verte = temple). Réalisation N. Schnorr (avec son aimable autorisation).

Les traditions inventées concernant l'arrivée de Mater Magna à Rome, par analogie avec l'autre fondateur de la ville, Énée, ont complété l'histoire de l'origine de Rome. Par la suite, un lieu de mémoire a été créé, qui invitait à se souvenir avec nostalgie de l'histoire glorieuse et héroïque des gens qui y vivaient. Ce « lieu de nostalgie urbaine » a permis à la mémoire collective d'acquérir une consistance et aux habitants de cultiver un sentiment de communauté par la création d'un sentiment d'appartenance[80]. En raison de la fluidité et de la signification multiple dont elle peut être investie, l'identité d'un lieu peut également changer ou s'affiner, en particulier dans une perspective diachronique. Dans le cas du sanctuaire du Palatin, les reconstructions du complexe du temple indiquent un changement dans l'utilisation du sanctuaire. Par exemple, un bassin d'eau, installation pour les rituels individuels – placé devant le temple a été déplacé et agrandi sur le côté ouest de l'édifice au cours du Ier siècle de notre ère. Les pratiques religieuses ont donc été déplacées sur le côté du bâtiment. Probablement à la fin du IIe siècle de notre ère, il a finalement été recouvert d'un pavement. Par conséquent, on peut supposer que

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[80] Clewell 2013.
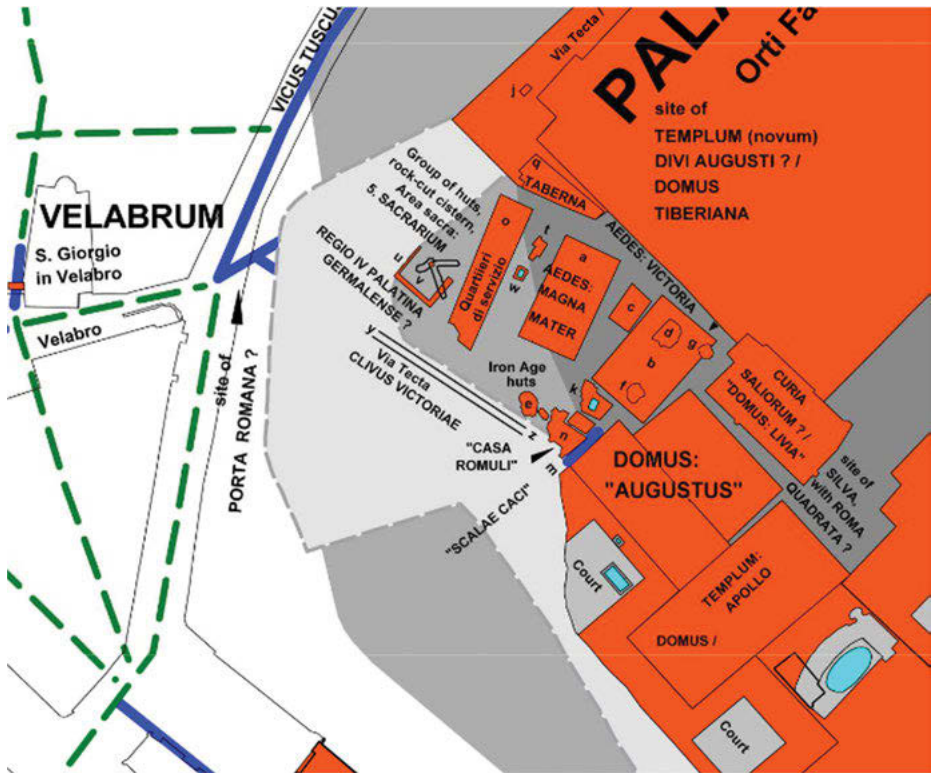
Fig. 7: Lieux et bâtiments historiques du Palatin. Carte de Ch. Häuber et F. X. Schütz (Munich, avec leur aimable autorisation).

ces pratiques étaient désormais pratiquées ailleurs dans le complexe du sanctuaire ou qu'elles avaient tout simplement été abandonnées. Par la suite, cet espace pavé a été réaménagé avec un portique menant à l'étage supérieur à de petites pièces, identifiées à des chambres d'hébergement[81] (Fig. 8).

Au niveau inférieur, un complexe des *fullonica* (blanchisserie et teinturerie pour textiles) s'est installée. Les fouilleurs estiment que le sanctuaire palatin est alors devenu un centre de pèlerinage et que les pèlerins étaient hébergés aux étages inférieurs, tandis que leur urine était vendue à les *fullonica*[82].

Maintenant, si nous considérons qu'il existait une dialectique – au sens où l'entendait le philosophe Wesley Salmon –, c'est-à-dire que les gens ont façonné les lieux, mais que le lieu a également poussé les gens à agir et à changer leurs habitu-

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81 Coletti/Pensabene 2017, 585–586; Pensabene 2017.
82 Un graffiti inédit inscrit sur un des murs évoque le montant de l'urine, comme Coletti me l'a confirmé verbalement.
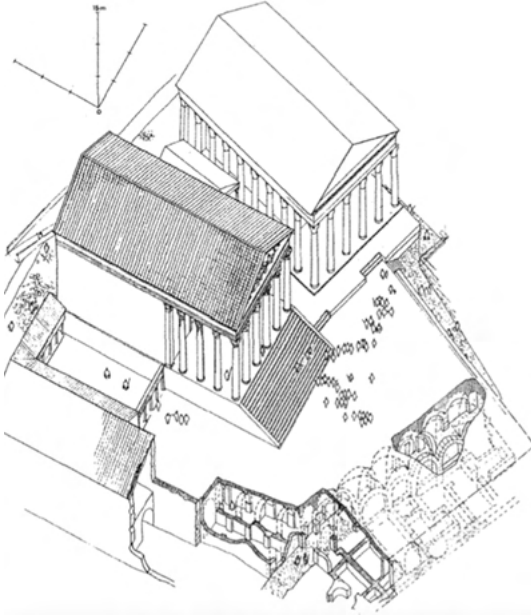
Fig. 8: Reconstruction du complexe du temple avec les substructions. Dessin de P. Pensabene (Rome, avec son aimable autorisation).

des, alors on peut supposer que c'est cette transformation de l'identité du lieu qui a fait disparaître peu à peu, dans cette zone, l'usage quotidien qui, dans les siècles pré-cédents, avaient recours à des bassins pour des pratiques religieuses, en consé-quence de quoi, la fondation d'un deuxième sanctuaire à Rome aurait été suggérée : le *Phrygianum* sur la colline du Vatican (sanctuaire des Phrygiens d'Asie Mineure)[83]. Le développement du sanctuaire palatin pourrait être une bonne raison pour laquelle les individus qui aspiraient ausalut individuel ou à une vengeance personnelle pour lesquels ils avaient besoin de l'aide de la déesse, ont déplacé leurs affaires vers un autre lieu, aux marges de la ville, là où l'espace était disponible.

Malheureusement, l'hypothèse de Biering et von Hesberg d'un *Phrygianum* dans le cirque Gai est obsolète[84]. Le sanctuaire du Vatican, connu à l'échelle suprarégio-nale, devait être beaucoup plus grand. En outre, le service religieux particulier du *tau-robolium* et du *criobolium*, un sacrifice spécifique de taureau ou de bélier, nécessitait beaucoup plus d'infrastructures, comme des étables, des installations d'élimination des déchets, de nettoyage ou autres. En outre, le nom "mons Vaticanus", tel qu'il est connu par les inscriptions de Lugdunum (Lyon) ou de Mogontiacum (Mayence) qui

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83 Salmon 1984; Biering/von Hesberg 1987.

84 Biering/von Hesberg 1987.

mentionnent la pratique du transfert des testicules du taureau au mons Vaticanus de Rome, désigne évidemment un lieu situé sur la colline. On peut en déduire que l'endroit en question devait être important pour la bonne exécution du rituel[85]. Comme dans le cas du Circus Maximus, la pratique et le lieu sont si fortement liés qu'ils deviennent une marque intangible, dans le sens d'une icône.

III Localiser les interrupteurs de la co-spatialité

Dans l'Antiquité tardive, sur le versant de la colline du Vatican, mais probablement encore à proximité du deuxième sanctuaire de Mater Magna, le *Phrygianum*, la construction de l'église Saint-Pierre a commencé au milieu du IVe siècle après notre ère. Dans les environs immédiats, on a trouvé vingt-deux autels dédiés à la déesse Mater Magna. Malheureusement, l'emplacement exact et le contexte de découverte n'ont pas été documentés par le fouilleur au XVIIe siècle[86].

Face à l'érection de cette église monumentale et significative pour les premiers chrétiens, ainsi que sur la toile de fond des lois contemporaines d'interdiction des cultes païens durant la seconde moitié du IVe siècle, plusieurs acteurs urbains romains – des fonctionnaires, qui cumulaient plusieurs fonctions sacerdotales, ainsi que des immigrés – ont encore commandé des autels dédicatoires à la déesse et à son compagnon Attis[87]. D'une part, cela peut être dû à l'habitude répétée de dédier des autels à la déesse à cet endroit spécifique, d'autre part, il est intriguant de considérer cela comme une forme subtile de protestation urbaine déclenchée par les « figures mères » concurrentes.

Le fait de placer des autels en tant que marqueurs spatiaux durables à cet endroit précis est intentionnel et crée un espace partagé ou, pourrait-on dire en guise de provocation, un espace contesté. Jacques Lévy parlerait d'une co-spatialité où les deux groupes religieux, les premiers chrétiens et les fidèles de Mater Magna et d'Attis, partagent le même espace au même moment, mais utilisent leurs propres déclencheurs pour activer les espaces qui leur sont propres[88]. Les autels dédicatoires fonctionneraient donc comme des aiguillages (switch) permettant de façonner l'espace en fonction des besoins situationnels et pérennes. L'entrelacement complexe d'au moins trois éléments analytiques principales – acteur, objet, aspiration – a façonné l'espace social de manière décisive.

En ce qui concerne les autels, j'aimerais souligner un autre facteur qui semble important pour la durabilité d'un aménagement religieux/ qui semble être spécifique aux divinités maternelles en lien avec la fertilité. Les diverses dénominations – une

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85 *CIL* XIII 07281 (Mainz), Spickermann 2016, 203–206; *CIL* XIII 1751 (Lyon).

86 Liverani 2008b; Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 508.

87 Salzman 1993, 368; Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, cat. 90–116.

88 Lévy/Lussault 2003, 236–237.

entité intellectuelle – de la Mater Magna, comme Mater deum, mater deorum, Mater Deum Magna Idea(e) ou Cibele Triodeia etc., sont associées à d'autres déesses comme Rhea dans les inscriptions sur les autels, mais aussi aux multiples affiliations d'autres divinités, ce qui souligne la fluidité et la polyvalence de la Mater Magna[89] et conduit à une iconographie commune d'une figure maternelle en trône[90]. D'une part, cela permet d'expliquer pourquoi les polémistes chrétiens ont attaqué si violemment la Mater Magna, d'autre part, cela explique aussi la continuité de vers 700 ans de vénération de la divinité par les habitants de la ville romaine à tous les niveaux sociaux, dans la mesure où le concept de la déesse offrait la possibilité de diverses adaptations individuelles.

IV Cartographier les morts dans la ville

« Toutes les cultures doivent faire des choix sur la manière et l'endroit où placer les morts. Le territoire, la main-d'œuvre, les matériaux et les autres ressources sont limités; par conséquent, les décisions prises par les vivants pour utiliser leur environnement afin de pourvoir aux besoins des morts peuvent révéler des caractéristiques importantes des cultures humaines »[91]. Dans cette citation, Stirling et Stone mettent l'accent sur le processus décisionnel qui sous-tend le placement des personnes décédées. Cependant, au-delà de la localisation de la sépulture et de son type (en surface ou en sous-sol, architecture monumentale, crémation, inhumation/c.), les recherches spatiales récentes nous informent que ce sont surtout les pratiques durables qui constituent le lieu en tant que partie de l'espace public et familial[92]. Par conséquent, l'autoreprésentation du défunt et la présentation d'une certaine identité ne sont pas les seuls facteurs décisifs dans la création des sites funéraires[93]. Outre les soins et la commémoration du défunt, il s'agissait également de fournir au groupe social encore vivant un environnement permettant diverses interactions entre les vivants, les morts et les « pairs » numineux.

Cette nouvelle approche nous oblige virtuellement à jeter un regard nouveau sur la cartographie des sites funéraires intra-urbains afin d'examiner comment le site funéraire et leur pierre tombale respective, qu'elle soit monumentale ou mini-

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89 Voir par exemple Dubosson-Sbriglione 2018, 62, n° 104 et 111.

90 Borgeaud 1996, 23–31. Concernant le « merging of the worship of Attis, the companion of Mater Magna, into that of Jesus . . . » , voir King 1992, 117.

91 « All cultures must make choices about how and where to position the dead. Territory, labour, materials and other resources are limited; therefore, the decisions that the living make in utilizing their environment to provide for the dead have the potential to reveal important features of human cultures». Stirling/Stone 2007.

92 Borg 2019.

93 Morris 1992.

maliste, étaient liés à l'espace public dense et étaient donc visibles. En outre, pour la question des pratiques, il faut évaluer dans quelle mesure les sites et les monuments étaient accessibles pour le groupe hétérogène des citadins, quel que soit le statut social auquel ils étaient rattachés.

Les monuments funéraires et les lieux de sépulture sur le territoire de la ville de Rome ont fait l'objet de fouilles archéologiques et d'études depuis au moins le XVIIe siècle. Les volumes édités sur les voies funéraires romaines par von Hesberg et Zanker, ainsi que ceux de Heinzelmann *et alii* sur les coutumes et les rites funéraires romains sont toujours des ouvrages de référence sur le sujet[94]. Au cours des deux dernières décennies, des études intensives sont venues s'ajouter aux découvertes individuelles, portant sur la catacombe de Domitilla[95], la nécropole du Vatican ou le monument Arietri. De nombreuses autres études peuvent être mentionnées et sont encore à prévoir, telles que celles qui touchent aux tombes découvertes lors des fouilles plus récentes dans le cadre de la construction de la ligne C du métro. La plupart des études se concentrent sur des monuments individuels, ce qui explique l'absence d'une carte cohérente des différents sites funéraires et des divers types de monuments dans la ville, qui permettrait de visualiser l'encastrement urbain à un niveau macro. Ce n'est que pour le type de construction de la columbaria Borbonus reposant sur Feraudi-Gruénais qu'une carte de distribution a été présentée[96].

Pour l'étude de cas qui fait suite, l'accent est mis sur un seul monument qui représente une forme impressionnante de tombe, entendue comme un marqueur social et culturel. Pendant la période républicaine, les pierres tombales monumentales étaient plutôt réservées à l'élite patricienne. Cependant, lors de la transition vers la période impériale, d'autres élites, comme les plébéiens ayant réussi, ont commencé à construire des sépultures conçues pour être visibles de manière permanente. Malgré des ressources financières vraisemblablement comparables, il semble que les différents acteurs aient exprimé des connotations différentes concernant leurs aspirations individuelles, en plus de l'autoreprésentation habituelle.

Ceci est bien illustré par la tombe du couple de boulangers Eurysaces et Atistia. Leur monument a été construit dans la seconde moitié du Ier siècle avant notre ère. Le plan au sol inhabituel indique que le choix de l'emplacement/ donc le désir de savoir comment et par quels groupes d'acteurs le monument doit être vu, était crucial, situé à la bifurcation de deux artères les *Viae* Labicana et Praenestina. Ce qui rend le contexte encore plus insolite, c'est le fait que les deux rues ont des niveaux

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94 Hesberg/Zanker 1987; Hesberg 1992; Heinzelmann *et al.* 2001.

95 Zimmermann 2007.

96 Borbonus 2019. À travers mon projet de recherche sur les tombes en milieu urbain, j'ai pu cartographier jusqu'à présent environ 80 sites funéraires échelonnés entre le XIe siècle av. notre ère et le VIe siècle ap. notre ère, en utilisant QGIS. En me fondant sur les résultats de cette enquête, le prétendu legs des tombes interdites en ville – transmis par la loi des Douze Table du Ve siècle ap. notre ère – peut être contesté, grâce à cette carte détaillée, réunissant des informations diachroniques.

de sol différents, avec une différence de hauteur d'environ trois mètres. La conception de la structure a donc dû se conformer à une surface irrégulière et trapézoïdale, qui devait compenser les différentes hauteurs, afin que les passants puissent toujours être en mesure de lire l'inscription et de voir les reliefs représentant des scènes professionnelles. La situation de l'entrée n'a pas été clarifiée archéologiquement, mais les structures de fondation dans la zone occidentale indiquent un espace protégé où se déroulaient probablement les rituels commémoratifs annuels au niveau de ce carrefour très fréquenté[97] (Fig. 9).
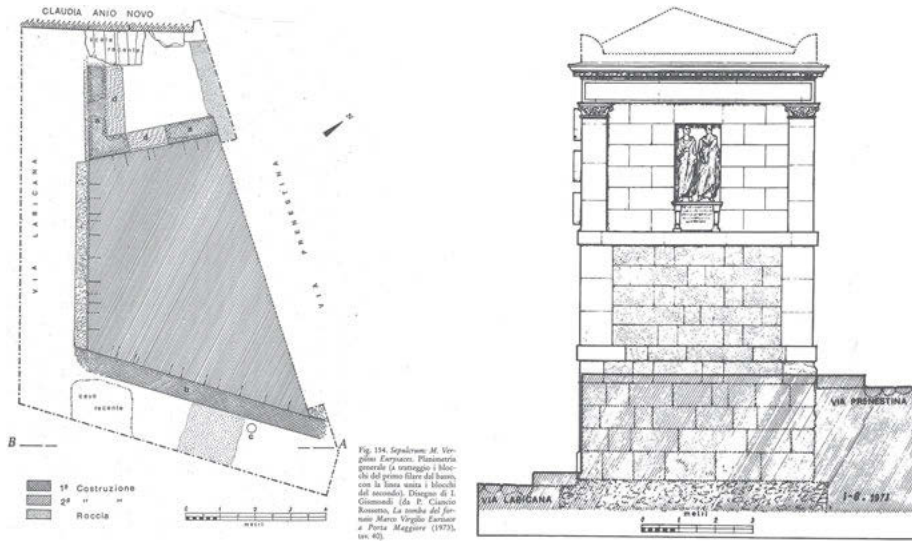
Fig. 9: a et b. Tombe du couple de boulangers Eurysace et Atistia (plan et vue de l'est selon LTUR IV (1999), 500–501, fig. 154 et 157, dessin de I. Gismondi, dans: P. Ciancio Rosetto, La tomba del fornaio Marco Virgilio Eurisace a Porta Maggiore (1973), tab. 40 et 46).

On pourrait envisager qu'aucun autre endroit pour disposer la tombe n'était disponible pour le couple, mais le choix de l'endroit peut aussi s'expliquer par d'autres considérations, comme l'accessibilité spécifique créée par les deux routes principales, ou sa visibilité pour un groupe ciblé de passants.

Le côté est est interprété comme le côté frontal, puisque les défunts étaient représentés sur un relief grandeur nature. Cela implique dès lors que le bâtiment était orienté vers l'extérieur de la ville. Il était donc destiné à s'adresser aux personnes qui venaient de passer l'une des portes d'entrée de la ville. En outre, les fournisseurs de farine du moulin, qui se trouvait apparemment à proximité de la tombe, auraient également pu être interpellés par cette tombe. La découverte à proximité

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97 Hesberg 1992; Steinby 1999, voir Sepulcrum M. Vergilius Eurysaces.

d'une inscription funéraire, lue par Luigi Canina en 1840 comme faisant référence à un *similaginarius* (« personne qui cuit avec la meilleure farine »)[98], un ami d'Eurysaces, permet de supposer que les monuments funéraires n'étaient pas seulement conçus pour l'affichage de la réussite des défunts et leur autoreprésentation. Ils peuvent également être compris comme un moyen d'aspirer à la cohésion sociale et de créer un sentiment d'appartenance dans la société urbaine très diversement stratifiée. Les *liberti*, qui n'avaient probablement pas une longue lignée d'ancêtres, dépendaient d'un cercle social étendu. Le monument peut par conséquent également être interprété comme un point de repère pour une communauté professionnelle. De manière frappante, il est resté visible pendant plusieurs siècles, jusqu'à la reconstruction de la Porta Praenestina sous Honorius, au tournant du Ve siècle, lorsque la tombe a été entièrement intégrée à une tour du bastion.

De manière générale, la question du choix de la sépulture et du lieu d'inhumation devait être plus pressante en ville qu'à la campagne, car en ville l'espace était limité. En outre, les cités se sont développées, de sorte que les tombes qui étaient d'abord situées en marge, ont dû être intégrées dans le tissu urbain par la suite. Ainsi, les espaces funéraires sont-ils une partie active des paysages urbains qui ont été constamment reconstitués par les mouvements incessants des citadins et la fluidité de leurs pratiques dans l'espace funéraire. Les monuments funéraires n'étaient pas seulement conçus pour les morts, mais aussi pour les vivants et leurs besoins, dans un mouvement pendulaire entre proximité et distance : tout d'abord, on prodiguait les soins aux morts, ensuite, on favorisait la cohésion sociale, ou on soulignait la distinction/ enfin, on maintenait un niveau d'hygiène nécessaire dans la ville.[99]

4 Conclusion

Le « Religious Ancient Placemaking » est une grille d'analyse composée de six éléments, qui sont reliés entre eux dans un réseau ou, l'on pourrait également dire, un faisceau de fils dans un maillage. Ils sont tous agissants et ont un impact réciproque les uns sur les autres. Le fait de considérer les données à partir de multiples échelles sociales et en tenant compte des six aspects favorise une approche sensible de la religion vécue dans les espaces sacrés[100] et offre la possibilité d'appréhender

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98 Ritschl 1878, 4, 751.
99 Le *pomerium* (limite sacrée de la ville) et son tracé étaient inconnus de la majorité de la population. Néanmoins, les magistrats urbains utilisaient la frontière pour assurer l'hygiène publique; voir l'inscription d'un *cippus* (pierre de frontière, pilier) *CIL* VI 40885, commandé par Lucius Sentius (93–89 avant n.è.) qui rappelle aux habitants de la ville qu'il est interdit de construire des lieux de crémation ou de jeter des corps à cet endroit (colline de l'Esquilin).
100 Hall 1997, VII; Orsi 1999, 1–78.

divers phénomènes, tels que le transfert d′aspirations religieuses, les formes de protestations urbaines ou la création d'identités pour les lieux.

On rejoint donc Baumanová qui a déclaré que « [. . .] l'espace est rarement l'objet ultime de l'interprétation »[101], tout en s'éloignant de la deuxième moitié du paragraphe, selon laquelle : « En fait, l'objectif est de comprendre comment l'espace est incorporé dans l'utilisation humaine du monde matériel où l'utilisation de l'espace immatériel est implicite »[102]. L'un des objectifs de l'approche du « Religious Ancient Placemaking » est d'atténuer la perspective anthropocentrique et de mettre au premier plan les caractéristiques intangibles de l'espace socialement produit.

Comme nous l'avons montré dans les quelques études de cas esquissées ci-dessus, tous les éléments analytiques principales sont également cruciaux pour comprendre et évaluer le contexte archéologique. Pour l'alignement (in)tangible (3.I) et la création d'une identité de lieu (3.II), il est important de souligner les qualités du lieu, telles que la topographie centrale surélevée, la signification symbolique de la fondation de la ville, ou la proximité de lieux historiques qui conduisent à la création d'un lieu de nostalgie urbaine. Ces qualités ont été façonnées par différents acteurs dans le cadre d'aspirations différentes : les élites urbaines dirigeantes ont réglementé la conception du lieu, par exemple son accessibilité par des escaliers ou par le recours à des gardes ou encore la mise en œuvre d'une *taberna* (taverne) située derrière le temple, mais ce sont les prêtres et les visiteurs quotidiens du lieu – non seulement du temple, mais aussi de ses environs –, plus tard probablement aussi les pèlerins, ainsi que les personnes travaillant dans les ateliers et les magasins voisins (par exemple, les *fullonica*) qui ont animé le lieu. L'utilisation qu'ils ont faite des objets matériels (temple, installations connexes, services religieux, etc.[103]) a changé le lieu. Parallèlement, le lieu et les acteurs ont façonné les objets, comme le bassin d'eau devant le temple, qui a d'abord été déplacé de l'avant vers le côté, puis recouvert. Ces évolutions sont fortement liées aux pratiques et aux interactions sociales qui étaient possibles ou envisagées dans ce lieu. En même temps, le changement de lieu, d'objets ou de pratiques en dit long sur les aspirations. Le besoin de vénérer une déesse victorieuse pour la rédemption individuelle ou même la vengeance, comme le montre l'évidence de Mogontiacum (Mayence)[104], n'était plus réalisable sur le Palatin. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que la pratique des offrandes votives ait cessé à la fin de la République et au début de la période impériale/ qu'un second sanctuaire soit alors apparu, vraisemblablement à la fin du Ier et au début du IIe siècle, à la périphérie de la ville, là où l'espace semblait disponible. Les

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101 « . . . space is rarely the ultimate object of interpretation » (traduit par l'auteur), Baumanová 2016.

102 « In fact, the goal is to understand how space is incorporated into human use of the tangible world where the use of intangible space is implicit » (traduit par l'auteur).

103 Pensabene 2017.

104 Witteyer 2003, 12–13; Blänsdorf 2010.

fidèles pouvaient vivre un autre type d'expérience religieuse : ils pouvaient effectuer un *taurobolium*, au cours duquel ils se faisaient baptiser par le sang, ou déposer les testicules d'un taureau sur l'autel de Mater Magna sur le mons Vaticanus, deux pratiques très expressives[105]. Tant que nous ne savons pas quel type de pratiques religieuses les pèlerins menaient dans le cadre du sanctuaire du Palatin, il est difficile de qualifier les aspirations religieuses qui le sous-tendent. Néanmoins, les deux sanctuaires semblent promettre un bien-être individuel. Cependant, il doit y avoir une différence entre être un pèlerin, parcourant de longues distances et offrant ensuite quelque chose au Palatin, ou être un fidèle subissant un baptême par le sang au Vatican.

Bien que le Vatican se trouve en marge de la ville, il est intéressant de noter que la pratique du sacrifice de taureau, qui devait être coûteux, ainsi que la dédicace d'un autel en pierre à la déesse, étaient manifestement le fait des élites romaines, comme le montrent les inscriptions de l'autel. Néanmoins, outre les élites romaines qui ont cumulé plusieurs fonctions sacerdotales durant l'Antiquité tardive, certains des acteurs qui ont commandé des autels dédicatoires étaient des migrants et des voyageurs qui servaient déjà des divinités grecques, en adhérant par exemple aux mystères éleusiniens. Malgré l'hostilité naissante à l'égard des cultes païens et le favoritisme de plus en plus marqué pour le christianisme, matérialisé par la construction de la première église monumentale, ces acteurs ont cherché leur bien-être individuel en érigeant ces autels, même en période d'interdiction. La pratique consistant à placer dans un espace contesté des marqueurs en pierre, qui devaient rester en place pendant une période longue mais pas éternelle, dans une pseudo-permanence en quelque sorte, montre remarquablement que ni les acteurs situés en haut de l'échelle politique (empereur), ni les entités intellectuelles (responsables de la loi d'interdiction), ni l'environnement bâti ne pouvaient les empêcher de vénérer la Mater Magna. Il n'est pas clair si les acteurs ont consciemment choisi de placer les autels de dédicace à côté de l'église ou de construire l'église à côté du *Phrygianum*. Cependant, le fait d'aspirations partagées mais concurrentes en a fait un lieu de tension rempli d'identités multiples et complexes, ce qui a conduit différentes personnes à se sentir liées au lieu et aux objets qu'il contient, ainsi qu'aux personnes ou aux divinités avec lesquelles elles interagissent.

Dans le cas du dernier exemple (3.IV), les *liberti* ont exprimé leur richesse et leur bien-être en plaçant l'objet (la tombe monumentale) à l'embranchement d'une rue, le rendant visible et accessible à leur communauté professionnelle, ainsi qu'aux autres personnes entrant dans la ville. Cette forme d'autoreprésentation impliquait une aspiration plus poussée que celle habituellement liée aux pierres tombales, comme celle de fournir un endroit pour le corps afin qu'il ne puisse être touché ou déplacé, ou un endroit où les proches pouvaient faire leur deuil et

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[105] Alvar 2008.

commémorer le défunt, en se souvenant de l'histoire familiale, ce qui favorise la cohésion sociale au sein du groupe professionnel et l'encourage à prospérer dans son activité. La pierre tombale, conçue pour être permanente, était un instrument permettant de rendre visible une classe sociale et professionnelle qui était ainsi légitimée dans le tissu urbain pendant au moins quatre siècles. Cela renforçait le sentiment d'appartenance du groupe et donnait au défunt et aux usagers une référence à l'environnement, qui à son tour donnait au groupe un sentiment d'appartenance ou une référence à son propre monde (*self-world*-relation) au sein de la société romaine[106].

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Fulvio Coletti, Francesca Diosono

Cybele and Attis from the Phrygian Crags to the City. History, Places and Forms of the Cult of Magna Mater in Rome

1 The Historical Conditions for the Introduction of the Cult in Rome

According to ancient sources, the historical circumstances that made it necessary to introduce the cult of the Magna Mater to Rome date to the Second Punic War and the climate of terror caused by Hannibal's passage through Italy and his victories over the Roman army. Consultation of the Sibylline books suggested that in order to defeat the enemy invader it was necessary to introduce the cult of the Magna Mater to Rome, as a return to the primordial cults of Romanness, and to guarantee the recovery of military power and control over the conquered populations who sided with Hannibal against Rome.[1] Indeed, Magna Mater was seen as the divinity dear to the Roman race as the protectress of the founder Aeneas, to whom she had given hospitality during his flight from Troy, and therefore she was not considered a foreign divinity.[2]

Given the friendly diplomatic relationship with the Attalid kingdom, the Roman delegation to Pergamum, led by consul designate M. Valerius Laevinus accompanied by the former praetor M. Caecilius Metellus, the aedile Servius Sulpicius, and the former consuls Cn. Tremellius and M. Valerius Falto, departed in 204 BC, while the war raged. Here, Attalus I agreed to lead a diplomatic mission to remove the sacred meteoric stone (the aniconic image of Cybele) from the sanctuary at Pessinus, a satellite state of the kingdom of Pergamum.[3]

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1 Liv., XXIX, 10–11.
2 Sfameni Gasparro 1979, 27–29; D'Alessio 2018, 97–98.
3 Of great interest was the decision of the Roman delegation not to acquire the simulacrum of the goddess in the 'form' venerated in Pergamum. Evidently, it did not meet the religious expectations of the Roman people, because it was an expression of the propagandistic desire for Attalid kingship, a system of government not in keeping with Roman politics. In fact, they were looking for the cult of the origins, since the Pergamon deity was by then strongly Hellenized as is clearly shown in the relief of the altar of Pergamum where the Magna Mater is involved in the struggle between the Olimpians and the Giants. Represented riding on a lion, wearing the dress of the queen mother (Apollonides of Cyzicus, mother of Attalus and Eumene) the divinity is shown taking part in the fight (Sfameni Gasparro 1979, 81; Parodo 2018, 25).

Note: Paragraphs 1-3 are by F. Coletti, paragraphs 4-7 by F. Diosono.

The cult of the Magna Mater adopted in Rome was mediated and favoured by the Hellenistic kingdom, in Pergamon, Cybel was the protector of the Attalid dynasty. Unlike, the ritual form of Cybele in Calabria (Locri Epizephiri) since the 6th century BC[4] or in Sicily from the 4th–3rd century BC (in Santoni near Akrai, Siracusa),[5] where ritual instances originating from Anatolia arrived to the island, perhaps, encouraged by people of near oriental region. According to the sources, a miracle occurred during the return voyage.[6] The ship carrying the simulacrum of the goddess ran aground in the port of Ostia and, as Ovid and several passages from Cicero tell us, was miraculously saved by the chief vestal virgin Claudia Quinta, a prominent aristocrat but also the subject of gossip among the population.[7] She managed to free the ship by attaching a rope to the hull and dragging it to shore, thus providing proof of her purity, and showing that she was favoured by the goddess.[8]

This salvific intervention by Magna Mater had such resonance that it echoed through the following centuries of historic narration, attested several times in the works of Cicero, and left more than a deep imprint in the collective memory, as attested by the relief in the Capitoline museums of the Navis Salvia.[9] The pomp and ceremony of Magna Mater then accompanied the aniconic stone to the confluence of the Almo with the Tiber, so that it could be washed in its waters and from there it entered the city along the via Ostiense and was housed in the residence of Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica[10] (Fig. 1).

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4 Guarducci 1970, 21.

5 Pedrucci 2009.

6 Liv. XXIX, 14, 14. Pedrucci 2009, 18, 44–45.

7 Ovid. *Fast*. IV, 367–368. Pensabene 2002, 75.

8 Cic. *Pro Caelio*, 34.

9 Winsor Leach, 2007.

10 The choice fell on Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, consul in 191 BC, as he was considered the most virtuous and noble citizen, as announced by the oracle of Delphi. It indicated that the man reputed to be the most honest would be the one who would have welcomed the Goddess at the port of Ostia and housed the simulacrum in his home (Val. Max 7, 5, 2). Although we have no information about the location of Scipio Nasica's home, we can hypothesise that it was located in the property of the family just outside Porta Capena, at the first mile of the Via Appia, where the monumental tomb of the clan is still preserved. As inferred from the sources, in fact, it would not seem that the Cornelii Scipiones inhabited the Palatine, the political centre of the power: the slopes of the hill, already at this time, were crowded with houses of that aristocracy, whose members were involved in the fight for political power. And, moreover, the element of virtue (mentioned by the sources) that would have characterised Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica could actually be that of choosing a more secluded but emblematic home. According to Roman custom, the righteousness of an ancient dominus consisted as much in involvement in political and military affairs (Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica had at that time triumphed over the Lusitanians and the Boi) as in the direct management of his landed estates. The monumental noble tomb of the Scipiones and the villa found in the immediate vicinity seem not only to have a structural link but also represent a real sign of the social prestige of the clan for those who passed through the Via Appia, upon entering
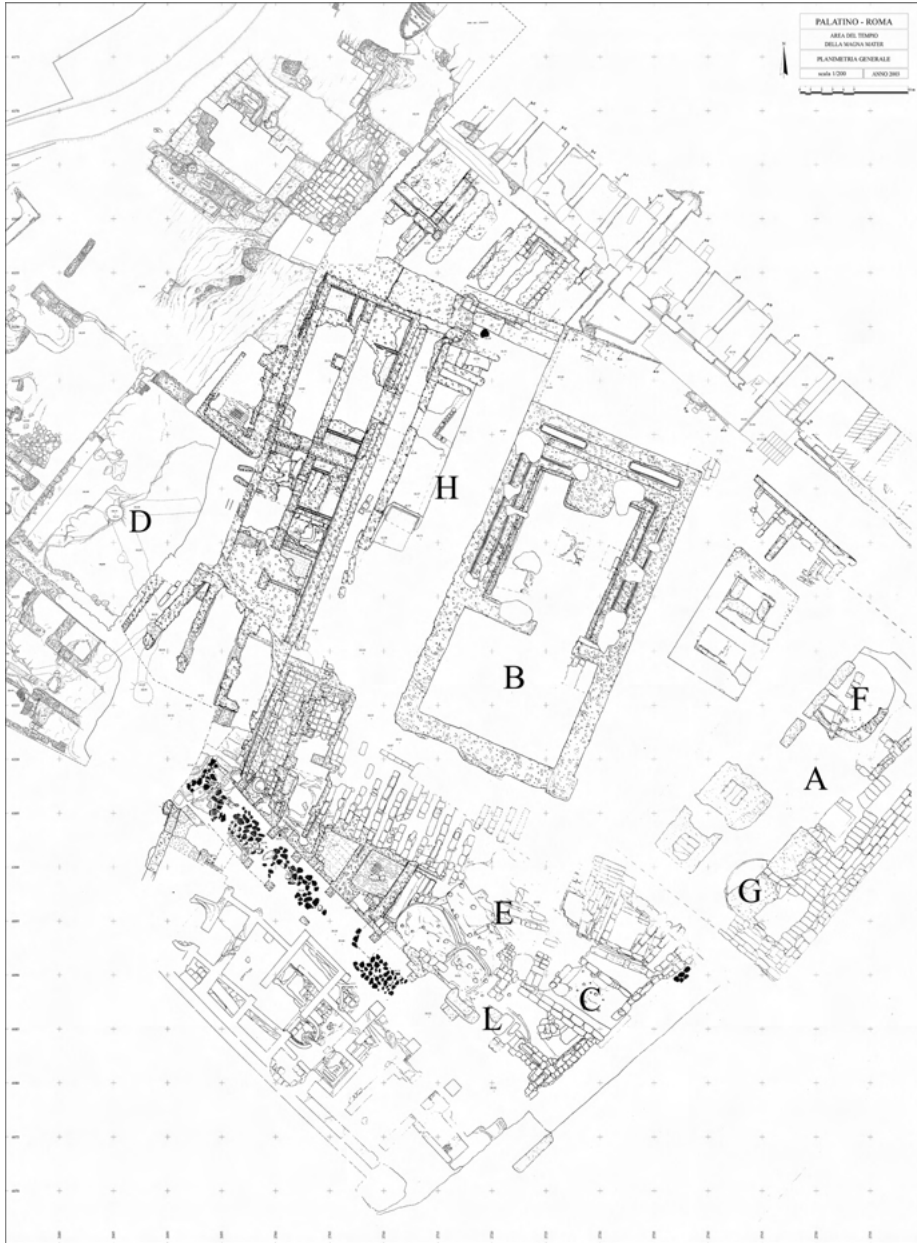
Fig. 1: South western area of the Palatine. A. Temple of Victoria; B. Temple of Magna Mater; C. Casa Romuli; D. Area of s.c. Temple of Pales; E. Huts of Iron age; F. Cistern under the cella of temple of Victoria; G. Cistern in the south western area of the temple of Victoria; H. Thesauroi under the portico of Magna Mater; L. Area of s.c. 5th sacrarium of Argei.

Finally, on April 4th 204 BC, the aniconic statue was carried in a procession to the Palatine, where it was temporarily placed inside the temple of Victory, the construction of which began in 294 BC, until a sanctuary could be built in the immediate vicinity (Fig. 1A).[11] Work on the construction of the grandiose temple in the area just west of the temple of Victory lasted for about 13 years, and the dedication of the sanctuary of the Magna Mater took place on April 10th 191 BC (Fig. 1B).

2 The Palatine Hill and the Birthplace Cults of the Bronze and Iron Age

Until the late antiquity, the Great Mother of the Gods and the goddess Victory would indissolubly share the sacred space and liturgies of the dedicated festivals. On the acropolis palatine, they immediately represented the two characteristics of institutional power in its pre-established, stable and unchanged aspect: the power of legitimate, solid and eternal government (hence why the Great Mother is always shown wearing the mural crown that indicates indestructibility) and the authority of military power, represented by the goddess Victory. Indeed, although the Magna Mater was a foreign cult and as such, should have been housed outside the city walls, she was placed on the Palatine since, as previously mentioned, the Magna Mater was considered a family cult, progenitor of the divinities of the Roman pantheon, being the goddess who welcomed Aeneas when on the run from burning Troy[12] (Fig. 2).

Moreover, this feeling of the people and the senate seems to be reflected in the decision to place the sanctuary on the mythical soil of the primigenial proto-urbane compound of huts, where there were probably the cults of foundation since the first

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Rome. Also, although strangely the Scipiones Nasica seem to be excluded from the monumental tomb of the Via Appia, where instead only members of the family of Africanus appear, the two politicians however were closely related as part of the same clan. In fact, Scipio Nasica and Scipio Africanus were maternal cousins. (Volpe 2014, 184–185). The only possibility, therefore, of locating the mansion of the Scipiones Nasica is on the Via Appia not far from the family tomb, where the progenitor of the family had hosted the simulacrum of the mother of the Gods. Not far away, moreover, an antefix with the representation of the Magna Mater has been found. This finding could indicate a probable place of worship, where originally the simulacrum of the goddess was welcomed arriving, Scipio Nasica's home house (see below).

11 Victoria was venerated on the Palatine; the sanctuary is located in the southwest area. It was built in the place of the most ancient and venerable site of the city, where since the first iron age it was the birthplace of the protohistoric cults and probably the house of the first kings, next to the one where subsequently the great sanctuary of Magna Mater was built (see below). The temple of Victoria was a hexastyle building sine postico, in the first phase, the rich terracotta decoration of the gable illustrated a legendary event of the origins of Rome: the meeting between Mars and Rhea Silvia (Pensabene 1993, 12–13).

12 Virg., *Aen*. IX, 85–88; X, 156–158; Dion. Hal., I, 47; Ov. *Fast*. IV, 247–251.

Fig. 2: Hellenistic marble statue of Magna Mater found in the excavation in east side of the temple.

Iron Age: Ops and Mars, Acca Larentia, Fauna, Vica Pota, Tacita Muta, Angerona, the Lupercal, the Casa Romuli (Hut of Romulus) (Fig. 1C) and next to the ancient temple of Pales[13] (Fig. 1D). All of these particular primordial sacred places were represented by huts and cavities dug directly into the slope of the Palatine hill.[14] In addition, alongside these places stood the king's hut (Fig. 1E), who in his double function as military chief and head priest shared the sacred space with the gods (900–750 BC).[15] Over time, these huts were replaced by masonry buildings, transforming the urban panorama and thus gradually creating the image of the Palatine

13 Pensabene 2002, 66; Pensabene *et al.* 2002, 95–101; Coletti/Pensabene 2017, 579–582.

14 Pensabene 2002, 66; Coletti *et al.* 2006b, 369–370; Coletti/Pensabene 2017, 577.

15 Carandini 1997, 86–87; Angelelli/Falzone 1999, 19; Coletti *et al.* 2006b, 325; Brocato 2000, 284–287.
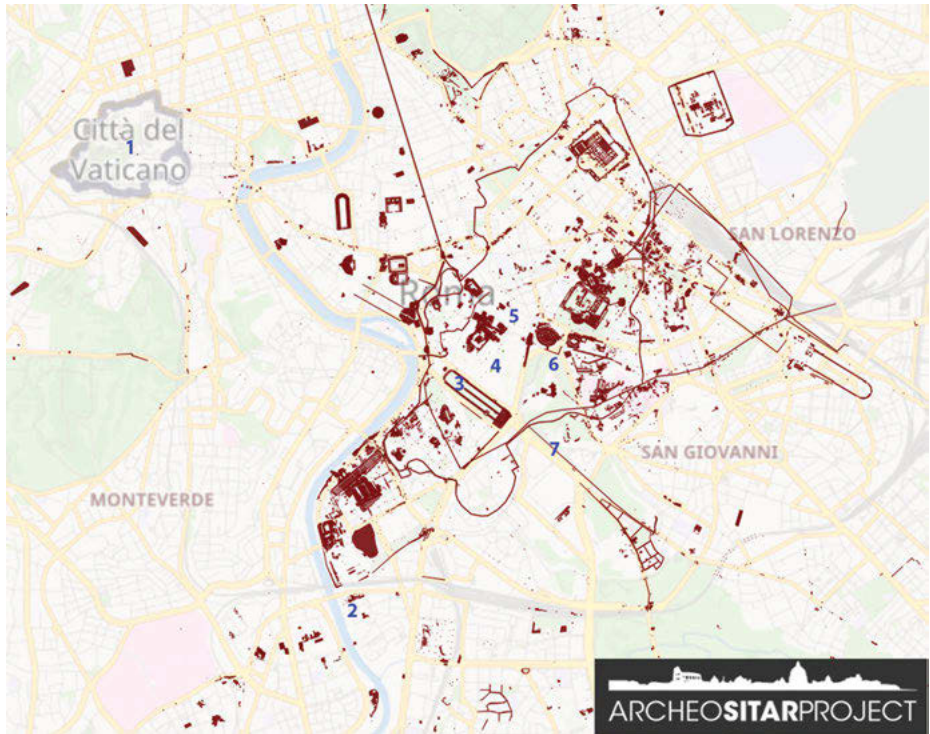
Fig. 3: Map of the cult places of Magna Mater in Rome from mid-republican period to late antiquity: 1. Phrygianum; 2. Confluence of Almo river on the Tiber; 3. Circus Maximus; 4. Palatine Hill; 5. Forum; 6. Caelian Hill; 7. area of S. Urbano alla Caffarella between the via Appia and the Almo river (based on Archeositar map).

acropolis where temples and sacelli, thesauroi and altars thronged together following the model of the Greek megalopoleis, Athens in particular. Of the buildings mentioned, datable to between the late 6th and early 5th century BC, excavations have identified the remains of five or six podium temples built of cappellaccio stone blocks (red and grey lithoide tufa), decorated with polychrome terracotta architectural elements.[16] Archaeological research appears to have identified the s.c. sanctuary of Juno Sospita and the temple of Pales, which excavations have shown to have been originally a hut that was rebuilt several times, and in 267 BC was reconstructed in stone by Attilius Regulus.[17] There were later phases in the Augustan or Julio-Claudian period and the final reconstruction occurred during Hadrian's reign.[18] Two buildings identified as thesauroi for the rich artefacts recovered from

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16 Coletti/Pensabene 2017, 502.

17 Carandini/Carafa 2021, 156.

18 Serlorenzi/Camporeale/Coletti 2021, 94–95.

them, as we have already mentioned, and another podium, which was not possible to clearly identify, occupied the levels underlying the western sector of the sanctuary, where from the late 2nd century BC onwards the portico of the temple of the Magna Mater would stand.[19] All of these buildings were demolished when the sanctuary of Victory was built as it involved the creation of a substantial earthwork to raise the ground level, which altered the physiognomy of the Cermalus creating a large flattened area that buried the ancient huts and late archaic temples. Indeed, the foundations of the temple itself made use of several archaic structures, such as two cisterns on the east side or an underground structure below the temple cella, while the s.c. temple of Juno Sospita was partially incorporated (Fig. 1F-G).[20] Conversely, Casa Romuli (Fig. 1C) was part of the architectural project for the sanctuary of Victoria, which incorporated the hut's perimeter making it part of the podium so that the sacellum was accessible to whoever entered the temple of Victoria.[21] The flat area west of the temple of Victory remained unoccupied, a large space evidently used for liturgies in honour of the goddess, but perhaps also occupied by altars and markers positioned there. Therefore, the temple of the Magna Mater was later built on this flattened area and thus, in some way, the sanctuary of the Idaean Mother completed this restructuring of the south-western corner of the Palatine, which would remain thus until the first quarter of the 5th century AD.

3 The Sanctuary of the Mother of Gods

From the beginning, for reasons attributable to cult motives, the temple was on an unusual alignment that was perfectly north-south, notably out of axis with the north-east/south-west alignment of the earlier buildings (Fig. 1B). In fact, from a cultic point of view, the orientation of the palatine temple respects exactly that of the temple of Pessinus, an enormous architectural complex made up of the temple-theatre association, lying on the slope of the hill near the sacred river Sangarius.

Ludi scaenici were held in front of the temple during its consecration on April 10th 191 BC, as mentioned by Plautus in the prologus of his Pseudolus. They were part of the Megalesia festival in honour of the goddess,[22] which originally took place between the 4th and 10th of April, according to the Republican calendar that was incorporated into the Fasti Antiates. The Ludi Scaenici have a valid comparison to the similar theatrical Athenian competitions such as the Lenee.

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19 Rossi 2009, 213–220; Coletti/Pensabene 2017, 507.
20 Pensabene 2002, 69–71; Coletti/Pensabene 2017, 503.
21 Pensabene 1995, 157–159; Coarelli 2012, 179.
22 On the banquets held in the aristocratic houses during the Megalensia and what happened at the temple on the Palatine Hill, see Rolle 2009.

From an archaeological point of view, the excavations in front of the temple have revealed the presence of a meandering flight of steps with a piazza in front paved with tufa slabs, where a stage for the plays could be set up. Until the reign of Claudius, only leading members of the Roman aristocracy were allowed to attend these theatrical representations. In his de Haruspicum Responso, Cicero tells us that participation in the cult was exclusive to the aristocracy citing the violation of the cult of the Magna Mater by Clodius who, in order to underline his populist political stance, apparently disdainful of the rules dictated by the nobility, of which he was a member, is said to have allowed a crowd of slaves, normally excluded, to participate in the Megalesia festival.[23] Also particular to the original rituality was its mysterious characteristic within the ambit of which rites involving self-harming and the castration of priests called Galli, who came exclusively from Phrygia, occurred, thus re-evoking Attis' sacrifice. This ritual must have taken place in a recess within the sanctuary that may be identifiable with the western portico (Fig. 1H). Excavations have shown that this area of about 600 square metres had structural characteristics that fulfilled the necessary requirement of privacy provided by high walls and the difficulty in accessing the space.[24]

With regard to Attis, he was the paredros divinity of Magna Mater, a young Phyrgian shepherd who self-mutilated for her to then return to life. His presence beside the Great Mother from the origins of her establishment within the Palatine cult is confirmed (and not, as once thought, from the Claudian period). This is attested by the numerous statuettes found in the votive deposits below the temple cella and in the area in front of the pronaos, depicting Attis or symbols associated with him such as the syrinx or cockerel.[25] They also represent individuals wearing the Galatian cap accompanied by figures of female dedicants, and all are datable to the period preceding the reconstruction of the temple in 111 BC.[26]

Forty years of excavations at the Magna Mater sanctuary on the Palatine have shown it to be at the centre of a complex liturgical system which, together with other cults, structured the religious festivals and regulated the flow of pilgrims in the various districts associated with them. In fact, several cults were associated with the grandiose sanctuary and were situated within the cult area or in its immediate vicinity. Among them were the already mentioned temple of Victory and the so-called Auguratorium, a small sanctuary in which an important study has recognised the tempietto of Victoria Virgo mentioned by Cato.[27] These two buildings

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23 Cic. *Harusp*, 10, 1–2.

24 Pensabene 1990, 12–15.

25 Coarelli 1982, 39–41. On the interpretation that these statuettes would suggest a cult of a small group of faithful of low social extraction, see Beard/North/Price 1998, 98.

26 Coletti/Pensabene 2017, 515.

27 Pensabene 1981, 17–20.

were part of the same architectural project as the temple of Magna Mater, united by an extensive plateau below which lay a service quarter with tabernae and baths.

As for the liturgical plan and festivals of Magna Mater, archaeological documentation has offered a significant contribution. In one of the rooms in the southwest area of the sanctuary, the Julio-Claudian contexts highlighted evident traces of the rite of the arbor intrat, the first day of the festival, March 22nd, commemorating the death of Attis under a pine tree.[28] Palinological and carpological analyses were able to recover pine cone fragments associated with poppy seeds.[29] Moreover, the presence of the poppy would lead back to the rite of the dies sanguinis, the third day of the festival, March 25th, dedicated to the Attis' sacrifice, in which the priest used to inflict wounds on his body as the Phrigian hero had done in dying. In fact, according to our interpretation, the poppy seeds may have been used as a soothing substance for ritually inflicted wounds on the body.

It has been ascertained that the area of the Magna Mater housed other small cult sites, sacelli or chapels dedicated to other divinities liturgically associated with the great goddess. These were both the early cults connected with the foundation of the state and later cults. The sacrarium of the Argei may have been situated to the east of the Casa Romuli[30] (Fig. 1L), the cult site of the original hut in which Faustulus raised the twins Romulus and Remus. This has been identified in a small space with a tufa altar situated between the rooms on the north side of the via tecta.

There could also have been a small cult site dedicated to Venus. A statue dedicated to the goddess was found during Pietro Rosa's excavations of 1862, and a second small statue in Greek marble was recently found, reused in the medieval period as a drain cover along the road. Furthermore, 'sovradipinta' pottery with inscriptions relating to Mercury and other divinities has been found in the numerous votive deposits opposite the sanctuary, which were excavated in the mid-20th century.[31]

Studies undertaken on the imposing architectural remains situated on the slopes and sides of the hill, in the levels immediately underneath the sanctuary, have revealed the presence of grandiose building complexes topographically connected to the sanctuary. On the southern axis of the temple, there are the remains of an enormous complex on at least four levels, constituted by deep vaulted concamerations of about 24 m, built during the Hadrianic period, which it has been suggested may have been part of the temple's horrea. These imposing warehouses faced towards the right bank of the Tiber in place of the ancient port, meaning that

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28 Paus. VII, 17, 10–12; Arnobio *adv. Nat.*, V, 5–7; see below.

29 Coletti *et al.* 2006a, 563.

30 Coletti/Pensabene 2017, 582.

31 Vaglieri 1907, 33.

the dry foodstuffs could be immediately stored given the enormous wealth that the Palatine sanctuary had to manage, particularly in the imperial period.[32]

In the adjacent sector to the north stood two other imposing residential blocks, which were also structurally connected to the sanctuary and were therefore a part of it. Largely surviving only at ground floor level, these two buildings covered a surface area of about 1000 square metres and had four floors so that they stood to the height of the sanctuary's service quarter. The two buildings were formed by rooms connected by corridors, comprising autonomous residential units that were interlinked and arranged around a central courtyard. Their structure identifies them as apartment blocks. It has been suggested that these two blocks were also associated with the sanctuary of the Magna Mater given their topographical and structural links. Furthermore, it has been proposed that these structures housed the sanctuary's priests in addition to archives and spaces in which to keep the rich furnishings that a state sanctuary such as the Magna Mater must have possessed.[33]

4 The Reform of the Cult of Magna Mater and Attis under the Emperor Claudius

Today, the most convincing hypothesis regarding the reform of the cult of Magna Mater and the formal introduction of the cycle of festivals associated with Attis, which were celebrated at the beginning of Spring, between the 22nd and 27th of March (in addition to the Republican Ludi Megalenses in April, with which they end up forming a single series), remains its attribution to the emperor Claudius.[34] This reform (a reorganisation rather than an introduction ex novo) probably inserted the entire cult cycle, centred around the death and survival[35] of Attis, into the Fasti romani. Some scholars entertain the idea of a series of successive reforms of this cycle, with the rite of Lavatio already attributed to Augustus[36] and in particular that the insertion

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32 Pensabene/Coletti 2006, 527.

33 Pensabene/Coletti 2006, 519.

34 Hypothesis based on what is reported by Lyd., *de mens*. IV, 59 (41). Graillot 1912, 115–116; Cumont 1929, 51–63; Carcopino 1942, 49–75 and still held valid in Pensabene 2017, 57–80, with previous bibliography. A cautious analysis of the pro and con positions in Sfameni Gasparro 1979, 58–59. A summary in Beard 2012.

35 Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 48–49, 56–63. On the concept of Attis' resurrection, see Vermaseren, *CCCA* III, 119, n°384.

36 Gatti 1949. As we will see below, the monumentalization of Cybele's river route from Ostia to Rome, including its landing at the mouth of the Almo, should have already taken place in the late Republican age.

of the Hilaria occurred only in the Antonine period;[37] however, both authors of this paper believe that it is difficult to think of the festive cycle of March without a day of joyful collective celebration (like the Hilaria) at its centre for such a long time, although it is certain that the cycle has seen profound changes over the centuries, linked to the evolution of the cult of Cybele and Attis itself.

In the Republican period, the cult of Magna Mater was exclusive to the aristocracy and the rituals dedicated to her (including the Megalensia) took place mainly within the confines of the Palatine temple, although there are traces of popular worship, such as the already cited votive figurines of Attis from the temple's earliest construction levels. During the reign of Augustus, the Magna Mater, like many other cults, was associated with the imperial cult and the temple was rebuilt. Despite this, the orgiastic Phrygian practices did not yet become public and the priests of the Palatine temple were recruited among the imperial slaves.[38]

The complete cycle of festivities dedicated to Magna Mater and Attis can be seen in the Filocalian Calendar of 354 AD.[39] The places and routes involved in these days of festivity show how, over the centuries, the cult of Cybele spread from the acropolis throughout the city and was characterised by a plurality of cult sites in Rome (Fig. 3) associated with the increasing popularity of the Phrygian divinities, but also with the diachronic development of their own cult. Unfortunately, given the limited space available in this publication, it will be necessary to create a summary both from the point of view of the analysis of the data and of the bibliographic references.

– 22nd of March Arbor intrat:[40] the procession of the sacred pine tree from the Caelian hill to the Palatine and which started the week dedicated to the celebration of the death and resurrection of Attis.

– 23rd of March Tubilustrium:[41] the Salii, priests of Mars, paraded around the temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine, leaping and beating the sacra ancilia, and sounding the sacred trumpets for their annual lustration. This was an archaic pre-existing ceremony linked to the resumption of war activities in the Spring that was introduced into the Phrygian cycle.[42]

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37 On the possibility that some days considered as belonging to the festive cycle of March (especially the Canna intrat on the 15th of March– not treated in this paper – and the Hilaria) were introduced in a period much later than the principate of Claudius, see Wissowa 1971, 322–324; Lambrechts 1952; Van Haeperen 2019, 81–86. This has also been proposed for the Canna intrat on the 15th of March (not treated in this paper): Fishwick 1966; Van Haeperen 2019, 81–86.

38 *CIL* VI, 496.

39 *CIL* I², p. 260; Degrassi 1963, 423–432. Beard 1994, 170–183.

40 This is the festivity whose introduction is explicitly attributed to Claudius by Lyd., *de mens*. IV, 59 (41). See below.

41 Iulian., *Or.* V, 168.

42 Torelli 1984, 72–73.

– 24th of March Sanguem:[43] a nocturnal festival linked with the funerary lamentations for the death of Attis, during which the priests self-harmed and the castration of the new Galli took place. It was also the day of the goddess Bellona and the Hastiferi, the lance bearers, also a festivity that involved human blood shed. The cult of the archaic Sabine goddess of war, Bellona, was associated by Sulla with that of Mâ when her cult was introduced to Rome.[44] The link between the cults of Bellona and Magna Mater is well-attested by literary and epigraphic evidence.[45] It was also the day of the ierogamia between Mars and Nerio Martis, also identified with Bellona and whose cult was situated on the Caelian hill. On this day, the self-castration of Attis is celebrated and it is probably the day when the castration of the new Galli priests takes place.

– 25th of March Hilaria:[46] the triumphal procession of Magna Mater and reborn Attis (for some ancient authors, it is also the day of their hierogamy[47]). In the calendar of the period, the Hilaria fell on the first day in which daylight hours lasted longer than the hours of darkness. It was the festival of Spring consisting of a procession that expressed, in a noisy and orgiastic manner, joy for the resurrection of Attis, which symbolised the rebirth of vegetation but also the possibility of human salvation. Herodian[48] described the Hilaria as the greatest, most magnificent and opulent religious procession in Rome. The emperor, the court, the senate and all high-ranking officials participated. The goddess' silver chariot drawn by lions (together with the sacred pine tree of Attis) was preceded by bearers of gold and silver craters, candelabra, precious statues, the best pieces from the imperial collections and those of wealthy citizens. The participants were masked and this encouraged uninhibited and licentious behaviour.

– 26th of March Requetio: a day of rest between the excesses of the Hilaria and the purification of the Lavatio.

– 27th of March Lavatio:[49] the ritual washing of the statue of Cybele at the confluence of the rivers Almo and Tiber, along the via Ostiense, where the boat carrying the goddess arrived in 204 BC.

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43 Tertull., *Apol*. 25; Firm. Mat., XXII, 1. Graillot 1912, 126–131; Fishwick 1967, 149–157; Turcan 1992, 49; Beard 1994, 172.

44 Plut., *Sill.*, 9, 8 and 27, 12; Turcan 1992, 48.

45 In Apuleius, the Galli of the Dea Syria associate Bellona with Magna Mater and Attis (Ap., *Metamorph.*, VIII, 25, 3), while in another passage the same Dea Syria claims to be also called Bellona (XI, 5); Juvenal brings together the two mothers Cybele and Bellona (Juv., VI, 511 sgg.) and so does Valerius Flaccus (Val. Flacc., VII, 636). In some inscriptions, Bellona is defined as pedisequa Matris (*CIL* VI 490, 2233, 30851; *ILS* 3804).

46 Macrob., I, 21, 10; SHA, *Aurelian*. I, 1; SHA, *Alex. Sev*. 37, 6; Iulian., *Or*. V, 169, d e 171, c-d; Sall., *De d. et m.*, IV, 10. Turcan 1992, 52.

47 Arnob., IV, 29; Dionys. Aerop., *Epist*. VIII, 6.

48 Herodian., I, 10, 5.

49 Ammian., 23, 3, 7; Val. Flacc., *Arg*. VIII, 239–242.

– 28th of March Initium Caiani:[50] the start of the competitions in honour of Magna Mater and Attis, which took place in the Gaianum or Caianum, built by Caligula in the praedia Agrippinae in the Vatican area.

5 Arbor Intrat: The Sacred Pine Tree of Attis on the Caelian Hill and the College of the Dendrophori

Under Claudius, the Caelian became one of the centres of the Magna Mater cult and in particular of the cult of Attis, who was also represented as a tree,[51] the pine that was sacred to him. In fact, the Basilica Hilariana, seat of the college of Dendrophori, whose protecting divinities were Cybele and Attis, was built on the Caelian, probably under Claudius.[52] The college itself was also founded by Claudius, who used it to organise a corporation of those who traded and transported timber and wood, in this period the prime material for construction and producing energy.[53] The basilica saw an important phase in the Antonine period and underwent alternating vicissitudes until the late antique period, when it was expropriated like all property belonging to pagan cults still present in Rome.[54] Certainly, the widespread presence of the college of Dendrophori throughout most of the Western Empire played a role in the spread of the cult of Attis and Magna Mater in the same territories.

According to Pavolini,[55] the procession of the Arbor Intrat on the 22nd of March started at the Basilica Hilariana on the Caelian, just outside the walls, entered the city through the Porta Caelimontana (arch of Dolabella) and continued along the Clivus Scauri to reach the Palatine. It appears that, after the festivities, the sacred pine was housed in the Basilica Hilariana until the next year,[56] from which we get the toponym Arbor Sancta that indicates the basilica itself in the late antique Regional Catalogues. The name Basilica Hilariana is written on a mosaic of the Antonine period at the entrance to the building and it has been proposed that it was actually associated with the festival of the Hilaria[57] (but also traditionally with an inscription found there that mentions a member of the college named M' Poblicius Hilarus[58]).

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50 See *infra*.

51 Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 45–46.

52 About the Basilica Hilariana, see Pavolini/Palazzo 2013 with previous bibliography.

53 Diosono 2007; Diosono 2008; Diosono 2015.

54 Diosono 2015, with previous bibliography.

55 Pavolini 2006.

56 Pavolini/Palazzo 2013, 461–475.

57 Diosono 2006.

58 Pavolini/Palazzo 2013, 455–461.

According to Coarelli,[59] the templum Divi Claudii on Caelian was built by Agrippina above Claudius' private house, the position of which probably also influenced the decision of the emperor himself regarding the location of the Basilica Hilariana. Thus, the metroac cult was linked both spatially and symbolically with that of the deceased emperor who had so greatly influenced it. In the late antique period, the connection intensified between Cybele and the still pagan aristocracy, whose houses stood on the Caelian, as is the case of Symmachus,[60] and whose altars for the Taurobolium were dedicated in the Phrygianum of the Vatican,[61] which will be discussed below.

6 The Lavatio and the Monumentalisation of the Route of Cybele's Arrival in Rome: A New Hypothesis

On the 27th of March, Cybele's statue[62] was taken from the Palatine to outside the walls on the via Ostiense, where the Almo met the Tiber. Here, the statue and sacred instruments from the temple, such as iron sacrificial knives, were immersed in the river for purification. During the modern era, the final stretch of the river Almo was heavily altered and the entire area is characterised by 19th-century industrial installations, but it was precisely in this area (near Porta San Paolo) that in the mid-19th c. an antefix (Fig. 4) decorated with an image of Cybele on a ship was found.[63]

The antefix (whose iconography is quite rare) must have been part of the decoration on a building dedicated to the goddess and linked with her arrival via the river in Rome. The same type of antefix is known from several places: the Campus Matris Magnae and the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia;[64] the area of S. Urbano alla Caffarella[65] between the Almo river and the via Appia from which, through the Porta Capena, Ovid[66] writes that the wagon carrying the portrayal of the goddess

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59 Coarelli 1997–1998, 217–218; Pavolini 2007.

60 Spinola 1992, 976–978; Pavolini 2006, 82–88.

61 See below.

62 On the relatively fast anthropomorphization of the iconography of the Magna Mater in Rome (never represented as a betylus in black stone), see Calabria/Di Jorio/Pensabene 2010 and Bonnet/Bricault 2016, 107.

63 Visconti 1867.

64 Vermaseren, *CCCA* III, n°397 and n°427; Berlioz 1997, 103.

65 Visconti 1867, 300.

66 Ovid, *Fast*. IV, 337–346.

Fig. 4: The antefix with the arriving of Magna Mater on the ship from the area of Porta San Paolo (Visconti 1867).

entered Rome in 204 BC; the Roman Forum;[67] the Palatinus itself.[68] These terracottas are datable to the 1st century BC and given that the Lavatio is described by Valerius Flaccus[69] and before by Ovid,[70] who widely narrates the episode of the myth in which the goddess disembarks from the ship pulled along by Claudia Quinta precisely on this point of the river, it is probable that the Lavatio itself was only formally inserted into the Roman calendar of festivities by Claudius, and that the place was already the site of buildings dedicated to the cult of the goddess from at least the late Republican period.[71] The metroac cult in the area on the Appian Way between S. Urbano, S. Sebastiano and the Mausoleum of Cecilia Metella, which is

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67 Vermaseren, *CCCA* III, n°202, coming from the area between the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the so-called one of Romulus; n°303, from the Velia. Coarelli 2008, 108. A recent check made by F. Coletti in the Archive of the Catalog of the Parco Archeologico del Colosseo has shown that the antefixes of Cybele on the ship found in the area of the Roman Forum are actually three.

68 Vermaseren, *CCCA* III, n°11; Pensabene 2017, cat. n. 559, tav. 100.

69 Val. Flacc., *Arg.* 8, 239.

70 Ovid, *Fast.* IV, 329.

71 Aurigemma 1910, 1674; Turcan 1992, 45; D'Alessio 2008; Guittard 2008.

part of a large imperial property (which probably also incorporated the aforementioned possessions of the Scipiones), is also attested by some arae dedicated to Attis, among which the only one attesting the performing of a taurobolium outside the Vatican in 295 AD.[72] As was recently pointed out,[73] the particular iconography of these architectural terracottas takes on a meaning only if it is placed along the route taken by Cybele on the ship that went up the Tiber from Ostia to Rome, along which buildings dedicated to the cult of the Phrygian goddess must have been scattered from the late republican period.

Other such buildings may perhaps have been built (or at least decorated) by public commission to monumentalise steps of the route that had brought Magna Mater from Ostia to the Palatine more than a century earlier. The building sacred to Cybele described by Martial[74] in the Forum on the sacra via summa and maybe shown on the monument of the Haterii (the debate on which it is impossible to address here),[75] can also be attributed to this monumentalisation of the city's sacred landscape.

Already during the 1st century BC, Magna Mater, probably due to the growing popularity of the cult, was no longer only on the Palatine Hill but the route of her arrival was solemnized and monumentalised at various points in the city, including the Forum itself; unfortunately, only traces of the architectural decoration remain of most of these sacred buildings.

7 Initium Caiani: Magna Mater from the Circus of Caligula to the Circus Maximus and the Development of the Phrygianum Vaticanum

The circus built by Caligula on the vast property belonging to his mother in the Vaticanum was used for games in honour of Magna Mater and Attis. It is not known whether there was an area sacred to the goddess already present there, or whether one was established afterwards. The circus, partially masonry-built and partially in perishable materials, was situated slightly west of the area where St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican now stands[76] (Figs. 3 and 5).

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72 *CIL* VI, 505 = 30781; 506 = 30782. See also *CIL* VI, 505, a spolia reused in San Sebastiano fuori le Mura dated at 295 AD.

73 Bonnet/Bricault 2016, 107–108, where, however, the dating of these terracottas (unfortunately, they lack a reliable stratigraphic context for their discovery) is placed between the Augustan age and 2nd century AD. See also Rieger 2008, 108–109.

74 Mart., *Epigr.* I, 70, 1–13.

75 Coarelli 1982, 34–39; Calabria/Di Jorio/Pensabene 2010, 31–32.

76 Coarelli 1982, 46; Coarelli 2008, 480–481; Coarelli 2013; Spinola 2013.
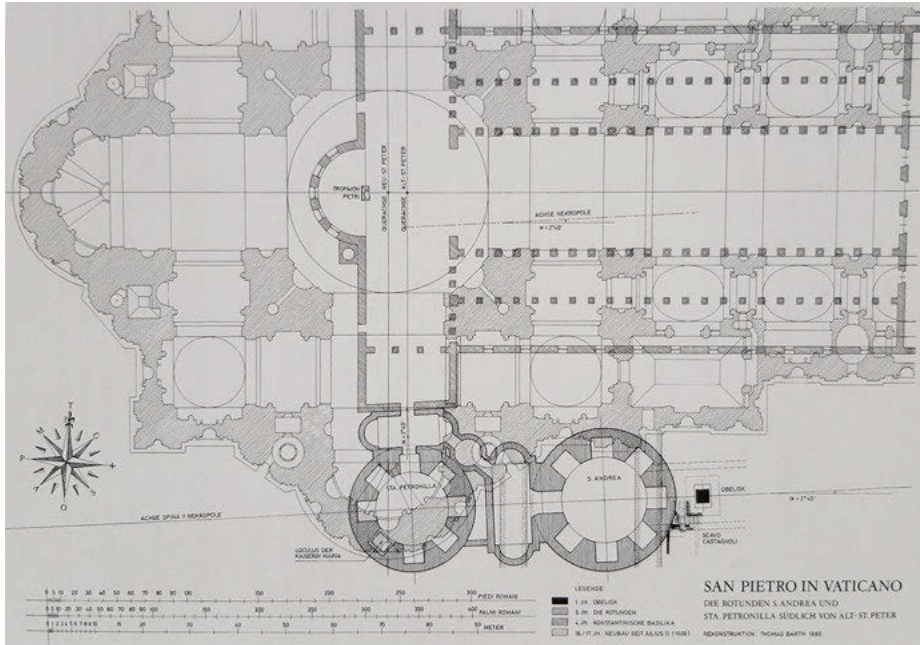
Fig. 5: St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican and the location of the circus of Caligula and the two Rotonde and the obelisk (now moved) above the spina (Vollmer 2019).

It seems that this circus was already buried in the second half of the 2nd century AD, that is, from the time of Antoninus Pius, although the Historia Augusta[77] states that Elagabalus used it for chariot racing and to drive a quadriga of elephants, damaging the tombs in the surrounding necropolis[78] (but this will be discussed below). The circus's Egyptian obelisk remained in its place on the spina of the circus until 1586, when it was moved to its actual position in St. Peter's square.

The first iconographic evidence for the cult also comes from the Antonine period: the statue of Magna Mater on the spina of the Circus Maximus; various statues of divinities stood in this space from the early Republican period, but that of Cybele sitting on a leaping lion became the identifying image of the circus itself, to the extent that many known circuses in Italy and the provinces, although not exact copies of the Circus Maximus, had a statue of Cybele seated on a lion on their spina.[79]

According to some scholars,[80] the Initium Caiani would therefore have been an initium muneris, perhaps instituted by Caligula on the day of his entry into Rome as

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77 SHA, *Heliog.* 23, 1.

78 For a summary of the various interpretations of this passage, see Liverani 1999, 21–28.

79 Humphrey 1986, 273–275.

80 Hülsen 1903, 359–360; Fishwick 1966, 193, nt.2; Vermaseren, *CCCA* III, 121–122, n°391.

emperor (28th of March), and reconverted by Claudius as the first day that the competitions that were part of the cycle of Phrygian festivals took place, at the beginning in the Circus of Gaius (to be later moved to the Circus Maximus). According to Castagnoli,[81] the initium Caiani was the initiation rite for the cult of Cybele, which took place in the Gaianum and was linked to the ritual of the Taurobolium.[82] This ritual is attested by numerous inscriptions from this area of the *Vaticanum*, where there were also the *Phrygianum*, that is, the sanctuary of the Phrygian cult;[83] the compound toponym *Gaianum et Phrygianum* is also attested in the late antique Regional Catalogues.[84] From the point of view of the epigraphic evidence,[85] most of the taurobolia altars known in Rome were found in the Vaticanus, with a chronological framework between 305 and 390 AD. An inscription from 160 AD[86] describes the performance of this rite in a *Vaticanus* of Lyon pro salute of Antoninus Pius, showing that the place where it was performed was called Vaticanus par excellence even outside of Rome. It should also be pointed out that recently it has been possible to date a taurobolium made in Benevento for Attis and Minerva dating between the Vespasian and the Trajan era.[87] This means that this rite for phrygian deities was probably also celebrated before Antoninus Pius and most likely already in the Vaticanus[88] and that perhaps Antoninus Pius' innovation was to connect it to the imperial cult.[89] I believe that both hypotheses are acceptable, if we consider that both see the reign of Antoninus Pius as a turning point, with the association of the taurobolium to the imperial cult.[90] Indeed, he undertook a new reform of the cult of Magna Mater throughout the Empire, which became even more closely associated with the Imperial cult becoming the guarantor of the Imperial family's salus and of their deification, in particular of the empresses and

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81 Castagnoli 1992, 79.

82 On the taurobolium, see Duthoy 1969; Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 107–118; Van Haeperen 2015.

83 Liverani 2008.

84 *Cur. reg*. XIV: *Gaianum et Frigianum*. On the fact that they should be functionally homogeneous, see Liverani 1999, 34, n°238.

85 *CIL* VI, 488; 497; 498; 499; 501; 502; 503 = 30779; 504; 508; 512; 30780. *IGUR* 126–127, 130. *AE* 1953, 238; 1971, 35.

86 *CIL* XIII, 1751.

87 *AE* 1994, 538. Van Haeperen 2006, 42.

88 Even if the testimonies of the taurobolia altars known to us and brought to light in the Vatican area of Rome are much later, due consideration must be given to the fact that the place where they perform is defined Vaticanus by imitation even outside Rome already in the Antonine age, as in the example of Lyon (as proposed in Zevi 2018, 373, note 33). The restoration of a Mons Vaticanum in honour of Bellona (see above for the connection between Bellona and Magna Mater) was carried out by the hastiferi of Mainz in 236 AD (*CIL* XIII, 7281). See also Fishwick 1967, 145.

89 The attribution to Antoninus Pius of the inclusion of the taurobolic rite in the cult of Cybele was proposed by Duthoy 1969, 116, but is based on the data available at the time. Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 57–58 attributes this innovation to Severus Alexander. See below.

90 See also Mittag 2016.

other female members of the imperial family.[91] It was during the reign of Antoninus Pius that the statue of Cybele appeared in the Circus Maximus, which not by chance became the identifying element of the circus itself and was certainly associated with the games in honour of Magna Mater that took place there. This statue can also be identified with the aedem Matris Deum et Iovis Arboratoris cited in the late antique Regional Catalogues in Regio XI; therefore, it was created as a cult area connected with the circus and its games or was transformed into one over time. This link between Cybele and the circus spread throughout the Empire together with the cult of Magna Mater between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD. This aspect of Cybele as the most representative divinity in the space of the Circus in those centuries deserves to be further highlighted, but unfortunately not in this paper due to the vastness of the subject and the limited space available.

There was also a statue of Victory on top of a column on the spina of the Circus Maximus. In this regard, it seems necessary to note that the well-known sarcophagus in San Lorenzo at Rome cannot represent a pompa circensis, as is traditionally thought,[92] because in the sources Cybele and Victory, who were in fact already established within the circus space, are never cited among the many deities that took part in them. The statue of Cybele was taken in procession from the Palatine to the Circus Maximus below only for the Ludi Megalenses, but we can be sure of it only in the Augustan period (and we are not sure exactly when circus games in honour of the Magna Mater began to be held in the Circus Maximus[93]). Given that the two deities shown on the late antique sarcophagus precede a wagon pulled by elephants, it is more likely that this was a procession associated with a deified imperial figure and also that the sarcophagus is earlier in date than 350–375 AD, a chronology which is usually proposed on a stylistic basis, by which time public pagan manifestations of this type were opposed by the imperial authority.

It was also probably Antoninus Pius who, bringing the games for Cybele directly to the Circus Maximus, below the Palatine Hill, encouraged the transformation of the Gaianum from a circus into a sanctuary of the Phrygian divinities,[94] the Phrygianum, where the Taurobolium took place. In fact, the excavations[95] have shown how the Gaianum as a circus was now in disuse and full of tombs in the Severian age, while the Phrygian cult was instead at the apex of diffusion in Rome. However, from the 3rd century AD onwards, the taurobolium seemed to change into an actual initiation ceremony whose participants were the aristocratic keepers of the secrets and mysteries

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91 Coarelli 1982.

92 Lo Monaco 2008a; Lo Monaco 2008b.

93 The only reference to this pompa circensis during the Megalenses is in Ov., *Fast*. IV, 391. See Latham 2007.

94 On Antoninus Pius' interest in the cult of Cybele, see Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 58; Coarelli 1982.

95 Coarelli 2013, with previous bibliography.

of the Magna Mater cult, which became increasingly linked with aspirations of rebirth, as occurred for Attis, the young man faithful to the goddess.

In the meantime, this part of the Vatican had gradually become a cemetery area, with the development alongside the ancient circus of the Vatican necropolis upon which the basilica of San Pietro was built in the Constantinian period.[96] In this area outside the city, once an imperial property, a necropolis (both pagan and Christian) and the sanctuary of Cybele above the circus of Gaius developed side by side, which ended up sharing a common yearning for salvation after death without contrasting each other (even if the construction site of the first St. Peter's Basilica blocked the use of Phrygianum for at least twenty years[97]). Therefore, it makes sense that among the various cult sites associated with Cybele and Attis it was precisely the Phrygianum that was chosen for the initiation ceremonies and mystery rituals that would allow death to be escaped in some way: the Phrygianum Vaticanum is naturally influenced by being in an extra-urban landscape of necropolis and next to the tomb of Peter.

During the reign of Elagabalus, these aspects of circus and necropolis still coexisted and, in some way, both permeated the cult of Magna Mater and Attis. This is the period in which Iulia Domna resumes the tradition of the coinage depicting Cybele,[98] but adding dynastic significance to the Phrygian cult. The empress identifies with the goddess in the parallel role of Mater Deum, as she gives birth to future emperors devoted to divinization, so much so as to define Cybele in coins also with the epithet of Mater Augustorum.[99] Iulia Soemia, mother of the living-god emperor Elagabalus, also issues, between 218 and 222 AD, coins with the representation of the Mater Deum,[100] after which Cybele definitively disappears from Roman coinage. One of the latter two empresses, identified with Cybele can be recognised in the cult relief from Düsseldorf, preserved at the Mannheim Museum.[101] It depicts the Magna Mater holding ears of wheat in her right hand, while in her left hand she holds a small Attis tightly to her breast; on her head she wears the turreted crown upon which an eagle rests, an animal symbol of the imperial apotheosis, because it is destined to carry the emperor's soul to heaven while his body is cremated on the ustrinum.

To date, it is not properly considered that two large circular tombs belonging to the imperial family were built on the spina of the ancient circus, just north of the obelisk, at the same levels on which the altars bearing the inscriptions relating to

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96 Prandi 1971, 378–379; Mielsch 1973–74; Krautheimer/Carpiceci 1995; Krautheimer/Carpiceci 1996; Bowersock 2002; Liverani/Spinola/Zander 2010; Brandt 2015; Westall 2015; Liverani 2015; Brandenburg 2017; Liverani 2016.

97 Prandi 1971.

98 For the complete list of Iulia Domna's issues with Cybele, see Turcan 1983, 39–41.

99 *RIC* IV, 1, p.168, n°562.

100 *RIC* IV, 2, p.60, nn°400–401.

101 Gropengiesser 1975, 24–25, tav.30.

the Taurobolium have been found, and far below the foundations of the Constantinian basilica. Both are no longer visible. These were the Rotonda of Sant'Andrea and the Rotonda of Santa Petronilla,[102] which for centuries were connected to Saint Peter's Basilica and, one after the other, were demolished due to the enlargement and reconstruction of the latter. The southernmost mausoleum was dedicated to the cult of the late antique martyr Petronilla in 757 and at the time of its destruction in 1458 it housed several sarcophags, including that of Honorius (buried there in 423 AD) and his wives Maria (died 408 AD), and Thermantia (died 415) and probably of his sister Galla Placidia. A large quantity of precious materials was found there, mostly melted down or lost.[103] The northern mausoleum, dedicated first to Santa Maria della Febbre and then to Sant'Andrea, was demolished from 1778 onwards but had undergone so many transformations over the centuries that any material from the Roman period was long gone. Biering and von Hesberg[104] hypothesised that the Phrygianum was located in this place, upon which later the circular mausoleum, which they attribute to Theodosius, was built, later transformed into the rotunda church dedicated to Sant'Andrea.

The two mausoleums are usually attributed to the 5th century AD, given the presence in one of them of Honorius and his family. However, it must be said that their construction seems to pre-date the basilica of Constantine, which abutted them and used them as annexes. In fact, the decision to design one of the two sides of the cross plan of the Basilica shorter than the other seems strange, and more likely to be due to the presence of pre-existing buildings, which are precisely the two round mausoleums. They are also aligned on the axis of the circus' spina (on which the obelisk will continue to rise for centuries) and not on that of the Christian Basilica, and we have seen that the levels of the circus on which they are built were no longer visible from the Severian age. Recently, Vollmer proposed to identify in one of them the tomb / temple of the Sun built by the aforementioned Elagabalus.[105] If, therefore, the two circular mausoleums date to before the building of the Constantinian basilica, begun in 319 AD, their construction cannot be linked to the Christian cult of Saint Peter but rather the pagan cult of Cybele and Attis, which in the Vatican co-existed side by side. The decision (probably during the 3rd century) to position them on the spina of the circus in the Phrygianum cannot have been casual, but instead dictated by the wish to link them with the cult of Magna Mater, guarantor of imperial deification[106] and in time also of the rebirth of her followers. Only members of the imperial family, probably of the Severan one, could build funeral monuments of this size and in such a significant position, which invaded the

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[102] Niebaum 2007.

[103] Mackie 2003, 175–179.

[104] Biering/von Hesberg 1987.

[105] Vollmer 2019.

[106] Coarelli 1982, 41.

Phrygianum and the Gaianum, still used as a circus, not surprisingly, by Elagabalus. Rather, the reuse at the time of Honorius of an earlier mausoleum (that had also been the case for the mausoleum of Augustus and of Hadrian) is clearly linked to the Constantinian basilica that, about a century earlier, had been built on top of one side of the Gaianum itself.

To conclude, it can be said that following the expansion and multiplication of the places of the cult of Cybele in the city of Rome means following their diachronic evolution and the succession of completely different aspects, which will modify the semantic sphere of the goddess both in the city and in the provinces from the middle republican age to late antiquity. Having arrived in Rome as a goddess representing the same idea of the political power, the evolutions of the relationship between the Magna Mater and the Urbs show the founding act of the empire and its conducting in different facets: from the Roman senatorial aristocracy to the Julius Claudian era, from the strong connection to the imperial cult up to the late antique soteriological vision,[107] from cohabitation with the rulers and those in the seats of political power to the presence in the circus and in the streets of popular festivals. The topographical approach of this paper is one of the possible keys to interpreting the transformations of the cult of Magna Mater and Attis over the centuries and how they reflected both on society and on the landscape of ancient Rome.

Abbreviations

CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1871–.
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1923–.
Vermaseren, *CCCA* III	Vermaseren, Maarten J. (1977), *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque III: Italia-Latium*, Leiden.

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107 About this aspect, see Sfameni Gasparro 1985; Alvarez 2008, 130–142.

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Angélique Guigner

La ritualisation des territoires ibériques : les sanctuaires urbains de l'Âge du Fer

Introduction

Aborder le thème du rôle des sanctuaires dans l'émergence des villes et la structuration des territoires entre dans les vastes problématiques qui permettent d'approcher les spécificités de la culture des Ibères, culture qui se développe entre le VIe et les IIe/Ier siècles av. n.è., sur la frange littorale méditerranéenne de la péninsule Ibérique, entre les Pyrénées au nord et le fleuve Segura au sud. En effet, la question de la lecture des territoires, y compris le paysage religieux, suscite de nouvelles interrogations et de nouvelles perspectives d'étude[1].

Depuis la fin du XXe siècle, la compréhension des paysages anciens naturels ou anthropiques est devenue un impératif. La multiplication des projets de recherche, colloques et ouvrages[2], centrés sur l'étude des paysages et des territoires, atteste l'essor et le développement de cette problématique de recherche. La confrontation des sources écrites et des données archéologiques constitue la première étape du travail, indispensable pour approcher la structuration territoriale des Ibères. C'est pourquoi, il s'agira d'abord de dresser un rapide bilan actuel des connaissances sur cette question.

Les communautés humaines ont investi leurs espaces en les transformant et en les modelant. Les paysages culturels deviennent le théâtre des interactions des populations avec leurs milieux ; ils sont la conséquence des actions humaines sur le milieu physique et naturel. En d'autres termes, ils donnent alors un cadre aux différents phénomènes de construction sociale, économique et politique des communautés. Le système de peuplement, l'émergence des villes, la formation de réseaux d'échanges économiques et culturels, la création de véritables territoires politiques et l'implantation de lieux de culte sur différents points stratégiques du territoire constituent des manifestations permettant de cerner les schémas d'organisation et les spécificités des territoires ibériques.

Pour saisir au mieux les modalités de construction territoriale, il sera question d'analyser les sanctuaires ibériques connus, séparés de la sphère domestique, et si-

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1 Ce travail s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une thèse doctorale en cours intitulée : « Sanctuaires, cultes et rites des Ibères (VIème siècle – IIème/Ier siècles av. n.è.) : entre traditions locales et influences méditerranéennes », sous la direction de Rosa Plana-Mallart, UMR 5140 Archéologie des Sociétés de la Méditerranée, UPVM3.
2 « Arqueologia Espacial : distribución y relaciones entre los asentamientos », Teruel 1984 ; « Arqueologia del paisaje », Teruel 1998 ; Martin/Plana-Mallart 2001 ; Garcia/Verdin 2002 ; Belarte *et al.* 2019, entre autres.

tués en milieu urbain, plus précisément implantés dans les grands-*oppida,* interprétés comme des villes indigènes[3]. L'objectif est de croiser les données textuelles et archéologiques se rapportant à la structuration et à l'organisation des territoires ibériques avec les informations disponibles sur les sanctuaires urbains connus, situés dans les capitales des territoires indigènes du Second Age du Fer. Les sanctuaires, de façon générale, jouent un rôle important dans la formation, l'organisation et évidemment la ritualisation du paysage et du territoire.

Des sources anciennes aux données archéologiques : des peuples à l'émergence de modèles territoriaux

Si les Grecs, durant la deuxième moitié du Ier millénaire av. n.è., ont donné le nom d'« Ibérie », en raison du fleuve Ebre, à l'ensemble du littoral méditerranéen péninsulaire, les sources anciennes grecques et latines dressent un portrait plus complexe et diversifié avec des références à un certain nombre de peuples et de territoires à la fois ethniques et politiques.Avienus[4], Strabon[5] ou encore Pline l'Ancien[6], par exemple, évoquent une mosaïque de peuples ibères occupant la frange littorale méditerranéenne, entre les Pyrénées et le sud-est péninsulaire (Fig. 1). Les Contestains, Edetains, Ilercavons, Cossétains, Léétaniens et Indiketes cités dans les sources textuelles reflètent une réalité hétérogène tout à fait visible à travers les caractéristiques culturelles régionales fournies par les données archéologiques.

La description des côtes ibériques méditerranéennes par les auteurs anciens apporte également des informations sur les limites géographiques et probablement politiques de l'ensemble des peuples ibères. En effet, selon les indications données par les sources textuelles, il est possible d'approcher les limites territoriales de chacun des peuples[7]. Il faut rappeler que les noms transmis appartiennent en général à un moment chronologique précis, celui des IIIe et IIe siècles av. n.è., dans le contexte de la deuxième guerre Punique et du début de la conquête romaine de la péninsule Ibérique. Même si certains noms de peuples sont cités par des auteurs plus anciens, les entités territoriales ont pu se modifier au cours du temps, évoluant au gré de l'évolution politique et territoriale des communautés ibères.

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3 Belarte *et al.* 2019.

4 Avie. *Ora Maritima* 520–525.

5 Str. *Géographie*, III, 4, 1 ; Str. *Géographie*, III, 4, 6.

6 Pli. *Histoires Naturelles*, III 4, 2–5 ; 19–24.

7 Bonet/Vives 2005 ; Grau Mira 2005; Sanmartí 2001 ; Sanmartí 2013 ; Belarte *et al.* 2019.

Les descriptions des IIIe-IIe siècles av. n.è. permettent donc d'établir une liste de peuples ibères et de repères territoriaux marquant des limites frontalières. Ces informations autorisent à l'existence de six grands territoires pendant la période qui précède la conquête romaine, longeant ainsi un peu plus de 700 km du littoral méditerranéen de la péninsule Ibérique. L'aire géographique des Ibères n'est donc pas conçue comme un ensemble homogène mais comme un espace compartimenté en plusieurs entités. Si des spécificités culturelles sont perceptibles dans chacun de ces ensembles, il y a bien pour autant des similitudes socio-politiques, économiques et idéologiques visibles.
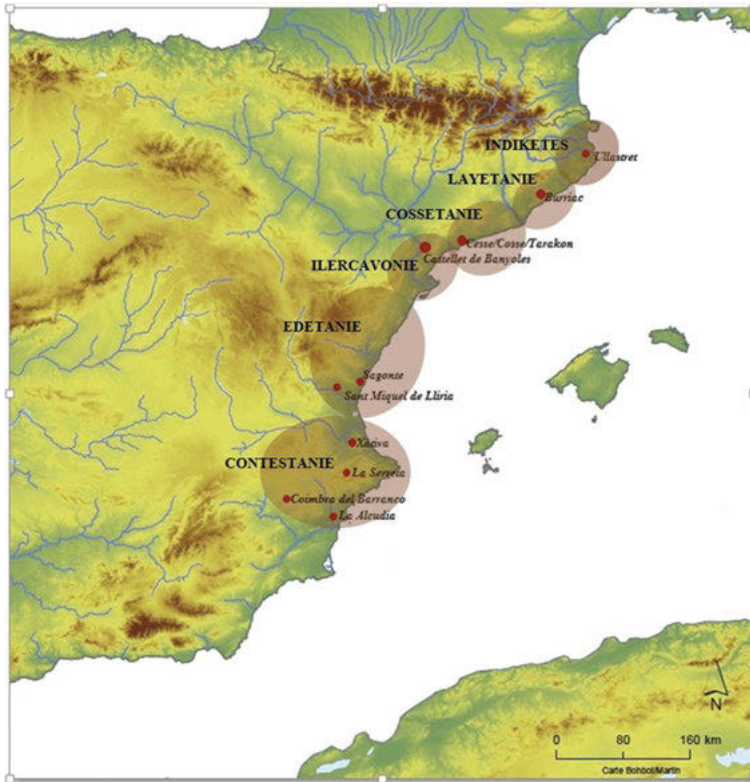
Fig. 1: Territoires ibériques identifiés selon les sources antiques et les données archéologiques disponibles et localisation des chefs-lieux de chacun des territoires (©A.Guigner UMR5140, ASM, Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier).

La fixation des populations au Bronze final et au Premier Age du Fer s'accompagne de l'émergence et de l'implantation d'un nouveau système de peuplement, rendant compte de l'évolution sociale et politique, de l'accroissement démographique et du développement économique. Dans ce contexte de structuration des communautés locales, l'ouverture au commerce méditerranéen a été suivie de l'installation d'éta-

blissements phénico-puniques et grecs sur le littoral. Ce phénomène a accéléré les processus internes de structuration socio-politique et économique des populations locales. Cette évolution vient alors modifier et modeler le territoire et son paysage à partir du VIe siècle av. n.è., jusqu'à la conquête romaine.

Les modalités d'implantation dans le secteur littoral, analysées récemment à partir des données archéologiques disponibles[8], ont permis de cerner la mise en place progressive d'un système de peuplement hiérarchisé et centralisé autour de chefs-lieux, rendant possible la définition d'un schéma d'organisation territoriale pour l'Age du Fer[9]. Les recherches de J. Sanmartí[10] sur le littoral de la partie Nord-Est de la péninsule Ibérique, en particulier de l'Ebre aux Pyrénées, proposent l'existence d'ensembles politiques développés, interprétés comme des Etats. Ces ensembles étatiques liés aux grands *oppida* seraient de ce fait organisés autour d'un système hiérarchisé d'établissements de tailles et de fonctions différentes, en lien avec le contrôle du territoire, l'exploitation du milieu et des ressources agricoles et la circulation des marchandises. Ces systèmes de peuplement révèlent une emprise sur l'ensemble des territoires, des périphéries au centre en passant par la côte et l'intérieur des terres, par le biais de voies de communications diverses[11]. Le territoire devient alors l'élément-clé de l'organisation politique et sociale.

A partir du VIème siècle et surtout au IVe siècle av. n.è., la transformation des systèmes de peuplement va de pair avec le développement de certaines agglomérations, considérées comme des sites de premier rang, réunissent les critères de la « ville »[12]. C'est durant cette période de changements et de bouleversements sociaux, politiques et culturels que les sites de grandes dimensions, c'est-à-dire les villes-*oppida*[13], voient le jour, ainsi par exemple Ullastret, Tarragone, Sant Miquel de Lliria, ou Sagonte. Ces sites identifiés à des villes[14] ont été associés à des modèles distincts d'organisation territoriale[15] : soit le modèle hiérarchique qui se déve-

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8 Plana/Martin 2002 ; Plana Mallart 2013 ; Grau Mira 2019 ; Belarte *et al.* 2019.

9 Garcia 2004; Sanmartí 2001 ; Sanmartí 2004 ; Sanmartí 2013.

10 Sanmartí 2001 ; Sanmartí *et al.* 2012 ; Belarte *et al.* 2019.

11 Bonet Rosado 1995; Sanmartí 2001 ; Sanmartí 2004 ; Sanmartí 2013 ; Plana 2013 ; Belarte *et al.* 2019.

12 Childe 1950, 9–16 ; Sanmartí 2004 et 2013; Grau Mira 2005; Plana 2013 ; Belarte *et al.* 2019.

13 Nombreux de ces établissements, sont encore mal connus ou identifiés, mais les différents critères proposés (cf. Childe 1950, 9–16 ; Belarte *et al.* 2019, 11–18) soulignent que nous sommes en présence d'agglomérations ibères majeures et développées, contrôlées par une classe dirigeante de type aristocratique.

14 Aujourd'hui, dans les différentes études réalisées dans le secteur littoral des Pyrénées au Segura, onze sites sont proposés comme étant des villes : Ullastret, Burriac, Tarragone, Castellet de Banyoles, Tossal de San Miquel de Lliria, Sagonte, Saitabi, La Serreta, Villajoyosa, La Alcudia, Coimbra del Barranco.

15 Ruiz/Molinos 1993 ; Martin/Plana-Mallart 2001 ; Garcia/Verdin 2002 Ruiz/Sanmartí 2003, 39–55.

loppe au Nord-Est de la péninsule[16] où un territoire entre 2 000 à environ 3 000 km²
serait dirigé par une ville ; soit le modèle hétérarchique observé dans les régions du
Levant et du Sud-Est péninsulaire[17] où les villes seraient à la tête de plus petits ter-
ritoires compris entre 700 et 1100 km². Ces modèles proposés par différents cher-
cheurs prennent en compte les spécificités des systèmes de peuplement restitués
dans les différentes régions.

Ces grandes agglomérations centralisent toutes les fonctions politiques, admi-
nistratives, économiques, culturelles et idéologiques. Elles sont implantées généra-
lement sur des promontoires fortifiés, dépassant une superficie entre 6 et 12 Ha,
contrôlées et dirigées par une élite aristocratique qui affiche des traits à caractère
guerrier. Le développement progressif du processus d'urbanisation au cours des IVe
et IIIe siècles av. n.è. aboutit à des trames urbaines mieux planifiées, organisées par
un réseau d'axes de communication, et adaptées aux contraintes topographiques. A
l'intérieur de la structure urbaine, des secteurs spécifiques consacrés à la fonction
religieuse ont été identifiés. Il s'agit souvent d'édifices isolés, séparés des quartiers
d'habitations, ou encore de bâtiments en position stratégique par exemple à proxi-
mité des limites de l'*oppidum*.

La ritualisation du paysage ibère

Les sociétés humaines transforment leurs espaces par le biais d'éléments structu-
rant les paysages et les territoires, ainsi les sanctuaires. Ils rendent concrets et tan-
gibles les éléments symboliques relevant de la sphère du sacré, en matérialisant le
fait cultuel dans l'espace. L'implantation de lieux de culte dans le territoire est ana-
lysée à travers une convergence méthodologique entre « l'anthropologie religieuse
et l'archéologie actuelle »[18], et plus encore en associant l'archéologie du culte et du
rite[19] mais aussi celle du paysage[20]. A l'échelle de l'espace de la Méditerranée an-
tique, les recherches réalisées[21] ont montré le lien entre les espaces sacrés et la

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16 Sanmartí *et al.* 2019: ce modèle s'organise autour de villes d'égale importance pour chacun des
territoires.

17 Grau Mira 2019. Ce modèle rend compte d'un plus grand morcellement du territoire avec diffé-
rents noyaux urbains de tailles diverses qui ont pu remplir des fonctions similaires, en concurrence
ou bien en coopération pour accéder et maintenir le pouvoir existant.

18 Scheid/Polignac (de) 2010, 434.

19 Brun-Kyriakidis 2017 ; Huber 2009 ; Prados Torreira 1994 ; Renfrew 1985 ; Scheid 2000 ; Van
Andringa 2013.

20 Prados Torreira 1994 ; Bonet Rosado/Mata Parreño 1997 ; Domínguez Monedero 1997 ; Gusi
Jener 1997 ; Vilà Pérez 1997 ; Boissinot/Rouillard 2005 ; Grau Mira 2005 ; López Mondéjar 2014 ;
Grau Mira/Amoros López 2017 ; Barral/Thivet 2019.

21 Boissinot/Rouillard 2005 ; Scheid/Polignac (de) 2010 ; Barral/Thivet 2019 ; Roure *et al.* 2019,
31–46.

structuration des territoires. Les sanctuaires, de façon générale, jouent un rôle important dans la formation, l'organisation et évidemment la ritualisation du paysage et du territoire des sociétés du Second Age du Fer.

La recherche sur les sanctuaires ibériques a été très active à partir des années 1980. La découverte de nouveaux sites et de nouvelles structures[22], mais également la révision des données archéologiques plus anciennes par de nouvelles interventions archéologiques[23], ont permis d'identifier un certain nombre de lieux de culte. Les typologies proposées[24] des espaces sacrés ibères ont été progressivement renouvelées et affinées à l'aide de nouvelles approches méthodologiques. Ces études, fondées sur des critères typologiques, fonctionnels et culturels, soulignent la grande diversité des lieux de culte ibères. Les sanctuaires sont identifiés selon leur nature, leur fonction et leur localisation. L'accent est également mis sur les éventuelles influences méditerranéennes reçues au fils des siècles, venues en particulier du monde phénico-punique, grec ou encore italique. A partir de ces diverses classifications, les études réalisées, en particulier en Andalousie[25] et dans le Sud-Est de la péninsule Ibérique[26], proposent une lecture symbolique des sanctuaires d'un point de vue territorial et en intégrant les éléments socio-politiques des communautés[27]. La mise en place depuis le VIe et jusqu'au IIe-Ier siècles av. n.è. d'une organisation territoriale a contribué à la ritualisation du paysage, en raison de la sacralisation d'espaces naturels et de la construction de sanctuaires dans des lieux remarquables du territoire. Les sanctuaires à caractère communautaire, bien distincts de la sphère domestique et du cadre privé de la religion, ont été construits depuis le début de la période ibérique dans des lieux stratégiques du territoire. Ils devaient répondre aux nécessités cultuelles et rituelles imposées par une forme de religiosité spécifique, ainsi que participer au marquage de l'espace communautaire. Implantés dans différents secteurs du territoire, ces structures agissaient à la fois comme des marqueurs sacrés territoriaux.

Il a été possible d'identifier plusieurs sites présentant des activités à caractère cultuel utilisés durant plusieurs siècles, souvent sans interruption. Ces lieux de culte peuvent être implantés dans des lieux isolés dans les campagnes ou à proximité des voies de communication terrestres ou fluviales mais aussi près des limites

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22 Liste non exhaustive : Broncano Rodríguez 1989 ; Olcina Domenech 1997 ; Sanmartí *et al.* 2012 ; Espinoza Ruiz *et al.* 2014 ; Codina *et al.* 2019, 95–110.

23 Sanchez Gómez 2002 ; Comino/Tortosa 2017.

24 Prados 1994 ; Vilà 1997 ; Dominguez Monedero 1997 ; Almagro Gorbea/Moneo 2000; Moneo, 2003.

25 Rueda Galán 2011.

26 Grau Mira 2010 ; Grau Mira/Amoros López 2013 ; Rísquez/Rueda 2013; López-Mondéjar 2014 ; Amoros López 2019.

27 Grau Mira 2010, 103.

territoriales ou en bordure du littoral, en contexte souvent emporique. Une dernière catégorie de sanctuaires se situe en contexte urbain.

En ce qui concerne les sanctuaires et les dispositifs cultuels connus en milieu urbain, en particulier à l'intérieur des grandes agglomérations ou établissements de premier ordre considérés comme des capitales politiques, il est possible de discerner l'existence de secteurs spécifiques consacrés au fait cultuel. Les structures sont le plus souvent implantées dans des secteurs stratégiques ; il peut s'agir de la partie la plus élevée du site ou une position accolée au rempart ou à proximité des accès de l'oppidum, ou encore une situation le long des axes de circulation ou même à l'intérieur même de quartier d'habitations. Cependant, les informations disponibles sont en général extrêmement lacunaires en raison de travaux anciens, de fouilles très réduites ou de la superposition de différentes occupations jusqu'à nos jours, venant freiner la lecture des données et les possibles interprétations. Malgré cela, des projets de recherches actuels ont tenté d'y voir un peu plus clair en apportant de nouvelles perspectives d'études[28]. C'est le cas pour les sites d'Ullastret, Burriac, Castellet de Banyoles, Sant Miquel de Lliria, Sagonte, La Serreta, La Alcudia, qui ont fourni les vestiges de lieux de culte construits. En revanche, d'autres sanctuaires, tel que Coimbra del Barranco, sont uniquement identifiés par la découverte de dépôts d'offrandes. Pour les sites de Tarragone, Villajoyosa et *Saitabi*, aucun lieu de culte n'a été découvert, s'agissant d'établissements mal connus en raison de la continuité de l'occupation jusqu'à l'époque actuelle.

Le choix d'implantation en milieu urbain : la ville comme point d'ancrage du fait cultuel

Le choix d'implantation des sanctuaires dans les villes-*oppida* est un élément important dans la structuration de ces agglomérations. D'abord, les lieux de culte peuvent être installés sur la partie sommitale, dans des espaces séparés des quartiers d'habitation. C'est le cas au Puig de Sant Andreu, à Ullastret[29] où le sanctuaire est implanté en hauteur de l'*oppidum*, totalement séparé des secteurs d'habitat. A noter également que cette zone sacrée est accessible par un des axes principaux depuis la porte principale située à l'ouest. Le sanctuaire de La Serreta[30], adapté à la topographie escarpée du site, est disposé en hauteur et adossé au rocher, séparé également de la partie restante de l'agglomération[31]. Le sanctuaire probable de

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28 Belarte *et al.* 2019.

29 Codina, *et al.* 2019.

30 Grau Mira/Amoros Lopez 2017.

31 Le sanctuaire est accessible par une voie centrale partant de l'accès principal, qui parcourt l'ensemble de l'agglomération dans un axe nord-est/sud-ouest.

Coimbra del Barranco[32] serait aussi installé sur un espace ouvert dans la partie la plus haute du site, isolé du reste de la ville mais en connexion à celle-ci.

Une deuxième catégorie de sanctuaires correspond à des bâtiments cultuels implantés près du rempart, soit adossés à celui-ci, soit situés à proximité des accès de l'*oppidum*. Le lieu de culte possible de Burriac[33] est ainsi accolé à la muraille orientale de l'agglomération, en position élevée. Cependant, les données anciennes de fouille sont réduites et ne permettent pas de préciser son organisation. Dans le cas de La Alcudia[34], le sanctuaire est situé au sud de la ville, à proximité de l'accès principal du site. Ces derniers lieux de culte sont traditionnellement considérés comme des « sanctuaires d'entrée », placés près de la jonction des axes de circulation et des portes. Ils sont visibles par tous et ont une importance particulière en revêtent une fonction de protection symbolique par leur localisation[35].

Enfin, les lieux de culte intégrés à la trame urbaine et installés au voisinage des habitations, même avec des murs mitoyens, constituent un troisième type de sanctuaire. La fouille du site de Castellet de Banyoles a mis au jour deux édifices (Zone 1, Édifice 10 ; Zone 3, Édifice 31), interprétés comme des sanctuaires ou des espaces où se déroulent des activités de type cultuel et/ou cérémoniel. Les deux édifices sont intégrés à la trame urbaine de deux quartiers d'habitions. La Zone 1[36], située au nord-ouest du site, voit se développer un édifice (Édifice 10), dont la façade nord donne directement sur un espace ouvert de grandes dimensions, interprété comme une place, probablement avec une utilisation communautaire de l'espace pour effectuer de possibles pratiques rituelles et cultuelles. La Zone 3[37], toujours en cours de fouille, présente un édifice (Édifice 31), également intégré dans un quartier d'habitat situé au sud-ouest de l'*oppidum*, dont l'aménagement interne le différencie d'une habitation. Il s'agit de l'unique édifice de ce quartier, selon les résultats des fouilles, à ne pas posséder de façade du côté nord, c'est-à-dire face à l'espace de circulation. Il présente aussi une organisation interne distincte des édifices adjacents. Le sanctuaire de Sant Miquel de Lliria[38] localisé à l'ouest de l'agglomération (Secteur I, Terrasse 4, Bloc 4) est inséré dans la trame urbaine, près d'espaces domestiques. Une architecture adaptée à la topographie de l'endroit est également observée pour le sanctuaire, ainsi la terrasse septentrionale est utilisée comme mur du lieu de culte.

Ces trois catégories font état de situations topographiques multiples : de préférence en hauteur ou isolé, ou le long d'axes de circulation ou encore à proximité du

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32 Catalogue d'exposition 2007.

33 Vilà/Gonzalo 1996, 457–466.

34 Ramos Fernández 1995.

35 Moneo 2003, 285–286.

36 Sanmartí *et al.* 2012, 43–63.

37 Asensio Vilaró *et al.* 2016, 337–338.

38 Bonet Rosado 1995.

rempart ou de places. L'intégration et l'insertion d'espaces dédiés à la fonction cultuelle, dans un secteur spécifique de la ville[39], destinent les sanctuaires à devenir des marqueurs du paysage urbain. Il s'agit donc d'une implantation réfléchie, choisie et planifiée par les communautés ibères. Le rôle étant de sacraliser l'*oppidum*, et de placer l'établissement sous la protection des divinités.

Aucun texte ni aucune image ne représente le sanctuaire ibérique, seule l'archéologie peut alors nous renseigner sur sa nature, son organisation spatiale et les différents cultes et pratiques rituelles à travers les multiples aménagements. Les informations archéologiques disponibles sur les sanctuaires en milieu urbain sont issues principalement de fouilles anciennes, rendant compte d'une documentation assez lacunaire. C'est à partir de ces rares éléments qu'il sera possible d'extraire des informations sur les structures cultuelles, afin de tenter d'identifier des éléments qui caractériseraient le « sanctuaire ibérique » (Fig. 2).

Les données planimétriques disponibles constituent un premier élément de caractérisation. La zone sacrée d'Ullastret[40] accueille deux temples de grandes dimensions qui présentent le plan suivant: une avant salle et une pièce principale (Temple A : 40m^2 et Temple C : 96m^2). L'avant salle du temple A est flanquée de deux colonnes *in-antis* et les murs extérieurs nord, sud et ouest possèdent des pilastres. Distants d'1 m et orientés à l'est, le temple A est daté du IVe siècle av. n.è. et le temple C du IIIe siècle av. n.è. Ils possèdent un parement polygonal en grand appareil, en grès local. De même, les murs internes et externes du temple C, sont recouverts d'une épaisse couche d'*opus signinum*, sans décor, ce qui fait leur originalité.

Les autres édifices, malgré de nombreuses inconnues, présentent des bâtiments de plan quadrangulaire, le plus souvent rectangulaire et de grandes dimensions. Les interventions archéologiques anciennes ont mis au jour à Burriac[41] une salle de 60m^2, orientée à l'ouest et datée entre les Ve-IVe siècles av. n.è. On ignore s'il y avait d'autres salles alentours faisant partie du même bâtiment. Au Castellet de Banyoles[42] un édifice des IVe-IIIe siècles av. n.è., a de de 140m^2 de superficie orienté au nord, a été fouillé plus récemment. Le secteur central de ce bâtiment mesure lui aussi 60m^2. Le sanctuaire de Sant Miquel de Lliria[43] présente un plan rectangulaire mais bien plus allongé, de 70m^2, orienté à l'est. Il serait daté entre les IIIe-IIe siècles av. n.è. Enfin, le bâtiment de 64m^2 de La Alcudia[44], orienté au Sud est flanqué d'un espace quadrangulaire interprété comme une tour. Il a été en fonction dès le VIe jusqu'au Ier siècle av. n.è., avec une phase de réaménagement à la fin du IVe et au

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39 Domínguez Monedero 1997; Almagro-Gorbea/Moneo 2000; Moneo 1995 et 2003 ; Grau Mira 2005; Plana 2013.

40 Codina *et al.* à paraitre ; Codina *et al.* 2019, 95–110.

41 Moneo 2003, 215. Il est possible que la fouille n'est pas dégagée entièrement le bâtiment.

42 Sanmartí *et al.* 2012, 43–63.

43 Bonet Rosado 1995.

44 Ramos Fernández 1995.

début du IIIe siècle av. n.è. Ces sanctuaires, contrairement à Ullastret, n'ont pas connu de phase de monumentalisation. En effet, les techniques de constructions utilisent des murs en adobes sur solins de pierres. Elles ne semblent pas être différentes de celles employées pour les structures domestiques. Il faut également noter que les édifices ne présentent pas d'éléments décoratifs architecturaux. Cependant, le sanctuaire de La Alcudia semble posséder des décors architecturaux. Un chapiteau proto-éolique retrouvé en remploi dans le mur de la basilique paléochrétienne a été mis au jour. Il serait un élément de la façade extérieure. De même, deux fragments de chapiteaux corinthiens, dont le lieu de découverte est inconnu, pourraient appartenir à la deuxième phase du sanctuaire.

Ensuite, l'organisation interne des sanctuaires peut être un deuxième élément d'information. Depuis une place utilisée pour de probables cérémonies, on accède au sanctuaire du Castellet de Banyoles par un couloir en « L » inversé disposant d'un sol dallé qui s'ouvre sur plusieurs pièces. Il permet d'arriver, au centre, sur une avant salle et une pièce principale où devaient se dérouler les pratiques rituelles et cultuelles et possiblement le dépôt et l'exposition d'offrandes. Egalement, un espace de petites dimensions située à l'arrière de la pièce principale, pourrait être une dépendance sacrée, lieu où se situait la statue de culte ou bien le mobilier liturgique. Enfin, le couloir donne aussi accès à de possibles annexes, interprétées comme des lieux de stockage des offrandes. A Sant Miquel de Lliria, l'accès au sanctuaire, là aussi depuis une place sans structures, se fait par un escalier en direction d'une pièce à ciel ouvert, sans doute un patio. Cet espace, par le biais d'un escalier, conduit vers une nouvelle salle de grandes dimensions divisées inégalement : une avant salle avec un sol dallé, probablement un espace à ciel ouvert et une salle principale bien plus vaste disposant d'un sol en adobes, indiquant sans doute un espace couvert.

En effet, le dernier sanctuaire, ayant fourni des informations sur son organisation interne se trouve être La Alcudia. Depuis la rue, on accède directement à en particulier à un espace à ciel ouvert et clôturer par des murs. Cette disposition générale se retrouve dans les deux phases du bâtiment. Durant la première phase, l'espace central à ciel ouvert comprend dans l'angle nord-est, un espace fermé interprété comme une dépendance sacrée avec un accès vers la tour. Après le réaménagement du sanctuaire, la zone centrale évolue. La dépendance disparait mais la tour est toujours présente.

Enfin, les aménagements constitueraient un troisième et dernier niveau d'information. Les sanctuaires ont fourni de multiples structures rituelles et cultuelles installées pour la plupart à l'intérieur de chaque lieu de culte. Il faut néanmoins différencier deux types d'aménagements mis au jour : les aménagements bas, les plus fréquents, et les aménagements hauts. Parmi les structures basses, il est possible de retrouver les citernes, comme celle associée au temple C d'Ullastret. D'une capacité de 77m^3, la plus grande du site, elle est située devant le temple et pénètre à l'intérieur de l'avant salle. Elle devait être utilisée dans le cadre de pratiques ri-

tuelles, sans doute en lien avec des liquides employés lors de probables libations. Certains sanctuaires, comme Burriac et le Castellet de Banyoles, accueillent des aménagements distincts mais liés. Des foyers quadrangulaires construits encadrés par un(e) ou plusieurs colonnes ou piliers ont été mis au jour en position centrale dans les pièces principales, et dans une moindre mesure dans l'avant salle. Cette association « foyer-colonne(s)/pilier(s) » semble être chronologiquement contemporaine. Il est important de noter que les foyers possèdent des dimensions supérieures à celles des foyers domestiques. Tout cela assure la spécificité du lieu. Ces structures peuvent être aussi associées à d'autres aménagements bas tels que les banquettes adossées au mur des pièces principales, comme à Burriac et au Castellet de Banyoles. Lors de la première phase du sanctuaire de La Alcudia, une banquette a été mise au jour, mais elle ne semble pas être associée à un foyer. Elles devaient être employées dans l'exposition d'offrandes[45] ou lors de possibles cérémonies. Egalement, les sanctuaires comptent d'autres aménagements comme les dépôts d'offrandes sur les sites de Coimbra del Barranco et lors de la deuxième phase de La Alcudia. Ce dernier présente plusieurs fosses, l'une d'elles a été interprétée comme un dépôt de fondation. Pour une autre, il s'agit d'une fosse semi-construite de grandes dimensions retrouvées sous l'entrée de la pièce extérieure. Lors de cette même phase, la banquette disparait au profit d'une autre fosse à offrandes de forme quadrangulaire, située dans l'espace à ciel ouvert. Il est possible de retrouver cette structure sur le site de Sant Miquel de Lliria, dans le patio. Une longue et intense pratique du feu a été remarquée au fond de chacune des fosses.

En plus des aménagements bas, les sanctuaires réunissent souvent des aménagements dits hauts. Le plus souvent, cette catégorie regroupe les autels et les pierres dressées interprétées comme des bétyles. Il est possible de retrouver ce type d'installation à Sant Miquel de Lliria avec la présence d'un bétyle en position centrale dans la pièce principale du sanctuaire. Enfin, les fouilles ont mis au jour pour les deux phases de La Alcudia, un autel construit situé là aussi en position centrale et implanté dans l'espace ouvert.

Malgré des informations lacunaires, les données archéologiques offrent la possibilité d'identifier certains traits spécifiques au « sanctuaire ibérique », ici en contexte urbain. L'absence, dans la plupart des cas, d'individualisation des édifices en fait un des premiers critères de caractérisation. Cela pose aussi de nombreux problèmes d'identification puisque les sanctuaires ne disposent pas, le plus souvent, d'éléments particuliers qui pourraient les différencier des édifices domestiques ou artisanaux. Cependant, les dimensions souvent très importantes peuvent être un paramètre révélateur. Les sanctuaires sont le plus souvent compris entre 60

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45 Les fouilles de la rue adjacente au sanctuaire de La Alcudia ont mis au jour plusieurs fragments de sculptures brisées volontairement. Ces fragments ont été mis en relation avec le sanctuaire, en particulier avec la première phase de l'édifice. Ils devaient être installés sur la banquette.
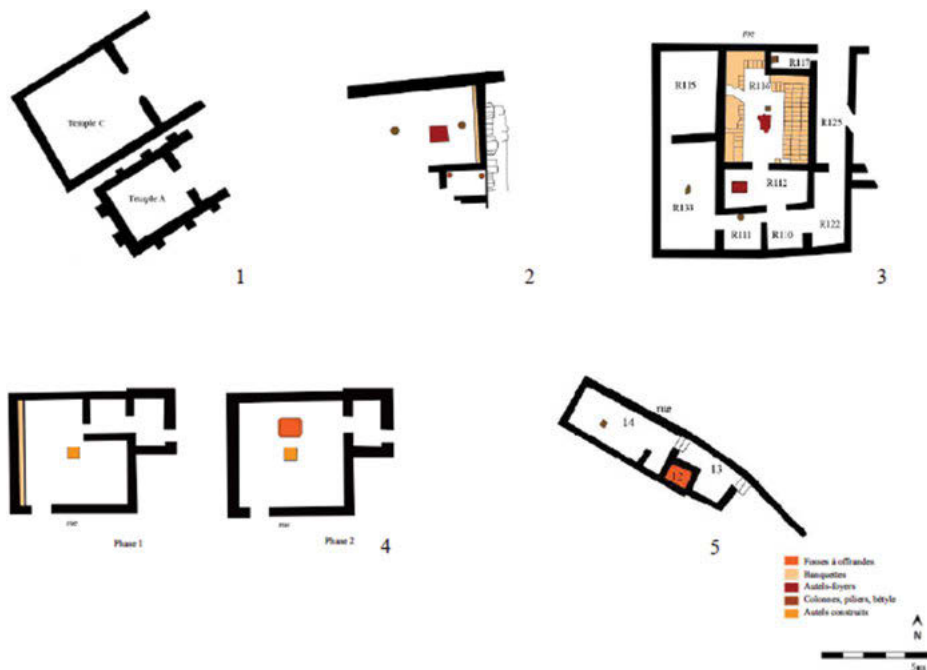
Fig. 2: Temples et sanctuaires mentionnés dans le texte : 1/ Ullastret (d'après Codina et alii, 2019), 2/ Burriac (d'après Zamora, 2007), 3/ Castellet de Banyoles (d'après Sanmartí et alii, 2012), 4/ La Alcudia (d'après Ramos Fernández, 1995), 5/ Sant Miquel de Lliria (d'après Bonet Rosado, 1995) (© A.Guigner UMR5140, ASM, Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier 3).

et 140m^2 avec les pièces annexes. Il faut également considérer l'organisation interne de ces bâtiments. Même si les schémas sont irréguliers, il faut tout de même noter plusieurs points récurrents. Les sanctuaires comptent plusieurs pièces, distribuées de façon complexe selon une logique hiérarchique. L'association aussi d'espaces fermés et de zones à ciel ouvert ajoute une composante potentielle à la compréhension de ce que peut être le sanctuaire ibérique. La lecture spatiale de ces édifices montre en outre, la spécialisation des espaces à l'intérieur du lieu de culte restituant une vision plus complexe du sanctuaire ibérique. La présence d'aménagements tels que les banquettes, les foyers, les colonnes ou piliers, les fosses mais aussi les autels et les pierres dressées révèlent le caractère exceptionnel de ces bâtiments. Leur combinaison indique probablement la spécificité de pratiques rituelles attachées à chacun des sanctuaires.

De façon générale, la composition observée consiste en une répartition d'un espace ouvert et/ou une avant salle et une pièce principale, d'une superficie avoisinant les 60 m^2, ponctuée de structures motivées par l'accomplissement de pratiques exigées par les rites et cultes ibériques.

L'Ibérie comme d'autres zones de la Méditerranée Occidentale, par exemple la Sicile, a été en contact essentiellement avec des populations phénico-puniques et grecques. Ces contacts s'accompagnent d'influences et de transferts qui expriment la grande réceptivité des populations ibériques aux modèles culturels orientaux. Cependant, en raison de la diversité des substrats cultuels indigènes, aussi de la nature et de l'ampleur des contacts avec les populations allogènes, les différents territoires de la façade méditerranéenne péninsulaire ont des particularités spécifiques.

Il est tout de même possible de percevoir depuis les régions du sud-est péninsulaire et jusque dans une grande partie de la Catalogne actuelle que les lieux de culte en milieu urbain ont adopté des traits culturels phénico-puniques, tout d'abord à travers des modèles architecturaux spécifiques. Le plan général et l'organisation interne des bâtiments sont bien documentés dans la sphère architecturale religieuse phénico-punique[46]. Malgré les rares exemples conservés en Méditerranée et l'absence d'homogénéité claire des schémas architecturaux, les sanctuaires phénico-puniques disposent d'édifices organisés par une série de pièces avec une séparation distincte d'un espace ouvert et une pièce considérée comme la plus sacrée ainsi que des pièces annexes. Ces influences orientales sont également visibles par l'existence et l'association de divers aménagements spécifiquement celle des foyers de très grandes dimensions entourés de colonnes ou de piliers et de qui semble là aussi être présent dans les sanctuaires phénico-puniques.

Il existe des aménagements qui sont associés à ces deux mondes culturels : les banquettes et les fosses à offrandes construites. En monde grec, les temples dits à banquettes sont nommés ainsi car les banquettes sont utilisées tout d'abord pour la célébration de banquets rituels, mais elles pouvaient également être destinées à l'exposition d'offrandes alimentaires ou non. Elles sont le plus souvent associées à des foyers-autels, tradition qui semblerait appartenir aux sanctuaires phéniciens et crétois. Les fosses à offrandes construites peuvent être rattachées à la sphère cultuelle et rituelle orientale. En effet, en contexte local les fosses sont plutôt de taille réduite mais ne sont pas construites et aménagées. Ici, en plus d'être construites, elles connaissent également une longue utilisation du feu pour un rituel particulier ou au cours d'une cérémonie sacrificielle. Les hypothèses restent en suspens.

Seuls les temples d'Ullastret indiquent un lien direct avec le monde grec et particulièrement avec l'orbite phocéenne. Le plan, les techniques de construction mais aussi les éléments architecturaux comme les décors employés sont directement empruntés à la sphère architecturale religieuse grecque. Ce transfert de techniques et de modèles architecturaux sont à mettre en relation avec la proximité de la colonie grecque d'Emporion et l'intensité des contacts entre les deux communautés

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46 Ferjaoui/Redissi 2019 ; Fernández Flores *et al.* 2020, 201–228.

Conclusion

La « ville », définie comme un instrument des phénomènes d'urbanisation et d'organisation durant la Protohistoire, joue un rôle primordial dans la structuration des territoires en se revêtant de symboles de puissance et de pouvoir à travers, ici, l'insertion d'espaces sacrés. Repères des communautés, les sanctuaires confèrent aux villes-*oppida* une symbolique particulière, exprimant des processus idéologiques qui ont évolué au cours des VIe et Ve siècles av. n.è. jusqu'à la conquête romaine, dont le point culminant se situe entre les IVe et IIIe siècles av. n.è.

Par ailleurs, la mise en place de programmes de construction de lieux de cultes, dans des secteurs spécifiques et insérés à l'intérieur de la trame urbaine, révèle une élite dirigeante forte et puissante capable de développer des structures conçues comme des symboles de leur pouvoir. Planifier d'installer des sanctuaires dans une zone particulière des agglomérations révèle également la volonté de développer une sphère religieuse indépendante et communautaire.

La religiosité des Ibères semble évoluer vers des pratiques cultuelles et rituelles plus collectives, s'éloignant de la sphère domestique et privée et se dirigeant vers une sphère communautaire, entrainant de nouvelles conceptions de l'espace cultuel. En outre, les données archéologiques, certes lacunaires, permettent de reconnaitre divers traits spécifiques au « sanctuaire ibérique » permettant alors une identification plus aisée de ces édifices.

Les sanctuaires et les dispositifs cultuels particuliers se distinguent par l'intégration et l'adaptation d'influences en provenance de la Méditerranée Orientale, en particulier grecques et phénico-puniques, permis par les multiples et intenses contacts qu'a connu le littoral méditerranéen de la péninsule ibérique.

En général, dans l'ensemble du secteur d'étude, les communautés ibères à l'origine de l'implantation des sanctuaires ont pleinement choisi d'intégrer des influences extérieures au monde ibérique dans les constructions religieuses ; marquant une grande diversité architecturale. Cela démontre également la grande réceptivité des populations ibères et leurs ouvertures aux dynamiques méditerranéennes.

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Emiliano R. Urciuoli

Jumping Among the Temples: Early Christian Critique of Polytheism's "Spatial Fix"

1 Gluing Gods to Places: From Carthage to Çatalhöyük and Back

In chapter 23 of his *Apologetium* (Carthage, 197–198 CE), North-African Christian writer Tertullian is engaged in a long tirade on demonology.[1] His aim is to show that there is actually no difference between pagan gods and pagan demons according to their powers and performances as marshalled and capitalized on by different religious experts. A distinction based on the places of worship is ironically assumed only to be eventually lampooned:

> The distinction between them [*scil.* gods and demons], I really suppose, depends on difference of place; so that, where a temple is in the story, you reckon them to be gods, though elsewhere you do not call them gods; so that if one leaps among the temples[2] he has a different sort of insanity from the one who jumps from roof to roof of his neighbours' houses (*Locorum differentia distinguitur, opinor, ut a templis deos existimetis quos alibi deos non dicitis; ut aliter dementire videatur qui sacras turres pervolat, aliter qui tecta viciniae transilit*).[3]

Tertullian writes from Carthage, the provincial capital of *Africa Proconsularis*, one of the biggest and wealthiest cities of the Roman empire at the end of the second century CE. Tertullian is persuaded that only madmen (*dementire*) fallen under the spell of some evil forces (*daemones*) may want to wander the city from atop.[4] While lingering on this passage for the first time, my mind soon wandered off. I could not help but think that, thousands of years before Tertullian, in nucleated settlement

2 Turris might designate synecdochically a high building, like in Horace, Carm. 1.4.14 (*pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas / regumque turres*). See Waltzing 1919, 110.
3 Tertullian, *Apol.* 23.3, transl. Glover.
4 Commentators have generally paid little attention to this passage. Waltzing interpreted the unspecified subject of the last sentence (*qui. . . qui*) as referring to "magicians who claimed to marshal the magic power of demons by reciting magic formulas" (Waltzing 1919, 110). Assisted by the demons, indeed, the *magi* are said to be the agents of many sensational tricks described immediately above (*Apol.* 23:1). Waltzing states that "flying men are not unknown in antiquity" but reports only two examples: a flying Hyperborean mentioned by Lucian (*Philops.* 3) and the performance of Simon Magus ascending over the temples and hills of Rome before being thrown down by Peter's prayer (*Act. Pet.* 32; Waltzing 1919, 110).

types like Çatalhöyük in Southern Anatolia, there were people who actually jumped from roof to roof of neighbours' houses.[5] Tertullian would be surprised to know they were not insane tenants or frenzied self-styled magicians. Nor were they thieves, although, like robbers, they were using ladders to ease their way in and out of loam domestic buildings. They were – to a large extent, at least – sane and respectable persons who, in their daily routines, had to cut across a Neolithic urbanizing site of 34 acres that was made of clusters of closely packed houses with no streets between them.[6] In such clustered neighbourhood settlements, open areas for communications and exchange existed only between neighbourhood blocks, access to houses was mainly over roofs, and thus people happened to gather atop the low-rise adjacent buildings.[7]

At Çatalhöyük traffic and trade did without roads, thereby challenging our (Western)[8] sense of urbanity that is long and deeply connected with the drawing of streets as channels designed to funnel city flows, organize urban density, and distinguish housetops from plazas. Space oddities, though, do not end with the absence of streets. In the 9'400-year-old settlement of Çatalhöyük, architectural points of reference were lacking too. To borrow from Kevin Lynch's taxonomy of the types of elements used in city images, we can say that the absence of urban "paths" was coupled with a lack of urban "landmarks" as identifiable physical elements standing out against the city background.[9] No streets, no dominant buildings: "just a dense agglomeration of one household after another, all of similar sizes and layout, each accessed by ladder from the roofs".[10] No doubt, a modern flâneur would face severe problems of orientation in strolling along this town.

Çatalhöyükians' roof walkers never had the chance to land on the top of a temple. Yet, at a certain stage of the development of the site, a minority of long-lived buildings started to become distinguishable from others by architectural variations: on the one hand, they underwent a reduction of space dedicated to productive activities; on the other, they were characterized by an increase in symbolic elaboration, as attested by an exceptional storage, staging, and passing down of objects and artworks –e.g., plastered human skulls, animal installations, and adult burials. The spatial distribution of these ritually elaborated buildings seemed not to allow

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5 E.g. Hodder 2010.

6 On the urban rank of Çatalhöyük, see Jacobs 1969; Soja 2000, 36–49. Against this view, e.g. M.E. Smith 2009, 7–8.

7 On seasonal variations in the use of the roofs as "public spaces", see Pels 2010. On the mobility pattern, see Düring 2006.

8 "Ever since urban development [...], rooftops (or, more precisely, the terraces found on the tops of the houses of the well-to-do) have been a central organizing feature of women's spaces in the respectable, urban cultures of much of South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa" (Lal 2013, 169).

9 Lynch 1960, 49–66 and 78–83.

10 Graeber/Wengrow 2021, 212.

people to leap among them in the style of Tertullian's madmen. However, their continuity of use over time, their multiple rebuilds, and the outstanding amassing of ritual symbols suggested to the Neolithic visitor jumping onto them from the neighbouring house that these places were more than domestic units. Anthropologist Peter Pels has dubbed them "history houses" since they specialized in the accumulation of crosscutting historical memory allowing for community building.[11]

The items contained in the history houses were linked to ritual knowledge and practices performed by ritual leaders whose skills were likely to cater for a larger kinship group or for religious sodalities extending beyond a single household.[12] Through time, the special agents addressed, the symbols manipulated, and the events recalled by these ritual experts, as well as the shared experiences crystallized there as memories, might have succeeded in attracting people from a larger collection of buildings, perhaps from a whole neighbourhood block, and in some cases becoming special for the whole settlement. Moreover, the analysis of the components of religious life in the upper levels of the site seems to indicate a "gradual shift" towards a "doctrinal" mode of religiosity implying "more discursive styles of transmission" of religious knowledge. The hypothesis is that the distribution across the settlement of homogenising narrative traditions elaborated by the ritual leaders of the history houses might have furthered the community- and continuity-building processes.[13] After all, without giving rise to grand full-fledged temples, the streetless agglomeration of households came to provide itself with structurally differentiated buildings for religious purposes. The history houses were such as *to fix* the communal gods to distinctive architectural spaces, that is, to glue them to certain spots which were there for everyone to see and for many to jump into.

2 Religion and the "Spatial Fix"

To borrow from materialist geographer David Harvey, we can call this long-term strategy of tying footloose and flowing entities to fixed space "the spatial fix". Coined in the early 1980s, the concept has been used in several publications to designate capitalism's "insatiable drive to resolve its inner crisis tendencies by geographical expansion and geographical restructuring", that is, mainly through changes of location and creation of physical landscapes at its service. This latter performance occurs in two ways: via the production of space (especially through urbanization) and by the

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11 Hodder/Pels 2010. For a critical overview of the discussion and a diachronic perspective on the existence of "some form of status differentiation" amongst the Çatalhöyük's buildings, see Düring 2006, 211–229.

12 Hodder/Pels 2010, 178.

13 Whitehouse/Hodder 2010, 137–142, based on Whitehouse 2004.

tying of capital to place (i.e., creation of built environments).[14] In the early 2000s, looking back at his manifold research on the geography of capital accumulation, Harvey has referred to these two strategies as "the two kinds of fixes" produced by capitalism's never-ending search for a temporary geographical resolution and spatial anchorage of its endemic problems of over-accumulation. He interestingly points out that these three aspects, namely the *anchorage* of an entity in another one, the *remedy* of a problem, and the *short-run* character of this securing strategy, all belong to the semantic range of the English noun "fix".[15] Altogether, they enshrine the logic of the historical geography of capitalist development.

In Harvey's theory, the dynamic entity that has to be fixed is capital, understood as "value in motion".[16] The historical-geographical process that continually needs to resort to the spatial fix is capital accumulation. Religion as fixable entity never crosses the Marxist geographer's mind. Thinking analogically for applying this notion to the much longer temporality of history of religion, I am not assuming any genealogical connection or homological relation between the two kinds of fix. In other words, I am not arguing that the capitalist fix is a secularization of the religious one; nor will I transpose all the formal aspects of Harvey's conceptualization of the fix systematically to the domain of religion.[17] In this sense, the usefulness of the following analogy rests more on a heuristic plan than on an analytical level.

The analogy unfolds upon three aspects. First, as systems of management of relevant flows of communication with and about the gods whose spatial prerogatives imply both making homes (dwelling) and cutting boundaries (crossing),[18] historical religions are inescapably shaped by the tension between motion and fixity. Actually, as the development of Çatalhöyük's architectural differentiation already shows, they can be said to have practiced the technique of the fix for thousands of years before capitalism appeared. Building on the connection between the two kinds of fix theorized by Harvey (production of urban space and fixation to place), I assume that the rise and growth of nucleated large-scale societies all over the globe needed an important function like religion to "be pinned down and secured to particular loc[i]".[19] A critical share of the free-floating religious resources, which circulated among different agents and

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14 Harvey 2001, 24. Also 1981, 1–12; 1982, 413–445; 1985, 128–163. The conceptual foundations of the notion are already laid in Harvey's earliest analyses of the spatial dimension of capitalist accumulation: see Harvey 1975, 13.

15 Harvey 2001, 28 and 24.

16 Harvey 2010, 90.

17 For instance, what can be called the "katechontic" dimension of Harvey's fix, that is, the idea that the fixation of capital to space is always temporary and eventually doomed to failure given the structural character of capital's mobility, is not present in my analogical transposition of the notion. However, as we will see, it resonates with some arguments of the early Christians' critique of the fix.

18 Rüpke 2018 (2016), 15–21. Cf. Tweed 2006.

19 Harvey 2001, 24.

places within increasingly densified settlements, was to be locked up and committed to architecturally differentiated physical repositories ranging from ritually elaborated houses and small shrines to huge temple complexes. Such spatial fix of religion necessarily produced a new sacred landscape, created a new living environment for the gods, and ushered in a new epoch in the religious division of labor.

Second, just as industrial capitalism needed to build up immovable structures such as factories, warehouses, highways, and commercial centers in order for its commodity production to freely move through the markets,[20] urbanizing large-scale societies needed to create the fixity of the temples and shrines in order for their religious production to overcome earlier socio-spatial constraints and cross boundaries.[21] As Çatalhöyük's history houses show, and French historian Fustel de Coulanges first argued,[22] the first barriers to be crossed were kin-*cum*-domestic boundaries. The emergence of nondomestic communal cult buildings in Çatalhöyük tells a story of spatial as well as ritual overcoming of distance: households are unmade and turned into (mainly) non-houses in order for their specially marked items and activities to be accessed, experiences lived, and stories narrated by non-kin. In temples people can feel at home among neighboring strangers, past (deceased ancestors) and present (living neighbors).

Third, the translocal references inherent to religious communication in general reflect a dialectic akin to the central contradiction of capital's geography, which Harvey describes as follows: the fixed space necessary for its functioning at a certain point of its history – e.g., the national boundaries of territorial states – is destroyed at a later point "in order to make way for a new spatial fix".[23] Religion operates this dialectic rather synchronically. Religion *always* refers to something beyond the immediate and indisputably given situation and does so in ways that *sometimes* imply an ontological breach of the mundane realm (transcendentalism) and *occasionally* involve a clash of place meanings (spatial contestation).[24]

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20 Harvey 2001, 25.

21 The argument is not meant to directly challenge Ara Norenzayan's evolutionary thesis on the religious-ritual origins of large-scale social formations, for which Çatalhöyük is indemonstrably used as a "case in point" (Norenzayan 2013, 132). My aim is not to reverse the causal order suggested by *Big Gods* but rather to buy into a multi-disciplinary and multi-scalar approach and research agenda which focuses on the cross-temporal and cross-cultural analysis of the reciprocal formation of religion and urbanity. See Rau/Rüpke 2020. For the Mediterranean antiquity, see Urciuoli/Rüpke 2018.

22 Fustel de Coulanges 1864.

23 Harvey 2001, 25.

24 For the difference between the "translocal references inherent to religious communication by way of its claims to agency" and the kind of "radicalised axial-age-style transcendence", see Rüpke 2020, 50. For a recent reassessment of the transcendentalist grammar of so-called "Axial-Age religions", see Strathern 2019, 47–80. For methodological reflections and historical accounts of spatial contestation as a strategy for negotiating power, see Lander, 2016.

In sketching out this analogy it might seem that I moved too far away in space, time, and content from Tertullian's mocking rendition of polytheism as a theological absurdity premised on untenable spatial differentiations – i.e., "no temple equals no god". However, dwelling on the geographical concept of the spatial fix was meant to make clear that the juxtaposition of Tertullian's humoristic motif of temple-to-temple jumping with the staggering city-space of Çatalhöyük with its history houses with rooftop entries is more than a playful mental association created by my personal historical montage. In fact, the 34-acre Neolithic site containing 8′000 permanent residents at its peak and no actual temples, on the one hand, and the Roman imperial city with a hundred thousand inhabitants where temples are so numerous that people can almost leap among them, on the other, are like the two extremes of a continuum that we might call the *spatial fix of urban religion*. The concept helps visualize how differently, throughout the entangled histories of religion and urban life, the production of space and the locking into place of religious communication are imagined and worked out in different spatiotemporal contexts.

3 There Is No Rescue in the Fix: Early Christians' Critical Sacred Geography

At Tertullian's time most urban temples and shrines neither catered for all city dwellers nor allowed for the sort of continuity- and community-building that provides the cultural-historical integration of the whole urban population. Only a few of them, indeed, served the purpose of "memory construction" for a large-scale social formation, the city, whose mutually unknown inhabitants had to be linked and held together through culturally meaningful forms of "continuities produced both by habituated practices and commemorative links to the past".[25] Most urban religious architecture did not have the kind of integrative and stabilizing function that mass ceremonies plainly performed in the interest of the city elites and that is captured by the scholarly coinage of "civic religion". Rather, several buildings vested with a religious function challenged this very program by materializing what *was not* shared in the religious practices of both the urban elites and the urban commoners.[26] After all, polytheism's spatial fix in the age of Tertullian reflected both the hierarchical and the heterarchical dimensions of the urban form: rank order as well as diffused power.[27]

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25 Hodder 2018b, 7 and 8.

26 Carballo 2016, 6.

27 For "heterarchy" as a principle of social organization whereby authority is vested in multiple rankings and power can be shared, checked, or counterpoised, see Crumley 1995. On heterarchy as a serviceable notion for the study of urban religion, see Urciuoli 2022.

Three general operations can be related to the fix as performed by all this permanent urban religious architecture. First, temples "relat[e] people and space" by "disrupting" and parceling out a continuous and continuously built city-space.[28] Otherwise said, they craft space by breaking it down into clusters of social rules and meanings connected to a distinguishable place with a specific time depth.[29] Religious architecture is clearly not the only constructional antidote to a homogeneous and simultaneous urban space. Yet it is a peculiar one: the way in which temples break down and parcel out the continuity of built space cannot be mapped onto the geography of the most recognizable and recurrent urban landmarks (walls, fora, theatres, market places, harbors, etc.). Proposed by the Roman late Republican architect Vitruvius, the ideal functional placement of a Roman deity's abode next to the urban infrastructure with which she/he is conceptually associated (e.g., Mercury in the forum, Apollo near the theatre, Hercules next to the gymnasia or at the circus, etc.) reflects a "topographical logic" unsupported by empirical evidence.[30] The spatial fix of urban religion does not simply underwrite the kind of orientation provided by the standard focal points of a city map. It produces its own.

Second, temples, like panthea, relate differentiated divine potencies to one another by working out a potentially polyonymous and polytopic supernatural reality.[31] Like cult epithets, they also "distinguish the god worshipped in one place from the same god worshipped in another".[32] The nexus between the expression of a religious polytheistic sphere and the urban form appears substantial and critical to the point that the increasing specificity in the identification and differentiation of the gods through allotted ritual places has been explained as a process historically related with urbanization – a process that, once started, is also very difficult to wind back.[33] Less daringly, I would assume that the concrete prospect of ritually leaping among different divine residencies is a *distinctive* urban condition that indexes polytheism as a form of fixating identifiable gods to specific sacralised abodes with dedicated ritual personnel. In fact, under opposite circumstances, namely when sanctuaries are scattered all over in sparsely populated areas (rural, wilderness, etc.), or when worshipping places are not recognizable as such and look merely like clustered houses, the very structure of polytheism as conscious appreciation of a divine plurality lacks transparency and clarity.

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28 Rüpke 2020, 78.
29 See Sack 1997, 31–35.
30 Rüpke 2020, 83, referring to Vitruvius, *Arch.* 1.7.1–2.
31 Versnel 2011, 23–149. The "common practice" whereby "one god is allotted a place in the temple of another as a companion" and associated to him/her in a way that sometimes thwarts mythical relations and the related hierarchies (114–115) does not really undercut this principle.
32 Parker 2017, 13.
33 C. Smith 2020.

Third, this legible polytheistic supply is continually increased by the expansive politics and the territorial growth of the empire. The erection of city temples centralizes and materializes the religious labour historically accumulated at the geographical frontiers.[34] The absorbed surpluses of economic and religious capital incessantly produce new fixed urban landscape, thereby adding to what Harvey would call the "uneven geographical distribution"[35] of religious assets according to the city-country divide.

That being said about the three main operations of the fix, in the following I will argue that Tertullian's mockery of the polytheists' spatial classification of superhuman powers as theological nonsense is just one possible way to attack, deny, and explode the very logic of the fix. Just as the one who jumps among the temples cannot be said to be saner or wiser than the one leaping among other types of buildings, the construction of a dedicated a temple does not turn a demon into a god; by the same token, worshipping a deity at home, in a kitchen, a tavern, or a barn would downgrade him/her to a demonic status. The divine rank of a superhuman being is not a place-based and place-bound quality. The production of new space by building a fixed place does not help to draw distinctions and arrange hierarchies among more-than-human subjects. If a god is false, there is neither rescue nor upgrade in the fix.

Tertullian's passage is not an isolated piece of apologetic humor. In my understanding, it clearly belongs to a wider assorted intellectual enterprise among early Christian writers whose ultimate purpose is the deconstruction of polytheism's spatial fix. Much of the early Christian critique of polytheism as a strategy of allocating, attaching, and securing their gods to architectural containers can be profitably seen as a more or less coordinated exercise in *critical sacred geography* in the following sense: the polytheistic fixing of space (i.e., both knowledge, imagination, and practice thereof) works as a veil and a tool for producing and reproducing theological error. In contrast, this multifarious Christian polemic promotes an alternative religious knowledge, spatial imagination, and therefore practice of "citification of religion"[36] whose modes of inhabiting and transcending concrete spaces are such as to variously negate the polytheistic spatial fix. In the following, I will discuss and reassess different thematic snapshots of this critique.

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34 For the city of Rome, see Orlin 2010.

35 E.g. Harvey 1982, 415–419.

36 "Citification of religion" refers to the processes whereby differently empowered agents across the social spectrum carry out religious actions that succeed in appropriating city-spaces at least for some time, in relation to a certain audience, and in a manner that engages with the urban quality of their contexts at particular moments in their histories. A scholarly evaluation and decision based on the observation of different instances of citification, "urban religion" is the name given to the temporal accumulation of such processes that produces, in turn, new urban space. For an overview, see Urciuoli 2020b.

3.1 Immaterial Religion

Critiquing the fix does not mean, of course, that the early Christ assemblies were not emplaced, that is, localized in indoor (mostly but not exclusively private houses) and outdoor (cemeteries) places and thus localizable for both perceptive seekers and watchful public authorities.[37] Since there is no "ideology without a space to which it refers",[38] nor were their leaders and spokespersons reluctant to construct and use ritual space to map out religious identifications that could hardly work and survive abstractly.[39] However, for more than two centuries after the earliest appearance of the first urban Christians, due to issues of both fact and law as well as to local and cross-regional circumstances, the relevant religious communication centred on the figure of Christ did not materialize so as to be "locked up and committed to a particular physical form"[40] with a clear physical lifetime. Architectural *undifferentiation* is the most remarkable manner in which early Christ religion happened to be urban.

Christian writers (almost) as skilled as Tertullian know how to turn a "rough and ready denial of the efficacy of any spatial fix"[41] into a sophisticated theological point of honour. Consider this almost contemporary passage taken from another North-African early Christian text, the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix:

> Do you suppose we conceal our object of worship because we have no shrines and altars? What image can I make of God when, rightly considered, man himself is an image of God? What temple can I build for him, when the whole universe, fashioned by his handiwork, cannot contain him? Shall I, a man, housed more spaciously, confine within a tiny shrine a power and majesty so great? Is not the mind a better place of dedication? our inmost heart of consecration? *(Templum quod ei extruam, cum totus hic mundus eius opere fabricatus eum capere non possit? Et cum homo latius maneam, intra unam aediculam vim tantae maiestatis includam? Nonne melius in nostra dedicandus est mente? In nostro intimo consecrandus est pectore*?)[42]

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37 The mid-3rd century legislation about the restitution of confiscated cultic settings and the permission of access to "so-called cemeteries" documents that places where Christians assembled were not by principle unknown (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.13.1). See also the information about the "razing of the church buildings (τὰς... ἐκκλησίας) to the ground" under Diocletian (8.4.2). For early 4th-century restitutions and restorations, see 8.17.9 (Galerius) and Lactantius, *Mort.* 48.7–12 (Licinius and Constantine).

38 Lefebvre 1991 (1974), 44.

39 Yasin 2009, 37–39; Lander 2016, 78–83. See also below, note 75.

40 Harvey 2001, 27.

41 Harvey 1981, 10.

42 Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 32.1–2, transl. Rendall 1977. Analogous refutations of the possibility of sacred buildings premised on the same arguments can be found in Clemens of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.5.28–29; Origen, *Cels.* 7.44; Arnobius, *Nat.* 6.3–5. On this consistent position against the "*placeness* of the sacred", see Morgan 2020, 69–71; Yasin 2009, 14–21.

If taken as an argument for a spiritual way of worship, which boasts itself against the shallowness of a material religion rooted in man-made things (objects, images, buildings), this passage might sound anything but original. Minucius, indeed, draws on a long-lived polemic trope. He mobilizes the originally prophetic motif of the true/genuine cult, which, as part of an anti-temple and anti-priestly line of criticism, spans the whole history of Second Temple Judaism[43] and is already used by Paul in *1 Cor.* 3.16 ("Do you know that you are God's temple (ναός θεοῦ) and that God's *pneuma* dwells in you?"). More generally, one can say that, ever since the creation of a religious field in the Ancient Near East, the very task of the agent-prophet has been the denial of the capitalization of the fix as materialized in cult centers run by the agent-priest.[44] Early Christian writers like Minucius can be seen as freelance, self-authorized intellectuals following on the heels of a time-honored prophetic polemic that bears clear spatial overtones.

However, if viewed from the specific perspective of an early Christian critical discourse on the polytheistic spatial fix of religion, Minucius' promotion of the "religion of anywhere"[45] is not just the same old story. His cross-scalar attack on the polytheists' production of urban religious landscape by gluing gods to places is noteworthy, in that the combination of the motif of the temple-man with the topic of the everywhere-temple[46] is implicitly aimed at supporting a competitive religious practice whose tying to immobile architectural space is objectively looser than the fix operated by Roman traditional religion and other religions of the Roman empire.[47] If the spatiality of the divine is limitless and place-unbound, then no this-worldly building can be held as intrinsically sacred. This theological critique of the fix cannot be separated from a practical strategy of advertisement and recruitment that involves competition over the ability to attract investors.

3.2 Good and Evil Investments

Up until the end of the third century, most physical spaces for Christian religious gatherings were architecturally *inconspicuous*.[48] This also applied in cases of long-

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43 Klawans 2006.

44 Weber 1978 (1956[4]), 418–419.

45 J.Z. Smith 2004, 325.

46 That is, his miniaturization and virtualization of worship predicated upon the impossibility of locking the divinity in a man-made container of whatever size.

47 For the issue of the "concretization of ecclesia" – that is, the debate as to when and where the word in both Latin (*ecclesia*) and Greek (ἐκκλησία) is spoken of as a building, as well as what other appellations are used in pre-Constantinian Christian sources to convey place meanings – see Lander 2016, 75–83.

48 White 1990, 102–138. For the visibility of Dura Europos' Christian building in its second phase (241–256 CE), see Boin 2015, 55–56.

lived continuity of the ritual settings. On the one hand, the Christian god, too, landed and dwelled at fixed sites (*domus dei*; ἐκκλησία οἴκου) whose type and scale ranged from spacious dining rooms in single-level private homes and multipartite hall structures to workplaces and tiny rental apartments in multi-storey buildings.[49] On the other, all things considered, Christ religion's infrastructures were relatively cheap foci of investments. Sure, in case of big and un-fractionated congregations, the material maintenance of ritual experts and religious personnel (i.e., sub-elite missionaries, prophets, teachers, ascetic virtuosi, and then mainly clergy) needed "an entire class of generous and willing donors" for sharing the financial burden.[50] Yet average costs were moderate in terms of investments of the immobile sort: very low in cases of mere functional reuses of domestic settings, they increased when the scale of physical adaptations imply more extensive and permanent building renovations or church edifices were built de novo. Additional costs for ordinary manpower were pretty close to zero. Concerning this latter aspect, this passage from Justin's so-called *First Apology* (Rome, 150s-160s CE) shows that there are good theological arguments for cutting the costs of the human surveillance of the fix:

> How foolish! Human beings who know no [*moral*] restraint are said to mould and refashion gods to be worshipped, and the temples where these are set up have such people as guards (φύλακας), who fail to see that it is wrong even to think or to say that human beings are guards for the gods.[51]

Contrary to the futile and expensive monitoring of idols, there is no need to "look after (δεομένοις θεραπείας)" a God who is too big for a temple and too mighty for a robber. Where there is no substantial fix of religious flows, neither as religious furniture[52] nor as religious architecture, there is also no investment exposure related to it. By the same token, no significant investment in the production of space and creation of built environment also means no revenues and thus no profit. As Tertullian knows, the spatial fix of polytheism is a huge urban business in which bidders compete for the gods and the temples that promise to yield the biggest financial return:

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49 E.g. Oakes 2016.

50 Brown 2016, 26 (regarding mid-third century Rome). Costs may rise significantly when a well-off patron subsidizes a significant part of his city clergy in order to expand his control over the local congregation. For the case of Cyprian, both wealthiest patron and bishop of Carthage between 248 and 258 CE, see Urciuoli 2017, 354–364. Feeding a throng of local Christian "real poor" or fully patronizing professional Christian thinkers (as Ambrosius did with Origen) were, of course, a different matter. A long visionary text like the *Shepherd of Hermas* (Rome, mid-second century CE) seems to be written for the very purpose of fundraising. See Urciuoli 2018, 217–218.

51 Justin, 1 *Apol.* 9.5, transl. Minns/Parvis 2009.

52 For possible references to early Christian altars (*altaria*) as temporarily placed and removable structures, see Cyprian, *Letter* 45.2.2; 59.18.1

Public gods you dishonor equally under public law, as you make them yield you revenue at auction. Whether it is to the Capitol you go or the vegetable market, it is all one; the same tones of the auctioneer, the same spear, the same registration by the quaestor; and deity is knocked down to the highest bidder, and leased out. But lands subject to tribute go cheaper; persons assessed under the poll-tax are less noble; for these are the marks of servitude. But gods are more sacred the more tribute they pay; indeed, the more sacred they are, the bigger the tribute. Their majesty is made money-making (*dei vero qui magis tributarii, magis sancti, immo qui magis sancti, magis tributarii. Maiestas quaestuaria efficitur*). Religion goes round the cookshops begging. You exact a price for the ground one stands on in a temple, for the approach to the holy rite; one may not know the gods for nothing; they are for sale.[53]

Seen through these critical lens, jumping among the temples looks as a popular insanity that, nevertheless, pays off. Polytheisms have to be fixed to space for their own everyday functioning. Cities, in turn, offer hectares of lucrative space that need to be built, crafted, parceled out, and allotted in order for them to work as cities. Different urban agents from diverse social stations live off this material and immaterial continual process of dialectical relations and mutual formation of religion and urbanity we call urban religion. Without being trained dialecticians, early Christian polemicists clearly sense that polytheism and the city are dependent on one another, and therefore they are interested in questioning every single bit of the urban religious machinery that anchors polytheisms to cities. A most critical side of this ramified apparatus for the citification of polytheism is the urban division of labor.

3.3 Starving the (Urban Religious) Beast

Tertullian's treatise *On Idolatry* (Carthage, ca. 198–206 CE) can be seen as a maximalist guide to a Christian urbanity, that is, as a sweeping, meticulous, and ultimately non-enforceable handbook for a proper and safe Christian everyday life among pagan urbanites.[54] As such, it aims at targeting also every segment of the urban division of labour that contributes to fix polytheism spatially in the city – from trading and sculpturing to financing and presiding over public celebrations (festivals and spectacles). In Tertullian's view, idolatry spreads all over the city-space like an atmospheric plague. Idolatrous acts cannot be understood, assessed, and challenged without reference to the whole idolatrous environment housing and

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53 Tertullian, *Apol.* 13.5–6.
54 Following Bruce Lincoln (2003, 59), a religious worldview can be said to be "maximalist" when and where it organizes the social sphere of its adherents as a whole and thus orders their lives entirely. In Tertullian's view, the relation of Christian religious identity with the social order must be maximal. However, from the extra-textual perspective of urban life relationships in his contemporary Carthage, his maximalist model remains wishful thinking and his strategy is probably to "deliberately demand[s] more in order to obtain less" (Binder 2012, 188). For the notion of a "(Christian) guide to urbanity", see Urciuoli 2021.

feeding them. Consequently, idolatrous worship cannot be separated from technical and professional activities that make it possible.[55] Tertullian knows that a minimalist restriction of idolatry to activities such as performing sacrifices, offering incense, and holding a priesthood (*Idol.* 2.2) is a convenient way to save jobs and revenues for Christ-believing workers, professionals, and officers. Yet he is not the type to compromise on the fix and chastises these minimalist jugglers for their vain practical ruse:

> For how have we renounced the devil and his angels, if we make them? What repudiation have we declared against them, I do not say 'with whom', but from whom we live (*de quibus vivimus*)? What discord have we entered into with those to whom we are bound for the sake of our subsistence (. . . *in eos quibus exhibitionis nostrae gratia obligati sumus*)? Can you have denied with your tongue what you profess with your hands? Demolish with words what in deeds you build up (*verbo destruere quod facto struis*)? Preach the one God, you who make so many? Preach the true God, you who make false ones.[56]

Demonic infection is all around. No neutral space for safe interactions is either found ready-made or pragmatically carved out or constructed by the author.[57] Nevertheless, *On Idolatry* demands that the Christian urban population be cordoned off from the whole polytheistic urban-religious system. A holistic theory of idolatry is therefore expounded to invite Christians to abstain from any activity that deals with, and borders on, the cult of idols, with the consequence of producing, along with a lack of effective demand, also a significant shortages of labour and capital to be eventually invested in the fix. Moreover, we have seen that, for Tertullian, the way in which polytheism works out spatially the untenable distinction of demons and gods is a theological absurdity. It makes thus no difference if one sculpts a temple statue (*Idol.* 8.3), constructs a niche in a bathhouse (15.6), decorates a school (10.3), or embellishes a domestic altar (8.1). Tertullian's maximalist ban does not distinguish between domestic and public-civic spheres.[58] It cuts across the city-space's Russian doll[59] by targeting in the same way bits of idolatrous activities concerning the internal arrangement of houses and branches of tainted businesses serving the outer production of new urban built environment.[60]

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55 "A person may say, 'I make it but I do not worship.' [...] On the contrary, it is exactly you makers who worship, since you make the worship of idols possible (*Immo tu colis, qui facis, ut coli possit*)" (Tertullian, *On Idolatry* 6.2–3; transl. Waszink / van Winden 1987).

56 Tertullian, *Idol.* 6.2.

57 Binder 2012, 188.

58 That is, between the religions of "here" and "there" in Jonathan Z. Smith's cross-cultural topography. See J.Z. Smith 2004, 325.

59 Ingold 2001, 146.

60 Tertullian treats building and decoration activities involving idolatry in the same way (see *Idol.* 8.1: "*Nec enim differt, an exstruas vel exornes. . .* "). He invites artists and artisans to accept less remunerative, but more frequently requested, job orders that are connected with branches of activities "providing the means to live without transgression of the discipline" (8.2; see 8.2–5).

3.4 A Nonsense Parceling Out of Space

Differently from this *undiscriminating* type of attack on the multiple forms and locations of the fix, my last example of Christian polemic concerns the polytheistic parceling out of urban space. To illuminate this aspect, I will rely on the brightest among the ancient Christian polemicists, Augustine. I am thus moving quite abruptly from the early to the late antique Christian critique of the fix.

In the time between Tertullian and Augustine, so-called Catholic Christians have successfully pursued a "right to the city" as a "transformed and renewed right to urban life".[61] During the fourth century, a mostly preferential imperial treatment and legislation have increasingly furthered their command over the use and distribution of urban surpluses – including the religious surplus. Among other things, zealous monarchs, empowered religious leaders, and emboldened bands of monks or laymen have attempted at pursuing a religious monopoly of the urban space and – albeit less homogenously, frequently, and abruptly than usually assumed –[62] at sweeping the non-Christian religious architecture away from "the space of religious competition".[63] The imperial favoritism, in fact, has pushed the religious protégés to fully adhere to the strategy of the fix, seek the pursuit thereof, and marshal it against both non-Christians and other Christian factions in the production, disruption, accommodation, and reuse of built religious landscape.

Unsurprisingly, with the rise and spread of the distinctively Christian production of built space in the form of the basilica,[64] the target of the polemic paradigmatically shifts from the spatial fix per se (as emplacement of holiness and housing of divinity) to the rationale, the quality, and the modalities thereof. The types of arguments generated by the competition over the fix and the related investments in immobile religious facilities gain momentum and priority over the mere denial of the idea that something like a divinity can be glued to a place. In this regard, recent scholarship has suggested to relate this discursive turning point to a broader change in the Christian positions on the "placeness of the sacred" and the religious valuation of built spaces which has unfolded gradually since the early third century – rather than occurring abruptly after Constantine and the legalization of Christ religion.[65] Instead of a radical about-face, the shift between these two models of critique of the fix reflects the way in which pro-Christian imperial law and violence have marshaled the theological drive towards religious differentiation and

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61 Lefebvre 1996, 158.

62 Thus Bremmer 2021, 231.

63 Kong/Woods 2016, 3.

64 There is no occurrence of *basilicae* spoken of as Christian buildings before early fourth-century inscriptions and literature.

65 Yasin 2009, 34–45; Lander 2016, 74–118. For the persistence of reservations about church building as faith-enhancing factor, see Morgan 2020, 76.

"helped to solidify" it into a more "materialized expression of religious identification".[66] Augustine's caustic take on the Roman polytheistic physical landscape, on the one hand, and his caveats on the spatial fixes of the heretics, on the other, are two cases in point.

Augustine's full-scale attack on Roman polytheism has many facets, including a spatial one.[67] In the fourth book of the *City of God* (Hippo Regius, 412–426/427 CE) we come across a ridiculing rendition of polytheism as a system for allotting divine urban dwellings (*Civ.* 4.23). In Augustine's view, the theologically soundest method of spatial distribution of the gods in a city would be first to reserve the most distinguished places to the greatest divinities, and then honor them with the largest and most magnificent temples.[68] Yet this principle was never duly followed. To start with, he observes that, before the mid-second century BCE, nobody bothered to build a temple for the goddess Felicitas, although she had the great power to bestow the highest good on all humans and especially rulers must have been particularly keen to earn her blessing. Even then, Augustine argues, she should have deserved a more magnificent and eminent position in the Roman city-space than the location originally allotted to her, presumably in the Velabrum.[69]

> Suppose the gods themselves had been consulted by augury, or by whatever means they suppose that gods can be consulted, and the question had been put whether they were willing to yield their place to Felicitas (*utrum vellent Felicitati loco cedere*), if it so happened that the place where a greater and more lofty temple (*aedes maior atque sublimior*) was to be erected to Felicitas had already been occupied by the temples and altars of other gods. Even Jupiter himself would have yielded, so that Felicitas, rather than he, might possess the very pinnacle of the Capitoline hill. For no one would resist Felicitas unless he wished to be unhappy, and this is impossible.[70]

However crowded the Roman sacred space might have been at the time, ritual procedures to make room for higher deities were not unknown. A few centuries earlier, indeed, space was forcefully carved out on the Capitoline hill to accommodate Jupiter himself. Yet, retelling the legendary story of the construction of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Augustine shows that, in this case too, spatial primacies and divine hierarchies did not overlap: traditional Roman religion clearly lacked in discipline and coherence when it came to the topographical and architectural ranking

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66 Lander 2016, 44.

67 For a different perspective on this topic, see Urciuoli 2020a.

68 Vitruvius would definitely agree: when it comes to the tutelary deities of the state (Jupiter, Juno and Minerva), their temples "should be on the very highest point commanding a view of the greater part of the city" (Vitruvius, *Arch.* 1.7.1).

69 The temple burned under Claudius and was apparently never rebuilt. A second temple, now dismantled, was projected by Julius Cesar in 44 BCE, that is, shortly before his assassination, and then built by M. Aemilius Lepidus on the site of the Curia Hostilia. Also in this case the space available seemed to be quite limited.

70 Augustine, *Civ.* 4.23, transl. Green 1963.

of the divine. Seen from a Lefebvrian perspective, what happened on the Capitolium is that preexisting states of affairs in the "historical space" of the selected site interfered with the "conceived space"[71] of a polytheistic planning that attempted to follow hierarchical principles. In consequence, even the most powerful urban religious actor, the king, had to revise his plans:

> For according to the pagan writings, when King Tarquin wished to build the Capitol, and saw that the place which seemed most worthy and appropriate (*locum qui ei dignior aptiorque videbatur*) was already occupied by other gods, he dared not do anything against their will. But he thought that they would willingly yield to so great a deity, who was also their prince, and since there were many on the site when the capitol was built, he inquired by augury whether they were willing to yield the site (*concedere locum vellent*) to Jupiter. They were all willing to move except those I mentioned – Mars, Terminus and Juventas. For this reason the Capitol was so constructed as to leave these three within, but with the indications so well hidden that even the most learned hardly knew about it.[72]

This text lays bare the city as a stratified palimpsest of finite size upon which a multiplicity of spatial practices historically piles up and leaves material footprints that may well hamper an ideal logic of planning. Of course, Augustine's ideological care for spatial order is not of the same professional nature as Le Corbusier's rationalist planning. After all, his sweeping critique of the Roman way of parceling out the city-space among their gods falls within the wider polemical argument of the first five books of the *City of God*. Eventually, Augustine sets out to show that such a chaotically departmentalized mass of gods, whose powers are fixed to a messily spatialized

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71 Both formulas belong to Lefebvre's spatiological lexicon. In Lefebvre's periodization of spatial frameworks, "historical space" evolved from "absolute space", which is the product of the bonds of kinship, soil, and shared language, and is later taken over by the capitalist "abstract space" as the homogenizing and alienating surface laid on by capitalist planners. The subject that dominated this long intermediate period is "the historical town of the West, along with the countryside under its control (Lefebvre 1991 [1974], 49; see more generally 229–291). The formula "conceived space", instead, belongs to Lefebvre's epistemological spatial triad, which consists of "perceived", "conceived", and "lived" space (38–39). The conceived space is the "dominant *[in Marxist sense]* space of any society" (39), insofar as it corresponds to "the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers" (38), who have the major influence in the production of space since "their intervention occurs by way of construction – in other words, by way of architecture" (42). In the capitalist era, the notion of abstract space and conceived space largely overlap in defining the free space of the commodity and landscape of complete urbanization that Lefebvre calls "urban society". See Lefebvre 2003 (1970).

72 Augustine, *Civ.* 4.23. This is not the only passage where Augustine mocks the way in which the Romans had allocated their gods within their city. A few chapters before, he was "marvel[ing] greatly" at the fact that, contrary to many other deities specialized in less critical functions, the goddess Quies received no "regular cult at state expense (*publica sacra*)" and her abode was established outside the Porta Collina. His sarcastic explanation for this disrespectful treatment ties in with a general argument of refutation of Roman polytheism: where legions of demons rule, no quiet is actually possible for individuals as well as for cities (*Civ.* 4.16).

number of temples, cannot provide any happiness to their worshipers in this life.[73] Therefore, they cannot claim any credit for the foundation, flourishing, and the protection of the city of Rome and its empire. "For these [deities] were so occupied, each with his special duties, that no one thing as a whole was entrusted to any of them" (*Civ.* 4.8). Bad spatial allocations and false religions go hand in hand.

4 Conclusion: Jumping Among the Basilicas

As much as "resident gods are expected to defend their city against human invaders",[74] polytheism's spatial fix is no more designed to protect a city population from external sieges than a state-endorsed monotheist religion is expected to push back the attackers. However, Augustine notes that, during the sack of Rome, the city's vast basilicas stood fast, were preserved by the Goths, and succeeded in providing asylum to people (*Civ.* 1.1, 4, 7, 34; 2.2), whereas pagan temples never succeeded in operating as places of refuge (1.2–6). The resilience of Christian buildings to military shocks confirms that the time is up for temple jumping.

The new sport of leaping among the urban and suburban Christian basilicas implies a caveat that must have sounded equally absurd to most pagan jumpers: some fixes are right, others are wrong, or better: some are orthodox, others heretical.[75] Moreover, to complicate the picture further, no discernible architectural feature helps to distinguish between the normatively laden spatial fixes of the orthodox and the heretic folks. As Augustine himself suggests in an anti-Manichean treatise dated around 396, one has to be very careful where to step:

> Finally, the name "Catholic" holds me in the Catholic Church. It was not without reason that this Church alone, among so many heresies, obtained this name so that, though all heretics want to be called Catholic, no heretic would dare to point out his own basilica or house to some stranger who

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73 Wetzel 2012, 2.

74 Versnel 2011, 112.

75 As hinted above, the connection between spatial differentiation according to gathering places and religious demarcation according to rituals and doctrines has evolved gradually. Tertullian's polemic against less rigid Christians coming from "the workshop of the enemy into the house of God (*de adversaria officina in domum dei venire*)" (Tertullian, *Idol.* 7.1) is an early case in point for the use of locality to draw boundaries and foster group identification (thus Lander 2016, 78). Half a century later, the North African controversies about reconciliation of the lapsed and rebaptism of the heretics can be viewed as an example of schismatic clash where "factional distinctions came to be associated with the place itself", spatial separation to be construed as theological deviance, and church buildings tended to be used to mark out group boundaries (e.g., Cyprian, *Ep.* 30.6; 59.7.3; 69.1.2; see Lander 2016, 43 and 82–83).

asked where the Catholic [Church] was gathered (*quaerenti tamen peregrino alicui, ubi ad Catholicam conveniatur, nullus haereticorum vel basilicam suam vel domum audeat ostendere*).[76]

Two centuries have passed since Tertullian attacked the idea that houses were for demons and temples for gods and ridiculed this distinction as an insane way of ranking the identity of superhuman beings according to the spatial features of the places of worship. Now, at the end of the fourth century, both private homes (*domus*) and specialized ritual buildings (*basilicae*) are used for both true and false worships of the one God: that is, as both true and false God's dwelling-places. Wandering around the same cities where earlier temple-jumpers had managed to navigate the multiplicity of the gods, newcomers and foreigners would do better to ask beforehand, if they do not want to leap into the wrong cult gathering and find themselves among ritual enemies. Well-informed locals alone can direct the traffic to the requested destination (e.g., "if you look for the Catholics, they gather there, two blocks away . . . ") but there might be no agreement between the informant and the foreigner on whether the one God actually dwells there. God can be here, there, anywhere according to the religious affiliation *and* the place attachment of the person one bumps into. The confessionalization of the dynamics of spatial fixation of the religious flows is to be understood as an integral part of the epochal upheaval that has transformed "a world well beyond the understanding of most of us into [. . .] a world very like our own".[77] It has changed the history of the Mediterranean and European (urban) religion for good.

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76 Augustine, *Answer to the Letter of Mani Known as* The Foundation 4; transl. Teske 2006 (slightly modified).

77 Rüpke 2018 (2016), 1.

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Nicola Luciani

The Space of "Paganism" in the Early Medieval City: Rome's Polytheistic Past along the Real and Imaginary Topography of the Pilgrims' Paths

Introduction: Rome's Classical Temples and Early Medieval *Itineraria*

Between the 6th and the 8th centuries, Rome was a remarkable Mediterranean metropolis, retaining its crucial symbolic status of ideological core of the now Christianised Classical civilization and accordingly prompting within its borders the implementation of new impressive architectural programs. In this regard, a fundamental role in shaping Rome's Early Medieval topography continued to be played by its pre-Christian monumental heritage, still a key factor in influencing new urban developments and the population's distribution. Classical temples and buildings were in fact still performing prominent practical functions within the city, while at the same time conveying powerful symbolisms and messages, both connected to their original status or re-formulated for a Christian audience. Hence, their distribution and significance within the urban landscape must be regarded as instrumental in defining the ways both Rome's citizens and visiting foreigners experienced and perceived the space enclosed by the Aurelian Walls.

Yet, contemporary topographical sources appear as mainly silent in this regard, in sharp contrast with the abundance of literary data conveyed by the Late Antique Regionary Catalogues. These two texts, the *Curiosum* and *Notitia Urbis Romae*, detailed in fact the urban fabric of 4th/5th centuries Rome, giving an estimate of the number of its sacred areas as comprehensive of more than 300 public sanctuaries and private shrines. This figure dates to a chronological phase when Polytheistic cults were still practised and both the great public temples and a myriad of minor shrines were integral part of the city fabric.

The Catalogues represent the last efforts at providing such an overall picture of Rome's Classical landscape, and no comparable topographical attempt was produced during the following centuries. Despite the presence of Pagan landmarks being still prominent within the 6th/8th centuries' city in fact, from the 7th century onwards near all the sources tend to put the emphasis on Christian elements, presented as pivotal points of the urban fabric, consequently downplaying civic buildings and former temples. Such pattern is for instance followed by the main topographical sources of the period, intended as *Itineraria* for pilgrims visiting the holy city, therefore highlighting

churches and basilicas on their paths and contributing in creating the image of Rome as *Urbs Christiana*.[1]

Indeed, hosting the most important Episcopal seat of the Latin world (the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles and a multitude of suburban shrines linked to the *memoria martyrum*), Rome quickly evolved into the main centre of pilgrimage of Western Europe. In order to orientate themselves within this city of wonders, pilgrims relied on written *Itineraria*, presenting series of paths where to be listed were the main religious topographical locations of the city and its surroundings. Such texts were probably produced already during the 6th century and even before, yet the earliest known examples date to the 7th century. In fact, during this century three of the four known *Itineraria* were realized; the *Notitia Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae* and the *De Locis Sanctis Martyrum quae sunt Foris Civitatis Romae – Ecclesiae quae intus Romae habentur*, both written within the first half of the century; and the *Notitia Portarum, Viarum, Ecclesiarum circa Urbem Romam*, realized some decades later and survived as interpolated within the 12th century's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury.[2] Dating to a phase when the majority of the sacred places was connected to the devotion of saints buried outside the city walls, all such *Itineraria* dedicate most of the text to the description of roads leading out of Rome, listing their suburban catacombs and shrines.[3] Yet, a brief list of the main churches and basilicas *intra moenia* is provided by all of three, meaning the pilgrims where actively looking for such places all over the city.

A more detailed approach to the intramural topography emerges from the pages of the latest of these texts, the *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, also known from the Swiss monastery where it was found as Einsiedeln Itinerary, that was most likely compiled between the pontificates of Hadrian I (772–795) and Leo III (796–816).[4] This work dates after the massive intramural transfer and re-entombment of martyrs operated during the central decades of the 8th century, consequently shifting its focus within the city walls.[5] Accordingly, to be presented by the *Itinerarium* are the detailed descriptions of ten paths, each one covering a different area of the city and listing the main topographical elements as divided on a right and a left column, corresponding to the sides where the walking reader would have spotted them. Such paths are no doubt more detailed versions of roughly the same ones followed by the 7th century pilgrims, whose relatively scarce *intra moenia* information makes a precise reconstruction more difficult. In fact, several topographical indications along the paths of the Itinerary of Einsiedeln are given, including Classical buildings, demonstrating the surviving importance of the architectural heritage even

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1 On the phenomenon of Roman pilgrimage: Fiocchi Nicolai 2000; Bauer 2001; Pergola 2001.

2 A survey in Lapidge 2017, 659–666.

3 See Spera 2007; Brenk 2016.

4 See Bauer 1997; Santangeli Valenzani 2001; Blennow 2019.

5 Dey 2006, 235–240.

after the vanishing of direct Imperial patronage over public structures around the mid-8th century.[6] Furthermore, the manuscript also preserves an epigraphic *Sylloge*, containing the transcription of 74 inscriptions visible across the city, almost all of which dating to Classical and Late Antiquity.[7]

Precisely following this *Itinerarium*, the present article aims to deal with the actual perception of the cityscape across the city, trying to show how it could have been enriched not just by the new Christian creations, but, above all, by the massive temples inherited by the ancestors. Hence, the article will focus on one of its main paths, the number 8, corresponding to the route of the *Via Papalis*, from the Tomb of Peter and the Vatican Basilica on NW to the Lateran Palace and Basilica on SE, thus connecting the two main religious pivots of the city by crossing its monumental centre, the Roman Forum.[8] For these reasons, the path represented a privileged itinerary for visitors and ritual processions, thus constituting a keystone of the Roman pilgrimage since its early developments. The article will address the mentioned pre-Christian religious sites and, most importantly, the unmentioned ones located in proximity of listed toponyms. Such sites will be approached taking into consideration the archaeological record and the contemporary sources, trying to get a glimpse at the ways people could have perceived them, in forms whether connected to still relevant public roles or as framed within a new Christian symbology (Fig. 1).

Non-Christian Religious Elements along the Path N. 8 of the *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*

Before Entering Porta San Pietro: The Vatican

The pilgrims engaging the path had their starting point in the Vatican area, to pay homage to the Tomb of Peter within his Basilica. Yet, the area used to be a pivotal point for other religions during Late Antiquity, hosting in the 4th century a favourite sanctuary for the senatorial class, the *Phrygianum* of the *Magna Mater*. Unfortunately, there is no substantial evidence regarding the fate of its structures after the banning of religious activities at the end of the 4th century, and no mentions of the *Phrygianum* are known after such phase.[9] Indeed, the rooting of Christianity within the area does not seem threatened, and around St. Peter's Basilica the pilgrims

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6 On the reshaping of Rome's Classical topography within the Early Medieval Christian liturgy: Osborne 2021.

7 Blennow 2019, 37–40.

8 On the *Via Papalis* and its relationship with the Classical main ceremonial path, the *Via Triumphalis*: Dey 2020.

9 Liverani 2000.
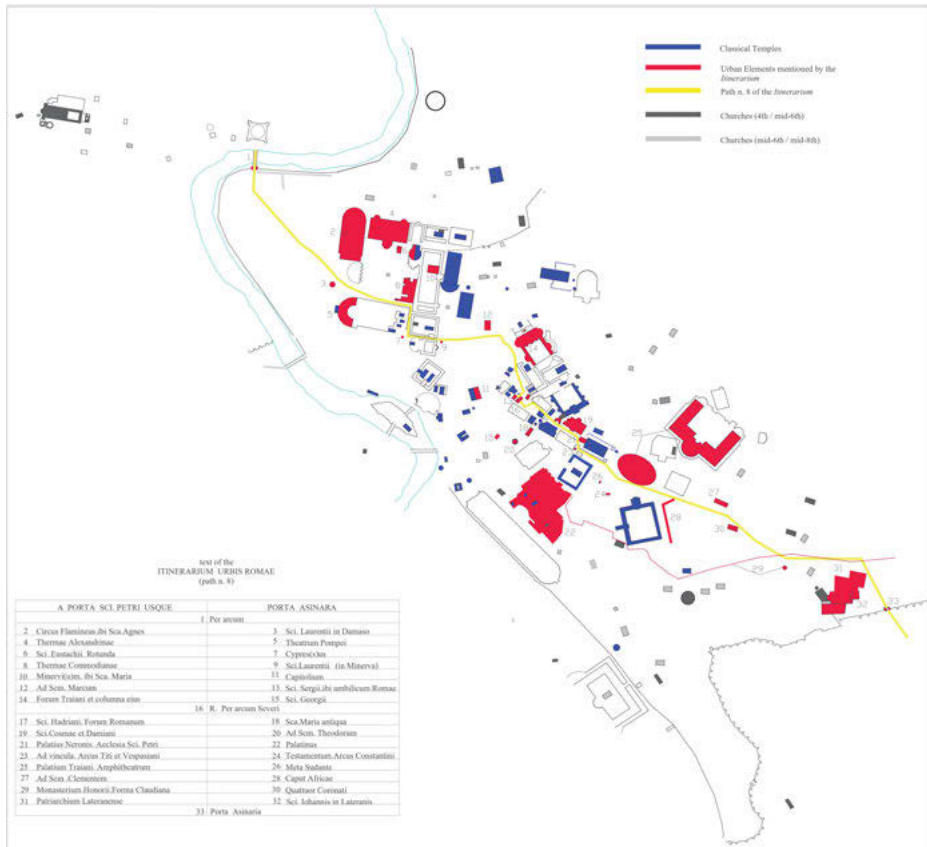
Fig. 1: Path n. 8 of the Einsiedeln Itinerary (map realized by the author).

would have definitely experienced a urban setting where almost every corner was communicating messages linked to the Christian religion.

Yet, in the mid-5th century Pope Leo I in his sermons had to chastise the common pre-Christian practice, among people entering St. Peter, to bow towards the rising Sun (*ad nascentem se solem*) before crossing the Basilicas' door (*ut priusquam ad Petri apostoli basilicam*), in order to pay homage to it (*in honorem se splandidi orbis*).[10] What is more, an exchange of letters between Pope Zacharias and St. Boniface, dating to the years 742/743, glimpses at the persistent celebration of pre-Christian festivals in the area, perceived as sufficiently heterodox to scandalize foreign pilgrims on their route. St. Boniface reports how some newly converted Germans he had sent on pilgrimage to Rome had witnessed Pagan dances and ritual parades (*paganorum consuetudine chorus*, *adclamationes ritu gentilium*, *cantationes sacrilegas*) performed by people wearing

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10 Leo Magnus, *Sermones*, 27, 4.

and selling amulets and bracelets (*pagano ritu flacteria et ligaturas*) near St. Peter's Basilica (*iuxta aecclesiam Sancti Petri*) at the turning of the year, during the *Kalendae* of January (*quando Kalende Ianuarii intrant*).[11] In his reply to Boniface dating to the year 743, Pope Zacharias admitted the truthfulness of these statements, but also emphasized that thanks to actions taken by his predecessor, Gregory III, these rites were now in sharp decline.[12] Nevertheless, the same year, during the Synod of Rome Zacharias himself deliberated against winter festivals, possibly meaning that they were still exerting a certain appeal. Indeed, to be condemned were the celebrations of the festivals of *Kalendae* and *Bruma* (*ut nullus Kalendas Ianuarias et Broma ritu paganorum colere praesumpserit*), with the express prohibition of street parading and dancing (*per vicos et plateas cantationes et choros ducere*), described as a crime against God (*quod maxima iniquitas est coram Deo*).[13]

Crossing the Campus Martius

After crossing Porta S. Pietro, the pilgrims entered one of the most important sectors of the ancient city, the *Campus Martius*, still characterized by a large number of Classical buildings. On the left side, the Circus Flaminius and both the Baths of Nero and Commodus are listed, while on the right the text informs the pilgrims to look for the Theatre of Pompey. Furthermore, the structures of several temples, unnamed by the *Itinerarium*, would have appeared as standing. Thanks to the archaeological record is in fact possible to determine that at least the huge *Hadrianeum* and the four temples of the sacred area of Largo Argentina were still preserved during the Early Middle Ages.[14]

Indeed, while describing this area the *Itinerarium* explicitly addresses the pre-Christian past of the city. The first indirect reference to a worship building is the mention of the *Theatrum Pompei*, which had the small Temple of Venus *Victrix* located on its *summa cavea*. A restoration of the theatre and temple was carried out in the 6th century and the inscription attesting such activities is transcribed within the epigraphic *Sylloge* annexed to the Einsiedeln Itinerary, suggesting that the temple could have appeared well preserved to pilgrims walking the streets of the *Campus Martius*.[15]

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11 Bonifacius, *Epistulae*, 50. Regarding the employment of gems and amulets in the Imperial Era: Mastrocinque 2003; Faraone 2019.

12 Bonifacius, *Epistulae*, 51.

13 *Concilium Romanum* (743), 9.

14 On the *Hadrianeum*: Gatto 2005. The temple is recorded in Ligorio, *Codex Tauriniensis* A. III 6 J. 4 (vol. IV, libro 2); Palladio, *Delle antichità di Roma*, III, 19; Alberti (Cod. C. f. 46 tav. CCXXXVII); Cavalieri (tav. 17, 1569), Dupérac (f.27v, 1575). On Largo Argentina: Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 201; Guaglianone 2018.

15 Cassiodorus, *Variae* IV, 51.

Right after the theatre, on the same side, the *Itinerarium* lists the toponym *Cypressus*, likely referring to a sacred tree. Because of both the practice of dedicating trees to Jupiter and the presence of a cypress in the Volcanal in the Roman Forum, the indication on the *Itinerarium* has been linked to the cults of these two gods in the *Campus Martius* known from Roman calendars. Hence, the indication *Cypressus* has been interpreted as referring to a sacred tree located in the area of the temples of Jupiter *Fulgor* and Vulcan, possibly within a *temenos* shared by the two sanctuaries together with the Temple of Juno *Curitis*.[16] The state of preservation of such temples during the 8th century cannot be determined, yet the mention of the tree within the *Itinerarium* could suggest at least some sort of preservation of their memory. In any case, the decision of the anonymous author to address the area through the mention of an element sacred to pre-Christian religions appears worth of notice, possibly hinting at the survival of the perception of its cultural significance.

Such veiled reminiscence of associations between places and their religious past can be also discussed in relation to the Pantheon, located by the *Itinerarium* on the left side of the path. The building appeared to 7th/8th century pilgrims as the Church of St. Mary *ad martyres*, after its conversion in 608 by Pope Boniface IV.[17] Writing in the 8th century, Paulus Diaconos stresses Boniface's request to Emperor Phocas to cleanse the building of the gods' images (*ablatis ydolatrie sordibus*).[18] Nevertheless, some sculptures could have survived *in situ* and during the 16th century a statue of Agrippa and a bust of a goddess, identified as Cybele, were attested in the Pantheon.[19] Such preservation could have been possible because of the temple's status as part of the Imperial patrimony, at the disposal of the secular authorities even after the granting of Government's permission to convert it into a church, as also suggested by the stripping of its roof tiles by order of Emperor Constans II in 663.[20] What is more, the Lombard historian mentions the decision to replace the "demonic" memory of all the gods with the one of all the martyrs, thus confirming the preservation of the knowledge of the building's original dedication more than a century after its conversion (*ubi quondam omnium non deorum sed demoniorum cultus agebatur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria sanctorum*).[21] Such form of perception is echoed by the Einsiedeln Itinerary itself, that probably around the same time addressed the building as *Rotunda* instead of using its

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16 Mancorda 1996, 136–138.

17 *Liber Pontificalis*, *Bonifacius* (IV); Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* 2.4; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Longobardorum*, IV, 36–5.18; Teophanes, *Chronicon*, 351. On the Medieval phases of the Pantheon: Thunø 2015.

18 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Longobardorum*, IV, 36–5.18.

19 *Roma*, *Pantheon*, *Congregazione dei Virtuosi*, *Liber I*, fol. 3 r (1543) (AAAKR, *Pantheon* 612); *Liber. I*, fol. *11 v* (5 Ottobre 1545). Thomas 2017, 146–212.

20 *Liber Pontificalis*, *Vitalianus*. On Rome's management of public buildings in the Early Middle Ages: Coates-Stephens 2006, 162. On Constans II and the Pantheon: Coates-Stephens 2017.

21 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Longobardorum*, IV, 36–5.18.

church name, thus likely suggesting a still strong perception of its original nature by the 8th century population.

Moving on, on the left side of the path another reference to Polytheistic cults is represented by the toponym *Minervium ibi sca. Maria*. This refers to the 8th century Church of St. Mary *supra Minerva*, erected on the area of the Temple of Minerva Chalcidica, whose structures could have appeared as still standing at the time when the Einsiedeln Itinerary was written. Indeed, the temple was part of the vast complex of sanctuaries centred on the Temple and precinct of Isis and Serapis, also connected to a sacred area known as the *Porticus Divorum*.[22] The process of deconstruction of the complex seems to have begun in the 8th century, highlighted by the erection in the area of the churches of St. Stephen and the aforementioned St. Mary. Yet, from the excavation reports it seems likely that a huge sculptural apparatus, depicting a large number of subjects related to Egyptian cults, could have been on display in the open spaces of the sanctuary until such phase, thus being visible to the population and to the pilgrims on their route.[23] Indeed, the area of the sanctuary played a crucial role in the conservation and redistribution of imported food supplies arriving to the Tiber ports of the *Campus Martius*, which were then stored in a series of *horrea* located within the *Porticus Divorum*. These silos were still in use during the 6th/7th centuries, to be probably dismissed around the beginning of the 8th century, with the decline of the Western Mediterranean market.[24] Hence, the area of the *Iseum et Serapeum* could have appeared to 6th/7th centuries pilgrims as a living space, where officials of the Imperial administration carried out important public duties surrounded by symbols of pre-Christian religions.

Skirting the Capitoline Hill on the Right

While leaving the *Campus Martius* to enter the Roman Forum, at their right the pilgrims found the imposing bulk of the Capitoline Hill, core of the Roman public religion, represented within the *Itinerarium* by the toponym *Capitolium*.

In fact, the history of the Capitoline Hill between the 6th and 8th centuries seems to be characterised by a substantial respect for the pre-existing architectural landscape. The hill was dominated by the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, whose structures, despite having suffered some limited acts of spoliation in the 5th

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22 Ensoli 2000a; Spera 2014. The temple's structures are reported by: Vacca, *Memorie*, N. 27; Marlianus, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum romanarum*, VI 5; Bracciolini, *De Varietate Fortunae* I, VZ p. 234–235; Panvinio, *Codex Vaticanus Lat.* 3349 f. 25r.

23 Lanciani 1883, 34–37.

24 Spera 2014; The silos are probably to be identified with the ones mentioned in: Procopius, *Bellum Gothicum* V, 15, 17. On Rome and the Early Medieval Mediterranean trade: Saguì 2001; Arthur 2012; 2017. On Rome's food supply system: De Francesco 2017.

and 6th centuries, were still mentioned as standing in the 11th.[25] During the 5th century the temple continued to receive gold dedications and was still theatre of the celebration of the *Kalendae*, marking the inauguration of the political year, while in the 6th century it is remembered as a wonder of the city.[26] The same definition *Capitolium* is a reference to the temple, reflecting its centrality within the Early Medieval landscape.

Furthermore, the Capitoline Hill Hosted a large number of sanctuaries, three of which, located on the slopes of the mountain on the side of the Roman Forum, are directly addressed by the Einsiedeln's *Sylloge*, where the inscriptions on their architraves are transcribed. These are the temples of Saturn, Vespasian and Concordia, the latter collapsed during the 8th century, presumably after the transcription of its epigraph within the *Sylloge*.[27] Additionally, in strict proximity and connection to the three temples, on the slopes of the hill the *Tabularium* was located, likely employed by public officials well into the 7th century to host the offices of the *moneta publica*.[28] Therefore, even on the location most vividly associated to the Polytheistic religions, civil servants still moved and worked in an environment enriched by Classical temples.

Yet, the hill seems to have gradually evolved within the Christian literature into the topographical centre of the setting of various Roman legends. Most of these Christian stories depicted the Capitoline Hill as the stage of *passiones*, where in locations such as the temples of Jupiter and Mercury the martyrs were asked to abjure their faith in front of Pagan *simulacra*.[29] Among such legends, to present the Capitoline Hill as shrouded in a particularly ominous and universal light are the *Actus* of Pope Sylvester, where, through a fictional retelling of the conversion of Constantine and Rome's population, a "Christian foundation myth" for the city itself is engineered.[30] The tale revolves around two main topographical areas, the *Capitolium* and the *Lateranum*, both reimagined as quintessential pivots respectively of Paganism and Christianity: Constantine's conversion is in fact said to happen when, in order to heal from leprosy, he refuses to bathe in a blood pool (*piscina sanguinis*) prepared by Pagan priests on the Capitoline Hill (*pontifices Capitolii*) to be instead baptized by the Pope on a second pool on the Lateran (*piscina pietatis*); afterwards, the entirety of Rome's population joins Christianity after Sylvester, challenged by some Pagans with which he was having

25 Limited spoliations in: Procopius, *Bellum Vandalicum* I 5,4; *Consularia Italica, Excerpta Sangallensia anno 571*, 714. The temple's structures are still mentioned as standing in a Papal bull by Anacletus II (in Casimiro 1845, 670–85).

26 Last dedication in *Codex Theodosianus* XI. 1. 34. Mention of 5th century's *Kalendae*: Salvianus, *De Gubernatione Dei*, VI, 12–13. The temple is described in Cassiodorus, *Variae* VII, 6.

27 *Sylloge Einsidlensis* F. 72b. 35.

28 On the public use of the *Tabularium*: Moralee 2018, 67–69. On Italy's mints between the 6th and the 8th centuries: Prigent 2021. A focus on Rome: Rovelli 2001.

29 Among the tales set on the hill: *Passio Callisti* (*Oct.* VI); *Passio Eusebii* (*Nov.* Iv). For an in-depth analysis of Roman *passiones*: Lapidge 2017.

30 For in-depth discussions of the text: Pohlkamp 1992; Canella 2006.

an argument (*cum haberet cum paganis pro defensione veritatis conflictum*), defeats a dragon inhabiting the Capitoline Hill (*in monte Trapeio in quo est Capitolim collocatum*) that was afflicting the city with its poisonous breath since Constantine's decision to interrupt the flow of offerings made by Pagan priests (*Ad hunc draconem per CCCLXV gradus, quasi ad infernum, magi cum virginibus sacrilegis descendebant semel in mense cum sacrificiis et lustris*).[31]

The popularity of this legend was such to cross the borders of the Italian peninsula, and the episode of the dragon was even re-imagined as having the British Saint Gildas as protagonist instead of Sylvester, yet still locating the monster's liar on Rome's Capitoline Hill.[32] Reflections of the impact of such perception can also be detected within the changing rituality of power in Rome, as evidenced by the gradual abandonment of the Capitoline Hill's traditional role as arrival spot of the *Princeps*' parade during the Imperial *adventus*.[33] This process appear as complete in the year 663, when Constans II became the last Roman Emperor to set foot in the ancient capital. During such occasion the *Capitolium* was left out of the Imperial itinerary, while to be underlined by the sources is the Emperor's ritual bath on the Lateran at the Pope's presence, thus manifesting the employment of symbolic rituals popularized by the *Silvesterlegende*.[34]

Nonetheless, the legendary re-imagination of the Capitoline Hill was not uniquely conceived as a form of "demonization", and some of the legends preserved traces of its civic role. That could be the case of the popular legend of the *Salvatio Romae*, that sees the temple of Jupiter as hosting *simulacra* of the peoples subjected to the Empire, magically able to move to signal any rebellion.[35] Likewise, the *Capitolium* is invested with a positive symbolism as the location where the popular prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl before Emperor Augustus was made, foreshadowing the conversion of Constantine and predicting the coming of the Christian apocalypse. The legend probably originated in 6th century's Syria and the earliest known Greek source already highlights the Capitoline setting, later re-employed in numerous Latin translations (καὶ καθίσασα ἡ Σίβυλλα ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ ἔσωθεν τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἀπεκρίθε αὐτοῖς λέγουσα).[36] The most famous of these Western versions is arguably the *Chronicon Palatinum*, probably realized by Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury in the second half of the 7th century, where the Sibyl also prophesizes the erection of an altar on the hill, thus referencing the

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31 *Vita Silvestri*, 510–514; 529–530. On the Capitoline Hill's role in the legend: Aronen 1989; Santangeli Valenzani 2007; Ogden 2013a; Luciani 2018.

32 *Vita S. Gildae*, *Catalogus*, 1889–1892: ii, 184. See: Ogden 2013b, 226.

33 Moralee 2018, 29–56.

34 Lonardo 2012, 164. On the rituality of the Emperor's entrance in Rome during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages see Latham 2021 .

35 Pseudo-Beda, *De Septem Mundi Miraculi*, PL 90:961–62; Kosmas, *PG*, 38, 546. See: Cilento 1983. On the altar and the Christian occupation of the area: Bolgia 2017.

36 Oracle of Baalbek, 10–11, in Alexander 1967, 10.

Capitoline church of St. Maria *in Aracoeli*, a Christian landmark of prime importance (*quare exiens inde Augustus Caesar a divinatione, aedifcavit in Capitolio aram magnam in sublimiori loco*).[37]

In conclusion, the Capitoline Hill was perceived by the 7th/8th century population as still preserving strong civic and administrative roles, while being at the same time symbolically sufficiently ambiguous to be cautiously avoided by the rituality of power.[38] Glimpses of such ambiguity can be traced within the Einsiedeln's manuscript. Indeed, the anonymous author walked by the side of the hill, just touching its slopes, thus instructing the pilgrims not to climb it. In fact, because of its religious nature, interested in creating a devotional path where the episodes of Christian legends could be contextualised, the *Itinerarium*, though having to address an urban element so topographically and symbolically important, avoided the crossing of an area compromised with the defeated Polytheistic religious systems. Yet, Christian writers seem not to have had any issues with climbing the *Capitolium* and walking through its area themselves, as evident by the listing of seven inscription visible on the hill within the Einsiedeln's *Sylloge*, thus showing how, once cast off his mantle of Christian preacher, the author could have enjoyed a walk through the Capitoline antiquities. What is more, the frequentation of the area must have appeared possibly even more unproblematic to the authors of the 7th century's *Itineraria*, writing during a time where, as previously stated, the Capitoline Hill was still very much bustling with public life.

Skirting the Imperial Fora on the Left

While passing the *Capitolium*'s mountainside on their right, on the opposite side the pilgrims had the structures of the Imperial Fora, and accordingly the *Itinerarium* mentions the Forum of Trajan and its column. The temples within the Fora were not visible to the pilgrims' eyes, laying behind the porticos' walls. Yet, the structures of the sanctuaries where still well preserved during the Early Middle Ages, and a pilgrim briefly diverting from his path could have stumbled upon them. The first signs of deconstruction of the Forum of Trajan date in fact to the 8th/9th centuries, while the preservation of the cult colossus of Minerva within her temple in the Forum of Nerva is still attested during the 13th century.[39] Traces of limited spoliations of the

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37 *Chronicon Palatinum*, 8. See: Mandatori 2015; Shoemaker 2015.

38 About the religious significance of the Capitoline Hill during Late Antiquity: Fraschetti 2001; Grig 2012; Moralee 2018.

39 The Temple of Trajan is mentioned in: Ligorio, *Codex Tauriniensis*, XV, c.58. The statue of Minerva is described in: Magister Gregorius, *Narracio de Mirabilibus Urbis Roma*,18. The temple is mentioned as standing in Signorili, *Descriptio Urbis Romae*, VZ IV 198 (CIL VI953); *Codex Escurialensis* f. 58r.

colonnade can be detected in the temples of Venus *Genitrix* in the Forum of Caesar and of Mars *Ultor* in the Forum of Augustus, yet both the structures seem to have likely survived, with the latter being replaced by a monastery only during the 9th or 10th century.[40] The Temple of Mars is also remembered as the setting of saints' trials within the *passiones* of the Greek martyrs and Polychronius, hence possibly meaning a peculiar cultural significance in the eyes of pilgrims aware of such legends.[41]

Crossing the Roman Forum

Upon passing through the Arch of Severus, the visitors entered the heart of Rome's public life.[42] Even before reaching the arch, the *Itinerarium* bears the toponym *Umbilicum Romae*, possibly to be identified with the shrine of *Genius Publicus*, located nearby the *Rostra*.[43] This is the only direct mention of a pre-Christian religious element in the Forum, yet the pilgrims found themselves surrounded by a high density of temples, as the ones of Castor, *Divus* Julius and Antoninus and Faustina, the latter converted into a church during the 8th or 9th century.[44] Also, a huge concentration of sculptures was visible, several of which were located on the *Rostra Augusti*, including the statues of three Sibyls (Τρία Φᾶτα), during the 6th century described as μοίραι by Procopius, and probably sufficiently relevant within the urban fabric to give to both the churches in front of them, St. Hadrian and St. Martina, the attribute *in tribus fatis*.[45]

Besides, some clues suggest that, at least during the mid-6th century, the area could have even retained part of its religious appeal for people still harbouring sympathies for the Polytheistic faiths. Indeed, in front of St. Hadrian (*Sci. Hadriani* in the *Itinerarium*), the pilgrims met the Temple of Janus, whose doors, according to Procopius, were forced during the Gothic siege by some citizens having in mind the old pre-Christian beliefs (παλαιάν δόξαν), thus exposing the colossal cult image; the Greek historian relates such actions to the ancient custom of opening the temples' doors when the *Res Publica* was at war in order to seek the god's help (θύραι τε χαλκαῖ ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ προσώπῳ εἰσίν, ἃς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσιν ὄντος ἀνέῳγον), therefore

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40 On the Temple of Venus: Hansen 2015, 91. On the Temple of Mars: Santangeli Valenzani 2015, 340.

41 *Passio Polychronii* (*Aug*. II 140).

42 For an approach to the Roman Forum as a theatre of civic memory: Machado 2006. For a general survey during Late Antiquity: Kalas 2015.

43 See Liverani 2007.

44 About the Temple of Castor: Pensabene 2017, 188. Possible conversion of the Temple of Antoninus in the 8th century: Coarelli 2007; Schuddeboom 2017.

45 Procopius, *Bellum Ghoticum* I, 25. Mentions of the two churches in *Liber Pontificalis*, *Honorius*. See Rutledge 2012, 179.

suggesting that the grip of Christianity over part of the population was still not strong enough to prevent a temporary reversal to old rituals during times of crisis.[46]

Nevertheless, some contexts within the Forum, particularly perceived as antagonistic by the Christian propaganda, undergone a process of "demonization" conveyed through hagiographic legends. This is the case of the Temple of Tellus, hosting, at least until the year 599, the seat of the *Praefectus Urbi* and its public tribunals.[47] Accordingly, the temple is portrayed within several hagiographic texts as the location where martyrs were put on trial.[48] It is interesting to note how, probably during the 7th century, the judicial offices were moved from the temple to the area of the *Forum Holitorium*.[49] This was part of a process of structural change within Rome's Imperial administration, but could have been at least partially influenced by a growing perception of incompatibility between the execution of justice and a place this much associated to the Pagan persecutors.

In any case, the employment of temples' buildings for administrative purposes appears as common practice, and on the right side of their route, on the slopes of the Palatine hill right beyond St. Maria Antiqua (mentioned by the itinerary), the pilgrims encountered the Temple of Vesta, likely used as a residence for Imperial bureaucrats during the 6th/7th centuries. The temple has in fact been linked to high ranking functionaries, as evidenced by traces of lavish banquets and by the massive redefinition of its structures, with the installation of a "mausoleum" within the *penus Vestae*, where originally the treasure of the sanctuary was stored.[50] One of these officials could have been the *curator Palatii* Plato, entrusted in the second half of the 7th century with the maintenance of the Imperial Palace, that according to epigraphical evidence restored the monumental staircase leading from the temple to St. Maria Antiqua.[51] Hence, the building must have appeared to the walking pilgrims as a landmark of the Imperial presence in the area, virtually unconnected, at least from an official perspective, to any correlation with its religious past.

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46 Procopius, *Bellum Gothicum* 1.25. See: Kaldellis 2004, 165–166.

47 Last mention of the *praefectura* in Gregorius Magnus, *Epistulae* VIII, 32. On the temple in Late Antiquity: Marchese 2007.

48 *Passio Polychronii* (*Aug.* II 140); *Passio Marcelli papae* (*Ian.* II 370–372), *Passio Marii, Martae et alii* (*Ian.* II 582); *Passio Stephani papae* (*Aug.* I 142); *Passio Eusebi, Pontiani et alii* (*Aug.* V 115); P*assio Eusebii et soci* (*Nov.* IV 97); *Passio Calogerii et Parthenii* (*Mai.* IV 302); *Gesta Abdonis et Senis* (Mombritius I 6r); *Acta Cornellii papae* (Mombritius I 210).

49 Valenti 2002–2003, 222.

50 Filippi 2001, 601; Johnson 2012, 109–110.

51 *ICUR* II, p. 442, nn. 152–153. For the connection between St. Maria Antiqua and the Imperial administration: Coates-Stephens 2006, pp. 155–157; Maskarinec 2018, 38–39; Brubaker 2019, 1003–1020. For a discussion on church patronage by high-ranking Byzantine officials in Italy: Deliyannis 2021.

However, within the Roman Forum some elements still carried important symbolic values, not despite but because of their original dedications. For instance, the church of St. Maria Antiqua itself could have possibly hosted healing rituals, perhaps to be read as continuations of the curative sacred character of the area, in Classical times embodied by the nearby fountain known as *Lacus Iuturnae*.[52] Yet, in this regard the most prominent example is probably the Temple of Venus and Rome, whose imposing mass the pilgrims would have reached just outside the Forum, after crossing the Arch of Titus. The sanctuary is still presented as magnificent by Cassiodorus, and, despite the re-employment of its roof tiles in the Vatican Basilica with the consent of Emperor Heraclius around the year 630, is three times mentioned by the *Liber Pontificalis*.[53] These sources agree in defining the sanctuary as *Templum Romae*, seemingly denoting a shift in perception to highlight its celebrative role of the glory of the city. Catalyst of such symbolism was the statue of the goddess *Roma*, from the 4th century onwards located on the western *podium* of the temple in order to be visible from the *Via Sacra*.[54] The sculpture is also depicted as standing within the temple on the 5th century apsidal arch of St. Mary *Major*, meaning the preservation of its civic symbolisms even within Christian figurative contexts.[55] Furthermore, the permanence of Classical statues inside the sanctuary is suggested by its identification with the Temple of Fortune (Τύχης) mentioned by Procopius, in whose sacred precinct the historian witnessed a copy of the *Palladium* (Ἀθήνης ἄγαλμα), one of Rome's most important religious symbols.[56]

After passing the temple, the pilgrims then reached the Colosseum (*Amphitheatrum*) in which proximity one of the most important landmarks of the city was located, the bronze Colossus of Nero/Helios. The statue is for the last time mentioned *in situ* by Cassiodorus in the 6th century, and possibly in a document dated to 982, where an unspecified huge sculpture is said as standing in the area.[57] Yet, interestingly, the *Itinerarium* does not mention the Colossus, hence suggesting a possible transfer of the sculpture. Indeed, the destruction of the Colossus doesn't seem probable given its strong civic symbolism and the link between its preservation and the survival of both Rome itself and the entire world, as stated by the famous prophecy of the Angle-Saxon bard Bede (*Quamdiu stat Colysaeus stat Roma; quando cadet Colysaeus cadet*

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52 Regarding the survival of the sacred character of the Roman Forum: Iara 2015. On the cultic memory of the *Lacus Iuturnae*: Aronen 1989. A survey on the Early Medieval phases of the monument in: Steinby 2012. For its relation to St. Maria Antiqua: Knipp 2002; Coates-Stephens 2021.

53 Cassiodorus, *Chronica* II. 142; *Liber Pontificalis, Felix* (III), *Honorius, Paulus*. Spoliations are attested in 1385: *Notizia della famiglia Boccapaduli patrizia romana, Nardo de' Vendettini, prot.* 785. Regarding the Medieval phases of the temple: Lorenzatti 1991.

54 Kalas 2015, 74.

55 Warland 2003, 127–141.

56 Procopius, *Bellum Gothicum* I, 15. Coates-Stephens 2017, 200.

57 Cassiodorus, *Chronica* 107. For the 10th century's document: Lega 1989–1990.

Roma et mundus).[58] Such perception could have been subject to a certain degree of ambiguity, because of the prominent role of the Colossus as a "Pagan" pivotal point in the hagiographic account of the Roman martyrs Abdon and Sennen, both of them put on trial before it.[59] Yet, this negative interpretation of the Colossus must not be overestimated, especially considering how the rest of the sources describes it as an integral element of the urban fabric, whose civic symbolism was very much able to reach peripheral areas of the Christendom such as Britain.

Skirting the Palatine Hill on the Right

While leaving the Forum, the pilgrims could see the Palatine Hill and its vast public complexes, collectively referred within the *Itinerarium* with the toponym *Palatinus*. On the hill the huge Imperial Palace was located, still subject to public care at the end of the 7th century.[60] The most visible Palatine temple from the Forum was the sanctuary originally known as *Heliogabalium*, already in the 3rd century rededicated to Jupiter *Victor*. At least from the 6th century the sanctuary was probably housing a residential area for public officials and an administrative district. A sector of the vast courtyard of the temple was in fact converted into a burial site, while the living quarters were mainly concentrated in the Eastern gallery of the portico.[61] Hence, to the citizens and visitors siding the hill, the complex appeared as a massive pre-Christian temple, in topographical correlation with the Imperial Palace and consequently employed by the public administration. Nevertheless, the *Heliogabalium* too was in some regard capable to convey contrasting messages, as suggested by the hagiography of Saint Sebastian, where the great staircase leading to the sanctuary, the *Gradus Heliogabali*, is re-imagined as the stage where the confrontation between the martyr and Emperor Diocletian reaches its dramatic climax.[62] The same toponym with which the area is identified within the text denotes the continued perception of the site as still linked to the god El-Gabal, even though centuries had passed since its conversion to the cult of Jupiter.

At least during the 6th century some Palatine sanctuaries were also able to exert a religious appeal in times of crisis, and during the same Gothic siege when the doors of the temple of Janus were forced some senators consulted the Sibylline Books (τῶν τινες πατρικίων τὰ Σιβύλλης λόγια προῦφερον), traditionally preserved within the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.[63] What is more, for the last time at the very

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58 Beda, *Collectio* 1, III.

59 *Gesta Abdonis et Senis* (Mombritius I 6r).

60 See Augenti 1996; Wulf-Rheidt 2015.

61 Villedieu 2004; Johnson 2012.

62 *Passio S. Sebastiani* (*Ian* II, 642).

63 Procopius, *Bellum Gothicum* I, 24.

end of the 5th century, in a famous letter of Pope Gelasius addressed to the senator Andromachus, the race of the *luperci* is attested as still interesting the Palatine and the Roman Forum, probably having its pivotal point in the Lupercal situated on the opposite side of the hill, hence not visible to the pilgrims on the route n. 8.[64] The celebration of the *Lupercalia*, perceived as sacrilegious and inacceptable by the Pope, is described as a living phenomenon still preformed in Classical fashion *(non longe impari cultu et devotione ea ducitis celebranda, quam profanitatis vestrae celebravere maiores)*. Nevertheless, the festival is presented as sponsored by prominent Christian senators, chiefly by Andromachus himself, that the Pope accuses of exploiting the race for propaganda purposes *(quod vobis singulariter prodesse putatis)*. Therefore, the Pope's letter seems to show how, at least at the turn of the 6th century, the *Lupercalia* were still perceived as bearing strong positive social values by the urban elites *(venerandum vobis cultum, et salutiferum quem putatis)*, and there is no evidence pointing at a precise date of dismissal.[65] Moreover, that this festival could have in some circumstances survived within a Christian environment is attested by its introduction in Constantinople, where it endured well into the Middle Ages.[66] Therefore, taking also into consideration the attested practice of other pre-Christian festivities within the city of Rome (the *Kalendae* of the 742/743), the continuation of the *Lupercalia* for at least part of the Early Middle Ages cannot be entirely ruled out, meaning that some pilgrims on their route, at least during the 6th century, could have possibly witnessed the *luperci* racing around the hill.

Crossing the Esquiline and Caelian Hill, Reaching the Lateran

While leaving the Colosseum behind, on their right the pilgrims could have spotted the last major temple on their route, the massive sanctuary of *Divus* Claudius, whose sacred enclosure was still standing in the 13th century.[67] Indeed, in accordance of its nature of aristocratic residential neighborhood, until the 5th century the area hosted mainly private sanctuaries, as mithraea, or religious institutions sponsored by senatorial dynasties, such as the *Basilica Hilariana*, housing the school of the priestly college of the *Magna Mater*.[68] The majority of these structures were demolished or obliterated before the end of the 5th century, as part of a process of

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64 On contrasting hypotheses regarding the location of the Lupercal: Carandini/Bruno 2008; Vuković 2017.

65 Gelasius, *Epistulae*, *Adversus Andromachum*, *Collectio Avellana*, 100. See: McLynn 2008, 161–175.

66 North/McLynn 2008; Graf 2015.

67 A mention in a bull of Honorius III (1217).

68 On the dismissal of mithraea in Rome: Schuddeboom 2016. On the *Basilica Hilariana*: Pavolini 2013.

intense Christianization of the area, probably making it the city sector where the rooting of the Monotheistic religion appeared as more evident.

Indeed, among the main sites of the area, to be counted were the Episcopal Palace (*Patriarchium Lateranense*, reported on the left side of the itinerary) and the Lateran Basilica (*Sci. Iohannis in Laterani*s, on the right side), representing the religious and, from the 8th century, political core of the city, both encountered by the pilgrims before crossing Porta Asinaria and exiting the city walls. The open space of such complex, the *Campus Lateranensis*, was accordingly a main gathering place for pilgrims, with service buildings for visitors being inaugurated at least from the 8th century. This was a hugely symbolic space, were the travellers finally reached the institutional centre of the entire Western Christendom. Therefore, during the 11th/12th century it is attested how the walking visitors would have experienced an impressive collection of Classical pieces of art, there assembled as a visual manifestation of Papal authority. The beginning of the transfer of antiquities within the *Campus* has been attributed to the pontificate of Hadrian I, thus suggesting how, at the time of the writing of the *Itinerarium*, the space was already conceived to highlight the civic power of the Popes through the exhibition of images connected to the religious past of the city.[69] Indeed, the collection included some pieces evoking the Polytheistic systems, such as a she-wolf. Also, from the *Campus* come three large fragments of a colossal bronze statue (head, hand, globe), now preserved in the Capitoline Museum, for which an identification with the Colossus of Helios has been suggested.[70] If such identification is correct, a strong civic perception of the statue of Helios until the High Middle Ages could be inferred, so relevant to inspire its transfer to the new centre of power on the Lateran in an undefined moment (after the 982, if the last dubious mention of the Colossus besides the Colosseum is accepted, or even more than a century before, if the planning of the exposition in its entirety is to be attributed to Hadrian I). In any case, from the late 8th century foreign visitors at last ended their journey in front of the major centre of Christian authority, where they were intended as the ultimate recipients of the messages behind the assembling of the Classical collection, amassed to manifest the symbolic triumph of Christianity over Rome trough the sculptural representations of its pre-Christian antiquity.

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69 About the collection: Nardella 2001. On the Lateran's role in the pilgrim's route: Luchterhandt 2017.

70 Ensoli 2000b. The three fragments are recorded in: Magister Gregorius, *Narracio*, 6; Rucellai, *Zibaldone Quaresimale*, *Delle bellezze e Anticaglie di Roma*, cc 51–56 (VZ IV p. 408); Paolino da Venezia: *Biblioteca Marciana, ms. lat. Zan. 399* (1610), fol 98r; *Codex Vaticanus* 1960, fol. 270v.

Conclusions

The examination of the route n. 8 allows to delineate a very complex and mixed perception of a variety of elements connected to the Polytheistic religions. Unsurprisingly, from a general topographical perspective the presence of pre-Christian buildings escorted the pilgrims along the entire route, yet they would have met the majority of visual and sensory stimuli in the city centre, between the *Campus Martius*, the Capitoline Hill, the Fora and the Palatine. Regarding the reception of the elements under consideration, the data seem to suggest that temples and sculptures were still perceived as carriers of important messages, and six toponyms connected to religious locations are listed within the path n. 8 (*Theatrum Pompei*, *Rotunda*, *Cypressus*, *Minervium*, *Capitolium*, *Umbilicum Romae*). Indeed, until the central decades of the 8th century Imperial officials remained in charge of the administration of Rome's public buildings, temples included. In this regard, crucial will appear the modalities of reuse of public temples carried out by the Imperial administration or with its explicit authorisation, and accordingly both citizens and visitors would have familiarized with several sanctuaries hosting public offices, such as the *Iseum* Campense, the Temple of Vesta and the *Heliogabalium*.[71]

Yet, it appears that a huge disparity of possible approaches to the pre-Christian elements was possible, and their perception could have greatly varied based on the social extraction, education and religious knowledge of the single individuals. Hence, several clues seem to suggest how, during the 6th century, members of the upper classes were still familiar with the exact religious nature of pre-Christian religious artefacts and worship buildings. This could for instance be inferred by senator Andromachus' revival of the traditional rituality of the *Lupercalia* as a propaganda gesture to boast his status within the city ruling *milieu*, as well as by the consultation of the Sibylline Books by some senators during the Gothic war, evidently in search for help or comfort in a well-established pre-Christian practice during a time of extreme political turmoil. What is more, the opening of the Temple of Janus during Rome's Gothic siege is also expressly interpreted by Procopius as a conscious reverting to an ancient custom, meaning the building's doors were opened by citizens fully aware of the god's traditional role.[72]

Hence, the aforementioned cases seem to indicate that at least the upper segments of Rome's population still retained the ability to identify specific Polytheistic deities, even in some cases perceiving their *simulacra* or sacred places as connected to existing benevolent superhuman beings. These data seem to be well contextualized within the cultural environment of Late Antiquity, when a Classical educational and cultural

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71 On Rome's Byzantine administration: Brown 1984; Cosentino 2008; Herrin 2020. On the Early Medieval Imperial administration: Haldon 1990; Brandes 2002.

72 On Procopius's involvement in the episode: Kaldellis 2004, 165–166.

imprint was undoubtedly still strong among members of the aristocracy and government elites.

No direct participation in such activities on part of public officials or aristocrats is instead registered starting from the late 6th century, as a result of the slow and gradual process of transformation of the Roman ruling classes, evidenced by the disappearance of the Senate in the first decades of the 7th century.[73] The evolution undergone by the *Urbs* and its society in the course of this period seems in fact to denote a slow, gradual and yet incomplete decline of the understanding of the original nature of the cults and the public role of specific temples, while at the same time fostering a growing reinterpretation of some distinct elements according to new cultural trends. The pre-Christian civic perception appears thus challenged by the spread of Late Antique and Early Medieval legends set within specific urban areas, leading several of the contexts along the path n. 8 to carry contrasting messages, more and more departing from the original ones. A prime example of this tendency is the Capitoline Hill itself, reimagined both as a quintessential residence for "Pagan" demons, like in the *Silvesterlegende*, and as a city wonder embodying the glory of Rome, like in the tales of the *salvatio Romae* and the Tiburtine Sibyl.

Yet, the still strong awareness, at least among the city elites, of specific temples as connected with Rome's identity could possibly be read as a motivation behind the two registered activities on Roman temples authorized by the Emperor in the first half of the 7th century, the conversion of the Pantheon and the stripping of the bronze tiles from the Temple of Venus and Rome. The decision to dedicate the *Rotunda* to all the martyrs appears in fact as an explicit reference to the building being previously dedicated to all the gods, thus hinting a conscious inheritance of its symbolic and cultural identity, while the selection of the *Templum Romae* as the source for the roof tiles of a Basilica of prime importance as St. Peter could have been inspired by the connection of the sanctuary to the very concept of the *Urbs* itself.

Indeed, the rooting of certain aspects of the traditional Roman culture in the collective mentality could have been so deep to ensure the survival across the city of pre-Christian practices between the 7th and the 8th centuries, as for the lingering of the healing character in the area of the *Lacus Juturnae* / St. Maria Antiqua, or the celebrations of the *Kalendae* around St. Peter reported by Boniface. In particular, the identification of the nature of such festivities during the Early Middle Ages is controversial, and while during the 6th century they could still be partially regarded as manifestations of actual Mediterranean cults, at the time of Boniface's letter they

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73 On the crisis of the senatorial aristocracy: Haldon 2004. For a survey on the evolution of the upper classes in Rome: Noble 2003.

probably survived as heterodox practices by then largely absorbed within the Christian popular religion, despite being perceived by the upper classes as connected to the Early Medieval concept of Paganism.[74]

In this regard, a perceptive difference could have possibly occurred between the mindsets of the inhabitants of Rome, grown up within a urban landscape inherited from their ancestors, seen as bearing positive civic values, and foreign pilgrims, alien to many civil and social symbolisms specific to the city. A very large influx of pilgrims belonged in fact to Germanic *nationes*, and mainly entered the Roman cultural orbit during Late Antiquity or even the Early Middle Ages. Hence, such people possessed distinctive religious and cultural backgrounds, and didn't share the exact same religious pre-Christian traditions of the citizens of Rome, thus shaping their views on Rome's symbolic position within the Classical world order thanks to the contact with a predominantly Christianized Imperial apparatus. Consequently, such people probably lacked the ability to formulate a comprehensive understanding of the entirety of the original distinct religious and civic associations with Mediterranean and local cults within Rome's urban fabric, and largely embraced the interpretations of specific contexts as they were conveyed by Christian propaganda programs and hagiographical texts.

This is for instance apparent by the reception of Rome's specific elements by the Angle-Saxon high culture, a prime example of which being again the Capitoline Hill. The motive of the *Capitolium* as site of monstrous incarnations of Paganism is in fact preserved in the retelling of the dragon's episode of the *Silvesterlegende* with the popular British St. Gildas as its new protagonist, while a more positive view is reflected by the introduction of the tale of the Tiburtine Sibyl for a Latin speaking audience by the Syrian archbishop of Canterbury Theodore and by the narration of the myth of the *salvatio Romae* by the English monk Bede. The latter's works appears indeed to insist on the civic character of Rome's Classical landmarks, as evident by the linking of the Colossus' preservation with the safety of the Christian world.

What is more, it has been observed how some of the Classical religious urban elements of Rome, thanks to their Christian re-contextualization, could have influenced architectural developments in the pilgrims' origin places. In this regard, of particular interest would prove the Pantheon, that after its conversion to the Marian cult could have inspired the erection of circular churches dedicated to the Virgin across Europe: such dependence has been for instance noticed for a round Marian church realized in Hexham by the Northumbrian bishop Wilfrid at the end of the 7th century, after his return from the Roman pilgrimage.[75]

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74 See Hijmans 2003; Mastrocinque 2004; Kaldellis 2007; Kahlos 2019, 195–213. A specific focus on the *Kalendae*: Graf 2015; Grig 2016; Latham 2022. For the survival of pre-Christian rituals in Italy see also Binazzi 2012.

75 Thunø 2015, 238.

In conclusion, thanks to their background, pilgrims walking Rome's streets would have ultimately interpreted the city fabric around them through cultural lenses reflecting Classical structures and places as ancient *mirabilia*, whose religious appeal would have appeared as neutralized or reused to embody new Early Medieval symbolisms, thus also helping Rome's ecclesiastical classes to present the *Urbs* still as the head of the civilized world.

In this regard, the *Via Papalis*, retraced in Einsiedeln's itinerary n. 8 and unfolding across the core areas of the city, indubitably emerged as a privileged path to connect the pivotal points represented by St. Peter and the Lateran, by unveiling Rome's landscape in all is might. Starting from the Vatican Basilica the route permitted the pilgrims entering the Aurelian Walls to cross the *Campus Martius*, at the same time one of the richest sectors in terms of monumental heritage and one of the most densely inhabited areas of the Early Medieval city. The urban relevance of the *Campus* in Rome's ritual life was in fact further corroborated by its prominent involvement in the Major Litany (both of whose date and pathway overlapped those of the pre-Christian festival of the *Robigalia*), with the *Rotunda* of St. Mary *ad martyres* itself made into one of the main *stationes* along the Papal procession.[76]

From there, after leaving the area the pilgrims would have continued on a path still surrounded by Rome's monumental heritage, firstly passing by the Capitoline Hill and the Imperial Fora, and then crossing the hearth of the Classical city, the Roman Forum. All along the path, the pilgrims would have stumbled upon several temples or ancient buildings still in use by ecclesiastical or administrative classes, either in cases they were converted into Christian churches or employed as public offices, thus further affirming their integration within the Early Medieval urban fabric and society.

Lastly, at the end of their journey, the pilgrims would have reached the Lateran Palace and Basilica, hence climaxing their "triumphal" path celebrating the glory of Christian Rome in front of the Papal seat.

Nonetheless, some sources are able to show the cracks within this narrative, and indeed pilgrims walking through the city could have met rituals and festivities alien to their original culture, by them consequently interpreted as genuine manifestation of Polytheistic faiths. Hence, at least during the 6th century, within the Roman Forum they could have possibly observed the race of the *luperci* or interacted with people ready to revert to Pre-Christian gods for help, while still during the 8th century they would have witnessed the celebration of the *Kalendae* under the shadow of St. Peter's Basilica. Speaking of such festivities, in his letter Boniface went so far to declare they could have affected the still fragile Christian faith of newly converted pilgrims, prompting both him and Pope Zacharias to urge new measures to contrast heterodox practices within the city fabric. Yet, the rooting of

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76 Dyer 2007, 113–137.

"prohibited" rituals within the urban landscape was such that, despite all the efforts, in the mid-8th century they were still an integral part of the public life even within the most central city sectors and the Vatican area itself, hence successfully challenging the topographical narrative of the period that insisted on a fully orthodox urban city centre.

Ultimately, these sources are thus of extreme importance in the understanding of the rituality within Rome's metropolitan space, hinting at a rift between how it was presented by contemporary accounts and the actual urban experience of inhabitants and visitors alike. To emerge is a picture of Rome's city environment as a wondrous centre of the Christian world, under the firm spiritual authority of its clergy, where nonetheless absolute control of the urban fabric was still far from possible, sometimes to the astonishment of the arriving pilgrims.

Abbreviations

ICUR   De Rossi, Giovanni Battista / Silvagni, Angelo, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores II*, Roma, 1935.

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Epilogue

Philippe Boissinot

Que faut-il pour faire un sanctuaire ?

Nous n'avons pas à faire la preuve qu'un temple grec, par exemple, est un sanctuaire. Nous le *savons*, et ce qui nous intéressera, en y pratiquant l'archéologie, ce seront les variations dans ce registre ou les quelques singularités que l'on pourra noter, ainsi des réalisations qui semblent s'écarter d'une norme ou se dérouler dans le temps[1]. Nous le savons dans la mesure où nos croyances d'historiens se fondent préalablement sur des textes et des images. Elles sont justifiées par l'épreuve de la critique des sources et les observations tangibles de l'archéologie. Mais ces croyances (épistémiques) se verbalisent en partie grâce à ce savoir-là sur la religion et le sacré, qui s'est construit au fil des traditions, passant des temples grecs aux édifices des religions monothéistes, tout en considérant d'autres voies qui ne sont ni occidentales ni orientales. De ces multiples expériences découle une certaine montée en généralité, sinon une essence, regroupant sous un même vocable une multitude de pratiques présentant entre elles un certain « air de famille » (pour reprendre l'heureuse formule de L. Wittgenstein). Et l'historien est averti que l'identité du concept ne garantit en rien celle des situations, tout contexte ancien devant être débarrassé de considérations trop actualistes.

Que se passe-t-il maintenant lorsqu'on ne dispose que des seuls documents archéologiques, ce qui est bien évidemment le cas pour les périodes les plus anciennes ? Comme nous l'avons suggéré par ailleurs[2], l'archéologie est une enquête sur des lieux où l'on démonte des *agrégats*, associations complexes d'artefacts et de bien d'autres choses inertes, à partir desquels nous pouvons faire des inférences sur des personnes qui ne sont plus là, des actions qui ont eu lieu, avec des choses qui manquent à l'inventaire (ce qui n'est pas sans liens métaphoriques avec la religion, on le remarquera). Si nous ne les connaissons pas déjà, il sera difficile d'identifier des dieux et de restituer des mythes, mais pouvons-nous être plus pertinents à propos d'aspects plus tangibles et localisés, vis-à-vis d'actions sur la matière qui peuvent éveiller quelques soupçons ? Existe-t-il un critère général pour reconnaître des pratiques que l'on qualifierait sans trop d'erreurs de *religieuses* ?

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1 Van Andringa 2015.

2 Boissinot 2015.

1 Peut-on se tromper à ce point ? La parodie du *Motel of the Mysteries*

Avant d'envisager ces questions proprement épistémologiques, nous pouvons commencer par une parenthèse qui se voudra éclairante et drôle, que l'on pourrait présenter comme une « expérience de pensée » chère aux philosophes. L'auteur en est David Macaulay, un illustrateur anglo-américain qui a écrit nombre de livres qui ont ces qualités divertissantes. L'un deux, *The Motel of the Mysteries*, publié en 1979 (traduit en français sous le titre : *La civilisation perdue, naissance d'une archéologie*, en 1981), correspond tout à fait à notre thématique, c'est-à-dire à la possibilité pour l'archéologie de reconnaître des sanctuaires.

D. Macauley a écrit ce livre à la suite d'une exposition sur Toutankhamon. Face à un engouement mondial pour les mystères et les malédictions, il y exprime toute l'ironie d'un auteur qui est, tout au contraire, un adepte de l'éclaircissement. Vous voulez savoir ce qu'est une cathédrale : eh bien, je vous dévoile comment cela se fabrique, sans aucun mystère, même si cela est complexe ! L'illustrateur est plutôt partisan de l'explication (scientifique) que de l'herméneutique.

Dans ce livre, nous rions d'une erreur : nous savons que les fouilles ne concernent pas la religion d'une civilisation disparue, parce que nous savons déjà que c'est un motel que l'on nous montre. C'est exactement l'inverse de la question beaucoup moins drôle que nous posions au départ : quand y-a-t-il religion quand on ne le sait pas déjà ? Mais nous sommes bon rieurs car le scénario du livre présente quelques faiblesses, notamment vis-à-vis de la mort des personnages retrouvés, sans lien avec le processus d'ensevelissement : des impuretés dans l'air provenant d'une avalanche de prospectus publicitaires, à la suite d'une forte réduction des tarifs postaux ! Normalement, les impuretés déposées auraient dû faire suffoquer les clients du motel, alors qu'ils sont installés sans stigmates sur leurs lits. D. Macaulay pointe cependant l'idée qu'en registre funéraire tout s'interprète en termes de rites, et là, il n'a pas tort. Quant à cette cause fatale, comment la connaissons-nous ? Comment savons-nous que ce sont des prospectus publicitaires (utilisant un médium linguistique donc) qui en sont à l'origine, alors que nos apprentis archéologues ne comprennent même pas ce qui est écrit sur un carton à l'entrée de la chambre explorée, où nous voyons clairement marqué « *do not disturb* », objet qu'ils interprètent comme un « *sceau sacré* » afin de « *protéger le tombeau et ses occupants pour l'éternité* ». On voit là toute la difficulté de faire tenir une expérience de pensée et, particulièrement, d'envisager son lien causal avec la réalité, ce qui n'est pas ici, avec l'expérience archéologique, une affaire de détail, comme la prise en compte de toute distance entre l'observateur et l'observé.

Le moment incongru est celui où nos explorateurs miment les prétendus gestes rituels de libation au-dessus de la cuvette des toilettes (Fig. 1). Car toute chose est ici interprétée en termes religieux, et pas seulement de manière métaphorique, même si

cela participe du pastiche dans cet album. Cela n'affecte pas le fonctionnement « technique » de ces objets, mais leur raison d'être, emmenée si loin de leur véritable fonction. En effet, seuls les aspects monumentaux ou religieux de cette civilisation des *Yanks* sont évoqués dans les pages illustrées du *Motel of the Mysteries,* finalement pensé comme une totalité. Nous ignorons tout de leur monde quotidien et ordinaire, alors qu'il aurait été bien utile de le démarquer pour construire celui, plus « intense » et sans usure, qu'il nous est proposé de voir.

Fig. 1: L'archéologue Carson, au cours d'une exposition, ne résistant pas à mimer les gestes rituels dans le *Motel of the Mysteries* de D. Macaulay, d'après Macauley 1981 (©Macauley).

Bien sûr, D. Macauley est conscient de tout cela et son intention est de nous amuser avec cette surenchère irrationnelle du moment, de nos jours plus estompée. On y lit également une critique politique de la société de consommation américaine, de sa fragilité en dépit de sa puissance, qui garde encore son acuité, même si d'autres objets que des téléviseurs seraient aujourd'hui pastichés. Sa démarche d'illustra-

teur, là et dans d'autres ouvrages sur des pyramides, des châteaux forts, des gratte-ciels ou des cités romaines, peut retenir l'attention des archéologues parce que dessiner les choses, c'est vraiment les regarder et s'intéresser aux relations entre différents éléments ainsi qu'à leurs échelles, leurs masses et leurs points de connexion (je résume là ses propres commentaires à propos de son œuvre). Nous y reviendrons.

2 Un lieu pour des pratiques religieuses ?

Le dictionnaire (*Trésor de la langue française*) définit un *sanctuaire* comme le « lieu le plus saint d'un édifice religieux » ou encore comme un « édifice consacré à la pratique d'un culte ». Ce terme a un faux air de concept analytique, une des deux grandes catégories de concepts. Il n'est pas sûr en effet que l'addition d'éléments parfaitement définis *a priori* (un lieu, une partie dans un lieu, une architecture, des pratiques) suffise à mieux le saisir. Car la qualification de ces espaces et de ces actions nécessitent la compréhension de notions plus générales, telle celle de religion ou de sacré. Nous retrouvons là le problème de toute définition, qui renvoie à d'autres définitions, et cela *ad infinitum*, quand elles ne sont pas circulaires.

La *religion* est un concept synthétique : il est formé à partir d'expériences qui ont déjà eu lieu, et que l'on regroupe sous un vocable en raison d'un air de ressemblance, comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué (ce qui est le cas de la totalité des concepts des Sciences sociales, ne nous en inquiétons pas[3]). Certains pensent que ce travail *a posteriori* sur la multitude permet de découvrir une essence qui préexisterait, mais cela est un autre débat philosophique.

La religion est un concept vague, comme la plupart des concepts du sens commun[4]. « Grand » et « petit » sont des concepts vagues de ce langage de tous les jours, bien qu'ils semblent liés à la mesure, pratique scientifique s'il en est ! Nous sommes bien loin (est-ce souhaitable ?) de proposer une mesure de la religion, ou encore, une définition en termes de conditions nécessaires et suffisantes, comme le font les sciences. Et quand commence le religieux, lorsqu'il y a également du politique, du droit ou de l'esthétique ? Tout cela paraît mêlé semble-t-il ? Peut-on dire qu'un phénomène est plus religieux que politique ? Sans doute, mais cela reste souvent ambigu.

On peut tenter de donner une définition rigoureuse du religieux, on n'empêchera pas son usage métaphorique. C'est le cas pour certains jeux qui peuvent être ritualisés et pour lesquels une maximisation des valeurs peut enflammer des collectifs, telle une cérémonie. Malgré tout, pour endiguer cette inévitable dérivation, il

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3 Lenclud 1995.
4 Égré 2018.

faut s'entendre *a minima* sur quelques traits saillants, sinon ce n'est à même plus savoir si l'on pratique la métaphore. Et ces traits saillants semblent mobiliser des croyances en des processus non (directement) observables et extranaturels, avec lesquels les hommes construisent des *mondes*.

On peut tenter d'en faire un nuage de notions qui peuvent se compléter, parfois s'opposer entre elles, ou monter en généralité. C'est le cas du terme général de *symbolique*, qui embrasse si large, qu'il risque de mal étreindre ces croyances en des entités surnaturelles. Mais, bien utile quand on constate le détour pris par une activité qui n'aurait pu être que *pragmatique*, c'est-à-dire tournée vers l'action et l'efficacité de celle-ci, en dehors de toute abstraction.

Cependant, la notion de symbolique ne porte pas l'intensité de cette valeur absolue que l'on associe au *sacré*. Cette valorisation extraordinaire concerne aussi bien des objets que des lieux, des personnes ou des moments, une expérience ambivalente qui peut fasciner ou inquiéter suivant que des règles (sociales) ont été respectées ou non[5]. Ces entités sacrées autorisent des médiations avec les forces surnaturelles qui constituent de puissants régulateurs dans les sociétés dites archaïques. Leur existence, largement contingente, est issue d'une expérience individuelle ou collective que l'on sépare généralement de la sphère profane, celle de la vie quotidienne (sans dimension religieuse : pardon pour la circularité de la description), exactement cet ordinaire qui manque dans le *Motel of the Mysteries* ou dans ses environs. Comme pour toute valeur, une entité n'est pas sacrée de manière intrinsèque, elle le devient socialement. Pour la repérer, et fût-elle individuelle, il faut considérer des pans entiers de cette société, et selon des critères que nous allons exposer (il en serait de même si nous intéressions à la valeur marchande, par exemple dans le cas des monnayages).

Concernant les *rites*, on retrouve les mêmes écueils que pour les définitions précédentes, et d'autres supplémentaires pour les archéologues, puisque nous sommes là dans un registre de l'action qui souligne le caractère performatif, la place des corps et le rôle des émotions, qui constituent autant de dimensions inatteignables pour cette discipline, hors des cas de représentation[6]. Avant que les anthropologues ne s'intéressent aux rites pour eux-mêmes, c'est-à-dire dans leur déroulement concret, l'accent avait été mis sur leur rôle dans l'ordonnancement de la société, puis sur leur caractère révélateur des structures profondes des communautés. Les pratiques rituelles s'organisent en séquences d'actions formalisées, généralement prescrites, expressives et porteuses d'une dimension symbolique ; elles sont bornées par un début et une fin explicites, se déroulent de manière orientée (non circulaire), et tranchent de ce fait avec d'autres activités qui seraient plus quotidiennes et banales, selon des finalités qui seraient moins bien ajustées aux moyens mis en

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5 Schmitt 2018.

6 Boissinot/Roure 2011.

œuvre (question de la rationalité). Leur caractère répétitif, largement signalé (et souligné dans son usage le plus large : le « rite du petit-déjeuner » par exemple), n'est finalement pas aussi systématique que cela, puisqu'ils peuvent être mobilisés pour surmonter une épreuve ponctuelle ou résoudre un désordre singulier. Quant à leur thématique, on la trouve focalisée dans certaines parties de la séquence rituelle, avec toutefois des possibilités d'inversion ou d'omission qui ne perturbent en rien leur signification générale. Ces notions générales que nous livre l'anthropologie sont hélas difficiles à transposer dans le registre archéologique qui ne dispose pas de données premières sur l'action, laquelle est plutôt déduite des configurations observées dans le sol, avec toute une part d'incertitudes. Avec les thématiques de la séparation, clairement temporelle ici, et celle d'une rationalité « problématique », nous retrouvons quelques-unes des caractéristiques évoquées à propos du sacré. Nous proposons maintenant de les aborder avec quelques outils des sciences cognitives.

3 L'argument de la contradiction ontologique (Pascal Boyer)

Dans son pastiche, l'illustrateur D. Macauley s'arrête longuement sur le recueil des objets du motel, qui sont évidemment « sacrés » compte tenu de leur environnement supposé. Pour vous éviter la scabreuse cuvette des WC de l'ouvrage, prenons un vélo. Cet artefact pourrait-il avoir quelque lien avec la religion ? Un *artefact* est une chose difficile à définir, parce qu'il a trois composantes, sa forme, son fonctionnement et sa fonction, lesquels dépendent à la fois des intentions des fabricants et des utilisateurs, mais également du fait que l'on pense que ce sont des artefacts[7]. Même s'il recueille toute notre affection, cet objet existe d'abord parce qu'il sert *en roulant* : il est le parfait produit de la rationalité pragmatique, même si des détails « inutiles », tel son design, n'affectent en rien ses capacités roulantes. Pris isolément, *a priori*, ce vélo ne sera pas pour nous un objet sacré. Et si on y tient vraiment, on ne le dira avec beaucoup d'émotion qu'en se laissant porter par un excès métaphorique.

D'autres objets ou choses nous semblent différentes. Ainsi, le corps humain et ses restes osseux ne semblent pas être des objets comme les autres pour la plupart d'entre nous, et cela depuis le Paléolithique moyen. Ils appartiennent en quelque sorte « de droit » à la sphère rituelle. Les représentations, celles qui relèvent de l'art et sont sur des supports durables (sans quoi nous n'en serions pas informés), sont attestées plus tard dans la préhistoire de l'humanité et pourraient relever du même

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7 Sigaut 1991 ; Lenclud 2007.

domaine, même si elles n'y ont pas toujours été cantonnées. Encore faudrait-il que nous soyons capables de distinguer ce qui est fonctionnel dans la structure d'une œuvre d'éventuels éléments ajoutés à des fins d'embellissement qui relèvent des catégories de l'ornemental ou du décoratif[8]. Il semble toutefois qu'il y ait des objets dont le caractère sacré est « de droit », même si ce n'est pas absolument.

Pour notre vélo, nous sommes dans une situation différente. Mais cet objet peut-il, au prix de quelques modifications, devenir un objet rituel ? Anthropologue et spécialiste des sciences cognitives, Pascal Boyer nous suggère un argument relativement simple : il faut pour cela que cet objet manifeste une notable contradiction ontologique[9]. À savoir, qu'il donne l'apparence d'un bon ajustement entre des moyens et des fins, mais que, finalement, contre toute attente, il ne réalise pas ces fins-là, celles qui sont attendues parce que connues. On pourrait imaginer ici qu'on lui soude les roues, ou que l'on mette des pointes en guise de pédales . . .

L'art contemporain, qui a repris certains des codes du sacré, joue souvent avec la contradiction des réalités pragmatiques. Mais, pour distinguer l'objet fétiche de Duchamp d'un simple urinoir (nous y revenons, bien que l'artiste ait aussi produit des roues de bicyclettes), dans lequel on ne se soulagera pas bien sûr, il faut le dispositif du musée ou de la galerie d'art. En effet, pour faire perdurer cette « *transfiguration du banal* »[10], des effets recherchés aussi bien par les religions que par les arts les plus contemporains, il est nécessaire d'instituer des dispositifs. Ceux-ci enregistrent, soit des positions incongrues, soit des déformations, ou recueillent des objets qui, dès leur fabrication, dans leurs formes, admettent cette contradiction ontologique. Cette séparation des lieux et des temps du banal ou du trivial, qui tranche avec le côté monotone, plat, du monde quotidien, est sans doute une des conditions nécessaires de la manifestation du religieux – bien qu'il existe des cérémonies que l'on puisse trouver banales. Mais, en aucun cas, suffisantes, puisque l'émotion artistique, qui puise également dans ce registre, n'est pas obligatoirement soustendue par des croyances envers le surnaturel.

Comme le précise P. Boyer, « *pour fabriquer un bon concept surnaturel, il faut décrire quelque chose qui appartienne à une catégorie ontologique. Mais il n'en existe pas énormément. La liste animal, personne, artefact, objet naturel (rivière, montagne, etc.) et plante est probablement exhaustive. Une fois la catégorie choisie, il faut spécifier la "mention spéciale" qui viole certaines prédictions intuitives de la catégorie, tout en préservant l'arrière-plan d'inférences* »[11]. Une statue en bois qui pleure ou montre des épanchements sanguins dans certaines situations constitue un tel phénomène. Chacun sait que cet objet a été taillé dans la masse d'un bois et qu'il ne comporte ni vaisseaux sanguins ni glande lacrymale, et pourtant, tout en étant la réalisation

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8 Souriau 1990.

9 Boyer 2001.

10 Danto 1989.

11 Boyer 2001, 115.

d'un sculpteur, il se comporte parfois comme une personne (sans présenter toutes les propriétés de la personne) – semble-t-il. Un défunt que l'on met en sépulture et que l'on accompagne de certaines victuailles est susceptible d'en faire usage. On imagine la surprise des officiants de la cérémonie funéraire, s'ils découvraient inopinément que les aliments ont été consommés : ils en auraient certainement exploité la contradiction ontologique pour de nouvelles croyances surnaturelles. Plus sérieusement, un vase entier, telle une cruche ordinaire que l'on dépose couchée dans une fosse sous le sol d'une habitation (une pratique corroborée par mon expérience d'archéologue), n'est manifestement plus en mesure d'accomplir ses propriétés habituelles de contenance et de facilité à verser. Tout se passe comme si, sa fonctionnalité principale étant empêchée, sa fonction se trouvait modifiée (si ce n'est « contredite »). Cette propriété « spéciale » qui est conférée au vase sera interprétée comme le témoignage matériel d'un rituel, un rituel de fondation en l'occurrence.

Ce dernier exemple le montre, pour comprendre certaines des pratiques du passé, Il faut que nous soyons capables de restituer les anciennes prédictions intuitives relatives à de grandes catégories ontologiques, que l'on imaginera comme appartenant à un corpus relativement stable (nos ancêtres faisaient certainement des distinctions tranchées entre des montagnes et des personnes, même s'ils leur arrivaient de parfois les personnifier ou de leur trouver des propriétés stimulantes), afin, dans un deuxième temps, que nous puissions y repérer d'éventuelles contradictions. Sans ce présupposé de départ, il sera difficile de faire des inférences sur le passé. Or, depuis que l'archéologie est devenue une science, l'enquête s'est en partie focalisée sur l'ordinaire des sociétés du passé, et non plus sur les seuls monuments, tombeaux et autres œuvres exceptionnelles (comme le font encore les héros du *Motel of the Mysteries* à propos des Yanks). Les objets ordinaires sont désormais étudiés dans leur contexte de fabrication, puis de consommation, en repérant toutes les associations et tous les aléas de leur « biographie », de leur usure (qui nous informe sur leur fonctionnalité), jusqu'à leur destruction ou abandon. Ainsi devons-nous être capables de reconnaître des erreurs ou des maladresses, mais également des performances dans leur production, comme cela devait être admis dans le passé. De même, il faudrait être apte à repérer des situations d'apprentissage, des pratiques ludiques ou d'autres, entravées par la déraison, rarissimes sans doute. Et, si nous ne le pouvions pas pour toutes ces qualifications de l'action, il faudrait sans doute renoncer à une partie de nos attributions. Supposons que nous en ayons en partie la capacité. On pourra alors discuter des catégories et, celles-ci définies, tenter de restituer des attentes ordinaires qui leur auraient été associées et repérer d'éventuels détournements.

Il ne nous revient pas en tant qu'historiens ou archéologues d'exposer les ressorts psychologiques de ces phénomènes de contradiction ontologique que l'on cherche à repérer chez les agents du passé, ni d'explorer leurs motivations. Mais, à ce sujet, il faut être averti des leçons des autres sciences sociales, et particulièrement des enquêtes participatives de l'anthropologie. Ainsi, pour les pratiques indi-

viduelles et sociales, en optimisant les ajustements entre des moyens et des fins, on risque de trop miser sur la cohérence (qui est avant tout celle attendue pour nos écrits savants[12]) et d'oublier que nos diverses activités s'affranchissent souvent de cette exigeante rationalité. Dans des situations interculturelles, l'ethnologue Roger Bastide a pu décrire des phénomènes de *coupure*, qui correspondent à la juxtaposition de logiques différentes qui pourtant cohabitent dans les mêmes cerveaux[13]. Ainsi, suivant la nature d'une maladie, va-t-on, dans certaines sociétés africaines ou autres, plutôt se faire soigner dans l'hôpital régi par la médecine scientifique (occidentale) que d'aller consulter le marabout, le guérisseur ou le chamane, recourant donc suivant les situations à des activités qui nous paraissent contradictoires. Et cela, sans forcément le vivre comme une aliénation, ou que cela soit éprouvé comme une perte d'authenticité. La différence avec les contradictions dont nous parlons ici, à propos du sacré, du rituel ou des mystères, correspond plutôt à la focalisation sur une tension suscitée par le recouvrement entre deux logiques, l'une que l'on dira ordinaire, et l'autre « supra-ordinaire ». Heureusement, les hommes ne font pas n'importe quoi et ne mélangent pas tout : l'anthropologie et l'histoire nous montrent qu'il y a un nombre limité de schémas conceptuels disponibles[14], c'est le cas de la vie ordinaire, mais aussi de notre rapport au surnaturel. Cette liste de questions potentielles nous permet de ne pas désespérer ou d'éviter de nous réfugier dans un scepticisme stérile.

Le lecteur me suivra peut-être dans la « *petite ontologie* » (le terme est repris de F. Wolff) que j'ai proposée à partir des faits archéologiques[15]. Au cours de cette enquête, diverses questions sont posées lors du démontage d'agrégats enfouis, au sein desquels il y au moins une partie (et pas seulement un constituant) qui est un artefact. Il s'agit en général d'un artefact *immobilier* (un sol, un mur, une structure quelconque . . .), lequel, comme son nom l'indique, ne peut être déplacé sans perdre son intégrité : il est donc bien « accroché » à son lieu. La plupart des artefacts ont des parties, et ces parties peuvent être parfois à leur tour des artefacts, mobiliers ou immobiliers, qui sont réunis dans des *dispositifs,* des « *ensemble(s) d'éléments agencés dans un but précis* » (*TLF*). Ainsi en est-il des objets qui se trouvent dans une tombe, chacun d'entre eux ayant pu avoir une existence propre avant leur mise sous terre. À cette unité de lieu dans un dispositif correspond effectivement un but précis, en général faire quelque chose d'un cadavre, en suivant les rites pour être tranquille avec le mort. La dernière fonction de ces objets placés avec le défunt est donc dépendante de celle de l'assemblage, comme cela a été imprudemment postulé à propos du *Motel of the Mysteries*. Nous allons voir maintenant comment poser concrètement nos questions à propos de dispositifs relativement anciens.

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12 Goody 1979.

13 Bastide 1955.

14 Boyer 1997 ; Boyer 2001.

15 Boissinot 2015.

4 Sanctuaires des origines et sanctuaires équivoques

Les lieux emblématiques que l'on a qualifiés de « sanctuaires » en Préhistoire, sont d'abord des sépultures (dès le Paléolithique moyen), puis des grottes ornées (au Paléolithique supérieur), et enfin des bâtiments (au Néolithique surtout). Dans son célèbre essai sur *Les religions de la préhistoire* (1964), André Leroi-Gourhan, pourtant également ethnologue, a délibérément tourné le dos aux débats anthropologiques, pour se cantonner à une définition minimaliste du fait religieux fondé sur les « *manifestations de préoccupations paraissant dépasser l'ordre matériel* »[16], et se focaliser sur la question de l'organisation des dépôts ou des représentations, n'en trouvant finalement que peu dans les premiers qui corroboreraient d'éventuels cultes (ossements), et analysant les secondes comme des dispositifs non seulement pensés et sélectifs de l'environnement des paléolithiques, mais encore homologues à l'ordre sexué de leur société. Le préhistorien, dont le pessimisme général se teinte parfois d'une féroce critique des savants qui lui sont contemporains, admet en effet sans trop de difficultés que les grottes ornées furent des « *sanctuaires* », sans véritablement le démontrer, en notant la grande richesse des éléments symboliques et en retenant le « mystère » que certaines associations de figures pouvaient susciter. De cela, il n'y a pas lieu de s'offusquer, même si d'autres interprétations ont été par la suite proposées, tandis que la chronologie des styles avancée par A. Leroi-Gourhan était abandonnée à la suite de quelques découvertes spectaculaires (grottes Cosquer et Chauvet). Nous voudrions maintenant nous focaliser sur l'étape suivante, car elle peut être vue comme celle des prémices des édifices discutés dans le colloque du projet MAP.

Göbekli Tepe (Turquie)

En ce qui concerne les bâtiments pouvant être considérés comme des sanctuaires, tels ceux du site fascinant de Göbekli Tepe, appartenant au Néolithique précéramique A et B d'Anatolie (X[e] et IXe millénaire av. notre ère), une intéressante controverse doit être signalée. Plantons d'abord le décor de ces structures mégalithiques découvertes dans un tell s'étendant sur 9 ha[17]. Les structures les plus anciennes sont toutes circulaires et sont, semble-t-il, accessibles par un toit soutenu par d'imposants piliers en T, ceux-ci participant de la structure de l'édifice en étant associés à des murets ou en occupant une position plus centrale (Fig. 2). Une grande partie de ces éléments architecturaux comportent des figurations naturalistes et parfois

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16 Leroi-Gourhan 1983, 5.
17 Schmidt 2015.

Fig. 2: Göbleki Tepe. Vue aérienne des fouilles du site, avec les enclos circulaires du niveau III en bas (Institut Archéologique Allemand, E. Kücük) (Copyright: © 2019 Dietrich *et al*).

abstraites sculptées dans la pierre (pour ne pas dire des « décors »). Le registre iconographique comprend une majorité d'animaux, mais également des figures anthropomorphes (sans têtes). Et, parmi cet ensemble, un pilier qui a été interprété comme un « *totem* », autant de pièces que l'on rangerait sans problèmes dans la catégorie des objets rituels « de droit » (cette référence au totémisme pour une humanité encore mal dégagée du monde animal est également retenue pour les contextes plus anciens du Paléolithique par A. Testart[18]). Associés à cela, de nom-

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18 Testart 2016.

breux artefacts lithiques ont été découverts, comme des pointes de flèches, du matériel de mouture et des récipients en pierre, ainsi que des restes de faune relatifs à des espèces qui ne sont pas les plus représentées sur la pierre, mais qui correspondent aux standards du contexte préhistorique. Cet ensemble complexe connait deux phases (II et III) avec, de toute évidence, des éléments de continuité entre l'une et l'autre, la plus récente se caractérisant toutefois par des structures rectangulaires de moindre taille. Cette continuité s'exprime en partie par ce qui a été décrit comme des « *rites de clôture* » et le « *dépôt d'objets symboliques* »[19]. Par ailleurs, pour ces deux moments relativement longs, on note l'association de plusieurs de ces structures entre-elles, amenant les chercheurs à concevoir des espaces polycentriques.

Si, pour Klaus Schmidt et son équipe, nous avons indubitablement affaire à un complexe sanctuaire servant de lieu de rassemblement à des sociétés de chasseurs-cueilleurs vivant alentour dans un contexte de domestication en devenir, pour E. B. Banning[20] en revanche, une telle affirmation paraît trop ethnocentrique. Selon lui, elle se fonde sur une trop forte coupure entre le sacré et le profane, et il se pourrait bien que lesdits « temples », nombreux semble-t-il dans ce tell, ne soient que des maisons riches en contenu symbolique. Un débat qui pourrait faire écho aux découvertes de Çatal Höyük, plus récent de plus d'un millénaire et également en Anatolie, où des analyses de micro-résidus dans des espaces d'abord présentés comme des « sanctuaires » en raison de leur richesse iconographique et de certaines pratiques rituelles[21] ont permis de les ramener à des fonctionnements plus ordinaires, comme la préparation de la nourriture ou la pratique de l'artisanat[22]. Cependant, à Göbekli Tepe, s'il s'agissait véritablement d'habitations, il manque un certain nombre de structures que l'on s'attendrait à voir chez ces chasseurs-cueilleurs, parmi lesquelles des foyers qui n'ont pas été découverts sur toute l'étendue explorée. Pour l'instant, la controverse s'est soldée par l'introduction du qualificatif *Sondergebäude* (« *bâtiment spécial* ») pour décrire un phénomène qui s'écarte d'une norme certes plus mal connue que l'on ne croit dans ces prémices du Néolithique.

Parce que les références aux domaines virils et « phalliques » sont nombreuses, ne pourrait-il pas s'agir plutôt d'une « maison des hommes » où se déroulent des rites d'initiation à l'image de celles que nous décrivent les ethnographes de Papouasie[23] ? Et si on pouvait en faire la preuve, mériteraient-elles alors le vocable de « sanctuaires » ? Quant à savoir si ce sont les nouvelles figurations dans la pierre, témoins ici ou là

19 Dietrich/Notroff 2015.

20 Banning 2011.

21 Mellaart 1967.

22 Hodder 2007.

23 De Saulieu 2019.

d'une « *révolution des symboles* »[24], ou l'organisation d'éventuels festins intergroupes[25] qui seraient à l'origine de la nouvelle économie de production, nous n'en n'avons pour l'instant pas la démonstration ni à Göbekli Tepe ni ailleurs.

Roquepertuse (France)

En reprenant les fouilles du site provençal (plus modeste) de l'âge du Fer de Roquepertuse, je me suis heurté à des questions d'attribution similaires. Les premières explorations et la tradition historiographique avaient retenu une interprétation en termes de « sanctuaire celtique », parce que des représentations en relief et ronde-bosse avaient été trouvées en association avec des crânes humains, dans un contexte où l'on ne reconnaissait ni habitat, ni enceinte de pierre (à ce stade de la fouille).

Avec la reprise des fouilles dans les années 1990, ces deux derniers critères d'absence ne tiennent plus, puisque nous sommes vraiment dans un *oppidum* : il y a bien un rempart, voire plusieurs, et des habitations ont été repérées, organisées selon un schéma d'urbanisme (Fig. 3). À l'emplacement supposé des crânes et des statues, qui peuvent se comprendre comme des vestiges rituels « de droit », les renseignements sur les dispositifs sont hélas maigres, mais il y a effectivement une coupure monumentale entre cette partie et le reste du village, qui pourrait laisser penser à un sanctuaire central fermé par une enceinte avec tours, ou à tout autre chose. Voilà pour les faits, qui restent lacunaires en raison des recherches anciennes, mais également parce que l'histoire de cette bourgade a été fort heurtée. Et c'est moins sur les situations, qu'à partir de la dynamique historique que l'alternative peut éventuellement se résoudre.

En procédant à une analyse stratigraphique fine et rigoureuse des niveaux en contrebas de la zone centrale, nous avons effectivement pu démontrer l'existence de phénomènes d'iconoclastie concernant la statuaire[26]. Celle-ci peut avoir été décapitée, détériorée au niveau de ses attributs ou franchement pilée à un moment de l'histoire de la bourgade, sans que cette agglomération ne semble vraiment défaillir[27]. Et lorsque finalement cette défaillance arrive, après un siège et un incendie général, ce centre si important est réaménagé en une ferme, moins de deux générations après. Est-ce ainsi que l'on traitait les « lieux sacrés » ? Et, en contexte polythéiste, où les dieux s'ajoutent généralement aux dieux, pourquoi s'en prendre à des effigies, qui sont finalement celles de guerriers (fussent-ils « héroïques »), si ce n'est pour des raisons d'abord politiques ? Donc, plutôt un « château » qu'un « temple », en assumant l'anachronisme ?

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24 Cauvin 1997.

25 Hayden 2009.

26 Boissinot/Gantès 2000.

27 Boissinot 2011.
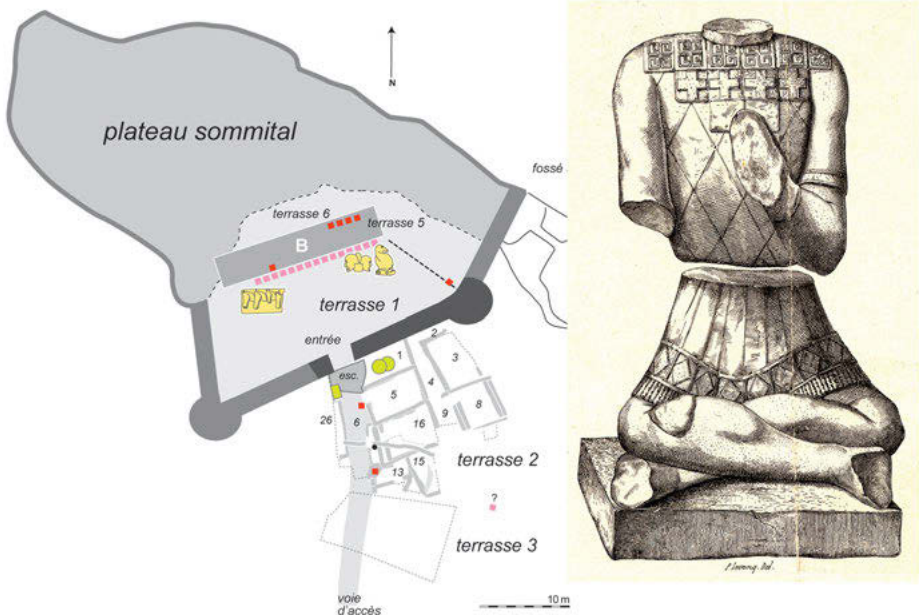
Fig. 3: Roquepertuse. Plan général de l'agglomération. La terrasse 1 est celle qui a livré les traces d'un bâtiment et de nombreuses pièces lapidaires. Les statues de guerriers assis en tailleur (à droite de l'image : gravure de la première publication d'I. Gilles) ne peuvent être placés avec précision. Photo de l'Auteur. (© Ph. Boissinot / EHESS).

Par ailleurs, quand on fait le constat des différents artefacts accumulés au fil du temps dans ce secteur de l'agglomération, on ne constate nullement une quelconque singularité par rapport à l'ordinaire de la période, c'est-à-dire en faisant la moyenne des trouvailles sur des sites contemporains : aucune spécificité ici concernant la consommation animale, rien de singulier au niveau des objets métalliques ou céramiques . . . Sans pouvoir précisément savoir ce qui se passait dans la partie centrale, trop transformée au gré des occupations et des recherches anciennes, nos informations sur la périphérie immédiate laissent entrevoir des activités domestiques ou relevant du petit artisanat, ou encore de l'élevage et de la transformation des denrées agricoles, bien plus que des activités de service pour un sanctuaire finalement évanescent, comme le proposaient les premiers fouilleurs.

Nous le voyons, des arguments « statistiques » à propos du mobilier sont ici convoqués, mais également ce qui pourrait sembler être une « règle », ou plutôt une récurrence anthropologique : en contexte polythéiste, les divinités s'ajoutent aux divinités, parfois les unes sont traduites dans les autres, sans que leur existence ne doive être remise en cause. La destruction volontaire de statues observée

ici ou ailleurs (en Egypte[28] par exemple) est certes une action qui participe de ce phénomène de contradiction ontologique (on souhaite annihiler leur « capacité d'agir »), mais qui ne vise pas cette tension que nous avons évoquée à propos de la religion. Tout le défi de l'interprétation archéologique se ramène à repérer ce qui est englobant, en le distinguant de ce qui est englobé, un éventuel culte des ancêtres ou la célébration d'une lignée aristocratique ne nécessitant pas forcément un lieu particulier et ne constituant pas automatiquement le principe régulateur du déploiement des pratiques sociales.

5 Conclusion

Les agrégats archéologiques se présentent comme des anomalies par rapport aux phénomènes naturels (dépôts de cycles érosion-sédimentations, sols pédologiques . . .), avec lesquels ils ne peuvent être confondus dans la majorité des cas. Cela constitue même le travail préliminaire de tout archéologue. Mais, au sein de ces anomalies, il existe des choses et des dispositifs qui sont doublement des anomalies, parce qu'ils tranchent avec les choses et les dispositifs auxquels on doit nécessairement s'attendre en supposant une certaine forme de rationalité, à un moment donné de l'histoire technique, ce que l'on pourrait appeler « l'ordinaire du moment ». Un aspect oublié par notre illustrateur D. Macauley qui n'a pas fait cet exercice de comparaison pour son *Motel of Mysteries,* ni son inventaire de l'ordinaire pour les Yanks. Mais, pour le dédouaner quelque peu (n'oublions pas tout de même qu'il cherche à nous amuser), on pourrait admettre que cet ordinaire peut parfois être fortement imbriqué avec l'activité rituelle, ce qui a probablement été le cas dans des sociétés très anciennes au fondement desquelles le sacré pourrait se trouver[29].

Avec les seules ressources de l'archéologie, nous pouvons nous employer à repérer ces phénomènes de contradiction ontologique à travers des objets et des dispositifs. Et surtout, à examiner leur place, pour les considérer soit comme de simples constituants, soit comme des parties spatiales ou des totalités qui focalisent tous les principes (lesquelles peuvent comporter des parties qui ne relèvent pas de ce type de phénomène). Ainsi, pour prendre un exemple mieux connu dans le monde antique, la place dévolue aux *lares familiares* occupe une partie de la maison, sans faire de cette dernière, englobante, un « sanctuaire », en dehors de toute dérivation métaphorique. Bref, il s'agit d'une interrogation sur la structure de ces ensembles matériels, qui doit s'envisager dans le temps, au gré des transformations[30], et à laquelle on peut tenter d'appliquer quelques universaux anthropologi-

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28 Connor 2018.

29 Godelier 2007.

30 Van Andringa 2015.

ques. Ceux-ci peuvent se discuter, mais on peut au moins admettre l'existence d'objets rituels « de droit », dont la liste reste ouverte, ainsi que la valeur ambivalente du sacré, lequel peut être à craindre ou à honorer, en tous cas s'inscrire dans une configuration sociale. Reste alors à démêler ce qui revient au religieux, au juridique, au politique ou au social, ce qui n'est pas une mince affaire tant ces aspects sont parfois imbriqués. Si bien que l'on est parfois tenté, comme le propose Tim Insoll[31], de renoncer à la qualification de « sanctuaire ».

Pour l'historien qui dispose d'un lot de sources multiples, le religieux n'est pas vraiment une affaire d'anomalies dans l'intégralité d'un corpus, mais de rubrique à sélectionner. La question que nous nous posons ici : « quand y-a-t-il religion quand on ne le sait pas déjà ? » est vraiment une préoccupation d'archéologue des périodes antérieures à l'écriture, mais qui doit nécessairement intéresser ceux qui sont « pleinement » historiens. Elle rejoint des questions posées en Philosophie ou dans les Sciences sociales ; voilà pourquoi nous y avons fait référence ici. Mais, en dépit d'un recours à des matériaux souvent inappropriés et toujours lacunaires, c'est une interrogation dont on ne peut faire l'économie quand on veut comprendre l'émergence de ce qui relèvera plus tard d'une (quasi) évidence.

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31 Insoll 2004.

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Index Nominum

Note: The index was made by Marc Delalonde.

Gods, Heroes, Mythical Figures

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