

ASPECTS OF ANCIENT GREEK CULT II

Architecture - Context - Music

An International Colloquium in Honor of Erik Hansen

4-6 May 2012
Copenhagen, Denmark

SAXO Institute, Classical Archaeology & Centre for Textile Research (CTR)
University of Copenhagen

Departments of Classics and Art, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota;
in honor of Deloris [Fischbein] Amsden's life long love of art

Department of Classics, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario

The Danish Institute for Mediterranean Studies (DIOMEDES)

The Theran Institute

ABSTRACTS

RICHARD CONRAD ANDERSEN

Moving the Skeleton from the Closet back into the Temple: Thoughts about Righting a Historical Wrong and Putting Theseus back in the Theseion

For over two centuries, travellers and scholars had puzzled over the dedication of the Doric Temple on the Kolonos Hill, overlooking the Agora of Classical Athens. The careful excavations around and in the building in the 1930s revealed new evidence that has been used to decisively but circumstantially settle the argument in favour of Hephaistos. Dissenting voices were effectively silenced by those archaeological Giants who "made history" in the early years of the Agora Excavations. There were dissenting voices however, notably Herbert Koch who had worked on the building with Erik von Stockar since the 1920s and published his incomparable *Theseustempel in Athen*, monograph in 1954. He was then fully aware of the thoughts and evidence presented by the American archaeologists.

The evidence that was presented to clinch the argument was, as I said, circumstantial. The very real archaeological evidence consists of a number of metal working sites that had been found in the vicinity of the building. Historical evidence tells us that appropriately, the Sanctuary of Hephaistos existed in the metal workers' quarter of Athens. The elusively wandering Pausanias tells us that the Temple of Hephaistos was above the Royal Stoa, which we now place with some confidence at the northwest corner of the Agora. Indeed, there is a good "fit" with Pausanias for those buildings ranged along the west side of the Agora. What he describes however, is a statue of Athena, worthy of mention because of the color of its eyes rather than a notable temple adorned with metopes, pedimental sculpture, akroteria, and interesting friezes, almost all of

which, we believe were devoted to Theseas and his illustrious co-conspirator, hero-turned-god, Herakles.

Now that we believe that the original Agora of Athens was somewhere below the eastern end of the Akropolis, near the Sanctuary of Aglaurus, which was only positively identified in 1980, Pausanias makes it virtually impossible to identify the Temple on the Kolonos Hill as having anything to do with the Sanctuary of Theseas. Pausanias clearly states that this sanctuary is beside the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, which is near the old Agora. This paper necessarily must make an astonishing special plea: Pausanias' single sentence describing the sacred enclosure that housed the bones of Theseas, which Kimon had brought back from his exploits on Skiros, might possibly be a different place from an older Sanctuary of Theseas. Has someone tidied up the manuscript or was Pausanias himself economizing on what would have been repetitive description? Either or both of these things are entirely possible, even likely, so my special plea cannot be utterly dismissed.

I can offer no proof but perhaps compelling persuasion that Theseas was rather unjustly evicted from his miraculously intact resting place of 2400 years. His failure to maintain any claim at all on the building is partly a product of World War II politics where his champions were mostly the losers, speaking for a long time with diminished authority in what is for many of us, a difficult to understand language.

ANNE MARIE CARSTENS

The Great Goddess of Anatolia and Her Greek Daughters: Late Bronze Age Origins in Ritual, Architecture, and Iconography

This paper focuses on the materialization of cults of the Anatolian goddess in her various guises. I will explore the Late Bronze Age roots of later ritual practice in the major sanctuaries of the great goddess of western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands. Specifically, I will investigate the siting and setting of the sanctuaries, their architectural equipment, and the iconography of the goddesses. Thus, it will be an exploration of what Walter Burkert has called "eastern contexts of Greek culture, and Greek contexts of Anatolian culture"—in essence, a field study of the nature and transmission of cult tradition and the conservative power of ritual.

GUNNEL EKROT

Next to the Altar: Deposition, Dumping, or Dedication?

Greek altars have received ample attention in scholarship as to their appearance, construction, and location within a sanctuary. Their importance as the central feature for the rituals allowing communication with the gods has also been stressed. The immediate surroundings of the altar, however, have not been considered with the same degree of scrutiny. In many cases, various features and material are found next to the altar, such as benches, holes, and stone lined pits. Altars can also be located in close connection to each other. This paper will explore the immediate surroundings of Greek altars in order to investigate the cultic functions of such installations. To what extent were altars' immediate surroundings used for libations, the deposition of ash, bones or votives, or other ritual purposes? Can we distinguish differences in ritual actions between what was done on top of the altar versus what was done on the ground near or beside it? How was the space near the altar treated? Was it kept clean or were the remains of rituals allowed to accumulate? A study of this space, its use and, material remains may allow a better understanding of yet another aspect of the complex ritual reality of the ancient Greeks.

WIEBKE FRIESE

Ritual and Space of Graeco-Roman Oracle Cults

Since Homer's *Odyssey*, Graeco-Roman mythology has referred to several places as "the entrance of the Hades," mostly in connection with the final labour of Heracles, who was sent by King Eurystheus to capture and bring back alive Cerberus, the guardian to the gates of the underworld. Since the 5th century B.C., all of these places were associated with the Greek term nekromanteion, which translates as "place of necromancy" or "oracle of death." All of these cult places have a similar topography and ritual: they were situated in a cave, far away from any settlement, and are often surrounded by a sacred grove. The oracle would be given by the dead themselves in an "eye-to-eye" situation with the devotee. In my paper I will give an overview on the archaeological and written evidence for death oracles and their connected deities in Graeco-Roman antiquity. This will be followed by a discussion of their ritualistic use and their architectural development from early Greek to later Roman times.

ERIK HANSEN

The Building Accounts of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi

After the destruction of the old, Alcmeonidid temple by a land slide in 371 B.C.E., a new temple of Apollo was erected on the same foundation between 367 and 333, in Delphi. When considering an interruption from 356 to 346, due to the "sacred war", the total building time for the new project was 26 years. The accounts for all spending—including materials, transport, and construction—were published semi-annually on monumental stone stelai comprised of several thousands of letters each. Fragments of these accounts, probably 5-10% of the original, have been studied by archaeologists throughout the century. However, it was only in 1989 with the publication of these fragments by Jean Bousquet, with a translation in French, that this corpus was made accessible to those other than philologists; architects, for example. We are now in a unique situation in that we have both the ruins of an ancient Greek building and fragments of the accounts describing its construction. These two sources complement and support each other. This paper will show what kind of conclusions and questions can be asked of this provocative evidence.

GEORGE HINGE

The Symbolic Representation of the Cultic Event in the Modes and Metres of Greek Lyric Poetry

Archaic and Classical Greek lyric poetry is, primarily, if not exclusively, an integral part of a cult event. Obviously, Pindar's paeans and dithyrambs were cultic songs, but his epinician odes do not automatically show evidence of their cultic origin. The description of local rituals is essential to the choral lyrics associated with the name of Alcman. This paper will explore to what extent cultic event is reflected in the linguistic and musical form of the lyric poetry and in which way this form is described in the text of the lyric poetry itself. The paper will also discuss the problematic association of certain forms with ethnonyms like 'Dorian' and 'Phrygian'.

JESPER TAE JENSEN

From Athens to Epidauros: The Reconstruction of Asklepios' First Temple in Epidauros

The Athenian sanctuary of Asklepios lies on the South Slope of Akropolis next to the upper retaining wall of the Theatre of Dionysos, on the terrace above the Stoa of Eumenes II. Michaelis Lefantzis and I have identified and reconstructed a small architectural monument in the sanctuary, with four construction phases dating from 418/17 BC to 1st century A.D.

Analysis of all architectural blocks related to this monument has resulted in an important discovery. While the structure was originally thought to be a large altar, we now know it to be the first temple of the Asklepios' sanctuary. (Later, around 300 B.C., another temple was built next to the small temple). Moreover, after reconstructing the small temple, we realized that it shared many features with the temple depicted on the so-called Telemachos Monument. This monument carries a long inscription that describes the history of the sanctuary from the founding in 420/19 until 412/11 B.C. The small temple is also mentioned in an inscription dated to 51/50 B.C. as the *archaios naos* (old temple) together with the Hellenistic temple, which the inscription simply called the *naos* (temple).

In this paper, I will explain the construction phases of the *archaios naos*. I will also suggest that when the Asklepios cult was brought to Athens, the Athenians designed their new temple of Asklepios to replicate exactly the god's first temple in Epidauros, the building known today as Building E.

MARK WILSON JONES

Sacred Architecture – “Frozen Ritual”? How Interaction with Art and Craft Affected Architectural Style in Ancient Greece

The architectural culture of the Western world was set in train by the Doric and Ionic orders that first arose in ancient Greece. Copious effort has sought to understand how and why these columns and their accoutrements came into existence. Between the mid-18th and early 20th centuries this endeavor preoccupied virtually every major architectural thinker, and it still remains an important focus of archaeological inquiry. All manner of theories have been advanced, and yet cogent explanations are elusive; there is little scholarly consensus as to roots of “classical style.”

This lecture looks at a key aspect of the puzzle that has been surprisingly overlooked. Progress may be made by scrutinizing the relationship between Greek temples and the offerings that also inhabited sacred sanctuaries. Temples were houses for the gods and for the finest offerings made to them, but the structures themselves were also offerings. This shared conceptual underpinning helps us appreciate why the shaping of temples involved similar devices to those found on the most prestigious art-offerings displayed in sanctuaries. Similar forms and motifs migrated between furniture, ceramics, ivories, metalwork and architecture. In the context of the sanctuary, all such material constituted gifts to the gods, and so, dressed in kindred style, temples radiated the same message of beauty in the service of devotion.

DOROTHY LOBEL KING

Kings, Tombs, and Ruler Cult Before Alexander the Great: Evidence from Vergina and Karia

The exciting discovery last year of a monumental tomb at Mylasa in Karia, believed to be that of Hekatomnus, the eponymous founder of the Hekatomnid Dynasty, was one of several recent break-throughs which sheds light on this dynasty of Philhellenic Persian Satraps. By comparing and contrasting these with finds in Macedonia, particularly the royal tombs and cults excavated at Vergina, we can begin to build a picture of how the Argead Dynasty, particularly Phillip II, created a scheme of artistic propaganda to showcase their ever-increasing power.

MICHAELIS LEFANTZIS

New Evidence for the Ancient Cult Topography of Inner Mani: The Necropolis of Tainaron

In 1995, an updated study of the architectural restoration of the Byzantine church of Hagios Nikolaos at Ochia (11th century CE) was begun by M. Lefantzis and G. Lavvas.

With the restoration of the church by the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, new architectural research began in order to record and identify the second and third phases of use for the ancient architectural blocks embedded in the church's outer walls, the pavement of the nave, the window panels, and in the church's later (19th century) campanile. The architectural survey also revealed blocks of the same type at six Byzantine churches, a network of megalithic settlements with precinct walls and prehistoric shrines, and the foundations of a Hellenistic sanctuary belonging to the akropolis of a lost city with a well-used *epineion* (port). These limestone and marble blocks, dating from the early Hellenistic period up to the 11th century C.E., suggest a pattern of evolution of the religious sites in the Inner Mani, and allow the identification of the unique characteristics of cult practice in the area from antiquity to the Byzantine period. The survey also allows the reconstruction of the ancient topography of the Inner Mani related to the necropolis of Tainaron.

TORE TVARNØ LIND

Resounding Antiquity: Modern Reconstructions of Ancient Greek Music

This paper explores the musical horizons and paths that determine reconstructions of ancient Greek music. In other words, how is antiquity sonically imagined? Sources of inspiration are critical studies of similar attempts within the realm of medieval and renaissance music. Specifically, this paper will focus on the recordings and reconstruction work of Greek composer and musician Bouras.

POUL PEDERSEN

Ruler Cult, Heroization, and Totenmahl in Late-Classical Karia

The Totenmahl motif probably first appears in Assyrian art in the 7th century B.C. From there it spreads westwards to Anatolia, the Aegean, and even to Etruria during the following centuries. It has slightly varying meanings in different places. In Athens, from ca. 400 B.C., the representation of the dining male surrounded by attendants and family is generally associated with hero-cult; worshippers of smaller size are often seen approaching the hero. In the less democratic societies in Western Asia Minor, the motif symbolizes, in a rather enigmatic way, the heroization of the dead. The motif appears on Graeco-Persian reliefs of the 5th century, on the Nereid monument in the early 4th century, and becomes very popular for East-Greek tombstones in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. This paper will explore that the possibility that the Maussoleion, the great sacrifice of meat in front of its entrance, as well as other sepulchral architecture of the Hekatomnids, and their immediate successors, can be explained within the framework of heroization and the enigmatic Totenmahlmotif.

SPENCER POPE

The Influence of Sicilian Greek Architecture on Mainland Greek Doric Design in the Classical Period

The relationship between Western Greek architecture and art and that of the mainland has long been framed by an Athenocentric point of view. However, more recent re-evaluations of regional styles of Greek art have heroized the workshops of the western Greeks and extolled the advances from Paestum, Selinunte, Agrigento, and Syracuse during the late archaic and early Classical periods. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Doric temple design. Many unique "High Classical" features of mainland Greek temples—including the placement of columns over joints in the stylobate, the development of a wider cella, the integration of the two architectural orders, the appearance of gold and ivory decoration, and the use of interior staircases—appear first in Sicily. Following this pattern, it is clear that stylistic advances in Greek art and architecture were not carried out following a "hub and spoke" model with Athens at the

center, but and instead demonstrate that innovations travelled rapidly across the entire Greek world.

GIL H. RENBERG

Tabella Picta: Dedicatory Paintings in Greek and Roman Religion

This paper will focus on a phenomenon that has received relatively little attention among scholars of ancient religion: dedications of paintings, rather than the more abundant altars, statues, and reliefs. Since wood and terracotta were the two most common materials employed for such gifts to the gods, dedicatory paintings have not fared as well as dedications fashioned from more durable materials. The practice of dedicating on this kind of material has thus failed to draw much attention. But when the surviving specimens are studied along with the literary and epigraphical testimonia it becomes possible to get a picture of the important place that this type of dedication once had in Greek as well as Roman religion. Employing varied sources, this paper will explore such issues as the socio-economic status of those giving paintings, the extent to which the painted themes reflected the circumstances leading to the dedication, the cults represented, as well as methodological questions concerning whether and how to categorize the different types of paintings associated with various cult sites.

MARTA SAPORITI

Euripides on the Ancient Athenian Cult of Apollo

The aim of this paper is to reexamine the placement of certain Athenian cults of Apollo, specifically those conducted under the three cult titles *Pythios*, *Hypoakraios*, and *Delphinios*. To this end, the paper examines the evidence offered by two tragedies of Euripides that specifically refer to the topographic context of the *polis*—the *Ion* and the *Suppliant Women*. By using the literary sources—not as a mere *dossier* of dissected quotations about cults and their locations, but rather as unified wholes, analysed and considered contextually within the chronological framework of Euripides' plays—the paper attempts to problematize our assumptions about the Athenian topography of these cults of Apollo within the last quarter of the fifth century B.C.E.

DAVID SCAHILL

Ancient Greek Ritual and Public Dining Spaces

This paper explores the architectural manifestations for ritual and public dining spaces in the ancient Greek world as defined by architectural characteristics or other material remains. Hestiatoria have traditionally been defined as a “dining space” on the basis of loose architectural distinctions, such as rooms set aside in sanctuaries, sometimes with off-center doorways, indications of *klinai* or other small finds that suggest dining. Rooms in stoas sometimes served for dining purposes, as is well attested, but the form of the complexes differs substantially. Can there be a more precise typology made of these buildings and the indicators which might suggest different practices? Are there specific differences architecturally between ritual dining and public dining? These and other considerations will be addressed in conjunction with literary testimonia for dining practices in an attempt to bring into focus the varied architectural record.

CHRISTIAN AMMITZBØLL THOMSEN

“Un genre différent”? Associations of Eranistai and the Cult-Associations of Hellenistic Athens

Judging from the epigraphic record, the first through third centuries B.C.E. saw the rise of a large number of private cult associations throughout the Greek-speaking world. This was particularly true of Athens. Some associations, however, were more devout than others, at least according to modern historians who have seen in associations of

eranistai groups of “venture capitalists” operating under a religious pretext. This paper challenges the traditional taxonomy of cult-associations by way of a re-examination of the literary and epigraphic evidence and a comparison between *eranistai* and other cult-associations, primarily *thiasôtai* and *orgeônês*, with a specific focus on various aspects of organisation, membership, and activities in Hellenistic Athens.

VICTORIA TSOUKALA

Priestly Prerogatives in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: A Regional Study in Ritual and Economics

A significant number of ancient Greek “leges sacrae” concern the regulations of priestly prerogatives, specifically the honorary payments of priests and priestesses. These could include parts of sacrificed animals and other foodstuffs, hides and/or money. An examination of inscriptions from Athens, Kos, and Chios sheds light on the ritual practices and the economics involved in priestly prerogatives. Distinct ritual traditions can be discerned in each region concerning what is presumed to be an old practice, namely giving honorary shares from sacrificed animals to priests. The increasing significance of the monetary economy and social and political changes also affected developments in these practices. This examination also raises questions regarding the power of priests in ancient Greece and confirms the concept that receiving prerogatives was an integral part of being a priest or a priestess.

ELLEN VAN KEER

Aulos Players in Images of Animal Sacrifice on Attic Vases

Animal sacrifice was a fundamental ritual practice in ancient Greece. This paper explores the role of music in this context by examining the representations of musicians in images of animal sacrifice in Greek archaic and classical vase-paintings. Specifically, this paper considers questions that can be discussed in relation to this imagery, such as the types of instruments employed, the players who perform, the ritual moments depicted, the gods and cults concerned, the functions of the vases, etc.

This involves issues pertaining to traditionally separate academic fields, such as archaeology, music history and the history of religion. Arguably, an integrated approach is more capable of producing a more complex understanding of the musico-religious practices, customs and attitudes underlying the *Mousikè* (“of the Muses”) in ancient Greece. This case, in particular, helps to qualify the accepted view of the *aulos* (“double flute”) as a rejected “Dionysian” instrument in classical Athens. It is the predominant musical instrument in images of animal sacrifice associated primarily with Apollo in fifth-century Attic vase-painting.

HEDVIG VON EHRENHEIM

The Origins of Greek Incubation

This paper argues that Classical period incubation practices developed as a natural variant of oracular techniques already existing in Greece during the Archaic period. When incubation first appears in the testimonia, in the cult of Amphiaraos in Boeotia, it had many similarities to oracular techniques practiced in the area. At the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros, from where the earliest evidence on cures effected through incubation come, Apollo and Asklepios were at first jointly worshipped. Incubation, initially an exclusive consultation technique, may have been popularized at Epidauros so that eventually anyone, even women and slaves, could incubate. The reason why incubation first appeared in connection with hero cult, such as those of Amphiaraos and Asklepios, could be that heroes were simply more approachable than gods such as Apollo or Athena.

**BRONWEN LARA WICKKISER, PETER SCHULTZ & CHRYSANTHOS
KANELLOPOULOS**

The Thymele at Epidauros: Cult and Spectacle in an Age of Transition

Around 380 B.C.E., the citizens of the small Peloponnesian city Epidauros launched a massive building program at the nearby healing sanctuary of Asklepios. One of the most impressive and sophisticated structures belonging to this program was a mysterious round building mentioned in the ancient building accounts as the *thymele*. At that time, and for its size, the *thymele* was the most costly and most ornate building in all the Peloponnese.

Since its excavation in the nineteenth century, archaeologists have proposed a wide range of interpretations for the *thymele*. For example, the *thymele* has been considered to be either Asklepios's tomb or as an architectural frame for an altar to the hero-god. These readings seem logical, given the building's central position in Asklepios's sanctuary and the building's name—the term *thymele* is often associated with altars or other places of sacrifice. Perhaps less well known, the *thymele* has also been interpreted as a prytaneion, a fountain house, a dining hall, and astronomical tool, a library, a space for therapeutic incubation, and even as a house for Asklepios's sacred snakes. A curious hole at the center of the *thymele*'s floor opens into the labyrinthine infrastructure below. This been interpreted as a well or a pit (ἐναγιστήριον) for offerings including blood libations and eggs (a common symbol of rebirth) that were supposedly poured into it from the cella above. Other scholars have suggested that the labyrinthine infrastructure was a maze through which worshippers wandered like initiates in a mystery cult.

Here we offer another possible solution to this mystery, the speculative suggestion that, in addition to many other possible functions, the *thymele* at Epidauros also served as a space for musical performance and that the design of the *thymele*, specifically its elaborate substructure, served to amplify and resonate sacred music performed within the building's cella. This argument complements a growing body of scholarship on the acoustics of ancient structures, a field of study known as archaeoacoustics, and seeks to place the *thymele* at Epidauros within a dynamic, living past.