

Pausanias and Continuity of Cult in Greece

ATHENA ALEA

A) Pausanias praises the Temple of Athena Alea.

“ὁ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν πολὺ δὴ τι τῶν ναῶν, ὅσοι Πελοποννησίοις εἰσὶν, ἐς κατασκευὴν προέχει τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἐς μέγεθος.” (Paus. 8.45.5)

“This temple (of Athena Alea), in our time, greatly surpasses any other of the temples, as many as are in the Peloponnesus, with respect to its furnishing and its size” (Paus. 8.45.5)¹

B) Tegean inscription detailing regulations for the sanctuary of Athena Alea.

(II) τὸν ἱεροθύταν νέμεν ἰν Ἀλέαι ὅ,τι ἂν ἀ- 5
σκεθῆξ ἔ, τὰ δ’ ἀνασκεθῆα ἰνφορβίεν, μεῖ δ’ ἐσπερᾶσα-
ι πᾶρ ἂν λέγεῖ ἱεροθυτές· εἰ δ’ ἂν ἐσπεράσε, δυῶδεκ-
ο δαρχμάς ὄφλεν ἰν δᾶμον. :: (III) τᾶς τριπαναγόρσιος τ- 10
ὰς ὑστέρας τρῖς ἀμέρας νέμεν ὅτι ἡὰν βόλετοι ὄς
μεῖ ἰν τοῖ περιχόροι· εἰ δ’ ἂν ἰν τοῖ περιχόροι, ἰνφο-
ρβίεν :: (IV) ἰν Ἀλέαι μεῖ νέμεν μέτε ξένον μέτε ραστὸν
εἰ μεῖ ἐπὶ θοίαν ἡίκοντα, τοῖ δὲ ξένοι καταγομέν-
οι ἐξένα ἀμέραν καὶ νύκτα νέμεν ἐπιζύγιον· εἰ δ’ 15
ἂν πᾶρ τάνυ νέμε, τὸ μὲν μέζον πρόβατον δαρχμὰν ὄ-
φλεν, τὸ δὲ μείον ἰνφορβίεν :: (V) τὰ ἱερά πρόβατα μεῖ
νέμεν ἰν Ἀλέαι πλὸς ἀμέραν καὶ νυκτός, εἰκ ἂν διε-
λαυνόμενα τύχε· εἰ δ’ ἂν νέμε, δαρχμὰν ὄφλεν τὸ πρό-
βατον ρέκαστον τὸ μέζον, τὸν δὲ μειόνων προβάτω- 20
ν ὀδελὸν ρέκαστον, τᾶν συὸν δαρχμὰν ρεκάσταυ, ε[ι]
μεῖ παρῆεταξάμενος τὸς πεντέκοντα ἔ τὸς τριακα-
σίος. :: (IG V, 2 3: Ca. 390 BC)²

Give in sacrifice to Alea whatever might be unharmed, place a pasturage tax on the damaged areas, do not pass beyond where the sacrificing priest commands, if anyone should pass beyond this point, let him pay twelve drachmas to the people. During the last three days of the festival let anyone dedicate whatever he wants in the surrounding area. If anyone is in the surrounding area let him pay the pasturage tax. Let neither foreigner nor townsman make a dedication, but let the foreigners who were brought down leave

¹ All translations of Greek texts, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

² All inscriptions come from The Packard Humanities Institute. All translations of inscriptions are my own.

during the day and night and let them make dedications behind closed doors. If he should dedicate, let him pay a greater sum than the value of a sacrificial cow, a sacrificial lamb with each part on a spit, and the monetary value of a sacrificial pig, if it should not be approved let him pay 350 drachmas.

C) **The priest of Athena Alea, along with other city officials approves bestowing honors on a Thessalian benefactor.**

ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει τῶν Τεγεατῶ-
ν Ἀγήσανδρον Νικοστράτου Θ
εσσαλὸν ἐξ Σκοτούσσης Τεγε-
ατῶν πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐε-
ργέτην αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους... προ-
στάτα<ι> τοῦ δάμου· Λύκιος, Θεό-
κριτος, Ἀλέξανδρος, στραταγο-
ί· Οἴκιος, Δυαῖος, Κάμπας, Κλεα-
ίνετος, Φιλέας, Εὐδοξίδης, Ξε-
νοκλῆς, Ἴππίας, Κλεόκριτος, Ὑ-
λαῖος, Αὐτοκλῆς, ἵππαρχος· Τεί-
σανδρος, γραμματεὺς· Ἀγέας
ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· Εὐαίνετος. (IG V 2 11: bef. 228 BC)

it seemed right to the city of the Tegeans that Agasandros son of Nikostratos the Thessalian from Skotoussa be made a guest friend and benefactor and an honorary son...the chiefs of the people: Lykios, Theocritus, Alexander, the generals: Oikios, Duaios, Kampas, Kleainetos, Philiias, Eudoxides, Xenokles, Hippias, Kleokritus, Hulaios, Autokles, the horse-master Teisandros, the scribe Ageas, **the priest of Athena Euainetos.**

D) **Pausanias elaborates on Augustus' despoiling of Athena Alea's sanctuary.**

“φαίνεται δὲ οὐκ ἄρξας ὁ Αὐγουστος ἀναθήματα καὶ ἔδη θεῶν ἀπάγεσθαι παρὰ τῶν κρατηθέντων,” (Paus. 8.46.2)

“it is clear that Augustus was not the first to seize dedications and statues of the gods from the conquered.

E) **Pausanias describes Augustus' rearrangement of the Delphic Amphictiony after Actium.**

“βασιλεὺς δὲ Αὐγουστος μετεῖναι καὶ Νικοπολίταις τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἠθέλησε: Μάγνητας μὲν οὖν καὶ Μαλιεῖς καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Φθιώτας Θεσσαλοῖς συντελεῖν, τὰς ψήφους δὲ ὅσαι τούτων τε καὶ Δολόπων—οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἦν Δολόπων γένος—Νικοπολίτας φέρειν.” (Paus. 10.8.3)

“Emperor Augustus wanted to allow a position in the Delphic Amphictiony to the Nicopolitans near Actium: to join the Magnatians, the Malians, the Ainians, and the Phthiotians to the Thessalians and to all of their and the Dolopians votes in the Amphictiony to Nicopolis.”

F) **Post-Hadrianic Inscription mentioning the priest of Athena Alea.**

ἔτους μβ ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρουσί-
ας, ἱερέως δὲ τῆς Ἀλέας Ἀθηνᾶ [ς Σωτη] ρᾶ τοῦ Μάρκου, γυμνασιαρχή-
σας Τιβ(έριος) #⁵⁶ Κλαύδιος Ἄμυκος ἀνέγραψεν.... (IG V 2 50: 165/66 AD)

Forty-two years since the Divine Hadrian's arrival in Greece, when Marcus served as priest of Athena Alea (the Savior), Tiberius Claudius Amukos, having served as gymnasiarch, registered.... (names of *ephebes*)

G) **Inscription mentioning a priestess of Athena Alea.**

ἐπὶ ἱερέως
Ἡρακλείδα
Κλεοπάτρα
Σεκούνδου
Πολυεύκτου
γυνή, **ἱερασα-
μένα Ἀλέα
Ἀθᾶνα** καὶ
Δάματρι. (IG V 2 81: 1st/2nd c. AD)

On behalf of the priest, Heracleida Kleopatra daughter of Secundus and wife of Polueiktos, serving as priestess to Athena Alea and to Demeter

J) Pausanias' passing mention of Hadrian's statue in the Acropolis.

“ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνα ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως μόνου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον Ἴφικράτους ἀποδειξαμένου πολλά τε καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα.” (Paus. 1.24.7)

“There I know I saw only the statue of Emperor Hadrian, and by the entrance, the statue of Iphikrates who displayed many marvelous deeds.”

PLUTARCH

K) Plutarch mentions the value placed on *συγγενεία* in 2nd century Greek society

“ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ ὁ κοινὸν ποιῶν τὸ ἴδιον ἴδιον δὲ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστου, καὶ ποιεῖ δρόμου καὶ σπουδῆς τὸ πρωτεῖον, ἀρετῆ καὶ **συγγενεία** καὶ ἀρχῆ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀφειλόμενον” (Plut. *Quaes. Conv.* 1.2.4)

“And he is snatched away making the common private and the private according each man's worth and attaches the greatest importance to flight and speed which are helped by honor and **ancestry** and rule and other things.”

L) Plutarch complains about Herodotus' mistreatment of the Boeotians and Corinthians.

ἀλλὰ καὶ κακοηθείας ἄκρας ἔργον εὐκολίαν μιμούμενον καὶ ἀπλότητα δυσφώρατον εἶναι. ... μάλιστα πρὸς τε Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους κέχρηται μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τινὸς ἀπεσχημένος,” (Plut. *De Herod.* 1)

“But the deed of highest malice is proclaimed to be sufficiently portrayed and singly most weighted against the Boeotians and Corinthians although he is not sparing of anyone else.”

M) Plutarch claims that Herodotus hates the Thebans.

“δι' ὧντὰ μὲν ψευδῶς, τὰ δὲ διὰ... , τὰ δὲ ὡς μισῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγκέκληκε;” (Plut. *De Herod.* 31)

“He attributes these things falsely to the Thebans because he hates and is at variance with them.”

N) **Plutarch's aside in the *Vita Camilli* on old Boeotian victories.**

“τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν Βοιωτοῖς Ἴπποδρομίου μηνός, ὡς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἰσταμένου πέμπτη δύο λαβεῖν συνέβη νίκας ἐπιφανεστάτας, αἷς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἠλευθέρωσαν, τὴν τε περὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κερησσῶ ταύτης πρότερον ἔτεσι πλείοσιν ἢ διακοσίοις, ὅτε Λατταμύαν καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐνίκησαν.”

“It happened that on the fifth day of the month of Hippodromis, which the Athenians call Hekatombaionos, the Boeotians won two victories, by which they set the Greeks free, the one at Leuctra, and the one at Ceressus over two hundred years earlier, when they conquered Latamyas and the Thessalians.” (Plut. Cam. 19.2)

PANHELLENION

O) **Bust of Panhellenion *αγωνοθέτης* (games-organizer) found in *Eleusinion* outside Athenian Agora, early 3rd century AD.³**



³ Ricardi, Lee A. "The Bust-Crown, the Panhellenion, and Eleusis: A New Portrait from the Athenian Agora." *Hesperia* 76, no. 2 (April/May 2007): 365-90.
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