First Paper Session: Greek Religion

Pausanias and Continuity of Cult in Greece

ATHENA ALEA

A) Pausanias praises the Temple of Athena Alea.

"ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πολὺ δή τι τῶν ναῶν, ὅσοι Πελοποννησίοις εἰσίν, 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.

5 (ΙΙ) τὸν hιεροθύταν νέμεν ἰν Ἀλέαι ὅ,τι ἂν ἀσκεθες ε, τὰ δ' ἀνασκεθέα ἰνφορβίεν, με δ' ἐσπερᾶσαι πὰρ ἂν λέγε hιεροθυτές εἰ δ' ἂν ἐσπεράσε, δυσδεκο δαρχμάς ὀφλὲν ἰν δᾶμον. :: (ΙΙΙ) τᾶς τριπαναγόρσιος τὰς ὑστέρας τρῖς ἁμέρας νέμεν ὅτι hàν βόλετοι ὃς 10 με ιν τοι περιγόροι εί δ' αν ιν τοι περιγόροι, ινφορβίεν :: (ΙV) ἐν Ἀλέαι με νέμεν μέτε ξένον μέτε Γαστὸν εἰ με ἐπὶ θοίναν hίκοντα, τοῖ δὲ ξένοι καταγομένοι έξεναι άμέραν καὶ νύκτα νέμεν ἐπιζύγιον εἰ δ' αν παρ τανυ νέμε, το μεν μέζον πρόβατον δαρχμαν ο-15 φλέν, τὸ δὲ μεῖον ἰνφορβίεν :: (V) τὰ hιερὰ πρόβατα με νέμεν ἰν Ἀλέαι πλὸς ἀμέραυ καὶ νυκτός, εἰκ ἂν διελαυνόμενα τύχε εί δ' αν νέμε, δαρχμαν όφλεν το πρόβατον γέκαστον τὸ μέζον, τοῦ δὲ μειόνον προβάτον όδελὸν γέκαστον, τᾶν συοίν δαρχμάν γεκάσταυ, ε[ί] 20 με παρhεταξάμενος τὸς πεντέκοντα ε τὸς τριακασίος. :: (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 Τεγεατῶν Ἁγήσανδρον Νικοστράτου Θ εσσαλὸν ἐξ Σκοτούσσης Τεγεατῶν πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους... προστάτα<ι> τοῦ δάμου· Λύκιος, Θεόκριτος, Ἀλέξανδρος, στραταγοί· Οἴκιος, Δυαῖος, Κάμπας, Κλεαίνετος, Φιλέας, Εὐδοξίδας, Ξενοκλῆς, Ἱππίας, Κλεόκριτος, Ύλαῖος, Αὐτοκλῆς, ἵππαρχος· Τείσανδρος, γραμματεύς· Ἁγέας ἰερεὺς 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, Philias, 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 Αὕγουστος ἀναθήματα καὶ ἕδη 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 Αὔγουστος 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.

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

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ἐπὶ ἱερέος 

Ήρακλείδα 

Κλεοπάτρα 

Σεκούνδου 

Πολυεύκτου 

γυνή, ἱερασα-

μένα Αλέα 

Άθάνα καὶ 

Δάματρι. (IG V 2 81: 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD)
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On behalf of the priest, Heracleida Kleopatra daughter of Secundus and wife of Polueiktos, serving as priestess to Athena Alea and to Demeter

H) Tegean citizens dedicate buildings to Hadrian.

[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τρ]αϊανῷ Άδριανῷ
[Σεβαστῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Πυθίῳ] Πανελληνίωι
[———————] καὶ Οὐαλερία Σ[—]
[τὸ βαλανεῖ[ον]
[καὶ — — — — — κ]αὶ τὴν στοὰν
[——— ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κ]ατεσκεύασα[ν]. (IG V 2 127: 129-138 AD)
and Oualeria S—
Dedicated the bathhouse
And and the stoa
from private expense
To Emperor Hadrian Trajan Augustus Caesar Olympian Pythian Panhellenios

ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS

I) Pausanias gives passing mention to Attalid sculpture group and then lavishes detail on the statue of Olympiodorus the Athenian and his history.

"πρὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ Νοτίῳ γιγάντων, οἱ περὶ Θράκην ποτὲ καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Παλλήνης ἄκησαν, τούτων τὸν λεγόμενον πόλεμον καὶ μάχην πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους ἔργον καὶ Γαλατῶν τὴν ἐν Μυσίᾳ φθορὰν ἀνέθηκεν Ἄτταλος, ὅσον τε δύο πηχῶν ἕκαστον. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, μεγέθει τε ὧν ἔπραξε λαβὼν δόξαν καὶ σὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ καιρῷ, φρόνημα ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρασχόμενος συνεχῶς ἐπταικόσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐδὲ εν χρηστὸν οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλπίζουσι...αὐτίκα τε ὡς εἶχον αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον. ὁ δὲ σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἦγε καὶ γέροντας καὶ μειράκια ὁμοίως, προθυμίᾳ πλέον ἢ ῥώμῃ κατορθοῦσθαι τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐλπίζων: ἐπεξελθόντας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ φυγόντων ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον τὸ χωρίον εἶλεν." (Paus. 1.25.2-26.1)

"By the south wall Attalus erected (images of) the legendary war with the giants, who lived around Thrace and the Isthmus of Pallene, and the battle of the Athenians against the Amazons and the engagement at Marathon against the Medes and the descruction of the Gauls in Mysia, each of which is two cubits high. There also stands Olympiodorus who took up fame from the greatness of the deeds he performed and no less from the time when fear was present in all men who were failing and because of this hoping for nothing good to come about in the future...immediately, as it stood, they elected Olympiodorus who led both the old and the young against the Macedonias, hoping to triumph in war with strength and enthusiasm: he defeated the Macedonians in battle when they marched against him and captured them as they fled into the shrine of the muses."

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

"ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνα ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως μόνου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον Ἰφικράτους 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 $\sigma v \gamma \gamma \epsilon v \epsilon i a$ in 2^{nd} century Greek society

"ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ ὁ κοινὸν ποιῶν τὸ ἴδιον ἴδιον δὲ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστου, καὶ ποιεῖ δρόμου καὶ σπουδῆς τὸ πρωτεῖον, ἀρετῆ καὶ συγγενείᾳ 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.

άλλὰ καὶ κακοηθείας ἄκρας ἔργον εὐκολίαν μιμούμενον καὶ ἀπλότητα δυσφώρατον εἶναι. ... μάλιστα πρός τε Βοιωτοὺςκαὶ 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 Ἱπποδρομίου μηνός, ὡς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἐκατομβαιῶνος, ἱσταμένου πέμπτη δύο λαβεῖν συνέβη νίκας ἐπιφανεστάτας, αἶς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἠλευθέρωσαν, τήν τε περὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ τήν ἐπὶ Κερησσῷ 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 $\alpha\gamma\omega\nu o\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ (games-organizer) found in *Eleusinion* outside Athenian Agora, early 3^{rd} 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. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25068025.

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