III. SANCTUARIES

The way in which Greek places of worship feature in the current popular imagination is much influenced by the remnants of a few surviving temples, such as Athena's Parthenon or Poseidon's temple at Sounion. Yet these aesthetically pleasing but ruined and empty buildings give little insight into their former functions or furnishings.[1] Moreover, a (perhaps unconscious) comparison with modern religious buildings, such as churches, mosques, and synagogues, might lead us to think of an ancient sanctuary as normally consisting of just the temple – which would be a real mistake.[2] So let us first look at sanctuaries proper (§1), then their locations (§2), and, finally, their secular and religious functions (§3).[3]

1. Buildings, statues, and personnel

In our oldest literary source, Homer, sanctuaries with a temple, statue, and priest(ess) are already well established. Hector's mother, Hecuba, went to the temple of Athena on the Acropolis of Troy, where the priestess Theano opened the doors, put Hecuba's valuable gift of an embroidered robe on the knees of Athena's statue, and pronounced a prayer (*Il.* 6.286–311), and Zeus went to Cretan Ida, the site of 'his *temenos* and…altar' (*Il.* 8.48). As archaeology has shown, this combination of *temenos* (a piece of land set aside for gods or heroes) and altar was already emerging in the Dark Age,[4] but it was not until the eighth century that the first temples appeared on the scene, gradually being distanced from the dwellings of rulers;[5] this late arrival of the temple precluded a standard form, and some temples always remained roofless.[6]

[1] For a good introduction, see Miles 2016.

[2] Note the interesting observations of Naerebout 2005 and Steuernagel 2009.

[3] Older bibliography: Østby 1993; Burkert 2001–11: vi.177–207; Brulé 2012. Recent informative collections: Mazarakis Ainian 2017; Partida and Schmidt-Dounas 2019. Note that Parker 2011: xi–xii pays virtually no attention to sanctuaries.

[4] For the development of Greek sanctuaries from the Mycenaean period until the early Iron Age, see the instructive survey in Eder 2019.

[5] Fehr 1996; Burkert 2001–11: vi.196-207; Mazarakis Ainian 2016. For the vocabulary of sanctuaries, see Casevitz 1984; García Ramón 2007.

[6] Hellmann 1993.

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Typical features of a sanctuary were water (for ritual use), a tree or grove, and a stone (to mark the place as special),[7] but only the altar was indispensable.[8] Sanctuaries differed greatly in size and complexity, ranging from large supra-local ones, such as Delphi and Olympia, via urban sanctuaries, to very simple rural shrines and caves;[9] in fact, even some larger sanctuaries never acquired a temple.[10] There was no sharp distinction between gods and heroes in these respects. Admittedly, a sanctuary of heroes (*herôon*) was normally smaller than that of major divinities or often wholly absent, but some *herôa* were large enough to allow the squatting of Attic refugees during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2.17.1).[11]

The Greeks had a rich vocabulary for what we nowadays call a 'cult image',[12] depending on the size, nature, and material of the images, as well as on the literary genre in which they were mentioned.[13] The earliest statues were probably of wood: a sitting one, such as Athena's in Troy, was normal for goddesses in archaic Greece, whereas male gods preferred the more manly attitude of standing (Figure 6).[14] Other divinities, however, could have aniconic statues: Apollo Agyieus regularly appears on coins as a conic column, and the famous image of Eros in Thespiae was only a rough stone.[15] Such statues coexisted with the more 'normal' figurative ones, which were much more decorated and colourful than the surviving examples suggest,[16] but in the course of the classical age aniconism started to sometimes evoke a certain 'abnormality' of the statue.[17] And indeed, strange statues of Artemis and Hera, but also of Dionysos, were regularly associated with festivals of reversal (Chapter IV, §3); sometimes these statues were considered so dangerous that they were tied up and only released

[7] On water, see Cole 1988; Trinkl 2009. On trees, see Burkert 1985: 29–30. For sacred groves, see Birge 1982; Scheid 1993; Bonnechere 2007. On stones, see Dowden 1989: 138–40.

[8] On altars, see Etienne 1992; Ekroth 2001, 2009; Hellmann 2006: 122–44.

[9] Genovese 1999; Baumer 2004; Sporn 2013b; Laferrière 2019.

[10] Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 8, 16 n. 60 (e.g. no temple in the Miletan Delphinion before the Romans).

[11] Kearns 1992: 65–8; Pariente 1992: 204–16; Boehringer 2001.

[12] Bremmer 2019e: 101–3.

[13] There has been much recent interest in this area: Scheer 2000; Bettinetti 2001; Graf 2001; Steiner 2001; Linant de Bellefonds *et al.* 2004; Mylonopoulos 2010; Collard 2016; Hölscher 2017; Bremmer 2019e: 104–13.

[14] Jung 1982; see also Graf 1985: 44f.

[15] Fehrentz 1993 (Apollo Agyieus); Graf 2006 (Eros). In general, see Gaifman 2012; Lang 2016; Hölscher 2017: 224–38.

[16] See Brinkman and Scholl 2010.

[17] Bremmer 2019e: 108–11.

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Figure 6. Gilded bronze statue of Apollo in temple with adjacent picture of the god himself with his lyre. Fragment of south Italian (Taranto) red-figure calyx krater, *c.* 390 BC.

once a year.[18] Heroes also had a statue and were often portrayed in armour, as many were believed to have been great warriors,[19] unlike, of course, healing heroes such as Asclepius. And, unlike images of Jesus or Mary in Christian churches, cult images were often shielded from the worshipers by a barrier, thus highlighting the distance between mortals and immortals.[20]

As with cult images, the Greeks also had a wide-ranging vocabulary for those officiating in sanctuaries, whom we usually range under the umbrella term 'priest'; in addition, the terms used even varied from city to city.[21] In fact, the modern term covers a motley of functions, such as ritual experts, sacrificers, preservers of sacrificial knowledge, representatives of divinities, mediators between mortals and immortals – albeit not all of them all of the time.[22] Unlike their Roman Catholic

[18] Graf 1985: 81–96 (fundamental); Icard-Gianolio 2004; Eich 2011: 371–99; Boschung 2015; Hölscher 2017: 148–71.

[19] Ar. fr. 240; *Adespota* fr. 948 Kassel/Austin; van Straten 1974: 187–9.

[20] Mattern 2007; Mylonopoulos 2011.

[21] For priests and priestesses, see Pirenne-Delforge and Georgoudi 2005; Dignas and Trampedach 2008; Parker 2011: 48–57; this volume, Chapter 1, §3 and Chapter VI.

[22] For the difficulties in defining the priesthood and differentiating it from a magistracy, see Bremmer 2012; Henrichs 2019: 177–92.

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counterparts, Greek priests could inherit their function and, unlike priesthoods in all modern mainstream religions, priesthoods could be bought in Asia Minor and the islands off its coast.[23] Priests distinguished themselves through their white or purple clothing, and on vases they are pictured with sacrificial knives, whereas priestesses are often pictured with metal keys, some of which have been excavated.[24] In fact, temples were usually closed to worshippers and only opened on fixed or festive days.

Male priests usually served for gods, and priestesses (Chapter VI, §2) for goddesses, but, as with sacrificial victims (Chapter IV, §2), there was no iron rule: Athena regularly had a priest. Priests performed sacrifices and guarded the treasures of the sanctuary. In larger sanctuaries special personnel did the more menial jobs, such as preventing birds from fouling statues, whereas in smaller, rural sanctuaries priests were not always present and worshippers themselves could sacrifice after having called for the priest in vain.[25] Rather strikingly, male and female adolescents sometimes occupied a priestly function in initiatory cults. This shows how different Greek priests could be from ours. The occasional appearance in the outfit of their divinities is another illustration of this difference; on Attic vases Athena's priestess is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the goddess. Was this identification perhaps a priestly strategy to increase status because Greek priests were always subject to the authority of the people and never managed to develop into a ruling class, as they did in India or ancient Israel?[26]

In the end, though, it was the altar, not the temple or the statue, which was the real centre of a sanctuary, even though the temple itself may have been more important in rituals than is suggested by the literary tradition.[27] Several authors, who are all later than the fourth century BC, distinguish between a divine (*bômos*) and heroic (*eschara*) altar, the first being rectangular, monumental, and with a projecting step or stepped base, whereas the latter would be low, hollow, circular, and standing directly on the ground. As with the distinction between

[23] Parker 2011: 43 (inheritance), 49, 235–6 (priesthoods for sale).

[24] Mantis 1990: 28–65 (keys), 82–96 (iconography of priests), 114–15 (catalogue of preserved keys); Karatas 2019.

[25] Graf 1985: 40 (calling), 214 (Athena's priest). On bird fouling, see Eur. *Ion* 106–9; Maxmin 1975 (metal 'umbrellas' to protect statues); Danner 1993.

[26] On adolescents, see Bremmer 1999c: 189–90; Cole 2004: 132; Leventis 2019: 72–4. On identification with the gods, see Bérard 1989; Pirenne-Delforge 2010.

[27] Sporn 2015.

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Olympian and Chthonic gods (Chapter II, §2), reality was more diverse, and various heroes had a divine altar.[28]

2. Locations

Major sanctuaries outside the walls or situated at remote places played important roles in political federations and the birth of the *polis*. Delphi and Olympia developed in an especially spectacular way in the ninth and eighth centuries because here the aristocracies of the surrounding areas could meet and compete in games and conspicuous offerings, thus fostering a feeling of common Greek identity. Other sanctuaries away from major cities developed into centres of political federations, such as Poseidon's at Boeotian Onchestos and on the isle of Kalaureia, off Troizen. Finally, sanctuaries could mark the borders of a city's territory, such as those of Hera Lacinia and Apollo Aleos, respectively south and north of Croton in south Italy. They could even be used to strengthen ties with border areas, as the Peisistratids did by connecting Athens with the outlying sanctuaries of Brauron and Eleutherae. In short, the location of the sanctuary contributed to determining its social and political roles.

But why were some divine sanctuaries located in the *polis* and others not?[29] Some scattered settlements had kept their most important cults at the original places before constituting *poleis* and federations.[30] Yet there is also a more interesting aspect to location. If a sanctuary important for the religious life of the community is not situated in the heart of that community or at such a distance that citizens have to leave their familiar surroundings in order to worship, it is also possible that these cults are in some ways in opposition to those which occupied a more central location. As cults co-determine the character of gods (Chapter II, §1), an extramural cult may therefore point to an 'eccentric' or less central divinity.[31] Is this supposition true?

In the heart of the city we naturally find Zeus and Athena, who as *polis* gods par excellence had sanctuaries in the agora and on the acropolis,

[28] Ekroth 2001, 2002: 23–74, 2009.

[29] On locations of sanctuaries in Magna Graecia, see Edlund 1987; Pugliese Carratelli 1988: 149–58. On Greece and the Aegean, see Schachter 1994; Osborne and Alcock 1994; Cole 2004: 21.

[30] For the supra-local sanctuaries, see Freitag and Haake 2019.

[31] As is persuasively argued by Graf 1982: 166.

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respectively, although Zeus's origin as weather god remained visible in his sanctuaries on mountaintops.[32] Apollo and Demeter were more ambivalent cases. Apollo's sanctuary was often located in the agora, as in Peloponnesian Argos, Cretan Dreros, and Crimean Olbia, but he was also worshipped away from the centre at the seaside, especially with the epithet Delphinios, or in the 'suburbs', as in the Athenian Lykeion. The differing locations probably reflect his own ambivalent position between adolescence and adulthood (Chapter II, §3).[33] When inside the city, Demeter's sanctuaries were nearly always away from inhabited areas and the agora, as in Corinth and Priene, except for Athens, where the Eleusinion was in the agora. As a general rule, they were situated in front of or somewhat outside the city, often on the slope of a hill, which fits Demeter's 'eccentricity' (Chapter II, §3).[34] Finally, sanctuaries of the birth goddess Eileithyia could be found near the city gate, except in Sparta (Paus. 3.14.6): there was no place in the heart of the city for a goddess closely connected with pollution.[35]

Outside the *polis* we usually find sanctuaries of Poseidon,[36] Dionysos,[37] Hera, and Artemis. The Heraion was about 6–10 kilometres away from the city centre in Argos, Croton, and Paestum, and on Samos; on Paros it was situated in a hilly area. Hera's sanctuaries were connected with initiation and festivals of reversal; moreover, the rituals were often performed by women but concluded by men. Clearly, the Homeric picture of the quarrelsome wife of Zeus overlaid a much older, more complex cult.[38] Artemis' sanctuaries could also be found in mountainous regions, but their distinctive feature was the closeness of rivers and swampy places – witness her epithet Limnatis

[32] For Athena, see Burkert 1985: 140; Graf 1985: 44. For Zeus, see Graf 1985: 182, 197, 202–3 (mountains); Parker 1996: 29–33; van den Eijnde 2010–11; Romano 2019. On mountains in general, see Langdon 2000; Accorinti 2010; Sporn 2013a.

[33] Graf 1979a (near the sea or in the agora) and 1985: 222 (Apollo Lykeios in the agora); Jameson 2014: 41–61 (Apollo Lykeios outside the walls in Athens).

[34] Cole 2000 (fundamental). See also Işik 2000: 230; Tantillo 2015. Locations of Demeter's sanctuary on an acropolis (Thebes, Mytilene, Lepreon) may derive from the goddess's connection with political power (Chapter II, §3).

[35] See Paus. 2.5.4 (Corinth), 2.18.3 (Argos; see also Piérart 1982), 2.35.11 (Hermione).

[36] Poseidon's sanctuaries are often near the sea but also in the mountains: see Bremmer 2019e: 26.

[37] There were no temples of Dionysos in classical times, but the name of his sanctuary in Athens, *en limnais* ('in the marshes'), suggests locations outside the city, as does the fact that on vases Dionysos' sanctuary is often a cave (see Bérard 1976).

[38] Corso 1984 (Paros); Lattanzi 1991: 67–71 (Croton); Hägg 1992: 14–16 (Argos); Junker 1993 (Paestum); Walter, Clemente, and Niemeier 2019 (Samos). In general, see Graf 1982: 166–71.

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('of the marshes'). This 'watery' environment was typical of Artemis, and the second-century rhetor Maximus of Tyre noted that 'fountains of water, hollow thickets and flowery meadows are sacred to Artemis' (8.1). Given Greece's aridity, these areas connected with Artemis must have been conspicuous for their moist, luxuriant lushness. As places of eternal spring they were particularly suited to girls in the full bloom of youth – a striking confirmation of Artemis' initiatory function.[39]

The location of hero shrines does not seem to have been very different from temples, although the former were usually simpler than the latter. They could be sited on prominent hills, in the midst of mountains (such as the *temenos* of Telephos on the Arcadian Mount Parthenion), or near springs (like the one at Attica where Makaria was worshipped). Heroes (never heroines) who had founded a city were often buried in the agora and clearly closely connected with the life of the *polis*;[40] in some cities, as in Athens and Thebes, there was even a secret heroic grave on which the safety of the city depended.[41] Some heroes' shrines were situated near the city gates because they were the most vulnerable parts of the city, which therefore needed support from supernatural warriors: Apollo was also often invoked as defender of the gates.[42]

Our analysis of the location of sanctuaries, then, has confirmed our discussion of the gods and heroes: those connected most with the political and social order also occupied central places in the Greek *poleis*. For a complete picture of Greek gods and heroes, the location of their sanctuaries cannot be neglected.

Finally, familiarity breeds contempt, as the proverb says, but does it also promote intimacy? In other words, was it religiously important to live close to a sanctuary? For the Greeks, of all the good relationships between humans, that between neighbours was considered to be best. It would hardly be surprising, therefore, if they also developed a special relationship with those gods and heroes whose shrines and sanctuaries were in their neighbourhood or even adjacent to their houses. In fact, many examples in ancient literature show that 'a hero whose shrine

[39] Cole 2004: 179–97.
[40] Leschhorn 1984; Malkin 1987: 189–240; Hornblower 1991–2009: i.20f.
[41] Malkin 2009; Bremmer 2019e: 215–17 (secret graves).
[42] On hero sanctuaries, see Kearns 1992; Ekroth 2007: 108–11. For Apollo, see Graf 1985: 173–6; von Mangoldt 2013.

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was near an individual house might be "domesticated" and receive regular greetings and offerings from his mortal neighbours; in return, the hero was expected to influence the fortunes of "his" family'. If, indeed, our literary evidence mainly concerns heroes, this does not mean that the closeness of a divine shrine was considered to be insignificant. On the contrary: many Greek parents gave their children names that were expressive of the fact that a god was their neighbour (*geitôn*), such as Athanogiton (Athena), Damatrogiton (Demeter), Diogeiton (Zeus), Pythogeiton (Apollo), or just Theogeiton, 'God's neighbour'. One may even wonder whether these names were not suggestive of a more personal devotion to a specific god.[43]

3. Social, economic, and religious functions

Greek sanctuaries functioned in a much more varied way in society than modern churches or mosques do, as some examples of their social, economic, and political roles may illustrate.[44] Excavations as well as epigraphic and literary testimonia show that many sanctuaries contained temporary and permanent buildings which were used for dining; in some cases, as in Corinth, the cooking pots and drinking cups could still be recovered. In coastal or island sanctuaries, there is evidence for abundant consumption of fish. The small Greek houses offered little possibilities for larger groups to convene and a sanctuary was a secure place to meet, since it was divine property.[45] That is also why slaves, criminals, and political victims frequently sought refuge in temples through the ritual of supplication. As today, the number of suppliants could be considerable: Herodotus mentions the presence of 300 boys in a Samian sanctuary of Artemis (3.48). Not surprisingly, some sanctuaries had to set aside large tracts of land on which to house these 'permanent pilgrims'.[46]

Like many medieval Christian churches, major sanctuaries owned large estates to pay for their upkeep, personnel, and construction of new buildings, though the precise nature of their property remains a subject of debate, and the relationship of *polis* and sanctuary in this

[43] Rusten 1983 (quotation from 296). On onomastics, see Robert 1989: 261; Parker 2000c.
[44] These aspects are under-researched, but see Ghinatti 1983.
[45] Leypold 2008; Bentz and Bumke 2013; Mylona 2015.
[46] Christensen 1984; Sinn 2000.

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respect is often rather complicated.[47] Yet these estates also had a wider economic function. The land was leased and on Delos, for instance, we hear of farms, trees, barley, and vineyards.[48] And like the medieval Church – witness the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII – rich estates stimulated greed. Many a sanctuary issued a sacred law to prohibit the grazing of its meadows and the cutting of its trees.[49] The land could even be so valuable that various wars were fought over the uncultivated land of the Cirrhaean plain below Delphi; comparable wars took place in Crete well up to the end of the second century BC.[50]

Temples also functioned as reserve banks. According to Thucydides (6.20.4), in the debate before the second Athenian expedition to Sicily (415 BC) Nicias warned the Athenians that the Sicilians had not only considerable private means but also great wealth in the sanctuary of Selinus, where, as in other temples, objects of precious metal were safeguarded by countersigning them with names of gods. Indeed, the inventories of Greek sanctuaries, in which temple officials recorded the treasures and dedications (see below) of the temples at the end of their service, demonstrate the sanctuaries' considerable wealth, the lure of which some people clearly could not resist.[51] Inventories also show that in times of need cities and their inhabitants happily borrowed from their gods but were not always as forthcoming in paying back. The gods were lenient creditors.[52]

In addition to their economic function, temples played a role in political life. The first written laws in Greece were deposited in a sanctuary or actually inscribed on the more visible walls of the major temple of the city, such as the famous laws of Cretan Gortyn on the walls of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios. Indeed, it was usually a sanctuary of Apollo that contained the laws, decrees, and treaties of a city, although the Athenians used the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, the Metroon, as their city archive. At least initially, the choice of a temple

[47] Horster 2004; Papazarkadas 2011; Rousset 2013 (with thanks to Edward Harris); Patera 2016.

[48] Brunet 1990; Dillon 1997; Mylonopoulos 2008; Horster 2010.

[49] On trees, see Jordan and Perlin 1984; Henrichs 2019: 503–27.

[50] Parker 1983: 160–6; Chaniotis 1988.

[51] For Selinus, see *SEG* 34.970. It was not until the fourth century that these treasures, which the inviolability of sanctuaries had always protected, became the object of looting: see Parker 1983: 170–6; Pritchett 1991: 160–8; Trampedach 2005. On stealing from temples, see Kosmetatou 2003.

[52] On temples as banks, see Ampolo 1989–90; Chankowski 2005, 2011; Migeotte 2006.

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for 'publication' and preservation must have suggested inviolability and a binding character. When the Ephesian philosopher Heraclitus (*c.* 500 BC) deposited his work in the temple of Artemis (Diog. Laert. 9.6), his gesture may have been a continuance of this tradition.[53]

But what about worship? Did all sanctuaries fulfil the same functions? That was not the case. Some of them were specialized, such as those for mysteries and healing cults (Chapter VII, §§1–2) or those that provided oracles. Divination has to uphold a certain amount of objectivity to remain credible and, consequently, major oracular shrines were situated at a fair distance from the territories of influential city-states: Homer knew of the wealth of Delphi (*Il.* 9.404–5) and far-away Dodona with 'the Helloi, your interpreters, with unwashed feet, sleepers on the ground' (16.234–5, trans. Janko 1992); Olympia, too, started as an oracular shrine before giving us the Olympic Games.[54] But some oracles were nearer home, such as those of Amphiaraos in Oropos, not far from Athens, Trophonios, not very far from Thebes, Didyma near Miletos, and Klaros on the edge of the territories of Notion and Colophon.[55] There is a certain difference between these far-away and near-to-home oracles. The former flourished especially in the archaic period and were consulted in such matters as colonization and land distribution, the great problems in the period of Greek state formation. The latter were more often consulted in matters of potential civic troubles. But in all cases ancient oracles assisted in making choices and setting the seal on collective decisions, rather than in predicting the future.[56] The crystal ball is a recent invention.

The main purpose of most sanctuaries, however, was to enable worshippers to sacrifice (Chapter IV, §2) and to make votive offerings, through which they could also express personal devotion.[57] Whenever the Greeks wanted to thank the gods and/or tried to obtain a favour, they could dedicate a votive offering, which would be a more lasting testimony than a sacrifice. Even though the extremes in value (poor painted wooden panels and rich gold and silver objects) have all but disappeared,

[53] Thomas 1989: 38–40 (the Metroon); Hölkeskamp 1992: 99–102; Hawke 2011.

[54] For Dodona, see, most recently, Parker 2016; Chaniotis 2017; and, in general, Piccinini 2017. On Delphi, see C. Morgan 1990; Scott 2015. On Olympia, see Sinn 1991. For oracular shrines in general, see Friese 2010.

[55] For the Amphiaraion, see Roesch 1984. For the Trophoneion, see Bonnechere 2003. For Didyma and Klaros, see Oesterheld 2008.

[56] Parker 2000a.

[57] Rask 2016.

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just as the textiles that were once dedicated,[58] many inscriptions and votive reliefs have been preserved which allow us a unique glimpse into Greek religious practice. Through them we see who thought of the gods and why, where, and what offerings were thought suitable.[59]

Thanks to the possibility of using very cheap material, all sections of society could make votive offerings, even though, of course, not only poor people dedicated modest votives.[60] Men, women, families – the gods were most hospitable. Sometimes, foreigners too made dedications to Greek gods. Herodotus mentions the many votives in gold and silver that Croesus offered (1.50–2, 90),[61] but he was not the only one to do so. In archaic times especially, many traders, in particular Phoenicians but also the occasional Etruscan, Lydian, and Egyptian, enriched Greek sanctuaries.[62]

The 'why' of offerings is sometimes explained by the 'what' (and vice versa). After a victory, part of the booty could be consecrated, or soldiers dedicated their own weapons.[63] As here was a story to tell,[64] local sanctuaries thus served as a kind of museum, helping to keep collective memories alive, and, in a way, as *lieux de mémoire*.[65] A girl could dedicate her toys to Artemis on the eve of her wedding and a boy his statue (one of the famous *kouroi*) to Apollo on the occasion of his initiation, even if these were sometimes extremely small (Figure 7).[66] Healing gods received replicas of the limbs they had cured and so their sanctuaries were filled with arms and legs, vulvae and penises.[67] In other cases, worshippers dedicated figurines of divinities in their specific sanctuaries but also in those of other gods; once again, the gods were most hospitable.[68]

[58] Brøns 2016.

[59] Van Straten 1981, 2000; Osborne 2004; Parker 2004; Duplouy 2006: 185–249; Greco and Ferrara 2008; Prêtre 2009; Papasavvas and Fourrier 2012; Lindström and Pilz 2013. For painted votives, see Nowicka 1990. For formulas of votive inscriptions, see Lazzarini 1989–90.

[60] Salapata 2018.

[61] Nenci 1993; Bassi 2014.

[62] On Phoenicians, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, to be read with the qualifications of Mylonopoulos 2008; on Etruscans, see A. Johnston 1993; on Lydians, see Kerschner 2006; on Egyptians, see Bumke 2007; in general, see Kaplan 2006.

[63] Baitinger 2011; Frielinghaus 2011; Jim 2014: 176–202; Graells i Fabregat and Longo 2018; J. Schröder 2020: 24–101.

[64] For this aspect of sanctuaries, see Eidinow 2020.

[65] See Scheer 1996; Shaya 2006; Haake and Jung 2011.

[66] *Anth. Graeca* 6.280 (girl); Martini 1990.

[67] See Forsén 1996; Oberhelman 2014; Schörner 2015; Petridou 2016; Draycott and Graham 2017; Hughes 2017; Graham 2020.

[68] Alroth 1989, 1989–90.

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Figure 7. A kouros could be small: this one from eastern Greece, *c.* 580 BC, is only 28 cm high.

Finally, there were costly gifts whose purpose was clearly not only to please gods but also to impress humans, such as those by Croesus; the gift of golden tripods to Delphi by Sicilian tyrants at the beginning of the fifth century was in the same vein.[69] Several states even had treasure houses, which were specially prominent at Delos, Delphi, and Olympia and served to store the valuable dedications of their citizens, but also to glorify the relevant *poleis*.[70] And people dedicated curiosities. In the Heraion of Samos, a jaw of a crocodile, teeth of a hippopotamus, antlers of an antelope, and eggs of an ostrich have been found. In the same sanctuary even living curiosities, peacocks, walked about.[71] In

[69] Krumeich 1991.
[70] Nering 2015.
[71] Boessneck and von den Driesch 1981, 1993; Ekroth 2018a. In general, see Tassignon 2005. On peacocks, see Antiphanes, fr. 173; Menodotus *FGrH* 541 F 2.

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other words, some major sanctuaries must have looked like a kind of 'curiosity shop' or museum.[72] And what about the inside of popular temples?[73] An inventory of the Athenian temple of Asclepius describes in great detail where the dedications were located: a gold crown, iron finger-ring, and gold chain 'at the ridge beam', and a woman's face and ten silver reliefs 'on the left as one enters. First rafter'. The inventory thus allows us to reconstruct the whole interior of the temple, which 'must have closely resembled not the bare rooms of our drawings but the most jumbled and crowded antique store or museum storeroom that most of us can imagine'.[74]

Finally, dedications have a history, too. In the course of the archaic age, striking changes took place in the major Greek sanctuaries. A good example is the dedication of bronze jewellery in Olympia. An older investigation, the results of which still seem to reflect the chronological development, even if the precise numbers are out of date, noted only 49 finds from the period *c.* 1050–750 BC, but 948 finds from *c.* 750–450 and, again, only 77 finds from *c.* 450–150. These changes, which can be paralleled in other objects such as weapons, are not easy to explain.[75] They probably reflect the changing status of the aristocracy at the end of the archaic age, but other factors may also have played a role. The absence of informative texts prevents a clearer view in this respect.[76]

[72] Shaya 2005; Tanner 2006: 205–36.
[73] D. Harris 1995; Paliompeis 1996; Krumeich 2008: 73–7; Sporn 2014.
[74] Aleshire 1989: 177–248 (inventory), 1991: 41–6 (quotation at 46).
[75] See Frielinghaus 2010, 2013.
[76] On the changes, see Snodgrass 1989–90; Barringer 2010: 170–1.

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