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Robin HÄGG (éd.), Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994

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pour justifier aux yeux de son auditoire athénien la ruine de Cambyse et de l'empire perse. – Claire Muckensturm-Pouille montre que, dans la *Vie d'Apollonios de Tyane* de Philostrate, la confrontation implicite des brahmanes indiens et des gymnosophistes 'éthiopiens' met en perspective la philosophie cynique et le pythagorisme, de même qu'un débat sur la représentation des dieux entre Égypte et Grèce. Cette confrontation confère à la vraie piété une tonalité « universelle » qui dépasse les variations culturelles et culturelles. – Paul-Louis Van Berg livre une étude comparative d'Hermès et Agni où les données védiques sont appelées en renfort pour interpréter l'épisode de la tortue et celui des empreintes retournées dans l'*Hymne homérique à Hermès*. Il réévalue aussi les relations entre le dieu et Hestia, ainsi que l'impact du patrimoine indo-européen commun. – Ioanna Papadopoulou-Belmehdi et Zozie Papadopoulou, l'une davantage tournée vers les textes, l'autre vers l'archéomusicologie, ont mis leurs compétences en commun pour revenir sur la question des Déliades, ce chœur dont l'*Hymne homérique à Apollon* fait le point culminant du culte musical du dieu. Les résultats de cette enquête sont très intéressants : tout d'abord, le nom même des Déliades identifie sans doute davantage la destination des choreutes et l'offrande de cette 'performance' – associée au rituel sacrificiel – aux divinités de Délos que des Déliennes au sens propre; les relations entre poète et Déliades sont complexes et le statut de ces femmes ne laisse pas d'étonner : ce sont elles qui accordent à l'aède l'honneur de voir son œuvre intégrée au répertoire dans lequel les visiteurs reconnaissants, tels Thésée au terme de son voyage crétois, peuvent puiser pour honorer les dieux; enfin, la fameuse *mimesis* que loue l'*Hymne à Apollon* est minutieusement analysée et identifiée à la variété et à la richesse des formes mélodiques puisées à un répertoire véritablement panhellénique. Cet article fondamental risque de rester dissimulé derrière le thème général de ces Actes auquel il ne correspond guère, et ce serait regrettable. Des index substantiels complètent l'ouvrage.

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Robin HÄGG (éd.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994*, Stockholm, Aström Förlag, 2002. 1 vol. 21 × 30 cm, 231 p. (ActAth-8°, 48). ISBN : 91-7916-038-7.

The present volume is a publication which belongs to the renowned series of international symposia on Greek religion organised by the Swedish Institute at Athens.¹ In his foreward the editor of the volume, Robin Hägg (p. 9-13), summarizes the Swedish archaeological work in Greece between 1894 and 1994. One might have expected, here, some "self-criticism" with regard to the excavations conducted at the sanctuary of Poseidon on Kalaureia. The results of the work at the sanctuary in 1894 were already published two years later in 1896; ever since, however, there has been no progress in making a more detailed presentation of the material available, and no Swedish archaeologist ever re-examined the finds; perhaps the late 19th century was not the best time to excavate one of the most important cult places in the Eastern Argolid. Gullög C. Nordquist (p. 15-20) presents some aspects of the vitae of Sam Wide and Lennart Kjellberg, the excavators of Kalaureia, focusing on their stay in Greece between 1893 and 1895. The current project of Maria Hielte-Stavropoulou and Michael Wedde (p. 21-24) is the re-examination of the finds of the excavations of Sam Wide at

¹ See *Kernos* 16 (2003), p. 391-392, for the table of contents.

Aphidna (a similar work is urgently needed for Kaulareia as well). Although their paper has the character of a brief report it would have been helpful, if the authors had presented some photos, at least of such important objects as the bowls with an "obvious relationship to the Middle Cycladic Melian" examples. The paper of Eleni Konsolaki (p. 25-36) presents for the first time extensively some of the results of the Greek excavations at the important Mycenaean sanctuary in Methana.² The cult function of one of the rooms of the excavated complex is undisputable. The connection of the cult place with Poseidon is indeed very attractive, but it should remain at the moment a hypothesis. The figurines of the so-called "Ridden Oxen" may be associated with the ritual of bull-leaping. It seems that the Minoan bull-leaping was adopted by the Mycenaeans not only as a motif in art, but also as a real ritual. The identification of one of these figurines with the cult image of the shrine seems to me problematic (p. 34, fig. 13).³ The size of the human figure at the top of the bovine head contradicts such an interpretation. In her paper Anastasia Gadolou (p. 37-43) conclusively stresses the significance of the Argive Heraion for the western Argolid and that of the sanctuary of Poseidon on Kalaureia for the eastern Argolid; the comparison between Kalaureia, the early sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas, and the altars of Zeus and Hera on Mount Arachnaion is, however, problematic, primarily because the aforementioned cult places exercised a very different influence on their surrounding landscapes. Extraurbanity and foundation on Mycenaean ruins – and one should observe that there are substantial differences among the discussed cult places in this respect too – are rather superficial analogies that do not allow a genuine comparison. Everyone working on Greek sanctuaries is acquainted with the pioneer work of Catherine Morgan. In her present paper Morgan (p. 45-51) summarizes some results of her work on the early sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia in comparison to Perachora and Solygeia, already published in a more extensive form elsewhere.⁴ The author does not really explain, why the Corinthians decided to found a cult place for Demeter (Solygeia) at the place of the battle between Dorian invaders and Aeolian inhabitants of Corinth, which according to Morgan had some sort of a commemorative character. The papers by Marja C.V. Vink and Anna Banaka-Dimaki are in some respects complementary, since both authors discuss aspects of the religious topography of Argos. Vink's study (p. 53-61) is more general and offers some very stimulating points of discussion: in the 'Dark Ages' Argos consisted of three small settlements. In this period a differentiation between the political, religious and private sphere is not possible – at least not in view of archaeological finds. Such a differentiation between the three aforementioned spheres can be observed only in the Late Geometric period, when, interestingly, the different settlements begin to grow together. For Vink this signals the birth of the idea of a *polis*, a process intensified in the 7th cent. Banaka-Dimaki (p. 107-116) presents in her paper two Greek excavations in the city of Argos. Site A is a cult place which was in use from the Geometric Period to the Roman times. At Site K a sanctuary with a hypaethral eschara was excavated. It seems to me that the votive offerings point to a female

² See also E. KONSOLAKI-YANNOPOULOU, "A Group of New Mycenaean Horsemen from Methana", in Ph. P. BETANCOURT *et al.* (eds.), *Meletemata. Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year*, vol. II, Liège 1999 (*Aegaeum*, 20), p. 427-433.

³ It is certain that cult images existed in Minoan-Mycenaean times, which were carried during processions – as in the later historical periods; see S. HILLER, "te-o-po-ri-ja", in *Aux origines de l'Hellénisme. La Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre*, Paris, 1984, p. 139-150.

⁴ C. MORGAN, *Isthmia VIII. The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary*, Princeton, 1999, p. 402-415.

divinity. The cult place was in use between the 6th and the 4th cent. The rich photographic material underlines the importance of this paper. Neither author could consult the publication A. Pariente – G. Touchais (eds), *Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et Urbanisme*, Paris, 1998, although Banaka-Dimaki refers to it in her first footnote. In her paper Elisabeth Gebhard (p. 63-74) studies the unique dining caves in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. The dating of the caves by the author seems to me somewhat apodictic, since the stratigraphy – at least of the theater cave – was according to Oscar Broneer disturbed, a coin of George I (1882) having been found “only a few centimeters above the floor” at the southwest corner of the main chamber.⁵ Concerning the use of these caves one could also assume a double cult of Dionysos and Palaimon.⁶ In her paper Virginia R. Anderson-Stojanovic (p. 75-83) discusses the presence of Demeter and Kore in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia and in the nearby Rachi settlement. The author demonstrates persuasively that a cult place for Demeter and Kore was founded in the Rachi settlement in the 6th cent. By the 4th cent. this sanctuary was replaced by a new one, which served as the major shrine for the cult of the two deities. Finds and the famous inscription in the Museo Lapidario in Verona (*IG* IV 203) make it most probable that the new cult place was situated in the sanctuary of Poseidon. The question whether the Thesmophoria took place in the sanctuary of the Rachi settlement should remain open, since we still lack conclusive evidence. In her study Blanche Menadier (p. 85-91) persuasively argues for the localisation of the tomb for Medea's children and the respective ritual practices not in an otherwise unknown sanctuary of Hera Akraia in Korinth, but in the famous sanctuary of the goddess at Perachora. Jonathan Hall (p. 93-98) discusses the cultic connections between Hera and the hero-cults in the Argive plain, in part already presented in his book *Ethnic Identity in Greek antiquity*, Cambridge 1997, p. 99-106. In his critical points concerning the archaeological investigation of ‘hero-cult’ the author seems to ignore the study of M. Deoudi, *Heroenkulte in homerischer Zeit*, Oxford, 1999, in which – at least in most of the cases – reliable criteria are presented for the recognition of early hero-cults. A profound architectural and archaeological study of the temple remains on the citadel of Mycenae is presented by Nancy L. Klein (p. 99-105). The Hellenistic temple had at least one predecessor dating to the end of the 7th cent. To this temple Klein would like to attribute the well-known reliefs from Mycenae (c. 630 B.C.). It seems that the citadel had a cultic function already in the Iron Age. In his unfortunately very short paper François de Polignac (p. 119-122) explores the phenomenon of peak sanctuaries of Zeus in the northwestern Peloponnese between the end of the 8th and the 6th cent. His interpretation of such sanctuaries as some sort of meeting places or places of mediation between territories is very persuasive. Although Evi Lembidaki (p. 123-136) presents in her paper a thorough architectural study of three small sanctuaries (sacred precinct ‘Y’, mid-4th cent., sanctuaries ‘O’, mid-2nd cent. AD and ‘P’, 4th/3rd cent.) in the Epidaurian Asklepieion, the discussion of their common features (chthonic aspect of the cult) is too short. Eric Østby (p. 139-147), Gullög C. Nordquist (p. 149-158), and Mary E. Voyatzis (p. 159-168) present in three separate papers some first results of the Norwegian excavations at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea concerning the cult activity at the site in the Geometric and Archaic Period and the respective finds. The healing cults of Herakles are studied in the paper of Christina A. Salowey (p. 171-177). The author connects the origins of such cults with the swamp-draining successes of

⁵ O. BRONEER, *Isthmia II. Topography and Architecture*, Princeton, 1973, p. 39.

⁶ J. MYLONPOULOS, *Πελοπόννησος οβατηρίων Ποσειδώνος. Heiligtümer und Kulte des Poseidon auf der Peloponnes*, Liège, 2003 (*Kernos*, Suppl. 13), p. 184-186.

the hero (e.g. Elis, Lerna). My impression is that the author overestimates the presence of Herakles in the Epidaurian Asklepieion: The inscribed altars and the dedicatory inscriptions attest to a very large number of deities worshipped in this sanctuary; Herakles seems to be just one of these innumerable deities. Although the paper of Eric L. Brulotte (p. 179-182) on the Peloponnesian cults of Artemis is very informative, its character remains very general and reminds one of a catalogue without a profound analysis of the given data. In her paper Madeleine Jost (p. 183-186) makes a strong case for the existence of human sacrifices in ancient Greece and argues against the studies of D.D. Hughes, *Human sacrifice in ancient Greece*, London – New York, 1991 and P. Bonnechere, *Le sacrifice humain en Grèce ancienne*, Liège, 1994 (*Kernos* Suppl. 3). The excavations at the Geometric/Archaic cemetery of Eleutherna on Crete by Nikolaos Stambolidis have provided archaeological evidence for human sacrifice in historical periods.⁷ Ulrich W. Gans and Ulla Kreilinger (p. 187-190) briefly report on the excavations at the sanctuary of Zeus Soter in Megalopolis in 1992/93. The most important result is the exact dating of the vestiges: according to the pottery found the sanctuary dates to the years around 340 B.C. Ulrich Sinn (p. 193-198) discusses the presence and importance of Artemis in the sanctuary on Mount Kotilion at Phigalia. Although the votives and a manumission inscription attest to the evident significance of Artemis, evidence for Sinn's claim that the cult of Artemis was as important as that of Apollon after the erection of the Classical temple, is lacking. The author could not consult the study of F.A. Cooper, *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas, Vol. I: The Architecture*, Princeton, N.J., 1996 (p. 59-66: brief discussion of the precinct on Mount Kotilion). In a most stimulating paper Alikí Moustaka (p. 199-205) discusses the cult of Hera at Olympia. Based on the archaeological evidence and the dedicatory inscriptions the author shows that Hera was possibly introduced to Olympia during the 5th cent.⁸ Based on an extensive catalogue of finds and a rather too brief analysis Conrad Stibbe (p. 207-219) tries in his paper to identify a sanctuary excavated in 1907 with the 'Achilleion' which Pausanias saw on the road from Sparta to Arcadia. The locality and a terracotta hero-relief (6th cent.) seem to support this identification, which had already been expressed by the excavators.

Despite the eight years between the symposium in Athens and the final publication of the proceedings this volume is an invaluable contribution to the study of sanctuaries, cults and ritual praxis in the Peloponnese.

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Anne-Françoise JACCOTTET, *Choisir Dionysos. Les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du dionysisme*, Zürich, Akanthus Verlag, 2003. 2 vol. 21 × 27 cm, 207 & 367 p. ISBN : 3-905083-18-3.

Cet ouvrage qui fera certainement date dans la connaissance de la sociologie antique et du dionysisme rassemble quelque deux cents inscriptions évoquant les associations dionysiaques de l'ensemble du monde gréco-romain. Le catalogue des inscriptions comprend traduction et commentaire; quant à l'étude proprement dite des

⁷ N. STAMBOLIDIS, *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΝΑ. Από τη γεωμετρική και αρχαϊκή νεκρόπολη. Τάφικες πυρές και ομηρικά έπη*, Rethymnon, 1994, p. 27.; *ead.*, *ΑΝΤΙΠΟΛΙΝΑ*, Rethymnon, 1996, p. 164-200.

⁸ See also A. MOUSTAKA, "Zeus and Hera im Heiligtum von Olympia und die Kulttopographie von Elis und Triphylien", in H. KYRIELEIS (ed.), *Olympia 1875-2000. 125 Jahre Deutsche Ausgrabungen. Internationales Symposium, Berlin 9.-11. November 2000*, Mainz, 2002, p. 301-315.