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compagno nell'impegno civile
e nel modo di intendere la ricerca

LA PAROLA, L'IMMAGINE, LA TOMBA

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MISCELLANEA

FURTHER ASPECTS OF POLIS RELIGION *

CHRISTIANE SOURVINOU-INWOOD

The present paper, though self-contained and independent, can also be seen as a continuation of, and a complement to, another article, entitled " What is polis religion? ", which will be published in O. Murray and S. Price eds., *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, and as part of which the present essay originated. In that paper, I argued that the polis provided the fundamental, basic framework in which Greek religion operated, that the polis anchored and legitimated, and mediated, all religious activity and that in the Panhellenic sanctuaries the polis mediated the participation of its citizens in a variety of ways; that each polis was a religious system which was part of the more complex world-of-the-polis system interacting with the religious systems of the other poleis and with the Panhellenic religious dimension; and that " Greek religion " consist of a network of religious systems interacting with each other and with the Panhellenic religious dimension (articulated in, and through, Panhellenic poetry and the Panhellenic sanctuaries, and created, in a dispersed and varied way, out of " selected " elements from certain local systems, at the interface between the [interacting] polis religious systems which it then also helped shape). I also set out the complex ways in which the Greek polis articulated, and was articulated by, religion. Here I shall consider some other important aspects of the phenomenon " polis religion ".

In the classical period priests and priestesses [1] functioned under the authority

* I am very grateful to Professor W. G. Forrest, Professor D. M. Lewis and Dr. R. Parker for discussing various aspects of this paper with me. Dr. Parker has also kindly read, and commented on, the original long version of the paper.

[1] On whom cf. Burkert, 1985, pp. 95-98; E. Sinclair Holderman, ' Le sacerdotesse: requisiti, funzioni, poteri ', in G. Arrigoni ed., *Le donne in Grecia*, Rome-Bari 1985, pp. 299-330. In Athens: Garland, 1984, pp. 75-78; J. Martha, *Les sacerdoces athéniens*, Paris 1882; D. D. Feaver, ' Historical development of the priesthoods of Athens ', *YCS* 15, 1957, pp. 123-58; on Eleusinian sacred officials: K. Clinton, *The sacred officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Philadelphia 1974. On the categories of religious roles in Athens cf. S. C. Humphreys, *Anthropology and the Greeks*, London 1978, p. 254; cf. also Garland, 1984, pp. 75-123. Part of this

and control of the polis. Each served one (or sometimes more than one) deity and could not officiate in cults beyond their prescribed domain. Even within the same cultic nexus, each priest had definite prescribed ritual duties and was not entitled to perform any other ritual acts (cf. e.g. [Demosthenes] 59.116-7). Some priesthoods were limited to the members of a particular genos [2]. Non gentilicial priesthoods were open to all the citizens (cf. Isocrates 2.6) who were of the appropriate sex (and, where appropriate, age group and status [e.g. virgin]) — provided that they were physically unblemished [3] and had not performed an action which made them ineligible — (for example, a man who prostituted himself was debarred from holding certain offices, including priesthoods [cf. Aeschines 1.19-21]). Such priests were appointed by the community or elected by lot — which allowed the gods to choose; from the later fourth cent. onwards in particular geographical areas priesthoods were increasingly frequently sold. Priestly perquisites varied. Some priests and priestesses served for life, others for a set period, usually a year. They were not obliged to dedicate themselves exclusively to priestly duties (cf. e.g. LSCG no 69.1-6 for one example of the minimum amount of time a priest had to spend in the sanctuary in one cult). There were certain requirements of ritual purity during the period of office [4]. They had liturgical and administrative duties (cf. e.g. for the latter LSCG 115.7-8; LSCG 69.5 ff.; LSCG no 37). Sometimes some of these administrative duties were hived off to others. Aristotle, *Politics* 1322b 11-12 notes that in some places, for example in small cities, the superintendence of cults is concentrated in the priesthood, while elsewhere it is divided among several offices, such as hieropoioi, naophylakes, and tamiai of the sacred monies. The " warden " of the sanctuary was the neokoros and in some cases at least (cf. e.g. LSCG 69.6-8) the priest had the responsibility to compel him to take care of the sanctuary and its visitors. There were varying numbers of other administrators in the different sanctuaries in the different periods, often with different names in the different poleis [5]. There were also colleges of religious officials concerned with the administration of certain rites, such as the hieropoioi in Athens [6]; the finances of the sanctuaries were overseen by committees, such as the tamiai in Athens, or hierotamiai in some other places, the Treasurers of the various gods [7].

discussion of priesthoods is also included in " What is polis religion? ", but it needs to be repeated here, since it provides the necessary background to the brief consideration of the nature and role of priests that follows.

[2] On gene cf. esp. Humphreys, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-197.

[3] Cf. Burkert, 1985, pp. 98, 387 n. 48.

[4] Cf. R. Parker, *Miasma*, Oxford 1983, pp. 87-94; 52-53; 175.

[5] Cf. e.g. Jordan, 1979, p. 22, cf. pp. 23-28.

[6] *AthPol* 54.VI-VII, cf. P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, *ad. loc.* (p. 605 ss.). On administrative religious offices in Athens cf. also Garland, 1984, pp. 116-118.

[7] Cf. Jordan, 1979, p. 66; Burkert, 1985, pp. 95-96.

Not all sacrifices required a priest. Private sacrifice, even in a sanctuary, could usually be performed by the private individual himself. The sanctuary regulations governing the conduct of sacrifice by an individual rather than the priest suggest that the two were not perceived to be significantly different (cf. e.g. LSCG no 69.25-8; LSCGS no 129.7-11); though of course, such assessments are inevitably culturally determined [8]. However, in certain cults and sanctuaries the presence of the priest-priestess was decreed to be necessary (cf. e.g. LSCG no 36.3-7). It appears that sacrifices for, and on behalf of, the polis are always performed by a priest. Some of those on behalf of a deme were performed by the demarch [9]. In Ar. *Pol.* 1322b 11-12 the first category of religious officials consists of priests and others concerned with the state of preservation of the sacred buildings and related matters; the second of the officials on whom devolves the responsibility for those common rites which the law does not asccribe to the priests, and who derive their authority from the common hearth, whom some call *archontas*, others *basileis*, and others *prytaneis*-demarchs may be addedd as another example [10]. In my view, Aristotle distinguished this category because these particular offices expressed the communality of a particular group, of the whole polis (in the case of the *basileus*, for example), or the deme, its character as a community, and performed a cultic role in their character as embodiments, « symbolic representations », of that communality. (The question of the magistrate called *basileus* in the classical polis is too complex to be properly discussed here). In his liturgical duties the priest was acting as a symbolic mediator between men and gods; it was the polis who placed him in that symbolic position; in the same way the polis (in its role of articulator of the relationships between men and gods) decreed that magistrates could assume that role on certain occasions — while the priest was above all the embodiment of that role. It is because priests held that role of mediator that the community — in the form of whoever was the sovereign authority in the individual cities at a particular time — determined their duties and exercised control over them. It is because it was the community who determined the forms of the relationship between man and god, including the particular modalities of cult, and ensured their proper observance, that the Athenian demos punished Archias the hierophant, holder of a gentilicial priesthood of the highest

[8] For a private person sacrificing in the absence of a priest cf. also Lyc. fr. 4.1. In at least one genos cult (LSCG no 119; F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, Rome 1985, p. 430 no I. Ch. 5; cf. p. 101) in the absence of the priest the sacrifice is apparently conducted by a person belonging to a particular category, the nature of which is unclear.

[9] R. Osborne, *Demos: the discovery of classical Attika*, Cambridge 1985, p. 234 n. 27 suggests that priests are indispensable for public sacrifices, citing Ar. *Birds* v. 848, cf. v. 862 which, in my view, pertains to sacrifices for, and on behalf of, the whole polis, and so does not necessarily invalidate the notion that the demarch performed the sacrifices in which he is said to be sacrificing (cf. e.g. LSCG B 23; cf. Whitehead, 1986, pp. 128; 180).

[10] Cf. Whitehead, 1986, pp. 180-181.

prestige, from the genos of the Eumolpids [wich can be said to have been deemed to have a special religious status more than any other (since it furnished the Eumolpid *exegetai*)] for impiously performing a sacrifice not in accordance with the ancestral custom: he had, among other things, sacrificed for a hetaira on the Haloa on the eschara in the courtyard at Eleusis, while it was not customary (*nomimon*) to sacrifice on that day, nor was he entitled to perform the sacrifice, for it belonged to the priestess ([Dem. 59.116-7]). Once again, it is not a matter of " the state " encroaching over a religious authority: it is the community articulated in the ordered polis who is represented in the ritual activities, and the authority that speaks for it — in the case of classical Athens the demos — acts on its behalf. The fact that the priests acted on behalf of the community is expressed in the priests' obligation in classical Athens to give account for, to be publicly examined on, their performance in office (cf. Aesch. III.18). Aeschines thought that this was paradoxical, since being a priest did not involve receiving or administering large sums, only the receiving of perquisites and the duty to pray to the gods on behalf of the polis (Aesch. III.18); for he did not see [or did not, in that particular forensic context, choose to acknowledge] that this obligation was, above all, not financial in nature, and that it expressed symbolically the relationship between polis and priest. (This relationship was not different from that between priest and community in Homer: *Il.* 6.300 tells us of Theano " her the Trojans had made priestess of Athena "; what has changed by the 4th cent. is where the power to act in the name of the polis lay). Priests and priestesses accounted for their conduct in office both individually and all together; also, both each on their own account, and each priestly genos together, as a unit (Aesch. III.18). I take the collective accounting to be an expression of the relationship between the Athenian community and all its representatives in their relationships with the gods, all the mediators with the divine taken together, as though they symbolically made up one mediator. The accounting of each genos as a unit I take to be an expression of a notion that the polis had " appointed " each genos to be responsible for a priesthood or set of priesthoods, which the genos then assigned to one of its members, thus expressing the relationship between the polis and gentilicial priesthoods in a modality that can be accommodated in, and appears comparable to, the established modalities of polis religion in the democratic polis [11]. The same mentality, that the priests acted on behalf of the community, underlies, and is expressed in, the institution of the priests' reports to the Boule concerning

[11] Which inherited this institution, which had originated in a polis in which, in my view, the religious mentality and modalities were not essentially different, but operated in a different sociopolitical framework in which power-holding and administering was limited to one segment of the population, the Eupatrids, membership in which depended on membership of a genos. The gene shared out permanently between them one particular set of " magistracies ", the priesthoods.

the sacrifices at which they officiated and the Boule's acceptance of " the good things that had occurred in the sacrifice " [12].

Apart from priests and cult administrators there were also certain religious personnel with specialized duties, such as *exegetai*, who expounded on sacred matters, and prophets. Some prophets. like the Pythia, were institutionally appointed in an established cult and sanctuary; others, such as the professional interpreters of omens accompanying military expeditions, performed a particular function; finally others were charismatic individuals who offered sollicited and unsollicited advice. There were also many other religious offices with varying ritual responsibilities and duration in the different poleis (in Athens, for example, the *arrhephoroi* and the *arktoi*, girls serving Athena and Artemis respectively, or the office of *archousa* at the Thesmophoria [cf. LSCGS no 124.3 ff.; cf. Is. VIII. 19-20], to name but a very few).

I shall now consider extremely briefly the financing of classical cults (but not its changes, nor the gods' loans to the polis). The gods' wealth came from a variety of sources. First, votive offerings [13] given by individuals, civic bodies or the whole polis. It has now been shown that in all but the most exceptional circumstances the offerings stayed in the god's possession and were withdrawn from circulation [14]. A source of revenue which provided income for the upkeep of the sanctuary and conduct of the cult was property owned by the sanctuary and the rents derived from it; another was fees payed to the cult [15] and also property expropriated and given to the deity (cf. e.g. Andoc. I.96) and fines [16]. The final source of revenue was endowments and also regular contributions by, and on the responsibility and authority of, its worshipping group. In the case of the central polis cults this was the whole polis; the rites financed by and on the authority of the polis as a whole were called *demotele hiera*. The central polis funds used for the financing of central polis cults came mostly from the general polis revenues but also from special taxes the income from which was reserved for specific cults — the modalities of collection varied as between cults and poleis [17]. When the worshipping group was the deme cult was financed on the responsibility of the deme (through modalities which are, up to point, comparable to those through which the polis financed cults), and the rites called *demotika* [18]. The participation of the demes as demes in the central polis rites [19] and their contri-

[12] Cf. e.g. IG II² 410; 661; 689; 775; 780; 783. Cf. also P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford 1972, p. 43 n. 6; R. Parker in *Gifts*, p. 138.

[13] Cf. esp. van Straten, 1981, pp. 65-151; Linders, 1987, pp. 115-122.

[14] Cf. Linders, 1987, *passim*, esp. p. 116.

[15] Cf. e.g. LSCG no 69.20-24; and cf. Petropoulou, 1981, pp. 53-54.

[16] Cf. e.g. LSCG no 69.9-13; Pfohl, 1980, no 94. On fines paid to the gods cf. K. Latte, *Heiliges Recht*, Tübingen 1920, 48-61 and passim.

[17] Cf. e.g. LSCGS no 85; for Athens: cf. Schlaifer, 1940, pp. 233-260.

[18] Cf. Whitehead, 1986, pp. 178-180; cf. 163-175.

[19] I discuss this participation in " What is polis religion? ".

butions to them does not affect this distinction. For the complex modalities through which the polis provided the necessary revenues and animals included contributions made directly by the polis, individual liturgies, and contributions of [at least some of] the constituent groups, such as the demes. In an important Koan rite (LSCG no 151 A) the tribes, or, if the animals sent in the name of the tribes failed to be selected, the *chiliastyes*, provided the sacrificial animal.

Gene also participated as a group in at least some central polis cults, making sacrifices and providing the victims (cf. e.g. *Salam.* l. 88). Another category making a contribution in some central polis cults in some cities, whose participation is comparable to, and modelled on, that of the polis constituent groups, is, we shall see, colonists and " allies ". Each worshipping group provides the organizing framework and authority for the contributions pertaining to its cults, and also for its participation as a group in the " superior " order group cults — deme for polis, genos for phratry and polis. In the case of the genos Salaminioi, the Salaminioi themselves finance the sacrifices which they make as a genos — be it in cults confined to the genos, or in central polis cults in which the genos contributes as a genos (cf. e.g. *Salam.* 1.88) or in phratry cults (*Salam.* 97). This contrasts with the sacrifices in which the Salaminioi played a role on behalf of the whole polis, namely the central polis cults in which they held the priesthoods, for which victims were provided by the polis, and by the *deipnophoroi* and *oschophoroi* who may have been members of the genos, and who may have offered this contribution as a liturgy [20]. The provision of victims to the Salaminioi in the context of these cults is surely comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the provision of victims to the Molpoi by the polis of Miletos in the course of certain polis festivals (LSAM no 50.19-23).

The fact that the central focus, and the central mode of articulation, of Greek religion was ritual, and not the personal inner spiritual experience, and that much ritual activity took place in groups, must not be taken to entail that Greek religion is a " group religion " in the sense that group worship was the norm and individual cultic acts somehow exceptional. In my view, the individual was without doubt the primary, the basic, cultic unit in polis religion — and not, for example, a small group such as the oikos. The following arguments make this clear. First, the modalities of individual acts of worship are the same as those of group worship, be that group the polis as a whole or any of the polis subdivisions. This suggests a religious mentality in which the individual's act of worship is not different in nature from that of the group's, and thus a religious system in which the basic cult units are individuals, who are also grouped in a variety of ways and participate in group cults. Personal prayers have a counterpart in polis prayers, offered for, and on behalf of, the polis, indeed prayers are a constituent part of all cultic acts (cf. e.g. Aesch. 3.18; cf. LSCG no 69.25-30). Personal curses have a counterpart

[20] Cf. *Salam.* 20 ss. Cf. W. Ferguson, ' The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion ', in *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 28, 34.

in polis curses. More importantly, the category " individual cultic act " comprises a very important aspects of Greek cult activity, the many votive gifts dedicated to deities by individuals, which begin at an early period [21] and cannot convincingly be considered marginal in religious significance. They have a counterpart in dedications made by the whole polis or other groups within it. The irregularity and *ad hoc* nature of individual dedications does not mean that they were perceived to be different in nature or importance from the cult acts performed on a regular basis. Cities, as well as individuals, made votive offerings to the gods on special occasions. Individuals offered votive gifts on a variety of occasions [22] and not only in times of crisis [23]. Dedications by individuals, like polis and group dedications, were often commemorated through inscriptions [24], which perpetuated the memory of the donor's action and his-her claim to a special relationship with the divine [25]; this shows that the dedication was perceived as a permanent act of worship, and that individual dedications were not simply crisis acts, but were an important modality in the relationship between men and gods. The same mentality, of course, underlies humbler and less permanent and uninscribed gifts.

Another important individual cultic act is the individual sacrifice. In many sacred laws the category " sacrifice of a private individual at a sanctuary " is treated as normal, for regulations are set out on the one hand for polis sacrifices and on the other for a private individual's sacrifice (cf. e.g. *Horos* 3, 1985, 105-7, ll. 2-10, 16-21). Nor are the regulations or the modalities pertaining to the latter significantly different from those for the former, so as to suggest that they were thought of as different in nature, a different category — except that the polis commands, naturally enough, a hierarchical superiority. Obviously, the people who sacrificed did not consume the sacrificial meat on their own, but what concerns us is not who participated on an *ad hoc* basis, but the fact that this was considered to be an individual cultic act, an individual sacrifice, and that this was a significant category. The individual sacrifice is a recognized cult act also in gentilicial sanctuaries, where the regulations for " when a private individual sacrifices " contrast with those for " when the genos sacrifices " (cf. LSCG no 119.2-9). " Individual sacrifice " and " individual votive gift " are combined in the dedication of votive offerings inscribed with an inscription commemorating a sacrifice offered by an individual (cf. e.g. Pfohl [n. 16] no 49). The foundation of altars and shrines by individuals as a result of individual experiences was apparently not uncommon, at least in the 4th cent. (cf. Pl. *Leg.* 909E-910E) [26], and

[21] Cf. n. 22. On the underlying mentality cf. also Burkert, 1987, pp. 43-50.

[22] Cf. van Straten, 1981, pp. 88-102.

[23] As is suggested by J. D. Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion*, Chapel Hill and London 1983, p. 89. Cf. a sample of dedications not pertaining to an occasion of need or crisis: van Straten, 1981, pp. 92-96.

[24] Cf. samples in van Straten, 1981, passim; Pfohl, 1980, nos 45-47, 49, 51.

[25] Cf. Burkert, 1987, p. 49. Cf. also Lyc. *Leocr.* 136.

[26] Cf. also M. Guarducci, ' L'offerta di Xenokrateia nel santuario di Cefiso al Falero ',

though Plato disapproved, the custom was clearly perfectly acceptable to the actual polis. Consequently, it is clear that individual cult acts were not abnormal in polis religion, or different in nature from cult activities performed in groups; individual worship was one of the main modalities of Greek cult.

Another argument in favour of the view that the individual was the basic cultic unit in polis religion is the fact that in cult individuals were grouped in various types of groupings, according to age, sex and, perhaps most significantly, profession (at the Chalkeia for example [27]), as well as affiliation to polis subdivisions. That is, the cultic articulation of the citizen body was manifold, and the individual was deployed in a variety of ways which signalled a variety of identity elements, not all of which were dependent on the others. It was not the case that one participated in the higher cult unit simply in virtue of being a member of the lower unit until the all-encompassing polis level was reached. This articulation, then, seems to be governed by a religious mentality in which the individual was the basic cult unit. Individuals participated as individuals in some central polis rites (cf. e.g. LSCG no 92.38 for a procession in a central polis cult). They were, of course, always excluded as individuals when they had committed certain types of offence (cf. e.g. [Dem] 59.85-6). The perception that the individual was the primary cultic unit surely also underlies the existence of individual liturgies linked to the performance of ritual duties (cf. e.g. LSCGS no 124; cf. Is. VIII.19-20 for a deme liturgy of this type involving women). This view makes best sense also because it entails a less radical " rupture " between the " normal " polis cults and those involving an individual initiation and-or choice, such as the Eleusinian Mysteries, or cults practised in the private cult associations, and can thus best explain the absence of a radical discontinuity between the two types and also the observable intimate relationship between the Eleusinian Mysteries and the rest of Athenian central polis religion. Yet another argument in its favour is provided by the religious restrictions accompanying the grant of citizenship, which do not extend to the next generation if the latter are the legitimate children of an Athenian woman (cf. e.g. [Dem.] 59.106) — clearly a practice governed by a mentality in which the individual is the basic cult unit. Finally, also more naturally explained if the individual was the basic cultic unit is the fact that — besides private associations — *ad hoc* collections of individuals also formed themselves into cultic groups with their own community of cult; thus we learn

in D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor eds., *Phoros. Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt*. Locust Valley, New York, 1974, p. 59, on the dedication of altars. For the 5th cent. cf. Themistokles' dedication of a temple to Artemis Aristoboule (Plut. *Them.* 22; *Mor.* 869 C-D; Travlos, 1971, p. 121).

[27] Cf. E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica*, Madison, Wisconsin 1983, 38-39. On professional groups in cult cf. also L. Gernet and A. Boulanger, *Le génie grec dans la religion*, Paris 1970 (orig. publ. 1932), p. 249. The levy of tax destined to finance a particular cult on groups such as shipowners can also be perceived as part of this type of articulation — and this is not affected by the fact that non-citizens were also involved (cf. Schlaifer, 1940, pp. 233-234).

from Dinarchos II.9 that prisoners formed a cult group sufficiently conscious of its identity as a group to exclude those felt not to be worthy of their communion. This may appear " natural ", but only because, in our society — as on my model also in the Greek polis — the basic cult unit is the individual. It is clear, then, that the basic cult unit in polis religion is the individual, and the basic religious framework, the significant higher order cult group, is the polis. As we saw, this is also the main articulation of participation in Panhellenic cult, in which the two main types of worshipping unit are the polis and the individual, whose participation is mediated by the polis.

In so far as religion defines, and plays a considerable role in giving identity to, the group — the polis and each of its subdivisions — there are closures in polis cults. But other factors, among them the perception of common Greekness and the Panhellenic dimension of religion, create pressures towards openings. Similar pressures were also created by religious activities which involved worship at sanctuaries other than those of one's polis, such as the consultation of oracles, pilgrimages and the dedication of votives at particular sanctuaries, already attested in the eigth century. The poleis emerged, and their religious systems set in place, at a moment in which most parts of the Greek world were opening up much more drastically than before towards each other and towards the outside world — most strikingly through colonization, and, in religion, through the emergence of Panhellenic sanctuaries and the radiation of Homer and Hesiod, who articulated a Panhellenic religion. Thus the openings as well as the closures were built into these religious systems from the beginning. Delphi's increasingly important role helped strengthen the Panhellenic dimension. Eventually, the four Panhellenic Games gave a focus, and greater regularity and intensity, to inter-polis ritually focussed contacts in which the Panhellenism of the international archaic aristocracy played a crucial role. The openings and the closures of the polis towards outsiders varied from city to city and from period to period. At the closed end of the spectrum should be situated Sparta and Lyttos [28], at the open Athens (cf. Strabo 10.3.18). A particular type of opening, of link, exists between colony and mother city; the latter retained some share in the cults of the former [29], who, in addition, participated with offerings to some religious festivals of the mother-cities [30]. Thus, while the religious system of the colony was autonomous — though open and interacting —, when viewed from the inside, when viewed from the mother-city

[28] Cf. H. and M. van Effenterre, ' Nouvelles lois archaïques de Lyttos ', *BCH* 109, 1985, pp. 179-188.

[29] Cf. e.g. Thuc. I.25.4; cf. Graham, 1964, pp. 10; 14-15; 49-51; 100-103; 153; 154-165; W. Leschhorn, *Gründer der Stadt*, Stuttgart 1984, pp. 96-97; Malkin, 1987, p. 266.

[30] Graham, 1964, pp. 154-165 esp. 161; cf. R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972, p. 293. On this relationship was modelled the participation in Athenian cult of Athens' allies, who, after the Treasury of the League was transferred to Athens, brought the tribute, and attended theatrical performances, during the Dionysia, and were eventually obliged to bring a cow and a panoply to the Great Panathenaia (cf. Meiggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-295).

it could also be seen as a dependent part of the latter's religious system — in which it had originated. [At the foundation of a colony *sacra* and the sacred fire were carried from the mother city [31], but with the establishment of the new cults and sanctuaries a new system was created, in which the oecist's cult represented the colony's first own, new, cult which helped give it identity [32]]. This symbolic dependence, and the colony — mother-city cultic relationship, which became a schema for expressing a (real, perceived or manufactured) genetic (or metaphorically genetic) relationship between cities, did not only have negative connotations for the colony. It could be perceived as a privilege when the relationship was with a prestigious polis, especially one with prestigious cults [33].

In every polis non-citizens could only worship as *xenoi*. But not all *xenoi* had the same status, some were admitted into the system more than others. An important distinction is that between foreigners passing through and metics settled in the polis [34]. Metics in Athens [35] were allowed a certain measure of participation. Of the various levels of participation in the cult of a Greek polis, the highest, being eligible for priesthoods, was limited to Athenian citizens [36]. The lowest, being present at a rite and pray, was extended to *xenoi* and slaves for the *demotele* rites [37], though slaves were excluded from certain cults and certain temples (cf. Is. 6.50). A more significant type of ritual participation involves sharing in the sacrificial meat; metics did so in certain particular contexts, both in central polis cults (cf. LSCG no 13.25-6, a sacred law pertaining to the Hephaisteia) and in the context of the demes in which they were resident [38]. At the Panathenaia metics took part in the procession, holding a honorific office, *skaphephoria* for men, *hydriaphoria* and *skiadephoria* for women [39], while freedmen and other barbarians carried an oak branch through the Agora (Bekker, *Anecd.* 1.242, 3-6). The Panathenaia could thus be said to have articulated the Athenian polis as an open system, with the citizens at the centre. An important Athenian cult in which all

[31] Cf. Malkin, 1987, pp. 70-72; 114-134.

[32] Cf. Malkin, 1987, pp. 189-240.

[33] Cf. e.g. IG IV^2.1.47; Graham (n. 29), pp. 163-164.

[34] Cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 611; Ar. *Ach.* 502-508; Baslez, 1984, p. 48; Whitehead, 1977, pp. 39-40 and 41 ff. Cf. also LSAM no 59.3-6.

[35] On whom there is most evidence (cf. Whitehead, 1977, passim; Ph. Gauthier, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*, Nancy 1972, pp. 108-149; Baslez, 1984, pp. 127-149; on cult participation cf. also A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford 1968, p. 61 and n. 6; Deubner, 1969, p. 28 nn. 3-6.

[36] Cf. Dem. 57.47-48; [Dem.] 59.92.104.106; cf. also Whitehead, 1977, p. 86.

[37] Cf. [Dem.] 59.85. Cf. also Callim. *Aet.* 178.1-2; Deubner, 1969, pp. 94-95; 96; 118; 152; Whitehead, 1986, p. 214.

[38] Cf. the deme law of the Skambonidai [IG I^3 244 C 4-9; LSCG no 10 C 4-9. Cf. on it Whitehead, 1977, pp. 86-87, cf, also pp. 28, 75, 145; Baslez, 1984, p. 77]: in the festival of the tribal hero Leos the metics living in Skambonidai share in the sacrifice.

[39] On these offices cf. Whitehead, 1977, 87-88.

Greeks, including slaves, could participate was the Eleusinian Mysteries — from which barbarians and those who had impure hands were excluded [40]. Metics were excluded from the cults of phratries and tribes [41]. Metics also practised their own cults, mostly in private religious associations, which, at least eventually, and by the fourth century almost all of them, included both citizens and non-citizens [42]. Metics had probably had their own associations from an early date, which can be said to have been " encompassed ", in the diluted sense of being sanctioned, by the polis perhaps from an early date, if the Solonian law quoted (probably with accretions) in a corrupt passage in *Dig.* 47.22.4, which permitted the regulations of various associations to be binding so far as they did not conflict with the laws of the polis, had indeed contained a reference to private religious associations [43]. A stricter and more significant form of " encompassing " and sanctioning religious associations of foreigners is that involving the grant of land to them by the ekklesia so that they could own a sanctuary [44]. A much more radical opening of the polis religious system took place in Athens in the third quarter of the 5th cent., before 429/8, when that system took up a foreign deity, the Thracian goddess Bendis, who was incorporated in Athenian polis religion [45]. Divine sanction had been sought and obtained for this action (cf. LSCGS no 6.15-7; LSCG no 46.6-7).

As in Athens, slaves were excluded from certain cults and shrines also in other cities (cf. e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 267D). *Xenoi* were also excluded from certain rites and shrines, especially those which defined the citizen group. Thus, for example, at Delos a marble lintel which almost certainly came from a door in the shrine of Archegetes Anios, the heros archegetes of the Delians, bears the inscription " It is not lawful for a *xenos to enter* " [46]. It is significant that it is the cult of archegetes Anios, from which foreigners are excluded; for the cult of the Archegetes stands also for, and helps define, the identity of the polis [47]. A

[40] Isocr. IV.157; Hdt. VIII.65; cf. G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton and London 1961, pp. 247-248; A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens. The Family and Property*, Oxford 1968, p. 166.

[41] Whitehead, 1977, p. 86. Also from gene cults, but so were most Athenians, who were not members of a genos.

[42] Cf. Andrewes, 1961, p. 11; Whitehead, 1977, pp. 88-89.

[43] Cf. Andrewes, 1961, pp. 2 n. 7 and 12 n. 40; Whitehead, 1977, p. 88; M. L. Freyburger-Galland, G. Freyburger, J.-Ch. Tautil, *Sectes religieuses en Grèce et à Rome dans l'antiquité païenne*, Paris 1986, pp. 61-63.

[44] Thus cf. IG II^2 337 (on which cf. Pečirca, 1966, pp. 59-61; Whitehead, 1977, p. 88).

[45] Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 327A-328B; IG I^3 136; LSCGS no 6; cf. also LSCG 45; 46; Nilsson, 1967, 833-836; Deubner 1968, 219-220; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977, 149-152; Pečirca, 1966, pp. 122-130.

[46] LSCGS 49; cf. Ph. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*, Paris 1970, pp. 423, 427.

[47] Cf. also Malkin, 1987, pp. 189-266 passim cf. esp. pp. 241-250,

particular category of exclusion concerns particular groups of foreigners [48]. We know that barbarians were explicitly excluded from some cults, and we can surmise that they were excluded from many others also. Non-Greeks were not prevented from consulting the major Panhellenic oracle at Delphi, but they were not allowed to seek consultation in all oracles [49]. With regard to openings and exclusions in the polis subdivisions, we saw that in Athens, demes, unlike phratries, allowed some participation to outsiders, not only other citizens, but also metics. But deme rites also had their closures, rites in which only demesmen could participate [50], which helped define the membership of the group " deme ".

A different and ritually very significant type of exclusion was that of one or the other sex from certain rites or cults. (The exclusion of men from the Thesmophoria has been immortalized by Aristophanes; for examples of the exclusion of women, cf. LSCGS no 63; LSCG no 89.5-6).

In the classical period polis religion encompassed all religious activity within the polis. First, all such activity was perceived as symbolically legitimated through the religious system of the polis, which shaped the perception of the gods and articulated the relationships between men and the divine — with the help of the anchoring provided by the oracle; and second, the polis was the authority which sanctioned all cult activity within its boundaries and mediated it beyond them. Of course, the process of recovering perceptions of this type is vulnerable to the danger that our assessments may be shaped by our own culturally determined assumptions and expectations and thus distort the ancient realities. A strategy which helps block as far as possible such corruption is to begin by locating the cults under consideration within the relevant network of articulated relationships. This I have done in the paper which is complementary to the present essay, " What is polis religion? ". As a result, we can see that the polis encompasses and regulates the religious discourse of its subdivisions. A point that needs to be stressed is that all cult acts, including those which some modern commentators are inclined to think of as " private ", are (religiously) dependent on the polis. First, oikos cults also derive their religious authority from, and are regulated by, the polis. This is made clear in Xen. *Mem.* I.3.1 and Xen. *Mem.* 4.3.16 where we are told that to those who enquire how they should make themselves agreeable to the gods, or how they should act either with regard to sacrifices or with regard to cult offered to their ancestors, the Pythia replies that they would be acting piously by acting according to the law of the polis. A series of other arguments supports this interpretation. First, the polis regulated oikos cults by law in a

[48] Cf. Hdt. VIII.134: Thebans at the Amphiaraeion. Hdt. V.72.3: Dorians not allowed in the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis, the most important central polis cult. LSCG 110: Dorians excluded from certain rites or a festival, of Kore (almost certainly city-protector in function) at Paros.

[49] For example, they were excluded from those of Trophonios and Amphiaraos: cf. Hdt. VIII.134; Petropoulou, 1981, pp. 51-525.

[50] Cf. Whitehead, 1986, p. 205.

variety of ways [51]. One, it regulated " private " funerals through funerary legislation. Two, it sometimes took over the responsibility for the disposal of the body of certain categories of people; thus the polis in classical Athens gave an honourary funeral to its war-dead and disposed dishonourably of the bodies of traitors. Three, the polis defined and policed obligations between members of the oikos, especially of sons towards parents and grandparents (cf. e.g. Is. 8.32), which included burial and the offer of the customary rites thereafter (cf. Xen. *Mem.* II.2.13; Dem. 24.107; Din. II.8; cf. also [Dem.] 43.57-8). Even more significantly, both practice and such explicit articulations as we have suggest that the burial and offering of the customary rites was perceived as affecting not simply the individual dead person, but above all the law and the gods, and so also the polis' relationships to the gods (cf. Aesch. I.14). Four, the polis prescribed that the most solemn commemorations of the dead took place as a central polis ritual, when everyone commemorated their immediate ancestors at the same time at the festival of the Genesia [52].

Second, the cults which appear to be the oikos cults par excellence, above all that of Zeus Herkeios which seems to symbolize the oikos as a group [53], are also part of the cultic nexus of the central polis and of the polis subdivisions, part of the network of interwoven relationships between the cults of the central polis and those of its subdivisions. Since, we shall now see, the modality of the relationship between oikos cults and other polis cults is the same as, for example, that between the phratries' and the central polis' cults of the Phratrioi gods we may conclude that the relationship between oikos cult and other polis cults is similar to that between phratry cults and other polis cults. Zeus Herkeios had a deme cult [54] and a central polis cult in Athens [55], including an altar on the Acropolis, in the Pandroseion, under the sacred olive-tree (Philochoros FGrH 328 F 67), and thus in connection with the most central cults of the Athenian polis which are associated with the constitution of that polis. " Having " a cult of Zeus Herkeios (and a cult of Apollo Patroos) was a necessary qualification for archonship in Athens (*AthPol* 55.III). The exact significance of this requirement is problematic. But it is possible that, as Andrewes suggested [56], the cult of Zeus Herkeios

[51] The polis had a say in the affairs, even the membership, of the oikos in general: it legislated to ensure its continuation through adoption (cf. e.g. Is. 2.10.25.45; 7.30), and to determine who should marry girls with no brothers, through whom inheritance was transmitted (cf. e.g. [Dem.] 43.52-55).

[52] Cf. esp. the discussion in S. C. Humphreys, *The family, women and death*, London 1983, pp. 87-88.

[53] Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 486-487; Hdt. VI.68 cf. 67. The hearth and the cult of Hestia is above all the ritual centre of the oikos.

[54] Cf. *Thorik.* l. 22 and left and right side [cf. Daux (cf. Abbrev.) 157-160].

[55] Cf. Travlos, 1971, pp. 302, 478, fig. 602. Cult of Zeus Herkeios at Olympia: Paus. V.14.7. On this god cf. also Harpocration s.v. Herkeios Zeus; Wycherley, 1964, p. 177; Nilsson, 1967, pp. 402-403; Burkert, 1985, pp. 130, 248, 255-256; Andrewes, 1961, pp. 7-8.

[56] Andrewes, 1961, pp. 7-8.

was in the symbolic custody of the genos which presided over each phratry, in which case the altar of Zeus Herkeios in the individual house courtyards would have been symbolically dependent on that of the genos. In my view, this may well have begun this way, but — even leaving open the question of the institution of the central polis cult of Zeus Herkeios with its higher order legitimation — in post-Kleisthenic times the house altars and household cult of Zeus Herkeios would probably have come *de facto* to be seen as symbolically dependent on, and sanctioned by, other higher order cults of Zeus Herkeios, especially of the deme — and the central polis. In any case, if the notion of symbolic custody by the gene is correct, it fits well with the articulation presented here, according to which the cult of Zeus Herkeios in the oikos was not a self-contained " private " cult, but was intertwined with, and derived its authority from, the higher order cult, and ultimately the central polis cult. Since it is the polis who defines religion, including the cult of Zeus Herkeios, the individual manifestations of this cult, in the individual houses, derive their authority, their religious validity, from that central polis representation. Zeus Ktesios also had both a domestic and a central polis cult [57].

Third, Lyc. *Leocr.* 25-6 (cf. 56) makes clear that the oikos cult was perceived to be part of the polis religious system from which it derived its forms. For one of the many blameworthy and treasonable things that Leocrates is said to have done when he fled Athens was that he transferred his ancentral *sacra* (*hiera ta patroa*) to Megara. Various statements in this passage make clear that the head of the oikos was perceived as an " administrator " of the oikos cult, without the authority to do what he liked with his ancentral *sacra* which were perceived to be a part of polis religion as a whole. First, it is stressed that these *sacra* had been handed down to Leocrates by his ancestors who had established them according to the polis' laws and ancestral customs, and thus that it is thanks to, and in the framework of, the polis that he came in possession of them. Second, the implication is that he committed impiety when he forced these *sacra* to abandon the temples and the land in which they had been establised and to settle in an alien land in which they were strangers — to the land and also to the traditional rites of the Megarian polis. This shows that all cults, including oikos cults, were closely connected to the geographical, sociopolitical and religious entity " polis " which helped shape them. Third, it is claimed that this export of the *sacra* created the danger that the divine help for the polis would have been diminished, exported with them. This reveals a mentality in which the protection of the gods depended on polis religion in all its individual articulations, cults, rites, images, in all their manifestations, central polis cults, deme cults, oikos cults and so on; and in which the abstraction of one element diminishes, and renders less effective, the whole system. [The forensic context and orator's aims do not affect this; for this argument could only have been effective if it was credible, able to strike a chord with

[57] On the latter cf. Dem. 21.53; cf. Wycherley, 1964, p. 177.

the audience]. This, therefore, is another argument in favour of the view that oikos cults were perceived to be part of the polis cults and were interdependent with the whole system of polis religion.

A second point that needs to be stressed is that cult activities which in culturally determined terms would appear to pertain to " personal " religion are in fact also part of polis religion. We saw that individual cult activities were but one particular manifestation of polis cult. The other side of this phenomenon can be illustrated by the example of a personal dedication to an oecist [58], a type of cult which in modern culturally determined assumptions would be considered a par excellence " state " artificial cult unlikely to attract what some call " personal piety ". Polis religion also encompased the Eleusinian Mysteries and Dionysiac rites — which involve personal initiation and personal salvation. The intimate connection between the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Athenian polis which regulated them and had authority over them is too well documented to need discussion. With regard to Dionysiac rites, which differed widely in different places and periods [59], in classical Athens, where the evidence is sufficient for us to form a picture, Dionysiac rites are wholly integrated into the socio-religious structures of the polis [60]. Limitations of space prevent me from discussing the relationship between polis religion and non-institutionalized sectarian discourse of the Orphic type; it seems possible that at least some manifestations of the latter may have been perceived as lying outside the authority of the polis discourse — some important aspects of which they did in fact challenge, unlike, for example, the tragedians, whose alleged challenge to the religious discourse of the polis is a modern mirage, resulting from the culturally determined reading both of the tragedies and of a religious discourse which was not a dogmatic schema demanding faith, but an open system proposing certain articulations of the world and transversed by the fundamental Greek category of unknowability.

Abbreviations:

CID	= G. Rougemont, *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes, vol. I. Lois sacrées et règlements religieux*, Paris 1977.
LSAM	= F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie mineure*, Paris 1955.
LSCG	= F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969.
LSCGS	= F. Sokolowsky, *Lois sacrées des cites grecques. Supplément*, Paris 1962.

[58] To Antiphemos (Malkin, 1987, pp. 194-195).

[59] Cf. Henrichs, 1982, pp. 151-153.

[60] C. Bérard and C. Bron, ' Bacchos au coeur de la cité. Le thiase dionysiaque dans l'espace politique ', in *L'association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes*, ' Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Ecole française de Rome, Rome 24-25 mai 1984 ', Rome 1986, p. 27, cf. pp. 13-30. Cf. also the later Miletos decree LSAM no 48. On the group aspect of Dionysiac cult activity: cf. Henrichs, 1982, pp. 150-151.

Salaminioi = The inscription of 363/2 B.C. of the genos Salaminioi with the cult regulations, published by W. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 1-74.
Thorikos = The calendar of the deme Thorikos, for the text of which with a commentary see G. Daux, ' Le calendrier de Thorikos au Musée J. Paul Getty ', *AntCl* 52, 1983, pp. 150-174, with Parker in *Gifts* (n. 12), pp. 144-147 and *passim*.
Andrewes, 1961 = A. Andrewes, " Philochoros on Phratries ", in *JHS* 81, 1961.
Baslez, 1984 = M. F. Baslez, *L'Etranger dans la Grèce antique*, Paris 1984.
Burkert, 1985 = W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*², Oxford 1985.
Burkert, 1987 = W. Burkert, " Offerings in perspective: surrender, distribution, exchange ", in *Gifts*, pp. 43-50.
Deubner, 1969 = L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Wien 1969³.
Garland, 1984 = R. Garland, " Religious authority in archaic and classical Athens ", in *BSA* 79, 1984.
Gifts = T. Linders - G. Nordquist eds., *Gifts to the Gods*, " Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985 ", Uppsala 1987.
Graham, 1964 = A. J. Graham, *Colony and mother city in ancient Greece*, Manchester 1964.
Henrichs, 1982 = A. Henrichs, " Changing Dionysiac Identities ", in B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders eds., *Jewish and Christian Self-definition* III, *Self-definition in the Graeco-Roman World*, London 1982.
Jordan, 1979 = B. Jordan, *Servants of the God*, Göttingen 1979.
Linders, 1987 = T. Linders, " Gods, Gifts, Society ", in *Gifts*, pp. 115-122.
Malkin, 1987 = I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonisation in Ancient Greece*, Leiden 1987.
Nilsson, 1967 = M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechische Religion*, I³, 1967.
Pečirca, 1966 = J. Pečirca, *The formula for the grant of enktesis in Attic inscriptions*, Prague 1966.
Petropoulou, 1981 = A. Petropoulou, " The Eparche Documents and the Early Oracle at Oropus ", in *GRBS* 22, 1981.
Pfohl, 1980 = G. Pfohl, *Griechische Inschriften als Zeugnisse der privaten und öffentlichen Lebens*, Münich 1980².
Schlaifer, 1940 = R. Schlaifer, " Notes on Athenian Public Cults ", in *HSCP* 51, 1940, pp. 233-260.
Travlos, 1971 = J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971.
van Straten, 1981 = F. T. van Straten, " Gifts for the Gods ", in H. S. Versnell ed., *Faith, Hope and Worship*, Leiden 1981, pp. 65-151.
Whitehead, 1977 = D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, Cambridge 1977.
Whitehead, 1986 = D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica*, Princeton 1986.
Wycherley, 1964 = R. E. Wycherley, " The Olympieion at Athens ", in *GRBS* 5, 1964.

ALCUNE RIFLESSIONI SULL'URBANISTICA DI ANTINOE (EGITTO)

IDA BALDASSARRE

Le attività di scavo e di ricerca che si sono svolte e si svolgono ad Antinoe hanno preso in esame essenzialmente zone di necropoli [1], e questo, oltre che per ragioni specifiche [2], essenzialmente, credo, per lo sgomento che suscita lo stato

Abbreviazioni supplementari:

J. Beaujeu = J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire*, Paris 1955.
A. Calderini = A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, I, 2, Madrid 1966.
A. Calderini - S. Daris = A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, suppl. I, Milano 1988.
E. Jomard = E. Jomard, *Description de l'Egypte*, Paris 1818.
J. Lauffray = J. Lauffray, « L'urbanisme antique en Proche Orient », in *Acta Congressus Madvigiani 1954*, Copenaghen 1958.
G. A. Mansuelli = G. A. Mansuelli, « La città nei primi secoli dell'impero », in *ANRW* II, 12.1, 1982, p. 145 ss.
E. Mitchell = E. Mitchell, « Osservazioni topografiche preliminari sull'impianto urbanistico di Antinoe », in *Vicino Oriente*, V, 1982 (1983), pp. 171-179.
O. Montevecchi = O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Torino 1973.
U. Uggeri, 1974 = U. Uggeri, « La Chiesa paleocristiana presso la porta orientale », in *Antinoe* (1965-1968), Roma 1974, p. 37 ss.

* Il testo di questo scritto è stato presentato nelle « Giornate di studio in onore di A. Adriani », tenutesi all'Università di Roma, « La Sapienza », il 26-27 novembre 1984: alla memoria di A. Adriani, che ad Antinoe ha operato durante la sua permanenza in Egitto, è dedicato come modesto, ma affettuoso ricordo.

[1] S. Donadoni in *Antinoe* (1965-68), Roma 1974, pp. 15-21 (con la bibl. citata a p. 16, nota 1); Idem., « La necropoli meridionale », *ibid.*, p. 141 ss.; I. Baldassarre - I. Bragantini, « La necropoli meridionale di Antinoe. Saggi 1978 », in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 69, 1983, pp. 157-166; M. Manfredi, « Ricerche papirologiche in Egitto », in *Quaderni della Ricerca scientifica*, nr. 100, Roma, CNR 1978, p. 291 ss.

[2] La ricerca di papiri è uno degli scopi principali degli scavi in Egitto e i kimân delle necropoli, non disturbati dai sebbakhîn, offrono maggiori possibilità di ritrovamenti; cfr. anche la bibl. alla nota seguente.

discourse and the pleasures of Aphrodite. This Greek attitude stands in strong contrast to beliefs found in areas like Etruria and Anatolia, despite the strength of the Greek artistic influence.

Certain groups of evidence have suggested that this opposition is not as clear as it might seem. This paper seeks to understand the effect of attitudes to life on attitudes to death, and comes to the following conclusion:

1. The sculpted banquet scenes usually called *Totenmahl* reliefs belong to hero cult and not to the conception of the dead (as J.-M. Dentzer has shown).

2. Individual monuments occasionally show a *symposion* in connection with death (the Tomba del Tuffatore, the Lysimachides monument in the Kerameikos at Athens); but these works show that there was no specific sympotic iconography connected with death.

3. Although sympotic objects (cups, *kraters* etc.) are often found in funerary contexts, there is no evidence in burial customs of a sustained belief in a sympotic after-life; the funeral feast does not involve the participation of the dead, nor are offerings of food and drink regularly made to the dead. The conception of an annual return of the dead to a ritual *symposion* at the Anthesteria should be rejected. The opposition between the *symposion* and death is expressed in the ritual exclusion of the name of Dionysus from the funeral context.

4. The offering of food and drink to the dead was rather associated with necromancy and the raising of spirits: the ritual was a dangerous form of black magic.

5. It is however certain that the mystery cults in general offered the promise of a sympotic life after death, and that this was their main attraction.

6. The point of mediation between death and the *symposion* is to be found in hero cult: by public act or private belief the dead could sometimes be regarded as heroes, and as such could partake in the sympotic life of the immortals.

Thus the very rigidity of this polarity provoked a series of confrontations between life and death, which can be read as an attempt to penetrate the mystery of death, and to resolve the paradox of Heraclitus: ' Hades and Dionysus are the same '.

C. Sourvinou-Inwood, Further aspects of polis religion.

This paper discusses the role and function of priests and priestesses and their relationship to the polis, the financing of cults, the openings and closures of the religious system of the polis, and argues that it was the individual — and not, for example, the *oikos* — that was the primary, the basic cult unit in polis religion, and also that in the classical period polis religion encompased, symbolically legitimated, and regulated all religious activity within the polis, including cults which modern commentators are inclined to consider private, such as *oikos* cults.

I. Baldassarre, Alcune riflessioni sull'urbanistica di Antinoe (Egitto).

Starting from a new topographical plan of *Antinoe* made by arch. E. Mitchell in 1981-82, it is possible to recognize the basic outline of the original urbanistic lay out of Hadrianic age. The object of the paper is to investigate the principles informing such a conscious and voluntary planning act of the Emperor.

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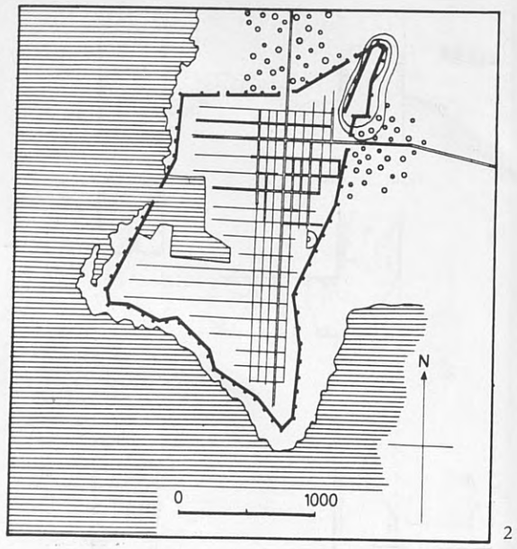
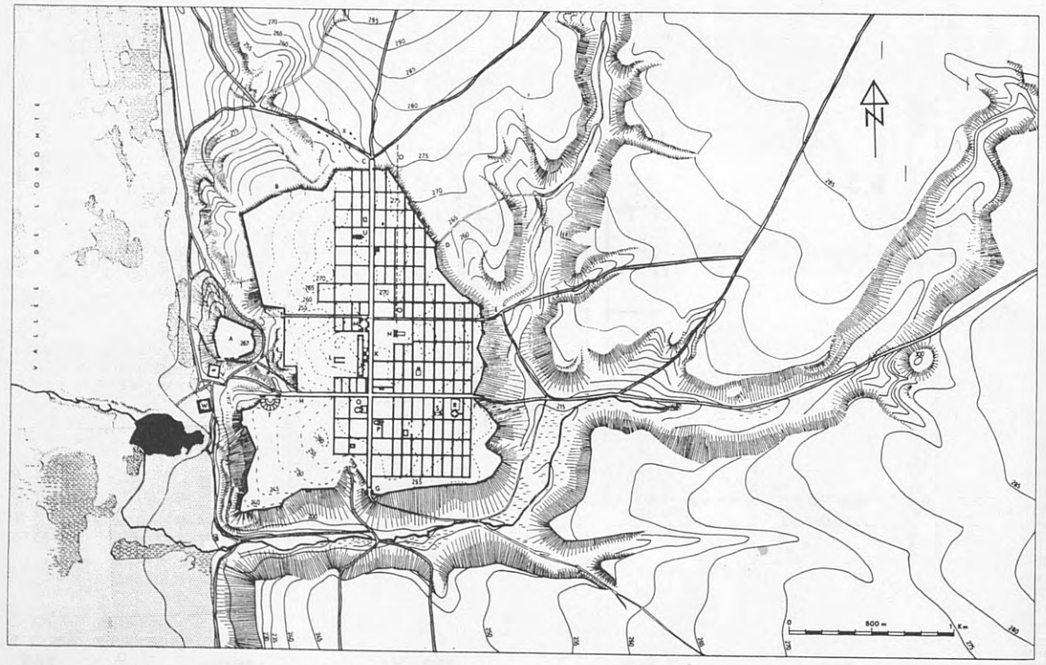
ILLUSTRAZIONI

1



2



3

1. Pianta di Antiochia. 2. Pianta di Laodicea. 3. Pianta di Apamea.

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