

Sacred landscapes of Aetolia and Achaia: synoecism processes and non-urban sanctuaries

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“On the acropolis of Patrae is a sanctuary of Artemis Laphria. The surname of the goddess is a foreign one, and her image too was brought in from elsewhere. For after Calydon with the rest of Aetolia had been laid waste by the Emperor Augustus in order that the Aetolian people might be incorporated into Nicopolis above Actium, the people of Patrae thus secured the image of Laphria. Most of the images out of Aetolia and from Acarnania were brought by Augustus’ orders to Nicopolis, but to Patrae he gave, with other spoils from Calydon, the image of Laphria, which even in my time was still worshipped on the acropolis of Patrae” (Paus. 7. 18. 8-9; translated by Jones 1961).

“In this part of the city [agora and the adjoining areas] is also a sanctuary of Dionysos surnamed Calydonian – for the

image of Dionysos too was brought from Calydon” (Paus. 7. 21. 1; translated by Jones 1961).

Introduction

In many ways – geographically, culturally and historically – the landscapes of Achaia (especially Western Achaia) and Aetolia form a unity even though physically they are separated by the gulf of Kalydon and Corinth. They are therefore treated together in this paper. The passages from Pausanias’ description of Achaia given above serve as a good illustration of their cultural-historical integration. Here Pausanias describes how Augustus soon after his victory at Actium and his foundation of Nicopolis, moved the cult of Artemis Laphria and Dionysos at Kalydon across the gulf to Patras (Figs. 1-2). As scholars



Fig. 1. View from the approximate site of the Artemis Laphria temple on the acropolis of Patras towards the Laphrion-hill at Kalydon, her original place of worship, and visible to the left of the Varassova Mountain

have already argued, this act of cult transfer appears to have played an important role in consolidating Augustus' large scale synoecism policy in Achaia. Pausanias and Strabo indirectly refer to great efforts made by Augustus to turn the then dwindling city of Patras into a grand Roman colony by resettling people in Patras who were living in villages and towns in the chora of Patras and on the Aetolian coast (Paus. 7. 18. 7; Strabo 10. 2. 21). Surveys and archaeological investigations in the regions collectively point to major territorial reorganizations in the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial period. Thus, the total number of sites increase dramatically in this period in the coastal region around Patras while the number of sites decreases in the same period in Aetolia.¹ On the whole cult transferal now seem to have been a common phenomenon accompanying Roman synoecism in Greece and they seem at least sometimes to have constituted a deliberate tactic of domination.²

Of special interest for this paper is the way in which the transferal of Artemis Laphria and Dionysos from Kalydon to Patras, implied that two originally sub-urban cults became urban during a synoecism process. In fact, a closer look at synoecisms and sanctuaries in Achaia and Aetolia in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods will show that sanctuaries often changed "territorial status" during synoecisms. In this sense, the study highlightens the way in which Augustan cult transfer policy was in fact deeply rooted in earlier practices.

The location of cults in the LG – Early Archaic period (ca. 860–600 BC)

It is possible to roughly distinguish three types of cult on grounds of their location.³

First, to judge from strayfinds, surveys and excavations, the following cults lay outside, but relatively close to nucleated habitation: the Laphrion hill-sanctuary in Aetolia is situated outside the western main gate of the Classical-Hellenistic city-

walls of Kalydon at a distance of about 300 m and about 1 km from the acropolis.⁴ According to strayfinds and tomb-distribution, the latter formed a centre of habitation already in Mycenaean-Archaic times.⁵ Moreover, it should be recalled that Kalydon is one of the five Aitolian cities mentioned in the ship-catalogue (*Il.* 2. 638–640).

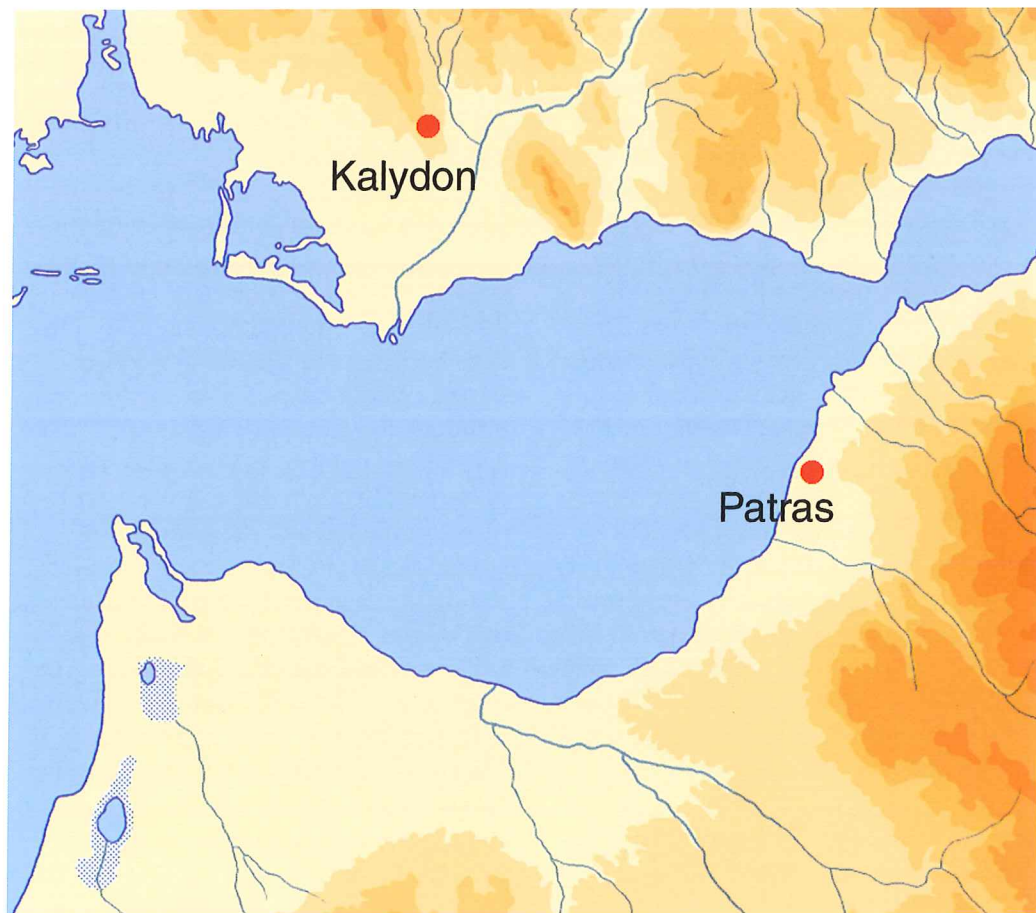
Perhaps a cult existed at the spring in Kryoneri approximately 4 km from Kalydon, though the evidence is confined to a Geometric bronze double-axe and bird in the Museum of Agrinion.⁶ It should, nevertheless, be remembered that the spring is alluded to in the story of the maiden Calirrhoe and the priest of Dionysos, Coressus, told by Pausanias (7. 21. 1–5). Since Miss Benton noted some Neolithic, LHII–III and Geometric sherds on the slope of Mt Varassova, there may indeed once have existed a small habitation.⁷ It is not impossible though, that the bronze finds should be understood as a rural cult in relation to Kalydon (see below).

The sanctuary in Kallipolis lies 150 m to the south of the Classical-Hellenistic fortification wall⁸ and again survey-finds have proved the existence of a prehistoric and Iron Age settlement in the area of the Classical-Hellenistic city.⁹

At Araxos in Achaia, a bench interpreted as an altar and its associated finds is situated directly outside the eastern entrance of the Mycenaean fortification wall on the very edge of the steep rocky hill. Again, the area within the fortification wall is rich in both prehistoric material and also Classical-Hellenistic. The early cult was therefore clearly placed on the fringe of the inhabited hill.¹⁰

Directly above the Classical-Hellenistic city of Aigeira, a construction interpreted as a Geometric naiskos lies partly above, partly integrated into settlement remains which are surrounded by a fortification wall dated to the LHIIC period. Due, however, to the slightly different orientation of the building in relation to the LHIIC settlement, it is regarded as post-dating the latter. On the whole, it is the impression of the excavator that no habi-

Fig. 2. The location of Kalydon and Patras.



tation took place inside the Mycenaean fortification wall after the end of the Bronze Age, rather the site was given over to religious practices.¹¹ This indeed appears to be the case when its “successor”, an Early Archaic, Doric temple, was constructed next to the building on top of the LHIIC buildings.¹²

The relation of the earliest cult in Lousoi – which lies on the border between Arkadia and Achaea – to the settlements is not known with certainty archaeologically. In the ode by Bacchylides (born 521 or 524 BC), Lousoi is a spring which is clearly situated in wild nature (Bacchyl. *Epin.* 10 (11), 92–112) while Polybius, writing in the 2nd century, speaks of citizens of Lousoi (Polyb. 4. 18. 11) and according to Pausanias there once was a city called Lousoi, although he could not even locate its ruins (Paus. 8. 18. 8).

The second category consists of evidence for cults lying at some distance from nu-

cleated habitation and therefore seemingly “rural”: The sanctuary at Lebenou (Charvati) is situated 4 kms as the crow flies from the city of Stratos¹³ which lies at the Acheloos river in Acarnania but – in Woodhouse’s words¹⁴ – “is bound up with the history of Aetolia”. A further site of interest is Pazaropoulos near Stratos at which place a monolithic column of 7th century BC date came to light.¹⁵ The Lebenou sanctuary, which has been excavated recently was apparently the richest and most longlived of those so far found in the vicinity of Stratos. Moreover, this city appears also to have formed an early habitation centre, since the Greek-German survey has recently proved Stratos to be the sole site in the Stratiké plain to be continuously inhabited from Geometric to Roman times. Other sites in the plain were at the most inhabited during four ceramic phases.¹⁶ Returning to the site of Kryoneri on the coast, this may – as stated above – instead belong in this category, if

Kalydon was a nucleated habitation comparable to Stratos.

Like the Lebenou-sanctuary, Thermon was a long lived cult place. Moreover, its character appears to have undergone great changes through time from hero cult to league sanctuary.¹⁷ Throughout this period, the relation of the sanctuary to the surrounding settlement pattern is not clear. In Classical-Hellenistic times, Thermon lay in between two groups of important cities, one of which consisted of Koronto, Pamphía, Metape, Trichonion and Akrai in the south, the other of Phistyon, Ambrakia and Thestiai in the northwest while none is known in its immediate surroundings.¹⁸ It is certainly not unlikely that future investigations will prove several of these cities to have an Iron Age history. Especially extensive Early Iron Age cemeteries have already been found at Gavalou and Lithovouni identified with respectively Trichonion and Akrai.¹⁹

The relations of the Pitsa-cave²⁰ and the important sanctuary found at Rakita in Achaia to a settlement-pattern is not certain either. It deserves, however, to be mentioned that the former lies in between two important Classical-Hellenistic cities, Aigeira and Pellene, which are already mentioned by Homer (*Od.* 15.249-255)²¹ and Aigeria lies, as mentioned above, below a Mycenaean stronghold. With regard to the large Geometric-Early Archaic, elliptical temple with peristyle found in Rakita, the building lies on a highly important route of communication along the Selinous river valley.²² This route connected the central Peloponnese with central Greece – as confirmed through ceramic finds in Lousoi, Rakita, Aigion and Delphi – and it connected western Achaea with Eastern Achaea – and thus the two Homeric landscapes Bouprasion and Aigaleos. In particular, it served as the main road between the two Classical-Hellenistic cities Pharai and Rhypes as is also indirectly to be understood from Strabo who says that the territory of Rhypes was held by the people of Aigion and Pharai (Strabo 8.7.5). Both of the two cities have pro-

duced Geometric and Archaic material.²³ Mycenaean and Geometric tombs have moreover been found at several sites along this route, but so far not in the immediate vicinity of Rakita.²⁴

The third category consists of evidence – very slight – for a cult situated more centrally in relation to important nucleated habitation. On the hill of Haghia Triadha, now known to be the site of Aetolian Chalkis, Mastrokostas found a fragmentary, primitive terracotta of a horseman.²⁵ Later excavations point to the existence of an important Geometric and Archaic settlement on the hill and the existence of a temple at least in the Classical period if not earlier. It probably stood in the area of the Haghia Triadha basilica the foundations of which crown the hill today.²⁶ In Aigion, a curved wall fragment from an apsis building was found at Dodekanison Street 4. The function of the building is, however, not known. Several Geometric tombs have been found in the vicinity.²⁷

In conclusion, there are signs of two perhaps three basic types of sanctuaries in Aetolia and Achaia: 1. Cults placed on the fringe of inhabited land, 2. Cults located at some distance from a main area of habitation and (perhaps) 3. Cults placed more centrally in relation to an important habitation. It needs to be added though that the most substantial evidence for this pattern stems from the 7th century BC. As regards this period, it is intriguing to notice that cults characterized by elaborate or substantial architecture all belong to type 1. and 2. being situated in places which with reasonable certainty can be said to lie *outside* nucleated areas of habitation: Thermon (three, perhaps four temples are known: two or three smaller naiskoi, one long and narrow temple (“temple C”), all with elaborate terracotta roof-decoration including metopes with figural scenes probably of Corinthian workmanship, see above), Kallipolis (long and narrow temple, the so-called megaron B, very similar to temple C in Thermon), Kalydon (Geometric apsisbuilding? Geometric altars?²⁸

“building H” (small ante-temple?) with the later, so-called “red roof”;²⁹ the “Bunte Dach” belonging to a hypothetical 7th century BC predecessor to the Classical Artemis temple)³⁰, Rakita (a long and narrow elliptical temple with wooden peristyle on stone bases, see above) and Aigeira (Geometric naiskos? long and narrow 7th century temple, see above).

The location of cults in the Late Archaic period (ca. 600–500 BC)

The evidence for cults in this period ranges widely from single finds indicating cult activity to large sanctuaries, and the characters of well-documented cults differ from flimsy, open-air structures to temples with wooden peristyles covered by tile roofs with refined and delicate fictile decoration. All in all, a survey of the evidence for cults has shown that even though the evidence and the nature of the cults vary greatly, their location largely falls into three categories which are similar to those defined above.

The first category, tentatively called ‘sub-urban’, consists of eight places of worship all of which are situated on the slopes of hills (six cases) or on the edge of hilltops (two cases). According to sherd material and the like, several of these hills were inhabited, and in the Classical period – with only one possible exception – they became strongly fortified cities. All cults continued after the erection of fortification-walls and all are situated just outside these or at the walls themselves:

- Western slopes of Palaiokastro: Spolaita (Kolonas 1991, 1992)
- Kallipolis: Hill sanctuary (see above)
- Kalydon: Laphrion-hill (see above)
- Kato Chrysovitsa (ancient Koronto?) (fortification not certain): Sykia spring³¹
- Stratos: Old Zeus temple (Schwandner – Kolonas 1996)
- Araxos (the Mycenaean fortification wall was reused): Altar (see above)

- Lousoi (ancient city not located): Sanctuary of Lousoi (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1992; Mitsopoulos-Leon und Ladstätter 1997)
- Perhaps Aigeira (Hyperasia; the Late Geometric and Archaic settlement is not located): Archaic temple on Mycenaean acropolis (see above).

The second category consists of thirteen places of worship which lie in “rural” areas in the sense that settlements in these areas never developed into important or fortified cities. Thus, as became evident from the surveys made by Bommeljé-Doorn (1987), Morgan-Hall (1996), and Lang (this volume) cults may lie close to graves, farmsteads and other settlement remains indicating that they were situated in landscapes which were never really desolate. As just stated, however, the decisive difference from the previous category is that the immediate surroundings of the sanctuaries in this category never developed major, important cities. In addition, almost all of these “rural” cults continued in use even after the emergence at some distance of fully developed, recognizable cities in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, and often were lavishly repaired. The cults in question are shown in Fig. 3. In addition to these, the cult on Mt Oite (Pyra) should be mentioned connected through legend as it is with the city Trachis.³²

The third category consists of evidence for ‘urban’ cults, that is cults located centrally in relation to nucleated settlements which later became cities. As mentioned the evidence is very evasive. An Archaic bronze statuette of Zeus Fulgur is said to be from Ambrakia at which place scanty remains of what may be an acropolis wall have been observed.³³ The exact location of the statuette in relation to these ruins is, however, not known. At the site identified as the acropolis of Helike in Achaia, the foundations of two small temples were excavated which are dated to the Archaic or Classical period.³⁴ In Chalkis fragments of Archaic perirranteria and louteria are a relatively common feature in floating lay-

ers stemming from the acropolis, but their function need not be purely sacred.³⁵

All in all, the erection of shrines with elaborately decorated tile-roofs is a characteristic feature of the 6th century: Kalydon (two stone-built temples: temple A and a hypothetical temple known among other things from the so called “Blassgelbe Dach”, metopes, reused stoneblocks)³⁶, Lepenou (small oikos or in antis temple with metope decoration)³⁷, probably Zakonina (terracotta *kalypter* with female protomes)³⁸, Taxiarches (two small in antis temples with *kalypter* with silen’s head and male heads; see above), Thermon (reparations of existing temples, erection of Apollo Lykeios shrine?; see above) and perhaps Lousoi (“Ostbau”)³⁹, Stratos (an old Zeus-temple erected in this period contemporary with the Lebenou temple dated to around 550 BC ?), Santameri (“archaic” stonebuilt temple with metopes and triglyphs; see above), Nikolaikon (architectural terracotta of sphinx or gorgon; see above).

Again, as in the previous period, it is interesting that the most solid evidence for investment in sacred architecture stems from cults located outside nucleated settlements.

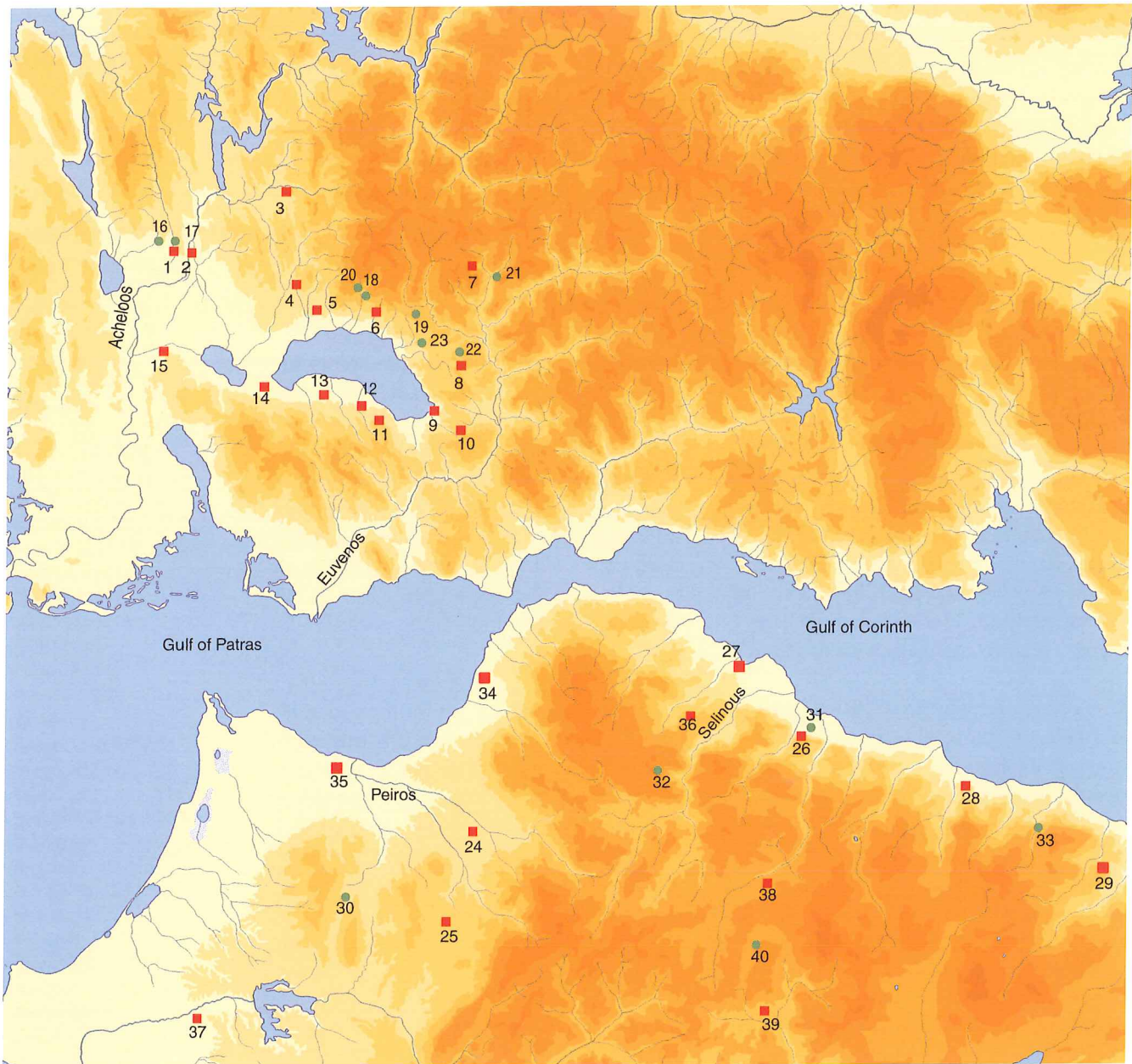
The Classical and Early Hellenistic period (ca. 500–250 BC)

The majority of cults established in earlier periods continued into Classical and to some extent even into Hellenistic times. In addition, quite a number of stone temples were built in this period. Most of these temples are only known from stray finds of architectural members, but a few are well preserved and the general impression is that many were built during the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Due to the erection of city walls and the growing monumentalization of urban functions in the Classical–Early Hellenistic period, three categories of cult now become distinct: urban, suburban and extra-urban.

Dealing first with the suburban cults, it is noticeable that several cults which began in the Archaic period, are not only still visited, but their shrines become repaired or even replaced by new temples in the 4th century (Kalydon, Kallipolis, Lousoi, Stratos). On the whole, suburban sanctuaries may become monumentalized through the building of propyla, store-rooms and other facilities obviously meant to accommodate a growing number of visitors, votives and cult equipment (Kalydon, Lousoi). In addition to the old cults, new cults were established right outside the city-walls as e.g. the cultic remains at Grana outside the southwestern corner of the city-wall of Stratos.⁴⁰ Even new temples, sometimes housing fine cult images, appeared right outside the city-walls (Kallipolis: Demeter and Kore (see above), Makynia;⁴¹ Malevros⁴²; the “Asclepeion” and the statues of the “Muses” found near Gavalou (ancient Trichonion)⁴³, and probably outside Neromanna (ancient Phistyon?)⁴⁴ and Palaiokatunon (ancient Krokyleion).⁴⁵ It is true that the Zeus cult in Stratos, and apparently the Aphitou–Aphrodite–Enyalos–Artemis-cult at Araxos literally became built into the city-walls and thus ceased to be strictly speaking “sub-urban” cults in the sense defined above. On the other hand, their location at the very border of the city in a raised position with a commanding view over the surrounding plains establishes the temples as much more oriented towards the countryside than towards the city making it difficult to classify them categorically as urban. The rich votive deposit found about 250 m to the north of the area identified as ancient Pharai perhaps belongs in the category of suburban sanctuaries.⁴⁶ The only exception to the general impression of flourishing suburban sanctuaries, is the cult at Spolaita outside the walls of Palaiokastro (ancient Agrinion?), which appears to have died out at the end of the 4th century, but this cult was never characterized by fine architecture (see above). The list is accordingly:

Fig. 3. The distribution of Archaic (600–500 BC), “rural” cults (green dots) in Aetolia and Achaea in relation to major Classical–Hellenistic cities (red squares).

1. Stratos
2. Palaiokastro
3. Malevros
4. Ano Vlochos (Thestiai)
5. Paravola (Boukastion)
6. Neromanna (Phistyon)
7. Ambrakia
8. Kato Chrysovitsa (Koronto?)
9. Sitarolona (Pamphias?)
10. Analipse
11. Lithovounion (Akrati?)
12. Analipse (Metapa?)
13. Gavalou (Trichonion)
14. Papadates (Akrati?)
15. Angelokastro (Arsinoe)
16. Lepenou
17. Site in tobacco-field 4 kms to the northwest of Stratos⁸⁷
18. Kryo Nero
19. Taxiarches⁸⁸
20. Zakonina (Palaiokarya)⁸⁹
21. Koniska⁹⁰
22. Chrysovitsa⁹¹
23. Thermon⁹²
24. Pharai
25. Tritaea
26. Keryneia (Helike)
27. Aigion
28. Aigeira
29. Pellene
30. Santameri⁹³
31. Nikolaika⁹⁴
32. Rakita (Ano Mazarakis)
33. Pitsa-cave
34. Patras
35. Dyme
36. Rhypes
37. Elis
38. Kynaitira
39. Kleitor
40. Lousoi.



- Palaeokastro: Cult near Spolaita
- Kallipolis: 1. Demeter and Kore and 2. “old” cult
- Kalydon: The Laphrion hill.
- Kato Chrysovitsa (ancient Koronto?): Sykia spring
- Stratos: Hellenistic cult at Grana
- Araxos: Aphitou–Aphrodite–Enyalos–Artemis–cult
- Lousoi (city not identified): Sanctuary of Lousoi
- Aigeira: “Cult on Mycenaean acropolis”
- Malevros: Architectural members outside fortification wall
- Neromanna (ancient Phistyon): Architectural members (?) near Neromanna
- Palaiokatunon (ancient Krokyleion): Architectural members nearby
- Makynia: “temple” outside fortification wall
- Pharai: votive deposit

The “rural” sanctuaries lying at some distance from fortified, important cities also flourished in the Classical–Early Hellenistic period, as alluded to above and their distribution is shown in Fig. 4. Thus, Archaic cults continued at Lebenou and in

the valley between Lebenou and Stratos, at Kryo Nero, Taxiarches, Pyra, Thermon, Rakita, and Pitsa. Moreover, new, elegant temples are built in the countryside at some distance from the fortified cities.

These are first and foremost the temples at Velvina⁴⁷ and those known from temple-blocks reused in a church at Mokista near Thermon and near Neromanna (ancient Phistyon)⁴⁸, on the Varassova mountain near Chalkis in Aetolia,⁴⁹ and in a church in the territory of the site identified as Tritaea in Achaea.⁵⁰ Moreover, temples are known to have existed from the high-classical pedimental sculptures found at the Velvitsianico river in Achaea,⁵¹ the tiles, blocks and sherds found at the Larisa river at Riolos⁵² and the inscriptions (mentioning Demeter) and votive material found at Kopoulia near Petrochorio.⁵³ There are also remains from a small Hellenistic “rural” sanctuary at Haghios Ioannis near Dyme⁵⁴ and to the southwest of Patras.⁵⁵

Less certain remains from “rural” temples and cults are those observed by Woodhouse at Frangoscala and Haghios Vlasios near respectively the fortified site of Malevros and Kolopyrgos in Aetolia.⁵⁶ Also, the fine, Early Classical female bronze statuette found in the town Kainourgion some kilometres from the impressive and huge fortified city at Ano Vlochos (ancient Thestiai) is so far the only evidence for cult activity here.⁵⁷

It ought to be noted that some of these “rural” sanctuaries are known to have been situated close to Classical-Hellenistic minor settlements or farmsteads (for instance at Lebenou, Kopoulia and outside Patras), indicating that this may have been the case with many other “rural” cults. Since, however, several “rural” cults are characterized by fine shrines and temples which were lavishly repaired or even rebuilt in the city-state period, these cults can hardly be said to have served a purely local function comparable to e.g. the parish churches of our time. Rather, it is likely that they enjoyed support and were the object of worship from people living in the nearest cities. They are thus “rural”

in the sense that they – *apart* from their local function – also served as “extra-urban” sanctuaries in relation to cities farther away.

The third category of sanctuaries, the urban cults, consists of a handful of cases. In Aetolia, columns, triglyphs, simablocks and the like have been found inside the fortified kastro of Malevros (5th century),⁵⁸ of Lithovounion (Akrai? Pol. V.13);⁵⁹ furthermore on the Haghia Irini peak of Pleuron⁶⁰ and in floating layers stemming from the “acropolis” of Chalkis (4th century).⁶¹ In Achaea, a small temple destroyed by an earthquake in the second or first century BC was excavated at the place probably to be identified as the acropolis of Helike⁶² and as is well-known several well-preserved temples, which have been excavated in the market place in Aigeira, date to the Early Hellenistic period.⁶³

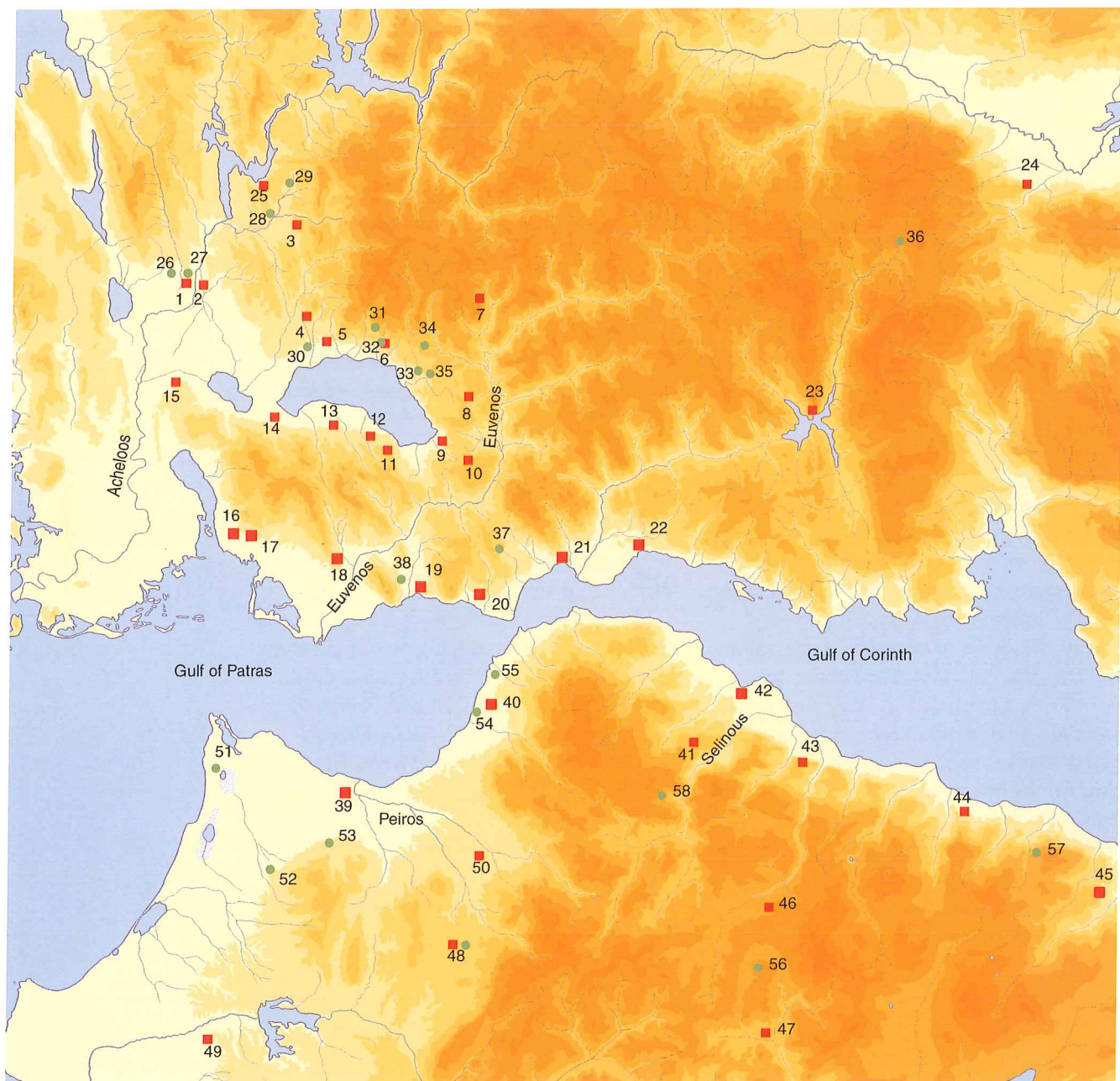
In conclusion, it is interesting to observe that contemporary with both an increasing monumentalization of urban functions and a large scale building of city-walls, non-urban cults continue to leave behind the most conspicuous traces and by far the most costly temples still appear outside city-walls. In fact, largescale, truly urban temple constructions are hard to trace in the archaeological record until the Early Hellenistic period.

The location of sanctuaries: a general conclusion

For several reasons, the early Aetolian and Achaean cults point to communities which are too developed to be characterized as simply “dispersed settlements” as is sometimes the case in recent scholarly literature.⁶⁴ First, at several places there is a high degree of continuity in cult activity, lasting several centuries (e.g. Kalydon, Lebenou, Kallipolis, Thermon, Taxiarches, Sykia spring, Rakita, Araxos, Aigeira, Lousoi, Pitsa). Even from the Late Geometric/Early Archaic period, there is evidence for a pattern comprising “nucleated

Fig. 4. The distribution of Classical-Hellenistic, “rural” cults (green dots) in relation to Classical-Hellenistic major cities (red squares) in Aetolia and Achaea.

1. Stratos
2. Palaiokastro
3. Malevros
4. Ano Vlochos (Thestiai)
5. Paravola (Boukastion)
6. Neromanna (Phistyon)
7. Ambrakia
8. Kato Chrysovitsa (Koronto?)
9. Sitarolona (Pamphia?)
10. Analipse
11. Lithovounion (Akrai?)
12. Analipse (Metapa?)
13. Gavalou (Trichonion)
14. Papadates (Akrai?)
15. Angelokastro (Arsinoe)
16. Treis Ecclesies (Phana?)
17. Pleuron
18. Kalydon
19. Chalkis
20. Makynia
21. Naupaktos
22. Eupalion
23. Kallion
24. Trachis (Herakleia)
25. Kolopyrgos
26. Lebenou
27. Site in tobaccofield near Stratos
28. Frankoscala
29. Haghios Vlasios
30. Kainourgion
31. Kryo Nero
32. “Near” Neromanna
33. Mokeista
34. Taxiarches
35. Thermon
36. Mt. Oitē: Pyra
37. Molykerion
38. Church on Varassova mountain
39. Dyme
40. Fairas
41. Rhypes
42. Aigion
43. Keryneia (Helike)
44. Aigeira
45. Pellene
46. Kynaithra
47. Kleitor
48. Tritaea
49. Elis
50. Pharai
51. Haghia Ioannis near Dyme



52. Site at Larisa river
(Riolos)

53. Kopoulia near Petrochorio

54. Temple-site SW of Patras

55. Velvitsianico river

56. Lousoi 57. Pitsa cave.

hill-habitation – cult situated at its fringe” which becomes relatively distinct during the Late Archaic period. In the Classical-Hellenistic period these hill-settlements develop into a series of fortified cities with suburban sanctuaries. In fact, the apparently persistent lack of priority in the Archaic period, and even to some extent in the Classical period, of distinct urban cults should not necessarily be interpreted as a sign of lack of urbanization. Rather, the distinct suburban sanctuary may be revealed to be a characteristic of

Western Greek urban organization. Second, there are signs in the Archaic period of a more developed pattern consisting of “nucleated habitation – cult at its fringe – cult in its territory” (Stratos, Kalydon?, Aigeira/Pellene?). Third, the cult buildings at several sites in the 7th and early 6th centuries BC already appear too sophisticated to be the result of “dispersed settlement” (e.g. Kalydon, Thermon, Lebenou, Stratos?, Rakita). In fact, a largescale temple building programme appears to have taken place in the 6th century BC involv-

ing among other things the erections of elaborate shrines in Stratos and Kalydon. These indications of a society organized on a more advanced level than has sometimes been thought are supported by recent excavations in Chalkis that point to the existence of town-planning in the Archaic period.⁶⁵ On the whole, scholars from especially Germany and Austria have recently drawn attention to evidence of early (Archaic) signs of a more advanced society in Northwestern Greece. For instance they have pointed to a possible Archaic lighthouse at Vigla (the harbour of Palairos),⁶⁶ to late Geometric and Archaic votives, burials, and architectural fragments from Elis indicating settlement and central administration well before 471 BC, when Elis is said to be founded⁶⁷ and to written evidence for well-developed political organizations and polis-imitating structures already in the Early Classical period.⁶⁸

On the other hand, it has to be admitted that the cults described above present an uneven picture. Large scale investments in cultic architecture seem to be confined to particular areas, such as highly important routes of communication between inland and the coast (e.g. the Selinous river valley and confluence of rivers in the Euvenos river), to the coastal region with its constant exposure to sea traffic, and to natural border zones (e.g. the Acheloos, Euvenos and Mornos rivers). The lack of finds and cults in large parts of the mountainous regions point to isolation, remoteness and backwardness. In other words, there is likely to have existed a high degree of discrepancy between levels of development among Aetolian-Achaean communities in one and the same period. Synoecisms may have taken place relatively early in one area, while dispersed settlements continued in other regions. Rural cults visited by people from scattered communities in the vicinity may have changed status when synoecisms took place, in the sense that they became extra-urban sanctuaries in relation to the new nucleated settlements and cities. Likewise, cults lying at the fringe or at some distance from a habitation may have become

urban when the settlement expanded during synoecism (compare Stratos, Araxos).

Written sources

In many ways, a quick scanning of the written sources for synoecism processes in Achaia add to the impression just gained from the archaeological remains, even though a direct connection between the two types of sources is rarely to be found.

Homer mentions five places in a region called "Aigaleos" all of which were situated in the eastern half of Achaia and later became important cities: Pellene, Hyperasia (later called Aigeira), Aigai, Helike and Aigion (*Il.* 2. 573-75). He refers to a district, "Bouprasion", in the western half of the region (*Il.* 2. 615; compare Strabo 8. 3. 8), perhaps to be located between the Mycenaean strongholds at Araxos and Chlemoutsi.⁶⁹ Herodotos (1.145) gives the earliest and most complete list of cities in Achaia. This list comprises twelve cities: Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Boura, Helike, Aigion, Rhypes, Patras (Patrees), Pharaï (Pharees), Olenos, Dyme, Tritaia. In naming twelve cities, Herodotos is no doubt guided by his view that the Ionians of Asia Minor originated from the northern Peloponnese and, accordingly, by his wish to explain why the Ionians restricted membership of the Panionion to twelve cities.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, later authors give more or less the same list of cities⁷¹ and archaeology has so far not demonstrated that the list is distorted.

The synoecism processes of Dyme and Patras have especially caught the interest of scholars. According to Thucydides (5. 52. 2), Alkibiades tried to persuade the inhabitants of Patras to extend their city walls down to the sea. This event can be placed in 419 BC and implies that Patras at this time was a fortified city. According to Strabo (8. 3. 2), Patras was formed by seven demes and Pausanias (7. 18. 2-6) gives a lengthy description of the foundation myth of the city. These passages have led scholars to reconstruct two synoecism waves prior to the Augustan one. The ear-

liest consisted of the unification of the villages Aroe, Antheia and Mesatis to form Patras and apparently took place in the area of Aroe in the Late Archaic or Early Classical period. During the second wave, dated to the 5th century BC, the villages of Boline, Argyra and Arba were incorporated into Patras.⁷²

With regard to Dyme, Strabo (8. 3. 2) records, that Dyme was formed by eight demes one of which was the *polichne* Teuthra. Apart from being mentioned by Herodotus, the city figures in the naval battle between the Athenian and the Peloponnesian fleet near Rhion⁷³ and was liberated by Epaminondas,⁷⁴ indicating that by the 5th and 4th centuries BC, the city of Dyme had been formed. Its city walls appear, however, to stem from the 3rd century BC.⁷⁵ As in Patras, a later synoecism also seems to have taken place since Strabo (8. 7. 4) tells that the inhabitants of Olenos were transferred to Dyme for which reasons Olenos lay in ruins in his time. Other communities, such as Larisa, mentioned by Strabo (9. 5. 19) are likely to have been incorporated as well.

In this context it is interesting to observe that each of the communities swallowed up by Dyme and Patras possessed cults which either became transferred to or copied by the new city or continued to be worshipped in their original places by people in the new city. Thus, the following cults were worshipped in Pausanias' time and had obviously been moved from the communities of Aroe, Mesoa, and Antheia to Patras: an Artemis Limnatis cult originating in Mesoa,⁷⁶ an Artemis Triklaria cult originally located at the Meilichos river east of Patras (and perhaps to be identified with the pedimental sculptures found at the Velvitsianiko river mentioned above) at which place it functioned as a common precinct for Aroe, Antheia and Mesoa and was related to a cult for Dionysos with the surname Aesymnetes;⁷⁷ and, finally, a cult for Dionysos worshipped as respectively Mesateus, Antheus and Aroeus.⁷⁸

In some cases, however, cults of the old communities appear to have continued in

their original location and thus to have functioned as a kind of extra-urban sanctuary in relation to the new city of Patras. For instance, Athenaeus refers to a "cup-bearing Demeter" worshipped in the neighbourhood [chora] of Antheia,⁷⁹ while Artemis Limnatis and Artemis Triklaria seem from Pausanias' description still to be connected to their original locations. In addition, the oracular Demeter and Gaia spring-cult at the harbour of Patras, described by Pausanias,⁸⁰ without a doubt precedes the formation of Patras. Originally, it was therefore a "rural" cult in relation to one of the old communities in the area of Patras, perhaps the one known to have existed on the slopes of the acropolis of Patras (Aroe?). Even in Classical times, the city of Patras was probably confined to the area of the Venetian city southwest of the acropolis.⁸¹ With the expansion of Patras toward the sea in Late Hellenistic times, however, the Demeter and Gaia sanctuary changed in status to a suburban cult.

With regard to Dyme, Strabo (8. 3. 11) saw a temple for Artemis "Nemydia"⁸² in the village Teuthea, while near the ruins of Olenos he saw "the notable temple of Asclepius" (8. 7. 4), and Pausanias noted "a temple of Larisaean Athena" by the Larissus river (7.17. 5). These sanctuaries must originally have been related to the old communities of Antheia, Teuthea and Larisa (if there was a village of this name⁸³), but their relation no doubt shifted after the formation of Dyme during which Olenos and Teuthea were swallowed up by Dyme.

A close parallel to this situation is found in Strabo's and Pausanias' description of Pellene. Strabo (8. 7. 5) mentions a village [*kome*] called Pellene between Pellene and Aigion which – as we can gather from his description – was the seat for the Theoxenia in honour of Apollo mentioned already by Pindar.⁸⁴ Further, Pausanias (7. 27. 8-11) refers to Poseidion, probably a sanctuary for Poseidon, a sanctuary for Mysian Demeter sixty stades distant to Pellene and near it a sanctuary of Asclepius called Cyrus. All of these three

cult places clearly functioned as extra-urban sanctuaries in relation to the new city of Pellene in Strabo's and Pausanias' time. Before, however, the synoecism of Pellene they belonged to small demes, the names of which are reflected in their epithets. Again, as was the case with cults near Dyme and Patras, their status as extra-urban sanctuaries in relation to important cities was a recent one which arose as a result of synoecism. Probably, the cluster of highly important suburban sanctuaries for Artemis, Dionysos, Athena and Hermes, which Pausanias saw directly outside the main gate to Pellene (8. 27. 1-4), and the Eileithyia cult (8.27.8) located immediately inside the gate also predate the synoecism of Pellene and were perhaps related to the deme of Poseidion, which Pausanias mentions after the Eileithyia cult and describes as located below the gymnasium.⁸⁵ In that case we are faced with a close parallel to the characteristic 6th century phenomenon revealed by archaeology. That is a case in which cults are situated on the fringe of a habitation that later developed into an important city.

Finally, Pausanias' remark on Lousoi (8. 18. 8) and Phelloe (7. 26.10) offers a good example of the way in which sanctuaries kept changing territorial status, even in much later times and how in fact extra-urban sanctuaries are often a late development. As already mentioned, Pausanias has heard of a city Lousoi, but states that in his time the sanctuary of Lousoi lies on the border (*orois*) of Kleitor. This suggests that the sanctuary had changed relation from Lousoi (suburban?) to Kleitor and become extra-urban in relation to the latter. With regard to Phelloe, Pausanias says that a straight road lead from Aigeira to the town (*polisma*) of Phelloe which was not always inhabited.⁸⁶ In view of the unstable settlement at Phelloe and its inferior political status, the sanctuaries for Dionysos and Artemis, which Pausanias saw in this community, must therefore for long periods have functioned as extra-urban cults in relation to the city of Hellenistic Aigeira.

Conclusion

Throughout the Geometric-Early Hellenistic period, rural sanctuaries or sanctuaries lying on the fringe of nucleated settlements are a characteristic phenomenon in Aetolia and Achaia. In fact large scale building programmes of temples and restorations of older temples are best attested in rural sanctuaries, and not least suburban ones. Even when cities appear, non-urban sanctuaries, continue to dominate the archaeological picture although they may change status and become "extra-urban" in relation to one particular city. In many cases, the votive material and inscriptions prove the rural cults to be in honour of Artemis, Dionysos or Demeter. For these reasons, sanctuaries in Aetolia and Achaia cannot always be classified permanently as "urban", "suburban" or "extra-urban". These conclusions are by no means meant to challenge the current view on the "extra-urban" sanctuary as highly significant for the development of Greek city-states as argued by de Polignac (1984, 1995). Rather, attention has been drawn to the fact that, at least in Aetolia-Achaia – an area not treated by de Polignac in detail – the maintenance of unprotected cults outside habitation centres and later outside city walls was regarded as vital for the new cities. Written sources have been seen to supplement this impression, as Artemis, Dionysos and Demeter cults indirectly can be shown to be the oldest and most important cults in Patras and Dyme, and probably Pellene as well and to originate in smaller rural communities preceding the synoecisms leading to the formation of these cities.

It is with this background that Augustus' transfer of the suburban cult of Artemis Laphria and Dionysos at Kalydon to the acropolis of Patras has to be understood. It was a political act, highly sensitive towards the significance which non-urban, and not least sub-urban cults had always played for the Aetolians and the Achaians, not least during synoecism processes.

Notes

NOTE 1

Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 22 fig. 2.3; Rizakis 1989; Alcock 1993, 132-145, 175-177; Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994; lack of Roman finds in Aetolian Chalkis: Eiring 1998, 259 and 2000; Dietz and Moschos 1998.

NOTE 2

Alcock 1993, 172-214.

NOTE 3

It is beyond the aims of this paper to give a more detailed description of the sites mentioned. Instead, references are given to main publications and descriptions of the sites. For supplementary literature I refer to the works by Antonetti 1990, Rizakis 1995, Osanna 1996.

NOTE 4

Dyggve 1948, pl. 38.

NOTE 5

Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 86-89; personal observation.

NOTE 6

Kirsten 1941a, 116.

NOTE 7

Benton 1931/32, 238-39; this material formerly gave rise to the false identification of the site with Chalkis.

NOTE 8

Themelis 1998; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 135-136 with references.

NOTE 9

Vroom 1993, 133.

NOTE 10

Mastrokostas 1966; Mastrokostas 1967; Daux 1964, 760-762; Rizakis 1992, 103-107.

NOTE 11

Alzinger 1983, 37, fig. 2a; 1985, 430; compare Gogos 1986/87 and Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 164-166.

NOTE 12

Alzinger 1985, especially 446, and figs. 27, 41-42.

NOTE 13

AA 1994, 605-07; AA 1995, 783-786; Kolonas 1998.

NOTE 14

Woodhouse 1897, 169.

NOTE 15

French 1992-93, 24.

NOTE 16

Lang 1994, 246; Lang this volume.

NOTE 17

Kawerau and Sotiriadis 1902-08; Papapostolou 1993, 1995, 1996; Mazarakis Ainian 1999.

NOTE 18

Compare Pritchett 1989, 126-140.

NOTE 19

Dekoulakou 1982; Stauropoulou-Gatsi 1986, 1997; Pritchett 1989, 132, 134.

NOTE 20

Orlandos 1965; PEC, 715.

NOTE 21

Hyperasia and Pellene and Gonouessa. The location of Gonouessa is not certain, and it is still discussed whether Gonouessa is the same as Donouessa as stated by Pausanias (7. 26. 2-3), see Rizakis 1995 no. 335 for summary; compare Paus. (4.15.1) who attaches the city-ethnic Hyperiseus to a person called Ikaros, who won the foot race at Olympia in 688 BC)

NOTE 22

Petropoulos 1997, 172-175; Blackman 1997-98a.

NOTE 23

Rizakis 1995, 193-94.

NOTE 24

Roman tiles and cooking vase-fragments are reported from the modern village Rakita and from the Haghia Paraskeui church (Petropoulos 1997, 175).

NOTE 25

Mastrokostas 1969a, 320, pin. 228 c. The bronze double axe reported by Bommeljé-Doorn 1987, 112 as stemming from Kato Vassiliki (Haghia Triadha) is reported by Mastrokostas to have been found in Ano Vassiliki (1969c, 320-321).

NOTE 26

Houby-Nielsen, Moschos and Gazis 2000.

NOTE 27

Papakosta 1990, 120-121, 122 fig.10; Morgan and Hall 1996, 176-179 for summary.

NOTE 28

Poulsen and Dyggve 1927, 36; Dyggve 1948, 267-269.

NOTE 29

Dyggve 1948, 62, 270 n. 2.

NOTE 30

Dyggve 1948, pl. 16 A-P.

NOTE 31

Woodhouse 1897, 247; Rhomaïos 1923c.

NOTE 32

Pappadakis 1922; Béquignon 1937, 210; for the connection in myth between Mt. Oita and Trachis, Malkin 1994, 227-230; for the location of Trachis, see Pritchett 1989, 118-121, 1991, 199-204.

- NOTE 33
Rhomaïos 1923a; Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 76; Antonetti 1990, 224.
- NOTE 34
Petropoulos 1998, 133, fig. 7.
- NOTE 35
e.g. Dietz 1998, fig. 26:7 and fig. 32:7; Houby-Nielsen, Moschos and Gazis 2000, fig. 14.
- NOTE 36
See Dyggve 1948.
- NOTE 37
AA 1995, 785 figs. 2-3.
- NOTE 38
Rhomaïos 1923b; Kirsten 1941, 116.
- NOTE 39
Mitsopoulos-Leon und Ladstätter 1997, 88-89.
- NOTE 40
Kolonas 1996, 163.
- NOTE 41
Kolonas 1994, fig.1.
- NOTE 42
Woodhouse 1897, 174-175 and personal observation 1994.
- NOTE 43
Staupoulou-Carsi 1997, 148; Antonetti 1990, 238-240.
- NOTE 44
Woodhouse 1897, 196-198.
- NOTE 45
Woodhouse 1897, 376; for fortification: Bommeljé & Doorn 1987, 90-91.
- NOTE 46
Rizakis 1995 no.160.
- NOTE 47
Orlandos 1927; Knell 1973.
- NOTE 48
Woodhouse 1897, 205-206 and photo opposite p. 206; Antonetti 1990, 227-228. If the temple is contemporary with reused inscriptions mentioning Artemis Hegemone, it may be Roman and not Hellenistic (see also Antonetti 1990, 227-8).
- NOTE 49
Paliouras 1985, 41, 64, 68.
- NOTE 50
Rizakis 1995 no. 282.
- NOTE 51
Trianti 1991; Rizakis 1995 no. 254.
- NOTE 52
Rizakis 1992, n. 77 p. 220.
- NOTE 53
Lakari 1991, 244-45.
- NOTE 54
Lakari 1991, 244.
- NOTE 55
Papapostolou 1987, 134, pl. 37a; Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994, 198, n. 27 and no. 139 on fig. 1.
- NOTE 56
Woodhouse 1897, 174-175; 289.
- NOTE 57
Kirsten 1941; Mastrokostas 1969c, 318, pin. 226 a-b.
- NOTE 58
Rhomaïos 1927, 9.
- NOTE 59
Woodhouse 1897, 259-260.
- NOTE 60
Woodhouse 1897, 124.
- NOTE 61
Houby-Nielsen, Moschos and Gazis 2000, fig. 7.
- NOTE 62
Petropoulos 1998, 133, fig. 7.
- NOTE 63
Alzinger 1989 and Bammer 1996 with references.
- NOTE 64
For Achaëa, see Morgan and Hall 1996.
- NOTE 65
Dietz et al. 2000.
- NOTE 66
Kolonas – Faisst 1992.
- NOTE 67
Eder – Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999.
- NOTE 68
Funke 1987, 1997 and this volume with references.
- NOTE 69
Kirk 1985 on *Il.* 2. 615.
- NOTE 70
Morgan and Hall 1996, 168.
- NOTE 71
Strabo 8. 7. 4; Skylax 42; Polybius 2. 41; Paus. 7. 6. 1.
- NOTE 72
Curtius 1851, 437, 453; Moggi 1976, 92-93; Rizakis 1995, no. 250.
- NOTE 73
Thuc. 2. 84, 3-5; Diod. 12. 48. 1.
- NOTE 74
Xen. 7. 1. 41-43; Diod. 15. 75. 2.
- NOTE 75
Rizakis 1992, 81-84.

NOTE 76
Paus. 7. 20. 7-9.

NOTE 77
Paus. 7. 20.1.

NOTE 78
Paus. 7. 21. 6.

NOTE 79
Athen. XI. 460 d.

NOTE 80
Paus. 7. 21. 11-13; Herbillon 1929, 27-32;
Osanna 1996, 118-120.

NOTE 81
Rizakis 1998, 46, fig. 3.

NOTE 82
Probably rather "Limnatis"; see to Rizakis
1995, no. 522.

NOTE 83
Compare the recent finds of Hellenistic
houses and graves at Riolos: Petritaki 1993,
164-166.

NOTE 84
Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 146; Rizakis 1995 nos.
531.

NOTE 85
For the significance of Artemis, Demeter
and Dioysos in early cults of Achaea:
Lafond 1991; Osanna 1996, 303-312.

NOTE 86
For a possible identification with the site
Seliana, see Rizakis 1995 no. 333 and Os-
anna 1996, 271-272.

NOTE 87
AA 1994, 606; *AA* 1995, 783-84 and Lang
this volume.

NOTE 88
Rhomaïos 1929.

NOTE 89
Rhomaïos 1923b; Kirsten 1941, 116; Bom-
meljé & Doorn 1987, 100; Antonetti 1990,
235.

NOTE 90
Rhomaïos 1927, 6-7, eik. 3.

NOTE 91
Bronze (warrior?) statuette from Chrysovit-
sa-village (Rhomaïos 1923c, 61).

NOTE 92
Summary: Fiehn 1934; Antonetti 1990,
151-210; Kuhn 1993; Mazarakis-Ainian
1997, 125-136.

NOTE 93
Mastrokostas 1969b, 216.

NOTE 94
Petropoulos 1998, fig.11; Blackman 1997-
98b, 40, fig. 13.

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