

LOGISTICS IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

EXPLORING THE HUMAN EXPERIENCE OF VISITING THE GODS

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Abstracts

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HANDWORKERS AND REPAIR IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

There is indisputable evidence of workers in Greek sanctuaries, including inscribed accounts, tools; debris from marble, metal, and ceramic working; kilns; and smelting pits. We know about itinerant workers and workers from various locations working on special projects. And we are informed, either through written accounts or from archaeology, about repairs that went on in sanctuaries, especially temple repair after major natural disasters. What is much harder to detect is the presence of a permanent staff of workers in sanctuaries, day-to-day tendance of sanctuaries, and accommodation for these workers. This paper sets forth the evidence we have for a 'skeleton staff' and their duties and for their dwellings--or more accurately--where we might seek them.

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ANIMAL CARE IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

We have now forgotten that animals were present everywhere in the environment of men, just one century ago, in the countryside and in large cities as well. They were used for transport, food and also as pets. It was true of course in ancient Greece and one can assume that sanctuaries had to manage that fact, as shown by ancient textual evidence.

My paper will not deal with sacrificial animals, who were sacred because of their role, or with animals raised within or around sanctuaries as sacred companions for the god (for instance, the sacred doves in Aphrodisias, Caria) or as property intended to produce income (as in Delphi). Instead, I will focus on animals belonging to visitors or neighbours of sanctuaries.

During *panegyreis*, the most important sanctuaries had to provide place for the transport animals that accompanied visitors (Ialysos, Crete). During non-festive periods, the concern was more to avoid the presence within sanctuaries of animals belonging to the people living around the sanctuary and looking for fodder, water and sometimes shadow during sunny months (Korope, Thessalia). In Greece, as in Roman Italy, in a way comparable to what was done in Mediterranean Europe until recent times, sanctuaries could be a stage on the way used by cattle during their journey from winter pastures to summer pastures (Tegea, Arcadia).

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THE QUESTION OF TEMPLE MERCHANTS: BUYING AND SELLING IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

An attractive sanctuary gives the city an increased clientele. The demand that is thus created relates to very diverse needs. Drinking and eating are the first needs of pilgrims, but other goods are also involved in this economic circuit: sacrificial animals whose sale has to be organized, offerings to be bought in local workshops. More broadly, a large sanctuary can become the site of a fair at certain times of the year. Several documents, especially inscriptions, shed light on the commercial business that was taking place in the *temenos* or in the immediate surroundings. But did this economic activity follow particular regulation related to the sacred space, or did the civic economy impose its principles

and rules? In this perspective, we will study concrete modalities of sale and purchase related to the activities of worship and piety. The decree of Samos about the *kapeloi* in the Heraion (*IG XII 6, 169*) will be the basis of the analysis, as well as other epigraphic testimonies from the Aegean islands and Asia Minor.

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TRAVELING TO THE SANCTUARY ON DELOS

Delos provides a good case-study to the question of “worship logistics” since the island received, from the archaic period onwards, many pilgrims which came to celebrate the divine twins, Apollo and Artemis. In the sanctuary of Apollo, but also in the island in general, it is possible to analyze some of the arrangements particularly connected with religious practice or which are indispensable to it (access to the sanctuaries, lodging of the faithful, various installations linked to their presence...). Moreover, the documentary situation of Delos is particularly favourable: the extensive excavations, which have been carried out there and the rich epigraphic documentation make it possible to grasp the diversity of these arrangements which are not all, far from it, located within the precincts of the sanctuaries. One can thus analyze the way the religious necessities interact with the urban development and its administration.

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DRINKING WITH THE GODS: SOME IMPLICATIONS OF WINE CONSUMPTION IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

The communal consumption of wine in sanctuaries is an undertheorized aspect of Greek religion. While the ritual banquet is generally treated as a logical corollary of animal sacrifice—often understood as a means to define civic inclusivity—the question as to the social meaning of ritualized wine consumption in Greek sanctuaries is commonly overlooked by historians. Archaeologists dealing with sacred contexts, on the other hand, have long since recognized that drinking was an essential component of ritual proceedings at cult sites throughout the Greek world: cult assemblages are often defined by drinking sets, including vessels that are commonly associated with symposiastic contexts—the krater most notably among them. Reviewing both written and archaeological evidence, this paper offers some inroads to answering questions that have often gone unanswered. Was drinking in sanctuaries limited to specific social groups? How can we square the evidence for symposiastic drinking with food consumption? And why do our textual sources seem to downplay the role of drinking in religious contexts, and what does this tell us about the way drinking in religious contexts was perceived?

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OIKOI, PRIESTLY HOUSES, AND OTHER SPACES FOR HUMAN ACCOMMODATION IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

Visits to sanctuaries often involved travelling and leaving one’s home, and therefore the need to find a place to stay the night, for a longer or shorter period, once at the sacred location. Such accommodation was necessary for regular visitors and worshippers, but also for the priestly personnel and refugees seeking the protection of the god.

This paper explores the logistics involved in staying at Greek sanctuaries. What kind of accommodation was available, tents, hotels or houses, and who provided such lodging for the visitors, the sanctuary or private individuals? How did these installations relate to the sanctuary proper, both as to location and function, and to what extent was the management of accommodation a concern for the sanctuary administrations? Finally, to what degree did humans actually stay inside the *temenos* of the god, that is, on sacred space, no matter if they were religious

personnel or regular visitors? As for many other aspects of the logistics in Greek sanctuaries, the evidence for people staying there is not very extensive, neither the material remains nor the written sources. Modern parallels can therefore be useful to tease out a fuller picture of the ancient situation, not at least to illustrate the infrastructure needed to manage large crowds coming to sacred places and spending the night.

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MANAGING THE EBB AND FLOW OF COMPETING CLAIMS ON SACRED SPACE

The organization and use of sacred space was governed by time. Sanctuaries received the most visitors and therefore the most managerial attention during major festivals and ritual events, but how space was used and controlled at those times differed from how it was managed day-to-day. This paper explores two questions related to “time management”: first, were regular activities administered differently from less-frequent festival events? Second, what happened when the routine and the exceptional came into conflict, as, for example, when the right to asylum or a private act of veneration clashed with a festival? Our information is skewed towards the festivals, since the multiple complicated actions and the influx of visitors have left a greater mark on the sources. Although there is much less direct testimony about the regulation of space for non-festival activities, we can begin to gain a more nuanced understanding through evidence like the reliance on informers when officials are not present, the regulation of receptacles like *thesauroi* that can be used at almost any time, and the designation of space by means of temporary markers to ensure that a variety of activities can be carried out concurrently.

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LOGISTICS IN HECATOMBS AND OTHER LARGE-SCALE SACRIFICES

Large-scale public sacrifices, as part of *panegyries*, festivals, hecatombs and others, assured not only the supply of meat, but also of other products involved both in the food chain and in craft production. The holding of fairs and *panegyries* supposed special logistics upstream, during and after the event, inside and outside the sanctuary, and an effective management of people: worshipers, merchants, hucksters, servants, dignitaries and religious personnel. This supposed a management of the spaces necessary for their implementation and of traffic issues. Here, the logistics of humans are added to those of the animals that are sacrificed.

The custom of the communal religious festival is prevalent in all eras and religions and the process, motivations and organization bear similarities. This paper proposes to broaden the current approaches using the prism of comparative anthropology and ethno-archaeology. The documentation of certain modern festivals makes it possible, from a perspective of comparative and contrastive anthropology of ancient Greece and contemporary Greece, to shed some light on the organization of ancient large-scale festivals, far from folklore studies, which had their hour of glory in the nineteenth century up until the 1970s.

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WATER BEYOND THE RITUAL IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

A reliable water supply is necessary for human survival and well-being. This need is particularly acute in the seasonally warm and dry Mediterranean climate, and it is, consequently, unsurprising that remains of extensive water supply infrastructure have been found at many Greek sanctuaries. Individuals visiting these sites, and often staying some time, would require water for a number of everyday activities, e.g. drinking, cooking and washing. Despite this, modern scholarship has largely ignored practical needs for water at Greek sanctuaries. Instead, water supply infrastructure has regularly been interpreted in terms of its religious significance, in particular for rituals of purification,

cleaning of cult images and healing. The aim of this paper is to move away from the focus on water in Greek sanctuaries as used for activities where it had a central religious function and instead explore other, pragmatic, forms of water usages at these sites. What non-ritual activities in Greek sanctuaries required water, when and how much? Finally, the paper discusses whether ritual or pragmatic water usage was the driving force in the development of the water supply at sanctuaries.

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A GUIDE TO CLEANING AND MAINTAINING GREEK SANCTUARIES

This paper focuses on cleaning practices and concepts of cleanliness in Greek sanctuaries from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. It considers both textual and archaeological evidence. Special attention is given to *kepros*. The rich body of literary and epigraphic evidence shows that some Greek communities felt it necessary to specify what they regarded as dirty or, in the words of Lord Chesterfield, as ‘matter out of place’. Mary Douglas’ conceptualization of dirt is useful for discussing the interest of Greek communities in dirt-free places and, more generally, cleanliness. Following her notion that dirt is a social construct and that dirt can be dangerous, I first discuss what was considered dirty in Greek sanctuaries and what had to be removed in order to guarantee the well-being of the community. I will also briefly discuss who was responsible for keeping sanctuaries clean and tidy. Then, I compare and contrast cleaning practices of Greek sanctuaries with Greek settlements with a view to finding out whether they differed considerably on a practical level.

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‘... χοῖρος τὸ ἱερόν καθάρασθαι:’ RECURRING COSTS AND THE LOGISTICS OF SANCTUARIES

The 3rd century accounts of the *Hieropoioi* from Delos display an astonishing degree of detail. What do these inscriptions reveal? First, despite the fact that these records often deal with sums of between 6,000 and 9,000 dr, they forgo the use of categories such as ‘miscellaneous’ and appear not to have employed the equivalent of petty-cash to handle miniscule amounts such as 5 ½ drachmas paid for a dead goose or 1 ob for a partridge. One important function of temple accounts is to create the impression of exactitude, even if, as is frequently the case, net totals often betrayed discrepancies of tens or hundreds of drachmas.

Second, these accounts show how the logistical needs of a sanctuary generated specific activities and suggest that Greek ritual economics were characterized by diseconomies of scale, in which the growth of the sanctuaries as economic entities exerted constant pressure on the organizational capacities of the sanctuary to meet increasing and varied demands. A study of *IG IX.2 154*, a detailed record of the expenses of the *hieropoioi* reveals that in addition to the cost of servicing the business of sacrifice, running repairs were being conducted continuously.

Third, sanctuaries eschewed economically rational strategies, such as aggregating contract work, and instead relied on (and supported dozens of individuals at any given time to accomplish a wide variety of small tasks. The sanctuary was thereby structured economically to benefit the maximum number of local people.

The expenditures for the successful functioning of the sanctuary were dispersed in such a way that a large number of people profited from small capital outlays. The recording of this and the business of supplying these services meant that the sanctuary was in a constant state of renovation. The psychological effect of this should not be underestimated. Rather than being the pristine spot of our beaux arts images, the sanctuary was constantly advertising its piety by being upgraded and just as people benefited from the business of sacrifice by getting an alimentary kick so too the capital works aspect of the sanctuary reassured the community that all benefitted from their piety and status. However, the amount of money to be made for service in the interests of the sanctuary at

Delos blossomed massively at the upper end of the scale. Service as an *architheoros*, herald or ambassador was generously rewarded, so that the elite of Delos benefitted disproportionately from the sanctuary's status. The regularity of service, the predictability and repetition of orthopraxy and ritual service masked the unequal distribution of the profits that came from the sanctuary. In the Hellenistic period there were many calls for land distribution and many a wealthy landowner will have cast a nervous eye over not only the slaves who worked his property but the poorer citizens pushed to the margins of the state's productive land. Sanctuaries, except when sacked by outside forces were generally immune from such internal stasis. Might it be that the somewhat brain numbing detail of the accounts of sanctuary finances served to create an impression of accountability, probity and piety that allowed the sanctuary to flourish precisely at a time when secular institutions of property and land ownership were subject to increasing pressure. In that sense, the many laundry lists of revenues and expenses that impress us with the simplicity of their accounting may, in fact, be among the most ideologically charged documents we have from the Hellenistic period.

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WHAT'S FOR DINNER? THE 'MENU' IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

Examination of zooarchaeological data from "dining deposits" among ancient Greek sanctuary sites provides details about practical, logistical aspects in provisioning meat and other animal resources to participants and feasters. This paper explores the following questions: What animals are noted? What breeds or varieties surface? From where were animals acquired? Are seasonal trends noted? What demographic patterns arise? What skeletal elements are represented? How were parts obtained, processed, butchered, cooked and prepared? And, how might aspects vary in relation to sacrificial altar offerings. Discussion draws upon, on the one hand, a general comparison of zooarchaeological results across various sanctuary sites, before turning to three case studies: the sites of Nemea, Corinth (Demeter/Kore Sanctuary), and Athens.

Results indicate several important points: (1) predominance of "meat mortality profiles" and local provisioning of animals, in most cases, but with some notable exceptions (e.g., Athens); (2) general preference for younger animals in burnt sacrifice, leaving adult representatives contributing a larger relative share of dining debris; (3) practical commonalities, such as a penchant for boiling and stewing, and regularity in butchery techniques and patterns; (4) liberty of some sites to set further parameters in selecting specific sizes, breeds or varieties of animals for cult and dining functions, beyond general choice by species, age and sex.

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HANDLING OF HIDES AND SKINS IN GREEK SANCTUARIES: A SACRED OR PROFANE BUSINESS?

This paper aims to answer three types of questions concerning hides and skins from animals sacrificed in Greek sanctuaries. These are 1) Practical: What types of hides from animal sacrifices were further produced into leather? How and by whom were these hides and skins handled for further treatment in tanneries? Were there tanneries situated in relation to sanctuaries? 2) Economic: Can we talk about 'sacred trade' with this material and how does it relate to non-sacred trade? 3) Conceptual: What was 'sacred leather' from hides and skins of sacrificial animals, and how does it differ from leather which was not regarded as 'sacred'? These questions are elaborated with examples of such cases where it can be shown that in ancient Greece there existed a connection between sanctuaries and tanning practices and which exemplify a conceptual difference between 'sacred' and 'non-sacred' hides and hence consequent leather products.

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WHO IS USING WHAT? OBJECTS FOR OFFICIALS AND OBJECTS FOR VISITORS IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

Along studies on material culture on the one hand and on specific rituals on the other hand, the manipulation of objects in sanctuaries remains a shadowy subject. Were it not for iconographic evidence we would barely know how the ancients manipulated objects during rituals. Other kinds of evidence are less informative about objects and gestures. The question of whether any of the objects recorded in the epigraphic evidence was ever used at all has barely been posed. Use and function of objects are usually determined by shapes and names purportedly corresponding to specific rituals. Which objects were then used among those recorded in the inventories? The Acropolis inventories, forming an abundant and coherent corpus, will serve as a case study allowing to put questions related to actual rituals. We shall thus reconsider self-evident assumptions about what was used by officials and other participants in the rituals.

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ASPECTS OF SACRED TRAVEL: WAY-STATIONS, MASSING POINTS AND MULTIPLE DESTINATIONS

The two most common models of sacred travel attested in the record are: 1. someone travels to a particular sanctuary and back; and 2. someone leaves the sanctuary to announce a festival, traveling to multiple places. In fact, travel to and from a sanctuary may have often been more complicated, involving stopping at multiple sites. In this paper, I shall examine three forms of “complex” sacred travel. a. Way-stations *en route*. b. Multiple destinations. A journey of several hundred km to a major sanctuary might well have including visits to other sanctuaries or festivals on the way. Only a few such cases are attested in the epigraphic record, but it might have been common. c. Massing points. Different groups of people from the same region visiting a distant sanctuary might *rendez-vous* at more local sanctuary before setting out. In exploring these forms of complex sacred travel, I shall make use of comparative evidence from neighbouring cultures, such as the Hittites.

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STONE TABLES AND STONE BENCHES. THE INTERIOR DECORATION OF GREEK STOAS AS MULTIPURPOSE BUILDINGS

Stoas have a special place as multifunctional buildings, adaptable to many different purposes and logistical functions in Greek agoras and sanctuaries. They serve as repositories for important equipment, war booty and art and as places for congregation involving political, social and religious significance. The potential functions of stoas are exponentially expanded when stoas have rooms. Some stoas provide evidence for accommodation, including overnight stays, dining and entertainment. The Pi-shaped stoa at Brauron and the South Stoa at Corinth offer two examples for comparison. At sanctuaries, such buildings are employed for logistical reasons. Looking especially at the relationship between space and furniture with regard to function, I examine why stone tables and benches, which suggest a level of permanence in terms of function, might have been needed. I also address possible reasons for less permanent furniture, such as benches and couches made of wood, which might have been more compatible with the multifunctional aspect of stoas and spatial configuration, and might also have addressed aesthetic interests in artistic decoration. Lastly, I compare the stoa layout to that of other building types that served comparable logistical functions.

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THE DIRT ON CLEAN: SANITARY INSTALLATIONS IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

Sanitation during large religious festivals such as the Kumbh Mela in India or pilgrimages such as the Hajj to Mecca is a major concern today, for health and environmental reasons. Authorities attempt to

provide clean drinking water, sanitation facilities (toilets and facilities for washing hands and the body), and an adequate disposal of human waste in order to prevent epidemics and keep the holy places and their environment clean. Water is central to all of these purposes.

While the importance of water in Greek sanctuaries has received significant attention in scholarship, focus is commonly on its use for ritual purposes. The aim of this paper is to examine the use of water for the above-mentioned sanitary purposes, discussing two central questions: whether sanctuaries provided latrines or any other means for regulated defecation and disposal of excreta; and whether facilities for washing hands and the body for hygienic purposes can be identified. Focus is on large extra-urban sanctuaries where people stayed for longer periods, particularly during important festivals. It is argued that the two questions (particularly the first one) currently cannot be satisfyingly answered and require a comprehensive study that would benefit from cross-cultural comparisons.

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TRAVELLERS, TRADERS, TRINKETS: THE LOGISTICS OF GREEK SANCTUARIES ABROAD

For the mobile communities of Archaic Greek traders and travellers, the sanctuaries of Greek trading ports across the Mediterranean world were vital nodes in economic and social networks that provided divine protection for dangerous travel and risky trade ventures. What was the human experience of visiting, as well as supplying and maintaining, such sanctuaries in foreign lands? What practical challenges did their establishment and maintenance, and the process of visiting them, entail?

Taking the sanctuaries in the Greek-Egyptian trading port of Naukratis in the Nile Delta as my main case study, I will investigate the logistics behind the worship of Greek gods far from 'home'. What facilities did such port sanctuaries offer, what challenges did this pose, and how did their set-up and infrastructure differ from other Greek sanctuaries? How were these sanctuaries managed and equipped so as to fulfil their practical and religious roles? What were the business opportunities offered by the religious aspects of maritime networks, and how were these exploited in ports along the line?

Tracing the steps of traders, travellers and 'tourists' from preparing for their voyage at home to their sanctuary experience at Naukratis, I will focus in particular on the supply of 'foreign' objects, from specially commissioned Greek pottery to Cypriot votive figurines. Did these arrive as a result of trade or as personal possessions brought by travellers? What economic, social or religious factors prompted such 'import'? And what does this tell us about the *chaîne opératoire* of objects intended for dedication or feasting – the mechanisms, motivations and human agents involved in procuring and dedicating, from design and manufacture to incising votive inscriptions and repairing broken pots?

A further aspect to be considered is the infrastructure provided by the sanctuaries themselves. How did they cater to visitors' needs, and how were the visitors' needs and expectations, as well as the sanctuaries' responses, shaped by Naukratis' physical location and its role in diasporic networks and cross-cultural exchange? What is the evidence for sanctuaries themselves being involved in the production of votives, or indeed of other goods targeted at sanctuary visitors? To what extent can the production of faience scarabs and calcite perfume vessels that seems associated with the sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Apollo, respectively, constitute an early example of a trade in devotionalia or sacred 'souvenirs'?

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LOCKED IN/LOCKED OUT: HOW WAS ACCESS TO SANCTUARIES AND THEIR SACRED BUILDINGS CONTROLLED IN PRACTICE?

Although current research argues for easier access to sanctuaries than previously thought, entry into a *temenos* was often allowed on specific conditions and once having entered, not everyone could go everywhere. Inside a sanctuary, some cults had purity regulations, access to a temple could be gender specific, or exclusive to worshippers of a certain origin, etc. But was access to and in sacred space actually controlled, and if so, how? Certainly locks and fences were used to keep the riches of the gods (relatively) safe, and to bar a man from a women's only sanctuary would have been rather straightforward for its personnel. But what about non-visible purity demands, could they be checked? Even if it was possible to survey a restricted number of individuals and their actions in a defined sacred space, what happened during large festivals, how could a large crowd be controlled? This paper discusses ways of monitoring movement in and in and out of sacred space and argues for the importance of divine involvement.

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ELITE AND NON-ELITE DRINKING IN GREEK SANCTUARIES

For a historian, there is a lot at stake when dealing in the issue of elite and non-elite drinking in Greek sanctuaries in the archaic and early classical period. For a student of the symposium who still believes in its basically "aristocratic" nature, just as one of the pioneers of this discipline Oswyn Murray still does, but unlike several "revisionist" scholars in recent decades who would often refer to "non-elite symposia", being able to distinguish between the – roughly speaking – "elite" and "non-elite" drinking in our archaeological record is crucial. Even more so that a certain model of archaic Greek society largely depends on it, as it will be shown in this paper. Obviously, sanctuaries, where "elite" and "non-elite" citizens naturally participated together in ritual actions, are privileged test-cases for such a study. To put it very briefly and perhaps too coarsely, should sanctuaries be interpreted as middle ground where elite and non-elite drinking could constructively co-exist? Or perhaps they offered an alternative model of communal drinking where the aforementioned antithesis became superfluous?