

# **ON THE FRINGES BETWEEN POLITICS AND RELIGION IN THE AMPHIAREION**

**The Athenian presence within a disputed border sanctuary in the  
fourth century BC**

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## **Summary**

This thesis explores the various ways in which the Athenian *polis* presented themselves within a contested border sanctuary, the Amphiareion. It was founded during a period of Athenian control, lost after the Peloponnesian War and reclaimed in the fourth century. I will explore the Athenian religious investments within the sanctuary in consideration of the historical background of the fourth century. These investments were various in nature: from the repairing of fountains, to the building of baths and from the revival of the religious festival to the integration of the sanctuary and the surrounding lands in Attic regulations and laws. An integral part in the Athenian approach towards the Amphiareion was the appropriation of the once mythical war-hero turned healing deity: Amphiaraos, who was crowned by the Athenians and became an honored citizen. All of these various Athenian investments stroll along the thin line between religion and politics. Exploring these investments not only help us understand the Athenian attitude towards the Amphiareion, but shed light on the interplay between religion and politics in ancient Attica.

## **Preface**

All dates discussed are before our common era, BCE, unless otherwise stated. The names of people and places used (Oropos, Amphiaraos etc. all are the Greek names). Sometimes in several cited translations a different spelling of the names is given. I have chosen to leave the names as such to remain true to the translations.

## List of abbreviations

- IOropos Petrakos, B. Ch. (1997) *Οι επιγραφές του Ωρωπού*. Athens: Greek Archaeological Society.
- RO Rhodes, P. J., & Osborne, R. (2007) *Greek historical inscriptions, 404-323 BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lambert Lambert, S. D. (2012) *Inscribed Athenian laws and decrees 352/1-322/1 BC*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Schwenk Schwenk, C.J. (1985) *Athens in the age of Alexander. The dated laws and decrees of "The Lycourgan era" 338-322 BC*. Chicago: Ares.
- Harding fr. Harding, P. (2008) *The story of Athens: the fragments of the local chronicles of Attika*. Abington: Routledge.
- FGrH Jacoby, F. et al. (1923) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- IG VII Dittenberger, W. ed. (1892) *Inscriptiones Graecae. Vol. VII. Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae*. Berlin: Reimer.
- IG II<sup>2</sup> Kirchner, J. ed. (1913-1916) *Inscriptiones Graecae. Vol. II et III. Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- IG I<sup>3</sup> Lewis, D. M., Jeffery, L. H., Erxleben, E. & Hallof, K. eds. (1981-1998) *Inscriptiones Graecae. Vol. I Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores. Editio tertia*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- IG I<sup>3</sup> 1 Lambert, S. D. (352/1-322/1 BC), Osborne, M. J. Byrne, S. G. (300/299-230/29 BC), Bardani, V. N., Tracy, S. V. (229/8-168/7 BC) eds. (2012-2014) *Inscriptiones Graecae. Vol. II et III. Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores. Editio tertia. Pars I. Leges et Decreta. Fasc. II (nn. 292-572). Fasc. IV (844-1134). Fasc. V (1135-1461)*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

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## Introduction

### *A healing spa on the border*

The Amphiareion was an oracular healing sanctuary dedicated to the hero, doctor and god Amphiaraos. He was once a great general and seer who died during the notorious battle known as the ‘Seven against Thebes’ expedition. Amphiaraos disappeared in the earth after Zeus struck a lightning bolt underneath his feet.<sup>1</sup> Centuries after his death, he continued to be a popular and lauded healing deity who cured his patients by way of incubation and strict healing rituals, including dietary restrictions and sacrifices. He was honored by all Greeks, most famously at the Amphiareion near Oropos.<sup>2</sup> Though the Oropian Amphiareion started out as a small sanctuary in the fifth century, it became one of the most well-known healing spa’s in the Greek world within the span of a century.

The sanctuary belonged to the territory of the small city-state Oropos. Oropos was surrounded by several larger *poleis* on the border of Boeotia and Attica, and alongside the Euripus strait (see fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Oropos was facing Athens in the southeast, Thebes in the west, and Eretria across the strait. As such the city and its sanctuary were unfortunately located at the border of several *poleis* whose love-hate relationship tended to alternate between close alliances and conflicts.

The location on the border determined the course of history for this territory. De Polignac described it as a middle-ground area, ‘un espace intermédiaire’.<sup>4</sup> The territory functioned both as a spill in communication and trade to and from Euboea for neighboring Boeotia and Attica and as a defensive post between them, which made the area strategically quite appealing.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the territory of Oropos was often under control of one or the other larger *poleis*. Oropos knew only short periods of independence between takeovers.<sup>6</sup> These commotions left noticeable marks on the Amphiareion as well, considering its administration

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<sup>1</sup> For the story on Amphiaraos see Pind. *Od. Nem.* 9.23-25; Apollod. 3.6.2-8; Did. Sic. 4.65.4-8.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 1.34

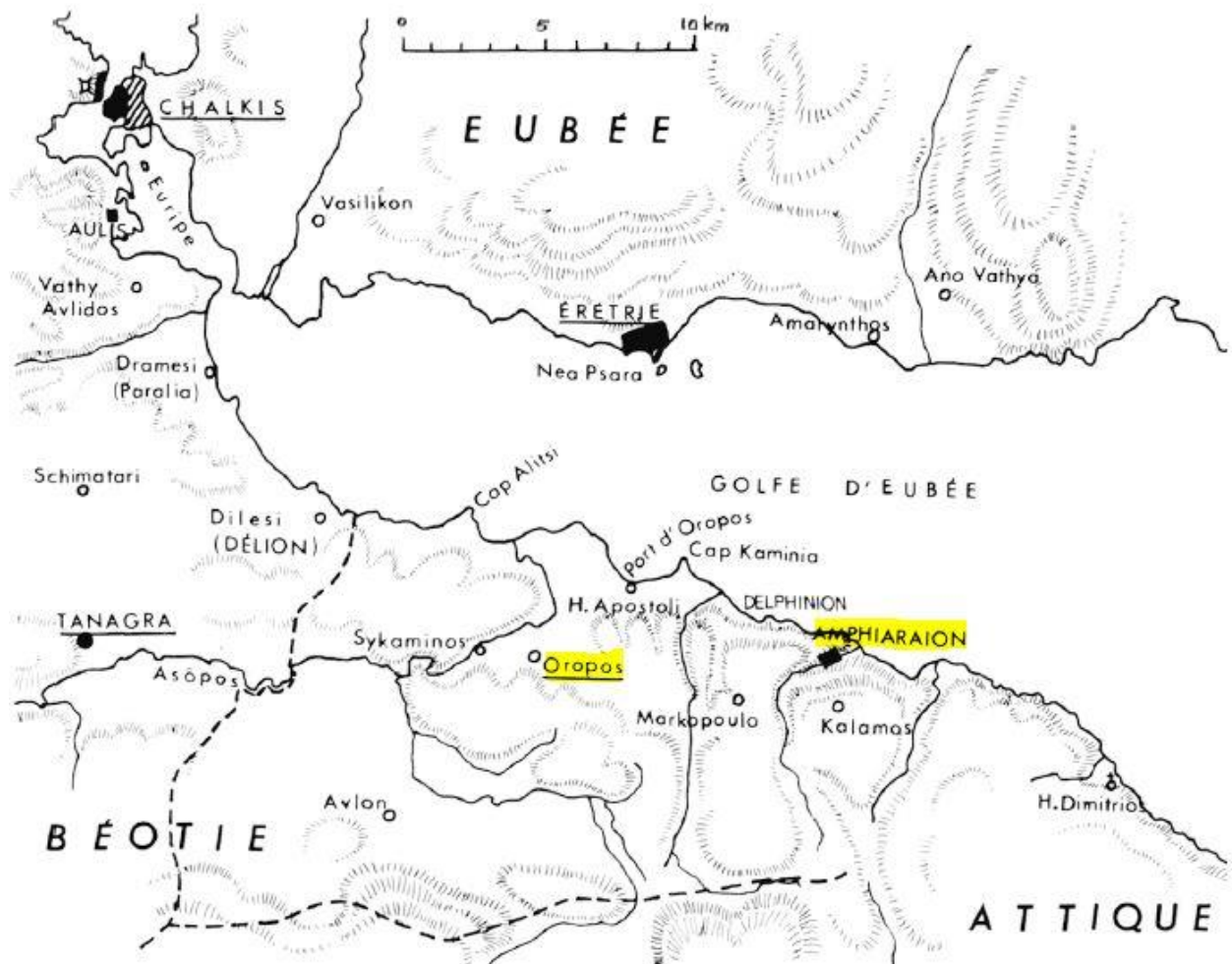
<sup>3</sup> Hansen (2004), 448. Hansen gives a short overview on the use of the name Oropos in his *polis* inventory from toponym and city-ethnic to *polis*. Oropos was only officially referred to as a *polis* in literary sources from the Hellenistic times onwards. The territory of Oropia and Oropos as a location was already used by Herodotus. In this thesis, I will refer both to the location of the settlement Oropos and the territory of Oropos.

<sup>4</sup> De Polignac (2011), 95.

<sup>5</sup> De Polignac (2011), 95.

<sup>6</sup> For an historical overview see for example Roesch (1984), 174-175; Camp (2001), 322; Hansen (2004), 448-449.

belonged to Oropos. As a result, the control of the sanctuary exchanged intermittently from the Athenians, to the Thebans and to the Oropians themselves.<sup>7</sup>



**Fig. 1.** Territory of Oropos (center) between Attica, Boeotia and Euboea (emphasis added). Source: Roesch 1984, 173 (pl. 1).

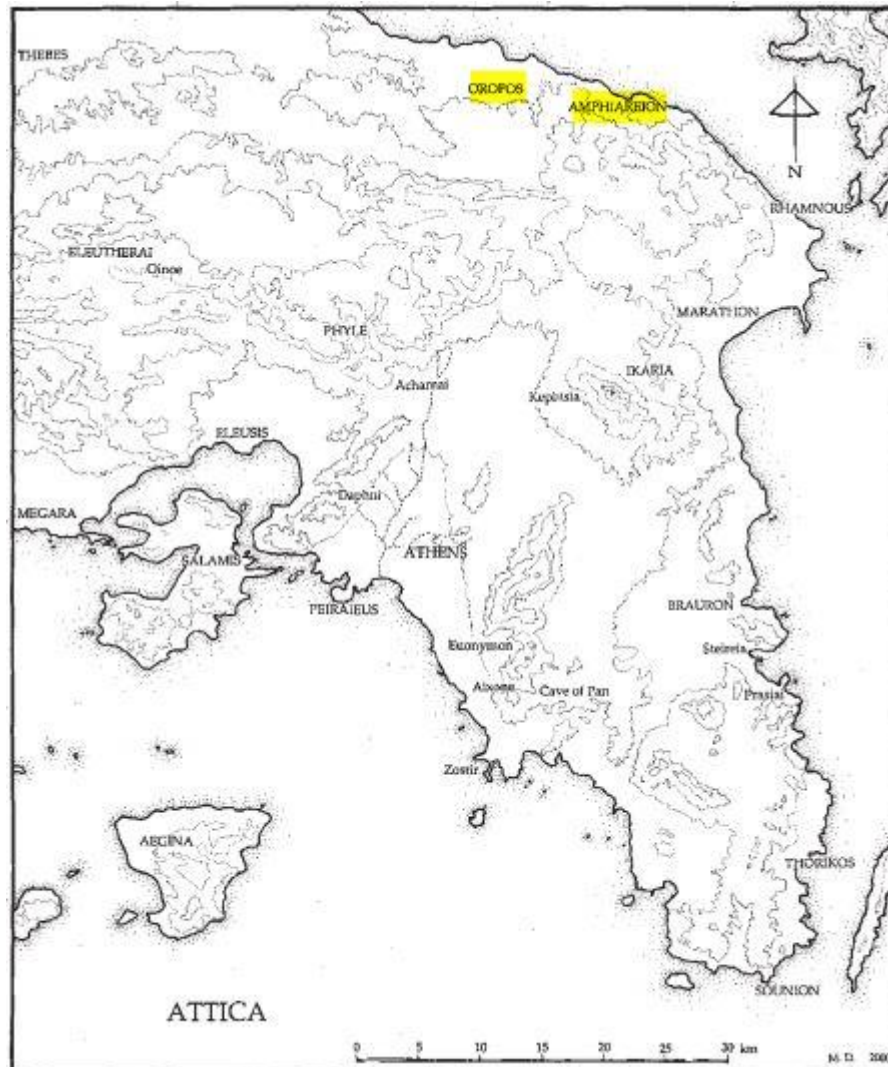
The territory surrounding Oropos and by extension the Amphiareion, was taken over by Athens on multiple occasions during the fourth century. It was during these periods of Athenian control that Athens not only handled religious administration, but invested in buildings, water-management and festivities as well, as becomes clear from the vast number of inscriptions especially from the 330s onwards.

It is true that the Amphiareion, for short periods of time, was - or at least resembled - an Athenian border sanctuary in the north of Attica (fig. 2). Camp is right in cataloguing Oropos

<sup>7</sup> Petrakos (1974), 14.



and the sanctuary amongst the ‘border areas’ in his overview of Athenian archaeology.<sup>8</sup> However, this was not a given fact. Athens seemed to have tried very hard to make the border sanctuary as ‘Athenian’ and ‘Attic’ as they could during those periods that they were in control.



**Fig. 2.** Map of Attica. Oropos is located in the northern border area of Attica (emphasis added). Source: Camp 2001, 272 (pl. 248).

The Amphiareion, located within this disputed and strategic border area, allows for an interesting case study concerning the affiliations between religion and Athenian politics. How did Athens invest in this border sanctuary? Which religious strategies were employed by Athens to secure this newly acquired and disputed border area? And what role did the deity Amphiaraos play in this process? This thesis will center on the Athenian control over the Amphiareion. It

<sup>8</sup> Camp (2001), 322.

explores the interwoven relationship of religion and Athenian politics by analyzing its expression in the Amphiareion.

The relationship between religion and politics is a difficult one and should not be casually assumed. Therefore, I will start with a short discussion on the link between religion and politics in scholarly research of ancient Greek history. I will place my own research within the current historiographical tendency that allows for a closer cooperation between religion and politics.

### **Politics and religion in ancient Greek history**

Early scholarly research on ancient Greek religion has often directed its attention to ritual, cult and myth, and the relationship between these aspects of religious beliefs and practices. Mythology and religion were often used as a way of exploring universal beliefs or primitive and archaic rituals through functionalism and structuralism.<sup>9</sup> Greek politics was barely part of the religious equation. Julia Kindt summarizes in *Rethinking Greek Religion* that in this early historical research, religion was ‘far removed from the ‘hard surfaces’ of Greek life, politics and society’.<sup>10</sup>

It was a reaction to this kind of scholarship that a new emphasis on religion in combination with socio-political structures began from the second half of the twentieth century. A fundamental thought behind this shift derives from the fear of anachronism: we might be able to separate and define concepts such as religion and politics, but a separation between *church and state* is anything but universally applicable. This process accelerated from the eighties onwards, sometimes described as the ‘political turn’, which eventually led to historical research which crossed the boundaries of religion and politics in various historical periods and places.<sup>11</sup>

The idea that Greek religion was ‘embedded’ in Greek society reached its apex with the formulation of the term ‘*polis* religion’ by Sourvinou-Inwood. Religion was ‘embedded’ within the *polis* and therefore inseparable in day-to-day political, social and military life of the ancient *polis*. Greek religion ‘operated’ through the *polis* and in turn this *polis* ‘operated’ within the

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<sup>9</sup> See for older examples of studies on myth, ritual and religion with a focus on the anthropological and social dimensions f.e. James George Frazer’s (1890) *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*, Jane Harrison’s (1912/1927) *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*. An important contribution was made by Claude Levi Strauss’ structural studies of mythology during the mid-twentieth century, who influenced many historians after, such as Walter Burkert (1972) *Homo Necans* or the readings of myths by Vernant and Detienne.

<sup>10</sup> Kindt (2012), 2.

<sup>11</sup> Koulakiotis & Dunn (2019), 1. Not just Greek history is subject to this trend. See also for example on Roman religion and politics, Orlin, E. M. (1997) *Temples religion and politics in the Roman republic*, or more recently on the Ancient Americas Barber, S.B. & Joyce, A.A. eds (2017) *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Americas*.

larger system of various *poleis* and Panhellenic sanctuaries.<sup>12</sup> She emphasizes the agency of the *polis* on both a state and Panhellenic level: ‘The *polis* anchored, legitimated and mediated all religious activity.’<sup>13</sup>

Religion became essential for our understanding of the workings of ancient Athens, its values and the Athenian democracy. The emphasis on the participation in rituals and civic rites, illuminated our understanding of the ancient Athenian citizen: in order to become and continue to be a part of public life and the democracy, participating in religious activities elemental.<sup>14</sup>

Religion and diplomacy in foreign policy are closely coupled as well. Religion provides a common ground or a common appeal. As Adcock already wrote in the mid-twentieth century:

‘So far as diplomacy is a form of persuasion there must be something to which it can appeal. The natural appeal, at first, is to religion, partly because it supplies a sanction independent of material force, partly because religion passes beyond the bounds of several city-states.’<sup>15</sup>

This is a key feature of religion: it allows for connections between individuals based on broader identities. Emily Mackil discussed this in depth. In her book *Creating a Common polity* she analyzes the rise of early federal states (*koinon*). These *koinoneia* were not purely military alliances or communities, they were entrenched on a political, economic *and* religious level.<sup>16</sup> Regional sanctuaries were the perfect locations for meetings and functioned as archives and displays for new decrees and laws. But these sanctuaries were not just chosen out of convenience: religion played a crucial role in the maintenance of a federal state. Actions within the sanctuary served as the ritualization and legitimization of the political institutions of federal states, under the close eye of the regional participating community.<sup>17</sup>

‘In short, religious action was essential to the formation and maintenance of regional states in the Greek world precisely because it could accomplish what no other form of social behavior can: it fosters social solidarity, cloaks revolutions of sociopolitical order in the guard of tradition

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<sup>12</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (1990), 295.

<sup>13</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (1990), 297.

<sup>14</sup> Great studies on this matter have been written by: Blok, J. (2017) *Citizenship in classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Evans, N. (2010) *Civic rites: democracy and religion in ancient Athens*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; S.M. Wijma (2010) *Joining the Athenian community. The participation of metics in Athenian polis religion in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.* Diss. University of Utrecht.

<sup>15</sup> Adcock (1948), 3.

<sup>16</sup> Mackil (2012), 14-15.

<sup>17</sup> Mackil (2012), 234.

and imbues in participants and onlookers a sense of rightness of the power under which rituals are performed.<sup>18</sup>

Considering the importance of religion as a common ground or a common language, the question arises how the interplay between religion and foreign policy or general politics, came about in practice. The political dimension behind several religious activities were reconsidered in historical research. This included the possibility of a political dimension behind what used to be considered purely religious happenings such as sacred delegations and festivities.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, several historians noted the political power of the display and placement of monuments in Panhellenic sanctuaries.<sup>20</sup> The reworking of myth and claiming historical/mythological legitimacy to ancient heroes, helped authorizing and legitimizing political power.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, the power of divination and oracles was sometimes used for the approval of this authority.<sup>22</sup>

The interplay between religion and politics were more explicitly researched within the historical context of Greek society. Especially the Athenian empire in the fifth century and the Peloponnesian War, accompanied by its many religious innovations and crises, offered interesting cases. The realization that religion and cult-activity could not be separated from its historical background, brought about case-studies which tried to explain certain religious innovations while taking into account turbulences in the social, political and economic field.<sup>23</sup> This included the research in the introduction of certain new deities and the circumstances surrounding their entrance, such as Asklepios, Pan or Bendis.<sup>24</sup>

In short, religious activities were firmly embedded in the socio-political context. This does not mean that religion equals politics or politics equals religion, nor does this mean that every devout act, dedication or reworking of myth, was a purely political decision. There must always be room for individual belief, religious considerations, piety and devotion in researching ancient Greek religion. How could we approach the subject matter while still maintaining a sense of the religious sensibilities?

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<sup>18</sup> Mackil (2012), 235.

<sup>19</sup> Research in sacred delegations: Rutherford (2013).

<sup>20</sup> Neer (2001, 2004, 2007) and Scott (2012).

<sup>21</sup> Zaccarini (2015) on Theseus; Constantakopoulou (2016) on Delian historical/mythical additions. Christodoulou (2019), on the use of Aphrodite by Cimon and investments by Evagoras.

<sup>22</sup> Bowden (2013).

<sup>23</sup> Rubel (2000/2014). Garland (1992). Other examples of historians who discuss the interplay of politics and religion during the Peloponnesian War, a time of crises: Hornblower (1992), Furley (1996), Flower (2009).

<sup>24</sup> For a general overview on the introduction of new deities: Garland (1992) and Anderson (2015), and more specific case studies e.g.: Asklepios: Wickkiser (2008, 2009), Bendis: Janouchová (2013) and Arnaoutoglou (2015); Pan: Mastrapas (2013).

### **Retracing religious diplomacy: considerations, sources and methodology**

Even though ‘*polis* religion’ and the idea of the embeddedness of religion in the polis, is an appealing point of departure, it does omit certain aspects of Greek religion. As Julia Kindt already argued in *Rethinking Greek Religion*, religion does exist beyond the polis and the notion of ‘*polis* religion’ has its limitations: it tends to neglect (varieties in) the individuality of belief and the actual act of belief, by focusing too narrowly on the idea of a ‘universal’ polis.<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, there is a danger in misinterpreting the relation between politics and religion. Kindt emphasizes correctly that religion should not be seen as a ‘disguise for socio-political power’ or a ‘simple tool for individuals to achieve their political ambitions’.<sup>26</sup> Instead, the symbolic dimension of religion is an active player and intrinsic in the negotiation of power and politics.<sup>27</sup>

These are indeed two careful considerations we should keep in mind. Firstly, we should remember that religion is not a ‘disguise’ or ‘instrument’, but an active negotiator in socio-political structures and power dynamics. Secondly, if we discuss the investments of the Athenian polis within a sanctuary, we omit the act of belief and individual experiences, which are also part Greek religion, but not aspects of religion which will be discussed presently.

For this thesis I will still adopt a polis-oriented approach. In some cases the agency of the polis as a whole is clearly present in the ‘religious sphere’: public inscriptions attests to this. In state laws and honorific decrees the interconnection between religion and politics cannot be disregarded. A vast amount of laws, granted by the assembly, the *Boule*, concern religious calendars and festivals or regulations, such as the Eleusis first-fruit offerings. State-decrees appoint or laud sacred officials just as public officials were appointed or lauded.<sup>28</sup> At the same time in agreement with the *Boule* building contracts were set up, which led to new monuments and temples left to adorn sacred precincts and to honor the gods.<sup>29</sup> This does not mean that religious officials or the realm of religion were weak and overpowered and controlled by the political state. The state, the polis, concerned themselves with both, because both concerned the citizen of the polis.<sup>30</sup>

I will discuss the interplay between religion and politics with a close eye on the categorization offered by Koulakiotis and Dunn. After noticing a lack of comparative and juxta-

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<sup>25</sup> Kindt (2012), 1-3.

<sup>26</sup> Kindt (2012), 9.

<sup>27</sup> Kindt (2012), 89.

<sup>28</sup> Rhodes (2009), 8-10

<sup>29</sup> Rhodes (2009), 8-10

<sup>30</sup> Rhodes (2009), 13.

positional research on politics and religion in Ancient Greek society, they edited a vast amount of related articles into: *Political Religions in the Greco-Roman World*, the result of a gathering in 2014. Together, these articles discuss the various ways politics and religion interacted in practice within the ancient world.<sup>31</sup> Koulakiotis and Dunn provide a tripartite division of this broad topic: discourses, practices and images.

- *'Discourses (legitimacy, charisma)'*: The use of religion as a means of political propaganda for legitimating and authorizing power, such as the use of omens or oracles. This mostly concerned the ruling elites and the ways they led the way for religious innovation for their own benefit.
- *'Practices (Rituals, Identities)'*: The invention or reorganization of rituals or religious activities to support new ideas, political identities and social hierarchies.
- *'Images (Spaces and Monuments)'*: The symbolic power of the physical (monuments, art and iconography) which communicates a collective identity.<sup>32</sup>

These three categories incorporate in three large steps the various ways in which religion and politics interacted on various levels. However there is also much overlap when discussing not so much a specific topic or theme, but when discussing a sanctuary as a whole such as the Amphiareion, with all of its images, practices and discourses combined. Several elements might reinforce each other or cross the boundary between practice and discourse. One should not completely subject themselves to a definite categorization. Yet it is I believe useful to keep these three concepts in mind at least when discussing the interplay of religion and politics at these different levels within a certain sanctuary. In our case: the Amphiareion.

### **The Amphiareion: earlier discussions and approaches**

Originally the Amphiareion site was excavated extensively by the Greek Archaeological Society, under supervision of archaeologist Leonardos, from the end of the nineteenth century onwards until 1929.<sup>33</sup> From the 1960s, the largest authority over the both Oropos and the Amphiareion, was Basileios Petrakos, who not only provided an historical overview, but included archaeological material and epigraphy.<sup>34</sup> He provided a catalogue of the inscriptions

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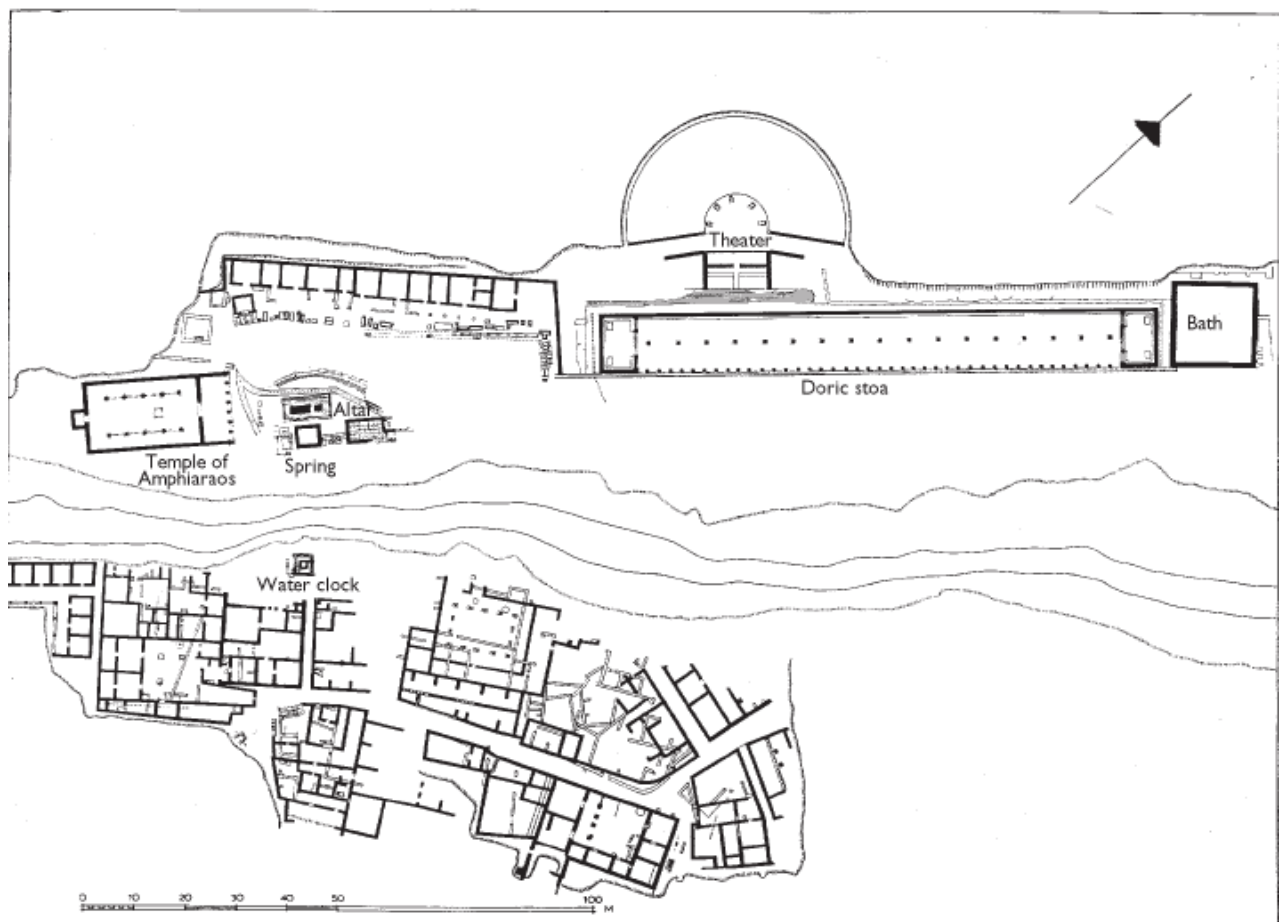
<sup>31</sup> Koulakiotis & Dunn (2019), 1-2.

<sup>32</sup> Koulakiotis & Dunn (2019), 3.

<sup>33</sup> Most of the inscriptions and buildings are published in the Greek journal: *Archaiologike ephemeris: periodikotes en Athenais Archaiologikes Hetaireias* over a period of thirty years.

<sup>34</sup> Petrakos (1968). Published English summary (1974); German summary (1996).

found in the area of Oropos, including the Amphiareion (from now on abbreviated to *IOropos*).<sup>35</sup> Several specific inscriptions from this catalogue have been duplicated and examined by historians such as Stephen Lambert, Cynthia J. Schwenk and Denis Knoepfler. Similar to the attention given to specific inscriptions, several analyses have been written on particular buildings within the sanctuary (fig. 3).<sup>36</sup>



**Fig. 3.** Lay out of the Amphiareion. Source: Camp 2001, 322 (pl. 276).

The deity Amphiaraos finds himself in a bit of a troublesome position in historical research. When discussing the introduction of new healing deities in the Athenian pantheon, the focus is (often understandably) placed on the introduction of the much better known Asklepios. Amphiaraos in some cases is merely treated as a colleague to Asklepios, who exhibits remarkable resemblances in both methodology and appearance. Besides a short chapter or final

<sup>35</sup> Petrakos (1997).

<sup>36</sup> On the water clock: Armstrong & McK Camp II (1977) and Glaser (1982). On the Stoa: Coulton (1968). On the hydraulic installations at the sanctuary: Argoud (1985 & 1989).

paragraph Amphiaraos received considerably less attention and otherwise was often treated as a comparable case to Asklepios.<sup>37</sup>

Amphiaraos did receive some individual attention in a few articles, especially concerning his imagery in art, dedicatory reliefs and literature.<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, comprehensive monographs on this frequently overshadowed deity are limited.<sup>39</sup> A notable exception – a work which I unfortunately was not able to obtain: Pierre Sineux wrote an analysis of the multifaceted character of Amphiaraos and his dual divine nature as both a hero and a deity. In his work, Sineux concentrates largely on incubation and healing practices.<sup>40</sup>

The time of Amphiaraos introduction in Attic territory has been subject to debate, varying from the early to the late fifth century. The general consensus is that the Amphiareion was founded at a time of Athenian control, but actual Athenian involvement at this time is questioned. Some scholars suggested that Athens actively used/promoted Amphiaraos to consolidate the power of the *polis* in the territory: a deity that protected and demarcated the boundaries on the Attic northern border.<sup>41</sup> De Polignac advocated otherwise and argued that the sanctuary was a private initiative which welcomed all people: the Amphiareion did not define boundaries but transcended them.<sup>42</sup>

While the Athenian involvement in the founding of the sanctuary is up for the debate, Athenian interest in the fourth century is more evident. A few particular topics have been scrutinized. Papazarkadas illuminates our understanding of the administrative Athenian control over the Oropian territory - and consequently the lands of Amphiaraos - in the 330s.<sup>43</sup> Together with a few discussions and close readings of specific inscriptions found in the Amphiareion, we get a clearer picture on both the workings of the sanctuary and the manifestations of the Athenian control during the fourth century.<sup>44</sup> One close reading of an inscription is

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<sup>37</sup> For example Wickkiser (2008, 2009), Renberg (2017) and Garland (1992) treat Amphiaraos as a colleague to Asklepios.

<sup>38</sup> Krauskopf (1980): imagery of Amphiaraos' flight from Thebes. Ptesalis-Diomidis (2006): imagery on vases. Hubbard (1992) discusses his treatment in Pindar. Faraone (1992) reviews a fragment in Aristophanes' lost play of Amphiaraos.

<sup>39</sup> There is one other monograph that discusses Amphiaraos' journey from hero to doctor and includes his appearance in the Italian world. Unfortunately no Dutch library possessed this work. It concerned primarily the myth, practices and image of Amphiaraos in the Greco-Roman world. Terranova, C. (2014) *Tra cielo e terra : amphiaraos nel mediterraneo antico*. Roma: Aracne (A11).

<sup>40</sup> I was not able to get a copy of this monograph (Sineux, P. (2007) *Amphiaraos. Guerrier, devin et guérisseur*). The book was lost, later reordered, but sadly did not arrive in time at the library. My sporadic discussion of Sineux is therefore based on summaries: Pizzi (2009).

<sup>41</sup> Sangduk (2020); Sineux (2007), chapter 3. Summary: Pizzi (2009), 2.

<sup>42</sup> De Polignac (2011, 2016).

<sup>43</sup> Papazarkadas (2009, 2011).

<sup>44</sup> Petropoulou (1981) and Lupu (2003) on the Sacred Laws, Knoepfler (1986) on an Athenian decree in the first half of the fourth century. Especially Lamberts and Schwenks commentaries are illuminating for our understanding of several inscriptions from the Amphiareion during the Lykourgan era.



exceptionally enlightening for this research: Adele C. Scafuro's analysis on the Athenian crowning of Amphiaraos and the formulae used in this dedication. Honoring Amphiaraos was a partly a political act, she concludes.<sup>45</sup>

A thorough overview of the features, expressions and nature of the Athenian investments is still lacking. How does this crowning of Amphiaraos fit in the larger story of Athenian religious strategies? And how were Amphiaraos and the Amphiareion integrated within the Attic cult-system? How should we understand this Athenian attitude towards the Amphiareion in light of the fourth-century historical background?

Another ambiguously Athenian 'owned' extra-urban sanctuary at this time received more attention: the Delian sanctuary of Apollo. Chankowski wrote a comprehensive work on the close relationship between Athens and Delos during the fifth and fourth century, at a time when the history of Delos was inextricably bound to the history of Athens.<sup>46</sup> On a smaller scale, I intend to do the somewhat same here as Chankowski did for the Delian sanctuary to Apollo. I want to explore the Athenian investments in the Amphiareion and show that the sanctuary is inextricably bound to the history of Athens.

### **Athens and a border sanctuary in the fourth century**

In this thesis I will explore the Athenian religious policy in the Amphiareion during the fourth century. It serves partially as a stand-alone research and partially as a case study within the larger question concerning the relationship between religion and politics in classical Athens. It explores the way this sanctuary functioned as a religious-political display of power and investigates the strategies used to adopt and appropriate a sanctuary which was not within Athenian jurisdiction at all times. Its territorial location, on the border between several regional groups, defined its history. The nature of the Amphiareion as a border sanctuary and its ability to both define and transcend boundaries will be acknowledged throughout this thesis.

My focus will be on the fourth century for two reasons. Firstly, the larger amount of research on Athenian power politics and religion concerns the fifth century, when the Athenian empire was 'blossoming' far beyond its original boundaries. The way Athens reached out to religious symbols, cults and sanctuaries is already extensively researched. Several historians almost reach a 'natural halt' after the Athenian defeat in the Peloponnesian War and the dissolution of the Delian League.<sup>47</sup> This is partially understandable: the Athenian empire, at

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<sup>45</sup> Scafuro (2009).

<sup>46</sup> Chankowski (2008).

<sup>47</sup> Garland (1992) and Rubel (2014) for example both end their monographs at the end of the fifth century.

least its previous ‘greatness’, came to an end and a new era began. Athens was not the sole dominant power in Ancient Greece anymore. It is indeed tempting to look at religion in Athenian politics when Athenian power was at its pinnacle. It is, I would argue, just as rewarding to discuss the role of religion at a time when Athens actually had to make careful considerations in a different diplomatic world. The fourth century is the perfect time to reflect on these considerations: the era when Athens no longer had its great empire, but still had a large sphere of influence within the Ancient Greek world. Especially considering Athens seemingly had not completely abandoned its desire for power.<sup>48</sup>

Secondly, it was during the fourth century that the Amphiareion underwent its largest period of growth after its establishment in the fifth century. While initially after the Peloponnesian War Oropos was independent, the territory and the sanctuary were quickly taken over multiple times by the Thebans and Athenians intermittently. The sanctuary was juggled among far larger and more powerful *poleis*. We can discern two periods of Athenian control during the fourth century: around the 370’s – 360’s, and during the Lykourgan period, roughly dated between 338/5-322 BC.

It is within this time frame that I will take a closer look at the source material: state decrees and public inscriptions. These inscriptions present us most evidently with the interplay between state and religion. It is in such decrees that the interests of the *polis* are most evident to us.<sup>49</sup> The Amphiareion leaves us with plenty of state-decrees of Athenian origin, provided by Petrakos’ corpus (*IOropos*). With these Athenian public decrees I will provide an analysis of Athenian investments during the fourth century in the Amphiareion.

### **Thesis outline**

We need to understand how such investments and interests in this border sanctuary as they appear in these state decrees, can be placed within general Athenian religious policies. In chapter one I will set out a short discussion on the various ways the Athenian empire ‘made use’ of discourses, images and practices, as put forward by Koulakiotis and Dunn, in securing their empire. I do not claim to be completely comprehensive, but instead I hope to illustrate Athenian approaches to religion and diplomacy and present a better understanding of the various levels in which this occurred by using these categories.

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<sup>48</sup> See Perlman (1968) and Cawkwell (1976) for a discussion on the Athenian imperialistic revival. For the opposing view see Harding (1988, 1995) and his emphasis on the Athenian defensive strategy. A more balanced analysis on the defensive/aggressive attitude of the Athenians at this time is made by Rhodes (2012).

<sup>49</sup> Rhodes (2009), 13.

In chapter two I will elaborate on the foundation of the Amphiareion during the fifth century, when the territory was under Athenian control. Discussing the possible early interest of Athens in the sanctuary helps us to understand and interpret the eagerness the Athenians showed later on as soon as they regained their control.

Chapter three provides an historical overview of the relations between Oropos and Athens during the fourth century. It places the takeover of Oropian territory in a wider framework of Athenian-Boeotian/Theban relations, which allows us to make some assumptions on the importance of the area for Athens (and for Thebes). This chapter serves as the historical background for the fourth and fifth chapter, when our source material will be analyzed in depth.

Chapter four explores the Athenian presence in the Amphiareion throughout the fourth century and places this within its historical context. Honorary decrees, contracts concerning building activity and religious laws paint a picture of active Athenian involvement in the Amphiareion, from the reorganization of a festival to the building of a water fountain.

In chapter five one specific aspect in this Athenian interest will be the center of attention: the promotion of a new healing deity. Here I will discuss Amphiaraos and his journey in becoming an Athenian god. The adoption of Amphiaraos played an integral part in the Athenian integration of this sanctuary within Attic territory.

I will argue that the Athenian presence in the Amphiareion was not without its political intent, shown both in the actual investments in the sanctuary and in promoting and appropriating this new healing deity. Even though Oropos was officially not an Attic deme nor was the Amphiareion always situated within Athenian territory, Athens surely placed its mark on this sanctuary at the times the city controlled the area. Athenians actively tried to secure this desirable and appealing border sanctuary. Amphiaraos was an important negotiator in this process.

I hope to contribute to current scholarship on three levels. Firstly, this research illustrates the interrelationship of religion and politics in Athens when religion was indeed embedded in the *polis*. Secondly, I will discuss the Athenian presence in the Amphiareion and explore how the nature of this border sanctuary possibly determined the treatment of the sanctuary, especially in consideration of the fourth-century historical background. And thirdly, I will explore the negotiating role of Amphiaraos in this process of integration and appropriation.

## Chapter 1. A religious and political empire in the Classical period

### *Athenian religious diplomacy in discourses, practices and images*

As previously discussed in the introduction, religion and politics are closely interwoven in ancient Greek diplomacy and foreign policies. This chapter will discuss the uses of religion in Athenian diplomacy during the Classical period when the Athenians were building and securing their empire. This chapter will provide a concrete and tangible idea of the various religious strategies used by the Athenian *polis*. This is a wide and extensive subject; I could hardly presume to be complete and I do not intend to. The chapter serves as a mirror for the case of Oropos and the Amphiareion. It helps us understand how the ensuing case-study fits into general approaches to religion and Athenian politics.

The chapter will be divided in three parts, based on the three categories provided by Koulakiotis and Dunn: discourses, practices and images (p.14). I will discuss Athenian religious/political policies within these three categories, illustrated by examples:

- Discourses: the promotion of Athens as a ‘mother city’ and as promoter of Panhellenic cults
- Practices: festivals, theōroī, and the introduction of new deities
- Images: monumental dedications

These three concepts - discourses, practices and images - can help us provide a practical and illustrative framework for the ensuing case-study.

#### **1.1. Discourses: Athens as a ‘mother-city’**

In the fifth century at the time when Athens extended, strengthened and secured its empire, religion should not be forgotten in the discussion of Athenian power and politics.<sup>50</sup> The society was still very religious: ‘it was natural therefore that Athens should invoke religion to support her claims of rule’.<sup>51</sup>

One of the ways Athens legitimized the claim to an empire was by promoting itself as the legitimate ‘mother-city’ in the Greek world of scattered *poleis*, both in myth, ancestry and cult. Religious propaganda played an important part in the legitimization of the Athenian

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<sup>50</sup> Parker (2008), 146-155; Meiggs (1975), 291-304.

<sup>51</sup> Meiggs (1975), 304-305.

Empire and for the maintenance of a dominant position of Athens in the Delian League, something which Smarczyk had called: ‘religionspolitik’.<sup>52</sup>

The image of Athens as the ‘metropolis’ relied partially on supposedly mythological/historical validity. The Athenians in the fifth century seemed to have had an act for ‘appropriating the myth of Ionian migration’.<sup>53</sup> Herodotus in his first book, links ‘pure’ Ionians, to those of Athenian descent:

...εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ’ Ἀθηνέων  
γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτήν·      ‘...and all are Ionians who are of Athenian  
descent and keep the feast Apaturia.’<sup>54</sup>

Thucydides hints to a similar peculiarity. When he starts out with his history of the Peloponnesian War, he begins by expressing that Attica was always inhabited by the same people, and as a ‘firmly settled community’ they often attracted people from outside, making Athens even greater than it already was. As a result Attica became too small and made colonies ‘even in Ionia’.<sup>55</sup> Whether this is true or not is another story, but it was believed to be so.<sup>56</sup> An important part of the appropriation of this Ionian ancestral identity, was the promotion and sometimes even propagandistic use of Apollo and consequently Delos (see §1.4).<sup>57</sup>

This ‘metropolis’ suggestion was closely connected to another important component in the formation of the Athenian empire: the obligation of subjected territory, i.e. the allied states in the Delian League, to participate in Athenian festivals in the 420s. They had to send provisions to the Greater Panathenaia and the Dionysia.<sup>58</sup> Something which earlier colonies, such as Brea and Erythrai, already had done in the mid-fifth century.<sup>59</sup> The obligation of allied states to send a cow and panoply and as such participate in the larger Athenian festivals,

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<sup>52</sup> A comprehensive discussion of the Delian League and the use of religious propaganda, see Smarczyk’s dissertation (1990) *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik und politischen Propaganda Athens im Delisch-Attischen Seebund*. Anderson & Dix (1997) discuss one specific decree and its propagandistic uses: the Eteocarpathanian decree.

<sup>53</sup> Crielaard (2009), 74.

<sup>54</sup> Hdt. I. 147.2. Translation by Godley.

<sup>55</sup> Thuc. 1.2.5-6. Translation by Smith.

<sup>56</sup> Meiggs (1975), 294-295.

<sup>57</sup> Olivieri (2014), 10-15 for Peisistratos and the Ionian link; Crielaard (2009), 68-71, for Apollo and the Ionian link; Anderson and Dix (1997), 130-132 for the Delian League, Apollo and Athens.

<sup>58</sup> Meiggs (1975), 292-293; Parker (2008), 147. Referring to IG I<sup>3</sup> 34, a decree discussing tribute from the Delian League. Also in the assessment IG I<sup>3</sup> 71, a decree from 425/4. Both discuss the sending of a ‘cow and panoply’ from allied states.

<sup>59</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 46, a decree on the foundation of a colony at Brea. Line 15 states that they should bring a cow and panoply to the Great Panathenaia and a phallus to the Dionysia. IG I<sup>3</sup> 14, regulations from 454-450 BC states that the Erythraians shall bring grain to the Great Panathenaia.

enforced the idea of Athens as the ‘mother-city’ of the Athenian Empire. This became ‘a potent imperial fiction’, Rhodes remarked, by forcing allies to participate in an ‘imperial festival’.<sup>60</sup>

Moreover, Athens promoted an Attic agriculture goddess as a patron deity for all allied states: the Eleusian Demeter.<sup>61</sup> Allies had to (and all other Greek states were invited to) bring the ‘first-fruits’ of the land to Eleusis, every year, to thank her.

‘...παγγέλλεν δὲ τὴν βολὴν καὶ τεῖσι ἄλλεσι πόλεσιν  
τε[σι] [ε] [λ] λενικεῖσιν ἀπάσεσι, ἡόποι ἂν δοκεῖ αὐτεῖ  
δυνατὸν εἶναι, λέγοντας μὲν κατὰ ἡὰ Ἀθηναῖοι  
ἀπάρχονται καὶ οἱ χσύμμαχοι, ἐκέ[ν]ο[ι][ς] δὲ μὲ  
ἐπιτάττοντας, κελεύοντας δὲ ἀπάρχεσθαι, ἐὰν  
βόλονται, κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐγ  
Δελφῶν...’

‘...and the Council shall announce to all the other  
Greek cities, wherever it decides this to be possible,  
telling them the arrangements under which the  
Athenians and the allies give first-fruits, and not  
commanding them but encouraging them, if they  
wish, to give first-fruits according to **ancestral  
custom and the oracle from Delphi...**’<sup>62</sup>

The obligation/invitation is justified by 1) the ancestral custom and 2) the oracle of Delphi (emphasized in quote above). Frequently Delphi is used as a trustworthy authority for certain decisions. An oracle provided the often deemed necessary certainty: especially in an era of uncertainty, oracles in the Classical and Hellenistic era contributed to a sense of certainty and legitimacy by the authority of the gods.<sup>63</sup>

With the fall of the Delian League, the Athenians could no longer make obligations such as these. Nevertheless in some cases this practice continued in the fourth century, all be it in a different form. A decree from 372 gives us an example of this: an Athenian decree, accompanied by a decision of the Second Athenian League (from the *Synedrion*) announces that the people of Paros had to send provisions to the Athenian festivals:

‘[-----]χῆ  
[-----]ρηι [κ]ατὰ τὰ πά-  
[τρια καὶ εἰς Παναθήν]αια βῶν καὶ πανο-  
[πλίαν καὶ εἰς Διονύ]σια βῶν καὶ φαλλῶ-  
[ν] ἀ[π]ά[γεν ἀριστεῖ]ον ἐπειδὴ [τ]υγχάνουσ-  
[ι] ἄποικοι ὄντες τ[οῦ] δήμου τῶ Ἀθηναίων’

‘--- in accordance with tradition, and to the  
Panathenaea a cow and panoply, and to send to the  
Dionysia a cow and phallus as a commemoration,  
since they happen to be colonists of the people of  
Athens.’<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Parker (2008), 147.

<sup>61</sup> Parker (2008), 147-148; Meiggs (1975), 304-305.

<sup>62</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 78, ll.30-34. Translation by Stephen Lambert and Robin Osborne. Emphasis added.

<sup>63</sup> Bowden (2013), 44-46. On a different note, the oracle of Delphi may have been the religious authority for the retrieval of Theseus’ bones as well (Zaccarini (2015), 180-181) as Delphi was also the issuing authority for the recovery of the bones of Orestes.

<sup>64</sup> RO-29 ll.1-6. Translation: RO. The only remaining decision of the League.

The Parians had to send to the Dionysia a cow and *phallus* and a cow and panoply to the Panathenaia, in accordance with tradition, as they were colonists.<sup>65</sup>

By reaching out to a common ancestry, religious symbolism, deities and rituals, Athens created a discourse of legitimacy. Especially in the fifth century, they tried to legitimize their authority on a religious basis both by promoting themselves as a Panhellenic cult center (obligated their allies to participate in Athenian festivals and the first-fruits of Eleusis) and promoting themselves as the Ionian mother-city.

### **1.2. Practices: festivals, *theōroi*, and new deities**

The discourse of legitimacy of the Athenian *polis* is closely linked to new rituals and religious activities. Which brings us to the second category: practices, the reorganization of religious activities which support new ideas, identities or hierarchies. As already discussed above, the Athenians made sure their allies participated in the festivals to Athena and Dionysos; the festivities thus became greater and more majestic by the extra revenues, while at the same time, they clearly illustrated a new hierarchy with Athens at the top.

Religious festivities in general provided several opportunities for the *polis*. One should never underestimate the power of a proper festival:

‘Common festivals provide a way for cities and their citizens, to liaise and interact, to negotiate their differences and communalities, to create or affirm alliances. A common festival can also serve as a platform for a city to present itself to the outside world.’<sup>66</sup>

It was often to these festivals that *theōroi* (sacred delegates) were sent. Rutherford indicates that *theōroi* should be seen as ‘agents of the political bodies that they represented’.<sup>67</sup> Even though their visits were certainly religiously motivated, their political significance should not be underestimated.<sup>68</sup> He discusses their political properties within four contexts:

- As ordinary *theōroi* they had a general political connotation: self-advertisement of a *polis* and the demonstration of autonomy or unions.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> RO-29. Translation by RO.

<sup>66</sup> Rutherford (2013), 3.

<sup>67</sup> Rutherford (2013), 250.

<sup>68</sup> Rutherford (2013), 250.

<sup>69</sup> Rutherford (2013), 251-254.

- At festivals of an imperial power (i.e. the Athenian festivals in the fifth century): sacred delegations most likely accompanied the *cow* and *panoply* ordered by Athens to the festivals. They were often able to get an audience with those in power.<sup>70</sup>
- Festival of a federation; *theōroi* sometimes participated in festivals of leagues and federations.<sup>71</sup>
- As ambassadors: sacred delegates sometimes functioned as ambassadors at the same time (*‘presbeutēs kai theōros’*).<sup>72</sup>

Athens had send such *theōroi* from the times of Solon to the mid-second century AD. One of the most prestigious Athenian *theōroi* were those send to Delphi, the Pythaiads. These Pythaiads made dedications as representatives of the Athenian *demos*. One inscription dated to the end of the fourth century, tells us that when the Athenian *demos* made a dedication it was executed by the religious officials who led the Pythaiads (followed by a list of people).<sup>73</sup>

The act of sending *theōroi* such as the Pythaiads was embedded in the *polis* structure of Athens, both within the ritual calendar and within the structure of the *demos*.<sup>74</sup> The religious importance of these sacred delegations should not be underestimated. It was even, especially in the fourth century a tendency for Attidographers to rewrite local history in order to conform history to current practices of the *theōroi*.<sup>75</sup> Most likely because of the tense and insecure position Athens found itself in at that time:

‘At the time when Athens was threatened by Macedonian expansion, Athenians will have appreciated being told that their city had a central role in common-Greek ritual traditions.’<sup>76</sup>

The primary motivations of both the sacred delegations and the festivals were religious. Their pious dedications to the divine should not be underestimated. Yet neither should their social and political value be unnoted. Let us leave the *theōroi* for now and turn to another complex

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<sup>70</sup> Rutherford (2013), 254-255.

<sup>71</sup> Rutherford (2013), 258-260.

<sup>72</sup> Rutherford (2013), 260-261.

<sup>73</sup> Rutherford (2013), 260-261. IG II<sup>3</sup> 4 18. It is interesting to note that besides the great grandson of Nikias (Νικήρατος Νικίου) and Lykourgos (Λυκοῦργος Λυκόφρονος) Phanodemos of Diyllos (Φανόδημος Διύλλου) is at the top of the list (§4.3).

<sup>74</sup> Rutherford (2013), 316

<sup>75</sup> Rutherford (2013), 307 n.25. He provides several examples relating to the supposedly ‘original’ Athenian practice of sending sacred delegations.

<sup>76</sup> Rutherford (2013), 307.



component of Greek religion, which just as well shows a complex intermix of religious, political, military and social factors: the introduction of new deities.

Garland researched various aspects of the introduction of new gods, including the political reasoning behind the introductions during a period of warfare and crisis.<sup>77</sup> Some of these deities gained immense popularity in the city of Athens. By the fourth century, the *polis* had gathered various foreign gods and cults on the Acropolis. We should always place the introduction of a new deity, within its socio-political context:

‘Cults arise within and carry the meanings and values of historical contexts by which they can be understood. The history of fifth-century Athenian religion is inseparable from the history of Athenian political and social aspirations, and the centrality of religion to public as well as private life requires us to evaluate the two side by side.’<sup>78</sup>

The historical context and the political and social considerations should always be considered when discussing new deities. One of these imports was for example the Thracian god Bendis, who received a place on the Acropolis around the same time an alliance was made between Thrace and Athens. This was most likely a political decision and strengthened the new bond with a strategically located area, wealthy in its resources.<sup>79</sup> We see such a diplomatic concession more often, for example in the adoption of Pan. He was introduced after the battle of Marathon (supposedly from a testimony of the runner Philippides). The introduction was most likely a commemoration of victory, with the possible added motivation for improving relations with Arkadia (the territory from which Pan originated).<sup>80</sup> Another introduction during the Peloponnesian War with a possible political dimension: Asklepios. Athens promoted Asklepios partially on diplomatic grounds: it would strengthen the alliance with Epidaurus.<sup>81</sup>

The interplay between politics and religion in the introduction of new deities is evident. However, the brokering of alliances or the strengthening of bonds may have often been an important component in the matter, but the introduction of a new deity is vastly more complex than that: it was not *just* a diplomatic decision to introduce a new deity. Cultural factors and religious considerations should be kept in mind at all times. Moreover, neither should we

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<sup>77</sup> Garland (1992), VII.

<sup>78</sup> Garland (1992), 171.

<sup>79</sup> Janouchová, (2013), 96. Attic Bendis has a striking resemblance to Artemis. With three sanctuaries and annual celebrations around Athens, it is remarkable as Janouchova noted that there is very little contemporary evidence in Thrace for a cult of Bendis.

<sup>80</sup> Anderson (2015), 312-313; Mastrapas (2013), 118-121.

<sup>81</sup> Wickkiser (2009), 97-100.

underestimate the changes the deities underwent after being adopted: they were appropriated and reformed within the Athenian pantheon.<sup>82</sup>

Aside from the fact that sometimes the Athenian state played a (collaborative) role in the introduction of new deities, the *polis* in some cases regulated certain cults as well: a public cult. Papazarkadas in discussion of public ownership of sacred land acknowledges the difficulty in such a definition (it is not as clearly defined in some cases) but nevertheless concludes:

‘When a public executive body – the *Boule*, the Assembly, a committee appointed by them – or even an Athenian magistrate, appears to regulate some aspect of a given cult, we are probably on the right track to identify such a cult as public.’<sup>83</sup>

Practically speaking imposing religious laws, inventory lists or state ordered decrees are an indication for the regulating powers of the Athenian *polis* for a public cult. Papazarkadas discerns a few public cults in ancient Athens: Athena and the Other Gods, the Eleusinian Goddesses, Asklepios and Amphiaraos, our protagonist.<sup>84</sup>

Being public cults, the sacred property of these gods (their *temene*) was administered by the Athenian *polis* as well. One of the ways in which this property was made lucrative, was by means of land leases.<sup>85</sup> With the leasing of sacred property, one could guarantee a ‘stable source of income’, for cultic activity.<sup>86</sup> Since the property belonged to the gods, its revenues should be used to finance his or her sacrifices, repairs, dedications and festivals. Even though the land was sacred, the exploitation was done by public officials. There are other ways to raise revenues for cult activities, but this was an important one.<sup>87</sup>

In sum, innovation in religious practices such as the reorganization of new festivals, the sending of new *theōroi* and the introduction of new deities were largely embedded in the social and political life of the *polis*. The Athenian *polis* to an extent regulated *theōroi* and the festivals, just as it cooperated in the introduction of a new deities and sometimes regulated certain cults and sacred realty. The Athenian *polis* actively participated in the innovation of new practices.

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<sup>82</sup> Anderson (2015), 310-311.

<sup>83</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 17-18.

<sup>84</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 17-18.

<sup>85</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 51. He notes in particular the Athenaion Politeia 47.4-5.

<sup>86</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 92-93.

<sup>87</sup> Williams (2011), 261.

### 1.3. Images: monuments and architecture

Finally, the last point which should be discussed: the physical realization of the interplay between religion and politics and its visible presence in the monumental landscape: images. Splendid buildings in sanctuaries were devout symbols of power and presence, for a *polis* and for the god. Especially Panhellenic sanctuaries allowed for grand investments of power display: for all to see. These sanctuaries allowed other states to build within the precinct. For example, Sparta was not allowed to build on the Acropolis, but could in Delphi or Olympia. Basically there were three large Panhellenic sanctuaries, i.e. where other *poleis* could place a building: Delphi, Olympia and to a lesser extent Delos.<sup>88</sup>

Athens, though less present in Olympia, certainly used Delphi and Delos as displays of power with architectural additions.<sup>89</sup> There is one remarkable type of monumental dedication with a seemingly clear political goal: treasuries. Richard Neer's studies on two treasuries, the Siphnian treasury and the Athenian treasury in Delphi, emphasize the close relation between religion and politics. In Delphi, Olympia and Delos many treasuries from various *poleis* can be found. These housed and protected the dedications of the citizens of a certain *polis*. Neer shows that these treasuries had a political component: they nationalized (or rather '*polisized*') votive-offerings.<sup>90</sup>

Athens adorned the Acropolis with great, monumental works at the time of the Periklean building programs. The money from the stolen treasury of the Delian League partially funded these large projects. The beautiful marble white buildings on the Acropolis could be seen from afar. A proper display of power and resilience after the Persian destruction in 480.

The sanctuaries on the borders of Attica were of high interest for the Athenians as well. Athens sponsored public projects, big and small, in the entirety of Attica, most ambitiously and extensively in the border sanctuaries. The building of temples and cult-oriented structures in Attica happened throughout the centuries, but Boersma points out two periods in which temple building activity increased noticeably: 1) by the end of the sixth century, when temples were built in mainly Rhamnous, Brauron and Eleusis, 2) and during the 450s and 440s, when temples were constructed in Sounion, Eleusis, Rhamnous and Thorikos.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Neer (2009), 225-226.

<sup>89</sup> Boersma (1970), 100.

<sup>90</sup> Concerning the Siphian Treasury at Delphi: Neer (2001), 273-274. And concerning the Athenian treasury at Delphi: Neer (2004), 63.

<sup>91</sup> Boersma (1970), 98-99.

Except for a few cases – such as the temple to Ares and Athena in Acharnai – the scene of temple building took place on the fringes of Attica, both in the early sixth century and throughout the fifth century. See for example the Artemis Brauronia temple in Brauron, the Demeter and Kore temple in Eleusis, the Themis temple and later on the Nemesis temple in Rhamnous, and the temples to Athena Sounias and Poseidon in Sounion. Not only temples, but walls surrounding sacred precincts and public projects such as bridges, stoa complexes and theatres were included in the Athenian building program.<sup>92</sup>

The sanctuary of Apollo on Delos could be seen as one of the most distant Athenian border sanctuaries during the fifth and fourth century. Similar to the above mentioned border sanctuaries, the sanctuary of Apollo reveals an increase in Athenian building projects contemporaneous with other building projects in sanctuaries on the fringes of Attica. Besides monumental buildings, the Athenians used religious symbols and practices to legitimize and secure Athenian authority and control over the sanctuary. This brings us to the final paragraph of this chapter. Above I have generally discussed how discourses, images and practices were used by the Athenian *polis*, and the connection between religion and politics in Athenian foreign policies when handling their territory of Attica or their allies further away. Delos is the perfect case which brings it all together.

#### **1.4. The Delian sanctuary to Apollo: discourses, images and practices**

Already during the early phase of monumentalization from the eighth century onwards, the sanctuary to Apollo was an appealing location for investments of nascent islands (such as Naxos, Paros and Samos). They used the island as a competitive playground for the display of power, wealth and piety. Under the sponsorship of these nearby *poleis*, Delos was able to develop into a blossoming interstate-sanctuary, the perfect venue for dedications, competitions and networking between various *poleis*.<sup>93</sup> Delos was above all, at first, an island-sanctuary. The ‘nesiotic’ character can be traced in the various island treasuries.<sup>94</sup> As discussed earlier (p.27) the establishment of a treasury was an important political activity along with being an act of piety: it politicized votive-offerings.

Athens quickly wanted a cut in the sanctuary of Apollo. The Athenian tyrant Peisistratos purified the island mid-sixth century. Peisistratos adopted a position of authority over an island,

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<sup>92</sup> Boersma provides many plates which provide an overview of Athenian building activity in Attica throughout the centuries. Boersma (1970), 292

<sup>93</sup> Constantakopoulou (2007), 42-43; Earle (2010), 43-44, 47.

<sup>94</sup> Constantakopoulou (2007), 50-53.

deemed sacred for all Ionians communities. This was not a simple pious act, but one which should be seen in light of interstate politics and as part of the expansion of the Athenian overseas empire at that time.<sup>95</sup> This ‘sacred manipulation of the landscape’ was part of the foreign Peisistratid policy to gain control (or at least a position of influence) over the Aegean waters, the island and the communities.<sup>96</sup> At the same time an Athenian monumental limestone temple was built on Delos, the *Porinos Naos*. The purification and the temple illustrate how Athens now had its own place in the center of the sanctuary.<sup>97</sup>

During the fifth century Athenian interest in the island increased. The sanctuary of Apollo on Delos was given new status as the center of the Delian league for reunions and meetings and as a bank for the treasury.<sup>98</sup> The treasury was eventually removed and brought to Athens, but this did not mean the end of Athenian intervention. Athens eventually lost control over Delos after the Peloponnesian War, but quickly regained it in the first half of the fourth century.

Even though during the fifth and fourth century economically Delos was not that interesting, in light of politics and religion it certainly was.<sup>99</sup> We can trace in various ways the enduring interest in the sanctuary. Here I will discuss these shortly, again using the earlier categories: discourses, practices and images.

#### *Discourses: Athens as the legitimate heir over Delos*

Both the sanctuary and the deity Apollo were believed to have close connections to the Ionians/Ionian communities.<sup>100</sup> In discussion of the ancient festivities on Delos, Thucydides cites the Homeric Hymn to Apollo:

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<sup>95</sup> Van den Eijnde (2020), 63. On the purification in Hdt. I.64.2.

<sup>96</sup> Olivieri (2014), 11-13.

<sup>97</sup> Scott (2012), 52-53.

<sup>98</sup> Chankowski (2008), 32-35. See also: Thuc. 1.96.1-2

<sup>99</sup> Chankowski (2008), 376.

<sup>100</sup> Olivieri (2014), 9-10; Anderson & Dix (1997), 130-131; Connor (1993), 198-201. Crielaard (2009), 68-71.

ἄλλοτε Δῆλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστα γὰρ θυμὸν  
ἐτέρφθης, ἔνθα τοὶ ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἴάονες  
ἠγερέθονταισὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξὶ τε σὴν ἐς  
ἄγυιαν· ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίῃ καὶ ὀρχηστῦ καὶ  
ἄοιδῆ μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν  
ἀγῶνα.<sup>7</sup>

‘At other times, Phoebus, Delos is dearest to thy  
heart, where the Ionians in trailing robes are gathered  
together with their wives and children in thy street;  
there they delight thee with boxing and dancing and  
song, making mention of thy name, whenever they  
ordain the contest.’<sup>101</sup>

Thucydides provides us here with the earliest evidence, a fragment of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, which attests to the association between the Ionians and Delos. Before the quotation of Homer, Thucydides expresses already that Ionians and those living on neighboring islands were present during the earliest festivities on Delos.<sup>102</sup> Seeing that the Athenians had a tendency to appropriate Ionian migration in their history, Delos was a crucial component for shaping this discourse. Just as important for this discourse, was the primary deity of the island, Apollo. As Apollo Patroos, father of the believed founder of the Ionians Ion, the god was already worshipped in the sixth century in Athens.<sup>103</sup>

In short, the sanctuary of Apollo was actively exploited as an Ionian symbol by the Athenians. At the same time Athens prided themselves with the idea that they were the ancestors to the Ionian colonizers. The choice of Delos for the Delian League was part of the general discourse in which Athens positioned itself firmly as a proud progenitor and legitimate heir.<sup>104</sup>

As the controllers over Delos, the Athenians intervened in the sanctuary often. After the devastating epidemic they purified (ἐκάθηραν) the island in the winter of 427/426 following an unspecified ‘certain oracle’.<sup>105</sup> Thucydides stresses that contrary to Peisistratos’ purification - when only the area surrounding the temple was cleansed - now the entire island was purified.<sup>106</sup> Every dead body was dug up and brought to Rhenea. On top of that future births and deaths on the island were forbidden.<sup>107</sup> The island remained ‘pure’: no-one could ever again be a born-and-raised Delian.

Another, even more invasive action was undertaken in 422: the Delians were expelled from their island. According to Thucydides the Delians were deemed impure because of a certain crime. It was only after the oracle of Delphi that they were allowed to return one year

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<sup>101</sup> Thuc. 3.104.4. Translation by Smith.

<sup>102</sup> Thuc. 3.104.3.

<sup>103</sup> Connor (1993), 198; Anderson & Dix (1997), 131; Chankowski (2008), 29.

<sup>104</sup> Crielaard (2009), 74.

<sup>105</sup> Thuc. 3.104.1-2.

<sup>106</sup> Thuc. 3.104.2. Thucydides’ description of the purification and exile of Delos: Furley (2006), 416-417; Hornblower (1992), 169-170.

<sup>107</sup> Thuc. 3.104.2.

later.<sup>108</sup> Parker summarizes these events: Athens had shown himself to be a ‘tyrant-city’ towards Delos. It mirrored the acts of Peisistratos, but infringed even more on the independence of Delos.<sup>109</sup>

Both acts (the purification and return of the Delians) supposedly were preceded by oracles. These acts may have been religiously motivated and authorized in part (appeasing and pious favors to the god Apollo).<sup>110</sup> The political dimension should not be discounted however: Chankowski suggested that these infringements on Delos should be seen within the larger Athenian strategy to define the sacred space of the island, and to consolidate Athenian presence:

‘Mais en dépit des hésitations de la politique athénienne, la mainmise sur le sanctuaire se trouve à la fois justifiée et consolidée par l’activité religieuse d’Athènes dans l’île d’Apollon. Délos se trouve ainsi peu à peu intégrée à un système politique, administrative et religieux athénien.’<sup>111</sup>

Being thrown of your own island indubitably left behind some resentful feelings. This anti-Athenian sentiment continued throughout the fourth century, after regaining control over the island.<sup>112</sup> Finally in the 340s the Athenian rule over Delos was questioned in public by the Delians, possibly as a reaction to the building of a Pythion on Delos. Hypereides gave a speech in defense of Athens and connected Delos and Athens in their mythological/historical past, Athens won and stayed in control over Delos.<sup>113</sup>

This brings us to the final aspect of discourses. To legitimize and authorize the authority of Athens over the island and the sanctuary, there seems to have been a tendency to include Athens within Delian history. Especially in the fourth century certain mythological elements were added, seemingly Athenian inventions, which linked Athens, Delos and Apollo closely together. For example: Leto supposedly already ‘loosened her girdle’ in Attica at Cape Zoster and Athena Pronoia had helped Leto finding Delos to give birth to the divine twins. These were

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<sup>108</sup> Thuc. 5.1 (exile) 5.32 (return of the exiles); Constantakopoulou (2016), 131-132.

<sup>109</sup> Parker (2008), 153.

<sup>110</sup> Hornblower (1992), 193-194; Furley (1996), 86.

<sup>111</sup> Chankowski (2008), 70.

<sup>112</sup> Constantakopoulou (2016), 126-128. Earlier examples: a prohibition on the gate of the Archegeion, forbidding strangers from entering (maybe referring to the Athenians). In the 370s two Delians (possibly the Archons, but that’s no guarantee) had to pay a fine for beating of Athenian Amphictyons. Thirdly, a man with a possible pro-Athenian standpoint was banned from Delos and was granted citizenship by Athens.

<sup>113</sup> Constantakopoulou (2016), 136-138. The Delians had their own ways in shaping their local past and tried to circumvent the Athenian reworking of their past in their own ways.

relatively new elements recounted in Hypereides' speech in defense of the Athenian claim over Delos.<sup>114</sup>

Athens slowly but surely created a discourse which firmly connected Delos to Athens. Constantakopoulou recounts three other stories and themes that over time included Athens.

- 1) The Hyperborean route; sacred delegations were sent to Delos to bring gifts. In the earliest description of this route by Herodotus, Attica does not play a role. Pausanias a few centuries later tells us that Athens is the last stop (at Prasiai, an Athenian deme, where supposedly Erysichthon was buried). From here the gifts were given to Apollo Delios. Athens had established in the meantime new mythological links, maybe to conform it to current sacred delegation practices.<sup>115</sup>
- 2) The Athenian king Theseus supposedly did a dance around the altar on Delos during his return from his voyage to Crete.<sup>116</sup>
- 3) Erysichthon (Athenian hero and eponym of the *genos* Erysikhthonidai) was linked to Delos as the first 'pilgrim'. Pausanias mentioned that supposedly Erysichthon was buried at Prasiai (see point 1), after his death on his voyage back from Delos.<sup>117</sup>

This final point is interesting to discuss a bit further. Phanodemos, who will become important in chapter 4 and 5, presumably had played an important part in this process of linking Erysichthon to Delos. The fourth-century Attidographer wrote several books on Attic history, called the *Atthis*, of which only fragments remain.<sup>118</sup> He was quite Athenocentric, patriotic, and often 'reworked' certain myths and historical stories to give it a bit more of an Athenian vibe.<sup>119</sup> In one fragment, he links the Athenian hero Erysichthon to Delos.

'Concerning their birth (sc. Of quails) Phanodemos in (the) second (book) of *Atthis* says: When Erysikhthon beheld the island of Delos, which was called Ortygia (i.e. quail island) by the

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<sup>114</sup> Constantakopoulou (2016), 129-130. She discusses Hypereides' fragmentary speech *On Delos*. Delos had enough of Athens and asked Delphi for a hearing: both sides were heard. The Delian defense is lost. Athens won and could keep Delos for another few decades.

<sup>115</sup> Constantakopoulou (2016), 130-131.

<sup>116</sup> Constantakopoulou (2016), 131. Referring to Plut. *Thes.* 21.1-2.

<sup>117</sup> Constantakopoulou (2016), 130-131. Referring to Paus. 1.31.2.

<sup>118</sup> For the Greek version of the fragments I refer to FGrH 325. I quote here the translations of Harding (2008).

<sup>119</sup> Harding (2008), 8. A notable example: Harding fr. 3, on the foundation of Dardanos in Troad, which belonged to the Athenian king Teukros, who migrated to Asia: 'he [Teukros] was glad to see Dardanos and the people of the Greek race who came with him', note how an *Athenian* allowed and welcomed others in *his* land. This was told by many writers, but Phanodemos in particular, as observed by Dionysios of Halikarnassos from whom the fragment survives. And another example: in Harding fr. 44/77 (twice mentioned in Harding) Phanodemos places the abduction of Persephone in Attica.



ancients as a result of the fact that flocks of these creatures (sc. Quails), carried in from the open sea, settle on the island because of its having good places to rest.<sup>120</sup>

Little more information from Phanodemos on Erysikthon has survived unfortunately, except for one other fragment concerning Erysikthon's daughters.<sup>121</sup> It is possible that Phanodemos had invented (or emphasized) the link of Erysikthon to Delos, especially if we take into account the contemporaneous speech of Hypereides and the claims to Athenian authority over Delos.<sup>122</sup> As earlier discussed, there was a tendency of fourth-century local historians to reconcile mythological/historical elements with current practices of sacred delegations.<sup>123</sup> Especially considering the 'reworking' of the Hyperborean route as well (point 1), it is not unlikely that the link to Erysikthon was a fourth-century invention to legitimize the current Athenian *theōroi*.

The Athenians during both the fifth and fourth century seemed to have tried to create a discourse which legitimized their authority over Delos. They did this by establishing a close link as Ionian mother-city to Delos and Apollo and by reinventing and reworking Delian myths, by attributing a role in Delian-Attic mythology to Athens and Athenian heroes. This sense of legitimacy rooted in the (all be it slightly fabricated) past offered them the authority to make additions, changes and innovations in Delian religious practices.

#### *Practices: the Delia and Athenian Theōroi and the Athenian Amphictyony*

In 426/5 the quinquennial festival of the Delia was celebrated, and more greatly than ever, Thucydides tells us. This was the first time since long ago. In the olden days, the Ionians and the islanders from Delos and surrounding islands, would come together for competitions, dancing and singing.<sup>124</sup> At a certain point the contests and ceremonies withered away slowly. The islanders and the Athenians piously continued with sending their choruses and sacrifices, Thucydides notes.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Harding fr. 28. Greek: Jacoby. FGrH 325.2.

<sup>121</sup> Harding fr. 43. The two oldest daughters offered to be sacrificed after a Boeotian invasion.

<sup>122</sup> Harding (2008), 204; Jacoby's commentary to FGrH 325.

<sup>123</sup> Rutherford (2013), 307.

<sup>124</sup> Thuc. 3.104.2-3.

<sup>125</sup> Thuc. 3.104.6.

‘ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς μὲν χοροὺς οἱ νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ’ ἱερῶν ἔπειπον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, ὡς εἰκός’

‘And in later times the people of the islands and the Athenians continued to send their choruses with sacrifices, but the contests, and indeed most of the ceremonies, fell into disuse in consequence, probably, of calamities’<sup>126</sup>

It is not remarkable that Thucydides emphasizes that the Athenians maintained this practice: it wouldn’t have been god-fearing or god-loving to stop sending sacrifices, even if the festivities were not as festive they used to be in the olden days. Thucydides made it explicit here that the Athenians had a long-lived and enduring relationship with Delos and the sanctuary.

The festivities needed a boost (or at least that is what Thucydides tells us) and the Athenians stepped in, shortly after the invasive purification of the island:

‘...πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καὶ ἵπποδρομίας, ὃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν.’

‘...until the Athenians, at the time of which we now speak, **restored** the contests and **added** horse-races, of which there had been none before.’<sup>127</sup>

The great (partially Ionian) festival of the Delia of the old-ages was no more, until the Athenians intervened, and revived the contests and added horse-races, to be held every fifth year.<sup>128</sup> The renewed festival asked for sacred delegations: Athens consequently send many *theōroi* to Delos during the fifth and fourth centuries, but especially those dispatched by Nikias around 420 were still praised by Plutarch.<sup>129</sup>

This renewed Delia festival, as Chankowski notes, had a distinctively Athenian touch. It was quite similar to Attic festivals.<sup>130</sup> It is not that they changed Delian practices and religion, but they appropriated Delian elements (such as the Hyperborean offerings) to make an Athenian, yet Delian festival: ‘les Délia sont bel et bien devenus une fête civique athénienne, même si leur rayonnement est plus large’.<sup>131</sup> During the fourth century the large penteteric

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<sup>126</sup> Thuc. 3.104.6. Translation by Smith.

<sup>127</sup> Thuc. 3.104.6. Translation by Smith.

<sup>128</sup> Thuc. 3.104.1, 6.

<sup>129</sup> Chankowski (2008), 225-6; Rutherford (2013), 305-6. Plut. Nic. 3.4-5.

<sup>130</sup> Chankowski (2008), 77, 122-124.

<sup>131</sup> Chankowski (2008), 123.

festival continued, however it was moved one year forward after the resumption of Athenian control.<sup>132</sup>

The festival, sacrifices and the payments for the *theōroi* were administered by the Delian Amphictyony from the fifth century onwards. There was most likely not an Amphictyony on Delos before the Athenian control: Athens installed this administrative institution.<sup>133</sup> This Amphictyony first existed solely of Athenian amphictyons. So it was not really an Amphictyony as was the case in Delphi (where the Athenians held a position in a larger council). This administrative organ needed to have the appearance that it was similar, while in reality it wasn't.<sup>134</sup>

Chankowski proposes that the term Amphictyony was a clever political-religious choice for the legitimization and authorization of this new institution. The name partially derived from the hero Amphictyoon, the son of Deucalion who established the Delphic Amphictyony and Amphictyoon, the third archaic king of Athens. By naming the Amphictyony of Delos as such, they were both presenting a connection between Delphi and Delos and a distinction between the two while referring to the Athenian archaic king Amphictyoon. This relates Apollo, Delos, Delphi and Athens closely to each other.<sup>135</sup>

In practice, the Delian Amphictyony had little to do with the Delphic Amphictyony. The management of the sanctuary was in fact more similar to the Athenian administrative management of sacred wealth elsewhere in Attica, for example in Eleusis. At the time of the early Amphictyony on Delos in the second part of the fifth century, there was a systematic attempt by Athens to perfect its inventory of the sacred goods and wealth in their territory: an empire asked for proper administration. The organization of the sanctuary of Apollo seems to be an attempt to integrate the Delian Apollo in the religious life of Attica via administrative control and inventories.<sup>136</sup>

After losing the Peloponnesian War Athens lost her prize-asset Delos. Sparta prided itself in liberating Delos from Athenian hands.<sup>137</sup> But not for long. Delos quickly found itself again under Athenian control. The Delian-Athenian Amphictyony was reinstalled and again

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<sup>132</sup> Chankowski (2008), 187-209; Tulpin (2005), 31, 41.

<sup>133</sup> Chankowski (2008), 28.

<sup>134</sup> Constantakopoulou (2007), 71.

<sup>135</sup> Chankowski (2008), 45-49.

<sup>136</sup> Chankowski (2008), 140-146.

<sup>137</sup> RO-3. The liberation of Delos by Sparta.

funded the festivities, sacrifices and transport of sacred delegations and choruses.<sup>138</sup> The sanctuary would remain under the Athenian thumb up until 314.<sup>139</sup>

At this time, the Amphictyony also most likely concerned themselves with the administration of sacred leases on Delos. The earlier mentioned leasing of sacred property (p.26), administered by the *polis*, was a practice attested to in Attica but also on Delos.<sup>140</sup> An Athenian inscription, discussed by Walbank, shows a record of the Athenian administration of Delos, dated around 329 (one of the final datable signs of Athenian administration over the island).<sup>141</sup> It documents the leasing of houses and *temene* on Rheneia and Delos. Part of the funds from these leases, belonged to the god Apollo.<sup>142</sup> As discussed above, the leasing of sacred properties was lucrative and provided revenues and funding for cults, deities and their sanctuaries for public deities.<sup>143</sup> It seems like Apollo on Delos may have enjoyed at least some profit from the Athenian property leasing for his sanctuary.

#### *Images: building for Apollo*

We have seen how the Athenians used religion and tradition to legitimize their authority over the island and installed/revived new religious practices and institutions. The adoption of the sanctuary of Apollo materialized visibly in monumental building activity. Shortly after the establishment of the Delian League, the Athenians attempted to build a new temple: the Grand Temple. It was the only colonnaded structure on the island, but was not completed until two centuries later. The initial construction stopped around the time the treasury was moved to Athens. Another smaller temple was completely during the fifth century, right next to the earlier constructed Athenian temple at the time of Peisistratos. The new Athenian temple was known in temple inventories as the ‘Temple of the Athenians’.<sup>144</sup>

The Athenian building activity continued throughout the fourth century. Considering that Athens’ authority was progressively contested by Delians, they actively tried to manifest Athenian power within the sacred space, by building new Propylaea, monuments, and introducing a new place of worship for another Apollo, the Pythian Apollo.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> RO-28, ll.34-35 (transport *theōroi* and choruses). This account concerns the date 377/6-374/3.

<sup>139</sup> Some think Delos was again independent after the King’s Peace after 387 and taken over by Athens in 377 (Tulpin (2006), 31-40), Chankowski showed that Athenian presence was still visible after the King’s Peace (Chankowski (2008), 215-219).

<sup>140</sup> Williams (2011), 284.

<sup>141</sup> Walbank (2014), 496. The inscription he discusses: Agora I 5162.

<sup>142</sup> Walbank (2014), 495-50. Face B, line 8 and 9.

<sup>143</sup> Papzarkadas (2011), 51. He notes most notably the Athenaion Politeia 47.4-5.

<sup>144</sup> Scott (2012), 55.

<sup>145</sup> Chankowski (2008), 258-273.

Scott notices that there is a clear Athenian emphasis on the protection and enlargement of the Apollo sanctuary, while less attention was given to other deities on the island.<sup>146</sup> This emphasis on Apollo as opposed to other deities continues during the fourth century. Moreover whereas in the sanctuary of Artemis sometimes older buildings were destructed in favor of a new substitute, this never happened in Apollo's precinct. His sanctuary grew larger.<sup>147</sup> This bias in favor of Apollo is in turn closely linked to the discourse Athens tried to appeal to.

### 1.5. Concluding remarks

We can name a vast amount of examples when religion and politics closely work hand in hand in fifth-century Athenian policies. When Athens was building an empire, it tried to obtain legitimacy by claiming Ionian heritage and invoking the authority of oracles. It promoted itself as a religious Panhellenic center, by making sure all of the allies in the Delian League participated in the festivals of the polis. It negotiated the introduction of new deities to reinforce alliances and reinstated or reorganized festivities or constructed splendid buildings to gain favor and grandeur. These were not purely political acts, neither were they solely religious: these are religious activities embedded within larger socio-political circumstances.

The border areas of Attica often enjoyed considerable attention as well. With the case of Delos, one of the outermost border sanctuaries within the Athenian sphere of influence, I have tried to illustrate the variety of ways the Athenian *polis* intervened, invested and controlled an originally extra-territorial sanctuary. By discussing the discourses, practices and images within the sanctuary, I have tried to provide a general idea of the various levels which demonstrate the interplay between religion and politics.

What becomes clear is that the boundaries between discourses, images and practices is not easily drawn. There is much overlap. The creation of a certain discourse to authorize and legitimize a certain hierarchy, often coincides with the reorganization or introduction of certain practices. They often even reinforce each other. The forced ally tribute can be considered both as part of the creation of a discourse for legitimacy as well as part of the reorganization of a certain practice to conform to new hierarchies. These categories show a lot of dynamic interplay and are therefore less useful when discussing one specific sanctuary (such as the Amphiareion in the following chapters). This same overlap is seen in the case of Delos. For example, the

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<sup>146</sup> Scott (2012), 55-56.

<sup>147</sup> Scott (2012), 57.

focus on Apollo in the monumental landscape, clearly favored the Athenian discourse of an Ionian identity as well.

These categories are however convenient to keep in mind when considering the variety of Athenian religious strategies. It shows us three levels: 1) the intangible but nevertheless significant establishment of a certain discourse of authority; 2) the practices which illustrated and reinforced this new power dynamic; 3) the visible and tangible expressions of this power dynamic in buildings and monuments. To get a grip on the Athenian presence and religious strategies in the Amphiareion, it is necessary to look at all of these levels in the following chapters.

## Chapter 2. The early Amphiareion

### *Retracing the origins of the border sanctuary*

In the fifth century Athens took control over the territory of Oropos. Even though the exact nature of Athenian control at this time remains obscure, the territory was without a doubt Athenian. It was during this period of Athenian rule that the Amphiareion was established. The foundation of this sanctuary should not be viewed within a historical vacuum. In this chapter I will discuss the circumstances of the foundation. What could explain the introduction of Amphiaraos in a border region? And did Athens play a part in the introduction or promotion of this healing deity?

I will begin with an outline of the history of early Oropos and the fifth-century Athenian takeover, before I will continue with the foundation of the Amphiareion. Dating the sanctuary is unfortunately still largely hypothetical because of a lack in archaeological remains. Even though the general consensus pinpoints the sanctuary roughly between 430-414, earlier dates cannot be excluded. This poses a problem for a proper assessment of the Athenian involvement. Therefore I will discuss the introduction of Amphiaraos from two different possible angles. Firstly, the possibility that Amphiaraos was promoted (or even introduced) by the Athenian *polis* as a symbol and assertion of Athenian presence. Secondly, I will discuss the possibility that Amphiaraos was the result of the search for a common place of worship in a border sanctuary and question the active role of the Athenian state in the process.

### 2.1. Early Oropos and Athens

The settlement of Oropos antedates the foundation of the Amphiareion for quite a few centuries. Mycenaean ceramics and even earlier traces of habitation have been found in the area.<sup>148</sup> The archaeological material shows some gaps now and then and the area has been abandoned on occasions. By the tenth century again traces of habitation are found and by the end of the ‘Dark Ages’ an increase of industrial activity on a plot nearby shows foundations and pottery fragments from the eighth and seventh century, similar to those found in Eretria and

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<sup>148</sup> Petrakos (1979), 8; Roesch (1984), 175. The excavations were done by Aliko Dragona in the 1980’s and later on published by Alexander Mazarakis Ainian. (Ainan 1998, 2002). See also the catalogue of the exhibition with M. Mouliou, *Archaeological Quests: Excavations at Homeric Graia* (2008) and more recently a collaborative archaeological report with I.S. Lemos and V. Vlachou (2020) *Oropos Excavations. The Protogeometric and Sub-Protogeometric Periods*. On the archaeology of the rural areas surrounding Oropos see: Cosmopoulos (2001).

Lefkandi.<sup>149</sup> Considering these similarities, together with the fragment of Nicocrates and the dialect used, several scholars argue that Oropos was at the outset an Eretrian colony.<sup>150</sup> However the earlier traces found near Oropos from the tenth century attest to a different small settlement nearby which antedates the earliest Eretrian findings. This led the archaeologist Alexander Mazarakis Ainian to conclude that Eretria may have partially colonized part of the area (that displayed increased industrial activity and similarities to Eretria), but an earlier settlement already occupied the territory. These settlements merged later on. Ainian favors the possibility that the early settlement should be identified as Graia, already mentioned in Homer. These so-called Graians supposedly, together with the Euboeans, were the first colonizers of Italy.<sup>151</sup>

The history of this territory and of the city of Oropos is very scanty at best. What happened in the meantime between the Eretrians and the Athenian takeover is uncertain. Pausanias tells us that the territory surrounding Oropos in the early days used to be part of Boeotia.<sup>152</sup> There is no proof of this possible Boeotian control at such an early date before the Athenian takeover in the fifth century. Oropos most likely still was either an Eretrian dependency or under Eretrian influence by the time it was conquered by Athens.<sup>153</sup>

The exact date of the Athenian takeover is difficult to pinpoint. If indeed Athens took over Oropos from Eretria, as postulated earlier, it seems likely that the annexation of Oropos was around the time Athens' imperialistic ambitions reached Euboea (and Eretria as a result). Athens could have already ruled over the area as early as 507, after the Athenian campaign against Chalcis on Euboea.<sup>154</sup> An Athenian decree from the mid-fifth century about the city Hestiaia partially concerned the regulation of ferry fees between Athenian settlements

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<sup>149</sup> Ainian (2002), 149-151. Already pointed out earlier by Ainian in 1998.

<sup>150</sup> Knoepfler (1985), 50-52. The third century historian Nicocrates described Oropos as being an Eretrian foundation: Bonner 1941, 34-35 (in FGrH 376 F1). The possibility of a relationship between early Oropos and Eretria was already pointed out by Wilamowitz-Möllendorf (1886), 99.

<sup>151</sup> Ainian (2002), 151; Ainian (1998), al. 62-65. The possibility that pre-classical Oropos might be Graia deserves its own thesis, and unfortunately cannot be disclosed here in full. Homer talks about Graia when discussing ships, one of which from Graia. Hom. *Iliad*. 2. 495-500. In the fifth century Thucydides (Thuc. 2.23.3) located Oropos within the territory of Graia, which belonged to the Oropians (who were controlled by the Athenians at that time). The story is a bit more complicated, possibly due to movements of the Oropian settlement. Strabo (Str. 9.2.10) tells us that near Oropos there was a place called Graia, but that Graia was sometimes identified as Tanagra. Pausanias also mentioned that the old name of Tanagra was Graia, 'old woman' (Paus. 9.20.2).

<sup>152</sup> Paus. 1.34.1.

<sup>153</sup> Petrakos (1979), 8; Parker (2008), 150.

<sup>154</sup> Chalcis expedition: Hdt. 5.77. Later in Herodotus, the Athenians crossed over to Oropos (Hdt. 6.101.1.) to save themselves when Persians neared Eretrian territory. Maybe, at that point, Oropos was already safe Attic ground. See also: Hubbard (1992), 106 n. 80; Petrakos (1974), 8 (dating it as early as 506).



(including Oropos). This tells us that Athenian control over Oropos was at least definitely present at this time (ca. 446).<sup>155</sup>

A lack of literary information and the fact that the territory was only sporadically mentioned in Athenian inscriptions, makes it difficult to determine the nature of the relationship between Oropos and Athens at this time.<sup>156</sup> Most likely there was an Athenian magistrate appointed. We have the example of Polystratos, defended in court by Lysias, who was accused of being part of the Four Hundred in 411. In defense of his character, Lysias emphasizes that he was once a loyal magistrate (ἄρξας) in Oropos before this allegation.<sup>157</sup>

In any case, Oropos never fully integrated within the Athenian civic territory. The Oropians remained subordinates to Athens.<sup>158</sup> Thucydides illustrates this point. When the Peloponnesians attacked, the Athenians decided to remain within their city walls, resulting in the Peloponnesians angrily ravaging several *demes* around the city before leaving Attica via Boeotia, where they passed Oropos:

‘...παριόντες δὲ Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραϊκὴν  
καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑ-  
πήκοοι, ἐδήωσαν.’

‘...they passed by Oropus and laid waste the  
district called Graice, which the Oropians  
occupy as subjects of the Athenians.’<sup>159</sup>

The Oropians were ὑπήκοοι, and therefore had to listen to the Athenians. They most likely were not even represented in the Athenian council. Neither the city nor the territory is named in the list of the Kleisthenic *demes*.<sup>160</sup> They might had a similar ‘unofficial deme’ status such as Salamis at this time.<sup>161</sup>

Oropos never seemed to be an Athenian deme. It may be possible that Oropos was incorporated within another deme or under another name. There is a slight possibility that the territory surrounding Oropos, the earlier mentioned Graia, was an Attic deme at a later date. However this is based on sketchy evidence, to say the least. The city ‘Grais’ (similarity to Graia) is mentioned in IG II<sup>2</sup> 2362 line 30, for the Pandonionis phyle, in 201/0 BC. The list is often

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<sup>155</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 41 ll.59-61, for example, those who travel from Oropos by ferry to Hestiaia shall be charged (unreadable) amount of obols.

<sup>156</sup> Petrakos (1974), 8.

<sup>157</sup> Lys. *Pol.* 20.6.

<sup>158</sup> De Polignac (2011), 96; Roesch (1984), 175.

<sup>159</sup> Thuc. 2.23.3. Translation by Smith.

<sup>160</sup> Oropos is absent in the overview of political *demes* by Traill (1975).

<sup>161</sup> Martha C. Taylor wrote a monograph on Salamis and its odd position within the Athenian political system as the ‘unofficial deme’, see: Taylor (1997) *Salamis and the salaminioi: the history of an unofficial Athenian demos*.

considered to be an error with Graia designated as a ‘spurious deme’: there is no other evidence that ‘Graia’ ever was part of the Attic deme structure.<sup>162</sup> Until an inscription or literary source explicitly tells us that Oropos (al be it under a different name) tells us otherwise, Oropos cannot be considered an official Attic deme.

It should also be noted, that there is very little archaeological evidence, monuments or foundations of buildings, which attests to Athenian building activity in the area. In Boersma’s exhaustive study on Athenian building projects, Oropos was not mentioned in relation to Athenian building activity. Remarkable, considering Athenian building projects in the fifth century were concentrated in Attic border sanctuaries and frontier regions such as Brauron, Eleusis and Rhamnous.<sup>163</sup> Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that from the fifth century onwards (after a period of little to no traces) the amount of findings on the rural lands in the area nearby Oropos increases, suggesting an agricultural surge at the time of Athenian control.<sup>164</sup>

The Oropians remained subordinate to the Athenians until the winter of the twentieth year of the Peloponnesian War, as Thucydides tells us. Athens lost Oropos in 412/411, when a few Eretrians and Oropians conspired together with the Boeotians against the Athenian garrison that occupied Oropos.<sup>165</sup> The Athenian influence came to an end for now. For the larger part of the fifth century, the Athenians had pulled their strings in Oropian territory, at least from the 440s, and probably earlier. It was during this time of Athenian control that the earliest traces of cult-activity in the Amphiareion can be found.

## 2.2. Dating the sanctuary

Earlier, either archaic or older, ceramic findings on the cult site seem to be absent (or at least to my knowledge unpublished), which makes the dating of the foundation of the sanctuary or earlier cult-activity at this location quite difficult.<sup>166</sup> The earliest possible sign of cult activity, found somewhere in Skala Oropou, is a statue base, dated to the mid-sixth-century reading:

Ἀλεχσομενός μ' ἀνέθεκεν.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Traill (1975), 82.

<sup>163</sup> Boersma (1970), 98-99, plates and table p.262-263.

<sup>164</sup> Cosmopoulos (2001), 57-59.

<sup>165</sup> Thuc. 8.60.1-2.

<sup>166</sup> Cosmopoulos (2001), 57-59, does inform us that in the fifth century nine new rural finds spots are found, mostly in the area of the Amphiareion and Vlastos (just above the Amphiareion).

<sup>167</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1475.

This is an isolated case however for this period and cannot be associated to the Amphiareion without a reasonable doubt. The same goes for another early sign: a herm stele, found in the orchestra, dated from the late sixth or early fifth century, signed by the Athenian sculptor Strombichos.

Στρόμβιχος  
ἐποίησεν  
Ἀθηναῖος.<sup>168</sup>

Several scholars see the early herm as a misfit, an erratum which first was placed somewhere else and only later brought to the sanctuary. It is true that these early cult signs are difficult to fit into the existing archaeological evidence. No other buildings or remains attest to cult activity at such an early date. It wasn't until the end of the fifth century when two altars for the sanctuary were made, quickly followed by several buildings. This is why the second half of the fifth century for the foundation of the Amphiareion would appear to be a more logical assumption.<sup>169</sup>

However simply disregarding the herm is in my opinion too rash. The herm could still have been a sign of informal cult-activity on a smaller scale at an earlier date. I would agree with Hubbard that an earlier foundation of the sanctuary cannot be excluded without a doubt.<sup>170</sup> Which is why I will adopt a rather broad dating, from the late fifth to the early fifth century, with Aristophanes providing us with the last possible date of the foundation of the Amphiareion: In 414 his play *Amphiaraios* was staged, of which only fragments remain. In this play a couple visits the Amphiareion near Oropos where Amphiaraos acted as a healer. By this time the healing sanctuary in Oropos must have been established already.<sup>171</sup>

Petropoulou tries to narrow the dating, arguing that it must have been after 422/421, because in another of Aristophanes' plays, *Wasps*, a man Philokleon goes to Aegina to be cured by Asklepios. If Athens already possessed the Amphiareion in 422, it would have been likely Philokleon would go there and not out of his way to Aegina.<sup>172</sup> This however is an unfounded assumption. Even though there are many similarities between Asklepios and Amphiaraos, in appearance and methods, it would be wrong to simply see both divine doctors as

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<sup>168</sup> IOropos 334.

<sup>169</sup> E.g. Petropoulou (1981), 58; Camp (2001), 323; Wickkiser (2008), 52. Petrakos (1968), 66; Argoud (1985), 9.

<sup>170</sup> Hubbard (1992), 105-106.

<sup>171</sup> Arist. *Frag.* 17-36 relate to the play *Amphiaraios*, translation by Henderson (2008).

<sup>172</sup> Petropoulou (1981), 58. For Aristophanes, Philokleon and Asklepios, see *Wasps*, 85.

interchangeable healing deities. Individual preferences because of earlier experiences could have led an individual (in this case Philokleon) to choose Asklepios over Amphiaraos, or the other way around. Especially considering these two deities were both ‘young’ at this point in time. They just recently found for themselves a place within the Athenian pantheon; their image, reputation and specialization was most likely still in the making. It would be unwise to believe that just because Amphiaraos was closer and within Athenian territory at that point, Philokleon would necessarily choose him. For his particular ailment Asklepios might still have been the best doctor for the job.

A more reasonable argument Petropoulou provides, is that during the Archidamian War (431-421) building projects outside of Athens were virtually non-existent, which makes a date after 422/421, after the peace of Nikias, more likely.<sup>173</sup> ‘More likely’ however leaves still much room for doubt. Building a healing spa in times of war might not have been such a bad idea after all: the establishment of the sanctuary may have answered the call to the violence of the Peloponnesian War. The Amphiareion could still serve as an example that there was in fact building activity during the Archidamian War in a border region.

If we expand our dating period to the early fifth century, more possibilities arise. Boersma had shown us that during the late sixth century and during the 440s-430s, the fringes of Attica were the places to be for Athenian temple-building activity (p.27). Even if we take Petropoulou’s argument into account and believe that the possibility of building activity during the Archidamian War was unlikely, then there always remains the possibility that the Amphiareion was founded before the Archidamian War, either in the late fifth century (if we take the herm into account as well) or during the 440s-430s.

Yet we do not see this reappear in the archaeological material as we do in the other border sanctuaries? Unfortunately just as we cannot exclude an earlier foundation of the sanctuary, we cannot actually prove one either. Dating the sanctuary leaves us with unsatisfying conclusions and more questions than actual answers. Debate on the dating will most likely continue until an inscription is found which satisfyingly provides a *terminus post quem*.

### **2.3. Cult transfer vs. introduction**

Another piece of historical information, provided by Herodotus, does not make the dating of the sanctuary any easier. Herodotus speaks of a sixth-century oracle dedicated to the hero Amphiaraos. Herodotus provides us with two anecdotes relating to this early oracle. Croesus

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<sup>173</sup> Petropoulou (1981), 58.

send various delegates to question several oracles, the oracle of Amphiaraos included. Besides Delphi, the Amphiaraos oracle was the only other oracle with the correct answer. Croesus send gifts to Amphiaraos.<sup>174</sup>

(...) τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσεῖην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῆσι λόγχῃσι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῶ τοῦ Ἴσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος

‘To Amphiaraus, having learnt of his valour and his fate, he dedicated a shield made entirely of gold and a spear all of solid gold, point and shaft alike. Both of these lay till my time at Thebes, in the Theban temple of Ismenian Apollo.’<sup>175</sup>

Croesus’ gifts to Amphiaraos’ oracle could be found in Thebes in Herodotus’ time. Was the oracle located there as well? Another story provides us with more information. In Book VIII Herodotus again recalls a story concerning Amphiaraos, this time with Mys, who visits several oracles.

(...) αἰ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἴσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· ἔστι δὲ κατὰ περ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἱεροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνον τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω.

‘Thebes too he [Mys] first went, where he inquired of Ismenian Apollo (sacrifice is there the way of divination, even as at Olympia), and moreover bribed one that was no Theban but a stranger to lie down to sleep in the shrine of Amphiaraus.’<sup>176</sup>

From this fragment it appears that Herodotus talks about an oracle of Amphiaraos in Thebes (discussed in combination with the Ismenian Apollo in Thebes). Schachter however claims that the sixth-century oracle as discussed by Herodotus was in fact the same as the classical Amphiareion near Oropos.<sup>177</sup> This, I believe, is unlikely. Herodotus should be read in a bit of a crude way to make this hypothesis work; he explicitly addresses the fact that *no Theban* was allowed to seek prophecy here, only strangers (so, non-Thebans). The Thebans had chosen Amphiaraos to be their *ally*, not their prophet.<sup>178</sup> Considering Amphiaraos explicitly is described as an *ally* to the Thebans, it is very likely it was in Thebes where the original oracle was located.

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<sup>174</sup> Hdt. 1.46-1.52.

<sup>175</sup> Hdt. 1.52. Translation by Godley

<sup>176</sup> Hdt. 8.134 Translation by Godley

<sup>177</sup> Schachter (1981), 19, 23. And again, later: Schachter (2016), 40. Most scholars however believe that the early oracle was located in Thebes, e.g. Roesch (1984), Hubbard (1992), Parker (2008).

<sup>178</sup> Hdt. 8.134.

Neither Oropos, Graia, Tanagra nor any other territory close of Oropos is referred to in discussion of the oracle, but Thebes.

An oracle which relied solely on outside visitors ('no Thebans') must have meant that Amphiaraos was renowned and trustworthy enough in the Greek world to get enough visitors from outside Thebes in the sixth century. Eventually its popularity decreased and the sanctuary was abandoned already by the time of Herodotus, who said as quoted earlier that in his time, the gifts of Croesus could be found in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo. Amphiaraos' shrine was most likely already out of order at this point.<sup>179</sup>

How do these two sanctuaries (the oracle in Thebes and the healing sanctuary near Oropos) relate to each other? Strabo provides a possible hypothesis: a cult-transfer. Strabo tells us about the temple of Amphiaraos near Oropos and according to him the oracle of Thebes was transferred from Thebes to Oropos, following an oracle of the Theban Knopia (an unknown location near Thebes). The fact that Strabo mentions that this temple was 'transferred' (μεθιδρύθη) again implies that the cult to Amphiaraos indeed at one point was somewhere else, one could hardly relocate something to the same place.

ἔκ Κνωπίας δὲ τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς μεθιδρύθη κατὰ  
χρησμόν δεῦρο τὸ Ἀμφιάρειον.<sup>180</sup>

'The temple of Amphiaraüs was transferred  
hither in accordance with an oracle from the  
Theban Cnopia.'<sup>180</sup>

This is a rather remarkable turn of events. Could this have been a cult-transfer? Amphiaraos did not have a direct link to Oropos, as opposed to Thebes. Then why would he have been transferred to Oropos? Even more so, as a Theban oracle, it seems very unlikely that he would have been 'formally transferred' to Athenian territory. If, as Parker remarks, the foundation of the Amphiareion was during a period of Theban control, it would have been possible that the cult was transferred, as it was located to an area in the territory which was still Theban.<sup>181</sup> However, chronologically and archaeologically, as we have seen, this is not likely. This is why Parker proposes that the cult was not formally 'transferred', as explained by Strabo, and suggests that Amphiaraos may have been introduced.<sup>182</sup> The idea of a 'cult-transfer' was most

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<sup>179</sup> Hdt. 1.52. See also: Roesch (1984), 176. Roesch describes the rise of the new sanctuary in Oropos in one breath with the decline of the Amphiareion in Thebes 'par suite du déclin et de l'abandon de l'Amphiaraion de Thèbes'. Schachter however suggested that the sanctuary might have been sacked at one point by the Thebans (Schachter (1981), 22). But it seems very unlikely that Herodotus would not have mentioned or slightly referred to such an act.

<sup>180</sup> Strabo 9.2.10. Translation by Jones.

<sup>181</sup> Parker (2008), 152.

<sup>182</sup> Parker (2008), 152; Hubbard (1992), 106.

likely added at a later date to the historical background of the sanctuary. This could have been a story promoted during a time of Theban control over the sanctuary, to give the now very much more popular Oropian cult, a ‘Theban pedigree’.<sup>183</sup> The extensive interest Thebes showed during the fourth century when it gained control over the sanctuary of Oropos, certainly proves that Thebes was hardly indifferent when it concerned Amphiaraos or the Amphiareion.

Theban concerns over the ‘Thebanness’ of the Amphiareion and Amphiaraos could already have been present as early as the middle of the fifth century. Pindar, born near Thebes, seems to feel the need to reassert the ‘Thebanness’ of Amphiaraos in one of his odes, discussed by Hubbard. Hubbard explores the public nature and political allusions in Pindar’s poetry and believed he reshaped ancient myths for his own political agenda. In the *Ninth Nemean Ode*, partially concerning Adrastus and Amphiaraos, Pindar stresses that Amphiaraos was concealed in the earth by Zeus close to the Ismenus next to Thebes. Pindar, Hubbard suggests, might have supported and emphasized Theban claims to Amphiaraos, in light of the already declining Theban oracle and the ‘foreign challenges’ of other cities promoting to be *the* city where Amphiaraos had died, possibly Oropos.<sup>184</sup>

Could Pindar have stressed here his discontent with the relocation of Amphiaraos to Athenian territory? Did he refute Attic claims to Amphiaraos in Oropos? This would mean that the sanctuary was already present before Pindar died (443), and even more so already before he wrote his ninth Nemean ode: 474. This would place the date for the sanctuary at least at the beginning of the fifth century. Unfortunately little archaeological remains corroborate this hypothesis.

Again, the insecure dating leads us to insecure conclusions. Let us instead focus on another question: what could have been the reason for Amphiaraos’ introduction during a period of Athenian control? I want to explore two possibilities a bit further. One actively incorporates the Athenian *polis* in the process of introducing Amphiaraos, the other questions the agency of the *polis*. The first possibility argues for the ‘politics of healing’: The choice, location and timing of Amphiaraos served as an assertion of Athenian presence. The second possibility argues that this could have been an individual/private bottom-up, development meant to create a common place of worship for divided groups of people on the border area.

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<sup>183</sup> Hubbard (1992), 105-107.

<sup>184</sup> Hubbard (1992), 104-107. Pind. *Nem.* 9. Amphiaraos is also discussed in other odes: *Olym.* 6. 10-20 & *Pyth.* 8. 35-45. All describe Amphiaraos as a seer and warrior, who disappeared in the earth during the Seven against Thebes expedition close to Thebes.

#### 2.4. The ‘politics of healing’: an assertion of presence

Amphiaraios was not the only healing deity who entered the stage of Athenian pantheon around this time. Garland stresses an all-out increase in the worship of various new healing deities in Athens, in addition to the already existing Athena Hygieia, most famously Asklepios.<sup>185</sup> The reason for this relatively sudden increase is still up for debate. The Peloponnesian War and the plague (which showed its peak between 430-425), could be seen as contributive factors. However, given that the despair of warfare and diseases had troubled the Greek world for centuries on and off, more specific sociological and political factors have been put forward by several scholars, varying deity, time and location.

Research in the popularity of Asklepios, son of Apollo and the hero-human-doctor god, also explored the conditions surrounding his introduction and possible motivations. Asklepios is a useful healing deity to take a bit of a closer look at, for he shows many similarities in methodology to Amphiaraios. By some he is even described as a ‘virtual clone to Asklepios’ (which however, undervalues Amphiaraios’ individuality a bit).<sup>186</sup>

Asklepios entered the Attic pantheon around 420 BC. Several scholars emphasize the role of the plague in the introduction of Asklepios.<sup>187</sup> Though the plague may have been a contributive force, it remains a combination of factors: the pestilence alone cannot account for the sudden importation from Epidaurus.<sup>188</sup> Wickkiser in her book discussing the introduction of Asklepios, partly attributes the reason for Asklepios’ popularity to the professionalization of medicine. Doctors could now choose to refuse patients which they believed were a lost cause, so as to protect their reputation and credibility, resulting in alternative healthcare.<sup>189</sup> Another suggested reason for the introduction of Asklepios: it was part of a civic policy within the context of the Peloponnesian War. Promoting Asklepios was a step to smooth over diplomatic relations between Athens and Epidaurus, home to Asklepios. This is especially noteworthy considering the strategic importance of Epidaurus to Athens in the Peloponnesian War.<sup>190</sup>

But how about Amphiaraios? What could have been the reason for his introduction and sudden popularity? If indeed Amphiaraios was introduced to Oropos around the same time as Asklepios’ introduction, it is likely that similar motives concerning the change of healthcare, war and sickness contributed to this development. But this explanation still feels insufficient

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<sup>185</sup> Garland (1992), 133.

<sup>186</sup> Renberg (2017), 272.

<sup>187</sup> Garland (1992), 131-132; Rubel (2000/2014), 104-105. For Thucydides’ detailed description of the plague see: 2.47-55.

<sup>188</sup> Wickkiser (2009), 55. Wickkiser (2008), *passim*.

<sup>189</sup> Wickkiser (2008), 106-107.

<sup>190</sup> Wickkiser (2008), 106-107.



for the choice of location and deity: Amphiaraos, a Theban oracle deity no less, with no known apparent direct link to healthcare in the literary/mythological sources and with no explicit link to Oropos as far as we know. Why Amphiaraos and why Oropos?

It is possible that there were some political motives behind this introduction as well, just as there were some possible political motives behind the introduction of Asklepios. Parker speculates on this possible political dimension behind the choice of Amphiaraos:

‘...it may be that in the fifth century they [the Athenians] had founded a shrine partly in order to assert their presence in a territory which they had recently acquired or (on a lower chronology) their grip on which was threatened by the Peloponnesian War. If this is so, the decision to introduce not an Attic but a Theban cult, is perhaps a little surprising. But originally, of course, Amphiaraos had been an enemy of Thebes.’<sup>191</sup>

Parker suggests here for the possibility of an assertion of Athenian presence. This deserves some more consideration. Whether the sanctuary was established as early as the early fifth century or as late as the 420’s, the Athenians might have tried to tighten their grip or secure their position over the territory, and reached out to religion for geographical demarcation. Especially in a border area, establishing your position was key. Then remains the question: why Amphiaraos? What did Amphiaraos mean to the Athenians?

The Seven against Thebes expedition was a popular story in fifth-century Athens.<sup>192</sup> The continuation of the story was a beloved theme as well. After the battle, Theseus had recovered and buried the bodies of the victims, on the request of Adrastus. This event still echoes in Herodotus *Histories* and contemporary plays: the story was fresh in the fifth-century Athenian mind.<sup>193</sup>

Amphiaraos couldn’t have been recovered however, neither could his bones have been buried in Eleusis together with the other fallen.<sup>194</sup> Amphiaraos had no bones; he had disappeared in the earth. Hypothetically speaking, the choice of Amphiaraos in this border sanctuary could be seen as a finale to his mythological story: the Athenian recovery of Amphiaraos, the last of the Seven (actually six, because Adrastus survived) fallen at Thebes. This is a purely hypothetical train of thought, but not one which should be easily dismissed,

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<sup>191</sup> Parker (2008), 153.

<sup>192</sup> Several plays have been written concerning Amphiaraos, the Seven against Thebes expedition, and Amphiaraos’ son (Alkmaeon), sometimes only fragments remain.

<sup>193</sup> Hdt. 9.27.3. See also for example: Euripides’ *The Suppliants* and *Antigone*, or Sophokles’ *Antigone*.

<sup>194</sup> The unburied were buried at Eleusis, Hdt. 9.27.3.

especially considering the enduring popularity of the myth, and the historical emphasis by Herodotus on the retrieval of the dead as an important event in Athenian history. The feeling of resentment against Thebes, might have been fresh in the Athenian mind. When we consider a certain event in 424, the Battle of Delion, the link might have been easily drawn, especially for the fifth-century Athenian.<sup>195</sup> During the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians and Thebans (more generally the Boeotians) were not on the friendliest of terms. In 424 the battle of Delion, nearby Oropos (fig. 1. west of Oropos), took place between the Athenians and Boeotians, who were at that time allies of the Spartans. Athens lost the battle.<sup>196</sup> According to Thucydides, the Athenians had encountered some difficulty when picking up the dead after their loss because of a lack in agreements, neglect of truces and infringements of territory. The Boeotians did not allow it at first.<sup>197</sup> It was shortly after this event that *The Suppliants* of Euripides premiered (423). In this play Adrastus asks Theseus for help because the Thebans did not allow the grieving families to retrieve the dead from the failed Seven against Thebes expedition. Theseus fights the Thebans and brings back the bodies. The similarity to the difficulty the Athenians were facing after Delion and *The Suppliants* is noticeable.<sup>198</sup>

Sineux believed that the figure of Amphiaraos was a way to consolidate Athenian power at the northern border. The choice of Amphiaraos was not trivial: he was a patriotic symbol in a period of increasing anti-Theban sentiment, visible in *The Suppliants*.<sup>199</sup> Moreover, the fact that Amphiaraos was also worshiped in another part of the northern frontier border of Attica, in Rhamnous, could corroborate the hypothesis that Amphiaraos served as an Athenian protection deity at the border.<sup>200</sup> In a recent article Sangduk moves forward on this idea. He suggested that Amphiaraos was intentionally promoted by the Athenian *polis*. An important part of this process of making Amphiaraos Athenian, was to assimilate the deity to the mythical king Erechtheus, Sangduk argues: ‘The two heroes were assimilated through their (attitudes towards) death.’<sup>201</sup> Both of them disappeared in the earth after a god had ‘smited’ the ground before their feet: in

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<sup>195</sup> De Polignac (2011), 96-97.

<sup>196</sup> On the battle of Delion see: Thuc. 4.90ff. sometimes spelled differently as Delium. The Athenian army of about 7.000 hoplites under the leadership of Hippocrates placed a garrison near a temple in Boeotia (a temple dedicated to the Delian Apollo). It was located on the coast, a strategically useful basis. The army was attacked by a large Boeotian army (the battle was on the borders). The Athenians suffered great losses and lost.

<sup>197</sup> Thuc. 4.97-101, on the quarrels between the Athenians and Boeotians concerning the dead.

<sup>198</sup> The similarity was pointed out by De Polignac (2011), 97.

<sup>199</sup> Sineux (2007), chapter 3. Summary: Pizzi (2009), 2.

<sup>200</sup> Sineux (2007), chapter 3. Summary: Pizzi (2009), 2. See also: Sangduk (2020), 278, 291-292. He also quotes Ober and the fact that two forts were located close by: one near the chapel of Aghia Paraskevi and the other on a 80 m hill looking over the Skala Oropou harbour: Ober (1985), 138-139.

<sup>201</sup> Sangduk (2020), 296.

Amphiaraios' case it was Zeus, in the case of Erechtheus, it was Poseidon.<sup>202</sup> After disappearing in the earth and both accepting their deaths, Erechtheus protected the *polis* and Amphiaraios the border.<sup>203</sup> The similarity is noteworthy, but we should be careful in over-interpreting comparable stories: smiting humans, heroes or even gods, with thunderbolts is not especially remarkable in Greek mythology.

In short, could Amphiaraios have served here as a mythological symbol of resilience and power after a devastating loss of Delion? Should we see the recovery of Amphiaraios back in Attic territory as an Athenian initiative to promote a new Athenian protector on the north-western front? Was Amphiaraios an assertion of Athenian presence in the border region? The answer is a bit unsatisfying. It could be, but a direct correlation between increasing hostilities between Thebes and Athens and the foundation of the Amphiareion is impossible to prove. Even more so, even though it is unwise to extract evidence from the lack of it, it is remarkable that there is not documentation that grandly notifies us from the establishment of a new sanctuary. If it would have concerned an assertion of presence, or desperate boast after a lost battle, then it should deserve a more elaborate announcement, either in inscriptions, literary sources or remains of splendid buildings to promote the Athenian presence. This brings us to another possibility, one which downplays the Athenian initiative. The Amphiareion may have been an 'unofficial' private foundation.

## 2.5. Private initiatives within a border area

De Polignac's explores this possibility for the Amphiareion. This 'extra-urban' sanctuary was located within an 'interstitial space', on 'the margins of continuous territories', and as such had the capability of creating a cult-community which 'transcended' boundaries.<sup>204</sup> The nature and possibilities of the location on the border of Attica and Boeotia were important constituents in the establishment of the Amphiareion. The location of the sanctuary (near Delion and within a disputed area) and the choice of Amphiaraios, an Argive hero who fought against Thebes, may indicate at first an Anti-Boeotian tone ('tonalité antibéotienne').<sup>205</sup> However, De Polignac argues, not quite so.

We have to keep in mind that the mythical Amphiaraios fought against his will. He was part of the Seven against Thebes expedition because he had no choice. And even though he

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<sup>202</sup> Sangduk (2020), 297. Referring to Euripides' play *Ion* (ll.277-284).

<sup>203</sup> Sangduk (2020), 297- 299.

<sup>204</sup> De Polignac (2016), 186-187, short summary from his larger article in 2011, discussed below.

<sup>205</sup> De Polignac (2011), 97.

fought *against* Thebes, he still received an oracle cult in or near Thebes and became their *ally*, as explicitly emphasized in Herodotus. Amphiaraos would be a poor choice as the ‘champion de la lutte contre Thèbes et les Béotiens’.<sup>206</sup>

De Polignac notes the parallel between the battle of Delion and Euripides’ *The Suppliants* and the difficulty of retrieving the dead, but argues that this event may have led to a sense of peace and cooperation, not hostility. Amphiaraos shows a desire for change and peace: he turns from a warrior (who did not want to go to war) to a healing hero.<sup>207</sup> It was not an act of hostility or rivalry from the Athenian *polis*. Instead De Polignac describes it as religious cohabitation of several other healing deities from various origins who were worshiped here: primarily Amphiaraos, but others as well. This is especially visible from the altar as described by Pausanias. This altar included several groups of deities, including deities sacred to all, such as Zeus and Apollo, but also Athena the Healer, nymphs, and Amphilochus (the son of Amphiaraos), as an intermediary between the human and divine.<sup>208</sup> The Amphiareion was ‘d’une communauté culturelle transfrontalière’, a religious community in a transitional space, who tried to build forward on something which was not common to both per se.<sup>209</sup>

There is no evidence whatsoever of the Athenian *demos* grandly and proudly announcing their newly established sanctuary, because it was not a public initiative from the city, but a private initiative, from Athenian and Boeotian individuals.<sup>210</sup> It was not until the fourth century that the Athenian state actually intervened and took control over the sanctuary.<sup>211</sup> This development is similar to the Asklepios cult in Athens. The cult of Asklepios possibly was set up as a private initiative (in the persona of Telemachus) albeit in close collaboration with the state. The cult of Asklepios was run by a private administration up until the middle of the fourth century, after that, the administration of the Asklepios cult would be controlled by the state.<sup>212</sup>

It should be noted that the dichotomy in public vs. private cult is not clear-cut. Wickkiser correctly places doubts on this division in her discussion of Asklepios. The argument that the Asklepios cult was a private cult is often taken for granted, and sometimes too quickly deduced out of a lack of evidence for earlier state intervention.<sup>213</sup> She finally concludes for the case of

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<sup>206</sup> De Polignac (2011), 97. For Herodotus, from foe to ally: Hdt. 8.134.

<sup>207</sup> De Polignac (2011), 97-98.

<sup>208</sup> De Polignac (2011), 101-105 ; Paus. 1.34.3: description of the Altar.

<sup>209</sup> De Polignac (2011), 105.

<sup>210</sup> De Polignac (2011), 104-105.

<sup>211</sup> De Polignac (2011), 105. And §4.1-4.4.

<sup>212</sup> See on Asklepios from a private cult to a public one, e.g. Rubel (2014), 103-105. Garland (1992), 128-130.

<sup>213</sup> Wickkiser (2008), 6-7.

Asklepios that: ‘the cult is as much public as private, as appealing to the needs of the state as to the needs of individuals’.<sup>214</sup>

Therefore even though the foundation of the Amphiareion might have been put forward by individuals, it does not mean necessarily that it did not coincide with the needs of the Athenian *polis*. It is very possible that the cult to Amphiaraos was established as De Polignac had argued from the initiative of Boeotians and Athenians, around the time of the peace of Nikias (though again earlier dates cannot be excluded), as a common place of worship. An initially small private cult would indeed explain the absence archaeological and epigraphical remains.

## 2.6. Concluding remarks

Generally the Amphiareion is dated to the second half of the fifth century and archaeological remains do favor this dating. I suspect however that the close resemblance between Amphiaraos and Asklepios may have clouded somewhat an objective analysis of the dating. When discussing the rise of the more popular Asklepios in the 420s Amphiaraos sometimes tends to be treated as a colleague within a small paragraph (understandable considering that one must draw the line somewhere in what to discuss). It is certainly logical to discuss these two Attic healing deities together, but there is of course a danger in using Asklepios as an argument for dating Amphiaraos to that same period. Amphiaraos might have entered Attica earlier, even though Asklepios became the more popular one. In sum, there are more questions left than answered. Here I will summarize the conclusions:

1. Archaeological and literary evidence point to the foundation of the Amphiareion in the period of Athenian control, possibly during the Peace of Nikias, but I do not believe we should simply disregard an earlier foundation of the sanctuary.
2. We should however discount the idea that the Theban oracle talked about in Herodotus was the same as the one in Oropos, these were two different cults.
3. The introduction of Amphiaraos could be seen in relation to the rise of healing deities during a time of war and disease. Asklepios is the most renowned, but Amphiaraos may have been part of this same development.
4. The introduction of Amphiaraos in Oropos could have been an assertion of Athenian presence: a patriotic symbol as a demarcation and for protection of the northern front,

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<sup>214</sup> Wickkiser (2008), 108.

possibly after the battle of Delion which resulted in increasingly anti-Theban sentiments. Another possibility is that the sanctuary was a private initiative which welcomed all people: Amphiaraos turned from a warrior in myth to a peaceful healer in cult.

In the end we can only hypothesize on the possible meanings Amphiaraos had in the Athenian mind. It is not until the following century that the material allows us to draw more firm conclusions as we find an active and clear interest of the Athenian *polis*. As soon as the Athenians had again taken control over the sanctuary, they quickly invested, reorganized, and aggrandized. It was in those moments when the Athenians regained control over the Oropian territory that they treated the Amphiareion virtually like a long-lost prodigal son that deserved some extra attention. Before we can look at this surge of Athenian interest, a closer look at the fourth century and Athenian control over the territory is necessary.

## Chapter 3. Two periods of Athenian control

### *Athens and Oropos in the fourth century*

The fourth century was a turbulent period for the Amphiareion. The sanctuary was frequently taken over, followed by administrative reorganizations and outside investments. This chapter will provide an overview of the socio-political relations between Athens and Oropos during this time. It will help us to understand in what kind of circumstances such investments came about. Oropos was under Athenian control on two occasions:

- A short period around 370; this should be placed within Theban-Athenian hostilities during that time and increasingly imperialistic ambitions of Athens (§3.1-2)
- Between 338/5-322; at the time of the Lykourgan period, a relatively prosper period, when the Athenians occupied themselves extensively with religious laws and buildings throughout (§3.3-4).

I will first set out the position of Athens within interstate politics after the Peloponnesian War and the energetic Athenian resilience when it concerned foreign policies. I want to emphasize, just as the case of Delos had illustrated (§1.4) that Athens did not forego their ambitions. This is important, for it helps us better place Oropos within the wider framework of Athenian interests.

#### **3.1. Athenian foreign policy in the fourth century**

Many studies when discussing Athenian imperialism focus on the fifth-century Athenian empire. This is quite understandable (seen as Athens showed without a doubt imperialistic ‘tendencies’) but it could lead to a habit of neglecting the possibility of Athenian foreign ambitions following the fall of their empire.

Athens still actively involved themselves with interstate politics during the fourth century. This was not solely a matter of defense, as some scholars argue, and neither was it meant to literally revive their empire.<sup>215</sup> They did have the clear intention to reposition and most of all secure for themselves a solid and meaningful place within interstate politics.

After the loss of the Peloponnesian War in 404, the defeated *polis* was not demolished, but had to reduce her navy (thereby giving up its maritime empire) and allow their exiles to

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<sup>215</sup> For example: Harding (1988, 1995); defensive side. And Perlman (1968) as the revival of a new empire.

return. Above all, Athens had to subject to and follow Sparta in its wars and alliances.<sup>216</sup> An oligarchic, bloody regime, known as the Thirty Tyrants, supported by a Spartan garrison, was established.<sup>217</sup> The reign of the Thirty Tyrants disappeared almost as quickly as it came and by the end of 403 the Athenian democracy was restored (allowed by Sparta). A new order was established: the Athenian empire was no more, Sparta was the dominant power and Athens had to listen or at least stay out of its way. Had Athens lost its imperial ambitions?

Philip Harding argued that Athens adopted a coherent and consistent foreign policy directed towards a defensive strategy.<sup>218</sup> Athens did not try to relive the past glory of the fifth century. The choices Athens made during the fourth century were not examples of imperialistic ambition but of defensiveness and necessity. Athens allied itself to various *poleis*, (former) enemy or (former) ally, constructing a ‘complex arrangement of alliances and counter-alliances’.<sup>219</sup> Athens struggled with financial difficulties and limited power resources: it had very little choice but to keep on the defensive side.<sup>220</sup> Many military choices made by Athens during this century, were not so much signs of renewed imperialism, but of a defensive foreign policy.<sup>221</sup> The primary goal: securing the grain route and the protection of overseas trading channels.<sup>222</sup>

A similar line of reasoning with an emphasis on defensive strategies, is provided by Ober. He however argues in his work *Fortress Attica* for borderland defenses. During the fourth century the Athenians decided to build a defense alongside the border of Attica. Because the ‘city fortress’ had failed during the Peloponnesian War, the Athenian added more land defenses (instead of solely harbor defenses), in order to stop potential invaders at the border. Considering Athens had lost its empire, Attica became more important.<sup>223</sup> He does note however that:

‘The identification of defensivism as a powerful influence on Athenian attitude does not imply (...) that imperialism and panhellenism were inconsequential’<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Buckler (2003), 4. Plut. Lys. 15.2-3.

<sup>217</sup> Xen. Hell. 2.4.21, on the disasters of the thirty tyrants.

<sup>218</sup> Harding (1995), 107-109.

<sup>219</sup> Harding (1995), 109.

<sup>220</sup> Harding (1995), 115.

<sup>221</sup> Harding (1995), 115-119. Such as the placing of garrisons in allied states, placements of cleruchies, for example in Poteidaia, the retaking of Amphipolis or even the Social War.

<sup>222</sup> Harding (1988), 67-68.

<sup>223</sup> Ober (1989), 294-296.

<sup>224</sup> Ober (1989), 298, quoting himself in *Fortress Attica*, p.3.



Following up on this, it is erroneous to believe that Athens purely was defensive. Yes, Attica was fortified extensively, and yes, Athens did try to secure their grain route; both signs of defensive strategies.<sup>225</sup> Despite this defensiveness, they were no stranger to continued acts of aggression and imperialism.

Athens still actively tried to secure themselves a profitable and powerful position within interstate politics. Several scholars have argued for the existence of continued Athenian imperialistic ambitions from the early fourth century onwards, often referred to as the ‘ghost of empire’.<sup>226</sup> Athens, though at first relatively supportive of Sparta, quickly moved away from Sparta and its increasingly imperialistic policies: eventually Athens rebuilt its walls, opposed Sparta openly and supported Thebes during the Corinthian War. Around this time, Thrasybulus’ campaigns – though by some perceived as insignificant and small attacks – could be seen as the first revival of imperialistic tendencies. These campaigns were at least enough of an annoyance/threat for Persia to decide to switch sides to Sparta in the Corinthian War.<sup>227</sup> The retrieval of the important position in the Hellespontine area and the renewal of certain financial institutions imply imperial control, in fact, as Cawkwell summarized: ‘It would be perverse to regard Thrasybulus as other than a full-blooded would-be restorer of the fifth-century empire.’<sup>228</sup>

Sparta won the Corinthian War with Persian aid and the King’s Peace was installed, the peace of Antalcidas in 387. Here it was decided that all Greek cities would be autonomous, except for the cleruchies Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros, Athens could keep those. Soon after this, Sparta, who supposedly ‘protected’ this peace, was in fact breaking it constantly and occupied and attacked cities.<sup>229</sup> Athens made a series of alliances which finally blossomed into the Second Athenian League of 378. It emphasized autonomy to all participants and collective decision-making by way of a *synedrion*.<sup>230</sup>

The League protected the independence of *poleis* and was only meant as a mutually beneficial alliance that would protect everyone’s safety from outside forces and Sparta. Understandably the allies were cautious and suspicious, given that the Delian League started

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<sup>225</sup> Harding however is less happy with Ober’s conclusions, because of Ober’s emphasis on a polis-based defense strategy as opposed to trading routes (Harding 1988).

<sup>226</sup> Perlman (1968), 266-267; Cawkwell (1981), 55. For a discussion on earlier historiography on Athenian imperialism in the fourth century: Rhodes (2012), 111-113.

<sup>227</sup> Rhodes (2012), 115.

<sup>228</sup> Cawkwell (1976), 270-271.

<sup>229</sup> Rhodes (2012), 116-117.

<sup>230</sup> Rhodes (2012), 117.

out on a similar basis. Nevertheless with the successful use of rhetoric (mainly by Isocrates), Athens won the ‘war of propaganda’, and successfully maneuvered multiple *poleis* to its side.<sup>231</sup>

The Delian League, Delos, Athens and Athenian ambitious imperial policies most likely were still fresh in the fourth-century Greek mind. Which most likely is why, when setting up the Second Athenian League, they made sure not to link Delos to the new union. It is not odd that Athens decided to not have her meetings there anymore, considering the associations some allies might have.<sup>232</sup>

Though Harding doubts there was any resurgence of imperial ambitions hiding behind the installment of the Second Athenian League.<sup>233</sup> Possibly initially this was true, but it most likely did lead up to it. Just as the Delian league which was kept in place after fulfilling its purpose of defeating the Persians, the Athenians kept the League after the destruction of Sparta in 371 at the Battle of Leuktra. The decade after that, Rhodes poetically noted: ‘the ghost of the empire walked most visibly.’<sup>234</sup>

It was after the defeat of Sparta that the imperialist tendencies became most apparent. Athens tried to regain Amphipolis and the Chersonese (did not work out), and several cleruchies and garrisons were installed on various islands during the 360s and 350s.<sup>235</sup> Suspicion rose and allied members were alarmed by the increasingly interventionist approach. Athens eventually came at war with some of the allied states in 356: Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantion. The allied states revolted and won. A peace was enforced by Persia and the rebel islands left the League.<sup>236</sup>

In sum, Athens clearly showed imperial ambitions during the fourth century. Seeing their foreign policy as solely a series of defensive decisions, would be wrong. They could never relive their fifth-century empire, the Greek world was wary for such a fallout ever again. The Second Athenian League and the clear emphasis on the ‘autonomy’ of all states, shows us how Athens had to change its course into a new way of interstate politics, one of influence, rather than control and one of careful diplomatic approaches. Yet they still prominently tried to keep the upper hand. How does the territory of Oropos fit into this story of Athenian defense, consolidation and continued imperial ambition?

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<sup>231</sup> Hamilton (1980), 106-107.

<sup>232</sup> Tulpin (2005), 40-41.

<sup>233</sup> Harding (1995), 119.

<sup>234</sup> Rhodes (2012), 119.

<sup>235</sup> Rhodes (2012), 119-120.

<sup>236</sup> Rhodes (2012), 122.

### 3.2. Oropos amidst Theban and Athenian hostilities

Oropos was located between the growing powers on a disputed border. The territory of Oropos was easily accessible from the plains in eastern Boeotia: geographically the territory was Boeotian. Contrary to the Boeotian easy access, Athenian entry to the coastal plains of Oropos was more difficult, considering the mountain ranges Mavronoro in the east and Parnes in the South. There were primarily three routes by which Oropos could be reached from Athens: 1) via Rhamnous, over the northern border or via the sea 2) via Aphidna, through a mountain pass 3) or via a mountain pass more to the west.<sup>237</sup>

Oropos became independent in 403. This period of autonomy would not last long. Diodoros tells us that quickly after the pronounced Oropian independence internal trouble arose (402/401). The Oropians called out to the Thebans for help and they obliged happily. The Oropian people were forced to move about a kilometer away from the coast. Initially the Thebans allowed the people of Oropos to keep their own government, but sometime after they still seized the area as part of Boeotian domain.<sup>238</sup>

Oropos remained Boeotian until the King's Peace most likely, which made Oropos independent again (387). During the following relatively long period of independence, Oropos controlled the Amphiareion themselves. By the latest in 374 the city was once more conquered by Athens. It has been postulated that Oropos was incorporated within Athenian territory as early as the King's Peace or when the Second Athenian League was set up.<sup>239</sup> I doubt the Athenian control over Oropos took place at such an early date. The King's Peace emphasized the autonomy to all; why treat Oropos differently? Moreover Oropos is not mentioned in the list of alliances of the Second Athenian League ten years later, nor in later additions. It is very unlikely that Athens took over Oropos shortly after the prospectus of the Second Athenian League; it would certainly have harmed the reputation of the League as the warrantor of autonomy. Knoepfler is I believe right in dating the Athenian control over Oropos some years after 377 and the League.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Cosmopoulos (2001), 6.

<sup>238</sup> Diod. 14.17.3. Hansen (2004), 449.

<sup>239</sup> Buckler (2008), 39.

<sup>240</sup> Knoepfler (1986), 90-93; Knoepfler (1985), 53.

At least around 374 the Athenians must have had some control over Oropos, because shortly before that time, Thebes (arrogantly believing it could do as it pleased, as described by Isocrates) tried to take Oropos back from the Athenians but failed.<sup>241</sup> This only made the already increasingly strained alliance between Athens and Thebes worse.<sup>242</sup>

In the meantime Theban aggression to Plataea, Thespieae and Phocis did not help smooth relations. Yet this was to be expected from Theban strategies and not necessarily should have created unsurmountable hostilities between Athens and Thebes (considering Thebes already invaded Phocis in 375 and Athens didn't say anything then). In the end it was jealousy and fear which fed repulsive feelings towards Thebes. Athens finally had a strong maritime basis again with the Second Athenian League, a powerful position which Sparta had recognized. Then Thebes comes in and threatens their secure position. When the Spartans marched up against the Thebans in the Battle of Leuktra, the Athenians did not help, thereby breaching the ally agreement (because the Thebans had breached it first). The Thebans won the battle. With the Spartan threat largely gone and the growing power of Thebes in the northwestern border, Athens felt threatened. Athens switched sides and allied itself to Sparta against Thebes.<sup>243</sup>

And the Athenians were right to feel threatened to some extent when it concerned Oropos, consider the failed Theban attempt to reclaim Oropos earlier. Eventually the threat to Oropos arose from a different corner: Eretria. Aeschines recalled how the tyrant Themison of Eretria took Oropos (ἄφαιρέω) away from the Athenians during a time of peace.<sup>244</sup> After the takeover by Themison, the Athenians took up arms against this Eretrian tyrant. The Thebans decided to help Themison and consequently took over Oropos from the tyrant for safekeeping against the Athenians. After the Athenian threat had faded, the Thebans kept the territory.<sup>245</sup> As Xenophon informs us, none of the Athenian allies came to aid - they were busy dealing with their own troubles – and Athens eventually left Oropos to the Thebans.<sup>246</sup> And it would remain so, up until the kingdom of Macedon gifted it to Athens again.

Thebes and Athens were often too busy focusing on quarrels amongst themselves or their allies (such as the Social War), which led them to overlook or rather underestimate the growing power of the Macedonian kingdom and the ambitions of its king Philip. In 339, when Macedon marched closer into Greece, the Athenians resorted to the Thebans for an alliance.

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<sup>241</sup> On the unsuccessful Theban takeover, see the (biased) account of Isocrates: *Plataicus* 20, 37.

<sup>242</sup> Buckler (2008), 40.

<sup>243</sup> Buckler (2008), 40-43.

<sup>244</sup> Aeschin. 3.85. See also: Dem. 18.99.

<sup>245</sup> Diod. 15.76.1; Xen. Hell. 7.4.1.

<sup>246</sup> Xen. Hell. 7.4.1. See also: Hornblower 2011, 259-260. Hostilities between Thebes and Athens continued, especially concerning the area of Euboea, which often was torn between Thebes and Athens (Aeschin. 3.86ff).

Demosthenes recollects the debate, decisions and considerations during these pressing times.<sup>247</sup> Though Demosthenes' oratorical skills may have played a role in the decision of Thebes to agree to the alliance, the Athenian army that marched up to Boeotia in all likelihood had something to do with it as well.<sup>248</sup> At any rate the Theban-Athenian alliance didn't work out: the coalition was defeated in the Battle of Chaeronea. Oropos at this point was still under Theban control. Soon after the Macedonian triumph Oropos would be gifted by Macedon to Athens. This brings us to the second period of Athenian control during the Lykourgan period.

### 3.3. Lykourgan Athens and religious innovation

A peace was established after the Battle of Chaeronea, resulting in a relatively prosper period, known as the Lykourgan era.<sup>249</sup> Philip, followed by Alexander, was rather lean on Athens. They could largely simply keep doing their business. In foreign affairs however they had to submit to the Macedonian kingdom. The period that followed, designated as the Lykourgan era, was relatively prosper and peaceful. It was named after one of the most important representatives of these two decades: Lykourgos. It was at this time that the Athenians invested in an image of renewal on a military, cultural and religious level.<sup>250</sup>

Mikalson, in his first chapter on Hellenistic religion starts out with Lykourgos' preoccupations with piousness and religious aptitude. Besides his speech *Against Leocrates* (in which a clear emphasis is placed on the piety of a person and the proper caring of cults and tombs) his religious virtuosity is clearly visible in cult-building activity and religious laws in Athens.<sup>251</sup>

Lykourgos was not alone. He was part of a group of 'conservative' Athenian politicians who looked at the past and tradition for greatness and stability.<sup>252</sup> As treasurer and important politician, Lykourgos made sure with his 'financial wizardry' and new religious laws and regulations that revenues were available for investments in religious matters. These laws affected the entirety of Attica. A few important ones, such as the law concerning the Little

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<sup>247</sup> Mosley (1971), 508, and Demosthenes' *On the Crown*.

<sup>248</sup> Guth (2014), 152; Mosley (1971), 510.

<sup>249</sup> Circa 338-323, ending with the death of Alexander.

<sup>250</sup> Burke (2010), 414-416.

<sup>251</sup> Leocrates 1, 146-147; Mikalson (1998), 11-18. Lykourgos also mentions in the speech, that the democracy was held together by three oaths: of the archons, the jurors and the epebes. If one did not uphold their oath, they would meet the religious consequences (punished or good things).

<sup>252</sup> Lambert (2018), 115 notes that 'conservative' refers to 'men with a strong sense of the past and of its potential for informing the presence.'

Panathenaia decree, the *Dermatikon* decree, and the law on cult objects, will be discussed later on, in relation to the Amphiareion (see §4.4).<sup>253</sup>

Lykourgos actively tried to create *kosmos* in religious life. This *kosmos* had to do with both adornment and order.<sup>254</sup> Besides organizing new contests, he arranged new buildings (for example in Eleusis) and remade the Nikai which were melted down during a time of need in the Peloponnesian War.<sup>255</sup> He imposed regulations and he financially managed and secured the provisions for festivals and cult-equipment.<sup>256</sup>

The regulations of cults, extra measurements and the reorganization of revenues (and the safekeeping and stability of revenues) were intended to bring order into the chaos of ‘confused, lax, and perhaps failing financial programs of the dozens of largely independent sanctuaries and cult organizations, many of which owned land and possessed precious dedications of gold and silver.’<sup>257</sup> It is particularly useful to get a tight grip over the wealth of these sanctuaries.

Lykourgos’ motivations might have been partially personal, originating from piousness and his devotion to his heritage, which linked him to the kinship of the Eteobutadai; of this group a priest was chosen for Poseidon-Erechtheus.<sup>258</sup> However, personal piety goes only so far. In agreement with Vielberg, I believe that this religious policy of Lykourgos also served to improve his popularity among his audience, his religious ambition was not so much piousness as it was an image-booster.<sup>259</sup>

‘Das traditionelle Lykurgbild ist wohl in dem Punkt zu revidieren, daß der Redner weniger ein frommer Priester als ein glänzender Virtuose war, der auf der Klaviatur religiöser Gefühle hinreißend zu spielen verstand, freilich nicht in der Absicht, seine Auditorien zu begeistern oder zu bekehren, sondern um sie für seine eigenen Zwecke einzuspannen.’<sup>260</sup>

Lykourgos’ religious policy was most likely a mix between pragmatism and personal piety. He was not alone, he lived in a period when the past, religion and traditions were highly valued. As already discussed before, it was primarily at the second half of the fourth century when we

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<sup>253</sup> Mikalson (1998), 25-26.

<sup>254</sup> Mikalson (1998), 24.

<sup>255</sup> Mikalson (1998), 28. On the remaking of the Nikai see also Lambert (2018), 123-124.

<sup>256</sup> Mikalson (1998), 23-26.

<sup>257</sup> Mikalson (1998), 26.

<sup>258</sup> Mikalson (1998), 22.

<sup>259</sup> Vielberg (1991), 67-68.

<sup>260</sup> Vielberg (1991), 68.

see the forgery of quasi mythological/historical links to the contemporary practices of the *theōroi* (§1.2).

This general tendency to invoke the past in various ways, fits into Lamberts discussion on epigraphy in Lykourgan Athens. Many of these inscriptions at this time, show a close connection with the past, more specifically, the fifth-century past. At this time, Lambert concludes, there was a:

‘...particularly heightened sense of the need for a paideutic engagement with the past and the capacity of inscriptions, particularly (though not only) inscriptions placed on the Acropolis, to contribute to the fulfilment of that need at both monumental and textual levels.’<sup>261</sup>

I have here sketched a general idea of Athens at the time of the Lykourgan period, with a focus on its religious practices. Athens both showed a general occupation with the past and a noticeably tendency for religious regularization and adornment/aggrandizement. It was at this time that Oropos and the Amphiareion came into Athenian hands, and it is with this background in mind that we will better understand the Athenian presence and investments in the Amphiareion.

### 3.4. The Macedonian gift in Lykourgan Athens

Sometime after 338 Philip or Alexander gifted Oropos to Athens. This could have been closely after the battle of Chaeronea or following the sack of Thebes in 335. Knoepfler favors a date closer to 335. At that time, Philip had died already (†336), in which case Alexander gifted Oropos.<sup>262</sup> Even though this would contradict the words of Pausanias, who states that it was Philip who gifted Oropos to Athens in 335 after the sack of Thebes does seem to be the more likely assumption.<sup>263</sup> Especially if we take into account that in the period after the Macedonians had taken over and freed Oropos from Thebes, the Oropians themselves granted *proxeny* to two Macedonians.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> Lambert (2018), 128.

<sup>262</sup> Knoepfler (1989), 74 n.8.

<sup>263</sup> Paus. 1.34.1.

<sup>264</sup> IOropos 1&2. RO-75. RO date them to 338-335: an assembly awards proxeny, immunity and inviolability to two Macedonians as benefactors to the Oropians (seemingly in a time of independence). Another possibility: the dedications could have been inscribed during a period of relative autonomy under Boeotian control but this seemed less likely. Coulton however, in discussion of the stoa in the Amphiareion, believes these two Macedonians could have been honored for the building of this stoa mid-fifth century. Coulton (1968), 182.

In any case, around 335, Oropos was in Athenian hands. It is difficult to grasp the official and unofficial status of Oropos and the lands surrounding it. It was not mentioned in any catalogue of *demes*.<sup>265</sup> Yet, Oropos most likely did have a *demarchos*.<sup>266</sup> In IG II<sup>2</sup> 1672, concerning the offerings to Eleusis, it appears the lands of Amphiaraos provided some commodities:

ἐκ τῆς ἐπ’ Ἀμφιαράου δήμαρχος Προκλῆς  
 Σουნიεύς κρι ΔΔ, πυρῶν Π μέδιμοι ἐννέα  
 ἡμικτεῖα, ὧν αὐτοὶ ἀπὴν ἐγκαν οὐδενὸς  
 ἐγλέξαντος κρι ΔΠΙΙ, πυρῶν τρία ἡμέδιμνα

‘From the land of Amphiaraos the *demarchos*  
 Prokles of Sounion 20 *medimnoi* of barley, five  
*medimnoi* and nine half-sixths of grain, of  
 these they themselves conveyed 17 *medimnoi*  
 of barley and three half-*medimnoi* of grain’<sup>267</sup>

Here Prokles *demarchos* of Sounion was revealed as the agent in the transaction. This could have been the *demarchos* of Sounion, but most likely it was the *demarchos* from Oropos as well, why else would he be mentioned as taking part in the transaction.<sup>268</sup>

There is one development which tells us more clearly how Athens took control over the Oropian territory after the takeover. One of the key ways in which Athens administratively ‘absorbed’ Oropian territory, was the division of land amongst the ten tribes.<sup>269</sup> As we know from the case of Euxenippos the division of the area was difficult. Hypereides, who pleads in defense of Euxenippos, recalls the story.<sup>270</sup> When the newly conquered area was distributed amongst the tribes, part of the portion to Akamantis and Hippothoontis in reality belonged to Amphiaraos. Polyeuktos proposed to return the land to Amphiaraos and let the other eight tribes pay for the loss of Akamantis and Hippothoontis. Three Athenians were sent to the Amphiareion to consult Amphiaraos by incubation for his wishes. One of the Athenians, Euxenippos, had a dream and was accused by Polyeuktos for falsely reporting this divine dream. Even Lykourgos was present in the group of prosecutors. What exactly the dream of Euxenippos was, is uncertain, but it apparently warranted suspicion. Unfortunately, the outcome is unknown.<sup>271</sup>

<sup>265</sup> See p.41 on Oropos’ absence in the overview of political *demes* by Traill (1975).

<sup>266</sup> Lewis (1968), 374; Hansen (2004), 449; RO (2004), 131.

<sup>267</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1672 ll.401-3. Translation by Papazarkadas 2011, n 131.

<sup>268</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 49-50.

<sup>269</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 103-105.

<sup>270</sup> The speech *In defense for Euxenippos* is generally dated between 330 and 324, and more specifically 330-329. Papazarkadas (2009), 163. This same Hypereides gave a speech in defence of Athenian authority over Delos (§1.4).

<sup>271</sup> Hyp. *Eux.* 14–18. And Bowden (2019), 72-74. Euxenippos probably functioned here as a kind of religious expert. Most likely, Euxenippos was sent for a dream, and the other two had to write down the message.



It is in the case of Euxenippos that we see how difficult the division of land was and how it still led to confusion, even after the boundaries were decided. In Agora I 6793 we catch a glimpse on the workings of this division of Oropian land and the difficulties following from it.<sup>272</sup> The text is fragmentary and damaged. It concerns the landholdings of Aigeis and Aiantis. There was some dispute concerning the boundaries. Langdon proposes that this decree settled the disputes between the tribes.<sup>273</sup> Papazarkadas discusses the same decree but based on new restorations he argues that the inscription serves as a delimitation of property. Essentially greed and uncertainty, resulting in the infringement of not-yet-clearly-defined boundaries, led to decrees such as this one.<sup>274</sup>

The allocation of land between the tribes should be seen as the: ‘logical conclusion of a gradual well-orchestrated effort at fully incorporating Oropos into the Athenian *polis*’.<sup>275</sup> Financially this would be a fruitful enterprise for an efficient production and use of new revenues. The decision of land allocation possibly, as noted by Papazarkadas, was meant to efficiently exploit the timber resources within the densely forested area. Papazarkadas in a discussion of the Agora I 6793 inscription opts for the possibility that the presence of the so-called ὑλῶναι, wood-buyers, might have been appointed officials from the tribes, which controlled the timber exploitation and trade (l. 142: ἄπρατον τῶν φυλῶν ὕλην).<sup>276</sup>

It would be a financially lucrative reorganization for the Amphiareion as well. Part of the Oropian land was left for Amphiaraos, as we have seen in Hypereides’ plea. His sacred property was therefore administered by the Athenian *polis* as well, illustrating its status as a public Athenian cult. This property was given to Amphiaraos, i.e. the revenues from this land probably funded the cultic-activities in the Amphiareion. This way the sacrifices and festivities to Amphiaraos could be easily and autonomously funded.<sup>277</sup>

In any case it is clear that the Athenians rapidly after the takeover, divided the land and exploited it effectively, including the sacred land of Amphiaraos. This served not only as an economically and politically sensible way to control a new territory relatively easily, it ensured ongoing resources for religious investments, sacrifices and festivities in the sanctuary.

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<sup>272</sup> Papzarkadas (2009), 162. The inscription was already discussed by Langdon (1987) who also dated it between 330-320. Ameling (1989) in reaction to Langdon’s article, dated the inscription to a later period after 304 (again a period of Athenian domination, 304-287) a conclusion quickly rejected by Walbank (1990).

<sup>273</sup> Langdon (1989), 51.

<sup>274</sup> Papzarkadas (2009), 159.

<sup>275</sup> Papzarkadas (2009), 165.

<sup>276</sup> Papzarkadas (2009), 160-164. They could be tax-collectors as well, but Papazarkadas believes these are more likely officials. In any case, these *hylonai* financially controlled the area through the regulation of timber trade.

<sup>277</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 48; Papazarkadas (2009), 164.

### 3.5. Concluding remarks

After the Lamian War (323-322) Athens again lost control. Oropos was given an exemption from the rule as recalled by Diodoros: the Athenians could keep everything they had at the time of Philip and Alexander, *except* for Oropos, which would again be given to its own people.<sup>278</sup> One of the final Athenian decrees was inscribed in 322/321.<sup>279</sup> For a short moment Oropos was again independent until it became a member of the Boeotian *koinon*. In 304 Oropos was gifted to Athens this time by Demetrios Poliorketes, until it was declared independent in 295/4.

In this chapter I have discussed both Athens and Oropos and some historical considerations during the two takeovers: firstly, a shorter one from ca. 374-366 and a longer one from 338/5-322. Oropos was a key district, or rather prize, within increasing Theban and Athenian hostilities in the 370s: both parties wanted this territory badly. Athens took control over the area just before 374. Was it a purely defensive decision to reclaim Oropos? Was this repossession part of the Athenian habit to fortify the borders of Attica? Let us not forget that Oropos was not very easily accessible for the Athenians. Geographically, the territory of Oropos was more Boeotian than it was Attic, regardless of what the Athenians claimed. And yet they decided to take control over the territory, despite Theban aggravation and geographical obstacles (the mountains). We could see the Oropian takeover as a symptom of a defensive mentality, creating a kind of buffer zone in between the growing power of Boeotia and Attica. However, considering the geographical difficulties, and the growing Athenian/Theban hostilities by the late 370s, I believe the takeover of Oropos was not purely defensive. The Athenians wanted Oropos: they considered it their territory, it should certainly not be in Theban hands. Contemporary orators clearly believed that Oropos belonged to Athens and that it was unjust when it was taken away from them.<sup>280</sup>

The Athenians most definitely did not forget Oropos during the period in-between. This becomes clear from a speech of Demosthenes for the people of Megalopolis.<sup>281</sup> Sparta wanted to attack Megalopolis in 353 and wanted Athens' help (or for Athens to at least stay out of it): in turn, Athens could reclaim Oropos. The people of Megalopolis were wary of Sparta and asked Athens for help. Demosthenes argues in favor of helping Megalopolis. Demosthenes too

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<sup>278</sup> Diod. 18.56. On the contrary Athens could keep Samos for example, which was also a Macedonian gift.

<sup>279</sup> IOropos 300, a decree inscribed in the archonship of Philokles (322/321). Schwenk-89, decree is lost.

<sup>280</sup> Isoc. 14 20 (*Plataicus*); dismissing the unjust Theban unsuccessful attempt; Aeschin. 3 85; unsettled when Oropos was wrongly robbed from Athens in a time of peace.

<sup>281</sup> Megalopolis was founded somewhere in the 360s by the Theban Epaminondas, causing much bitterness in Sparta (who could not reclaim their beloved Messene under the protection of Megalopolis).

believes that Athens 'ought' to have Oropos back, but he is not willing to help the Spartans for it, because the Spartans will certainly pose an even greater threat if they takeover Messene and the entirety of the Peloponnese.<sup>282</sup> In the end, the council did not adhere to Demosthenes' plea and decided not to help the Megapolitans or Spartans.

Two decades later the Athenians were beyond a doubt glad they were yet still gifted control over Oropos. We shall soon see how the Amphiareion fits into Athenian religious policies at the time of Lykourgos. Athens at this time was not so much concerned with foreign policies, but more with the securing of Attic territory, including (and especially) its religious institutions. The largest amount of Athenian inscriptions date from this second period of Athenian control.

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<sup>282</sup> Dem. 16.18. Historical commentary and translation by Trevett.

## Chapter 4. The glorification of a healing sanctuary

### *Athenian presence in the Amphiareion during the fourth century*

In the following chapter I will explore the religious strategies used by the Athenian *polis* to reclaim and appropriate the sanctuary within Attic territory. I will do this by mainly discussing public decrees relating to the Amphiareion, put forward by or in agreement with the *Boule* and Athenian *demos*. Now and then I will use some architectural remains and literary sources as well to further illustrate certain points.

The division of the chapter might seem a bit lopsided: one paragraph is dedicated to Athenian interest during the seventies and sixties (§4.1), while the remaining paragraphs (§4.2-4.4) are dedicated to public decrees during the Lykourgan period. The paragraphs concerning the Lykourgan period are divided thematically (building activity, the festival, and the Attic cult system).

The chronological disproportion in this chapter is easily explained: the remaining evidence of Athenian presence is scarce during the seventies and sixties as opposed to the voluminous evidence for the Lykourgan period. This discrepancy helps us to formulate a balanced analysis for continuing - yet varying in intensity - Athenian interest in the sanctuary during the fourth century.

#### **4.1. The Athenians in the seventies and sixties: early investments**

The sanctuary quickly became more popular and as a result there was a growing need to codify and regulate sacrifices and practices in the sanctuary: these Sacred Laws are inscribed in the first half of the fourth century and document the practices and rules within the Amphiareion.<sup>283</sup> The largest and most complete Sacred Law, IOropos 277, is usually dated between 387/377, the period of independent Oropos, a date put forward by Petropoulou and adopted by Petrakos in *IOropos*.<sup>284</sup> The first part considers the duties, powers and obligations of the priest and neokoros, followed by the regulations during the process of sacrifices, incubation and healing, for which every visitor should pay a fee (*eparche*). Though any animal was allowed to be sacrificed, it was not allowed to take meat outside of the sanctuary. Moreover, the priest

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<sup>283</sup> The three most notable Sacred Laws are: IOropos 277, IOropos 276 & IOropos 278, all dating to the first half of the fourth century. The last update, IOropos 278 concerns a long list of possible sacrificial victims which implies that the rules for sacrifices were rather flexible. Lupu (2003), 326-334.

<sup>284</sup> Petropoulou (1981), 58-60; adopted by Lupu (2003), 332.

received the shoulder of the sacrificed animal, names and origins of the visitors should be listed and men and women slept separately.<sup>285</sup>

There is another more damaged and shorter law: IOropos 276. This one displays some differences: the fee is a Boeotian *drachma*, which should be given either in the presence of the *neokoros* and, provided he's present, the priest (something which is more elaborately discussed in IOropos 277, line 1-10). The *neokoros* had to write down the name and city of the visitor (as was also the case in IOropos 277).<sup>286</sup>

Petropoulou discusses both these Sacred Laws: IOropos 276 (Inscription A in Petropoulou) and IOropos 277 (Inscription B). He argues that IOropos 276 was older than IOropos 277 based on mainly two arguments:

- The matter of currency: IOropos 276 mentions an *eparche* of a 'δραχμῆς βοιωτίης', one Boeotian *drachma*. Petropoulou believes that at this point the Amphiareion was under Boeotian rule, which explains the Boeotian currency, and therefore she dates it between 402-387. In IOropos 277 the *eparche* could be a *drachma* of any legal currency (line 22), which was later changed to nine obols (1 ½ *drachmae*, still of any legal currency).<sup>287</sup>
- Which brings us to the second argument, the presence of erasures: the fact that IOropos 277 shows such erasures, would mean that IOropos 277 was still in effect, otherwise these changes would have been made to IOropos 276.<sup>288</sup>

Petropoulou's relative dating was adopted by Petrakos in the *IOropos*. However, doubts have been brought forward. This might not have been the case: Knoepfler points out, based on epigraphical formulae, that IOropos 276 was actually made around 350 (or at least not early fourth century) and IOropos 277 preceded IOropos 276.<sup>289</sup> If IOropos 276 could be dated to a period of Boeotian control, we might ask ourselves: how about IOropos 277? Could there be a slight possibility that IOropos 277 should be dated closer to the Athenian takeover, or during?

IOropos 277 does show several Athenian characteristics, as noted by both Rhodes and Osborne and Petropoulou, such as the opening invocation, some lettering and punctuation.<sup>290</sup> Nevertheless, Rhodes and Osborne date the inscription to a period of Oropian independence.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>285</sup> IOropos 277. Translation by RO-27 and Petropoulou (1981), 50, Inscription B. The *neokoros* had various functions, but essentially maintained the security over the shrine and was responsible for safekeeping the valuables.

<sup>286</sup> IOropos 276. Translation by Petropoulou (1981), 41, Inscription A.

<sup>287</sup> Petropoulou (1981), 59-60.

<sup>288</sup> Petropoulou (1981), 58.

<sup>289</sup> Knoepfler (1986), 94-95.

<sup>290</sup> Commentary to RO-27, 132-135; Petropoulou (1981), 44.

<sup>291</sup> RO-27.

The description of the Oropians as *demotai*, the community, and the use of seasonal times (as opposed to Attic or Theban sacrificial calendars) are hints that suggest that the inscription was made during a period of Oropian independence.<sup>292</sup>

Could it be possible that the Sacred Law was not inscribed in a period of independence, but instead in a period of Athenian rule? It would explain some of the Athenian characteristics. If we take into account Knoepfler's notes that IOropos 276 (with the Boeotian *drachma*) came after IOropos 277, it might be that the Thebans made the choice to make their own Sacred Law, because the earlier one did not suffice. Renberg, in a small note, remarked that it is in any case (whichever Sacred Law came first) remarkable that they were inscribed so close to each other; a likely explanation could be that Amphiareion 'changed hands' at which point a new Sacred Law was proposed.<sup>293</sup> The Sacred Law might have been inscribed during the period of Oropian independence, though I do not want to neglect the possibility that this might have happened during a period of Athenian control, especially in consideration of the replacement Sacred Law indicating the payment of the Boeotian *drachma*.

This is still largely suggestive however. Let us turn to a clearer sign of Athenian interest and Athenian presence in the sanctuary after the takeover. The Athenians seemed to have a share in improvements to the sanctuary. In IOropos 290, the Athenian *Boule* had decided that the fountain and baths of the sanctuary should be repaired at the time Antikrates of Dekeleia was priest. It discusses the funding of the project, the inscribing of the stele, a sacrifice and for the payment of the contractor and Neokoros. Finally, a shout-out to the priest Antikrates, who showed justice and diligence to the Amphiareion.<sup>294</sup> An added stele is inscribed with the contract which provides details on how the project should be undertaken.<sup>295</sup>

Previously the inscription was dated first by Leonardos, between 338-322 and associated with the honorary decree for Pytheas (IOropos 295 dated in 333, p.73). Several scholars agreed with this dating.<sup>296</sup> But Knoepfler reanalyzed the inscription (based on mainly orthographic and formulaic evidence) and dated it to the first half of the fourth century: more specifically to the first period of Athenian control, shortly after the battle of Leuktra, in 369/8 BC, a dating which is now the common consensus.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Commentary RO-27, 132-135; Petropoulou (1981), 44.

<sup>293</sup> Renberg (2017), 277, n. 12.

<sup>294</sup> IOropos 290 ll.1-28.

<sup>295</sup> IOropos 290 ll.29-77; Argoud (1985), 17-19.

<sup>296</sup> Petropoulou (1981), 51; Petrakos (1968), 130; Argoud (1985), 20.

<sup>297</sup> Knoepfler (1986), 94-95.

Already noted before, the inscription mentions the repair of the fountains and baths, as ordered by the *Boule*:

Πάνδιος εἶπε· ὅπως ἂν ἐπισκευα-  
σθῆι ἡ κρήνη τῷ Ἀμφιαράωι καὶ ο-  
ἱ λοτρῶνες καθ' ἃ ἐμίσθωσε ἡ βολ-  
ή·

‘Pandios proposed: in order to repair the  
fountain of Amphiaraios and the baths,  
following the contract set out by the *Boule*  
(...)<sup>298</sup>

The importance of fountain repair and baths should not be underestimated. In any given sanctuary – and any given place – the availability of clean water was always important. Arguably this was even more significant in the Amphiareion, a healing sanctuary renowned for its clear water. We know this from the fragmentary survival of the play *Amphiaraios*, in which the words ἀκραϊφνὲς ὕδωρ (‘inviolable water’) appear.<sup>299</sup> The repair of the fountain backed and maintained the idea of a healing sanctuary and its outstanding water quality. Because of this, we should definitely not discount these repairs to fountains as trivial, but rather as meaningful Athenian contributions to the Amphiareion.

The inscription continues to explain how much the repair will cost and ends with a word of gratitude for the priest Antikrates. Antikrates was not from Oropos but from Dekeleia, an Athenian deme:

‘...ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν ἱερέα τῷ Ἀμφιαράω  
Ἀντικράτῃ Δεκελεύᾳ δικαιοσύνης καὶ  
ἐπιμελείας ἕνεκα τῆ[ς] περὶ τὸ ἱερόν.’

‘...Honor is given to the priest of the  
Amphiareion Antikrates Dekeleia, for his  
justice and diligence with things concerning  
the Amphiareion.’<sup>300</sup>

Not just the priest came from an Athenian deme: in the follow-up contract, it is noted that the contractor is Phanostratos of Cholargos and the guarantor is Phrynichides of Acharnos, both Cholargos and Acharnos were Attic *demes*.<sup>301</sup>

The stele, including the honoring of the Athenian priest, should be set up in the sanctuary, a visible monument displaying an Athenian contribution for all to see. Knoepfler argues that this inscription showed *par excellence* a surge in Athenian interest.

<sup>298</sup> IOropos 290 ll.4-6. Translation my own.

<sup>299</sup> Arist. *Amph.* Frag. No. 34. Translation by Henderson.

<sup>300</sup> IOropos 290 ll.26-28. Translation my own.

<sup>301</sup> IOropos 290 ll.75-77.

This decree, Knoepfler believes: ‘qui devaient matérialiser en quelque sort, la prise de possession de l’Oropie par Athènes’ with Pandios, the proposer, being: ‘l’un des représentants les plus marquants de la tendance anti-Thébaine...’.<sup>302</sup> Here Knoepfler relates the inscription to the increase in Theban-Athenian hostilities (§3.2). But the Athenians already occupied the area earlier (in 374 the Boeotians tried to take it away), so why did they not intervene in the sanctuary at an earlier date? Even though Athens already had taken over Oropos at least from 374 onwards, they likely still had to maintain a relatively peaceful footing with Thebes. Sparta was still a threat and a friendship with Thebes was not an unnecessary luxury. The Athenians knew better than to overstep their boundaries in a disputed border region. After the Battle of Leuktra and the defeat of Sparta, that diplomatic approach was not necessary anymore. The true annexation of Oropos began, as Knoepfler argued. The repair of the fountains in the earlier sixties and the Athenian priest illustrates this.<sup>303</sup>

The inscription shows some but not a lot of Athenian interest in the sanctuary. If we could securely date the Sacred Law IOropos 277 to a period of Athenian control, then we would have a stronger case. Then we could point to the regularization or at least documentation of practices, sacrifices and priestly duties in a time of Athenian occupation (such as the institution of the Athenian priest in IOropos 290). However, the fragmentary state and little direct references to any kind of date or Athenian control in IOropos 277, does not allow us to do so without leaving doubts.

At least IOropos 290 shows us with certainty that Athens was concerned with the wellbeing of the Amphiareion. Unfortunately this is the only known Athenian building contract from this period. Maybe they did not have the time or maybe they had more pressing matters to worry about, because already in 366 they lost Oropos to the Thebans.

During the period of Theban control the Thebans invested more evidently in the sanctuary. They added a large temple, stadium and possibly even a theatre.<sup>304</sup> At this time a monumental stoa was added as well, nearly 110 meters long.<sup>305</sup> A significant addition, for the stoa played an important part in the incubation practices in the Amphiareion.<sup>306</sup> It seems that the Thebans were happy to have the territory back in their possession and immediately invested

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<sup>302</sup> Knoepfler (1989), 95.

<sup>303</sup> Knoepfler (1989), 90-93.

<sup>304</sup> Rhodes and Osborne (2004), 133.

<sup>305</sup> Rhodes and Osborne (2004), 133. This stoa is described in detail by Coulton (1968). Though he notes several Athenian decorative characteristics to the stoa in the capital and the use of the palmette (174-175), he concludes it was not a native Athenian product. He proposes that it might have been a Macedonian architect, not a Theban one: a ‘politically inspired gift’, from wealthy and powerful Macedonian individuals. Coulton (1968), 180-183.

<sup>306</sup> Renberg (2017), 277-280.



in it. As the Athenians did as well a few decades later. In the Lykourgan period the Athenians did not spare the time nor the means. Immediately after the takeover the Athenians marked the sanctuary as their own.

#### 4.2. Building intensification and water-management

During the Lykourgan period Athens entered a relatively prosperous era. The Athenians invested in an image of renewal after 338, on a military, culturally and religious level (§3.3). It appears that Athens did not solely invest within the city walls. Several inscriptions attest to intensified building activity in the Amphiareion. These will be discussed here.

A well-preserved inscription sheds some light on this renewed interest of the Athenians in the Amphiareion: an honorary decree for Pytheas. Pytheas was crowned by the people because of his formidable work on water management, being chosen to take care of the fountains (αἰρεθεῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρήνας) during the archonship of Nikokrates (333/332). Besides a new fountain in the sanctuary of Ammon, he worked on various drainage projects in the Amphiareion:

‘...τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιαράου κρήνην κατεσκεύακ-  
εν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἀγωγῆς καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμ-  
ων ἐπιμελέηται αὐτόθι...’

‘...and built the fountain in the Amphiaraion  
and has taken care of the water channel and  
the underground conduits there...’<sup>307</sup>

Pytheas had built a fountain (though by some considered repaired) and took care of the water way and the underground drainage system in the sanctuary of Amphiaraos. For his excellent work, the people decided to praise Pytheas, son of Sosidemus of Alopeke, and crown him (after he has provided his accounts) with a golden crown of 1000 *drachmae*.<sup>308</sup>

The task that Pytheas was given, should not be taken lightly or seen as casual maintenance. The significance of the task is already apparent in the exceptional position of the fountain manager. In *Athenian Politics* the office of ‘τοῦ τῶν κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητοῦ’, the manager of the fountains, is discussed as one of the three *elected* offices.<sup>309</sup> This office was deemed to

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<sup>307</sup> IOropos 295, ll.16-18. Translation by Stephen Lambert.

<sup>308</sup> IOropos 295, ll.19-21.

<sup>309</sup> Arist. *AthPol.* 43.1.

be an incredibly important responsibility, which is possibly one of the reasons why the office was elected, as opposed to allotted.<sup>310</sup>

Moreover, we have seen tyrants investing in the renewal of water works within the biographies on Themistokles, Kimon and Perikles and his sons expressing their improvements for the water supply (and praised for it in their biographies).<sup>311</sup> The improvement of the water supply was an essential aspect for the *polis*, not just for a densely populated city such as Athens, but in a healing sanctuary such as the Amphiareion as well.

Even more specifically, the Amphiareion took pride in the important qualities of their clean, fresh and clear healing water. The earliest trace which could attest to the importance of water in the Amphiareion originates from a fragment of Aristophanes, referring to the inviolate water within the sanctuary, already mentioned earlier in relation to the decree of Pandios (§4.2).<sup>312</sup> But there is more. Only a few decades later Xenophon concludes that the water of Amphiaraos (τὸ ἐν Ἀμφιαράου) from Oropos, in comparison to the water of Asklepios (Τὸ ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ) from Epidaurous, was too cold to wash.<sup>313</sup> Furthermore, Athenaeus refers to a late fourth century physician named Evenor. This Evenor favored cistern water (as opposed to Praxagoras, who favored rain water) for digestion and adds:

‘...χρηστότερόν τε εἶναι φάσκει τὸ ἐξ Ἀμφιαράου  
συμβαλλόμενον τῷ ἐν Ἐρετρία. ὅτι δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ  
ὁμολογουμένως ἐστὶ τρώφιμον δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ  
τρέφεσθαι τινα ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνου τῶν ζώων, ὥσπερ  
τοὺς τέττιγας.’

‘He adds that when water from the Amphiaraos spring is compared with water from Eretria, it is better. That water is, as is generally agreed, nutritious is clear from the fact that some creatures get their nourishment from this alone, as for example cicadas.’<sup>314</sup>

Again the water of Amphiaraos was considered exceptional. These references to clear and sacred water could refer to the water from the spring of Amphiaraos, where the hero supposedly rose back up from the earth (fig. 3. On the right of the temple of Amphiaraos). This spring was not

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<sup>310</sup> There is much discussion on the topic of the importance of the manager of the fountains/springs, if it was indeed an elective and if it concerned a one-year job, or a four-year one. For a useful summary see Schwenk-28. Because of the importance of proper water management in the Greek world (arguably everywhere), I agree that the water manager was most likely indeed an elective: the job was too important to be given to someone by lot.

<sup>311</sup> Dillon (1996), 192-198; Camp (1982), 12.

<sup>312</sup> Arist. *Amph.* No. 34. Translation by Henderson.

<sup>313</sup> Xen. *Mem.* 3.13.3.

<sup>314</sup> Ath. *Deip.* 2.46DE. Translation by Olson.

used for sacrifices or purifications, but it was custom to throw a coin in the spring as a sign of gratitude to Amphiaraos.<sup>315</sup>

Except for the reference in Athenaeus (in the words of Evenor) to the cistern at Oropos, the source of the water in Aristophanes and Xenophon is not specified: they just as well might have referred to the small stream, the proper bathing houses, or the general excellent water quality in the area. In any case, evidently the Amphiareion clearly prided itself in its clear water quality and was renowned for it. It is even possible that the water was used during the incubation rituals, considering they were used in some Asklepieia as well.<sup>316</sup> Therefore I would argue that the investment in water-oriented buildings should not be considered casual maintenance, but as meaningful investments.

Other inscriptions attest to the Athenian interest in proper water management in the Amphiareion. IOropos 292:

‘ἐν Ἀμφιαράου ἐκ τοῦ λοτρῶνος τοῦ {αν} ἀνδρείου, ὅπως ἂν τὸ ὕδωρ μὴ κωλύηται ῥεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς χαράδρας, ὅ[τ]αν ῥεῖ, ἀλλ’ εἶ χρήσιμος ὁ λουτρῶν, ὅταν χειμάζει ὁ θεός, ὀχετὸν ποιῆσαι λίθινον κρυπτόν...’

‘At the sanctuary of Amphiaraos, so that the water might not be prevented by the ravine from flowing from the bath of the men’s room, whenever it rains, but so that the bath might be usable when the god raises a storm, to make a stone gutter, concealed...’<sup>317</sup>

The inscription consequently addresses the contractor and tells him what the drain should look like, where it should be and what it should do. The contractor had to use the stones from the theatre, and in case there is not enough, the managers will give him the rest. The contractor and guarantor both originate from Attic *demes* close to Athens, respectively Phrynos from Alopeke, and Telesias, son of Tellias of Euonymon.<sup>318</sup>

The investments in water buildings at this time is especially interesting to note considering Camp’s discussion of a possible draught during the second half of the fourth century. In Athens, both the archaeological and epigraphical material attest to an extensive

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<sup>315</sup> Paus. 1.34.4. The current spring dates to the Roman period, nothing was left from an earlier construction (maybe later addition). Argoud (1985), 13.

<sup>316</sup> Renberg (2017), 239-249: on water uses in the Asklepieia cult. Renberg (2017), 288-290, on the possibility of water uses in incubation rituals in the Amphiareion.

<sup>317</sup> IOropos 292 ll.2-6 Translation by Stephen Lambert, Alex Wilding and Peter Liddel.

<sup>318</sup> IOropos 292 ll.34-34. Also quoted by Argoud (1985), 14-15.

attention to water-oriented buildings, when challenged by these droughts.<sup>319</sup> Apparently, the Amphiareion was not overlooked and was taken care of in these pressing dry times.

Aside from drainages, bathhouses and fountains, several other inscriptions attest to extensive building activities. IOropos 293, concerning work (ἔργους) supervised by the Athenians, roughly dated between 338-322, offering contracts for a pavement and a support wall (ἀνάλημμα).<sup>320</sup> A similar inscription, IOropos 291, dated to the same period, discusses a variety of construction work in the Amphiareion, but is virtually unreadable due to its damages.<sup>321</sup>

A final possible Athenian contribution from this period which will be discussed: the water clock (*klepsydra*, literally ‘a thief of water’).<sup>322</sup> It served as a time-measuring device and could be used in the night or on cloudy days when sundials were useless. The water flows like time continuously from one tank to another tank within the structure. It pointed out the time possibly with the use of a floating marble tablet.<sup>323</sup> In the Athenian Agora there is also a fourth-century water clock with distinct similarities except for a few dimensions and repairs (fig. 4). Most likely both water clocks were made by the same person, who made both the water clock at the Athenian Agora and the Amphiareion.<sup>324</sup>



**Fig. 4.** The *Klepsydra* on the Agora (left) and *klepsydra* in the Amphiareion (right) Source: Armstrong & Camp (1977), 162-164 (pl. 42 & 43b).

<sup>319</sup> Camp (1982), 17. Also mentioned by: Dillon (1996), 200.

<sup>320</sup> IOropos 293.

<sup>321</sup> IOropos 291.

<sup>322</sup> Description and pictures in Glaser (1982); Theodossiou et.al (2010); Argoud (1985), 10.

<sup>323</sup> Theodossiou et. al. (2010), 162-164.

<sup>324</sup> Similarity was pointed out by Armstrong and Camp (1977), 152. Several others have mentioned it in discussion of the *klepsydra*, be it the one in the Agora or Oropos (e.g. Glaser (1982), 131 & Theodossiou et.al. (2010), 163; Argoud (1985),10).

The Athenians repaired and added to the monumentality of the sanctuary and honored the Athenians for their work. These projects and honors were inscribed in steles and placed in clear sight, in turn again increasing the sanctuary's monumentality with an Athenian flair by showcasing the Athenian contributions.

Besides their visible presence in the sacred landscape of the Amphiareion, the Athenians intervened in the ritual practices as well: the festivities. The reorganization of the Great Amphiareia might have been less visible for the casual visitor in the Amphiareion, but it was nevertheless a significant Athenian investment.

### 4.3. Reorganizing the quadrennial festival: The Great Amphiareia

IOropos 277, the Sacred Law discussed earlier (§4.1) already hinted at the existence of a festival, a specific name however was not given.<sup>325</sup> Most likely this festival was the Amphiareia (or a similar variety): a festival dedicated to Amphiaraos. The evidence concerning the early festival is scarce. From the 330's onwards we learn more about the festival: around this time the festivities were enhanced and amplified with various new contests. We know for certain the Great Amphiareia underwent a makeover at this time, a task for which Phanodemos was praised. Phanodemos of Thymaitadai, in the archonship of Niketes (332/1) as decided by the People and proposed by Demetrios, was honored with a gold crown of 1000 *drachmas*. A decree, IOropos 297, was written on a stele and placed in the sanctuary.

Before I will turn to the reorganization of the Amphiareia, a few words on the honorand Phanodemos are imperative. This was not his only religious act, nor would it be his last.

1. He was an historian of Attica, an Attidographer, of whom several fragments survive.<sup>326</sup> I have already earlier mentioned Phanodemos as an example of the tendency to rewrite mythology to conform it to current practices of *theōroi*. Phanodemos possibly concerned himself with Delian history (p. ...)
2. Harding observes that the fragments of Phanodemos' *Atthis* generally show an interest in cult, rather than politics. He places an emphasis on the glory of Athens and is a bit Athenocentric.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> IOropos 277 ll.34-5.

<sup>326</sup> Overview by Harding (2008), 181-183. FGrH 325 1-27. FGrH 325.28-30 doubtful authorship.

<sup>327</sup> Harding (2008), 8. See also n.119 above.

3. He proposed the crowning of Amphiaraios very shortly after he was given the crown in IOropos 297. This will be discussed in chapter 5.<sup>328</sup>
4. He was part of the list of the managers of the Great Amphiareia 329/8.<sup>329</sup>
5. He was one of the contributors in a large privately paid, yet public dedication to Amphiaraios in 328/7 (see §4.4).<sup>330</sup>
6. Phanodemos concerned himself with various other sanctuaries, but the Amphiareion does seem to be his main point of focus, at least from the end of the 330's onwards.<sup>331</sup>
7. Around the same time of the bestowal of honours in Oropos in IOropos 297, he took part in the Pythaiads, the pilgrimage from Athens to Delphi.<sup>332</sup>

It is this Phanodemos' that the council decided to praise and crown for enhancing the Amphiareia, making it 'as fine as possible':

‘...ἐπειδὴ Φανόδημος Θυμαϊτάδης κα-  
λῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως νενομοθέτηκεν πε-  
ρὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, ὅπως ἂν ἡ τε  
πεντετηρίς ὡς καλλίστη γίγνηται κα-  
ὶ αἱ ἄλλαι θυσίαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐν τ-  
ῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, καὶ πόρους πε-  
πόρικεν εἰς ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τὴν κατασκ-  
ευὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ...’

‘...since Phanodemos of Thymaitadai has  
legislated well and with love of honour about  
the sanctuary of Amphiaraios, so that both the  
quadrennial festival may be as fine as possible,  
and the other sacrifices to the gods in the  
sanctuary of Amphiaraios, and he has supplied  
means for these things and for the fitting out of  
the sanctuary.’<sup>333</sup>

The reorganization of the Amphiareia fits into the general trend during the Lykourgan period: many Athenian festivals underwent enhancements at this time and various Athenian laws and decrees are found which provide new regulations and provisions for specific festivals.<sup>334</sup>

One of these IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 449, a decree found on the Agora, tells us about the festival and new rules and customs. The fragmentary and damaged state of the inscription does not allow

<sup>328</sup> IOropos 296 and IOropos 297 have the same date: ‘on the eleventh of Thargelion, the twenty-third of the prytany.’

<sup>329</sup> IOropos 298 1.22.

<sup>330</sup> IOropos 299 1.31.

<sup>331</sup> Earlier examples: IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 306, dated in 343/2, concerning the Dionysia festival, and a dedication of a statue to Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia. Phanodemos was honoured for his great work. He was also honoured by his tribe in another decree (SEG 63.98).

<sup>332</sup> IG II<sup>3</sup> 4 18, 1.3 (see also p.24 above).

<sup>333</sup> IOropos 297 ll.10-15. Translation by Stephen Lambert

<sup>334</sup> The Little Panathenaia (IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 447) included. Other examples: the Dipolieia (IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 551) and the cult and celebration of Bendis (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1361). Some are still a bit unclear which festival it concerned (IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 449 and IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 448).

for a reading of the actual name of the festival, but Walbank had suggested this festival could concern to the Great Amphiareia.<sup>335</sup>

In 329/8 the first festival took place. Those in charge were honored for their outstanding work managing the festival:

‘...ἐπειδὴ οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἁγῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελήθησαν τῆς τε πρυτανείας τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τοῦ ἁγῶνος τοῦ γυμνικοῦ καὶ ἵππικοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀποβάσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν...’

‘...elected by the people for the management of the competition and the other matters relating to the festival of Amphiaraos managed well and with love of honor both the procession for Amphiaraos and the gymnastic and equestrian competition and the horse leaping and all the other matters relating to the festival Assembly...’<sup>336</sup>

These managers were elected by the *demos* and did their jobs well, which is why they decide to praise and crown those elected managers. A list of managers follows, all of which come from an Attic deme.<sup>337</sup> These people are praised:

‘...δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων [v]...’

‘...for their justice and love of honour towards the god and the Athenian people...’<sup>338</sup>

Besides a crown, these individuals receive money to pay for a dedication and sacrifices. These people are praised for their love both to the god (i.e. Amphiaraos) and the Athenian people. The stele should be placed within the sanctuary of Amphiaraos, for all to see.

With the reorganization of the Amphiareia and several Athenians managing a splendid festivals a few years later, Athens surely placed a mark on the sanctuary and its practices by adding maximum splendor to the renewed festival. Its practices became increasingly similar to several other Attic cults, which also met with similar renewed religious investments around the time of Lykourgos. The Amphiareion and more specifically the Amphiareia were rather

<sup>335</sup> Walbank (1982), 180-182, in reference to IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 449. Walbank eliminates other possibilities such as the Panathenaia and penteteric Eleusinia.

<sup>336</sup> IOropos 298 ll.11-19. Translation by Stephen Lambert

<sup>337</sup> For example: Thymaitadai (Phanodemos), Boutadai (Lykourgos), but also, Phyle and Pergase.

<sup>338</sup> IOropos 298 ll.31-33. Translation by Stephen Lambert.

suddenly adopted and appropriated within the Attic religious system and the Athenian sphere of influence: in monumental investments, reorganization of festivals, and by including it in its religious laws. The Amphiareion rather quickly became an Attic public cult.<sup>339</sup>

#### 4.4. Becoming an Attic cult

There are several indications that the Amphiareion was considered and adopted as an Attic state cult by incorporating them within new Athenian laws and regulations. I will discuss four points, which best help us understand the integration of the Amphiareion, as an Attic public cult:

- The Little Panathenaia decree
- The law on cult objects and the *Dermatikon* decree
- The stationing of ephebes
- A private/public dedication

##### *Little Panathenaia*

IG II<sup>2</sup> 334 discusses the enhancement of the Little Panathenaia, already shortly mentioned in discussion of the general tendency in Lykourgan Athens to aggrandize and reorganize its festivals (see §3.3).<sup>340</sup> The Little Panathenaia underwent a reorganization for the improvement of the festivities, just as we have seen with the Amphiareia: the decrees tell us that both these festivals should be ‘ὡς καλλίστη’ (as fine as possible).<sup>341</sup>

The first part of the inscription discusses the leasing of a land called: Nea (Νέα). The second part elaborates on the way the resources and revenues from this land Nea are used for sacrifices for the Little Panathenaia. It is uncertain where this land actually was. Several hypotheses have been opted: Nea could derive from the word ‘fallow’ (i.e. a ‘fallow’ piece of land), or refer to a small island. More likely it derived from the word new, and referred to a piece of recent acquired territory.<sup>342</sup> This led several scholars to adopt a likely, though not

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<sup>339</sup> Papazarkadas listed Amphiaraos amongst a selective group of Athenian public cults: Papazarkadas (2011), 17-18. See also p.26 above.

<sup>340</sup> Mikalson (1998), 27, 33.

<sup>341</sup> Similarity is noted by Papazarkadas (2011), 46-47 (IOropos 297 l.13 and IG II<sup>2</sup> 334 l.6).

<sup>342</sup> Langdon (2016) provides a summary of the discussion. Lewis opted that the word derived from νεῖά (fallow), see: Lewis, D.M. (1959*b*), ‘Law on the Lesser Panathenaia’, *Hesperia* 28, 239–47. Louis Robert believed it meant ‘new’, which led him to the possibility that Nea referred to Oropos, at that point recently a gift to Athens. See: Robert, L. (1960) ‘Sur une loi d’Athènes relative aux Petites Panathénées’, *Hellenica, Recueil d’épigraphie, et d’antiquités grecques*, pp. 189-203.



indefinitely confirmed, hypothesis that Nea (‘ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ χωρὶς’) might refer to the contemporaneously acquired territory of Oropos, or at least part of it.<sup>343</sup> However, I agree with Papazarkadas that there is an asterisk to be placed here:

‘From a propagandistic point of view it would certainly be odd of the Athenians to call Νέα (New) an area on which they had had constant claims since the Archaic period. I would suggest, therefore, that the area was termed Νέα (New) in the sense of being an area newly consecrated to the goddess Athena.’<sup>344</sup>

Papazarkadas makes a great point here. If we take Athens’ history with Oropos into account, it is unlikely that the Athenians would claim the territory as ‘new’: the territory from time to time had been Athenian territory and was not long ago in the 370s taken away from the Athenians (which left some resentments).<sup>345</sup> It was not called Nea because the territory was new to Athens, but because Nea was new for the goddess Athena, that is, recently consecrated to this deity. This piece of land now took part in providing revenues for her festival, the Little Panathenaia.<sup>346</sup>

I am inclined to believe that Nea did refer to a part of Oropos, recently consecrated to Athena.<sup>347</sup> It is very likely, especially if we remind ourselves of the hasty land allocation of the territory of Oropos after the Athenian takeover (§3.4). Part of that land belonged to Amphiaraos, possibly, part of it was exploited for Athena as well. It would certainly fit into the general Athenian policy to exploit this territory and its resources quickly, effectively and exhaustively.

In fact, we have already seen that the lands of Amphiaraos made contributions to another important Attic sanctuary around this time: Eleusis (see quote on p.64). From the lands of Amphiaraos (ἐκ τῆς ἐπ’ Ἀμφιαράου) plenty of barley and to a lesser extent wheat were sent as offerings to Eleusis.<sup>348</sup> The Amphiareion clearly as a ‘large estate holder’ whose commodities were at least used for this particular Attic cult.<sup>349</sup> If part of the land participated in the offerings to Eleusis, it is possible it took part in offerings to the Panathenaia as well.

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<sup>343</sup> Langdon remains skeptical and believes that we should not blindly stare, and keep our minds open for other possibilities (Langdon (2016), 97-99). Langdon already in 1989 shared his doubts (Langdon (1989), 56) and suggested that it may concern a volcanic island closely located near Lemnos (which in my opinion, is a bit too far away for contributing resources for an annual festival).

<sup>344</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 23.

<sup>345</sup> Aeschin. 3 85.

<sup>346</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 22-23. Already suggested earlier in Papazarkadas (2009), 164.

<sup>347</sup> It is at least more likely than a small, far away volcanic island, only sporadically mentioned in ancient sources, suggested for example by Langdon (2016), 98; Langdon (1987), 56.

<sup>348</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1672 ll.401-3. Translation by Papazarkadas 2011, n.131. Cosmopoulos (2001), 75, on a discussion on what the barley/wheat ratio meant for Oropian agriculture.

<sup>349</sup> Cosmopoulos (2001), 81.

I want to make a final note for this practice before turning to another religious law. If indeed Nea was (part of) Oropian territory, it demonstrates how Athens incorporated Oropian territory within the Athenian festival system: Oropos was now part of Athenian religious life, just as Athens was part of ‘Oropian’ religious life. I have mentioned in chapter one how allied territories in the fifth-century Athenian empire were obligated to participate in Athenian/Attic festivals (such as providing a cow and panoply for the Panathenaia and Dionysia, and their first-fruits to Eleusis). The similarity (though not to be exaggerated) is noticeable, even though this would be on a smaller scale.

*The law on cult-equipment and the Dermatikon Law*

Another important law relevant to Amphiaraos is IG II<sup>2</sup> 333. It is a fragmented inscription that informs us about the making of cult equipment and records the ways they were (or rather should be) funded. Amphiaraos was mentioned, together with other prominent gods:

‘...τῆι Μουνιχίαι καὶ τοῖς [Δώδεκα Θε]οῖς καὶ τῶι Ἀμφιαράωι καὶ τῶ[ι] Ἀσκληπιῶ[ι]...’

‘...and they shall make for Artemis Mounichia and the Twelve Gods and Amphiaraos and Asklepios...’<sup>350</sup>

The fact that Amphiaraos is discussed here next to Artemis Mounichia, the Twelve Gods and Asklepios, should not be taken lightly. It affirms Athenian interest and concerns with the wellbeing of Amphiaraos, by making sure and inscribing in stone that the arrangements for proper care of his cult-equipment are in order.

Because of the highly fragmented state of the inscription, it is difficult to determine with certainty the way this cult-equipment was funded. Possibly, part of the funds originated from the sale of skins from sacrificial animals. Shortly after the previous citation, the decree continues with:

‘...τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἀργύριον [τ]ὸ ἐκ τοῦ δερματικοῦ γ[ιγνόμενον]...’

‘... of the gods the money arising from the sale of skins of sacrificial animals’<sup>351</sup>

Which brings us to another Lykourgan law that gives us an indication of the integration of the Amphiareion, the Amphiareia and Amphiaraos within the Attic public cult system: the

<sup>350</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 333 I.40. Translation by Stephen Lambert

<sup>351</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 333 II.42-43. Translation by Stephen Lambert

*Dermatikon* law. The *Dermatikon* law was again one of the religious laws installed during the time of Lykourgos which had to bring *kosmos* (order and adornment) in a disorganized system of religious cults.<sup>352</sup>

Extra revenues were created by the sales of skins (*derma*) from animals, sacrificed during public offerings. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1496 provides a four year account (334/1-331/0) of these sales of sacrificed animal skins. The account mentions several Attic festivals supported by the state, where the skins of public sacrifices were sold for increased revenue.<sup>353</sup> The Amphiareia is not listed in these accounts. However, this does not mean that the Amphiareia was not subject to this *Dermatikon* law: the timing was off. The reorganized Amphiareia as discussed earlier were held in 329/8, which is after the extant four-year account of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1496.<sup>354</sup>

If we take into account the extravagant reorganization of the Amphiareia, together with the public praising of the officials concerned with the festival (Phanodemos and the other managers) and the Athenian concerns of the cult-equipment for Amphiaraos, it is very likely that the Amphiareia were subjected to the *Dermatikon* law as well, just as the other state-supported festivals.

*Ephebic dedications.* Several ephebic dedications have been found in the Amphiareion, dating from the period of Athenian control in the 330s and 320s.<sup>355</sup> Ephebes were young Athenian men, who had to join the service for two years after they turned 18. Though this ephebic military organization most likely already existed earlier, the extensive reform in the 330s led to a short period of extreme regularization and expansion of the ephebic organization, most likely after the defeat of the Battle of Chaeronea.<sup>356</sup> These ephebes were stationed in guarded posts (ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις) during their second year of service. They had to protect Attica from raids at the borders.<sup>357</sup> Several ephebic dedications have been found in the frontier areas, such as Rhamnous, closely nearby Oropos on the northern border of Attica.<sup>358</sup> Sometimes these ephebes

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<sup>352</sup> Mikalson (1998), 26-27.

<sup>353</sup> Mikalson (1998), 36-39

<sup>354</sup> Mikalson (1998), 36-39; Petropoulou (1981), 61-62.

<sup>355</sup> Several Ephebic dedications found in the Amphiareion are dated between 335-322. IOropos 348: Dedication by the son of Autolykos to Amphiaraos, after his victory in the ephebic spear-throwing contest. IOropos 352: dedication to Amphiaraos. IOropos 348: fragmentary ephebic dedication.

<sup>356</sup> RO-89, commentary 453-454. On this ephebic reform see RO-89; Lambert (2018), 106.

<sup>357</sup> Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42. 4-5; Friend (2009), 81-82

<sup>358</sup> See e.g. IG II<sup>3</sup> 4 338: ephebic instructor dedicates something to Hermes. IG II<sup>3</sup> 4 336: dedication of several ephebes after winning a torch-race. IG II<sup>3</sup> 4 341: after being crowned, the ephebes dedicate something. All dated around 330s.

were even honored for their work, such as those stationed in Rhamnous, Eleusis and Phyle.<sup>359</sup> In consideration of this ephebic task it is very likely that they were stationed in the territory of Oropos as well, the north-west border of Attica, considering the ephebes were strategically stationed in other Attic border regions, such as Rhamnous (north-east border of Attica), Phyle (the west) and Eleusis (south-west).

One of the least fragmented ephebic dedication found in the Amphiareion, tells us the following:

<p>‘[— — — A]ὐτολύκου Ἀθηναῖος [Ἀμφ]ιαράωι [νικήσας] ἐφήβους ἀκοντίζων.’</p>	<p>‘...- son of Autolykos [[of Athens]] (dedicated this) to Amphiaraos having won the ephebic spear-throwing contest.’<sup>360</sup></p>
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Apparently at this time there were ephebic spear-throwing contests held during the festival (this could be either the annual or the larger festivities).<sup>361</sup> The victor dedicates something. This dedication is specifically given to Amphiaraos. To my knowledge, there is no similar case in Rhamnous for example, that specifically dedicates to Amphiaraos. Even though Rhamnous did have a (very small) sanctuary to Amphiaraos.<sup>362</sup>

The inscription gives the ethnic Ἀθηναῖος, as opposed to the deme name of Autolykos. An alteration made later on in the dedication. Most likely, after the Athenians were yet again cast out of Oropos around 322 the deme of Autolykos’ is replaced by: Ἀθηναῖος (someone from Athens).<sup>363</sup>

These dedications indicate the presence and participation of ephebes in the contests held at the Amphiareia. Already noted by Papazarkadas, the presence of ephebes attest to the incorporation of the territory under Athenian administrative control.<sup>364</sup> The fact that these ephebes apparently participated in the religious festivities of Amphiaraos again illustrate how power, religion, politics and control overlap.

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<sup>359</sup> *IG II<sup>3</sup> 4 342* found in the sanctuary of Nemesis, in Rhamnous. The ephebes give a dedication after being honored by the Council, the people and the Rhamnousians, Eleusians and Phylasians. See also for another example RO-89, honors for Athenian ephebes in Eleusis.

<sup>360</sup> IOropos 348. Translation by Sjoukje M. Kamphorst.

<sup>361</sup> Friend (2009), 175-176.

<sup>362</sup> Most likely, the Amphiaraos sanctuary in Rhamnous was too small, see: Renberg (2017), 293-295 on the Amphiaraos sanctuary in Rhamnous.

<sup>363</sup> Commentary to IOropos 348 by Sjoukje M. Kamphorst.

<sup>364</sup> Papzarkadas (2009), 165.

### *A private, yet public dedication*

Many dedications were given to the god, public and private. Smaller Athenian dedications can be found, such as a marble bench, most likely dedicated by an Athenian general, after his election as a general by the people.<sup>365</sup> This is a private dedication, so are the reliefs or smaller anatomical votives which express individual gratitude for Amphiaraos and his treatments of legs, shoulders or any other kind of specific ailments.<sup>366</sup>

There is one dedication I would like to discuss in more detail: IOropos 299. It presents an interesting collaboration between a public and a private dedication. From the archonship of Euthykritos 328/7 survives a list of individuals who contributed to a dedication stele, which was probably originally carrying a statue of Amphiaraos. It is an unusual monument: tall like a stele but wide enough as a base for a dedication.<sup>367</sup> At the top it said:

‘οἶδε ἐπέδοσαν εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα, ὃ ἀνέθηκεν  
ἡ βουλή ἢ ἐπ’ Εὐθυκρίτου ἄρχοντος...’

‘The following contributed to the dedication  
which the Council made in the archonship of  
Euthykritos...’<sup>368</sup>

Even though the dedication was made by the council, it was executed and paid for by individuals. After making the dedication, in lines 41-58, a few of them are praised and crowned, for they showed love and honor towards the council, so that others in the future will continue to show love and honor to the council.

Lambert noted that part of the monument’s purpose was to be the symbolical establishment of the Athenian state in the Amphiareion, considering these are all high councilors and prominent Athenian individuals.<sup>369</sup> Among these prominent Athenians again we find Phanodemos of Thymaitadai.<sup>370</sup> Several other famous dedicators in the list had already dedicated to other deities.<sup>371</sup> For example, Polyeuktos was mentioned during the honours for Dionysus, and Euetion proposed a dedication to the priest of Asklepios roughly around the same time.<sup>372</sup>

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<sup>365</sup> IOropos 360. Similar benches (seven in total) have been found during this time at Rhamnous as well, however these are dated to a later period (mid third).

<sup>366</sup> Renberg (2017), 291. He also provides a catalogue of a few dedicatory reliefs to Amphiaraos.

<sup>367</sup> IOropos 299; Lambert-6, commentary p.99ff.

<sup>368</sup> IOropos 299 ll.1-2. Translation by Stephen Lambert.

<sup>369</sup> Lambert-6, commentary 99-101.

<sup>370</sup> IOropos 299 ll.45ff.

<sup>371</sup> Schewenk-50 provides an overview of the people mentioned and their careers/works/dedications (if known).

<sup>372</sup> IG II<sup>3</sup> I 439: honours bestowed upon Dionysus by Polyeuktos, dated in 330-320’s. IG II<sup>3</sup> I 359: in the second decree, honours for the priest of Asklepios, Androkles of Kerameis, by Euetion.

This dedication is both private and public. The dedication is made by the council, but executed by prominent Athenian individuals, who also paid for the dedication and took up the responsibility for it. The council praised them accordingly, for it is they who made the dedication for the council. The praise was inscribed on a stele and placed in the sanctuary. Even in a privately paid dedication, the Athenian state was very present.

#### 4.5. Concluding remarks

The first period of Athenian control showed relatively small Athenian investments. They repaired a fountain and the baths, but overall they did not invest a lot in the sanctuary. It is not necessarily that they didn't care: they clearly cared and they were shocked that the territory was taken away from them. The Athenians might not have had the time to make more adjustments. More likely even, diplomatic reasoning and the instable relations with Thebes did not allow them to. The evidence may be scarce, but Athenian interest is present albeit on a far smaller scale than during the end of the fourth century.

The Lykourgan period demonstrated a boom of Athenian activity: the buildings and repairs, the reorganization of the Amphiareia, and the incorporation of the sanctuary within Attic regulations, all happened only a few years after the Athenian takeover in 335. The large amount of decrees on steles adorned Amphiaraos' sacred precinct, many of which emphasized new Athenian contributions. Especially the monumental focus on water-management is noteworthy. Considering the sanctuary was renowned for its water, these investments can hardly be considered trivial.

In chapter one I had introduced the categories from Koulakiotis and Dunn: discourses, practices and images. I observed that even though these were useful concepts to keep in mind, there is I believe too much overlap between these categories to discuss separately when considering one sanctuary in particular. In the above public decrees we see all of these three levels of Athenian religion/political interplay closely working together. We see tangible and monumental visibility, both in water-oriented buildings and building contracts on large steles (*images*). Part of these monumental decrees also present information on the reorganization of certain religious activities such as the Amphiareia (*practices*). All of this, while increasingly integrating the sanctuary within the Attic cult system and its laws, firmly establishing the Amphiareion within the hierarchy of Attica. They derived their authority for these investments not from oracles or omens, but primarily on the basis of the notion that Oropos and the Amphiareion belonged to the Athenians: the area was not so much 'conquered' as it was 'reclaimed', considering it was 'theirs' to begin with (*discourse*). One could argue otherwise

(as the Thebans certainly did), but the Athenians had no doubts about this. The images, practices and discourses are not rigid categories, there is overlap and more importantly, they need each other in order to present and maintain a coherent Athenian approach towards the Amphiareion.

There is one important part that is yet to be discussed within this Athenian integration process: the adoption of Amphiaraos in the Athenian pantheon. In the previous section I have merely touched upon Amphiaraos himself. By discussing the Athenian embrace of this deity in the fourth century, we can grasp the full extension of the various ways the Athenians reached out to their reclaimed border sanctuary and its main deity.

## Chapter 5. Embracing a new deity

### *The Athenian appropriation of Amphiaraos*

Before we can understand why the Athenians wanted to adopt Amphiaraos within their pantheon, we need to take a closer look at Amphiaraos' role in ancient Greek mythology and religion. As a warrior with prophetic powers gifted by the gods he died a divine death and became a chthonic hero and oracle. He changed careers, became a doctor and developed into a god.

When we compare his myth to his role in the Amphiareion, it appears that his mythological story does not quite match up with his significant function as a healing doctor in cult. Nevertheless the story was repeated, remembered and retold. It attests to a continuing popularity of his myth and the hero. He eventually found a place within the Athenian religious framework, alongside Asklepios and the Twelve Gods in a Lykourgan religious Law.<sup>373</sup> How did he get there? How did the Athenians reach out to Amphiaraos?

A remarkable inscription sheds some light on this matter: the Athenians crowned Amphiaraos in 332/331. An act of gratitude for his hospitality to the Athenians *par excellence*.<sup>374</sup> By crowning Amphiaraos, the Athenians secured for themselves first and foremost the favor of Amphiaraos. The decree coincides with the extensive building activities in the Amphiareion after regaining control over the territory. The Athenian embrace of Amphiaraos should be seen as an integral part in the civic and religious policy of the Athenians towards Oropos and the Amphiareion: on course to adopt, reform and secure the territory and its deity.

#### 5.1. From man to chthonic hero

Amphiaraos was an established figure in Greek mythology and already appeared in Homer's *Odyssey* as a descendent from Melampus.<sup>375</sup> Amphiaraos died young:

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<sup>373</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 333 1.40.

<sup>374</sup> IOropos 296.

<sup>375</sup> Melampus had two sons Antiphates and Mantius. Antiphates had a son, Oicles, and Oicles' son was Amphiaraos, making Melampus the great grandfather of Amphiaraos. For his genealogy see: Hom. *Od.* 15.240-245; Diod. 68.4-5.



‘...ὄν περὶ κῆρι φίλει Ζεὺς τ’ αἰγίοχος καὶ  
Ἀπόλλων παντοίην φιλότητ’· οὐδ’ ἔκετο γήραος  
οὐδόν, ἀλλ’ ὄλετ’ ἐν Θήβησι γυναιῶν εἴνεκα  
δώρων.’

‘...whom Zeus, who bears the aegis, and Apollo  
heartily loved with all manner of love. Yet he  
did not reach the threshold of old age, but died  
in Thebe, because of a woman's gifts.’<sup>376</sup>

After the death of Amphiaraos, Apollo had made Polyphides (another descendent from Melampus) the greatest seer (‘far the best of mortals’). This would indicate that before Amphiaraos’ passing in Thebes he had fulfilled the role as the best prophet.<sup>377</sup>

Homer provides us here with two key aspects of Amphiaraos’ mythology: 1. He was a great (even the best once) seer. 2. He died in Thebes, mysteriously put by Homer because of ‘a woman’s gifts’. This undoubtedly refers to the treachery of Amphiaraos’ wife Eriphyle, to which I will return later. These are the two components which appear in the earliest versions of his myth and these aspects did not change throughout the centuries of Amphiaraos’ mythological or literary development.

There are a few other myths in which Amphiaraos played a role. He was by some described to have joined in the expedition against the Calydonian Boar.<sup>378</sup> And it was even in passing mentioned that he was part of Jason’s Argonautic trip in search for the Golden Fleece.<sup>379</sup> In both instances Amphiaraos played but a modest part and in some accounts he is completely absent in the exercises altogether. These appearances were most likely later additions are not fundamental to his mythological character. His main narrative concerns the story of the Seven against Thebes expedition which enjoyed long lived popularity.<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>376</sup> Hom. *Od.* 15.245-250. Translation by Murray.

<sup>377</sup> Hom. *Od.* 15.250-255. Translation by Murray.

<sup>378</sup> Paus. 8.45.7. Pausanias describes the decoration in the sanctuary of Athena Alea, at Tegea. There is an image of the Calydonian boar, surrounded by heroes, one of them is Amphiaraos. This story is corroborated by Apollod. 1.8.2.

<sup>379</sup> Apollod. 1.916. Amphiaraos was not included in the version of Apollonius or Valerius. This titbit of information is a small detail retrospectively used in one article to describe Amphiaraos, as the ‘first naval doctor and father of Naval Medicine. Magiorkinis et.al (2015), 5.

<sup>380</sup> Though many plays are lost, several fragments point to the continuing popularity of Amphiaraos’ story, such as Aeschylus’s *Seven against Thebes* and Sophocles’ *The Epigoni*. Several fragments from for example Sophocles and Aristophanes refer of the existence of other plays concerning Amphiaraos specifically. This attests to a popularity in both tragedy and comedy.



Fig. 5. Amphiaraos and his chariot are swallowed up in the earth, engraving from circa 1540/50. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Asset number: 93926001.

The myth of the expedition and the ill fate that befell Amphiaraos is in detail described by Diodoros and Apollodoros, who report roughly the same story.<sup>381</sup> Amphiaraos did not want to go war with Thebes, an initiative of Polyneices. Amphiaraos foretold that they would all perish and did not want to take part in a doomed campaign. Polyneices did not give up and bribed Amphiaraos' wife, Eriphyle, with a golden necklace.<sup>382</sup> Eriphyle eventually made sure Amphiaraos participated in the expedition. The treacherous woman who betrayed her husband remained a compelling and memorable story not soon to be forgotten.<sup>383</sup> Even in Roman times Ovid referred to the son of Oicles and 'victim of a traitor-wife', without even providing us with a name; there can hardly be any other than Amphiaraos who fits the description.<sup>384</sup>

Amphiaraos and the other warriors took up arms against Thebes. Many soldiers died and all leaders, except Adrastus, met the same fate. During the battle Amphiaraos took his chariot and retreated from Thebes. An event important enough to be a popular image on sixth century vases.<sup>385</sup> But to no avail, Amphiaraos died. At least he was given an extraordinary death: the earth beneath his feet opened up by a thunderbolt of Zeus and he and his chariot disappeared in the earth (fig. 5).<sup>386</sup> After this divine death and disappearance in the earth, he became a chthonic hero and oracle.

## 5.2 From an oracle to hero-doctor

Herodotus provides us with two stories concerning Amphiaraos' prestigious early oracle in the sixth century. The first story concerns Croesus: he was wondering if he should undertake an expedition against the Persians and made enquiries at various Greek and Libyan oracles for

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<sup>381</sup> Diod. 4.65 5-9; Apollod. 3.6.2

<sup>382</sup> The gift of Eriphyle is mentioned in several sources and seems to have been a generally known object in mythology. It is discussed by Homer (Hom. *Od.* 11.326) and in detail by Pausanias (Paus. 5.17.7; Paus. 8.24.10). In Sophocles' *Electra* the chorus exclaimed that the death of Amphiaraos was the result of a woman's chain of gold. (Soph. *El.* 836). Later sources illustrate the continuing use of the symbol of the necklace: Horatius, in his poems exclaims that gold can change everything (Hor. *Carm.* 3.16).

<sup>383</sup> Especially considering the subsequent events. Before he took off Amphiaraos gave his son Alcmaeon the cruel orders to kill his mother Eriphyle should Amphiaraos indeed die during this conquest. As we know Amphiaraos died and Alcmaeon was forced to commit the abominable but in the end still redeemable act of matricide, because obeying to the laws of the father and revenging the father was after all the most important task the son could ever fulfill (even if it was at the expense of the mother).

<sup>384</sup> *Ov. Met.* 8.260

<sup>385</sup> Krauskopf (1980), image page 24 and 25.

<sup>386</sup> Diod. 4.65 5-9. Apollod. 3.6.8. Pind. *N.* 9

advice, among which the oracle of Amphiaraos, to test their truthfulness.<sup>387</sup> The second story begins with Mardonius, a Persian military commander. When he stayed at Thessaly, he asked a man called Mys to research and test oracles. Mys went to Thebes, where he inquired the Ismenian Apollo and asked a stranger to lie down to sleep in the shrine of Amphiaraos. Herodotus emphasizes that this stranger was not a Theban.<sup>388</sup>

‘Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τὸδε· ἐκέλευσε σφῆας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιούμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι; τούτων, ἐωντῶ ἢ ἅτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἅτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι.’

‘No Theban may seek a prophecy there; for Amphiaraus bade them by an oracle to choose which of the two they would and forgo the other, and take him either for their prophet or for their ally; and they chose that he should be their ally; wherefore no Theban may lay him down to sleep in that place.’<sup>389</sup>

The fact that one had to *lie down to sleep* suggests that Amphiaraos was already occupying himself with the art of incubation, al be it for prophesizing, and not, as would later be the case: healing. It is clear however from these two examples that Amphiaraos was an oracle, and not a healer. No evidence hints to his function as a healer at this time. It was somewhere after the establishment of this new sanctuary to Amphiaraos, that healing became an aspect (and arguably his most renown one) of his personality and functionality. Eventually from the fifth century onwards his function as a healer, would supersede his function as a seer.<sup>390</sup>

His myth did not change to accommodate his role as a healer.<sup>391</sup> No apparent additions were made to his literary character that I could find, which includes his healing capacities. Contrary to Amphiaraos’ great-grandfather Melampus who was clearly both a seer *and* a healer in Greek mythology. Already Herodotus alludes to the story of Melampus healing the women struck by madness.<sup>392</sup> This story is more elaborately described in later sources: Melampus cured the mad women through the power of divination.<sup>393</sup> Especially in Apollodoros it is apparent that Melampus gained his medical knowledge from his capabilities of being a soothsayer.<sup>394</sup>

<sup>387</sup> Hdt. 1.46-1.52.

<sup>388</sup> Hdt. 8.134

<sup>389</sup> Hdt. 8.134. Translation by Godley.

<sup>390</sup> Wickkiser (2008), 52.

<sup>391</sup> Wickkiser (2008), 52.

<sup>392</sup> Hdt. 9.34

<sup>393</sup> Paus. 2.18.4; Strab. 8.3.19 (mentions the cleansing water of the spring near the Anigriades, which Melampus had used for cleaning the Proetides).

<sup>394</sup> Apollodoros tells us another story which again highlights Melampus’ capabilities as a healer when he solves Iphiclus virility problems (Apollod. 1.9.12). When discussing the crazy maidens: Melampus was able to be the first to find a cure: using drugs and purifications (Apollod. 2.2.2). He obtained his powers by snakes which

Amphiaraios on the other hand does not have any mythical stories to accommodate his healing capacity: he was a warrior and seer in life, but not a healer or doctor. And yet, he became one of the most important healing deities within the span of a century. In sculptural imagery his role as a healer is clearly present in the fourth century. Petsalis-Diomidis discusses this imagery as a case study when exploring the nature of the experiences of a pilgrim towards a god.<sup>395</sup> She describes several marble reliefs, which functioned as thank-you offerings to Amphiaraios. The most explicit and informative relief not only expresses gratitude, but depicts the healing process. It is a dedication of Archinos to Amphiaraios (fig. 6). It visualizes the different stages of Archinos' pilgrimage to Amphiaraios and his interaction with the god.<sup>396</sup> At the front, Amphiaraios, the largest figure in the room/on the relief, treats the shoulder of his patient Archinos. In the center Archinos is bitten by a snake. On the right Archinos gives his thanks by dedicating a stele.



**Fig. 6.** Dedication from Archinos. Source: Renberg Cat. No. Amph.-Orop. 1 (Athens, N.M. 3369). Photo: J. Patrikianos (Athens, National Archaeological Museum)

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crawled up in his ears and cleaned them. It frightened Melampus at first, but then he suddenly could understand the flight of birds and tell the future (Apollod. 1.9.11).

<sup>395</sup> Petsalis-Diomidis (2006), 205.

<sup>396</sup> Petsalis-Diomidis (2006), 209-210

The image and methodology of Amphiaraos as a healing deity becomes more defined, and so did the sanctuary with its bathhouses and accommodations for visitors. It developed into a popular blossoming healing spa. There is no evidence that the Amphiareion still functioned as an oracle similar as the previous one in Thebes.<sup>397</sup> In cult at least, his healing image had superseded his oracular capacity. It was him that the Athenians decided to crown soon after they reclaimed control over the territory.

### 5.3. Athenians crown Amphiaraos

Amphiaraos is crowned IOropos 296. The inscriptions tells us that Phanodemos, son of Diyllos of Thymaitadai, proposed the crowning. This was the very same Phanodemos who was discussed earlier (§4.3-4.4) in relation to the reorganization of the Amphiareia (IOropos 297); who was part of the list of individuals who managed the first ‘enhanced’ Amphiareia (IOropos 298); and who took part in the public/private dedication to Amphiaraos (IOropos 299). Phanodemos also was the earlier introduced Athenian patriot who wrote an Athenocentric history of Attica, and possible played a role in the historiographical rewrite of the Delian/Athenian association (§1.4).

IOropos 297 and IOropos 296 are described on separate steles, but were found together in a drain-pipe.<sup>398</sup> After the obligatory dating (lines 1-10), Phanodemos proposes to crown Amphiaraos:

‘...ἀγαθῆι τύχηι τοῦ δ-  
 ἡμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ θεῖος  
 καλῶς ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν ἀφικνουμ-  
 ἐνων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τ-  
 ὸ ἱερόν, ἐφ’ ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαί π-  
 ἄντων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, στεφανῶσα-  
 ι τὸν Ἀμφιάραον χρυσῶι στεφάνωι  
 ἀπὸ : X : δραχμῶν...’

‘...for the good fortune of the Athenian People, since the god takes good care of those Athenians and others who come to the sanctuary, for the health and preservation of all those in the country, to crown Amphiaraos with a gold crown of 1,000 drachmas...’<sup>399</sup>

<sup>397</sup> It was still possible to ask directly for an answer from Amphiaraos by incubation, as we have seen in the case of Euxenippos. However this could hardly be considered an oracular prophecy: this question was specifically related to the god himself and his property, not about the future, wars, crops or any other matter which might require a prophecy.

<sup>398</sup> Scafuro (2009), 71.

<sup>399</sup> IOropos 296 ll.10-17. Translation by Stephen Lambert.

Amphiaraos deserves this acknowledgement given by Phanodemos because he takes good care of the Athenians and the others who come to the sanctuary. Here, the Athenian people are the first and foremost benefactors from the generosity of Amphiaraos, which is why Amphiaraos is crowned with a golden crown of 1.000 *drachmae*. The crown (funded by treasurer of the military fund) shall be given to the managers of the sanctuary, who will dedicate the crown to Amphiaraos in his sanctuary (lines 21-27). This dedication should benefit first and foremost the Athenian people, children and women, followed by everyone else:

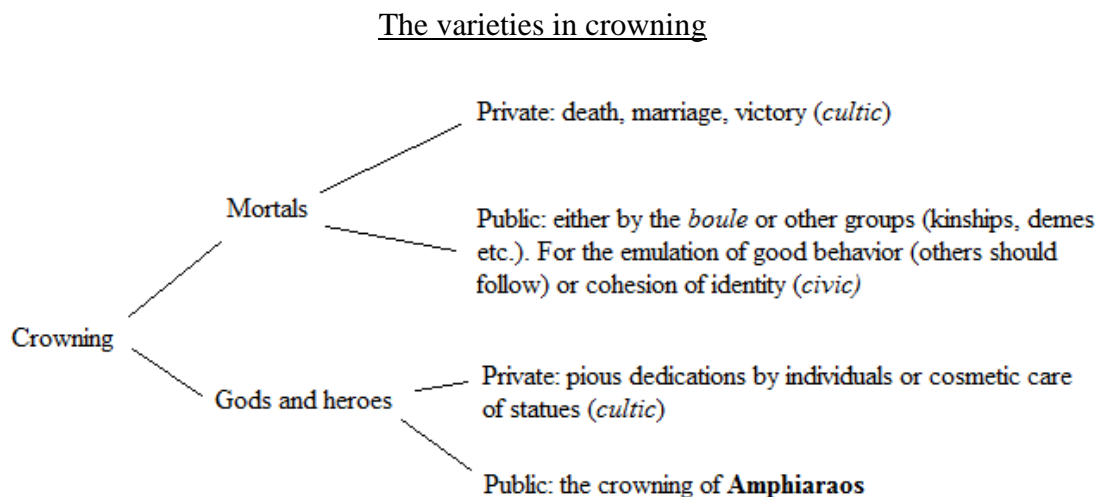
‘...ἀναθεῖναι

τὸν στέφανον τῷ θεῷ ἐφ’ ὑγίαια  
καὶ σωτηρία τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηνα-  
30 ῖων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τ-  
ῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ πάντων·

‘...shall dedicate the crown to the god for the health and preservation of the Athenian People and the children and women and everyone in the country.’<sup>400</sup>

Finally, the decree shall be inscribed on a stele and placed in the sanctuary (lines 32-39).<sup>401</sup>

But what does it mean to crown Amphiaraos? To answer this question, I will turn to Adele C. Scafuro and her analysis on the act of ‘crowning’ and the distinction between the crowning of gods and heroes. The following simplified schematic is based on Scafuro’s article.<sup>402</sup>



<sup>400</sup> IOropos 296 ll.27-31. Translation by Stephen Lambert.

<sup>401</sup> IOropos 296.

<sup>402</sup> Scafuro (2009), 61-66.

The crowning of Amphiaraos should be seen within the vast array of complicated and diverse crowning practices. This decree is a public act of crowning, decided by the Athenian people. The Athenian *Boule* publicly crowned mortals on more than one occasion, both foreigner and Athenian.<sup>403</sup> The crowning of mortal men as a public act was basically always the promotion of ‘ideals of conduct’, with Pytheas as an example (p. ...).<sup>404</sup> However Pytheas is human and not a divine being like Amphiaraos. The crowning of a divinity did happen on a private level, as a pious dedication of gratitude or devotion. But, it is rare as a public occasion. In fact, the crowning of Amphiaraos is the sole example of a public act crowning a deity in extant inscriptions. Though Scafuro does not go as far to say that it is the only act of crowning a divinity by the Athenian *polis*, it is the only one that we have *so far*.<sup>405</sup>

Does the crowning of Amphiaraos mean the same as the public crowning of mortals? To answer this question, Scafuro dives into the history of civic honorary decrees. She places the crowning of Amphiaraos within wider practices of civic crowning. She argues that the crowning should be seen in light of honorific reciprocity: the practice of returning honors, when honors are bestowed.<sup>406</sup> Phanodemos was honored/crowned for his work on the Great Amphiareia, and in turn proposes to crown Amphiaraos in this decree.

However it was not a literal crowning as was the case with Phanodemos. The managers had to set up/dedicate the crown in the sanctuary. So there was not an actual crown placed on Amphiaraos’ head (which would be impossible). Amphiaraos is crowned, but no one actually, literally, crowns Amphiaraos.<sup>407</sup>

‘... τοὺς δὲ ἐπιμε-

λητὰς ἀνειπόντας τὰ ἐψηφισμένα  
τῶι δήμῳ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι ἀναθεῖναι  
τὸν στέφανον τῶι θεῶι ἐφ’ ὑγίαιαι  
καὶ σωτηρίαι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηνα-  
ίων καὶ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τ-  
ῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῳ πάντων.’

‘...the managers, having announced what has been  
decreed to the People in the sanctuary, shall dedicate  
the crown to the god for the health and preservation  
of the Athenian People and the children and women  
and everyone in the country.’<sup>408</sup>

<sup>403</sup> Scafuro (2009), 67-68.

<sup>404</sup> Scafuro (2009), 63-64.

<sup>405</sup> Scafuro (2009), 64-66. Lambert (2012), 40 n. 75.

<sup>406</sup> Scafuro (2009), 68-71, primarily referring to IG II<sup>2</sup> 223, also concerning Phanodemos. Phanodemos proposed a dedication to Hephaistos, and afterwards was given a crown by the *Boule*.

<sup>407</sup> Scafuro (2009), 71-73.

<sup>408</sup> IOropos 296 ll.25-31. Translation by Stephen Lambert.



Scafuro compares the act of symbolic crowning to those of ‘foreign potentates’, such as the Cimmerian princes. This prince was crowned by the Athenian people, after which the crowns were made and consequently dedicated to Athena Polias. The ‘crowning’ might have been a symbolic action: the prince was crowned and dedicates the crown, but the crown was likely not really brought to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and then back to be dedicated.<sup>409</sup> Being crowned and then to dedicate a crown, is very similar to the case of Amphiaraos: he is crowned, but the managers will dedicate his crown to his sanctuary (a reciprocal act).<sup>410</sup>

Scafuro here already hints at the similarity to the honoring of foreigners. The embrace of both the foreign character in the inscription, is especially visible in the innovative uses of certain formulas. Amphiaraos was honored for ‘taking good care of those who arrive...’ and ‘for the health and protection of...’ Scafuro points out that the first part, ‘taking good care of those who arrive’, is often used for honoring foreigners.<sup>411</sup> Being hospitable is a frequent reason for the honors given to foreigners, such as in *proxeny* decrees. Taking care of the Athenian arrivals and showing hospitality is a valued and virtuous quality of a foreigner (for an Athenian at least).<sup>412</sup> The last part however, ‘for the health and protection of ...’ (repeated in line 28-31) often occurs when honoring those who have made sacrifices to deities.<sup>413</sup> This led Scafuro to conclude that the crowning of Amphiaraos was an act of ‘wonderful creative juggling’ of known formulae in honorary decrees, both attesting to the foreignness and acknowledging the reciprocity: for Amphiaraos both is crowned and dedicates/sacrifices a crown for health and protection.<sup>414</sup>

But what did Phanodemos’ try to convey with such a crowning? The inscriptional formulas and timing shortly after the recovery of Oropos by Athens, led Scafuro to interpret the crowning as a ‘celebration of the Athenian appropriation of Oropos.’<sup>415</sup> The Amphiareion would be an Athenian sanctuary and a god for the Athenians. At the same time, the inscription acknowledges the fact that the divinity is foreign.<sup>416</sup> Besides the emphasis on a bond between Oropos and Athens, it shows a ‘non-balance of power’ in favor of the Athenians. The managers are the ones that dedicate the crown for the Athenians and their families and their protection

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<sup>409</sup> Scafuro (2009), 72-73. Referring to IG II<sup>2</sup> 212, dated to 347/6.

<sup>410</sup> Scafuro (2009), 73.

<sup>411</sup> Scafuro (2009), 74-75.

<sup>412</sup> Scafuro (2009), 74-75.

<sup>413</sup> Scafuro (2009), 73-74.

<sup>414</sup> Scafuro (2009), 77.

<sup>415</sup> Scafuro (2009), 77.

<sup>416</sup> Scafuro (2009), 59, 77.

and health above all. Yet the inclusion of the phrase ‘and everyone in the country’ (line 31) still embraces and includes the other visitors and Oropos itself.<sup>417</sup>

It seems like the crowning of Amphiaraos was the equivalent of a certain kind of *proxeny* decree for foreigners. Similar to the bestowal of *proxeny*, the crowning of Amphiaraos was accompanied by certain privileges: owning land. Papazarkadas believes there is a certain similarity to be found here. With the crowning of Amphiaraos, he could have indirectly been given the right the ownership of a plot for cultic revenues.<sup>418</sup> We have seen that a certain part of the land of Oropos was dedicated (or at least meant to be) to Amphiaraos from Hypereides’ speech; just as we know that this land (ἐκ τῆς ἐπ’ Ἀμφιαράου) contributed to the offerings to Eleusis.

Papazarkadas gives us one interesting parallel: Boreas. Boreas was given rights and citizenship by the Thourioi, from the Athenian colony Thurii in Italy. After this, Boreas received the rights of land and was given an annual festival.<sup>419</sup> A similar thing may have happened to Amphiaraos: when Amphiaraos became an honored citizen (or at least sort of) he consequently, received the rights to the ownership of land in Attic territory, even though he was originally and temporarily a semi-foreign deity.

Unfortunately, there are no comparable cases in Athens which attests to such a practice. This could either be the result of an unfortunate gap in the evidence, or Amphiaraos was the exception. In any case, the crowning of Amphiaraos shows a deep appreciation for this deity. This crowning demonstrates the desire to integrate the god within the Athenian pantheon. Amphiaraos was now an honored citizen for Athens: still a bit foreign and yet Athenian as well. The timing is indeed crucial in this respect: at the very same time of the enhancement of the Amphiareia and extensive building projects, closely after Athens had reoccupied the territory and heavily invested in its monumental landscape and practices. The crowning is a remarkable religious strategy of appropriation, integral to the general integration of the sanctuary in the Athenian/Attic religious network. The originally foreign god and the originally extra-territorial sanctuary now served the Athenians. If Amphiaraos was indeed (as discussed in §2.5) a private initiative at first (be it in partial collaboration with the *polis* or not), than the crowning Amphiaraos was *par excellence* the way to make the cult public, and not simply public: *but public for Athenians above all*.

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<sup>417</sup> Scafuro (2009), 75, 77.

<sup>418</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 48.

<sup>419</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), n.128.

#### 5.4. From hero-doctor to a doctor-god

The crowning of Amphiaraos was just one step in his journey into becoming an official Greek deity. Pausanias centuries later remarks that Amphiaraos was worshiped by all Greeks. He specifically adds that there were several other men born around the time of Amphiaraos, who were later on worshipped in Pausanias' time as gods, such as Trophonios.<sup>420</sup> Even though Pausanias presently highlights the fact that Amphiaraos' was mortal once and now worshipped as a god, he doesn't think it is very strange: a bit unusual maybe, but he can give other examples.

The journey of Amphiaraos' from hero to god seems to have been a relatively quick one. The cult of Amphiaraos spread from the late fourth century onwards to various Attic *demes*, mainly Rhamnous, Peiraeus and near Acharnai.<sup>421</sup> Possibly there was a shrine in Athens as well in the Agora together with Hygiea. The earliest possible evidence for this dates to the late fourth century: an inscription found in Athens, with the upper line reading, Amphiaraos, Artikleides and Hygieia, accompanied by a relief on which Artikleides is crowned.<sup>422</sup> Furthermore, a mid-third century decree was found in the Agora, which bestowed honours upon the priest of Amphiaraos, possible a priest in an Athenian shrine to Amphiaraos.<sup>423</sup>

Amphiaraos' deified status became 'official' for the Romans at a later date. In the year 73 (still BC) an important event took place: Amphiaraos was officially, by Roman law at least, regarded as a god.<sup>424</sup> Oropos encountered some trouble from the *publicani* (tax farmers). These *publicani* believed they could still ask taxes from the Oropian territory because Amphiaraos was a hero (once mortal), and therefore his land was not tax exempt. After the Oropian envoys made their plea for the divinity of Amphiaraos, Sulla decided, in accordance with the advice given by his research council including Marcus Tullius Cicero, that Amphiaraos was a god and the sacred lands near Oropos did not need to pay taxes.<sup>425</sup> Cicero gives us an impression on how Amphiaraos was regarded in Greece:

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<sup>420</sup> Paus. 1.34.2. Some similar characteristics in the development between Amphiaraus and Trophonios are noted by several scholars. They both started out as underworld figures and seers, who eventually obtained healing capabilities (with snakes).

<sup>421</sup> Kearns (1989), 147, provides a short overview of the most important locations of worship to Amphiaraos. Most importantly in Rhamnous from the fourth century onwards, where he would be identified with the older Iatros (examples: IG II<sup>2</sup> 4436, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4452). And Piraeus had a festival dedicated to Amphiaraos in the third century (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1282). Possible there was another place of worship somewhere near Acharnai in the first century AD (see IG II<sup>2</sup> 1344) but there is little evidence. It should be noted that these were all *demes* of Athens.

<sup>422</sup> IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 450; Lambert (2012), 179 (Lambert-138).

<sup>423</sup> IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 901.

<sup>424</sup> Camp (2001), 323

<sup>425</sup> IOropos 308.

‘As for Amphiaraos, his reputation in Greece was such that he was honored as a god, and oracular responses were sought in the place where he was buried.’<sup>426</sup>

And yet, though Amphiaraos was honored as a god, this was not an easy clear-cut decision for Cicero. Decades later he still does not seem to have been convinced. In the *Natura Deorum* he asks himself: When is a hero divine? If someone was once a mortal, how could he become a god?<sup>427</sup> Cicero certainly made valid points and most likely the research council had debated tiresomely on this matter, but it was nevertheless decided: Amphiaraos was a god. The Oropians could happily continue their previous activities from the income of the sacred lands:

‘...ὡσαύτως τῷ θεῷ Ἀμφιαράωινν καθιερωκέναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας λιμένων τε τῶν Ὀρωπίωνν τὰς προσόδους ἀπάσας εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς θυσίας, ἃς Ὀρώπιοι συντελοῦσιν θεῷ Ἀμφιαράωι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἃς ἂν μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων συντελέσουσιν.’

‘...and similarly he consecrated to the god Amphiaraos all the income of the city and of the hinterland and of the harbours of the Oropians for the contests and the sacrifices that the Oropians perform for the god Amphiaraos; likewise for the sacrifices they may subsequently perform for the victory and the hegemony of the Roman people.’<sup>428</sup>

There was a catch. As we see in final line of the above quote, the Oropians are nudged into performing the victory and hegemony of the Roman people: let us not forget who were in charge here. Sulla certainly profited from this decision, even though he might have lost some taxes. Not only could the Oropians keep practicing their sacrifices and contests to Amphiaraos, the Roman hegemony would be celebrated as well. As Papazarkadas had summarized, history had repeated itself: ‘Sacred rentals for sacred celebrations with an eye on political manipulation.’<sup>429</sup> For Sulla, the revenues from the sacred land of Amphiaraos could be used for sacrifices and contests, for both Amphiaraos and the Roman hegemony. A politically sound decision in favor of expanding Roman power within Greek territory. Just as it was a sound decision for the Athenians a few centuries earlier to divide the land and dedicate a portion of this land to Amphiaraos in order to increase revenue for the sanctuary and its festivities, and with it possibly the Little Panathenaia as well (§4.4). In both cases, appropriation and accepting the divine

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<sup>426</sup> Cic. *Div.* 1.88

<sup>427</sup> Cic. *Nat. Deo.* III. 49.

<sup>428</sup> IOropos 308 ll.45-49. Translation by Papazarkadas (2011), n.136.

<sup>429</sup> Papazarkadas (2011), 51.

nature of Amphiaraos (either by crowning him or the Roman acknowledgement of his divinity) was politically, economically and religiously profitable.

### 5.5. Concluding remarks

Amphiaraos' story, the myth of the Seven against Thebes, remained popular in classical Athens, and would dominate his mythological narrative, even though in cult his healing capacities superseded his mythical persona. His cult spread throughout Attica from the fourth century onwards.

The crowning of Amphiaraos was the ultimate appropriation of Amphiaraos as an Athenian healing deity: it was an integral part within the civic-religious Athenian policy towards the Amphiareion at that time. He was now an honored citizen of Athens: foreign, and yet Athenian, enjoying certain privileges which otherwise might have been out of his reach as an originally extra-territorial deity in a disputed area.

The Athenians had again presented their authority: Amphiaraos was their deity, he assisted the Athenians first and foremost, the rest of the land followed. One more time we see a strong interconnection between the categories discussed in chapter one: the act of crowning Amphiaraos presented a new hierarchy with Athens at the top (*practice*), which firmly established a discourse of power and legitimacy over sanctuary and deity in favor of Athenian 'rightfully reclaimed' territory (*discourse*), which was inscribed for all to see and placed in the sacred landscape of the Amphiareion (*images*).

Lastly, even though the decision of Sulla chronologically falls outside of this research on religious strategies in the fourth century, it does serve as a striking illustration of the importance of Amphiaraos in the Greek world and deserved to be briefly mentioned. The desire for recognition of Amphiaraos' godliness was useful from a practical point of view, but the mere fact that the recognition was conceded by the Romans as to proceed the festivities and sacrifices, attests to the continuing popularity of the warrior prophet and doctor-god.

## **Conclusion. Discourses, practices and images in the Amphiareion**

Here I have discussed the case of the Amphiareion of Oropos, a small sanctuary in the border region. This city and the sanctuary experienced a turbulent history of Eretrian, Theban and Athenian control, with short moments of independence in between. The appealing location alongside the Euripus strait and the blooming healing sanctuary just around the corner, made the city and its territory a very alluring piece of land to possess and an attractive playground for the display of power, close to see for several large rival *poleis* on the border. The development of this border sanctuary could hardly be dislocated from its dynamic history of takeovers.

In the first chapter, I have discussed how the Athenian empire ‘used’ religion and politics more generally in the formation and maintenance of their power in the realms of discourses, practices and images. Already noted at that point, there is a clear overlap within these domains: practices, discourses and images reinforced each other. When discussing one sanctuary in its entirety, we see that these practices, discourses and images are interlinked, such as was the case in the Amphiareion. The crowning of Amphiaraos, for example, was both a reinvention and reformulation of the worship to Amphiaraos; it reinforced a discourse of the ‘Athenian-ness’ of the god and sanctuary, and at the same time the inscribed monumental stele was firmly and visible placed as an Athenian mark within the monumental landscape of the sanctuary. Moreover, the addition and repairs of several water-oriented buildings, the reorganization of the festival and the incorporation of the sanctuary into the system of Lykourgan laws are all part of a closely knitted Athenian policy to reclaim and secure this territory and sanctuary. The use of images, practices and discourse should not be considered apart from each other, but as complementary to each other.

We might have a clearer understanding of the meaning the sanctuary might have had for the Athenians in the fourth century if we could firmly assess Athenian involvement within the foundation of the sanctuary. Unfortunately this part of history is still clouded in much uncertainties. Nevertheless, the resurgence of Athenian interest (and Theban interest as well for that matter) after the following takeovers certainly at least attests to the profound value the territory, sanctuary and deity had. The Athenians were convinced that Oropos was part of Attic territory and held grievances when they lost it. As Demosthenes already had made very clear: Athens ‘ought’ to have Oropos. At least that is what the Athenians believed.

I have emphasized that the sanctuary should not be disassociated from its historical background during these two periods of Athenian control and indeed this knowledge made our

understanding of the importance of the area much more transparent. A firm establishment in a border sanctuary might have been strategically very beneficial, especially if we consider the increasingly Theban-Athenian hostilities. Moreover, it is not strange that the Amphiareion was such a flourishing place for Athenian investments during the Lykourgan era, a time when many politicians looked for a sense of security in the past, specifically the past of the fifth-century Athenian empire. They invested in order and splendor in religious life. Lykourgos certainly is one of the forerunners in this tendency, but so was Phanodemos in the Amphiareion. The Lykourgan resolutions quickly affected the recovered territory of Amphiaraos as well. Considering that the Amphiareion was originally established at the time of Athenian control in the fifth century, a sense past glory and the belief of lawful historical ownership may have crossed some minds.

In chapter one I shortly discussed Delos, the outermost border sanctuary of Attica (or at least on some occasions) and how images, practices and discourses worked together. A few similarities between the Athenian approach to Delos and Oropos does provide some room for discussion and further research. In both cases the Athenians present: 1) A focus on one deity as opposed to multiple, i.e. the crowning of Amphiaraos and the focus on Apollo, both in a historical/mythological accounts and in the monumental landscape. 2) The revival of a festival, the Delia and the Amphiareia. 3) The administrative reorganization and exploitation of the territory by way of sacred leases. One should not without reservations submit themselves to such comparisons: both sanctuaries should rather be discussed on their own terms and in consideration of their own historical background. However, it does provide us with some space for discussion on the general Athenian approaches towards border sanctuaries. It would most definitely be a fruitful research to explore and possibly compare the Athenian approaches to other border sanctuaries of Attica. And especially border sanctuaries for that matter. As meeting places between various groups of people, border sanctuaries have both the capability to define and transcend boundaries. Religion is not an instrument in this process but a negotiator.

We return for one final moment to the crowning of Amphiaraos. This should be considered as an integral part of the general Athenian policy towards the Amphiareion: to place a mark in the sanctuary and secure the territory and the deity at the same time. However, in the introduction I mentioned how religion was used as a common language on which various communities could reach out to each other. Amphiaraos like no other illustrates this matter. An originally Theban oracle turned healing deity, who was both a bit Boeotian, a bit Attic and a bit local, popular and adored by both Thebans, Oropians and Athenians. He transcended original identities and boundaries and even fostered a certain bond (at least an attempt to) when the

Athenians crowned him for the health and preservation of the Athenians and everyone in the country. Nonetheless let us not forget the explicit hierarchy of this act: first Amphiaraos must give his undivided attention to the Athenian people and their children and women, only then he may impart his benevolence to the other communities.



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## Appendix

### Overview of inscriptions discussed<sup>430</sup>

Inscription	Approximate dating consensus	Short description	Discussed in	Concordance/most recent discussions
Location found: Amphiareion				
IG I <sup>3</sup> 1475	Mid-6 <sup>th</sup> century	Dedication, made by Alexomenos.	§2.2	SEG 35.408
IOropos 334	Early 5 <sup>th</sup> century.	Dedication, made by the Athenian Strombichos.	§2.2	IG VII 3500 IG I <sup>3</sup> 1476
IOropos 276	First half 4 <sup>th</sup> century	Sacred Law, regulations within the sanctuary.	§4.1	LSCG <i>Suppl.</i> 35. Petropoulou A
IOropos 277	First half 4 <sup>th</sup> century	Sacred Law, regulations within the sanctuary.	§4.1	Petropoulou B LSCG 69 RO 27
IOropos 278	Fourth century.	Sacred Law, addition concerning the kind of animals sacrificed.	§4.1	SEG 47.488 Lupu (2003).
IOropos 290	First period of Athenian control (370-360s)	Restoration of the fountain and baths.	§4.1	Knoepfler (1986) Argoud (1985), 16-17.
IOropos 1	Either during Theban occupation or more likely during the short period of independence (338-335).	Proxeny decree for a Macedonian, Amyntas, son of Perdikkas. Granted by the Oropians.	§3.4	IG VII 4251 RO 75A
IOropos 2	Either during Theban occupation or more likely during the short period of	Proxeny decree for a Macedonian, Amyntas son of Antiochos. Granted by the Oropians.	§3.4	IG VII 4250 RO 75B

<sup>430</sup> Not every inscription mentioned in this thesis is listed here, only those discussed in more detail and specifically relating to Oropos/Amphiareion. For example: comparable inscriptions or similar ones found in other locations as mentioned in the footnotes are not part of this list. Nor is the concordance complete: I have included the most important and recent editions/discussions.

	independence (338-335).			
IOropos 295	333/332 BC	Honorific decree for Pytheas of Alopeke, water manager.	§4.2	IG VII 3499 IG II <sup>2</sup> 338 Schwenk 28 Lambert 15 Argoud (1985), 21-22.
IOropos 296	332/331 BC	Honorific decree for Amphiaraos: Amphiaraos is crowned.	§5.3	IG VII 4252 IG II <sup>3</sup> 1 349 Schwenk 40
IOropos 297	332/331 BC	Honorific decree for Phanodemos.	§4.3	IG II <sup>3</sup> 1 348 IG VII 4253 Schwenk 41 Lambert 16
IOropos 298	329/328 BC	Honorific decree for the managers of the (first enhanced) Amphiareia	§4.3	IG II <sup>3</sup> 1 355 IG VII 4254 Schwenk 50 Lambert 17
IOropos 299	328/327 BC	Dedication for Amphiaraos from the council, executed by a group of prominent Athenians.	§4.4	IG II <sup>3</sup> 1 360 Schwenk 56 Lambert 6
IOropos 291	335-322 BC	Fragmentary inscription on construction work	§4.2	
IOropos 292	335-322 BC	Construction of a drain in the sanctuary.	§4.2	IG VII 4255 Argoud (1985), 13.
IOropos 293	335-322 BC	Building operations in the sanctuary.	§4.2	SEG 39.442 Boiotika (1989) 245-252
IOropos 348	335-322 BC	Ephebic dedication.	§4.4	IG II <sup>3</sup> 4 346
IOropos 352	335-322 BC	Ephebic dedication.	§4.4	IG II <sup>3</sup> 4 344
IOropos 354	335-322 BC	Ephebic dedication.	§4.4	IG II <sup>3</sup> 4 345
I Oropos 360	335-322 BC	Dedication (bench) by a general.	§4.4	IG II <sup>3</sup> 4 322

IOropos 300	322/321 BC	Decree concerning the Amphiareion (one of the last of the period of Athenian control).	§3.5	IG II <sup>3</sup> 1 385 Schwenk 89
IOropos 308	73 BC	Roman letter concerning the dispute between the Oropians and Publicani (Amphiaraos is now considered a god).	§5.4	IG VII 413
Location: other				
IG II <sup>2</sup> 334	335-330 BC	Found: Athens. Two parts. Law and decree about the little Panathenaia (revenues from Nea).	§3.3 & 4.4	IG II <sup>3</sup> 1 447 RO 18 Lambert 7 Schwenk 17
IG II <sup>2</sup> 333	335-330 BC	Found: Athens. Regulation concerning revenues for cult objects.	§3.3 & 4.4	IG II <sup>3</sup> 1 445 Lambert 6 Schwenk 21
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1496	334-330 BC	Found: Athens. Account concerning the sales of skin.	§3.3 & 4.4	
IG II <sup>2</sup> 1672	329/8	Found: Eleusis. Account of the <i>epistatai</i> of Eleusis.	§3.4 & 4.4	
Agora I 6793	Ca. 330	Found: Agora. Decree concerning land dispute/boundaries of Aiantis and Aegeis.	§3.4	Papazarkadas (2009)
IG II <sup>3</sup> 1 449	Ca. 335-330.	Found: Agora. Decree concerning a festival, possibly Amphiareia.	§4.3	Walbank (1982)