ARCHĒGETĒS, OIKISTĒS, AND NEW-OIKISTĒS: THE CULTS OF FOUNDERS IN GREEK SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY

by

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Abstract

This study examines the archaeological, epigraphical, literary, and numismatic evidence for the cults of the founders in the Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily. A variety of gods and goddesses were considered to have played a role in the process of colonization; however, Apollo came to be considered the primary god of colonization. The colonists of these overseas settlements were led by the oikistēs, who was believed to have been sanctioned by Apollo. Apollo of Delphi’s involvement in colonization may have been a later phenomenon, since the ancient sources that refer to him as a god of colonization date to a later period, and the majority of colonization oracles appear to have been ‘after the fact.’ Regardless, many of the colonies of southern Italy and Sicily were considered to have been founded with Apollo’s guidance.

While this study found a clear relationship between the religious traditions of the metropolis/metropoleis and the cults of Apollo in the colonies of southern Italy and Sicily, Delphi’s influence on the establishment and nature of these cults is more ambiguous. The available evidence indicates that Apollo was not commonly worshipped as a founding god, but rather he was viewed as a symbolic founder of the colony. However, there is evidence that the dead founder-hero, the oikistēs, was worshipped in the agora. While the founder cult may have been established early in the history of the colony, the ‘burial’ of this figure in the agora appears to have been a later phenomenon, perhaps established around 600 BCE. Various rulers, including the Deinomenid tyrants, Dionysius II, and Timoleon, utilized the cult of the founder for political gain, and even projected themselves as new-oikistai.
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<td>RHR</td>
<td>Revue de l’Histoire des Religions</td>
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<tr>
<td>RSA</td>
<td>Rivista Storica dell’Antichità</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAnt</td>
<td>Sicilia Antiqua. An international Journal of Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMSR</td>
<td>Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni</td>
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<td>SCO</td>
<td>Studi Classici e Orientali</td>
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<td>SO</td>
<td>Symbolae Osloenses</td>
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<td>TAPS</td>
<td>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</td>
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<td>TRHS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</td>
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<td>WA</td>
<td>World Archaeology</td>
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<td>ZPE</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</td>
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Other Abbreviations

AA.VV. Various authors with no stated authors or editors.
BAR British Archaeological Reports
BTCGIT Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche
CAH Cambridge Ancient History
CID Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes
CIG Corpus inscriptionum graecarum
CIL Corpus inscriptionum latinarum
IG Inscriptiones graecae
IGDGG Dubois, L. (Ed.). *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de grande Grèce, vols. I-II*. (See bibliography for full details).
LIMC *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*.
SEG Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
S.I.S.A.C Società Italiana per lo studio dell’antichità classica.
Syll. Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum
A Note on Spelling

For ancient authors I have adhered to the Latin spellings (e.g. Thucydides instead of Thukydidès; Herodotus instead of Herodotos). In the case of ancient place names, I have transliterated the Greek letters kappa as ‘k’ and chi as ‘ch’ (e.g. Chalkidians). The only exception to this rule was my decision to use the more common form of Syracuse, instead of Syrakousai.
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To my parents
Introduction

The Problem

Apollo, especially the Delphic god, has been viewed by ancient Greek and Roman authors and modern scholars alike as having played a fundamental role in the foundation of Greek settlements, including those of southern Italy and Sicily (e.g. Herodotus 5.42; Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 55–57; Cicero, *On Divination*, 1.13; Menander, *Rhetoric*, 3.17; Pease, 1917; Dunbabin, 1948; Parke & Wormell, 1956; Forrest, 1957; Malkin, 1987; Londey, 1990). Scholars have questioned many of these traditional foundation stories; Delphi’s influence on early colonization has been re-evaluated, and the veneration of the *oikistēs* upon his death has often been viewed as a later invention (Defrades, 1954, pp. 233–234; Fontenrose, 1978, pp. 5, 142; Londey, 1990, 120–127; Osborne, 2004, pp. 29–36; J.-P. Wilson, 2006, pp. 49–51). While it is possible that both of these activities may have been later phenomena that have been projected back onto the early period of Greek colonization, it is striking that the evidence from the colonies themselves has not been thoroughly examined. With this question left open, it is worthwhile to evaluate the available evidence to determine the likeliest scenario. Furthermore, simply dismissing Apollo’s role in early Greek foundations, and that of the *oikistēs* as a later fabrication, prevents us from understanding the ‘bigger picture’—how these foundation stories were utilized in the colonies themselves.

It is reasonable to assume that if Apollo, and particularly his oracle at Delphi, was involved in early Greek colonization, that the colonial Greeks would continue to honour this connection to the god, perhaps by the establishment of cults of Apollo, offering dedications at Delphi, and displaying Delphic imagery upon their *poleis’* coinage (cf. Londey, 1990, p. 126). Until now there has been no systematic and comprehensive study on the cults of Apollo in southern Italy and Sicily.
to test this hypothesis.¹ This is not surprising given the number of sites that have evidence for his cults (27), and the sheer volume of data that are found littered throughout Italian journals. It is equally possible that, as Delphi’s fame rose, it was desirable for colonies to ‘create’ a more prestigious past, by connecting themselves to Apollo the founder. While many of these foundation stories may have been later inventions, there is considerable evidence that many poleis of southern Italy and Sicily considered a figure to be their oikistēs, and that this figure was the recipient of a cult (e.g. the Antiphemos inscription from Gela, see chapter three, pp. 288–289). The political leaders of southern Italy and Sicily realized that connecting oneself to both Apollo, the founding god, and the oikistēs was advantageous. Using the original oikistēs as a model, leaders, including the Deinomenids, projected themselves as new-oikistai. As a founder, a ruler could receive a posthumous hero cult, which laid the foundation for rulers to be honoured as heroes or even gods during their lifetime. The cults of the founders of the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily were fundamental in shaping the identity of the colonial Greeks, and they continued to be important long after the Delphic god was said to have sanctioned the earliest Greek settlements.

Previous Scholarship and Approaches

The majority of works that consider the cults of Apollo amongst the Western Greeks include articles and brief discussions in larger works written in the 1970s and 1980s that deal primarily with

¹ In contrast, a number of studies have been conducted on the cults of Apollo elsewhere in the Greek world including the Peloponnese (Dengate, 1988); Sparta (Pettersson, 1997); Asia Minor (Parke, 1985; Fontenrose, 1988), and Aegina (Hoffelner, 1999). Other important deities in the Western Greek world have been the focus of extensive studies, including Demeter (Zuntz, 1971; Cole, 1994) and Hera (de La Genière, 1997; Baumbach, 2004).
the cult at a particular site, with little or no synthesis. Notable exceptions include Giannelli’s (1963) *Culti e miti della magna grecia*, Valenza Mele’s (1977) article “Hera ed Apollo nella colonizzazione euboica d’Occidente,” and Reichert-Südbeck’s (2000) *Kulte von Korinth und Syrakus: Vergleich zwischen einer Metropolis und ihrer Apoikia*. While Giannelli’s (1963) work is indispensable for the cults of Apollo in Magna Graecia from a literary perspective, it is lacking a solid discussion of archaeological and epigraphic data. Valenza Mele’s article is a great starting point for an examination of the cults of Apollo in the Western Greek world, but it is limited to Euboean colonies. The more recent work by Reichert-Südbeck (2000) examines the cults of Apollo in a detailed manner, but it only deals with Syracuse and her *metropolis* of Korinth.

Malkin’s (1987) impressive work *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* examines both the role of Apollo in colonization and that of the *oikistēs*. Malkin’s study, although comprehensive, concentrates on Apollo’s role in the initial establishment of overseas settlements and does not explore the role of the Delphic Apollo throughout the history of these colonies. While Malkin’s work also explores the *oikistēs*, the evidence that is presented is mainly literary in nature, the archaeological evidence that is discussed is not always thorough, and numismatic depictions, with a few exceptions, are ignored. Furthermore, a number of important archaeological findings have come to light since this book was written over twenty years ago (e.g. the *heroōn* at Selinous, see chapter three, p. 306).

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2 For example, see Costabile, 1979 (Rhegion and Messene); de Waele, 1980, pp. 191–192 (Akragas); Malkin, 1986 (Naxos); and Camassa, 1987 (Rhegion).

3 Valenza Mele (1977) examines the role of both Hera and Apollo in the foundation of Euboean settlements in the west, and she suggests that Apollo acquired the position from Hera at a later date.
While there has been an increasing interest in the cult of the oikistēs (Leschhorn, 1984; Malkin, 1987; de Polignac, 1995; Antonaccio, 1999), much of the discussion is focused on the more abundant literary evidence. In addition to Malkin’s (1987) work discussed above, Leschhorn’s (1984) Gründen der Stadt: Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte, provides a good overview of the founders of Sicilian and south Italian poleis. The focus on this study is primarily literary, although archaeological data and numismatic depictions are dealt with in a cursory fashion. The main problem with Leschhorn’s study is that it fails to explore the role of the oikistēs in society, and in particular, this figure’s continuing relevance to tyrants and other political leaders who envisioned themselves as founders.

Scholarship has also been inclined to treat numismatic evidence in isolation, often downplaying or ignoring the importance of archaeological and epigraphic data for our understanding of the cults of founders (e.g. Kraay, 1976; Lacroix, 1965). Numismatic representations related to the Delphic Apollo and the oikistēs have not been examined in detail since Lacroix’s Monnaies et colonisation dans l’occident grec, published in 1965. This study suggests that there is a link between numismatic imagery of Apollo and the involvement of Delphi in the foundation of settlements. However, Lacroix failed to fully examine archaeological evidence to determine if there was, in fact, a connection between the imagery on a polis’ coinage and cult activity. Additionally, since this study first appeared, a number of numismatic dates have been called into question, and our understanding of numismatic iconography has become more sophisticated (Howego, 1995; Collin Bouffier, 2000). More recent works by Rutter (1997; 2001) have provided up-to-date information on the topic of the coinages of southern Italy and Sicily, providing revised dates and new interpretations of numismatic imagery.
Early studies of archaeology within an ancient colonial setting were often coloured by the colonial exploits of the French and British from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries which envisioned the submission of the indigenous culture to that of the dominant European one, and viewed the colony as subordinate to the homeland (van Dommelen, 1997; De Angelis, 1998; Lyons & Papadopoulos 2002; Gosden, 2004). With these views, the indigenous cultures of Southern Italy and Sicily were thought to have had little or no influence on the Greek colonists, and the colony was thought to be an inferior copy of that of the homeland. It must be noted, however, that Italian scholars have been more open to the idea of religious interaction than their German, French, and British counterparts (De Angelis, 2003a; forthcoming; De Angelis & Garstad, 2006). But on the whole, it is a relatively recent model of colonization in which indigenous cultures have been treated with greater appreciation, and have been credited with the ability to impact the so-called 'dominant' culture (Lyons & Papadopoulos, 2002; Given, 2004; Gosden, 2004).

The application of the 'middle ground' theory that envisions both cultures interacting to create something that is unique, neither purely Greek, nor purely indigenous, has drastically changed the way scholars view Greek and indigenous interaction (R. White, 1991; Gosden, 2004, pp. 30–32; Malkin, 2004, pp. 356–363). Furthermore, modern scholarship has realized that religion in an independent settlement is not an exact copy of what was found in the mother-city (Malkin, 1987; Berquist, 1992; de Polignac, 1995), and that the building types within Western Greek sanctuaries and architectural characteristics reflect the needs and resources of the settlers (Mertens, 1990; Miles, 1999). With these new models of culture contact in mind, the material from sites that were excavated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was re-evaluated. Furthermore, all excavation reports were examined to determine if there was any evidence of indigenous influence on the cults.
of Apollo in southern Italy and Sicily, and whether the religious practices of these overseas settlements differed from those of the homeland.

In the past sanctuaries were excavated with little or no analysis of the objects that were found. The meaning of the artifacts within the sanctuary and the belief systems of those who deposited them were not addressed (Wilkins, 1996). Renfrew’s (1985) publication on the cult of Phylakopi on Melos signaled a change in the study of sanctuaries through its use of anthropological theory and examination of the sanctuary’s development over time. The application of cognitive studies to archaeology has also provided the framework for sanctuaries to contribute to our understanding of material culture as a reflection of past beliefs and behaviours (Renfrew & Zubrow, 1994). The cross-cultural approach to religion advocated by scholars such as Johnston (2004) suggests that religion cannot be studied in isolation. The role of religion in mediation between the Greeks and indigenous populations has been the focus of more recent studies (de Polignac, 1995; Albanese Procelli, 2003). With these approaches in mind, I included the evidence for cults of Apollo at mixed communities in southern Italy and Sicily and attempted to determine if and how the cult of founders was utilized by non-Greeks. Utilizing these approaches as a framework for the examination of the cults of founders in southern Italy and Sicily was valuable because of the variety of ancient cultures that the Greeks came into contact with (e.g. Sikan, Sikel, Brett). This study has employed a holistic methodology, which utilizes every available source of evidence: archaeological data, inscriptions, numismatic iconography, and literary sources.4

4 The terms ‘holism’ and the ‘holistic approach’ were first coined by J. C. Smuts (1926) in his work entitled Holism and evolution: The original source of the holistic approach to life. The holistic approach involves studying the whole system rather than removing one part of system from its context and examining it in isolation. It typically involves the use of a variety of approaches (e.g. history, language, art, and literature) (Lassiter, 2006, pp. 37–38).
‘holistic approach’ can provide a balanced examination of the evidence for the presence and nature of the cults of founders. The context of archaeological materials was taken into account (e.g. *in situ* vs. unknown find-spot). I have made every attempt to use literary sources to supplement the more reliable archaeological and epigraphic data, although in many cases the only evidence we have is of a literary nature. In these instances, literary sources were evaluated based on when they were written, and the context of the source, to determine if they can be considered reliable.

**The Scope of the Present Project**

The evidence for the cults of founders has been evaluated for the Greek settlements of southern Italy and Sicily. The worship of Apollo at mixed communities (e.g. Messene during the Mamertine period) also have been explored. Settlements that were founded by the Syracusan tyrants elsewhere in Italy and the Adriatic have been dealt with in a cursory manner and have been included in appendix two (pp. 410–411). The emphasis is placed on materials that date from the time of foundation until ca. 280 BCE, although any relevant later material has been included. The year 280 BCE as a cut-off in order to exclude Hieron II of Syracuse, who expanded his empire to great heights. The re-foundations, foundations, and activities of Hieron II could be dealt with in a thesis on its own.

This study is divided into three chapters. The first chapter, entitled “The Process of Colonization,” examines how the ancient Greeks established their overseas settlements, and in particular the roles that the Greek gods and the *oikistçs* were thought to play in this process. The

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3A holistic approach provides a framework in which human actions and beliefs can be understood in a wider context, utilizing hard evidence, inference, and speculation (Parkin & Ulijaszek, 2007, p. xii).
function of oracles, especially Apollo's at Delphi, in early Greek colonization is explored. The authenticity of Delphic foundation oracles is addressed, and the purpose of 'after the fact' oracles is contemplated. While many gods and goddesses were thought to be involved in the process of colonization, Apollo, through his oracle at Delphi, came to be the primary god of colonization. As a result, many of the colonies of southern Italy and Sicily were considered to have been founded with his guidance.

Chapter two, “The Cults of Apollo in Southern Italy and Sicily,” provides a detailed examination of the archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, and literary evidence for the existence of the cults of Apollo in these settlements. The chapter is divided into two parts, “Part One: Euboean, Korinthian and Spartan colonies, Sub-colonies, and Later Foundations” and “Part Two: Rhodian-Kretan, Achaean, Megarian, and Phokaean Colonies, Sub-colonies, Later Foundations, and Mixed Settlements.” This study examines the relationship between the religious traditions of the metropolis/metropoleis and the cults of Apollo in the colonies of southern Italy and Sicily. Delphi’s influence on the establishment and nature of these cults is also explored. The development of the cults of Apollo, especially under the Syracusan tyrants and Timoleon, is considered. Finally, the depiction of Apolline imagery on coinage is examined in order to determine if this can be considered a reliable indication of the presence of a cult of Apollo.

The third chapter, “The Cults of the Oikistês and New-Oikistês of Southern Italy and Sicily,” evaluates the evidence for the cults of founders through an examination of archaeological evidence, literary sources, and numismatic iconography. The cult of the oikistês is placed within the wider context of the phenomenon of heroic cults. The nature and purpose of the oikistês cult in these settlements is considered. In particular, the use of the cult of the founder for political gain by various
rulers, especially the Deinomenid tyrants, is explored.

The conclusion, “The Cults of the Founders in Southern Italy and Sicily,” summarizes the findings of this study. The significance of these findings is placed within the larger context of the Greek world. Finally, topics for future studies are suggested.
Chapter One – The Process of Colonization

Introduction

Colonization was a process that was thought to involve the co-operation of a variety of Greek divinities. Deities including Apollo, Hera, Poseidon, and Zeus were associated with foundations. Oracular gods, especially Apollo, could have been consulted to provide advice for the prospective oikistēs (founder), and his colonists. Gods and goddesses associated with the sea and seafaring would have been appeased in order to ensure a safe passage for the colonists during their treacherous voyages to distant lands. Once the oikistēs and his colonists arrived at their destination, there would have been numerous challenges, including the physical layout of the settlement, the procurement of a sufficient food supply, and possible conflicts with native inhabitants and other Greeks. Hera, Athena, Apollo, and Demeter would have provided safety and security for the settlement and ensured the well-being of the new colonists. While many gods were thought to contribute to the process of colonization, it was Apollo, above all, who was considered the god of colonization, and who, along with his oracle at Delphi, became synonymous with colonization.

Methodology and Associated Problems

In order to determine the various roles that Greek gods played in the process of colonization, literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence (temples, altars, votive offerings) has been examined. While this ‘holistic’ approach has the potential to provide a great deal of information and a balanced viewpoint, it also has some disadvantages. Due to the sparseness of evidence for the early period of Greek colonization (the mid-to-late-eighth-century BCE), the data that are discussed date to later periods of time. However, this does not pose a problem, since Greek religion tended to be
very conservative (Bremmer, 1994, p. 8; Mikalson, 2005, pp. 23, 36). Sites, artifacts, and inscriptions that are discussed are from all over the Greek world, although all relevant examples from southern Italy and Sicily have been included. It was necessary to include sites outside of the Western Greek sphere to gain a comparative perspective on the relevant data from southern Italy and Sicily.

The Phenomenon of Colonization

In the mid-eighth-century and the early seventh century BCE Greeks sent out settlements to the Black Sea, and to the eastern and western Mediterranean. The use of the word ‘colonization’ is typically used to describe this phenomenon; however, it is not without problems. The ancient Greek concept of a colony (apoikia) is rather unlike our modern conception of the word, and it also should not be confused with a Latin colonia which was fundamentally different than an apoikia (Osborne, 1997, p. 252; 2004, p. 32; De Angelis, 1998, pp. 539–540; forthcoming; Antonnacio, 2007, pp. 203–204). The main difference is that colonies in the ancient Greek world were independent overseas settlements, lacking the political connections that modern colonies shared with

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1 The dates of early Greek colonization are continuously refined, as more archaeological evidence comes to light.

2 Osborne (1997) suggests that ‘colony’ should not be used to refer to Greek settlements (p. 253). De Angelis (forthcoming) proposes that better terms would be apoikia and “apoikiazation” The term ‘colony’ is used here, bearing in mind the distinction between ancient Greek and modern colonies. Similarly, use of the term ‘colonization’ refers only to the process of founding settlements and it should not be seen in the modern sense, as an act that typically involved the subjugation of peoples. Greek colonization resulted in a variety of outcomes ranging from complete co-operation to subjugation.

Ancient Greek colonization was also distinct from French and British colonization of the eighteenth-to-twentieth-centuries in its purpose. As Malkin (2004) notes, Greek colonists were not seeking to greatly expand their territories, but, “Rather, they conceived of colonization mainly in terms of “points” of settlement, of city-states, with fairly small territories” (p. 348; cf. Snodgrass, 2005, pp. 48–49). The new settlers did not arrive with the intention of converting the religious beliefs of the inhabitants, unlike the aims of European colonists (Malkin, 2004, p. 350; Snodgrass, 2005, p. 49). In addition, there was no mass exodus of people into ancient Greek colonies, as our evidence indicates that the original colonizing contingents were small (Graham, 1982, pp. 146–147; Cawkwell, 1992, p. 295; De Angelis, 2003b, pp. 40–57, 146–152). The original colonists may have been limited to adult males (Horden & Purcell, 2000, p. 379; however, cf. Graham, 1981–1982, esp. pp. 311–314), making intermarriage with native women not only common, but a necessity (Gwynn, 1918, p. 109; Morel, 1984, pp. 134–135; Coldstream, 1993, pp. 96, 101; Shepherd, 1999; Hall, 2004, pp. 40–41).

3 An exception to this independent status can occur with sub-colonies. As Malkin (1994a) points out, Kasmalai and Akrai, the sub-colonies of Syracuse, were dependent upon the mother city (p. 1).

4 For a general account of how “Greeks” understood foreign religions, see Rudhardt, 2002.

5 As Graham (1982) suggests, it is quite possible that once the original colonists arrived, more people were sent from the homeland (pp. 146–147). This secondary influx of people could have included women and children.
The reasons behind Greek colonization are contentious and have been much discussed, with little or no consensus from scholars. Early theories suggested that the impetus for colonization was a population increase and the inability of resources to keep up with the demand, a phenomenon often referred to as ‘land hunger’ (Gwynn, 1918, pp. 89, 91, 121; Graham, 1964, p. 5; 1982, p. 157). Related to this theory is the idea that ‘land hunger’ was brought on by a crisis. Camp (1979) hypothesizes that it was an extensive drought in the late-eighth and early-seventh centuries that provided the impetus for colonization (pp. 397–398). Cawkwell (1992) suggests that it was not one drought, but a series of droughts, ‘a climatic disaster’, that made it necessary for people to emigrate (pp. 297–298, 301–302).

Other models view commercial incentives and socio-political circumstances as factors that led to colonization. Commercial motivations, including the procurement of materials, and the production and export of goods have been suggested as the impetus for colonization (Blakeway, 1933, pp. 170–171, 202; Boardman, 1980, pp. 162–163). The search for raw materials, especially metals, has been postulated as a possible explanation for colonization (Boardman, 1980, p. 162; 2001, pp. 34, 36), but this view has drawn heavy criticism (Graham, 1982, p. 103; Treister, 1996, pp. 178–181). The hypothesis that overseas settlements were founded to enhance trade networks has also fallen under attack (Graham, 1982, pp. 158–159; Cawkwell, 1992, pp. 296–297). It is possible that in some cases socio-political considerations may have resulted in colonization. Political conflicts or the presence of a disenfranchised portion of the population may have made it alluring for a segment of the population to leave for a new homeland (Dougherty, 1993b, p. 17; Qviller, 1996, pp. 178–181).

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6 Camp (1979) suggests that a number of wells from the Athenian Agora were filled in during this time, suggesting a drought (pp. 397–398). Camp (1979) also points to increased dedications in a sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios, a god particularly connected with rainfall (p. 399).
It is quite likely that there was no single specific ‘reason’ for the foundation of all Greek colonies; political and commercial considerations may have been the impetus for one colony, and agricultural crises the reason for the foundation of another (cf. Coldstream, 2004, p. 50).

The nature of the colonies themselves has also been the subject of debate. Scholars have suggested that early Greek colonies were either state-organized enterprises (Gwynn, 1918, p. 100), or that they could be either private or state led (Graham, 1964, pp. 7–8). A more recent view is that while state-sponsored colonies were characteristic of later periods, the majority of early colonial settlements were undertaken by individuals (Osborne, 1997, pp. 254–257, 268). Many colonies have evidence of pre-colonial contact which indicates that the creation of a permanent settlement was often a lengthy process (Osborne, 1997, pp. 257–258). This implies that fixed foundation dates found in literary sources were a later conception (Osborne, 1997, pp. 264–265).

**Founding Gods**

i) Apollo

Of all the gods, Apollo was most intimately linked with colonization. As an oracular god, he was thought to guide colonists to new lands, often selecting the *oikistēs*, the leader of the colonizing expedition and founder of the colony, and providing advice on where to settle. It was under his guise as *archēgetēs*, leader or founder of a city, that Apollo was the primary god of colonial foundations (Detienne, 1990, p. 303). Throughout the colonial world, Apollo *Archēgetēs* was worshipped, including at settlements in Libya, Sicily, and southern Italy (Farnell, 1907, p. 200; Pease, 1917, pp. 111–112; Malkin, 1987, p. 246; see table 10). Ancient literary sources refer to Apollo’s role in the foundation of cities. Menander (*Rhetoric*, 3.17) noted that Apollo at Delphi and
Didyma was responsible for colonizing in Libya, the Hellespont and the east. Callimachus (Hymn to Apollo, 55–57) wrote: “And Phoebus it is that men follow when they map out cities. And Phoebus evermore delights in the founding of cities, and Phoebus himself doth weave their foundations” (Mair & Mair (Trans.), 1955). Apollo even declared himself to be the founder of Thurii when the polis consulted his oracle at Delphi over a dispute concerning who should be named the city’s founder (Diodorus Siculus 12.35.3; see chapter two, p. 170). Apollo was also credited with the actual construction of cities, including a joint venture with Poseidon that resulted in the fortification walls of Troy (Pindar, Olympian 8, 31–33; Homer, Iliad, 21. 441–447; Pausanias 1.42.1–2). Furthermore, Apollo was a deity who was believed to provide protection for groups that were in transition, including those that were moving to new lands (de Polignac, 1998, p. 25). Apollo’s connection to the process of colonization may have been a factor in the popularity of his cults in colonial contexts (see chapter two).

ii) Hera

Hera was also considered an important deity involved in the colonizing movement. A passage in Homer (Odyssey, 7.69–72) indicates that Hera acted as guide for Jason and the Argonauts on their journey through perilous waters (Valenza Mele, 1977, p. 503; Parisi Presicce, 1985, p. 63).

7 The passage in Pindar (Olympian 8, 31–33) states: “Leto’s son and wide-ruling Poseidon, as they were preparing to crown Ilion with battlements, summoned to help build the wall” (Race (Trans.), 1997). In Homer (Iliad 21.445–447), Zeus said “I verily built for the Trojans round about their city a wall wide and exceeding fair, that the city might never be broken; and thou, Phoebus, didst herd the sleek kine of shambling spurs of wooded Ida the many ridged” (Murray (Trans.), 1925). The passage in Pausanias (1.42.2) refers to the construction of a fortification wall at Megara by Alkathoos and Apollo: “...Apollo laid his lyre when he was helping Alcathous in the building” (Jones & Ormerod (Trans.), 1918).
An inscription from Samos (IG XII. 6 1, Samos 4) that refers to Hera as *Archegetês* or founder, also indicates she was closely associated with foundations (Valenza Mele, 1977, p. 503). The idea that Hera had a fundamental role in Euboean colonization was first explored by Valenza Mele (1977), who suggested that Hera was the colonists' primary deity concerned with colonization, whose influence was later superseded by Apollo due to the influence of Delphi (pp. 506, 509). This hypothesis has been refuted by De Polignac (1998), who argues that there is no evidence of a competition between Hera and Apollo as founding gods (pp. 25–28). Scholars have noted the prevalence of Hera in Euboean colonies, which has led them to conclude that she had a leading role in Euboean colonization (Valenza Mele, 1977, pp. 498–507, Loicq-Berger and Renard, 1982, p. 97); however, as De Polignac (1998) observes, cults of Hera appear in many colonial settlements, not just those of the Euboeans (p. 24). The importance of Hera in colonization is also echoed by Parisi Presicce (1985) who suggests that Hera acted as a guiding divinity for travelers, and, therefore, played an important role in colonization (p. 64). Hera’s sphere of influence in the colonies was presumed to extend to her care of those traveling by sea, as well as her role in marriage and procreation, which ensured the survival of the colonial settlement (see discussion below, pp. 56–57).

iii) Poseidon and Zeus

Poseidon and Zeus were also gods who were associated with foundations. As previously mentioned, Poseidon helped Apollo build the walls of Troy (Homer, *Iliad*, 24.441–447), and in

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8 The inscription (IG XII. 6 1, Samos 4, lines 15–16) reads: [τῷ ἑρώτι τῆν ἀρχηγε] [τυδος τῆς πόλεως Ήρας (cf. IG XII 6 1, Samos 349, line 2).

9 Central to this argument is an inscribed disc of unknown provenance, but believed to have come from Kyme (Jeffery, 1990, pp. 238, 240, no.5; see chapter two, p.77, figure 14).
Pindar’s *Pythian Four* (5–8; 15–16; 33–40) he recounts the foundation of Kyrene with Apollo, Poseidon, and Zeus appearing as founding gods (Calame, 2003, pp. 63–65). In Pindar’s poem, Kyrene’s foundation came under the control of Poseidon in his guise as a god “who holds the earth,” and he was involved in the creation of the city, and providing stability for it (Calame, 2003, pp. 63–64). Apollo is presented as the god who sends out the colonial expedition, led by Battus, the *oikistēs* of Kyrene. Zeus watches over this undertaking, just as his eagles protect the *omphalos*, or navel, at Delphi (Calame, 2003, p. 64). Although there appears to be little evidence that Zeus was associated with foundations when the Greeks first began colonizing in the west, there are a number of inscriptions from the Hellenistic period that refer to Zeus as an *oikistēs* or *archēgetēs* (Leschhorn, 1984, p. 366, nos. 45–49).

**Oracles and Colonization**

Colonization was a lengthy and dangerous process, and it would likely have been viewed as involving the co-operation and protection of numerous Greek divinities. Prior to colonization, an oracle may have been consulted in order to seek the advice of the god, and it could be used to legitimize a settlement’s foundation when it was approved by the god (Pease, 1917, p. 17; Malkin, 1987, pp. 6, 27; Londey, 1990, p. 118). If there was a desire to found a colony, the *oikistēs* could ask where the colonists should settle, or if the oracle approved of a pre-chosen site (Pease, 1917, p.18; Londey, 1990, p. 120). Consulting the god could help secure the success of the journey and the survival of the settlement. By the time of Herodotus, it was commonplace to consult the oracle at Delphi prior to sending out a colonial expedition. A passage in Herodotus (5.42–43) recounted the fate of the *oikistēs* Dorieus of Sparta:
[Dorieus] asked the Spartans for a group of people whom he took away as colonists. He neither inquired of the oracle at Delphi in what land he should establish his settlement, nor did anything else that was customary but set sail in great anger for Libya, with men of Thera to guide him. When he arrived there, he settled by the Cinyps river in the fairest part of Libya, but in the third year he was driven out by the Macae, the Libyans and the Carchedonians and returned to the Peloponnesus (Godley (Trans.), 1920).

Although the oracle of Apollo at Delphi was connected with the successful foundation of overseas settlements, it is possible that other oracles, such as Zeus at Dodona and the Apolline oracles at Didyma and Delos, were also involved in colonization.

i) The Delphic Oracle

Apollo’s oracle at Delphi was intimately linked with Greek colonization (see figure 4). Scholars have suggested that the numerous colonies founded throughout the Greek world called ‘Apollonia’ or with other names referring to Apollo were a reflection of the Delphic god’s role in the colonizing process (Farnell, 1907, p. 162; Pease, 1917, p. 12; Forrest, 1957, p. 165; Burkert, 1985, p. 9). However, as Shachar (2000) has illustrated, there is no evidence that Apolline colony names were chosen because of Apollo’s involvement in their foundation. Instead, he suggests that the presence of such names is indicative of Apollo’s influence in the sphere of colonization in general (p. 22). Certainly ancient authors believed that there was a close association between

10 However, Londey (1990) suggests “If his failure to consult Delphi was considered odd and remiss (as Herodotus implies), then this was not because all Greeks consulted Delphi before colonizing, but rather because Dorieus was Spartan, and Sparta was one state which did have close ties with Delphi” (pp. 126–127). Regardless, this account illustrates that during Herodotus’ time Delphi was connected with colonization. A different view is offered by Osborne (1997), who suggests that this story illustrates the use of theme of Delphic consultation for political purposes instead of implying that it was commonplace to consult Delphi prior to founding colonies (p. 267).
colonization and oracles, especially with Apollo's oracle at Delphi (Herodotus. 5.42; Cicero, *On Divination*, 1.1.3; see below, p. 26).

The evidence from Delphi itself indicates the presence of a modest sanctuary during the eighth century BCE, when Western Greek colonization began. Although there is no substantial evidence for a temple before the middle of the seventh century (C. Morgan, 1990, p. 132), votive offerings have been found that date to the end of the ninth or beginning of the eighth century BCE (C. Morgan, 1990, pp. 126, 129–30, 137, 139; Pedley, 2005, p. 136). According to Defradas (1954), Delphi had no role in early Greek colonization since the sanctuary was not important enough to be consulted until the beginning of the sixth century BCE (pp. 233–234). Similarly, Fontenrose (1978) suggests that all early colonizing oracles were later inventions, since the oracle was not established until 600 BCE (pp. 5, 142). Recently J.-P. Wilson (2006) proposed that Delphi's role was not as extensive as the ancient sources imply, and it was in the course of the seventh century BCE that the sanctuary became increasingly important (p. 51). Although it is true that the sanctuary becomes more substantial in the seventh century BCE, the oracle may have been established in the eighth century BCE. Catherine Morgan (1990) notes that there was an intensification of cultic activity seen at Delphi in the mid-eighth century or the last quarter of the

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11 These early artifacts, including pottery and bronze items, were found in a votive dump along the Sacred Way (C. Morgan, 1990, p. 129).

12 Fontenrose (1978) considers the foundation oracles for Syracuse, Kroton, Taras, and Gela to be “questionable responses” (pp. 137–144).

13 This sentiment is also expressed by C. Morgan (1990) who notes that during the seventh century the sanctuary expanded and attracted more worshippers (p.125).

14 Based on the presence of roof tiles, the first temple seems to have been constructed around the mid-seventh-century BCE (C. Morgan, 1990, pp. 132–133).
eighth century BCE, and that this likely coincided with the establishment of the oracle (p. 134). Londey (1990) prefers to place the establishment of the oracle in the early eighth century when votive offerings are first seen (p. 123).

Based on archaeological findings, the first poleis to make offerings at Delphi were Korinth, Chalkis, Sparta, and possibly Messenia (C. Morgan, 1990, p. 151; cf. Pedley, 2005, p. 136). The earliest Western Greek colony associated with the oracle at Delphi in the literary tradition is Syracuse (Korinthian), with a traditional founding date of 734–733 BCE and an archaeological date of 750–725 BCE\(^{15}\) (Thucydides, 6.3.2; Graham, 1982, p. 162; Pelagatti, 1982, pp. 124–128; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 173; see chapter two, pp. 99–100).\(^{16}\) Four other Western Greek poleis have Delphic foundation oracles: the Chalkidian colony of Rhegion, the Achaean colony of Kroton, the Spartan colony of Taras, and the joint Rhodian and Kretan colony of Gela, although the presence of an altar of Apollo Archêgetês at Naxos also hints at Delphic involvement (see chapter two, pp. 81–82). The eighth century BCE colonies that are associated with the oracle were founded by areas that were geographically close to Delphi: Korinth (Syracuse), Achaea (Kroton), and Chalkis (Zankle and Rhegion) (Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p.78). Due to the early dedications made at Delphi that may indicate the oracle was in operation at this time, and the close proximity of these metropoleis to Delphi, the potential exists for the oracle to have been consulted

\(^{15}\) De Angelis (2003b) notes that although pottery has aided in the establishment of relative dates the absolute chronology of colony foundations is far from as certain as Graham suggests, and that using dates that are provided in our ancient literary sources to support this absolute chronology is a circular argument (p. 16 note 44).

\(^{16}\) The oracles associated with Syracuse are found in a variety of ancient sources: Pausanias 5.4.3; Diodorus Siculus 5.3.5; Vergil, Aeneid, 3.692 ff.; Strabo 6.2.4; Aelian fr. 1316 = Suda s.v. Archias. The Marmor Parium (FGrrH 239) suggests a date in the middle of the eighth century for the foundation of Syracuse (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen, and Ampolo, 2004b, p. 224).
prior to a foundation; however, it is impossible to say with certainty that this was the case. In fact, it is equally possible that these foundation oracles were later inventions used to legitimize the cities’ foundations, as some scholars suggest (Defradas, 1954, pp. 233–234; Fontenrose, 1978, pp. 140–141; J.-P. Wilson, 2006, pp. 50–51).

The authenticity of Delphic colonizing oracles has often been questioned by scholars (Defradas, 1954, pp. 233–257; Parke & Wormell, 1956a, pp. 49–79; Fontenrose, 1978, pp. 137–144; J.-P. Wilson, 2006, pp. 49–51). In many cases, it is difficult to determine if there is any historical truth to the foundation legends (cf. Osborne, 2004, 29–30, 36–38). Dougherty (1992) suggests that foundation narratives were a reflection of societal values and cares, and they were less concerned with providing a historical account of past events (p. 29). Some oracles are clearly post eventum, later inventions, because they explain the origin of the settlement’s name, or they attempt to account for historical events. Usually more than one version of a foundation oracle is preserved for each colony, and in some cases, one of them may have some historical basis and the others may be later inventions. Although the stories that these foundation oracles preserve are in many cases later additions, they may reflect some historical details, including the metropolis or metropoleis involved in the foundation (cf. Osborne, 2004, p. 36), and the name of the figure considered the oikistēs (see chapter three); however, it is impossible to know if Delphi played a role in these foundations. In reality, whether or not Delphi was involved is immaterial; what is significant is that these poleis considered this to be a fact and, in essence, the oracles became part of their history.

17 Similarly, the issue of myth reflecting historical fact has been addressed by scholars (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1987; Chappell, 2006, pp. 340–341). Sourvinou-Inwood (1987) suggests that Greek myths are a reflection of society, “But they are not ‘true’ narrative accounts of past events (though they present themselves in that guise) and they should not be taken at face value and assumed to contain descriptions of past realities—as they sometimes are” (p. 215).
Even if Delphi was involved in the foundation of the early Greek colonies in southern Italy and Sicily, the foundation oracles that are preserved in the surviving ancient sources appear to be later inventions.\textsuperscript{18} One \textit{post eventum} oracle for the joint Rhodian and Kretan foundation of Gela attempted to explain the unusual name of the settlement. The brothers Antiphemos and Lakius consulted Delphi, and Lakius was told to sail to the sunrise and found the colony of Phaselis. Antiphemos laughed at this, and he was told to sail to the sunset and found Gela, named after the Greek verb 'to laugh'\cite{Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Gela; cf. Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p. 64; 1956b, p. 166, no. 410}.\textsuperscript{19} An unusual tradition involving the foundation of Kroton has the \textit{oikistēs}, Myskellos, following the oracle’s advice,\textsuperscript{20} but when he came upon Sybaris, he wished to found his colony there instead \cite{Diodorus Siculus 8.17; Strabo 6.1.12; Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p. 70; 1956b, nos. 43–45; Fontenrose, 1978, p. 140}. He consulted the Pythia again, and was told: “Myscellus [sic], too short of back, in searching things other than god commands, thou seekest naught but tears. Approve the gift the god doth give” \cite{Diodorus Siculus 8.17; Oldfather (Trans), 1939; cf. Strabo 6.1.12}. Parke and Wormell \cite{1956a} suggest this oracle is a later invention because of the unusual situation of a human questioning the order of a god, and because it makes reference to the rivalry

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\textsuperscript{18} There are foundation oracles for five \textit{poleis} in southern Italy and Sicily: Gela \cite{Diodorus Siculus 8.23; Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Gela}, Kroton \cite{Diodorus Siculus 8.17; Strabo 6.1.12 = Antiochus of Syracuse \textit{FGrH} 555 fr. 10}, Rhegion \cite{Strabo 6.6.1; Heraclides Lembos 55; Diodorus Siculus 8.23}, Syracuse \cite{Pausanias 5.7.3; Strabo 6.2.4; Aelian fr. 316 = Suda s.v. \textit{Archias}}, and Taras \cite{Strabo 6.3.2 = Antiochus of Syracuse, \textit{FGrH} 5554, 247; Pausanias 10.10.6}.
\end{flushleft}

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\textsuperscript{19} Antiphemos was the recipient of an \textit{oikistēs} cult at Gela \cite{see chapter three, pp. 288–291}.
\end{flushleft}

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\textsuperscript{20} See chapter two, p. 175.
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between Kroton and Sybaris, that eventually resulted in the destruction of Sybaris in 510 BCE (pp. 70–71).

A foundation oracle preserved for Taras indicates that the Tarentines were to be a ‘plague on’ the local inhabitants, the Iapygians; however the oracle also stated that Phalanthos and his colonists “were welcomed by both the barbarians and the Cretans [sic] who had previously taken possession of the place” (Strabo 6.3.2 *apud* Antiochus *FGrH* 5554. 13; Jones (Trans.), 1923). Although this oracle suggests that the natives and Greek settlers were on friendly terms, other sources indicate that they had strained relations from the beginning (Herodotus, 11.1.136; Ephorus, *FGrH* 70 F 216 = Strabo 6.3.3–4; Justin, 3.4; cf. Malkin, 1994b, pp. 118–119). Malkin (1994b) suggests that after the events of the First Messenian War, the Spartans may have preferred an oracle that could exonerate them from their violent actions, and, therefore, ‘found’ an oracle that could provide this justification (pp. 126–127).

Malkin’s argument is more convincing than that of Fontenrose (1978), who proposes that the oracle is fictitious because Sparta would not be consulting the oracle for an important matter such as colonization at such an early date (p. 141). However, archaeological evidence indicates that Sparta was one of the earliest cities to make dedications in the sanctuary (C. Morgan, 1990, p. 151; see above, p. 20); and Sparta had a close relationship with Delphi since it had sacred ambassadors who were entrusted with Delphic prophecies (Malkin, 1989, p. 137). It is possible that the Spartans, who were visiting the sanctuary at an early date, may have consulted the oracle (if, in fact, it was established at this time!) on colonization. Additionally, it was advantageous for Taras to have such

21 Malkin (1994b) notes that this terminology also appears in Homer (*Iliad*, 22. 421–422), in the context that Achilles is to be a “plague on the Trojans” (pp. 122–123). The full foundation oracle can be found in chapter two, p. 137.
an oracle because it could excuse the violent actions against the native populations, since the activity was sanctioned by Apollo (Malkin, 1994b, pp. 115, 126; Dougherty, 1993b, p. 158). If so, it is possible that this *post-eventum* oracle was contemporary with the two Tarentine monuments of the first half of the fifth century BCE (Jacquemin, 1999, p. 70) dedicated at Delphi that commemorate victories over the native populations (cf. Hernández Martínez, 2004, p. 88; see chapter two, p. 154). This oracle may have been concocted to provide justification to the Greek world of Taras’ violent ways.

A foundation oracle that involves Kroton and Syracuse is clearly *post eventum* (Strabo 6.2.4; Aelian fr. 316 = Suda s.v. Archias; cf. Parke & Wormell, 1956a, pp. 68–69; 1956b, p. 94, no. 229; Fontenrose, 1978, p. 138). According to Strabo (6.2.4):

> It is said that Archias went to Delphi at the same time as Myscellus, and when they were consulting the oracle, the god asked them whether they chose wealth or health; now Archias chose wealth, and Myscellus health; accordingly, the god granted to the former to found Syracuse, and to the latter Croton (Jones, (Trans.), 1924).

This oracle suggests that the foundations of these two colonies were contemporary; however, the archaeological evidence and the traditional foundation date indicates that this is false (Graham, 1982, pp. 160, 162).²² The oracle also refers to Kroton’s later fame for doctors and Syracuse’s wealth, features of these cities that did not arise until the beginning of the fifth century BCE (Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p. 69; Lacroix, 1965, pp. 158–161).

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²² That Syracuse was founded *ca.* 750–725 BCE is suggested by archaeological material, and the earliest archaeological material from Kroton dates to 725–700 BCE. The traditional foundation date for Kroton is 709 BCE, and that of Syracuse is 734/733 BCE (Graham, 1982, pp. 160, 162). For the problems associated with absolute dating for colonies see above, p. 20 note 15.
Invented oracles could provide justification for a colony’s actions, as discussed above, and they could also enhance the reputation of the settlement and promote civic pride. A connection to Delphi created a certain ‘pedigree’ for the settlement because of the site’s fame (Nilsson, 1972, p. 140). Furthermore, the creation of a foundation history, whether historical or legendary, enabled a settlement to develop its own identity. Greek settlers in Sicily and southern Italy would have confronted various native populations, who would likely have had their own well-established traditions, all factors which may have prompted the colonial Greeks to ‘create’ their own history (J.-P. Wilson, 2006, p. 41). Many of the Western Greek colonies contained people from different cities in the homeland, people from different social classes, in addition to native women, which may have necessitated the establishment of a common identity amongst these community members. The invention of traditions could help establish a connection between members of a society (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 9). In addition, connecting one’s polis to Delphi, the centre of the world according to Greek tradition (Strabo, 9.3.6; cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 409 e; see figure 5), and the home of the most famous oracle in the ancient world, would give the Western Greek settlements a sense

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23 Nilsson (1972) suggests that stating that an oracle came from Delphi made it more important (p. 140).

24 J.-P. Wilson (2006) notes that Greek settlers would have been ‘forced’ to consider and to explain their origins (p. 41).

25 For example, Gela was founded by Rhodians and Kretans (see chapter two, pp. 162–163).

26 For example, Syracuse’s founder was Archias, a Bakchiad from Korinth, and his colonists consisted of people from Tenea (see chapter two, pp. 98–99).

27 Strabo (9.3.6) stated “For it is almost in the centre of Greece taken as a whole...and it was also believed to be in the centre of the inhabited world, and the people called it the navel of the earth” (Jones (Trans.), 1927).
of civic pride and help develop their identity, both at a civic level and in the Greek world at large (C. Morgan, 1990, p. 174; Dougherty & Kurke, 2003, p. 10; Hall, 2003, pp. 27–30).

ii) The Oracle of Zeus Naios at Dodona

A possible candidate for oracular consultation for colonizing matters was the oracle of Zeus Naios at Dodona. This oracle was considered to be the oldest in the Greek world (Homer, Iliad, 2. 750; 16.234). Here the word of Zeus was given by the rustling of oak leaves or branches, the ringing of bronze vessels, and possibly the cooing of doves (Sophocles, Trachiniae, 155; Flacelière, 1965, pp. 15–16; Parke, 1967, pp. 27–29; 1972, p. 24; Dakaris, 1998, p. 14). Artifacts dating to the Geometric period, including tripod fragments, figurines and fibulae, have been interpreted as dedications to Zeus,28 confirming the oracle’s early establishment (Parke, 1967, p. 99). Material evidence for the consultation of Zeus’ oracle prior to colony foundations is very scanty. A passage in Cicero (On Divination, 1.1.3) lumps Delphi, Dodona, and Ammon together when discussing pre-colonial oracular consultations: “And when was there ever an instance of Greece sending any colony into Aeolia, Ionia, Asia, Sicily or Italy, without consulting the Pythian or Dodonaean oracle, or that of Jupiter Hammon [sic]?” (Yonge (Trans.), 1853). There is no evidence, other than this mention by Cicero, that Ammon was involved in colonization (Parke, 1967, p. 129), and it is possible that this is simply a case of Cicero ‘getting his facts wrong’ concerning Dodona and Ammon.

There is, however, a story in the literary tradition that links Dodona to the colonial ambitions of Galeotes, a son of Apollo and Themisto (a daughter of King Zabios of the Hyperboreans), and

28 Parke (1967) notes that Archaic dedications include tripods, doves, and a bronze statuette of Zeus holding a thunderbolt. Inscribed dedications to Zeus do not appear until the Classical period (pp. 99–100).
Telmessos, another son of Apollo (Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Galeotai; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 1.21). In this colonization legend, the two half-brothers consulted the oracle of Zeus at Dodona at the same time. Telmessos was told to sail to the sunrise, and Galeotes was told to sail to the sunset until they both came to a place where an eagle snatched away the limbs of an animal they were sacrificing. Galeotes sailed to Sicily, and Telmessus sailed to Karia where he founded a sanctuary to Apollo Telmessios. Parke (1967) proposes that this legend is not authentic and that it was invented at the time King Pyrrhus, who attempted to conquer Sicily (p. 179). If this oracle is dismissed as *ex eventu*, there is very little evidence that Dodona was consulted by prospective colonists.

The only city that could claim to be founded with the aid of Dodona was Korinth (Suda s.v. *panta okto*; Scholiast of Pindar, *Nemean* 7, 155; Duris *FGrH* 76 f. 84; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 1. 48; cf. Vokotopoulou, 1991, pp. 73, 79). According to tradition, Aletes consulted the oracle about the monarchy at Korinth, and he was given the response that he would conquer Korinth when someone gave him a ‘clod of earth’ and he was to attack on a day of ‘many garlands.’ He wandered to Korinth and asked a local man for some bread, and the man gave him a clod of earth instead. When Aletes arrived, the city was celebrating a festival for the dead and the citizens were placing garlands upon their ancestors’ tombs. Aletes came upon a daughter of the ruler who betrayed the city for the hand of Aletes, and Aletes took over the city (Scholiast on Pindar, *Nemean* 7, 155). According to the Suda (s.v. *panta okto*), it was Aletes who was responsible for the founding of Korinth, through his

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29 Parke (1967) has a full discussion of the tradition of Aletes (pp. 129–131).
synoecism of the eight tribes of the region (cf. Robertson, 1980, p. 5).  

Although there is no evidence for Dodona playing a role in colonization, it was certainly involved in dispensing advice on navigation for the Adriatic and the west as early as the sixth century BCE (Prestianni Giallombardo, 2002). Numerous lead tablets with oracular questions have been found at Dodona, ranging in date from the mid-sixth-century BCE to the late third century CE and of these fourteen involve Greek poleis from Magna Grecia and Sicily, and ethnic Italic peoples (Vokotopoulou, 1991, pp. 77–78). The oracle at Dodona was consulted by individuals from the Greek poleis of Taras, Metapontion, Kroton, Sybaris, Thurii, Syracuse, and possibly Herakleia (Vokotopoulou, 1991, pp. 78, 81, 83–84, 86; Prestianni Giallombardo, 2002, pp. 124–127). While no tablets specifically relate to colonization, one lead tablet refers to sailing to Syracuse and mentions an emporion (SEG 43. 330), and another inscription mentions sailing to Sicily (SEG 43. 329) (Vokotopoulou, 1991, pp. 84, 86, nos. 12–13, fig. 4a–b; Prestianni Giallombardo, 2002, pp. 125–126; Eidinow, 2007, pp. 77, 79, nos. 9, 17).  

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30 The act of synoecism, or bringing together communities, was also employed by the Sicilian tyrants who envisioned themselves as founders (see chapter three, pp. 253–256).

31 The tablet reads: “God, Ariston asks Zeus Naios and Dione whether it is better and more good for me and if I will be able to sail to Syracuse, to the colony, later?” (Eidinow, 2007, p. 79, no. 17). This tablet dates to the beginning of the third century BCE.

32 The inscription states: “God...Good Luck. Archonidas asks the god whether I should sail into Sicily?” (Eidinow, 2007, p. 77, no. 9). This tablet dates to ca. 375 BCE.

33 A number of these lead tablets deal with travel, presumably by sea, including the cities of Sybaris, Herakleia, Hipponion, Kroton, and Taras (Eidinow, 2007, p. 75). Other inquiries from the poleis of southern Italy and Sicily include questions related to profit (Eidinow, 2007, p. 99, no. 17), farmwork (SEG 43. 331; Eidinow, 2007, p. 96, no. 4) and an unknown inquiry by Archias of Metapontion (Eidinow, 2007, p. 128).
Clearly Dodona was consulted by the *poleis* of Western Greece for advice on navigational matters, yet the oracle was not involved in colonization. The lack of colonizing oracles may be due to political and geographical considerations. The region of Epirus and the people who inhabited it were often considered to be non-Hellenic in origin, which may have made Delphi a more desirable choice (Nicol, 1958, p. 131). However, it was likely Dodona’s location that prevented it from being consulted by mainland Greek *poleis* for questions concerning colonization. Dodona is located in Epirus, and it would have been more accessible to the Italian peninsula as well as the inhabitants of northwestern Greece (Gwatkin, 1961, p. 99). Delphi, because of its central location, was the oracle of choice for many of the Greek *poleis* that were involved in early colonization, including Korinth, Chalkis, and Sparta. Furthermore, already by the eighth century BCE an increase in votive offerings is seen at Delphi (see above, p. 19), and it is possible that the Delphic oracle may have begun to overshadow Dodona at an early date, which would explain Dodona’s lack of colonizing oracles.

**iii) The Oracle of Apollo at Didyma**

The oracle of Apollo at Didyma, also known as Branchidae, may have been involved in colonization. This oracle was located in Asia Minor, about 20 kilometers from the important Greek *polis* of Miletus, and this city came to control the oracle. Miletus was well known for the great number of her colonies; possibly as many as thirty to forty-five were founded in the Black Sea region, Northern Aegean, Propontis, and the Hellespont (Gorman, 2001, pp. 63–64; Greaves, 2002, pp.104–105). Although there are no foundation oracles preserved in literature for consultation at
Didyma,\textsuperscript{34} an inscription was found at the Milesan colony of Apollonia (on the Rhyndakus River) that seems to indicate Didyma had a rôle in colonization (Parke, 1972, p. 49; 1985, p. 11; Greaves, 2002, pp.127–128). This inscription, dating to the middle of the second century BCE, concerns the colony re-establishing ties with the metropolis of Miletus. The inscription (\textit{Milet} 1.3. no 155) states:

\begin{quote}
The Milesians listened to the ambassadors with every good will and after they had investigated the histories on the subject and other written records they replied that our city in truth had been founded as a colony of their own city. Their ancestors had accomplished this, at the time when they sent out a military expedition to the regions in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmara. They had conquered in war the barbarian inhabitants and had settled our city among the other Greek cities. Apollo of Didyma had been the guide in the campaign (Parke (Trans.), 1985).
\end{quote}

It is tempting to take this inscription at face value, but it seems unlikely that Apollonia would have ‘forgotten’ that Didyma was involved in its foundation. This was likely was a Hellenistic invention as Greaves (2002) suggests (p. 128).

Traditional foundation dates for the early Milesian colonies are contemporary with the archaeological evidence from Didyma. The earliest remains from Didyma date to the late-eighth or early-seventh century BCE (Parke, 1985, p. 23; Fontenrose, 1988, p. 9; Greaves, 2002, p. 111), making it possible that the oracle could have been consulted prior to colonization. However, it must be noted that little excavation has been carried out in the Milesian colonies that could provide archaeological dates for these colonial foundations (Greaves, 2002, p.128). A passage in Orpheus (\textit{Argonautica}, 152–3) indicates that Neilus consulted the oracle at Didyma before he founded

\footnote{\textsuperscript{34} According to Fontenrose (1988), there is a quasi-historical oracular response from Didyma that concerns the foundation of Kyzikos, a colony of Miletus and may have been Delphic (pp. 208–209, no. 34). Scholars have noted that there is one foundation oracle preserved that records that an exile from Miletus consulted the oracle at Delphi before founding Sinope (Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p. 81, no. 85; Parke, 1985, p. 10; Greaves, 2002, p. 128).}
Miletus, suggesting that during the sixth century BCE Didyma was associated with colonization (Fontenrose, 1988, pp. 229–230, no. 59; Greaves, 2002, pp. 110, 128). Without substantial evidence, it can only remain a possibility that Apollo’s oracle at Didyma was involved in colonization, and there is no evidence that it was associated with the foundation of Western Greek colonies.

iv) The Oracle of Apollo at Delos

According to a few literary sources, the birthplace of Apollo, the island of Delos, had an oracle. The earliest and clearest reference to an oracle at Delos is in the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo (79–82). Parke (1972) suggests that Delos had a short-lived oracle, established around the end of the eighth-century, the time he thought the Homeric Hymn was composed, and gone by the end of the sixth century when the sanctuary was revived by Peisistratos and Polykrates (p. 94). However, the late eighth century date for the composition of the poem seems unlikely. The hymn was likely composed for a joint Delian-Pythian festival held by Polycrates at Delos in 522 BCE (Burkert, 1979, pp. 59, 61–62).

35 Malkin (1986) argues that the reference in the Homeric Hymn has been misplaced and belongs to a section on the Delphic Apollo (p. 965, note 26). The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo (79–82) states, “But if you would undertake, mighty goddess, to swear a great oath that here he will build his original, gorgeously beautiful temple, to be a famous oracular shrine for mankind, then thereafter let him construct all the temples and precincts and groves that he pleases” (Hine (Trans.), 2005). There are other references that allude to an oracle at Delos (Lucian, Alexander, 8; Lucian, The Double Indictment, c. 1; Servius, Aeneid, 4.143; Horace, Odes, 3. 4.64; Himerius, Oration 18.1; Farnell, 1907, pp 380–381; Adel, 1982–1983, p. 289). Malkin (1986) states: “The testimonia is [sic] late, uncertain and unreliable” (p. 965, note 28). The majority of the ancient authors who mention an oracle at Delos are of the Roman period, and Gregory (1983) suggests that the oracle may have become more popular at this time (pp. 290–291).
Some scholars suggest that not only did Delos have an oracle, but that it might have also been involved in the foundation of the colony of Naxos (R. Van Compernolle, 1950–1951, p. 182; Brugnone, 1979–1980, pp. 282–283; Pugliese Carratelli, 1992, pp. 402–404; Antonaccio, 2007, p. 211). The presence of the cults of Apollo *Archēgetēs* at Delos and Sicilian Naxos, has led to the suggestion that there was a link between these two sites (R. Van Compernolle, 1950–1951, p. 182–183; Brugnone, 1979–1980, pp. 280–291). However, Malkin (1986) illustrates that the title *archēgetēs* in Delos was actually connected to the hero Anios, and not Apollo (p. 963). Therefore, the presence of the epithet *archēgetēs* at Naxos can be related to Apollo of Delphi, and not the god worshipped at Delos (Malkin, 1986, p. 962; Davies, 2007, p. 60; cf. Forrest, 1957, p. 165; see chapter two, pp. 80–81).³⁶

At the time Sicilian Naxos was founded, the island of Delos was under Naxian influence (Pugliese Carratelli, 1992, p. 403). The presence of a seventh century BCE marble *cippus* with an inscription to the goddess Enyo at Naxos, a deity who was also worshipped on the island of Delos, has led to the suggestion that the oracle of Delos was involved in the foundation of Sicilian Naxos (Pugliese Carratelli, 1992, pp. 402–404).³⁷ However, the presence of the goddess Enyo in Sicilian Naxos should not be seen as evidence of Delian involvement in colonization. It does, however, suggest contact between Delos and the colonists who founded Sicilian Naxos, which included a

³⁶ Furthermore, the explicit Delphic themes on Tauromenion’s coinage may also indicate that Naxos was a Delphic foundation (see chapter two, p. 92, and figure 22). (After Naxos was destroyed by Dionysius I, the survivors created a new settlement at Tauromenion.)

³⁷ The inscription (*IGASMG* III, p. 79, no. 72) reads: “γύρωθος ἢρος Ἑνυχο [τ].”
contingent of people from the island of Naxos (see chapter two, p. 80). Contact between Delos and Sicilian Naxos can be explained by the fact that Naxos was in control of Delos at the time the colony was founded. The association of Delos with the founding of Naxos is very tenuous. First of all, it is unclear whether there was an oracle at Delos or when it may have been in operation. Furthermore, there are no known foundation legends that are associated with Delos, and the evidence connecting Delos and Sicilian Naxos is inconclusive. Although it is possible that Delos had an oracle, there is no substantial evidence to suggest it was involved in the foundation of Naxos.

**Greek Gods and Navigation**

The dangers associated with seafaring were well known to the ancient Greeks and they would have been on the minds of those about to settle in new lands. Stories of storms at sea, shipwrecks and piracy are found throughout Greek literature (cf. Pomey, 1996, pp. 134, 136). Hesiod (*Works and Days,* 618–677) warned sailors against the perils of sailing during the winter months and urged his audience to sail during the late spring and summer when the seas are calmer. In his travels, Odysseus endured terrible storms, blowing winds, and a shipwreck (Homer, *Odyssey* 5. 313–318). A fragment of the seventh century poet Mimnermus (fr. 11.1) wrote of Jason and the Argonauts’ dangerous sea expedition in search of the golden fleece (also cf. Nasselrath, 2005, p. 157). Furthermore, passages in Herodotus (8.129) and Thucydides (3.89) have been interpreted as describing the after-effects of tsunamis (Smid, 1970, pp. 102–104).

The ultimate fear of ancient Greek sailors was the prospect of becoming shipwrecked. There

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38 There is an inscription from the Delian inventories that records the dedication of a *phiale* by the Sicilian Naxians (*ID* 304 B14; Rutherford, 1998, p. 82).
are numerous shipwrecks in the waters around southern Italy and Sicily that illustrate the dangers associated with sea travel. Shipwrecks were common in antiquity, and certain coasts were known for their danger (Parker, 1992, p. 3). Sandy or rocky coasts, winds, squalls and currents were all possible hazards sailors could endure. The Straits of Messene were notorious for tidal currents, which probably accounted for the myths of Scylla and Charybdis, sea monsters that were said to inhabit these waters (Strabo, 1.2.9, 1.2.16; Semple, 1927, p. 361; Pomey, 1996, p. 134). Clusters of shipwrecks found in the waters off southern Italy and Sicily illustrate the difficulty of certain coasts: seven shipwrecks, dating from the fifth century BCE to the seventh century CE have been found off the coast of Syracuse, five off the coast of Taras, dating from the fourth century BCE to the seventh century CE, and possibly as many as thirteen shipwrecks off Cape Graziano, that range in date from the fifteenth century BCE to the eighteenth century CE (Parker, 1992, pp. 123, 117-120, 249, 292–293, 405–406, 418–419). The ill-fortune of seafarers is illustrated on a Late Geometric krater from Pithekoussai. The scene shows survivors swimming and corpses floating around a capsized warship (Brunnsåker, 1962, pp. 182–184; Boardman, 1980, p.160; Delivorrias, 1987, p. 162, no.58; see figure 6). One of the survivors of this shipwreck scene is about to succumb to the horrible fate of being eaten by a shark (Boardman, 1980, p. 160). A more pleasant ending to a shipwreck disaster occurs in the myth associated with Taras, the eponymous founder of the city, who was shipwrecked and brought to safety by a dolphin (Aristotle, fr. 590; cf. Purcell, 1990, p. 29).40

Encounters with unfriendly people at sea, whether pirates or brigands, would also have been

39 An Attic Late Geometric oenochoe also illustrates a shipwreck (Brunnsåker, 1962, p. 227, fig. 15).

40 According to Pausanias (10.13.4), it was Phalanthos, the leader of the Spartan colonists, who was shipwrecked and saved by a dolphin. On Phalanthos, see chapter three, pp. 281–290.
a possibility. The Tyrrhenian sea was known in antiquity for its pirates (*Homeric Hymn to Dionysus, 7.8; Strabo 5.2.22, 5.3.5*), and in fact the term Tyrrhenian became synonymous with pirate (Omerod, 1924, pp. 152–153). According to Diodorus Siculus (5.6), the early inhabitants of Sicily lived in hill-top settlements to protect themselves from pirates (*cf. Omerod, 1924, p. 151*). Tradition also indicates that Zancle was settled by pirates from Kyme, together with other Euboeans (Thucydides, 6.4.3). Piracy in the waters surrounding Italy and Sicily was typically carried out by Greeks, Phoenicians, and Etruscans (Thucydides, 6.4.3; Strabo, 1.3.2, 5.2.22; Omerod, 1924, pp. 152–153; De Souza, 1999, p. 22). A *krater* from Caere (Agylla) provides a visual reminder of the threat of piracy: a merchant ship is shown being pursued by a galley manned by pirates, and the merchant vessel lets out its sails in the hope of outrunning the pirates (Casson, 1994, p. 44; see figure 7).

The *oikistēs*, as the man chosen by Apollo to lead the colonists, was entrusted with the safety of his colonial contingent. It was his responsibility to ensure that prayers and offerings were made to gods associated with seafaring before embarking, and to make thank-offerings once they arrived safely at their destination. Literary references and archaeological evidence indicate that these activities were commonplace (*Aeschylus, Persians, 393; Arrian, Bella civilia, 5.96.401; Arrian, Kynegétikos, 53.2; Epiktetos, 3.21.12; Homer, Odyssey, 2.430–433; Homeric Hymn 33, 6–12; Livy, 29.27.1–5; Pindar, Pythian 4, 204–206; Thucydides, 6.32.1–2; Kapitän, 1979, p.114; Robertson 2005, pp. 90–92*). In the *Odyssey* (15.222), Telemachus offered prayers and sacrifices to Athena prior to sailing. Thucydides' (6.32.1–2) description of the Athenian ships preparing to set sail on the Sicilian expedition is particularly informative:

> When the ships had been manned and everything had at last been put aboard which they were to take with them on the voyage, the trumpeter proclaimed silence, and they offered the
prayers that are were customary before putting out to sea, not ship by ship but all together, led by a herald, the mariners as well as the officers throughout the whole army making libations with golden and silver cups from wine they had mixed. And the rest of the throng of people on the shore, both the citizens and all others present who wished the Athenians well, also joined in the prayers. And when they had sung the paean and had finished the libations, they put off, and sailing out at first in single column they then raced as far as Aegina (C. F. Smith (Trans.), 1921).

From this passage it is clear that the Athenians prayed, sang hymns, and poured libations from gold and silver vessels in an attempt to appease the god(s) and secure a safe voyage. A study of the embarkation scenes in the *Odyssey* by Greene (1995) found that safe journeys at sea were linked to proper rituals being observed, including prayers, libations or other offerings made to the gods (p. 217). Literary sources also suggest that animals could be thrown into the sea, to appease sea gods either prior to a voyage or during the voyage when troubles arose (Herodotus, 7.180; Homer, *Odyssey*, 1.25; 3.5–9; *Homer Hymn* 33, 6–12; Pindar, *Pythian* 4, 204–206; Robertson, 2005, pp. 85, 91).

Although most of the evidence for seafaring rituals is of a literary nature, there is some archaeological evidence that seems to corroborate these accounts. Hellenistic offering vessels have been found in the sea near the Great Harbour and the Lakkios or Little Harbour at Syracuse (see figure 8). Kapitán (1985) connects these vessels to a ritual that was mentioned by Polemon of Ilion, a writer of the early second century BCE, that has been preserved in a passage in Athenaeus (p. 148). The passage refers to a ritual associated with the cult of Athena, involving vessels that were thrown into the sea to grant a favourable voyage for sailors (Athenaeus 11.6):

> At Syracuse, on the highest spot of the part called the Island, there is an altar near the temple of Olympia, outside the walls, from which he [Polemon] says that people when putting to sea carry a goblet with
them, keeping it until they get to such a distance that the shield in the temple of Minerva cannot be seen; and they let it fall into the sea, being an earthenware cup, putting into it flowers and honeycombs, and uncut frankincense, and all sorts of other spices besides (Yonge (Trans.), 1854).

In addition, a number of portable altars and *louteria* have also been found in the sea, often associated with ancient shipwrecks, and they may have been used by sailors for on-board religious rites (Kapitân, 1979, pp. 114–116; 1985, pp. 148–151). *Louteria* are shallow basins with a broad rim placed above a pedestal. On land, they were used as *perirrhanteria* and were commonly placed in sacred areas where ceremonial washing would be preformed. On a ship, as on land, ceremonial washing would take place in the *louterion*, probably before a libation was made, including when a ship left port (Kapitân, 1979, p. 114).

Although the evidence that Kapitân cites dates to a much later period than that of the early Western Greek colonies, it is likely that it reflects rituals that occurred during this time as well. After a safe voyage, thank-offerings would be made to gods associated with the sea or navigation. Suitable votive offerings to maritime gods include items that are related to the sea such as models of ships, terracotta reliefs depicting boats or other nautical themes, and items that were used by sailors and fishermen. Anchors, fish-hooks and other fishing implements, even boats, could be dedicated to marine deities who included Poseidon, Hera, Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, and the Dioscuri.42

41 The dedication of stone anchors to navigational deities is also seen in other ancient cultures. Examples are known from Byblos, Ugarit, Kition in Cyprus, and Egypt (Basch, 1981, p. 38).

42 See the discussion and bibliography below. General information on the types of offerings dedicated to maritime deities are found in a number of sources, including Rouse (1902, p. 71), Gianfrotta (1977, p. 286), and Romero Recio (2000, pp. 1–79).
i) Poseidon

Poseidon was known to the Greeks as god of earthquakes and most prominently as the ‘Lord of the Sea.’ Hesiod (Works and Days, 2. 663–677) and Homer ( Odyssey, 5. 313–318) credited Poseidon with creating great waves and fierce winds that cause shipwrecks. The ‘Lord of the Sea’ could also grant safe voyages upon the seas; in the Homeric Hymn to Poseidon (5–7), he was known as the ‘saviour of ships.’ Locks of hair could be dedicated to Poseidon by shipwreck survivors, or those who survived a storm at sea (Palatine Anthology, 6.164; Leitao, 2003, p. 115, note 26). To ensure a safe voyage and to appease the god, libations and sacrifices were commonly made to Poseidon (Herodotus, 7.180 (libation); Homer, Odyssey, 1.25 (sacrifice of bulls), 3.5–9 (sacrifice); Pindar Pythian 4, 204–206 (sacrifice); Robertson, 2005, p. 90). Bulls and horses could be plunged into the sea in honour of Poseidon as an attempt to secure a safe voyage (Robertson, 2005, pp. 85, 88, 91).

Poseidon could also be given votive offerings that related to his role in seafaring. A number of miniature boats were dedicated in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. Several are made of terracotta (Broneer, 1959, p. 338; P. F. Johnston, 1985, p. 70; Raubitschek, 1998, p. 10) and one is of bronze with an animal-shaped prow, rowers, a helmsman and a warrior inside the vessel (Broneer, 1959, p. 328, fig. 5; P. F. Johnston, 1985, p. 70; Delivorrias, 1987, p.183, no. 84; Raubitschek, 1998, p. 10, no. 36, pl. 7 no. 36). All models date to the sixth century BCE and were found in votive pits associated with the temple of Poseidon (P. F. Johnston, 1985, p. 70). A miniature terracotta warship from the acropolis at Lipara may also have been dedicated to Poseidon (Romero Recio, 2000, pp. 16–17). Votive plaques depicting ships and Poseidon with his trident have been found at Penteskouphia (near Korinth) in a votive dump with objects dedicated to
Poseidon (Geagen, 1970, pp. 31–32, 37–39 (Poseidon with trident), 44–46 (ships); Romero Recio, 2000, p. 10; Wachter, 2001, pp. 119–153). In addition, a miniature lead anchor was found in the sanctuary of Poseidon on Thasos (Heffner, 1928, p. 532; Bon & Seyrig, 1929, p. 348; Gianfrotta, 1977, p. 286; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 38).

Literary and epigraphic evidence indicates that full-size boats were offered to the god of the sea. Thucydides mentions boats that were dedicated to Poseidon after victorious sea battles (Thucydides, 2.84.4 (at Akaya); Thucydides, 2.92.5 (Peloponnese)). Herodotus (8.121.1) records the dedication of Persian ships to Poseidon after the Athenian naval victory at Salamis at Cape Sounion, Isthmia, and Salamis. Jason is said to have dedicated the Argo in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia (Apollodorus, Argonautica, 1.9.27). A sixth-century inscription from the Heraion at Samos indicates that a ship was dedicated to Poseidon (IG XII. 6 1, Samos 240; Ohly, 1953, pp. 111–112; Kopcke, 1967, p. 145; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 4; Baumbach, 2004, p. 165).

Fishing equipment was also a suitable offering for Poseidon, to thank the god for safe seas (Rouse, 1902, p. 71). At the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, nineteen bronze fish-hooks, twelve lead weights from a fishing net, and an iron fishing spear were found in a sixth-century BCE votive deposit within the temple (Gehbard, 1998, p. 198; Raubitschek, 1998, pp. 127, 129, pl. 71 no. 453, pl. 72 no. 456–457; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 63). A number of fish-hooks have also been

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43 One of these plaques records a partial inscription that Kingsley (1981) suggests refers to Phalanthos, the founder of Taras (p. 208); however, this conclusion is very dubious (see chapter three, pp. 283–284).

44 This was a joint dedication to Hera and Poseidon. See discussion below, p. 44.

45 Nineteen examples were found together in a votive pit. Other bronze fish-hooks have been found at the sanctuary (Raubitschek, 1998, pp. 127–128, no. 454, pl. 71 no. 454 (IM 1159)).
found at Thasos during excavation of the sanctuary of Poseidon (Bon & Seyrig, 1929, p. 348; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 63). Three other items found in the sanctuary at Isthmia are also suitable offerings to the god of the sea, including a bronze trident, a solid-bronze scallop shell, and a bronze dolphin (Raubitschek, 1998, pp. 9–10, nos. 35, 38–39, pl. 7 no. 34, pl. 8 nos. 38–39).46

Sanctuaries of Poseidon were often placed in areas that combined control of the land and the sea (Schachter, 1990, p. 46). For example, at Isthmia the sanctuary of Poseidon provided control over the Isthmus of Korinth, and the sacred grove of Poseidon at Penteskouphia controlled the land route between the sea and Korinth’s neighbours (Schachter, 1990, p. 47). Often Poseidon’s sanctuaries were placed on promontories, such as at Geraistos, Cape Sounion, and Cape Metapan, harbours or at cities located along the coast, as at Samos (Semple, 1927, p. 367; Larson, 2007, p. 60). In many instances, these poleis were named Potidaia, Chalkidike or Poseidonia (Larson, 2007, pp. 60–61). Epithets that were connected to the marine aspect of Poseidon included Epiktaios (on the coast), Pelagios (sea-going), and Pontios (of the sea) (Larson, 2007, p. 60).

Surprisingly, there is little evidence for the cult of Poseidon in southern Italy and Sicily. In the territory of Poseidonia, a sanctuary of Poseidon was likely placed upon the Agropolis promontory (Edlund, 1987, p. 105).47 An inscription from the acropolis at Hyele attests to worship of the cult of Poseidon Asphaleios (IGASMG V, p. 74, no. 41; Blegen, 1951, p. 179; Tocco Sciarelli, 1997, p. 227), an epithet that is connected with navigation (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 15). According to tradition in the territory of Zankle on Cape Pelorus, the giant Orion built a sanctuary of Poseidon, 

46 Raubitschek (1998) notes that the dolphin could be associated with Melikertes-Palaimon instead of Poseidon (p. 9).

47 Edlund (1987) notes that although there is no evidence of a structure, the presence of pottery and the location make it likely that a sanctuary of Poseidon was placed here (p. 105).
but no evidence has been found (Diodorus Siculus, 4. 5; Strabo, 6. 1. 5; Jannelli, 2002b, p. 175).

It is possible that Poseidon’s role as a sea god in southern Italy and Sicily may have been overshadowed by other gods who were also associated with navigation, especially Hera.

ii) Hera

The presence of Hera at many settlements in southern Italy and Sicily attests to the importance of this cult amongst the Western Greeks. As Baumbach (2004) illustrates, Hera was most commonly associated with the sphere of women: marriage, fertility, pregnancy, childbirth, protector of the house and families, but she was also closely associated with protecting sailors from perils at sea. In the Odyssey, it was Hera who guided Jason through a rocky pass and provided protection for his ship the Argo (Homer, Odyssey, 12. 69–72). Both Pliny (Natural History, 2.3) and Livy (24.3) refer to Hera at Cape Lacinio as a maritime protectress. Aelian (Varia historia, 13.37) mentions the offering of a statue in the temple of Hera at Syracuse after a successful naval battle at Himera, to honour their tyrant Gelon and as a thank-offering to the marine goddess (Loicq–Berger & Renard, 1982, pp. 98–99).

At Thasos, Hera Epilimenia (at the harbour) was worshipped alongside Poseidon, the supreme god of the sea (IG XII. suppl. 409; Heffner, 1928, p. 532; Woodward, 1928, p. 188; Bon & Seyrig, 1929, pp. 345–347). Hera was commonly worshipped at sanctuaries placed on the outskirts of the town, or at non-urban sanctuaries (de Polignac, 1995, p. 22), and the location of the

48 Cults of Hera have been found at Syracuse, Kroton, Metapontion, Taras, Sybaris, Kyme, Megara Hyblaea, Gela, Hyele, Poseidonia, Selinus, Akrai, and Hybla Heraia. Other cities may also have had cults of Hera: Naxos, Rhegion, Katane, Himera (Parisi Presicce, 1985, p. 59).

49 An altar with an inscription to Hera Epilimenia attests to her cult.
culs of Hera allowed her to provide protection and control over the territory which extended to the sea (Genovese, 1999, p.187). Many sanctuaries were located near water, often at ports, capes or promontories, or next to navigable rivers connecting her to the waters that she oversaw (de Polignac, 1995, p. 115). In the Western Greek world, the earliest cults of Hera are found near the sea, often at the point of land that the colonists would have first arrived (Parisi Presicce, 1985, p. 62). Sites where Hera was worshipped include the emporion of Gravisca, Cape Lacinio near Kroton, the promontory at Kyme, and Foce del Sele (mouth of the Sele River) at Poseidonia.

Hera’s connection to the sea is illustrated by the various finds at her sanctuaries, which can be interpreted as offerings by sailors to their protecting deity. Fish-hooks have been found at a number of sanctuaries of Hera, including Perachora, Foce del Sele, and Hyele (Payne, 1940, p. 182, pl. 80.6; Tocco Sciarelli, 1997, p. 229, fig. 7; Baumbach, 2004, pp. 40, 140, figs. 3.67, 5.68). A lead anchor of the first century CE with the inscription HPA was found off the sea near Reggio Calabria (Genovese, 1999, p. 187; Lattanzi, 2003, p. 173). Literary and epigraphic sources indicate that Hera at Samos received offerings from explorers, merchants, and pirates (Herodotus, 1.70; 4.88–89; 4.150–154; SEG XII.391; Parisi Presicce, 1985, pp. 66–67). A number of offerings found at the sanctuary of Hera at Samos were related to the maritime aspect of this goddess.

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50 Gravisca was the port of the Etruscan city of Tarquinia, but because of the presence of numerous Greek merchants, Greek gods were worshipped here (Torelli, 1971; 1977). On the cult of Apollo at Gravisca, see appendix one, pp.407–408.

51 Two fish-hooks were found at the sanctuary of Hera Limenia at Perachora (Payne, 1940, p. 182, pl. 80.6; Baumbach, 2004, p. 40, fig.2.67). A large quantity of fish-hooks were found at Foce del Sele (Baumbach, 2004, p. 140, fig. 5.68). One fish-hook was found at the sanctuary of Hera at Hyele (Tocco Sciarelli, 1997, p. 229, fig. 7).
The unique preservation of wooden materials from the Heraion at Samos offers us a glimpse of the types of offerings that may have been found at other sanctuaries of Hera. Most notable for this discussion are the twenty-two miniature boat models that may owe their preservation to flooding in this area in the seventh century BCE (P. F. Johnston, 1985, p. 50). The models range in length from around 30 to 50 centimeters and most are carved from one piece of wood (Ohly, 1953, pp. 111–118; Kopcke, 1967, pp. 145–148; Kyrieleis, 1980, pp. 87–94; P. F. Johnston, 1985, p. 46; Brize, 1997, p. 130; De Polignac, 1997, p. 115; Baumach, 2004, p. 163). A study by P. F. Johnston (1985) found that the majority of these models depict warships, although one example represents a merchant vessel (pp. 54–64). Ships made from other materials have also survived in the archaeological record. A terracotta boat was found at the sanctuary of Hera Akraia at Perachora (Payne, 1940, p. 97, pl. 29.6; P. F. Johnston, 1985, p. 74; Baumbach, 2004, p. 40, fig. 2.66), and a number of terracotta models have been found at Korinth. Scholars have suggested that this may indicate that they were manufactured at Korinth (de Polignac, 1997, p. 115; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 10), and that they may have been intended for deposition in the sanctuaries of Hera or in those of other local

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52 Kyrieleis (1988) notes that although wood was a cheap and easily accessible material to make votive items from, it rarely survives in the archaeological record (p. 216).

53 A full discussion of the date can be found in a number of sources (Ohly, 1953, pp. 112, 114; Kopcke, 1967, p. 145; Kyrieleis, 1980, p. 87; Baumbach, 2004, p. 163). Kyrieleis (1993) suggests that these items were likely used in a ritual connected with the cult of Hera (pp. 141–143), while Baumbach (2004) suggests that they are votive offerings (p. 163).

54 The one example of a merchant vessel is unusual since it is built of several pieces of wood, and it is the only example of this type known (P. F. Johnston, 1985, p. 60).

55 P. F. Johnston (1985) provides a full discussion on the terracotta boat models from Korinth (pp. 64–65, 67–69, 71–72).
gods associated with seafaring. A fine bronze proto-Sardinian ship model was found at the Heraion at Cape Lacino, which dates to the second half of the eighth century BCE (Lilliu, 2000, pp. 181–182). Lilliu (2000) proposes that it was dedicated by a Sardinian sailor to Hera, the protectress of sailors (pp. 181, 209–210). Terracotta model ships found at Pithekoussai on the Mezzavia hill may be associated with a cult of Hera or possibly Poseidon (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 16).

Besides miniature representations of boats, archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests that full-sized ships were dedicated to the goddess. At the Heraion at Samos, foundations for the base of a ship dating to the seventh century BCE have been found within the south temenos (Ohly, 1953, p. 111; Kopcke, 1967, p. 145; Walter, 1976, p. 58, fig. 51; P. F. Johnston, 1985, p. 51; Brize, 1997, p. 130; Romero Recio, 2000, pp. 3–4; Baumbach, 2004, p. 165, fig. 6.39). Also from the Heraion comes a fragmentary inscription on a bronze plaque that records a dedication made by Amphidemos of six ships to Hera and one to Poseidon (IG XII. 6 1, Samos 240; Ohly, 1953, pp. 56–57).

56 Terracotta models of boats may have also been intended for sanctuaries of Apollo and Poseidon. One model may have been associated with the temple of Apollo. As P. F. Johnston (1985) notes it was found in debris that is linked to the enlargement of the sanctuary of Apollo (p. 67). Two models were also found in pits associated with the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia (P. F. Johnston, 1985, p. 70).

57 A large number of bronze Sardinian ship models are known, with most dating from the eighth and seventh centuries BCE (Basch, 1981, p. 38).

58 There are other instances of ships dedicated in sanctuaries of gods and goddesses associated with seafaring; two examples are known from Delos (both of Hellenistic date), two examples from Samothrace (one of the late seventh century BCE); one from Thasos (date uncertain); and one from Rhion (fifth century date, dedicated to Poseidon) (Blackman, 2001, pp. 207–212). Herodotus (8.121.1) mentioned that captured Persians ships were dedicated at Isthmia, Sounion, and Salamis. Octavian also dedicated 10 ships to Apollo Aktaios (Strabo 7.7.6).
Baumbach (2004) prefers to interpret the dedications of boats and fish-hooks as offerings to Hera in her guise as a fertility goddess, whose bounty extended to the sea (pp. 40, 140, 163, 165–166, 187). Baumbach (2004) does admit that the boat models “...probably also relate to Hera’s function as protectress of the fleet” (p. 166). Romero Recio’s discussion indicates that many of these deities associated with fishing were also gods associated with navigation (Romero Recio, 2000, pp. 62–63). When combined, the archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence suggests that these types of votives point to Hera’s role in navigation as a protecting divinity for sailors, whether they were fishermen, members of naval fleets, merchants, or colonists. As a navigational goddess, Hera would have been important to colonists, as her protection would have been vital to those traveling to new lands. Furthermore, her protection would continue to help the colonists prosper by enabling safety at sea by merchants, fishermen, and the navy during sea battles.

iii) Zeus

Zeus is not commonly a god associated with navigation, but there is evidence that he was considered a protecting divinity for sailors. Passages in Homer (Odyssey, 9.67–74; 9.550–554; 12.405–419) illustrate that Zeus offered protection for sailors at sea, and sacrifices were made to

59 The inscription (IG XII. 6 1, Samos 240) reads: \( \text{Ἀμφιδήμῳ μόσυνον τὸ[δε - - -] νέας ἐλών ΕΣ \tau\text{ς Ἡρη ς ἔνθεον[τα - - -] λειψιαν Που[ειδώνι τι πρατ-ρίων [ - - ] ΕΝ Τέχνιος Ν [- - -] μία Α[ - - -] Σ [- - -].} \)

60 Fish-hooks are commonly found in sanctuaries associated with navigational gods. The only example from a sanctuary of Zeus, known to me, comes from Nemea (S. G. Miller, 1984, p. 184, pl. 41, BR 1116).
him to ensure safe voyages (Homer, *Iliad*, 9.356–362; *Odyssey*, 4.472–474; 9.550–555). A fragment of Callimachus (fr. 400) and a passage in Aeschylus (*Suppliants*, 594–595) mention Zeus’ role as a protector of sailors (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 46). According to Pausanias (1.5.3), an anchor from the time of King Midas was dedicated in the sanctuary of Zeus at Ankara. A sixth-century BCE stone anchor with a partial inscription (Μῦς με ἵσατο) was found on Kerkyra, possibly connected with the cult of Zeus *Kasios* at Kasiöpe, a sanctuary that was frequented by sailors (*IG* IX 1.704; Gianfrotta, 1977, pp. 286–287. Romero Recio, 2000, p. 40).61 In the sea between Cape Colonna and Cape Cimmento, near Kroton, a stone anchor was found with a dedication to Zeus *Melichios* (kindly), by Phaýllos (*IGDGG*, pp. 149–151, no. 90; Gianfrotta, 1975, p. 316; 1977, p. 288; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 45).62 Romero Recio (2000) proposes that this epithet of Zeus is connected to the Phoenician god Baal or Baal Moloch, and is closely associated with navigation (p. 48). Other epithets of Zeus that were connected with seafaring include *Ourios* (of the sky) and *Hypatos* (supreme) (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 46), and both these epithets have been found on stone *cippi* at Hyele (*IGASMG*, V, pp. 69–71, nos. 36–37 (*Ourios*); 38 (*Hypatos*); Romero Recio, 2000, p. 46).63

61 It is also possible that this anchor was dedicated to another navigational god worshipped on Kerkyra, such as Poseidon, Dionysus or Apollo (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 40). A dedication to Zeus *Kassios* and Aphrodite *Soteria* was found on a lead anchor of the Roman period (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 39).

62 The inscription reads: τὸ Διὸς τὸ Μελίχιο Φύλλος ζατο. This dedication by Phaýllos has been identified with the three time Pythian athletic victor, who also contributed his own ship to fight the Persians at the battle of Salamis in 480 BCE (Herodotus 8. 47; Pausanias 10.9.2; Gianfrotta, 1975, p. 316; 1977, pp. 388–389).

63 A lead *cippus* from Reggio Calabria is also inscribed with Zeus *Hypatos* and dates to the first century BCE (Gianfrotta, 1980, p. 109, figs. 12–13; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 47).
The cult of Zeus Ourios is also attested to at Syracuse by a Hellenistic inscription (IG XIV. 574; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 46).

iv) Aphrodite

It is no surprise that Aphrodite, the goddess of love, sexuality, and fertility, who herself was born from the sea, was associated with sailors. She was considered a goddess of the sea in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (1–6) and in a passage by Hesiod (Theogony, 188–206). The writings of the third century BCE poetess Anyte of Tegea (Epigram, 15) also refer to Aphrodite’s ability to calm the seas and to enable a safe voyage for sailors:

This is the land of Kypris, since it pleases her to gaze for ever from land over the glittering sea, so that she may bear the sailors safe to land; and the sea quivers, looking upon her shining image (Aldington, (Trans.), 1919).

A number of epithets of Aphrodite relate to her role as a navigational goddess: Soteria (saviour), Euploia (fair voyage), Pelagia (protectress of sailors), Pontia (of the Sea), Limenia (protectress of the harbour), Epilimenia (at the harbour) (Pausanias, 4. 1.3–6; Queyrel, 1990, pp. 283, 285; Romero Recio, 2000, pp.16, 39; Larson, 2007, p. 123). Her sanctuaries could be located near the port as at Locri Epizephyroi and Aegina (Queyrel, 1990, p. 283), and at emporia including Gravisca and Naucratis (Boetto, 1997, p. 57; Torelli, 1977, pp. 427–433).

Votive items that were dedicated to Aphrodite could relate to her relation with the sea, often dedicated by thankful sailors. From the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Aegina, comes a fragmentary anchor that has an inscription to Aphrodite Epilimenia, the goddess in her role as a protector of ports (Gianfrotta, 1977, p. 288; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 39). Anchor stocks have also been found
associated with a shrine of Aphrodite in the territory of Locri Epizephyroi, south of Centocamere (Boetto, 1997, pp. 57, 61 and figs. 9, 10). According to Boetto (1997), the anchors were offerings to the goddess by sailors who visited the port sanctuary (p. 57). Aphrodite-Astarte and her sanctuary that overlooked the sea at Eryx (Erice) was associated with providing safe voyages and it was frequently visited by seafarers (Virgil, Aeneid, 5. 762–778; Boetto, 1997, p. 57).

v) Athena

Literary and archaeological evidence indicates that Athena was a divinity concerned with the protection of sailors. In the Odyssey (2. 260–264), before setting sail Telemachus washed his hands and prayed to Athena, and he later prayed and made an offering to her (15.222–224). Herodotus (3.59) noted that the Aeginetans dedicated prows of Samian ships in the sanctuary of Athena at Aegina after a naval victory, and Jason is said to have dedicated the anchor from the Argo in her sanctuary at Kyzicus (Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica, 1. 955–960). Pausanias (4.35.8) referred to her as a goddess of the winds and as a protectress of sailors. A literary study by Detienne (1970) concluded that Athena played an active role in navigation by guiding ships, providing winds for sailing, and aiding in the construction of ships.

Sanctuaries of Athena connected with the maritime aspect of the goddess were often placed on promontories or along the coast, such as the sanctuary of Athena Etia in Megara, and at Cape Sounion (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 118). In the Western Greek world examples include the two sanctuaries of Athena that were, according to myth, founded by Odysseus at Santa Maria di Leuca and Punta della Campanella, and the Athenaios on Ortygia at Syracuse (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 118). As previously mentioned, Polemon noted that during his time in the second century BCE a
seafaring ritual was connected with the temple of Athena on Ortygia, Syracuse. When sailors could no longer see the shield of Athena, vessels were filled with flowers, honey, and similar items and submersed into the sea (Polemon = Athenaeus, 11.6; see above, p. 36; cf. Kapitâın, 1985, pp. 147–148; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 118). Kapitâın (1985) suggests that this passage refers to the statue of Athena that stood within the pediment of the temple, and that the shield would no longer be visible when ships passed around the southern point of Ortygia (p. 148). Around this point, a number of cups have been found in the sea dating to the Hellenistic period, which he has cited as evidence of this ritual (Kapitâın, 1985, p. 148).

Anchors and other items related to seafaring have been found at sanctuaries of Athena, indicating her role as protectress of sailors (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 37). A fragment of a terracotta votive tablet with a warship was found at the sanctuary of Athena at Sounion. This votive offering dates to the early seventh century BCE, and contains a fragmentary inscription, that may refer to Phrontis, the legendary helmsman of Menelaus, who according to Homer (Iliad, 3.278–285) was buried at Sounion (Delivorrias, 1987, p. 165, no. 62). Votives from the Athenian acropolis include a terracotta ship, dating to the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth century BCE (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 12), and a late fifth century BCE bronze votive lamp in the shape of a ship with a dedicatory inscription to Athena (Basch, 1981, p. 39; Delivorrias, 1987, p. 197, and no. 97; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 13).

vi) Apollo

Apollo played an important role in navigation, both as a god who led the colonizing expedition and as god of seafaring. There are numerous instances in literature where the maritime
aspect of Apollo is mentioned and, in addition, archaeological findings and epigraphy also indicate his close association with the sea. In the *Iliad* (1.308–317), sailors performed a sacrifice to Apollo with the hope that he would grant them favourable winds. In the *Homerica Hymn of Pythian Apollo* (398–439), Apollo guides the ship filled with Kretan sailors to Krisa. A common theme in ancient Greek literature is the construction of altars to Apollo once passengers disembarked from their ships (*Homerica Hymn to Pythian Apollo*, 490–496; 505; Thucydides, 6.3.1; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 51).

In the *Homerica Hymn to Pythian Apollo* (486–494), the god himself instructed the Kretan sailors to make an altar on the beach and to perform sacrifices.\(^\text{64}\) The most famous example of this phenomenon in the west is the altar of Apollo *Archēgetēs* at Sicilian Naxos (see chapter two, pp. 80–81).\(^\text{65}\) Thucydides (6.3.1) reported that prior to sailing, sacrifices would be made upon this altar by sacred ambassadors.\(^\text{66}\) The altar was probably erected on the beach where the ships of the Greek colonists first landed (Dunbabin, 1948, pp. 181–182; Malkin 1986, p. 959), and a sacrifice would likely have been made to Apollo in his capacity as a saviour of ships and the god of a successful landing (Malkin, 1986, p. 972).

\(^\text{64}\) The passage in the *Homerica Hymn to Pythian Apollo* (490–496) states: “Then Phoebus Apollo pondered in his heart what men he should bring in to be his ministers in sacrifice and to serve him in rocky Pytho. And while he considered this, he became aware of a swift ship upon the wine-like sea in which were many men and goodly, Cretans from Cnossos, the city of Minos, they who do sacrifice to the prince and announce his decrees, whatsoever Phoebus Apollo, bearer of the golden blade, speaks in answer from his laurel tree below the dells of Parnassus” (Evelyn-White (Trans.), 1914).

\(^\text{65}\) The evidence for this altar is based on literary evidence, as no physical trace of it has been found.

\(^\text{66}\) Antonaccio (2001) suggests that this passage in Thucydides does not specifically state that all Sikeliote ambassadors sacrificed on this altar prior to sailing (p. 134); however, Malkin (1986) argues that every sacred ambassador did so (pp. 959, 972).
The maritime function of Apollo is often reflected in the location of his sanctuaries, which are found at *emporia* such as Gravisca and Naucratis, near the sea on Ortygia at Syracuse, overlooking the sea as at Kyme, and on promontories including the sanctuary of Apollo *Aleos* at Krimissa. Apollo *Delphinios* was related to the god's worship at Delphi, and he was believed to have provided protection for sailors (Larson, 2007, p. 88). The cult of Apollo *Agyieus* may have been associated with the seafaring aspect of this god, as coins from Megara depict an aniconic image of the god with the prow of a ship and dolphins (Boetto, 1997, p. 54). Apollo *Agyieus* (of the streets) was thought to provide protection for travelers (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1081, 1086; Farnell, 1907, p. 202; Larson, 2007, p. 87), and this could include those who were journeying by sea.

Offerings made at sanctuaries of Apollo can reflect the maritime aspect of this god. An inscription from Delos indicates that a warship was dedicated to Apollo for his help during a sea battle (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 4), and after the battle of Actium, Octavian dedicated ten ships on the shore near the temple of Apollo *Aktaios* (Strabo 7.7.6; Blackman, 2001, p. 211). Inventories from the temple of Apollo at Delos also indicate that ships' prows, tridents, anchors, and other items associated with navigation were dedicated to the god (Basch, 1981, p. 40; Romero Recio, 2000, pp. 40–41). Fish-hooks could be dedicated, such as the one found at the sanctuary of Apollo *Aleos* (Orsi, 1932, p. 110, fig. 63; La Rocca, 1996, p. 270, no. 4.37). At Gravisca, a number of fragmentary anchors have been found including the well-known example with an inscription recording a dedication to Apollo by Sostratos of Aegina: Απολλόνις Αγινατα εμι Σοστρατος εποιεσε ho [1] [- -](EG III 23; Torelli, 1971, pp. 55–60; 1977, pp. 412–413, 441, 451; D. Ridgway, 1

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67 For a further discussion on Apollo *Agyieus*, see chapter two, pp. 110–111.
Four anchors were dedicated in the sanctuary of Apollo *Lykeios* at Metapontion that date to the late seventh or early sixth century BCE, and they have been interpreted as votive offerings that were dedicated by sailors (Adamesteanu, 1970, pp. 312, figs. 8–9; Gianfrotta, 1975, p. 314; 1977, p. 286, fig.2; Boetto, 1997, pp. 51, 57, 59–61; Romero Recio, 2000, p. 41; see chapter two, p. 200).

**vii) Other Gods**

Other deities connected to navigation include Artemis and the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces. In Apollonius’ *Argonautica* (1.568), Artemis was referred to as a ‘saviour of ships.’ Sanctuaries of Artemis were commonly located near bodies of water including Cape Artemision, Delos (Schachter, 1990, p. 50), and Piraeus where the sanctuary of Artemis *Munychia* overlooked the sea (Camp, 2001, p. 296). Diodorus Siculus (4.5) and Strabo (6.1.5) also mentioned a sanctuary of Poseidon and Artemis on the Pelorus promontory that guarded the dangerous Straits of Messene. Votive objects from the eighth century BCE at a sanctuary probably dedicated to Artemis at Emporion (on Chios) included bronze fish-hooks and lead weights for a fishing net (Boardman, 1967, p. 226, nos. 395, 396 (fish-hooks), p. 204, no. 161 (lead weights); Romero Recio, 2000, p. 63). Artifacts from the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia* at Sparta also relate to seafaring, including a mid-seventh-century BCE carved ivory plaque that depicts a warship (Romero Recio, 2000, p.102; 2000, p. 102).

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68 The Sostratos mentioned in the inscription has been associated with the famous trader noted in a passage in Herodotus (4.152.3) (A. W. Johnston, 1972; Harvey, 1976).

69 No physical trace of these sanctuaries has been found (Jannelli, 2002b, p. 175).
Delivorrias, 1987, p. 40, pl. XI). Similar to Aphrodite’s role as providing safety to sailors, the Dioscuri are depicted as saving destitute sailors in the Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri (6–12), and in times of extreme difficulty at sea white lambs could have been sacrificed to them to ensure safety. However, unlike Artemis who appears to have been connected from an early date with seafaring, the Dioscuri were not associated with navigation until the Classical period (Romero Recio, 2000, p. 50).

The Establishment of the Settlement

Arrival in foreign lands brought about new challenges for the Greek settlers, and especially the oikistēs. In some instances the new settlers were upon friendly terms with the native inhabitants. The Sikel king Hyblon is said to have given land to the Greeks in order for them to found their settlement, which they named Megara Hyblaia after their metropolis and their benefactor (Thucydides 6.4.1–2). However, it was equally plausible that the act of foundation could involve questionable dealings with the native populations, including confiscation of land, forcible removal, or even enslavement (Malkin, 1987, p. 90). This hostile tradition is preserved in one version of a foundation oracle of Taras, in which the colonists were instructed “to be a plague to the Iapygians” (Strabo 6.3.2). According to one tradition, the oikistēs Antiphemos of Gela, was said to have commanded a battle against Omphake, a Sikan town, in an attempt to expand the territory of his newly found polis (Pausanias 8.46.2; 9.40.4; Panvini, 1996, pp. 32–33; Malkin, 2002, p. 199). 70

Although not every settlement involved violence and bloodshed, in some cases it was a reality. Consulting an oracle, such as Apollo’s oracle at Delphi, could justify violence, since it was

70 Malkin (2001) suggests that this story is an attempt to connect the seventh-century BCE with a more ancient past, since Antiphemos found a statue made by Daidalos at Omphake (p. 126; also cf. S. P. Morris, 1992, p. 199).
the god's will that the colony be founded. In addition, Apollo's role as a purifying deity may have been beneficial, especially if the establishment of an *apoikia* involved bloodshed. The oracular aspect of this god was closely connected with purification,\(^7\) an act that was required to atone for murder. In fact, according to many foundation myths, the founder himself was a murderer who consulted the Delphic oracle in order to seek advice on purification, and he was told by Apollo to found a colony (Dougherty, 1993a, p. 185; 1993b, pp. 35, 37–38, 158).

Once the territory for the new settlement had been established, the *oikistēs* was responsible for the physical layout of the settlement. The numerous responsibilities of the founder are highlighted in a passage in the *Odyssey* (6.4–10): "About the city he [Nausithous] had drawn a wall, he had built houses and made temples for the gods, and divided the ploughlands" (Murray (Trans.), 1919).\(^7\) In general, one of the major tasks for the *oikistēs* was the division of land and its organization into private, public and religious spaces (Malkin, 1987, p. 135). Perhaps the best example of the division of a land can be seen at Megara Hyblaia, where the town plan was established at the time of the colony's inception with the layout of streets, domestic quarters, and a space for the *agora* (Malkin, 2002, pp. 197–198; De Angelis, 2003b, p. 20; see figure 10). The distribution of plots of land for the colonists is illustrated by the earliest houses at Megara Hyblaia that were consistent in both size

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\(^7\) There are numerous literary references to Apollo's function as a purifying deity, including Thucydides 2.102 (Alkmaeon seeks purification from Apollo after he murdered his mother) and Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 282–283 (Orestes is purified by Apollo after he killed his mother). Apollo himself must be purified for killing the Python at Delphi by going to Tempe (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 293c; Aelian, *Varia historia*, 3.1). Also see Davies, 1997, p. 56.

\(^7\) Osborne (2004) notes that scholars have often used this passage to support the idea that early Greek settlements in Italy and Sicily were 'pre-planned' and were established based on political considerations by a particular founder (p. 31). However, as Osborne (2004) points out, this passage refers to the re-location of a settlement, and not the establishment of a new one (p. 31).
and construction technique (Graham, 1982, p. 151; De Angelis, 2003b, p. 20). As the religious leader of the colony, the oikistēs was also responsible for the religious needs of the community. It was his duty to choose the location of sanctuaries, based upon logical and functional considerations (Malkin, 1987, pp. 10, 142–143, 185). The founder was entrusted with the consecration of altars and delineating sacred boundaries within the settlement and its territory (Malkin, 1987, p. 138). In return for all his actions, the oikistēs was the recipient of a heroic cult after his death (see chapter three, pp. 249–252).

Survival in New Lands

Survival of the colony and the colonists themselves depended upon securing a sufficient food supply. The favour of fertility goddesses such as Demeter and Hera would have been beneficial for the colonial Greeks. The Greek settlers came into contact with native inhabitants, and with Greeks from different metropoleis, encounters which brought about new challenges. Contact could result in peaceful relations, or dangers including warfare, the death of settlers, or even the destruction of sites. The unknown dangers that Greek settlers could face may have made it advantageous for them to have goddesses such as Athena, and Hera Hoplosmia on their side, to provide security and protection of the settlement.

73 The destruction of Sybaris by Kroton in 510 BCE is one example.

74 Both Athena and Hera were goddesses concerned with the protection of a polis, and they commonly received offerings of arms and armour in their sanctuaries. However, as De Polignac (1995) notes, dedications of weapons are not always associated with the warrior nature of a deity, but may indicate protection wanted from a particular deity during times of warfare, or they may be a thank-offering for a deity’s protection (p. 49). A recent investigation by Parra (2006) suggests that offering of arms and armour at sanctuaries in Magna Graecia may have had more to do with being a status symbol than any relation to the intended deities (pp. 233–236).
i) Agriculture and Procreation

Hera and Demeter were goddesses closely connected with the survival of the colony. These goddesses were connected with fertility of plants and animals, which extended to human beings. Procurement of a sufficient food supply would have been a primary concern for the new settlers, and since agricultural fertility came under the sphere of both Hera and Demeter, it made their role essential in colonial foundations (Parisi Presicce, 1985, p. 70). Votives dedicated to Hera often alluded to her role in agricultural fertility, including terracotta figurines of seated women holding a pomegranate, or a phiale and a fruit-bowl, such as those from Poseidonia or terracotta votive offerings of fruit from Foce del Sele (Baumbach, 2000, pp. 116, 118, 140). Demeter’s connection with agriculture and fertility is seen by the dedication of terracotta votives of female figures holding piglets, including the numerous examples from Syracuse, Gela, and Katane (Hinz, 1998, pp. 44, 64, 65, 104, 162, fig. 38).

Female fertility was also in the sphere of Demeter’s influence (Parisi Presicce, 1985, p. 71). Production of offspring was indispensable for the survival of the settlement. Hera’s association with marriage, procreation, and young children made her role vital to the survival of the colony (Baumbach, 2004). Terracotta votive offerings from Poseidonia and territory illustrate her association with the female sphere, including seated male and female figures representing the hieros gamos, the sacred marriage of the goddess to Zeus, figurines of pregnant women, and women holding or nursing infants (Baumbach, 2004, pp. 111, 113, 138).

75 An exception to this is from Albanella in the territory of Poseidonia, where male figures holding piglets have also been found, indicating a variation of this cult that included male participation (Pedley, 1990, pp. 99–100; Hinz, 1998, p. 172, fig. 42).
Since it is possible that most colonial contingents contained solely adult males, intermarriage was a necessity (Horden & Purcell, 2000, p. 295; Morel, 1984, pp. 134–135; Hall, 2004, pp. 40–41; also see, above, p. 12). When settlers came into contact with native populations and married, they came under the care of Hera (Parisi Presicce, 1985, p. 71). Hera and Demeter’s connection to fertility, both of the land and of the settlers, made worship of their cults essential for the colonial Greeks. The importance of Demeter to the Western Greek settlers can be illustrated by the worship of the goddess in the earliest stages of settlements (de Polignac, 1995, p. 293; Hinz, 1998, p. 219, fig. 62). In addition, Demeter was worshipped everywhere agricultural practices took place, and her sanctuaries were placed both within the city’s limits and in the *chora* (Cole, 1994, p. 201). Hera was widely worshipped in southern Italy and Sicily (Parisi Presicce, 1985, p. 59), and her sanctuaries were found both within the city and in the outlying territory (de Polignac, 1995, pp. 92–93).

**ii) Defending the Settlement**

The goddess who first and foremost was connected to the defense of a *polis* was Athena. Athena was known as a protector of the city, especially in a colonial context (de Polignac, 1995, p. 101). Her sanctuaries were often located on or close to the city’s *acropolis* or at the heart of the *polis* (Schachter, 1990, p. 39; de Polignac, 1995, p. 92), and she provided physical defense of the state and safeguarded prosperity of the community (Schachter, 1990, p. 40). Dedications to Athena could include real arms and miniature armour, such as those dedicated at the Athenaion at Ialysos on Rhodes (Martelli Cristofani, 2003, p. 467, fig. 1). Statuettes of an armed Athena are commonly
found at her sanctuaries, including Himera, Poseidonia, and Medma (Pedley, 1990, p. 58; Paoletti, 1996, p. 109, fig. 2.24; Vassallo, 2005, p. 118). Also from Medma, and likely related to the cult of Athena, are three miniature terracotta shields, and three miniature Korinthian helmets in terracotta (Paoletti, 1996, pp. 110–11; nos. 2.29–2.34). At Kasmenai, a sub-colony of Syracuse, numerous arms were found in association with a temple believed to have been dedicated to Athena. Items found include spear heads, arrow points, daggers, shields, a miniature bronze helmet and a miniature breastplate (Di Vita, 1956, p. 193; Holloway, 1991, p. 89; Moreschini, 1992, p. 291).

One of Hera's functions was the protection of a polis' military. Hera's role as fertility goddess overlapped with that of her military function, as she enabled offspring who would become the military strength of a polis (Baumbach, 2004, p. 180). As a goddess concerned with the military, Hera often received votive offerings of weapons and armour, both miniature and life-sized. Numerous miniature shields in bronze and terracotta were found in the Samian Heraion, as well as armour and weapons (Brize, 1997, p. 133; Baumbach, 2004, p. 166). At Tiryns, terracotta shields attest to Hera's role as a protector of the city (Baumbach, 2004, p. 68). In the Western Greek world,

76 This bronze statuette dates to the late seventh or early sixth century BCE (Vassallo, 2005, p. 118).

77 Several examples have been found in terracotta, dating to the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE (Pedley, 1990, p. 58).

78 This terracotta example dates to the first half of the fifth century BCE (Paoletti, 1996, p. 109).

79 These examples date to the early fifth century BCE (Paoletti, 1996, p. 110).

80 The helmets date to the sixth and fifth centuries BCE (Paoletti, 1996, p. 111).

81 However, see De Angelis (2007) for a different interpretation (p. 151).
Hera was also worshipped as a tutelary divinity for the military. At Kroton and Poseidonia, she was worshipped as Hera *Hoplosmia*, depicted as armed, holding a shield and spear (Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 857–858; Miller Ammerman, 1993, pp. 48–49; Parisi Presicce, 1985, p. 68; Brize, 1997, p. 134).

At Poseidonia, offerings included terracotta figures of an armed Hera, bronze weapons including arrow heads, swords, and sling stones, miniature greaves in bronze, and terracotta shields (Pedley, 1990, pp. 40, 88; Baumbach, 2004, pp. 118, 120). A silver disc inscribed “I am sacred to Hera, strengthen our bows” indicates her role in the city of Poseidonia (*IGASMG* IV, p. 45, no. 19; *IGDGD* II, pp. 62–63, no. 18; Baumbach, 2004, pp. 119–120). At Foce del Sele in the territory of Poseidonia, Hera may have been worshipped in her military capacity, as weapons were discovered (Baumbach, 2004, p. 141). A miniature votive shield was found at the sanctuary of Hera at Cape Lacinio, in the territory at Kroton (Spadea, 1997, p. 248). Hera may have been worshipped at Naxos, at the sanctuary at Santa Venera, at the so-called Aphrodision, where votive offerings including arms, especially spear points, were found (Valenza Mele, 1977, pp. 504–505). From the sanctuary

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82 The inscription reads: τας Ἡρας ἱπότιν Φρονθ/φιτοξεμιν. Jeffery (1990) suggests that the second part of the inscription is not in Greek (p. 252); however, according to Baumbach (2004), this is unlikely (pp. 119–120).

83 Baumbach (2004) notes that there were also terracotta figurines of Hera *Hoplosmia* (p. 141); however, in a study of the votive terracottas from Santa Venera, Miller Ammerman (1993) notes that figurines have been misidentified as that of Hera *Hoplosmia* (p. 49 note 35).

84 It is important to note that Aphrodite could also receive miniature weapons (Brize, 1997, p. 134), and that Aphrodite was concerned with care of a *polis*’ warriors (Schachter, 1990, p. 41). Valenza Mele (1977) notes that the location of this sanctuary suggests it was dedicated to a deity concerned with navigation and defense, making Hera a good candidate (p. 505). However, as the discussion above has illustrated, Aphrodite was also connected with seafaring, making it possible the temple was dedicated to her.
of Hera on the *acropolis* at Hyele come a number of spear points, arrow points, and other fragments of armour, suggesting that Hera was in charge of protection of the city (Tocco Sciarelli, 1997, pp. 228, 229, figs. 6–9).

Although Apollo is not commonly thought of as a god associated with war, occasionally he was depicted as armed, and he was often the recipient of arms and armour at his sanctuaries. Plutarch (*De Pythiae oraculis*, 16) mentions a statue of Apollo (fifth-century date) holding a spear that was erected at Delphi by the Megarians for a victory over the Athenians (*cf.* Fields, 1994, p. 96). The bronze statue of Apollo *Amykaios* at Sparta depicted the god wearing a helmet and holding a bow and spear (Pausanias, 3.19.1–2; see chapter two, p.136). Recent excavations at Metropolis in Thessaly have unearthed a cult statue of Apollo who was depicted as a hoplite soldier (Intzesiloglou, 2002, p. 109). Sanctuaries of Apollo commonly received armour and weapons that could have been personal dedications by soldiers or items that were captured in battle (Fields, 1994, p. 100). Votive weapons and miniature armour have been found at numerous sanctuaries of Apollo, including Delphi and Bassai (Fields, 1994, pp. 104, 108, 110; see figure 11). Apollo *Alaios*, in the territory of Kroton, received miniature and life-sized arms (Orsi, 1932, pp. 109–111, figs. 63–65; see chapter two, p. 185), and numerous arrowheads, spears, and other weapons were found within the sanctuary of Apollo *Lykeios* at Metapontion (Doepner, 1993, pp. 352, 358, tab. 75; 2002, p. 74; see chapter two, pp. 203, 205).

The dedication of military-associated votives in sanctuaries of Apollo was related to his close association with soldiers. As a god of transitions, Apollo’s sphere included the transformation of an *ephebe* into a soldier (de Polignac, 1995, p. 49). As *Lykeios*, the wolf-god, he was associated with military training (Burkert, 1983, p. 121; Buxton, 1990, pp. 63, 70–71; Price & Kearns, 2004, s.v.
Apollo, pp. 38–39; AA.VV, 2000, s. v. Apollo, col. 855). Ancient authors mention wolf-warriors, and according to one tradition, a she-wolf gave birth to Apollo (Homer, *Iliad*, 9.459; Pausanias 4.11.3; Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, 580a 18; Aelian, *De natura animalium*, 10.26). At Athens and Argos, Apollo *Lykeios* (the wolf-god) was associated with young men who had become hoplite soldiers (Jameson, 1980, pp. 225, 231–232, 234; Giangiulio, 2002, pp. 298–299; see chapter two, pp. 204–205). Apollo was also the patron deity of mercenaries and he was worshipped at Bassai as *Epikouros* (ally) (Fields, 1994, esp. p. 108). Archaic votive weapons that were dedicated at Bassai may have been dedicated by mercenary soldiers who worshipped Apollo as a god of war (Fields, 1994, p. 110). A passage in Pausanias (5.27.1) records a dedication to Apollo of Delphi that was made by Phormis of Maenalos, an Arkadian mercenary soldier employed by Gelon of Syracuse. Apollo was also adopted by the Mamertines, Campanian mercenary soldiers, who identified him with their own deity Mamers (see chapter two, pp. 229–233).

### iii) Interaction with Other Greeks and Native Populations

The interaction between Greek settlers and their neighbours, both other Greeks and native populations, was highly varied. In some instances, Greeks fought against other Greeks for territorial dominance, as was the case with the destruction of Sybaris by Kroton in 510 BCE (Herodotus 6.21.1–2). The constant conflict between the Greeks of Taras and the native inhabitants is best demonstrated by victory monuments that were dedicated at Delphi. One celebrated a victory over the Messapians and a second monument celebrated a victory over the Iapygians and the Peuketians (Pausanias 10.10.3, 10.13.4; Malkin, 1994b, pp.118–119, 123; see chapter two, pp. 152–153). Although squabbles with Greek and non-Greek neighbours were a possibility, in some cases settlers
experienced co-operation. A friendship between the Greek city of Sybaris and the Seridaioi, an indigenous population, is recorded on a bronze tablet found at Olympia. The inscription states that Zeus, Apollo, other gods, and Poseidonia were the guarantors of the alliance (SEG XXII. 336; ML no. 10; Rutter, 1970, p. 173; see chapter two, p. 170).\footnote{The inscription (SEG XXII 336) dates ca. 550–510 BCE and reads: ἀρμόδχθεν οἱ Συβαρίται κοι συμμαχοὶ κοι Σερδαῖοι ἔμι φιλόσται εἰπιστάι καθόλοι ἀείδιον πρόξενοι ὁ Ζεύς κατόλον κολλοὶ θεοὶ καὶ Ποσειδονία.}

Discussion

While many Greek gods and goddesses were associated with various aspects of colonization, it was Apollo, first and foremost, that was known as the god of colonization. The earliest literary source that connects Apollo (in addition to Zeus and Poseidon) with the foundation of cities is a passage in Homer (Iliad, 21. 441–447); however, literary references that explicitly refer to Apollo’s role in colonization date to long after the early Greek settlements in southern Italy and Sicily were founded (e.g. Herodotus 5.39–48; Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo, 55–57). The names of the colonies themselves provide no clear evidence of Apollo’s sphere of influence in early Greek colonization—of the numerous colonies called Apollonia (presumably named after the god) in the Greek world, only one, Apollonia on the Rhyndakus River, may have been established during the eighth century BCE (Shachar, 2000, pp. 8–9).\footnote{It is interesting to note that during the Hellenistic period, a period of decline at Delphi itself, there are many colonies that are named after the god (Shachar, 2000, p. 20).} By the time of Herodotus (5.39–49), the concept of consulting Delphi prior to colonization was not unusual; however, Thucydides (3.92.4–5) is the earliest author who
provides a contemporary account of the consultation of the oracle with the foundation of the Spartan colony of Heraclea in Trachinian Malis in 426 BCE. 87

While the date of the establishment of the Delphic oracle is unknown, it may have coincided with increased activity at Delphi during the mid-eighth century or the last quarter of the eighth century (C. Morgan, 1990, p. 134). It is interesting that this is the very period in which the ancient Greeks began to establish overseas settlements. Archaeological evidence from Delphi indicates that many of the poleis that were involved in early colonization were active at Delphi during this time (C. Morgan, 1990, p. 151). The oracular responses preserved in ancient literary sources all appear to date to a later period or contain after-the-fact additions, but this does not necessarily mean that the oracle was not consulted (cf. Londey, 1990, pp. 124–125). While it is possible that the oracle was consulted prior to the foundation of these early Greek colonies, the alternative—that it may have been a later phenomenon, must also be considered. What is clear is that some of the Greek poleis of southern Italy and Sicily believed that they were founded in conjunction with Apollo of Delphi, and, in turn, Apollo and his oracle featured prominently in a number of these ‘foundation histories.' 88

87 The passage in Thucydides (3.92.4–5) states: “In short, they were eager to found the settlement. They therefore first consulted the god at Delphi, and at his bidding sent out the colonists....” (C. F. Smith (Trans.), 1920).

88 Myth and legends were viewed as historical reality for the ancient Greeks. As Osborne (2004) notes: “Not only was there no seam for fifth-century Greeks between myth and history, the category of ‘myth’ in our sense was a creation only of the end of the fifth century” (p. 30).
Conclusions

The colonial Greeks believed that they needed the protection and guidance of numerous divinities to ensure that their apoikiai could be established successfully by the oikistēs, and could continue to thrive. Hera was considered to have an important role in the process of colonization; she acted as a guide for colonists, she protected sailors, and ensured survival and security of the settlement, as her sphere of influence extended to fertility, marriage, offspring, and physical protection of the polis. A variety of deities were thought to have provided protection for colonists traveling the sea, including Poseidon, Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite and Athena. Athena’s role as protector of the city was emphasized by the placement of her sanctuaries in the heart of the city or on its acropolis. Demeter’s connection with agricultural and human fertility meant she was an important goddess to the settlers because she enabled survival of the colony. However, the role of all these gods did not compare to that of Apollo, the supreme oikistēs. Apollo chose the man to lead the colonial contingent through his oracle and, as a navigational divinity, he was thought to enable the colonists to arrive safely at their destination. Apollo sanctioned the actions of the oikistēs and his colonists and, as the god of purification, he was a suitable ally, if a settlement was involved in violence and bloodshed. Unfortunately, our available evidence cannot indicate when Apollo’s oracle at Delphi first became associated with colonization, but regardless, it was Apollo of Delphi, the Archēgetēs, who came to be known as the primary god of colonization, and the god whom the Western Greeks ‘remembered’ when they considered the foundation of their poleis generations later.
Chapter Two – The Cults of Apollo in Southern Italy and Sicily

Introduction

The ancient Greeks believed that Apollo had an essential role in the process of colonization. His sphere of influence was thought to include: the oracle at Delphi that was consulted by potential colonists; providing a safe voyage for the expedition; sanctioning actions upon the arrival in new lands; providing purification for any bloodshed that ensued; promoting health and security for the colonists; and establishing social order. Considering the importance of Apollo for the phenomenon of colonization, one can speculate that the founding god played a prominent role in the religious life of the Greek settlements of southern Italy and Sicily. This study has examined the nature of the cults of Apollo in southern Italy and Sicily, the factors that led to their establishment, and how the cults evolved over time. In particular, the possibility that cults may have been established because of Delphi’s involvement in the founding of the settlement (either in reality or according to tradition) was explored. Coinage was examined to determine whether Apolline imagery can be viewed as an accurate indication of the presence of a cult of Apollo. Finally, the connection between Delphi and the colonies was examined (e.g. dedications, further consultation of the oracle), to explore the possibilities that colonies maintained ties with Delphi because of its involvement in their foundation, or that colonies ‘created’ a connection with the site that became synonymous with colonization.

Methodology and Associated Problems

This study has utilized every available source of information on the cults of Apollo: numismatic iconography, literary sources, inscriptions, and archaeological evidence (temples, altars,
votive offerings). A holistic approach has been used in order to provide a balanced examination of the evidence for the presence and nature of cults of the Apollo, since a review of scholarship has indicated that many assumptions have been made about the factors that contributed to the presence of cults of Apollo. A connection with Delphi is thought to have been a major factor in the existence of cults of Apollo at a settlement. Londey (1990) suggests that colonies founded in association with the Delphic oracle would maintain a close connection with Delphi (p. 126). Furthermore, Edlund (1987) declares that the mere presence of a polis' treasury at Delphi was indicative of the presence of a cult of Apollo in that polis: “Since Sybaris is known to have had a treasury at Delphi, we can assume that the city also had a temple to Apollo” (p. 119). Davies (2007) notes that scholars have assumed that the cults of Apollo Pythios were found in poleis that dedicated treasuries at Delphi, although the evidence has not supported this (p. 58). The influence of religious traditions in the metropolis is also thought to have had an impact on the cults worshipped in colonial foundations (Graham, 1964, p. 14; Malkin, 1987, pp. 2, 145–146; Danner, 1997, pp. 159–160).

It is possible that Apollo was worshipped at colonial settlements under other titles that were connected to Delphi, such as Archégetês (founder-leader), or that the god may have been worshipped under two or more epithets at a particular cult location. At Athens Apollo Hypoakraios (below the heights) was also worshipped as Apollo Pythios, and Apollo Pythios was also venerated as Apollo Patroios (ancestral) and Alexikakos (he who wards off evil) (LSCG Suppl., no. 14, lines 8–14, 52–55; Euripides, Ion, 283–285; Demosthenes, De Corona, 18.141; Philostratus, Vitae Sophistarum, 2.1.5; Plutarch, Demetrius, 40.8; FD III.2, 161; cf. Travlos, 1971, p. 91). At Megara, Apollo was worshipped in the same temple as Pythios, Dekatêphoros (tithe-bringer), and Archégetês (Syll3 653.22; Pausanias, 1.42.5). These examples indicate that cult epithets were not always exclusive
Images on coins have often been used as an indication of the presence of a cult of Apollo. However, some sites including Lokri and Medma have images of Apollo on their coinage, although there is no archaeological, literary or epigraphic evidence to suggest that Apollo was worshipped at either of these sites. It is possible that due to the selective preservation of artifacts that no evidence has survived, although modern numismatic studies have determined that images on coinage may have been simply decorative (Howgego, 1995, p. 62). Numismatic iconography also could have been used to promote civic identity through religious or mythological motifs (Howgego, 1995, p. 63; Collin Bouffier, 2000, p. 77). A study of river-god imagery on the coinage of Hyele (Velia) and Marseilles by Collin Bouffier (2000) found that these images did not indicate the presence of an actual cult, but instead they were used as an emblem of the city (p. 77). Collin Bouffier’s (2000) study cautions that images that appear upon coinage cannot in themselves always be indicative of the existence of a cult. Due to these concerns, images on coinage have been used in conjunction with archaeological, epigraphic, and literary materials.

Ancient literary sources have often been used as evidence of the presence of a cult at a settlement. The identification of a temple on Ortygia at Syracuse was based on a passage in Cicero (*Against Verres*, 4.53.118); however, an inscription has revealed that this temple had been erroneously attributed to Artemis, when it was actually sacred to Apollo (*IG* XIV. 1; *SGDA* 3227; *SEG* XII. 406; Jeffery, 1990, pp. 265, 275, no. 3; see discussion below, pp. 105–107). This example illustrates that literary sources should be used with caution. Literary sources have been accessed

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1 Early third century coins from Lokri depict the head of Apollo, and the figure of Apollo is depicted on coins of Medma from the fourth-century BCE (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, pp. 277, 279).
based on when they were written, by whom, and the circumstances of the work. For example, authors such as Thucydides and Herodotus are generally perceived as more reliable than Hesychius who wrote in the fifth century CE. In addition, a single reference to a cult of Apollo in a late source has been considered uncertain, whereas a cult mentioned in two or more earlier sources has been considered more reliable.

Epigraphic and archaeological evidence has provided the most concrete evidence for the existence of cults of Apollo in southern Italy and Sicily. Some inscriptions indicate Apollo was honoured with a specific epithet, while others only record a dedication to Apollo. Inscriptions that refer to an epithet associated with Apollo can also be a good indication of the presence of a cult of Apollo, although the possibility that the epithet may have been associated with another god must be considered. Inscriptions that indicate the presence of months such as Karneios and Hyakinthos can also provide information about the deities that were venerated in a city. Greek calendars consisted of twelve moons that were given names based on gods and festivals worshipped in a particular locale (Burkert, 1985, p. 225). Therefore, the months of Karneios and Hyakinthos are considered to indicate the presence of Apollo’s cults (Brelitch, 1969, p. 148; Pettersson, 1992, p. 60).

The evidence for cults of Apollo at particular sites has been assessed on a ‘case by case’ basis. The contexts of finds (votive offerings and inscriptions) have been examined in relation to archaeological features including temples, altars, statue bases, and votive deposits. Inscriptions have been considered the most reliable evidence for the presence of a cult of Apollo, but the context of these inscriptions has been taken into account. For example, two inscriptions from Syracuse can illustrate the need to examine the context of particular finds. The presence of an inscription on the stylobate of a temple at Syracuse indicates, without a doubt, that the temple was intended for Apollo.
However, although an inscription to Apollo has been found on a piece of pottery from Achradina, it is difficult to state with certainty that he was honoured in this area of the city. No associated structures are known (temple, altar, shrine), and it is possible that this small artifact could have easily been moved from its original place of deposition (see below, p. 117).

The presence of artifacts that relate to a cult of Apollo, including terracotta statuettes of the god with a lyre, or holding a bow and patera, and depictions of the Delphic tripod, can, in association with archaeological features (altar, shrine, temple), indicate the presence of a cult of Apollo. The probability that a cult site belonged to Apollo increases with the number of votive items that can be related to his cult. Nevertheless, while votive offerings can be helpful in determining the presence of a cult of Apollo, it is always possible that other deities may also have been worshipped in a sanctuary dedicated to the primary god (Alroth, 1989, p. 66), and that small votive offerings representing one deity could be offered to another god (Alroth, 1987, pp. 9, 19; 1989, p. 65).

Although the emphasis in this study has been placed on Greek materials, Latin inscriptions and Roman-era artifacts can also be useful, since many of these cult sites continued to function into Roman times.

Part One – Euboean, Korinthian and Spartan Colonies, Sub-colonies, and Later Foundations

Euboean Colonies, Sub-Colonies, and Later Foundations

Evidence for the cults of Apollo in the metropoleis

The three Euboean poleis that were connected to colonization in southern Italy and Sicily were Euboean Kyme, Chalkis, and Eretria. Euboean Kyme has not been located although it may
have been near the modern city of the same name; however, the existence of this ancient site has been questioned and it has been suggested that Aeolian Kyme may have been involved in the foundation (Bakhuizen, 1981, p. 164; Reber, Hansen & Ducrey, 2004, p. 645). Investigations at Chalkis and Eretria indicate that Apollo was an important deity in these poleis, although archaeological investigation at Chalkis has been hampered by the presence of the modern city (Auberson, 1975, p. 9). A marble tripod with an inscription to Apollo Delphinios indicates the god was venerated at Chalkis (De Santerre, 1953, p. 217; Bakhuizen, 1985, p. 90). This find confirms Plutarch’s (Life of Titus, 16) statement that there was a Delphinion at Chalkis. Apollo Pythios may have also been worshipped at Chalkis.2

At Eretria, the most important cult, located in the centre of the city to the north of the agora, was dedicated to Apollo Daphnēphoros (the laurel carrier), and the god also had the epithet of Prostaterios (protector) (Sakarelli, 2000, p. 88). The worship of Apollo Daphnēphoros likely began in the late ninth century BCE (Walker, 2004, p. 107). The first temple was an apsidal structure that was an imitation of the mythical laurel-branch temple at Delphi (Auberson, 1975, p. 12; Sourvinou-Inwood, 1979, p. 235; Sakellaraki, 2000, p. 24; Walker, 2004, p. 107). According to tradition, the first temple at Delphi was constructed of branches that were collected by Apollo on his journey to the Vale of Tempe, and while passing through the Lelantine Plain (Pausanias 10.5.9; cf. Homeric

2 This is far from certain. Apollo Pythios is mentioned in a fifth century decree found to the southwest of the prytany at Olympia, that was deposited here by Chalkis or one of her colonies (IGA 374, lines 3, 12; Inscr. Olym. 25; Roberts, 1887, p. 203, no. 179; Davies, 2007, p. 60; personal communication; (forthcoming) article Attestations of the cult of Apollo Pythios). However, according to Roberts (1887), the form of the γ implies it was a Chalkidian colony (p. 203, no. 179). The inscription mentions (Apollo) Pythios (line 3), and an altar of Apollo (restored as Pythios) (line 12).
Hymn to Pythian Apollo, 219–220). Ceramic evidence indicates that the temple of Apollo at Eretria was constructed ca. 760–750 BCE and continued to be used until the end of the eighth century BCE (Walker, 2004, p. 107). A contemporary structure in the sanctuary is polygonal or hexagonal in shape, and it has been interpreted as a copy of another mythical structure at Delphi: a temple made from beehives (Pausanais 10.5.9; Auberson, 1975, p. 12; Sakellaraki, 2000, p. 49; Walker, 2004, p. 107; although cf. Sourvinou-Inwood, 1979, p. 247).

A monumental temple, an apsidal *hekatompedon*, was constructed during the second half of the eighth century BCE (Sakellaraki, 2000, pp. 49; Ducrey, Fachard, Knoepfler *et al.*, 2004, p. 232; Walker, 2004, p. 107). This temple was replaced by a rectangular *hekatompedon* (thirty-four by seven meters), possibly with an exterior colonnade, that was constructed in the early seventh century BCE (Auberson, 1968, pp. 13–15; Ducrey, Fachard, Knoepfler *et al.*, 2004, p. 234; Walker, 2004, p. 107). A votive deposit inside the sanctuary contained a number of items from the eighth and seventh centuries including locally-made pottery, *kantharoi* and *krater* fragments, faience amulets, imitation scarabs, imported items from Syria and Iran, and a miniature tripod (Sakellaraki, 2000, pp. 75–76). In the sixth century a Doric temple with Ionic features with six by fourteen columns was constructed on top of the remains of the seventh century temple. The new temple consisted of a *pronaos*, *cella*, and an *opisthodomos*, and was decorated with pedimental sculpture that depicted Theseus fighting against the Amazons (Auberson, 1968, pp. 20–23; Sakellaraki, 2000, p. 49; Ducrey, Fachard, Knoepfler *et al.*, 2004, p. 236).

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3 Pausanias (10.5.9) states that “They say the most ancient temple of Apollo was made of laurel, the branches of which were brought from the laurel in Tempe. This temple must have had the form of a hut. The Delphians say that the second temple was made by bees from bees-wax and feathers, and that it was sent to the Hyperboreans by Apollo (Jones & Omerod (Trans.), 1918).
At Eretria two months were named after festivals of Apollo: *Daphnéphorion* and *Thargelion* (Ducrey, Fachard, Knoepfler *et al.*, 2004, pp. 16–17). Near Eretria was the site of Amarynthos, where Leto, Artemis, and Apollo were worshipped. A *stele* from Amarynthos depicts figures of Apollo *Mousagetēs* (leader of the Muses), shown holding a lyre, and Artemis *Amarysia*, holding a torch, flanking an *omphalos* (Sakarelli, 2000, pp. 88, 96). Archaeological evidence indicates that Apollo was worshipped at Chalkis as *Delphinios*, and that Eretria’s main deity was Apollo *Daphnéphoros*. The cults at both of these locations were connected to the Delphic Apollo through myths.

**The Foundation of Kyme and Neapolis**

Kyme was founded by Chalkis (Thucydides, 6.4.5), Chalkis and Eretria (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, 7.3), or (Euboean or Aeolian?) Kyme and Chalkis (Strabo, 5.4.4). According to Velleius Paterculus (1.4.1), the colonists were guided by a dove, likely that of Apollo *Archēgetēs*, to the new settlement. The founders were Hippokles of Kyme and Megasthenes of Chalkis (Strabo 5.4.4). A Euboean connection has been confirmed by calendar evidence (Fischer- Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 283). Kyme was considered to be one of the first Greek colonies in the west (Strabo, 5.4.4). Archaeological evidence indicates that Kyme was

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4 A similar account appears in Statius, (*Silvae*, 3.5.79–80), in which a dove of Apollo led the founders to Neapolis (see below, p. 73).

5 Velleius Paterculus (1.4.1) stated: “Not long afterwards, the Chalcidians, who, as I have already said, were of Attic origin, founded Cumae [sic] in Italy under the leadership of Hippocrates [sic] and Megasthenes. According to some accounts the voyage of this fleet was guided by the flight of a dove which flew before it” (Shipley, (Trans.), 1924).
settled between 750 and 720 BCE (d’Agostino, 1999, pp. 207–211).

According to tradition, Kyme founded Neapolis around 470 BCE (Pseudo-Scymnus, 242–243; Strabo, 5.4.7). A dove of Apollo was also said to have guided the settlers from Kyme to Neapolis (Statius, *Silvae*, 3.5.79–80). Recent excavations suggest the foundation date may have been earlier, ca. 530–500 BCE (Giampaola & d’Agostino, 2005, pp. 56–57, 59–60, 62). Chalkidians, Pithekoussans and Athenians also joined the colony, and at this time the city took the name of Neapolis (Strabo, 5.4.7). Both Kyme’s and Neapolis’ foundations were indirectly connected to the Thessalian hero Eumelos who was the recipient of a cult at Neapolis (Statius, *Silvae*, 4.8.47–49; *IG XIV*. 715; Miranda, 1985, p. 392). Eumelos was the son of Admetus, a Thessalian king, who founded a temple of Apollo at Tamynae near Eretria (Strabo. 10.1.10). Statius (*Silvae*, 4.8.49) noted that Eumelos adored Apollo, the divinity that Statius considered to be the guide of the Euboean colonists in Italy.

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6 The passage in Statius (*Silvae*, 3.5.79–80) states: “nostra quoque et propriis tenuis nec rara colonis Parthenope [Neapolis], cui mite solum trans aequora vectae ipse Dionaea monstravit Apollo columba.”

7 Prior to the foundation of Neapolis, Kyme founded Parenthenope in the area in the seventh century BCE, which may have been absorbed by the later settlement (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 283).

The evidence for the cults of Apollo at Kyme

i) The Sanctuary of Apollo

The presence of a temple of Apollo at Kyme has been confirmed by remains on the lower terrace of the acropolis and an associated inscription. The Roman Imperial inscription records a dedication made to Apollo Cumano: APOLLINI CUMANO Q TINEIUS RUFUS (CIL X. 368; Beloch, 1895, p. 185; Gaëbrici, 1913, p. 764; McKay, 1972, p. 147; 1973, p. 52; Caputo, 1996, p. 211; Jannelli, 2002a, p. 113). According to tradition, the temple of Apollo at Kyme was constructed by Daedalus (Vergil, Aeneid, 6. 14–19). The teeth of the Erymanthian boar that was killed by Herakles were also said to have been placed inside the temple (Pausanias 8.24.5). A passage in Coelius Antipater (fr. 54 = Servius ad Vergil, Aeneid, 6.9), suggests that a wooden statue of the god that stood in the temple well into Roman times (cf. Frederiksen, 1984, p. 75). Pottery evidence indicates activity on the acropolis from the last quarter of the eighth century BCE (Gaëbrici, 1913, pp. 759–760; Jannelli, 1999, pp. 323–324; 2002a, p. 113). A fragment of an Ionic cup, found in the acropolis area, that records a fragmentary inscription in the Chalkidian alphabet of the late seventh or early sixth century date, may refer to a dedication to Apollo: ἄπολος. However, it is possible that the inscription could be of a proper name such as Apollodorus (Jannelli, 2002a, p. 113). The earliest evidence of a sacred use of this area dates to the sixth century BCE.

9 According to Pausanias (8.24.5), “The people of Cumae, among the Opici say that the boar's tusks dedicated in their sanctuary of Apollo are those of the Erymanthian boar, but the saying is altogether improbable” (Jones & Omerod (Trans.), 1918).

10 The passage in Servius (ad Virgil, Aeneid, 6.9) states: “Coelius enim de Cumano Apolline ait ibi in fano signum Apollinis ligneum, altum non minus pedes XV.” According to a story told in Saint Augustine (City of God, 11.3), a statue that stood in the temple of Apollo gave omens by weeping.
The foundation, stereobate, and some architectural terracottas are all that remains of the earliest Greek temple (Gabrici, 1913, p. 757; van Ootegehem, 1936, p. 610; Maiuri, 1958, p. 117; McKay, 1973, pp. 51–52; Gallo, 1985–1986, p. 155; Caputo & Morichi, 1996, p. 83; see figures 12–13). Based on the style of the architectural fragments, the temple likely dates to the last third of the sixth century BCE (Gallo, 1985–1986, p. 168). The temple had an unusual north-east south-west orientation because of a steep decline on the east side, and the entrance was on the north-east side (McKay, 1973, p. 52; Gallo, 1985–1986, p. 150; Caputo & Morichi, 1996, p. 84). Although the remains are fragmentary, the temple was of the Doric order, likely with six by thirteen columns, and with a pronaos, naos, and an adyton (Gallo, 1985–1986, pp. 160–163). The temple may have been built after a victory over the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Baunians in 524 BCE (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Antiquitates Romane, 7.3) at a time of great prosperity for the city (Gallo, 1985–1986, p. 169).

Kyme was conquered by the Samnites in 421 BCE (Diodorus Siculus 12.76.4; Strabo, 5.4.4), but the cult of Apollo seems to have been unaffected. This is not surprising since the Samnites seem to have associated their god Mamers with the Greek Apollo (see below, pp. 229–233). The early temple of Apollo was replaced by an Italic podium temple possibly in the second half of the fourth century (Gallo, 1985–1986, pp. 172, 176; Caputo & Morichi, 1996, pp. 88–89). During the late Republican period the temple was transformed with the creation of a tripartite cella, facing to the east with a colonnaded porch, although the entrance was on the north side (McKay, 1972, p. 162; 1973, p. 52; Gallo, 1985–1986, pp. 177–178; Caputo & Morichi, 1996, p. 92). The temple was ornamented with marble, including a frieze decorated with vegetation and lyres (McKay, 1973, p.

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11 McKay (1973) erroneously places the entrance on the south side (p. 52).

It has been suggested that Apollo was worshipped at Kyme as the archēgetēs because of the tradition that the colonists were led by Apollo's dove (Beloch, 1895, p. 181; Lacroix, 1965, pp. 142, 146). Valenza Mele (1977, 1991–1992) notes that there is no evidence of a cult of Apollo prior to the sixth century, which one would expect if Apollo was honoured as the founding god (1977, p. 502; 1991–1992, p. 21; cf. Caputo & Morichi, 1996, p. 83). Instead she suggests that Hera, whose cult is attested earlier than that of Apollo, was worshipped as the archēgetēs (Valenza Mele, 1977, pp. 502–503, 524; 1991–1992, pp. 11–12). However, absence in the archaeological record does not always indicate the absence of a cult. It is possible that an early cult installation, such as an altar, may not have survived in the archaeological record. Jannelli (2002a) indicates that there was activity on the acropolis during the last quarter of the eighth century BCE (p. 113), making it possible that the cult could have existed here at an earlier date.

Instead of Apollo as the founding god at Kyme, Valenza Mele (1991–1992) proposes that he was worshipped in his capacity as a healing deity (pp. 62–63). This argument stems from the fact that to the north of the temple of Apollo are the remains of a small shrine, exedra, cistern, canal, and a deposit containing anatomical votives (Gallo, 1985–1986, pp. 127–128, 205–206; Valenza Mele, 1991–1992, p. 63; Catucci & Jannelli, 2002, pp. 59–84; Jannelli, 2002a, pp. 117–119). However, the anatomical votives (hands, feet, fingers, toes, legs, phalloi), and the presence of water points to a cult of Asklepios (Catucci & Jannelli, 2002; pp. 59–84, tabs. XIV–XXVI; Jannelli, 2002a, p. 119). Although Apollo was worshipped at Kyme from at least the sixth century BCE, the nature of his cult is uncertain. He may have been the Archēgetēs, as he was worshipped at the Euboean colony of
Naxos and the late foundation of Tauromenion (see below, pp. 81–82, 91); however, the only evidence is the late literary source that alludes to his function as the guide of the colony.

ii) An Oracle of Apollo?

Very little evidence survives from the sanctuary of Apollo making it difficult to reconstruct the nature of the cult, although it has been suggested that the Sibyl and her oracle were connected with Apollo (Maiuri, 1926; 1932–1933; 1955, p. 68; 1958, pp. 123–132; Frederiksen, 1984, p. 75; Pagano, 1985–1986, pp. 119–120).\(^\text{12}\) Parke (1988) suggests that the Sibyl may have been a later Roman addition, since it is mainly Latin authors who speak of her and the earliest reference dates to the Hellenistic period (pp. 71–72; however, cf. Parke, 1972, p. 54).\(^\text{13}\) The only archaeological evidence that can be connected with an oracle is an inscribed bronze disc of the second half of the seventh century BCE, that is believed to have been found at Kyme (Guarducci, 1978, pp. 81–82, fig. 29; Jeffery, 1990, pp. 238, 240, no. 5). The reading of this inscription and its interpretation are controversial (Pötscher, 1987, p. 40; Valenza Mele, 1991–1992, p. 11; Jannelli, 2002, p. 116, note 359); however, it likely reads “Hera does not allow further prophecy” (see figure 14) (Guarducci, 1988, p. 75).

\(^{12}\) Originally a trapezoidal rock cut chamber was identified as the ‘Antro della Sibilla’, the cave where the Sibyl gave her prophecies that was described by Virgil in the Aeneid (6.42–44) (Maiuri, 1926, esp. pp. 85, 88, 90; 1932–1933; 1955, p. 68; 1958, pp. 123–132, figs. 73–78; van Ootegehem, 1934, pp. 19–21, figs. 3–5). This structure is now believed to be part of the fortification system of the ancient city (Pagano 1985–1986, esp. pp. 83, 99, 120; Paone, 1996, pp. 55–62; Bonetto, 1997, pp. 372, 374–375, figs. 210–212; Cerchiai, 2002b, p. 45). Pagano (1985–1986) suggests that an semi-circular exedra and a well located to the south-east of the temple (near the front porch of the Augustan temple) may have been associated with the oracle of Apollo and the Sibyl (pp. 119–120; cf. also Busana & Basso, 1997, pp. 132–133).

\(^{13}\) The Sibyl is first mentioned by Lycophron (Alexandra, 1226–1282). The Sibyl and the Sibylline oracle are also mentioned by other ancient authors including Dionysius of Halicarnassos (Antiquitates Romanae, 4.62), Livy (1.7), and Valerius Antias (Arnobius, 5.1).
1978, p. 81; Jeffery, 1990, pp. 328, p. 240, no. 5; IGASMG III, p. 33 no. 26). The bronze disc indicates the presence of a lot oracle (sortes) associated with Hera (Pötscher, 1987, p. 40). Although Hera was not usually considered an oracular goddess, there was an oracular shrine of Hera at Perachora (Strabo 8.6.22; Dunbabin, 1951; J. Salmon, 1972, pp. 165–168), and other oracles were found at Erythrai, Samos, and Marpesso (Valenza Mele, 1977, p. 498). Valenza Mele (1977) proposes that the oracle first belonged to Hera and later became associated with Apollo (p. 498), and that the connection between Apollo and the Sibyl was Augustan propaganda (1991–1992, pp. 64–65). The evidence suggests that Hera is a more likely candidate for an oracle at Kyme during the Greek period. However, it is possible, yet far from certain, that Apollo’s cult was associated with an oracle at a later date.

iii) Apolline Imagery on Coinage?

Although Apollo does not appear as a figure on Kyme’s coinage, it has been suggested that the prominent images of the facing lion’s scalp and the boar may be connected with worship of Apollo (Rutter, 1979, p. 10; 1997, p. 62; 2001, p. 66). This image was seen on the first coins issued ca. 475–470 BCE and the image continued to be used for more than fifty years (Rutter, 1979, p. 10; 1997, p. 62; 2001, p. 66–67, nos. 513–515, 519–520). Scholars note that lions were associated with Apollo (E. S. G. Robinson, 1946, p. 16; Rutter, 1979, p. 10; 1997, p. 62); however, Lacroix (1965) suggests that the image may have been apotropaic (p. 23). It is also possible that this image may have been the emblem of the city.
The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Neapolis

i) Inscriptions

Two inscriptions indicate that Apollo was worshipped at Neapolis during the Roman period, but there is no evidence of Greek-era cults (see figure 15). One inscription, found at Olympia, refers to the *Sebasta*, games held at Neapolis that were re-established in 2 CE in honour of Augustus (*Inscr. Olym.*, 56. 1.29; Ringwood Arnold, 1960, p. 246). The inscription mentions Apollo’s name in an oath (Miranda, 1985, p. 392). A Greek inscription of the Roman period (first century BCE) found at Neapolis records a dedication made to Isis of a statue of Apollo-Horus-Harpokrates (*IG XIV. 719; CIG 5793; Beloch, 1895, pp. 67–68; Miranda, 1985, p. 392; 1990, p. 20–22, no. 6).*14

ii) A Cult statue of Apollo?

A cult of Apollo and a statue of Apollo with a dove resting on his shoulder at Neapolis were mentioned in Statius (*Silvae*, 3.5.80, 4.8.46).

iii) Apolline Imagery on Coinage

Bronze coins with a laureate head of Apollo begin in the mid-fourth-century BCE (Head, 1911, p. 38; Lacroix, 1965, p. 144; Kraay, 1976, p. 201; Cantilena, 1984, p. 356, figs. 110.51–56; Rutter, 1997, p. 84; 2001, p. 70, nos. 567–570). Obverse images related to Apollo include a tripod, and a lyre resting upon an *omphalos* on third century BCE bronze issues (Head, 1911, p. 38; Lacroix, 1965, p. 144; Rutter, 2001, p. 71, nos. 592, 598, 591).

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*14 The relevant portion of the inscription (*CIG 5793; IG XIV. 719, lines 1–3*) reads: Ἰοῖοὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Ὑρων Ἀρποκράτην.
Kyme, Neapolis and Delphi

There are no known dedications made at Delphi on behalf of Kyme or Neapolis. The only connection to Delphi is the myth of the dove of Apollo *Arχēgētēς* that guided the colonists to their new homes, that was recounted in Velleius Paterculus (1.4.1), and Statius (*Silvae*, 3.5.79–80).

The Foundation of Naxos, Leontini, and Katane

Traditionally, Naxos was the first Greek colony in Sicily, founded by the Euboean *polis* of Chalkis in 735–734 BCE (Thucydides, 6.3.2). According to Hellanikos (*FGrH* 82), some settlers also came from Cycladic island of Naxos. The *oikistēs* was considered to be Theokles (Thucydides, 6.3.1; Hellanikos, *FGrH* 82; Pausanias, 6.13.8; Ephorus, *FGrH* 70F 137a = Strabo 6.2.2; Pseudo-Scymnus, 270–278). Most ancient sources considered Theokles to have been from Chalkis (Thucydides, 6.3.1; Hellanicos *FGrH*. 82; Pausanias, 6.13.8), but according to Ephorus (*FGrH*. 70F 137a = Strabo 6.2.2) and Pseudo-Scymnus (270–278) he was Athenian.15 The suggestion that Theokles was an Athenian seems to have been propaganda connected to the Athenian involvement in the foundation of Thurii at a time when Euboea was controlled by Athens (Vaglio, 2003, p. 161).

Archaeological evidence suggests that Naxos was founded *ca.* 740–730 BCE, and pottery attests to its connection with Euboea (Pelagatti, 1981, pp. 297, 299, 304–311, figs. 10–12; Lentini, 2005, p. 335). There is also some indication that a number of the colonists came from the island of Naxos, including the similarity in letter forms on inscriptions from Sicilian Naxos to those from the island of Naxos, the prevalence of the cult of Dionysios at both places (Guarducci, 1985, pp. 20–21, 24, 33–34), and the use of Cycladic-style housing (Lentini, 2005, pp. 335–336). Although

15 For a full discussion of these sources, see R. Van Compernolle, 1950–1951.
there is no mention of a Delphic foundation oracle in connection with Naxos, scholars have speculated that Delphi was involved because of the presence of an altar of Apollo \textit{Archēgetēs} (Forrest, 1957, p. 165; Leschhorn, 1984, p. 11; Malkin, 1986, pp. 960, 962).

Shortly after Naxos was settled she expanded her territory and founded her own colonies. In 729 BCE, five years after the founding of Naxos, citizens from this \textit{polis} under the leadership of Theokles founded Leontini (Thucydides 6.3.3; Hellanicos \textit{FGrH} 82). After Leontini, Theokles and Chalkidians founded another settlement at Katane (Thucydides, 6.3.3; Hellanikos, \textit{FGrH} 82). However, Theokles was not considered the \textit{oikistēs} of Katane; instead Euarchos was given this honour (Thucydides, 6.3.3; \textit{cf.} Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 12–13). In 476 BCE the populations of Katane and Naxos were moved to Leontini by Hieron, and he resettled the old city of Katane, renamed Aetna, with people from the Peloponnesse and Syracuse (Diodorus Siculus, 11.49.2; see chapter three, pp. 269–272). In 461 BCE, a few years after the death of Hieron, the Kataneans returned and expelled the people from Aetna (Strabo 6.2.3).

\textbf{The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Naxos}

\textit{i) Apollo Archēgetēs}

The evidence for a cult of Apollo \textit{Archēgetēs} at Naxos is based solely on literary references, as no trace of an altar or sanctuary has been found. According to Thucydides (6.3.1), when the colonists arrived at Naxos they constructed an altar to Apollo \textit{Archēgetēs}, which was located outside the city. Thucydides (6.3.1) also noted that “on it the sacred deputies, when they sail from Sicily, first offer sacrifice” (C. F. Smith (Trans), 1921). The altar was probably erected near the sea when the Greeks first arrived at Naxos (Dunbabin, 1948, p. 182; Malkin, 1986, p. 959). Malkin (1986)
proposes that the altar was originally erected to Apollo in his capacity as a maritime deity, but that Apollo’s role as the leader of the foundation became more important to the colonists, and the altar became associated with the Archēgetês (p. 960).

A passage in Appian (Bellum Civile, 5.109) states that once Octavian arrived at Tauromenion:

he made sail to the river Onobalos and the temple of Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, intending to pitch his camp there and attack Tauromenion (H. White, (Trans), 1899).

The location of the altar has been the subject of debate amongst scholars, although two possible suggestions have been made (see figure 16). The first proposal is that the altar of Apollo was located near the ancient harbour of Naxos, in the northern part of the polis (Valenza Mele, 1977, p. 505; Pelagatti, 1980–1981, pp. 698, 706; 1981, p. 303; Guarducci, 1996, pp. 13–14). Recently Lentini (2005) has suggested that it may have been located in the southwestern part of the city instead of the bay close to the port (p. 338). Appian’s (Bellum Civile, 5.109) account notes that, “The Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily” (H. White (Trans.), 1899). Guarducci (1985) postulates that this was an ancient statue that was brought with the colonists when they came to Naxos, and that it was likely a small bronze statue in the sphyrelaton technique (p. 31). This statue may have been transferred to Tauromenion after Naxos was destroyed (see below, p. 91).
ii) Apolline Imagery on Coinage


The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Leontini

i) Apolline Imagery on Coinage

The prevalent image of Apollo on coinage has often been interpreted as indicating the presence of a cult of Apollo at Leontini (Head, 1911, p. 149; Lacroix, 1965, p. 139; Kraay, 1976, p. 212; see figure 17). The laureate head of Apollo, surrounded by three laurel leaves, appeared on coinage from 450 BCE (Lacroix, 1965, p. 139; Rutter, 1997, p. 130). The head of Apollo continued on coinage until 422 BCE when Syracuse took control of Leontini, and coinage production ceased (Rutter, 1997, p. 135). Coins that were issued between 405 and 402 BCE, after Syracuse took control, depict the head of Apollo on the obverse and a tripod on the reverse (Rutter, 1997, pp. 152–153; C. Boehringer, 1998, pp. 47–50). Many of these coins refer to Apollo Pythios with the image of the tripod on the reverse (C. Boehringer, 1998, p. 47).

The evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Katane

i) Apolline Imagery on Coinage

As with Leontini, the Apolline images on Katane’s coinage have led to the suggestion that Apollo was venerated here (Lacroix, 1965, p. 139). Coins depicting Apollo wearing a laurel crown were minted at Katane around 440 BCE (Rutter, 1997, p. 137). In the late fifth century BCE a series was issued depicting a facing head of Apollo on the obverse with a quadriga on the reverse (Kraay,
1976, p. 225; Rutter, 1997, p. 147; see figure 18). Issues of the third century BCE depict Apollo holding a bow in his left hand, a branch in his right hand, with an omphalos at his feet (Lacroix, 1965, p. 141).

Naxos, Leontini, and Delphi

Delphic involvement in the foundation of Naxos has been assumed because of the presence of an altar of Apollo Archëgetës (Forrest, 1957, p. 165; Leschhorn, 1984, p. 11; Malkin, 1986, pp. 960, 962). However, some scholars have suggested the colony was founded in association with a Delian oracle (R. Van Compernolle, 1950–151, p. 182; Brugnone, 1979–1980, pp. 282–283; Pugliese Caratelli, 1992, pp. 402–404; Antonaccio, 2007, p. 211; see chapter one, pp. 31–33). Leontini dedicated a statue of Gorgias at Delphi in the early fourth century BCE (Hermippos = Athenaeus, 11.505 d–e; Cicero, De oratore, 3.32.129; Pliny, Naturalis historia, 33.83; Pausansias, 10.18.7; Pseudo-Dion (= Favorinus) 37.28; Philostratos, Vita Sophistarum, 1.9.4; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 339, no. 334).

The Foundation of Rhegion

Rhegion was a Chalkidian foundation, according to the majority of ancient authors (Thucydides 6.44.3; Pseudo-Scymnus 311–312; Diodorus Siculus 14.40.1; Strabo 6.1.6). Antiochus (FGrH 555, F 9 = Strabo 6.1.6) stated that Zankle provided the oikistês Antimnestos, and invited Chalkidians to join in the foundation. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Antiquitates Romanae, 19.2), it was the Chalkidian Artimedes who received an oracle at Delphi and was, therefore, considered the oikistês (cf. Malkin, 1987, p. 32). The Chalkidians were consecrated as
a tithe (dekatē) to Apollo because of a famine, and they consulted the oracle and were told to found Rhegion (Strabo 6.6.1; Heraclides Lembos, 55; Diodorus Siculus, 8.23.2).\textsuperscript{16} Antiochus (\textit{FGrH} 555, F 9) and Heraclides of Lembos (489–491) noted that some Messenians, who fled during the First Messenian War, participated in the foundation. The Messenians consulted the oracle at Delphi and were told to show gratitude to Artemis and to join the Chalkidian expedition to Rhegion (Strabo 6.1.6). The presence of the cult of Artemis \textit{Phaselitis} and epigraphic evidence indicates that there was a Messenian presence at Rhegion (Dunbabin, 1948, pp. 12–13; Malkin, 1987, p. 33). Euboean participation in the foundation is confirmed by calendar evidence (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 290). Archaeological material points to a foundation during the late eighth century BCE (Sabbione, 1981, pp. 276–280). Rhegion was destroyed by Dionysius I, and it was restored by Dionysius II in 387 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, 14.111–112; Strabo, 6.1.6; see chapter three, pp. 258, 273).

**The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Rhegion**

\textbf{i) Temples of Apollo?}

Apollo is considered to have been an important deity at Rhegion because of the tradition that the colonists were consecrated to him (Vallet, 1958, p. 133; Ghinatti, p. 1974, pp. 543–544; Costabile, 1979, pp. 526–527). Another connection with the god can be seen in the naming of a portion of the city \textit{Phoebia} when the city was restored by Dionysius II after its destruction by

\textsuperscript{16} According to Strabo (6.6.1), “Rhegion is a foundation of the Chalkidians who according to an oracle were consecrated as a tithe to Apollo because of dearth; later it is said they set out thither (Rhegion) as colonists from Delphoi [sic], taking with them also others from home” (quoted from Malkin, 1987, p. 34).
Dionysios I (Strabo, 6.1.6; Ghinatti, 1974, p. 544; Camassa, 1987, p. 4; Lucca, 1995, pp. 166–169; Andronico, 2002, p. 231; Parra, 2005, p. 426). Dionysius II considered himself to be the son of Apollo (Plutarch, De fortuna Alexandri, 338b),17 and he seems to have projected himself in the image of the god (see below, pp. 121–122). The presence of Apolline images on Rhegion’s coinage, that appeared from the end of the fifth century to the third century BCE, has often been cited as evidence of a cult of Apollo (Lacroix, 1965, p. 148; Costabile, 1979, p. 535; Camassa, 1987, p. 4; Parra, 2005, p. 426).

The evidence for cults of Apollo at Rhegion during the Greek period is meager. A (Hellenistic?) roof tile with the inscription ΙΕΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΔΛ[...] indicates that there was a sanctuary of the god, although its location is unknown (IG XIV. 2934. 1, 2400 a; Savalli & Michelini, 2001, pp. 8, 34).18 Some Hellenistic brick and tile stamps inscribed with ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, ΑΠΟ[...], and ΨΗΓΙΟΝ were found at Messene (IG XIV. 2400, 1–27; Salinas, 1886, p. 461; Orsi, 1916a, cols. 193, 196, 198; 1916b, col. 181; Costabile, 1979, p. 535; Cammassa, 1987, p. 4; Savalli & Michelini, 2001, p. 8). Greek sanctuaries were often involved in economic pursuits. Sacred land, or ‘temple estates’ could be leased for agricultural purposes, a temple could be involved in money lending, and workshops were rented out for a variety of industries (Ampolo, 1993, p. 25; Linders, 1992, p. 9). These stamps suggest the presence of a ceramic industry associated with Apollo’s sacred land at

17 Plutarch states: “And Dionysius the younger styled himself the son of Apollo in the inscription: Sprung from a Dorian mother by union with Phoebus Apollo” (Babbits (Trans.), 1936).

18 This inscription was found in 1889 on the Gregorio-Giuffrè property and had been incorporated into a wall. It is unknown if there was a sanctuary in this area, although the presence of mosaics and masonry basins implies that this was a bath building (Savalli & Michelini, 2001, p. 34).
Rhegion (cf. Savalli & Michelini, 2001, p. 8).

Artifacts from the Roman Imperial period provide more information on the presence of cults of Apollo at Rhegion. A Julio-Claudian marble relief depicts an aedicula with a quiver and arrow placed in the pediment, with a phiale mesomphalos, a jug, and a tripod encircled by a serpent between two columns (B. F. Cook, 1971, p. 260, pl. XLIII a; see figure 19). Beneath is a Greek inscription that commemorates a sacrifice in celebration of Apollo, and records a list of municipal officials and cult related people\(^{19}\) (IG XIV. 617; B. F. Cook, 1971, p. 261; Costabile, 1979, p. 537; Lattanzi, 2005, p. 231, fig. 6; Parra, 2005, p. 426). This inscription may be connected to the festival mentioned in Pausanias (5.25.2–4), who noted that “The Messenians on the Strait in accordance with an old custom used to send to Rhegium a chorus of thirty-five boys, and with it a trainer and a flautist, to a local festival of Rhegium (Jones & Omerod (Trans.), 1926; Ghinatti, 1974, p. 545; Camassa, 1987, p. 4; Parra, 2005, p. 426).

A second-century CE inscription mentions a ‘major’ temple of Apollo, indicating that there must have been a second temple at Rhegion during the Roman period (CIL X. 6; Costabile, 1979, p. 534; Savalli & Michelini, 2001, pp. 9, 33; Andronico, 2002, pp. 220–231). It is possible that this inscription refers to an older Greek temple of Apollo at Rhegion. A final artifact of Roman-date that relates to the cult of Apollo is a fragmentary relief that depicts an omphalos placed on top of a tripod with an inscription that mentions administrators of the sanctuary of Apollo (IG XIV. 618; Costabile,

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\(^{19}\) The lengthy inscription mentions haruspices, a sacrificial trumpeter and herald, priest’s attendant, ceremonial piper, and a smoke-observer. For the full inscription and an English translation, see B. F. Cook, 1951, p. 261.
Based on the where these inscriptions were found, it has been suggested that masonry remains near the Palazzo Prefettura may have been a temple of Apollo (Vallet, 1958, p. 133); however, there is no evidence that this structure was a temple and no archaeological evidence to connect it with Apollo (Costabile, 1979, p. 534, note 46; Lattanzi, 2005, p. 230). While Apollo was worshipped at Rhegion the location of his Greek temple, and later Roman cult are unknown.

ii) Apollo Daphnėphoros?

According to Varro (Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum, fr. 11), the Rhegians would gather laurel leaves and take them to the oracle at Delphi. Aristostenes (apud Apollonius, Historia mirabilis, C 40) noted that a rite of purification for married women took place outside the city and that this involved singing of the paean in honour of Apollo. Costabile (1979) suggests that these passages indicate that a Daphnėphoria festival was held at Rhegion (pp. 531–535). Costabile (1979) also connects the passage in Pausanias (5. 25. 2–4) that mentioned flute players and dancers involved in the local Rhegion festival with the Daphnėphoria (p. 531; see above, p. 87). Apollo Daphnėphoros was the primary deity honoured at the Euboean city of Eretria, although the cult is not attested at Rhegion’s metropolis Chalkis. Although it is possible that Apollo Daphnėphoros was worshipped at Rhegion, there is no substantial evidence to support Costabile’s hypothesis.

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20 The inscription (IG XIV. 618) reads: [πρύτανις και ἄρχων ἐκ τῶν ἵδων • Γ(ιος) • Ποσιλλιος [υ(ίος)]ουλιανός • συν πρυτάνεις • Γ(άιος) • Ποσιλλιος • Γ(άιος) • υ(ίος) • Φρέθερεντίενος • Τ(ίτος) Βίττιος Δομιτιανός • μάντις • Γ(άιος) • Νοῦμ[ώνιος Κε]ρεάλης • ἑροκήρυξ • Γ(ιος) • ολιος • Συντροφιανός,[σπρόνδα]ύλης • Κτήτος • καπναῦγα • Βρύανθος • Φησ[— — — —]ς Επιτυνχανός οὐλιανοῦ.
iii) Extra-Urban sanctuary of Apollo?

After committing matricide, Orestes was said to have purified himself near Rhegion where there are seven rivers (Varro, Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum, fr. 11; Cato, Origines, 3). According to Varro, Orestes erected a temple to Apollo and the location described in this myth has been identified as the Metaurus river. No evidence of a sanctuary has been found here, and it is likely that this was a mythical structure (Costabile, 1979, pp. 529–530; Edlund, 1987, p. 117).

iv) Apolline Images on Coinage

A cult of Apollo has been inferred from the presence of Apolline images on the coinage of Rhegion (Lacroix, 1965, p. 148; Costabile, 1979, p. 535; Camassa, 1987, p. 4; Parra, 2005, p. 426). Late fifth-century BCE coins depict a laureate head of Apollo (Head, 1911, p. 109; Costabile, 1979, p. 535, fig. 2; Rutter, 1997, p. 147; 2001, p. 189, nos. 2494–2505). Issues of the fourth and third centuries have an obverse of a laureate head of Apollo, and a reverse image of a tripod, an omphalos, or a tripod above an omphalos (Head, 1911, p. 111; Lacroix, 1965, p. 149; Rutter, 2001, pp. 189, 191, nos. 2510–2511, 2542–2543). Third-century coins include images of jugate heads of Apollo and Artemis, the tripod, and Apollo seated on an omphalos (Head, 1911, p. 111; Lacroix, 1965, p. 149; Rutter, 2001, p. 191, nos. 2550, 2552; see figure 21).

Rhegion and Delphi

Archaeological and literary evidence indicates Rhegion had close ties with Delphi. The Chalkidian founders of Rhegion consulted the Delphic oracle and one-tenth of the population was consecrated to the god (Strabo 6.1.6; Heraclides Lembos, 55; Diodorus Siculus, 8, fr. 23.2). A
passage in Aristoxenes (fr. 117) also suggests that the Rhegions consulted the oracle at Delphi (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 292). A personal consultation at the Delphic oracle was made by Karkinus of Rhegion who sought advice on menacing dreams that occurred after he made a woman pregnant (Diodorus Siculus 19.2.2; Parke & Wormell, 1976b, pp. 111–112, no. 275). Participation in the Pythian Games by the kithara player Ariston of Rhegion is indicated by an account in Timaeus (FGrH 566). A dedication made ca. 460 BCE at Delphi is indicated by the base of black limestone that records part of the word Peγυνοι (IGDGG 1, pp. 103–104, no. 37; Pomtow, 1909, pp. 177–180, no. 22, fig. 7; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 349, no. 416; Rougemont, 1999, p. 163). The large size of the letters indicates that this must have been an important dedication (Rougemont, 1999, p. 163).

The Late Foundation of Tauromenion

According to Diodorus Siculus (14.15.2–3), in 403 BCE the city of Naxos was destroyed by Dionysios I. In 358 BCE Andromachos, the historian Timaios' father, gathered the survivors and they settled on the Mount Tauro above the old site of Naxos at Tauromenion (16.7.1). However, a dedication by the Tauromenitai in the Delian inventories suggests that Tauromenion was founded before 364 BCE (ID. 101.40, 103.60; Rutherford, 1998, p. 83; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 231). Although the settlement of Tauromenion dates to the fourth century BCE, there is evidence of seventh century BCE Greek material here, indicating a Greek presence prior to the foundation (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 232).

21 On the archaeological evidence of the destruction at Naxos by Dionysius I, see Lentini, 2002.
The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Tauromenion

i) Apollo Αρχηγότης

The head of Apollo with the title Αρχηγότης commonly appeared on the obverse of Tauromenion’s coins with either a bull, κιθαρά, or a tripod on the reverse. These coin types were issued between 358 and 275 BCE (Head, 1911, p. 188; Lacroix, 1965, p. 141; Rizzo, 1968, p. 160). Scholars have suggested that the cult image of Apollo Αρχηγότης was transferred to Tauromenion after the destruction of Naxos (Guarducci, 1996, p. 15; Bettinetti, 2001, p. 86). Guarducci (1985) proposes that when the Naxians moved to Tauromenion they erected a new statue of the god that appeared on coins along with the title Αρχηγότης (pp. 31–32). Guarducci (1985) notes that in 1691 a statue to saint Pancratius, the patron saint of Tauromenion, was placed along the seashore (p. 32). On the statue base is a depiction of a statue being toppled, with a small devil flying away (see figure 23). This image has been interpreted as the toppling of the small statue of Apollo Αρχηγότης by the saint Pancratius who fought against paganism (Guarducci, 1985, p. 32; 1996, p. 19). This is an interesting interpretation which may have merit, since the statue being knocked down seems to depict an ancient statue, as it is illustrated with parts of the arms missing. Although the evidence is primarily literary, Naxos seems to have established a cult of Apollo Αρχηγότης when the colony was founded, and this cult was transferred to Tauromenion when the majority of the Naxians moved to this new site.
ii) Apollo Karneios

Three months associated with Apollo are known from inscriptions: Apellaios, Karneios and Apollonios (IG XI.V 423, 426–427; Samuel, 1972, p. 137). Since the presence of the month of Karneios is believed to indicate the existence of this cult (Pettersson, 1992, p. 60), this is a good indication that Apollo Karneios was worshipped at Tauromenion.

iii) Other Apolline Images on Coinage

Many coins issued at Tauromenion have images connected to Apollo, and especially the Delphic god. Some issues depicting the tripod are labeled ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΟΣ (Calciati, 1995, p. 101). Later issues depict the head of Apollo on the obverse and a serpent entwined around an omphalos on the reverse (Head, 1911, p. 188; Lacroix, 1965, p. 142; see figure 24). This motif was similar to coins issued by the Delphic Amphictiony during the second half of the fourth century BCE (Lacroix, 1965, p. 141).

The Korinthian Colony of Syracuse, her Sub-Colonies, and Later Foundations

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis

Literary, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence indicates that Apollo was worshipped in various forms in Korinth from at least the mid-eighth-century BCE. The earliest evidence for his cult is associated with the temple located on Temple Hill (see discussion below). Evidence of a sixth-century BCE cult of Apollo, associated with a later sanctuary of Asklepeios has also been

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22 An inscription from Tauromenion mentions an eponymous magistrate that may be related to priests of Apollo or Zeus (IG XIV. 421–430; Coarelli & Torelli, 1984, p. 357).
found on the northern limits of Korinth (J. F. de Waele, 1933, pp. 420–421; Dengate, 1988, p. 17; Bookidis, 2003, p. 253; Pfaff, 2003, p. 125). An inscription on a sixth-century BCE krater reads: Απέλλαντος ιματ, indicating the god was worshipped here (J. F. de Waele, 1933, p. 420; Dengate, 1988, p. 18; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 185). Pausanias (2.5.5) noted that there was a burned temple of Apollo or Zeus outside the city, along the road to Sikyon. Fragments of a temple, not \textit{in situ}, have been found that suggest a date of the early sixth century BCE (Wiseman, 1978, p. 84; Dengate, 1988, p. 27). Scholars have suggested that the colossal size of the temple may indicate that it was dedicated to Zeus, instead of Apollo (J. Salmon, 1984, p. 228; Dengate, 1988, p. 27). This temple may be associated with a later passage in Pausanias (3.9.2) that mentions the destruction of a temple of Olympian Zeus by fire in 396 BCE (Wiseman, 1978, p. 84; Dengate, 1988, p. 27).

A statue of Apollo and an enclosure in the vicinity of Peirene were noted by Pausanias (2.3.3). Excavations have revealed the remains of a fourth-century temple in this area that has been called the \textit{peribolos} of Apollo based on the passage in Pausanias (Stillwell & Askew, 1941, pp. 1–2; Dengate, 1988, p. 17). However, artifacts in the area do not shed any light on the deity associated with this building (Stillwell & Askew, 1941, pp. 18, 20, 21, fig. 15; Dengate, 1988, p. 17; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 404). Megaw (1967) suggests that the votive offerings were similar to those commonly associated with hero cults (p. 7). Scholars note that in the first half of the first century CE that this area became the fish market, indicating that worship of the deity did not continue into Roman times (Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 189; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 404, note 17). Another statue, that of Apollo \textit{Klarios}, was also mentioned by Pausanias (2.2.8) as being close by a fountain of Poseidon in the Roman forum. The cult of Apollo \textit{Klarios} seems to have been Roman in date (Dengate, 1988, p. 24; Bookidis, 2005, p. 153), and the cult may have had an oracle (Williams, 1978,
pp. 88–89; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, pp. 188–189). Although there is evidence of a number of cults of Apollo at Korinth, the main centre of worship of this god was associated with the temple on Temple Hill.

The identification of the temple on Temple Hill at Korinth has been much debated although its frequent association with Apollo is based primarily on a passage in Pausanias (2. 3.6) (B. Powell, 1905, pp. 44–45; Weinberg, 1939, p. 191; H. S. Robinson, 1976, p. 203; Dengate, 1988, p. 10; Bookidis, 2003, p. 249; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 401). A recent study by Bookidis and Stroud (2004), however, argues convincingly that the Archaic temple at Korinth was dedicated to Apollo. They cite passages in Pausanias (2.3.6) and Plutarch’s Life of Aratos (40) that specifically mention a temple of Apollo at Korinth (Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, pp. 402, 405–406). In addition, a passage in Herodotus (3.52) stated that Periander proclaimed that anyone who associated with Lykophron would be subject to a fine consecrated to Apollo. Bookidis and Stroud (2004) suggest that the fines were placed in a deposit box inside the temple of Apollo at Korinth (p. 405). Archaeological exploration of the Archaic temple on Temple Hill has revealed a small stone-lined cist beneath the floor that has been interpreted as a treasury box (Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 512). This interpretation is probable as Hollinshead (1999) notes that temples could have serve as secure structures for storing money, both for cult purposes and public funds (p. 209).

23 Pausanias (2.3.6) wrote: “As you go along another road from the market-place, which leads to Sicyon, you can see on the right of the road a temple and a bronze image of Apollo, and a little farther on a well called the Well of Glauce” (Jones & Omerod (Trans.), 1918).

24 Periander ruled from 626/5 to 586/5 BCE.

25 An inscription also indicates that the temple also served as an archive (SEG XXXII. 358; H. S. Robinson, 1976, pp. 230–231; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 409).
Although Korinth was destroyed by the Romans in 146 BCE, there are some pre-destruction artifacts that have been excavated that may be associated with the worship of Apollo. An archaic fluted shaft in poros with an inscription by the dedicator (Ἀρταμό[- - -]) has been interpreted as a tripod support (Williams, 1970, pp. 26–27; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 410). Although Williams (1970) associates this tripod with the Sacred Spring where other tripod bases have been found (pp. 26, 30), Bookidis and Stroud (2004) note that it was found east of Temple Hill and might be associated with the temple (p. 410). A fragment of a Late Geometric tripod leg was also excavated amongst the debris of the early temple on Temple Hill (H. S. Robinson, 1976, p. 216–217; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 413). Scholars point out that tripods would be appropriate offerings for Apollo (Reichert- Südbeck, 2000, p. 195; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 413). Numerous aryballoi, another suitable offering for Apollo, were also found in the course of excavations north of the temple (H. S. Robinson, 1976, p. 217; Bookidis, 2003, p. 249, note 24; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 4,13).

Excavations on Temple Hill also revealed a middle-Korinthian painted aryballos with an inscription (Korinth Museum, Inv. No. C 54 1; Roebuck & Roebuck, 1955, p. 158). The scene depicts a diaulos player, a dancing man identified as Pyrrhias, and three rows of paired dancers.

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26 The discussion below excludes a controversial votive item, an Archaic bronze frog now in Berlin, that sometimes has been connected with cult of Apollo at Korinth (IG IV. 357; Dengate, 1988, p. 28; Jeffery, 1990, p. 114, note 3; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, pp. 186–188; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 413, note 51).

27 *Aryballoi* were commonly dedicated at Peloponnesian sanctuaries of Apollo, and such an offering was suitable for the youthful god (Dengate, 1988, pp. 6–7).

28 H. S. Robinson (1976), however, associates these finds with a shrine along the road (p. 216).
(Roebuck & Roebuck, 1955, p. 158; Wachter, 2001, p. 45). The main inscription reads: “(This is) Pyrwias [sic] the leading dancer, and his (is) the olpa” (Wachter, 2001, p. 45). Although the vessel is described as an aryballos, the inscription refers to it as an olpa, the local name for an oil flask (Roebuck & Roebuck, 1955, pp. 161–162; Wachter, 2001, p. 47). Although there is no inscription on this vessel to connect it to the cult of Apollo, it has been interpreted as a prize for a dancing competition, and would also have been a suitable offering to the god (Roebuck & Roebuck, 1955, pp. 158, 160; Bookidis, 2003, p. 249; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 413).

Other artifacts found at Korinth seem to be associated with worship of Apollo. A fragmentary Hellenistic marble relief depicts the interior of a sanctuary with a votive plaque placed upon a column; the votive plaque depicts Apollo (Letoös?), Artemis and Leto (B. S. Ridgway, 1981, p. 427 note 21, S-2567; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, pp. 193–194; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 413 note 51). A lost and previously unpublished inscription on a terracotta pinax records a dedication to Apollo: [- - ]Ἀπελ[λον] [- - ] ον μ ἀνεθέκε (Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, pp. 416, 418–419; Bookidis, 2005, p. 143). A date between 560 and 480 BCE has been suggested for this artifact (Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 421). The archaeological evidence together with the literary sources indicates that Apollo was an important deity in Korinth, and that his temple was located on Temple

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29 A diaulos is a double aulos, a musical instrument similar to an oboe.

30 Bookidis and Stroud (2004) note that the inscription is discussed and sketched in excavation notebooks (pp. 416, 418). The inscription consists of the following: the name of the deity (Apelloni; Apollo in the Doric dialect), the name of the dedicant ([ - - ]ον), a pronoun, and the verb ‘dedicate’ (anetheke) (Wachter, 2001, p. 275; Bookidis & Stroud, 2004, p. 419).
The earliest temple of Apollo on Temple Hill may have been established as early as 700 BCE (Roebuck, 1972, pp. 101–102; H. S. Robinson, 1976, p. 215; Dengate, 1988, p. 10). Some scholars suggest later dates, including J. Salmon (1984) who prefers 650 BCE (p. 60), and C. Morgan (1990), who proposes 675 BCE based on a comparison of roof tiles with those of the temples at Delphi and Isthmia (p. 133). Scattered architectural fragments, including building blocks and roof tiles, attest to the early structure (H. S. Robinson, 1976, pp. 224–228; Dengate, 1988, p. 10). The fragments indicate that the early temple consisted of a single *cella* with stuccoed stone walls, and a wooden roof with terracotta tiles (H. S. Robinson, 1976, p. 228). Some scholars connect the temple of Apollo with Kypselus’ building projects at Korinth (J. Salmon, 1984, pp. 62–63, 180; Reichert- Südbeck, 2000, p. 184). However, the date of Kypselus’ rule is considered to have been from the middle of the seventh century BCE (Oost, 1972, p. 16; McGlew, 1993, p. 61), which is incompatible with the temple if either the date of 700 or 675 BCE is accepted. J. Salmon (1984) notes Kypselos’ close association with Apollo, citing his dedications of a bronze palm tree and a treasury at Delphi, in addition to being the recipient of a number of Delphic oracles (pp. 186–187,

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31 Dengate (1988) has argued that Apollo was not an important deity in Korinth, since Apolline imagery does not appear upon coins (pp. 13, 242), and she suggests that there is little archaeological evidence for the cult of Apollo at Korinth (p. 15). However, images on coinage do not necessarily reflect the deities worshipped in a *polis* (Collin Bouffier, 2000, p. 77; see discussion above, p. 67) As discussed above, there is ample archaeological evidence to indicate the presence of cults of Apollo at Korinth

32 J. Salmon (1984) notes that pottery, small finds, and fragments of wall paintings suggest a date of *ca.* 650 BCE (p. 60).
Although it is tempting to connect Kypselos with the construction of this temple, the evidence indicates that the temple was likely constructed in the early sixth century BCE.

The early temple of Apollo was destroyed by fire (H. S. Robinson, 1976, p. 216; Williams, 1978, p. 10), and was replaced by a Doric temple ca. 570–560 BCE, the remains of which are visible today (Weinberg, 1939, pp. 195, 198; Dengate, 1988, p. 10; Pfaff, 2003, p. 112). Bookidis (2003) suggests that Apollo must have been worshipped in Korinth prior to construction of the temple in the early seventh century BCE because of the presence of artifacts that pre-date the temple, including tripod legs of the mid-eighth-century (pp. 248–249). De Polignac (1995) notes that early religious sites could simply be a place where a sacrifice was made, and that at a later date many sites began to receive permanent installations such as altars and temples (p. 19). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the cult of Apollo was well established when the early temple of Apollo was constructed, and that Apollo was already an important god at Korinth when Syracuse was founded.

According to Strabo (8.6.22), Tenea was home to the majority of the Korinthian colonists who settled in Syracuse. Strabo (8.6.22) mentioned that Tenea had a temple of Apollo Teneates. Pausanias (2.5.4) wrote that the inhabitants were Trojans who were captured at Tenedos and that their primary god was Apollo. Malkin (1994a) suggests that Tenea may have been the site of a cult centre and not the home of a group that helped found Syracuse (p. 3, note 9). The ancient site of Tenea has been identified approximately ten kilometers southeast of Korinth where a Classical

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33 Gelon, Hieron I, Dionysius II, and Timoleon also had a close association with Apollo. See below pp. 120–123.

34 According to Pfaff (2003), the roof dates to ca. 550–540 BCE, and it would have been one of the final additions to the temple (p. 112). Lawrence (1996) suggests a date of 540 BCE based on pottery that was mixed in with stone chips from the temple’s construction (p. 79).
cemetery, Roman graves, and a dye factory have been found (Wiseman, 1978, p. 93; Dengate, 1988, p. 29). Unfortunately, no remains of a temple of Apollo or other evidence of his cult have been found.

The Foundation of Syracuse and Her Sub-Colonies

According to Thucydides (6.3.2), Syracuse was founded in 733 BCE by Archias from Korinth. When Syracuse was founded, Korinth was ruled by the Bacchiads, and Archias may have been a member of this ruling family. Archaeological evidence from Syracuse indicates a foundation date between 750 and 725 BCE, making Thucydides’ date possible (Graham, 1982a, pp. 160, 162; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 173). On Ortygia, traces of late eighth century housing have been found near the later Ionic temple (Pelagatti, 1982, pp. 124–128). The foundation myth of Syracuse was recounted by Plutarch (Moralia, 772e–773b = Pseudo-Plutarch, Erotikai Diegeseis, 2) who noted that Archias tried to win the love of Aktaion, and in the struggle that ensued Aktaion was torn to pieces and died. Ancient sources state that this violent act caused

35 The dye vats are believed to date to the third century BCE (Wiseman, 1978, p. 93; J. Salmon, 1984, p. 119).

36 Syracuse was founded one year after Sicilian Naxos. It has been suggested that prior to Korinth’s foundation of Syracuse that there may have been a joint Eretrian and Chalkidian emporion here, based on the name Ortygia, which was a cult epithet for Artemis on Euboea, and the presence of an Arethousa fountain near Chalkis (Walker, 2004, p. 145).

37 J. Salmon (1984) notes that in Thucydides (6.3.2) Archias is referred to as a Heraclid, but that the story found in Plutarch’s Moralia (772e–773b) suggests that he was a Bakchiad (p. 65, note 40).

38 For the problems associated with using pottery to date colonial foundations, see I. Morris, 1996.
a drought and plague, and a delegation was sent to Delphi to consult the oracle (Diodorus, 8.1–3; Scholion of Apollonius of Rhodes, 4.1212). The oracle stated that the reason for the drought and pestilence was the anger of Poseidon. Archias feared the wrath of the god, and he left Korinth and sailed to Sicily and settled at Syracuse.

The foundation oracle is preserved in Pausanias (5.7.3) and it is considered to be authentic by Parke and Wormell (1956a, pp. 67–68): “An isle, Ortygia, lies on the misty ocean over against Trinacria, where the mouth of Alpheius bubbles mingling with the springs of broad Arethusa” (Jones & Ormerod (Trans.), 1926). It has been suggested that this oracle is genuine because it mentions Ortygia and the Arethousa spring, attested geographical features of the early settlement (Parke & Wormell, 1956a, pp. 68–69). In Thucydides’ (6.3.2) account, he indicated that the Syracusans violently expelled the native inhabitants. However, excavations have revealed traces of Siculan oval houses39 on Ortygia, that were constructed in the first half of the ninth century BCE and continued into use after the foundation of the Greek colony (Orsi, 1918, cols. 430–432, 481–482, figs. 42–43; R. J. A. Wilson, 1981–1982, p. 87; 1987–1988, p. 111; Frasca, 1983, pp. 569–594, 589; Shepherd, 1999, p. 277).

Shortly after Syracuse was established, she began to expand her territory. Her first sub-colony was to the south at Helorus (modern Noto). Archaeological evidence, especially pottery and early housing, indicates that the settlement was founded in the late eighth or early seventh century BCE (Voza, 1973a, pp. 117, 119–121, nos. 381, 381b, 383; R. J. A. Wilson, 1981–1982, pp. 87–88; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 195). Syracuse was responsible for the founding of a number of colonies including: Akrai to the east (Palazzolo Acreide), Kasmenai (Monte Casale)

39 These are usually referred to as ‘huts,’ but this has negative connotations.
twelve kilometers west of Akrai, and Kamarina on the south coast, to the east of Gela. Akrai and Kasmenai were probably founded in these strategic locations to connect with the south-west coast and the interior of the island. Kamarina may have been strategically located to the east of Gela to prevent Geloan expansion (Longo, 2002, p. 216).

According to Thucydides, (6.5) Akrai was founded in 664 BCE, Kasmenai in 643 BCE, and Kamarina in 598 BCE by Daskon and Menekolos. The earliest archaeological evidence for Akrai suggests a foundation date between 640 and 625 BCE, which is later than the Thucydidean date (Dunbabin, 1948, p. 100; Bernabò Brea, 1956, pp. 17–18; Boardman, 1980, p. 185). Kasmenai appears to have been a military colony, based on the city plan and the military nature of a votive deposit in the city’s only known temple (Di Vita, 1961, p. 70; Voza, 1973b, pp. 129–130; however, cf. De Angelis, 2007, p. 151). The earliest archaeological material at Kasmenai is pottery that dates to the late seventh century BCE (Di Vita, 1961, pp. 71–72; Boardman, 1980, p. 185). Finds from the Archaic necropolis at Kamarina, including SOS amphoras and graffiti, date to the seventh century BCE, indicating Syracusan occupation of the area prior to the foundation of Kamarina (Domínguez, 1989, p. 230).

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Syracuse

i) The Temple of Apollo on Ortygia

One of the responsibilities of the oikistês, the human founder of a colony, was to establish cults in the new settlement (Malkin, 1987, pp. 2, 10), and Archias may have decided to honour one of the major gods of his mother-city, and the god that selected him to found Syracuse: Apollo. Although there is no archaeological or literary evidence, it is possible that as at Naxos where the
colonists made a sacrifice to Apollo Archēgetēs when they disembarked from their ships, that at Syracuse a sacrifice was made to Apollo, the founder of the new city (Guarducci, 1949, p. 8). Since Ortygia was the area first inhabited by the Greek settlers, it is possible that a sacrifice could have been made in the vicinity of the later temple of Apollo. Early sites of cult activity were simply places where sacrifices were made, and over time the sanctuary could grow to include an altar, temple, and temenos wall (de Polignac, 1995, p. 19). Bergquist (1992) suggests that this area originally consisted of an altar and temenos and that at a later date land had to be expropriated to make room for the sixth century BCE temple (p. 130). Evidence for this hypothesis includes the close proximity of ancient houses and roads to the temple of Apollo and the limited space between the temple and the south temenos wall (Bergquist, 1992, p. 130).

A number of finds in the area of the later temple of Apollo are indicative of early activity in this area. Pottery excavated includes Protokorinthian pieces\(^{40}\) and an early SOS amphora that may date to as early as the eighth century BCE (Cultrera, 1951, col. 796; Pelagatti, 1973, pp. 76, 77–78, nos. 275–277, 280; Frederiksen, 1976–1977, p. 65; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 215). These finds are significant, since they may indicate worship of Apollo from the earliest period of the settlement.\(^{41}\) A fragmentary granite Egyptian statuette of a scribe and a blue faience scarab, both of seventh-century date, were found in the vicinity of the temple (Doepner, 2002, p. 235, no. Bl; Veronese, 2006, pp. 295, 304). The presence of artifacts of the late eighth century BCE to the seventh century

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\(^{40}\) Types displayed in the museum at Syracuse from the Apollonion area that date to this early period include cups and kantharos fragments.

\(^{41}\) Wescoat (1989a) indicates that the worship was carried out in the temenos of Apollo prior to the construction of the temple (p. 85), although no specific reasons for this conclusion are given. Tzouvara–Souli (1991) also suggests that the cult of Apollo dates to the early stages of settlement, as evidenced by the artifacts found in the temple vicinity (p. 94).
BCE indicates that this area was frequently visited during the early phase of the colony (Veronese, 2006, p. 304).

The temple of Apollo on Ortygia likely dates to the first quarter of the sixth century BCE, although there is no archaeological evidence for this date (Coarelli & Torelli, 1984, p. 231; Guarducci, 1987, p. 43; Veronese, 2006, p. 303; Marconi, 2007, p. 50; see figures 25–26). The remains of two walls located to the north of the temple that are aligned with the later temple of Apollo may belong to a predecessor (Culturera, 1951, col. 704 note 99; Thalmann, 1975, p. 56; Marconi, 2007, p. 42). The early sixth-century temple was one of the earliest monumental buildings constructed in Syracuse, and it was the earliest peripteral temple in the Western Greek world (Mertens, 1996, p. 322; Veronese, 2006, p. 293). It was constructed of local limestone in the Doric order, with six by seventeen monolithic columns. The naos of the temple was reached by a stairway placed at the centre of the east side, through a pronaos with two rows of columns. The emphasis placed on the front of the temple was characteristic of Western Greek temples (Mertens, 1990, p. 380). Reichert-Sudbeck (2000) notes that there are some similarities between this temple and the temple of Apollo at Korinth, including the size of the stylobate and other architectural dimensions, although the temple was not typical of those found in mainland Greece (p. 214). The most notable difference was the use of architectural terracottas, including revetment plaques and simae that were characteristic of the Siceliote style (Mertens, 1996, p. 324). The terracotta fragments were of a polychrome style and included Geometric shapes and a large plaque with a Gorgoneion face (Culturera, 1951, cols. 767–786). Based on the architectural and decorative features of this temple, a date of the early sixth century is probable.

Excavations in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo have been limited due to the presence of
modern buildings. The extent of the sanctuary and its associated structures are unknown (Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 215). Cultrera (1951) suggests that there were additional buildings in the sanctuary because a number of terracotta architectural pieces did not belong to the temple (cols. 766, 786–787). In the first half of the sixth century BCE, the sanctuary was equipped with a temenos wall, sections of which were found in excavations (Cultrera, 1951, cols. 744–745; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 216). In the fifth century BCE the sanctuary of Apollo received a finely decorated limestone altar. The facing of this altar was found in excavations near the temple of Apollo (Cultrera, 1951, cols. 762–763, fig. 23; see figure 27). According to Diodorus Siculus (11. 25. 1), after the battle of Himera, Gelon used some of the spoils of war to ornament the Syracusan temples. Since Gelon was responsible for a number of building projects as part of his 're-foundation' of Syracuse, he may also have renovated the temple of Apollo (Diodorus Siculus 11. 25. 1–2, 11. 26. 7; Guido, 1958, p. 14; Wescoat, 1989a, p. 20; Burkert, 1996, p. 24).42 The remains of this limestone altar may date to the time of Gelon, one of many of his numerous public-work projects within the city. Gelon was an active re-founder who projected himself as an oikistēs, and he may have had a particular interest in fostering the cults of the founding god Apollo (see below, p. 120).

Artifacts unearthed within the sanctuary include pottery, terracotta statuettes, a votive plaque, an aedicula, and stelai. A deposit of artifacts of the fifth to fourth centuries was found underneath a mid-fourth-century wall within the temenos. Artifacts include terracotta statuettes of Athena Promachos and Artemis-Bendis (Pelagatti, 1973, pp. 76, 78–79, nos. 281, 283, tabs. 19, 34). Fragments of pottery found in the area of the Apollonion include black and red figure vessels, Italic

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42 According to Diodorus Siculus (11. 26. 7), Gelon constructed the fifth-century temple of Athena on Ortygia, and temples to Demeter and Kore.
and/or Siciliote pottery, Gnathian ware, black gloss ware, *terra sigillata* and a Campanian red-figure *krater* depicting a seated Maenad, and a standing Satyr (Cultrera, 1951, cols. 797–799, fig. 59). A large number of grey bucchero-type plates (second to first centuries BCE) were found in the sanctuary, many with graffiti on them (Cultrera, 1951, cols. 795–802, figs. 60–73). Terracotta statuette fragments include five female heads, two drapery fragments, a fragment of a face (possibly male), the head of an old man, and the head of a comic actor (Cultrera, 1951, cols. 803–810, figs. 79–85). Comparison of the female terracotta heads with dated examples from excavations at Korinth suggests that they range in date from the late fourth century BCE to the first century CE (cf. Davidson, 1952, pp. 45, 46, 57, nos. 264, 282, 402). A fragment of a terracotta plaque with the head and front legs of a dog was also found in excavations (Cultrera, 1954, col. 807, fig. 86). An *aedicula* and the fragments of four *stelai* were also found in the vicinity of the temple (Cultrera, 1951, cols. 763–764, 790, figs. 25, 56). The capitals of two *stelai* date stylistically to the sixth century, and two marble *stelai* fragments date to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century BCE (Cultrera, 1951, cols. 763–764, 790, figs. 25, 56; Doepner, 2002, pp. 107, 234–235, nos. 1–4; see figure 28). The presence of these *stelai* indicates that Apollo was also worshipped here in *aniconic* form (Doepner, 2002, pp. 113–114).

A passage in Cicero (*Against Verres*, 4.118) that mentioned temples of Artemis (Diana) and

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43 Four examples of pottery clearly have the Greek letter alpha on them (Cultrera, 1951, cols. 796, 799–800, nos. 62, 63, 68, 69), although the graffiti do not appear to be related to the deity or deities worshipped.

44 Small terracotta votive plaques were often dedicated at sanctuaries, and they usually have suspension holes that enabled them to be hung on a wall or from a tree (van Straten, 1992, p. 250).
Athena (Minerva) on Ortygia has led to the suggestion that this temple was dedicated to Artemis.\textsuperscript{45} However, an inscription that runs along the *stylobate* on the east side clearly indicates that it belonged to Apollo: Κλεομ[έν]ες : ἐποίησε τόπελονι : ἥο Κυδιεδα : κέπιελε στυλεία : κα[λ]ά Φέργα (IG XIV. 1; SGDI. 3227; SEG IV. 1; SEG XII. 406; SEG XIV. 581; SEG XXVI. 1118; SEG XXXI. 841; SEG XXXVI. 860; SEG XLVI. 1281; Jeffery, 1990, pp. 265, 275, no. 3).\textsuperscript{46}


Although it has been suggested that the inscription was not contemporary with the temple’s construction\textsuperscript{47} (Jeffery, 1990, p. 265), it must have been since it mentions the construction of the columns (Ghezzi, 2002, p. 120).

\textsuperscript{45} Cicero (*Against Verres*, 4.118) stated: “but two [temples], which have a great pre-eminence over all the other – one a temple of Diana, and the other one, which before the arrival of that man [Verres] was the most ornamented of all, sacred to Minerva” (Yonge (Trans.), 1903).

\textsuperscript{46} For the full bibliography on this inscription, see *BTCIG*, vol. 19, p. 108.

\textsuperscript{47} According to Jeffery (1990), the temple was constructed around the first half of the sixth century BCE and that the inscription possibly dates to the third or last quarter of the sixth century (p. 265).
Regardless of the presence of this inscription, scholars have been reluctant to attribute this temple to Apollo, or alternately they have suggested that the temple was a dual cult dedicated to Apollo and Artemis based on Cicero's account (Holm, 1883, p. 164; Dunbabin, 1948, p. 59, note 3; Cultrera, 1951, cols. 703–705; Guido, 1958, p. 43; Coarelli & Torelli, 1984, p. 229; Jeffery, 1990, pp. 265, 275 note. 3). It is certainly possible that Artemis was worshipped in a sanctuary dedicated to her twin brother, and the statuette of Artemis-Bendis may provide some evidence for this (see above, p. 104). A study by Alroth (1989) found that sanctuaries of Apollo could receive votive offerings representing Artemis, and Apolline figurines are occasionally found in sanctuaries of Artemis, indicating the close connection between these two cults (pp. 93–95, 109, 111–112). Unfortunately, the artifacts found in the vicinity of the temple do not shed much light on the possible occupant(s) of the temple. Although it is clear that the temple was dedicated to Apollo, the possibility that Artemis was also worshipped here cannot be excluded.

The identity of Kleomenes who was mentioned in the temple inscription is open to debate. When the temple of Apollo was constructed in the early sixth century BCE, Syracuse was governed by the gameroi, and this was a very prosperous time for the city (Guarducci, 1987, p. 43; Ghezzi, 2002, p. 115). Dunbabin (1948) was the first to propose that Kleomenes may have been a state official who was in charge of the temple's construction, similar to a certain Agathokles who was

48 The female terracotta figurines discussed above could indicate that women dedicated these items, since Baumbauch (2004) suggests that votive offerings can indicate the gender of the dedicant (p. 5). It is also possible that a female deity (Artemis) was worshipped here too; the presence of a terracotta figurine may provide evidence for this. Baumbauch's (2004) study on sanctuaries of Hera found that many sanctuaries had evidence of the worship of subsidiary cults, and therefore, not all votives will relate to the cult of the main deity (p. 7). The small terracotta plaque depicting a dog could be associated with either Apollo, Artemis, or possibly Asklepios, since dogs are commonly associated with healing (Apollo or Asklepios), and Artemis was often depicted with her hunting dog. No other finds suggest any connection to either of these deities.
involved in the construction of the temple of Athena, according to a passage in Diodorus Siculus (8. 11)\(^49\) (p. 59). Ghezzi (2002) suggests that Diodorus Siculus may have been confused, and mistaken Kleomenes' construction of the temple of Apollo with Agathokles' contribution to the temple of Athena (pp. 119–120). Although this is possible, it is equally plausible that both were state officials who were responsible for erecting temples at Syracuse.

Another interesting hypothesis has been proposed by Guarducci (1987) who suggests that Kleomenes was aspiring to become a tyrant of Syracuse, but he failed (p. 44). Sicilian tyrants were connected with a number of monumental building projects in Sicily (T. Van Compernolle 1989). This is not surprising given that construction of a temple can be seen "...primarily a demonstration of prestige, of wealth, and power in the form of thanksgiving to the gods" (Burkert, 1996, p. 24), and providing funding for a temple would have been advantageous to an individual's political career. In addition, Apollo was a suitable deity for a tyrant or a man with tyrannical aspirations to honour.\(^50\) Although Kleomenes' identity is uncertain, he must have been a wealthy man who may have attempted to used his wealth and influence for political gain.

Although the inscription on the stylobate of the temple does not mention the epithet of Apollo, it has been the subject of speculation. Some scholars have suggested that the temple on Ortygia may have been dedicated to Apollo \textit{Daphnithēs} based on a passage in Hesychius (s.v. \textit{Daphnithēs}) that noted that this god was worshipped in Syracuse (Ciaceri, 1911, p. 163; Reichert-

\(^49\) According to Diodorus Siculus (8.11), Agathocles was the \textit{epistatēs} for a temple of Athena.

\(^50\) At Korinth, the tyrant Kypselos was closely associated with Apollo (J. Salmon, 1984, pp. 186–187, 219), and Peisistratus and his sons were responsible for the construction of the temple of Apollo \textit{Pythios} at Athens (Burkert, 1996, p. 24). On the close association between Apollo and Gelon, Hieron, Dionysius II and Timoleon, see below, pp. 120–123.
Südbeck, 2000, p. 216). Riechert–Südbeck (2000) suggests that images on Syracusan coins depicting Apollo wearing a laurel crown may have been representations of the cult statue from Apollo Daphnites' temple on Ortygia (p. 216). However, Apollo was commonly depicted wearing a laurel crown, since the laurel was considered to be a symbol of the god.51 Furthermore, when cult statues were illustrated on coins they were generally depicted as a full figure, not the head of the god (Lacroix, 1949, pp. 59–64, 76–87). This suggestion that the temple on Ortygia was dedicated to Apollo Daphnites seems unlikely, since the only evidence for this epithet is Hesychius, a late source.

The possibility that this temple was dedicated to Apollo Archgetes has also been proposed (Guarducci, 1949, p. 8; Polacco, 1990, p. 157, note 131). Apollo Archgetes, the primary god of foundations (Détienne, 1990, p. 303), would have been a suitable cult for the Syracusans to worship because of tradition of the Delphi's involvement in its foundation. Furthermore, Apollo Archgetes is believed to have worshipped at a number of Greek settlements in southern Italy and Sicily (Farnell, 1907, p. 200; Malkin, 1987, p. 246; see table 10). The location of this temple on Ortygia, the heart of the original settlement, may also reflect the presence of a cult of Apollo Archgetes or Pythios. Often deities that were worshipped in the centre of a polis were those who were directly connected to the foundation of the colony: the founder-god Apollo and the goddess Athena, who protected the city (de Polignac, 1995, p. 101).

At Syracuse, this arrangement can be seen on Ortygia, with the temple of Apollo and the nearby temple(s) of Athena (see figure 8). The unfinished sixth-century Ionic temple may have been...
dedicated to Athena,\textsuperscript{52} as was the fifth-century Athenain located immediately next to it (Drögmul, 1969, p. 51; Mertens, 1996, p. 238). Orsi’s excavations of the Athenain found Archaic architectural terracottas and a deposit of material, including pottery and protomai of late seventh to late sixth centuries BCE, that indicates the presence of an earlier temple (Orsi, 1918, cols. 563–567, 614–616). The cult of Athena is believed to have been established from the beginning of the settlement (de Polignac, 1995, p. 99; Voza, 1999, p. 79). Mertens (1996) has noted that the temple of Apollo and the sixth-century Ionic temple are on the same alignment (p. 238) which implies that these cult areas existed or at least were planned prior to the construction of the temples.

Although the date of establishment of the cult of Apollo is uncertain, eighth-century pottery in the vicinity may indicate early worship of this god (Cultrera, 1951, col. 796; Frederiksen, 1976–1977, p. 65; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 215). It would be appropriate for Apollo as a founding god, with either epithet of Archēgetēs or Pythios, and Athena, the protectress, to have been worshipped on Ortygia, the heart of the settlement, from the earliest of times.

It is also possible that the temple was dedicated to Apollo Agyieus or Apollo as the protector of entrances, streets, and public spaces. Pillars of Apollo Agyieus often stood at the entrance of houses, temples, or cities, illustrating this god’s protection over entrances and gateways (Pausanias 1.31.6, 8.32.4; Heschyius s.v. Agyieus; Farnell, 1907, p. 135; Fields, 1994, p. 99; Detienne, 1998, p. 28; Larson, 2007, p. 87). This cult involved the worship of the god in aniconic form (Harpokration Lex 523; Scholion ad Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae, 489, cf. Fields, 1994, p. 99), including the pillar-stones of the seventh or sixth century BCE that have been found at the

\textsuperscript{52} This temple has also been attributed to Artemis (Coarelli & Torelli, 1981, p. 234; Veronese, 2006, p. 294).
Korinthian colony at Kerkyra (Rhomaios, 1925, pp. 211–213, fig. 5; Tzouvara–Souli, 1984, p. 439; *LIMC* II, p. 238, no. 8). According to Dieuchidas (fr. 2b), conical images of *Agyieus* lined the routes of military expeditions (*cf.* Deteinne, 1998, p. 89). Images of Apollo *Agyieus* with a ship’s prow and dolphins on coins hint that the god was also connected to the sea and seafaring (Boetto, 1997, p. 54). Fehrentz (1993) suggests that Apollo *Agyieus* was a Doric deity that was associated with immigration and colonial foundations (pp. 135–136; *cf.* Farnell, 1907, p. 202). Apollo *Agyieus* was commonly worshipped in Korinthian colonies, including Ambracia, Apollonia, and Kerkyra, and at the joint Korinthian–Korkyran foundation of Epidamnos (Tzouvara–Souli, 1984, 29; 1991, p. 92; Fehrentz, 1993, pp. 140–141). Although the fragments of *stelai* found within the sanctuary of Apollo indicate the worship of the Apollo in aniconic form, the shapes of these stones are different from those usually associated with the worship of Apollo *Agyieus* (*cf.* Fehrentz, 1993, pp. 124–125). However, it is possible that Apollo was worshipped here with the epithet of *Agyieus*, a cult that was found in other Korinthian colonies.

**ii) Apollo Temenites**

Apollo *Temenites* is mentioned in brief accounts in Thucydides (6. 75; 6.100) and Cicero (*Against Verres*, 4.118). According to Thucydides (6.75, 6.99, 6.100), there was a *temenos* of (Apollo) *Temenites* and a forest of olive-trees.53 Cicero (*Against Verres*, 4.119) mentions a large

53 Thucydides (6.75) wrote: “During this winter the Syracusans also proceed to build a wall next to the city, along the entire extent that faces Epipolae, taking in the Temenites precinct” (C. F. Smith (Trans.), 1921). At Thucydides (6.99) the sacred grove is mentioned: “Accordingly they went out and proceeded to build, starting from the city and carrying a cross-wall below the round fort of the Athenians, chopping down the olive-trees of the precinct and setting up wooden towers.” Thucydides (6.100) also wrote: “The three hundred attacked and took the stockade, the guards leaving it and fleeing to the outwork around Temenites” (C. F. Smith (Trans.), 1921).
statue (*signum*) of Apollo and temples of Ceres (Demeter) and Liber (Kore). The colossal statue of Apollo was also mentioned in a passage by Suetonius (*Tiberius, 74*). Traditionally the area to the west of the theatre was thought to be sacred to Apollo Temenites (Neutsch, 1954, pp. 604–605; Drögmuller, 1969, p. 48; Coarelli & Torelli, 1984, p. 254; Hinz, 1998, p. 102). In this area a number of altars, dating from the end of the seventh century BCE, votive stelai, and a square *peribolos* enclosure (the so-called ‘quadrangular sanctuary’) have been found (Neutsch, 1954, p. 604; Stucchi, 1954, pp. 136–137, no. 1605; Coarelli & Torelli, 1984, p. 254; see figures 29–30). Doepner (2002) suggests that these stelai, dating to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE indicate the presence of an aniconic cult, that she has connected with Apollo Temenites (pp. 107, 109). When the theatre was enlarged a massive retaining wall was built, and it cut through the *peribolos* of the quadrangular sanctuary requiring the sanctuary to be relocated (Neutsch, 1954, pp. 604–605; Stucchi, 1954, pp. 136–137; Coarelli & Torelli, 1984, p. 254; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p 207; see figures 29–30). Recent investigations indicate that this area was sacred to the chthonic deities Demeter and

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54 Cicero (*Against Verres, 4. 119*) noted: “There is also a fourth city, which, because it is the last built, is called Neapolis, in the highest part of which there is a very large theater, and, besides that there are two temples of great beauty, one of Ceres the other of Libera, and a statue of Apollo, which is called Temenites, very beautiful and of colossal size” (Yonge, (Trans.), 1903).

55 Suetonius (*Tiberius, 74*) noted: “On his last birthday he dreamt that the Apollo of Temenos, a statue of remarkable size and beauty, which he had brought from Syracuse to be set up in the library of the new temple, appeared to him in a dream, declaring that it could not be dedicated by Tiberius” (Rolfe (Trans.), 1913).

56 There is a type-written dissertation by L. Bucchi entitled *Il santuario di Apollo Temenite presso il teatro antico di Siracusa*, (Univ. di Urbine anno accad. 1971–1972) in the Istituto di Archeologia dell’Università di Catania that has not been seen by me (mentioned in: Polacco, 1990, pp. 135–136, note 54). According to Polacco (1990), Stucchi misidentified the area west of the theatre as the sanctuary of Apollo Temenites (p. 136, note 54), that Polacco identifies as a sanctuary to the chthonic deities, Demeter and Persephone (p. 149).
Persephone (Polacco, 1990, p. 149). Evidence for this hypothesis includes fragmentary inscriptions that refer to these goddesses and the presence of an eschara that suggests a chthonic connection (Polacco, Trojani, & Scolari, 1989, p. 113; Polacco, 1990, pp. 146–150).

It is also possible that Apollo Temenites was worshipped in this area, and that the series of altars located south of the quadrangular sanctuary might be associated with his cult (Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, pp. 206–207). The earliest altar dates to the end of the seventh century BCE (Neutsch, 1954, p. 604), indicating that the cult was established early in Syracuse’s history. Polacco (1990) suggests that the area of Temenites was sacred to a variety of deities including Apollo, Demeter, Kore, Artemis, Dionysus, the Muses and the Nymphs (p. 157). Unfortunately, the finds have not been well published and the original excavation notebooks have been lost (Polacco, 1990, p. 136, note 54). The evidence, although meagre, indicates that this area may have been the location of the cult of Apollo Temenites.

According to Voza (1999), on the upper terrace above the theatre traces of a small Archaic temple have been found that he suggests was the temple of Apollo Temenites (p. 105). The identification of this area as a sanctuary of Apollo Temenites was first suggested by Rizzo (1923, p. 32). Finds from this area are reported to include sixth century pottery and Archaic terracotta architectural reliefs (R. J. A. Wilson, 1987–1988, p. 112). Immediately east of the Archaic temple are the remains of holes where trees were planted, and this has been interpreted as a sacred forest.

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57 The excavations are also discussed in other works (Voza, 1984–1985, p. 675; R. J. A. Wilson, 1987–1988, p. 112; 1995–1996, p. 67; Lehmler, 2005, p. 134; Cassataro, 2006, p. 58). The archaeological discoveries on the terrace above the theatre have been interpreted differently by Polocco and Trojani (1989) who suggest this was the location of a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Ceres and Libera) based on the passage in Cicero. Voza’s interpretation has been questioned by Hinz (1998, pp. 100–102) and Reichert-Südbeck (2000, p. 208, note 261).
(alsos) based on the passage in Thucydides (6. 99) (Cassataro, 2006, p. 58). However, the presence of an alsos in the vicinity of a temple of Apollo is not unique; landscaping around temples of other deities are known through excavations, inscriptions, and literary references (Camp, 1986, p. 87; 2001, pp. 103–104, fig. 95; Dillon, 1997, pp. 114–116).

On the same terrace at Syracuse, on the north-west side, are the remains of five rows of nine pits that have been associated with a sacred fig grove for Demeter (Polacco & Anti, 1981, pp 159–160; R. J. A. Wilson, 1987–1988, p. 112; Veronese, 2006, p. 297). Tree planting is also seen around the Hephaisteion at Athens, where planters were placed into rock-cut pits in the third century BCE (Thompson, 1937, p 396; Camp, 1986, pp. 86–87, fig. 64; Dillon, 1997, p. 114, note 16). Another example at Syracuse includes Roman landscaping in the vicinity of the altar of Hieron II, where trees were planted and the area was enclosed with porticoes (Van Buren, 1953, p. 217). Since forests and landscaping in general were found in sanctuaries of numerous deities and heroes (Dillon, 1997, pp. 114–116), identification of this structure as a temple of Apollo based on literary sources and the presence of tree-pits should be avoided. Furthermore, these planting pits probably date to the third century BCE, and were part of Hieron II's beautification projects in this part of the city (Hinz, 1998, p. 103).

There appears to be a discrepancy in the ancient sources; Thucydides' account indicates a temenos and a sacred forest, while Cicero only mentions a statue (signum). However, a solution to this problem is suggested by Reichert-Südbeck (2000) who proposes that statue of Apollo Temenites already existed at the time of Thucydides and that his mention of the Temenites hill (7.3) was a reference to the statue that stood here (pp. 206, 208). Neither accounts by Thucydides nor Cicero state that there was a temple of Apollo; however, it could be inferred from the use of the word
temenos by Thucydides (6. 99). A temenos was a piece of land that was sacred to a god and usually included a temple (Liddell & Scott, 1889, s.v. temenos). If Voza’s identification of an Archaic temple on the terrace above the theatre is correct, it is possible that it belonged to Apollo, although without an inscription or artifacts to support this identification it can only remain a possibility. However, Voza’s interpretation has not been well received. Hinz (1998) notes that there is no evidence to suggest the presence of any cult structures above the theater (p. 102), and Reichert-Südbeck (2000) suggests that Voza’s interpretation is erroneous (p. 208, note 161). The Archaic architectural reliefs (reported in R. J. A. Wilson, 1987–1988, p. 112) have not, to my knowledge, been published, and, therefore, the evidence for an early structure is unclear.

Archaeological evidence indicates that during the reign of Hieron II, the theatre area was monumentalised, with changes made to the theatre and stoas added on the theatre terrace (Voza, 1984–1985, p. 675; Lehmler, 2005, pp. 134–135). As previously noted, these changes caused the quadrangular sanctuary, located west of the theatre, to be re-located and placed above the theatre where new temples of Demeter and Kore were constructed (Polacco, Trojani, & Scolari, 1989, pp. 111–117; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p 207; Lehmler, 2005, pp. 134–135; see figure 31).58 If Reichert-Südbeck’s (2000) hypothesis that the statue pre-dates Thucydides is correct, these two temples would have joined the colossal statue of Apollo Temenites on the hill (pp. 206, 208). The placement of a statue of Apollo Temenites at the entrance of a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore may suggest this god presided over gates and passageways, similar in function to Apollo Agyieus (Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 200).

58 Hinz (1998) criticizes this interpretation, suggesting that the ‘temple foundations’ are actually rock cuttings from quarrying and that there are no small finds to backup their conclusions (p. 100). The evidence and reasoning for the identification of two temples in this location can be found in Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari (1989, pp. 60–61).
iii) Apollo Karneios

The Syracusan month of Karneios is recorded in Plutarch (Nic. 28.1; Samuel, 1972, p. 137), which indicates that Apollo Karneios was probably worshipped here. Robertson (2002) suggests that while Dion was on the island of Zacynthus, waiting to sail back to Syracuse, he celebrated the Karneia festival in honour of Apollo (p. 40). The festival is described in Plutarch (Dion, 23.3): “Dion had prepared a magnificent sacrifice to Apollo, and marched in solemn procession to the temple with his soldiers, who were arrayed in full armour” (Perrin (Trans.), 1918). Although Plutarch does not state that this was the Karneia festival, Robertson (2002) postulates that the description is characteristic of this festival (p. 40). In addition, a passage in Theocritus (Idyll 5. 82) has been used as evidence of a Karneia festival because it mentions a feast of Apollo and the sacrifice of a ram (Giannelli, 1963, pp. 104–105). Although, as Polacco and Anti (1981) note, it is not clear in what city this festival was being held: Syracuse, Thurii, or Sybaris (p. 29). Based on the literary evidence, it is possible that Apollo Karneios was worshipped in Syracuse; however, there is no epigraphic or archaeological evidence to support this.

iv) Apollo Paianos

Passages in Cicero (Against Verres, 4.127) indicate that there was a statue of Paian in the temple of Asklepios, and that Paian was worshipped alongside Asklepios (Against Verres, 4.128).

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59 A Syracusan senate decree (Inschr. Magn. 72) also gives evidence for Ἀπόλλωνι ...ισταμένον (Samuel, 1972, p. 137).
A fragmentary inscription found in Via Garibaldi indicates a connection between Apollo and Paian at Syracuse: Απόλλωνος τῷ Παῖα (Orsi, 1899, p. 370; Ciaceri, 1911, p. 162, note 1; Pace, 1945, p. 557; Nilsson, 1952, p. 443; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 209, note 164). The close association between Asklepios and Apollo is also seen at Akragas, where Cicero (Against Verres, 2.4.93) reported that a statue of Apollo by Myron stood in the temple of Asklepios (see below, p. 164). At Syracuse the sanctuary of Asklepios was likely located near the temple of Apollo, since in this area two Roman statues were found representing Hygeia and Pluto-Serapis, in addition to a Greek inscription that mentions a doctor (Pace, 1945, pp. 557–560, figs. 153–154; 576–577; Coarelli & Torelli, 1984, p. 231; Bonacasa, 1985, p. 296, figs. 319–320).

v) Apollo in Achradina?

A partial inscription to Apollo on a limestone base, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ, was found in early excavations by Paolo Orsi in the area of Achradina (Orsi, 1900, p. 60, no. 39; Ciaceri, 1911, p. 162, note 1; Pace, 1945, p. 571, note 7; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 209). Based on the presence of this inscription, Orsi (1900) suggested that a sanctuary of Apollo may have been located here (p. 60, no. 39). A fragment of a large marble statue identified as an omphalos-type Apollo was also found in the ancient quarter of Achradina (in via Vincenzo Statella) (Pafumi, 2002, p. 55, figs. 1–4). The statue appears to be a Roman Imperial copy of an original Greek statue of the fifth century BCE (Pafumi, 2000, pp. 56–57). The contexts of these finds are unknown. Although no date has been suggested for the inscription, its presence may indicate that Apollo was worshipped in this part of
the city.\textsuperscript{60}

\textbf{vi) Apollo Musagetës?}

A Hellenistic inscription indicates that the terrace above the theater was sacred to the Muses (Rizzo, 1923, p. 125). Statues, dated to the second century BCE, were found within the grotto that formed the \textit{nymphaeum}, and they have been identified as the Muses (Guido, 1958, p. 72; Bonacasa, 1985, pp. 296–297, figs. 321–322). Rizzo (1923) notes the close association between Apollo, Dionysus, and the Muses and that they were often the collective recipients of dedications (p. 129). It is possible that Apollo \textit{Musagetës}, leader of the Muses, was worshipped at Syracuse.

\textbf{vii) Apollo and the Nymphs}

An inscription that is believed to record a dedication to Apollo and the Nymphs was found in the area of the altar of Hieron II. It dates to the middle of the fourth century BCE and may be a fragment of an altar (\textit{SEG} XXXIV. 978; Manganaro, 1977, p. 155–156, fig. 5). The inscription has been restored as:

\begin{verbatim}
 Απόλλωνι καὶ Νύμ[φαίς
 τόν βωμὸν ὀἰκοδ[όμεσε
 ὁ δείνα...][τελέος (Manganaro, 1977, p. 155, fig. 5).
\end{verbatim}

While Apollo’s name is missing from the actual inscription, he was commonly worshipped with the

\textsuperscript{60} Since the context of this find is unknown it is difficult to state with certainty that the inscription indicates the presence of a cult of Apollo in Achrudina. It is possible that the find may have been transferred from another part of the \textit{polis} to this area. Furthermore, without any evidence of a structure associated with this find, Orsi’s (1900, p. 61) suggestion that there was a temple of Apollo located here must remain pure speculation. Further archaeological exploration of this area may shed light on this issue.
Nymphs and this is a logical reconstruction. If the inscription has been properly restored, it indicates that Apollo and the Nymphs were the recipient of a cult at Syracuse during the fourth century BCE. Apollo may have been worshipped as Νυμφηγετῆς, the leader of the nymphs.

**viii) Apolline Imagery on Coinage**

The first coins that appear with the image of Apollo date either to the time of Timoleon (343–337 BCE) (Karlsson, 1995, p. 158) or immediately after him (Calciati, 1995, p. 75; Rutter, 1997, p. 171). Scholars suggest that these coins depict Apollo *Archēgēs* (Leschhorn, 1984, p. 190; Malkin, 1986, p. 962; Karlsson, 1995, pp. 155, 165–166, note 3; see below, p. 123). Gold coins with a laureate head of Apollo, with an obverse of the *triskeles* or a *biga* were minted during the reign of Agathokles (317–289 BCE) (Holloway, 1979, pp. 88–89; Calciati, 1995, p. 78; Rutter, 1997, pp. 172–173; Bérend, 1998, pp. 38–40, pl. 9, nos. 1, 11–13). Early bronze issues of Agathokles depict the head of a laureate Apollo with a reverse of a *triskeles* (Holloway, 1979, pp. 88, 89). Electrum coinage of Agathokles included issues with an obverse depicting the laureate head of Apollo and a reverse with the head of Artemis *Soteria*, a tripod, or a lyre (Rutter, 1997, p. 174; Bérend, 1998, p. 39, pl.9, no.15). Images of Apollo continued during the reign of Hieron II (274–216 BCE), and into the Roman period (Calciati, 1995, pp. 85–87).

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61 Timoleon came to Sicily, freed many of the cities from tyrants and formed a *symmachia*, allowing these cities to mint their own coins (Karlsson, 1995, p. 155). Some of these *symmachia* coins depict a head of Apollo wearing a laurel crown or other Apolline symbols (tripod, lyre) (Karlsson, 1995, pp. 165–166, note 3).
ix) Apollo, the Syracusan Tyrants, and Timoleon

The policies of mass movements of people that were employed by the Syracusan tyrants and Timoleon, and their subsequent foundations and re-foundations, were comparable to the actions of an oikistēs (see chapter one, pp. 54–55; chapter three, pp. 253–256). Gelon, Hieron I, Dionysius II and Timoleon utilized the persona of an oikistēs for political gain, and they also fostered a connection with Apollo, the god of foundations. In some instances the re-foundations that were carried out by the Sicilian tyrants were violent acts that could involve the destruction of cities, the forced removal of people, confiscation of lands, and the enslavement of people, all acts that could occur during the foundation of colonies (Malkin, 1987, p. 90; Demand, 1990, p. 48; T. Miller, 1997, pp. 218–219; Bruno Sunseri, 2000, p. 183; Athanassaki, 2003, pp. 120–123; Funke, 2006, p. 157; see chapter one, pp. 53–54). Disguising these horrific acts as those carried out by a ‘re-founder’ could justify his actions or legitimize his claims upon newly conquered territory, just as an oikistēs acted under the sanction of Apollo (chapter one, pp. 24, 53–54). Even when the act of re-foundation did not involve brutality, linking the ‘founder’ with Apollo could also add legitimacy to his actions. In this context it is not surprising that a connection with Apollo was forged by the new-oikistai Gelon, Hieron I, Dionysius II, and Timoleon.

After Gelon’s victory over the Carthaginians he dedicated a rich offering to Apollo of Delphi, a tripod with a gold Nike, that illustrated his devotion to this god (Syll. 3 34a, ML no. 28; Diodorus 11. 26. 7; Theopompus FGrH 115 F193 = Athenaeus 6. 231 e–f; Mafodda, 1996, p. 96; see below pp. 121). Gelon’s brother Hieron, also dedicated an elaborate tripod at Delphi (Syll. 3 33; ML no. 29; 62 As a comparison, propaganda campaigns were waged by Macedonian rulers who utilized the concept of ‘spear-won land’ to add legitimacy to their rule (Billows, 1995, pp. 25–29).
see below, pp. 127–128), and Hieron was portrayed in poetry as having a close bond with Apollo. Both Bacchylides (*Ode Three*, 61–66) and Pindar (*Pythian One*, 90–94) compare Hieron’s piety towards Apollo to that of Kroisos of Lydia, who dedicated many lavish gifts at Delphi (*cf.* Herodotus, 1.50–51). Bacchylides (*Ode Three*, 63–66) wrote: “of all mortal men who live in Greece, not one, O greatly–praised Hieron, will be willing to say that he has sent more gold than you to Loxias” (quoted from Crane, 1996, p. 66). Similarly, Bacchylides (*Ode Three*, 23–62) and Pindar (*Pythian Three*, 38–42) suggested that Hieron, like Kroisos who was saved from his funeral pyre by Apollo, can expect to have a close connection with the god (Crane, 1996, p. 68; Harrell, 1998, p. 302; Currie, 2005, pp. 336–337). In fact, Hieron could also be saved by Apollo, by being made immortal through heroization (Currie, 2005, pp. 366–382, 403). Apollo, through his oracle at Delphi, was known to bestow heroization upon men (Herodotus 1.167 (Phoceans at Agylla); 5.114 (Oneilus at Amathus); 7.117 (Artachaess at Akanthus); *IG XII* 3 863 (Theras at Thera); Plutarch, *Kimon*, 19.4 (Kimon at Kitium); Visser, 1987, pp. 403–406; Currie, 2005, p. 5).

Dionysius II seems to have had a particularly close association with Apollo (Cerfaux & Tondriau, 1957, pp. 119, 470; Christ, 1957, p. 27; Sanders, 1990–1991, p. 123; 1991, pp. 280, 63)

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63 In Herodotus’ (1.87.1–2) version, Kroisos called out for Apollo to save him, and rain extinguished the burning pyre.

64 There are numerous examples of Apollo attempting to aid humans in escaping death: Admetos escapes death through help of Apollo (Bacchylides, *Ode One*, 82); Apollo frees all men from death (*Aeschyclus Eumenides*, 723–724); Apollo tries to persuade death to not take Alcestis: (*Euripides, Alcestis*, 11–12, 30–34); and an epitaph from Rhodes (late fourth/early third century BCE) recounts an account of Apollo saving a man, Parmenis, from death (*CEG II*, 693 (I). The inscription reads: “Apollo took from the [ravaging?] fire and made immortal” (quoted from Currie, 2005, p. 368).

65 The oracle of Apollo at Delphi could also aid in the retrieval of bones of a hero. For example, the Spartans consulted the oracle concerning the bones of Orestes (Herodotus 1.67).
At the time when Dionysius II dedicated a paean to Apollo, a statue of the god was sent to Dionysius II by Plato. When Dionysius II restored Rhegion after it was destroyed by his father, he named the re-founded city Phoebia (Strabo, 6.1.6; see above, pp. 85–86, and chapter three, p. 258). Electrum coins with images of Apollo were minted at Syracuse during Dionysius II's rule (Christ, 1957, pp. 26–27). Furthermore, Dionyius II named his oldest son Apollocrates, probably in honour of the god (Sanders, 1990–1991, p. 123, note 123; Muccioli, 1999, pp. 474–476). It is possible that a statue of Dionysius II's represented him as Apollo, not unlike a statue of his father, Dionysius I, that depicted him with Dionysiac characteristics (Dio Chrysostom 37.20–21; Sanders, 1990–1991, p. 123, note 28; 1991, pp. 280, 282–283).

Timoleon, who envisaged himself as a new-oikistēs, was also perceived to have had a close relationship with Apollo. Prior to Timoleon's expedition to Sicily to free the cities from tyranny, he is said to have visited the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, just as an original oikistēs consulted the god prior to colonization (cf. Sordi, 1961, pp. 25–26; Smarczyk, 2003, p. 101):

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66 Lucca (1995) argues that the choice of the name Phoebia by Dionysius II was due to the importance of this deity at Rhegion (pp. 166–169; cf. Muccioli, 1999, p. 475). Apollo featured prominently in the myths and legends of Rhegion and was probably the recipient of an important Greek cult (see above, pp. 85–88). This must have been a factor in the decision to name the newly re-founded city Phoebia; however, passages in Plutarch (De fortuna Alexandri, 338b), and Pseudo-Plato (Epistome 3.315b, 3.316a) provide compelling evidence that the name was also chosen because of Dionysius II's close association with this god.

67 It is also interesting that Timoleon, like many original oikistai, was also said to have been involved in a murder— that of his brother Timophanes (Plutarch, Timoleon, 16.65; Nepos, Timoleon, 1.4).
Timoleon himself journeyed to Delphi and sacrificed to the god, and as he descended into the place of the oracle, he received the following sign. From the votive offerings suspended there a fillet which had crowns and figures of Victory embroidered upon it slipped away and fell directly upon the head of Timoleon, so that it appeared as if he were being crowned by the god and thus sent forth upon his undertaking (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 8; Perrin (Trans.), 1918, p. 279).

Plutarch’s account illustrates that Timoleon’s actions were considered to have been sanctioned by Apollo, and that the god would guarantee his success. An inscription from Delphi indicates that Timoleon likely dedicated a chariot that was captured during the battle of Krimisos as a thank-offering for the god (Diodorus Siculus 80.5; Plutarch 29.2; Pomtow, 1895; Talbert, 1974, pp. 49–50). The cities that were joined together by Timoleon’s symmachikon often displayed the image of Apollo Archēgetēs (Sordi, 1961, p. 26; Leschhorn, 1984, p. 190; Malkin, 1986, p. 962; Karlsson, 1995, pp. 150, 158, 165–166, note 3; Smarczyk, 2003, pp. 110, 112–113). This can be seen as a symbol of the renewal and re-foundations that Timoleon carried out as an oikistēs (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 39; Diodorus Siculus 16.90; cf. Leschhorn, 1984, p.190).

**The Evidence for the Cult of Apollo at Akrai**

The presence of the month *Apellaios* is known from an inscription (*GDI* 3257; Pugliese Carratelli, 1951, pp. 70–71, no. 4; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 209), and a limestone relief

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69 Reichert-Südbeck (2000) indicates that this month was originally erroneously attributed to Syracuse by Orsi (p. 209, note 167).
depicting Apollo was found on the south side of the hill at Akrai, near the Christian catacombs (the so-called Grotta di Senebardo) (Bernabò Brea, 1956, pp. 29, 146). The mid-second-century BCE relief shows a tripod flanked by figures of Apollo, leaning on an omphalos, and Artemis (Pace, 1945, pp. 581–582, fig. 155; Bernabò Brea, 1956, p. 146, tab. XXX, 1). The iconography of this relief suggests that Apollo Pythios was depicted. A temple of Artemis is known from an inscription (IGS, 217; Pace, 1945, p. 581), and it is possible that Apollo (Pythios?) was also worshipped in this sanctuary, considering the close association of these two gods.

Apollo’s name is mentioned in connection with inscriptions that refer to ‘Anna and the Children’ found at the nearby rural sanctuary at Buscemi (Pugliese Caratelli, 1951, pp. 68–71; Manganaro, 1981, esp. pp. 1071, 1074, 1076–1078; R. J. A. Wilson, 1987–1988, p. 108; Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 209). These inscriptions likely date to the second or first century BCE (Manganaro, 1981, p. 1082), although it is possible that the cult was established at an earlier date. Guarducci (1936) suggests that ‘Anna and the Children’ was an indigenous chthonic cult that can be identified with the Italic cult of Anna Perenna (pp. 30–31, 34–50). Anna was likely connected with the Greek goddess Demeter (Pace, 1945, pp. 484–485). The ‘Children’ seem to have been associated with the Greek Muses, and the cult involved an oracle (Guarducci, 1936, pp. 30–31, 34; Pace, 1945, p. 84). Apollo’s connection to this cult is unclear, although it was likely due to his association with the Muses and prophecy. If Guarducci’s (1936) hypothesis is correct and this cult had indigenous origins, this may indicate Apollo that was assimilated with an indigenous deity, or that his cult was adopted by the indigenous population.

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70 The inscriptions were found in a cave that had rock-carved niches and associated finds. The earliest finds date to the third century BCE, but the native cult of ‘Anna and the Children’ is believed to be older than this later evidence suggests (Reichert-Südbeck, 2000, p. 209).
The Evidence for the Cult of Apollo *Patroios* at Kamarina

A bronze cube with an inscription from a private collection is believed to have been found at Kamarina. The fifth century BCE inscription records a dedication of a *dekata* to Apollo *Patroios*: Ἀντανδρος Πύθιος τοι Απολλόνι δεκάταν ἀνέθηκε τοι Πατρόιοι (Manganaro, 1995b, pp. 98–99; figs. 22–25; 1996a, p. 77). The bronze cube has been interpreted as the base of a bronze statue of Apollo. The *dekata* may refer to the distribution of agricultural land after Kamarina was re-founded *circa* 461 BCE by the Geloans (Thucydides 6.5.5; Herodotus 7.156; Diodorus Siculus, 11.76.5; Manganaro, 1996a, p. 77). Apollo *Patroös*, the ancestral god of the Ionians, is known from Athens where the god was probably worshipped in the *agora* from the Classical period (inscribed altar: *IG* II² 4984; boundary stone: Meritt, 1957, p. 91, no. 38; Pausanias. 1.3.4; Demosthenes, *Against Euboulines*, 57.54; Euripides, *Ion*, 1575–1588; Hedrick, 1988, pp. 186, 194; *cf.* Davies, 1997, pp. 51, 53). At Athens, Apollo *Patroios* was worshipped alongside Apollo *Pythios* and Apollo *Alexikakos*, and he may have been undifferentiated from the Pythian god at first (Davies, 1997, p. 53). Apollo *Patroios* was thought to protect families and soldiers of Athens, and he was worshipped within the phratry (Manganaro, 1995b, p. 99; however, *cf.* Davies, 1997, p. 53), and it is possible that at Kamarina Apollo *Patroios* had a similar function. Athens and Kamarina had a close relationship during the fifth century BCE (Di Vita, 1996, p. 301), it is likely that this cult was introduced from Athens during this time. Although evidence is lacking, it is possible that at Kamarina, like at Athens, Apollo *Patroios* was worshipped in conjunction with Apollo *Pythios* and *Alexikakos*. 
Syracuse, Helorus, Kamarina, and Delphi

Helorus, Kamarina, and Syracuse have evidence of contact with the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Helorus is included in a list of Delphic theorodokoi (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 195), and Kamarina consulted the Delphic oracle in order to sanction the draining of a marsh (Servius ad Vergil, Aeneid, 3.701; Parke & Wormell, 1956b, p. 56, no. 127). Syracuse maintained close ties with the sanctuary at Delphi that was said to have provided the foundation oracle to Archias. Delphi was the recipient of a number of dedications made in the fifth century BCE by the Deinomenid tyrants of Syracuse. The earliest evidence for a Syracusan offering at Delphi was a tripod dedicated by the tyrant Gelon (Diodorus 11.26.7; Theopompos FGrH 115 F193 apud Athenaeus 6.231e–f.). According to Diodoros Siculus (11.26.7), Gelon erected the tripod after his victory over the Carthaginians at the Battle of Himera in 480 BCE. The monumental base has survived along with an inscription (Syll.3 34a; ML no. 28; M. Homolle, 1897, p. 589; Krumeich, 1991, pp. 41, 43; see figure 32 A–C).71 The Korinthian alphabet was used and the inscription states: “Gelon, son of Deinomenes, the Syracusan, dedicated this to Apollo. Bion, the Milesian, son of Diodoros, made the tripod and the Nike” (Amandry, 1987, p. 81). Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, simply stated that he was a citizen of Syracuse, enabling all Syracusans to share in the honour of this rich dedication (Rougemont, 1991, pp. 159; Harrell, 2002, p. 455).72

As his brother did, Hieron I dedicated a tripod at Delphi after his defeat of Etruscans off the

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71 The inscription (Syll.3 34a) reads: Γέλων ὁ Δείνομενος ἀνέθεκε τῷ πόλλονι Συρακούσιος. Τὸν τρίποδα καὶ τὴν νίκην ἑργάσατο Βίον Διοδόρον νιὸς Μιλέσιος.

72 Antonnacio (2007) interprets this inscription differently and states: “Gelon does identify his home city, but only to overshadow it: he may be from Syracuse, but the Syracusans did not make this dedication” (p. 238).
coast of Kyme in 474 BCE. Remains of a monumental base and a battered inscription have been found at Delphi: [Htâróv ho Δεινομέ]νεος ἀνέθηκε [h]e [λ...τάλαντα......] heπαί (Syll. 33; ML no. 29; T. Homolle, 1898, pp. 212–216; Amandry, 1987, p. 81; Krumeich, 1991, p. 43; see figure 32A). According to Neer (2007), the inscription indicates Hieron took credit for the offering, and that parts of the lengthy inscription were removed after the Deinomenids’ fall from power in 466 BCE (p. 238). These elaborate Deinomenid dedications were mentioned by Bacchylides (Ode Three, 17–22): “[G]old shines with flashing light from the high elaborate tripods standing in front of the temple where the Delphinians tend the great sanctuary of Phoebus by the waters of Castalia” (quoted from Neer, 2007, p. 239). Hieron also participated and was victorious at the Pythian Games (Pindar, Pythian One, 2.3).

Besides the two tripods mentioned above, there were a number of other offerings made at Delphi, including two possible treasuries. Syracuse dedicated a treasury at Delphi after the ill-fated Sicilian expedition that was led by the Athenians (after 413 BCE) (Pausanias, 10.11.4), although it is possible that there was an earlier Syracusan treasury here (Rougemont, 1991, p. 173). Remains of a Siciliote treasury of the second quarter of the sixth century may in fact belong to a forerunner (Jacquemin, 1999, p. 142). An unknown offering, of which the base survives, may have been dedicated by Hieron in the first half of the fifth century (Syll. 35A; IGASMG I, p. 120, no. 65; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 353, no. 448). A statue of Hieron was dedicated during the second half of the fifth century BCE (Plutarch, De Pythiae Oraculis, 8; B. Pomtow, 1909, pp. 177–181; Jacquemin 1999, p. 353, no. 452). A mid-fifth-century dedication was made by the Syracusans after a victory at Trinakie (Diodorus Siculus, 12.29.4; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 353, no. 450). Finally, a fragmentary fifth century inscription may refer to a dedication by the Syracusans or possibly a victory over them.
The Late Foundation of Tyndaris by Dionysius I of Syracuse

A number of settlements were founded by the tyrant Dionysius I, including Tyndaris that was founded in 396 BCE (see chapter three, pp. 272–273). Tyndaris was located on the north coast of Sicily and it served as a fortress (Diodorus Siculus, 14.78.5). The population of the city included exiled Peloponnesian Messenians who came from Zakynthos and Naupaktos (Diodorus Siculus, 14.78.5). Archaeological remains of the early city include fortification walls, and a gymnasium dating to the time of Timoleon, but most of the remains are of Roman date (Consolo Langher, 1965, pp. 91–92; see figure 33).

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Tyndaris

The only evidence to suggest that Apollo was worshipped at Tyndaris is the image of laureate head of Apollo that appears on bronze coinage that was issued during the time of Timoleon (Consolo Lagner, 1965, pp. 81–82, 84). These coins are likely connected with Timoleon, who seems to have been closely associated with Apollo, instead of indicating the presence of a cult of Apollo at Tyndaris. Although there is no evidence for a cult of Apollo at Tyndaris, in the third century BCE the polis had a Delphic theorodokos (recipient of sacred envoys) (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 232).

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73 Tyndaris had a symmachia treaty with Timoleon (Diodorus Siculus 16.69.3). For the association of Apollo and Timoleon see: Plutarch, Timoleon, 35.2–3; Karlsson, 1995, p. 161; and above, pp. 122–123.
The Spartan Colony of Taras and her Sub-Colony Herakleia

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis

Apollo was an important deity to the Spartans (Pettersson, 1992, p. 7). He was the recipient of three important festivals: the Gymnopaidia, the Karneia, and the Hyakinthia. Of these three festivals, the Gymnopaidia was confined to Sparta, but the Karneia and Hyakinthia were celebrated in other Dorian poleis (Robertson, 1992, 148). In addition to these three Apolline festivals, Apollo Pythios might have been worshipped in Sparta, as Pausanias (3.11.9) mentioned that there were statues of Apollo Pythios, Artemis and Leto in the agora. Since Sparta was not known for its grand art and architecture, it illustrated its identity through cult rituals, and in particular through its three festivals of Apollo (Pettersson, 1992, p. 7).

Evidence for the Spartan Gymnopaidia festival is based primarily on accounts in a variety of literary sources. According to the Suda (s.v. Gymnopaidia), the festival involved choirs of boys singing hymns to Apollo to honour the men who died in the battle of Thyrea. The Gymnopaidia may have been held in the agora (Pausanias, 3.11.9), and may have involved naked dancing (Athenaios, 14.630d), and endurance tests (Plato, Laws, 1.633c; Hesychius, s.v. Gymnopaidia). The

74 In addition to Sparta, there is evidence that Apollo Karneios was worshipped at Sikyon, Kyrene, Thera, and possibly Sybaris-Thurii (Pettersson, 1997, p. 60). However, in the case of Sybaris-Thurii, it is unclear what location the passage in Theocritos (Idyl, 5.82) refers to (see discussion below, p. 172). The month of Karneios is associated with Akragas, Byzantium, Epidaurus, Epidaurus Limnos, Gela, Kalymna, Kos, Knossos, Nisyros, Rhodes, Syracuse and Tauromenion (Samuel, 1972, s.v. Karneios, p. 291; Pettersson, 1997, p. 60). The Hyakinthia might have been celebrated at other cities, where the month Hyakinthia has been attested to, including Byzantium, Gythion, Kalymna, Knidos, Kos, Lato (Krete), Malia (Krete), Rhodes, and Thera (Samuel, 1972, s.v. Hyakinthos, p. 290; Pettersson, 1997, p. 10). Scholars note that the attribution of this festival at Byzantium is doubtful (Samuel, 1972, s.v. Hyakinthos, p. 290; Pettersson, 1997, p. 10, note 9).

75 The battle of Thyrea is usually dated to 720–719 BCE (Robertson, 1992, p. 164).
victors of the Gymnopaidia contests were given radiate crowns to wear, like those seen on two bronze figures from Amyklai (Dengate, 1988, p. 159). The Gymnopaidia was an initiation festival that marked the transition of young Spartan men into adult warriors (Robertson, 1992, p. 147), in honour of the warrior aspect of Apollo (Pettersson, 1992, p. 44). The traditional date of the institution of this festival was 668 BCE (Cartledge, 1979, p. 126; Robertson, 1992, p. 149). However, Pettersson (1992) suggests that the festival was formed in the mid-eighth-century BCE when Sparta developed as a polis (p. 51).

The Karneia festival was celebrated in honour of Apollo Karneios, and it took place during the summer (Burkert, 1985, p. 234; Dengate, 1988, p. 126). Pausanias (3. 13. 4) stated that Karnos was a prophet of Apollo, who was killed by Hippotes, a Heraklid. As a result, Apollo sent a plague on the Dorian camp, and in order to appease the god Hippotes was exiled, and the cult of Karneia was established. Dengate (1988) proposes that Karneios was originally a deity that became merged with Apollo (p. 136). It has been suggested that the word karnos means ram, and that Karneios was a ram god (Burkert, 1985, p. 235; cf. Dengate, 1988, p. 127). Apollo Karneios was represented as a figure with ram horns, as on a stele from Sparta with an inscription Karneios and the relief of ram’s horns (Woodward, 1908–1909, p. 82–85; Pettersson, 1992, p. 61). Ram-headed stones, interpreted as representations of Apollo Karneios, include the seventh century BCE example from Phlomochori in Lakonia (Le Roy, 1965, pp. 371–376, figs. 13–14; Pettersson, 1992, p. 61, fig. 10), a similar stone from Arkadian Glanitsa (Metzger, 1940–1941, pp. 17–21, pl. III; Pettersson, 1992, p. 61), and a herm-like, ram-headed figure from Passava (ancient Las) (B. Schröder, 1904, pp. 21–24, fig. 1; Pettersson, 1992, p. 62). Images on coins from Kyrene and Metapontion that depict a figure of Apollo with ram’s horns has been identified as Apollo Karneios (Kyrene: Pettersson, pp. 61–62;
fig. 11; Metapontion: Rutter, 1997, p. 51; 2001, p. 133, no. 1508; see figure 58).

The Karneia festival simulated military training according to Athenaeus (apud Demetrios of Skepsis, 4.141e–f). In imitation of the lodgings of soldiers, nine tent-like structures (skiades) were set up, each containing nine men who ate together; each tent contained men from three phratriai (Burkert, 1985, p. 234). A foot-race, the staphylostromoi, was conducted by men called karneatai, who were unmarried and served Karneios (Hesychios, s.v. agetes). A musical contest and the sacrifice of a ram also took place during the festivities, although the musical component was added after the festival was reorganized in 676 BCE (Athenaios 14.635e–f = Hellanicos FGrH 4 F 85a; Theocritos, Idyll, 5. 83; Pettersson, 1992, p. 58). Music played an important role in the art of warfare (Pettersson, 1992, p. 63).

The Karneia festival was an ethnic celebration for Dorian poleis, and at Sparta it helped solidify the polis’ Dorian roots (Pettersson, 1992, p. 92; Robertson, 2002, pp. 6, 7, 15). Apolline festivals were well suited to explain ethnic origins, since they involved large numbers of citizens (Robertson, 2002, pp. 22–23). In addition, the festival was associated with organization of the Spartan military and rites of passage (Pettersson, 1992, pp. 71, 110). Apollo Karneios was a divinity who was considered to protect youths and enabled their transition into full membership in society (Pettersson, 1992, p. 71). At Sparta, next to the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios was the sanctuary of Artemis Hegemone (Leader) indicating the close association of these two gods in the protection of the city and its soldiers (Pausanias, 3.14.6; Pettersson, pp. 64, 66).

The Hyakinthia festival was held at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai, a village that was amalgamated by Sparta in the middle of the eighth century BCE (Mellink, 1943, p. 138; Dietrich, 1975, p. 139; Forrest, 1968, p. 32; Cartledge, 1979, p. 94, 106, Calligas, 1992, p. 47; Pettersson,
The location of the sanctuary of Apollo *Amyklaios* has been confirmed by inscriptions found on the hill of Ayia Kyriaki (*IG* V. 1.823; Tsountas, 1892, p. 3; Dengate, 1988, p. 141; Pettersson, 1997, p. 9, note 7). The *Hyakinthia* festival consisted of two parts; the first day in honour of Hyakinthos and two days in celebration of Apollo *Amyklaios* (Polykrates, *FGrH* 588 F1). According to Athenaeus (4.138f–140a), on the second day the *paean* was sung by male choruses, wreaths were worn, there was a procession of young girls who brought a new robe, and the final day of the festival involved athletic contests and a feast. Pausanias (3.19.1–4) has provided the best description of the sanctuary, stating that it was in the shape of a throne, and in the centre of the sanctuary was an altar that served as the base of a pillar-shaped statue of Apollo.

Hyakinthos is commonly thought to have been a vegetation or fertility deity whose cult was taken over by Apollo when Sparta annexed Amyklai (Mellink, 1943, p. 139, 161; Piccirilli, 1966, p. 113; Dietrich, 1975, p. 134, 135; Cartledge, 1979, p. 80; Dengate, 1988, p. 137). However, more recent scholars have proposed that Hyakinthos was a local hero (Calligas, 1992, p. 46; Pettersson, 1997, p. 28). Furthermore, Pettersson (1997) suggests that Hyakinthos was an ancestral

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76 Piccirilli (1966) hypothesizes that the festival was in honour of Hyakinthos; the first day for mourning his death, and the next two days to celebrate the *apotheosis* of the god Hyakinthos (pp. 111–112).

77 Pausanias (3.16.2) noted that a *chiton* was woven for Apollo by women, and it was carried during a procession on the sacred Hyakinthis road.

78 For a detailed discussion of the feast during the *Hyakinthia* festival, see Bruit, 1990, pp. 162–174.

79 The *nth* suffix is considered to be pre-Greek (Dietrich, 1975, p. 135; Cartledge, 1979, p. 80; Dengate, 1988, p. 137; Pettersson, 1997, p. 12–13).
figure and was connected with rites of passage (pp. 29, 35). A passage in Pausanius (3.1.3) indicates that Hyakinthos was the son of Amyklas, who died when young and his tomb was in Amyklai beneath a statue of Apollo. Pausanias (3.19. 2–3) noted that:

The pedestal of the statue is fashioned into the shape of an altar; and they say the Hyacinthus is buried in it, and at the Hyacinthia, before the sacrifice to Apollo, they devote offerings to Hyacinthus as to a hero into this altar through a bronze door, which is on the left of the altar (Jones & Omerod (Trans.), 1926).

This passage in Pausanias indicates that Hyakinthos was considered to be a deceased hero, although Mellink (1943) suggestes that the tomb of Hyakinthos was connected with his function as a vegetation god, symbolizing the death of vegetation (pp. 47–48). The type of sacrifice that Hyakinthos received was different from that of Apollo, indicating that Hyakinthos was a hero, not a god (Pettersson, 1997, p. 22; Richer, 2004, p. 397). The enagismos (animal sacrifice) to Hyakinthos was chthonic, since it was made through a door and into Hyakinthos’ grave (Pettersson, 1997, p. 22).

The cult of the hero Hyakinthos may have been established around 800 BCE based on

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80 Pettersson (1997) notes the similarities between Hyakinthos and Erechtheus (pp. 35–36).

81 Ekroth (1998) suggests that although sacrifices to heroes are usually referred to as an enagismos, and those to gods as thysia, there is evidence to suggest that the strict differences between the types of sacrifices for gods and heroes must be questioned (pp. 117–118). Ekroth (1998) points out that much of our information for these sacrifices is from Roman or later literary sources (p. 118), and he suggests that there may have been a change in sacrifice types during the late Hellenistic period (p. 129).

82 Chthonic sacrifices were usually associated with gods of the underworld and heroes (Nock, 1944, p. 141). Nock (1944) noted that the hero Hyakinthos was usually referred to as a god and received a sacrifice suitable for a god (pp. 143–144).
artifacts found at the cult site (Calligas, 1992, 46). Calligas (1992) suggests that an ancient tomb at Amyklai was the inspiration for the development of the hero cult of Hyakinthos (pp. 45–46). After 750 BCE, there was a change in the types of dedications and the quantity of items at the Amyklaion (Calligas, 1992, pp. 44, 46). It was at this time that Amyklai was conquered by Sparta, and the new dual cult of Hyakinthos and Apollo Amyklaios was celebrated by the Hyakinthia festival (Calligas, 1992, p. 46). During the festival the cuirass of Timomachos, the leader of the Aigeidai, was shown, which served as a visual representation of the Dorian takeover of Amyklai (Pettersson, 1992, p. 108). Additionally, the cuirass represented the role that the young men would take as soldiers and emphasized this important rite of passage (Pettersson, 1992, p. 76).

Although the first day of the celebration was connected with the older cult of Hyakinthos, and involved mourning for the dead hero, the last two days of the festival were in honour of one of Sparta's major deities, Apollo (Polykrates, FGrH 588 F1). The statue of Apollo Amyklaios was described by Pausanias (3.19.2) as being ancient, in the shape of a bronze pillar, depicting an armed Apollo, with a helmet on his head and holding a lance and a bow. Images fitting this description can be seen on Roman coins issued by Commodus and Gallienus (Alroth, 1989, p. 27, fig. 9; Romano, 83 According to Calligas (1992), "The appearance of the first identifiable dedications on the Amyklaion, i.e. the miniature clay votive vases, the hydrias and the skyphoi also coincides with the inauguration of the cult, since they are dated during the transitional period from PG to MG II" (p. 46). A similar view is offered by Pettersson (1997) who suggests that the worship of Apollo at Amyklai began after the Mycenaean period (pp. 96–97). Other scholars have suggested that terracotta figurines and pottery indicate worship of Hyakinthos from the late Helladic III B period (Dietrich, 1975, p. 138; Cartledge, 1979, p. 66). Calligas' (1992) re-examination of early excavation reports of the Amyklaion casts doubt on the idea of continuity of the cult from the Mycenaean period (pp. 44–46).

84 In this passage Pausanias specifically mentioned that the statue was older than the altar of Bathykles. Elsewhere he mentions that Kroisos sent gold to decorate the statue (Pausanias, 3. 10.2).
The coins of Commodus depict the pillar with zigzags and dots, which may indicate that the statue consisted of bronze sheets that were nailed to a wooden core (Romano, 1980, p. 100). Some artifacts found in the sanctuary reflect the military nature of the god, including a bronze cuirass, spearheads (Dengate, 1988, p. 141), a terracotta warrior's head from the Late Geometric period, and a standing figure holding weapons (Tsountas, 1892, p. 13, pl. 4.4; Alroth, 1989, p. 28). A bronze statuette identified as Apollo depicts a nude young man wearing a wreath and possibly holding a lyre in his left hand (Tsountas, 1892, p. 12, pl. 2; Alroth, 1989, p. 28). As Dengate (1988) notes, there are no specific votive items that can be associated with the cult of Apollo Amyklaios (p. 141).

The altar in the sanctuary was constructed by Bathykles of Magnesia in either the middle of the sixth (Faustoferri, 1993, p. 162) or the late sixth century BCE (Calligas, 1992, p. 47), and it was decorated with sculptured reliefs depicting deities and heroes, including the apotheosis of Hyakinthos and Polybia (Pausanias, 3.18.9–16). Pausanias (3.19.4) described Polybia as the virginal sister of Hyakinthos, while Hesychios (s.v. Polyboia) noted that she was a goddess who was associated with either Artemis or Kore. Scholars consider her to be a vegetation deity and sister of Hyakinthos (Dietrich, 1975, p. 135), a kourotrophic figure and possibly the sister of Hyakinthos (Mellink, 1943, 52–53), a heroine and Hyakinthos' sibling (Brelich, 1969, p. 179; Calame, 1997, pp. 179–180), or the daughter of Hyakinthos (Pettersson, 1997, p. 38). Pettersson (1997) suggests that Pausanias' description of a bearded Hyakinthos\textsuperscript{85} on the altar indicates that he was too old to be her brother, and instead he proposed that Hyakinthos was her father (p. 38). There may have been a

\textsuperscript{85} Calame (1997) suggests that Hyakinthos was wearing his first beard and not an adult beard (p. 180).
dual nature of Hyakinthos; the mature, bearded man seen on the altar of Bathykles, and a youthful figure that was commonly illustrated on Attic pottery with a swan (Pettersson, 1997, pp. 30–36). It is possible that there was also a tradition of a dual nature of Polybia; the daughter, and the sister. The passage in Pausanias (3.19.4) suggests by his time that Polybia was considered to be Hyakinthos’ sister.

The participation of women in the *Hyakinthia* has been noted by scholars (Edmonson, 1959, p. 154; Piccirilli, 1966, pp. 102–103; Dengate, 1988, p. 154; Calame, 1997, pp. 175–177; Pettersson, 1997, p. 12). According to Pausanias (3.16.2), women were responsible for weaving a robe for Apollo that was presented annually. Dengate (1988) notes the feminine nature of many votives in the sanctuary, including spindle whorls, loom weights, and jewelry (p. 154). Inscriptions from the Amyklaion indicate women could be leaders of an *agon* (*IG* V. 1. 586–587; Edmonson, 1959, p. 164; Pettersson, 1997, p. 12). Passages in Euripides (*Helen*, 1464–1475) suggest that women participated in night-time dances during the Hyakinthia. The images on the altar of Bathykles, and the participation of women in the cult of Hyakinthos indicate that the cult was involved in female rites of passage (Pettersson, 1997, p. 38).

**The Foundation of Taras and Siris–Herakleia**

According to Eusebius (*Chronicon* ad. A 706), Taras was founded by Sparta in 706 BCE, and archaeological evidence corroborates this date (Dunbabin, 1948, pp. 28–31; Philippides, 1979, p. 79; Graham, 1982, pp. 112–113; Malkin, 1994b, p. 128; Nafissi, 1999, p. 256). The claim that Sparta was the *metropolis* is evidenced by the use of the Spartan dialect and alphabet, and cults with a distinct Laconian influence (Dunbabin, 1948, pp. 91–92; Malkin, 1994b, p. 128; Nafissi, 1999, p.
A foundation oracle is preserved in Strabo (6.3.2 = Antiochus of Syracuse, \textit{FGrH} 5554, 13) indicating that Phalanthos sought Apollo’s advice at Delphi:

They sent Phalanthos to the temple of the god to enquire about [the foundation] of a colony; and the god prophesied ‘I have given you Satyrion and Taras, a rich country, to dwell in and be a plague to the Iapygians.’ Accordingly, the Partheniai went there with Phalanthos and they were welcomed by both the barbarians and the Cretans who had previously taken possession of the place (Quoted from Malkin, 1994b, p. 117).\footnote{The site of Satyrion, at modern Leporano to the east of Taras, was the area first settled by the Spartans according to archaeological evidence (Dunbabin, 1948, p. 30; Malkin, 1994b, p. 121). The \textit{Partheniai}\footnote{There are various accounts given by Ephorus (\textit{apud} Strabo 6. 3. 3), Aristotle (\textit{Politics}, 5. 7. 2), Polybius (12.10; 6.5–1), Dionysus of Halikarnassos (19. 1); and Diodorus Siculus (8. 21; 15. 66.3). A full discussion of the different literary accounts can be found in Corsano (1979, pp. 114–126), Leschhorn (1984, pp. 31–34), and Qviller (1996, pp. 34–41).} seem to have been the sons of Spartan women who were not given full Spartan citizenship, and when they became adults they formed a conspiracy against the state although this failed and they were exiled (Philippides, 1979, pp. 79–80). If there is some historical truth to this foundation story, it is possible that a particular group of men were denied the right to marry, causing social strife, that resulted in the colonization of Taras (Qviller, 1996, p. 39).}

Although Siris was an Ionian Greek foundation by Kolophon, it is intricately tied to Taras’ settlement at Herakleia, and it is best to discuss these two settlements together. The ancient \textit{polis} of Siris was located at the mouth of Siris River (modern Sinni River) between Sybaris and Metapontion along the Tarentine Gulf. According to Strabo (6.1.14), Siris was founded by Ionians

\footnote{This foundation oracle was considered to be “more plausible” by Parke and Wormell, (1956a) than a second oracle (Pausanias 10.10.6) that involves Phalanthos who is told to settle his colony under a clear sky (pp. 71–73).}
who fled Lydian oppression and took over a native settlement and that they changed the name from Polieion to Siris. According to Athenaeus (12.523 C) and Timaeus (FGrH 566, fr.51), the colonists were from Kolophon. An early or mid-sixth-century BCE loom-weight with an inscription in the Ionian alphabet may provide evidence of an Ionian presence (Jeffery, 1990, p. 286). The foundation of Siris has been connected to the Lydian Gyges who occupied the city of Kolophon (Herodotus, 1.14.4; Huxley, 1980, pp. 28, 30–31). However, archaeological evidence, including Late Geometric and Protokorinthian pottery, suggests a foundation date of the late eighth or early seventh century BCE (Osanna, 1992, p. 87; Tagliente, 1998, pp. 96, 99; Orlandini, 1999, pp. 203–204). There is also evidence of the presence of a small artisan or commercial centre of the Ionians in the area prior to colonization (Orlandini, 1999, pp. 207, 210).

Siris was conquered by Metapontion, Kroton, and Sybaris (Justin, Epitome, 20.2–4). Archaeological evidence, including an Achaean inscription on a votive offering, suggests that Siris came under Sybaris’ domain in the second half of the sixth century BCE (Tagliente, 1998, pp. 98, 101–102). Siris was supplanted by Herakleia in 432 BCE; a joint colonial foundation of Taras and Thurii according to Antiochus (FGrH 11), or solely a Tarentine colony (Diodorus Siculus, 12.36.4; Strabo, 6.1.14). Tarentine supremacy of Herakleia is suggested by an inscription that indicates the presence of ephors (IG XIV. 645.1.1; SEG 30. 1162–70; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 259). Herakleia was founded on the site of Siris (Diodorus Siculus, 12.36.4; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 259).
The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Taras

i) Apollo *Hyakinthos*

The modern city of Taranto has prevented full-scale archaeological exploration of the ancient city of Taras. As a result, much of the evidence for the city's cults, including those of Apollo, has been ascertained by examination of terracotta statuettes found in votive deposits (Carter, 1975, pp. 9, 12; Iacobone, 1988, pp. 2, 155; see figure 34). In 1881, a votive deposit was found near the Castel Saraceno on the south side of the city inside a Roman bath building called the Terme Montegranaro (Viola, 1881, pp. 402–404; Evans, 1886, p. 7; Wuilleumier, 1939, p. 247; Carter, 1975, pp. 9, 12; Rossi, 1982, p. 564; Abruzzese Calabrese, 1987, p. 9; Lippolis, 1995, p. 100). A large number of terracotta votive figurines were found here, depicting a naked male figure holding a lyre or other items, or a female figure with a lyre, that were at first identified as Apollo and the Muses (Viola, 1881, pp. 402–404; Evans, 1886, p. 7; Wuilleumier, 1939, pp. 408, 485–486; Rossi, 1982, p. 564; Hernández-Martínez, 2004, p. 90, figs. 4–5; see figure 35). The figurines date to the fourth and third centuries BCE (Iacobone, 1988, p. 158; Hernández-Martínez, 2004, p. 90). Viola (1881) suggested that these votives were associated with a shrine of Apollo that was destroyed when the Roman bath building was constructed (p. 404). Later scholars continue to suggest that there was a sanctuary of Apollo here (Stazio, 1965, pp. 156, 158; L.C. Lo Porto, 1971, p. 378; Carter, 1975, pp. 9, 12; Brauer, 1986, p. 88; De Juliis, 2000, p. 74), although there is no archaeological evidence for a structure. Unfortunately, a skyscraper was built in this area and further archaeological investigation is not possible at the present time (Rossi, 1982, p. 564).

The early attribution of these terracotta figurines as Apollo and Muses by Viola (1881, pp. 402–404), Evans (1886, p. 7) and Wuilleumier, (1939, pp. 408, 485–486) has been questioned.

A tomb of Hyakinthos, that was also known as that of Apollo Hyakinthos, is mentioned in a passage of Polybius that places it outside the Temenid gate. According to Polybius (8.28),

Hannibal on approaching the city on its eastern side, which lies towards the interior, was to advance towards the Temenid gate and light a fire on the tomb, called by some the tomb of Hyacinthus, by others that of Apollo. Tragiscus, when he saw the signal, was to signal

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88 The presence of Polybia at Taras, may have been associated with female rites of passage, as at Sparta (see above, p. 136).

89 Dietrich (1975) suggests that Taras was home to a combined cult of Apollo–Hyakinthos (p. 141).

90 Similar terracotta statuettes have also been found at Herakleia, Taras’ sub-colony (see below, p.152).
back by fire from within the town (Paton (Trans.), 1922).

Stazio (1965) proposes that the Masseria del Carmine deposit was related to the tomb mentioned by Polybius that was located near the Temenid Gate (pp. 162–164). The placement of the tomb of Hyakinthos outside the Temenid gate was suitable, since hero shrines were often placed at gates to provide protection to the city (Kearns, 1990, pp. 73–74). The remains of two gates have been found along the eastern stretch of fortification walls, one on the south, and one on the north (L. C. Lo Porto, 1971, p. 372). If Stazio’s hypothesis is correct,91 south-eastern gate would be the Temenid Gate, and the Masseria del Carmine votive deposit might be connected with the tomb of Apollo Hyakinthos (Carter, 1975, p. 12, note 31). More recently, however, Lippolis (1995) notes that Polybius’ account is incompatible with the Masseria del Carmine location (cf. Hernández-Martínez, 2004, p. 96). The tomb of Hyakinthos needed to be a sufficient distance from the circuit wall and in a high area in order for the defenders to see the signal (Lippolis, 1995, p. 56). Instead, he suggests that the tomb was located beyond the Salinella area and has yet to be located (Lippolis, 1995, p. 57).

In addition, considering the presence of other votive deposits in Taras containing large quantities of statuettes of Apollo-Hyakinthos and Polybia it is unlikely that the Masseria del Carmine deposit was associated with the tomb of Hyakinthos. Lippolis (2001) proposes that the Masseria del Carmine deposit was not associated with any structure, but that it was a deposit of ritual material associated with rites of passage over a period of time (pp. 236–237; cf. Hernández-Martínez, 2004, p. 96). Hernández-Martínez (2004) notes that the votive deposits were located along a main street of the polis that led out of the city, in the area of a necropolis (pp. 98–99). These votives may have

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91 However, L. C. Lo Porto (1971) identifies the Temenid gate as the one on north-east because it was larger, and Polybius’ description used the plural pulas (p. 372).
been deposited while worshippers made their way through the city to the tomb of Apollo-Hyakinthos, that was likely located in the south-east (pp. 98–99). This scenario would situate the tomb at an extraurban site, similar to the sanctuary of Apollo and tomb of Hyakinthos at Amyklai.

Many scholars have suggested that at Taras there was a variation of the Spartan cult of the hero Hyakinthos and of Apollo *Amyklaios* in the form of the cult of Apollo *Hyakinthos* 92 (Wuilleumier, 1939, pp. 243, 248; Mellink, 1943, p. 158; Dunbabin, 1948, p. 91; Gianelli, 1963, pp. 28–29; Ghinatti, 1974, p. 37; Dietrich, 1975, p. 141; Pettersson, 1997, p. 35, note 190; Hernández-Martínez, 2004, p. 84). Based on the passage in Polybius and the votive deposits, it has been suggested that there was an extra-mural sanctuary of Apollo *Hyakinthos* (L. C. Lo Porto, 1971, p. 378; Lippolis, 1982, p. 131; Hernández-Martínez, 2004, pp. 98–99). Alternately, some scholars have suggested that the cult was solely for Hyakinthos 93 (Rossi, 1982, p. 565; Iacobone, 1988, pp. 163, 164), since the passage in Polybius mentioned a tomb which indicates that Hyakinthos was a deceased hero (Ghinatti, 1974, p. 37; Abruzzese Calabrese, 1987, p. 23). A hero cult was commonly found within or adjacent to a sanctuary of a god (Kearns, 1990, p. 78). The evidence suggests that Taras, like Sparta, had a tomb of Hyakinthos in a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo.

According to Burkert (1985), “In myth, correspondingly, the gods often have a mortal double who could almost be mistaken for the god except for the fact that he is subject to death, and indeed

92 Piccarilli (1966) suggests that Hyakinthos was a god who became fused with Apollo at Taras (p. 115).

93 A hero was usually worshipped in a single location (Kearns, 1990, p. 88), although a hero could be connected with other sanctuaries through myth (Kearns, 1990, p. 91). However, the passage in Polybius (8. 30) suggests that Hyakinthos, the hero, was also worshipped at Taras.
is killed by the god himself...” (p. 202). Furthermore, Kearns (1990) notes that representations of a hero could be indistinguishable from the associated god (p. 68). This could account for the difficulty in interpreting the terracotta figurines, that include Apolline images (lyre, other musical instruments) and other items usually not associated with Apollo (grapes, cornucopia, rooster). Lippolis (1995) connects some of the items that this youthful figure holds with heroes including an oinochoe, the phiale, the rooster, and the lyre (p. 57). Images on coins of the early sixth century BCE that depict a naked youth holding a flower and a lyre have been identified as either Hyakinthos (Rossi, 1982, p. 566; Malkin, 1994b, p. 113; Rutter, 1997, p. 53; Nafissi, 1999, p. 255; 2001, p. 93, nos. 824–825; De Juliius, 2000, p. 35) or Apollo Hyakinthos (Gianelli, 1963, pp. 27–28; Piccirilli, 1966, p. 116; Jenkins, 1972, p. 66; Gorini, 1975, pp. 29; 196; see figure 36). Although it is difficult to determine if these images were meant to represent Apollo and/or Hyakinthos, as Piccirilli (1966) suggests, it is clear that these figurines were connected with a cult of Apollo (p. 116). It seems likely that Taras honoured both the hero Hyakinthos, and Apollo, possibly with the epithet of Hyakinthos.

The presence of a cult associated with Apollo and Hyakinthos has led to the suggestion that the Hyakinthia festival was also celebrated at Taras (Ghinatti, 1974, pp. 570–571; Abbruzzese Calabrese, 1987, pp. 26–28). A Laconian cup found in Taras is thought to depict this festival (Ghinatti, 1974, p. 570; Richer, 2004; pp. 415–418; see figure 37). This vessel was found in a

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94 According to Euripides (Helen, 1471–1473), Hyakinthos was accidentally killed by Apollo’s discus, and a flower sprang up from his blood.

95 Brauer (1986) states that by the Hellenistic period, if not prior to this time, that it was difficult to distinguish between the two cults (p. 188).

96 On the difficulty of interpreting these terracotta votives, and Tarentine votives in general, see Lippolis, 2001, esp. pp. 232–233.
Tarentine tomb in the vicinity of the museum (Lane, 1933–1934, pp. 152–153; pl. 48, a), and it dates ca. 540 BCE (Richer, 2004, p. 416). The interior of the cup is divided into three bands with figural decoration. The upper scene has a figure of Apollo holding a lyre facing Dionysus, who is shown reclining on a couch and who is receiving a vessel from a winged daemon (Lane, 1933–1934, p. 153). To the left of these gods are two figures who each hold a discus, and between them is a small male figure holding weights for a long-jump. To the far left is a snake, and above the second figure holding a discus is an eagle (Richer, 2004, p. 416). Richer (2004) suggests that Hyakinthos is the figure holding a discus who stands close to the snake which indicates the figure is a hero while the other discoboulos with the eagle above represents Apollo, the son of Zeus (p. 416). The lower register of this cup has five naked males dancing around a wine container (Richer, 2004, p. 416). Based on the iconography, Richer (2004) proposes that this cup depicts the Hyakinthia festival, with the first scene representing the death of Hyakinthos, and the second scene representing the joyful celebration of the second part of the Hyakinthia festival in honour of Apollo (p. 217).

Although the terracotta votives are the earliest evidence of the cult of Apollo Hyakinthos, which date to the fourth and third centuries BCE, it is reasonable to assume that the cult was transmitted from Sparta when Taras was founded. The early coins of the city, the incuse staters dating to the end of the sixth century BCE, that depict Apollo or Apollo Hyakinthos (Garraffo, 1995, pp. 133–134, 147; see figure 36), may support this hypothesis. Malkin (1994b) suggests that the presence of the cult of Hyakinthos at Taras may have been related to the fact that it was a newly instituted Spartan cult at the time of the colonial foundation (pp. 141–142). In addition, the

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97 The second band of decoration depicts two roosters, flanked by felines and birds (Richer, 2004, p. 416).
foundation story for Taras involved the rebellion of the *Partheniai* that was said to have taken place at Amyklai during the Hyakinthia festival (Antiochus, *apud* Strabo 6.3.2), which may indicate that part of the colonial contingent came from Amyklai (Malkin, 1994b, pp. 141–142).

ii) Apollo *Aleus*

In 1936, an inscription on a white marble *louterion* was found in a pit used as a grave during the late Hellenistic or Roman era, three kilometers south of Taranto at Torretta Vitelli (Buononato, 1960, p. 428; Lippolis, 1995, pp. 100–101). Nafissi (1995a) suggests that the context of this find is indicative of destruction of Greek cults in Taras when the city came under Roman control (p. 26). The inscription records a dedication to Apollo *Aleus*, by Artemidoros, presumably a cult official in charge of a contest (*àgonothétas*) connected with the cult of this god (Ferrandini Troisi, 1980, p. 101). Based on the style of the inscription and the name of the dedicant, Artemidoros, a date of the late fourth century BCE is probable (Ferrandini Troisi, 1980, pp. 99–100, note 3).

This inscription may indicate the presence of a cult of Apollo *Aleus* in the territory of Taras, possibly an extra-mural sanctuary (Buononato, 1960, p. 431; Ferrandini Troisi, 1980, p. 104; Guzzo, 1982, p. 378; Lippolis, 1982, p. 131). The cult of Apollo *Alaïos* is also attested at Cirò Marina in the territory of Kroton. Buonoanto (1960) suggests that it was possible that this *louterion* was

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99 Ferrandini Troisi (1980) notes that this name is exclusive to the Hellenistic period (p. 100, note 3).

100 The epithets *Aleus* and *Alaïos* are connected, since the endings denote different dialects (Buononato, 1960, p. 430; Nafissi, 1995, p. 174).
transported to Taras from the sanctuary of Apollo *Alaios* in the late Hellenistic or Roman period (p. 431). However, the close proximity of the find to the city of Taras and the fact that the area of Cirò Marina was poor in stone, makes it unlikely that it would have been removed from this area and re-used in a tomb in Taras (Ferrandini Troisi, 1980, pp. 104–105). The possibility that the *louterion* was manufactured in Taras and was intended for the sanctuary at Cirò Marina has been suggested (Ferrandini Troisi, 1980, pp. 104–105); although, it is possible it was intended for a sanctuary at Taras that was derived from the cult at Cirò Marina (Naffisi, 1995b, p. 174; Genovese, 2001, p. 658). Taras had an important role in the Italiote League during the fourth century BCE, and it may have imported this cult because its association with the myth of Philoktetes (Naffisi, 1995b, p. 174).

Edlund (1987) suggests that the placement of the temple of Apollo *Alaios* at Cirò Marina may have been used to signal the presence of the Greeks in an area of indigenous populations (p. 108). A sanctuary of Apollo *Aleus* in the territory of Taras may have had a similar effect, marking the extent of this Greek *polis*’ territory in an area occupied by indigenous populations that were in constant conflict with Taras.

iii) Apollo *Karneios*?

Evidence for the cult of Apollo *Karneios* at Taras is meager. The image of Apollo with ram’s horns appear on a series of silver coins of the second half of the fourth century BCE that seem to be connected to federal money that was used in both Taras and Metapontion (Garraffo, 1995, p. 139; cf. Rutter, 2001, p. 137). The *Karneia* festival is depicted on a *krater*\(^{101}\) of Lucanian

\(^{101}\) The obverse of this *krater* depicts a Dionysiac *thiasos*. The upper register of the reverse depicts the myth of Perseus and Médusa. The lower register on the reverse depicts a scene from the *Karneia* festival, discussed above (Curci, 2002, pp. 55–56).
manufacture, found in a tomb at Ceglie del Campo near Bari that dates to the end of the fifth century BCE (Trendall, 1967, p. 54; see figure 38). The *krater* depicts a scene of naked men dancing, and two men are shown wearing palm-leaf crowns (Wuilleumier, 1939, p. 481, pl. XLVI no. 4; Lippolis, 1982, p. 131, note 232; Robertson, 1992, p. 163). The word ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ is painted on a *cippus* indicating that the scene depicts the *Karneia* festival (Wuilleumier, 1933, pp. 12–13, fig. 4; Wuilleumier, 1939, p. 481, Trendall, 1967, p. 55; Robertson, 1992, p. 163; see figure 39).102

This *krater* has been cited as evidence for the cult of Apollo *Karneios* at Taras (Wuilleumier, 1939, p. 481; Lippolis, 1982, p. 131; Curci, 2002, p. 55; Hernández-Martínez, 2004, p. 83), because the festival is considered to have been exclusive to Dorian *poleis* (Pausanias 3.13.4),103 and Taras was the only Dorian city in south-eastern Italy (Wuilleumier, 1933, p. 18; Beazley, 1955, p. 315). However, there are numerous problems with using the imagery on this vessel as an indicator of the presence of a cult. First of all, the vessel was not found in Taras, but instead in a tomb in an area inhabited by the Peucetians (D’Amicis, 1991, p. 131). Additionally, the Karneia festival is a minor scene on this vessel, placed on the reverse, below a scene of a satyr play associated with the myth of Perseus, while the obverse depicts a Dionysiac scene (Trendall, 1967, p. 55; D’Amicis, 1991, pp. 132–133; Curci, 2002, pp. 55–56). Furthermore, it is possible that the motifs on this vessel reflect

102 Wuilleumier suggests that the *cippus* represented the tomb of Karneios, a pre-Dorian deity that was amalgamated with Apollo (1933, p. 13; 1939, p. 481). However, more likely this *cippus* represents the aniconic statues of Apollo that are associated with this cult, including an example of a pillar with a ram’s head found in Lakonia at Phlomochori (Petterssen, 1997, p. 61, fig. 10).

103 According to Pausanias (3. 13. 4), “The cult of Apollo Carneus [sic] has been established among all the Dorians ever since Carnus, an Acarnanian by birth, who was a seer of Apollo” (Jones & Omerod (Trans.), 1926). Thomson (1943) suggests that the month *Karneios* was “almost universal” to Dorian cities (p. 56).
the taste and/or cult experiences of the painter, who may have been an itinerant artist living in Apulia.\textsuperscript{104}

Although there is no epigraphic or archaeological evidence for the cult of Apollo Karneios at Taras, Nafissi (1999) suggests that he was worshipped here alongside other gods that were venerated in both the metropolis and apoikia (p. 247). Considering the importance of the Karneia festival in Sparta, it is reasonable to assume that Apollo Karneios was an important deity at Taras. Furthermore, Robertson (2002) points out that there is evidence that colonies used the same calendar as the metropolis, with the implication that they also celebrated the same festivals (p. 26). Although the evidence is circumstantial, it is likely that Apollo Karneios was worshipped at Taras.

\textbf{iv) Apollo Myopis/Smintheus?}

In the Museo Archeologico di Bari there are two Tarentine Tanagrean terracotta statuettes of standing female figures wearing a chiton and himation with the inscription ΜΤΟΙΙΠΔΙ. These statuettes date stylistically to the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third century BCE (Fernandini Triosi, 1991, p. 111). The use of the dative case in the inscription suggests that the votive was dedicated to a divinity, who Fernandini Triosi (1991) proposes was Apollo Myopis, a deity that was also known as Smintheus (pp. 112–114). Apollo Smintheus was believed to have protected crops from the infestation of mice and the plagues that mice could bring (Homer, Iliad, 1.29; Lycophron, 1306; Aelian, De natura animalium. 12.5; Strabo 13.1.48; J. W. Powell, 1929, p. 176; Krappe, 1941, p. 133; Bernheim & Zener, 1987, p. 12; Fernadini Triosi, 1991, p. 112). While this

\textsuperscript{104} Purcell (1990) provides a laudable reminder about the movement of artisans throughout the Mediterranean (pp. 53, 57; also cf. Morel, 1984, pp. 143, 146–147).
is an interesting hypothesis, caution needs to be employed with connecting these statuettes to a cult of Apollo. There are no confirmed cases of a cult of Apollo Myopis, although this in itself cannot be used as grounds to dismiss this proposal. The main concern is that the context of the statuettes is unknown; it is unclear where, or if, they were found in Taras.

v) A Tarantine Dedication to Apollo

An incuse stater of Kroton depicting a tripod was inscribed with ἱπρὸν τῷ Απόλλωνα and it was dedicated between the end of the fifth and the early fourth century BCE (IGASMG V, p. 38, no.17; Guarducci, 1974, p. 39–40, fig. 17; Nafissi, 1995, pp. 172–173). Votive coins as dedications are known from Athenian, Delian, and Milesian sacred inventories (T. Homolle, 1882, p. 131; Guarducci, 1974, p. 39). Inscriptions on coins indicate they were dedicated to a god and presumably placed in temples (Gardner, 1883, p. 246). On this Krotonite stater the Doric dialect and the Tarantine alphabet were used which suggests that the coin was dedicated by a Tarantine either in sanctuary in Taras or at another sanctuary in Magna Graecia (Guarducci, 1974, p. 39); however, the context of this find is unknown.

vi) Artifacts from Taras Possibly Associated with Apollo

A statue fragment and an image on a pottery fragment may be associated with the cult of Apollo. A battered male head from a stone statue, with flowing locks and dating to the first quarter

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105 Examples include an inscription to Artemis on a didrachm from Sikyon, the example from Kroton discussed above, and a tetradrachm of Ptolemy Soter (Gardner, 1883, p. 246). Gardner (1883) also notes that coins were commonly dedicated at the sanctuary of Zeus Kassios at Korkyra, and coins were defaced before they were dedicated to the god (pp. 246–247).
of the fifth century BCE is usually interpreted as a figure of Apollo (Wuilleumier, 1939, p. 275; Curci, 2002, p. 16; Lippolis, 1995, p. 125, tab. XLII, 3). The provenance of this find in Taras is unknown (Lippolis, 1995, p. 125), but it may have been an offering for Apollo. A fragment of an early Apulian kalyx-krater of the Tarentine school of vase painting found at Taras depicts Dionysus, Apollo and Artemis, and a scene with a bronze statue of Apollo inside a Doric temple (Wuilleumier, 1939, p. 451, pl. XLVII, no. 1; Trendall, 1989, pp. 24, 28). The statue of Apollo holds a patēra in his right hand and a bow in the left hand. Depictions of statues on pottery have often been used as evidence for the appearance of cult statues (Romano, 1980, pp. 399–400, 422; Gaifman, 2006, pp. 258, 264–266). However, it is unclear if the statue depicted on the pottery was meant to represent one specific statue, or just Apollo in general, since the god was commonly depicted holding a bow and a patēra (Romano, 1980, pp. 399–400).

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Herakleia

i) A shrine of Apollo?

On the southern slope of the Siris–Herakleia, west of the sanctuaries of Demeter and Dionysios, are the remains of a cult-building of unusual form, and an associated altar (Neutsch, 1980, p. 153; Giardino, 1998, pp. 187–188). Although there is evidence of use of this structure from the late sixth century BCE to the second century CE (Neutsch, 1980, p. 153; Giardino, 1998, pp. 187–188), votive offerings seem to date to the Hellenistic period. This may indicate that the building was converted into a shrine after the foundation of Herakleia. Giardino (1999) notes that the structure resembles a house with a courtyard, but votive offerings suggest a sacred function (p. 322). It has been suggested that this may have been a shrine of Apollo or Asklepios (Neutsch, 1980, p.
A number of artifacts can be found in the vicinity of the shrine can be associated with a cult of Apollo. One item is a terracotta pinax depicting an offering table with items including a bowl of fruit or a round loaf of bread and a skyphos, flanked by two male figures. The figure on the left is Herakles, holding a club and depicted with his lion skin, and the figure on the right is Apollo holding a lyre and a patera (Neutsch, 1980, p. 154; tab. XII, 2). A small terracotta disc was found that depicts a lyre and a club (Neutsch, 1980, p. 154). A small bronze anatomical votive depicting eyes and the bridge of the nose likely dates to the first decades of the foundation of Herakleia, and it has been suggested that it was associated with a healing cult of either Asklepios or Apollo (Neutsch, 1980, pp. 154-155; tab. XII, 1). However, this artifact is likely related to a cult of Asklepios, since a pottery fragment with the inscription ΑΣΚΛ attests to the presence of this cult (Pianu, 1998, p. 225).

Two artifacts that depict Apollo and Herakles probably also date to after the foundation of Herakleia and may refer to a cult to Herakles, the founder.106 The city was named after the hero, and early coins of the city (ca. 432–420 BCE) depict Heracles pouring a libation, which may refer to him as the oikistēs (Rutter, 1997, p. 47; 2001, p. 125, no. 1362; see chapter three, p. 287 and figure 73). The presence of Apollo, the supreme oikistēs, and Herakles, the mythical founder of the city, on these two artifacts would be suitable for a cult of Herakles, the eponymous founder of Herakleia. It is possible that Apollo was also venerated in conjunction with the cult of Herakles, since the presence of the month of Apellaios (IG XIV. 645.1.2, 101) suggests that he was worshipped here.

106 No date for these items is provided in Neutsch’s (1980) account (p. 154).
ii) Apollo Hyakinthos

In the area of the agora near the altar and shrine of Dionysos, a number of terracotta statuettes were found of a young nude male draped with a chiton, holding musical instruments, animals, and fruit (Pianu, 1998, p. 224). These terracotta statuettes are similar to examples identified as Apollo Hyakinthos from Taras (Pianu, 1998, p. 224). A number of escharai have also been found in the area, along with charred animals bones (Pianu, 1998, p. 225). These finds have been connected with rites of passage that are associated with Apollo Hyakinthos and the Hyakinthia festival (Pianu, 1998, pp. 224–225). Similarly, at Sparta the Hyakinthia festival involved the transition of young men into soldiers, and girls into women (Pettersson, 1997, pp. 38, 76, see discussion above, pp.132–133, 136). The presence of these terracotta ex-votos suggest the presence of a cult of Apollo Hyakinthos at Herakleia, like at Taras, and Sparta.

Taras, Herakleia, and Delphi

Taras was closely associated with Apollo of Delphi, the god who provided the sanction for the foundation of the colony. Taras had the right of promanteia (Roux, 1990, p. 27), the polis consulted the oracle and was instructed to bury people within the city’s walls (Polybius 8.29.6–7), and a number of dedications were made at Delphi. During the fifth century BCE two monumental dedications were made by the Tarentines.107 The first dedication made ca. 470 BCE was placed along the lower portion of the sacred way near the treasury of Sikyon, as illustrated by a base and a fragmentary inscription (Pausanias, 10.10.3, 10.11.1; Beschi, 1982, p. 227, fig. 1; Jacquemin, 1991, 1999, pp. 197–198, nos. 455–456; 2006, p. 4).

107 The bases of both statues were re-carved in the second half of the fourth century BCE, likely to celebrate victories by Achidamus and Alexander of Mossolos (Jacquemin, 1991, p. 199; 1999, pp. 197–198, nos. 455–456; 2006, p. 4).
Pausanias (10.10.6) noted that: “The bronze horses and captive women dedicated by the Tarentines were made from spoils taken from the Messapians, a non-Greek people bordering on the territory of Tarentum, and are works of Ageladas the Argive” (Jones & Omerod, (Trans.), 1935).

The second statue group, ca. 460 BCE, celebrated a victory over the Peuketians and depicted Phalanthos and Taras standing over the dead body of Opis, the king of the Iapygians (Pausanias, 10.13.10; Beschi, 1982, p. 227, fig. 2; Jacquemin, 1991, p. 198; 1999, p. 353, no. 455; Rougemont, 1991, p. 162; Ioakimidou, 2000, pp. 71–73, tabs. 8–10; see chapter three, p. 277). These two elaborate offerings were made to commemorate victories over the indigenous populations that were often in conflict with Taras. Herakleia also had close ties with Delphi: the polis contributed to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo (CID 11.6.B.2), and was granted proxenoi and theodokoi status for a number of its citizens (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, pp. 260, 261).

Conclusions – The Cults of Apollo at Euboean, Korinthian, and Spartan Colonies, Sub-Colonies, and Later Foundations

In the Euboean colonies of southern Italy and Sicily Apollo was venerated; worshipped at Rhegion, perhaps as Apollo Daphnēphoros, and as the founder god Archegetēs at Naxos and possibly at Kyme. At Tauromenion there was a cult of Apollo Karneios, and Apollo Archegetēs might have been worshipped at both Tauromenion and Neapolis (see table 2). There is little

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108 There is an inscription recording a dedication to Apollo and the Nymph Nitrodiae and votive reliefs of Apollo and the Nymphs from Pithekoussai, of the first to third centuries CE (IG XIV 892; Forti 1951; Soverini, 1990, p. 330). These artifacts are outside the scope of the present project.
evidence for Greek cults of Apollo at Rhegion. While inscriptions on roof tiles indicate that Apollo was worshipped nothing is known about the nature or location of the cult. A Roman Imperial inscription that mentions a “major” temple of Apollo, may also refer to an earlier Greek temple. The tradition of the colonists being consecrated to the god, naming of part of the city Phobia, the mythical temple constructed by Orestes, and the prominent imagery of Apollo on Rhegion’s coinage indicates the importance of this god to the Rhegians. The nature of the Greek cult(s) of Apollo is (are) unknown, although it is possible that he was worshipped as Daphnēphoros, a cult that is known in the homeland at Eretria.

Although the evidence for the cult of Apollo Archegetēs at Naxos is based solely on accounts by Thucydides (6.3.1) and Appian (Bellum Civile, 5.109), both of these sources are considered reliable. Apollo also appears on Naxian coins during the late fifth century. The depiction of Apollo Archegetēs on Tauromenion’s coins suggests that the cult was transferred to the new settlement after the destruction of Naxos by Dionysios I. Numismatic iconography is the only evidence for cults of Apollo at both Leontini and Katane; however, the importance of Apollo at Chalkis, Naxos and her later foundation at Tauromenion, suggests that Apollo was likely also venerated at Leontini and Katane. The presence an inscription with the month of Karneios at Tauromenion indicates that this god was worshipped here, although there is no evidence for this cult at Naxos or Chalkis. This cult may have been introduced from another Greek polis, possibly brought from Syracuse at the time of Hieron II when the Tauromenion came under Syracuse’s sphere of influence.

While Apollo was an important deity in the Euboean pantheon, there is little evidence that the Apolline cults of Euboea influenced those that were worshipped in the colonies. Instead, the
worship of Apollo *Archēgetēs* by the Euboean colonists may have been connected to the involvement of Delphi. At Chalkis Apollo was worshipped as *Delphinios* and *Prostaterios*, and at Eretria as *Daphnēphoros* and *Mousagētes*. None of these epithets are found in Euboean colonies, with the exception that Apollo *Daphnēphoros* might have been worshipped at Rhegion. The Eretrian cult of Apollo *Daphnēphoros* may have influenced the cult of Apollo at Rhegion, although Rhegion’s *metropolis* was considered to be Chalkis, not Eretria. Although the only Euboean colony that was connected with a foundation oracle was Rhegion, the tradition of Apollo’s dove leading the colonists to Kyme and her sub-colony of Neapolis, and the presence of the altar of Apollo *Archēgetēs* at Naxos may indicate Delphic involvement, either real or invented, in the foundation of these *poleis*.

Apollo was depicted on the coinage of all the Euboean colonies examined with the exception of Kyme (although the lion skin on its coinage may have referred to the god); however, no evidence has been found to indicate that Apollo was worshipped at Leontini and Katane. Leontini and Katane may have had cults of Apollo of which no trace exists today, although it is also possible that these numismatic images are a reference to Naxos’ cult of Apollo and the involvement of Delphi in her foundation. Displaying images of the Delphic god on Leontini and Katane’s coinage may have been an attempt to display the pedigree of these *poleis* that were founded by a colony that had received Delphic sanction.

Archaeological, epigraphical, and literary evidence indicates that Apollo was an important deity at the Korinthian colony of Syracuse, and he was also worshipped at Akrai and Kamarina (see table 3). Although the epithet of Apollo on Ortygia is unknown, he may have been honoured as the *Archēgetēs* or *Pythios* connecting the cult with the Delphic foundation of Syracuse, or as *Agyieus,*
who was worshipped in other Korinthian colonies, and may also have been connected to foundations (Fehrentz, 1993, pp. 135–136). Apollo Temenites was the recipient of a cult at Syracuse, although the nature of this cult is not clear. Although the nature of the main cults of Apollo at Korinth (on Temple Hill) and at Syracuse (on Ortygia) are unknown, there is some evidence to suggest that Syracusan cults of Apollo were influenced by those of the metropolis. At both Syracuse and Korinth there was a close association between Apollo and Asklepios. The Asklepieion at Korinth seems to have been preceded by a cult of Apollo the healer. At Syracuse, Apollo Paianos was worshipped along with Asklepios, and the temple of Asklepios may have been located on Ortygia near the temple of Apollo. Apollo also had a close connection with his twin sister, Artemis, a goddess who was also venerated at Korinth (Reichert-Sudbeck, 2000, p. 297), and at both Syracuse and Akrai. It is possible that Apollo and Artemis were worshipped together in the sanctuary of Apollo on Ortygia and in the sanctuary of Artemis at Akrai.

It is uncertain if Delphi had any influence on the choice of cult epithets for Apollo’s cults at Syracuse and her sub-colonies. What is clear is that Syracuse continued to honour the Delphic Apollo, the god who according to tradition instructed Archias to found Syracuse. It is likely that two treasuries were erected at Delphi on behalf of the Syracusans. A number of important dedications were also made during the fifth century BCE, most notably by the Deinomenid tyrants.

Taras and her settlement Herakleia both had cults associated with the Spartan Hyakinthia festival (see table 4). Votive terracottas, a passage in Polybius (8.30), and numismatic iconography indicate the presence of the cult of Apollo Hyakinthos at Taras. Similar votive terracottas found at Herakleia also attest to the presence of this cult. This important Spartan cult was associated with the initiation of men and women into adult society, and it is likely that it had a similar function at both
Taras and Herakleia. The presence of “Polybia” statuettes at Taras can be compared to the numerous feminine votives found at the sanctuary at Amyklai that indicate female participation in the initiatory cult. Although currently no statuettes depicting Polybia have been found at Herakleia, further investigations may confirm that here, like at Sparta and Taras, the cult was involved in female rites of passage. Although there is no substantial evidence, Taras may have had a cult of Apollo Karneios, like at Sparta. It is not surprising that cults pertaining to the Hyakinthia and the Karneia would be found at Taras, considering the importance of these cults and festivals in Spartan society.

An inscription indicates that Apollo Aleus was worshipped in the territory of Taras and this cult may have been introduced in the fourth century BCE when Taras had an important role in the Italiote league, connecting Taras to the Trojan war hero Philoktetes. Although there is little evidence for cult buildings at Taras, the limited archaeological evidence, supported by the account in Polybius, in addition to numismatic and ceramic iconography indicates that Apollo was an important deity in this Spartan settlement. The finds from Herakleia also indicate Apollo was venerated, certainly with the epithet Hyakinthos, but he may also have been worshipped alongside the city’s mythical and eponymous founder, Herakles. While Apollo was an important god at Taras, a colony that was traditionally founded with Delphic involvement, there is no evidence that he was worshipped here in his capacity as a founding deity.

The Rhodian–Kretan Colony of Gela, her Sub-Colony, and Late Foundation

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo in the Metropoleis

Apollo was an important deity to both the Rhodians and the Kretans. Inscriptions have provided evidence for the worship of Apollo as Karneios and Hyakinthos. The month of Karneios is attested on Rhodes and Krete (Rhodes: IG XII. I. 4; Newton, 1881, p. 357; Papadopoulos-Kérameus, 1881, pp. 335–338; C. Smith, 1883, pp. 351–352; Thomson, 1943, p. 55; Samuel, 1972, s.v. Karneios, pp. 109, 290; Krete: Inschr. Cret., 4. 181; Samuel, 1972, p. 135). According to some myths, Apollo Karneios' roots were traced to Krete and it is likely that his cult was celebrated here (Pausanias 3.13.3; Heschyius, s.v. Karneios; Willetts, 1962, pp. 265–266). Inscriptions also indicate the presence of the month of Hyakinthos on both Rhodes and Krete (IG XII. I. 4; Inschr. Cret., 4. 181; Samuel, 1972, s.v. Hyakinthos, pp. 109, 135, 290). Epigraphic and archaeological evidence indicates that Apollo Pythios and Erethimios (averter of mildew) were worshipped on the island of Rhodes. The cult of Apollo Pythios is attested by inscriptions at Kamiros and Lindos (Kamiros: Papadopoulos–Kérameus, 1881, pp. 335–338; Suppl. Tit. Cam. 1151; Nielsen & Gabrielsen, 2004, p. 1201; Lindos: Holleaux & Diehl, 1885, pp. 112–114; Torr, 1885, p. 90; Kostomitsopoulos, 1988, p. 122). Kamiros has evidence of a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios from the Archaic period (Nielsen & Gabrielsen, 2004, p. 1201). A sanctuary of Apollo Pythios was located in Rhodes city, where the remains of a large Doric temple of Hellenistic date has been found (Wycherley, 1976, p. 756;

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109 Two inscriptions were found at Kamiros, one on the acropolis (C. Smith, 1883, p. 351), and the other in the necropolis (Papadopoulos-Kérameus, 1881, pp. 335–338). An inscription was also discovered at the Agia Irenè church near Apolakkia (Newton, 1881, p. 357).
Papachristodoulou, 1991, p. 262); however, it is assumed that this temple was preceded by a Classical structure (Nielsen & Gabrielsen, 2004, p. 1207). A cult of Apollo Erethimios at Ialysia on Rhodes is evidenced by inscriptions, including a fragments of a sculpture depicting an omphalos with an inscription to Apollo Erethimios by a priest of the second century BCE, and a temple that dates to 400 BCE (Papachristodoulou, 1991, p. 266, tab. XI; Nielsen & Gabrielsen, 2004, p. 1199). Prehistoric artifacts and Archaic pottery in the area may attest to an earlier cult of Apollo at Ialysia (Papachristodoulou, 1991, p. 271).

On Krete, Apollo Pythios was worshipped at Gortyn and possibly at Oaxos and Dreros (Prent, 2005, pp. 248, 274–275, 462–463). At Gortyn, the temple of Apollo Pythios was placed within the Archaic agora, and it acted as a repository for legal documents (Willetts, 1962, p. 268; Vasilakis, 2002, p. 29; Perlman, 2004, p. 1162; Prent, 2005, p. 463). The earliest temple consisted of a one room rectangular structure (17.66 by 19.85 meters), and it may date to the seventh century BCE based upon an architectural fragment that bears an inscription (Prent, 2005, p. 274). At Dreros (Krete), excavations of the site began after farmers accidentally found three bronze sprenylated statues (ca. 750–700 BCE) between two hills; the statues are usually identified as the divine triad of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis (Alroth, 1989, p. 18, fig. 1; Prent, 2005, pp. 274–275). The early cult building consisted of a rectangular room (7.2 by 10.9 meters) with a rectangular stone hearth in the centre, that contained ash, nails, and iron fragments (Prent, 2005, pp. 286–287). A stone bench was found in the south-west corner of the cult building with offerings on it dating mainly to the seventh century BCE, including daedalic statuette fragments, a terracotta kalanthos, two terracotta basins, Geometric cup fragments, and carbonized goat horns at the base of the bench (Marianatos, 1936, p. 222; Prent, 2005, p. 287). The east side of the bench consisted of a keraton (horn altar) that was
probably a later addition (Marianatos, 1936, p. 224; Prent, 2005, p. 286).

Artifacts within the building and the vicinity included numerous fragments of large *pithoi*, votive shields, and terracotta rams and bulls (Marianatos, 1936, pp. 260–267, 269–270, figs. 24–25, 27, 34, 35, 41; Prent, 2005, p. 286). The cult was most likely dedicated to Apollo *Pythios* because of the group of statues found, and a Hellenistic inscription that refers to Apollo *Pythios*, Leto, and Artemis (Prent, 2005, p. 463; however, cf. Perlman, 2004, p. 1158). The sanctuary of Apollo *Pythios* at Dreros, like that at Gortyn, acted as a repository for legal documents; additionally, the god was associated with a tithe or a state-tax, and the large number of *pithoi* at Dreros may have been used to store items that were collected as a tithe (Prent, 2005, p. 463). Apollo *Pythios* was also known as Apollo *Dekatéphoros* (the god who receives tithes) on Crete, although elsewhere these two cult epithets were distinguished (Willetts, 1962, p. 261). Literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence indicates the importance of Apollo to the Rhodians and Kretans, and that he was worshipped in various locations as *Karneios, Hyakinthos*, and *Pythios*.

**The Foundation of Gela and Akragas**

According to Thucydides (6.4.3), Gela was founded in 688 BCE by colonists from Rhodes and Crete, but Eusebius (184) places the foundation earlier in 691 BCE. Thucydides (6.4.3) noted that the founders were Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimos of Crete, who placed their settlement next to the Gela River; however, in Herodotus' (7.153) account only Antiphemos and the Lindians were mentioned as the colonists. Protokorinthian pottery, and Late Geometric pottery of the last decade of the eighth-century BCE have been found on the *acropolis* at Gela (Molino a Vento) (Orlandini, 1968, 50–55; Panvini, 1996, p. 24; Raccuia, 2000, p. 45). This evidence indicates a
Greek presence at Gela prior to the dates provided in the literary tradition (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen, & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 173).

A foundation oracle is recorded in a passage of Diodorus Siculus (8.23) that has been considered authentic by some scholars (Parke, 1941, p. 491; Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p. 65):

Entimus and the cunning son of famous Craton, go both to Sicily and inhabit that fair land, when you have built a town of Cretans and Rhodians together beside the mouth of the holy river Gela, and of the same name as it (quoted from Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p. 64).

However, Malkin (1987) suggests that the oracle cannot be genuine because it does not refer to the original name of the settlement, Lindioi, that is mentioned in Thucydides’ account (6.4.3) (pp. 52–54). There is archaeological evidence to suggest that there was a pre-settlement, as excavation of the Contrada Spina Santa necropolis to the east of Gela has revealed pottery that dates to 700 BCE (Orlandini, 1968, pp. 52–54; Panvini, 1996, pp. 24–25; Raccucia, 2000, p. 45). The archaeological evidence suggests that first the colonists occupied the area surrounding Gela and then moved to the site of Gela’s acropolis (Panvini, 1996, p. 25). Furthermore, Malkin (1987) argues that the foundation oracle is an early ex-eventu oracle that provided Delphic sanction for the mixed settlement (p. 53–54).\[110\]

Archaeological and literary evidence has confirmed the presence of both Kretan and Rhodian elements at Gela. The use of infant pithoi burials during the seventh century BCE, some of which were of Kretan manufacture, points to a Kretan presence (Orlandini, 1968, p. 52; Graham, 1964, p. 19; Malkin, 1987, p. 53). A story preserved in Pausanias (8.46.2, 9.40.4) notes that Antiphemos was commander in a battle against the Sikels of Omphake, and he was instrumental in returning a statue

\[110\] See the discussion below, pp. 164–165.
The Rhodian presence at Gela was more prominent than the Kretan element. The name of the early settlement, Lindioi, was clearly named after the Rhodian city (Graham, 1971, p. 20). The presence of the Rhodian cult of Athena *Lindia* is attested to by archaeological evidence (Graham, 1971, p. 20; Panvini, 1996, pp. 25, 50; Raccuia, 2000, 35). The presence of large quantities of Rhodian pottery, Rhodian imitation wares, and similar burial methods to those in Rhodes dating from the end of the seventh century and early sixth century BCE also suggests the presence of Rhodian colonists (Graham, 1964, p. 20). Although evidence indicates that both Rhodes and Crete were involved in the colonization of Gela, the Rhodian element became more conspicuous (Graham, 1964, p. 20; Malkin, 1986, p. 53).

According to Thucydides (6.4.3), Akragas was founded in 580 BCE by Aristonous and Pystilos of Gela. Strabo (6.2.5) and Pseudo-Scymnus (292 f) also noted that Akragas was founded by Geloans; however, Polybius (9.27.7), Pindar (fr. 105), and the scholion to Pindar (*Olympian*, 2.15 c) indicate a Rhodian foundation. Scholars have suggested that when Akragas was founded in 580 BCE the sub-colony was founded by Geloans and recent Rhodian immigrants (Graham, 1964, p. 20; Malkin, 1987, p. 53). It was likely at this time that the Kretan origins of Gela’s foundation

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111 The ancient site of Omphake was likely Butera, a Sican site that was heavily Hellenized (Fischer-Hansen, 2002, pp. 134–135; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, pp. 178–179).

112 The worship of Athena Lindios at Gela has also been inferred from the Lindian Chronicle (C 25 = Timachus *FGrH* 535 F25) that mentions an offering by the Geloans to Athena at Lindos (Graham, 1971, p. 20; Raccuia, 2000, 35; Higbie, 2003, p. 33, no. XXIV); however, this is not a good indicator of the presence of a cult at a settlement.
became overshadowed by the Rhodian element (Graham, 1964, p. 20; Malkin, 1986, p. 53). Evidence suggests that Antiphemos of Rhodes came to be considered the sole oikistēs of Gela\textsuperscript{113} (Herodotus, 7.153.1; Antiphemos inscription on pottery: \textit{IGDS}, pp. 159–160, no. 135; Pausanias, 8.46.2; Graham, 1964, p. 20; Raccuia, 2000, p. 103; see chapter three pp. 288–291). Malkin (1987) proposes that the foundation oracle for Gela in Diodorus Siculus (8. 23) may have been an attempt by the Kretan population of Gela to ensure preservation of their traditional role in the foundation of Gela as a reaction to an influx of Rhodian people (pp. 53–54).

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Gela

i) A Sanctuary and/or Statue of Apollo?

A passage in Diodorus Siculus (13.108.4) notes that there was a colossal bronze statue of Apollo outside the city of Gela, that was set up upon the advice of an oracle of Apollo. The statue was captured by the Carthaginians in 405 BCE and sent to Tyre (Diodorus, 13.108.4; J. A. de Waele, 1971, p. 192; Raccuia, 2000, p. 108). Panvini (1996) postulates that the statue was of Apollo \textit{Archēgetēs} (p. 64). The choice of this epithet would be suitable because of the involvement of Delphi in Gela’s foundation and the oracular consultation that resulted in the erection of the statue. Raccuia (2000) suggests that the statue was placed next to the river, outside the city’s walls (p. 109). Recently, Veronese (2006) has proposed that there was an extra-urban sanctuary of Apollo, placed next to the sea (pp. 370–371). Unfortunately, no trace of a temple or other evidence for the cult of Apollo has been found at Gela (Panvini, 1996, p. 64; Veronese, 2006, p. 371).

\textsuperscript{113} Lacius is mentioned along with Antiphemos in the Lindian Chronicle (C 24 = \textit{FGrH.} 240 F 11; C 28 = \textit{FGrH.} F 14; cf. Raccuia, 2000, p. 104).
ii) Apollo Karneios?

Some scholars have attributed an inscription (*IG XIV*. 256) that mentions the month of Karneios to Gela (Ciaceri, 1911, pp. 158–159, note 1; Samuel, 1972, p. 137); however, the inscription appears to have been found at Phintias instead (see below, p.166).

The evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Akragas

i) A Statue of Apollo

A passage in Cicero (*Against Verres*, 2. 4. 93) mentions that there was a statue of Apollo inside the temple of Asklepios. The name of the artist, Myron, was inscribed on the statue in silver. Nothing else is known of this statue and no archaeological evidence of a cult of Apollo has been found at Akragas. However, if Cicero’s statement is correct, it is possible that Apollo Paianos was worshipped here, as he was at Syracuse, alongside Asklepios.

ii) Apollo Karneios

An inscription (*IG XIV* 925) indicates that there was a month of *Karneios* at Akragas (Ciaceri, 1911, p. 158; J. A. de Waele, 1971, p. 192; Samuel, 1972, p. 137).

Gela, Akragas, and Delphi

The foundation of Gela was believed to have been sanctioned by Apollo’s oracle at Delphi that was received by Antiphemos and Entimos (Diodorus Siculus 8.23). The Delphic oracle is also

114 The temple of Asklepios was an extra-urban sanctuary that was located to the south of the city (J. A. de Waele, 1971, pp. 201–203; De Miro, 2003).
said to have advised the Geloans to erect a statue of Apollo (Diodorus Siculus 13.108.4). Evidence of an archaeological, epigraphic and literary nature indicates that dedications were made at Delphi by Gela and Akragas. Based on the style of the architectural terracottas and the clay used, a Delphic treasury was dedicated by the Geloans (Rougemont, 1991, pp. 172–173). An inscription at Delphi records a dedication that was made by Polyzalos, the tyrant of Gela, during the first quarter of the fifth century BCE, that has commonly been associated with the bronze charioteer statue (SEG 3.396; Syll. 35D; FD III. 4 452; IGASMG V, pp. 124–125, no. 68; Adornato, 2008, p. 36). At least three dedications were made by the Akragantines at Delphi including an ivory statue of the river Akragas mentioned by Aelian (Varia historia, 2. 33; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 308, no. 009). A statue base that held two bronze statues has a fragmentary inscription that reads Ακραγαντίνος dating to the first quarter of the fifth century BCE (Daux, 1937, pp. 60–61; J. A. de Waele, 1971, p. 40, no. 9; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 309, no. 011). A statue base of the second quarter of the fifth century records a dedication by the Akragantinoi to Apollo (J. A. de Waele, 1971, pp. 39–40, no. 8; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 309, no. 010).

The Late Foundation of Phintias

According to Diodorus Siculus (23.1.4), after Gela was re-founded by Timoleon, it was destroyed by the Mamertines. Diodorus Siculus (22.2.2) also states that Phintias, the basileus of

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115 This inscription shows signs of an erasure and that the inscription was altered from “Gelas anasson” to read “Polyzalos dedicated me” (Adornato, 2008, p. 33). Traditionally the inscription has been associated with the Charioteer statue, but there are numerous problems with this connection. For a full discussion, see Adornato, 2008.

Akragas, tore down the walls and the houses at Gela, and in 280 BCE he gathered the survivors and moved them to a new site that he named after himself. It is unclear whether the city was destroyed by the Mamertines or Phintias (Panvini, 1996, p. 102), but a violent destruction has been detected in the archaeological record at Gela, and numismatic evidence confirms that the city was destroyed during the second half of the third century BCE (Orlandini, 1956, pp. 174–175; La Bua, 1966–1967, pp. 117–118; Panvini, pp. 102, 107; Zambon, 2000, p. 305, note 5). Phintias’ new foundation, modern Licata, was located on Mount Enkomos at the mouth of the Himera River. Prior to the third-century BCE foundation, the area had some occupation from the Archaic period, possibly by Geloans, and a phourion was founded here by Phalaris, the tyrant of Akragas, in the earlier part of the sixth century (Diodorus Siculus, 19.108; Orlandini, 1976, p. 707; Manganaro, 1992, p. 214). Although the new foundation was called Phintias, the citizens continued to call themselves Geloans (IG XIV. 256, line 30; IG XIV. 259; La Bua, 1966–1967, pp. 117–118).

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Phintias

i) Apollo Karneios

The presence of the month of Karneios at Phintias is attested to by an inscription (IGXIV. 256, line 6; SGDI 4250; Feyel, 1935, pp. 372, 374; J. A. de Waele, 1971, p. 192).

ii) Apolline Imagery on Coinage

Coins issued by the tyrant Phintias (287–279 BCE) depict Apollo. The bronze coins have an obverse image of a laureate head of Apollo and reverse images of a wild boar or eagle(s) (Rutter, 303–308; 2006, p. 85).
Apolline imagery continued on coinage issued between 240 and 212 BCE, with the a laureate head of Apollo and the tripod on the reverse (Calciati, 1995, p. 45).

Achaean Colonies, Sub-Colonies, and Later Foundations

The evidence for the Cults of Apollo in the Metropoleis

The evidence for cults of Apollo in the region of Achaea is based primarily upon literary sources, but supplemented by chance archaeological finds, and numismatic iconography. According to Pausanias (7.21.4), Patrai had a sanctuary of Apollo near a forest, and a bronze statue of the god stood by the harbour. Excavations at Patrai (modern Patras) have unearthed two Hellenistic archaising statues of Apollo (Rizakis, 1995, p. 176). A joint temple of Apollo and Artemis was at Aigion near the agora (Pausanias, 7.23.7), and a sanctuary of Apollo in the city of Aigeira housed a large wooden statue of the god (Pausanias, 7.26.6). At Pellene, Apollo Theoxenios was celebrated with a festival, and there was a sanctuary and statue dedicated to this god of hospitality (Pausanias, 7.27.1). The depiction of Apollo on bronze and silver coins of Pellene has also been cited as evidence of the importance of this deity in this city (Morgan & Hall, 2004, p. 484). A sanctuary of Apollo Pythios was noted by Pausanias (8.15.5) along the route from Pheneos to Pellene and Aigeira, and at the border between Achaea and Arkadia. The evidence, although meager, indicates that Apollo was worshipped at a number of sites in Achaea and that he was venerated as Theoxenios and Pythios.

The significance of the boar may be related to a passage in Diodorus Siculus (23.7.1), who noted that Phintias dreamt that a boar (révolution) would kill him.
The Foundation of Sybaris, Poseidonia, and Thurii

According to Strabo (6.1.13), Sybaris was founded by Is of Helike. It has also been suggested that the presence of a Krathis river at Aigai and one in Sybaris’ territory are evidence that Sybaris was founded by a contingent from Aigai (Morgan & Hall, 2004, p. 479). A recent study of the pottery manufactured in Sybaris and her territory suggests that there was a strong affinity with styles in Achaea (Papodoupolous, 2001, p. 373), which strengthens the argument that this was an Achaean foundation. Although there is no foundation oracle preserved for Sybaris, Parke and Wormell (1956a) propose that originally there may have been one, and that due to the defeat of Sybaris by Kroton, the original oracle may have been replaced by one that prophesied the downfall of Sybaris (pp. 70–71).

According to Pseudo-Scymnus (360), Sybaris was founded in 721–720 BCE, and Eusebius (Chronikon, 91b) dated the foundation to 709–708 BCE. Archaeological evidence indicates that the settlement was founded in the last quarter of the eighth century BCE (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, pp. 295–296). Excavation of the site has been hampered by alluvial deposits since much of the polis now lies beneath the water table (Rainey, 1969, pp. 261, 265; Rutter, 1970, p. 175; Edlund, 1987, p. 119; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 296). Sybaris founded two colonies, Poseidonia and Laos. The foundation date for Laos is not known, but the colony had to be founded prior to Sybaris’ destruction at the hands of Kroton in 510 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, 12.

118 There were other traditions which regarded Sybaris as a foundation of Achaeans and Troizenians (Aristotle, Politics, 1303–1329), or according to Solinus (2.10), it was founded by Troizenians and the son of a Lokrian, Sagras.
The foundation date of Poseidonia is ca. 600 BCE based solely on archaeological data, since no foundation date is recorded in the ancient sources (Cerchiai, 2002c, p. 62).

When Sybaris was destroyed by Kroton, the survivors were said to have fled to Laus and Skidrus (Herodotus, 6.21.1). However, coinage issued after 510 BCE was inscribed with the abbreviations of Kroton and Sybaris, indicating that Sybaris was under Kroton’s dominance, and that some survivors must have remained at Sybaris (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, pp. 297–298). According to Diodorus Siculus (11.90.34), fifty-eight years after the city was destroyed (ca. 453 BCE) the city was re-founded by Thessalos on the ruins of the former city. Shortly afterwards, the Sybarites fled due to Krotoniate hostilities, and they requested assistance from Sparta and Athens (Diodorus Siculus, 12.10.2–4). In the early phases of this re-foundation the site was still called Sybaris, and the community consisted mainly of Sybarites, and Athenian and Peloponnesian reinforcements (Fischer-Hansen, Nielson & Ampolo, 2004a, pp. 297–298). The Sybarites were killed or exiled and Thurii was founded (Diodorus Siculus, 12.11.1–4).

Finally in 444/443 BCE, the Athenians were invited to establish Thurii near the old city, and an Athenian contingent was sent out by Perikles under the leadership of Lampon and Xenocrites. Other cities of Greece were also invited to send people, creating a Panhellenic colony (Dionysios of Halicarnassus, De Lysia, 1.2; Diodorus Siculus, 12.11.3). Diodorus Siculus (12.10.5) wrote of an

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120 The location of Skidrus is unknown; it may have been a native settlement that received Sybarite settlers after 510 BCE, or a Greek military garrison (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 258).
oracular response from Apollo (most likely from Delphi)\textsuperscript{121} that stated “that they should found a city in the place where there would be ‘Water to drink with due measure and bread to eat without measure’” (Oldfather (Trans.), 1946). Lampon was called the \textit{oikistēs} by Plutarch (\textit{Moralia}, 812D), but the identity of the founder was disputed in antiquity. In 434 BCE the Delphic oracle was consulted, and Apollo said that he should be considered the \textit{oikistēs} (Diodorus Siculus, 12.35.3).

\textbf{The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Sybaris} \textsuperscript{122}

Although archaeological investigation at Sybaris has been limited, it has been assumed that a temple of Apollo was located here because Sybaris dedicated a treasury at Delphi (Theopompus \textit{apud} Athenaeus 13.604F–605A; Pausanias 6.19.9; Gianelli, 1963, p. 104; Edlund, 1987, p. 119; Torelli, 1988, p. 594; see discussion below, p. 173). Fragments of sixth-century architectural decoration from a monumental Greek temple have been found during archaeological exploration at Sybaris, but it may have been dedicated to Hera (Zancani Montuoro, 1972–1973, pp. 58–59; Edlund, 1987, p. 119; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 296). A mid-sixth to late sixth century \textit{symmachia} treaty (\textit{SEG} XXII 336; \textit{ML} no.10) mentions Zeus and Apollo as \textit{proxenoi} (guarantors) and may indicate these gods were venerated here (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 296; see chapter one, p. 62). Future exploration may provide more information about the cult sites at Sybaris.

\textsuperscript{121} On this oracular response, see Mari, 2000, p. 261.

\textsuperscript{122} See the discussion below on Apollo \textit{Karneios} at Thurii, p. 172.
The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Poseidonia

Votive offerings found in the vicinity of the so-called temple of Neptune or Poseidon have been associated with a cult of Apollo (see figure 40). A number of terracotta statuettes of Apollo playing a lyre were found between the temple of Poseidon and the ‘basilica’ (Cipriani, 1988, p. 380; Torelli, 1987, pp. 60–61, tabs. IV, 2–3; Doepner, 2002, p. 229, no. 21; Baumbach, 2004, p. 131). These figurines date between the fifth\textsuperscript{123} and second centuries BCE (Cipriani, 1988, p. 380; Torelli, 1987, pp. 60–61; tabs. IV, 2–3; Doepner, 2002, pp. 100, 229, no. 21). Terracotta anatomical votives, including hands and feet, were found at the front of the temple of Neptune (Cipriani, 1988, p. 379; Baumbach, 2004, p. 131), and an aniconic stone with an inscription to Chiron (Χίρων), the centaur who taught Asklepios, have led to the hypothesis that the cult of a healing deity, such as Apollo, was venerated here (IGDGG II, no. 66; IGASMG IV, no. 50; Guarducci, 1948, pp. 185–187; figs. i–2; Ardovino, 1986, p. 20; Torelli, 1987, pp. 62–63; Doepner, 2002, p. 100).

Numerous argoi lithoi were also found within the sanctuary area, but as Doepner (2002) notes these aniconic stones do not have to be associated with Apollo, as other divinities including Zeus and Hera could also be worshipped in aniconic form (p. 100; see figure 40). The existence of a number\textsuperscript{124} of terracotta figurines of Apollo suggests that he was worshipped at Poseidonia, at least from the fifth century BCE. Although Torelli (1987) suggests that the so-called temple of Neptune was dedicated to Apollo Hiátrós (doctor) (p. 63), the presence of three bothroi in front of the temple makes its identification as a temple of Apollo unlikely (Baumbach, 2004, p. 131). Baumbach

\textsuperscript{123} A fragment of a lyre, believed to have been from a figurine of Apollo, dates to the fifth-century BCE (Torelli, 1987, tab. IV).  

\textsuperscript{124} The exact number of these votives has not been noted, although scholars indicate several were found (Doepner, 2002, p. 229, no. 21; Baumbach, 2004, p. 131).
(2004) connects this temple with the cult of Hera, and has suggested that Apollo may have been worshipped in a smaller structure within the sacred area (p. 131). Although this is possible, there is currently no evidence to support this hypothesis. Further archaeological exploration of this area may provide more information on this matter.

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Thurii

i) The Cult of Apollo the Founder?

It has been suggested that Thurii must have had a cult of Apollo because he was considered to be the oikistēs (Gianelli, 1963, p. 105). A passage in Theophrastus (fr. 97.3) refers to Apollo Epikomatios. Based on this passage, Gianelli (1963) has suggested that Apollo the founder was worshipped as Epikomatios at Thurii (p. 105). However, there is no clear evidence to indicate that Apollo was worshipped with this epithet at Thurii.

ii) Apollo Karneios?

The presence of a cult of Apollo Karneios at Thurii (or Sybaris) has been inferred from a passage in Theocritus (Idyll, 5. 82), who mentions a feast of Apollo with the sacrifice of a ram that has been identified as a Karneia festival (Gianelli, 1963, pp. 104–105; Ghinatti, 1974, p. 20). Although this festival takes place in the countryside, it is not clear where the festival was being held and suggestions have included Syracuse, Thurii, and Sybaris (Polacco & Anti, 1981, p. 29). There is other literary testimony that may indicate that Syracuse had a cult of Apollo Karneios (see above, p. 116), so it is possible that the passage in Theocritus refers to this city.
iii) Apolline Imagery on Coinage

A laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and the various reverse images including a tripod, a lyre, and Artemis are seen on coins issued in Thurii during the third century BCE (Poole, Head & Gardner, 1873, pp. 301–302, nos. 144–146; Head, 1911, p. 87; Giannelli, 1963, p. 104; Rutter, 2001, pp. 153–154, nos. 1896–1900, 1924–1929). Apollo is also depicted on the reverse of coins, naked and holding a lyre and a patera (Poole, Head & Gardner, 1873, p. 302, no. 148; Rutter, 2001, p. 155, no. 1930).

Sybaris, Thurii, and Delphi

Both Sybaris and Thurii were connected to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Is of Helike may have consulted the Delphic oracle prior to the foundation of Sybaris (Parke & Womell, 1956a, pp. 70–71), and ancient sources record two Delphic oracles that predicted the downfall of Sybaris (Timaeus, FGrH 566; Aelian, Varia historia, 3.43; Parke & Wormell, 1956a, pp. 152–155; 1956b, pp. 32–34, nos. 73–74). The oracle was also consulted by some exiled Sybarites for an unknown reason (Diodorus Siculus 12.10.5; Parke & Wormell, 1976b, p. 58, no. 131). There is evidence to indicate that Sybaris dedicated a treasury at Delphi during the sixth century BCE (Strabo 9.3.8; Athenaeus, 12.520 A; Pausanius, 6.19.9; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 352, no. 445; Le Roy, 1990, pp. 33, 36; Mertens-Horn & Viola, 1996, p. 246, note 54). Sybaris may have been responsible for a life-sized silver bull of the sixth century BCE that was dedicated at Delphi (Papadopoulos, 2002, pp. 30–31). Sybaris is also said to have dedicated four strigils of gold (Theopompus, FGrH 115 F 248 (182); Rougemont, 1991, pp. 170–171), and four golden crowns that were stolen by Onomarkhos of Phokis

125 There is no evidence for any dedications at Delphi by the Poseidonians.
Thurii enjoyed a privileged status with the Delphic god. The Delphic oracle was probably consulted prior to its foundation (Diodorus Siculus 12.10.5; Mari, 2000, pp. 261–263), and Apollo declared himself to be the oikistēs (Ἀπόλλων κτήτων) (Diodorus Siculus, 12.35.3; cf. Mari, 2000, pp. 274–275). Thurii was honoured with the right of promanteia, as witnessed by a fourth century Delphic decree (Syll.3 295; Roux, 1990, p. 23; Zorat, 1996, pp. 100–101; Mari, 2000, pp. 281–283). It is probable that Thurii was granted promanteia when the city was founded in 434–433 BCE (Zorat, 1996, p. 103). Although there is no inscriptional evidence of offerings dedicated by Thurii, Jacquemin (1991) suggests that it is likely that Thurii dedicated an important offering for the honour of promanteia that was bestowed on them (p. 201; however, cf. Laroche, 1992, pp. 207–223; Mari, 2000, p. 280). Laroche (1992) suggests that the tholos at Delphi (Mamaria) was dedicated by the Thurians after a naval victory over Dionysius I in 379 BCE (pp. 218–220; cf. Mari, 2000, p. 280), but this appears to have been a dedication to the Winds and not to Apollo (Laroche, 1991, p. 218).

The Foundation of Kroton and Terina

According to both Strabo (6.1.12) and Herodotus (8.47), Kroton was an Achaean foundation, although Pseudo-Scymnus (328) referred to it simply as a Peloponnesian colony. Ancient sources state that the oikistēs was Myskellus of Rhypes (Diodorus Siculus, fr. 8.17; Strabo, 6.1.12). The traditional foundation date was 709–708 BCE (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Antiquitatis Romanae, 2.59.3; Strabo 5.2.4). The presence of Late Geometric pottery suggests that Kroton was founded during the last quarter of the eighth century BCE (Edlund, 1987, p. 105). There are three versions of foundation oracles preserved for Kroton, all of which are considered to be 'after the fact.'
The first oracular account is an *ex-eventu* oracle involving Archias of Korinth and Myskellos of Rhypes who were asked to choose between wealth and health (see chapter one, p. 24). In the second tradition, Myskellos consulted Delphi because he was childless and was told by the god to found Kroton (Diodorus Siculus 8.17; Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p. 69; 1956b, p. 19, no. 43). Myskellos did not understand the command of the god and consulted the oracle again and was told the geographical location of the future colony and its proximity to the Lacino promontory, Krimissa, and the Aesarus river (Diodorus Siculus 8.17; Strabo 6.1.12 = Antiochus of Syracuse *FGrH* 555 fr. 10; Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p. 69; 1956b, p. 20, no. 44). This oracle is considered to be fictitious because Myskellos consulted the Delphic oracle for a personal matter and Apollo gave him instructions to found a colony (Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p. 70; Fontenrose, 1978, p. 139).

In the third tradition, Myskellos sailed to Italy and was prepared to found a colony. However, when Myskellos saw the territory of Sybaris he wished to settle there instead, but Apollo instructed him to found Kroton (Diodorus Siculus 8.17; Parke & Wormell, 1956a, pp. 69–70; 1956b, p. 20, no. 45; see chapter one, pp. 22–23). This oracle is also considered false by scholars because Myskellos questioned the will of Apollo (Parke & Wormell, 1956a, p. 70; Fontenrose, 1978, p. 140), and it likely refers to the rivalry between Sybaris and Kroton that resulted in the destruction of Sybaris in 510 BCE (Parke & Wormell, 1956a, pp. 70–71). Although the foundation oracles that have been preserved for Kroton appear to have been later inventions, this does not necessarily mean that Delphi did not have a role in the foundation. The fact that all three versions of the oracle refer to the *oikistēs* as Myskellos, and the prevalent image of the Delphic tripod on Kroton’s coinage (see figure 41), indicates that Delphi was consulted or ‘believed’ to have been consulted, and that the founder was considered to be Myskellos of Rhypes.
In 389 BCE Dionysios I of Syracuse destroyed Kroton, and it became part of Lokri’s territory (Diodorus Siculus 14.106.2). The city was re-founded by Dionysios II in 357 BCE. The remains of fortification walls are believed to date to this re-foundation (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 266). According to Pseudo-Scymnus (306–307) and Phlegon (FGrH 257, fr. 31), Terina was founded by Kroton. The date of foundation is not known, although it had to predate 460 BCE when the city began to mint coins (Rutter, 1997, p. 61).

**The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Kroton**

i) Apollo *Pythios* and Apollo *Hyperboreas*

The cult of Apollo *Pythios* at Kroton is attested by literary, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence. A temple to the Pythian god is mentioned by a passage in Iamblichos (*De vita Pythagoria*, 9.50), who associated this cult with Pythagorism. The importance of the cult of Apollo is demonstrated by Athenaeus’ (12.522 C) statement that celebrations in honour of Apollo were held on the seventh day of each month (*cf*. Mele, 1996b, p. 235). The earliest coins of the city date *ca.* 530–500 BCE, are incused with the image of the tripod (Rutter, 2001, pp. 167–168, nos. 2075–2084; see figure 41). It is often suggested that the prominent image of the tripod on coinage reflects the presence of a cult of Pythian Apollo, since the tripod was particularly associated with Apollo’s oracle at Delphi (Gianelli, 1963, p. 152; Gorini, 1975, p. 148; Gale, 1995, p. 9; Mele, 1996b, p. 235; Genovese, 1999, p. 191). The tripod is also believed to be connected to Delphi’s role in the foundation of the city (Lacroix, 1965, p. 138; Gorini, 1975, p. 148; Kraay, 1976, p. 167; Papadopoulos (2002) suggests that the tripod can also be seen as symbol of monetary value that would have stressed Kroton’s access to metal resources, including the mine at Temesa within her territory (p. 38).
An inscription on a bronze plaque found at Quota Cimino (in the vicinity of the Lacinio promontory) provides the best evidence for the presence of the cult of Apollo Pythios at Kroton (Lazzarini, 1996, p. 243, 246, fig. 4.10; Genovese, 1999, pp. 190–191, tab. 84, fig. 1). Although the inscription is fragmentary, it is believed to record a dedication made to Apollo Pythios between 475 and 450 BCE (Lazzarini, 1996, p. 234, Genovese, 1999, p. 191; IGDGG II, pp. 143–146, no. 86):

\[ \ldots\ldots\alpha\nu\varepsilon\theta\varepsilon\kappa\varepsilon\nu\ E- \\
\ldots\ldots\varepsilon\mu\mu\gamma\alpha\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\tau\sigma\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda-o-
\nu\tau\omicron\Pi\theta\imath\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\nu\iota\rho\appa-
\nu\ldots\ldots.\]

The inscription has been restored as “(this) dedicated (by the son of E....), since the mother promised, to Apollo Pythios, the sacred....” (Lazzarini, 1996, pp. 243, 245). The inscription is said to have been found in the area of the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, but it was found on the antiquities market (Genovese, 1999, p. 191). Although the exact location of this inscription is unknown, the Pythian cult may have been closely associated with the Lacino promontory. The fragment of the head of a silver serpent that was originally part of a kaduceus was found in the sanctuary of Hera and has been interpreted as an offering for Apollo Pythios (Spadea, 1996, pp. 276, 277, fig. 4.59; Russo, 1998, p. 306, fig. 13; Parra, 2001, p. 231); however, without an inscription it cannot be ruled out that it was intended for Hera. Although no archaeological evidence for a cult structure has been found, it has been assumed that the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios was in close proximity to that of Hera Lacinia,

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127 Giangiulio (2002) questions whether Apollo Pythios at Kroton may have been influenced by the cult of Apollo Pythaeus in the Argolid, “Ma si tratta naturalmente di una mera ipotesi e di una direzione d’indagine da percorrere” (p. 299).
based on the alleged location of the inscription (Spada, 1996, p. 276). In addition, scholars have highlighted the close association of the cults of Hera and Apollo in the metropolis (Spada, 1996, p. 276), and in the process of colonization in general (Valenza Mele, 1977, p. 503; 1992, pp. 9, 11; Parisi Presicce, 1985, p. 64; Genovese, 1999, p. 191), which also strengthens the hypothesis that Apollo Pythios was worshipped near the sanctuary of Hera.

The cult of Apollo Pythios at Kroton was associated with the Pythagoreans. Pythagoras came to live in Kroton, around 530 BCE, and the city became an important centre of Pythagorism (Vaccaro, 1978, p. 30; Russo, 1998, p. 312–313). The cult of Apollo Hyperboreas was closely associated with Pythagorean worship of the god (Gianelli, 1963, pp. 152–153), and passages in Aelian (Varia Historia, 2.26) and Diogenes Laertius (Vita Philosophorum, 8.1.2) suggest that Hyperboreas and Pythios were used interchangeably at Kroton. Although there is no epigraphic evidence to confirm this, it was not uncommon for a god to be worshipped by two epithets at any particular cult site (Travlos, 1971, p. 91; Davies, 2007, p. 60; see discussion above, pp. 66–67). The date of the establishment of the cult of Apollo Pythios is difficult to ascertain. The inscription indicates that the cult was in existence by at least the middle of the fifth century BCE. Although the cult may have been introduced during the sixth century as a result of Pythagorean influence, Giangiulio (1989) has suggested that the passage in Athenaeus (12.522 C) that mentions important Apolline rituals that took place on the seventh day of each month refers to a tradition that pre-dates Pythagoras (p. 85). It is possible that the cult of Apollo Pythios was established when the colony was founded, although there is currently no evidence to confirm this hypothesis.
ii) A Second Apollonion?

After the destruction of Sybaris by Kroton in 510 BCE, there was a tradition that the sacred relics that were placed by Philoktetes in the sanctuary of Apollo _Alaios_ at Krimissa were transferred to a temple of Apollo at Kroton (Pseudo-Aristotle, _De mirabilibus auscultationibus_, 108). It is unclear if this passage indicates that there was a second temple of Apollo at Kroton (cf. Russo, 1998, p. 317).

iii) Other Apolline Imagery on Coinage

In addition to images of the tripod, other Apolline images were depicted on the coins of Kroton. A series of coins of the late fifth and early fourth centuries BCE refer to Delphi with the image of the Delphic tripod flanked by Apollo, armed with a bow and shooting the python (Head, 1911, p. 97; Kraay, 1976, p. 181; Jacquemin & Laroche, 1990, p. 317; Rutter, 1997, p. 38; 2001, p. 170, no. 2140; see figure 42). Laureate heads of Apollo are seen on coins during the fourth and third centuries BCE (Head, 1911, pp. 97–98; Rutter, 2001, pp. 171, 172, 174, nos. 2157, 2177, 2232). Apollo may be alluded to on coins _ca._ 405 to 350 BCE, that depicted a club on the obverse and a bow on the reverse (Rutter, 2001, p. 171, nos. 2162–2169; Attianese, 2005, pp. 156–161). The club is a clear reference to Herakles, the mythical founder of the city, and the bow could refer to Apollo or possibly the bow and arrows of Herakles that were dedicated in the shrine of Apollo _Alaios_ by Philoktetes (Pseudo-Aristotle, _De mirabilibus auscultationibus_, 107; Euphorion _apud_ Tzetzes, _ad Lycophron_, 911; _Etymologicum Magnum_, 58.4. _s.v._ _Alaios_; Attianese, 2005, p. 162).
iv) The sanctuary of Apollo Alaios

The Punta Alice promontory, located to the northeast of Cirò Marina, was originally an indigenous centre of the Chones, according to Strabo (6.1.3), and indigenous finds of the Bronze and Iron Ages attest to the presence of natives (Giangiulio, 1989, p. 224; Paoletti, 1998, p. 332–333). This site has been connected with ancient Krimissa, but the exact location of this polis is unknown (Gianguilo, 1989, p. 230; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 256). In the early history of this sanctuary, the site was probably not under the control of any particular Greek polis, and it was likely an autonomous indigenous community that was greatly influenced by its Greek neighbours (Osanna, 1992, p. 174; Genovese, 1999, p. 93). However, after the fall of Sybaris in 510 BCE the area came under the control of the polis of Kroton (Genovese, 2001, pp. 585, 588; Cerchiai, 2002a, p. 110). According to ancient sources, the sanctuary of Apollo Alaios was founded by Philoktetes, the famous archer during the Trojan war, who dedicated the bow, quiver, and arrows of Herakles in this temple (Pseudo-Aristotle, De mirabilibus auscultationibus, 107; Euphorion apud Tzetzes, ad Lycophron, 911; Etymologicum Magnum, 58. 4. s.v. Alaios).

The sanctuary on the Punta Alice promontory has been identified as the sanctuary of Apollo Alaios and its architecture, inscriptions, and artifacts indicate that there was worship at the site by both Greek and indigenous people. Artifacts in the sanctuary indicate cult worship from the mid-eighth-century BCE until the Roman Imperial period. The earliest Greek material is pottery that dates to the second half of the seventh century BCE (Lattanzi, 1987, p. 73; Giangiulio, 1989, p. 228; La

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128 An excellent summary of the evidence for natives in the surrounding area from the Bronze age to the Hellenistic period can be found in Genovese (2001, pp. 592–619).

129 According to Apollodorus (Epitome, 3.27), Philoktetes was bitten by a snake while making a sacrifice to Apollo.
Rocca, 1996, p. 271, no. 4.43; Genovese, 2001, p. 624). Other early artifacts include a fragment of a terracotta *perirrhanterion* with relief decoration, of late seventh or early sixth century date, a fragmentary terracotta female statuette of the first half of the sixth century, and a terracotta seated statuette of a woman from the second half of the sixth century BCE (La Rocca, 1996, pp. 270–271, nos. 4.40–42; Genovese, 2001, pp. 624–625). Pottery of sixth century date includes fragments of Protokorinthian *kylikes*, a Korinthian *alabastron*, Korinthian *aryballoi*, an Ionic *kylix*, miniature *hydriae*, a Samian *kylix*, and a SOS amphora fragment (Orsi, 1932, pp. 132–135, figs. 87–92; Lattanzi, 1987, p. 72; Genovese, 2001, p. 624). A small silver statuette (6.5 cm high) of indigenous manufacture was thought to date to the mid-seventh-century, although it has recently been down-dated to the second quarter of the sixth century BCE (Orsi, 1932, pp. 90–91, fig. 51; La Rocca, 1996, pp. 267–268, no. 4.26; Genovese, 2001, p. 624, fig. 12). Statue fragments include a finger of a bronze life-sized statue, the torso of a Parian marble statue of an *ephebe* (*ca. 500 BCE*) and a marble head of a statue (second half of the sixth century), possibly of Apollo or a female figure (Orsi, 1932, pp. 125–126, figs. 93–94; La Rocca, 1996, pp. 269–270, nos. 4.38, 4.32; Genovese, p. 626, note 134). Recent excavations have uncovered an Archaic marble head with a crown that was manufactured by non-Greeks (Genovese, 1999, p. 72).

The first phase of the temple dates to the first half of the sixth century BCE (Mertens, 1993, p. 62; Ossana, 1992, p. 176; Seiler, 1996, p. 250; Genovese, 2001, p. 622; see figure 43). The temple measured approximately eight by twenty-seven meters and had a foundation of limestone river stones. The superstructure was composed of mud-brick and wood, and the temple had a peristyle.

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130 For the most recent suggestion of a sixth-century date, see the discussion in Genovese, 2001, p. 624, note 130.
of five or six by fifteen columns (Seiler, 1996, p. 250; Lattanzi, 1987, p. 72; Cerchiai 2002a, p. 111). The *cella* was divided by a row of columns, likely wooden, and there was an *adyton* at the back that had four columns that framed the cult statue (Orsi, 1932, p. 27; Seiler, 1996, p. 250; Genovese, 2001, p. 622; Cerchiai, 2002a, p. 111). The entablature was decorated with terracotta triglyphs and metopes (Aversa, 1996, pp. 259–260, La Rocca, 1996, p. 273, no. 4.52, figs. 4.52a–b). The temple was also decorated with Tarantine manufactured antefixes depicting Gorgonians (Orsi, 1932, p. 68, tab. IX 1; Genovese, 2001, p. 626). Mertens (1990) suggests that the wooden peristyle and the terracotta imitation of a Doric entablature represent a fusion of indigenous construction expertise and Greek architectural design (p. 375). Scholars propose that the sanctuary was a place for contact and mediation between Greeks and natives (de Polignac, 1995, pp. 106–107; Nafissi, 2000, pp. 268–269). The sanctuary of Apollo *Alaios* was influenced by non-Greeks because it was surrounded by a number of indigenous communities (de Polignac, 1995, pp. 109–110). Greek and native worshipers at the sanctuary are indicated by a number of artifacts of indigenous manufacture and non-Greek inscriptions (see discussion below).

A votive deposit was found underneath the floor of the *adyton*, containing many artifacts of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, including a number of bronze, silver, and gold items and fragments of an acrolithic statue (Orsi, 1932, pp. 3–34; Genovese, 1999, p. 70; Luppino, 2003, p.151). The deposit was covered with two layers of earth, and one of rock to provide protection for the precious ex-votos (Lattanzi, 1987, p. 72). The deposit contained a number of statuettes of the god in various metals. A mid-fifth-century BCE bronze statuette (10.3 cm high) of native production depicts a nude Apollo with long hair, and his arms and hands outstretched which once held two items (Orsi, 1932, p. 100, tab. XI, nos. 1–2; Genovese, 2001, pp. 627–628; fig. 15). A similar bronze
figure of Apollo of the second half of the fifth century (16.8 cm high depicts the god nude with flowing hair, holding a bow in his left hand, with his right hand outstretched which likely once held a *patera* (Orsi, 1932, pp. 101–102, tab. XII; La Rocca, 1996, p.269, no. 4.31; Genovese, 2001, p. 628, fig. 16; see figure 44). One stylized bronze of native manufacture shows Apollo in the same pose, with hair bound in a fillet (7.7 cm high) (Orsi, 1932, pp. 100–101, tab. XI, no. 3). A similar bronze statuette of the second half of the fourth century depicts Apollo with his hair tied in a fillet, with a hole in the left hand that once must have held a bow, and the right arm outstretched presumably that once held a *patera* (Orsi, 1932, pp. 103–104, fig. 61 and tab. XIII; Genovese, 2001, p. 639, fig. 26). A small gold statuette (6 cm high) of mid-fourth-century date shows the god wearing a *chiton*, with his hair rolled up in a fillet, and holding a *patera* in his right hand and a bow in his left hand (Orsi, 1932, pp. 81–82, fig. 46; La Rocca, 1996, p. 267, no. 4.22; Genovese, 2001, p. 639, fig. 25). A late fourth century BCE silver *kouros* with a lead centre (15.3 cm long) depicts Apollo in a Lysippian pose, with long flowing hair and a laurel crown (Orsi, 1932, p. 80, tab. X; La Rocca, 1996, pp. 268–269, no. 4.27; Genovese, 2001, pp. 637, 639, fig. 24).

The votive deposit included numerous pieces of jewelry, other bronze sculpture, and fragments of the marble acrolithic cult statue. A large quantity of jewelry was found including gold and silver diadems, gold and silver laurel leaves, fragments of gold earrings, a silver armband, bronze rings, and bronze *fibulae* (Orsi, 1932, pp. 87–90, figs. 48–50; 94–99, figs. 52–60, 112–113, figs. 67–68). A bronze votive left leg (16 cm long) is believed to have been of indigenous manufacture because the anatomy was not rendered in the typical Greek fashion (Orsi, 1932, p. 107; Genovese, 2001, p. 642, fig. 27; see figure 45). An unusual find included two bronze branches (22 cm and 7.7 cm long) from a laurel tree, indicated by the presence of numerous bronze laurel leaves.
found in the votive pit and elsewhere inside the temple (Orsi, 1932, p. 113–114, figs. 70–71; see figure 45). Orsi (1932) suggests that the branches may have been ex-votos dedicated in order to rid the people of a pestilence such as malaria (p. 114). It is also possible that the branches may have been held by a statue, as with the example seen on coins from Kaulonia (see the discussion below, pp. 194–196).

Fragments of monumental statuary included a bronze skull-cap, and a large marble head and hand (Orsi, pp. 135–137, tab. XVI–XVIII, 144, tab. XX; Mertens-Horn, 1996, p. 261). The bronze skull-cap was executed in the ‘Severe Style’ and it depicts the hair tied at the back in the so-called ‘knot of Herakles’, and it once was adorned with a gold or silver crown (Orsi, 1932, pp. 143–155, fig. 107, tab. XX; Mertens-Horn, 1996, p. 263; Genovese, 2001, p. 626, fig. 13; Cerchiai, 2002a, p. 112).131 The bronze skull-cap does not belong to the acrolithic marble statue, but another statue of the god, possibly a wooden one (Mertens-Horn, 1996, p. 263; Paoletti, 1989, p. 334; Genovese, 2001, p. 626; Cerchiai, 2002a, p. 112). Mertens-Horn (1996) suggests that this statue may have depicted Apollo with a bow, like the images seen on coins of Kroton (p. 263). It is also possible that the statue may have been similar to the small bronze statuettes, showing Apollo holding a bow and a patera. This statue may have been placed inside the cella or pronaos of the temple (Mertens-Horn, 1996, p. 263).

The marble head, right hand and feet found inside the temple belonged to a two-meter-high acrolithic statue (Orsi, 1932, pp. 135–143, tab. XVI–XIX, fig. 105; Mertens-Horn, 1996, p. 261; 131 In a paper entitled “Apollo akersekomas and the magic knot of Herakles” delivered at the CACW “Regionalism and Globalism in Antiquity” Conference (Vancouver, 16–17 March 2007), Nicgorski suggested that the Herakles knot hairstyle of this wig can be connected to Apollo Akersekomas (with unshorn hair), a god who was particularly associated with the protection of ephebes (forthcoming publication).
Paoletti, 1998, p. 334; see figure 46). The acrolithic technique involved placing a marble head and limbs onto a wooden core that was covered with gold or silver (Paoletti, 1998, p. 334; Cerchiai, 2002a, pp. 111–112). Stylistically the head and the feet date ca. 440–420 BCE (Mertens-Horn, 1996, p. 261; Genovese, 2001, p. 627). The eyes of the statue were likely filled with white marble and precious stones (Mertens-Horn, 1996, p. 261). Orsi (1932) suggests that the cult statue was standing, and he reconstructed the figure holding a bow and a *patera* (pp. 156–159, figs. 109–110). Orsi's hypothesis was based on the gold statuette that was found inside the votive deposit; however, he did not consider the differences in style and dates of these two items (De Franciscis, 1956, pp. 98–100). Recent analysis of the statue fragments indicates that it depicted a seated image of Apollo, and that he may have held a *kithara* (Mertens-Horn, 1996, p. 261). This cult statue was probably displayed in the *adyton* of the temple, with the four columns framing it (Orsi, 1932, pp. 27, 79, fig. 45; Mertens-Horn, 1996, p. 263).

Artifacts from the sanctuary that date between the fourth and third centuries BCE include terracotta statuettes, bronze artifacts, and inscriptions. Terracotta statuette fragments include female figures both standing and seated; Bes; Apollo holding a lyre; a bull; and a piglet (Orsi, 1932, pp. 119–121, figs. 81–86; La Rocca, pp. 270–271, nos. 4.41, 4.42). Bronze items included miniature bronze spears and spear points, fragments of bronze armour, a fish-hook, nails, and fragments of a bronze *patera* (Orsi, 1932, pp. 109–111, 115, figs. 63–65, 74; Genovese, 2001, p. 642; see figure 45).  

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*Fish-hooks could be an offering by a sailor, or a votive given to a deity associated with seafaring (see chapter one, pp. 37, 39–40, 42, 45, 51, 52).* Armour was often dedicated to deities associated with warfare and defense, including Apollo (see chapter one, pp. 57–60).
Doepner (2002) suggests that this stone was an aniconic offering for Apollo, which is significant because it implies that a non-Greek worshipped Apollo in a typically Greek fashion (p. 179). A second inscription, also in Oscan, is more complete (De Franciscis, 1960, pp. 14–15, fig. 4). Poccetti (1988) notes that both inscriptions contain similar phrasing and has hypothesized that the inscriptions refer to an eponymous priesthood for two indigenous individuals (pp. 113–114; also cf. Genovese, 2001, p. 637; figs. 22–23). A final fragmentary inscription may refer to an Oscan name (Orsi, 1932, pp. 131–132, fig. 103; De Franciscis & Parlangèli, 1960, p. 15, fig. 5).

In the early third century BCE\(^{133}\) when the Brettii occupied the territory, the Archaic temple was replaced with a new structure (Mertens, 1993, p. 79; Mertens-Horn, 1996, p. 263; Seiler, 1996, p. 250; Paoletti, 1998, p. 335; Genovese, 2001, p. 634; Luppino, 2003, p. 150). The foundations of the old building were used for the new temple and a Doric stone temple in an Archaic style was built (Mertens, 1993, p. 65; Seiler, 1996, p. 250). The temple was of an elongated plan that was unusual for the Hellenistic period: eight by nineteen columns, with a double colonnade on the east side (Mertens, 1993, p. 78). Mertens (1993) suggests that the new temple adhered to the plan of the old temple, simply updating it and re-creating it in more durable materials (p. 80). To the south of the temple Orsi (1932) partially excavated a Hellenistic structure that he called the ‘priests’ houses’ (pp. 42–45). Unfortunately, there has been no further exploration of this area since this preliminary examination, and the area has suffered too much damage to provide further details (Mertens, 1993, p. 80). Scholars note the similarity between Orsi’s plan of this structure and buildings identified as

\(^{133}\) According to Mertens (1993), fragments of column capitals date stylistically to this time (p. 67).
hestiatoria, dining halls, at the sanctuary of Hera at Cape Lacinio and it is quite possible that the structure at Cirò Marina had the same purpose (Mertens, 1993, p. 80; Seiler, 1996, p. 253; Genovese, 2001, pp. 635–636).

That this sanctuary was sacred to Apollo is illustrated by the numerous votive offerings that depict the god, and a fragmentary Roman Imperial inscription on a marble roof tile (AIIO) (Orsi, 1932, p. 131, fig. 102). Although the artifacts do not shed any light on the epithet of the god worshipped here, the sanctuary can be identified as that of Apollo Alaios, the wanderer, mentioned in the ancient sources, that became central to Kroton’s identity (Apollodorus, Epitome, 615b; Pseudo-Aristotle, De mirabilibus auscultationibus, 107; Euphorion apud Tzetzes, ad Lycophron, 911; Etymologicum Magnum, 58.4. s.v. Alaios). Originally Philoktetes was connected with Sybaris, but the hero was expropriated when Kroton conquered Sybaris and expanded her territory to Cape Krimissa (Giangiulio, 1989, pp. 230–231; 1991, p. 48, 49; Malkin, 1996, p. 76; 1998a, p. 137; 1998b, p. 216).134 According to Pseudo-Aristotle (De mirabilibus auscultationibus, 108), at this time the sacred artifacts of Herakles were transferred by the Krotoniates from the sanctuary of Apollo Alios to their own temple of the god. This account likely refers to the balance of power that shifted from Sybaris to Kroton instead of the physical re-location of these sacred artifacts. However, the tradition of the acquisition of Herakles’ relics from the natives may have provided justification for territorial expansion by Kroton into native lands (Malkin, 1998b, p. 219). The myth of Philoktetes and the sanctuary of Apollo Alios may have become a symbol of Kroton’s territorial dominance (Malkin, 1996, p. 76; 1998a, p. 137; 1998b, pp. 216, 219–220).

With the expansion of Kroton’s territory, the religious and economic activities of the

134 Musti (1991) prefers to see Philoktetes passed from Kroton to Sybaris (p. 28)
sanctuary came under Greek control. However, indigenous participation continued and may have been encouraged by the propagation of the myth of Philoktetes, who was said to have founded non-Greek cities at Pentelia, Chone, Krimissa, and Makalla (Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, 107.1–2; Strabo 6.1.3, 6.2.5; Justin 20.1.16; Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 911–913, 919–929; Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Makalla, Chone*; cf. also Malkin, 1998a, p. 133–134; 1998b, pp. 215–216; Nafissi, 1999, p. 272.). Philoktetes was worshipped in the native communities situated between Kroton and Sybaris (Malkin, 1998b, p. 217), and according to a passage in Lycophron (*Alexandra*, 928–929), Philoktetes was the recipient of an *oikistēs* cult at Makalla (see chapter three, p. 252). Philoktetes, although from the Greek heroic tradition, was also a figure that the native population adopted as their own, and he provided a ‘middle ground’ between the Greek and indigenous populations that enabled acculturation (Malkin, 1998a, p. 134; cf. Genovese, 2001, pp. 585, 662, 667). The cult of Apollo *Alaios* and the myth of Philoktetes’ dedication of the bow and arrows of Herakles helped to cement the relationship between the Krotonians and the indigenous population. At the same time this tradition shaped the identity of Kroton by connecting the sanctuary of Apollo to Herakles, the mythical founder of Kroton who was depicted on the city’s coinage as the *oikistēs* (see the discussion in chapter three, pp. 281, 300–301).

**The Evidence for a Cult of Apollo at Terina**

The only evidence that may indicate that there was a cult of Apollo at Terina is the image of Apollo on coins during the third century BCE (Head, 1911, p. 114; Giannelli, 1963, p. 173).
Kroton and Delphi

Kroton's foundation by Myskellus of Rhypes was sanctioned by the oracle at Delphi, and therefore, Kroton continued to keep close ties with the sanctuary. A number of elaborate dedications were made at Delphi by Kroton in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. There is some evidence to suggest that Kroton dedicated a treasury at Delphi at the end of the sixth century BCE (Jacquemin & Laroche, 1990, p. 323; Jacquemin, 1991, p. 195; Rougemont, 1991, p. 172; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 320, no. 127). Remains of a limestone base and a marble inscription from a tripod dedication by the Krotoniates were found east of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (Jacquemin & Laroche, 1990, pp. 301–311, figs. 2–9; Rougemont, 1991, p. 163; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 320, no. 126; IGDGG II, pp. 152–153, no. 42; see figure 48). The tripod was over five meters high and three and a half meters in diameter (Rougemont, 1991, p. 163). The base of the tripod is believed to have had a sculptural group of Apollo and the python by Pythagoras of Rhegion (Jacquemin, 1991, p. 196). The tripod was a victory monument after the destruction of Sybaris in 510 BCE, and dedicated ca. 477 BCE (Jacquemin & Laroche, 1990, 321–22; Rougemont, 1991, p. 163).

The Krotoniate Phayllos was a three-time victor at the Pythian Games (Herodotus 8.4.7; Pausanias 10.9.2), and a statue of the famous athlete was dedicated at Delphi in the first half of the fifth century BCE (Herodotus, 8.47; Pausanias, 10.9.2; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 343, no. 366). There are also four known private consultations of the Delphic oracle by men from Kroton. Three instances involved consulting the god on health-related matters, including an inquiry for the cure of a plague, and two requests for advice on curing a wound (Justin, 20.2.3; Pausanias, 3.19.12; Theopompus FGrH. 115 f.392 = Suida s.v. Phormion; Parke & Wormell, 1956b, pp. 34–35, nos. 75, 77–78). The men of Kroton also consulted the oracle for advice on how to secure a victory over
the Locrians (Justin, 20.3.1; Parke & Wormell, 1956b, p. 34, no. 76).

The Foundation of Kaulonia

Kaulonia is referred to either as an Achaean foundation (Strabo, 6.1.10; Pausanias, 6.3.12),
or a Krotonion foundation (Pseudo-Scymnus 318–319; Stephanus of Byzantium, 147.9–10).
According to Pausanias (6.3.12), the oikistēs was Typhon from Aigion. Kaulonia was probably an
Achaean foundation that came under the sphere of Kroton’s influence (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen &
Ampolo, 2004a, p. 265). The date of the foundation of Kaulonia is based solely upon archaeological
evidence. The presence of Greek artifacts in the vicinity of Kaulonia (modern Montasterace Marina)
suggests a foundation during the late eighth century BCE; however, a seventh century date has also
been suggested, based on traces of an early sixth century fortification wall (Tréziny, 1988, pp. 205,
BCE, the city was besieged by Dionysius I (Diodorus Siculus, 14.103.3; cf. De Vido, 2001, p. 1).
According to Diodorus Siculus (14.106.3), the inhabitants were taken to Syracuse, where they were
given citizenship, Kaulonia was razed to the ground, and the territory was given to the Lokrians.
Kaulonia was re-founded by Dionysius II ca. 357 BCE (Diodorus Siculus 16.10.2; 16.11.3; cf.
Ampolo, 2004a, p. 266; see chapter three, pp. 273–274).
The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Kaulonia

i) The Sanctuary on the Faro Hill

The remains of a small sanctuary were found on the Faro Hill at Punto Stilo by Orsi (1914, col. 779; see figure 49). Traces of foundations and some architectural terracottas indicate a structure of mid-sixth-century date (Orsi, 1914, col. 779, fig. 46; Barello, 1991, pp. 19–20, 27–28, tabs. IX a, X–XII; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 266). During excavations, Orsi (1914) discovered a *cippus* with the depiction of a figure riding a dolphin, whom he suggested might be Taras (col. 779, fig. 45). Based on the presence of this item and the location of the temple, which overlooked the sea, Orsi suggested that the shrine was dedicated to a marine god, possibly Poseidon, Taras, or Apollo *Delphinios*. However, recent geophysical studies have indicated that the ancient shoreline was once further to the east (Stanley, Bernasconi, Toth, Mariottini & Iannelli, 2006, pp. 15–16, 25, 28, fig. 12). This suggests that during the Greek period this sanctuary was not situated near the sea, and that it likely did not have a connection to a marine deity. The deity to whom the sanctuary was dedicated remains unknown.

ii) The Doric Temple and the Sanctuary at Punta Stilo

The earliest evidence of activity in the sanctuary at Punta Stilo includes pottery of the late eighth and seventh centuries, including an orientalizing *deinos* depicting a man on a horse and a tripod, that is believed to have been an early votive offering (Fioravanti, 2001, p. 37; Parra, 2001, p. 221). A few aniconic stones have been found within the sanctuary. One of late-seventh century

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135 The shoreline at Kaulonia is believed to have shifted during the late Roman period (Stanely, Bernasconi, Toth, Mariottini & Iannelli, 2006, p. 30).
or early-sixth century date has an inscription that reads: Ανεμων, perhaps a reference to a wind god (Tomasello, 1972, p. 638, figs. 123–124; Parra, 2006, p. 229). A second cippus, perhaps an anchor, may also be an early votive offering (Parra, 2006, p. 230, fig. 42). Evidence of the first temple includes architectural fragments of a capital, an abacus, and an echinus that date stylistically to the early fifth century BCE (Barello, 1995, pp. 29–36, tabs. XIII; XLVII b–c; Parra, 2001, p. 219).\(^{136}\)

The temple foundations that are visible today date to the second phase of the temple ca. 430–420 BCE, that consisted of a peripteral Doric temple with six by thirteen or fourteen columns (Barello, 1995, p. 121; figures 49–50). East of the temple are the remains of two altars, that are believed to represent the two phases of temple construction (Barello, 1995, p. 107, tab. LVII; Parra, 2001, p. 220). On the northern side of the temple, eight and a half meters from the temple, is a stepped area (Orsi, 1914, cols. 875–879, figs. 116–117; Barello, 1995, pp. 107–108, tabs. XLIV, LIX). At the top of the stepped area are three large wells. Numerous fragments of stelai were found in the area above and below the stepped area (Orsi, 1914, cols. 879–888, figs. 118–125). Orsi (1914) proposed that the stepped area was used for the display of votive offerings (cols. 886–887); however, recently it has been suggested that this was a theatron, used for the assemblies by the Achaean league (Kroton, Kaulonia, and Sybaris) that was established during the fifth century (Polybius, 2.39.5–6; Osanna, 1989, pp. 55, 60–63; see discussion below, p. 196).\(^{137}\)

Votive offerings from the sanctuary suggest that a variety of deities may have been worshipped here (cf. Barello, 1995, p. 110). Fragments of terracotta female statuettes and loom

\(^{136}\) The early excavations conducted by Orsi (1914) did not find the evidence for an earlier structure (col. 876).

\(^{137}\) Osanna (1989) suggests that this theatron was associated with the Doric temple that he has identified as a temple of Zeus Homarios (pp. 60–63; see discussion below p. 196).
weights point to the worship of (a) goddess(es) (statuettes: Tomasello, 1972, pp. 574, 575, 586, figs. 22h, 23f, 25, 36, 52; Barello, 1995, p. 109; loom-weights: Tomasello, 1972, pp. 575, 579, figs. 221, 40h). Other artifacts that suggest female deities were worshipped here include an early-fourth-century statuette of Artemis holding a small animal (Tomasello, 1972, p. 575, fig. 24; Osanna, 1989, p. 62), votive doves, possibly related to Aphrodite (Orsi, 1923, col. 212, fig. 128; Tomasello, 1970, p. 581, fig. 44; Osanna, 1989, p. 62), a *pinax* depicting Persephone, and a Latin inscription to Athena (Minerva) (Barello, 1995, pp. 109–110).

A number of arms and armour fragments of the Archaic and Classical periods have been found within the sanctuary, including bronze spear points, and shield fragments (Tomasello, 1970, p. 589, figs. 54m, 55g; Parra, 2006, pp. 229–230). These votive offerings would have been appropriate dedications for a variety of deities including Athena and Apollo. Recent excavations to the south of the fifth-century altar have unearthed a terracotta statuette of Apollo playing a *kithara*, of early Hellenistic date, similar to those found at the sanctuary of Apollo *Alaïos* at Cirò Marina (see figure 51), and a fragmentary inscription with AII from the area south of the temple (Parra, 2001, p. 232). The fragments of a stone serpent have been identified as part of a metope from the Classical temple, which may be associated with myths relating to either Apollo or Herakles (Orsi, 1923, cols. 488–490, figs. 39–40; Tomasello, 1972, pp. 578–579, fig. 35; Parra, 2001, pp. 230–231, fig. 245; 489).

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138 The terracotta statuettes vary in date from the end of the fifth century BCE to the Hellenistic period.

139 An inscription on late sixth century vessel, AP, may also refer to Artemis (Tomasello, 1972, p. 577, fig. 28).

140 Parra (2006) argues that arms and armour dedications in sanctuaries of Magna Graecia were status items, instead of reflecting the deity that they were intended for (pp. 233–236; cf. chapter one, p. 55, note 74).
A second metope fragment, found to the south of the temple, dates stylistically to 490–480 BCE and depicts a bearded male figure (Barello, 1995, p. 30, tab. XXII; Parra, 2006, p. 228). Both metope fragments could have been representations of myths related to either Apollo or Herakles (Parra, 2006, p. 228), and both possibilities would be suitable decoration for a temple of Apollo.

The identity of the cult at Punta Stilo has been debated since the temple was first excavated by Orsi (1912–1915). A variety of cults have been proposed based upon the images on Kaulonia’s coinage. Incuse coinage of the first quarter of the sixth century BCE depicts a naked male figure holding a branch in his right hand, and a small figure in his left (Noe, 1958, pp. 3–5; Rutter, 1997, p. 30; see figure 53). Mid-fifth-century BCE coin issues show this figure accompanied by a stag (Noe, 1958, p. 6; Rutter, 1997, p. 30). The male figure has been identified by some scholars as Apollo Katharsios, the purifying aspect of the god (Lloyd, 1848, p. 4; Orsi, 1914, col. 875; Lacroix, 1959, p. 23; Givigliano, 1998, p. 184; Rutter, 2001, p. 164). Based on this identification, scholars have also suggested that the temple was dedicated to Apollo Katharsios (Lloyd, 1848, p. 4; Orsi, 1914, col. 875). It has also been proposed that the image represents Apollo Archëgetēs, who holds a personification of the Delphic god’s mantic abilities (Montani Pertosa 1993, p. 9). Other scholars have suggested that the figure represents Kaulon, the eponymous oikistēs of Kaulonia, who is shown holding a local plant, the emblem of the city, in his hand (Head, 1911, p. 93; Gianelli, 1963, p. 181; however, cf. Lacroix, 1959, p. 11), or Herakles holding an olive branch, relating to his

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141 However, Osanna (1989) suggests that the snake is associated with Zeus (p. 62).

142 Givigliano (1998) suggests that the coinage indicates that Kaulonia had malaria at the end of the sixth century BCE, and that the coins show the god purifying the land of the disease (p. 184).
journey to the Hyperboreans during his task to capture the Keryneian hind (Cazzaniga, 1968, p. 378).\textsuperscript{143}

The most probable interpretation of the scene is that it represents Apollo’s journey to the Vale of Tempe, where he went to receive purification after killing the python. Once he returned to Delphi, he took possession of the oracle and was given a laurel crown and branch (Plutarch, \textit{Moralia}, 293c; Aelian, \textit{Varia historia}, 3.1; Lacroix, 1959, p. 17; 1965, p. 160; Kraay, 1976, p. 168; Rutter, 1997, p. 30). The image may represent Apollo \textit{Daphnéphoros}, the laurel-bearer (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 266), and the small figure that Apollo holds in his left hand has been interpreted as the messenger who announced Apollo’s return to Delphi (Lacroix, 1959, p. 18; Kraay, 1976, pp. 168–169; Rutter, 1997, p. 30). On early coins the Greek letters ΑΤΑ appear, indicating that Kaulonia was originally called Aulonia (Hecateus \textit{FGrH} fr. 84 = Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. \textit{Aulon}, \textit{Kaulonia}; \textit{Etymologicum Magnum}, s.v. \textit{Aulonia}, \textit{Kaulonia}; Lacroix, 1959, pp. 19–20; Kraay, 1976, pp. 169; Rutter, 1997, pp. 30–31; 2001, p. 164, no. 2041; De Vido, 2001, p. 3). The word \textit{aulon} means valley or gorge, and the term was particularly associated with the gorge at Tempe in northern Greece where Apollo went to be purified (Rutter, 1997, p. 31). The connection between Kaulonia and the Vale of Tempe suggests that the image on Kaulonia’s coins represents Apollo, possibly with the epithet of \textit{Daphnéphoros}.

It has been suggested that the prominent image of Apollo on Kaulonian coinage indicates that this was the city’s chief deity, with the implication that the city’s main temple was dedicated to him (Kraay, 1976, p. 168). The naked standing figure of Apollo seen on the city’s coinage is

\textsuperscript{143} This version of the myth is recounted in Pindar (\textit{Olympian Three}). For a full account of this myth, see Robbins, 1982, pp 395–405.
believed to represent a statue, possibly the cult statue of the god (Gorini, 1975, p. 182; Degrassi, 1981, p. 46; Montani Pertosa, 1993, esp. pp. 6, 10). On coinage statues of Apollo are usually illustrated by a depiction of a full figure (Lacroix, 1949, pp. 59–64, 76–84). Additionally, there was a second issue of coins minted in the mid-fifth-century BCE depicting a similar figure of Apollo (Noe, 1958, p. 6; Rutter, 1997, p. 52), and multiple issues that depict the same image are generally considered to represent a statue (Lehmann, 1946, p. 5; Lacroix, 1949, p. 20).

Numismatic evidence, the terracotta votive, and a fragmentary inscription suggest that Apollo was worshipped at Kaulonia, but it is unclear if he was worshipped in the temple at Punta Stilo. The mixture of artifacts imply a number of deities were venerated in this sacred area including Demeter and Kore, Artemis, and Apollo. Based upon the presence of the stepped area within the sanctuary, scholars have suggested that the temple might have been dedicated to Zeus Homarios, where the Achaean league met (Polybius 2.39.1–7; Torelli, 1988, p. 593; Osanna, 1989, pp. 60–63; however, cf. Orsi 1914, cols. 874–875; Gianelli, 1963, pp. 182–183; Barello, 1995, p. 109). While this is an interesting hypothesis, it is unclear if the temple that the league met at would be placed in Kaulonia, one of the three members of the league, or in a neutral location (Gianelli, 1963, pp. 182–183; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 266). Furthermore, the artifacts found within the sanctuary do not appear to be connected with the cult of Zeus (Barello, 1995, p. 109). Currently, there is not sufficient evidence to connect the Punta Stilo temple with a cult of Apollo; however, it is possible he was worshipped in another cult building in this sanctuary, since there is evidence of other shrines and altars within the temenos (Barello, 1995, pp. 36–44, 110; Parra, 1998, p. 267; 2006, pp. 230–231).
iii) Other Apolline Imagery on Coinage

Coins issued in the mid-fifth-century BCE depict a laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and a stag on the reverse (Head, 1911, p. 94; Rutter, 1997, p. 52; 2001, p. 165, no. 2059).

The Foundation of Metapontion

Metapontion was an Achaean colony but no specific city was credited as its metropolis (Bacchylides 10. 120; Strabo, 6.1.15; Pseudo-Scymnus 326.9). Bacchylides noted that Metapontion was founded by Achaeans after the Trojan War (10. 120), and Eusebius (Chronikon, s.v. Olympian 1) suggested a foundation date of 773 BCE. Archaeological evidence indicates that the polis was founded ca. 630 BCE (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, pp. 279, 280). Although there is no foundation oracle known, Metapontion had close ties with Delphi which Malkin (1987) suggests may indicate that Delphi was consulted (p. 24). There was no consensus in antiquity on who the oikistēs was.144 According to Hekateus (FGrH 1 F 84), the polis was founded by Metabos, but Ephorus (FGrH. 70 F 141) named the oikistēs as Daulius, the tyrant of Krisa (near Delphi), Strabo (6.1.15) suggested that Pelians along with Nestor founded the city, Solinus (2.1) credited the Trojan-era hero Epeios with the foundation, and Antiochus (FGrH 555 F12, apud Strabo, 6.1.15) stated it was Leukippos (also cf. Mele, 1998, pp. 69–71; Hall, 2007, p. 102).145

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144 For an in-depth study of the myths surrounding the foundation of Metapontion, see Mele, 1998.

145 Heroes of the Trojan War were often credited with sites in the Adriatic, Sicily, and Italy. In some cases they were the recipient of cults (Osborne, 2004, pp. 29–30).
The evidence for the cults of Apollo at Metapontion

i) Sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios

A sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios (the wolf-god) was located west of the agora at Metapontion, illustrated by the discovery of numerous inscriptions (see discussion below; see figure 54). The earliest evidence of the worship of Apollo in this area dates to the seventh century BCE. Underneath the later temple B, attributed to Apollo, a large concentration of charcoal suggests that there was an earlier wooden temple that was destroyed at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century BCE (Mertens, 1998, p. 127; 1999, p. 250; Barberis, 2004, p. 21). The earliest temple that there is architectural evidence for, BI, was constructed just before the middle of the sixth century BCE (Mertens, 1999, p. 261). At the same time, a new grid plan was instituted, and the temple of Apollo adhered to this new orientation (Mertens, 1998, p. 128; 1999, p. 261). The temple was peripteral with nine by seventeen columns in the Doric order, a double colonnade on the east side, a cella divided into two aisles with a row of columns, and an opisthodomos (Mertens, 1999, p. 262; Barbaris, 2004, p. 21). Two architectural fragments of late sixth or early fifth century BCE, with graffiti referring to Apollo were found near the temple ( SEG XXX. 1176 B 2 a–b; Mertens, 1975, p. 117, fig. 120; Giacometti, 2005, p. 32, nos. 7–8).

A new temple, BII, was constructed in the third quarter of the sixth century BCE utilizing the foundations of the old temple, although the new plan extended the temple three meters to the east (Mertens, 1999, pp. 263–264). Temple BII was a Doric peripteral temple with seven by fifteen columns in the Doric order, a double colonnade on the east side, a cella divided into two aisles with a row of columns, and an opisthodomos (Mertens, 1999, p. 262; Barbaris, 2004, p. 21). Two architectural fragments of late sixth or early fifth century BCE, with graffiti referring to Apollo were found near the temple ( SEG XXX. 1176 B 2 a–b; Mertens, 1975, p. 117, fig. 120; Giacometti, 2005, p. 32, nos. 7–8).

columns, with a central row of columns in the *cella*, and an *adyton* (Mertens, 1999, pp. 263–264; 2001, pp. 56–57; Barberis, 2004, p. 21). The colonnade was closed on three sides (open on the east), formed by half-columns that projected from the wall (Mertens, 1999, p. 264; 2001, p. 57; Barberis, 2004, p. 21). The temple was updated in the fifth century, when it was given new architectural decoration and a new altar (Mertens, 1999, pp. 274–275).

Inside temple B at the south east side, between the *peristasis* and the south side of the *cella*, a deposit was found containing a number of aniconic stones (Manni Piraino, 1968, pp. 433, 434; Adamesteanu, 1970, p. 308–309; 1973, p. 47; Mertens, 1975, p. 116). These votive items seem to have been deposited inside the temple during the Hellenistic period (Doepner, 2002, p.49). One hundred and fifty-seven stones were found in this deposit, including unshaped stones, shaped stones (the so-called *argoi lithoi*), *stelai*, and *cippi* (or *tetragonoi lithoi*) (Adamesteanu, 1970, pp. 309, 312; Mertens, 1975, p. 116; Giacometti, 2005, p. 38). One of these so-called *argoi lithoi* has an inscription that reads *[Ἁ]υκέ[i Ê]ε[ι]ο [Ν]ικαίο, and it has been dated to the middle of the sixth-century BCE (Manni Piraino, 1968, p. 434–435, no. 7; Adamesteanu, 1970, p. 312; Burzachechi, 1979, p. 282; Giacomelli, 1988, p. 64, no. 41; Doepner, 2002, p. 75, tab. 2; *IGDGG II*, p. 93, no. 40; Giacometti, 2005, p. 30, no. 3). The inscription has been connected with victory by allied Achaean settlements (Metapontion, Sybaris, and Kroton) against Siris in the second half of the sixth century BCE (Manni Piraino, 1968, p. 435, note 56; Giacometti, 2005, p. 30). A second stone with a fragmentary inscription of late sixth century date reads *[Ἁ]υκέ[i Ê]ε[ι]ο or “Of (Apollo) Lykeios” (SEG XXIX. 958; Burzachechi, 1979, pp. 385–286, no. 4, fig. 4; Giacomelli, 1988, p. 76, no. 51; Doepner, 2000, p.

147 According to Adamesteanu (1970) there were 152 stones (p. 309).

148 This has been translated: “Of (Apollo) Lykeios Nikaios” (Giacometti, 2005, p. 37).
75, tab. 2; Giacometti, 2005, pp. 31–32, no. 6). Other items found in this votive deposit included *cippi* and anchors. A complete anchor and three other anchor fragments, possibly dating to the late seventh century or early sixth century, were also part of this deposit (Adamesteanu, 1970, p. 312; figs. 8–9; Gianfrotta, 1977, p. 286, fig. 2; Boetto, 1997, pp. 51, 57, 59–61; tab. III, M1–4; figs. 1,2,7). Two of these anchors were made of marble, one of Hymetian and the other of Pentelic (Boetto, 1997, pp. 51, 57, 58). These anchors have been interpreted as dedications by sailors to Apollo (Gianfrotta, 1977, p. 286; Boetto, 1997, pp. 51, 61; see chapter one, p. 52).

In addition to the *cippi* and *argoi lithoi* that were found in the temple deposit, examples have been found throughout the urban sanctuary; many were clustered around the temple of Apollo while others were near the Archaic altar of Apollo (see figure 55).149 Numerous *argoi lithoi*, pyramidal shaped pillars, *cippi* and *stelai* fragments have received little attention because they lack inscriptions (Doepner, 2002, p. 50). Doepner (2002) has established a chronology of the *stelai* based on their form, and has determined that examples at Metapontion date from the first half of the sixth century BCE until the fourth or third century BCE (pp. 38–48, fig. 68). However, the *argoi lithoi* began to be offered in the late seventh century BCE, or shortly after the foundation of the *polis* (Doepner, 2002, p. 55). There are also numerous examples with dedicatory inscriptions, and most date between the early sixth century BCE and the late fifth century BCE. A group of sandstone *cippi*, most of pyramidal shape, were found along the west side of temple B (Adamesteanu, 1970, p. 312). Many of the *cippi* were found *in situ*, in an upright position (Adamesteanu, 1970, p. 314, figs. 11–12). The soil surrounding the *cippi* contained ashes, bones, vessel fragments, terracotta

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149 Numerous *cippi* and *argoi lithoi* were found in other parts of the sanctuary and seem to be connected with other deities (Doepner, 2002, pp. 71–72).
statuettes, and bronze fragments (Sestieri, 1940, p. 88; Adamesteanu, 1970, p. 313).

There were also a number of unworked stones that were found lying in this area, some with inscriptions, that are believed to be older than the cippi (Adamesteanu, 1970, p. 314). One cippus found to the west of the temple of Apollo, dating to the late fifth century, was inscribed: “I am of (Apollon) Lykeios” (Δυκ[ειο]έμι) (Manni Piraino, 1968, p. 436, no. 10; Doepner, 2002, p. 75, tab. 2; Giacometti, 2005, pp. 32–33, no. 9). Other examples from this area have fragmentary inscriptions to Apollo Lykeios: a cippus of the first half of the fifth century inscribed with ιλος[ (Manni Piraino, 1968, pp. 436–437, no 11); one of mid-fifth-century date inscribed ιυκ[ (Manni Piraino, 1968, p. 435, no. 8; Burzachechi, 1979, p. 282; Giacometti, 2005, p. 30), and a third example that may date to the mid-sixth-century BCE inscribed with ιευ[ (Manni Piraino, 1968, pp. 435–436, no. 9). Two examples from this area are inscribed with the name of the dedicator 150 (Burzachechi, 1979, pp. 292–295, nos. 11–12). From the area around temple B, a cippus of unknown date with a fragmentary inscription that likely refers to the god in the genitive case (ιος) (SEG XXIX. 966; Burzachechi, 1979, p. 289, no. 9; Giacometti, 2005, p. 34, no 12). North of the temple of Apollo, in a sewage channel, a fragmentary inscription on two sides 151 of an anchor dating to the second half of the fifth century has been restored as “I am of Apollo Lykeios, ....asys dedicated me” (SEG XXIX. 962; Manni Piraino, 1968, pp. 289–293, no. 10; Burzachechi, 1979, pp. 289–291, no. 10, figs. 7a–b; IGASMG IV, pp. 95–96, no. 72; Boetto, 1997, pp. 52; 60; Doepner, 2002, p. 75, tab. 2; Giacometti, 2005, pp. 32–33, no. 9).

150 One cippus, dating to the first half of the fifth century, has the fragmentary inscription κλεο, and the second example from the last quarter of the fifth century records a dedication by καλλιας (Burzachechi, 1979, pp. 292–293, no. 11; 293–295, no. 12).

Forty-five examples of *argoī lithoi* were found in 1993 in the vicinity of Altar B (Apollo’s altar), but only one has an inscription that records a dedication made by a man from Krete (Doepner, 1993, pp. 342–343, fig. 3, tabs. 72, 73 1–2; 2002, pp. 50, 52, 54, fig. 97).

In addition to the stones behind, in, and around the temple and altar of Apollo, other examples were found throughout the sanctuary and can be associated with the cult of Apollo *Lykeios* thanks to inscriptions. A *cippus* found north of temple A (Hera) dates to the second half of the fifth century BCE, and is inscribed: “I am (the stone or image) of Apollo Lykeios, (property) of Theages (and) Byros” (IG XIV 647; Manzi Piraino, 1968, pp. 432–434, no. 6; Giacomelli, 1988, pp. 53–54, no. 33; Jeffery, 1990, p. 255; IGDGG II, pp. 91–93, no. 39; Giacometti, 2005, pp. 28–29, no. 1). Four inscriptions that refer to the cult of Apollo *Lykeios* have also been found near temple C (Athena): one example of the first half of the sixth century BCE reads: “I am of (Apollo) Lykeios” (*Λυκείον ἐμί*) (SEG XXIX. 956; Burzachechi, 1979, p. 284, no. 2, fig. 2; Giacomelli, 1988, p. 66, no. 43; IGASMG IV, p. 89, no. 57; Giacometti, 2005, p. 29, no. 2), and two examples of the second half of the sixth century were dedicated to “Lykeios” (*Λυκείος*) (SEG XXIX. 957; Burzachechi, 1979, pp. 284–285, no. 3, fig. 3; Giacomelli, 1988, p. 68, no. 45; IGASMG. IV, p. 90, no. 58; Giacometti, 2005, p. 31, no. 5), and “Apollo Lykeios” (’Απόλλων Λυκείος) (SEG XXIX. 960; Burzachechi, 1979, pp. 286–287, no. 5, fig. 5; Giacomelli, 1988, p. 78, no. 53; Giacometti, 2005, pp. 28–29, no. 1).

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152 According to Ferri (1962), this stone is a fragment of the right thigh from a sculpture of an animal, possibly a sphinx (pp.3, 5; fig 2); however, this is unlikely.

153 This translation is that of Jeffery (1990, p. 255). The Greek states: [Δαπόλ(λ)ον]ος [Λυκείον] ἐμί Θεός | γεος Βόρ (ρ) δ. The final word of this inscription has been the subject of much debate. Other possible interpretations are: ΒΥΡΘΟ, ΡΥΠΙΟ, ΒΥΔΘ, or ΠΥΔΘ (Jeffery, 1990, p. 255; F. G. Lo Porto, 1996, pp. 373, 375–376; IGDGG II, p. 92; Giacometti, 2005, p. 29). F. G. Lo Porto (1996) concludes that second part of the inscription reads Βυδ (δ) Θεο, and that it referred to the dedication of the musician Theages (p. 376).
p. 33, no. 10), and a fragmentary inscription ([uk]) of unknown date (SEG XXIX. 965; Burzachechi, 1979, p. 298, no. 9; Giacometti, 2005, pp. 33–34, no. 11). A squared block of stone of the fifth century, from an unspecified location at Metapontion reads “Lykos” (Giacomelli, 1988, p. 80, no. 55; Jeffery, 1990, pp. 256, 261, no. 18). Presumably many of these inscribed stones were not in their original location, since they were found in the ‘votive zones’ of other deities (Doepner, 2002, p. 75).

Other finds in the urban sanctuary are related to the cult of Apollo Lykeios, including terracotta statuettes, jewelry, arms and armour, and a statue fragment. Fragments of terracotta statuettes of standing, nude male figures have been found inside the sanctuary of Apollo (Sestieri, 1940, pp. 101–104, figs. 40–44; Barberis, 2004, pp. 120–125). Since these statuettes were also found in the vicinity of the temples of Athena and Hera, they are thought to be dedications made by a youthful, athletic man, instead of a representation of the divinity to whom they were offered (Barberis, 2004, p. 155). Amongst the stones and pillars in front of the altar of Apollo a number of votive offerings dating from the end of the seventh or early sixth century BCE until the fourth century BCE were found. These items include numerous examples of bronze bracelets, bronze arrowheads, iron lances and spears, fragments of skyphoi and kylikes, and miniature vessels (Doepner, 1993, pp. 342, 352, 357; 2002, p. 74). Weapons were dedicated mainly in the Archaic period, and they declined in popularity as votive offerings during the Classical period, while the dedication of bronze bracelets continued until the fourth century BCE (Doepner, 1993, p. 258). Many of the skyphoi and kylikes appear to have been ritually broken and consecrated to the god (Doepner, 1993, p. 358).

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154 Barberis (2004) also suggests that these offerings could have been offered by women to divinities, and she notes that women dedicated figures of men at Brauron (p. 156, note 156).
In the vicinity of the temple of Apollo Lykeios, the torso of a marble kouros was discovered. Based on the stylistic features, the statue has been dated *ca.* 480–470 BCE, and it has been estimated that it stood 2.16 meters tall (Mertens-Horn, 2001, p. 75, fig. 81). The colossal size indicates that the statue depicted a god, and the location of the artifact suggests that it represented Apollo (Mertens-Horn, 2001, p. 75). Although the limbs of the statue are missing, stylistic details indicate that the statue was holding one or two items, possibly a *patera* and/or a bow (Mertens-Horn, 2001, p. 75). The suggestion that the cult statue of Apollo Lykeios at Metapontion held a bow, may be correct, since a statue of Apollo Lykeios from Athens has been reconstructed with the god holding a bow, standing in front of a tripod (S. F. Schröder, 1986, p. 174, fig. 1). The location of this statue fragment, and its monumental size indicates it was likely the cult statue of Apollo Lykeios.

The presence of these argoi lithoi, cippi, and stelai at Metapontion has often been associated with a passage in Pausanias (7.22.4) that mentions a sanctuary of Hermes at Pharae in Achaea:

Quite close to the image stand square stones, about thirty in number. These, the people of Pharae adore, calling each by the name of some god. At a more remote period all the Greeks alike worshipped uncarved stones instead of images of the gods (Jones (Trans.), 1918).

Aniconic worship of Apollo is commonly known with the epithet of *Agyieus*, and the god was depicted as a tapering pillar (Farnell, 1907, p. 135; Köves-Zulauf, 1999, p. 174–175, 178–179, fig. 2; Boetto, 1997, p. 54). Apollo *Agyieus* seems to have functioned as a guardian of entrances and gateways, and additionally, he was a god concerned with seafaring (Farnell, 1907, p. 135; Boetto, 1997, p. 54; see chapter one, p. 51). At Metapontion, the inscriptions clearly indicate that Apollo Lykeios was worshipped here in aniconic form. In Athens the Lykeion was associated with the cult

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155 It is also possible that this statue of Apollo stood in the *agora*, and held a bow and a laurel branch (Mertens-Horn, 2001, p. 75).
of Apollo Lykeios and it was an exercise area for soldiers and athletes (Jameson, 1980, p. 225). The Athenian cult of Apollo Lykeios was connected with adult men who had been initiated into society and who became hoplites (Jameson, 1980, pp. 231–232). At Argos, Apollo Lykeios was the city’s main deity and he presided over military matters (Jameson, 1980, p. 234). The dedication of the weapons found within the stones and pillars near the altar of Apollo (Doepner, 1993, p. 352, 357; 2002, p. 74) may indicate that Apollo Lykeios at Metapontion was also associated with young men and their role in society as soldiers.

ii) The Temenos of Apollo and Aristeas

In the area to the north-east of the agora a series of structures, including a temenos wall, foundations for an altar, and statue bases have been found (Mertens, 1985, p. 665; De Siena, 1998, p. 156; 2001, p. 35; see figures 54, 56). The temenos formed a trapezoid, and was enclosed on the south and west by a stone wall, and pilasters on the north side, leaving the eastern side open (De Siena, 1989, p. 156). The earliest structures in the sanctuary included an altar, a well, and a pit (De Siena, 1989, p. 157). The well was located at the south-east edge of the temenos wall and it contained a large quantity of bronze laurel leaves, which were also found in the soil near the altar (Mertens, 1985, p. 665; Di Siena, 1998, p. 157; 2001, p. 35; De Juliis, 2001, pp. 61, 170; Giacomelli, 2005, p. 43). On the east side of the altar was a base, possibly for a statue (De Siena, 1998, p. 156). In front of the altar was a pit that may have held a bronze laurel tree (De Siena, 1998, p. 157; De Juliis, 2001, p.171). To the south-west of the altar was a large rectangular statue base of Archaic date, and a stele against the middle of its southern side (De Siena, 1998, p. 158). In the third century BCE, a sekos was constructed above the altar, evidenced by foundations, terracotta tiles, and the
fragments of a Doric frieze (De Siena, 1998, pp. 156–157). This shrine measured 7.5 by 8.85 meters and is believed to have been open to the sky (Mertens, 1999, p. 285). Also during the third century BCE a monumental wall was built along the west side of the sacred area (De Siena, 1989, p. 157; De Juliis, 2001, p. 62). In the third century the sanctuary was monumentalized with the construction of a shrine and the addition of a decorative wall, and it was likely at this time that the *manteion* functioned.

The interpretation and identification of this sanctuary has been aided by Herodotus' eyewitness account of his visit to the sanctuary in the second half of the fifth century BCE. According to him (4.15):

> Aristaeas, so the Metapontines say, appeared in their country and bade them set up an altar to Apollo, and set beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristaeas the Proconnesian; for, he said, Apollo had come to their country alone of all Italiot lands, and he himself—who was now Aristaeas, but then when he followed the god had been a crow—had come with him. Having said this, he vanished away (Godley (Trans.), 1921).

The Metapontines consulted the Delphic oracle to seek advice on the appearance of Aristaeas and they were told to do what Aristaeas requested: “And now there stands beside the very image of Apollo a statue bearing the name of Aristaeas; a grove of bay-trees surrounds it; the image is set in the marketplace” (Herodotus, 4.15; Godley (Trans.), 1921). The two statue bases found within the sanctuary, one near the altar, and the other to the south of it, are believed to have held the statues that Herodotus saw (De Siena, 1998, pp. 156, 158; Giacometti, 2005, p. 43). The southern statue base with a *stеле* in front has been interpreted as where the statue of Aristaeas stood, and the *stеле* presumably once bore the name of Aristaeas of Proconnesus, as witnessed by Herodotus (4.15) (De Siena, 1998, p. 158).
Scholars have suggested that the statue of Apollo that Herodotus mentioned was reproduced on Metapontine coins of the fifth century BCE that depict a nude standing Apollo holding a laurel branch/tree in his right hand and a bow in his left hand (Lehmann, 1946, pp. 8, 33; Gianelli, 1963, p. 63; Statzio, 1999, p. 459; De Juliis, 2001a, p. 61; Rutter, 2001, p. 132, no. 1496–1497; Giacometti, 2005, p. 45; see figure 57). Some of these coin issues also show Apollo standing next to an altar (Head, 1911, p. 76; Lacroix, 1965, p. 156; De Juliis, 2001a, p. 61; Rutter, 2001, p. 132, no. 1496). The bronze laurel leaves found in excavations are believed to have been from a bronze laurel tree and from the laurel branch that the statue of Apollo held (Mertens, 1985, p. 665; De Siena, 1998, pp.157–158; 2001, p. 35; De Juliis, 2001a, p. 61; Giacomelli, 2005, p. 43).

According to Athenaeus (13.605c–d), seers were active in the agora and the bronze laurel had mantic powers:

Philomelus gave the golden laurel wreath, which the Lampsacenes had dedicated [at Delphi], to a Thessalian dancing-girl called Pharsalia. As soon as this Pharsalia entered the market-place at Metapontum a voice issued from the bronze laurel which the Metapontines set up at the time of the visitation of Aristeas the Proconnesian, when he said he had come from the Hyperboreans, and the seers in the market-place went mad and tore her to pieces. When they later inquired the reason for this [from Delphi, presumably] they found that the cause of her destruction had been the wreath belonging to the god (quoted from Bolton, 1962, p. 123).

It is likely that the voice from the laurel was that of Apollo, who was also said to deliver oracles from a laurel at Delphi (Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 3. 396; Bolton, 1962, p. 123). An oracle was not mentioned by Herodotus who visited Metapontion, and it seems to have been a later addition,

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156 A passage in Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromata, 1.21) notes that Aristeas’s soul had prophetic abilities and that it could be assumed that at Metapontion Aristeas was responsible for oracles (Bolten, 1962, p. 123).
probably added during the third century BCE when the shrine was constructed (Mertens, 1999, p. 285). Some scholars have suggested that Apollo was worshipped here with the epithet of *Daphnēphoros* based on the laurel branch that the statue held, and the presence of the laurel tree (De Juliis, 2001a, p. 61; Giacometti, 2005, p. 43).

Aristeas’ ‘appearance’ at Metapontion was connected to his association with the god Apollo and Pythagoreanism. Herodotus (4.13) noted that Aristeas of Proconnesus mysteriously disappeared one day, and possessed by Apollo, he wandered throughout the Black Sea region. Once he returned to Proconnessus, he wrote a poem (the *Arimaspeia*) about his journey, and he disappeared again. According to Herodotus’ calculations he re-appeared in Metapontion 240 years later (Herodotus, 4.14; Birch, 1950, pp. 81–82; Phillips, 1955, p. 162; Bolton, 1962, p. 127). Aristeas’ travels took him to the land of the Hyperboreans, which was closely connected with Apollo (Giacomelli, 2005, p. 44). Metapontion was home to an important cult of Apollo and was also a centre of the Pythagorean movement (Birch, 1950, pp. 80, 83; Phillips, 1955, pp. 163, 177). De Siena (1998) suggests that Aristeas and his connection to Apollo can be interpreted as a local manifestation of Pythagorean and Orphic elements (p. 168).

Pythagoreans believed that immortality could be achieved through transmigration of souls and through purification that could bring an end to continuous reincarnation (Khan, 2001, p. 4). It was Apollo’s role in purification that connected him with Pythagorean thought (Gale, 1995, p. 8). Pythagoras himself took refuge in Metapontion and spent the final years of his life here (Khan, 2001, p. 7; Giacomelli, 2005, p. 45). In addition, according to Iamblichus’ (*Vita Pythagoria*, 138, 267\(^{157}\)),

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\(^{157}\) Iamblichus (*Vita Pythagoria*, 367) mentions Aristeas the Metapontine, and Bolton (1962) has suggested that this refers to Aristeas and his appearance at Metapontion (p. 142).
Aristeas was a Pythagorean. Pindar (*FGrH* 127) and Empedocles (*FGrH* 146) suggested that in early Pythagorean thought the highest state a man could reach was to have great strength or wisdom, or to be either a ruler or a seer. The next level involved the soul leaving the body and one becoming divine, either as a hero or a god (Bolton, 1962, p. 129).

There is some literary evidence that suggests that Aristeas was considered a hero. Apollonius (*Historiae Mirabilia*, 2) stated that the Sicilians built a shrine for Aristeas and made sacrifices to him as a hero, and Origen (*apud* Celsus, 3.26) stated “Apollo ordered the Metapontines to regard him as divine, but no one now worships Aristeas” (quoted from Bolton, 1962, p. 127). Bolton (1962) argues that the divine status of Aristeas was a later fiction, possibly created by a fourth-century Pythagorean (pp. 128–129). The evidence for according Aristeas the status of a hero is based on literary sources that, because they are far removed from the period, may not be reliable. Herodotus’ account does not refer to Aristeas as a hero; however, the erection of a statue to him within a sanctuary of a god in itself implies that he was considered to be a hero. De Siena (1998) has suggested that the construction of the altar of Apollo and the statue of Aristeas can be compared to the shrines of *oikistēs* and mythical heroes that are found in *agorai*. Aristeas was, in essence, the founder of the sanctuary that was sanctioned by Delphi (p. 169). The mysterious appearance of Aristeas, the hero and founder of the sanctuary of Apollo, can be seen as a reflection of Metapontion’s status as a centre of Pythagorean thought in southern Italy, and the association of Pythagorean doctrine with Apollo.
iii) Apollo Karneios

The only evidence for the cult of Apollo Karneios at Metapontion is numismatic iconography. Between 430 and 400 BCE, a series of coins were issued with the head of a youthful god with ram’s horns and ram’s ears wearing a laurel crown (Noe, 1931, p. 14; Kraay, 1976, p. 179; Rutter, 1997, p. 51; 2001, p. 133, no. 1508; see figure 58). Apollo Karneios was usually depicted as a ram-headed figure on sculpture, and as a youthful god with ram’s horns on coins (sculpture: B. Schröder, 1904, pp. 21–24, fig 1; Woodward, 1908–1909, pp. 82–85; Metzger, 1940–1941, pp. 17–21, pl. III; Le Roy, 1965, pp. 371–376, figs. 13–14; Pettersson, 1992, p. 61, fig. 10; coins: Pettersson, pp. 61–62, fig. 11). The unusual representation of Apollo Karneios on these Metapontine coins, with wet-looking hair and a ram’s ear, has led to the suggestion that this image might be of a river god (Noe, 1931, pp. 14, 68).

A study of river god iconography by Gais (1978) indicates that early representations of the fifth century BCE were of man-headed bulls, or bearded males with bull’s horns and ears (p. 365). From the mid-fifth-century BCE onwards the image of the older bearded male continued, but a new type emerged with a youthful, beardless god with bull’s horns and ears (Gais, 1979, p. 357). A series of coins from Metapontion (ca. 460–450 BCE) illustrating a naked, bearded, older man with bull’s horns and pouring a libation, has been identified as the river god Acheloos by an inscription on the coin (Gais, 1978, p. 358). The representation of the youthful male head with horns and animal ears on the Metapontine coins has a pointed ram’s ear, not a round bull’s ear, indicating that this image cannot represent a river god. Although this image has alternately been identified as Zeus Ammon (Noe, 1931, p. 14; Kraay, 1976, p. 179) or Hermes Parammon (Kraay, 1976, p. 179), the presence of the laurel crown and the ram features indicates that Apollo Karneios was depicted. This series
of coins illustrating Apollo *Karneios* may indicate the presence of this cult of Apollo at Metapontion. Other *poleis* that have images of Apollo *Karneios* on coins are also known to have had cults of Apollo *Karneios*, including Kyrene (Pettersson, 1992, p. 61–62, fig. 11; Malkin, 1994b, p. 145).

iv) Other Apolline Imagery on Coinage

In addition to the images representing a statue of Apollo in the *agora*, and Apollo *Karneios*, there are other depictions of Apollo on Metapontine coins. A series dated ca. 430 BCE depicts a nude Apollo seated on a stool and holding a lyre (Noe, 1931, p. 96, no. 431; Rutter, 1997, p. 51; 2001, p. 133, no. 1504). After 350 BCE, coins were issued with an obverse of a laureate head of Apollo (Noe, 1931, p. 43, nos. 461–462; Rutter, 1997, p. 93; 2001, pp. 137, 140, 141, nos. 1597, 1601, 1604, 1606, 1609, 1697). One series shows a head of Apollo with a three-quarters facing view (Rutter, 2001, p. 135, no. 1559).

v) Apollo *Lykeios* at Cozzale Pizzarieddo

There is evidence to indicate that the cults of Metapontion were ‘reduplicated’ at various locations in the *chora* (De Siena, 1999, p. 63; Barberis, 2004, p. 197). At Cozzale Pizzarieddo, on the right bank of the Basento River, excavations have uncovered a block with the inscription ΔΥΚΟΣ, which suggests the presence of an extra-urban cult of Apollo *Lykeios* (De Juliis, 2001a, p. 86, note 20; Barberis, 2004, p. 197).
vi) A Statue of Apollo at Marconia

The head of a Greek statue, originally with long hair, and wearing a crown, dating to the second half of the fourth century BCE, was found at Marconia, a small town that is a few kilometers away from Metapontion (Mertens-Horn, 2001, p. 83). Other nearby fragments suggest that this statue wore a chiton and may have represented Apollo Kitharodos (Mertens-Horn, 2001, p. 84), whose image was seen on Metapontine coinage ca. 430 BCE (Noe, 1931, p. 96, no. 431; Rutter, 1997, p. 51). Although there is no evidence, it has been suggested that this statue may have been from the sanctuary of Apollo in the agora and that it stood on the large statue base (Mertens-Horn, 2001, p. 85). At some point the head of the statue of Apollo was transformed into Helios or Apollo-Helios; the long hair was chiseled off and the statue was given a radiate crown, like those seen on Metapontine coins during the time of Alexander Molossus (Mertens-Horn, 2001, p. 84; figs. 89b, 90). It is unclear when, or why this transformation occurred; however, Apollo was commonly associated with Helios from the fifth century BCE (AA.VV. 2002, s.v. Apollo, col. 855), and this transformation may have taken place after this time. It is equally unclear whether this statue was from the sanctuary at Metapontion or if there was an extra-urban sanctuary in the vicinity of Marconia.

Metapontion and Delphi

At least two offerings were made at Delphi by the Metapontines. According to an account in Strabo (6.1.15), a golden harvest was dedicated at Delphi, presumably in the sixth century BCE (Jacquemin, 1999, pp. 70–71, 342, no. 365). This was a symbol of the agricultural prosperity of Metapontion, and the dedication may have taken the form of sheaths of grain that were seen on the
city’s coinage (Lacroix, 1965, p. 154; Jacquemin, 1999, pp. 70–71). An inscription on a statue base records the second dedication that was made in the fifth century BCE by the son of Phaïllos (Rougemont, 1991, p. 167; Jacquemin, 1991, p. 196). Architectural fragments indicate that Metapontion dedicated a treasury at Delphi (Mertens-Horn & Viola, 1990, pp. 245–246). The Delphic oracle was consulted by Metapontines after Aristeas appeared to them (Herodotus, 4.15.3), and a Metapontine, Alexidamos, won a wrestling match at the Pythian games (Bacchylides 11; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 281).

The Megarian Colony of Megara Hyblaia and her Sub-Colony of Selinous

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis

Apollo, Megara’s main deity, was venerated with a number of cult epithets. Apollo Pythios was worshipped on the acropolis of the city, according to Pausanias (1.42.5), and confirmed by a second century BCE inscription (Syll³ 653.22; Meyer, 1931, p. 202; Legon, 2004, p. 465; cf. P. J. Smith, 2008, pp. 116–117). In the same temple Apollo was venerated as Dekatēphoros, and Archēgetēs (Pausanias, 1.42.5; Syll³ 653.22; Highbarger, 1927, p. 33; Meyer, 1931, p. 202; cf. also Bohringer, 1980, pp. 9, 11). Apollo was worshipped as Prostaterios, or “protector” (IG VII39-40; Pausanias, 1.44.2; cf. also Bohringer, 1980, p. 11; P. J. Smith, 2008, p. 118). In this sanctuary stood a statue group of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto that was the work of Praxitiles, that was depicted upon coinage by Septimus Severus (Pausanias 1.44.2; Imhoof-Blumer & Gardner, 1964, pp. 7, 154, pls. Ax, Ffi–ii). Passages in Pausanias (1.44.3) indicate the presence of the aniconic cult of Apollo Karneios, and a cult of Apollo Latoōs (1.44.10). Apollo Agraiaos (hunter) and Artemis Agrotera (huntress) were worshipped together in a temple at Megara Nisaia that was, according to tradition,
built by Alkathoös after Apollo killed the lion of Mount Kithairon (Pausanias, 1.41.4; also cf. Bohringer, 1980, p. 6). Cults of Apollo Lykeios and Mouseios are also attested by inscriptions (IG VII. 35–36; Highbarger, 1927, p. 36; Meyer, 1931, p. 202; Jeffery, 1990, p. 136, no. 2, Pl. 22). Although there is little archaeological evidence, both the literary and epigraphic data indicate that Apollo was an important deity to the Megarians.

The Foundation of Megara Hyblaia and Selinous

According to Thucydides (6.4.1–2), the Megarians, led by Lamis, founded Trotilos and then they joined the Khalkidians at Leontini. However, they were driven out and Lamis founded Thapsos. Shortly afterwards, Lamis died and the people were driven out of Thapsos, and they founded Megara Hyblaia on land that was given to them by Hyblon, a Sikel king (Thucydides 6.4.1). Although the archaeological evidence indicates that the Megarians may have been present at Leontini and Thapsos, it is unclear if these accounts have historical truth (De Angelis, 2003b, p. 13). According to Ephorus (fr. 137a–b) and Pseudo-Scymnus (264), the colony was originally called Hybla. The foundation date according to Thucydides (6.4.3) was 728 BCE, while Strabo (6.2.4) indicated that Megara was founded prior to Syracuse, as some of the people from Megara joined Archias in his foundation of Syracuse. Archaeological evidence indicates a foundation date during the second half of the eighth century BCE (Graham, 1988, p. 304; De Angelis, 2003b, p. 14; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 213; however, cf. De Voto, 2005, p. 91).

One hundred years after Megara Hyblaia was founded, she founded the colony of Selinous, placing this in 628 BCE according to Thucydides’ (6.4.2) calculations. A passage in Diodorus Siculus (13.59.4) suggests that Selinous was founded in 650 BCE. Early archaeological evidence
from the city's necropoleis suggested a foundation date around the mid-seventh-century BCE (Tusa 1984b, pp. 194–202; Rallo, 1984, pp. 207–212, 217). More recent excavations have provided materials that favour a foundation during the last quarter of the seventh century BCE (Dehl-von Kaenel, 1995, esp. pp. 417–418; Guidoboni, Muggia, Marconi & Boschi, 2002, p. 2963). Pamillos is named as the oikistēs, although it is unclear if he was from Megara Nisaia or Megara Hyblaia (Thucydides, 6.4.2; cf. Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 221). The passage in Thucydides may have originally included the name of a second founder (possibly Myskos or Euthydamos) that is now lost (Gomme, Andrewes & Dover, 1970, pp. 216–217; Jameson, Jordan & Kotansky, 1993, p. 121; Hornblower, 2002, p. 239).

The Evidence for Cults of Apollo at Selinous

i) Temple C and Apollo Paianos

Temple C was the first large-scale peripteral temple constructed on the acropolis at Selinous around the middle of the sixth century BCE (Thalmann, 1975, pp. 34–36; De Angelis, 2003b, p. 135; Veronese, 2006, p. 519; Marconi, 2007, p. 72; see figures 59–60). However, remains beneath the eastern pteroma may belong to the foundations of a predecessor that may have been destroyed by an earthquake (Gàbrici, 1933, 160–168, figs. 35–36, 37 a–b, tabs. VI–XII;1956, col. 258; Thalmann, 1975, pp. 32–33; Østby, 1995, p. 87; Marconi, 2007, pp. 72, 79; however, cf. Bergquist, 1992, p.

158 Although there are a number of cult structures at Megara Hyblaia, there is little evidence to suggest the deities that were worshipped here (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 214).
In addition, some roof terracottas are believed to belong to this earlier temple (Gàbrici, 1933, pp. 160–167, pl. VI–XII). In the mid-sixth-century a massive terrace and an ashlar retaining wall were constructed to hold the monumental temple, and this enabled expansion towards the eastern side of the acropolis (Gàbrici, 1929, p. 80; Di Vita, 1967, p. 40; Østby, 1995, pp. 87–88; De Angelis, 2003b, 136; Marconi, 2007, p. 72). The temple was pseudo-dipteral with six by seventeen columns, with a pronaos, cella, and adyton, and measuring 20.49 by 7.95 meters (De Angelis, 2003b, p. 135; Mertens, 2003, p. 141-142, figs. 350–352; Marconi, 2007, p. 72; see figure 60). The columns on the east side and eight along the south side were monolithic, while the rest were made up of drums, which may reflect a measure to simplify the movement of construction materials (Marconi, 2007, pp. 129–130).

Inside the temple, towards the middle of the cella, is a rectangular unpaved area that seems to have been surrounded by a fence (Thalmann, 1975, p. 35; Hollinshead, 1999, p. 104; Marconi, 2007, p. 128, fig. 58). The area has not been excavated and its function is unknown. It was probably not the base of a cult statue, since this would likely have been placed in the adyton (Marconi, 2007, pp. 128–129; also cf. Hollinshead, 1999, p. 204). Equally unlikely is the possibility that it was an eschara, since there are no traces of burning (Marconi, 2007, pp. 128–129). The suggestion that a table was once placed here (Thalmann, 1975, p. 35; Hollinshead, 1999, p. 104) is also unconvincing, since this did not require the floor to be unpaved (Marconi, 2007, p. 129). This area may be where...

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159 The acropolis was restructured after 560 BCE and this may have been the result of an earthquake that caused damage to the area (Marconi, 2007, p. 72). Selinous was particularly susceptible to earthquakes; an earthquake between the mid-fourth-century and third century BCE damaged a number of sacred buildings, and another earthquake between the sixth and thirteenth centuries CE caused the collapse of Temple C (Guidoboni, Muggia, Marconi & Boschi, 2002, esp. pp. 2966–2968, 2978).
a gold offering to Apollo, that is mentioned in an inscription, was once displayed (IG XIV 268; see discussion below, pp. 221–222).

The temple was richly decorated with a large terracotta Gorgon head in the centre of the pediment, and sculpted stone metopes on the east side. The sequence of the sculpted metopes is known because they were found in the position in front of the temple where they fell (Marconi, 2007, pp. 134–135). The intact metopes depict Perseus killing Medusa; Herakles and the Kerkopes; and Apollo, Artemis and Leto in a quadriga (Giuliani, 1979, pp. 15–33, tabs. 4.1, 4.2, 5.1; Tusa, 1984b, pp. 114–117, 128–129, nos. 7–9, 26–27; Marconi, 1997, pp. 122–123, figs. 1–3; 2007, pp. 138–159, 234–240, figs. 68, 71, 75, 105–109; see figure 61). Fragmentary metopes depicted Orestes killing Clytemnestra and possibly Achilles and Troilus (Marconi, 1997, pp. 123–124, figs. 4–5; 2007, pp. 137–138, 161–168, figs. 67, 83–84). The central metope of the Doric frieze represented the divine triad: Apollo, Artemis and Leto (Marconi, 1997, p. 130, fig. 7).

Other structures associated with the temple include an altar and a monumental stoa. Contemporary with the construction of temple C is a large (20.49 by 7.95 m), rectangular altar on the east, approximately thirty meters from the temple (Gàbrici, 1929, col. 80; Di Vita, 1967, p. 40; Bergquist, 1992, p. 119; Veronese, 2006, p. 517). In the late sixth century BCE an L-shaped stoa was constructed along the eastern limit of the sanctuary, and the presence of drainage and a paved southern room indicates that it was used for ritual dining (Gàbrici, 1929, cols. 78–80, tab. X; Di Vita, 1967, 3–31, figs. 7–39, 45–46; Kuhn, 1985, pp. 261–264, figs. 30–31; Bergquist, 1992, p. 144; Mertens, 2003, pp. 88–89, 94, 239–240, figs. 91, 102; Marconi, 2007, p. 73). The stoa enclosed the ritual space associated with temple C and its altar (Bergquist, 1992, p. 144; Marconi, 1997, p. 129). The temple, altar, and stoa with its dining rooms were used for rituals in honour of the deity of
temple C, which appears to have been Apollo.

Other structures in the vicinity of temple C include a second altar, and a four-roomed structure, although it is unclear if either of these structures was associated with the temple. The second altar located to the south of temple C, next to the sanctuary entrance, faces north (Gâbrici, 1929, cols. 76–77; Di Vita, 1967, pp. 40–41; Mertens, 2003, pp. 85, 233). The purpose of this altar with its unusual orientation is unclear, and numerous hypotheses have been proposed (Marconi, 2007, p. 73). It has been suggested that it was intended to be a temporary structure that was used until temple C and its altar were constructed (Gâbrici, 1929, p. 76; Belvedere, 1981, p. 129; Di Vita, 1984, p. 34); however, the construction material and styles suggest that these structures were not contemporary (Østby, 1995, p. 87). Other suggestions include that the altar was associated with the nearby temple R ('megaron') (Di Vita, 1967, p. 40), or another temple within the temenos (Belvedere, 1981, p. 129). The possibility that temple C was dedicated to two divinities and needed two altars seems unlikely since there are numerous examples of two divinities who were worshipped at a single altar (Bergquist, 1967, pp. 77–79; Di Vita, 1967, p. 40; Belvedere, 1981, p. 129). The most convincing argument is that it was associated with the predecessor of temple C (Belvedere, 1981, p. 129; Østby, 1995, p. 87). This temple was constructed prior to the expansion of the terrace, and there would have been little space on the eastern side for an altar which necessitated the construction of a north-south oriented altar (Østby, 1995, p. 87). On the eastern side of this altar is a four-roomed structure, but its function is unknown and there is no evidence to connect it with temple C (Gâbrici, 1929, 77–78; Di Vita, 1967, p. 40; Mertens, 2003, pp. 85, 232, 240; Marconi, 160 An example from the acropolis of Selinous includes an altar that was dedicated to Athena and Apollo Patanos (IG XIV 269; see below, p. 219).
Inscriptions and artifacts found on the *acropolis* and the vicinity indicate that Apollo was worshipped in one of the temples on the *acropolis*. An inscribed fragment of an altar found between temples C and D, *ca.* 475–450 BCE, records an inscription to Apollo *Paianos* (healer) and Athena (*IG XIV* 269; *IGASMG* I, p. 39, no. 36, tab. XIV. 2; *IGDS*, p. 60, no. 51; Cavallari, 1868, p. 88; Torelli & Coarelli, 1984, p. 94; Jeffery, 1990, pp. 271, 277, no. 43; Marconi, 1997, p. 128 note 28; 1999; Veronese, 2006, p. 519). A mid-fifth-century fragment of a decorative frieze was found next to temple D with an inscription to Apollo: τὸπόλονος [κατά] (IGDS, pp. 60–61, no. 52; Bejor, 1977, p. 449; Kerenyi, 1977, p. 6). The presence of these inscriptions has led to the suggestion that the two large temples on the *acropolis*, temples C and D, were dedicated to Apollo and Athena respectively (Torelli & Coarelli, 1984, pp. 94–95; Veronese, 2006, pp. 505, 519). Scholars have also noted that temples of Athena and Apollo were found on the Alkathoós *acropolis* at Megara Nisaia (Tusa, 1967, p. 192; Torelli & Coarelli, 1984, pp. 94–95; Danner, 1997, p. 160; Veronese, 2006, pp. 519–520; Marconi, 2007, p. 133). Artifacts found during excavations on the *acropolis* also suggest the presence of cults of Apollo and Athena (Cavallari, 1877a, pp. 288–294; Gabrici, 1929, cols. 90–91, figs. 14a–b, 15a–b (marble female statuette fragments); Marconi, 1997, pp. 127–128, note 26; 2007, 161 The inscription reads: [- - Απόλλων Παϊάνος/ [- - Αθηναίας (IG XIV 269; IGASMG I, p. 39, no. 36; Jeffery, 1990, pp. 271, 277, no. 43; Marconi, 1999, pp. 10–11). There has been some confusion over where the altar was found due to an unnecessary 'correction' that was made in an early excavation report (Marconi, 1997, pp. 127–128 note 26; 1999, pp. 12–15). The association of Apollo *Paianos* with Athena is not common, although an altar of the first half of the fourth century BCE with a similar inscription to the Selinuntine altar was discovered at Delos (Marconi, 1999, p. 12). In Attica and Oropos Athena was worshipped with the epithet *Paionia* (Pausanias 1.2.5, 1.34.3; Marconi, 1999, p. 12).
p. 132). Scholars have suggested that the central placement of the metope depicting Apollo in a chariot with Leto and Artemis indicates that Apollo was the tutelary god of the temple (Marconi, 1997, p. 131; 2007, pp. 138, 170; De Angelis, 2003b, p. 169). Furthermore, the figures depicted on the metopes are connected to Apollo in myths (Marconi, 1997, p. 132). The general consensus among scholars is that temple C was dedicated to Apollo (Kerényi, 1966, p. 6; Tusa, 1967, p. 192; Bejor, 1977, p. 456; Torelli & Coarelli, 1984, p. 94; Blandi, 2000, p. 101; De Angelis, 2003b, pp. 136, 169; Veronese, 2006, p. 519; Marconi, 2007, p.132).

In 409 BCE Selinous was destroyed by the Carthaginians and the city came under Punic control. At this time new structures were built on the acropolis and the function of many of the buildings were altered (Tusa, 1988, p. 246; Mertens, 2003, pp. 251–254). Numerous clay sealings were found in to the south-east of temple C indicating that during the Punic period the temple functioned as an archive for the city (Cavallari, 1877a, p. 184; 1883, esp. pp. 473–474, 481, 483, tabs. IV–XII; Tusa, 1988, p. 246). It is possible that the temple also served as an archive during

162 A terracotta figurine excavated by Cavallari on the north side of temple C is either a Muse holding a lyre, or Apollo holding a lyre (Marconi, 1997, p. 128, note 26).

163 The triad is also depicted on one of the so-called ‘small metopes’ from an unknown temple on the acropolis. Apollo is shown holding a kithara, and this scene may have represented the return of the god who is being greeted by his mother and sister (Marconi, 2007, pp. 99–102, fig. 43). Marconi (2007) suggests that this relief provides a direct link to the cult of Apollo at Megara, that was particularly focused on Apollo and his family, and it may be an allusion to the foundation of Megara by the Archêgetês (pp. 197–199).

164 For example, Orestes was purified by Apollo, and Perseus was loved by Apollo (Marconi, 1997, p. 132).

165 Many of these sealings depict images associated with Herakles (club) and Apollo (dolphin). Based on the presence of numerous images relating to Herakles, Cavallari (1883) suggested that the temple C was dedicated to Herakles (pp. 481–483).
the Greek period (Marconi, 1997, p. 128, note 26). There are numerous instances of Greek temples that served as archives for cities including temples of Apollo at Korinth, Gortyn, and Dreros (see above, pp. 94 note 24, 159–160).

The archaeological evidence suggests that Apollo was worshipped in temple C, although the nature of this cult is unclear. The inscription on the altar fragment indicates that the god was worshipped with the epithet *Paianos* during the middle of the fifth century BCE, but it is unclear if this altar was associated with the temple. It is possible that this cult was introduced during the fifth century when the city was ravaged by a plague. Based on the monumental size and location of temple C on the *acropolis* and the importance of this deity at Megara, the worship of Apollo at Selinous may have been influenced by the cults of Megara. At Selinous Apollo may have been venerated with a number of cult epithets, since he was worshipped at Megara as *Pythios, Dekatēphoros* and *Archēgetēs* in the same temple (Pausanias 1.42.5; Syll' 653.22).

ii) An Offering for Apollo: The Temple G Inscription

A mid-fifth-century BCE inscription found inside temple G, dedicated to Zeus, mentions an offering that was placed inside the “Apollonion” (*IG* XIV 268). The inscription consists of a list of gods that the Selinuntines thank for a victory, and a decree that reads:

> Now since peace has come (the boule and the people have decided) having beaten out (an object) in gold and having pecked (the object) those (aforementioned) names after they have engraved them after the Zeus-

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166 The monumental size of this temple and the inscription that mentions Zeus in a list of gods that are commended for a Selinuntine victory, and thanks “Zeus above all” (Calder, 1963, p. 33) had led most scholars to suggest that temple G was dedicated to Zeus (Kerényi, 1966, p. 5; Bejor, 1977, pp. 440–442; Coarelli & Torelli, 1984, pp. 87–88; Danner, 1997, p. 160; De Angelis, 2003b, p. 138).
song, to deposit (the object) in the Apollonion and (they having decided that) the gold-object be of sixty talents (After Calder, 1963, p. 44).

The identity of the gold object that was placed in the temple of Apollo is unknown, but possibilities include a shield (Calder, 1963, p. 45–46; 1964, p.117; Keyser, 1988) or an ingot (Dubois, 1989, pp. 77–79). Brugnone (1999) suggests that the offering was a gold statue of the god with a stag that was offered after a military victory and Selinous' eradication of malarial outbreak during the fifth century BCE (pp. 135–136). Brugnone (1999) points to a tradition in which an oracle received during a time of war ordered the dedication of a gold stag for Apollo at Delphi (p. 135). Unfortunately, the form of this costly dedication is unknown, but whatever form it took, it would have been prominently displayed in/on the temple of Apollo on the acropolis, possibly in the cella. The discovery of a rectangular space in the middle of the cella that was surrounded by a fence may in fact be where this golden dedication of the god once stood.

iii) Apolline Imagery on Coinage

In the first half of the fifth century BCE a new coin type was introduced at Selinous depicting Apollo Hekatebolos (who shoots from afar) with a bow, and Artemis in a chariot on the obverse, and with a reverse image of the river god Selinous at an altar (Lacroix, 1965, p. 26; Rutter, 1997, p. 138; Marconi, 1999, p. 12; see figure 62). Some scholars have connected this image with a plague that was caused by stagnant water in the Selinous River and the story of Empedocles who was consulted to rid the city of the pestilence (Diogenes Laertes, 7.2.70; Hill, 1903, p. 84; Lacroix, 1965, p. 29; Fields, 1994, p. 104; Brugnone, 1999, pp. 136, 139, note 72). The presence of an altar of Apollo Paianos and a dedication at Delphi on behalf of a doctor during the fifth century (see below) may
also support the hypothesis that Selinous experienced a plague (cf. Marconi, 1999, p. 14). Apollo was a deity who was believed to provide assistance during plagues and he was worshipped as *Alexikakos* (averter of the plague), *Paianos* (helper or healer) and *Oulios* (healer) (Fields, 1994, p.102; Marconi, 1999, p. 12).

**Selinous and Delphi**

Two dedications are known to have been made at Delphi on behalf of the Selinuntines. According to Plutarch (*De Pythiae oraculis*, 12 399F), Selinous dedicated a gold *selinon* (wild celery). A second offering was made in the fifth century of a statuary group sculpted by Akron that was dedicated by a doctor (*FD* III, 1. 506, fig. 48; Jacquemin, 1999, pp. 71–72, 351, no. 432).

**A Late Phokaean Colony**

**The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis**

Phokaean was a *polis* in Ionia that was responsible for the foundations of a number of colonies including Lampsakos, Massalia, Alalie, Hyele, and Emporion. According to Strabo (6.1.4), Apollo *Delphinios* was a shared cult among the Ionian Greeks. There is currently no evidence for a cult of Apollo at Phokaean (Özyigit & Erdogan, 2000, pp. 11–23), although further exploration may reveal evidence of his cult. However, there is evidence that Apollo was worshipped at Phokaean colonies, including Massalia and Emporion. At the Phokaean colony of Massalia, the sanctuary of Apollo *Delphinios* was located on the *acropolis* next to the temple of Artemis (Strabo, 6.1.4; Salviat, 2000, p. 28; Tréziny, 2000, p. 82). Apollo was depicted on Massalian coins (Pournot, 2000, pp. 184–185; Richard, 2000, pp. 192–195), and Latin inscriptions of the Imperial period attest to this cult (*CIL*
XII. 400–401; Hermary & Tréziny, 2000, p. 147). One of the Latin inscription records a dedication to Belenos, a Gallic god that was assimilated with Apollo (CIL XII 401; Hermary & Tréziny, 2000, p. 147). There is also some evidence to indicate that Apollo was worshipped at the Phokaean colony at Emporion, possibly alongside Asklepios (Pena, 2000, pp. 65–66). Based on the presence of cults of Apollo in Phokaea’s colonies, it is possible that he was also venerated at Phokaea itself.

**The Foundation of Hyele**

Hyele (Roman Velia) is located in south-western Italy, north of the modern community of Ascea. The *polis* was founded by Phokaeans who had lived at Alaia on Corsica (Cyrnus) for five years, but they fled after a victorious battle against Etruscans and Carthaginians that left them with severe losses (Herodotus, 1.165–167). According to Herodotus (1.167), the settlers established their *polis* in Enetrian territory; however, no traces of indigenous settlements have been found in this area (Bencivenga Trillmich, 1985, pp. 365–366). Herodotus (1.167) also noted: “they founded this [settlement of Hyele] because they learned from a man of Posidonia [sic] that the Cyrnus whose establishment the Pythian priestess ordained was the hero, and not the island” (Godley, (Trans.), 1920). This passage indicates that the Delphic oracle was consulted by the Phokaeans (Ebner, 1962, esp. p. 32; Morel, 2000, p. 35). According to Pseudo-Sycmunus (250), the colonists were joined by some Massalians. In Herodotus’ version, Hyele was founded after the battle of Alaia, that occurred ca. 540–535 BCE (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 263). Archaic housing, early pottery, and a fortification wall that was erected ca. 520 BCE suggests that Herodotus’ implied foundation date was correct (Bencivenga Trillmich, 1985, pp. 367–370; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 264).
The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Hyele

i) Apollo Oulidades/Oulios/Oulis?

A number of inscriptions found at Hyele may be associated with a cult of Apollo. Stamped tiles with the inscription Απο may indicate that there was a temple of the Apollo at Hyele; however, it is also possible that the inscription refers to the name Apollodoros (Small, 2006, p. 327). One inscription on a headless herm was found next to the south Porta Marina and reads: Πα[ρ]ενεκδης Πύρητος / Ούλιάδης φιοικός and it probably once held a sculpted philosopher-type head of the early Imperial period (Nutter, 1970, pp. 211–212; Morel, 2000, p. 43). The word *ouliades* (Οὐλιάδης) is believed to be related to *Oulios*, an epithet of Apollo in his capacity as a healing deity who had cults at Miletus and Delos (Strabo 14.1.6; Morel, 2000, p. 43; Vecchio, 2003, pp. 242–246). Vecchio (2003) suggests an Anatolian origin for this healing cult of Apollo (pp. 246, 248). Other finds include a statue with the inscription Οὐλιάς Εὐξίνου and two statue heads with the inscriptions Οὐλιάς Δρίστωνος and Οὐλιάς Ἱερωνύμου (De Franciscis, 1970, p. 267, figs. 1–3). An inscription on a *stèle* seems to refer to a college of doctors connected with Apollo Oulis (Ebner, 1970, p. 262, no. 2, fig. 1; Morel, 2000, p. 43; Tocco Sciarelli, 2000, pp. 56–57). However, the word *Oulis* can also appear as a personal name in Phokaean cities, although this does not exclude the possibility that it was an epithet of Apollo (Morel, 2000, pp. 43–44).

There is evidence for both a cult of Asklepios and a medical school at Hyele. Items that have been found in excavations include statues of Asklepios and Hygeia, a bronze *kaduceus*, the image of the *kaduceus* on coins, inscriptions, and a fifth century BCE structure associated with a healing cult (De Franciscis, 1970, pp. 272, 278–280, figs. 6–7; Tocco Sciarelli, 2000, pp. 56–57, figs. 10–11, 13–14). In addition, a fragmentary Latin inscription may also refer to Apollo (Ebner, 1970, p.
264, no. 9, fig. 3). Although the evidence is circumstantial, it is likely that Apollo Oulios/Oulis, in his capacity as a healing god, was worshipped along with Asklepios at Hyele. Although there is no evidence for cults of Apollo at Phokaea, Apollo was worshipped alongside Asklepios at Emporion, another Phokaean colony. When the cult of Apollo may have been established is unclear, although a Hellenistic date may be suggested based on images on Hyele’s coinage (see below).

ii) Apolline Imagery on Coinage

A laureate head of Apollo adorned Hyele’s coinage during the fourth to second centuries BCE (Rutter, 2001, p. 122, no. 1336). The image of the tripod was depicted on the reverse of Hellenistic bronze coins (Ebner, 1962, p. 3, fig. 1; 1966, p. 353, tab. VI, nos. 11–12; Di Bello, 1997, pp. 101, 348–350, figs. 14–16; Rutter, 2001, p. 122, nos. 1339–1340).

The Cults of Apollo at Mixed Settlements

The Cult of Apollo Lybistinus on the Pachino Promontory

The Pachino Promontory is located south of Syracuse, and although this was a Sikel settlement, the area was heavily influenced by Syracuse and her colonies of Akrai and Kamarina (Pace, 1945, p. 584; Guzzardi & Basile, 1996, pp. 199, 211). According to Macrobius (Satires, 1. 17.24), there was a temple of Apollo Lybistinus here. Little is known about this deity, but according to Macrobius (1.17.24), he saved the area from a Libyan invasion by sending a pestilence (cf. Pace, 1945, p. 584; Ordi, 1985, pp. 76–77). Ordi (1985) suggests that this pestilence was a plague that occurred during the Second Punic War, and that the Greek term Libystikos (Libyan) refers to the inhabitants of Africa, hence the Carthaginians (pp. 77–78). During the Roman period games in
honour of Apollo (*ludi Apollinarenses*) were held here (Livy 25.12.8–15; Macrobius, *Satires*, 1.17.25–30). Recent exploration of the Pachino Promontory has unearthed evidence of a Greek cemetery and habitation area, and the remains of a temple to the north of the promontory (Guzzardi & Basile, 1996, p. 200); however, there is no evidence at the present to connect this temple with a cult of Apollo.

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Alaisa

i) A Temple of Apollo *Archēgetēs*

Alaisa, modern Tusa, is located on a hill top between the Alaisos (now called Tusa) and Opikanos (now called Cicera) rivers. According to Diodorus Siculus (14.16), the city was founded in 403 BCE by Archonides, the tyrant of Herbita, and the inhabitants consisted of Sikels and Greeks who sought refuge here during wars waged by Dionysios I (also cf. Prestianni Giallombardo, 2006, pp. 112–115). The remains of a temple have been found on the north side of the city’s hill that date to the Hellenistic period (Trendall, 1957, p. 33; Carettoni, 1961, p. 266; Torelli & Coarelli, 1984, p. 395; see figure 63). The prominent location and size of the temple implies that it was dedicated to the city’s main deity, who is believed to have been Apollo (Trendall, 1957, p. 33; Van Buren, 1957, p. 382; Carettoni, 1961, p. 266; Torelli & Corelli, 1984, p. 395; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 190). A temple of Apollo at Alaisa is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (14.16).

Artifacts found during excavation of the temple include the torso of a statue of Artemis, a stone head of Athena, and a fragmentary inscription on a limestone base that mentions both Hera and
Apollo (Carettoni, 1961, pp. 316, 318). Coins issued when Alaisa was a member of Timoleon’s symmachia depict the head of Apollo Archēgetēs (Head, 1911, p. 126; Karlsson, 1995, p. 165, note 3; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 190). The image of Apollo on coins has led to the suggestion that the temple was dedicated to Apollo Archēgetēs (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 190). It is possible that this cult was introduced at the time of Timoleon, who was closely associated with Apollo Archēgetēs (Plutarch, Timoleon, 35.2–3; Karlsson, 1995, p. 161; see above pp. 122–123). Literary and epigraphic evidence indicates the presence of his cult of Apollo at Alaisa and that the temple on the acropolis was likely dedicated to him, possibly with the epithet Archēgetēs.

ii) Other Apolline Imagery on Coinage

On some issues after 241 BCE, the obverse depicts the laureate head of Apollo, and reverse images of Apollo with his lyre, a tripod, or a lyre (Head, 1911, p. 126).

The Foundation of Zankle-Messene and the Mamertines’ Conquest

Zankle, later renamed Messene, was originally a Euboean colony that was eventually conquered by the Italian mercenaries called the Mamertines. According to Thucydides (6.4.5), Zankle was first settled by pirates from Kyme, who were later joined by other Euboean settlers. The founders were Perieres from Kyme and Kratimenes from Chalkis (Thucydides, 6.4.5; Callimachus, Aetna, fr. 43.58–59). Pseudo-Scymnus (283–286) considered Zankle to have been a sub-colony of

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167 The fragmentary inscription reads: ΕΙ[- - -] | ΗΡΑ | ΑΙΟΛ [- - -] | ΑΙΣΚΥ [- - -] | ΕΥ [- - -].
Naxos, founded at the same time as Katane and Leontini ca. 735–730 BCE, and archaeological evidence collaborates this date (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 234). In 488 BCE, the city was taken by Samians at the urging of the Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegion (Herodotus 6.22. 2, 6.23.2–3). Anaxilas then expelled the Samians and re-founded the city as Messene with a mixed population (Thucydides 6.4.6). Messene then came under the control of Syracuse, and was repopulated by Dionysios I in 395 BCE (Diodorus Siculus 14.57).

After the fall of Agathokles at Syracuse, the Sicilian cities agreed to settle all the Sicilian mercenaries that had been hired by Agathokles at Messene (Diodorus Siculus, 11.76.5), creating a mixed population (Särström, 1940, p. 1). Around 288 BCE, Messene was occupied by these Italic mercenaries who called themselves the Mamertines, after their chief god Mamers (assimilated with Ares) (Särström, 1940, pp. 1–6). Although the precise origins of the Mamertines are unclear, they may have been either Samnites or Campanians (Dench, 1995, p. 55), or a mixed group containing Samnites, Campanians, and possibly Greeks (Herring, 2000, pp. 70–71). Herring (2000) argues that this mixed group invented a Mamertine identity in order to create unity within a mixed population, to enable alliances to be forged with Oscan speaking peoples in southern Italy, and to try to balance Syracuse’s power in Sicily (pp. 69, 71).

A passage in Festus (150 L, s.v. Mamertini) records a story by the Samnite poet Alfius, that

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168 Himera was a sub-colony of Zankle (Messene), founded ca. 648 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, 13.62). No evidence has been found to suggest the presence of a cult of Apollo at Himera. There is an inscription (Λύκος) on an early fifth century cup (Manni Piraino, 1976, p. 678, no. 15, tab. CXV. 6, fig. 34; IGDS, pp. 12–13, no. 9; IGASMG III, p. 57, no. 46, tab. XIV.2); however, this appears to have been a proper name instead of a reference to Apollo Lykeios.

169 There was a tradition that the Samnites were originally Greeks from Sparta (Strabo 5.4.12). This version was developed during the fourth century BCE by the Tarentines (Dench, 1995, p. 29; Tagliamonte, 1996, pp. 23–24).
attributed the Mamertine’s presence at Messene to gratitude for the military assistance the Mamertines provided to the Messenians (cf. Strabo 5.4.12). The Mamertines were said to have come to Sicily because of Apollo. Samnium suffered a devastating plague and the prince, Sthennius Mettius, told the assembly that he had seen Apollo in a dream, and was told to honour him with a ver sacrum: a consecration to a god of all the animals born and produce grown during the spring that were ritually sacrificed (Festus, 150 L, s.v. Mamertini; Heurgon, 1957, p.25; Costabile, 1979, pp. 535–536; Tagliamonte, 1996, pp. 17–21; cf. Strabo 5.4.12). Twenty years after this

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170 The passage in Festus (150 L, s.v. Mamertini) stated: “Mamertini appellati sunt hac de causa: cum de toto Samnio grauis incidisset pestilentia, Sthennius Mettius eius gentis princeps convocata ciuium suorum contione, exposuit se uidisse in quiète praecipientem Apollinem ut, si uellent eo malo liberari, uer sacrum uouerent, id est, quaecumque uere proximo nata essent, immolaturos sibi: quo facto leuatis post annum uicensimum deinde eiusdem generis incessit pestilentia. Rursum itaque consultus Apollo respondit non esse persolutum ab his uotum, quod homines immolati non essent: quos si expulissent certe, forte ut ea clade liberarentur. Itaque iussi patria decedere, cum in parte ea Si[lae siluae] consedissent quae [adhuc] c Tauricana dicitur, forte laborantibus bello nouo Messanensibus auxilio uenerunt ultro, eosque ab eo liberarunt provinciales: quod ob meritum eorum, ut grahiam referrent, et in suum corpus communionemque agrorum inuitarunt eos, et nomen acceperunt unum, ut dicerentur Mamertini, quod coniectis in sortem duodecim deorum nominibus, Mamers forte exierat: qui lingua Oscorum Mars significatur. Cuius historiae auctor est Alfius libro primo belli Carthaginiensis.”

171 According to Tagliamonte (1996), the deity that was associated with the ver sacrum was Ares/Mars, based on the passage in Strabo (p. 17–21). The passage in Strabo (5.4.12) stated: “Concerning the Samnites there is another story current to this effect: The Sabini, since they had long been at war with the Ombrici, vowed (just as some of the Greeks do) to dedicate everything that was produced that year; and, on winning the victory, they partly sacrificed and partly dedicated all that was produced; then a dearth ensued, and some one said that they ought to have dedicated the babies too; this they did, and devoted to Mars all the children born that year; and these children, when grown to manhood, they sent away as colonists, and a bull led the way; and when the bull lay down to rest in the land of the Opici (who, as it chanced, were living only in villages), the Sabini ejected them and settled on the spot, and, in accordance with the utterance of their seers, slaughtered the bull as a sacrifice to Mars who had given it for a guide” (Jones (Trans.), 1923).
plague another one stuck. Apollo was consulted and he told them that the plague returned because they had not sacrificed humans, but if they expelled these twenty-year old men the plague would end (Festus 150L, s.v. **Mamertini**). According to this story, when these exiled young men then arrived at Messene they were invited into the city and they became the benefactors of the Messenians (Festus 150 L, s.v. **Mamertini**).

Not a great deal is known about the Mamertine period of the city’s history, but inscriptions and coinage provide some clues. Bilingual inscriptions indicate that Greek was spoken alongside Oscan (Särström, 1940, p. 2; Herring, 2000, pp. 70–71; Prestianni Gial Lombardo, 2006, p. 117). The city minted its own coinage, which appeared with 'Mamertine’ either in Greek, or in Oscan with Greek letters (Särström, 1940, p. 2; Crawford, 2006, p. 523; Prestianni Gial Lombardo, 2006, p. 117; Inscriptions also indicate that there were Oscan political institutions at Messene at this time (Vallone, 1955, pp. 36–37; Prestianni Gial Lombardo, 2006, pp. 117–118). The Mamertines seem to have been in control of Messene for twenty-five years before they became allied with Rome (Tagliamonte, 1994, pp. 191–192).

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Mamertine-Era Messene

i) A Temple of Apollo?

Although there is no evidence of worship of Apollo during the Greek period at Messene, inscriptions attest to the presence of his cult during the Mamertine phase. One inscription\(^{172}\) in the

\(^{172}\) However, if the Oscan inscriptions refer to the re-construction of a temple of Apollo, it could be argued that a temple already existed at Messene prior to the Mamertine period.

\(^{173}\) There are at least two identical inscriptions, although the others are fragmentary (Salinas, 1886, p. 461; Tagliamonte, 1994, p. 194; Mastelloni, 2005, pp. 279–282).
Oscan language with Greek letters records a dedication made by the *meddices*\(^{174}\) (Oscan magistrates) Stenius Calinius, son of Statius and Maras Pontius, son of Numerius and the Mamertines (Bottiglioni, 1954, p. 252, no. 86; Heurgon, 1957, p. 24; Costabile, 1979, p. 536, note 62, fig. 3; Tagliamonte, 1994, pp. 194, 196; Mastelloni, 2005, pp. 279, 280, figs. 4.1; 5; see figure 64).\(^{175}\) The inscription records the construction or possibly the re-construction of a temple of Apollo (Dench, 1995, p. 56; Crawford, 2006, pp. 521–524), and it usually considered to have been part of an architrave of a temple of Apollo (Säström, 1940, p. 10; Bottiglioni, 1954, p. 252, no. 86; Costabile, 1979, p. 536; Tagliamonte, 1994, p. 194). The location of this temple is unclear because the inscribed block was not found *in situ*, since it was found in a wall in Via Cardines near the Portalegno bridge at Messene (Mastelloni, 2005, p. 279).

A fragmentary inscription with Greek letters in Oscan of the third century BCE records a dedication to Apollo by the son of Stennii\(^{176}\) (Orsi, 1916a, col. 195, fig. 46; Heurgon, 1957, p. 24; Costabile, 1979, p. 536, note 62; Mastelloni, 2005, pp. 277, 280, figs. 2, 4.6). This inscription may have been associated with a monumental building as a number of columns were found nearby (Mastelloni, 2005, pp. 277, 279). Other finds in the area suggest that monumental structure once stood here, including pseudo-isodomic blocks and a fragment of an architrave (Mastelloni, 2005, p. 279, fig. 3a–b). Although the archaeological evidence is limited, it suggests that there was a

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\(^{174}\) Tagliamonte (1994) has suggested that these *meddices* were of Samnite origin (p. 196).

\(^{175}\) The inscription reads: \[\text{Στενΰς Καλινίς Στατίτις Μαρας Ποντίς Νιουμόδις Μαμερτίνος Απόλλωνι σακαρός = Stenius Calinius Statii (f.) Maras Pontius Numeridii (f.) meddices fecerunt et ciuitas Mamertina Apollini sacra (Costabile, 1979, p. 536, note 62).}

\(^{176}\) The inscription was found in via San Cecilia and reads: \[- - -]\text{ς στεννυνις [- - α]πελλουνις} (Mastelloni, 2005, fig. 4.6).
monumental structure, and that it was likely a temple dedicated to Apollo.

**ii) Apolline Imagery on Coinage**


Scholars have noted that the deities represented on Mamertines’ coinage illustrate a gradual shift to the pantheon of Greek gods, especially a prevalence of Apollo over Manners (Heurgon, 1957, pp. 27–28, 33; Sfameni Gasparro, 2002, p. 347; Crawford, 2006, p. 523). Heurgon (1957) suggests that the ‘*ver sacrum*’ story in Festus (150L) illustrates that the native god Manners was overshadowed by Apollo (p. 28). However, it is equally likely that the Mamertines equated the Greek god Apollo with their deity Manners. Similar to Apollo, Manners was associated with young men and their role as defenders of settlements, and both gods played a role in averting evil (E. T. Salmon, 1967, p. 168). In mixed communities where the Mamertines may have been the minority, they may have chosen to worship the god with his Greek name.
Conclusions – The Cults of Apollo at Rhodian–Kretan, Achaean, Megarian, and Phokaean Colonies, Sub-Colonies, Late Foundations and Mixed Settlements

The month of Karneios is known from both Rhodes and Crete, and it was likely transferred to Gela, her sub-colony Akragas, and Akragas’ late foundation at Phintias (see table 5). Although there is no evidence of the month of Karneios at Gela, the presence of this month at both Akragas and Phintias, suggests that it was also present at Gela, since colonies and the mother-city shared calendars (Robertson, 2002, p. 26). Gela, according to Diodorus Siculus (13.108.4), had a colossal statue of Apollo outside the city, which suggests that he was worshipped here, although excavations at Gela have not revealed any trace of a cult place or artifacts associated with the cult of Apollo. This god may have been worshipped as Archēgetēs, the god who was responsible for the foundation of Gela, and whose oracle advised the Geloans to erect the statue. Gela’s connection to the founding god can be seen with the treasury dedicated at Delphi. At Akragas a statue of Apollo stood in a temple of Asklepios (Cicero, Against Verres, 2.4.93), and Apollo may have been venerated as Paianos, like at Syracuse, or another epithet associated with healing. Akragas was also responsible for at least three offerings in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Although Gela, Akragas, and Phintias all have evidence of cults of Apollo, only Akragas depicted images of Apollo on her coinage.

The cults of Apollo in Achaea are not well known, as few sites have been excavated. The locations of the ancient sites of Helike, the metropolis of Sybaris, and Rhypes, the metropolis of Kroton, are unknown, and the metropolis of Metapontion is unknown. The limited evidence that is available indicates that Apollo was worshipped at a number of sites in Achaea including Patras, Aigion, Aigeira, and Pellene. At Pellene, Apollo was venerated as Theoxenios, and a sanctuary of
Apollo *Pythios* is known from a site along the border of Achaea and Arkadia. There is evidence for cults of Apollo at all the primary Achaeian colonies of southern Italy and Sicily for cults of Apollo (Kroton, Metapontion, and Kaulonia) with the exception of Sybaris, which may yield evidence in future excavations (see table 6). Apollo was also venerated at Poseidonia, a sub-colony of Sybaris, and the ex-Sybarite and Panhellenic colony of Thurii. Apollo was worshipped under a variety of cult epithets in these colonies including *Pythios* at Kroton, *Lykeios* at Metapontion, and *Alaïos* at Krimissa that came under Kroton’s control in the fifth century BCE. Cults of Apollo are known at other sites although the epithets are uncertain: Apollo *Daphnephoros* may have been venerated at Metapontion and Kaulonia, possibly *Karneios* at Metapontion and *Epikomatios* at Thurii, and Apollo *Hyperboreas* may have been worshipped alongside *Pythios* at Kroton. It is unclear if the cults in the metropolis influenced those that were present in the colonies since there is little evidence of Apolline cults in Achaea.

Kroton is known to have been founded with Delphic sanction, but both Sybaris and Metapontion may have consulted Delphi although there is no literary evidence. Parke and Wormell’s (1956a) suggestion that the literary sources that record Delphic oracles that predicted the downfall of Sybaris replaced earlier foundation oracles (pp. 70–71) is a compelling argument that there was a tradition that Sybaris was founded in association with Delphi. Metapontion had a close relationship with Delphi which may indicate that the oracle was consulted (Malkin, 1987, p. 24). Sybaris erected a treasury at Delphi, and Kroton and Metapontion may have as well, and all three *poleis* are known to have dedicated offerings at Delphi. The Achaeian colonies were closely associated with Delphi, and this may have influenced the choice of cults.

The presence of the cult of Apollo *Pythios* at Kroton may reflect the role of the Delphic
Apollo in the foundation, although a recent study has argued that the spread of the cult of Apollo *Pythios* was not linked to colony foundations (Davies, 2007, p. 63). Davies (2007) notes that cults of Apollo *Pythios* were often established in areas that were not involved in colonization, including Krete, while there is little evidence for this cult in Korinth and Megara, two *poleis* that were prevalent colonizers (p. 63). It is possible that cults of Apollo *Pythios* may have been established in the colonies, not the *metropoleis*, in order to honour the Delphic god and his role in the foundation of the new settlement. Furthermore, the Delphic Apollo may have been worshipped with another epithet such as *Archegetes*, *Daphnephoros*, or *Agyieus*. If the hypothesis that Metapontion venerated Apollo *Daphnephoros* is correct, the presence of this cult may also have been a reflection of Delphic involvement in this *polis’* foundation. The cult of the ‘laurel-bearer’ was connected with Apollo of Delphi because of the god’s purification in the Vale of Tempe after he killed the python (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1979, pp. 233–234). Apollo *Daphnephoros* may have been worshipped at Kaulonia and the choice of this epithet may have been connected to the Delphic god’s role in colony’s foundation.

Considering the importance of Apollo at Megara, it is not surprising that Apollo was also venerated at Selinous (see table 7). Unfortunately, the recipients of cults at Megara Hyblaia are poorly known, but it is also possible that Apollo was worshipped here. At Selinous, Apollo’s temple stood on the *acropolis* and it was one of the first monumental temples built in the city in the mid-sixth century. A mid-fifth-century BCE inscription indicates that Apollo was worshipped as *Paianos*, a cult epithet associated with healing. During the first half of this century the images of Apollo and Artemis in a chariot appeared on the city’s coinage, and the short life of this coin type may suggest that the image commemorated an event. According to Diogenes Laertes (7.2.70), Selinous suffered from a plague during the fifth century, which may indicate that the cult of Apollo
Paianos was introduced at this time, and that the coin may have been issued after the god cleansed the city. A dedication made at Delphi during this century by a doctor may have been a thank-offering to the god for ridding the city of the pestilence. It is likely that Apollo was venerated at Selinous with other epithets, possibly Pythios and/or Archégetes as at Megara.

Although the evidence is circumstantial, it is likely that Apollo Ouliades/Oulios/Oulis, in his capacity as a healing god, was worshipped along with Asklepios at Hyele (see table 8). Although there is no evidence for cults of Apollo at Phokaea, Apollo was venerated alongside Asklepios at Emporion, another Phokaean colony. When the cult of Apollo may have been established at Hyele is unclear, although a Hellenistic date may be suggested based on the images on Hyele’s coinage during this period.

There is evidence to indicate that Apollo was worshipped in mixed settlements in southern Italy and Sicily (see table 9). Apollo Lybistinos may have been worshipped at the Pachino Promontory, the site of a Sikel settlement that has evidence of Greek inhabitants. More excavation in this area may provide further information on the cult of Apollo. The mixed Sikel and Greek polis of Alaisa worshipped Apollo Archégetes in a monumental Hellenistic temple. Alaisa joined Timoleon’s symmachia (alliance) and it is likely that this cult was introduced at this time. At Messene, the earliest evidence for a cult of Apollo dates to after Mamertine conquest. The god seems to have been adopted by the Mamertines, likely as a war god since Apollo was known to have this function (Fields, 1994, p. 96). Apollo was closely associated with mercenaries and a dedication by the Arkadian Phormis, a mercenary soldier of the Syracusan tyrant Gelon, was made at Delphi (Pausanias, 5.27.1; Fields, 1994, p. 108). Unfortunately, the evidence of the cults of Apollo in these mixed settlements is limited, which makes it difficult to determine if there was full-scale adoption
of the Greek Apollo, or if a hybrid Apollo existed.

Discussion

The worship of Apollo was prevalent amongst the primary colonies of southern Italy and Sicily, with at least nine of fourteen poleis showing evidence of cults (see table 10). Additionally, cults of Apollo may have been present at Megara Hyblaia and Sybaris. Apollo was an important deity at Megara and the presence of the cult at Selinous suggests that Apollo may have been venerated at Megara Hyblaia. Similarly, Apollo was worshipped at Poseidonia which may indicate Sybaris honoured the god. The presence of cults at Syracuse, Gela, Kroton, Taras, and Rhegion, the five colonies that were known to have consulted the Delphic oracle, suggests a correspondence between a tradition of consultation of the oracle and the presence of cults of Apollo (see table 10). Delphi may have been involved in the foundation of Naxos, that was home to the altar of Apollo Archēgetēs. Delphic involvement in the Euboean colonies of Kyme and Neapolis may be indicated by the story of Apollo leading the expedition with a dove; however, this may have been a later tradition that attempted to connect these two poleis with Delphi. While many of the colonies that had a historical or invented connection to Delphi established cults of Apollo, there is little evidence that Delphic consultation influenced the nature of the cult.

Only a few epithets of the god—Pythios, Archēgetēs, and Daphnēphoros, and possibly Agyieus, can be associated with Apollo of Delphi. Cults with these epithets are only known at Kroton (Pythios), Naxos and Tauromenion (Archēgetēs), although it is possible that Syracuse, Gela, Kyme and Neapolis venerated Apollo Archēgetēs and that Apollo Daphnēphoros was honoured at Kaulonia and Metapontion. It must be borne in mind that originally Apollo might have been
worshipped as the god of colony foundations, but that the nature of these cults changed over time, or that Apollo may have been worshipped at a particular cult site with a number of epithets for which there is no evidence. It is difficult to determine if dedications and later consultations of the oracle at Delphi were related to maintaining ties with the god who was involved in their foundation, or if it was simply a display of wealth and prestige at a Panhellenic sanctuary. The suggestion that a colony that erected a treasury at Delphi would have a cult of Apollo cannot be substantiated for the colonies in southern Italy and Sicily because only Syracuse, Sybaris, Gela, and Metapontion are known to have dedicated treasuries, although it is possible that Kroton may also have.

The religious traditions of the homeland had the most influence on the presence and nature of the cults of Apollo in the Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily (table 11). Apollo was the main deity of the Spartans, and he was honoured with a number of cult titles including Karneios and Amyklaios, associated with the Hyakinthia festival. These important cults associated with the initiation of young members into Spartan society were transferred to Taras, and there is evidence that Apollo Hyakinthos was also worshipped at Taras’ sub-colony at Herakleia. The Rhodian–Kretan foundation of Gela also carried on the religious traditions of her metropoleis, and the cult of Apollo Karneios was present in her sub-colony at Akragas, and Akragas’ foundation at Phintias. The lack of correspondence between cults in the homeland and those in the new settlements may simply be due to a lack of evidence for cults in the metropolis and/or the colony,177 or it may indicate that colonies were more mixed than ancient sources have suggested and than the archaeological record has revealed or has been interpreted (cf. Archilochus fr. 102 W; Osborne, 2004, p. 31).

177 For example, the cults of Apollo at Korinth and Achaea are not well known, and little evidence has been found for the cults at Megara Hyblaia and Sybaris.
Another factor that influenced the nature of the cults of Apollo were specific events, including plagues or a close political association with another polis. Apollo was worshipped as a healing god at Selinous, Syracuse and likely at Akragas (Paianos) and Hyele (Oulis). Each of these poleis may have established this cult in order to ward off a plague or to thank the god for averting a plague. The evidence for this is most clear at Selinous, which seemed to suffer from a plague during the mid-fifth-century BCE. The establishment of a cult of Apollo Aleus at Taras may have been due to Krotonite influence on this polis. Similarly, Apollo Patroios' cult at Kamarina was likely introduced during a time when Athens and Kamarina had particularly strong ties.

Images of Apollo were depicted on the coinage of some, but not all, primary colonies that had cults of Apollo. However, there does not appear to be a connection between Apolline imagery on the coins of sub-colonies and the presence of cults of Apollo. This may be explained as an attempt by a sub-colony to associate itself with the 'Delphic foundation' of its metropolis. It is also interesting that coin issues, especially during the fourth and third centuries BCE, conspicuously displayed Delphic iconography, including a lyre resting on an omphalos (Neapolis), omphalos on a tripod (Rhegion) and Apollo seated on an omphalos (Rhegion). An issue from Tauromenion with a serpent wrapped around an omphalos was, in fact, directly copied from a coin type of the Delphic Amphictony. These images of Apollo, and especially Apollo of Delphi, upon coinage do not seem to indicate the presence of cults of Apollo the founder, but were an attempt by these poleis to connect themselves to Delphi and to create a more prestigious past.

While there is little evidence for cults that are related to Apollo's role as a founder (see table 12), it is interesting that the rulers of Syracuse seem to have fostered a connection with the god of foundations. Gelon dedicated an elaborate tripod at Delphi, and he may have embellished the temple
of Apollo on Ortygia. Hieron I was also responsible for the dedication of a tripod at Delphi, and he was portrayed in the poetry of Pindar as having a close bond with the god. A close connection was seen with Dionysius II, who favoured the god, and he may have envisioned himself as a new Apollo. Timoleon visited the oracle of Apollo at Delphi before he sailed to Sicily, and the image of Apollo Archégetēs was depicted upon the coinage of his symmachikon. These political leaders used a connection with Apollo, and the persona of oikistai to add legitimacy to their many foundations and re-foundations (see chapter three).

Conclusions – The Cults of Apollo in Southern Italy and Sicily

The worship of Apollo, the god of foundations, was the most prevalent amongst the primary colonies founded in southern Italy and Sicily, but there is little to suggest that Apollo was worshipped as a founder at many of these poleis. Cult epithets connected to Delphi (Archégetēs, Pythios, Daphnephoros and possibly Agyieus) were not common in the Greek poleis of southern Italy and Sicily. The cults of the metropolis and events (e.g. plagues) seem to have a greater impact on the nature of the cults of Apollo than a perceived or real connection to Delphi. However, Apollo’s role in foundations was not ignored; the Syracusan tyrants and Timoleon seem to have fostered a connection between themselves and the founding god as part of their persona of a founder. Numismatic imagery was also utilized by these poleis to emphasize the colony’s historical or legendary connection to Delphi. In addition, some colonies seem to have used Delphic imagery to create a more prestigious past, illustrating the continued importance of the founding god long after the Delphic god was said to have sanctioned the earliest Greek settlements in southern Italy and Sicily.
Chapter Three – The Cults of the Oikistēs and New-Oikistēs

Introduction

The founder or oikistēs’ role as the leader of a colonial group was designated by Apollo of Delphi. It was the founder’s role to ensure the safety of his colonists during their voyage, and to provide guidance and organization once the contingent arrived at the new settlement. In honour of his accomplishments the founder was elevated to the status of a hero upon his death, and he became the focus of a cult that helped foster the identity of the newly established community. The agora, the center of the community, was the focal point for his cult that, according to literary sources, involved sacrifices, feasts, and games (e.g. Herodotus 6.38.1; Thucydides 5.11.1; Callimachus, Aitia 2. C 66–70; Pausanias 10.4.10). It was the oikistēs’ status that was attractive to tyrants, kings, and other rulers who founded and re-founded poleis. The persona of a founder was adopted by these leaders to justify their actions, add legitimacy to their foundations, and bolster support for their regimes. In some cases, upon their deaths, these new-oikistai could expect to be honoured as heroes, just as the original oikistai who came before them.

Methodology and Associated Problems

Ekroth (1998) suggests that heroic cults can be identified on the basis of three types of evidence: literary references, inscriptions, and archaeological evidence (p. 119). In addition to Ekroth’s (1998) criteria, numismatic iconography has been included in this present study, since Sicilian and southern Italian poleis depicted founder-figures upon their coinage. The poleis have been grouped together according to colony/sub-colony type (e.g. Euboean, Korinthian, Spartan, etc). Unfortunately, the evidence for cults of founders in southern Italy and Sicily is very meager. There
is a lack of archaeological data, as the *agorai* of many *poleis* have not been located (e.g. Kroton) or have not been fully excavated (e.g. Syracuse). Furthermore, the activities associated with the cult of an *oikistēs*: sacrifices, feasts, and games, are not readily preserved in the archaeological record, and it is likely that many more *poleis* celebrated their founder, although the evidence is lacking. Only one complete inscription, the best indication of the presence of an *oikistēs* cult, has been found at Gela (see below, pp. 288–291). The presence of a structure in the *agora* (*heroön, mnema*) is a compelling evidence to indicate a founder’s cult (see below, pp. 294–299, 305–306); however, it is possible that the monument honoured another hero of the *polis*.

The most important literary source for *oikistēs* cults is Callimachus’ fragmentary work the *Aitia*. Callimachus is considered to be a reliable source because he is believed to have written a work on foundations, and he had access to numerous works at the library of Alexandria (Suda, *s.v. Callimachos*; Vallet, 1958, p. 62; Malkin, 1987, p. 198). The reliability of Callimachus is fortuitous since his account is the only indication that a founder was honoured at Naxos, Leontini, Euboea, Zankle, Kamarina, Herakleia Minoa, and Eryx. In addition, within the text of fragment 43 (78f) there are indications that invoking the name of the *oikistēs* was still practiced during Callimachus’ time (Harder, 2003, p. 295). Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch are also important sources for the foundations by political leaders in southern Italy and Sicily who may have been honoured as founders. Plutarch thought highly of Dion and Timoleon, and he clearly disliked the two Dionysii (Mossé, 2006, pp. 189–194), so these biases should be kept in mind. Late accounts by authors including Justin, the fragmentary inscription from Himera, and numismatic depictions are all poor

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1 The *agora* was probably located in Achradina at the site called the ‘Foro Siracusano’ (Bernabò Brea, 1947, pp. 196–197; Frederiksen, 1976–1977, p. 65; Mertens & Greco, 2003, p. 273; Mertens, 2006, pp. 75–76).
indications of the presence of a cult (see table 13). Some founders who were mentioned in literary accounts or were depicted upon coinage appear to have been symbolic and were tied to the mythology of a *polis* and, therefore, were central to a *polis'* identity, but most were not the recipient of a founder's cult.

**The Phenomenon of Hero Cults**

According to the Greeks, a *heros* was either a demigod or an extraordinary man, including the founder of a city, who received worship after his death (Liddell & Scott, 1889, *s. v. heros*). Greek hero cults appear to have developed along with the rise of the *polis*² (I. Morris, 1987, p. 194; 1988, pp. 750, 752; Whitley, 1988, p. 175; Alcock, 1991, p. 448; Malkin, 1993, p. 230; Antonaccio, 1994; pp. 390–391; 1995, pp. 267–268; de Polignac, 1995, p. 128; Ekroth, 2007, p. 103). Heroes were given *kléos* (renown) through the proliferation of epics and legends, and *iimé* (honour) through cult observances (Antonaccio, 1995, p. 4). The worship of Greek heroes was similar to that of the gods; they were the recipient of sacrifices, votive offerings, and prayers; they could be celebrated in poetry and with athletic competitions, and shrines could be built in their honour (Antonaccio, 1995, p. 1).

The main difference between a *heros* and a god was that heroes were considered mortal, and, therefore, their remains had to be cremated or interred. Unlike the tombs of ordinary people, the tomb of a hero was not considered to cause pollution, and it could be placed within the city (Kearns, 1990, p. 74). The tomb of the hero, his bones, and other relics associated with him often became the

² Some scholars have suggested that the increase in hero cults was a result of the proliferation of the Homeric epics (Farnell, 1921, pp. 340, 342; J. M. Cook, 1953, pp. 114–118; Coldstream, 1976, p. 14; Mazarakis Ainian, 1999, p. 9). For a discussion of this hypothesis and the problems associated with it see, Snodgrass, 1987, pp. 188–190; Whitley, 1988, pp. 173–175; and Antonaccio, 1993, pp. 52–54.
focus of heroic worship (Farnell, 1921, p. 372; Antonaccio, 1995, p. 1). According to Alcock (1991), “The Greeks constantly made ‘myth out of bones,’ and through time the remains of the ancestors served in many capacities: as political weapons, as territorial markers, or as legitimating devices” (p. 447). As a result, it was desirable for political leaders or those with political aspirations to ‘repatriate’ the bones or relics of a hero (Antonaccio, 1993, pp. 62–63; 1994, p. 404; 1995, p. 266; Boedeker, 1993; McCauley, 1999; Ekroth, 2007, p. 111).³ Hero cults were political cults that could be utilized to lay claims to territory or to legitimize a ruler or a ruling class (I. Morris, 1988, p. 757; Alcock, 1991, pp. 447, 453–458; Antonaccio, 1993, p. 61; Malkin, 1993, p. 230; Whitley, 1995, pp. 48, 56; Ekroth, 2007, p. 111).

The characteristics of hero cults were extremely varied, and this was, no doubt, due to the various types of heroes that existed in the ancient Greek world. Whitley (1995) suggests that there were four types of heroes: Panhellenic heroes (epic heroes, e.g. Herakles); minor named heroes who were associated with a specific locale (including eponymous heroes); historical figures who were the recipient of cult after their deaths (including the oikistēs, athletes,⁴ and war-dead⁵), and anonymous heroes who were worshipped locally (p. 52). Un-named heroes included those who were

³ For example, the bones of Theseus were brought to Athens from the island of Skyros by Kimon (Plutarch, Kimon, 8; Theseus, 35–36; Pausanias 3.3.7), and the bones of Orestes were taken from Tegea to Sparta (Herodotus 1.66–68).

⁴ An example of an athlete who achieved heroic status (while alive) in the Western Greek world is Euthymos of Lokri (SEG 42.906; Callimachus, frs. 98–99; Strabo 6.1.5; Pausanias, 6.6.4–11; Aelian, Varia historia, 8.18; Suda s.v. Euthymos; Currie, 2002; De Angelis & Garstad, 2006, p. 221). For a general discussion of athletes as heroes, see Fontenrose, 1968; Bohringer, 1979; Kurke, 1998; and Currie, 2005, pp. 120–157.

⁵ For instance, those who fought at Marathon in 490 BCE were given heroic status (IG II² 1006. 26, 69). For a discussion of the cult of the heroic war dead, see Currie, 2005, pp. 89–119.
worshipped at ‘tomb-cults’ that were erected on top of earlier tombs, especially those of the Bronze Age (Antonaccio, 1993, pp. 48–52; Whitley, 1995, pp. 54–56). Heroic cults could be found near or within a sanctuary of a god, and it was possible that a hero was worshipped in conjunction with a particular god (Kearns, 1990, pp. 78–79). In some cases the hero was assimilated with a deity, such as Ptoïos and Apollo at Perdikovrysi in Arkadia or Hyakinthos and Apollo at Taras (Mazarakis Ainian, 1999, p. 13; see chapter 2, pp. 139–145). The tombs of heroes and/or their cults could be placed within the agora or at gates to provide protection for the city (Farnell, 1921, pp. 72, 348–349; I. Morris, 1987, p. 193; Kearns, 1990, pp. 72–73).

Epigraphic, literary, and archaeological evidence has provided information about the rites associated with hero cults. Archaeological remains found at these cult sites often include debris from sacrifices (ashes, animal bones), and pottery that may have been used for ritual activity including libations, ritual drinking and dining, and the presence of votive plaques and terracotta figurines with images of a horse and rider, a warrior, scenes of the banqueting hero, a seated hero holding a kantharos with a snake present, and various scenes depicting snakes⁶ (Ekroth, 1998, pp. 123–127; 2002, pp. 282–284; Alcock, 1991, pp. 451–453; Hibler, 1993; Salapata, 1993; 1997; D. Boehringer, 2001, pp. 291–295). Votive objects found at sites with heroic cults generally depict activities that were associated with heroes: hunting, battles, and banqueting (Salapata, 1993, p. 194). Sacrifices and libations could be made directly upon a tomb or at an altar (Kearns, 1990, p. 67). While the eschara, a low-lying altar, and the bothros, a pit in the ground into which blood was poured, have often been associated with hero cults (Farnell, 1921, pp. 95–96; Rohde, 1925, p. 116;

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⁶ Snakes are commonly associated with heroes because of their chthonic associations. For a discussion on snakes and heroes, see Salapata (1993, p. 194; 1997, p. 255).
Burkert, 1985, pp. 199-200), Ekroth argues that these were not associated with hero cults in the Archaic and Classical periods. The earliest connection between *escharae* and heroes dates to the third-century BCE writings of Neanthes of Kyzikos (*FGrH 84 F 7*), and *bothroi* cannot be clearly connected with hero cults until Roman times (Ekroth, 1989, pp. 117–118, 129, 264; 2002, pp. 25–59, 60–74). The *thysia*, a ritual involving the sacrifice of an animal and dining by the worshipers, was the most common type of sacrifice in hero cults (Ekroth, 2000, p. 264; 2002, p. 14, 303, 306).

Another type of ritual that was associated with heroes was the *theoxenia* that involved offerings of cakes, breads, and vessels of cooked food that were placed upon altars on tables. The hero was treated as a guest, and he was given a couch to recline upon, a meal was laid out on a table for him, and he was entertained (Ekroth, 2000, p. 264; 2002, pp. 276–277). This type of ritual could be offered in conjunction with the *thysia*, but it was rarely the primary ritual for heroes unless it was offered by a private individual. Blood rituals were not as prevalent in earlier hero worship but those that were performed were associated with the *thysia* (Ekroth, 2000, pp. 272–273; 2002, pp. 304–305). A pit may have been dug into the tomb to enable blood to be poured into it during this ritual. Blood could be offered to a hero in order to establish contact, and to offer him an invitation to attend a festival or games. Alternatively, it could be offered to heroes whose deaths were associated with war. This ritual may be represented on a late fifth century BCE Syracusan coin that

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7 The term *bothros* first appears in Homer (*Odyssey*, 10.517; 11.25; 11.36; 11.42; 11.95) in the context of Odysseus using it to contact the souls in Hades. In heroic cults, a *bothros* was used for a sacrifice, and the blood was used as the medium to contact the deceased hero. The earliest explicit use of the term *bothros* in a heroic cult is a passage in Pausanias (10.4.10), who describes the daily custom of pouring blood into a hole in the grave of the founder-hero at Tronis (Ekroth, 2002, pp. 62, 306).
depicts the hero Leukaspis, a Sikel, who was said to have been killed defending his territory against Herakles. A standing Leukaspis was depicted naked and armed, with an altar and a dead ram in the background (Ekroth, 2000, pp. 274–279; figs. 3–4; 2002, pp. 259–261, 305–306, fig. 10). The enagismos, a ritual that involved the total destruction of a sacrificial victim (holocaust), was rarely associated with heroic cults (Ekroth, 2000, p. 264; 2002, p. 307).

The Founders of Cities and their Cults

There were different types of founders who were heroized in the Greek world including founders of sanctuaries or cults, games, and those that founded cities or colonies. Founders of cities and colonies included eponymous and mythical heroes, in addition to the historical oikistēs who was venerated after his death. Examples of eponymous heroes in southern Italy and Sicily include Kroton, Herakles (founder of Herakleia), Taras, and Kaulon (founder of Kaulonia). Some colonies were considered to have had more than one founder: Kroton had a historical oikistēs, Myskellos, an eponymous founder, Kroton, and a mythical founder in Herakles (see discussion below, pp. 299–301). Eponymous and mythical founders could be celebrated in legendary tales, be depicted upon a city’s coinage, and occasionally be the recipient of a founder’s cult. The veneration of the historical oikistēs seems to have focused on the agora, possibly at a tomb or

8 Aristeas, the Pythagorean hero and founder of a cult of Apollo at Metapontion, provides one example of hero cult that was established in honour of a cult founder (chapter two, pp. 205–209). A discussion of the hero as a cult founder can be found in Kearns (1990, pp. 79–81).

9 For example, Melikertes-Palaimon, the founder of the Isthmian games was worshipped as a hero (Euripides, Iphigenia Taurica, 251; Pausanias 2. 1. 3; Philostratus, Heroicus, 19; Tzetzes ad Lycophron, 107, 229; Gebhard & Dickie, 1999, pp. 161–165).

10 An example is the eponymous founder of Thera (Pausanias 3.1.8).
cenotaph, at least from 600 BCE (cf. below, pp. 249–252, 307–308).

The oikistēs had an important role in a settlement, both during his lifetime and after his death, when he was honoured as a hero. Each colonial foundation had an oikistēs, although joint colonial ventures could have two or more men who were considered to have been selected by Apollo through his oracle at Delphi to found a colony and to lead the colonists to their new home. As the man (or men) chosen by Apollo, the oikistēs' actions were sanctioned by the god, and in some cases the act of foundation was claimed to act as a purification rite for his murderous past (Dougherty, 1993a, p. 185; 1993b, pp. 35, 37–38; see chapter one, pp. 53–54). In essence, the oikistēs' role was all-encompassing; he functioned as monarch, spiritual guide, commander of the military, and a law giver (Graham, 1964, p. 39; Malkin, 1987, p. 5; 1989, p. 133). He was responsible for the safety and well-being of his fellow colonists and he ensured that prayers and offerings were properly made to the gods, including rituals to marine deities who would ensure a safe voyage (see chapter one, pp. 35–37). By at least 600 BCE the leader was entrusted with transferring the sacred fire from the prytaneion of the metropolis to the colony (Graham, 1982, p. 148; Malkin, 1987, p. 134). Once the colonists arrived in new lands, they may have come into conflict with the local inhabitants and it was the responsibility of the oikistēs to make war or to broker peace. The oikistēs may have commanded his contingent to remove forcibly the native population and to confiscate their land (Malkin, 1987, p. 90; see chapter two, pp. 53–54). The founder was responsible for the physical organization of the new settlement, including the establishment of sanctuaries (Malkin, 1987, p. 135, 138, 142–143; see chapter one, pp. 54–55).

Upon his death, the founder was elevated to the status of a hero, and he was the recipient of a cult. The oikistēs' death signaled the end of the foundation process for the community, and his
was the first cult that truly belonged to the polis, since it was not derived from the cults of the metropolis (Malkin, 1987, pp. 2, 189; 1993, p. 231; 2001, p. 125; 2002, p. 200; Maddoli, 1996, p. 481). Veneration of the deceased founder-hero served as a catalyst for the identity of the colonial Greeks (Malkin, 1985, p. 114; Shepherd, 1993, pp. 161–162; Hall, 1999, pp. 49–50; Antonaccio, 2001, p. 120). The deceased founder was given heroic honours (heroikai timai) by the polis, a political action that enabled civic identity to be fostered (Malkin, 1985, p. 114; Antonaccio, 1999, p. 110). Malkin (1987) proposes that the main characteristics of an oikistês' cult include a public funeral, burial and an enclosure within the agora, continuous veneration of the hero, and annual honours that involved sacrifices and agônes (contests) (p. 229; however, cf. below, pp. 307–308). According to the scholion to Pindar (Olympian One, 149), "Founders were buried in the center of poleis according to custom" (quoted from Malkin, 1987, p. 193). The clearest example of this phenomenon can be seen at Kyrene, where literary and archaeological evidence confirms that the oikistês Battos (also called Aristoteles) was buried in the agora (Pindar, Pythian Five, 93–98; Scholion of Pindar Pythian Five, 93; Catullus, 7.6; Stucchi, 1965, pp. 58–64, figs. 27a–b; Büsing, 1978, pp. 66–75; Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 68–69; Malkin, 1987, pp. 214–216; Gasperini, 1989, pp. 144–148, figs. 1–2).

At Kyrene, a tumulus with an oval-shaped tomb was constructed around 600 BCE and the fill consisted of ash, bones, and earth (Stucchi, 1965, pp. 58–60). The large quantity of ash and debris found within the tumulus may have been the result of a lengthy public funeral for the deceased oikistês (Büsing, 1978, p. 71). South-east of the tumulus was a small naiskos dedicated to Opheles (designated E1), that was replaced by a larger tripartite shrine (E2), and surrounded by a temenos.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{11}}\text{Opheles was a minor divinity who was associated with Asklepios.}\]
wall that abutted against the southern side of the tumulus (see figure 66) (Stucchi, 1965, pp. 48–55; figs. 24–25; Bonacasa & Ensoli, 2000, p. 61). At the end of the sixth-century BCE the agora was re-organized and a new cenotaph was constructed for Battos, to the south-east of the original tumulus (Stucchi, 1965, pp. 111–118, figs. 58–61; Büsing, 1978, p. 72; Bonacasa & Ensoli, 2000, pp. 61–62). After the fall of the Battiad monarchy, the tumulus was destroyed at the end of the fifth century during an uprising (Bonacasa & Ensoli, 2000, pp. 62–63, 65). During the fourth century BCE, the cenotaph was refurbished, taking the form of a stone-lined tomb with a pitched roof, and it was surrounded by a temenos wall (see figure 67) (Stucchi, 1965, pp. 139–140, fig. 76; Büsing, 1978, pp. 73–75; Gasperini, 1989, p. 147; Bonacasa & Ensoli, 2000, p. 64–65). The importance of the cult of Battos at Kyrene can be illustrated by the continued use of this cult until the Severan period (Gasperini, 1989, p. 148; Bonacasa & Ensoli, 2000, pp. 77–78). Similarly, the eponymous founder of Thera was still worshipped during Pausanias’ lifetime (Pausanias 3.1.8; Malkin, 1987, pp. 195–196).

Malkin (1987) suggests that one of the features of the oikistés cult was continued worship of the founder (p. 229). The founder-hero was the recipient of an annual polis-sponsored commemoration (Dunbabin, 1948, p. 11; Malkin, 1987, pp. 195–200; Shepherd, 1993, pp. 157–158). It was likely at these yearly festivals that founder legends were recited (Dunbabin, 1948, p. 11; Dougherty, 1994, pp. 43–44). According to Livy (40.4.9), Aineia in Chalkidike, one of many cities said to have been founded by Aeneas, was home to an “...appointed sacrifice which every year they make to their founder, Aeneas, with great ceremony” (quoted from Malkin, 1987, p. 196). Part of

12 During the Severan period a large stoa was constructed over the tomb of Battos (Stucchi, 1965, pp. 278–289; Bonacasa & Ensoli, 2000, pp. 77–78).
the annual festivities at Aineia also involved feasts (Livy, 40. 4. 9). Philoktetes, the heroic founder of a number of indigenous communities in the territory between Sybaris and Kroton, was, according to tradition, buried near the shrine of Apollo Alaios, but he was the recipient of an oikistēs cult at the indigenous community of Makalla (Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 911–929; see chapter 2, p. 188).¹³ Lycophron (*Alexandra*, 928–929) stated:

> But in Macalla [sic], again, the people of the place shall build a great shrine above his [Philoktete’s] grave and glorify him as an everlasting god with libations and sacrifice of oxen (Mair & Mair (Trans.), 1921).

A passage in Herodotus (6.38.1) speaking of Miltiades noted: “since his death the men of Chersonese [sic] have ever offered him such sacrifice as is a founder’s right, ordaining days for horse-races and feats of strength” (Godley, (Trans.), 1922, p. 183). Thucydides (5. 11.1) mentioned that the Amphipolitans considered Brasidas to be the founder of the colony and they gave him:

> public burial in the city at a spot facing what is now the marketplace, following his body in full armour. And the Amphipolitans fenced in his monument and have ever since made offerings to him as a hero, giving honour and instituting games and yearly sacrifices (C. F. Smith (Trans.), 1921, p. 23).

Although the evidence is primarily literary in nature and later in date, it suggests that burial in the agora, annual sacrifices, feasts, and games were features of the cult of the oikistēs from at least 600 BCE.

¹³ According to a later tradition recounted in Justin (20.1.16), Philoktetes was the oikistēs of Thurii, and in the Roman period there was a monument of the hero in the city (*cf.* also Giangiulio, 1991, p. 46; Malkin, 1998b, p. 216).
Tyrants, Kings, and Political Leaders as Founders and Re-Founders

The connection between tyrants and foundations, and in particular the fifth-century Sicilian tyrants, is well known. A tyrant or other political leader could be considered a founder in two ways: (1) by creating a new foundation or (2) by ‘re-founding’ a settlement through synoikismos (bringing together communities), rebuilding a city destroyed by war or a natural disaster, or revitalizing a city (Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 120–121; Jacquemin, 1993, p. 22). Dionysius I was credited with numerous new foundations (Diodorus Siculus 13.5, 14.2, 14.37.5, 15.13.1, 15.78.6), and Phintias, the tyrant of Akragas, was responsible for a settlement named after himself (Diodorus Siculus 22.2). More common, however, was the ‘re-foundation’ of settlements by tyrants and leaders, including those carried out by the Deinomenids, Anaxilas of Rhegion, and the numerous sites within Sicily that were revitalized by Timoleon.

The phenomenon of a political leader acting as a founder was not limited to the Greeks; the Sikel leader Douketios was also credited with a number of foundations and re-foundations (Demand, 1990, pp. 55–57; Antonaccio, 1997, p. 187; Consolo Langher, 1997, pp. 66–67; Hofer, 2000, pp. 176–177; Fischer–Hansen, 2002, p. 127; Jackman, 2006, pp. 35–37). In 459 BCE, Douketios re-founded the city where he was born Menaenum (Menai), and he later moved the city to the plain.

14 In reference to the word ‘tyrant’ Anderson (2005) states: “With its implicit suggestions of monarchy and illegitimacy, the word fundamentally misrepresents the men the archaic Greeks called turannoi” (p. 174). Anderson argues that the word ‘tyrant’ should be eliminated from discussions of early Greece (pp. 173–177). The term is used here simply to denote a one-man rule, without any other implications. McMullin (2004) suggests that kings would be a more appropriate designation for the Deinomenids (pp. 52, 61).

(Diodorus Siculus 11.78.5; 11.88.6). Diodorus Siculus’ (11.88.6) account indicates that Douketios founded this new city next to the native shrine of the Palike.\textsuperscript{16} However, archaeological evidence indicates that there was an earlier settlement here, although it appears to have been re-founded by Douketios (Maniscalco & McConnell, 2003, pp. 153–154; Jackman, 2006, p. 37).\textsuperscript{17} Morgantina (Serra Orlando) may also have been re-founded by this Sikel leader (Antonaccio, 1997, p. 187; Fischer-Hansen, 2002, p. 170). Douketios was heavily influenced by Greek models of foundations; his foundation of Kale Akte in 446 BCE was even said to have been sanctioned by an oracle (Diodorus Siculus 12.8.2; also cf. Fischer-Hansen, 2002, p. 171). Douketios’ actions were likely inspired by the policies of the fifth-century Deinomenid tyrants, who also implemented the ‘re-foundations’ of existing settlements (Demand, 1990, p. 56; Antonaccio, 1997, p. 187; Fischer-Hansen, 2002, p. 171; Funke, 2006, p. 166).

The policies of mass movements of people and synoikisms by political leaders such as Douketios and the Deinomenid tyrants that resulted in the ‘re-foundation’ of poleis involved actions that were comparable to those of the original oikistēs (see above, p. 249). The joining together of two or more communities required provisions to be made for the new inhabitants, including allotments of land, creation of laws, providing housing, defenses, temples and cult places (Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 125–126; Demand, 1990, pp. 46–47). Gelon’s re-founding of Syracuse


\textsuperscript{17} Demand (1990) suggests that Palike was the name that Douketios gave to Menaenum after it was relocated to the plain (p. 56).
included the possible addition of a new suburb, the provision of housing for his new citizens, the construction of temples to Athena, Demeter and Kore, and the embellishment of existing temples (Diodorus Siculus, 11.25.1; 11.26.7; Guido, 1958, pp. 13–14; Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 121–122; Wescoat, 1989a, p. 20; Demand, 1990, p. 49; Burkert, 1996, p. 24; see chapter two, p. 104, and below, pp. 264–265). Hieron’s re-foundation of Katane as Aetna also involved activities that are typically associated with an oikistēs: the division of land and its distribution to the citizens, the establishment of Doric laws, the institution of a cult of Zeus Aitnaios, and naming the settlement (Pindar, Pythian One, 61–69; Diodorus Siculus, 11. 49.1; also cf. Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 125–126; Dougherty, 1993b, p. 85). Re-foundations provided a political leader with the opportunity to present himself as an oikistēs (McGlew, 1993, pp. 173–174, 178; De Angelis & Garstad, 2006, p. 220). Furthermore, the projection of a founder may have fostered unity amongst the populations that were brought together forcibly (McMullin, 2004, pp. 78–79). In essence, the act of re-foundation enabled the creation of an image of an oikistēs that could be used as a political tool to bolster support for a tyrant, king, or other political leader.

The Evidence for Founder-Cults in Southern Italy and Sicily

Naxos

In Callimachus’ Aitia (2. C 56–108 Nisetich= fr. 2. 43 Pfeiffer) a section is narrated by a Muse, Clio, who discusses the custom of invoking a founder to attend a feast by calling his name, as contrasted with the tradition of calling upon the founder of Zankle anonymously (see discussion below, pp. 260–262). The text, although very fragmentary, presents a list of Sicilian cities that
conformed to this custom, including Naxos: “Come, Theokles, to Naxos” (Callimachus, \textit{Aitia}, 2. C 56; Nisetich (Trans. 2001). Immediately after the list of cities the Muse states: “in none of these does he who built the walls ever come to his feast unnamed” (Callimachus, \textit{Aitia}, 2. C 69–71; Nisetich (Trans.) 2001). According to Callimachus, it was a universal custom to call out the name of the \textit{oikistēs} to invite him to a feast (Malkin, 1987, p. 198; Raccuia, 2000, p. 479). This passage suggests that Theokles, the figure recorded as the founder by numerous ancient authors (Thucydides 6.31; Hellanicus, \textit{FGrH} 82; Pausanias 6.13.8; Ephorus \textit{FGrH} 70\emph{F} 137a; Pseudo–Scymnus, 270–278), was the recipient of a founder’s cult at Naxos (cf. Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 12, 99).

Diodorus Siculus (11.49.1–2) noted that the inhabitants of Naxos were removed by Hieron I in 476 BCE. While Diodorus Siculus’ account does not mention a re-foundation by Hieron I, there is evidence of a new city plan at this time (Pelagatti, 1976–1977, pp. 537–543; Belvedere, 1987, pp. 5, 8, 10–11). However, unlike Hieron’s re-foundation of Katane as Aetna, there is no evidence to suggest that Hieron was honoured as an \textit{oikistēs} at Naxos.

**Leontini**

Leontini was one of several Sicilian cities mentioned by Callimachus (\textit{Aitia}, 2, C 66 Nisetich) as having the custom of invoking the founder’s name to invite him to a feast. Unfortunately, this section of text is fragmentary and the name of the man considered to be the \textit{oikistēs} is not preserved: “I know of Leontinoi [sic]...” (Nisetich (Trans.), 2001). According to Thucydides (6.3.3) and Hellanicus (\textit{FGrH} 82), Leontini was founded by citizens from Naxos led by Theokles. However, these sources do not specifically name Theokles as the \textit{oikistēs}, and in fact it seems that no one was
credited as the founder (Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 12–13). The inclusion of Leontini in Callimachus’ *Aitia* is a good indication that an *oikistēs* was honoured here. The *polis* was re-founded in the early fourth century BCE. In 403/2 BCE Leontini was conquered by Dionysius I, and the inhabitants were transferred to Syracuse (Diodorus Siculus 14.14–15). Dionysius I re-founded the city in 396 when he resettled the city with 10,000 mercenaries that were loyal to him (Diodorus Siculus 14.72.8; Berger, 1991, p. 139; Fischer-Hansen, Nielson & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 209). However, there is no indication that Dionysius I was accorded an *oikistēs* cult for his re-foundation of Leontini.

**Euboea**

According to Strabo (6.2.26), Euboea was a sub-colony of Leontini; however, its location and date of foundation are unknown (Fischer-Hansen, Nielson & Ampolo, 2004b, pp. 191–192). Euboea is listed in Callimachus (*Aitia*, 2.C 68) as a *polis* that called upon its founder, but unfortunately the passage does not mention the name of this individual.¹⁸

¹⁸ The passage states: “I can tell of Euboia and Eryx, loved by the Lady of the Witching Belt [Aphrodite]” (Callimachus, *Aitia*, 2.C 68; Nisetich (Trans.), 2001; also cf. Ehlers, 1933, p. 22). Eryx was an Elymian city that was, according to tradition, founded by Trojans (Thucydides 6.2.3). Eryx is an example of a non-Greek city mentioned in Callimachus’ (*Aetia*, 2.C. 68–69) account as having the custom of invoking a founder (cf. Ehlers, 1933, p. 24; cf. Thapsos, below, p. 303, for another example). According to legend, the founder of Eryx was either the eponymous hero Eryx (Theocritus 15.100 f), or Boutes (Didorus Siculus 4.83.1 = Timaios 109.9ff; cf. Ehlers, 1933, p. 23). The Elymian city was under the control of Dionysius I for a short period of time (Diodorus Siculus 14.48, 15.73).
Rhegion

The name of the historical oikistēs of Rhegion was disputed in antiquity (Antiochus, FGrH 555, F 9; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Antiquitates Romanæ, 19. 2), but the city was re-founded by Dionysius II after it had been destroyed by his father, Dionysius I, in 387 BCE (Diodorus Siculus 14. 111–112; Strabo 6.1.6). Strabo (6.1.6) notes that the city (or possibly part of the city) was called Phoebia for a short time. Few remains of the ancient city have been found, and there is little evidence for a cult of an oikistēs, whether mythological or historical at Rhegion. Numismatic iconography is the only indication that any particular figure was considered to be the founder.¹⁹ A series of tetradrachms that began ca. 450 BCE depict a seated male figure, naked to the waist, holding a staff in his right hand,²⁰ encircled by a laurel wreath (see figure 68). Earlier issues depict this man with a beard, while a later issue depicts him clean-shaven (Head, 1911, p. 109; Lacroix, 1965, p. 46). On some issues a snake is shown coiling around one of the back legs of the stool (Six, 1898, p. 283; Head, 1911, p. 109). Beneath the stool of the seated figure a variety of animals were depicted, including a dog, a bird, or a cat playing with a ball (Six, 1898, p. 284; Lacroix, 1965, p. 46).

This seated figure is the mythical founder of Rhegion, Iokastes (Six, 1898, p. 282; Head, 1911, p. 109; Lacroix, 1965, pp. 45–6; Kraay, 1976, p. 219; Leschhorn, 1984, p. 37; Rutter, 1997, p. 135). According to Callimachus (fr. 618), Iokastos was the son of the wind-god Aiolos. It has been suggested that the snake may refer to the circumstances surrounding the death of Iokastes (Six, 1898, p. 284).

¹⁹ There is no evidence for a cult of the historical oikistēs or of Dionysius II at Rhegion.

²⁰ Heroes are occasionally depicted with a staff. For example, reliefs from Lakonia depict a seated hero holding a staff and a kantharos (Salapata, 1997, pp. 191–192, figs. 6–7).
According to Heraclides of Lembos (Constitutions, fr. 25), Iokastos was bitten by a snake and he died before he was able to found a city, but the Chalkidians founded Rhetion next to his tomb. While it is possible that the snake refers to this myth, it is also possible that the image of the snake may simply indicate the figure's status as a hero.

**Mikythos of Rhetion’s Foundation of Pyxous**

In the tradition of the great tyrants of the Western Greek world, Mikythos, the tyrant of Rhetion and Zankle-Messene, founded the polis of Pyxous in 471–470 BCE (Diodorus Siculus 11. 59. 4; Strabo 6.1.1; Luraghi, 1994, p. 227). According to Strabo (6.1.1), “Pyxus [sic] was peopled with new settlers by Micythus [sic], the ruler of the Messene in Sicily, but all the settlers except a few sailed away again” (Jones, (Trans.), 1924). The modern site of Pyxous is believed to be Policastro (Roman Buxentum), a site south-east of Hyele. Remains that belong to Mikythos’ city include sections of a fifth-century wall and later fourth-century wall that were incorporated into the city’s medieval fortifications, in addition to pottery and fragments of terracotta votive figures of the fifth to third centuries BCE (Bencivenga Trillmich, 1988, pp. 708, 710–719, 720–721, figs. 7–30; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 290). While the archaeological evidence appears to confirm Diodorus Siculus’ account (Bencivenga Trillmich 1988, p. 721), it is unclear if there was an earlier phase, whether indigenous or Greek here, prior to the fifth-century foundation (Fischer-

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21 On Mikythos, see Berve, 1967, pp. 157–158.
Hansen, Nielson & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 289–290). Strabo (6.1.1) attests to the abandonment of the city by the settlers at an unspecified date. Both Strabo’s account and the absence of the city in Pseudo-Scylax indicate that the city failed and that it was probably abandoned by the middle of the fourth century BCE (Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 290). It is not surprising that there is no archaeological or literary evidence to suggest that Mikythos was the recipient of a founder’s cult for his unsuccessful foundation. If he was honoured with a cult, it would have been cut short by the abandonment of the city in the following century.

Zankle-Messene

In Callimachus’ Aitia (2. C 73–108 Nisetich), Perieres of Kyme and Kratimenes of Chalkis had an argument over who should be named the founder. Apollo was consulted and he stated: “The town belongs neither to Perieres nor to father Krataimenes [sic]” (Callimachus, Aitia, 2. C 99–100; Nisetich (Trans.), 2001). The passage in Callimachus (Aitia, 2. C 101–108) continued:

The oracle received, they went their ways and ever since,
the land has summoned its founder
not by name, the officiants, instead,
calling like this: ‘Come to the feast,
you who built our town, come
in good cheer, bringing, if you like
two or more: no small pool of blood
waits where the ox has fallen’ (Nisetich (Trans.) 2001).

22 Some coins with the image of the bull of Sybaris and inscriptions “ΠΥΣ” or “ΠΥΣΟΣ” may indicate that they were minted under Sybaris for Pyxous (Gorini, 1975, p. 9; Rutter, 2001, p. 143, nos. 1722–1725; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, pp. 289–290; contra Bencivenga Trillmich, 1988, pp. 723–729).
The ritual described in this passage of Callimachus was a blood ritual, involving pouring ox blood into a hole of the grave of the *oikistēs*, performed as an invitation to the dead founder to attend a feast that would be held in his honour (Leschhorn, 1984, p. 99; Ekroth, 2000, pp. 274–276; 2002, pp. 267, 306; Raccuia, 2002, p. 480). It is also important to note that this was an official *polis*-sponsored event, since it was officials who called upon the founder to join in the celebrations (Cordano, 1984, p. 366; Leschhorn, 1984, p. 99; Malkin, 1987, p. 199; Raccuia, 2002, p. 480).

Although Zankle was originally founded by Perieres and Kratimenes (Thucydides 6. 4. 5), in 494 BCE it was re-founded as Messene by the tyrant Anaxilas of Rhegion (Thucydides 6. 4. 6). Thucydides (6. 4. 6) noted that Anaxilas removed the Ionians, and he colonized the city, naming it Messene after his homeland.23 Messene was once again re-founded in 395 BCE by Dionysios I of Syracuse who settled Lokrians, Medmaians, and Peloponnesian Messenians here (Diodorus Siculus14.78.5). Malkin (1987) suggests that at Zankle the founder’s cult may have been unusual—calling upon the founder anonymously, because of the *polis’* unique history (p. 199).24 In essence, the *polis* had three foundations and calling upon an unnamed city-founder may have circumvented the problem of having more than one founder. While epigraphic and literary sources indicate that it was customary for only one original *oikistēs* to be the recipient of a cult (Malkin, 1987, p. 241; 261

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23 Anaxilas may have been influenced by the policies of Hippokrates of Gela, who also implemented movements of people to re-found Kamarina. Both Hippokrates and Anaxilas participated in Panhellenic games with the intention of presenting themselves as legitimate rulers (Luraghi, 1994, pp. 217–219).

24 Ehlers (1933) attributes the anonymous hero cult to the fact that Zankle was founded at a later date, and that the oracle of Apollo at Delphi was not consulted for this later foundation (p. 61). However, given the political implications of the *oikistēs* cult, it is likely that Anaxilas (who re-founded Messene as Zankle) and Dionysius I (with his subsequent re-foundation) would have continued to associated the *polis* with its earlier Delphic-sanctioned foundation.
Raccucia, 2002, p. 486), this passage in Callimachus suggests that tyrant-founders may have been celebrated alongside the earlier founder of the city. Callimachus may have been alluding to cults of Anaxilas and/or Dionysius I as founders, by suggesting that the oikistēs bring ‘two or more’ to the feast.25

**Himera**

A small inscribed mid-fifth-century limestone base from the north-east corner of temple B (attributed to Athena) contains the fragmentary inscription Ευκλείς (see figure 69) *(IGASMG III, p. 55, no. 44).* The central letters (*kappa, lambda, epsilon*) are rendered differently from the other letters, which indicates an ancient restoration of the inscription (Manni Piraino, 1970, pp. 348–149; 1973, p. 42; Malkin, 1987, p. 195, note 30). The partially-preserved name has been connected with one of the three founders mentioned by Thucydides (6.5.1): Eukleides (Manni Piraino, 1970, pp. 347–349, no. 6, fig. 17, Tab. LXXIX, 1; Robert & Robert, 1971, p. 539, no. 764; Manni Piraino, 1973, pp. 41–42, no. 17, Tab. X; Dubois, 1989, p. 14, no. 12; *IGASMG III*, p. 55, no. 44; Vassallo, 2005, p. 20).26 However, other restorations of the name are possible including Eukleidas, Eukleiskos, or Eukleitos, all names that are known in Western Greece (*LGPN IIIA*, p. 167). Malkin (1987) has noted that the inscription does not appear to have been a dedication (p. 195, note 30).

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25 This hypothesis arose from a comment by Malkin (1987) who states: “That the oikist may bring “two or more” is ambiguous; perhaps the phrase refers to the other oikist (but then why not “one more”?), or possibly to the world of the dead in general” (p. 199). “Two or more” may refer to the later founders of the city.

26 The other two founders were Simos and Sakon.
Since the inscription was altered in antiquity, and it does not appear to record a dedication, its connection to one of the founders of Himera is uncertain.

Himera was re-founded by Theron, the tyrant of Akragas in 476 BCE. The polis came under the control of Thrasydaeus, the son of Theron, and his harsh rule led to the Himeraians appealing to Hieron of Syracuse for help. Hieron betrayed the Himeraians to Theron, who murdered many of the citizens and exiled others (Diodorus Siculus 11.48.6–8). The population of Himera was greatly reduced, and in 476 BCE Theron decided to re-populate the city, choosing mainly Dorian settlers (Diodorus Siculus 11.49.4). Archaeological evidence indicates that at this time the city was given a new layout on a different orientation (Belvedere, 1987, pp. 5–7; Allegro, 1988–1989, pp. 657–658; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 200). According to Diodorus Siculus (11.53.2), Theron was honoured as a hero after his death (cf. Pindar, Olympian Two, 56–80). McGlew (1993) suggests that Theron was the recipient of a founder’s cult (p. 177, note 50; cf. Consolo Langher, 1988–1989, p. 236). While Theron’s actions were comparable to those of a founder, there is no literary evidence that he was honoured as an oikistes. Diodorus Siculus (11.53.2) attributed Theron’s heroic status to his just rule, not his re-foundation of Himera: “Now Theron, since he had administered his office equitably, not only enjoyed great favour among his countrymen during his life-time, but also upon his death he was accorded the honours which are paid to heroes” (Oldfather (Trans.), 1946).

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27 An inscription from Himera provides evidence of land redistribution; however, this inscription is earlier in date and refers to Zanclaean settlers who arrived in 493 BCE (Brugnone, 1997, pp. 262–271; Manganaro, 2000, pp. 750–752; Lombardo, 2001, pp. 79–80).
Syracuse

Syracuse was originally founded by Archias of Korinth, and the city was later ‘re-founded’ by Gelon, Dion, and Timoleon. Gelon came to power at Gela after the death of Hippokrates in 491 BCE and, like his predecessor, he implemented mass movements of people (see discussion below), such that he can be viewed as re-founding Syracuse. In 485 BCE Gelon was approached by some wealthy exiled Syracusans who had fled to Kasmenai and requested his military assistance. Gelon enabled the exiles to return to the city, and he gained control of Syracuse (Herodotus 7.155). A passage in Aristotle (Politics, 1302b 32–33) suggests that Gelon’s ability to take over Syracuse without any resistance was due to internal chaos and the inability of the démos to form a proper government; however, Gelon’s exploitation of his hereditary priesthood of the cult of Demeter and Kore also provided legitimacy for his rule (Herodotus, 7.153; Demand, 1990, p. 47; Mafodda, 1996, pp. 90–93; De Angelis, 2006, pp. 35–38).

Gelon’s mass movements of people into Syracuse resulted in the creation of the island’s largest city, and the provisions he must have made for his new settlers equated him with that of a founder (cf. Berve, 1967, pp. 142–143, 146, 149; Braccesi, 1998, pp. 32–33; Hofer, 2000, pp. 86–89). After the revolt of Kamarina, the population was transferred to Syracuse (Herodotus 7.156.2; Thucydides 6.5.3). Megara Hyblaia and Euboea (a sub-colony of Leontini) were not spared from Gelon’s expansionist regime; the elite were transferred to Syracuse, while the poor were enslaved (Herodotus 7.156.3). Gelon settled more than ten thousand mercenaries in his new capital (Diodorus Siculus 11.72.3; Péré-Noguès, 2004, p. 147), and at Syracuse a new residential quarter, Neapolis, may have been added to accommodate these new settlers (Leschhorn, 1984, p. 122; Demand, 1990,
Gelon was also responsible for numerous building projects at Syracuse (Diodorus Siculus 11.25.1–2, 11.26.7; Berve, 1967, pp. 143, 146–147; see chapter two, pp. 104–105). Gelon’s ‘re-foundation’ of Syracuse involved the violent upheaval of people from a variety of *poleis* that were brought together in his capital. Presenting himself as a founder would have provided legitimacy to his actions and enabled the mixed populations to be united under the leadership of their founder (McGlew, 1993, pp. 173–174; McMullin, 2004, p. 78–79). Upon Gelon’s death he was given the honours of a hero and was interred in a tomb on his wife’s estate (Diodorus Siculus 11.38.4).  

While Gelon projected himself as a founder of Syracuse, he was unable to be fully recognized as an *oikistēs*. Diodorus Siculus’ (11.38.4) account implies that Gelon was not the recipient of a

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28 Leschhorn (1984) credits Gelon with the creation of two new suburbs (p. 122). Some scholars suggest that Neapolis was created by Timoleon for the settlement of his mercenaries (Drögmler, 1969, pp. 105–108; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen, & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 228; cf. Diodorus Siculus 16.82.3). There may have been some fifth-century housing in Neapolis, as pottery dating to this time and traces of *insulae* have been found (Mertens & Greco, 2003, p. 274). This phase may be connected with Gelon. However, much of the archaeological evidence points to activity during the time of Timoleon and Hieron II (Mertens & Greco, 2003, pp. 274, 305; Mertens, 2004, p. 32).

29 Diodorus Siculus (11.38.5) wrote: “Consequently at his death his funeral was held by his successor to the throne just as he had ordered it. His body was buried on the estate of his wife in the Nine Towers, as it is called, which is a marvel to men by reason of its strong construction. And the entire populace accompanied his body from the city, although the place was two hundred stades distant. Here he was buried, and the people erected a noteworthy tomb and accorded Gelon the honours which belong to heroes; but at a later time the monument was destroyed by Carthaginians in the course of the campaign against Syracuse, while the towers were thrown down by Agathocles out of envy” (Oldfather (Trans.), 1946). Excavations conducted by Voza above the theatre at Syracuse unearthed two fifth-century tombs placed inside a sixth century temple. Voza suggested that these tombs may have belonged to Gelon and Demarete (reported in R. J. A. Wilson 1995–1996, p. 67). However, the evidence for this temple is inconclusive (see chapter two, pp. 114–115), and no mention the tombs are found in Voza’s 1999 publication. It is likely that these tombs date to a much later period.
founder’s cult because he was not buried in the agora, and he does not explicitly state that Gelon’s heroic status was due to his activities as a founder (Leschhorn, 1984, p. 122; Malkin, 1987, p. 96; McMullin, 2004, p. 79). McMullin (2004) has suggested that the absence of a founder’s cult was because Gelon did not remove the old population of Syracuse, and they would have continued to regard Archias as their founder. In order for Gelon to be viewed as a re-founder, Archias’ cult would have to be destroyed either literally or figuratively (p. 80). However, there is some evidence to suggest that a cult of a later founder could co-exist with the original oikistēs (see above, pp. 261–262), and that the Deinomenid interest in the oikistēs cult at Gela implies that Gelon would have exploited the cult of Archias, if at all possible, to promote his own status (see below, pp. 288–291).30

Gelon, unlike his brother Hieron, who was presented with a unique opportunity to re-create Katane as Aetna — a natural disaster — was not able truly to re-found the city either in name or in design. As a result, Gelon could not compete with Archias, the original oikistēs. Instead, it was likely because of Gelon’s victory over the Carthaginians in 480 BCE, his great benefactions, and his reputation for having genuine concern for his subjects that he was awarded a heroic cult (Herodotus, 7. 166; Ephorus FG 70 F 186 = Scholion Pindar Pythian 1, 146b; Diodorus Siculus 11.1.4, 11. 20.1, 11. 26.6; Plutarch, Dion, 5.5; Aelian, Varia historia, 6.11).31

The situation in Syracuse had become increasingly unstable under Dionysius II, and a reign of terror ensued in which the city was plundered, and many people were murdered (Diodorus Siculus

30As De Angelis and Garstad (2006) note: “The Sicilian tyrants were attracted to the cult of the oikistes, both past and present, because they were responsible for founding and refounding numerous settlements all across the island, and so the actions generally of oikistai served as a model for behavior and comparison” (p. 220).

31 On the propaganda campaign of Gelon on his victory over the Carthaginians, see Mafodda, 1996, pp.131–135.
The Syracusans called upon Dion, who had been expelled from Syracuse, to come to their assistance, and he defeated the tyrant's troops, restored order, and rebuilt the city's fortification walls (Diodorus Siculus 16.20.1–6). The Syracusans elected Dion as *strategos autokrator* and honoured him as a hero (Diodorus Siculus 16.20.6). According to Plutarch (*Dion*, 46.1–2), the Syracusans called Dion their saviour and god (cf. Plutarch, *Dion*, 29.1–2). For saving Syracuse from Dionysius II, Dion was honoured during his lifetime as a hero (Hamilton, 1984, p. 6; Sanders, 1991, p. 285; however, cf. Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 123–124). Dion's liberation of the *polis* from the tyrant can be viewed as a re-foundation of the city, by the restoration of peace and prosperity.

Timoleon was celebrated as the new-founder of Syracuse after the expulsion of Dionysius II. Upon his accession, immediately Timoleon began to restore and revitalize the city; he tore down the palace of the tyrant on Ortygia and constructed a law court in its place, established a democratic government, and sent for colonists to re-populate the city (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 22.1–4, 23.1–3; cf. Diodorus Siculus 16.70.4–6, 16.82.3–6). Timoleon first requested that ex-Syracusans return to the *polis*, followed by Sicilian Greeks, and then he extended the invitation to colonists from Korinth and elsewhere in Greece (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 23.1–3; Nepos, *Timoleon*, 3.1; Diodorus Siculus 16.82.3–5). Timoleon allotted plots of land to his new settlers (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 23.2; Westlake, 1942, pp. 84–85; Leschhorn, 1984, p. 192; Smarczyk, 2003, p. 86), and new suburbs of

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33 On the number and composition of the settlers brought to Syracuse, see Diodorus Siculus 16.82.3, 5, 7; Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 23; Athenaeus *FGrH* 562 fr. 2; Westlake, 1942, pp. 79–86; Talbert, 1974, p. 139.
the city may have been added to accommodate these new settlers (Fischer-Hansen, Nielson & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 228). It is possible that Achradina and Neapolis were added at this time (Fischer-Hansen, Nielson & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 228). According to Smarczyk (2003), the neighbourhood of Tyche also belongs to the period of Timoleon (p. 109).

Little remains in Syracuse of the Timoleonic period, although housing near the *thesmophorion* in Achradina (Piazza della Vittoria), and in Neapolis may date to the time of Timoleon (Mertens & Greco, 2003, pp. 273–274, 305).

After Timoleon restored numerous *poleis* in Sicily, he retired in Syracuse. Upon his death, Timoleon was given a public funeral and a decree was proclaimed (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 39. 3; cf. Diodorus Siculus, 16. 90. 1):

> By the people of Syracuse, Timoleon, son of Timodemus from Corinth, is here buried at a public cost of two hundred minas, and is honoured for all time with annual contests, musical, equestrian, and gymnastic, because he overthrew the tyrants, subdued the barbarians, re-peopled the largest of the devastated cities, and then restored their laws to the Greeks of Sicily (Perrin, (Trans.), 1918). Plutarch (*Timoleon*, 39.4; cf: Nepos, *Timoleon*, 5.4) also noted that Timoleon’s ashes were buried in the *agora* and that the area was later transformed into a gymnasium and was called *Timoleonteum*.

Like an *oikistēs*, Timoleon was given a public funeral and a burial within the *agora*, and annual

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34 It is possible that Achradina and Neapolis were added at this time (Fischer-Hansen, Nielson & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 228). According to Smarczyk (2003), the neighbourhood of Tyche also belongs to the period of Timoleon (p. 109).

35 It was once thought that some additions to the Euryalos fortifications may date to this time (Winter, 1963, p. 377; Talbert, 1974, p. 147; Fischer-Hansen, Nielson & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 228); however, more recent investigations indicate that the majority of the building belonged to Dionysius I, Agathokles, and Hieron II (R. J. A. Wilson, 1995–1996, p. 68; Tréziny, 2003, p. 350).

36 A victory monument was constructed at Korinth to commemorate Timoleon’s victory over the Carthaginians. The inscription refers to the reconstruction of numerous cities by Timoleon (Kent, 1952, p. 13; Talbert, 1974, pp. 76–77; Leschhorn, 1984, p. 195).
celebrations that were held in his honour are consistent with those that a founder would receive (cf. Thucydides 5.11.1; Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 196–198; Malkin, 1987, pp. 239–240; Mossé, 1999, pp. 255–256; see above, pp. 249–252).37

Foundations and Re-Foundations by the Syracusan Tyrants

i) Hieron I’s Re-Foundation of Katane as Aetna

Katane was originally founded by Chalkidians under the leadership of Theokles, and the oikistēs was Euarchos (Thucydides, 6.3.3; Hellanikos, FGrH 82). However, the polis was re-founded as Aetna by Hieron I.38 Hieron’s achievement was celebrated by the poetry of Pindar (Pythian One; Nemean Nine, 2; Pindar fr. 105 A = Strabo 6.2.3), Bacchylides (fr. 20 C) and Simonides (fr. 552), and Aeschylus’ lost play Aetnaeae (fr. 6 = Macrobius, Saturnalia, 5.19.24).39 Pindar’s Pythian One was written for Hieron to celebrate both his victory in a chariot race at the

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37 Timoleon, like Dion, decided against a ruler-cult during his lifetime (Plutarch, Timoleon, 36.3–4; Sanders, 1991, p. 287).

38 Aetna may not have been Hieron’s first attempt as a founder; he may have tried to found a settlement at Pithekoussai after the Battle of Kyme (Strabo 5.4.9; Berve, 1967, p. 150; McMullin, 2004, p. 56).

39 Bacchylides’ (fr. 20 C) account might be the earliest surviving mention of the foundation of Aetna, as it was written in early 475 BCE (T. Miller, 1997, p. 225). On the fragments of Aeschylus’ play see: Dougherty, 1991; Corbato, 1992; Polli–Pallidini, 2001. Hieron’s foundation of Aetna was parodied by Aristophanes (The Birds, 926–930). The foundation was also celebrated by coinage depicting Zeus Aetnaeus and vase paintings (C. Boehringer, 1968, pp. 76–82, tabs. 7.1–7.6, 7A, 8C, 9; Dougherty, 1993b, pp. 85–87, figs. 5.1–5.2; Rutter, 1998, p. 312, pl. 67, nos. 8–9).
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Pythian games and his recent foundation of Aetna. In this ode, Pindar described an eruption of Mount Etna (20–27):

Snowy Aitna, nurse of biting snow all year round,
from whose depths belch forth holiest springs
of unapproachable fire; during the days rivers of lava
pour forth a blazing stream
of smoke, but in times of darkness
a rolling red flame carries rocks into the deep
expanse of the sea with a crash.
That monster sends up most terrible springs
of Hephaistos’ fire – a portent
wondrous to behold,
a wonder even to hear of from those present (Race (Trans.), 1997).

According to Thucydides’ (3.116.3) calculations, a volcanic eruption of Mount Etna occurred in 476/475 BCE (Woodburn Hyde, 1916, pp. 405–406; Manganaro, 1996a, p. 31; Tanguy, Condomines, Le Goff, et al., 2007, p. 76). This volcanic eruption was likely the same event detailed in Pindar above, and this catastrophe was the impetus for Hieron’s re-foundation of Katane.

40 For a detailed discussion on this ode, see Dougherty, 1993b, pp. 93–97; and T. Miller, 1997, pp. 214–223.

41 Thucydides (3.116.1–3) noted that an eruption occurred in the spring of 425 BCE, and that one occurred fifty years earlier. The same eruption may also be mentioned in Aeschylus’ Prometheus (366–371). There is some evidence of volcanic flows near the seashore of Catania that date ca. 425 BCE (Tanguy, Condomines, Le Goff, et al., 2007, pp. 65–67; tab. 4). The precise date of the second eruption is uncertain. According to the Parian Marble (FGrH 239 A 52), an eruption occurred in 479–478 BCE. There may have been two separate eruptions: one in 479 BCE, and a second ca. 475 BCE (Guidoboni & Muggia, 2001, p. 27; Tanguy, Condomines, Le Goff, et al., 2007, p. 76). Corresponding lava flows have not been positively identified, but it is difficult to provide precise dates for early eruptions (Tanguy, Condomines, Le Goff, et al., 2007, pp. 58, 66, 74–76; tab. 1). Debiasi (2000) argues that the Volcanic Explosivity Index indicates that an eruption took place in 475 BCE (pp. 229–233).
as Aetna in the same year (cf. C. Boehringer, 1968, p. 71; Rutter, 1998, p. 312; Péré-Noguès, 2004, p. 148). Hieron removed the population of Katane and settled Peloponnesians and Syracusans in his ‘new’ polis (Diodorus Siculus 11.49.1–2; Strabo 6.2.3). Diodorus Siculus (11.49.2) stated that one of the reasons Hieron founded Aetna was in order to receive heroic honours. In Pythian One (29–33) Pindar wrote:

Grant, O Zeus, grant that I may please you,
you who rule that mountain, the brow of a
fruitful land, whose neighboring city that bears
its name was honored by its illustrious founder,
when at the racecourse of the Pythian festival
the herald proclaimed it
in announcing Hieron’s splendid victory
with the chariot (Race (Trans.), 1997, p. 217).

In this passage Pindar refers to Hieron as a renowned founder, a "κλεινός οἰκιστήρ," and in a lost fragment (fr. 105 a = Strabo 6.2.3) he wrote: ‘Attend to what I say to thee, O Father, whose name is that of the holy sacrifices, founder of Aetna’” (Jones (Trans.), 1924). According to Diodorus Siculus (11.66.4), “Hieron, the king of the Syracusans, died in Catana [sic] and received the honours which are accorded to heroes, as having been the founder of the city” (Oldfather (Trans.), 1946).

Unfortunately, little remains archaeologically of Greek Katane, and there is no evidence to suggest that an eruption may have occurred. Thucydides’ (3. 116. 3) account of the eruption of 425 BCE notes that the chora of Katane was destroyed, and it is possible that the earlier eruption of 476–475 BCE may have also caused damage to the polis or the chora. On the Greek remains at Katane, see Rizza, 1996; Guidoboni & Muggia, 2001, pp. 15–26; and Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 207.

This was likely one of many reasons that Hieron created his new city; he also settled many of his mercenaries in this city and it was strategically placed to control his territory (Braccesi, 1998, p. 40; Péré-Noguès, 2004, pp. 149–150).
Hieron was probably buried in the agora of the city he founded, although Diodorus Siculus' account does not specifically state this.

After the fall of the Deinomenid tyrants, the Kataneans returned to their city and ousted the new inhabitants, and they destroyed Hieron's tomb. The expelled inhabitants of Aetna settled at the site of Inessa and re-named it Aetna, in honour of Hieron, whom they continued to call their founder (Strabo 6. 2. 3; cf. Diodorus Siculus 11. 76.3). The destruction of Hieron's tomb may have been an attempt by the Kataneans to erase the memory of their forced removal by the tyrant, and also to eradicate the protection that a tomb of a hero was thought to provide for the city (Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 126–127). The transfer of the oikistēs cult from Aetna to the new settlement at Inessa may have been done to enable the new settlement to come under the protection of the founder-hero (Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 126–127). While our sources do not indicate that the bones of Hieron were brought along with the settlers to Inessa-Aetna (Leschhorn, 1984, p. 127), their transferal to the new settlement may explain the tradition of the continuation of Hieron's founder-cult that is described in Strabo (6.2.3).

ii) Foundations and Re-Foundations by Dionysius I

Dionysius I greatly expanded his empire, and it eventually included eastern Sicily and poleis in Magna Grecia. Under his rule, Syracuse became a major power in the Mediterranean (cf. Braccesi, 1998, pp. 76–79). He captured Rhegion, re-founded Leontini (see above, p. 257), and caused destruction at Kroton, Kaulonia, and Hipponium. (Diodorus Siculus, 14.103.3, 14. 104–7; 14.106.2, 14. 111–112; see chapter two, pp. 176, 190). Dionysius I of Syracuse was also a prolific founder, and although many of his foundations were concentrated in the Adriatic, 44 he also founded

44 See the discussion below in appendix two, pp. 410–411.
Tyndaris in 396 BCE. Tyndaris is located along the west coast of Sicily between Kale Akte and Mylae (60 km west of Messene). Dionysius I founded Tyndaris as a military colony and he settled it with 600 people from Messene in the Peloponnese who had been exiled from Zakynthos and Naupaktos (Diodorus Siculus 14.78.5–6; Caven, 1990, p. 125; Consolo Langher, 1996, pp. 577–580). In order to acquire land for his colony, Dionysius confiscated land from the polis of Abakainon. There are few remains of the early city, and although a portion of the fortification was thought to date from this period (Barreca, 1959, pp. 125–130; Consolo Langher, 1965, pp. 91–92; 1996, p. 579; Fischer-Hansen, Nielson & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 233), recently La Torre (2004) has suggested that the archaeological evidence points to a later date for Tyndaris’ fortifications and town plan (pp. 119–129; also cf. De Angelis, 2007, p. 159). The foundation at the time of Dionysius may have been simply a small fortified settlement (La Torre, 2004, pp. 141–142; De Angelis, 2007, p. 159).

iii) Foundations and Re-Foundations by Dionysius II

According to Diodorus Siculus (16.5.3), Dionysius II also had imperialistic ambitions, and he was credited with the foundation of two cities in Apulia in 359–358 BCE (Braccesi, 1971, p. 138; Alfieri Tonini, 2002, pp. 213–214; D’Andria, 2002, pp. 129–130). Nothing is known of these colonies,45 except for the fact that they were likely located on the coast because they were founded in order to deal with Illyrian pirates (Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 326). Dionysius II re-

45 The two colonies are unnamed, but a number of sites have been suggested including Istros (Elpie–Salapia) and Neapolis or Brentension (Brindisi) and Hydrous (Otranto); however, there is no conclusive evidence to ascribe any one of these sites as the colonies founded by Dionysius II (Braccesi, 1971, p. 136; D’Andria, 2002, pp. 130–137; Uggeri, 2002, pp. 312–313; Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 326).
founded Rhegion (see above, p. 258), and he was also responsible for the re-foundation of Kaulonia, as witnessed by new houses and fortification walls that date to this time (Diodorus Siculus 16.10.2; 16.11.3; Tréziny, 1988, pp. 205, 208–210; Fischer- Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, p. 266; see chapter two, p. 190).

iv) Agathokles' Re-Foundation of Segesta as Dikaiopolis

Agathokles, the basileus of Syracuse, conquered the Elymian city of Segesta in 307 BCE. The polis was an ally of Syracuse, but Agathokles demanded that the population provide a large contribution, and the citizens refused to oblige. As a result, Agathokles killed or exiled all the males and enslaved the women and children (Diodorus Siculus 20.71; cf. also Bruno Sunseri, 2000, pp. 182–183). He then settled some of his mercenaries here and renamed the city Dikaiopolis, “City of Justice” (Bruno Sunseri, 2000, p. 183; Lehmler, 2005, p. 159; Lomas, 2006, p. 104). Diodorus’ account does not indicate that the city was destroyed, nor does archaeological evidence point to reorganization at this time (Bruno Sunseri, 2000, pp. 183, 185). Considering the circumstances involved in the re-foundation, it is not surprising that there is no evidence that Agathokles was the recipient of an oikistēs cult at Dikaiopolis.

Kamarina

According to Callimachus (Aitia, 2. C 58–59), Kamarina was one of the Sicilian cities that called upon the founding hero by name. The passage states: “Nor will I leave out Kamarina where
Hipparis winds his crooked way” (Nisetich, (Trans.), 2001). Unfortunately, the passage in Callimachus does not indicate who was considered the founder; however, according to Thucydides (6.5.3), there were two original founders: Daskon and Menekolos. Thucydides also noted that the polis was re-founded by Hippokrates, the tyrant of Gela. Hippokrates had ambitions to make Gela an important power in Sicily, and he attempted to create an empire in eastern Sicily. He took control of Naxos, Zankle, Leontini, re-founded Kamarina, and even had designs on Syracuse (Herodotus, 7. 154; Berger, 1991, p. 133; Braccesi, 1998, pp. 22–25). Hippokrates was the first of the Sicilian tyrants to implement forced movements of people as far as we know (Lomas, 2006, p. 97).

Thucydides (6.5.3) stated that after the revolt of Kamarina in 492 BCE, Hippokrates received the polis’ territory in exchange for the release of the Syracusan prisoners that he had captured during an attack on Syracuse. Hippokrates then resettled Kamarina as its founder (cf. Philistos FGrH 555 fr. 15; Timaios FGrH 566 fr. 19; cf. also Pace, 1927, pp. 37–38). In this passage, Thucydides referred to Hippokrates as the oikistēs of Kamarina, using the same word he used to describe Daskon and Menekolos, the original founders of Kamarina (Leschhorn, 1984, p. 121). Our ancient sources do not indicate that Hippokrates was the recipient of a founder’s cult, and this may have been due to his death in 491 BCE, the year after the re-foundation, and he may have not been able

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46 Hipparis was a local river, and the river god was depicted upon the city’s coinage (Lacroix, 1953, pp. 7–8; Guarducci, 1969, p. 656).

to carry out all his oikistēs' duties (cf. Malkin, 1987, p. 239).48

Kamarina was one of the many Sicilian poleis that was revitalized by Timoleon by an influx of people (Diodorus Siculus 13.114.1). There is some archaeological evidence of a fourth-century BCE revival that has been attributed to Timoleon, including a new layout and the construction of additional housing quarters (Pace, 1927, pp. 59–60; Talbert 1974, pp. 149–150; Pelagatti, 1985, p. 296; Belvedere, 1987, p. 5; Di Vita 1996, pp. 301–304). Both the passage in Diodorus and the evidence of housing indicate an increased population at Kamarina, but there is no evidence to indicate a large scale re-foundation of Kamarina. It is unlikely that Timoleon was considered a re-founder of this polis.

Taras

Numismatic depictions, literary references, and various artifacts may be associated with a cult or cults of the founder(s) at Taras. The consensus amongst ancient authors was that Phalanthos was considered to be the founder of Taras,49 although it is unclear if Phalanthos was a historical figure (Antiochus FGrH 555 F13; Strabo 6.3.2; Pausanias, 10.10.6–8; Justin, Epitome, 3.4; Malkin, 1987, p. 217).50 The city also had an eponymous founder, Taras, who, according to some sources,

48 In 484 BCE Kamarina was destroyed by Gelon, and it was re-founded a few years later by the Geloans (Thucydides 6.5.5; Herodotus 7.156; Timaeus FGrH 566 F 19a–b; Philistos FGrH 556 F 15; Diodorus Siculus 11.76.5; Scholion ad. Pindar Olympian 5, 16; 19; Scholion ad. Aeschines, In Ctesiphon, 186).

49 However, Hall (2007) points out that Phalanthos was not mentioned in Ephorus' (FGrH 79 F216) account (p. 111).

50 Scholars have raised doubts about the historical nature of Phalanthos (Parke & Wormell, 1956a, pp. 71–73; Malkin, 1987, p. 217; see discussion below, pp. 281–282).
was a river god, and the son of Poseidon and the nymph Satyria (Pausanias, 10.10.4; Probus, *ad. Vergil, Georgics*, 2. 197). Other traditions suggest that Taras was the founder before the arrival of Phalanthos and the Spartans (Servius, *ad. Vergil, Aeneid* 3. 551), or that the son of Taras or possibly Taras himself was the founder of the city (Servius *ad. Vergil, Georgics*, 2.197).

The first coin type of interest depicts a male figure riding on a dolphin that was in circulation *ca.* 510–500 until 200 BCE (see figure 70) (Rutter, 2001, pp. 92, 106). According to a fragment of Aristotle (fr. 590), the figure riding the dolphin on the city’s coinage was Taras. Later authors also mention a tradition that Taras was saved by a dolphin after a shipwreck (Probus, *ad. Vergil, Georgics*, 2. 197; Servius, *ad. Vergil, Aeneid*, 6. 773). However, in describing a sculpture group dedicated by the Tarentines at Delphi, Pausanias (10.13.4) noted that next to the statue of Phalanthos stood a dolphin:

The Tarentines sent yet another tithe to Delphi from spoils taken from the Peucetti, a non-Greek people. The offerings are the work of Onatas the Aeginetan, and Ageladas the Argive, and consist of statues of footmen and horsemen—Opis, king of the Iapygians, come to be an ally to the Peucetti. Opis is represented as killed in the fighting, and on his prostrate body stand the hero Taras and Phalanthus of Lacedaemon, near whom is a dolphin. For they say that before Phalanthus reached Italy, he suffered shipwreck in the Crisiaean sea, and was brought ashore by a dolphin (Jones (Trans.), 1918).

51 However, none of the numismatic images that are believed to be Taras depict him as a man-headed bull or with bulls’ horns, as was customary for river gods on coinage (Lacroix, 1953, pp. 7–12; Gais, 1979, pp. 356–357; Nafissi, 1995b, p. 295). Instead, the heroic aspect of Taras as the eponymous founder seems to have been stressed.

52 The head of the nymph Satyria was depicted on Tarentine coinage from the Classical period (Nafissi, 1995b, p. 292). Terracotta statuettes of the Hellenistic period depicting Satyria and Taras riding a dolphin have been found in votive deposits at the source of the Satyro River (Nafissi, 1995b, p. 292; tab. XXXI. 1; see discussion below, p. 286).

53 However, as Beaulieu (2008) points out, Phalanthos is not described as riding the dolphin, but standing near it (p. 107).
The conflicting literary sources have made the interpretation of the dolphin-rider controversial. Scholars have suggested that Aristotle may have mistaken TAPAS, the inscription that accompanies some of the dolphin-rider images, as the name of the polis instead of the name of the hero (Bérard, 1957, pp. 170–172, note 7; Malkin, 1987, p. 219; Beaulieu, 2008, p. 106). Scholars note that the depiction of an eponymous hero on coinage was usually accompanied by the nominative case, while the genitive plural was often used for the ethnic (Lacroix, 1954, pp. 17–18; Leschhorn, 1984, pp. 36–37; however, cf. Malkin, 1994b, p. 138, note 128); however, the image of the dolphin-rider appears with a variety of inscriptions TAPAS, TAPATINΩN, TAPA or without an inscription (Rutter, 2001, pp. 93–106). The legend of a dolphin saving Taras recounted by Probus (ad. Vergil, Georgics, 2. 197) and Servius, (ad. Vergil, Aeneid, 6. 773) has been dismissed as a late Roman addition (Bérard, 1957, p. 172; Malkin, 1987, p. 220).

Some scholars suggest that the passage in Pausanias indicates that the dolphin-rider was identified as Phalanthos (Vlasto, 1922, p. 7; Hall, 2007, p. 111). Some support for this hypothesis may be found with the presence of a dolphin-rider on the coinage of Brentension, an Iapygian polis where the exiled Phalanthos is said to have died (Strabo, 6. 3. 6; Justin, Epitome, 3. 4; Gianelli, 1965, pp. 24–25; Malkin, 1987, p. 217, note 75; Rutter, 2001, p. 85, no. 737). While most scholars consider the image to represent either Phalanthos or Taras (Vlasto, 1922, pp. 7–8; Wuilleumier,

54 For example, see Rutter (2001) for examples of TAPAS (p. 93, no. 825), TAPATINΩN (p. 94, no. 844), TAPA (p. 94, no. 838); and examples with no inscriptions (p. 94, no. 846).

55 The image of the dolphin-rider was also found at other nearby sites, including Butuntum and Baletium (Head, 1911, pp. 46, 50, 51; Malkin, 1987, p. 219; Rutter, 2001, p. 84, nos. 730–732). The Tarentine image on this coinage may refer to subjugation of these poleis to Taras. A parallel can be seen with the coinage of Sybaris that depicted the tripod of Kroton, as an indication of Kroton’s dominance (Rutter, 2001, p. 145, 168, no. 2098).
Lacroix has argued that the dolphin-rider was an emblem of the city (1954, p. 21; 1965, pp. 90, 95; cf. Collin Bouffier, 2000, p. 77; Beaulieu, 2008, p. 107).

In an attempt to reconcile the conflicting literary evidence it has been proposed that the earlier images of the dolphin-rider can be identified as Phalanthos but that in the Classical period the figure evolved into Taras (Wuilleumier, 1939, p. 38; Lippolis, 1982, pp. 96–97; Malkin, 1987, pp. 219–221; Garraffo, 1995, pp. 148–149; Naffisi, 1995b, p. 296). The shift from Phalanthos to Taras is thought to have signified a new political development in the city: Phalanthos was associated with the original foundation of the city by the Spartans and Taras represented the city’s rebirth as a democracy in 473 BCE (Aristotle, Politics, 1320b 11–14, 23; Strabo 6.3.4; Wuilleumier, 1939, p. 38; Lippolis, 1982, pp. 96–97; Malkin, 1994b, pp. 138–139; Nafissi, 1995b, p. 296). Scholars have noted that during the fourth-century BCE the dolphin-rider was shown holding a trident, an attribute of Taras’ father Poseidon (Vlasto, 1922, p. 9; Wuilleumier, 1939, p. 38; Kraay, 1976, p. 174; Malkin, 1987, p. 221; Garraffo, 1995, p. 148). The connection between Taras and Poseidon was also accentuated by the issue of a fourth-century BCE gold coin that depicted a youthful Taras supplicating a seated Poseidon (Head, 1911, p. 57; Gianelli, 1965, p. 19, Tab. I, 3; Nafissi, 1999, pp. 247–248; Rutter, 2001, p. 97, no. 901).

A major problem with this hypothesis is the suggestion that the earlier coinage depicts Phalanthos, because if he is considered to have been a historical figure, his depiction on coinage
would be unprecedented.\(^5\) As Leschhorn (1984) notes, the Western Greeks chose to depict mythical founders rather than the historical *oikistēs* on their coinage (p. 38). Furthermore, the argument that the figure was once Phalanthos and later metamorphosed into Taras is unconvincing. Instead, the depiction of the dolphin-rider became more elaborate over time, and in later issues he was illustrated holding a variety of items including a helmet, a shield, a shield and javelin, or a trident (Head, 1911, pp. 55, 59, 60, figs. 25, 29–30; Rutter, 2001, pp. 96, 100–101, 103, nos. 932–948, 957–974, 997–1014).

Scholars have suggested that Phalanthos and Apollo were overshadowed as Taras and Poseidon became more prominent (Wuilleumier, 1939, p. 38; Lippolis, 1982, pp. 96–97; Brauer, 1986, p. 33; Malkin, 1986, pp. 217–221; 1994b, pp. 138–139; Nafissi, 1995b, p. 296; 1999, p. 242). However, there is no archaeological evidence to indicate a decline in the cults of Apollo at Taras, and, in fact, terracotta figurines of Apollo *Hyakinthos* dating to the fourth to third-centuries BCE and an early fourth-century BCE inscription to Apollo *Aleus* suggest otherwise (Buononato, 1960, p. 428; Iacobone, 1988, p. 158; Lippolis, 1995, pp. 100–101; see chapter two, pp. 139–146). In addition, the legend of Phalanthos was still in circulation during the time of the Spartan king Archidamus III; the Spartan king utilized this legend when he provided assistance for Taras against the Lucanians in 343 BCE (Hall, 2007, p. 111). Furthermore, Taras seems to have been worshipped as a deity,\(^5\)

\(^5\) It is possible that Phalanthos was a quasi-historical figure. See the discussion below, pp. 281–282.

\(^5\) Inscriptions of the Roman period indicate that he was considered a god, and terracotta votives of a dolphin-rider indicate a Hellenistic cult of the eponymous river deity. See discussion below, pp. 286–287.
while Phalanthos continued to be thought of as a founder into late antiquity. The most plausible scenario is that the dolphin-rider represented Taras, the eponymous founder of the city, and it became a symbol of the city.

The identification of a seated figure on Taras' coinage that was in circulation from 470–425 BCE is controversial. The male figure sits on a stool and holds a *kantharos* and a distaff (see figure 71) (Rutter, 2001, p. 94, nos. 843–846). Scholars suggest that the seated figure is either Taras or Phalanthos portrayed as the *oikistēs* (Head, 1911, p. 55; Vlasto, 1922, p. 8; Lacroix, 1965, pp. 97–99; Garaffo, 1995, pp. 148–149). The seated *oikistēs* can appear on coins with an obverse image of the dolphin-rider (Taras), and it is unclear if the same figure would be represented on both sides. It is unlikely that Phalanthos would be depicted upon coinage because he was a historical figure (Leschhorn, 1984, p. 38); however, it is possible that Phalanthos may have been a quasi-historical figure or even a legendary founder.

Parke and Wormell (1956a) suggest that both Phalanthos and his wife Aithra were “faded gods” (p. 72), and that, “It is only in the later versions that he has become reduced to the plain role of a mortal founder” (p. 72). Malkin (1987) also raises doubts about Phalanthos, although he suggests that he was considered to be historical by the Tarentines (p. 217). A possible solution to this problem is that the coinage of Taras alluded to its two founding traditions by depicting the eponymous founder riding a dolphin on the obverse and the figure considered to be the founder, the

58 The *Phalantidai* family at Taras is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v. Athenai*), indicating that the tradition of Phalanthos as the *oikistēs* was still in circulation in the sixth century CE (cf. Malkin, 1986, pp. 218–219).

59 The dolphin-rider could simply be an emblem of the city, as Lacroix suggests (1954, p. 21; 1965, pp. 90, 95). Beaulieu (2008) proposes that the dolphin represents the will of Apollo who guides the *oikistēs* (p. 111).
seated Phalanthos, on the reverse. A parallel can been seen with the coinage of Kroton that displayed
two foundation stories by depicting Herakles as a seated oikistēs on the obverse and alluding to the
Delphic foundation on the reverse (Head, 1911, p. 97; Lacroix, 1965, p. 78; Guarducci, 1969, p. 660;
see chapter two, p. 188; see discussion below, pp. 300–301).

Although it is possible that Phalanthos was a quasi-historical figure, he may have been the
recipient of a founder’s cult. As Malkin (1987) suggests, Phalanthos was considered by the
Tarentines to be their founder, and whether or not he was an actual person did not prevent him from
being the recipient of a hero cult (p. 217). Furthermore, Malkin (1994b) notes that Phalanthos
could be honoured at Taras without the presence of a shrine or a tomb (p. 130). A story preserved
in Strabo (6. 3. 6) and Justin (3. 4) indicates that Phalanthos was exiled from Taras and went to
Brentesion, where he died. Strabo (6.3.6) stated: “...he was considered by the men of Brentesion
worthy of a splendid taphē” (quoted from Malkin, 1987, p. 217). While taphē may mean either
burial or funeral, Malkin (1987) convincingly argues that this passage refers to a burial of Phalanthos
(p. 217). In Justin’s (3. 4) version, Phalanthos convinced the Tarentines to scatter his ashes in the
agora at Taras, ensuring that the land would remain in the hands of the Tarentines forever. Justin
(3. 4) wrote that: “In memory of his services they established divine rites to Phalanthos” (quoted
from Kingsley, 1981, p. 206).60 These accounts imply that Phalanthos was the recipient of a hero
cult at Brentesion in addition to a founder’s cult at Taras (Kingsley, 1981, p. 206; Brauer, 1986,

60 It is unclear if the ‘divine rites’ mentioned by Justin was a mistake, or if this related to
Phalanthos’ super-human characteristics (Malkin, 1987, p. 218). Malkin notes the similarity
between the Spartan hero Lykourgos and Phalanthos who both had their ashes scattered in
agorai.
Kingsley (1981) proposes that Phalanthos was worshipped in a shrine either in or near the agora at Taras (p. 206). However, Malkin (1987) is unconvinced that there was a heroön for Phalanthos at Taras: “..the “scattering of the ashes” at once satisfied the need to “bury” an oikist in the agora and yet prevented the identification of any specific point which could serve as the hero’s cult site” (p. 218; cf. Malkin, 1994b, p. 130).

While literary sources suggest that Phalanthos was the recipient of a cult at Taras, other evidence is scanty. Unfortunately, there is little archaeological data available for the agora of Taras, and it is unknown if there was a tomb/cenotaph, shrine, or other evidence here to indicate the presence of a hero cult of Phalanthos (Malkin, 1994b, p. 133). Kingsley (1981) suggests that some terracotta votives may relate to a cult of Phalanthos and/or Taras. Thousands of terracotta plaques depicting a reclining male banqueter have been found in votive deposits mainly in the vicinity of the ancient port, the Mare Piccolo (Evans, 1886, pp. 8–10; Kingsley, 1981, pp. 201, 209–210; Salapata, 1997, pp. 254–255; Hirata, 1998, p. 132). These so-called Totenmahl reliefs are typically associated with heroic cults (Ekroth, 2002, pp. 279, 282–284). Kingsley (1981) connects mid-sixth-century BCE miniature terracotta kouroi that wear a pointed cap, and some of the reclining banqueting figures that wear a conical hat with a hero cult of Phalanthos (pp. 206–211; cf. Hirata, 1998, p. 132).

The tradition of scattering Phalanthos’ ashes in the agora may have been created to differentiate him from other burials that were inside the city, and were the result of urban growth that incorporated extra-mural cemeteries (Polybius, 8.28; Malkin, 1987, p. 218; 1994b, p. 132).

Salapata (1997) notes that some of these fourth century BCE plaques found at Taras depict a stele with a helmet on top, and a snake encircling the stele. She has interpreted these plaques as votive offerings that represent the grave monument of a hero. The presence of armour stresses the warrior aspect of the hero (pp. 254–255). It is also relevant to note that the dolphin-rider on Taras’ coinage could be depicted with arms and armour during the late fifth to fourth centuries BCE (Head, 1911, pp. 55, 60, figs. 25, 29–30).
1998, pp. 132, 134–138). She identifies the cap as either a pilos or kynē, the hat that Phalanthos was said to have used to signal for an attack against the Spartans (pp. 208, 210). This hypothesis has not been well received (Nafissi, 1995b, p. 294; however, cf. Hirata, 1998, pp. 132; 136–138).

There are two main problems with Kingsley’s hypothesis. If these votive objects were connected to a cult of Phalanthos, it is unusual that they were found in the area of the harbour (Mare Piccolo) instead of the agora, where one would expect to find the cult of a founder. Furthermore, identification of the figures as Phalanthos based on the presence of a pilos is problematic, since the cap was also found on other heroes including the Dioskouri, who also were worshipped at Taras, and Odysseus (Hermary, LIMC III, pp. 589; Touchefeu-Meynier, LIMC VI, p. 967). While there is no explicit evidence from Taras itself for a hero cult of Phalanthos, some evidence indicates that he was an important figure in the community. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Athenaï) indicates that there was a distinguished family at Taras called the Phalanthiadai, who were descended from the Parthenai that were, according to tradition, led to Taras by Phalanthos. Horace (Carmina, 3. 6. 11) and Silius Italicus (11. 16) noted that an alternate name for Tarentum was Phalanteum. Furthermore, although it is very tenuous, it has been proposed that a sixth century BCE plaque depicting a warship from Penteskouphia, a sanctuary of Poseidon near Korinth, may record a fragmentary inscription of Phalanthos, presumably a dedication to commemorate his journey to southern Italy (Geagan, 1970, 63 Kingsley (1981) suggests that pilos and kynē were interchangeable (p. 208).

64 Scholars suggest that the location of these votives indicates a connection between Phalanthos, Taras and a cult of Poseidon (Kingsley, 1988, pp. 209–210; Hirata, 1998, p. 132).

65 The cult was also important at Sparta and transferred to Taras; in both locations they were worshipped as the Tyndaridai (Larson, 2007, p. 190).
According to Kingsley (1981), “If the depinto [sic] of the plaque fragments from Pentaskouphi [sic] does, in fact, preserve Phalanthos’ name, then his identity as a seagoing warrior in human form, perhaps as the oikistes of Taras, had been fixed by the first half of the sixth century” (p. 211).

The connection of this plaque with Phalanthos, the founder of Taras, is extremely dubious. First of all, the surviving letters from the inscription are -ανθος and there are a multitude of names that could be restored including Akanthos, Erymanthos, Melanthos, or Seanthos, all names that are attested in the Peloponnese (LGPN, IIIA, pp. 21, 155, 292, 390). Secondly, if the fragmentary inscription can be restored as Phalanthos, it must be noted that this name was not exclusively connected with the Spartan founder of Taras. For example, Pausanias (8. 35. 9) mentioned the city of Phalanthos in Arkadia named after the eponymous founder. The name Phalanthos is known from an ostrakon at Athens and from other sites within Attica (Lang, 1990, p. 99, no. 657; LGPN, II, p. 440), in Aitolia at Kallipolis (LGPN, IIIA, p. 443), Mallia on Crete (LGPN I, p. 453), at Boion in Doris, and Parasopia in Thessaly (LGPN IIIB, p. 416). Regardless of the attribution of this plaque, literary sources indicate that even in later antiquity Phalanthos continued to be associated with Taras. This longevity may be indicative of annual rites that were held in honour of the figure considered

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66 The plaque depicts a warship, a helmsman, and a partial inscription ...]ανθος (Geagan, 1970, pp. 44–46).

67 Akanthos and Melanthos are attested at Sparta (LGPN, IIIA, pp. 21, 292). An Argolid inscription records the name Erymanthos (LGPN, IIIA, p. 155). The name Seanthos is known from Stymphalos in Arkadia (LGPN, IIIA, p. 292).

68 A passage in Athenaeus (8. 360e) indicates that Phalanthos ruled Achaea, a city on the island of Rhodes that was once called Aithra; however, this appears to be connected with the Phalanthos, the founder of Taras, whose wife was called Aithraia.
to be the founder.

Although the evidence for a cult of Phalanthos is meager, inscriptions on statue fragments and terracotta votives indicate that there was a cult of eponymous Taras, although the nature of his cult is not clear. The earliest indication for a cult of Taras is during the Hellenistic period. A number of terracotta figurines depicting a dolphin-rider were found together with a female dolphin-rider at Satyrion, a site near Taras (F. G. Lo Porto, 1964, p. 182, fig. 2; Nafissi, 1995b, p. 292, Tab. XXXI, 1). These figures represent the eponymous nymph Satyria, and her son Taras (Nafissi, 1995b, p. 292). In the area of the Roman thermae Pentascinenses two fragmentary statues were found that have been associated with Taras. The first fragment was found in 1899 and consists of the lower portion of a statue with the feet of a human figure, a serpent encircling an omphalos, and an inscription on the base that indicates it was a votive offering (see figure 72) (Lippolis, 1995, p. 97, tab. XXXIII, 3; Gasperini, 1998, p. 158). The inscription has been dated on stylistic grounds to the first or second century CE and records a dedication to the god Taras: “Dionysios (son) of Dionysios an Athenian and Kosmianos and Seleukos (this) god (in effigy) dedicated to the god

69 Malkin (1994b) states that: “There is, in fact, no direct evidence for a cult accorded to Taras” (p. 138); however, the presence of inscriptions and terracotta votives of a dolphin-rider provides compelling evidence for a cult of Taras.

70 Some of the votive terracottas found near the Mare Piccolo may also belong to a cult of Taras, since this location would be suitable for the son of Poseidon (Kingsley, 1981, 201, 209–210; Hirata, 1998, p. 132).

71 Satyrion was mentioned in a foundation oracle for Taras and appears to have been settled by the Spartans prior to the foundation at Taras (Strabo, apud Antiochus of Syracuse, FGrH 555, 13; Dunbabin, 1948, p. 30; Malkin, 1994b, p. 121; see chapter two, p. 137).

Taras" (SEG XXIV. 1020; Lippolis, 1984, pp. 141–142; Gasperini, 1985, pp. 311–312; 1998, p. 158; Nafissi, 1995b, p. 276). In 1908 a second fragmentary marble votive statue was found depicting a reptile with a fragmentary inscription to Taras (SEG XXIV. 1021; Lippolis, 1984, p. 142; 1995, p. 97; Nafissi, 1995b, p. 277; Gasperini, 1998, pp. 158–159). Gasperini (1998) suggests that the presence of the snake indicates that a chthonic divinity is represented (p. 159). However, a snake encircling an omphalos is typically associated with the Delphic Apollo, and in particular his oracular function. In this context the iconography indicates that at least in the Imperial period Taras’ cult was associated with his role in the foundation of the polis.

**Herakleia**

A number of artifacts that are associated with a building on the southern slope at Herakleia may be related to a cult associated with the eponymous founder Herakles. The building is similar in form to a house with a courtyard, but it has been suggested that it may have been a shrine of Apollo (Neutsch, 1980, p. 154; Giardino, 1998, p. 188; 1999, p. 322; see chapter two, pp. 150–151). A votive plaque depicts Apollo and Herakles, and a small terracotta disc depicts the lyre and a club, the symbols of Apollo and Herakles respectively (Neutsch, 1980, p. 154, tab. XII, 2). It is possible that this shrine was associated with a cult of Herakles the eponymous founder, although, as Rutter

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73 The inscription reads: ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟς ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ / ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟς ΚΑΙ ΚΟΓΙΑΝΟΝ [C] / [Κ]ΑΙ ΝΕΑΙΤΥΚΟΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΘΕΩ / ΤΑΠΑΝΤΙ ΑΝΕΘΚΑΝ (Lippolis, 1984, p. 141). The worship of Taras as a god may relate to his function as a river deity, or this may be a Roman development. However, Ekroth (2007) notes that a hero could be referred to as a god, including the athlete-hero Theogenes from Thasos (Pausanias 6. 11.2–9) (p. 101).

(1997) notes, ancient sources do not explicitly state he was the founder (p. 47). However, early coins that were minted ca. 430 BCE depict Herakles as an oikistēs seated upon a rock, pouring a libation from a kantharos (see figure 73) (Rutter, 1997, p. 47). While it can be argued that the images depicted upon coinage may be mythological and do not indicate the presence of a cult (cf. Howgego, 1995, p. 63; Collin Bouffier, 2000, p. 77), the existence of votive items may indicate that Herakles was worshipped at Herakleia although the nature of his cult cannot be determined with certainty.

Gela

Thucydides (6.4.3) credited Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimus of Krete with being the founders of Gela, while Herodotus (7. 153. 1) mentioned Antiphemos and other Lindian colonists. According to Pausanias (8. 46. 2), Antiphemos was the oikistēs of Gela. Other sources indicate that Antiphemos came to be considered the sole founder.75 A section of the Lindian Chronicle (FGrH 532, 38) that refers to the foundation of Gela omits Entimus’ name, and only Antiphemos was mentioned in the Etymologicum Magnum (225.1) (Panvini, 1996, p. 23; Raccuia, 2000, pp. 100–101). Furthermore, an inscription on the foot of an early fifth-century BCE Attic kylix indicates that there was a heroic cult in honour of Antiphemos, while no archaeological evidence has been found to indicate a cult for Entimus (Orsi, 1906, pp. 558–560; fig.380; Guarducci, 1959–1960, pp. 264–266, fig. 7; Malkin, 1987, pp. 194, 259; IGASMG II, p. 27, no. 29; IGDS, pp. 159–160, no. 135; Shepherd, 1993, p. 159; Panvini, 1996, p. 63; Raccuia, 2000, p. 107; Veronese, 2006, p. 393). The

75 Asheri (1970) notes that in one account of the Delphic foundation oracle, Antiphemos and his brother Lakius are addressed, and there is no mention of Entimus (p. 622; Diodorus Siculus, 8.23; see chapter one, p. 22). However, Antiphemos and Entimus are both mentioned in a later literary source (Zenobius, Proverbs, 1. 54; cf. Raccuia, 2000, p. 105, note 25).
inscription reads “Mnasitheles dedicated me to Antiphemos” (Μνάσιθελες ἅγιος Ἀντιφήμοιο), and it was found on the southern slope of the acropolis. Other artifacts in the vicinity included Attic pottery fragments, Archaic roof tiles, and an inscription on a late sixth century BCE oinochoe that reads Πόλεμα ἡμι (Orsi, 1906, pp. 558–559; Orlandini, 1968, p. 45; Shepherd, 1993, p. 159).

The discovery of the inscription on the southern slope of the acropolis led to the suggestion that a heroön once stood here, although no structure has been found (see figure 74) (Orsi, 1906, p. 558; Orlandini, 1968, pp. 44–45; Panvini, 1996, p. 63; Veronese, 2006, pp. 270, 393). In order to explain the absence of a heroön, scholars suggest that the structure was wooden and has left no trace in the archaeological record (Orsi, 1906, pp. 558–559; Veronese, 2006, pp. 370, 393). Some Archaic roof tiles have been found in the vicinity of the Antiphemos inscription (Orsi, 1906, pp. 558–559), but it is unclear if they can be related to a wooden heroön. In addition, one would expect that a wooden structure would be replaced by a substantial monument for the hero, such as those found in the agorai at Poseidonia and Selinous (see below, pp. 294–299, 305–306), especially considering the Deinomenid interest in the cult of the oikistēs.76 While the inscription confirms the presence of a cult of the oikistēs, its location cannot be confirmed.

The epigraphic and literary evidence indicate that Antiphemos was honoured with both a polis cult and a personal cult. Malkin (1987) suggests that the inscribed pottery fragment dedicated by Mnasitheles is indicative of a “personal routine cult” that would have been in addition to the annual festivals hosted by the polis for the oikistēs (p. 189). Annual state worship of Antiphemos is suggested by a passage in Callimachus (Aitia 2 C 60–63) that mentions Gela as one of the cities

76 For example, at Poseidonia, there is evidence of activity prior to the construction of heroön at the end of the sixth century BCE (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 25–26, 32, 76; see below p. 295). On the Deinomenid interest in cult of the founder, see below pp. 290–292.
in which the founding hero was called upon by name to attend a ritual feast. The section of the text is fragmentary, but presumably Antiphemos would have been named as the founder,\(^77\) as the original founder Theokles was named for Naxos.

Asheri (1970) argues that each community compiled a list of individuals who were considered founders, and that the list could be emended as political circumstances permitted (p. 622).\(^78\) At Gela, this ‘list’ would have originally included both Antiphemos and Entimus, but over time, as the Rhodian element of the foundation was stressed, Entimus may have been removed from the list or demoted (p. 622).\(^79\) Herodotus (7.153) made reference to a figure whose role as a founder was propagated by the Deinomenid tyrants:

This Gelon’s ancestor, he who made a settlement at Gela, was of the island of Telos that lies off Triopium; he, when the founding of Gela by Antiphemus and the Lindians of Rhodes was afoot, would not be left behind (Godley (Trans.) 1922, p. 463).

According to Asheri (1970), the Deinomenids renamed this man Deinomenes and claimed him as their ancestor (p. 623). In the Lindian Chronicle (FGrH 532 28), a man named Deinomenes was

\(^77\) It is also possible that the founder referred to in this passage was Timoleon; however, the fact that Callimachus mentions the original founder of Naxos, Theokles, suggests that the poet was referring to Antiphemos, the first oikistês of Gela, in this passage.

\(^78\) Asheri (1970) also includes Phintias on this list (p. 623); however, Phintias was responsible for the foundation of a new settlement, Phintias, that involved the transferal of the surviving population of Gela to this new site after the city was destroyed (see chapter two, p. 166; and below pp. 293–294).

\(^79\) Malkin (1987) suggests that Entimus’ demotion was likely connected to the promotion of Antiphemos by the Deinomenids who claimed to be descendent from Antiphemos’ companion (p. 259).
credited with co-founding Gela:80 “Deinomenes, father of Gelon and Hieron and Thrasyboulos and Polyzalos, being a Lindian, and having colonized Gela together with Antiphamos [sic]...” (Higbie (Trans.), 2003, p. 35). The blurring of these two figures as founders is illustrated by the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. Gela), where the *oikistēs* of Gela was listed as either Antiphemos or Deinomenes (Asheri, 1970, p. 623, note 30; Raccuia, 2000, p. 101, note 7).

It is interesting to note that the evidence for the cult of Antiphemos dates to the early fifth century BCE, placing it either at the end of Hippokrates’ rule (he ruled 489–491 BCE) or at the beginning of the *Deinomenidai* rule under Gelon, ca. 491–490 BCE. It is quite likely that an *oikistēs* cult was utilized by Hippokrates to promote his own exploits, since he expanded Gela’s territory and was considered a founder.81 However, there is clear evidence that the cult of the *oikistēs* was fostered by Gelon and his relatives who claimed descent from a companion of Antiphemos (cf. Malkin, 1987, p. 259). Just as the Deinomenids used their connection to the hereditary priesthood of Demeter and Kore to gain political favour (Herodotus 11.153; D. H. White, 1964, pp. 261–269; Kesteman, 1970, p. 395–396; Harrell, 1998, pp. 48–52),82 the cult of Antiphemos would have been used to legitimize their rule.83 As Antonaccio (1993) notes: “claims of descent

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80 Kesteman (1970) suggests that there was a second Deinomenes in Gelon’s family tree: an earlier ancestor, and his father (pp. 398–403).

81 The only evidence for an *oikistēs* cult is the early fifth-century BCE inscription; however, the cult was probably instituted after the death of the hero and it may have been used by Hippokrates and possibly his predecessor Kleander for political purposes. Little is known about Kleander (on Kleander, see Luraghi, 1994, pp. 273–274; and Braccesi, 1998, pp. 21–22).

82 The hereditary priesthood is mentioned in Herodotus (7.153).

83 Connor (1987) notes that a successful political leader knew how to utilize festivals and rituals by adapting or inventing them to fit both his needs and those of his community (p. 50).
from heroes did not reflect real kinship relations, but constituted a legitimating device that allowed such individuals to forge links with the past in a civic context (p. 64).” After the fall of the Deinomenids in 465 BCE, there would no longer have been a need to perpetuate this fictional ancestor, and Deinomenes would have lost his status as a founder or co-founder (Asheri, 1970, p. 623).

Another figure who was considered to be a ‘founder’ of Gela was Timoleon. When Gela was destroyed by the Carthaginians in 405 BCE, the settlement was abandoned for almost seventy years before Timoleon resettled it ca. 337 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, 13.111.2; Plutarch, Timoleon, 35. 2; cf. Asheri, 1970, p. 618). However, archaeological remains indicate that although Gela was destroyed, the city was not completely abandoned (Navarra, 1964, pp. 186–192; Panvini, 1996, p. 100). Timoleon re-populated the city with former Geloans and new settlers from the island of Kos,84 who were led by Gorgos,85 but Plutarch noted that it was Timoleon who was considered the founder (Timoleon, 35. 2). Timoleon’s revitalization of Gela involved tasks that were typically carried out by an oikistēs: the construction of a fortification wall, organizing new residential areas and (restoring) religious sites (Orlandini, 1958, p. 25; Talbert, 1975, p. 154; Panvini, 1996, pp. 103–105). Furthermore, it has been suggested that Geloan coins depicting a figure wearing a helmet and sacrificing a ram represent Timoleon, or a combination of Antiphemos and Timoleon, symbolizing the original oikistēs and the polis’ new founder (Jenkins, 1970, pp. 113–114; pl. 32, 

84 The island mentioned in this passage of Plutarch (Timoleon, 35. 2) is uncertain and it may be read either Keos or Kos; however, two inscriptions, one from Phintias and the other from Kamarina, suggest that Kos is the correct reading (Asheri, 1970, pp. 619–620).

85 Gorgos may also have been considered a founding figure since he was the leader of the Koans and a decree (SEG XII. 379) indicates that the Koans were considered to be ‘co-founders’ of Gela (Asheri, 1970, pp. 620, 622).

Akragas

Thucydides (6.4.3) noted that the oikistai of Akragas were Aristonous and Pystilos of Gela. According to Diodorus Siculus (13.108.2), the city was destroyed by the Carthaginians under Himilcar in 409 BCE. The city was not revived until it was re-founded by Timoleon ca. 339 BCE (Di Vita, 1996, p. 409). According to Plutarch (Timoleon, 35. 2–3), Akragas was re-settled by Megillos and Pheristos of Hyele, but Timoleon was credited as the oikistës. Plutarch stated that “[Timoleon] supplied their further needs and zealously assisted them, so that he was revered by them as a founder” (Perrin, (Trans.), 1918). While there does not appear to be a break in occupation at Akragas after the destruction in 409 BCE, the remains dating to the time of Timoleon have been difficult to determine (Talbert, 1974, pp. 158–159). Akragas probably received additional quarters to house the new settlers, and some re-building may date to this time (de Waele, 1971, p. 137; Talbert, 1974, pp. 158–159).

Phintias of Akragas' Eponymous Foundation

In 280 BCE Phintias, the basileus of Akragas, gathered the survivors of Gela and moved them to a new site that he named after himself, in the tradition of a Hellenistic monarch (Diodorus

Siculus 22. 2. 2; Leschhorn, 1984, p. 323; Zambon, 2006, p. 85). Diodorus Siculus credited the founder (ktistor) Phintias with the construction of fortification walls, a splendid agora, and temples for the gods in his new city. Excavations have uncovered earlier remains that belong to a phourion during the period of Phalaris, and fortification walls, houses, and tombs that date to the Hellenistic foundation (van Buren, 1960, p. 363; Ghizolfi, 1991, pp. 26–27, 29).

Poseidonia

Ancient literary sources do not provide any details about the foundation of Poseidonia, and, therefore, the figure considered to be the oikistēs is not known. Although the name of the founding figure remains elusive, a building at Poseidonia was probably connected with his cult. This structure is often referred to as the ‘sacred hypogeum,’ and it is located to the south of the so-called temple of Ceres (Athena) within the agora of the ancient city. It is a rectangular stone-built structure with a gabled roof, lacking a door or other openings, and it was covered with earth, leaving only the roof visible (see figure 75A) (Zancani Montuoro, 1954, pp. 183–184; Sestieri, 1955, pp. 53–54, figs. 2–4; Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 28–29; Malkin, 1987, p. 213; Pedley, 1990, p. 35). The inside was plastered and the eastern wall was blocked up after the items were placed inside and the

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87 While this was commonplace during the Hellenistic period, as Malkin (1985) argues, it was possible for a colony to be named after a founder during the Archaic and Classical periods (pp. 114–130). However, Zambon (2006) indicates that this was the first instance of this phenomenon by a Western Greek basileus (p. 85).

88 The identification of a bouleuterion indicates that this area was the agora of the Greek city (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 21, 79–81).

89 This arrangement is comparable to the heroön of Battos at Kyrene during the fourth century BCE (Stucchi, 1965, pp. 140–142, 143, fig. 76; Ardovino, 1986, p. 135).
roof was installed (Stucci, 1956, pp. 53–54; Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, p. 29). The artifacts found inside the building indicate a construction date at the end of the sixth century BCE (Kron, 1971, p. 124; Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, p. 25; Ardovino, 1986, p. 133; Pedley, 1990, p. 35).90 Underneath the corner of a later peribolos wall are the remains of an altar that it believed to be contemporary with the heroön (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 26, 75–76, figs. 12, 13; see figure 75 B). The excavators suggest that prior to the construction heroön there was a tomb and a tumulus as at Kyrene, although no trace of these structures have been found (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 32–33).91 However, the presence of a small canal that went out of use at the end of the sixth century BCE to the north of the heroön and associated early pottery suggest a sacred use of this area prior to the construction of the heroön (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 25–26, 32, 76, fig. 13; see figure 75 C).92

Inside the heroön, four stone slabs created a central platform upon which five iron obeloi

90 An Attic amphora that dates to the end of the sixth century BCE provides the terminus post quem for the deposition of the artifacts inside the structure. The structure shows signs of repairs and preventative measures to secure the roof (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 29–30).

91 Greco & Theodorescu (1983) suggest that originally the heroön was covered with marble tiles, that were later replaced with terracotta tiles (pp. 32, note 19, 75). They cite this as evidence for the presence of a tumulus: when the tumulus was removed the marble tiles were no longer necessary to hold the weight of the earth, and they were replaced by terracotta tiles (p. 32, note 19). No trace of these marble tiles have been found, and it remains unclear if there was a tumulus here.

92 Pottery associated with the canal is mostly of the sixth century and early fifth century BCE. Items include a proto-Korinthian kotyle, a Korinthian kotyle, an Ionic kylix, a lekythos fragment, and a hydria fragment (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 26, 142–143 nos. 299–306). This material is believed to be stratified, unlike the material recovered from within the peribolos wall (see below, p. 297).
or spits were found along with fragments of wood, wool and wire mesh\(^{93}\) (Sestieri, 1955, p. 54, figs. 6–8; Kron, 1971, p. 124, figs. 6–8; Bertarelli Sestieri, 1985, p. 249, figs. 3–6; Ardovino, 1986, p. 133; see figure 75 D). Analysis of the wood (probably cypress), wool and metal elements indicates that a ‘moveable table’ (similar to a modern stretcher) was placed on the central platform (Bertarelli Sestieri, 1985, pp. 653–657, fig. 7). Nine vessels were placed along the north and south walls: six bronze hydriae, two bronze amphorae, and an Attic black-figure amphora by the Chiusi Painter, depicting the apotheosis of Herakles and a Dionysiac scene, that was repaired in antiquity (Sestieri, 1955, p. 54, figs. 6, 10–25; Kron, 1971, p. 124, fig. 2; Bertarelli Sestieri, 1985, p. 649, figs. 2, 17; Ardovino, 1986, p. 133). Inside the bronze vessels was a sticky substance that was believed to be honey (Sestieri, 1955, p. 54; Kron, 1971, p. 124; Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, p. 78; Ardovino, 1986, p. 133; Pedley, 1990, p. 35).

A number of tests were conducted on the contents of the vessels from the sacred hypogeum. The first examination in 1957 found grains of pollen and the presence of wax, believed to have been used to seal the vessels; however, honey was absent and it was presumed that this substance had become too degraded to detect. A second study was undertaken in 1970; however, it was impossible to identify positively the contents of one of the amphorae, although it appeared to be a mixture of substances. In 1983, two samples were taken from one vessel and the results indicated the presence of fatty acids (Bertarelli Sestieri, 1985, pp. 685–690). These various results may indicate that individual vessels contained different substances, including oil, a mixed substance, and possibly honey.

\(^{93}\) Originally the obeloi were believed to be the remains of a klinē (Ferri, 1955, p. 195; Picard, 1956, p. 98; Neutsch, 1957, pp. 11, 13). An exhaustive discussion of obeloi can be found in Kron (1971, pp. 131–144, figs. 9–13).
At a later date, probably during the early third century BCE when the city became a Latin colony, the heroön was enclosed within a peribolos wall (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 25-26, 30–31, 75–76; see figure 75 C). The unstratified material recovered within the peribolos included fragments of Corinthian pottery (hydriae, kotylae, lekythoi, kylikes), Attic black-figure pottery (skyphoi, lekythoi, kraters, cups), and fragments of fourth-to-third-century pottery (cups, lamps, pixides, lekanai) (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 139–145). An inscription was found on a black-figure olpe (ca. 530–520 BCE) that reads: TAΣ ΝΥΝΦΑΣ ΕΜΙ IA[ΠΟΝ] (SEG XV, 601; Sestieri, 1955, p. 55, fig. 9; Neutsch, 1957, p. 14, fig. 9; Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 139–140, no. 264). A second inscription, on a late fourth-or early third-century BCE patera with a triskeles, contains the partial inscription M Y N (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, p. 140, no. 298).

Various interpretations of the so-called ‘sacred hypogeum’ have been proposed. The presence of the two inscriptions, described above, that refer to the Nymphs led to the suggestion that the building was sacred to the Nymphs (Neutsch, 1957, pp. 14–21), or alternately, dedicated to Hera because “Nymph” can refer to a cult title of this deity (Sestieri, 1955, pp. 55–56; 1956, p. 26; Picard, 1956, p. 99). The structure was connected with prenuptial rites of Hera and Zeus by Ferri (1955, pp. 195–196). The identification of the structure as a ‘hypogeum’ or underground shrine has also been proposed; either associated with Hera who was assimilated with Kore/Persephone (Sestieri, 1955, pp. 55–56; 1956, p. 26) or solely for Persephone (Bertarelli Sestieri, 1985, pp. 682–684). Other scholars have suggested that the building was a heroön, either for Is of Sybaris (Zancani Montuoro; 1954, pp. 183–185), or for a hero of Poseidonia (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 76–79).

The suggestion that the structure was dedicated to either the Nymphs or Hera the “Nymph” based on the presence of two pottery inscriptions seems unlikely. It is unclear if these artifacts were
found in situ, since the material found within the peribolos wall appears to have been unstratified (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 74–76). The identification of this structure as an underground shrine associated with a chthonic deity (whether Hera or Persephone) is unconvincing because there were no entrances to enable religious rites to be performed, and the only possible opening, on the east side, was blocked up after the items were deposited inside (Picard, 1956, pp. 97–99; Stucci, 1956, pp. 53–54; Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, p. 29; Ardovino, 1986, p. 134). While it has been argued that the presence of the obeloi indicates a sacrifice to an Olympic deity (Bertarelli Sestieri, 1985, p. 682), recently Ekroth has argued that during the Archaic and Classical periods sacrifices associated with heroes were similar to those offered in honour of the gods (2000, p. 264; 2002, pp. 276–277; see discussion above, pp. 246–248). The tomb-like form of the structure, its absence of openings, and its location within the agora of the city are convincing arguments for the attribution of a heroôn (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 31–32,78; Ardovino, 1986, p. 135). However, at Poseidonia the heroôn took the form of a cenotaph or a mnēma, since no human remains were found inside (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, p. 78).

Zancani Montuoro (1954) was the first to identify this structure as a heroôn, but she believed it was related to a cult of Is, the founder of Sybaris, whose cult was presumably brought to Poseidonia after the destruction of Sybaris in 510 BCE (pp. 183–185). While this scenario circumvents the problem of having a heroôn dedicated to a founder of Poseidonia long after the foundation of the city (ca. 600 BCE), there are four problems with this hypothesis. First of all, there is some evidence to suggest cult activity prior to this monumental construction (see above, p. 295).

94 The iconography on the Attic vessel, depicting the apotheosis of Herakles, is also considered to be a suitable offering for a hero (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, p. 78; Ardovino, 1986, p. 135; however, cf. Bertarelli Sestieri, 1985, p. 683).
The late sixth-century construction date of the heroön coincided with a period of prosperity for Poseidonia and at the same time other monumental structures were erected within the city (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 32, 76). Thirdly, there is no evidence that Sybarites came to Poseidonia after 510 BCE (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, pp. 76–77). However, the most convincing argument against this identification is the improbability of a monument being constructed in Poseidonia to honour the oikistês of another polis (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983, p. 77). The cult of an oikistês was a localized cult that belonged to the polis and was intimately linked with the polis' identity; therefore, the heroön must have been constructed in honour of a Poseidonian hero (cf. Malkin, 1985, p. 114; 1987, pp. 2, 189; 1993, p. 231; 2001, p. 125; 2002, p. 200; Shepherd, 1993, pp. 161–162; Maddoli, 1996, p. 481; Hall, 1999, pp. 49–50; Antonaccio, 2001, p. 120; see discussion above, pp. 236–237). While Greco and Theodorescu (1983) do not specifically propose that the heroön honoured the oikistês of Poseidonia, the suggestion is implied (p. 32, 76–79; cf. Ardovino, 1986, p. 140). While our surviving ancient sources are silent on the name of the oikistês of Poseidonia, it is possible that this unknown man was the recipient of a cult.95 The location of the heroön, the elaborate offerings found inside, and the archaeological evidence that suggests use of this area prior to the construction of this elaborate structure all point to the presence of a founder's cult.

95 Guarducci (1966) suggests the name of the oikistês was Megyl(l)os or Megyllias since it appears on some of Poseidonia's coins circa 470 BCE (pp. 203, 208, 215; fig. 1–2). Ardovino (1986) proposes that it may be the name of the name of the moneyer (p. 25). The most recent interpretation is that the letters read "seilu" and refer to the Silaros River (modern Sele River) (Rutter, 2001, p. 109, no. 1114).
Kroton

Although Kroton had a historical founder, Myskellos of Rhypes, there was also a tradition that Herakles and the eponymous Kroton were founders (Myskellos: Diodorus Siculus, fr. 8.17; Strabo, 6.1.12; Herakles and Kroton: Diodorus Siculus 4.24.7). According to Diodorus Siculus (4.24.7) and Iamblichus (De vita Pythagoria, 9.50), Herakles was attempting to steal some cattle when he accidentally killed Kroton. Herakles erected a tomb for Kroton, and in Diodorus Siculus' (4.24.7) version Herakles foretold that a city would arise bearing Kroton's name, while in Iamblichus' (De vita Pythagoria, 9.50) account Herakles promised to found Kroton if he gained immortality. Aristotle (fr. 611.68) suggested that Kroton was considered the founder of the polis.

By the time of Ovid, the two traditions of the historical founder Myskellos and the mythical founder Herakles became entwined (Malkin, 1994b, p. 134). Herakles was said to have visited Myskellos in a dream and to have urged him to found Kroton (Ovid, Metamorphosis, 15.12–59).

Coinage of the second half of the fifth century BCE and of the fourth century BCE alluded to Herakles' legendary foundation of the city. A youthful and naked Herakles was depicted seated on a rock, holding a club and a laurel branch, with a bow and quiver next to him, an altar on the left, accompanied by the title OIKIETAΣ (see figure 76) (Head, 1911, p. 97; Lacroix, 1965, p. 78; Guarducci, 1969, p. 660; Kraay, 1976, p. 181; Rutter, 1997, p. 39; 2001, p. 170, no. 2139–2140; Papadopoulos, 2002, p. 32). The presence of the altar indicates that the hero was sacrificing for the well-being of the city (Kraay, 1976, p. 181). A similar coin type depicts Herakles walking and holding a club accompanied by the legend OIKIETAΣ (Rutter, 2001, p. 173, nos. 2198–2200).

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96 This coin type may represent a statue of Herakles (Lehmann, 1946, pp. 43–47; Rutter, 2001, p. 170).
Malkin (1998) proposes that the Krotonites reached into their ‘mythical past’ and chose to depict Herakles as their oikistès, a figure who eclipsed the city’s historical founder (p. 131). Connecting the polis to a more ancient legendary foundation was an attempt by the colony to be viewed as established as its metropolis (Malkin, 2001, p. 125). Furthermore, after the defeat of Sybaris at the end of the sixth century BCE, the legend of the dedication of Herakles’ bow and arrows by Philoktetes in the sanctuary of Apollo Alaios became associated with Kroton (Giangiulio, 1989, pp. 230–231; Malkin, 1996, p. 76; 1998, p. 137). After the destruction of Sybaris, Herakles became an important figure in shaping the identity of Kroton, and he took on the role of a legendary founder (Malkin, 1998, pp. 131–132). Although Kroton embraced its legendary foundation at the hands of Herakles, it is possible that the historical foundation by Myskellos was not entirely forgotten. The reverse images on the Herakles-oikistès issues alluded to the historical foundation of Kroton by depicting the Delphic tripod or a tripod flanked by Apollo shooting the python (Kraay, 1976, p. 181; Leschhorn, 1984, p. 29; Rutter, 2001, p. 170, nos. 2139–2140).

The depiction of Herakles as the oikistès on Krotonian coins does not necessarily imply that Herakles was the recipient of a founder’s cult. In fact, there is no evidence to suggest that Herakles was worshipped at Kroton (Leschhorn, 1984, p. 30). Herakles was the mythical founder of the polis and his image as the founder on coinage can be seen as an emblem of the city that would have fostered civic pride and unity (cf. Howgego, 1995, p. 63; Collin Bouffier, 2000, p. 77). Kroton had a historical founder, Myskellos from Rhypes, who would have been the obvious choice for an oikistès cult. Presumably the site of Myskellos’ worship would have been the agora, but unfortunately, the location of the agora has not been determined.
Metapontion

Ancient sources have provided a variety of possible founders for Metapontion: Metabos (Hekateus, fr. 84 Jacoby), Daulius (Ephorus FGrH 70 F 141, apud Strabo 6.1.15); the Trojan War-era hero Epeios (Solin 2.1); or Leukippos (Antiochus, FGrH 555 F12, apud Strabo, 6. 1. 15).97 According to a fragment of Hekateus (FGrH 1 F 84), Metabos was the name of a hero and the first city here was named after him. Antiochus (FGrH 555 F12) stated that there was a heroûn of Metabos at Metapontion. Metabos was honoured on the coinage of the city during the fourth century BCE with the legend METABO (Mele, 1996a, p. 11; Rutter, 2001, p. 134, nos. 1524, 1526, 1527; Giacometti, 2005, p. 139). Metabos was an indigenous name and this tradition indicates the importance of the indigenous population at Metapontion, and an attempt to include them in the foundation history of the polis (Mele, 1996a, p. 12). During the fourth century BCE, the Metapontines also honoured Leukippos of Achaea, who was considered to be the founder of the city (Strabo, 6. 1. 15; Mele, 1996a, pp. 14–15, 29). Coins of the fourth to third centuries BCE depicted the head of Leukippos wearing a Korinthian helmet with the legend ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΟΣ (Lacroix, 1965, pp. 85–86, pl. V, 6; Rutter, 2001, pp. 135–136, 137, nos. 1552–1553, 1562, 1573–1577, 1629; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004a, pp. 279, 281–282; Giacometti, 2005, p. 181; Hall, 2007, p. 102). Although both Metabos and Leukippos were depicted on Metapontine coinage, there is no evidence that either figure was the recipient of a cult.

97 For a complete discussion of these figures and their involvement in the foundation of Metapontion, see Giacometti, 2005, pp. 134–139, 177–183.
Tomb 8 at Thapsos

Orsi (1895) discovered a re-used Sikel chamber tomb (Tomb 8) at Thapsos that contained two skeletons and two Late Geometric cups. The secondary burial was separated from the original Sikel one by a meter of soil (Orsi, 1895, pp. 103–104; Dunbabin, 1948, p. 19, note 2; Shepherd, 1993, p. 158). According to Thucydides (6.4.1–2), the leader of the Megarian colonists was Lamis, who first settled Trotilos, and then moved his settlers to Leontini. After being driven out of Leontini, the Megarians moved to Thapsos. Lamis died at Thapsos, and after the colonists were expelled they founded a permanent settlement at Megara Hyblaia. Some scholars connect this re-used tomb with Lamis or his colonists (Orsi, 1895, pp. 103–104; Dunbabin, 1948, p. 19; Boardman, 1980, p. 174).

The connection of the tomb to either Lamis or his colonists is highly unlikely (cf. De Angelis, 2003b, p. 16 note 48). The presence of a second skeleton in this tomb poses a problem if the tomb is interpreted as belonging to Lamis. However, it is possible that these remains may have belonged to Lamis’ wife, or another colonist although the evidence is lacking (Graham, 1981–1982, pp. 299–300; Shepherd, 1993, p. 158). Regardless of the identities of the occupants of this grave, there is no archaeological evidence (no ashes or continual offerings) to indicate that there was a heroic cult at this site (Malkin, 1987, p. 213; Shepherd, 1993, p. 158). In addition, it is uncertain if Lamis would have been the recipient of a founder’s cult or any other kind of hero cult, considering his unsuccessful attempts at founding Megara Hyblaia. Furthermore, a fragment of Callimachus (Aitia 2 C57) implies that the polis had an eponymous founder who was the recipient of an oikistēs cult: “the cry....‘O Thapsos’” (Nisetich (Trans.), 2001, also cf. p. 247 note 57).
Megara Hyblaia

At the north-western corner of the intersection of two important streets at Megara Hyblaia, streets A and C1, is a structure referred to as building d (see figure 77). The building was constructed ca. 630 BCE, fifty years after Megara Hyblaia was founded, although the space seems to have been reserved from the outset, since the building was aligned with early houses nearby (Vallet, Villard & Auberson, 1976, pp. 209, 210, 412; Malkin, 1987, p. 213; Shepherd, 1993, p. 159; Mertens, 2006, p. 69). The structure is rectangular in shape (measuring 12.8 m on the north, 12.6 m on the south, 9.6 m on the west and 9.85 m on the south), and is divided into two long and narrow rooms that open onto the agora on the east side (Vallet, Villard & Auberson, 1976, pp. 209–211; De Angelis, 2003b, p. 26; Veronese, 2006, p. 255). On the western side of both rooms were small pits,98 while the southern room had a second pit on the east, and the northern room had a row of holes that are believed to be bothroi, or sacrificial pits (Vallet, Villard & Auberson, 1976, p. 210; Mertens, 2006, p. 69, fig. 83; Veronese, 2006, p. 255). The excavators noted the symmetrical arrangement of these pits and speculated that originally there may have been a second pit on the eastern side of the northern room (Vallet, Villard & Auberson, 1976, p. 210; cf. Bergquist, 1992, p. 141). In the northern room, fragments of an SOS amphora containing ashes were found at the south-east corner (Vallet, Villard & Auberson, 1976, p. 210; Bergquist, 1992, p. 141; Veronese, 2006, p. 255). Based on the presence of these amphorae fragments, a date of ca. 630 BCE has been suggested (Vallet, Villard & Auberson, 1976, p. 210).

98 The terminology is variable for these features; Vallet, Villard and Auberson (1976) refers to them as “basins” but suggests that bothroi would be a more suitable term (p. 210); Bergquist (1992) calls them hearths (p. 141), while Veronese (2006) suggests bothroi or escharae (p. 255).
The religious nature of building d has been inferred from the building’s close proximity to the agora and the presence of pits (bothroi, escharae, or hearths?) (Vallet, Villard & Auberson, 1976, pp. 211, 412–413; Malkin, 1987, p. 213; Mertens, 2006, p. 69; Veronese, 2006, pp. 255–256). Although no other artifacts or features were found within the building, the excavators suggested that it was a heroôn dedicated to Lamis (or his successor) and the heroôn of Battos at Kyrene and the Herakleion at Thasos have been suggested as comparanda for building d (Vallet, Villard & Auberson, 1976, pp. 211, 412–413). Bergquist (1992) questions the comparison of building d with the features at Kyrene that include a tomb, heroôn, other cult structures, and evidence of continual votive dedications (p. 141). Bergquist (1992) is also troubled by the comparison of the Herakleion at Thasos with this structure (pp. 141–142). The pits found within building d were thought to resemble the rows of pits found at the Herakleion; however, the ‘pits’ at Thasos are now believed to be post-holes (Bergquist, 1992, pp. 141–142; cf. des Courtils & Pariente, 1988, p. 121).

Instead of a heroôn, Bergquist (1992) interprets this structure as a hestiatorion for seated dining based on the presence of hearths (the so-called pits), amphorae fragments and ashes, and the long narrow rooms that open on the east (Bergquist, 1992, pp. 141–143). Bergquist’s arguments are compelling and her hypothesis provides an explanation for the unusual plan of this building. However, the identification of building d as a dining hall does not exclude the possibility that it was connected to the oikistēs. One of the main components of a founder’s cult was an annual celebration

99 Malkin (1987) considers this scenario more plausible (p. 213). Although it could be argued that the two-roomed building housed cults of Lamis and his substitute – the actual (and anonymous) founder, it is uncertain if Lamis would have been the recipient of a heroic cult (see above, p. 303).

100 The long narrow rooms would be suitable for seated dining, with two groups clustered around the two hearths that were located in each room (Bergquist, 1992, p. 142).
that involved ritual feasting (Malkin, 1987, p. 229). According to Callimachus (*Aetia*, 2. C 66–67), Megara Hyblaia held a feast in honour of its *oikistēs*, and it is possible that building d may have been the location of this annual event.

**Selinous**

According to Thucydides (6.4.2), the founder of Selinous was Pamillos from Megara. Recent excavations in the center of the *agora* at Selinous have unearthed a tomb-like monument that may be connected to this founder’s cult (see figure 77) (AA.VV, 2005, p. 152, fig. 11; AA.VV, 2006, p. 154, fig. 11; Mertens, 2006, p. 178, fig. 310; De Angelis, 2007, p. 182). The structure consists of a stone-lined cist (1.0 m by 2.5 m) surrounded by a fence measuring 6.7 m by 8.6 m, (Mertens, 2006, p. 178, fig. 310), and it is similar in form to the *heroa* found at Kyrene and Poseidonia. Although no artifacts have been found inside the tomb-like structure, its location within the *agora* and its proposed early date are compelling arguments that this was a *heroôn* for the founder of Selinous (AA.VV, 2005, p. 152; Mertens, 2006, p. 166).

The proto-Archaic *necropolis* at Selinous was located on the southern side of the Manuzza Hill. The area next to the *necropolis* has evidence of votive offerings that were deposited until the fifth century BCE when the area was transformed into a shrine of Tanit during Punic control (Rallo, 101 Unfortunately, the name of the founder is not preserved in this fragmentary text. All that remains of the text is: “...and one set of Megarians sent there by another, those of Nisaia” (Callimachus, *Aetia*, 2. C 66–67; Nisetich (Trans.), 2001).

102 Some scholars have suggested that Thucydides’ text may have included the name of a second founder, perhaps Myskos or Euthydamos (Jameson, Jordan & Kotansky, 1993, pp 28–29, 121; Hornblower, 2002, p. 239; see chapter two, p. 215).
2002, p. 198; De Angelis, 2007, p. 182). Rallo (2002) has suggested that the founder(s) of Selinous were worshipped here (p. 198). This suggestion is unlikely because the agora was the place of worship for an oikistēs because the cult was central to the identity of the polis (see above, pp. 255–257), and the recent discovery of a heroön in the agora at Selinous. In addition, the presence of offerings in a necropolis suggests a personal cult such as the veneration of ancestors.

**Herakleia Minoa**

Herakleia Minoa was considered to be a sub-colony of Selinous (Herodotus 5.46.2), but its date of foundation and the oikistēs are unknown. According to myth, the city was founded by Minos of Krete (Heracletus of Lembos 59). The polis was re-founded by Timoleon, and Timoleonic-era additions to the polis included a new fortification wall, a théâtre, and new housing quarters (De Miro, 1958a; 1958b, pp. 232–257, 260–267; 1966, 151–168, esp. pp. 167–168; Talbert 1974, p. 159–160; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo, 2004b, p. 197). Herakleia Minoa is one of the poleis listed by Callimachus (Aitia, 2. C. 62–65) as having the tradition of invoking the founder: “and Cretan Minoa where the daughters of Kokalos treated Europa’s son to a boiling bath” (Nisetich, (Trans.), 2001).

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103 According to Herodotus (5.43.1), “There Antichares, a man of Eleon advised him [Cleomenes], on the basis of the oracles of Laius, to plant a colony at Heraclea in Sicily, for Herakles himself, said Antichares, had won all the region of Eryx, which accordingly belonged to his descendants. When Dorieus heard that, he went away to Delphi to enquire of the oracle if he should seize the place to which he was preparing to go. The priestess responded that it should be so, and he took with him the company that he had led to Libya and went to Italy” (Godley (Trans.), 1920). Herodotus (5.43.2) noted that Dorieus died before he was able to found Herakleia Minoa.
Discussion

Malkin (1987) proposes that founders were provided with a public funeral, burial in the agora, and were accorded sacrifices and contests (p. 229). The available data for southern Italian and Sicilian poleis indicates that public feasting and sacrifices were held in honour of the founder. No evidence has been found to indicate that an original oikistēs was physically buried in the agora, although tomb-like structures have been found at two sites in southern Italy and Sicily. The literary sources that speak of this custom were written long after the establishment of the early Greek settlements, that were founded in the late eighth and early seventh centuries BCE. In fact it is the scholion of Pindar (Olympian One, 149) that suggests that this practice was universal. Thucydides (5.11.1) also provides a late account of Brasidas' burial in the agora at Amphipolis.

The earliest and clearest archaeological attestation of the burial of an oikistēs in the agora is that of Battos (600 BCE) at Kyrene, a colony that was founded around 630 BCE. However, the recent discovery of a heroôn in the agora at Selinous may also date to this time or possibly earlier. The only other agora in the Western Greek world that has a heroôn is Poseidonia, a sub-colony founded by Sybaris ca. 600 BCE. While it is possible that archaeological evidence of this practice simply no longer remains at other sites, another explanation is that interment of the oikistēs within the agora was a later phenomenon. The poleis that have evidence for this practice were founded around the middle of the seventh century BCE or later. This scenario may account for the

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104 Selinous was founded ca. 650 BCE and the excavators have suggested that this structure dates to the early period of the city's foundation (AAVV, 2005, p. 152; Mertens, 2006, p. 166). There is no mention of any human remains found in this tomb-like structure.

105 Later instances of this phenomenon include Timoleon who was buried in the agora at Syracuse (Plutarch, Timoleon, 39.4; Nepos, Timoleon, 5.4), and probably Hieron I, who was buried in Aetna (Diodorus Siculus 11. 66. 4; see above, pp. 271–272).
discrepancy between the suggestion that burial in the *agora* was a common practice, and the lack of archaeological evidence from the early Greek colonies in southern Italy and Sicily.

While the available evidence suggests that the burial of the founder in the *agora* may have been a later practice, the *agora* was likely the focal point for the cult of the founder. As the political and religious center of the *polis*, the *agora* was a suitable choice for the annual celebrations that were held in honour of the *oikistēs*. The late tradition of Phalanthos’ ashes being scattered in the *agora* at Taras also highlights the connection between the founder-hero and the *agora*. At Poseidonia and Selinous the *heroa* consisted of cenotaphs that were probably the focus of the founder’s cult. The rituals that were associated with the *oikistēs* cult involved sacrifices and dining, and an altar and a space for dining would be required. At Megara Hyblaia, building d located next to the *agora* may have been where this annual feasting took place.

As the Sicilian and southern Italian Greek tyrants and rulers began to expand their territories, they were presented with the opportunity to become founders and re-founders of cities. Similar to the original colonial *oikistēs*, these leaders chose the location of their new or re-founded city, and they were involved in the division of land, acquiring settlers, and providing for the needs of citizens. In numerous instances these settlements were established with the forced relocations of large populations, and horrendous acts were committed in order to create the foundation. Rulers quickly realized the advantages of promoting themselves as a founder in order to justify their actions, add legitimacy to their rule and their foundations, and to enable them to be worshipped as a hero upon death, or in some cases during their lifetime. Some founders, including Gelon, Hieron I, Dionysius II and Timoleon, also created a close connection with the god of foundations, strengthening their claims that they were *oikistai* under the guidance of Apollo.
While it is likely that all rulers tried to take advantage of reinventing themselves as a founder, not all became true oikistai. The Deinomenid tyrants may have continued and elaborated upon the use of the oikistēs cult for political purposes that may have been begun by Hippokrates, who was credited with the re-founder of Kamarina. However, the Deinomenid tyrants seem to have been particularly adept at fostering a connection with the original oikistēs and projecting themselves as founders. Their activities at Gela highlight how rulers could utilize the cult of the founder for political gain. The Deinomenids’ created a heroic past by the invention of an ancestor who, if not a co-founder of Gela, was present when Antiphemos founded the polis (Herodotus 7.153; Lindian Chronicle FGrH 532.28). The promotion of Antiphemos’ cult would have provided legitimacy for Gelon’s rule, and his dynasty. Gelon was the former calvary commander of his predecessor, Hippokrates, and he no doubt seized upon the opportunity to create a more suitable pedigree for a ruler by transforming himself into the descendent of a founder. His brother, Hieron I, is the earliest surviving example of a tyrant who was heroized as a founder in the Western Greek world. Hieron I was presented with the fortuitous event of a natural disaster – the volcanic eruption – that enabled the memory of Katane to be erased (if not the polis physically). This enabled him to re-found the city as Aetna. Upon his death he was buried in the city, likely in the agora, and he was worshipped as the oikistēs. Even after his city had been destroyed, the survivors brought his cult with them to their new settlement, which may hint at a tradition of the relocation of his bones or ashes to the new site.

While the rulers of the fifth century BCE may have used their association as founders to be given a posthumous hero cult, by the time of Dionysius I rulers were being honoured during their lifetime. Choosing a heroic-founder cult instead of that of a ruler cult was also politically
advantageous for rulers including Dion and Timoleon, who wanted to distance themselves from the two Dionysii. Timoleon was considered the new founder of Gela and Kamarina, but it was at Syracuse that he was honoured as an oikistēs. Timoleon’s propaganda campaign portrayed him as a founder; he, as Archias, was said to have consulted the oracle at Delphi. His coinage also propagated his message: Apollo Archēgetēs appeared on the coinage of his symmachikon, and he may have appeared on the coinage of both Gela and Syracuse in the guise of the original oikistai. Upon his death he was buried in the agora at Syracuse and received the annual commemoration that Archias must have received as well.

Conclusions

The sacrifices, feasting, games and other annual celebrations that were likely held in each polis in honour of the oikistēs have left little trace in the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily (see table 14). However, the Aitia of Callimachus is a reminder that cults of founders were probably more widespread than archaeology has revealed. Further exploration of the agora at these poleis will likely reveal more information about the cult of the founder, as exemplified with the recent discovery at Selinous. Both archaeological and literary evidence, although meager, indicates that the agora was the focal point of the cult of the founder; however, burial or the creation of a tomb-like structure (mnema) within the agora may have been a later phenomenon and it does not seem to be archaeologically attested before 630–600 BCE. While all poleis likely established cults to historical

106 On the coinage of Gela, above, pp. 292–293. It has also been suggested that the figure of a man wearing a Korinthian helmet on coin issues at Syracuse represents either Timoleon or a combined figure of Timoleon and Archias (Seltman, 1955, pp. 193–194; Jenkins, 1970, p. 114; however, cf. Talbert, p. 208).
founders, some appear to have also venerated their eponymous founders, as at Taras and Herakleia. In many cases, however, legendary founders including Iokastos at Rhegion and Metabos at Metapontion did not have a founder’s cult. Their images were often displayed upon their polis’ coinage in order to express the city’s legendary past.

The rulers of Greek Sicilian and southern Italian poleis who founded and re-founded cities as they acquired more territory harnessed the image of the oikistēs to promote their regimes. As new-founders, their actions were sanctioned by Apollo, who provided legitimacy and justification for their actions. The use of the cult of the oikistēs as a political tool is exemplified by the Deinomenids who not only projected themselves as founders but also fostered a link with the original founder of Gela. As a founder, a ruler could ensure that he was the recipient of a posthumous hero cult. The development of these new-oikistai cults by the Western Greek tyrants likely paved the way for rulers to be worshipped during their lifetime as heroes or even gods.
Conclusions – The Cults of Founders in Greek Southern Italy and Sicily

It is undeniable that Apollo and his oracle at Delphi became intimately linked with the process of colonization; however, it is impossible to know what came first – colonization or Apollo’s oracle. It is tempting to associate an increase in archaeological material at Delphi that may have begun as early as the mid-eighth-century BCE with the establishment of the oracle, particularly since offerings were made here by the very poleis that were involved in early Greek colonization. Furthermore, the oracular responses that are preserved in later literary accounts may have a ‘kernel’ of truth, in that they record the tradition that Delphi was consulted. As tantalizing as this picture may be, it is equally possible that the oracle and Apollo’s role in colonization were later developments, and that, as Delphi’s fame grew, these overseas settlements may have ‘created’ a foundation history that included the consultation of Apollo’s oracle by the oikistēs.

Archaeological materials, epigraphic evidence, and literary sources indicate that Apollo was commonly worshipped in the Greek poleis of southern Italy and Sicily, in addition to some mixed settlements. He was venerated with a variety of epithets, and his cults appear to have been influenced by those present in the metropoleis, specific events including plagues (e.g. Apollo Paianos at Selinous), and political ties with other poleis (e.g. Apollo Patroios at Kamarina). The Greek settlements of southern Italy and Sicily provide surprisingly little evidence for cults of Apollo that were influenced by Delphi. In fact, the available evidence suggests that only a few poleis honoured Apollo with epithets that were connected to Delphi, including Archēgetēs and Pythios. There are four possible scenarios that may explain this: (1) more settlements honoured Apollo as a founder, but because of the lack of epigraphic, literary, and archaeological materials there is no evidence of this practice; (2) Apollo was originally honored in this fashion, but the cult changed over
time, and another aspect of the god was emphasized; (3) Delphi was involved in colonization, but the poleis chose not to establish a cult to Apollo in his role as a founder; or (4) there was no Delphic influence on the cults of Apollo in southern Italy and Sicily, since Delphi was not involved in colonization during this early period. Again, based on our surviving data it is impossible to say with certainty which of these four possibilities is most accurate.

The surviving evidence indicates that in most cases Apollo’s role as a founder was limited to being symbolic rather than representing a true cult of the founder. The exceptions are Kroton, Naxos, and Naxos’ later incarnation at Tauromenion. The cult of Apollo Pythios at Kroton may have been established due to a historical tie to Delphi: there are foundation oracles for the settlement, the image of the tripod was the first image that appeared on this polis’ coinage, and it became a symbol of Kroton. While there is no oracle preserved for Naxos, the presence of the altar of Apollo Archēgetēs suggests that Delphi was involved in, or believed to have been involved in, the foundation. This cult was transferred to Tauromenion after Naxos was destroyed by Dionysius I, and the connection to the founding god was strengthened by the display of the tripod and the omphalos on coinage.

Regardless of whether Apollo’s association with colonization was a later development, it is apparent that the Delphic Apollo’s role in colonization was important to these poleis. The proliferation of ‘foundation stories’ and foundation oracles that are found in later ancient authors indicates that the colonies continued to be interested in a history that involved Delphi. The use of Delphic symbols upon coinage, especially the omphalos during the fourth and third centuries BCE, suggests an attempt by some settlements to create a more prestigious past, by implying that the colony was originally founded with the involvement of Delphi. This phenomenon is likely related
to a renewed interest in the past, and in particular a legendary or heroic past, that occurs during the Hellenistic period (c.f. Alcock, 1997). As Delphi became more popular, it may have been more desirable for a colony to have received Delphic sanction. It is also notable that the political leaders of Syracuse seem to have been particularly interested in fostering a relationship with the founding god, due to their activities as founders.

While there is little evidence to suggest that Apollo was the recipient of cults that celebrated his role as a founder, our available sources indicate that a human founder, the *oikistēs*, was honoured as a hero after his death. There is no surviving evidence of this practice during the mid-to-late-eighth-century BCE, but the practice may have begun after the death of the figure who was considered to be the founder. The clearest archaeological attestation of this practice is ca. 600 BCE, or slightly earlier, but the presence of archaeological material that pre-dates the *heroön* at Poseidonia suggests that worship of the founder occurred early in the history of this *polis*. It is possible that a tomb-like structure was not an essential feature of the earliest manifestation of this cult. The early worship of a founder may have simply required a place for offerings to be made (altar), and an area for ritual dining in or near the *agora*, the centre of the community. The monuments in the *agorai* of Selinous, Poseidonia, and also at Kyrene suggest that the symbolic or actual burial of a founder within the *agora* was a later practice.

The cult of the original *oikistēs* became increasingly important to the fifth-century Sicilian tyrants, and later leaders who envisioned themselves as founders. This phenomenon is best exemplified by the Deinomenids who forged a connection to the original *oikistēs* of Gela, by creating an ancestor who was either a co-founder or companion of Antiphemos. While many tyrants may have attempted to project themselves as founders, it is likely that not all were awarded the honours
Hieron I was the first Western Greek tyrant who is known to have successfully used the persona of a founder to justify his foundations and re-foundations, and was posthumously heroized as a founder. The worship of rulers as new-oikistai likely provided the first step towards rulers who were honoured as living heroes or even gods.

The findings of this study reinforce modern views on early Greek colonization and Greek religion. Some of the accounts in our literary sources concerning early colonization appear to be anachronistic; in particular, the consultation of the Delphic oracle and the burial of the founder in the agora of the community. This strengthens the idea that early Greek colonization was fundamentally different from later colonization. The traditional nature of Greek religion is demonstrated by the influence of the cults of the metropoleis on the cults of Apollo in southern Italy and Sicily. However, the cults present in the colonies were not ‘all-out reproductions’ of those found in the mother-city. Social and political factors also influenced the nature of some of the cults of Apollo in southern Italy and Sicily. Furthermore, the establishment of the oikistēs cult in these colonies illustrates the individuality of the colony, and its attempt to forge its own identity.

In conclusion, the cults of the founders of southern Italy and Sicily were essential to the identity of these Greek communities that were surrounded by various ethnic groups. While it was rare that Apollo himself was worshipped as the founder of the community, he was commonly viewed as a symbolic founder. Poleis attempted to create a foundation history that included Delphi, and in some cases this included the invention of foundation oracles and tales, and the display of Delphic iconography upon their coinage. Instead, these poleis honoured a figure who was considered to have been the founder of the community, the oikistēs. The evidence, although fragmentary, suggests that from at least 600 BCE, the oikistēs was ‘buried’ in the agora, and this figure probably
became the inspiration for rulers to be worshipped themselves.

This study can be viewed as a work in progress, since as more excavations are conducted in southern Italy and Sicily, our knowledge of the cults of founders will improve, and the ideas that I have presented will need to be revisited. While this study has focused on the founders of southern Italy and Sicily, it would be interesting to explore the evidence for these cults elsewhere in the Greek colonial world. Another area that requires more attention is the development of the ruler cult in Sicily, and in particular, the influence of the cults of the *oikistai/new-oikistai* on this process. During my research on this project, it became apparent that there is a need for a comprehensive study on how artifacts (e.g. votive offerings) and features (e.g. altar type) can be used to help identify specific cults.
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The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Other Sites in Italy

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Adria

Adria was a colony on the Adriatic Sea that was probably founded by Aegina in the late sixth century BCE (Strabo, 8.6.16; Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 326). The presence of fifth-century graffiti on pottery in the Aeginetan alphabet confirms the account found in Strabo (IGDGG 1, p. 175), but an inscription in the Ionic alphabet may also indicate the presence of Ionians (Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 327). An inscription on the foot of an Attic cup, of second quarter of the fifth century BCE, was discovered at a Greek sanctuary (IGDGG I, pp. 175–176, no. 70). The inscription records a dedication by Tychon to Apollo (Τοῦχον : ἐνέθεκ Τοῦχον ἀνέθεκε τὸπόλλον).

The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo at Etruscan sites

i) Gravisca

Gravisca was the port of the Etruscan city of Tarquinia, and it was the site of an emporion. The presence of Greeks at this commercial centre can be dated to the end of the seventh or the early sixth century BCE (Torelli, 1977, p. 398). Analysis of the Greek inscriptions from this site indicates that it was visited by Greeks from various locations including Aegina, Achaea, Korinth, Rhodes, and Ionia (Leighton, 2004, pp. 128–129). A series of shrines dedicated to various Greek deities was established in the course of the sixth century BCE (Torelli, 1977, pp. 427–445; Leighton, pp. 128–129, fig. 53a). By the middle of the sixth century BCE shrines of Aphrodite, Hera, and Demeter, were in existence (Torelli, 1977, pp. 402–405; Leighton, 2004, pp. 128–130).

A number of inscriptions indicate that Apollo was worshipped at Gravisca. A marble anchor
with an inscription to Apollo was found within the sanctuary area, but it is incomplete, as it was cut for re-use as a drainage cover for a fourth-century BCE Etruscan building (Torelli, 1971, p. 55; Ridgway, 1973, p. 50). The late sixth century BCE anchor records a dedication to Apollo of Aegina by Sostratos: “I belong to Aeginetan Apollo. Sostratos son of (...) had me made” (EG III 23; Torelli, 1971, pp. 55–60; Torelli, 1977, pp. 412–413, 441, 451); Ridgway, 1973, p. 50; Guarducci, 1974, pp. 23–25; Gianfrotta, 1975, pp. 311–313; 1977, p. 287, figs. 4–6; see chapter one, pp. 51–52). This figure has been identified as the prolific merchant Sostratos from Aegina who was mentioned by Herodotus (4.152) (Torelli, 1971, pp. 55–59, fig. 7; Johnston, 1972, pp. 416, 421; Ridgway, 1973, p. 50, fig. 9; Guarducci, 1974, pp. 23–25, fig. 9; Gianfrotta, 1975, p. 311; Harvey, 1976, pp. 206–207; Torelli, 1977, pp. 412–413; Leighton, 2004, pp. 129–130, fig. 53d). Worship of Apollo is also attested to by two inscriptions on pottery; one records a dedication by Euarchos to Apollo in the Aeginetan alphabet on an Attic kantharos of the late sixth century BCE, and the second was found in the area of the naiskos of Aphrodite on an Attic kylix records the name of the god (Torelli, 1977, p. 405, fig.4; Jannot, 2005, p. 91). These artifacts indicate that Apollo was worshipped at his trading centre by Greek merchants; however, there does not appear to have been a shrine specifically dedicated to him. He appears to have been worshipped alongside Hera and Aphrodite, two goddesses who were associated with seafaring, as was Apollo.

ii) Spina

According to some ancient authors, Spina was a Greek foundation (Strabo, 5.1.7; Justin, Epitome, 20.1.11; Pliny, 3.120); however, it was actually an Etruscan city that had Greek inhabitants and was heavily influenced by Greek culture (Colonna, 1974, pp. 1–2; Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen,
Ancient sources indicate that Spina dedicated a treasury at Delphi, although no trace of such a treasury has been found at Delphi (Strabo, 5.1.7, 9.3.8; Polemon = Athenaeus 13.606A; Pliny, *Natural History*, 3.129; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.18; Jacquemin, 1999, p. 352, no. 433). It has been suggested that because of the dedication of a treasury at Delphi that Spina had a cult of Apollo; however, no there is no archaeological evidence for a cult (Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 334). Two pieces of pottery of the middle of the fourth century BCE found in tombs (nos. 650, 779) are inscribed γριφος Απόλλων (IGDGG 2, pp. 184–185, no. 77a), although it is unclear if they are connected to worship of Apollo. Dubois (1995) suggests that the graffiti refers to a difficult riddle that Apollo, as a god of divination, could solve, and that the wine that was held in the cups was the reward for the men who solved the puzzles (p. 186). It is unclear whether Apollo was worshipped at Spina or if the inscriptions make a general reference to enlightenment received through Apollo’s oracles. The presence of a treasury at Delphi is not sufficient evidence to indicate that Apollo was venerated at Spina.
Foundations and Re-foundations by Dionysius I in the Adriatic

Dionysius I is credited with the foundation of a number of colonies in the Adriatic. Various reasons have been proposed for Dionysius' interest in the Adriatic including the establishment of strategic bases in order to exert control in Epirus (Braccesi, 1971, pp. 88–90; 1998, p. 80); to secure routes to the Korinthian Gulf and central Greece (Stroheker, 1958, p. 118); to extend Syracuse's sphere of influence and to increase trade (D'Andria, 1990, pp. 288–289); or to create an empire to compensate for Carthage's power in the Western Mediterranean (Caven, 1990, p. 150). Dionysius I is credited with founding colonies at Adria, Ankona, Numana, Spina (in Italy on the coast of the Adriatic), Lissos, Issa, and Pharos.

Adria was originally founded by Aegina in the late sixth century BCE, but it may have been re-founded by Dionysius (Theopompus fr.128; Tzetzes ad Lycophron. 631; Etymologicum magnum 13.54–57; Anello, 1980, pp. 53–58; Caven, 1990, p. 152; Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 327; however, cf. Beaumont, 1936, p. 202). No archaeological evidence has been found that can confirm a fourth-century re-founding (Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 327). According to Strabo (5.4.2), Ankona was a Syracusan foundation ca. 387 BCE, but he stated that it was founded by people who fled from Dionysius I. Some scholars suggest that Ankona may have been part of his colonization scheme in the Adriatic (Braccesi, 1977, pp. 220–222; Anello, 1980, pp. 60–65; Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 327; however, cf. Woodhead, 1970, pp. 511–512).\footnote{A passage in Pliny (Historia Naturalis, 3.13) suggests that Dionysius I founded at colony at Numana. Spina may also have been part of Dionysius I's Adriatic pursuits, and it was possibly used as a trading post (Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 325).} On the remains at Ankona, see D'Andria, 2002, pp. 120–123.
Lissos (in modern Croatia) was founded by Dionysius I ca. 385 BCE, and it was likely a strategic location for his expansion into the Adriatic (Diodorus Siculus 15.14.13; Caven, 1990, p. 150; Braccesi, 1998, p. 80; Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, pp. 331–332, also cf. Anello, 1980, p. 48). A Syracusan foundation is also suggested by the similarities between Syracusan military architecture and the remains of fortifications found at Lissos (Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, pp. 332–333). Opposite the colony of Lissos is the island of Issa (modern Viš) that was called a Syracusan colony by Pseudo-Scymnus (413–414). Issa was likely one of the many colonies founded by Dionysius I in the Adriatic (Diodorus 15.13.1–5). A Syracusan foundation is suggested based on the name of colonists from Lissos who founded the sub-colony of Melaina Korkyra (SEG 40. 511, 43. 348; Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 331). Archaeological data suggest a foundation date in the sixth or fifth century BCE, although there is evidence of an expansion during the early fourth century that may be connected with a Dionysian phase (Beaumont, 1936, pp. 188–189, 202; Kirigin, 1990, pp. 303, 310; Wilkes & Fischer-Hansen, 2004, p. 232). The final foundation that Dionysius I was involved with was the island settlement of Pharos (modern Stari Grad) that was founded in 385 BCE by the island of Paros. According to Diodorus Siculus (14. 13.4, 14.14.1–2), Dionysius assisted the Parians in founding the colony.
Table 1: The Evidence for the Cults of Apollo in the Primary Colonies of the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BCE in Southern Italy and Sicily

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary colony (in chronological order)</th>
<th>Evidence for cults of Apollo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pithekoussai</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyme</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naxos</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syracuse</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megara Hyblaia</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhegion</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sybaris</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kroton</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaulonia</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taras</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siris</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gela</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokroi Epizephyroi</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metapontion</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Archaeological Evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyme</td>
<td>temple, last third of 6th c BCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neapolis</td>
<td>Inscr. Olympia 56. l. 29 IG XIV, 719 (CIG 5793)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naxos</td>
<td>Altar of Apollo Archēgetēs: (Thucydides 6.3.1) Sanctuary and image of Apollo Archēgetēs: (Appian, Bellum Civile, 5.109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Archaeological Evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leontini</td>
<td>Roman relief depicting an <em>omphalos</em> on top of a tripod (<em>IG XIV</em>, 618)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katane</td>
<td>Marble relief with tripod encircled by a serpent with inscription (<em>IG XIV</em>, 617)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tauromenion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rregion</td>
<td>Roman relief depicting an <em>omphalos</em> on top of a tripod (<em>IG XIV</em>, 618)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: The Cults of Apollo in the Korinthian Colony of Syracuse and the Syracusan Sub-Colonies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polis</th>
<th>Archaeological Evidence</th>
<th>Epigraphic Evidence</th>
<th>Literary Evidence</th>
<th>Numismatic Depictions</th>
<th>Connection with Delphi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syracuse</td>
<td>Temple on Ortygia: Early 6th c BCE 4 steilai</td>
<td>Stylobate inscription IG XIX 1; SEG XII 406</td>
<td>Apollo Paianos (Orsi, 1899, p. 370), Teneides: AΠΟΔΑΔΙΝΙ</td>
<td>Laureate head of Apollo</td>
<td>Archias visited Delphi; foundation oracles; Treasures Letoos; Klostos (Roman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sanctuary of Apollo: votive steilai, series of altars</td>
<td>Apollo Teneides: Thuc. 6.75; 6.100; Cicero, Against Verres, 4.119; Suetonius, Tiberius, 74</td>
<td>Apollo</td>
<td>Tripod: Gelo; Tripod: Hieron I</td>
<td>Tripod: Hieron I; Tenia: Apollo Teneates (Strabo 8.6.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| Cults of Apollo in Metropolis | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Korinth: Temple of Apollo on Temple Hill epithet | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

(unclear if this refers to Syracuse)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polis</th>
<th>Archaeological Evidence</th>
<th>Epigraphic Evidence</th>
<th>Literary Evidence</th>
<th>Numismatic Depictions</th>
<th>Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis</th>
<th>Connection with Delphi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akrai</td>
<td>Limestone relief depicting Apollo leaning on an <em>omphalos</em>, with tripod and Artemis</td>
<td>Apollo mentioned in inscriptions of ‘Anna and the Children’ (Guarducci, 1936)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Syracuse: <em>Archēgetēs</em> or <em>Agyieus</em> or <em>Pythios</em>? <em>Temenities Paianos Karneios Musagetēs</em> Apollo and the Muses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamarina</td>
<td>Apollo <em>Patroios</em> (Manganaro, 1995b; 1996a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Syracuse (see above)</td>
<td>Oracle consulted for draining a marsh (Servius <em>ad Vergil, Aeneid</em>, 3.701)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyndaris</td>
<td></td>
<td>Laureate head of Apollo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Syracuse (see above)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Archaeological Evidence</td>
<td>Epigraphic Evidence</td>
<td>Literary Evidence</td>
<td>Numismatic Depictions</td>
<td>Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis</td>
<td>Connection with Delphi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taras</td>
<td>Votive deposit near Castel Saraceno: Apollo–Hyakinthos terracotta statuettes (4th–3rd c.)</td>
<td>Apollo Aleus</td>
<td>Tomb of Apollo–Hyakinthos (Polybius 8.30)</td>
<td>Apollo–Hyakinthos/ Hyakinthos holding flower and lyre</td>
<td>Sparta: Gymnopaedia festival</td>
<td>Phalanthos consulted the oracle; foundation oracles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masseria del Carmine votive deposit: votives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apollo Karneios</td>
<td>Apollo Karneios</td>
<td>Right of promanteia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laconian cup depicting Hyakinthia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apollo Karneios, 4th c. BCE coins</td>
<td>Apollo Amyklaios and the Hyakinthia festival Pythios</td>
<td>Victory dedication over Messapians (Pausanias 10.13.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lucanian krater from Ceglie del Campo with Karneia festival (? (circumstantial)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Victory dedication over Peuketians (Pausanias 10.13.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marble head of Apollo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Early Apulian kalyx–krater with temple/statue of Apollo (? (circumstantial)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: The Cults of Apollo in the Spartan Colony of Taras and the Tarentine Sub-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polis</th>
<th>Archaeological Evidence</th>
<th>Epigraphic Evidence</th>
<th>Literary Evidence</th>
<th>Numismatic Depictions</th>
<th>Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis</th>
<th>Connection with Delphi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Herakleia</td>
<td>Shrine and altar?</td>
<td>Month <em>Apellaios</em> (<em>IG XIV</em> 645.1.2, 101)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taras: Apollo <em>Hyakinthos</em></td>
<td><em>Proxenoi</em> and <em>theodokoi</em> status of some citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terracotta pinax with figures of Apollo and Herakles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apollo <em>Aleus</em></td>
<td>Contribution towards rebuilding the temple of Apollo at Delphi (<em>CID 11.6 B. 2</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terracotta disc with lyre and a club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apollo <em>Karneios</em>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Archaeological Evidence</td>
<td>Epigraphic Evidence</td>
<td>Literary Evidence</td>
<td>Numismatic Depictions</td>
<td>Cults of Apollo in the Metropoleis</td>
<td>Connection with Delphi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rhodes &amp; Krete</td>
<td>Antiphemos consulted the oracle; foundation oracles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Statue of Apollo: Diodorus Siculus 13.108.4 (<em>Archēgetēs?</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rhodes: <em>Karneios</em> <em>Hyakinthos</em> <em>Pythios</em> <em>Eri̇thimios</em></td>
<td>Statue of Apollo erected at Gela on advice of oracle (Diodorus Siculus 13.108.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Krete: <em>Karneios</em> <em>Hyakinthos</em> <em>Pythios</em> <em>Dekataphoros</em></td>
<td>Treasury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Treasury Ivory statue of river god Akragas (Aelian, <em>Historia varia</em>, 2.33)</td>
<td>statutory bases that held 2 statues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Archaeological Evidence</td>
<td>Epigraphic Evidence</td>
<td>Literary Evidence</td>
<td>Numismatic Evidence</td>
<td>Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis</td>
<td>Connection with Delphi</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phintias</td>
<td></td>
<td>Month of <em>Karneios</em> (IG XIV.256)</td>
<td>Bronze coins with youthful male head and laureate crown = Apollo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6: The Cults of Apollo in the Achaean Colonies and Sub-Colonies of Southern Italy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polis</th>
<th>Archaeological Evidence</th>
<th>Epigraphic Evidence</th>
<th>Numismatic Depictions</th>
<th>Literary Evidence</th>
<th>Connection with Delphi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sybaris</strong></td>
<td>Statuettes of Apollo with lyre Argoi liti (?)</td>
<td>Symmachia mentions Apollo</td>
<td>Apollo holding lyre</td>
<td>Apollo was the oikistes</td>
<td>Is of Helike may have consulted oracle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apollo Kameiros? (Theophr. fr. 97,3)</td>
<td>Apollo Epikomatios (Theophr. fr. 97,3)</td>
<td>Achaean cults: Pythios Theoxenios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poseidonia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sybaris: no known cults</td>
<td>Sybaries &amp; Panhellenic colony</td>
<td>Treasury, Ex-Sybaris consulted oracle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thurii</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apollo holding lyre</td>
<td>Silver bull? 4 stergils of gold 4 gold crowns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Archaeological Evidence</td>
<td>Epigraphic Evidence</td>
<td>Literary Evidence</td>
<td>Numismatic Depictions</td>
<td>Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kroton</td>
<td>Fragment of a silver serpent in sanctuary of Hera Lacino: offering for Apollo?</td>
<td>Apollo <em>Pythios</em> dedication on a bronze plaque <em>(IGDGG II, no. 86)</em></td>
<td>Apollo <em>Pythios</em> and <em>Hyperboreas</em>: (Aelian, <em>Varia Historia</em> 2.26; Diogenes Laertes, <em>Vita Philosophorum</em> 8.1.2)</td>
<td>Tripod</td>
<td>Rhymes (unknown)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sanctuary of Apollo <em>Alaios</em> in Kroton’s territory (Krimissa)</td>
<td>Bows and arrows of Herakles dedicated in the temple of Apollo <em>Alaios</em>: <em>(Pseudo-Aristotle, <em>De mirabilibus ausc.</em>, 107; Euphorion = Tzetzes ad Lycophron, 911; Etymologicum magnum 58.4 s.v. Alaios)</em></td>
<td>Delphic tripod and Apollo shooting the python</td>
<td>Lyre</td>
<td>Achaean cults: <em>Pythios Theoxenios</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Votive deposit inside temple of Apollo <em>Alaios</em>: fragments of acrolithic statue; a gold &amp; bronze statuettes of Apollo holding bow and <em>patera</em>; etc.</td>
<td>Laureate head of Apollo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Terracotta statuettes of Apollo with lyre, votive branches, miniature weapons, etc. from sanctuary of Apollo <em>Alaios</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
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<td>Epigraphic Evidence</td>
<td>Literary Evidence</td>
<td>Numismatic Depictions</td>
<td>Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Terina</td>
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<td>Laureate Apollo on 3rd c. BCE coins</td>
<td>Kroton: Pythios Hyperboreas Alaios</td>
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<td>Kaulonia</td>
<td>Temple at Punta Stilo?</td>
<td>Terracotta statuette of Apollo with lyre</td>
<td>Fragmentary inscription “ΑΠ” (Parra, 2001, p. 232)</td>
<td>Apollo holding branch in his hand, some issues with stag</td>
<td>Achaean: Pythios Theoxenios</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Archaeological Evidence</td>
<td>Epigraphic Evidence</td>
<td>Literary Evidence</td>
<td>Numismatic Depictions</td>
<td>Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Metapontion</td>
<td>Temple and altar of Apollo Lykeios</td>
<td>Architectural fragments with inscription “Apollo” (SEG XXX 1176 B2 a – b)</td>
<td>Sanctuary of Apollo and Aristeas (Herodotus 4.15; Athenaeus 13.605c–d)</td>
<td>Apollo holding branch and bow, some issues showing him next to an altar</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Argoi lithoi, tetragonoi lithoi, cippi, and anchors</em></td>
<td>Inscribed stone with Lykeios (Manni Piranio, 1968)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Apollo Karneios</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Terracotta statuettes of youthful males</td>
<td>Inscribed stone: “I am of Apollo Lykeios” (Manni Piranio, 1968)</td>
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<td>Seated Apollo holding a lyre</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bronze bracelets, bronze arrowheads, iron lances and spears</td>
<td>Inscribed stone: “I am of Apollo Lykeios…asys dedicated me” (SEG XXIX 962)</td>
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<td>Laureate head of Apollo</td>
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<td>Torso of marble <em>kouros</em>: cult statue of Apollo</td>
<td>Inscribed stone: “I am of Apollo Lykeios (property of) Theages (and) Byros” (IG XIV 647)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sanctuary of Apollo &amp; Aristeas Altar, well, pit, statue bases, 3rd c sekos</td>
<td>Inscribed stones with Apollo Lykeios or Lykeios SEG XXIX 958, 9609, 965, 957, etc.</td>
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<td>Marconia: head of statue of Apollo</td>
<td>Cozzale Pizzareiddo: <em>Lykos</em> inscription</td>
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*Inscribed stones with Apollo Lykeios or Lykeios SEG XXIX 958, 9609, 965, 957, etc.*
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<th>Epigraphic Evidence</th>
<th>Literary Evidence</th>
<th>Numismatic Depictions</th>
<th>Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis</th>
<th>Connection with Delphi</th>
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<tr>
<td>Megara Hyblaia</td>
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<td>Megara:</td>
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<td>Apollo Paianos (IG XIV 269)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pythios</td>
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<td>Temple C and altar</td>
<td>Frieze with inscription (IGDS no. 52)</td>
<td>Apollo Hekatebolos in chariot with Artemis</td>
<td>Megara Hyblaia: cults unknown</td>
<td>Dekatéphoros</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Terracotta votives that suggest cult of Apollo</td>
<td>Gold offering for Apollo &amp; Apollonion (IG XIV 268)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archégetês</td>
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<td>Selinous</td>
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<td>Prostaterios</td>
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<td>Temporally votives that suggest cult of Apollo</td>
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<td>Agraiastos</td>
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<td>Lykeios</td>
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<td>Mouseios</td>
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<td>Lateos</td>
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Table 7: The Cults of Apollo in the Megarian Colony of Megara Hyblaia and Sub-

Golden selinon (Plutarch, De Pythie oraculis 12. 399F)

Statue group dedicated by doctor (FD III, 1. 506)
Table 8: The Cults of Apollo in the Phokaean Colony of Hyle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polls</th>
<th>Hyle</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological Evidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epigraphic Evidence</td>
<td>Inscriptions mention Oualiades/Oulis (Ebner, 1970, p. 262) Epithet of Apollo?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Numismatic Depictions</td>
<td>Tripod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cults of Apollo in the Metropolis</td>
<td>Phokaeae: cult(s) of Apollo are unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>Connection with Delphi</td>
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</table>
Table 9: The Cults of Apollo in Mixed Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polis</th>
<th>Archaeological Evidence</th>
<th>Epigraphic Evidence</th>
<th>Literary Evidence</th>
<th>Numismatic Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pachino Promontory (name unknown)</td>
<td>Temple, deity unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>Apollo Lybistinus (Macrobius, <em>Satires</em>, 1.17.24)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaisa</td>
<td>Hellenistic Temple</td>
<td>Fragmentary inscription that mentions Apollo (Carettoni, 1961, pp. 316, 318)</td>
<td>Temple of Apollo (Diodorus Siculus 14.16)</td>
<td>Apollo <em>Archēgetēs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messene (Mamertine period)</td>
<td>Inscribed architrave block from temple?</td>
<td>Inscribed architrave block (bottiglinoi, 1954, p 252, no. 86)</td>
<td>Mamertines led to Messene by Apollo (Festus 150L s.v. <em>Mamertini</em>; however, cf. Strabo 5.4.12)</td>
<td>Laureate head of Apollo</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 10: The Connection to Delphi by the Primary Colonies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colony</th>
<th>Cults of Apollo in the Colony</th>
<th>Consultatio</th>
<th>Presence of Treasury at Delphi?</th>
<th>Dedications at Delphi</th>
<th>Other Connection to Delphi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyme</td>
<td>Archēgetēs?</td>
<td>None known. Possible</td>
<td>None known</td>
<td>None known</td>
<td>Tradition of dove of Apollo leading colonists</td>
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<tr>
<td>Naxos</td>
<td>Archēgetēs</td>
<td>None known. Possible</td>
<td>None known</td>
<td>None known</td>
<td>Tradition of dove of Apollo leading colonists</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reginion</td>
<td>Daphnēphoros</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>None known</td>
<td>None known</td>
<td>Consecration of tithe to Apollo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syracuse</td>
<td>Archēgetēs? or Agyieus?</td>
<td>Yes. Foundation oracles</td>
<td>Yes. 2</td>
<td>Tripods Statues</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Temenities</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Paianos</td>
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<td>Karneios?</td>
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<td>Musagētes?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taras</td>
<td>Hyakinthos</td>
<td>Yes. Foundation oracles</td>
<td>None known</td>
<td>2 victory monuments (statuary groups)</td>
<td>Right of promanteia</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Karneios</td>
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<td>Aleus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colony</td>
<td>Cults of Apollo in the colony</td>
<td>Consultation of Delphic Oracle</td>
<td>Presence of treasury at Delphi?</td>
<td>Dedications at Delphi</td>
<td>Other connection to Delphi</td>
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<td>Sybaris</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>None known. Possible</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Gold crowns and strigils</td>
<td>Silver bull?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kroton</td>
<td>Pythios and Hyperboreas?</td>
<td>Yes. Foundation oracles</td>
<td>Possible</td>
<td>Tripod</td>
<td>Statue</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alaios</td>
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<td>Metapontion</td>
<td>Lykeios</td>
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<td>Possible</td>
<td>Golden Harvest Statue</td>
<td>Consultation of oracle</td>
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<td>Lykos (Cozzale Pizzareiddo)</td>
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<td><em>Alaios/Aleus</em></td>
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<td>Taras (<em>Aleus</em>)</td>
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Table 12: The Cults of Apollo in the *Metropoles* and the Colonies

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<th>Cults in the <em>Metropoles/Metropoleis</em></th>
<th>Cults in the Colony</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyme</td>
<td>Khalkis: <em>Delphinos</em></td>
<td><em>Archēgetēs</em>?</td>
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<td>Neapolis</td>
<td>Kyme: <em>Archēgetēs</em>?</td>
<td><em>Archēgetēs</em>?</td>
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<td>Khalkis: <em>Delphinos</em></td>
<td><em>Archēgetēs</em></td>
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<td>Naxos: <em>Archēgetēs</em></td>
<td><em>Archēgetēs</em></td>
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<td>Karneios</td>
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<td>Rhesion</td>
<td>Khalkis: <em>Delphinos</em></td>
<td><em>Daphnēphoros</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syracuse</td>
<td>Korinth: unknown</td>
<td><em>Archēgetēs</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unknown cult associated</td>
<td>or <em>Aygieus</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with Asklepius</td>
<td><em>Temenites</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Letoōs?</td>
<td><em>Paianos</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Klarios</em> (Roman)</td>
<td><em>Karneios</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Teneates</em> at Tenea</td>
<td><em>Mousagētes</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akrai</td>
<td>Syracuse: <em>Archēgetēs</em>? or <em>Aygieus</em>?</td>
<td><em>Pythios</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Temenites</em></td>
<td>Unknown cult associated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Paianos</em></td>
<td>with ‘Anna and the children’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Karneios</em>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mousagētes</em>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taras</td>
<td>Sparta: <em>Gymnopaidia festival</em></td>
<td><em>Hyakinthos</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Karneios</em></td>
<td><em>Karneia</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Amyklaios and the</em></td>
<td><em>Aleus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hyakinthia festival</em></td>
<td><em>Myopis/Smintheus</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pythios</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herakleia</td>
<td>Taras: <em>Hyakinthos</em></td>
<td><em>Hyakinthos</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Karneia</em>?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Aleus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Cults in the Metropolis/Metropoleis</td>
<td>Cults in the Colony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Gela   | Rhodes & Krete:  
|        | Karneios  
|        | Hyakinthos  
|        | Pythios  
|        | Dekatēphoros  
|        | Erithimios  | Archēgetēs?  
|        | Karneios?  |
| Akragas| Gela: Archēgetēs?  
|        | Karneios?  | Karneios  
|        | Paianos?  |
| Phintias| Akragas:  
|         | Karneios  
|         | Paianos?  | Karneios  |
| Sybaris| Helike: site unknown  
|        | Achaean cults:  
|        | Pythios  
|        | Theoxenios  | ?  |
| Posedonia| Sybaris: no cults known  
|         | epithet unknown  |
| Thurii | Sybarite and Pan-Hellenic colony  | Epikomatiōs?  |
| Kroton | Rhypes: site unknown  
|        | Achaean cults:  
|        | Pythios  
|        | Theoxenios  | Pythios and Hyperboreas?  
|        | Alaios  |
| Kaulonia| Kroton: Pythios and Hyperboreas?  
|       | Alaios  | Daphnēphoros?  |
| Metapontion| Achaean:  
|          | Pythios  
|          | Theoxenios  | Lykeios, Lykos  
<p>|          | Daphnēphoros?  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polis</th>
<th>Cults in the Metropolis/Metropoleis</th>
<th>Cults in the Colony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selinous</td>
<td>Megara Hyblaia: no cults known at Megara: Pythios Dekatēphoros Archēgetēs Prostaterios Agraiaos Lykeios Mouseios</td>
<td>Paianos Archēgetēs? and/or Pythios?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyele</td>
<td>Phokaea: no cults known</td>
<td>Ouliades/Oulis?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More Reliable</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complete Inscription (Antiphemos inscription)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure in the <em>agora</em> (<em>heroön, mnema</em>) (Poseidonia, Selinus)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callimachus’ <em>Aitia</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diodorus Siculus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Plutarch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial inscription (<em>Ευκλεί</em>)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numismatic depictions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unreliable</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>
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<tr>
<th>Polis</th>
<th>Epigraphic Evidence</th>
<th>Archeological Evidence</th>
<th>Literary Evidence</th>
<th>Numismatic Iconography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leontini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Callimachus, <em>Aitia</em>, 2 C66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euboea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Callimachus, <em>Aitia</em>, 2 C68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhegion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seated male figure (<em>oikistēs</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyxous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zankle-Messene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>anonymous founder(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anaxilas?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dionysius I?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Callimachus, <em>Aitia</em>, C 73–108)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Epigraphic Evidence</td>
<td>Archeological Evidence</td>
<td>Literary Evidence</td>
<td>Numismatic Iconography</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
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<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syracuse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dion ? (Plutarch, Dion, 46. 1–2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Timoleon: burial in agora; public funeral; annual celebrations (Plutarch, Timoleon, 39.4; Nepos, Timoleon, 5.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aetna</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hieron I (Pindar, Pythian 1, 30; fr. 105a; Diodorus Siculus 11.66.4; 11.76.3; Strabo 6.2.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyndaris</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dionysius I (Diodorus Siculus 14.78.5–6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dikaipolois (Segesta)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Callimachus, Aitia, C 58–59</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kamarina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hippokrates as oikistēs: Thucydides 6.5.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Epigraphic Evidence</td>
<td>Archeological Evidence</td>
<td>Literary Evidence</td>
<td>Numismatic Iconography</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taras</td>
<td>Inscription on statues representing Taras (Lippolis, 1995)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Scattering of Phalanthos' ashes in the agora: Justin 3.4</td>
<td>Dolphin rider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seated male figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herakleia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Votive items suggest cult of Herakles</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seated Herakles (ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ type?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gela</td>
<td>Inscription of 5th century BCE Kylix cup: Antiphemos</td>
<td>Archaic roof tiles in the area of the inscription may indicate a structure (wooden?)</td>
<td>Callimachus Aitia 2 C 60–63</td>
<td>Timoleon/ Antiphemos as oikistēs?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lindian Chronicle (FGrH 532, 28): Deinomenes as co–founder with Antiphemos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akragas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Timoleon as oikistēs (Plutarch, Timoleon, 35. 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phintias</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Phintias (Diodorus Siculus 22.2.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polis</td>
<td>Epigraphic Evidence</td>
<td>Archeological Evidence</td>
<td>Literary Evidence</td>
<td>Numismatic Iconography</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poseidonia</td>
<td></td>
<td>heroon in agora and associated earlier altar; later temenos wall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kroton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Herakles with inscription: OIKIΣΤΑΣ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metapontion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Heroon of Metabos: Antiochus FGrH 555 F12</td>
<td>Metabos Leukippos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thapsos</td>
<td></td>
<td>re-used Sikel chamber tomb (highly unlikely)</td>
<td>Eponymous founder (Thapsos) Callimachus Aitia 2 C 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megara Hyblaia</td>
<td></td>
<td>building d ?</td>
<td>Callimachus Aitia 2 C 66–67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selinous</td>
<td></td>
<td>heroon in agora</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herakleia Minoa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mythical founder= Minos (Heraclitus Lembos 59) Callimachus Aitia, 2. C. 62–65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eryx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mythical founders: Eryx (Theocritus 15.100 f) or Boutes (Didorus Siculus 4.83.1 = Timaios 109.9ff) Callimachus Aitia, 2 C 68–69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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3. Timoleonic period house
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(Author’s photo)
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