



Publikationen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Anne Jacquemin, Sandrine Huber, Didier Laroche

Athena. A gateway to Delphi

in: Sporn et al. - ANCIENT PHOKIS: New approaches to its history, archaeology and topography
International conference, DAI Athens, 30 March – 1 April 2017 133-146

<https://doi.org/10.34780/b72y-dd7r>

Herausgebende Institution / Publisher:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Copyright (Digital Edition) © 2025 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0
Email: info@dainst.de | Web: <https://www.dainst.org>

Nutzungsbedingungen:

Mit dem Herunterladen erkennen Sie die [Nutzungsbedingungen](#) von iDAI.publications an. Sofern in dem Dokument nichts anderes ausdrücklich vermerkt ist, gelten folgende Nutzungsbedingungen: Die Nutzung der Inhalte ist ausschließlich privaten Nutzerinnen / Nutzern für den eigenen wissenschaftlichen und sonstigen privaten Gebrauch gestattet. Sämtliche Texte, Bilder und sonstige Inhalte in diesem Dokument unterliegen dem Schutz des Urheberrechts gemäß dem Urheberrechtsgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Inhalte können von Ihnen nur dann genutzt und vervielfältigt werden, wenn Ihnen dies im Einzelfall durch den Rechteinhaber oder die Schrankenregelungen des Urheberrechts gestattet ist. Jede Art der Nutzung zu gewerblichen Zwecken ist untersagt. Zu den Möglichkeiten einer Lizenzierung von Nutzungsrechten wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an die verantwortlichen Herausgeber*innen der jeweiligen Publikationsorgane oder an die Online-Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (info@dainst.de). Etwaige davon abweichende Lizenzbedingungen sind im Abbildungsnachweis vermerkt.

Terms of use:

By downloading you accept the [terms of use](#) of iDAI.publications. Unless otherwise stated in the document, the following terms of use are applicable: All materials including texts, articles, images and other content contained in this document are subject to the German copyright. The contents are for personal use only and may only be reproduced or made accessible to third parties if you have gained permission from the copyright owner. Any form of commercial use is expressly prohibited. When seeking the granting of licenses of use or permission to reproduce any kind of material please contact the responsible editors of the publications or contact the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (info@dainst.de). Any deviating terms of use are indicated in the credits.

Katja Sporn | Alexandre Farnoux |
Eric Laufer
ANCIENT PHOKIS

Athenaia 13
Études méditerranéennes 4

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
Abteilung Athen

ATHENAIA 13

ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES

**ÉTUDES
MÉDITERRANÉENNES 4**

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
Abteilung Athen

Katja Sporn | Alexandre Farnoux | Eric Laufer (eds.)

ANCIENT PHOKIS

New approaches to its history, archaeology
and topography

International Conference, DAI Athens, 30 March – 1 April 2017

REICHERT VERLAG

Autor/Author:

Katja Sporn (ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1845-5113>, ROR ID: <https://ror.org/05nqsnd28>)

Alexandre Farnoux (IdRef: <http://www.idref.fr/032145993/id>, ROR ID: <https://ror.org/02fzvr850>)

Eric Laufer (ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8758-6854>, ROR ID: <https://ror.org/05nqsnd28>)

Titel/Title: Ancient Phokis. New approaches to its history, archaeology and topography

Reihe, Band/Series, Volume: Athenaia 13

Reihenherausgeber/Series Editor: Katja Sporn, Reinhard Senff, Oliver Pilz

Reihe, Band/Series, Volume: Études méditerranéennes 4

Reihenherausgeber/Series Editor: École française d'Athènes

Herausgebende Institution/Institutional Editor: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Umfang/Length: X, 526 Seiten/Pages mit/with 244 Abbildungen/Illustrations

Peer Review: Dieser Band wurde einem Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen./*The volume is peer reviewed.*

Verantwortliche Redaktion/Publishing Editor: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Athen, Fidou 1, 10678 Athen, Griechenland, redaktion.athen@dainst.de

Redaktionelle Bearbeitung/Editing: Simon Hoffmann, Diana Wolf, Ulrike Schulz

Prepress: le-tex publishing services GmbH, Leipzig

Buchgestaltung und Coverkonzeption/Book Design and Cover Concept: hawemannundmosch, Berlin

Umschlagfoto/Cover Illustration: Blick von Elateia über die Kephissosebene auf den Parnassos

(D-DAI-ATH-2018-17152_2, Foto: Katja Sporn)

Nutzungsbedingungen/Terms of Use

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Eine Nutzung ohne Zustimmung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts und/oder der jeweiligen Rechteinhaber ist nur innerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes zulässig. Etwaige abweichende Nutzungsmöglichkeiten für Text und Abbildungen sind gesondert im Band vermerkt./*This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright. Any use beyond the limits of copyright law is only allowed with the permission of the German Archaeological Institute and/or the respective copyright holders. Any deviating terms of use for text and images are indicated in the credits.*

Druckausgabe/Printed Edition

Erscheinungsjahr/Year of Publication: 2024

Druck und Vertrieb/Printing and Distribution: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden • www.reichert-verlag.de

Druck und Bindung in Deutschland/Printed and Bound in Germany

ISBN: 978-3-7520-0825-8 (Athenaia), 978-2-86958-624-6 (Études méditerranéennes)

Bibliographische Metadaten/Bibliographic Metadata: <https://zenon.dainst.org/Record/003063459>

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek: Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <https://dnb.de> abrufbar./*Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek: The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available online at https://dnb.de.*

Digitale Ausgabe/Digital Edition

Erscheinungsjahr/Year of Publication: 2024

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/xb69-ti55>

Bibliographische Metadaten/Bibliographic Metadata: <https://zenon.dainst.org/Record/003063459>

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Vorwort	IX
Phocis, Delphoi, and the amphictyony	1
<i>Peter Londey</i>	
Living on a rock. The cities of ancient Phocis and the importance of place	11
<i>Hans Beck</i>	
Borders and identity in ancient Phocis: some reflections	23
<i>Giovanna Daverio Rocchi</i>	
Phocis in the Aetolian League. Self-abandonment or self-assertion?	33
<i>Peter Funke</i>	
The institutions of the Phocian League	45
<i>Denis Rousset</i>	
Phocis in Roman times: beyond the shadow of Delphi	67
<i>Georgios A. Zachos</i>	
Das phokische Koinon zwischen Bötien, Delphi, Athen und Rom	85
<i>Christoph Begass</i>	
Delphes et Kalapodi au début de l'âge du fer ancien (11 ^e –9 ^e siècles av. J.-C.)	101
<i>Jean-Marc Luce</i>	
Zur Selbstdarstellung der Phoker in Delphi	121
<i>Anne Jacquemin</i>	
Athena. A gateway to Delphi	133
<i>Sandrine Huber – Anne Jacquemin – Didier Laroche</i>	

Terres cuites figurées du dépôt votif de Kirrha: de l'établissement du matériel à son exploitation	147
<i>Stéphanie Huysecom-Haxhi</i>	
The sanctuary of Athena in Phocian Antikyra	165
<i>Athanasios Sideris</i>	
The fortifications of ancient Phocis	
Results and prospects	185
<i>Nicolas Kyriakidis</i>	
Δρόμος με παρελθόν	195
<i>Φανούρια Δακορώνια (†) – Πέτρος Κουνούκλας</i>	
Παναγίτσα Ελάτειας 1979–1981	
Κτερίσματα και ταφικά έθιμα σε κλασσικό νεκροταφείο της Ελατείας	209
<i>Πάντος Α. Πάντος</i>	
Spanning two oracles. The sanctuary of Demeter at Erochos, between Delphi and Abae	219
<i>Elena Partida – Anthoula Tsaroucha</i>	
The rediscovery of a manuscript by Erich Gose and Friedrich Schober on the Kephissos valley from 1926	237
<i>Katja Sporn</i>	
Ο κρίσιμος 4ος αιώνας π.Χ.: παλαιές και νέες οχυρώσεις, παλαιοί και νέοι οικισμοί στην κοιλάδα του φωκικού Κηφισού	249
<i>Φώτης Ντάσιος</i>	
Panopeus	271
<i>Elena Kountouri – Ioannis Mavrommatidis – Nikolaos Petrochilos</i>	
New research on the fortification of Tithorea. A preliminary report of fieldwork 2016–2017	287
<i>Petros Kounouklas – Eric Laufer</i>	
Surveying the caves above Tithorea in 2016	307
<i>Stella Katsarou – Lina Kormazopoulou – Eric Laufer – Sabine Neumann – Katja Sporn – Ioanna Zygouri</i>	

Doric capitals and column drums from Modi in Phocis	339
---	-----

Nils Hellner – David Scahill

Ταφές των Πρώιμων Αυτοκρατορικών Χρόνων από την Υάμπολη στην ανατολική Φωκίδα	349
--	-----

Μαρία Παπαγεωργίου – Δημήτρης Γρηγορόπουλος

Sites of memory in ancient Phocis

The Thessalian-Phocian battles, the Persian Wars, and the changing religious landscape	371
---	-----

Elena Franchi

A transfer of sacred lands from eastern Phocis, IG IX1, 87	383
--	-----

Jeremy McInerney

Kalapodi 2014–2016: Investigating the surroundings, limits and infrastructure of the sanctuary	397
---	-----

Katja Sporn

Ritual burials of temples and ritual depositions accompanying building activities in the oracle sanctuary of Apollon at Abai/ Kalapodi	409
--	-----

Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier

The bronze finds from the Late Geometric ›South Temple 6‹ at Kalapodi

Cult practices and local craft traditions in eastern Phocis	421
---	-----

Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß

The significance of the sanctuary of Kalapodi during the Archaic period based on the pottery finds	439
---	-----

Michaela Stark

A palette of bronze and silver: the monetary perspective of the archaeological site at Kalapodi	455
--	-----

Hristina Ivanova-Anaplioti

New iron finds from the 2016 campaign in Kalapodi – Contexts and compositions	469
--	-----

Sandra Zipprich

A bronze foundry of Classical times in the sanctuary at Kalapodi	479
<i>Johanna Fuchs</i>	

Pagan twilight at Kalapodi: Two pottery assemblages of the third and fourth centuries A.D.	491
<i>Dimitris Grigoropoulos</i>	

Athena. A gateway to Delphi

Sandrine Huber – Anne Jacquemin – Didier Laroche

Introduction

This paper marks the intersection of two programs that we are running at Delphi under the aegis of the French School at Athens. The first program, ›Sacrifices at Delphi‹, will clarify the modalities of the sacrifices celebrated in honour of Pythian Apollo and the other gods in Delphi¹. The study of sacrifices has so far been largely neglected in the research at Delphi. We need, first, to reconstruct the physical landscape as well as the ritual and sacrificial topography, starting from the appearance of the first cults right down to the impact of Christianity. Built spaces, empty spaces, means of access and circulation networks, altars and the paraphernalia needed for the conducting of sacrifices – blood sacrifice and vegetable sacrifice – and the practices of commensality that ensued: all should be discussed from the point of view of the ritual and sacrificial acts performed at Delphi. The research then embraces, alongside a study of texts, an archaeology of the whole sacrificial environment, involving all the spaces necessary for the sacrifices.

The second program, that started in 2017, concerns the place today called ›the Marmaria‹, on a lower level

to the southeast of the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo and the town of Delphi (*fig. 1*)². The resumption of the study of the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia brings a more global perspective into play, one to do with the ancillary developments at a Panhellenic sanctuary – the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo in our case (*fig. 2*) – and on the outskirts of the city administrating or co-administrating the sanctuary of Apollo at some periods of its history. The sanctuary of Athena Pronaia (*fig. 3*) and the gymnasium, oriented towards the Pleistos valley, constitute important fixed points within the Delphic topography, ones of relevance to both the sanctuary of Apollo and the town, as well as concerning its boundaries and its defensive system in a more recent period. This research is designed to interact with other ongoing programs in Delphi, on the town³, the defences⁴ and the gymnasium⁵. The program in the Marmaria can be seen as both the continuation and last stage of the research program on the sacrifices at Delphi.

The purpose of this paper is to highlight some of the questions raised by these research programs, which are developed elsewhere⁶.

¹ See Huber et al. 2014; Huber et al. 2015/2016; Huber et al. 2016; Huber et al. 2022.

² Huber – Laroche 2022.

³ Luce 2008; Luce 2015; Luce 2015/2016.

⁴ Kyriakidis et al. 2015/2016; Kyriakidis – Zugmeyer 2019, and Kyriakidis in this volume; see also Amandry 1981, 740–746.

⁵ A Franco-Hellenic mission has been carrying out an exhaustive study of the monument since 2019.

⁶ References above, n. 1. 2.



1 Map of Delphi (M. 1:7000)

The environment of research

Many scientific programs have recently been devoted to the archaeology of cult⁷. In most Greek sanctuaries, until recently, studies have focused on the monumental, and hence, as a result, concentrate on their architecture. The recent publication of the temple of Apollo from the 4th century in Delphi by Erik Hansen and Pierre Amandry is a good example. It is a masterly and essential architectural study, but to paraphrase Anne Jacquemin, the two researchers approached their subject from the point of view of the suppliers and not the consumers: there is not a single word in the publication about the functioning of the temple⁸.

Michael Scott has recently criticized the approach to research conducted so far at two major shrines of the Greek world, Delphi and Olympia⁹: he pointed out that more attention needs to be paid to the many activ-

ities carried out in these sanctuaries, beyond the consultation of the main oracle at Delphi and the celebration of the Games at Olympia. He added rightly to these two main activities the dedication of monumental offerings, of which he demonstrates the international dimension in play in their spatial organization. But other aspects have been highlighted, in particular sanctuaries as economic¹⁰ and political¹¹ places in cities or federations. It is important not to forget the rites and sacrifices that make up the religious activity par excellence in every ancient place of worship and for which spaces seem to have been reserved in the management of the consecrated places. We can observe this latter point in how the monumental scale of offerings had an impact on the physical arrangement of the monuments both in the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia¹²

7 Among others Gerlach – Raue 2013; Huber – Van Andringa 2022; Barringer et al. forthcoming.

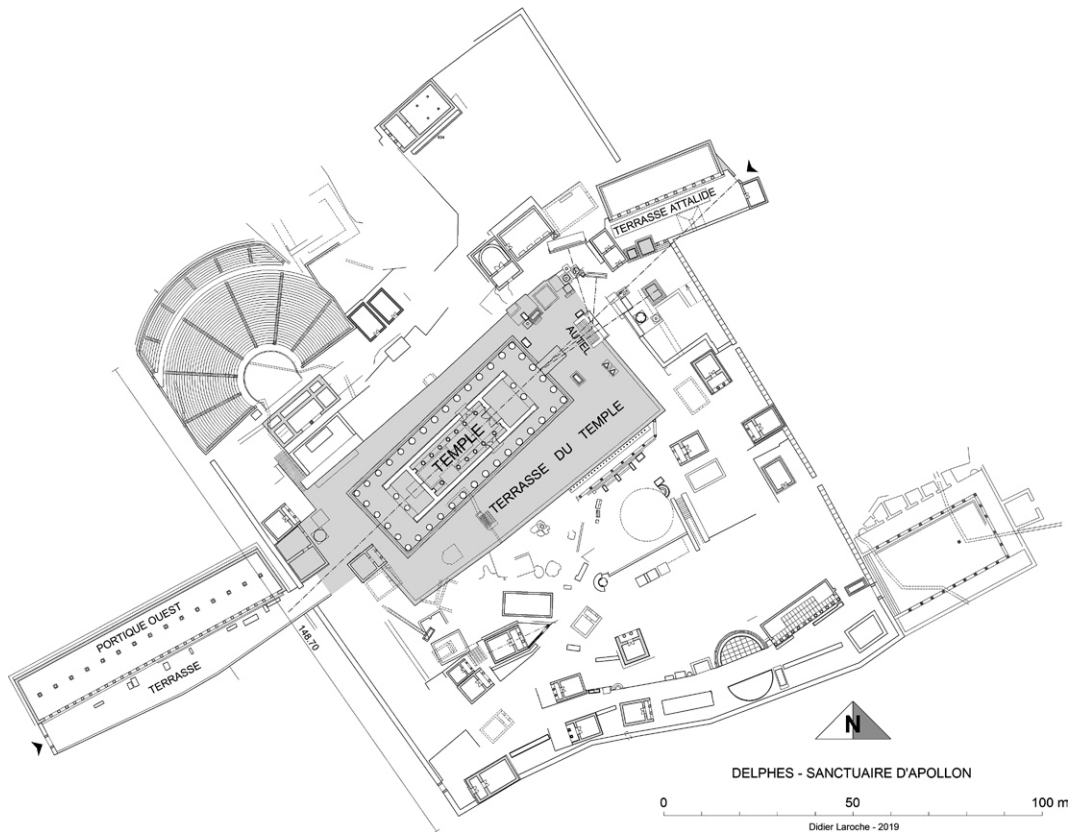
8 Jacquemin 2014; Amandry – Hansen 2010; see also Jacquemin – Laroche 2017.

9 Scott 2010, 7; see the cautions expressed by Eckerman 2010.

10 Chankowski 2005; Chankowski 2011; Chankowski 2013; Dignas 2002.

11 For example in Delphi: Lefèvre 1998; Jacquemin – Laroche 2014.

12 Heilmeyer et al. 2012, maps 288. 289.



2 Plan of the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo at the time of Pausanias (M. 1 : 2000)

and in the sanctuary of Delian Apollo on Delos¹³, where the managers of the sanctuary were careful to leave, in front of the famous Altar of Horns, an area of about 415 m² free of any encumbrance¹⁴. Even to the extent that monumental offerings of great size were positioned hard up against the portico of the Naxians and in front of the Pythion. Moreover, the spectators in the gallery and on the steps of the Naxians' portico were prevented by the height and breadth of these monumental offerings from seeing what was happening on the esplanade in front of the Altar of Horns.

In Delphi, we have investigated the circulation networks and the management of space in the *epiphanestatos topos* in the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo (fig. 2. 3), around the altar: that is, the area in front of the altar on the terrace of the temple and east of the path that ascends towards the temple terrace. For a long time now, thanks to the 'nature abhors a vacuum' reflex, researchers tended to use the entire space of the espla-

nade surrounding the temple to restore all the monumental offerings whose existence is assured (more than a hundred). However, it now appears that these offerings should be spread out at the edges of the free spaces (fig. 3). This reconstruction tries to show how the large-scale sacrifices were carried out, such as the hecatombs whose celebration is attested in Delphi. So, we have moved the pillars of the Messenians and the Naupactians to the edge of the esplanade, against the internal parapet of the eastern wall of the temple terrace¹⁵. This would broadly parallel the setup of the Messenian pillar with respect to the temple of Zeus in Olympia¹⁶.

The sanctuary of Pythian Apollo at Delphi was one of the most frequented sanctuaries of the Greek world, because of its oracle. The consultations of the god were accompanied by sacrifices. Solemn festivals took place in a steady rhythm, the most brilliant in the Delphic calendar being naturally that of the Pythia¹⁷. Any pretext for a sacrifice was welcome.

¹³ Herbin 2018; Herbin 2019.

¹⁴ Huber 2018, 222 (about the terrace in the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi: 224 n. 100).

¹⁵ And not as initially proposed in Jacquemin – Larocque 2016.

¹⁶ Hölscher 1974.

¹⁷ For the Delphic festivals, see Roux 1976.



3 Restitution of the terrace of the temple of Pythian Apollo in the 4th century

The remains in the Marmaria

The sanctuary of Athena Pronaia on the main Marmaria terrace (figs. 1. 4)¹⁸, visible on the horizon from the temple of Apollo, also received sacrifices, as is evidenced by several altars identified by the scholars since the first excavations in 1901 (figs. 4. 5–6 nos. 21. 23. 25–27), east of the temple of Athena, recognized as the temple of tufa, i.e. the most eastern building preserved (no. 29).

Excavated basically at the time of the ›Grande Fouille‹ in 1901 and in 1903 under the responsibility of Théophile Homolle¹⁹, and again between 1920 and 1924 by Robert Demangel²⁰, the place named the Marmaria was only rarely the focus of attention thereaf-

ter. Jean Bousquet carried out some prospections in the olive groves below in the 1940s²¹. In 1956, Lucien Lerat resumed excavations on the terrace of the altars to shed new light on Demangel's excavations²². In the 1970s, Christian Le Roy carried out trials in the Doric Treasury, and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Phocis carried out retaining and terracing works, with small excavations²³.

Research has so far concentrated on the identification of the buildings at the Marmaria. As yet, there is no overall agreement. Since the first plan published by Heinrich Nikolaus Ulrichs in 1840²⁴, which presented the first remains excavated at the Marmaria

18 Poulsen 1908, 332–388, pls. 1. 2; Demangel 1926; Bommelaer 1997; Bommelaer 2015, 66–93.

19 Homolle 1901a; Homolle 1901b; Homolle 1904.

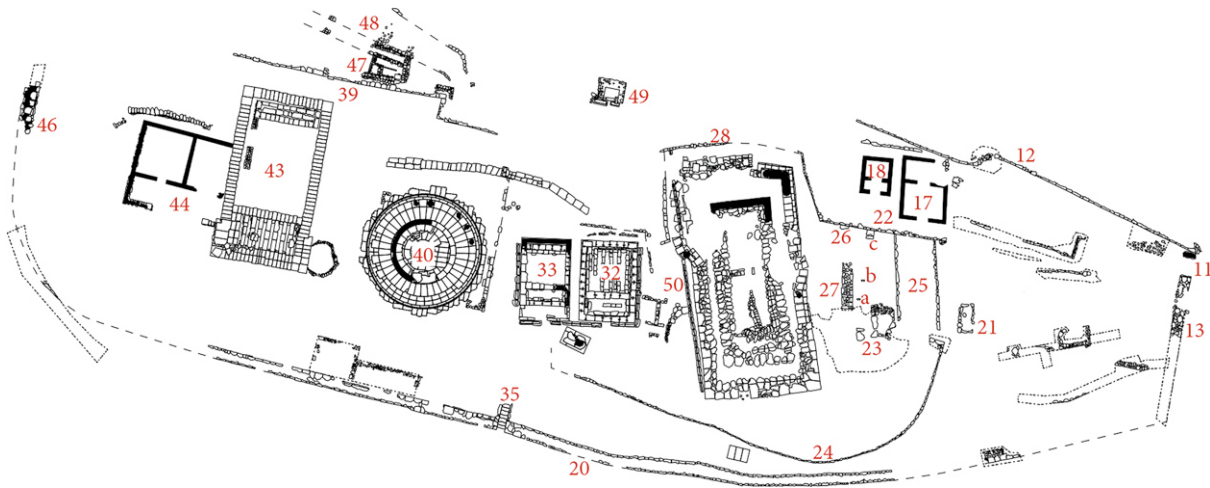
20 BCH 44, 1920, 3; BCH 45, 1921, 487–568; Fomine – Lauritzen 1925; Gottlob 1925; Demangel 1926.

21 Amandry 1981, 711.

22 Delphes, BCH 81, 1957, 708–710.

23 Le Roy et al. 1972, 887–905; Amandry 1981, 711–714. Subsequently, the Ephorate of Antiquities of Phocis has undertaken the management of the site and its enhancement. Several areas surrounding the Marmaria were expropriated in 2005, and a new site layout was implemented in 2015 by the Greek Archaeological Service.

24 Ulrichs 1840.



4 Plan of the remains at the site of the Marmaria: 11. Eastern gate of the sanctuary. – 12. Hellenistic analemma wall. – 13. Eastern peribolos. – 17. Northeastern oikoi (Heroon of Phylakos?). – 18. Northeastern oikoi (Heroon of Phylakos?). – 20. Southern Peribolos. – 21. Altar. – 22. Analemma of the altar's terrace. – 23. Altar. – 24. Analemma (archaic peribolos?). – 25. »Great Altar«. – 26. Altars of Hygeia and Eileithyia. – 27. Altar. – 28. Analemma wall of the temple of tufa. – 29. Temple of tufa. – 32. Doric treasury. – 33. Ionic treasury. – 35. Southern stairway. – 39. Hellenistic analemma wall. – 40. Tholos. – 43. Limestone monument (Artemis?). – 44. Two-room oikos (hestiatorion?). – 46. Western peribolos. – 47. Canalisation. – 48. Analemma walls. – 49. Fountain. – 50. Canalisation. – a. Cippus dedicated to Athena Ergane. – b. Cippus dedicated to Athena Zosteria. – c. Cippus dedicated to Zeus Polieus

by Edmund Laurent in 1838, through the detailed drawing by Youri Fomine in the late 1920s²⁵, until the photogrammetric survey realized for the exhibition devoted to the Massalia Treasury in Marseille in 2013²⁶, the identification of the monuments found in the Marmaria has been constantly debated and there is no chance of solving this question here. In fact, from the beginning of research at the Marmaria, it has always been the aim to fit the remains to the description of Pausanias, and not to study them in their own spatial and functional environment. Since Pausanias (10, 8, 6–7) speaks of four *naoi* and parts of six main buildings have been found, there are therefore thirty possible combinations to be considered in making any identifications²⁷.

In the discussion here, we intend to concentrate on the eastern part of the site that has been somewhat neglected in this debate, probably because of the attraction of the prestigious monuments revealed in the western part, but which, in our opinion, is essential not only for the understanding of developments

in the main Marmaria terrace, but also for understanding the development of the town of Delphi and the cultic activities, that is the eastern part of the sanctuary²⁸.

The only buildings identified in excavation in the eastern sector are two structures interpreted as *oikoi* or treasuries (fig. 4 no. 17, 18), upslope from the main terrace, and four built altars to the east of the temple of tufa, all extremely ruined (and today heavily restored (figs. 5. 6 a–d)²⁹. Two other (fig. 4 no. 26) altars are to be added, dedicated to Hygeia and Eileithyia, placed against the retaining wall to the north of the main terrace, and a series of three *cippi* dedicated to Athena Ergane, Athena Zosteria and Zeus Polieus (fig. 4, letters a–c), to which perhaps belonged a last *cippus* dedicated to Zeus Machaneus³⁰.

The four built altars no. 21, 23, 25 and 27 are almost parallel (figs. 4. 5. 6). Three of them are of small or normal size (21: 3.35 × 1.55 m, 23: 3.40 × 2.80 m, 27: 7.10 × 1.30 m) and preserved a masonry of orthostates that may have contained a filling and supported a

²⁵ Fomine – Lauritzen 1925, pl. 1.

²⁶ Garsson 2012, 98–107.

²⁷ Laroche 2021 and Jacquemin – Laroche 2019. This new reading of the data also sheds undoubtedly new light on the discussion concerning the origin of the great number of Mycenaean terracotta figurines uncovered near the old altar 23.

²⁸ Bommelaer 2015, 73–78.

²⁹ Poulsen 1908, 343–349; Demangel 1926, 47–51; Bommelaer 2015, 73–75.

³⁰ See, most recently, Jacquemin et al. 2012, 40 f. nos. 9–13, with bibliography.



5 The altar sector in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia

missing crowning. The oldest altar, no. 23, which has disappeared from the recent plans, and to which Demangel assigned no exact date, should go either with some pre-Archaic phase, as he suggested, or belong to the first installation of the sanctuary in the historical period, that is the Geometric-Archaic period³¹. Altar 27 is considered as dating from the 6th century and altar 21 cannot be dated with precision³². According to Frederik Poulsen, altar 27 is not preserved in its entirety and extended northwards towards the terrace wall 22; he claims that the few rubble stones preserved at the foot of the terrace wall belong to it, above which is engraved, directly on the blocks of wall 22, the inscription to Eileithyia, 1.20 m above the present ground level³³. According to him, it would thus be an altar dedicated to Eileithyia. Later, the two ensembles – altar 27 and the dedication to Eileithyia – were distinguished and the rubble stones against wall 22 were interpreted as belonging to a small altar dedicated to Eileithyia, which corresponded to the one below the dedication to Hygeia, at the same level 2 m to the East³⁴. The altar dedicated to Hygeia, 0.80 m high and barely 1 m wide, extends at least 1.20 m from wall 22.

The genitive used in both dedications to Eileithyia and Hygeia, probably inscribed before the Greek-Perian wars, would indicate a space, an altar (etc.)³⁵.

Structure 25, the ›Great Altar‹³⁶, also consisted of orthostates, at least on its two long sides, which seemed to contain an earth fill and not to support any superstructure³⁷. Its width is complete (5.50 m), but its length, which exceeds 12 m, was cut short both north, where the earliest terrace wall (22) was constructed presumably in the first half of the 6th century, and south by later disturbances. In 1901, Homolle pointed out that east of the temple of tufa »a wide esplanade was developing, the ground of which is composed entirely of ashes and calcined bones, the remains of the sacrifices of many generations«³⁸, among which many bronze and terracotta offerings dating from the 7th and 6th centuries were found. Heinrich Bulle thus associated the structure with »Aschenaltäre«³⁹. If this interpretation is correct, we must note the distinction with the altar to Pythian Apollo, a typical built altar. The use of the terms »ossements calcinés« (calcined bones) by Homolle in his report in 1901⁴⁰ refers to faunal remains from *thysia* practice, during which sacri-

31 Demangel 1926, 47 f. fig. 57; Delphes BCH 81, 1957, 708–710. See also the discussion on the Mycenaean finds in the Marmaria spot by Müller 1992, 481–486.

32 Demangel 1926, 77 f. fig. 83.

33 Poulsen 1908, 345.

34 See, most recently, Jacquemin et al. 2012, 40 no. 9.

35 Jacquemin et al. 2012, 40 no. 10.

36 Let us note in passing that Homolle designated the Doric treasury no. 32 as the ›Great Altar‹ in 1901, during the first excavations of the Marmaria: Homolle 1901b, 373 and inset plan contra Diels – von Prott 1903.

37 The restitution of an altar built on structure 25 illustrated in Bommelaer 1997, 29 fig. 11 is incorrect.

38 Homolle 1901b, 375; Homolle 1904, 6.

39 Bulle 1907, 33.

40 Homolle 1901b, 375.



6 a–d The four built altars east of the Athena Pronaia temple, respectively 23, 27, 25, 21

ficial animals' thighbones wrapped in fat and the tails were burned, and the *splanchna* were roasted, as evidenced by the textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence⁴¹.

The arrangement of the area east of the altars remains to be understood. Demangel noted an altitude difference of about 6 m between the level of the access gate to the sanctuary northeast of the temenos wall and the remains that he excavated in trials he carried out in a private olive grove southeast of the altars (*fig. 4*)⁴². In the Marmaria, too, we must restore the arrangements in three dimensions, as we have done in the sanctuary of Apollo⁴³, to understand the complexity and chronology of the development of the terraces. It is necessary to work out the circulation networks and the rites, taking into account the suc-

cessive development phases of the terraces, which have for the most part disappeared in the present state of the site. In any case, it seems clear that the eastern part of the main Marmaria terrace was largely devoted to the practices of blood sacrifice and, most likely, to activities related to the meat and its consumption. All the layers excavated by Demangel in the vicinity of the altars, and in the private olive grove southeast, delivered large quantities of calcined, burnt and unburnt bones, waste that reflects respectively *thysia* practice, the cooking and consumption of meat, and the butchering practices⁴⁴.

It appears that the worshippers who entered the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia from the east – that is, those who arrived from Attica or Boeotia – first discovered, in front of Athena's temple (*fig. 4 no. 29*), a

⁴¹ See esp. Ekroth 2009; Ekroth 2013; Morton 2015.

⁴² Demangel 1926, 77–84, esp. 77 n. 2.

⁴³ Huber et al. 2016.

⁴⁴ At this stage of our research, these faunal remains could not be identified in the reserves of the Archaeological Museum in Delphi.

sacrificial area, related to the altars dedicated to Athena and the other deities honoured here at her side.

In order to characterize the sacrificial practices celebrated in honour of Athena and other divinities on a terrace apparently at the edge of the inhabited zone, it is necessary to widen the discussion. The religious assemblage in the main Marmaria terrace and the neighbouring athletic facilities in the gymnasium were undoubtedly essential reference points in the urban topography (see *fig. 1*). The hypothesis that the town extended east of the ravine of Castalia is hardly defensible. The order in which Pausanias describes the place after entering Delphi suggests that the residential area cannot extend to the east of the Castalia ravine⁴⁵. The south-eastern part of Delphi, on the eastern slope of Castalia, has constraints placed upon it by its topography: the slope is very active from a tectonic point of view, with an active fault line there, and furthermore from a geomorphological angle, with the processes of erosion creating gullies,

an accumulation of scree and by the presence of scree slope. It seems that the constructors of the Gymnasium and of the religious buildings in the main Marmaria terrace took advantage of some rare natural outcrops at the foot of the cliffs of the Phedriades, on a very steep slope. It is as if the Delphians sought to optimize the scanty suitable terrain below the sanctuary of Apollo for these two complexes. Such a situation does not allow habitation in this sector, the northern part of which was occupied intermittently from the Mycenaean period by funeral complexes⁴⁶.

We can note that the Late Antiquity defensive wall that controlled the eastern access to the proto-Byzantine city is located at the eastern end of the gymnasium and that the perimeter thus protected excludes the spot of the Marmaria, which would lead one to believe that this latter area was not inside the town⁴⁷. This wall was built after Pausanias' visit, to defend a town that was then reduced, in the late 6th to early 7th century A.D.⁴⁸

Conclusion

At this stage of our research on the sacrifices in Delphi, we can observe that the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia and of the other divinities celebrated on the main Marmaria terrace had important sacrificial infrastructures, with spaces whose function needs re-assessing.

The sanctuary of Athena is consequently at the gateway of Delphi, at the portals of the Panhellenic sanctuary of Pythian Apollo. Thus Athena, without being strictly in front of the temple of Apollo, can play

the role of a pronaos divinity, as recently suggested⁴⁹. It is now time to re-examine the history of the Marmaria site in the urban fabric of Delphi, but also in that of the city-state of Delphi, its place in the city's circulation networks and its relation to the eastern cemeteries.

Delphi
Strasbourg
Strasbourg

Sandrine Huber
Anne Jacquemin
Didier Laroche

⁴⁵ Paus. 10, 8, 6–10, 9, 1.

⁴⁶ See Maass 1996.

⁴⁷ Kyriakidis – Zugmeyer 2019.

⁴⁸ Pétridis 2010, esp. 17–22. 141–144. Kyriakidis – Zugmeyer 2019.

⁴⁹ Jacquemin – Laroche 2019.

Sources of illustrations: *Fig. 1:* EFA/D. Laroche 1988. – *Fig. 2, 4:* EFA/D. Laroche 2019. – *Fig. 3:* EFA/M. Bublot 2019. – *Fig. 5:* EFA/D. Laroche 2019 (after Fomine – Lauritzen 1925, pl. I). – *Fig. 6:* EFA/S. Huber (after Demangel 1926, 47 fig. 57).

Addresses

Prof. Dr. Sandrine Huber
Université de Lille
Domaine du Pont de Bois – BP 60149
59653 Villeneuve d'Ascq cedex
France
sandrine.huber@univ-lille.fr

Anne Jacquemin
Professeur émérite
Université de Strasbourg
5, quai Koch
67000 Strasbourg
France
jacquemi@unistra.fr

Didier Laroche
École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Strasbourg
6-8, boulevard Wilson
67068 Strasbourg cedex
France
didier.laroche@wanadoo.fr

Bibliography

- Amandry 1981** P. Amandry, *Chronique delphique*, BCH 105, 1981, 673–769
- Amandry – Hansen 2010** P. Amandry – E. Hansen, *Le temple d'Apollon du IV^e siècle 1–3*, FdD 2, 14 (Athens 2010)
- Barringer et al. forthcoming** J. Barringer – G. Ekroth – D. Scahill, *Logistics in Greek Sanctuaries. Exploring the Human Experience of Visiting the Gods* (forthcoming)
- Bommelear 1997** J.-F. Bommelaer (ed.), *Marmaria. Le sanctuaire d'Athéna à Delphes, Sites et monuments* 16 (Athens 1997)
- Bommelaer 2015** J.-F. Bommelaer, *Guide de Delphes 2, Sites et monuments* 7 (Athens 2015)
- Bulle 1907** H. Bulle, *Die älteren Ansiedlungsschichten, Orchomenos 1 = AbhMünchen 24 = Denkschriften der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 80,2 (Munich 1907)
- Chankowski 2005** V. Chankowski (ed.), *Les dieux manieurs d'argent. Activités bancaires et formes de gestion dans les sanctuaires*, TOPOI 12/13, 2005, 69–93
- Chankowski 2011** V. Chankowski, *Divine Financers. Cults as Consumers and Generators of Value*, in: Z. H. Archibald – J. Davies – V. Gabrielsen (eds.), *The Economies of Hellenistic Societies, Third to First Centuries BC* (Oxford 2011) 142–165
- Chankowski 2013** V. Chankowski, *Nouvelles recherches sur les comptes des hiéropes de Délos: des archives de l'intendance sacrée au grand livre de comptabilité*, CRAI 2013, 917–953
- Demangel 1926** R. Demangel, *Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia. 3. Topographie du sanctuaire*, FdD 2, 5 (Paris 1926)
- Diels – von Prott 1903** H. Diels – J. von Prott, in: *Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin*. 1903. November, AA 1903, 203
- Dignas 2002** B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford 2002)
- Eckerman 2010** C. Eckerman, *Rev. of M. Scott, Delphi and Olympia. The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Cambridge 2010), *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2010.08.55
- Ekroth 2009** G. Ekroth, *Thighs or Tails? The osteological evidence as a source for Greek ritual norms*, in: P. Brulé (ed.), *La norme en matière religieuse en Grèce ancienne, Actes du 11^e colloque du CIERGA Rennes, September 2007*, *Kernos suppl.* 21 (Liège 2009) 125–151
- Ekroth 2013** G. Ekroth, *What we Would Like the Bones to Tell us. A Sacrificial Wish List*, in: G. Ekroth – J. Wallensten (eds.), *Bones, Behaviour and Belief. The Zooarchaeological Evidence as a Source for Ritual Practice in Ancient Greece and Beyond* (Stockholm 2013) 15–30
- Fomine – Lauritzen 1925** Y. Fomine – W. Lauritzen, *Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia. 1. (planches), relevés et restaurations*, FdD 2 (Paris 1925)
- Garsson 2012** M. Garsson (ed.), *Le trésor des Marseillais. 500 av. J.-C., l'état l'éclat de Marseille à Delphes* (Paris 2012)
- Gerlach – Raue 2013** I. Gerlach – D. Raue (eds.), *Sanktuar und Ritual. Heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund*, MKT 4, *Heiligtümer: Gestalt und Ritual, Kontinuität und Veränderung* 10 (Rahden 2013)
- Gottlob 1925** K. Gottlob, *Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia. 2. (planches), relevés et restaurations*, FdD 2 (Paris 1925)
- Heilmeyer et al. 2012** W.-D. Heilmeyer – N. Kaltsas – H.-J. Gehrke – G. E. Hatzi – S. Bocher (eds.), *Mythos Olympia. Kult und Spiele* (Munich 2012)
- Herbin 2018** F. Herbin, *Disposition spatiale des offrandes monumentales et circulations dans le sanctuaire*, in: R. Étienne (ed.), *Le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Délos. 1. Architecture, topographie, histoire*, Délos 44 (Athens 2018) 99–115.
- Herbin 2019** F. Herbin, *Le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Délos. 2. Les monuments votifs et honorifiques (sans toit)*, Délos 45 (Athens 2019)

- Hölscher 1974** T. Hölscher, Die Nike der Messenier und Naupaktier in Olympia, *JdI* 89, 1974, 70–111
- Homolle 1901a** Th. Homolle, Les fouilles de Delphes en 1901, *CRAI* 45, 1901, 638–642
- Homolle 1901b** Th. Homolle, Les dernières fouilles de Delphes. Le temple d'Athéna Pronaia, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 10, 1901, 361–377
- Homolle 1904** Th. Homolle, Fouilles de Delphes. Les découvertes de Marmaria, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 15, 1904, 5–29
- Huber 2018** S. Huber, Des hécatombes pour Apollon Délén, in: R. Étienne (ed.), *Le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Délos. 1. Architecture, topographie, histoire*, Délos 44 (Athens 2018) 217–228
- Huber et al. 2014** S. Huber – A. Jacquemin – D. Laroche, Sacrifices à Delphes 2013, *BCH* 138, 2014, 726–731
- Huber et al. 2015/2016** S. Huber – A. Jacquemin – D. Laroche, Sacrifices à Delphes 2014/2015, *BCH* 139/140, 2015/2016, 775–784
- Huber et al. 2016** S. Huber – A. Jacquemin – D. Laroche, Sacrifices à Delphes 2016, [notice archéologique], *Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger* [en ligne], Grèce, mis en ligne le 24 novembre 2020, consulté le 28 mars 2022. <http://journals.openedition.org/baefe/1319> (12.10.2022)
- Huber et al. 2022** S. Huber – A. Jacquemin – D. Laroche, Sacrifier aux dieux à Delphes : espaces et agencements culturels, in: S. Huber – W. Van Andringa (eds.), *BCH Suppl. 64* (Athens 2022), 35–50
- Huber – Laroche 2022** S. Huber – D. Laroche, Delphes, les abords sud-est de la ville : les vestiges sur la terrasse de Marmaria, 2017–2021, *Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger* (en ligne), 2022
- Huber – Van Andringa 2022** S. Huber – W. Van Andringa (eds.), *Côtoyer les dieux : l'organisation des espaces dans les sanctuaires grecs et romains*, *BCH Suppl. 64* (Athens 2022)
- Jacquemin 2014** A. Jacquemin, *Rev. of P. Amandry – E. Hansen, Fouilles de Delphes 2, Topographie et architecture 14, Le temple d'Apollon du IV^e siècle* (Athens 2010), *Gnomon* 86, 2014, 350–355
- Jacquemin – Laroche 2014** A. Jacquemin – D. Laroche, Un espace politique au cœur du sanctuaire de Delphes, *CRAI* 2014, 727–753
- Jacquemin – Laroche 2016** A. Jacquemin – D. Laroche, L'offrande des Messéniens et des Naupactiens à Delphes, in: O. Palagia (ed.), *Naupaktos. The Ancient City and its Significance during the Peloponnesian War and the Hellenistic Period*, *Proceedings of the Colloquium 'Ancient Naupaktos and its Area' Held in Naupaktos on 15 November, 2014* (Athens 2016) 85–100
- Jacquemin – Laroche 2017** A. Jacquemin – D. Laroche, Observations sur le temple d'Apollon à Delphes, in: *Bulletin de la Société française d'archéologie classique* 47, 2015–2016, RA 63, 2017 fasc. 1, 101–152, here 130–139
- Jacquemin – Laroche 2019** A. Jacquemin – D. Laroche, Pourquoi Athéna est-elle Pronaia à Delphes ?, *REG* 132, 2019, XIII–XIV
- Jacquemin et al. 2012** A. Jacquemin – D. Mulliez – G. Rougemont, Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes, traduites et commentées par A. Jacquemin – D. Mulliez – G. Rougemont, *Études épigraphiques* 5 (Athens 2012)
- Kyriakidis et al. 2015/2016** N. Kyriakidis – D. Laroche – S. Zugmeyer, Les fortifications dites 'de Philomélos' à Delphes, *BCH* 139/140, 2015/2016, 767–774
- Kyriakidis – Zugmeyer 2019** N. Kyriakidis – S. Zugmeyer, Les fortifications de Delphes dans l'Antiquité, *BCH* [en ligne], 143.1, 2019, mis en ligne le 30 octobre 2020 <<http://journals.openedition.org/bch/762>> (12.10.2022)
- Laroche 2021** D. Laroche, Le temple d'Artémis à Delphes, in: H. Aurigny – C. Durvy (eds.), *Artémis près d'Apollon. Culte et représentation d'Artémis à Délos, Delphes, Claros et Didymes*, *Kernos Suppl. 37* (Liège 2021), 201–212
- Lefèvre 1998** F. Lefèvre, *L'amphictionie pyléo-delphique. Histoire et institutions*, *BEFAR* 298 (Athens 1998)
- Le Roy et al. 1972** C. Le Roy – G. Rougemont – L. Lucien – P. Aupert – J. Marcadé – F. Croissant, A. Delphes, in: *BCH* 69, 1972, 887–905
- Luce 2008** J.-M. Luce, L'aire du pilier des Rhodiens (fouille 1990–1992), à la frontière du profane et du sacré, *FdD* 2, 13 (Athens 2008)
- Luce 2015** J.-M. Luce, Le programme 'Ville de Delphes', *RA* 59, 2015, 145–151
- Luce 2015/2016** J.-M. Luce, La ville de Delphes, *BCH* 139/140, 2015/2016, 726–766
- Maass 1996** M. Maass, *Bemerkungen zu den Häusern und Gräberfunden*, in: M. Maass (ed.), *Delfi. Orakel am Nabel der Welt* (Sigmaringen 1996) 135–147
- Morton 2015** J. Morton, The Experience of Greek Sacrifice: Investigating the Twice-Wrapped Fat of Ancient Greek Sacrifice, in: M. Miles (ed.), *Autopsy*

- in Athens. Recent Archaeological Research on Athens and Attica (Athens 2015) 66–76
- Müller 1992** S. Müller, Delphes et sa région à l'époque mycénienne, BCH 116, 1992, 445–496
- Pétridis 2010** P. Pétridis, La céramique protobyzantine de Delphes: une production et son contexte, FdD 5, 4 (Athens 2010)
- Poulsen 1908** F. Poulsen, Recherches sur quelques questions relatives à la topographie de Delphes, Bulletin de l'Académie royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark, 1908 fasc. 6, 331–425
- Roux 1976** G. Roux, Delphes, son oracle et ses dieux (Paris 1976)
- Scott 2010** M. Scott, Delphi and Olympia. The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods (Cambridge 2010)
- Ulrichs 1840** H. N. Ulrichs, Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland. 1. Teil. Reise über Delphi durch Phocis und Boeotien bis Theben (Bremen 1840).

Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Athena. Ein Tor zu Delphi

Zusammenfassung Delphi ist heute der bekannteste Fundort im antiken Phokis, allerdings hat sich die Diskussion zu dessen Archäologie stets auf die Denkmäler, Architektur, Skulpturen und andere monumentale Funde konzentriert. Die Neubewertung der archäologischen Daten in den Heiligtümern des pythischen Apollon und der Athena Pronaia ermöglicht eine Wiederaufnahme der Diskussion der Opfer und des kultischen Handelns im Stadtraum von Delphi sowie die Erforschung des Phänomens der kultischen Pluralität. Die Lage des Heiligtums der Athena Pronaia am Eingang der Stadt entlang der Straße von Athen und Böotien verleiht der Opferpraxis in Delphi und dem panmediterranen Ausmaß des Orakels eine topographische und funktionale Perspektive.

Schlagwörter Delphi, Religion, Opfer, Apollo, Athene

Athena. A gateway to Delphi

Abstract Delphi is today the best-known site in ancient Phocis, but the discussion of its archaeological remains so far has focussed on monuments, architecture, sculpture, and other monumental finds. The re-evaluation of the archaeological data in the sanctuaries of Pythian Apollo and of Athena Pronaia makes it possible to reopen the discussion of the sacrifices and performances in the urban space of Delphi and to explore the phenomenon of cultic plurality. The location of the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at the entrance to the city, on the road from Athens and Boeotia, adds a topographic and functional perspective to the practice of sacrifice in Delphi and the pan-Mediterranean scale of the oracle's consultations.

Keywords Delphi, religion, sacrifices, Apollo, Athena

Αθηνά. Μια είσοδος στους Δελφούς

Περίληψη Οι Δελφοί είναι σήμερα η πιο γνωστή τοποθεσία της αρχαίας Φωκίδας, αλλά η συζήτηση για τα αρχαιολογικά της κατάλοιπα έχει επικεντρωθεί μέχρι σήμερα στα μνημεία, την αρχιτεκτονική, τη γλυπτική και άλλα μνημειακά ευρήματα. Η επανεκτίμηση των αρχαιολογικών δεδομένων στα ιερά του Πυθίου Απόλλωνα και της Αθηνάς Προναίας καθιστά δυνατή την επανέναρχη της συζήτησης για τις θυσίες και τις τελετές στον αστικό χώρο των Δελφών και τη διερεύνηση του φαινομένου της λατρευτικής πολλαπλότητας. Η θέση του ιερού της Αθηνάς Προναίας στην είσοδο της πόλης, στον δρόμο από την Αθήνα και τη Βοιωτία, προσθέτει μια τοπογραφική και λειτουργική προοπτική στην πρακτική των θυσιών στους Δελφούς και στην παν-μεσογειακή κλίμακα των διαβουλεύσεων του μαντείου.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Δελφοί, θρησκεία, θυσίες, Απόλλων, Αθηνά