COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF URBANIZATION, MONUMENTALITY, AND POLIS FORMATION IN THE GREEK *APOIKIAI* OF SICILY FROM THE EARLY ARCHAIC TO EARLY CLASSICAL PERIODS

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DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The author declares that the content of this research has been completed by Kaitlyn Marie Moniz, with recognition of the contributions of the supervisory committee comprising of Dr. Spencer Pope, Dr. Sean Corner, and Dr. Kathryn Mattison during the research and writing process.

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ABSTRACT

Urbanization in the Sikeliot *apoikiai* was the catalyst to the creation and reinforcement of polis identity from soon after the point of initial settlement onwards. A main priority of the Greek settlers was to first layout the foundations for an urban grid, and within this grid to designate space for ritual practice, later monumentalized during the Archaic and Classical periods following the growth of the polis. A diachronic and geographical survey of urbanization and of the religious architecture, art, and votives dating to the Archaic and Classical periods illustrates this; this survey centers around seven major Greek settlements in Sicily: Naxos, Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, Himera, Gela, Akragas, and Selinus. While the process of urbanization also occurred on the Greek mainland, it was not prior to the phenomenon taking place in Sicily, rendering the Sikeliot poleis simply as imitations of mainland poleis as once argued; rather urbanization in Sicily occurred over a timeline parallel to that of the mainland. The development of Sikeliot trends and even prototypes in temple architecture and urban planning confirm this in the material evidence. There is also no evidence of the *apoikiai* in Sicily ever adopting poliadic deities, a traditional quality of polis identity within mainland poleis. Their polis identities were not rooted in the cult practice of poliadic deities, but in cult practice itself, which fostered a collective consciousness among polis inhabitants by virtue of shared ritual practice, reinforced by the monumentalization of religious space; cult practice is what affirmed and reaffirmed their polis identity.

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INTRODUCTION

The process of monumentalization in the Greek *apoikiai* of Sicily throughout the Archaic and Classical periods is illuminating in the study of the formation of the Greek polis. An essential constituent to the development and rise of the polis was the existence of a civic polis identity. Sharing in this identity generated a sense of community and belonging among the inhabitants, which allowed the polis to grow and flourish by means of a collective effort. This identity permeated the growing population of the polis and was expressed in common cultural practice. The aggrandizement of public building programs was integral to the formation of this identity because these programs acted as visual reminders and permanent statements of the dominant culture and the authority of the community. Specifically, monumental religious art and architecture testifies to the importance of Greek religion and cult activity, which is a central element of Greek culture. The process of urbanization brought the settlers together and centralized the settlement by means of sophisticated urban grids that allotted specific space for religious ritual, and made the monumentalization of the city and therefore religious practice possible. Particularly revealing, then, to how a civic identity—an element crucial to the growth and development of the polis—was formed, emphasized, and practiced is an analysis of the physical manifestation of religious cults, including the realization of ritual space, architecture, and votives.

Until recently, research has focused on the experience of mainland Greece. It is only modern scholars that have given attention to the phenomenon of monumentality and

polis formation as it occurs in the settlements of the Greek West. This is partly due to the common assumption that Greek *apoikiai* were mere imitations and reproductions of mainland Greek poleis, a presumption which recent scholarship has rendered illegitimate.[1] And in fact, the nature of the Sicilian archaeological evidence is particularly advantageous for exploration of the phenomenon; the development of settlements abroad is much more stark in comparison to the organic growth of the polis as it occurred on the mainland. It follows that an investigation of archaeological evidence from the poleis abroad may elucidate certain information that is lost or difficult to uncover in the mainland, and at the same time may bring to light similarities and differences in cult practice on the Greek mainland and in the *apoikiai* of Sicily.

My primary focus is the foundation upon which polis identity is supposed to have been built: a poliadic deity(ies). While the presence of a main poliadic cult dedicated towards one deity in particular in the urban area of the polis seems to have been the norm on the mainland, the orientation of cult practice towards one primary deity, as will be discussed, is not evident in any of the poleis of Sicily. With this major difference as a point of departure, I intend to investigate the material remains of cult practice, including ritual space, temples, and votive offerings, found throughout Greek poleis in Sicily from the point of initial settlement through the Archaic and early Classical periods. Having come to the conclusion that there are no poliadic deities in the *apoikiai* of Sicily, I will then explore the reasons for these differences, the ways in which the Sikeliot poleis were

[1] Cf. Dinsmoor 1950, p. 74.

still able to foster a collective civic consciousness among their inhabitants by means of urbanization and monumentalization, as well as what effect these differences between the poleis of the mainland and those abroad had in shaping and emphasizing a common polis identity among inhabitants of the Sikeliot *apoikiai*.

My approach to the topic will be to provide both a diachronic and geographical survey of urbanization in Sicily and Sikeliot urban grids and of the religious architecture, art, and votives dating to the Archaic and Classical periods. Urbanization facilitated the monumentalization of cult practice by the designation of sacred space for ritual, and religious practice in turn brought the inhabitants of the *apoikiai* together uniting them in shared space for a common purpose. The archaeological remains are the physical evidence of this union, a reflection of social life in the *apoikiai* and how religion permeated through all aspects of daily life, especially the creation and maintenance of a civic identity through a collective consciousness. Literary sources will be used to supplement the archaeological evidence. These surveys center around seven major Greek settlements in Sicily: Naxos, Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, Himera, Gela, Akragas, and Selinus. These poleis are not only some of the largest and most important settlements of the Greeks in Sicily, but also some of the most diverse in aspects of their history and character. These settlements cover a broad range geographically, located along the various coasts of Sicily in different regions with diverse topographical qualities. The group is also representative of a broad chronological scope: it includes the first settled *apoikiai* (Naxos, Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse) and later settlements founded by the *apoikiai* themselves

(Selinus by Megara Hyblaea, and Akragas by Gela). These sites today also preserve some of the best quality and most extensive evidence we have for urbanization and polis formation.

The first chapter of this thesis focuses on the process of settlement abroad and the initial foundation of the Greek *apoikiai* in Sicily and observes the seven poleis collectively rather than individually. It will begin to be made apparent that the settlements abroad developed parallel to the poleis on the mainland, and were therefore not simple reproductions of the mainland city centres thought to have preceded them. The focus is placed on the early archaeological evidence, particularly the laying out of the first grid plans, leading up to the period of monumentalization. This chapter outlines patterns of the movement of Greek settlers to Sicily, covering the process from the inception of the journey while still on the mainland, including possible motivating factors and the considerations for choosing Sicily, and then specific areas of Sicily, for settlement, to the outlining of the first urban grids. A focused analysis on the demarcation of space within the urban grids follows, emphasizing the priority of designating religious space for sanctuaries or shrines (throughout both the *asty* and the *chora*) even if these spaces were monumentalized only later. It is, of course, important to understand that because Greek religion was orthopraxic it brought together all inhabitants in shared ritual practice, and so religious space must be thought of simultaneously as civic space. Such sacred space provided the inhabitants of any polis with a collective meeting ground where they both participated in a shared culture and were united by virtue of shared practice. It follows

that an analysis of sacred space in its early form in the *apoikiai* of Sicily is sure to build the foundations for a further discussion of monumentalization and civic identity.

The first half of the sixth century BC was a time of widespread monumental temple building (irrespective of an *apoikia*'s foundation date). Such a trend testifies to a number of changes in social structure brought about by the rise of the polis. The inhabitants desired to lavish wealth on their city, and present the polis as rich, magnificent, and mighty, a show of pride in their community to themselves and the rest of the world, Greek and non-Greek alike. The rise of monumentality during the Archaic Period is the point of departure for the second chapter of this paper. Individual archaeological surveys of each of the seven settlements—Naxos, Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, Himera, Gela, Akragas, and Selinus—make up the main presentation of the material evidence for the paper. In addition to chronology specific to each *apoikia,* this section provides an extensive survey of the archaeological evidence of urban grids, public space, temples, and other votive offerings throughout the poleis of in Sicily, using material dating largely from 650 to 450 BC. At this point in the thesis, the data is organized geographically by polis, and the comparison of data between *apoikiai* is largely left as the topic of discussion for the third chapter. A particular focus is be placed on temple architecture as this was arguably the major product of the process of monumentalization. In this discussion, various elements of the structures, such as building plan, location within the polis, and architectural sculpture and ornamentation, must be considered.

The third and concluding chapter begins with a final analysis of the survey material to observe some of the clearest commonalities between the seven *apoikiai*, outlining a number of "Sikeliot" qualities that appear frequently enough among the poleis of Sicily to suggest regional trends. This requires careful geographic and diachronic comparison of the archaeological material in each *apoikia* and between the *apoikiai* themselves in order to reveal patterns and dissimilarities in temple building and religious dedication across Sicily. From this comparative analysis, it becomes apparent that the civic cults of the Greeks in Sicily have an indeterminate orientation, which is to say that no polis has a definitive poliadic deity, nor did one ever appear from the point of initial settlement through to the early Classical Period. On the mainland, the poliadic deity provided the foundations upon which the city nurtured its civic polis identity and was therefore a unifying factor of the polis. I propose in this chapter various ways in which we can account for and understand these differences between the growth and development of the polis on the mainland and in Sicily, especially the presence of or lack thereof individual poliadic deities. Following this is a discussion of the ramifications of this major difference; I suggest here that the focus of polis identity abroad has previously been the external appearance of the polis and the picture which monumentalization paints for those outside of the civic collective, and more emphasis needs to be given to the perspective of the polis inhabitants themselves, especially in the *apoikiai* of Sicily. The convenient explanation for the high volume of religious architecture in the West is that the Greeks wanted to assert their position and "Greek" identity abroad. There are, however,

numerous problems with this assumption that are explored in this final chapter. Instead, I propose that the monumentalization of communal religious space was more influential to the polis itself and laid the foundations upon which Sikeliot poleis especially built a civic identity and were united in a collective consciousness, so much so that claiming a poliadic deity was not necessary.

This chapter culminates in my final interpretations of the presented evidence which makes clear three consequential conclusions. First, the most direct outcome of my exploration of the archaeological record of urban development in Archaic Sicily is the conclusion that the growth of the Sikeliot *apoikiai* occurred parallel to that on the mainland, and so in this way we can account for many of the major social and material differences between the regions. Second is the analysis of the relationship between urbanization and the aggrandizement of cult practice by way of monumentality, and how this fostered a civic polis identity with or without a poliadic deity. The Archaic and early Classical temples in the poleis of Sicily are a direct product of the rise of monumentality, and so this in-depth study of religious architecture can also prove useful to an examination of monumentality and its role in the formation of the polis. The growing trend towards monumentality in the Archaic Period aggrandized religious space for the expanding population of the polis. A higher volume of people living together in one city normally leads to feelings of disconnection and distance among inhabitants due to decreased individual interaction. In the unstable circumstances of the growing polis, it was crucial to rectify this mental separation and instead encourage a sense of unity among

inhabitants. Through the monumentalization of religious space, religious practice itself was monumentalized, thereby further encouraging the participation of the community. The growth of the polis relied on the presence of a civic collective which shared in the single identity of the city. Arguably the most effective way that this civic identity was expressed and solidified was through common cult practice, however, this identity does not need to always rely on a single poliadic deity. This speaks to the final outcome of my research, which connects my analysis thus far to the broader, more complex topic of polis formation, both on the mainland and in the *apoikiai*.

Chapter 1: The Settlement of the West and the Early Urbanization of the Polis

The process of the Greek settlement of southern Italy and Sicily from the Early Iron Age through the Archaic Period sheds much light on the formation of the Greek polis. The *apoikiai* of the Greek West were ex-novo constructions and present cases of urban development that often leave a more clear archaeological record than those on the mainland with much earlier foundation dates. Through the urban development of these foundations, small communities transformed into larger civic collectives, which necessitated the implementation of a more rigid urban organization along with a more substantial political system. The physical rise of the polis proper and the urbanization of the *asty* in the Greek West coincide with such developments in the Greek mainland, and are reflective of multiple processes and practices that were common to the formation of the first Greek cities as well as settlements abroad.[2] The urban grids of the *apoikiai*, however, display subtle differences to those of the poleis of the mainland, and further analysis is needed to yield a nuanced understanding of the arrangement of this space. Urbanization is a physical and visible reflection of the social environment and further study of this phenomenon as it occurred in Sicily, where many of the earliest urban grid plans developed, aids in the understanding of the nature of the culture and society of the *apoikiai*.

[2] Greco 2002, 98.

The Utility of the Urban Grid and Intraurban Monumentality

"Planning is the expression of a programmed and systematic process of occupation of new territory, so organized that it can be later developed in an independent and continuous manner."[3] To plan out an urban grid means to consider the practical needs of the settlement, not only in the present but looking forward into the future growth of the city as well, and logically laying out the components of the urban grid (domestic, civic, religious buildings and space) so that the urban centre can function most efficiently and effectively. The essential function of urban planning is to create distinct areas of the city for specific purposes. The primary division is between private and public space. Creating a designed area for private ownership enfranchises individuals as productive members of the economic community, while designating public space creates areas for common use. The separation between the two areas additionally provides the opportunity for regular division of the private area, usually arranged into rectangular plots that formed the basis for a network of regular streets. The organization of an urban grid allows the future expansion and growth of the city by giving its inhabitants a practical and functional environment in which to live, work, and participate as a member of the community. Urbanism brings together inhabitants in city space via the functional arrangement and physical union of the city, and in providing the method by and space in which they gather and interact as a community, urbanism further unites inhabitants in a collective consciousness.

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[3] Mertens 1996, 243.

In Sicily, the *apoikiai* experienced this utility of urbanism, but under different circumstances than in the mainland. The *apoikiai* were mostly settled on untouched soil, and so the settlers had the opportunity to forge the layout of their cities into organized grids without having to consider the positioning of previous settlements. Topography often had a part in determining the orientation of the overall grid (take, for example, the urban grids of Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, and Selinus), and each grid, although using the same system of regularized plots and linear streets, varied from others as it was planned based on the needs of the particular polis. Mertens explains that in Sicily, some *apoikiai* have urban grids which date to the period of foundation (such as Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea), while others show evidence of its inception within two generations of the initial settlement, and for all, "...the characteristic regular pattern of distribution appears in geometrical groundplots within a pre-established area designated for future expansion."[4] A functional grid plan laid the foundations for the growth and success of the polis. Growing population, rising prosperity, and increases in wealth in conjunction with agreeable political conditions led to the rise of monumentality in the sixth century BC and prompted the poleis of Sicily to make their urban grids even more concrete and precise.[5] They aggrandized public space and expanded the urban centre using their initial urban grids. An organizational pattern among the *apoikiai* of much of Magna Graecia seems to have been to use roads to delineate the division of the urban area into large spaces designated for separate functions. Wider *plateiai* are intersected by narrower *stenopoi*

[4] Mertens 1996, 243.
[5] Mertens 1996, 252.

perpendicularly at regular intervals, the *plateiai* being fewer in number and larger in size drew attention to more important streets and commonly lined public, communal spaces like agorai or sanctuaries.[6] In delineating different kinds of urban space so clearly, the functions of these spaces are highlighted and the urban grid retains a rigid organization. This adds a particular sophistication to the layout of the polis and emphasizes public spaces, in particular for our discussion, religious space.

Urban planning physically brought inhabitants together to aid in fostering a highly interactive and communal life, and delineated civic and sacred space within the *asty*, bringing both components into the urban center and therefore into daily life. The character of the monumental architecture, which developed within intramural sanctuaries, spoke emphatically to the cultural identity of the community. The use of familiar architectural and stylistic forms enlarged to monumental scale was part of a visual language that rapidly developed into a touchstone of Greek culture. These forms were initially developed on the Greek mainland, and disseminated across Western Greece in the Archaic period. Contact with the motherland following the foundation of a settlement was limited, especially among later generations, so that there was freedom for regional, independent variations. Likewise, urbanization of the mainland and the *apoikiai* occurred simultaneously, which means that the experience overseas must have been somewhat experimental as it sometimes lacked models to follow. Furthermore, deviations in artistic

[6] Mertens 1996, 249-52.

style and theme in the art and architecture of Magna Graecia compared to that of the poleis of mainland Greece suggest the inception of certain Western patterns.

The adherence to a common culture brought settlers and inhabitants together through shared daily practice. Developing a unified civic identity undoubtedly aided in the securing of a stable civic environment and contributed to the growth of the polis as a whole. The process of urbanization is integral to the formation of the polis and the securing of a unified civic identity among the Greek *apoikiai*. In new and young communities, it is expected that a sense of instability and uncertainty may arise as these communities develop into fixed civic centers. Furthermore, as the community grows, population increases and the urban settlement expands. Although inhabitants seem to share closer quarters, the sheer volume of people and the growing urban grid actually distances inhabitants from each other. It became all the more imperative, then, to foster a sense of unity upon which the successful growth of a polis hinged. Greek culture gave the settlers the common ground they needed to bring together all inhabitants, particularly ritual practice. The orthopraxic nature of Greek religion of course required space for the carrying-out of rituals involving prayers, sacrifices, and feasts, and so areas, or sanctuaries and shrines, came to be demarcated as sacred to the celebrated divinities and were used as the location for such ritual practices. Eventually, these spaces were monumentalized and the permanency of the cults was expressed through the construction of temples, the metaphorical houses of the gods and the keepers of their votives. It follows, then, that as an integral component of Greek culture, religion secured a

prominent place within the *asty* through the delineation of space for intramural sanctuaries.

Of course, the building types found within these sanctuaries are Greek in style, as are the decorative themes and motifs and their dedications. Such monumental architecture accompanied by its ornamental sculpture was integral to the formation of the polis, both at home and abroad, because it acted as a visual reminder and permanent statement of the dominant culture and the authority of the community. Greek religion, of course, is practically synonymous with Greek culture, and early urban planning reflects a desire to incorporate this culture in every aspect of civic life in order to foster a polis identity through shared cultural practice.

The Expansion of the Greek World

First, let us outline the process of Greek settlement in the West. Greeks began to move in groups of settlers to found *apoikiai* in the West to South Italy and Sicily (later known as Magna Graecia) in the eighth century BC. These lands were not unknown to them; Mycenaean trade included the areas of both Sicily and South Italy, but these contacts had been broken for some time before they were renewed in the early eighth century BC.[7] The Hesiodic poems and the *Odyssey* comprise the literary evidence that the

[7] Boardman 1964, 179-80.

Western Mediterranean was occasionally visited by the Greeks.[8] The archaeological evidence of this consists of Greek pottery imported to Italy in the early eighth century, and in the generation before the settlement of the West the quantity of these imports increased.[9] These pottery imports were produced on mainland Greece at Crete and the north-east Peloponnese (Corinth and Argos), the Cyclades, and perhaps also at Cyprus. A large portion also came from Khalkis, Eretria, and Euboea.[10]

The movement of the Greeks to found settlements abroad began in the eighth century BC, but was at its peak in the seventh century BC. The polis selected settlers and a leader or "oikist" (who was usually heroized afterward). The primary concerns of the oikist were the layout of the town, the division of agricultural land among the settlers, and the allotment of sacred space.[11] The polis frequently sought guidance from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi; once religious approval was granted, the expedition set out to form a new city abroad. The selection of land abroad was both strategic and economic: settlers looked for a defensible position on cultivable land that could support a growing community. It seems that it was rare that the mother-polis would maintain contact with the new settlement or exercise much control over it. Thucydides (1.25.4) indicates that

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[8] Dunbabin 1948, 1.
The date of composition of the *Odyssey* is admittedly uncertain. Malkin (1998, 259ff.) provides an in-depth discussion of the controversy surrounding the topic. Malkin concludes that a case could be made for a composition date in the eighth, ninth, or even tenth century BC; while it is unlikely that the poem would have been written down before the eighth century BC, "Homer" might have composed it much earlier.
[9] Dunbabin 1948, 1.
[10] Boardman 1964, 177-9; Dunbabin 1948, 4-5.
[11] Pedley 2006, 31.

Corinth continued to be in command of her *apoikiai*; however, this case seems to be the exception to the trend.[12]

The exact motives which propelled the movement of the Greeks overseas remain elusive, but it is likely that it was a result of a combination of circumstances. A common explanation is a shortage of viable agricultural land on mainland Greece, but archaeological field surveys have revealed that in Achaea and the Corinthia there was still much cultivable land. This poses the question of why Greek-speakers felt the need to leave the mainland in search of new land. There is now general agreement that there must have been an increase in population during the eighth century BC, and so the concern might have been how to deal with the issue of land inheritance in growing families.[13] Famine and civil strife have also been suggested as causes for social crisis which resulted in movement abroad[14]; trade might have been a factor as well.[15] Finally, the simple prospect of a better life overseas must have played its part in luring settlers away from their homeland.

Terminology and Perspective

Before we proceed to discuss urbanization and urban planning in Sicily, it is important to first address the label which has been ascribed to the movement of the Greeks abroad. The foundation of settlements overseas and specifically in the West during

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[12] Hall 2012, 34.
[13] Hall 2012, 25; see also Hesiod (*Op.* 37-9) who advises against having more than one son.
[14] Marconi 2007, 61.
[15] Boardman 1964, 176-8.

the eighth and seventh centuries BC is usually described by scholars as the period of "Greek colonization" at which time mainland cities sent expeditions of colonists abroad to spread Greek culture and found Greek colonies. In labeling this movement and settlement abroad a process of "colonization", we assume much about the circumstances of the time and the nature of the new settlements without thoroughly considering what we are not only implying but also inferring with the use of this term.

Jonathan Hall addresses the consequences which using the terms "colonization", "colony", and "colonists" has on our understanding of this settlement process.[16] He outlines three models of assumptions resulting from the casual use of these terms that have influenced previous scholarship on early Greek settlements in the West. The first model assumes that the initial settlers transferred the cultural traditions of the Greek mainland to the West, and a passive indigenous population was "Hellenized" after being overrun by the superior Greek culture. Various indigenous cultures in the eighth and seventh centuries BC quickly absorbed Greek styles and modes of production; scholars tend to assume that the indigenous populations were "less advanced culturally and technologically", and that the Greeks spread their culture and civilization by means of colonization.[17] The second model allows for the possibility of a more experimental environment in the West, but still only the Greeks are assumed to have had active agency.[18] Trendall elaborates on this to explain that in the colonial world, artists try to

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[16] See Hall 2012; also see his book *Hellenicity* (2002) for extensive discussion on Hellenism and the self-perception of the Greeks.
[17] Hall 2012, 19-20; see also Boardman (1964) who tends to ascribe to this view.
[18] Dunbabin 1948, vi; Hall 2012, 20.

outdo the motherland in their manufactured goods, and, not feeling the same pressures to uphold established traditions, dabbled in more ebullient manners of expression.[19] Colonists were able to lay claim to the heritage of the motherland, and yet simultaneously were freed from the weight of this heritage, and were able to create a culture of their own.[20] The third model differs from the first two in that it emphasizes the agency of the indigenous peoples and recognizes the active role both they and Greek settlers had in "intergroup relations". New synthetic cultures were created which differed from the traditional structures of each side. This final model operates under the assumption that there was a mixing of the cultures originally held by colonists, natives, and migrants to produce a sort of "hybrid culture" that is very much like but also very different from the culture of the motherland[21]; Malkin has even called the Greek West a "middle ground" for cultural interaction.[22]

"From the historiographical point of view, each of these three models conforms to a 'colonialist paradigm'," states Hall. "...All three models take for granted that: (1) colonization is a deliberate policy, undertaken to fulfill certain predefined political, strategic or economic aims; (2) the colonizing party is politically or militarily dominant vis-à-vis the colonized; and (3) both colonizers and colonized possess their own distinct cultures prior to the colonial encounter. Where they diverge is in their understanding of what happens in the cultural sphere *after* the first interactions."[23] To accept such notions

[19] Trendall 1990, 230; Hall 2012, 20.
[20] Willi 2012, 72-3; Hall 2012, 20.
[21] See Antonaccio 2003; Bhabha 1996, 54; 1994; Hall 2012, 21.
[22] See Malkin 1998; Hall 2012, 21.
[23] Hall 2012, 21.

as “hybridity” and “in-between-ness” is to accept the existence of established cultures prior to their mixing, and likewise the idea of subverting aspects of one’s culture assumes an asymmetrical relationship between the two groups.[24] Furthermore, the modern meaning of the term “colonization” is a politically and/or militarily superior party carrying out an organized settlement of new land in the conscious effort to expand abroad.[25] It cannot be assumed that formal, state-sponsored expeditions were always the reality in the eighth century BC, nor that they were sent out with the intention to colonize land abroad. Instead, it is more likely that the process of settlement in the West was more haphazard and prompted by a number of motives as we have already seen. For example, at Megara Hyblaea, the urban plan dates back to nearly the point of the city’s foundation, and the oldest houses belonging to the first generation of settlers indicate the existence of only a small settlement with scattered houses.[26] We also cannot assume that Greek settlers were always militarily superior, or that they came to Sicily with the intent to monopolize the land and subjugate or acculturate all local inhabitants. Thucydides’ account shows that a more aggressive approach by the settlers was indeed a possibility, which he illustrates with the foundation of Syracuse, explaining that oikist Archias first had to expel the Sikels from Ortygia. He states also that Theokles and the Khalkidians fought the Sikels to found Leontini five years after the foundation of Syracuse.[27] Thucydides also mentions that a number of *apoikiai* were occasionally aggressive toward other *apoikiai*; take for

[24] Hall 2012, 21.
[25] Hall 2012, 23.
[26] Hall 2012, 24-5.
[27] Thucydides 6, 3.1-3.

example Himera which was founded by Zankle by a mix of Khalkidians and exiles from Syracuse called the Myletidae who had been defeated in a social party struggle[28], or Kamarina which was originally founded by the Syracusans who then exiled the Kamarinians after they revolted, leaving the city to be resettled by Gela.[29] In contrast, the foundations of other colonies such as Selinus, Akragas, and Gela are recorded as rather neutral events. In the case of Megara Hyblaea's foundation and its few false starts, the land upon which Megara Hyblaea was eventually founded is held in tradition as a gift given by the local chieftain Hyblon to the Megarian settlers.[30]

The largest issue in labeling the movement of the Greeks abroad as "colonization" is that this term assumes an asymmetrical relationship between the Greek settlers and the indigenous peoples in which the Greeks are superior and are positioned *in opposition to* "the other". Thus we are led to the mistaken conclusion that what comes out of Greek urbanism—sophisticated grid plans, monumental temples, and all artistic production—is a direct result of settlers feeling the need to define themselves as Greek against the barbaric "other" through exercising their dominance over the indigenous peoples and consciously expressing their "Greekness" in a new world to spread their culture far from the motherland.

These issues will be discussed further below, but it will be beneficial to make some minor points clear here before proceeding to the discussion of early urbanism, and

[28] Thucydides 6, 5.1.
[29] Thucydides 6, 5.3.
[30] Hall 2012, 26; Thucydides 6, 4.1ff.

then the following survey chapter of the *apoikiai* and the rise of monumentality. First, if it is accepted that the Greeks "colonized" the West, it is presumed that the purpose was to suppress the indigenous peoples and spread Greek culture, a proposition without any solid evidentiary support. It also suggests that there was an oppositional relationship between the Greeks and the indigenous peoples and that indigenous groups posed a threat to the practice of Greek culture in the West, prompting the Greeks to rapidly build cities filled with temples and other buildings which explicitly expressed their "Greek" character. This assumption is largely unfounded.[31] The most crucial point, however, to our discussion is that these conclusions infer the existence of a self-definition on the part of the Greeks that was oppositional during the eighth and seventh centuries BC. It is highly unlikely, however, that that Greeks identified themselves against their non-Greek neighbours before the Persian Wars in the fifth century BC.[32] It therefore does not logically follow that settlers should have felt a desperate need to cling to and define their Greek culture as superior against that of the indigenous groups in the West. The urbanization of the settlements in Sicily was more self-involved rather than being a display for the "other", allowing each to grow into a polis, and was the result of something much more crucial to the development of the city as a whole. This leads us to the major conclusion of this work: the nature of the Sicilian polis identity is not rooted in its "Greekness" or similarity to the mainland, but in its function as a collective consciousness which unites all

[31] Marconi 2006, 29ff. is an extensive discussion of the problems with viewing the erection of temples and the rise of monumentality in Sicily as a result of a desperate need felt by the inhabitants to express their Greek character.
[32] Marconi 2006, 31.

inhabitants of the polis together in common thought and practice.

State Formation in the Greek West

The process of state formation in the Greek West is a key to understanding the physical union of settlers within one polis. As villages began to act as a larger collective, the community developed into something more structured through the growth and generation of civic institutions. Joining together in one community through the rise and development of the polis led to the settlers acknowledging their occupation of the land. Possession of land needed to be claimed, and so the necessity for borders to define this space increased. This concept of territoriality was a distinctive feature of the rise of the polis. Borders differentiated one polis from a neighboring community, and defined the inhabited and civilized space of the territory of the polis from its wild and uncultivated surroundings. The construction of sanctuaries throughout the urban and rural territory soon after the foundation of the settlement was a means of declaring cultural ownership.[33] In the early development of the polis, religious designation of space was such an important statement of Greek culture that it stood as a physical declaration of land ownership.

The urbanization of the *asty* acts as mirrors of social life. Structured areas of societies and the shape of their cultural life are interdependent: "civic life formed urban space and urban space formed civic life".[34] The polis in the eighth and seventh centuries

[33] de Polignac 1995, 24.
[34] Hölscher 2007, 165.

BC was essentially made up of a central urban area, a territory containing some small settlements and uncultivated land, and wider territory occupied by sanctuaries.[35] As population, labour, and economy of the polis increased, a more rigid organization of the urban center was required. It is at this time that a conscious effort was made to separate space within the *asty* in accordance to its function. While this might have been a more extended progress on the mainland in longstanding communities, this kind of urban planning was of primary concern in the minds of early settlers of Greek *apoikiai*, and was incorporated into the earliest plans of their cities.[36] Furthermore, Greco makes an important point in saying that the establishment of Western Greek *apoikiai* coincided with the creation of the first city-states in mainland Greece. This meant that settlers of *apoikiai* did not always have models for their settlements, and the experience of settlers abroad was somewhat experimental.[37] This is yet another reason why the study of city formation in the Greek West is particularly revealing in an investigation of the rise of the polis and the creation of civic unity.

As of yet, there is no evidence to suggest the use of the urban grid in eighth century BC Greece; if the process of founding settlements abroad meant establishing *apoikiai* on uncultivated land, then the origins of orthogonal planning must lie with the expeditions in the West.[38] *Apoikiai* were often planted on untouched soil, giving settlers a "clean slate" upon which they would frame and organize their city from the ground

[35] Hölscher 2007, 165.
[36] Hölscher 2007, 167.
[37] Greco 2002, 98.
[38] Barnow 2002, 41.

upwards; the opposite is true for most mainland sites where groups of inhabitants occupied the land prior to the eighth century BC, sometimes even before the Mycenaean Period. In analyzing the urban grids of these *apoikia*, especially those in Sicily, it is clear that there was a preconceived plan for the organization of each settlement, and so it is the case that Greek settlement abroad contributed greatly to the development of Archaic Greek urbanism and urban planning.

The poleis of Sicily boast the best evidence of early urban planning: Naxos (founded 734 or 750 BC), Syracuse (733 BC), Leontinoi (729 BC), Megara Hyblaea (750 or 728 BC), Gela (689 BC), Akrai (663 BC), Selinus (650 or 628 BC), Himera (649 BC), Kasmenai (643 BC), Kamarina (598 BC), and Akragas (580 BC) all include regular urban grids dating to the early Archaic Period.[39] The land was divided into equally large plots called *isomoriai*, some of which were inside the city's territory as freehold plots (*kleroi*) and others were located inside the city itself as residential and garden plots.[40] The basis for the later "Hippodamian" Greek city is this earlier urban model of large units of regular-sized plots collected together.[41] City planning known, for example, from Thurion (an Athenian settlement) in southern Italy and from a port of Athens at Piraeus is attributed to the urban designer Hippodamus of Miletus, and the imposition of regular proportions in block sizes and the widths of streets and avenues realized in Sicily likely influenced the shape of these grid plans.[42] However, many of these new cities used

[39] Barnow 2002, 41.
[40] Barnow 2002, 41.
[41] Barnow 2002, 41.
[42] Holloway 1991, 84; Barnow 2002, 44.

avenues crossing streets at right angles to form a series of squares, or nearly square city blocks, whereas the Sicilian cities preferred the traditional formula of wide avenues running in a single direction, which resulted in long, rectangular city blocks.[43] There is a tendency to assume that, in order to consolidate and protect their new settlements abroad, settlers would then build walls to surround their cities during or shortly after the laying out of the urban grid. A lack of archaeological evidence for defensive walls dating to the period of initial foundation, however, forces us to rethink this assumption.[44]

One of the first considerations of these city plans was the intentional separation of public and private spheres within this new urban and social structure[45], marking the emergence of strictly public spaces. These dedicated public spaces influenced the growth of the urban centre of the polis to be something more communal, providing venues that provided daily "face-to-face" interaction among the urban population. The location of intraurban sanctuaries in relation to civic space, such as the agora, varies among the *apoikiai*. The agora is found adjacent to a cult site or cult sites in some cities, while in others, the two spaces are separated by homes, shops, and other urban buildings. An investigation of mainland intraurban sanctuaries reveals an interesting pattern. In cities such as Athens and Megara where the major sanctuary of the polis deity was situated on a steep acropolis, the installation of the agora in a separate area may have been imposed by necessity.[46] That is to say when determining the urban plan of the *asty*, the designation of

[43] Holloway 1991, 85.
[44] Barnow 2002, 41.
[45] Hölscher 2007, 168.
[46] Hölscher 2007, 168.

sacred and civic space was ultimately forced by the topography of the region, as there does not appear to be a consistent pattern of urban planning practiced either among the *apoikiai* or within mainland Greece. However, this remains to be tested by further examination and comparison of these urban grids. Regardless, what is important to note here is the conscious decision of settlers to integrate and at the same time demarcate sacred and civic space early on while still incorporating both in the urban center of the polis.

Greek Religious Practices and Urban Space

Religious practices were integral to Greek culture, and so it was natural to devote space to worship. Greek religion is an orthopraxy, not orthodoxy; ritual practices were communal activities that underlined the solidarity of the polis and emphasized the shared character of ritual space and activity. The religious life of the polis, both domestic and communal, is reflected in the use of local shrines and sanctuaries.[47] Earlier on, religious practice occurred in the open air within sanctuaries or spaces designated for ritual use (often only indicated by a special natural feature like a tree, cave, spring, hilltop, or rock) usually near or over an altar. At this time, the presence of the deity/deities was only implied, but soon after beginning in the seventh century BC it was made manifest in monumental art and architecture within the space.[48] The present work will demonstrate that there was not a complete separation of sacred and civic space within the urban grid.

[47] Pedley 2006, 27.
[48] Pedley 2006, 29.

Greek religion pervaded daily life; religion played a part in civic functions in civic space (such as the agora, *bouleterion*, or theatre for example), and the civic community gathered in religious space to celebrate their Greek identity, culture, and polis as a whole. Religious and social activity overlapped within an environment that is both sacred and civic. We can, however, note that there was a tendency from the initial point of settlement to allot space for to ritual practice. As we will see in the next chapter, datable archaeological evidence (mostly in the form of votive deposits) throughout Sicily supports the argument that certain areas were used for religious purposes in the eighth and seventh centuries BC before any permanent structures (such as temples) occupied the land.

Sanctuaries acted as a means of mediation both between humans and the gods, and humans and humans (i.e. neighboring communities, or inhabitants of the polis). Extraurban sanctuaries culturally integrated frontier territory as a place for interaction between inhabitants of both the *asty* and *chora*, and possibly indigenous populations, too. The establishment of intraurban sanctuaries within the *asty* carried through this cultural integration and brought religion to the center of the polis. The demarcation of religious space dedicated to polis deities, protectors of the institutions of the polis, within the *asty* was a great concern to settlers of the *apoikiai*. Space for intraurban sanctuaries, then, was established in the first stages of the urban planning of these newly established *apoikiai* as early as the end of the eighth and early seventh centuries BC, even if monumental architecture was not constructed in this space until the sixth century (as is supported by

archaeological evidence, mostly consisting of votive deposits predating any religious structures in these sanctuaries).[49] This allowed the Greek settlers to incorporate religion, and therefore important aspects of their culture, into the busy urban center of the polis.

Settlers in the West brought with them Greek culture, which, at least in key respects, was maintained by succeeding generations of these newly formed poleis. There is a consistent trend among the *apoikiai* of the Greek West toward a development of urban centres, marked by sacred and civic monumental architecture, during the Archaic Period.[50] Hölscher observes that the first half of the sixth century BC was a time of widespread monumental temple building (irrespective of an *apoikia*'s foundation date).[51] Such a trend testifies to a number of changes in social structure brought about by the rise of the polis, the monumentalization of civic and religious space being one of them.

First, inhabitants felt a strong urge to lavish wealth and skilled manpower on enhancing the splendor of their city. Grand building programs are especially the enterprises of tyrants, but aristocrats were in general interested in presenting their communities to the Greek world as rich, magnificent, and mighty poleis.[52] Evidently, the continuing monumentalization of public spaces resulted from, and simultaneously advanced, the growth of political communities.[53] If the monumental architecture of temples and civic buildings stood as a statement of the authority, magnificence, and power of the people living in the *apoikia*, then its ornamentation not only emphasized the

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[49] Hölscher 2007, 174.
[50] Hölscher 2007, 174.
[51] Hölscher 2007, 174; this trend is apparent throughout all of the Greek world, not just in the Greek West.
[52] Hölscher 2007, 175.
[53] Hölscher 2007, 175.

grandeur of the community, but was also a visual depiction of its beliefs, traditions, and values.[54] Taken together with urban planning, the designation of sacred space provided the location of the monumental temple architecture, which in turn framed, organized, and delineated the space of the sanctuary. The appearance of these temples (including the building type and the ornamental sculpture) fixed and reflected a sense of civic identity that was communal, built upon common culture and traditions recalling that of the native Greek homeland, and yet at the same time incorporating a certain original characteristic influenced by their position abroad.

The presence of the main poliadic cult in proximity to or within the main civic center of the polis brought a sense of stability to the *asty* and the greater polis community on mainland Greece. The investigation below will make it apparent that Sicilian *apoikiai* did not necessarily have poliadic cults, and instead seem to have preferred less specified worship and more general dedication to the Greek pantheon. The Greeks in Sicily, however, did still place shrines and sanctuaries within or close to the main civic centers of their poleis. On the one hand, the agora was the space in which adult male citizens assembled as members of the political community and deliberated on matters of communal interest. This space held debates, contests, and controversies. On the other hand, the main urban sanctuary was a space where the whole community came together. Here, members of the polis were united in religious rituals, and they unanimously celebrated their common deities. In this way, the instability of policy and civic

[54] See Marconi 2007 and De Angelis 2003.

deliberations was counterbalanced by the stability of timeless and absolute religious cults.[55] Participating in the city cults ensured and expressed the unity of the group.[56] The construction of sanctuaries, a new way of using space set aside for religious purposes, stabilized the cult and rooted it as a permanent structure in the earth.[57] The designation and monumentalization of religious space, then, allowed for the growth of the community through the process of its inhabitants coming together in shared daily experiences. This kind of religious and therefore cultural interaction, especially within the urban setting, not only reinforced the civic aspect of religious practice for the Greeks, but also positioned inhabitants of the polis in relation to a single shared identity.

The building type of the Archaic (and in some instances Classical) Greek temple of the West accompanied by the style and themes of the ornamental sculpture largely adhere to the Greek method and technique as seen on the mainland. While they employed the familiar forms of the Doric and Ionic Order, the West did generate regional styles with their own internal development; some variations are found in the artistic style of the West[58], but the iconic orders and mythological scenes were indicative of the Greek culture they had brought with them overseas. The Greeks living in the western *apoikiai*, however, do not seem to have been as concerned as mainland cities about the orientation of their sanctuaries. In mainland Greece, a large space near the agora in the urban center of the

[55] Hölscher 2007, 169.
[56] de Polignac 1995, 2.
[57] de Polignac 1995, 16.
[58] Some of the major patterns in these variations will be discussed in chapters 2 and 3 of this work, but see especially Mertens 2006 and 1996 (his contribution concerning Western Greek architecture) for a more detailed analysis.

polis was often devoted or marked out as a sanctuary to one main god while incorporating the worship of other deities, as is the case in Athens. In the *apoikiai*, however, there was a tendency to dedicate religious space to the local pantheon as a whole rather than to focus on a single poliadic divinity. In this way, we are left with a sort of "indeterminate orientation" among the Greek *apoikiai* of the West, as it is difficult to denote the main poliadic deity of each *apoikia* or whether there even was one. These two points have suggested to some that the Greeks abroad were primarily concerned with participating in a culture that was Greek, rather than with distinguishing themselves within the common culture by means of a poliadic deity. This does not follow, however, because focusing on a single poliadic deity would not have diminished the "Greekness" of the polis identity. Recall, too, that the Greeks did not define themselves in opposition to the indigenous groups they met in Sicily, and there is no evidence to suggest that the indigenous populations posed a significant threat to the establishment and growth of the Greek *apoikiai* in the West.

So, then, why would settlers feel the need to emphatically express a comprehensively Greek identity? The answer, as we will see, is that this was not their goal, but more so an incidental consequence. The target audience of this grand show of monumentalizing religious spaces was not the indigenous peoples or other cultural groups overseas (such as the Carthaginians), nor was it even primarily directed at Greeks of other poleis, even if all of these groups were often impressed, intimidated, or both by such a sight. With urbanization occurring over new land, Greek settlers were given a number of

unprecedented opportunities to shape their city from the ground upwards. Of primary concern was allotting space for religious use inside both the *asty* and *chora* of the settlement so that the orthopraxic character of Greek religion could be realized. Ritual practice brought inhabitants together for a common objective within these permanently designated religious spaces. These spaces promoted the shared culture of the settlers, and the communal nature of ritual taking place within reinforced the shared quality of these spaces. In these ways, the process of urbanization encouraged the maturation of polis identity, which can be studied more clearly in Sicily than in mainland Greece as these cities were only in existence from the eighth/seventh centuries BC, right at the time of early urbanization and polis formation. Claiming poliadic deities was evidently not as important to civic identity in Sicily as it was in the mainland where long-standing tradition would have made it difficult to part with these revered figures (the best example of this is, of course, Athens). The lack of poliadic deities in Sicilian *apoikiai* only supports the argument that Greek settlers were not concerned entirely with transmitting every bit of the culture from the motherland to the *apoikiai*, and did indeed grow and develop with their own identities as poleis independent of the mainland. The goal of the Greek settlers in Sicily in delineating and highlighting religious space was to foster polis identity, a shared, civic, collective consciousness which united all inhabitants together through a common culture and ritual practice. The target audience, then, for the monumentalization of the polis, specifically religious spaces, was the inhabitants of the polis itself.

Chapter 2: Urbanization and Monumentalization — A Survey of Seven Sikeliot *Apoikiai*

Urbanization was a necessary condition for the rise of monumentality in the Archaic Greek polis. It is true that at all of the major Greek *apoikiai* in Sicily we see the foundations of an early grid being planned out usually by the first generation of settlers and expanded and improved upon throughout the Archaic and Classical Periods with parallel streets, regular-sized *insulae*, and aggrandized public space which is clearly delineated from domestic. The planners must have thought of the city as a whole from the outset in organizing their settlements this way, and considered the practical and primary needs of the city in their designation of space. Observing religious practice was certainly a top priority for the Greek settlers as expressed by their desire to demarcate sacred space within the earliest urban grids, even if this space was initially used only for votive deposits and altars and was not monumentalized until later.

This chapter is an investigation of the designation and monumentalization of central and peripheral urban spaces in the *apoikiai* of Sicily. I will unravel the impact of urbanization on social life through the lens of the urban grid, and demonstrate the importance of urbanization in the rise of monumentality. Through urbanization, groupings of people were united by the same urban grid, which fueled the growth of the city in population, production, and wealth. As a result, these poleis continued to expand throughout the Archaic and Classical Periods, producing sophisticated urban plans complete with monumental architecture. Emphasis is given to space designated for

religious use—space that is at once sacred, public, and civic as it unites the inhabitants of the polis in shared ritual practice towards the civic cult(s). In a discussion of polis identity, this kind of space is extremely reflective of social life and civic identity and the collective consciousness which it inspires.

What follows is a survey of the archaeological evidence of urbanization and monumentalization of seven *apoikiai* in Sicily: Naxos, Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, Himera, Gela, Akragas, and Selinus. This particular grouping of poleis covers a range of geography and chronology, boasting some of the most sophisticated and clear urban grids and numerous archaeological finds. The evidence is arranged by polis; the historiographical foundation and topography of each site are given, followed by a detailed description of the city's urban grid (including both central and peripheral urban spaces). The spaces (such as agorai) and structures (temples, *stoai*, shrines) that fill the urban grid are then discussed with a particular focus placed on monumental temple architecture. The ornamental decoration and votive offerings which accompany these temples and shrines commonly display scenes or figures from mythology, and need to also be considered. These figures are also briefly examined as they appear on the coinage of a polis. The urban grids, monumental architecture, artistic production, and coinage encompass the physical evidence of the phenomenon of the organized growth and development of the settlement—urbanization. In examining all of this archaeological evidence, the importance of the designation of sacred space within early urban grids will become clear, as will a number of patterns in the expression of civic cults. The majority of these patterns

will be discussed at length in the final chapter; most evident, though, is the lack of a single, definitive poliadic deity in any of these poleis, which leads to the conclusion that the civic cults of the Sikeliot *apoikiai* have an indeterminate orientation.

Naxos

The settlement of Sicily by the Greeks began with the foundation of Naxos along the east coast on the peninsula of Capo Schisò, a low promontory situated in the shadows of Mount Etna. 734 BC is the traditional foundation date applied to Naxos, derived from Thucydides' chronology.[59] The recent work of French archaeologists Villard and Vallet suggests a higher date of 757 BC, which is supported by the discovery at the site of an early Proto-Corinthian cup dated to 750 BC.[60] As oikist, Theokles led settlers from Khalkis in Euboea along with other Ionians according to Strabo, possibly from the Greek island of Naxos.[61] This claim might account for the name given to the *apoikia*, and is also supported by similarities found in early coinage between the *apoikia* and the Greek island, as well as the worship of the common gods Apollo and Dionysos.[62] Theokles subsequently led a body of colonists from his original group in Naxos to found Leontinoi in the south, and together with co-oikist Euarkhos they founded Katane shortly thereafter. The foundation of these three Khalkidian settlements is recorded in a brief period of six

[59] Thucydides 6, 3.1 ff, also see Dunbabin 1948, p. 8; Holloway 1991, p. 45; Boardman 1964, p. 183;.
[60] Guido 1967, p. 206; Vallet & Villard 1964, p.15; this date is also given credit as a possibility by Holloway 1991, p. 46, and Dunbabin 1948, p. 9, but both authors and Boardman 1964, p. 183 favour the tradition of the well-authenticated foundation date of 734 BC.
[61] Strabo 267.
[62] Dunbabin 1948, p. 8; Barletta 1983, p. 12.

years.[63] Dunbabin suggests that the intention of Theokles was to secure the rich Laistrygonian plain throughout which wheat grew in abundance, ensuring that no other Greek cities would be able to settle there.[64] The three *apoikiai* together comprise a significant acquisition of territory that encompasses the ca. 400 km^2 Plain of Catania, the foothills of Mt. Etna and the coastline from Capo Schisò to Brucoli. The ports at Katane and Naxos developed into important nodes of interaction along trade routes that extended from Pithekoussai and the Bay of Naples to Calabria, Puglia and the western coast of Greece.

Figure 1: View from the Roman Theatre at Taormina looking out over the coast and the ancient site of Naxos (on the peninsula of Capo Schisò) with Mount Etna in the background

The settlement of Naxos never grew to be very great in size nor importance in comparison to its Khalkidian sister-settlements perhaps due to its hybrid orientation as neither fully agrarian nor fully commercial. The settlement's location makes it a logical

[63] Thucydides 6, 3.1-3; Holloway 1991, p. 46; Dunbabin 1948, p. 10.
[64] Dunbabin 1948, p. 10; Guido 1967, p. 206.

port of call for ships rounding Calabria and heading for the Straits of Messina. The site was likely already known to Greek navigators at the time of its foundation: imported Greek pottery (Late Geometric Euboean vessels) dated to the third quarter of the eighth century BC found in indigenous tombs at Cocolonazzo di Mola and Pietraperciata suggests that a local network of relationships was quickly established.

Naxos fell to the Deinomenids and the city was rebuilt on a new urban grid ca. 470 BC.[65] The site was reclaimed in 461 BC by the original Khalkidian inhabitants, but survived for only about two more generations as it was razed by Dionysius of Syracuse in 403 BC.[66] During the war against Syracuse in the late fifth century BC, Naxos remained loyal to the Athenians and proved to be a strategic location for maintaining contact with their base. Some years after their defeat, Diodorus says that the lands were given to the Sikels as a gift. The Naxian inhabitants went into exile and various groups of the population were absorbed into other settlements. In 358 BC, the descendants of the Naxians were given a new settlement on the hill at Taormina, just north of the old site of Naxos.[67]

The site today preserves very few standing buildings, but the foundations and lower parts of the walls of many buildings are still extant. It is rather remarkable to walk through the site and observe the settlement plan, including roads, domestic space, and even a possible sanctuary and agora, mapped out before you by these low-lying, linear

[65] Herodotus 7.154.2, Diodorus Siculus 11.49.1; rebuilt date: Lentini 2009, p. 15-17.
[66] Diodorus Siculus 11.76.3; 14.15.4.
[67] Diodorus Siculus 14.15.1-4; 16.7.1-2.

groupings of stone. From the initial point of settlement, the city was laid out on a linear grid which, judging by the only two remaining streets (Sh and Sg) from the eighth century BC, seemed to be oriented along a northeast-southwest axis running parallel to the shoreline.[68] The urban grid was updated in the early fifth century to a second, more developed grid plan. The new plan is different from the seventh century city planning due to its refined nature and the adoption of rational relationships among component parts. Avenues are twice the width of streets and blocks have the proportions length to width of 1:4 (proportions which are common among the *apoikiai* of Sicily).[69]

Figure 2: The low-lying archaeological remains of the Archaic urban sanctuary at Naxos

[68] Di Vita 1996, p. 279.
[69] Holloway 1991, p. 84.

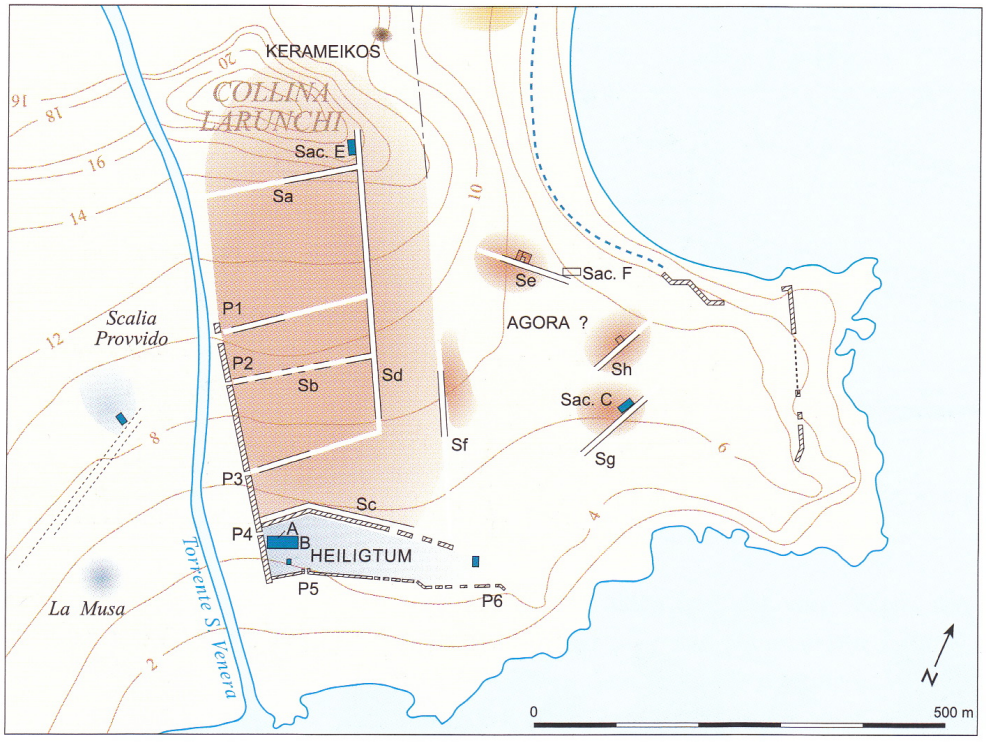

Figure 3: Urban grid of Naxos dating to its initial settlement in the late eighth to early seventh century BC (after Mertens 2006)

Before the implementation of this new grid plan, fortification walls were built in the sixth century to surround the city, remains of which extend a length of over 200 metres.[70] The foundations of a large Archaic temple are conventionally identified as dedicated to Aphrodite.[71] Underneath these foundations are the remains of an earlier sacred site with seventh century walls and filled with votive offerings of the same date, including much Eastern Greek pottery. From the temple itself are painted architectural terracottas belonging to the late sixth century.[72]

[70] Holloway 1991, p. 143.
[71] Guido 1967, p. 206.
[72] Guido 1967, p. 206-7.

Figure 4: The second urban grid of Naxos, fifth century BC (after Mertens 2006)

The Classical Period city included an area designated as an agora; this public space was located at the northern edge of the urban grid, bordering the shipsheds located on the Larunchi Hill. The agora is identified archaeologically by a trodden level of packed earth that extends for at least 128 m^2 bordering Plateia C and Stenopos 6. The area is bound by a retaining wall to the north, which allows a difference of ground level between this urban space and the shipsheds immediately adjacent. These shipsheds richly decorated with architectural terracottas may predate the agora and add to the monumental area of the city. The agora seems to be deprived of monumental buildings, such as *stoai*, *heroa*, or a *prytaneion*, that usually designate this type of public space, but its position is logical based on the hierarchy of elements of the urban grid. The greater width of

Stenopos 6 (6.4 m, compared to 5.0 m for all other *stenopoi*) distinguishes it as a central thoroughfare of the urban grid, and Plateia C is the northernmost of the three east-west streets.[73] Between the early and the Classical grid plans, Naxos successfully delineates space according to its function.

Worship and dedication at Naxos is reconstructed through both archaeological and literary evidence. Apollo Arkhegetes is known through literary accounts only.[74] Archaeologically, a variety of gods and sacred figures are recognized; principal categories of evidence include terracotta votives and coinage. It is common in Naxos and Medma to find representations of an old and gloomy-faced man dating to the second half of the fifth century BC, such as the example of the terracotta bust measuring 14 cm in height. Langlotz suggests that the man is likely a hero who is unidentifiable to us now. The kind of realism viewed in the man's face is typical of contemporary Western Greek Art. The downcast expression recalls that of many of the satyr figures also found in Naxos who, rather than appearing to have a wild lust for life as one would expect the followers of Dionysos to have, seem to be denizens of the underworld.[75] Painted gorgoneia and sileni were frequently used as antefixes throughout Archaic Sicily in the *apoikiai*, and the finds collection at Naxos holds a number of examples. The gorgoneia depict the characteristically circular face and exaggerated features of the gorgon: her tufted hair and beard surrounding her face, her open-mouthed smile with protruding fangs and tongue,

[73] Lentini 2012, pp. 125-127.
[74] Thucydides 6, 3.1.
[75] Langlotz 1965, p. 278, plate 94.

her broad nose, and her wide eyes which emit a piercing glare. The satyr heads are more proportionate in their facial features and their heads are oval in form, but their tufted hair and long beards encircling the whole of the face and their pointed ears allude to their animalistic nature. Moulds and kilns have been found outside the walls of Naxos and so the settlement must have been a place of production for such pieces.[76]

Figure 5: Examples of sileni/satyr antefixes from the archaeological museum at the excavated site of ancient Naxos, 450-400 BC

Figure 6: Reconstruction of the gorgoneion found at an extraurban sanctuary (archaeological museum on site at Naxos)

[76] Holloway 1991, p. 79.

A few fragments of a much larger gorgoneion were found at what is believed to be the site of an extraurban sanctuary belonging to Naxos. The beard, curled hair, protruding tongue, nose hanging over the lip, and four snakes entwined at the top of her head demonstrate that this particular depiction of the gorgon is one of earlier production dated to ca. 560 BC. The bold colour scheme of the black, white, and red pigments traditionally used to paint the gorgoneion are still preserved on these fragments.[77] These chthonic figures and others continue to appear in the collections of art recovered from the Sikeliot poleis.

Votive deposits were often filled with dedications to female deities, often in a representation of either the devotee or the goddess herself. At Naxos, *pinakes* have been discovered in fragments. Two examples come from house 8 in sector C, both made in the Locrian type from clay and dated to 470-460 BC; the first fragment shows the head of a seated female deity, her hair arranged in tiers around the front and falling down to her back, adorned with a crown decorated with a series of rosettes.[78] On the second fragment remains the figure of a long-haired boy standing to the right donning a chiton and he is about to be crowned by a female figure.[79] The head of a female figurine (440-430 BC)[80] and a small female bust (end of the fifth century BC)[81] were also found at Naxos in house 1-2, both crowned as well.

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[77] From the Archaeological Museum at Naxos.
[78] Garraffo & Lentini 1995, p. 26, Inv. 2237 (TAV VI); dimensions: 5.5 cm x 5 cm x 0.5 cm.
[79] Garraffo & Lentini 1995, p. 26-7, Inv. 2238 (TAV VI); dimensions: 7.8 cm x 5.2 cm x 0.6 cm; only the arm of the female figure remains, which is about to touch the head of the child with the crown.
[80] Garraffo & Lentini 1995, p. 27, Inv. 2224 (TAV VII); head of a female figurine, found in house 1-2 sector B; clay; dimensions: conserved height is 5.2 cm.
[81] Garraffo & Lentini 1995, p. 28-9, Inv. 2228 (VII); small female bust found in house 1-2 sector 1; clay; dated to end of the 5th century BC; height 16 cm; base 12.2 cm x cm 5.4.

Despite its relatively small size, Naxos' primacy was recognized by other poleis and the city produced a number of material cultural goods that are known to us either through the ancient sources or surviving archaeological evidence. The most well-known object which is praised in the ancient sources over and over is the altar to Apollo Arkhegetes, or Apollo the Father. Thucydides informs that not only Khalkidians but also Sikeliots sacrificed to Apollo at this altar before sailing on embassies.[82] Any archaeological record of the altar's location within Naxos and the altar itself are lost to us now.[83] Thucydides' account and the praise of the altar by other authors as well, however, demonstrates that the *apoikiai* held Naxos in a certain esteem because of its important role in founding the settlements in Sicily and in the tradition of Greek movement abroad. This is further evidenced by the participation of citizens of Naxos in panhellenic games offered at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia on mainland Greece.[84] The Greek cities and private citizens in Sicily were no exception to the desire for self-representation in public space, and this included the principal sanctuaries on the Greek mainland.[85] Larger *apoikiai*, Syracuse especially, are noted as being more active than Naxos in their participation in panhellenic games and offering of votives to mainland sanctuaries. Pausanius, however, does tell us about a man named Tisandros from Naxos, who was skilled in boxing and was the consecutive victor in the event at the 52nd to 55th

[82] Thucydides 6, 3.1.
[83] Rizzo 1978, p. 107.
[84] Adornato 2013, p. 94.
[85] Adornato 2013, p. 82.

Olympiad (572 to 560 BC). Moreover, a monument of Tisandros was erected at Olympia in celebration.[86]

Naxos also produced coinage, but did so later than *apoikiai* like Selinus and Himera whose earliest coins have a simple punch reverse. The first coins of Naxos instead bear full pictorial types on both the obverse and reverse, displaying a common theme of the god Dionysos and his cult.[87] Forni's catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum shows that out of the twenty-six coins kept in the collection the obverses of twenty depict the profile of a bearded Dionysos with a wreath of ivy in his hair bordered by a circle of dots.[88] Of the remaining six coins, three obverses display the head of Apollo crowned with a laurel wreath and three a young head of the river-god Assinos crowned with vine leaves.[89] The reverse of these coins carry the type of a bunch of grapes hanging between two leaves from a stylized tendril sometimes surrounded in ivy (fourteen), or the figure of Silenus, a follower and companion of Dionysos, squatting or sitting on the ground while holding a kantharos or wine cup, appearing rather animalistic with his shaggy hair, pointed ears, and long tail.[90] Either the obverse or reverse of each coin bares a variant or shortened form of the Greek inscription NAXION or ΝΑΞΙΩΝ, sometimes in retrograde.[91]

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[86] Pausanius 6.13.8; Adornato 2013, p. 94.
[87] Rutter 1997, p. 110-11.
[88] Forni 1963, p. 118-120; also see Rizzo 1978, p. 152-6.
[89] Forni 1963, p. 120.
[90] Forni 1963, p. 118-120; Rutter 1997, p. 111; Jenkins 1976, p. 24.
[91] Forni 1963, p. 118-20.

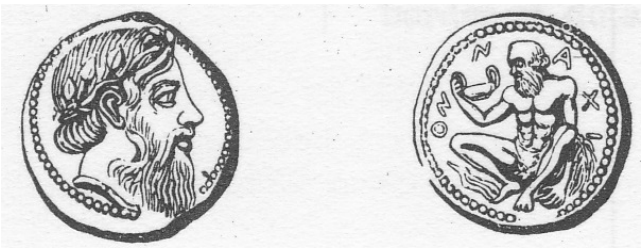

Figure 7: Head of Dionysos / Bearded Silenus; silver, fifth century BC, Naxos (after Forni 1963)

While their coinage certainly seems to favour Dionysos, it would be too convenient to claim that the main civic cult of Naxos was oriented towards Dionysos, especially without any evidence of a cult space dedicated to him. Rather, Naxos was situated beneath the slopes of Mount Etna in an area rich in the growth of the vine that contributed to their prosperity, and so the celebration of wine and its patron deity specifically on their coinage are no surprise.[92] The dating of these coins, as with many from Sicily, is somewhat problematic. The end-date of production must be 493 BC, the year the city was taken over by Hippocrates of Gela.[93] The more elusive beginning-date is likely sometime in the sixth century BC, but a 1944 study dates the beginning of the production of Naxian coinage to 550 BC by comparing the heads of Dionysos on the obverses of the coins with contemporaneous Athenian vase painting.[94] While it is reasonable to look to other media for comparison in style, it also raises some questions whether the original points of comparison are dated correctly, or what the relationship

[92] Jenkins 1976, p. 24.
[93] Rutter 1997, p. 112.
[94] Rutter 1997, p. 112.

between the Athenian and Naxian mints was, if any, or if it is even advisable to make a comparison between goods separated by such a great geographical distance.[95]

Megara Hyblaea

Three groups are responsible for the first wave of settlement throughout eastern Sicily in the latter half of the eighth century BC: the Khalkidians, Corinthians, and Megarians.[96] Thucydides' summary of this period suggests a race to dominate the east coast of Sicily with numerous Greek settlements founded within the short time span of just seven years.[97] Thucydides provides the most detailed report of the settlement of the Greek West: he states that Archaic Megara Hyblaea existed for 245 years before it was destroyed by Syracuse under the tyrant Gelon.[98] Gelon ruled at Syracuse from 485-479 BC.[99] Herodotus places the destruction of Megara Hyblaea between 485 and 480 BC, and scholars have argued for a more precise date of 483/2 BC.[100] Thus, Thucydides provides the date of 728/7 BC as the year of the foundation of Megara Hyblaea.[101] The account of Thucydides, however, is somewhat problematic, and other traditions of colonial history and chronology existed in antiquity that give rise to considerable controversy about the dating of this site.[102] Diodorus Siculus writes that Selinus, the sub-settlement founded on the south-eastern coast of Sicily by Megara Hyblaea, existed for a total of 242 years

[95] Rutter 1997, p. 112.
[96] De Angelis 2003, p. 11-13.
[97] Holloway 1991, p. 45.
[98] Thucydides 6, 4.2; De Angelis 2003, p. 12; Holloway 1991, p. 45; Barletta 1983, p. 135.
[99] Herodotus 7.145; Holloway 1991, p. 45; Barletta 1983, p. 135.
[100] See Dunbabin, Berard, R. Van Compernolle; De Angelis 2003, p. 12; Barletta 1983, p. 135.
[101] Holloway 1991, p. 13; De Angelis 2003, p. 12.
[102] Holloway 1991, p. 46; Barletta 1983, p. 135; see also Boardman 1964, p. 189.

before it was destroyed by the Carthaginians in 409/8 BC.[103] This account, therefore, places the foundation of Selinus at 650/1 BC[104], and if Selinus was founded a century after its mother city, as Thucydides states and is generally accepted among scholars, Megara Hyblaea would have then been established in 750/1 BC[105]. Whichever date proves true, we cannot disregard the importance of Thucydides' account because his chronology, even in part, must be relied upon for either dating.[106] The dates as figured by scholars may even be more definite than is permissible due to the manner in which Greek historians calculated dates. Authors of antiquity translated counts of generations into years given in equivalents of either 30, 33⅓, 35, or 45 years, and so the margin for error here and elsewhere in the dating of initial settlements now becomes more apparent.[107] Archaeological evidence nevertheless demonstrates that the Greek settlement of Sicily's eastern shore occurred quickly in the mid-8th century BC and that Megara Hyblaea was certainly a product of this first wave of settlement.

Thucydides narrates the difficulties that the Megarians met in their efforts to establish their settlement. The Megarian oikist Lamis first led his settlers to Trotilon before being asked by the Khalkidians of Leontinoi to join them at their settlement. After a period of cohabitation that is defined as being six months long, the Khalkidians asked the Megarians to expel the Sikels on their behalf, and, following their victory, the

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[103] Holloway 1991, p. 46; Barletta 1983, p. 135.
[104] Holloway (1991) gives a higher possible date of 658 BC, page 46.
[105] Holloway (1991, p. 46) again gives a higher date here of 758 BC in relation to the year of 658 BC, which he applies to the foundation of Selinus, and stays true to the 100-year post-dating of Selinus to its mother city by Thucydides.
Also see Barletta 1983, p. 135, and Guido 1967, p. 199.
[106] Barletta 1983, p. 136.
[107] Holloway 1991, p. 46.

Megarians were driven out of the land themselves.[108] They found temporary safety on Thapsos, but soon Lamis died and they were forced out from here as well with Syracuse acting as the culprit this time.[109] The Sikel King Hyblon offered a part of his realm on the mainland to the Megarians upon which to settle; they named the *apoikia* after both their mother city and the Sikel king, thus ending this series of continuous false starts. De Angelis suggests that Hyblon, aware of the fate of the Sikels at Leontinoi and Syracuse, did this to win the friendship of the Megarians and to form an alliance.[110] This land was uninhabited at the time of its Megarian settlement.[111] Archaeological evidence, specifically pottery, found in domestic contexts indicating its use by the first-generation settlers proves that the earliest settlement dates to the second half of the eighth century BC.[112] In 483/2 BC, Gelon led Syracuse to victory against Megara Hyblaea, deporting the population—the rich to citizenship at Syracuse and the poor into slavery—and taking over the territory.[113] At the time of the attack on Syracuse by the Athenians in 415 BC, the site was still uninhabited, and was not reoccupied until the time of Timoleon in the fourth century BC.[114]

Megara Hyblaea is located on a seaside plateau about twenty kilometres both north-west of Syracuse and south-west of Leontinoi, and lies between the River Cantera and the San Cusumano torrent near the Bay of Augusta.[115] The site is divided into roughly

[108] Thucydides 6, 4.1. Boardman 1964, p. 189; Dunbabin 1948, p. 18.
[109] De Angelis 2003, p. 13; Carratelli, Figueira, and Graham all believe Syracuse was responsible.
[110] De Angelis 2003, p. 14.
[111] Boardman 1964, p. 189.
[112] De Angelis 2003, p. 14.
[113] Holloway 1991, p. 50; De Angelis 2003, p. 14.
[114] Rutter 1997, p. 11.
[115] De Angelis 2003, p. 14; Guido 1967, p. 199.

two plateaux by a natural depression about 300 metres deep called L'Arenella. The topography of the landward sides of the site is completely flat but the coastal plain transitions gradually into hilly surroundings.[116] There was no natural harbour here, rather an anchorage with moderate shelter, and so good possibilities for a port are found not at the eastern cliffs of the site but at the more accessible mouth of the Cantera.[117] The area was rich in natural resources such as water and fertile land, making this a suitable site for human settlement. Settlers began their settlement in the northern part of the site, which gradually expanded throughout the seventh century BC. Much of their prosperity is attributed to their maritime trade and their production of fine pottery.[118]

Initial divisions of space and layout of city blocks occurred at the foundation of the *apoikia*. The earliest remains of Megara Hyblaea conclude a planned settlement, and include original houses of the settlers: all are very simple in construction and each is only a single room measuring about 4.5 m².[119] The grid plan of the site is reflected in the alignment of the houses along the same orientation as the streets.[120] The streets themselves appear to be asymmetrical and run on two discrete axes arranged at 21 degrees to one another (an original western orientation, and a later eastern orientation which extended the division system); however, eighth century houses run along both axes, suggesting that the period between the realization of these slightly different axes

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[116] De Angelis 2003, p. Plate 5.
[117] Boardman 1964, p. 189; De Angelis 2003, p. 14; Guido 1967, p. 199.
[118] Guido 1967, p. 199.
[119] De Angelis 2003, p. 17; Holloway 1991, p. 50-51; For measurements of the remaining walls and a more detailed archaeological record, see Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976.
[120] Holloway 1991, p. 51; De Angelis 2003, p. 20.

was not long.[121] This then suggests that space for both streets and domestic housing must have been planned and allotted simultaneously or within a short time of one another during the initial planning of the settlement in the second half of the eighth century BC.

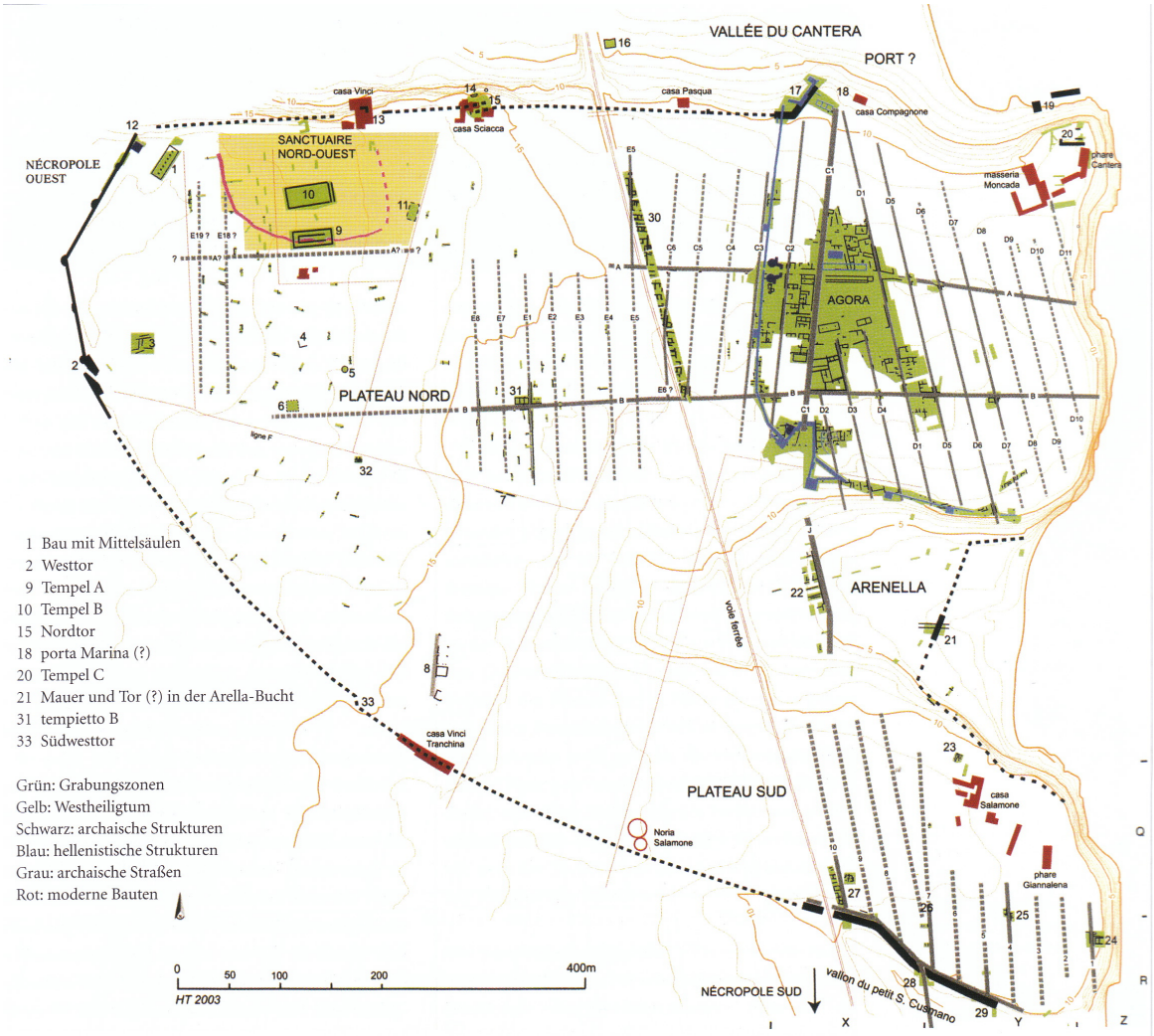

Figure 8: Plan of the urban grid of Megara Hyblaea (after Mertens 2006)

These streets divide up the settlement into a number of blocks (within which are the remains of the houses) and an agora. Streets A and B are crossed by streets C and D

[121] Holloway 1991, p. 52.

running roughly east-west and north-south respectively. The agora must have also been included in the initial plan of the settlement primarily because no building was erected in this space during approximately the first century of its existence, which of course negates the possibility of the space having an alternate, prior use.[122] We cannot confidently measure the space of the agora as archaeologists are uncertain how far it extended as buildings and monuments were added.[123] The main open space is located almost centrally within the crossroads of these major streets[124], an ideal place for community gatherings.[125] Of course, it is commonplace that Greek politics and commerce could be carried out within the agora without permanent structures, and so too could the Greeks conduct religious ritual practice in an open-air setting as they often did before the rise of monumental temple-building in the seventh century BC.[126] In fact, it is now widely accepted among scholars that even when inhabitants had temples at their disposal, they still practiced religious ritual outdoors, using the temples more so as storehouses for offerings and various goods and often a cult statue to the respective deity to which each temple was dedicated. As the main site of Megara Hyblaea was completely flat, there is nothing here to resemble an acropolis,[127] but multiple temples were built within or nearby this agora. Megara Hyblaea, then, serves as another example of a polis with an early grid

[122] Holloway 1991, p. 52.
[123] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 387.
[124] Measurements: 58 m along the north side, 71 m along the south, 44 m along the west, and 30 m along the east; Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 387.
[125] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 387 figure 66.
[126] Holloway 1991, p. 52.
[127] De Angelis 2003, p. 14.

plan, which we can confidently date back to the initial point of settlement that uses a linear layout to separate domestic and communal space.

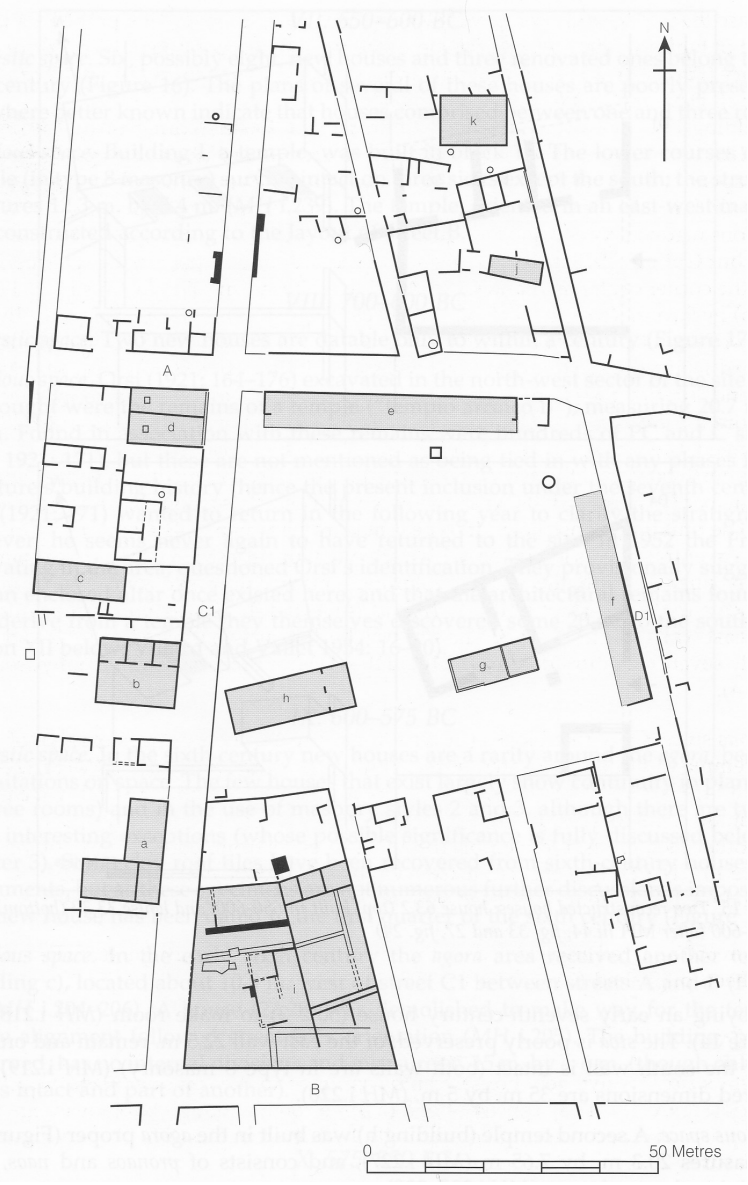

Figure 9: Plan of the Archaic agora of Megara Hyblaea (after Auberson, Vallet, & Villard *MH I*, 1976)

On the south-west corner of the agora are the ruins of "building b", the *euthynteria*, or the uppermost course of the foundations, of which measures 13.98 m

x10.98 m. It has been dated to the second half of the sixth century BC.[128] The division of the building into three rooms and the prominent and public location of the building within the agora leads us to identify it as a *hestiatorion* used for banquet feasting.[129] Building d (north length, 12.8 m; south width, 12.6 m; west width, 9.6 m; east width, 9.85 m) is situated on the north-west corner of the agora at the crossroads of streets A and C, a position which warrants particular attention.[130] Dated to ca. 630 BC[131], it has been identified as a *heröon* or hero shrine supported by the wells at the entrance[132], but the condition of the ruins have not yet allowed archaeologists to confirm with absolute certainly the hero to whom it was dedicated. The long portico of a *stoa* called building e (41.45 m x 5.9 m) delimits the whole north side of the agora bordering street A. Vallet and Villard propose that the construction occurred sometime during the third quarter of the seventh century BC.[133] Another *stoa* (building f; 22.5 m x 3.8 m) lines the east side of the agora along street D dated to the end of the seventh century BC.[134] All of these buildings must have given rise to public activity, such as commerce, assemblies, ritual celebrations, and so on, and therefore encouraged interaction amongst inhabitants and participation in public life.[135]

Belonging to the period between 650 and 625 BC is one of Megara Hyblaea's first monumental temples, the so-called building g (ca. 15 m x ca. 6.5 m), an in-antis temple

[128] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 198-201.
[129] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 202.
[130] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 208-9.
[131] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 210.
[132] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 211.
[133] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 212-14; Mertens 1996, p. 318.
[134] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 218-20; Mertens 1996, p. 318.
[135] Mertens 1996, p. 318.

located in the south-east corner of the agora. All that remains are five blocks laid out in masonry in two courses.[136] Building j (9.6 m x 4.2 m) is also dated to this period, and despite its slightly trapezoidal shape, Vallet and Villard argue that it is the remains of a small temple.[137] It is located in block 16 just north of the agora at the northern crossroads of streets A and D.[138] Around the same time as the construction of building j and g, the temple labelled building l (12.3 m x 5.4 m) was erected in block 17, the lower courses of which are intact on all sides except the south. This building was situated along the east-west orientation according to the layout of street B.[139] In 625 to 600 BC, a second larger temple was built within the agora labelled building h (20.3 m x 7.65 m) oriented along the same east-west axis. More is known about this temple's structure, which consists of both a *naos* and *pronaos*, both containing three columns each.[140] Around 600 BC, another temple, building c (15 m x 6 m), was constructed in the agora area in block 6 between streets A and B which is now poorly preserved.[141] Building k (11.6 m x 8.7 m) was built in block 16 in proximity to the north-west corner of the agora[142] and is dated between 550 and 525 BC[143]. Archaeologists admit that the religious function ascribed to this building in its identification as a temple is tenuous due to its strange trapezoidal shape.[144] The years 525 to 500 BC saw the realization of a city wall that originally stretched three

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[136] De Angelis 2003, p. 26-7; Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 222-4.
[137] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 230-2.
[138] De Angelis 2003, p. 26-7; Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 230-2.
[139] De Angelis 2003, p. 29; Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 238-9.
[140] De Angelis 2003, p. 28; Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 226-8.
[141] De Angelis 2003, p. 29; Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 204-6.
[142] Auberson, Vallet, & Villard 1976, p. 234-6.
[143] De Angelis 2003, p. 31.
[144] De Angelis 2003, p. 31.

kilometres around the city to completely enclose it. Within this wall, the French discovered a temple whose construction date is around 510 to 483 BC, also not an exact rectangle in plan.[145] Other temples have been discovered further away from the agora and the city's principle domestic area. Orsi discovered the remains of a large temple (17.55 m x 41.4 m) in the north-west corner of the city constructed during the sixth century BC.[146] It can be deduced from the few architectural remains that the temple was hexastyle peripteral in design with six columns on the short sides with possibly fifteen columns running along the length on each side.[147] In addition, architectural evidence suggests the existence of two further temples in the north-west part of the settlement, but little is known regarding their plans or dates.[148]

Regarding ritual practices at Megara Hyblaea, there are a large number of ceramic finds.[149] One of the most striking examples of the detail found in Sicilian Archaic sculpture is the limestone statue of a goddess suckling twins found in the necropolis (height: 78 cm). It is dated to the mid-sixth century BC and characteristically expressive of Sicilian art. This is likely a representation of the "Great Mother" who is seen here seated on a throne holding two swaddled infants at her breasts, one in each hand, and might have been offered to the goddess in this setting as a reminder of renewed life through birth.[150]

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[145] De Angelis 2003, p. 32.
[146] De Angelis 2003, p. 32.
[147] De Angelis 2003, p. 32.
[148] De Angelis 2003, p. 33; for a complete list of monumental building at Archaic Megara Hyblaea, see De Angelis 2003, p. 35, figure 20.
[149] For more on ceramic finds, see Vallet & Villard 1964.
[150] Langlotz 1965, p. 255 plate 17.

Figure 10: The "Great Mother" goddess suckling twins; ceramic, mid-sixth century BC, Megara Hyblaea

Other finds also depict divinities in their offerings. A terracotta sculpture of Aphrodite enthroned (height 25.3 cm) dated to 400 BC portrays the goddess wearing a double-belted chiton, a common fashion in Sicily, and a garland of flowers and fruits as a crown. Her right hand draws her veil away from her face while the left rests on a swan, an animal sacred to Aphrodite.[151] A number of female votive figurines have also been found at Megara Hyblaea. One in particular is an example of a larger terracotta figurine likely painted in bright colours measuring 35 cm in height with a columnar form for the body, the breasts only slightly indicated, but the face was round and clearly modelled. Dated to

[151] Langlotz 1965, p. 289 plate 130.

ca. 530 BC, the execution is characteristic of sixth-century Selinuntine plastic art. As is true for many votives, this figure could depict either the divinity or the devotee.[152]

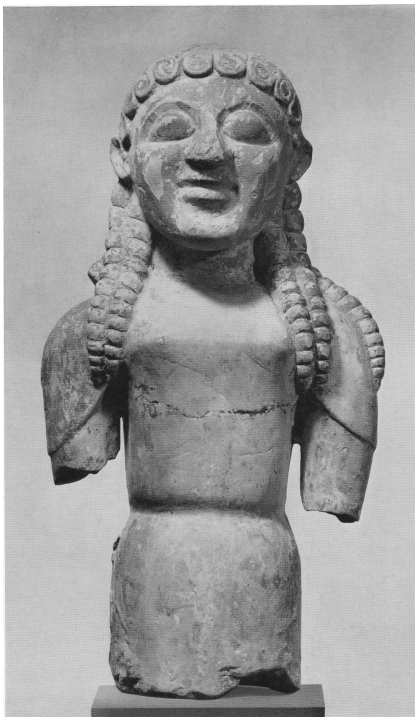

Figure 11: Female votive figurine from Megara Hyblaea, terracotta, ca. 530 BC

Many details of the above structures and finds are lost to us, including not only dimensions, plans, design, decor, and dates, but most important to our discussion here is the absence of evidence for the dedications of these temples in specific. This is likely a result of Gelon's suppression of the polis and its abandonment. Nevertheless, the process of monumental temple construction at Megara Hyblaea is still incredibly useful in our analysis of seventh and sixth century BC building patterns in Sicilian *apoikiai*. This will be discussed in comparative detail with other *apoikiai* later, but some core patterns have

[152] Langlotz 1965, p. 252 plate 5.

already been made apparent. First, the settlement follows the time-sensitive trend in Sicily of monumental building. De Angelis hypothesizes that the original group of Greek settlers in the second half of the eighth century BC numbered between 50 and 100 people, a population that steadily grew throughout the seventh century BC. He argues that this was a result of both the admission of indigenous peoples into the community and the growing economic prosperity which the people of Megara Hyblaea were experiencing.[153] The construction of so many temples over this span of two hundred years testifies to their increasing wealth, as does the foundation of their sub-settlement Selinus in the latter half of the seventh century BC. Also, such a clustering of temples, no matter the dedication, in the agora proper or the area surrounding it, the urban centre of the polis, is also another prevalent pattern shared in the processes of temple construction during this time in the Greek settlements of Sicily (especially at Akragas and Selinus).

Syracuse

Thucydidean chronology places the foundation of Syracuse by the Corinthians just one year after that of Euboean Naxos, providing us with the handbook foundation date of 733 BC.[154] Arkhias is celebrated as the group's oikist and was probably one of the Bacchiad rulers of Corinth. Strabo confirms the timeline telling us that Syracuse was founded around the same time as Naxos and Megara Hyblaea under his leadership as does

[153] De Angelis 2003, p. 67-8.
[154] Thucydides 6, 3.2; Holloway 1991, p. 45; Boardman 1964, p. 186; Dunbabin 1948, p. 13.

archaeological evidence.[155] Tradition holds that Arkhias led a mixed group of settlers to Sicily as he apparently picked up some passengers at Zephyrion at the toe of Italy along the way from Corinth, although we are uncertain of their origin(s).[156] A native Sikel settlement occupied Ortygia at the time of the arrival of the Greeks; this community had traded with the Greeks for some years, but the Sikel settlement was extinguished upon the arrival of the settlers.[157]

Historians, both ancient and modern, rave about the success of Syracuse as an independent polis as a result of its great economic prosperity and influence over the whole of Sicily. Syracuse had two inland dependants, Akrae and Kasmenae, and founded the secondary settlement Kamarina in 598 BC, 135 years after the initial settlement at Syracuse.[158] Syracuse itself, unlike many of its Sicilian counterparts, enjoyed centuries of prosperity without suffering any sort of destruction, abandonment, or slow decline. Syracuse defended itself against a number of formidable forces, such as the Carthaginians at the battle at Himera in 480 BC, the Etruscans in 474 BC, and the Athenians during the Peloponnesian Wars. It remained an independent polis and maintained control over its territory until after the Punic Wars when it became a Roman province. By this time, Syracuse had seen a number of tyrants rule over the polis, some democratic, others despotic. However during this time, Syracuse extended its territory northward, expanded

[155] Barletta 1983, p. 69; Holloway 1991, p. 54: Pottery, specifically a particular kind of Thapsos cup found at Syracuse, confirms this.
[156] Boardman 1964, p. 187; Dunbabin 1948, p. 14-15.
[157] Thucydides 6, 3.2; Boardman 1964, p. 187; Dunbabin 1948, p. 13; Di Vita 1996, p. 270.
[158] Holloway 1991, p. 46; Thucydides 6, 5.2-3.

its trade networks, developed into an impressive naval power, and patronized the arts and the proliferation of material culture.

The territory of Syracuse was not limited to the island of Ortygia, but included a considerable region on the mainland opposite the island named Achradina.[159] Ortygia remained the heart of the city, and included the agora and a central sanctuary, which could be described as the acropolis and included the Arethusa sanctuary. The settlement quickly extended onto the mainland, which was separated by a narrow channel that joins the two harbours, that was connected from the second half of the sixth century BC by a causeway at northern Ortygia.[160] The large natural harbour to the south is the best on the east coast of Sicily; for centuries after its foundation, a large portion of the trade between mainland Greece and Sicily seems to have passed through here, and so possession of Syracuse ensured almost a monopoly of trade for the Corinthians with the Sikels.[161]

The city extended to the mainland with occupation of the Achradina district, which expanded north up to a rocky ledge that formed a natural boundary for a domestic area.[162] An east-west thoroughfare ran west from the small harbor to the Fusco Cemetery. Two sanctuaries have been identified along the road at the northern boundary of the domestic area. The sanctuary of Apollo Temenites is located on the Colle Temenites adjacent to the third-century theater. It was a suburban sanctuary in the Archaic Period,

[159] Dunbabin 1948, p. 17, 50.
[160] Dunbabin 1948, p. 50.
[161] Dunbabin 1948, p. 13; Guido 1967, p. 161.
[162] Di Vita 1996, p. 274.

and along with the adjacent sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, located to the west, could have been conspicuous public areas demarcating the northern extent of the asty.

Figure 12: Plan of Syracuse including Achradina and Ortygia (after Mertens 2006)

Syracuse saw significant population growth during the rule of the Deinomenids and under Dionysius I.[163] During this period the city was expanded with new residential areas in Achradina, followed by developments in Neapolis. The new area of inhabitation consisted of a set of insulae oriented northwest-southeast abutting the *plateia* to the south at an acute angle. The north side of the *plateia* was built with *stenopoi* extending at a 90° angle. City blocks measured 38 m wide articulated on *stenopoi* 3 m wide. This section of the city was likely built later, and a Hieronian date must be considered, while the insulae south of the *plateia* may date to the late fifth century BC.[164]

An extraurban road leading to Heloris extended from Achradina West to the Fusco Cemetery and adjacent to the Lisymeleia marshes, which extended to the mouths of the Anapus and Cyane rivers. Two small sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore were located along the northern edge of the swamp below the Colle Temenites, and, given their vicinity to the swampy area, these could be considered peri-urban and beyond the asty itself.[165] The extraurban sanctuary of Olympian Zeus was located on the south side of the rivers, was frequented from the seventh century BC, and was home to a monumental Doric Temple dating to the first half of the sixth century BC. The *kome Polichne* developed around the sanctuary. Another important extraurban sanctuary is located on Cozzo Scandurra, a small hill rising from the marshy plain next to a small pond on the western side of the Large

[163] Gelon transplanted and granted citizenship to: the Kamarinans, half of the city of Gela, the landowning class at Megara Hyblaea and Eubeia (Hdt. 7.156.2-3) as well as 10,000 mercenaries (Diod. 11.72.3). Dionysius I grew the city by relocating the inhabitants of Leontinoi (Diod. 14.15.4), Kaulonia (Diod. 14.106.3), Hipponium (Diod. 14.107.2) and receiving newly freed slaves as citizens (Diod. 14.7.4). Timoleon relocated the population of Leontinoi to Syracuse and settled as many as 45,000 new settlers according to Diodorus (16.82.3-5). Fischer Hansen, et al. 2004.
[164] On the urbanization at Achradina and Neapolis: Voza 1980-81, p. 680-682; Di Vita 2002, p. 142.
[165] Veronese 2006, p. 322-24.

Harbour and may have been related to the source of the Cyane Spring. Archaeological evidence of frequentation from the Archaic Period includes a large statue head in Daedalic style found near the sanctuary at Laganello. The female head wears a polos and has been identified with both Demeter and Kore.[166] Ancient authors recognized a numinal quality of this locality as it was at this site that, in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Hades descended into the underworld with Kore.[167] For Diodorus Siculus, it was the spot at which Herakles sacrificed one of Geryon's bulls to Kore.[168] In a later passage, the territory is described as contiguous with (proasteion) Achradina, and the site of Himilcon's desecration of the temples of Demeter and Kore. Sicily does have this particular mythological connection to the underworld which reasonably accounts for the popularity of chthonic figures found in the archaeological record throughout all seven surveyed *apoikiai*.

The *kata komas* system (an agglomeration of villages) underlies the urban layout of ancient Syracuse. It is a product of Syracuse having an initial population of settlers much larger than that of Megara Hyblaea, and in addition the population grew quickly with the help of continuous waves of new arrivals to the settlement.[169] Orsi notes that the backbone ridge of Ortygia traversing the entire islet from north to south offered the most natural axis along which these island villages could be linked with those on the mainland. Along the perpendicular east-west axis ran a set of transverse streets or *stenopoi* varying

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[166] See catalogue in Carratelli 1996 or Holloway 2000.
[167] Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, V, 409-486.
[168] Diod. Sic. IV, 23,4.
[169] Di Vita 1996, p. 270.

between 2.5 and 3 m wide seemingly organized in parallel *insulae* of 23-25 m wide. Pelagatti and Di Vita have argued that the oldest agora on Ortygia must have filled the area behind the Athenaion and the unfinished Ionic temple; Di Vita supports this hypothesis in noting the presence nearby of early seventh century BC pottery workshops.[170] The Achradina agora was cut through (or possibly delimited) by an east-west artery. The "spine" of Ortygia, or the north-south axis, continued onto the mainland over the causeway and must have met up with this long artery cutting through the agora running along an east-west axis. Voza identified this as well as four building phases of the area, the earliest of which dates to the last quarter of the eighth century BC. Sixth century BC houses were also found in the area. The expansion of the Achradina district is therefore dated very early to the time around the initial settlement of Syracuse and in particular Ortygia. This is further supported by the dating of potsherds to the later eighth to early seventh centuries BC found in the remains of walling along the Corso Gelone, and the discoveries of hundreds of burials ranging in date from the mid-seventh through to the end of the sixth century BC.[171]

It is clear that the street system goes back to the time of oikist Arkhias; excavation beside the Temple of Athena has revealed the same kind of single-room house dating to the eighth century BC which was also found at Megara Hyblaea. Such houses were also oriented according to the ancient street plan.[172] Even today some of the streets used now

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[170] See Di Vita 1996, p. 270 on the Pelagatti excavations.
[171] Di Vita 1996, p. 274.
[172] Holloway 1991, p. 55.

follow the grid of the ancient *stenopoi*.[173] At Achradina recent excavations have revealed that the district shares the same kind of orthogonal city planning as on Ortygia suggesting a continuity between the two districts, but datable evidence of its use before the fifth century BC has yet to be discovered. Akrae and Kasmenae, the inland dependants of Syracuse, both had regular plans as well, and it is certain that the city plan of Kasmenae dates back to the foundation of the city in 643 BC.[174]

Figure 13: The plan of ancient Ortygia against a modern photograph showing that the city today still corresponds to the ancient urban grid

[173] Holloway 1991, p. 54.
[174] Holloway 1991, p. 84.

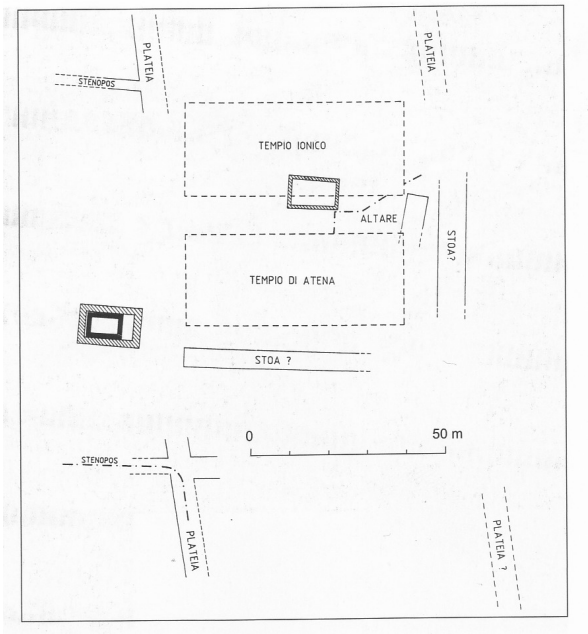

Figure 14: Grid plan of the sacred space on Ortygia (after Mertens 2006)

The archaeological record preserves a number of sanctuaries spread throughout this grid plan. A sanctuary to Athena is located on Ortygia and may have been one of the first to be built by the settlers; we cannot say anything about her temples before the early sixth century BC, at which point a temple was constructed using brick and wood and was decorated with elaborate clay revetments. Two Archaic altars were found in excavations of the later fifth century BC temple of Athena near the Apollo temple that were probably used from the time of the Archaic Athenaion.[175] At the end of the sixth century BC, an altar was ornately rebuilt with some Ionic decoration.[176]

[175] Holloway 1991, p. 68.
[176] Boardman 1964, p. 187; Holloway 1991, p. 112.

The "Ionic Temple" was built in about 530 BC and located parallel to the earlier Athenaion; Mertens has suggested that it was dedicated to Artemis.[177] With an elongated plan of 6 x 16 columns, the peripteral temple has a long *cella* with a *naos* and *pronaos*.[178]

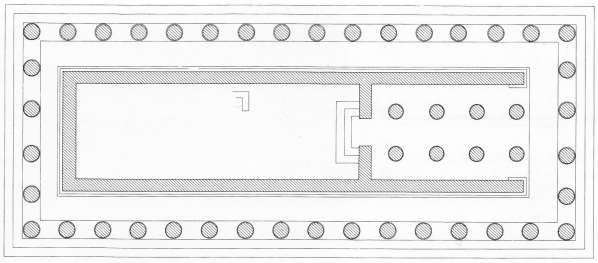

Figure 15: Plan of the "Ionic Temple", 530 BC (after Gullini 1985);

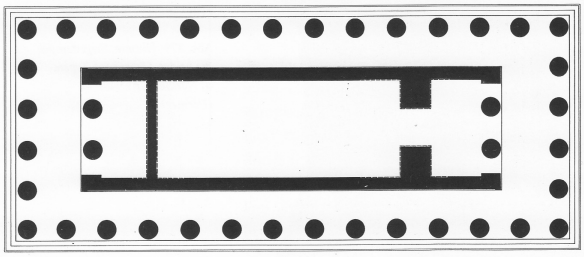

Figure 16: Plan of Gelon's Athenaion (after Mertens 2006)

The Ionic Temple was abandoned before its completion; the project likely fell out of favour as Gelon commissioned the temple of Athena in 480 BC after the Syracusan victory over the Carthaginians at Himera.[179] Gelon's temple was constructed in the Doric Order, 6 x 14 columns in plan with a 3-stepped stereobate; a marble Nike torso (height 79.3 cm) in the running Victory type common in the sixth century BC has been attributed to one of these temples of Athena, and was likely either an acroterion or a votive statue.[180]

[177] Mertens 2006, p. 75; p. 244-7.
[178] See Mertens 2006, p. 244-7 for an in-depth discussion of the column capitals.
[179] Guido 1967, p. 175; Holloway 1991, p. 72.
[180] Langlotz 1965, p. 264.

The fifth century form of the Athenaion was integrated into the fabric of the later Cathedral which stands in the Piazza del Duomo today.[181]

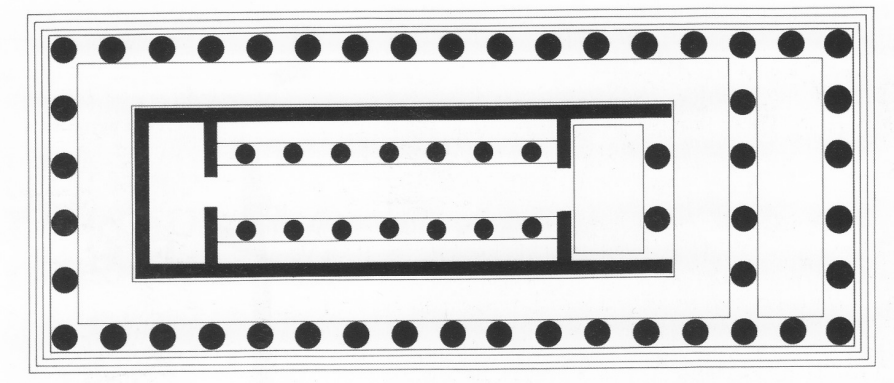

Figure 17: Plan of the Temple of Apollo, early sixth century BC, Syracuse (after Mertens 2006)

A sanctuary of Apollo is located on the northern end of Ortygia and constitutes one of the early monumental urban cult sites of the city. Its long plan (55.3 m x 25.6 m) and deep porches are characteristics commonly seen elsewhere in Sicily.[182] Other early design aspects include the monolithic Doric columns raising 7.9 m in height forming an exterior colonnade in a 6 x 17 column plan. The Temple of Apollo demonstrates one final, most dramatic break with the trends of the mainland: the Archaic Sikeliot temple is characterized by its pronounced frontality, construction along a central axis, and its spaciousness (in contrast to the squat proportions of many early temples). The double frontal colonnade and the *adyton* at the back of the *cella* realize such principal intentions of Archaic temple architecture.[183] The columns are placed very close together, a standard

[181] Boardman 1964, p. 187; Guido 1967, p. 176; Holloway 1991, p. 112-13; the plan of this temple is identical to that of the Himera temple (see below for the Himera description; also see Holloway 1991, p. 112-13).
[182] Boardman 1964, p. 187.
[183] Mertens 1996, p. 324.

of the primitive wooden Doric Order motivated by concern for the great weight of the superstructure above the peristyle.[184] The double colonnade in the front was not characteristic of Doric temples of mainland Greece but recalls temple plans from east Greece (such as at Samos, for example).[185] On the east side of the stylobate there is a dedicatory inscription to Apollo by Kleomenes, who was commissioned by the Gamoroi to build the colossal structure.[186] The open-air altar associated with the temple was located to the east and was commonly used in ceremonies of the cults of the Olympian deities in contrast to the practices for worshipping chthonic deities.[187]

Figure 18: Remains of the south flank of the Apollonion, Syracuse

[184] Holloway 1991, p. 68.
[185] Holloway 1991, p. 68.
[186] Guido 1967, p. 178; Some early writers claim that this temple is dedicated instead to Artemis; the cults of Apollo and Artemis are sometimes associated, which might explain this.
Holloway 1991, p. 73; Wescoat 1990, p. 85.
[187] Holloway 1991, p. 68.

Greek temples of the mainland typically used antefixes to cover the joints between terracotta tiles at the edge of the roof, a system that is found in Temple E1 at Selinus. The Apollonion on Ortygia, however, breaks from this tradition and had instead an upright terracotta barrier called a sima, which was pierced at intervals by tubular spouts to drain the rainwater, and had a geison cover below it. The Temple of Athena of the early sixth century BC shows this fully developed Sicilian system of revetments.[188]

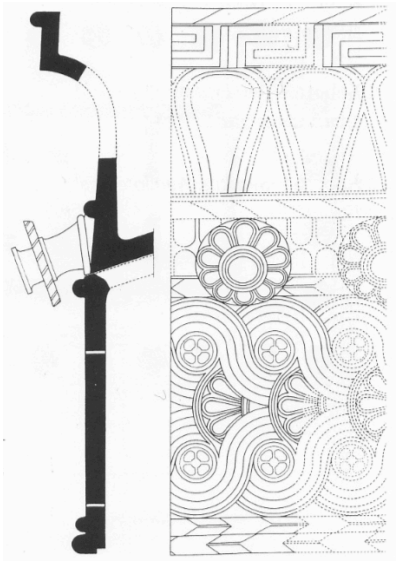

Figure 19: System of revetments showing the sima and geison on the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse (after Wikander 1986)

Inland from the great bay stood the Temple of Olympian Zeus. It stretches seven metres longer than the Apollo temple on Ortygia and immediately follows the construction of this Apollonion.[189] It shared other features with the Temple of Apollo: a long narrow *cella*, frontal double colonnade, and closely set monolithic columns.[190]

[188] Holloway 1991, p. 69.
[189] Boardman 1964, p. 187; Mertens 1996, p. 324.
[190] Guido 1967, p. 180.

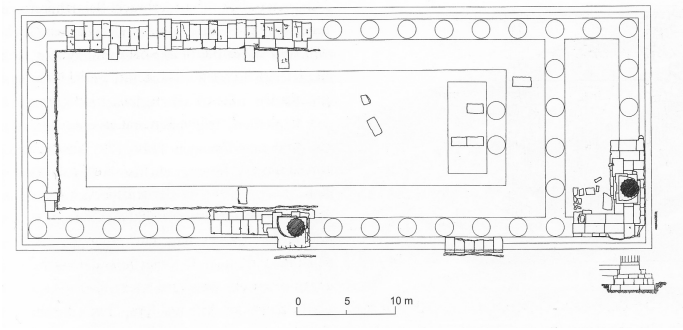

Figure 20: Plan of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, early sixth century BC, Syracuse (after Orsi 1903)

There is also evidence for the existence of the cult of Artemis on Ortygia, and the cults of Apollo and Demeter and Kore were celebrated in shrines on the mainland, the latter group of which are dated to the second stage in the development of the city.[191] The cult of Demeter and Kore is known to have been practiced on the mainland in the late fifth to early fourth century sanctuary in the modern day Piazza della Vittoria.[192] Votive pits within the sanctuary were filled with hundreds of stacked statuettes. These represented the female devotees of the goddesses. They are shown carrying a sacrificial pig and a torch, which are the symbols of the Thesmophoria. The pig symbolizes fertility, and the torch recalls that which Demeter lit from the fires of Aetna and used to guide her search for her daughter in the underworld.[193]

During the Archaic Period, gorgoneia decorated the antefixes of buildings in all parts of the Greek world, but the image and its apotropaic function found particular popularity in Western Greece where it remained in use throughout the Classical and

[191] Holloway 1991, p. 60.
[192] Wescoat 1990, p. 97.
[193] Wescoat 1990, p. 97.

Hellenistic Periods. This is partly explained by the lack of marble in Sicily which resulted in the extended use of mould-made terracotta roofs. Wescoat, however, explains the continued use of this particular image by noting that the cult of Kore was especially strong in the West, and Homer gives the role of handmaiden of the goddess to the gorgon.[194] Recall also that according to Ovid Hades descended into the underworld with Kore at the site of Syracuse in particular.

The Greek *apoikiai* in Sicily show a particular favouritism towards the image of the gorgon, and many stunning examples of terracotta gorgoneia and full-bodied gorgons have been recovered from Syracuse often from parts of the architectural sculpture of temples. From the *temenos* of the Athenaion came a terracotta relief of Medusa in the *knielauf* position (height 56 cm), dated 570-550 BC. The full figure of Medusa is shown in the conventional flying position, and she is holding Pegasus below her right arm and Chrysaor (now lost) under her left. This relief was vibrantly painted with a marked use of polychrome using especially black and red, a style common in the Archaic representation of the gorgon.[195] Only the facing head of a gorgon came from the Apollo Temple and is attributed to one of its exterior metopes.[196]

The most popular use of the gorgoneion across Sicily is to decorate the antefixes of the roofs of buildings, many of which have been uncovered in the *apoikiai* along with the Silenus type. A mould-made gorgoneion antefix of local manufacture in terracotta is

[194] Wescoat 1990, p. 92.
[195] Rizza 1996, p. 404-6.
[196] Holloway 1991, p. 74.

dated to the fifth century BC, and it also was originally vibrantly painted. A silen antefix, also of local manufacture, was found in the district of Achradina dated to the end of the fifth century BC.[197] The image of the gorgon of course served an apotropaic function; her horrifying face and frightening nature were thought to in a way petrify the viewer. The gorgoneion preserved in this antefix is an example of the late Archaic type which maintains some of her early monstrous, lion-like features such as her wide face, wrinkled brow, thick eyebrows, stocky nose, and open mouth with tusks and drooping tongue, but her eyes are no longer exaggerated and her hair no longer dishevelled. This is part of the transition from a monstrous to a beautiful female that the representation of the gorgoneion in Greek Art experiences.[198]

Figure 21: Medusa holding Pegasus and Chrysaor (now lost) from the *temenos* of the Athenaion at Syracuse, 570-550 BC

[197] Wescoat 1990, p. 92-3.
[198] Wescoat 1990, p. 92.

Figure 22: Mounted gorgon in terracotta from Syracuse, ca. 570 BC

A less common find is an arula decorated with the image of Medusa discovered in a domestic context in the district of Achradina. It was made locally using a mould in terracotta in the mid-sixth century BC. On the front is a low relief of the gorgon Medusa in flight presented in the *knielauf* position with her wings spread. She has the triangular head, large piercing eyes, lolling tongue, and snakes for locks of hair typical of the early gorgon.[199] Excavations have also revealed an original presentation of the gorgon in a free-standing sculpture of a mounted gorgon in terracotta measuring 19.8 cm tall and dated to ca. 570 BC. The face and body correspond to the type common in the early sixth century BC, but the presentation of a gorgon mounted on a horse is as of now unique in the archaeological record. Langlotz has suggested that the meaning of this particular scene is

[199] Wescoat 1990, p. 94.

in some way sepulchral and Medusa is meant to be seen rising up out of the group from the underworld to bring back the souls of the dead.[200]

Syracuse began producing coins towards the end of the sixth century BC.[201] From its beginnings the tetradrachm displayed the typical Syracusan emblem, a slow-moving four-horse chariot on the obverse.[202] This may have first appeared as an appropriate emblem of the horse-racing aristocracy of Syracuse, the Gamoroi. On later coinage, the figure of Nike often accompanies the chariot crowning the horses, and sometimes a lion, sea-serpent, ear of barley, or dolphin (later a sort of signature by the workshop of production) appears on the exergue.[203] On the reverse, Arethusa, the nymph associated with the freshwater spring on Ortygia, is encircled by a line of swimming dolphins symbolizing the sea playing around the goddess, and the letters of the complete version of the ethnic ("of the Syracusans", genitive plural).[204] This type underwent much varied treatment through its years of production; Arethusa is sometimes presented with floating hair, or wearing a laurel wreath or a wreath of coin ears into which an oak leaf and poppy-head are woven. Such are common attributes of Kore.[205] The nymph and her accompanying dolphins along with the four-horse chariot remained constant themes in the types appearing on Syracusan coinage.[206] A local, natural phenomenon, like the rich growth of the vine at Naxos, inspired these dedications to the mythological figure on

[200] Langlotz 1965, p. 254.
[201] A vast collection of Syracusan coinage is kept in the British Museum and is catalogued in Forni 1963, p. 145ff.
[202] Jenkins 1976, p. 16.
[203] Jenkins 1976, p. 19; Rutter 1997, p. 115, 123-4, 144-5.
[204] Jenkins 1976, p. 16; Rutter 1997, p. 124.
[205] See Jenkins 1976, p. 34 ff. for later variations on these themes.
[206] Jenkins 1976, p. 19-20.

Syracusan coinage, but yet again there is no evidence to suggest that, despite this important, public position of the figure, Arethusa was in any way Syracuse's poliadic deity; in addition, no other deity seems to be favoured above another in the construction of temples and shrines either.

Figure 23: Quadriga crowned by Victory, lion below / Head of Arethusa wearing a wreath; decadrachm, ca. 466 BC, Syracuse

Abundant issues of drachms and smaller denominations in the late fifth century BC show either on the obverse or reverse Leukaspis who was a Sikan hero killed by Herakles in battle.[207] He is holding either a spear or sword and is armed with a shield. It of course is reasonable to assume that the Syracusans were appealing for Sikan support while their military faced both the Athenian and Carthaginian invasions around this time.[208] Didrachms of the later fifth century have the obverse type of Athena's head and the reverse a gorgoneion, while drachms have the obverse head of Arethusa and the reverse shows an octopus.[209]

[207] Diodorus 4.23.5.
[208] Rutter 1997, p. 146.
[209] Rutter 1997, p. 146-7.

Himera

The *apoikia* Zankle was founded by settlers from Cumae and Khalkis perhaps very soon after the foundation of Naxos.[210] The prosperity of the Khalkidian *apoikiai* is marked by their expansion into the west of Sicily where Zankle established the settlement Himera at the north coast as early as 649 BC.[211] The exact origin of the settlers, however, is debated. Strabo agrees that the Zankleans from Mylai were responsible for the foundation of Himera[212], yet Thucydides asserts that the majority of the settlers were Khalkidians directly from Zankle but included a group of Syracusan refugees known as the Myletidai. He explains that the language of the polis was a mixture of Khalkidic and Doric, but the institutions were entirely Khalkidian.[213] The site was not rich in natural resources in land or harbour, but it was easily defensible.[214] It is also likely that the site proved to be a useful outpost for trade and certainly challenged the Phoenicians in western Sicily.[215] The Carthaginians were defeated here in 480 BC under Gelon with forces from Akragas and Syracuse, and was destroyed by them in 408 BC following their second great invasion.[216]

The site is located at the mouth of the northern Himera River in the area of the steep promontories of the coast and the hills beyond, and is the only Greek settlement besides Mylai located on the north coast of Sicily. The city occupied one of the lower hills

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[210] Boardman 1964, p. 184.
[211] Boardman 1964, p. 199.
[212] Strabo 6, 2.6.
[213] Thucydides 6, 5.1.
[214] Boardman 1964, p. 199-200.
[215] Boardman 1964, p. 200; Dunbabin 1948, p. 20.
[216] Boardman 1964, p. 200; Guido 1967, p. 50.

and a portion of the coast below, but the concentration of the earliest settlement phase was likely by the coast near the mouth of the river on the high plateau.[217] The territory belonging to Himera extended to the east near Cefalu and Termini Imerese to the west.[218] In the lower city, on the eastern slope, and in the upper city are architectural remains from the last quarter of the seventh century BC, evidence of urbanization which fits the pattern and chronology among the Greek *apoikiai* of Sicily.[219]

The city seems to have experienced two urban phases which, until recently, were considered to follow the history of the city: the first "Archaic phase", whose urban grid oriented north-west/south-east developed from the end of the seventh century BC down to the beginning of the fifth century BC, and a "Classical phase" which saw the reestablishment of the city and its urban grid in 476 BC along an east-west orientation. The massive size and regular layout of the "Classical" urban grid, however, actually dates back to 580-570 BC as discovered through recent investigations of the *temenos* walls of the urban shrine.[220] The first urban phase of the city is thus labelled "proto-Archaic". The remains of this early grid are numerous but there is not enough cohesion to reconstruct a full plan; the houses vary in size and seem to be somewhat scattered.[221]

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[217] Holloway 1991, p. 84; Barnow 2002, p. 43; Mertens 2006, p. 82.
[218] Guido 1967, p. 50.
[219] Mertens 2006, p. 81-2.
[220] Barnow 2002, p. 43; Mertens 2006, p. 82.
[221] Barnow 2002, p. 43.

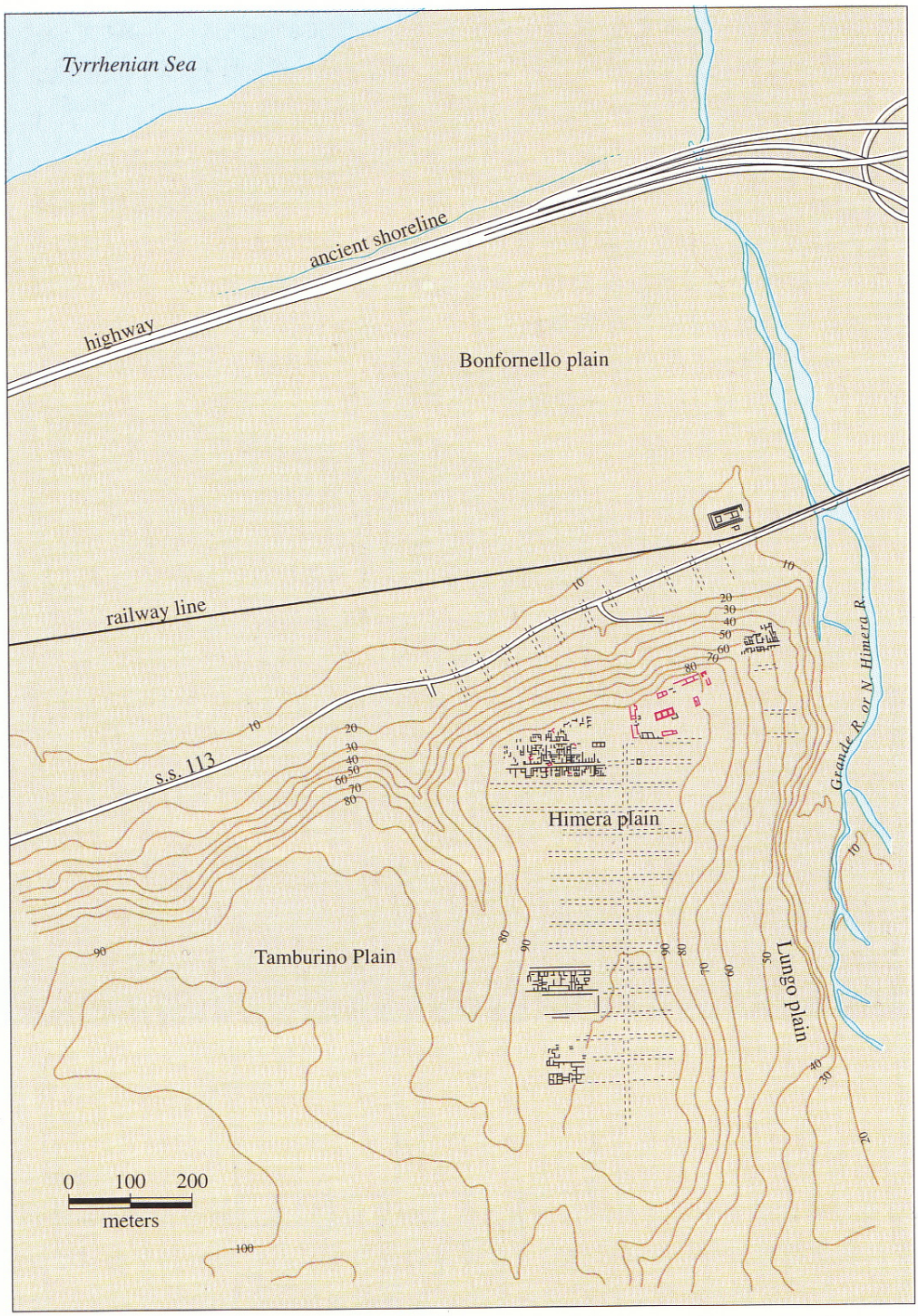

Figure 24: Plan of fifth century Himera (after Di Vita 1996)

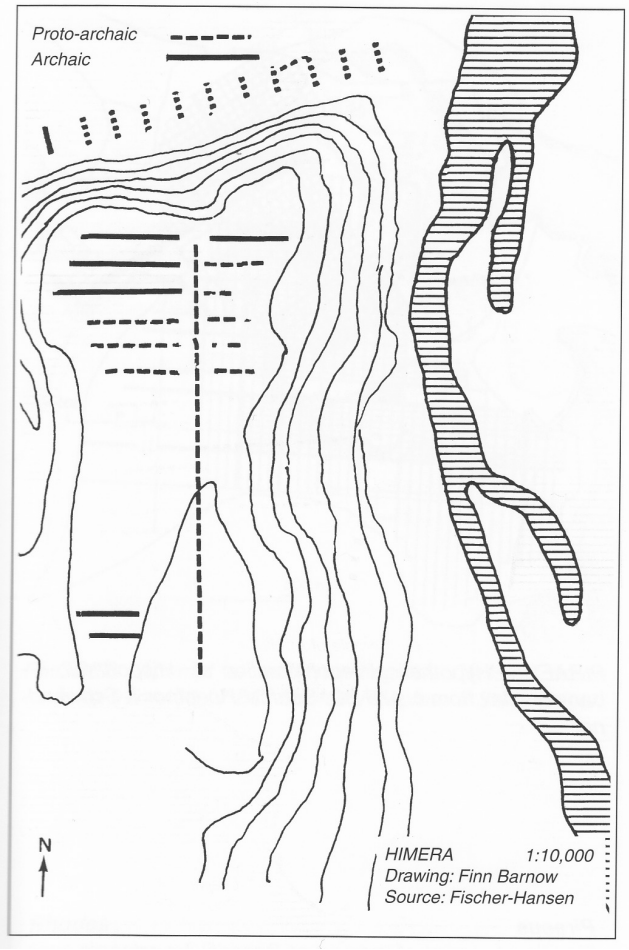

Figure 25: Plan of the urban grid of Himera showing both the proto-Archaic and Archaic phases (after Barnow 2002)

The same overall orientation, however, does run through the proto-Archaic urban grid of Himera extending even to the lower city, and so the first urban phase here must have been conceived of as a whole from the beginning.[222] The newer city plan of the sixth century BC developing through the fifth century BC is similar to that of Naxos and Kamarina as all three reflect the new developments of contemporary urban planning in their layouts (see above for Naxos). The streets in particular are wider than those of the seventh and

[222] Barnow 2002, p. 43.

sixth century BC while the avenues are twice as wide as the streets, and city blocks have the measured proportions length to width of 1:4.[223] The *stenopoi* measure three metres wide and the *insulae* 27-28 metres.[224] Like Gela, Naxos, and Selinus, the main sacred enclaves at Himera were delimited by a *peribolos* aligned to the street grid and houses (even if the temples within the sanctuary adhere to the old orientation, as is the situation at Himera). Slightly removed from the domestic areas, these spaces were sited practically so as not to hamper the development and extension of the urban fabric.[225] Over the hill of the south, excavations have uncovered remains of walling and two nearby cemeteries.[226]

Himera's religious topography includes three temples and an altar. Temple A takes the form of a narrow, elongated rectangle (15.75 m x 6:04 m) following the characteristic pattern of Archaic Greek temple architecture. The temple is oriented roughly to the east with a small *cella* and deep *pronaos* with two columns in-antis.[227] The plan of the temple and the contemporary votive deposit found with it suggest a date between the end of the third quarter of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century BC.[228] The votive deposit was found underneath the *pronaos* and *cella* around the walls containing several dozens of ceramic storage vessels, terracotta figurines, as well as iron and bronze weapons and votive objects exquisitely executed in gold, bronze, bone, and faience; one in particular was a statuette of Athena Promachos from the early decades of the sixth

[223] Holloway 1991, p. 84.
[224] Mertens 2006, p. 82.
[225] Di Vita 1996, p. 279.
[226] Guido 1967, p. 50.
[227] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 77.
[228] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 83, 90.

century BC. Also discovered was a golden plaque with the figure of a gorgon on it of the Archaic type standing in the *knielauf* position with outstretched wings and huge, well-defined facial features.[229]

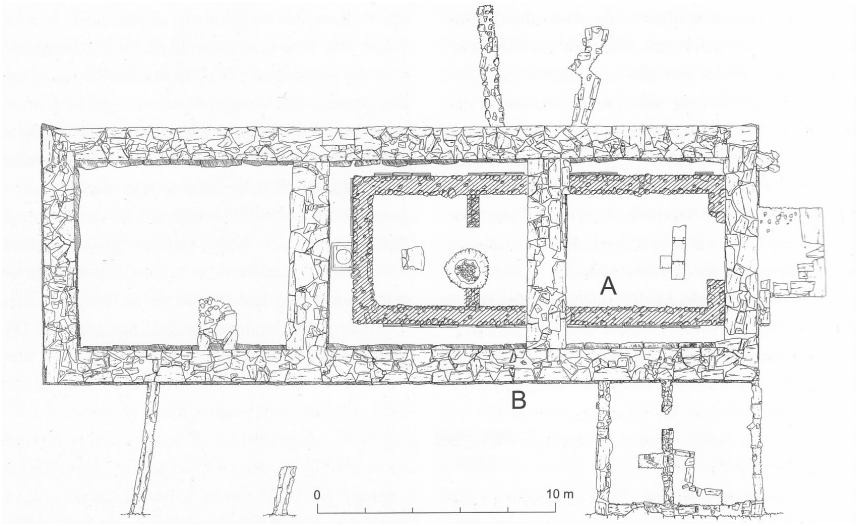

Figure 26: Plans of Temple A (third quarter of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century BC) and Temple B (409/8 BC) at Himera (after Bonacasa 1970)

Temple B was built over top of Temple A along the same orientation but on a larger scale, measuring 30.7 m x 10.6 m.[230] The temple had a rather long period of use from the middle of the sixth century to about 409/8 BC, the year of the destruction of the city. The architectural coatings of the temple emphasize the initial high degree of finishings the building received and the quality of its decorative repertoire.[231] Excavations of the area have yielded a substantial number of architectural painted revetments belonging to Temple B.[232] Sculptural fragments from relief metopes, pediments, and

[229] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 90.
[230] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 122.
[231] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 132.
[232] See Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 134 ff.

acroteria enlivened by vibrant polychrome have also been uncovered, ascribed mostly to later stages of the decoration of the temple.[233] We cannot be certain of the order or placement of these sculptures on the temple, but they have been dated to the same period and we can reconstruct parts of the entablature with these pieces.[234] Thirty-two metres east of the platform of Temple B was a large altar measuring 13.1 m x 5.6 m. Fragments of a masked female terracotta figurine and of a statuette as well as various vases were found with it.[235]

From the relief metopes come a number of fragments of human figures (arms, hands, feet, isolated heads, both male and female with an echo of Ionic style), many of which seem to be in motion and are enhanced in polychrome. It is quite likely that these metopes once depicted divinities or other figures from myth. One fragment in particular is the lower half of a youthful figure in heroic nudity shown in rapid movement to the left.[236] A group of fragments show figures of animals, including feline paws, birds of prey, dogs, rams, and serpents, which must have added to the excitement once summoned by these metopes.[237] The frontal decoration of Temple B is a group of mainly high-relief sculptures that includes some remarkable pieces sculpted in the round. A variety of subjects are presented here: equestrian and feline fragments, a ram's head, several legs of horses and cattle, elements of animal skins, and a large wing of polychrome terracotta. These have been partially reconstructed and it appears to be a scene of a group of wild

[233] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 162.
[234] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 162-3.
[235] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 230.
[236] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 171.
[237] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 172, 179.

animals fighting.[238] Excavations have also uncovered fragments of acroteria, including a draped female figurine and parts of a dressed male. The large right ear of a gorgoneion was also found at the site as well as female terracotta votive figurines.[239]

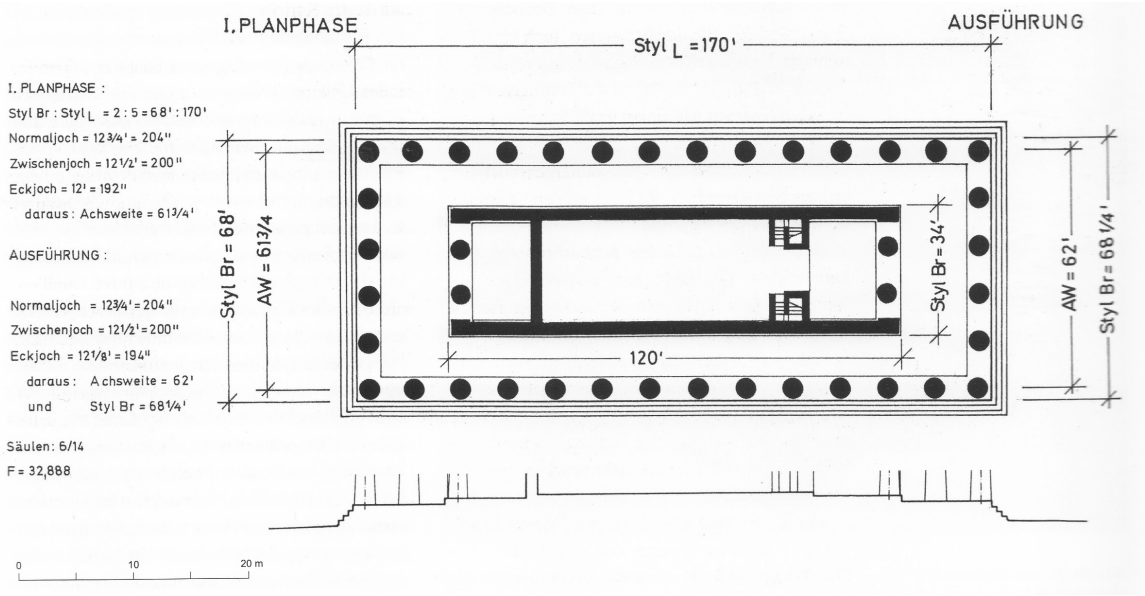

Figure 27: Temple C at Himera, fifth century BC (after Mertens 2006)

The archaeology of Sicily is closely tied to the reign of tyrants in various poleis, affecting especially the foundations of settlements, re-foundation, and commemorations and dedications to the gods. Following the defeat of Carthage in 480 BC, the tyrants of Syracuse, Akragas, and Gela celebrated their victory by erecting a temple at each site; at Himera, this temple is known as Temple C. They also gave a number of thank offerings to the panhellenic sanctuaries on the Greek mainland.[240] This temple was located on a strip of land between the city and sea, twenty metres north of Temples A and B and oriented

[238] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 174.
[239] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 175.
[240] Holloway 1991, p. 98.

along the same axis[241], peripteral in style and dating to the early fifth century BC. In maintaining the orientation of the other two temples and aligning the eastern front edge along the same axis as well, the sacred area continues to have a unitary character.[242] Its dimensions, 14.30 m x 7.15 m at the base[243], are similar to those of the Athena Temple at Syracuse and Temple C at Selinus. The exterior is carried out in the Greek mainland Doric style of the opening of the fifth century BC that was typified by the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina. The firm outline of the column capitals and the traditional elements of the Doric frieze are characteristic of mainland Doric at this time, although the Sicilian entablatures were still slightly taller. The columns of this new Sicilian Doric (as realized in these twin temples) are made shorter than was normal of late Archaic Sicilian work in respect to their lower diameters (4 x 16 columns, *cella*, 2 columns in-antis in the entrance and *opisthodomos*).[244] We no longer see the spacious colonnades, deep porches, and additional inner chambers that were characteristic of Sicilian temple architecture.[245] Fragments of sculpture from the site suggest that there were both sculptured metopes and pedimental sculpture on Temple C which most likely depicted mythological scenes of battles given the event which the temple was erected to commemorate.[246] The painted sima was adorned with lion-heads constructed from limestone; the roof was also adorned with sculptural elements in relief, gorgon masks and palmettes, perhaps arranged

[241] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 215.
[242] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 215.
[243] Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 215.
[244] Holloway 1991, p. 113.
[245] Holloway 1991, p. 113.
[246] Holloway 1991, p. 113.

alternately.[247]

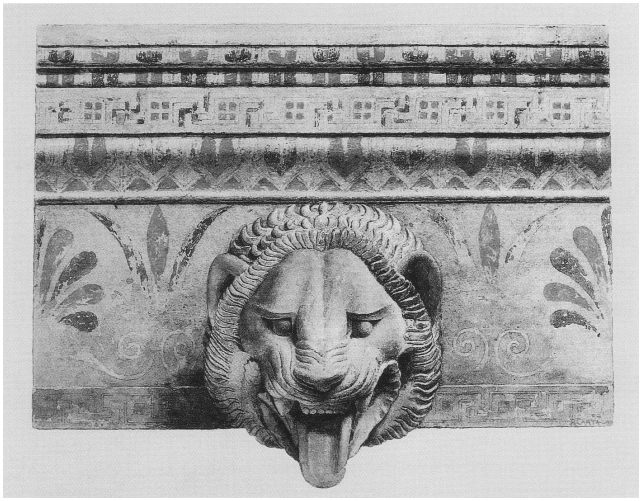

Figure 28: Lion-head attached to the sima of Temple C at Himera

The dedications of these three temples and the altar elude identification at present, and so a poliadic deity, or lack thereof, for Himera cannot be known from this evidence alone. The construction of these temples do, however, attest to the consequences of urbanization. Religious space and therefore practice was monumentalized by the presence of these massive structures, and reflected the prosperity of the polis as a whole. The orientation of their construction furthermore substantiates the drive by settlers and planners to organize urban space along unitary axes from the early foundations of the settlement and support the continued growth and expansion of the city by means of an urban grid throughout the Archaic and into the Classical Periods.

Himera and Selinus produced the first coinage in Sicily. The types were rather simple at first with the obverse bearing the symbol of the respective cities and the reverse

[247] Langlotz 1965, p. 279; Adriani, et al. 1970, p. 219; the gorgon 220-2; palmettes 222-5.

a square punch mark using a variety of patterns.[248] The face of early Himeran coins have the design of a cock sometimes accompanied by the letters of the city's name. It was normal for the earliest Greek coins to have a typeless punch mark on the reverse as is true in Himera.[249] A later tetradrachm dating to ca. 450 BC has on the reverse a central image of the nymph Himera, the genius of the local hot springs, clad in folded garments and sacrificing at an altar while a satyr bathes in the hot springs to the right.[250] During the period of Akragantine control from 483-472 BC, a series of drachms were produced with the crab type of Akragas on the reverse.[251] After 470 BC, once Akragas no longer had domination over Himera, the coinage showed a Syracusan orientation. The obverse type of these coins was a four-horsed chariot with Victory depicted above it on the obverse, and the reverse shows the nymph Himera pouring a libation at an altar and a small Silenus bathes in a fountain.[252]

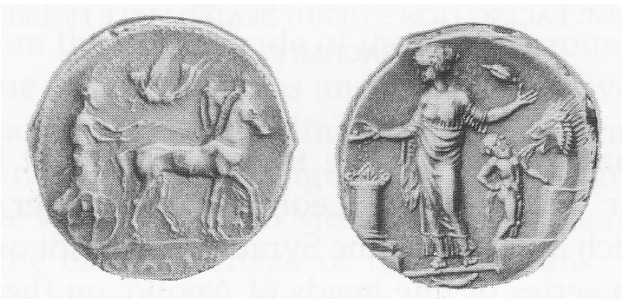

Figure 29: Quadriga / Nymph Himera sacrificing; tetradrachm, ca. 440 BC, Himera

[248] Rutter 1997, p. 102.
[249] Jenkins 1976, p. 16; Rutter 1997, p. 102, 106.
[250] Jenkins 1976, p. 30.
[251] Rutter 1997, p. 120.
[252] Rutter 1997, p. 136; for an extensive catalogue of Himeran coinage kept in the collection at the British Museum, see Forni 1963, p. 76 ff.

Gela

The first Greek settlement of the south coast of Sicily was Gela, founded in 689/8 BC. While the foundations of Naxos, Megara Hyblaea, and Syracuse likely occurred within a decade, a considerable amount of time passed before the ktisis of this *apoikia* brought the first wave of settlement to a close. Rhodes and Crete carried out a joint expedition under the leadership of oikists Entimos and Antiphemos, and founded the last of the major Dorian *apoikiai* in 688 BC, 45 years after Syracuse, by the traditional calculation.[253] The official name of the settlement was Lindioi (after Antiphemos' hometown Lindos in Rhodes), but this soon was exchanged for the more popular name Gela after the River Gelas at the mouth of which the settlement was located.[254] Pre-settlement imports including Cretan associated with Sikel pottery have been found below a sanctuary outside the city walls at Bitalemi, a hill on the east side of the harbour, which confirms that the site was already known to the Greeks prior to the foundation of the *apoikia*. An indigenous settlement was expelled from the hill to make room for the Greek settlement, although it did not occupy the whole area that the Classical city would.[255] Gela maintained its connection to Rhodes well into the sixth century as is evident from the numerous imports from Rhodes and similarities in burial practices, and extended its trade contact with the indigenous Sikans.[256]

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[253] Thucydides 6, 4.3.
[254] Dunbabin 1948, p. 20; Griffo & von Matt 1968, p. 55.
[255] Boardman 1964, p. 190; Dunbabin 1948, p. 20.
[256] Boardman 1964, p. 190.

The Geloans began to expand their territory to the north and west around the middle of the seventh century BC, maybe even earlier.[257] The most notable sub-settlement founded by Gela is Akragas, which by tradition was settled in 582 BC, and at the beginning of the fifth century BC, the Geloans turned their attention to existing Greek *apoikiai* in the east.[258] Considerable building activity and a great variety of the finest imports from Greece from the end of the sixth century BC to the beginning of the fifth marks the period of Gela's most ample prosperity.[259] Gela saw the rule of numerous tyrants, including Hippocrates (who was responsible for taking Naxos and Leontinoi, and marched against Syracuse) and Gelon. The latter defeated the Carthaginians at Himera with combined Geloan, Syracusan, and Akragantine forces. Gelon, once he had taken possession of Syracuse, went on to destroy Megara Hyblaea, and then drafted half of the population of Gela to its new capitol.[260] In 338 BC the tyrant of Syracuse Timoleon repopulated Gela with new settlers, reorganizing and rebuilding the city.[261] In 282 BC the town was destroyed by the Mamertines, and shortly afterwards was no longer inhabited; it was not rebuilt until the Middle Ages.[262]

The settlement of Gela laid on a low sandy hill by the sea just west of the mouth of the River Gelas; the area is located above a shelving beach used for drawing up ships and oversees a vast plain rich in resources.[263] Settlers needed a space near a river that was

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[257] Barletta 1983, p. 239.
[258] Barletta 1983, p. 240.
[259] Boardman 1964, p. 190.
[260] For more regarding the individual careers of these tyrants, see Dunbabin 1948, p. 376 ff.
[261] Guido 1967, p. 146-7.
[262] Guido 1967, p. 148.
[263] Boardman 1964, p. 190; Dunbabin 1948, p. 20.

big enough to allow a port, but they would not be able to obtain anything like Syracuse had.[264] The initial settlement seems to only cover about a third of the eastern flank of the hill, spreading no more than a mile along the shore.[265] Gela's arrangement in the mid-seventh century BC has points in common with Himera, Naxos, and Selinus: the main sacred enclaves were delimited by a *peribolos* aligned to the street grid and houses. These were sited practically so as not to hamper the development and extension of the urban fabric, and were therefore slightly removed from the *sacella*.[266] In this way, the grid delimits domestic space from public, civic space, and still carries out a continuity between the two areas by aligning them together along the same axis and incorporating both in an organized urban plan which took into consideration the future expansion and development of the city. There is evidence of a potters' quarter on the western outer rim of the built-up area which includes the remains of kilns and moulds and suggests that Gela was a site of production for architectural terracottas (see below), and also provides evidence of a local school for figure-decorated pottery here in the mid-seventh century BC like those we see at Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea.[267] The necropolis follows this further into the west outside of the city, and the agora was located in the centre of the plateau.[268]

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[264] Di Vita 1996, p. 279.
[265] Griffo & von Matt 1968, p. 55.
[266] Di Vita 1996, p. 279.
[267] Boardman 1964, p. 190; Di Vita 1996, p. 279.
[268] Mertens 2006, p. 79.

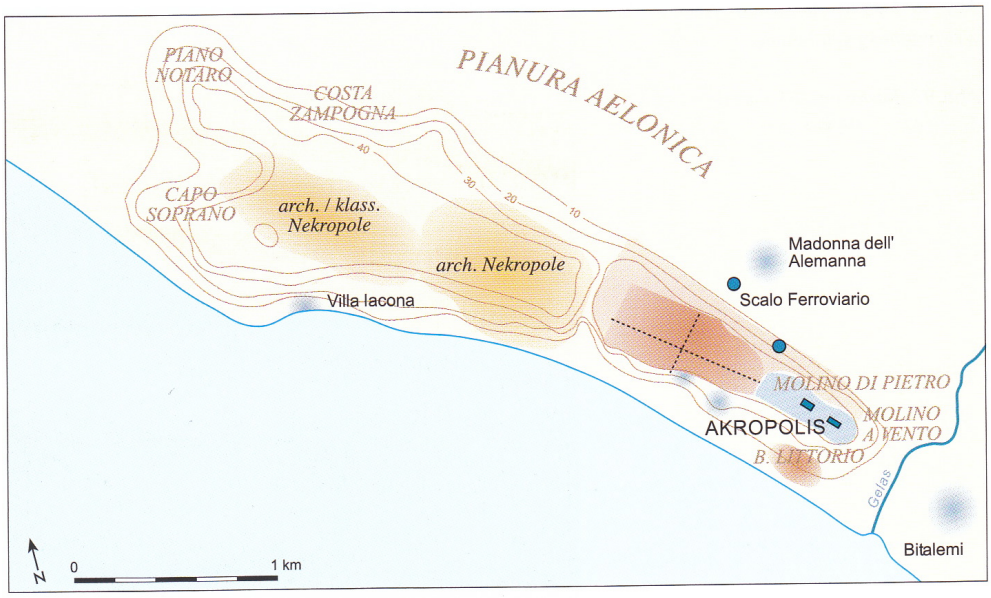

Figure 30: Layout of the urban and periurban areas of Gela (after Mertens 2006)

The acropolis covered the area nearest the river on its right bank, the hill's eastern edge, today known as the Molino a Vento Hill.[269] The *sacella* on the acropolis and the residential quarter extending westward from it were aligned along the natural axis of the hill on which Gela had been settled. This axis runs parallel with the shoreline and demarcates the southern boarder of Gela's fertile farmlands.[270] From the second half of the sixth century BC, *stenopoi* open from this *plateia*.[271] There is evidence of at least six *stenopoi* which transverse this central axis along a north-east south-west orientation, however *stenopoi* II, IV, V, and VI do not run completely parallel with *stenopoi* I and III.[272]

[269] Griffo & von Matt 1968, p. 55.
[270] Di Vita 1996, p. 280.
[271] Mertens 2006, p. 79.
[272] See map in Di Vita 1996, p. 277.

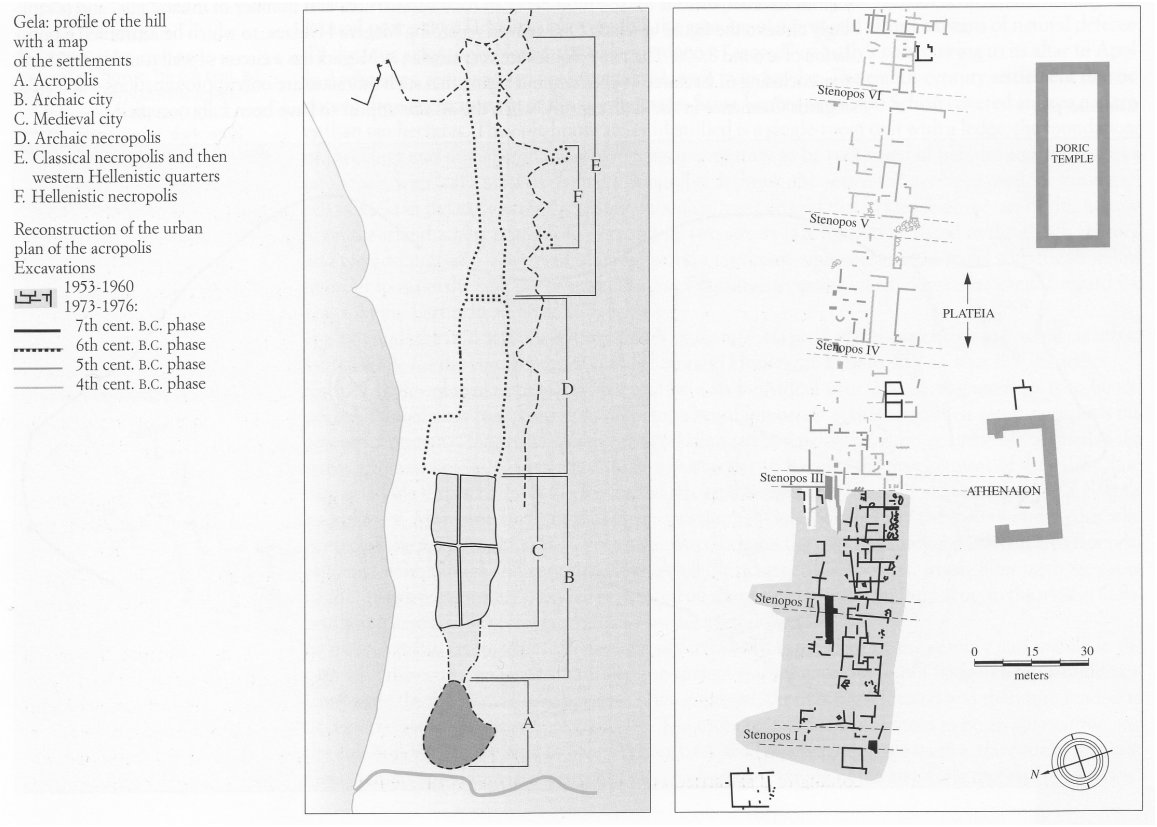

Figure 31: Profile of Gela and the urban grid (after Di Vita 1996)

The remains of some rectangular buildings in the main urban area have been found dated to the seventh century BC, but we do not know the function of all of them except that one may have been a temple.[273] One of the earliest temples in Gela is that to Athena, which was built on the acropolis and decorated with a series of revetments finely painted in polychrome.[274] Gela was renowned for its manufacture of such terracottas, and so these were likely produced locally. The sanctuary stood within a *temenos* where a number of small shrines were found around the temple. Offerings to Athena were made

[273] Mertens 2006, p. 79.
[274] Boardman 1964, p. 190; Guido 1967, p. 144; Mertens 2006, p. 112.

during the seventh and sixth centuries BC found in a number of votive deposits. These shrines, like the temple, were also decorated with terracotta friezes and antefixes.[275]

Temple B was built on the acropolis as well, also dedicated to Athena, in the fifth century BC.[276] Temple C was built right after Gelon's victory at Himera in 480 BC, who razed the former Temple to Athena and commissioned this one in its place.[277] It was once a grand structure southeast of Temple B, but all that remains today is one standing column and fragments of marble from the roof.[278] The temple followed a 6 x 14 column plan and was just smaller than the temple built in Syracuse at the same time following their joint efforts at Himera.[279]

A smaller sanctuary was founded on the other side of the river on the little hill Bitalemi before the end of the seventh century BC and, in accordance with the popularity of chthonic figures in Sicily, was dedicated to the cult of Demeter and Kore.[280] Such dedication to the underworld goddesses is proven by a graffito on a sherd found here, claiming the space to be a "thesmophorion" or the location of a women's cult of Demeter and Kore. The graffito also proves that the cult was in place here before the buildings. The vase it marked came from the "tent of Dikaio" as it says, who must have been one of the women participating in the mysteries, occupying tents with her fellow devotees during the festival as was done at Athens.[281] Devotees celebrated the cycle of life through

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[275] Guido 1967, p. 144; Greco 2002, p. 112; Mertens 2006, p. 112.
[276] Greco 2002, p. 112.
[277] Holloway 1991, p. 56.
[278] Greco 2002, p. 112; Mertens 2006, p. 274.
[279] Mertens 2006, p. 275.
[280] Boardman 1964, p. 190; Griffo & von Matt 1968, p. 56; Holloway 1991, p. 58-9.
[281] Holloway 1991, p. 59.

ceremonies including the burial of fruits, vegetables, and piglets. Also found in the sanctuary were remains of ritual meals which had been cooked on the spot, many terracotta figurines, and a large deposit of vessels buried in an inverted position so as to dedicate them to the goddesses.[282] Another Archaic temple stood in the sanctuary[283] but it and the other structures were of the simplest kind, some even made using mud brick.[284]

Three other sites at Gela seem to have served religious functions from an early point in the life of the polis. Seventh century material has been found at the sanctuary of Predio Sola located on the seaward side of the central urban area. Only a small portion of its shrine is preserved, but judging by the objects found, the sanctuary also belonged to Demeter.[285] A votive deposit and architectural terracottas located to the west of the acropolis and situated near the centre of the early town attest to the establishment of the cult of Hera in the seventh century BC.[286] Finally, a large temple foundation is located north-west of the main site, which Greco has suggested is possibly the shrine of Zeus Atabyrios dating to the sixth century BC.[287] Along the flanks and outside of the city, other small votive deposits and a series of small shrines have been found, their period of usage ranging from the seventh to the third centuries BC.[288]

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[282] Holloway 1991, p. 59.
[283] Griffo & von Matt 1968, p. 56.
[284] Holloway 1991, p. 59.
[285] Holloway 1991, p. 56.
[286] Greco 2002, p. 112; Holloway 1991, p. 56.
[287] Greco 2002, p. 112.
[288] Holloway 1991, p. 56.

(Left) Figure 32: terracotta statuette of a priestess, ca. 500 BC, Gela

(Right) Figure 33: terracotta antefix in the form of a satyr's head, early fifth century BC, Gela

There is certainly a pattern at Gela which begins to become apparent when looking at Geloan architecture: many of the religious finds came from the sanctuaries and shrines throughout the city, and a number of these deposits were dedicated to the cult of Demeter and Kore, although the strong presence of the cult of Athena throughout the city prevents the chthonic deities from receiving the title of poliadic cult. In addition to these artifacts, the site has also produced statuary, pottery, and terracottas. A terracotta statuette of a priestess with a shallow basin on her head (height 35 cm) was found at the site dated to ca. 500 BC.[289] It was fashioned in the style of the Ionian kore figures as a temple-

[289] Langlotz 1965, p. 257.

maiden. Her left hand gathers up her drapery and holds it at her hip, while her right is outstretched and offers a goddess a gift. A terracotta antefix from a temple in Gela (height 19.7 cm) in the form of a satyr head was also found dated to the first decades of the fifth century BC. A number of these kinds of antefixes have been found at Gela. They were fixed laterally as gargoyles used to drain away the rain water from the temple roofs as far away as possible from the limestone columns. Others without open mouths were also found which were purely ornamental.[290] These waterspouts also came in the form of lions' heads.[291]

Gelon was responsible for issuing the first coinage at Gela in the early fifth century BC, most likely in about 490 BC.[292] Geloan coinage particularly favours a divinity not belonging to the group of traditional Olympian gods. Various river gods are often honoured on Sicilian coinage in the guise of Achelous who is regularly depicted in Greek Art as a bull with a human head and face; Geloan coins often present the river-god Gelas in this form.[293] This first issue of coinage consisted of didrachms with the type of the naked rider brandishing a spear on the obverse, and on the reverse the River Gelas as the man-faced bull. This reverse type was the most characteristic of Geloan coinage until its capture by the Carthaginians in 405 BC.[294] Around the same time, a variant of this coin is produced, having the same reverse, but the obverse type of the four-horse chariot with Victory flying above or an Ionic column behind the horses. Occasionally, a fish, corn ear,

[290] Langlotz 1965, p. 261.
[291] Holloway 1991, p. 80.
[292] Rutter 1997, p. 118.
[293] Jenkins 1976, p. 26.
[294] Rutter 1997, p. 118.

or sea-serpent appears in the exergue like those found on the Syracusan tetradrachms.[295] There is a glimpse of indepedent character on the coinage of the *apoikiai* of Sicily, but still nothing to support the existence of a poliadic deity here.

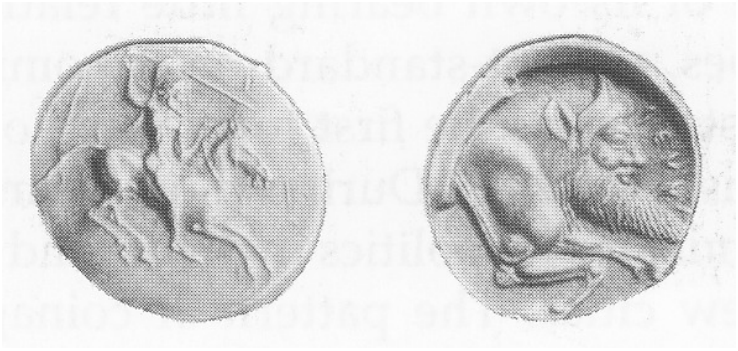

Figure 34: Horse and a naked rider / Forepart of a man-faced bull; didrachm, ca. 490-485 BC, Gela

Akragas

Akragas, modern Agrigento, was founded as a sub-settlement of Gela as part of her westward expansion in 580 BC, 108 years after the settlement of the mother-city.[296] Under the leadership of oikists Aristonoüs and Pystilos, Rhodian settlers from Gela and others directly from home settled the land, which lies less than forty miles west of Gela just inland of the southern coast of Sicily.[297] The site was certainly frequented before the town was established; pottery of the late seventh and early sixth centuries BC has been found in a cemetery at Montelusa between the city and the sea, and there is a spring-house shrine of Kore in the San Biagio region which may have been used before 580 BC

[295] Rutter 1997, p. 131, 134; for an extensive catalogue of Geloan coinage, see Forni 1963, p. 65 ff.
[296] Boardman 1964, p. 198; Holloway 1991, p. 45; Thucydides 6, 4.4; Strabo 272.
[297] Boardman 1964, p. 198; Thucydides 6, 4.4; Strabo 272.

by the Greeks. The remains of both may even suggest the existence of a settlement prior to the official foundation of the *apoikia*.[298] Dunbabin suggests that the Geloans occupied the site as a trading-post some time in the late seventh century BC.[299]

From the first years of the *apoikia* and for decades after, Akragas was ruled by tyrants, some of the most famous being the ruthless Phalaris, who extended the city's territory through war with the Carthaginians and possibly indigenous Sikans but also contributed immensely to the initial building of Akragas, and Theron, who, ruling during the Battle at Himera, made a strategic alliance with Gelon of Syracuse, and led Akragas through its greatest period of prosperity.[300] The rich culture and vast wealth of Akragas was almost legendary among ancient authors who raved about the city's fortune:

Θήρωνα δὲ τετραορίας ἕνεκα νικαφόρου
[10] γεγωνητέον, ὅπι δίκαιον ξένων, ἔρεισμ᾽ Ἀκράγαντος,
εὐωνύμων τε πατέρων ἄωτον ὀρθόπολιν:
καμόντες οἳ πολλὰ θυμῷ
ἱερὸν ἔσχον οἴκημα ποταμοῦ, Σικελίας τ᾽ ἔσαν
[20] ὀφθαλμός, αἰὼν δ᾽ ἔφεπε μόρσιμος, πλοῦτόν τε καὶ χάριν ἄγων
γνησίαις ἐπ᾽ ἀρεταῖς.
~ Pindar, *Olympian Odes* II[301]

This prosperity came to an end when the Carthaginians sacked the city after they had destroyed Himera and Selinus. In 340 BC, Timoleon of Syracuse repopulated the city, but by 210 BC it permanently belonged to the Romans.[302]

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[298] Barletta 1983, p. 265; Boardman 1964, p. 199.
[299] Dunbabin 1948, 137. It is certain that a native Sikan settlement was displaced at the time of the settlement of Akragas: Boardman 1964, 199.
[300] Guido 1967, p. 108-9.
[301] Pindar, *Olympian Odes* II; see also Diogenes Laertius, VIII. 63; *Pythian Odes* VI.6.46; Diodorus, XIII. 90.3; Di Vita 1996, p. 296.
[302] Guido 1967, p. 114.

Before the end of the sixth century, the whole urban area of Akragas was enclosed within a circuit wall (complete with towers and gateways into the city), which amounted to about 2.4 km², a large space which required an impressive execution of planning for such a young *apoikia*.[303] The town spreads onto the sloped ground southward from the steep acropolis, which lies over two miles from the sea.[304] About half way to the coast is a long rocky scarp that became the southern limit of the town where there stood a long line of temples. The River Hypsas delimits the west end, the River Akragas the east, and the sharp crag which forms the Rupe Atenea protects the north.[305]

Akragas contains an urban settlement located atop two long and narrow hills, the Hill of the Girgenti and the Hill of the Temples. The urban grid is organized along a system of perpendicular road crossings, with the juxtaposition of blocks with different orientations, similar to the *kata komas* system, between which the agora likely served as a kind of hinge.[306] An artery twelve metres wide ran in a straight line from the complex of ancient sanctuaries near Gate V all the way to Gate II of Gela. This *plateia*, oriented west-south-west, became the backbone of the entire grid system. A set of *stenopoi* 5.5 metres wide oriented east-north-east each ran perpendicular to this *plateia*.[307] As the town spread, it gradually climbed the hill, at which point on the first of two massive terraces, two agorai stood east of the Olympieion, south and north of the *plateia* bordering it.[308] In

[303] Boardman 1964, p. 199; Di Vita 1996, p. 294.
[304] Boardman 1964, p. 199; Di Vita 1996, p. 294.
[305] Guido 1967, p. 108; Di Vita 1996, p. 294.
[306] Greco 2002, p. 112.
[307] Di Vita 1996, p. 295; Pope 2014, p. 206.
[308] Di Vita 1996, p. 295; the upper agora was later occupied by an Augustan gymnasium.

total, six *plateiai* (7-10 metres wide) intersect with at least thirty *stenopoi* in a *per strigas* system.[309] A series of urban sanctuaries were erected north of the agora along a semicircular arch of the rocky ridge of the site known as the "sacred belt".[310]

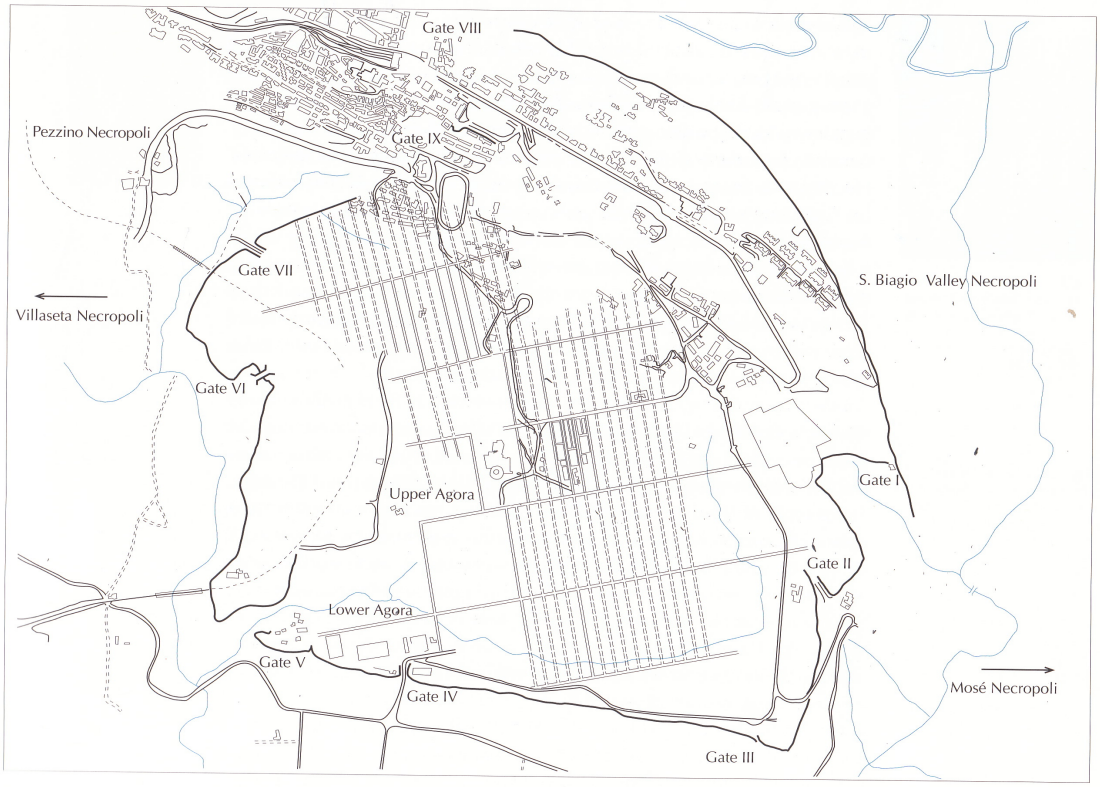

Figure 35: Plan of Akragas (after L. Franchi dell'Orto and R. Franchi 1988)

The necropolis dating to the initial settlement of Akragas was placed 300 metres from Gate VI of the circuit wall and extended westward.[311] The southern ridge was assigned to the gods since the rocky peaks were obviously unsuitable for farming but emphasized the

[309] Pope 2014, p. 206.
[310] Greco 2002, p. 112.
[311] Di Vita 1996, p. 295.

sacella and temples which began to be constructed in the middle of the sixth century BC in a sort of ring around the city.[312]

Figure 36: Remains of the Temple of Hera at Akragas, originally constructed mid-fifth century BC

It is the *apoikia* of Akragas that presents the largest collection of temples within intraurban sanctuaries which are dedicated to a number of different divinities; Selinus surely comes second, sharing this quality of clustering monumental temples together. Akragas is certainly a prime example of the indeterminate orientation of civic cults among the *apoikiai* of Sicily. Most of the identifications of these temples are unfortunately modern guesses. A sanctuary to Athena and another to Zeus occupy the highest point of the acropolis, the "Rupe Atenea".[313] The southern hill, known as the "Hill of Temples", is completely dedicated to cult practices. Here, the large array of temples is believed to have included dedications to Hephaistos (6th century BC, on the hill's western slope, and possibly another in 440-430 BC), Herakles (end of the sixth century BC at

[312] Di Vita 1996, p. 294.
[313] Athena, although not named Lindia here, wears all the same ornaments that adorn the goddess in both Gela and Lindos on the island of Rhodes; particular rites known as *apura hiera* recall the kind practiced on Rhodes; Greco 2002, p. 112-115; Holloway, *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily*, 60.

Gate IV), Zeus (contemporaneous to the Temple of Herakles), Hera Lacinia (at Gate III), the Dioscuri (450 BC), Concordia (440-430 BC), and Asclepius (410 BC).[314]

Figure 37: Temple of Concordia at Akragas, 440-430 BC

The Temple of Concord is today one of the most well-preserved Doric temples, and although it is not a large building (only 39.34 m x 16.77 m), it carries the majesty and grace of a Classical Greek temple. It follows a 13 x 6 column plan, has a *pronaos*, *cella*, and *opisthodomos*, and overall is an example of the conventionalizing current in Sicilian architecture.[315] The Temple of Olympian Zeus, on the other hand, is the antithesis of this fifth century style. Constructed within the same decade as the twin temples of Himera and Syracuse (to commemorate the victory over Carthage), the temple was colossal—

[314] Greco 2002, p. 112-115; Holloway 1991, p. 60-1.
[315] Holloway 1991, p. 116-17.

according to Diodorus Siculus, it measured 340 feet long and 160 feet wide[316]—and rivaled Temple G at Selinus.

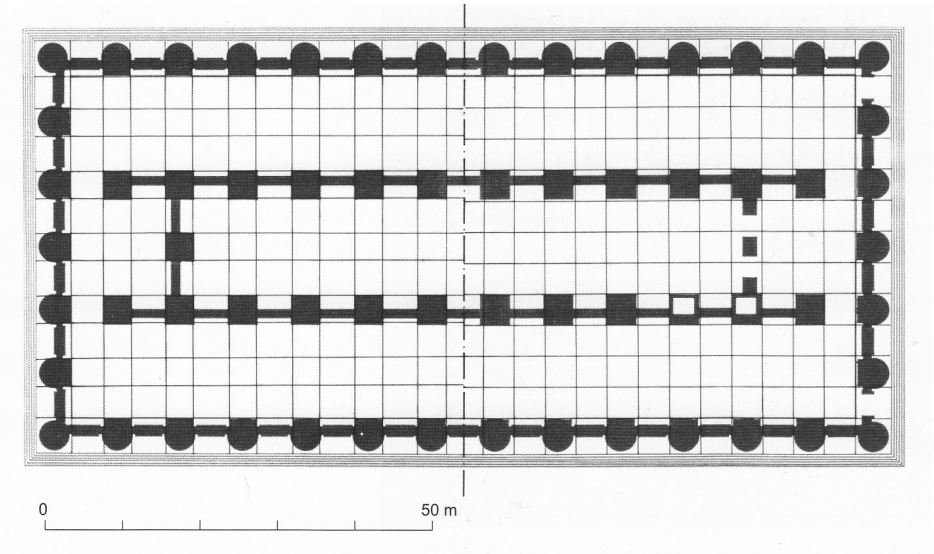

Figure 38: Plan of the Olympieion at Akragas, fifth century BC (after Mertens 2006)

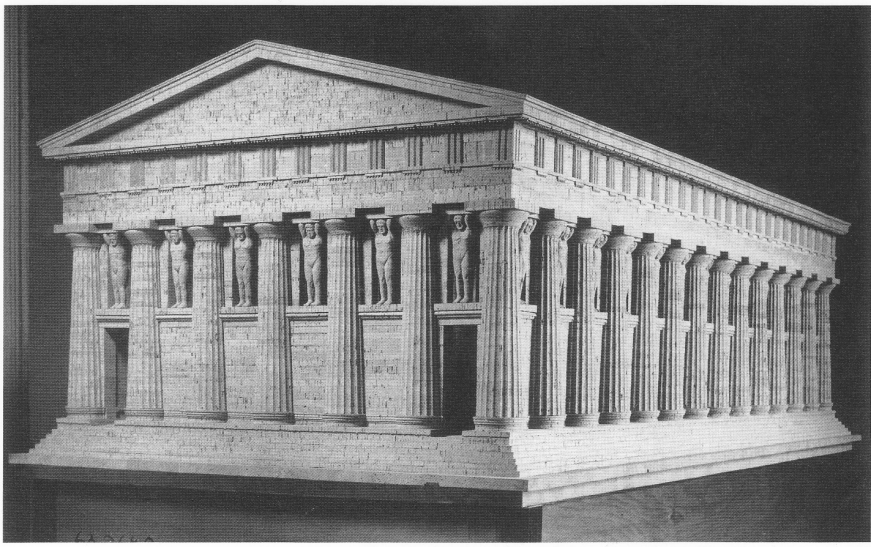

Figure 39: Reconstructed model of the Olympieion at Akragas (Agrigento Museum)

[316] Diodorus Siculus XIII, 82, 3-4; Diodorus actually claims that the temple is only 60 feet wide, but the measurements of the archaeological remains of the temple show that he should have given the measurement of 160 feet (Holloway 1991, p. 117).

Instead of a peristyle, the temple had half columns (14 x 7) seeming to be attached to the exterior walls. A tall molding ran along the base of the wall and half columns, and telamones filled the spaces between the columns above the molding, each 7.65 m high. In addition, recent studies suggest that the corridor between the exterior and *cella* walls were roofed, but the *cella* itself was not.[317]

Figure 40: Reconstructed telamon from the Olympieion at Akragas

There is a separate sanctuary dedicated to the chthonic divinities on the western edge of the city's southern hill at Gate V.[318] There are remains of three *sacella* containing

[317] Holloway 1991, p. 118-19; some scholars support the argument that this unusual plan develops organically from that of the neighbouring Temple of Herakles. It is possible that the latter dates to the decade before the Olympieion and is similarly proportioned.
[318] Greco 2002, p. 112-15; also see De Miro 2000.

altars and circular structures which are usually interpreted as evidence for the cult of Demeter and Kore. One of the *sacella* may have been intended to be a peripteral temple, but there are certainly remains of a total of four temples, three of which only survive in foundation trenches, the fourth restored into the so-called Temple of the Dioscuri.[319] Toward the end of the sixth century BC on the north slopes of the hill, it seems that a monumental L-shaped stoa was built.[320] On the northern hill of the settlement are the sanctuaries of San Biagio. One of two sanctuaries (the other is that of the chthonian divinities) has been associated with the city from its beginnings. A votive dump was discovered near the fountain complex and contained some sixth century material, but no more about the area is known to us at this time.[321]

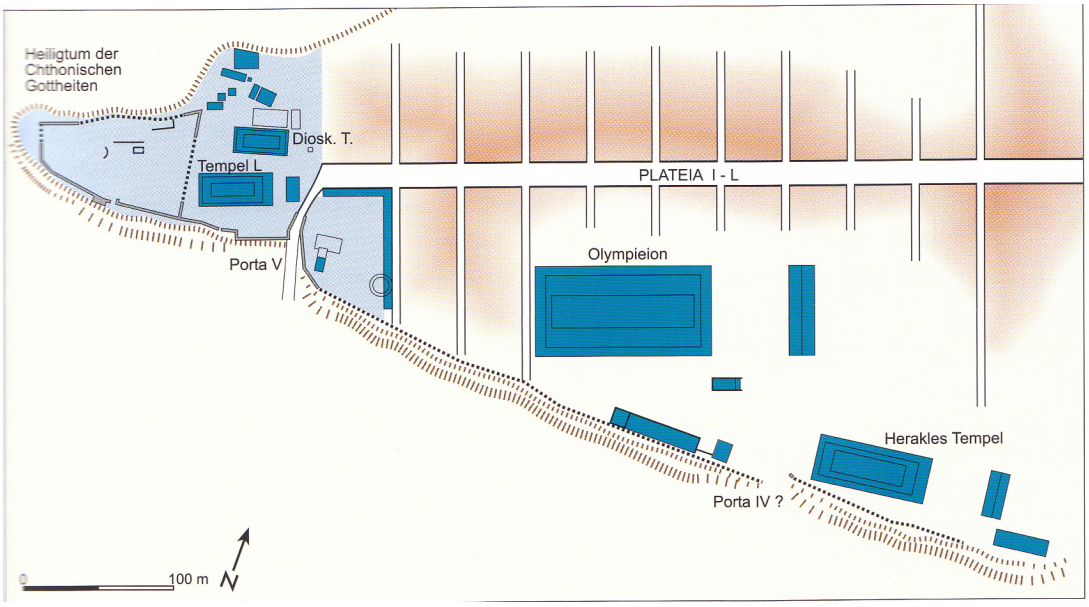

Figure 41: South-west quarter of the urban grid of Akragas, detailing the sanctuary to the chthonic deities (after Mertens 2006)

[319] Holloway 1991, p. 63.
[320] Di Vita 1996, p. 294.
[321] Holloway 1991, p. 63.

A variety of finds have been uncovered at Akragas. The site is rich in Corinthian and Athenian pottery from the sixth century BC, but a considerable amount of ceramics also comes from Rhodes consisting mostly of clay figurines and figure-vases.[322] Two terracotta votive statues (ca. 500 BC) copied from the cult-image of an enthroned goddess were found near the so-called Temple of the Dioscuri. The first (height 21.1 cm) is similar to the cult image of Athena of Lindos (Rhodes), and the second (29.9 cm) was modeled after a well-known cult image with a head similar to those of eastern Ionian style found in Lindos.[323] Also found was a terracotta votive bust of a goddess (height 27.5 cm) of the late sixth century BC.[324]

(left) Figure 42: Terracotta votive statue copied from the cult-image of an enthroned goddess (Athena of Lindos) found near the Temple of the Dioscuri; from Akragas, ca. 500 BC

(right) Figure 43: Terracotta votive bust from Akragas, end of the sixth century BC

[322] Boardman 1964, p. 199.
[323] Langlotz 1965, p. 256.
[324] Langlotz 1965, p. 262.

Excavations have also yielded some finds in marble, an unusual medium in Sicily. A lion-head (height 26.7 cm) was recovered from the sima of a temple, probably produced after 470 BC. It is more vicious than those found elsewhere in Sicily like at Syracuse; it has an open jaw, with emphatic teeth, and looks like he is in the midst of an attack.[325] Bronze became the favoured medium for sculpture in the early fifth century BC, which led artists working in marble to imitate the visual effects of bronze. The late kouros from Akragas is a good example of the highly polished surface of bronze work imitated in marble, while the marble torso of a struggling figure found near the Temple of Herakles (dated to the second quarter of the fifth century BC) imitates the freedom of pose possible with the newly popular bronze medium. Both statues may be remains of the pedimental sculpture of a temple.[326]

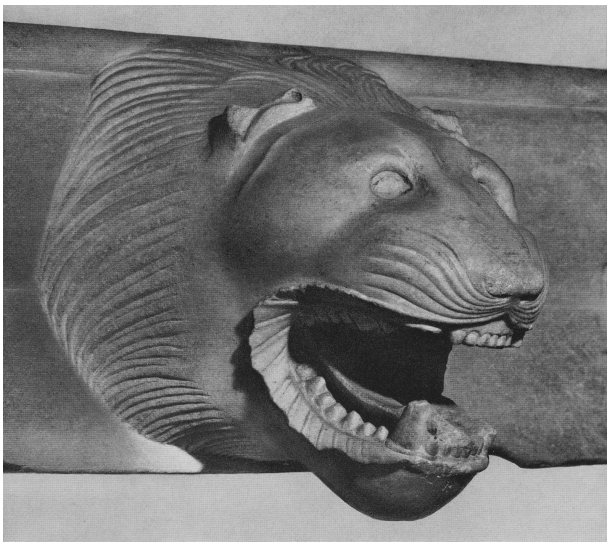

Figure 44: Lion-head from the sima of a temple in marble (likely imitating bronze); after 470 BC, Akragas

[325] Langlotz 1965, p. 273.
[326] Holloway 1991, p. 102.

Figure 45: Eagle standing on a hare / Crab and fish; tetradrachm, ca. 410 BC, Akragas

The coinage of Akragas follows a similar trend as we have seen in the other *apoikiai* in presenting divinities and symbols of the city, but still not making clear the existence of a poliadic deity. An early didracham of Akragas dated to 485 BC has an eagle on the obverse and crab on the reverse. As is usual with simple designs like these, they represent the official badge of the city.[327] The eagle is the bird of Zeus Olympios (who was honoured at Akragas by a temple) and it stands boldly with its wings closed. The letters of the city's name in the genitive case, AKRAGANTOS, often framed the eagle, but was later abbreviated to the ethnic AKRA or AKRAG.[328] The example of a decadrachm from 406 BC (just before the destruction of Akragas by Carthage) is much more intricate: on one side is a dynamic scene of a four-horse chariot, which some argue is driven by Helios through the sky despite the lack of a crown of sun-rays. Above the quadriga reappears the eagle shown as a bird of prey carrying a snake in his talons, and the crab is visible below.[329] Until about 415 BC, the eagle and crab types did not undergo

[327] Jenkins 1976, p. 16-17; Rutter 1997, p. 113.
[328] Rutter 1997, p. 113.
[329] Jenkins 1976, p. 47-8; Rutter 1997, p. 149-50.

any major changes. After this period, the coinage sometimes shows one or two eagles standing over a hare, and a crab on the reverse with a fish or Scylla.[330]

Selinus

The city Selinus takes its name from the Greek word for the wild parsley that grew there and became a symbol for the city on its coinage.[331] Under the leadership of Pammilus from Megara in mainland Greece, Megara Hyblaea founded the sub-settlement Selinus.[332] They seemed to have been driven to found this second settlement by economic and population growth at home; they might have wanted to increase their success and the prosperity of the polis through this venture, or sought to relieve the social stress of class differentiation that comes with such an increase in wealth, or it might have been a combination of both reasons.[333]

There are two different chronologies for the foundation of Selinus; they differ by a gap of twenty-three years. According to Thucydides, Selinus was founded one hundred years after the settlement of Megara Hyblaea in 728/7 BC, thus placing the foundation of Selinus in 628/7 BC.[334] Diodorus, however, records that Selinus existed for 242 years before its destruction by Carthage in 409/8 BC, suggesting an earlier foundation date of 651/0 BC.[335] To complicate the matter, there seems to be archaeological evidence in

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[330] Rutter 1997, p. 149; for an extensive catalogue of Akragantine coinage from a collection at the British Museum, see Forni 1963, p. 5ff.
[331] Boardman 1964, p. 198.
[332] Barletta 1983, p. 179; Thucydides 6, 4.2.
[333] Marconi 2007, p. 63.
[334] Barletta 1983, p. 179; Marconi 2007, p. 62; Thucydides 6, 4.2.
[335] Barletta 1983, p. 179; Marconi 2007, p. 62; Diodorus 13, 59, 4.

favour of both dates; the excavations at Megara Hyblaea produced evidence to support the site's mid-eighth century BC establishment (meaning that Thucydides' chronology is too late), while excavators have yet to find any pottery datable earlier than 625 BC at Selinus (making Diodorus' date too early).[336]

Throughout the numerous excavations done at Selinus, no evidence has been found to prove that the site was inhabited prior to its settlement by the Greeks.[337] Recent excavations however uncovered two indigenous huts and some pottery at the northwestern corner of the Manuzza hill, but these were very small in size and quantity, and there is no evidence of a necropolis dating to the pre-settlement period. There are suggestions that these are remnants of a small native village which lived peacefully in a period of cohabitation with the Greeks when they came from Megara Hyblaea, but Selinus' later destruction of indigenous settlements does not necessarily support these peaceful relations, and the archaeological evidence is not strong enough to speak for itself here.[338]

Selinus is located on the southern coast and was the westernmost *apoikia* and outpost of Greek civilization in Sicily.[339] The site has much cultivable land that certainly aided in the renowned prosperity of Selinus. The bay to the south grants the natural space for harbours, and the location of the city on a hill provides a naturally elevated area and land that is easily defendable. The choice of Selinus' location was a very calculated one;

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[336] Barletta 1983, p. 180; Boardman 1964, p. 198.
[337] Dunbabin 1948, p. 43.
[338] Marconi 2007, p. 69.
[339] Barletta 1983, p. 179; Marconi 2007, p. 63.

the settlement was far enough west of the area of Gela, and east and south enough of the land commanded by the Phoenicians and the Elymians. In doing this, the settlers were able to exploit a vast amount of farmland without any nearby neighbors to prevent expansion of their territory.[340] Two hills hold the main settlement area which are geologically part of the same ridge. They are connected by a narrow isthmus and the settlement boarded the sea to the south.[341] The acropolis of Selinus stands walled by the sea on a low hill while the town spreads northward from it. The urban grid shows evidence of a regular plan dating as early as the sixth century BC.[342] The temples and public architecture on the acropolis would have been impressive to look upon sailing inland from the sea just as the ruins of these buildings are today.

The river Selinus (now called Modione) borders the two hills on which the urban area is located to the west, and the stream Cottone does the same to the east. A depression to the north separates the Manuzza Hill from one further.[343] The main settlement area has two orientations along which the streets and avenues are plotted. The southern hill, where the acropolis is located, is oriented north-south, and the northern hill (now called Manuzza) is oriented northwest-southeast.[344] By the end of the seventh century BC, houses had appeared on both the acropolis and the Manuzza Hill, meaning that the urban area was already occupied by first-generation settlers.[345] It is evident from the alignment

[340] Marconi 2007, p. 63-4.
[341] Marconi 2007, p. 64.
[342] Boardman 1964, p. 197.
[343] Marconi 2007, p. 64.
[344] Marconi 2007, p. 64.
[345] De Angelis 2003, p. 128; Marconi 2007, p. 69.

of these early houses that the natural axes of these two hills defined and articulated the urban space even from the initial point of settlement. It is not unusual in the *apoikiai* for topography to be the driving component in determining the orientation of the urban grid's main axis (the plateaus at Himera, the shoreline at Gela, and the rather linear island of Ortygia in Syracuse).

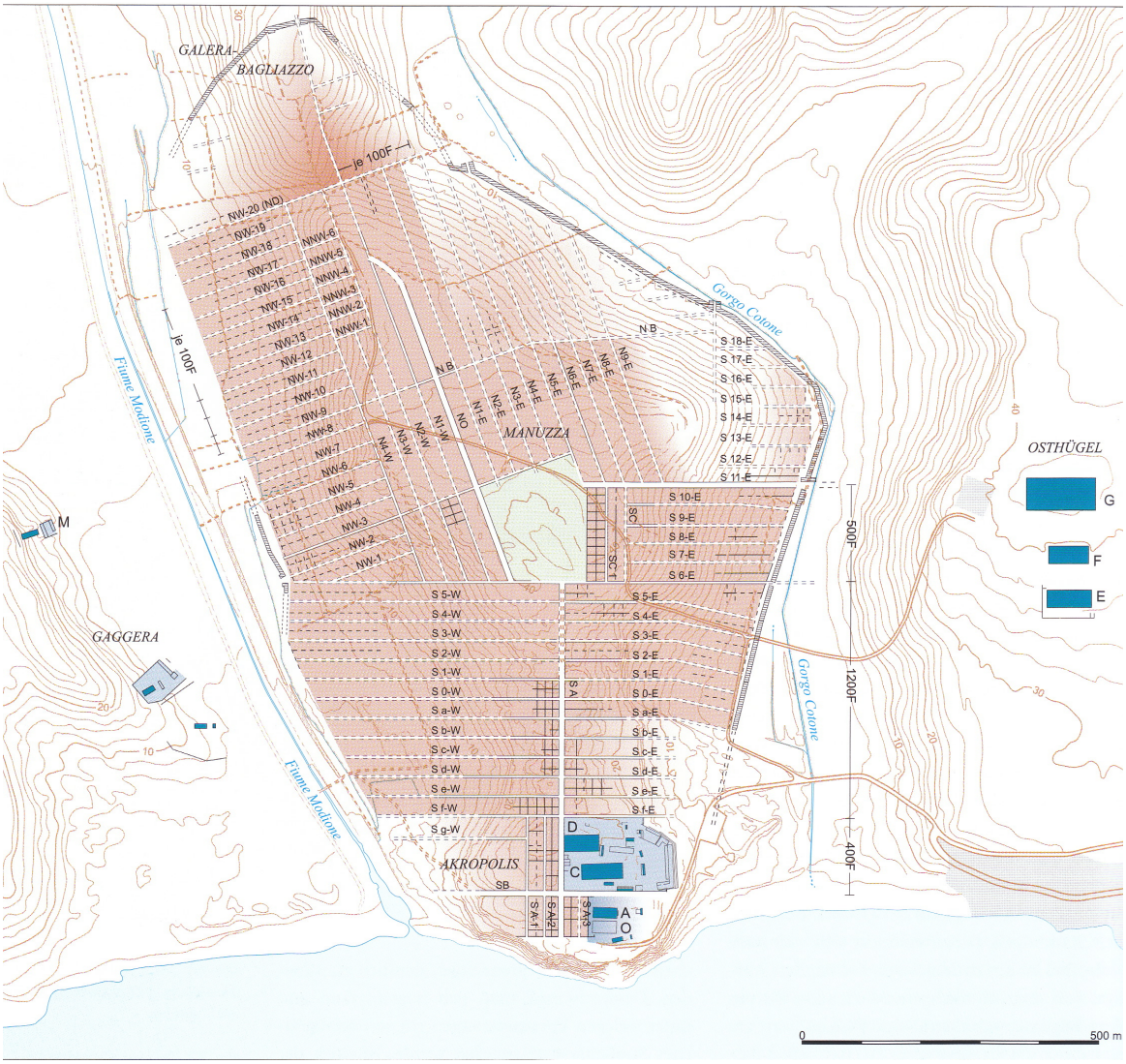

Figure 46: Plan of Selinus the main urban complex as well as the east and west complexes (after Mertens 2006)

On the acropolis, there is a clear north-south axis delineated in the major street leading from the southern harbour past the urban sanctuaries and to the centre of the settlement area on the Manuzza Hill.[346] The Greeks expanded from these two hills to both the east and west between the end of the seventh century BC and the first decades of the sixth century BC building sanctuaries and cemeteries further outside of the main urban area. For example, at Contrada Gaggera, an area beyond the River Selinus, painted pottery has been found from the three cult places of Demeter Malophoros, "Triolo Nord", and Temple M. This is evidence that the area was regularly visited as a sacred space by the end of the seventh century BC by the first generation of settlers prior to the construction of temples.[347] Other areas outside of the main urban centre were also used for cemeteries at the turn of the sixth century BC: the cemetery of Manicalunga to the west of the city, the cemetery of Galera-Bagliazzo on a northern hill, and the cemetery of Buffa to the northeast.[348]

In 580-570 BC (and so by the second generation of settlers), a major restructuring occurred in the urban space involving large-scale and methodically planned projects. A precise street system divided the residential areas into parallel strips of land. The streets and avenues varied considerably in width, 6-9.4 m wide for the former and 3.3-3.8 m wide for the latter, while the housing blocks were of regular width (ca. 29.3 m) and filled the spaces between the streets.[349] The result was that in the area between the acropolis and

[346] Marconi 2007, p. 70.
[347] De Angelis 2003, p. 131; Marconi 2007, p. 70.
[348] Marconi 2007, p. 70.
[349] Marconi 2007, p. 70.

Manuzza Hill two series of twelve blocks with an east-west orientation were delineated by these avenues running perpendicular to the main north-west street connecting the acropolis to the Manuzza Hill.[350] The northernmost street in this portion of the grid plan demarcated the southern edge of the agora on the Manuzza Hill. This east-west orientation continued on the eastern side of the Manuzza Hill, delineating another (possibly) twelve street blocks.[351] The orientation of the blocks on the northwestern part of the Manuzza Hill shifts 22-23 degrees from east-west to northwest-southeast, a change which was in response to the natural configuration of the hill.[352]

The agora is located at the southwest foot of the Manuzza Hill, and these two orientations of the northern and southern hills converge here, thus resulting in the roughly trapezoidal shape of the agora similar to that at Megara Hyblaea.[353] Using the agora, a large, open, public space as the point of convergence between the two orientations is a strategic way to save the urban center from the awkward overlap of two different orientations while conveniently drawing attention to a major urban commercial, civic, and religious hub of the polis. The southern portion of the acropolis was occupied mainly by sacred areas, including the main urban sanctuary and enclosed temples, and residential housing. The streets and blocks in this area were oriented both east-west and north-south.[354] The whole settlement was eventually surrounded by a defensive wall ca. 550 BC

[350] Marconi 2007, p. 71.
[351] Marconi 2007, p. 71.
[352] Marconi 2007, p. 71.
[353] De Angelis 2003, p. 133; Marconi 2007, p. 72.
[354] De Angelis 2003, p. 132; Marconi 2007, p. 71.

complete with gates and towers at main avenues.[355] The overall grid plan of the city was evidently planned precisely and executed with the simplest aim of being functional.[356]

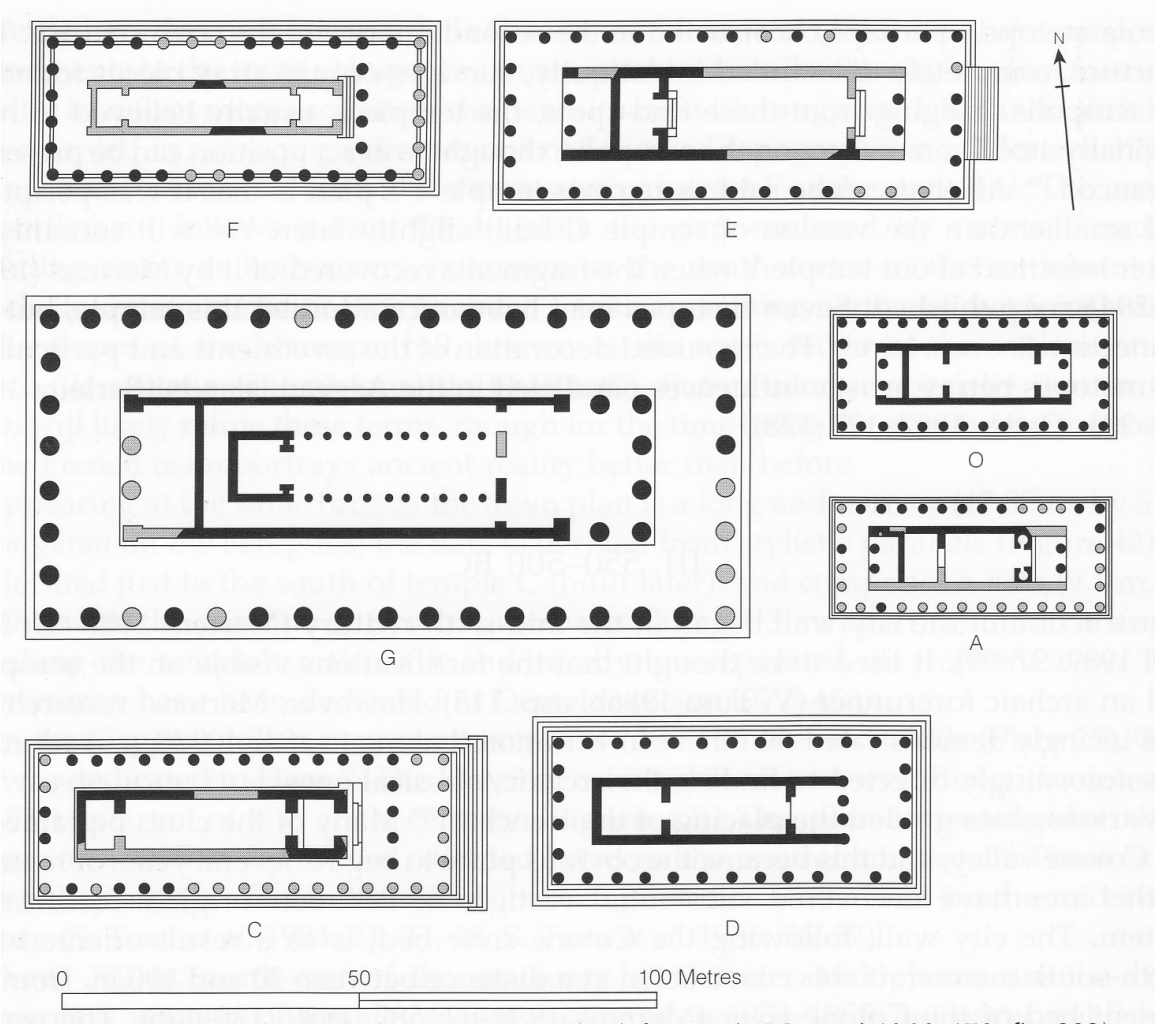

Figure 47: Plans of the peripteral temples at Selinus—temples E, F, G from the east complex; temples O, A, C, D on the promontory (after Marconi 1966)

In addition to the restructuring of the city's urban grid, the sixth century also saw an unmitigated effort to monumentalize the major sanctuaries of Selinus.[357] The

[355] De Angelis 2003, p. 135; Marconi 2007, p. 72.
[356] De Angelis 2003, p. 132.
[357] Marconi 2007, p. 72.

sanctuaries are primarily located in three large sectors: the acropolis (urban; temples O, A, C, and D), the complex at the base of the hilly ridges to the east of the main urban area (temples E, F, and G), and the complex to the west (Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros). Marconi explains that all of the temples built outside of the main urban centre (excluding that to Demeter Malophoros, which was built over a preexisting plan) were oriented to the street grid of the main city, thus producing a visual connection between centre and periphery.[358] We cannot presume to know as much about or even guess some of the dedications of these temples while we could this more so at Akragas. The sheer volume of structures and their construction within various urban spaces of the polis are nevertheless pertinent to our investigation.

The acropolis is located on a promontory above the sea on the coast, and so anyone traveling past or into the harbour at Selinus would have had the most magnificent view of this grouping of monumental temples (no doubt a deliberate move by Selinus). Temples R and S were constructed within the first two decades of the sixth century BC during the first phase of transforming the urban space (around the same time that the growing city developed its new urban grid).[359] The earliest temples at Selinus, like temples R and S, were non-peripteral with a simple ground plan. They generally had two successive rooms without columns or a frieze, but were still an imposing size and clearly distinguished from contemporary residential housing.[360] Temple R is located south of

[358] Marconi 2007, p. 74.
[359] Marconi 2007, p. 71.
[360] Marconi 2007, p. 77; Mertens 2006, p. 186-7.

Temple C on the acropolis and its rectangular plan (17.83 m x 5.31 m) has an eastern orientation.[361] Fifty metres east of Temple D is situated Temple S with a similar orientation, almost rectangular in plan (15.92 m x 5.45 m [west front] vs. 5.64 m [east front]).[362] Soon after, a *peribolos* wall was built to surround the major urban sanctuary on the acropolis, thereby demarcating the sacred space against the residential.[363]

After 560 BC, the effort to monumentalize the main urban sanctuary here is realized with the construction of much larger temples. The sanctuary space and *peribolos* were extended further east and required that a huge artificial terrace be constructed of 25,000-30,000 m³ of earth complete with a massive retaining wall in ca. 550 BC. A monumental altar (20.49 m x 7.95 m) was then constructed at the centre of this area some 30 m away from Temple C.[364] To the left of the south entrance of the sanctuary was a second altar, probably linked to the worship of one or more of the divinities whose cults were practiced on the acropolis.[365] An L-shaped stoa (74 m x 29.3 m) was built along the eastern border of the terrace opening north and west. It is likely that the stoa served as a banquet hall in which ritual meals would take place, a theory supported by the presence of a drainage system near the south wing of the stoa.[366]

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[361] De Angelis 2003, p. 134; Marconi 2007, p. 78; Mertens 2006, p. 186-7.
[362] De Angelis 2003, p. 129; Marconi 2007, p. 78-9.
[363] Marconi 2007, p. 72.
[364] Marconi 2007, p. 72.
[365] Marconi 2007, p. 73.
[366] De Angelis 2003, p. 137; Marconi 2007, p. 73.

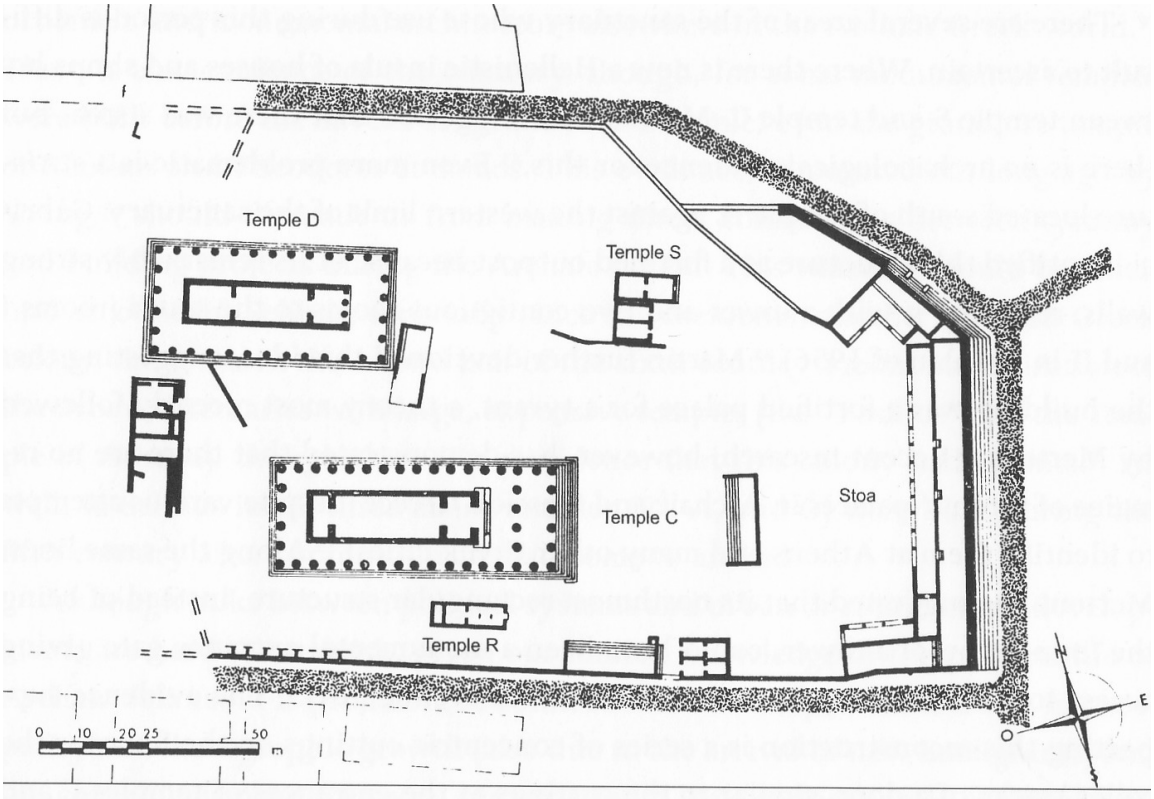

Figure 48: Urban sanctuary at Selinus, detailing temple plans and the *peribolos* wall (after Di Vita 1984)

The four large temples built during this time were all Doric in plan. The first Archaic large-scale building in Selinus was Temple C (63.720 m x 23.937 m) which dates to the mid-sixth century BC. Hexastyle in plan, this Doric temple faces east, with seventeen columns along the flanks and a double colonnade of six columns in each row along the front. The long, narrow interior is divided into a *pronaos*, long *cella*, and a shallow *adyton*.[367] The centre of the east pediment was occupied by a huge terracotta gorgoneion (height ca. 2.50-2.75 m x width ca. 2.75 m) that took up the entire central space of the pediment.

[367] Marconi 2007, p. 127; for a detailed analysis of the temple's plan, see Marconi 2007, p. 127-33.

A number of the east metopes survive and for the majority of the series the narratives depicted are clear. Metopes I-IV are rather fragmentary, only preserving pieces of sculpted heads, legs, and arms, and of metope IX there only remains fragments of a pair of heads. The remainder of the metopes are much less fragmentary than these and present the viewer with lively scenes from Greek mythology in Archaic iconography: two quadriga scenes (metopes V and VI), Perseus severing the head of Medusa assisted by Athena (metope VII), Herakles and the Kerkopes (metope VIII), and Orestes and Klytaimestra (metope X).[368]

Figure 49: Metopes from Temple C at Selinus: (from left to right) the second quadriga (VI), Perseus with Athena severing the head of Medusa (VII), Herakles and the Kerkopes (VIII), and Orestes and Klytaimestra (X; drawing after Marconi 2007)

It is thought that Temple C was dedicated to Apollo, but this theory relies on an inscription containing a dedication to Apollo Paian and Athena. It was found between the temple and Temple D to the north of it dated 475-450 BC and likely belonged to an altar here. Thus, Temple D has also been ascribed to Athena on the basis that the western

[368] For an extensive study of the style and chronology of each individual metope, see Marconi 2007, p. 127 ff.

acropolis of Megara housed the cults of both deities and celebrated them both with monumental temples.[369]

Figure 50: Reconstructed colonnade of Temple C at Selinus (view from the south)

Temple D, the second large-scale Archaic temple on the acropolis, dates to the last quarter of the sixth century BC. The peripteral building is located to the north of Temple C, and has smaller dimensions than Temple C, but is similarly narrow and its plan consists of a *pronaos*, *naos*, and *adyton*. An altar accompanied the temple at the south-east corner on a slightly oblique angle.[370] Temple A and Temple O were constructed between 490 and 460 BC. Temple A is the northernmost of the two, a hexastyle peripteral temple with 14 columns on the longer flanks with the measurements 40.3 m x 16.13 m. Temple O is just slightly larger but with the same plan. Some scholars have argued that

[369] Marconi 2007, p. 132-3.
[370] De Angelis 2003, p. 137.

these temples were dedicated to Apollo and Artemis based upon their "twin" appearance.[371]

The east complex of temples is on the east hill where three more Doric temples are located.[372] There is not much material evidence to suggest that the Greeks made use of this land before ca. 600 BC, but it is probable that, like the sacred space in the west, this area too was used to carry out cult activity.[373] Temple E took three different forms over the course of the sixth to fifth centuries BC, each built on top of the one previous (Temple E1, E2, and E3; we know the most about its final construction). E1 dates to 580 BC, but some scholars argue that construction might have began as early as the late seventh century BC[374]; we cannot be certain about its plan, elevation, or date, but terracotta roof revetments discovered in a pit to the east of the main temple facade prove its prior existence.[375] It was destroyed in a fire before 510 BC and construction began on Temple E2.[376] The third construction of the temple is presently extant. Temple E3 measures 75 m x 30 m and was finished in 460 BC. A cult statue was located in the *adyton*[377] and there is evidence to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Hera.[378] Five metopes belonging to the entablature of Temple E3 have been found (each measuring about 1.62 m x 1.32 m) dating to 470-460 BC and are clearly reflective of early Classical style which employs more dynamism and movement. The metopes depict the following scenes: Herakles and

[371] De Angelis 2003, p. 138.
[372] Boardman 1964, p. 197.
[373] Marconi 2007, p. 70-1.
[374] See De Angelis 2003, p. 130 for this later date.
[375] Marconi 2007, p. 82.
[376] De Angelis 2003, p. 138.
[377] Marconi 2007, p. 128.
[378] De Angelis 2003, p. 131; Marconi 2007, p. 132.

an Amazon, Zeus and Hera, Artemis and Aktaion, Athena and a giant, and Apollo and Daphne.[379]

Figure 51: Temple E reconstructed at Selinus (view from the east)

Also located on the east hill is Temple F. Built around 520 BC, it follows a peripteral hexastyle plan with fourteen columns on longer flanks (61.28 m x 24.43 m).[380] The frontal frieze was adorned with sculpted metopes; the two that survive detail episodes of the Gigantomachy.[381] A dedication of the temple has been supposed by a number of scholars; Tusa argues Temple F was sacred to Athena, while Bejor favours a dedication to Dionysos, and Zoppi to Artemis.[382] Temple G has been attributed to Apollo or Zeus, the

[379] De Angelis 2003, p. 139; Holloway 1991, p. 104-7.
[380] De Angelis 2003, p. 137.
[381] De Angelis 2003, p. 137-8.
[382] Athena (V. Tusa 1967); Dionysos (Bejor 1977: 450-453); Artemis (Zoppi in Conti et al. 1996: 126); see De Angelis 2003, p. 138 for reference.

construction for which began in the last quarter of the sixth century BC. This temple was absolutely colossal measuring 110.1 m x 50.1 m with a column height of 16.27 m and an entablature about 14 m tall; it is octastyle in plan with seventeen columns on the longer flanks. The Temple of Zeus at Akragas and the earlier Ionic temples of east Greece are only slightly larger.[383]

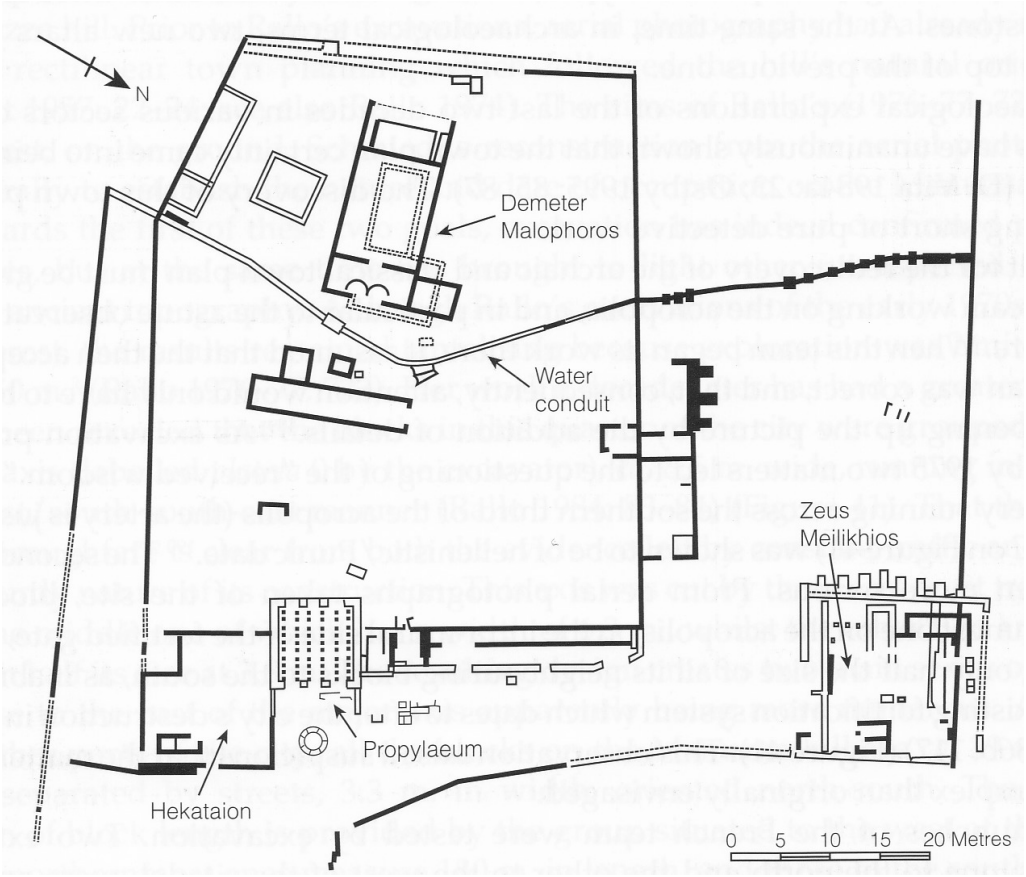

Figure 52: Plan of the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinus (after Marconi 1966)

The Gaggera Hill stands west of the main urban area and holds the final complex of sanctuaries. The most well-known cult here is certainly that of Demeter Malophoros

[383] Boardman 1964, p. 197; De Angelis 2003, p. 138.

(Apple-bearer); she was celebrated in the same guise and name here as in the mother city Megara. Her first temple was a simple hall, but the space was considered sacred and used for her worship before the erection of this official building.[384] The first version of the temple is dated to 590-580 BC based on materials found at the foundations which were incorporated into the newer temple. The building is relatively small (ca. 7.30 m x 4.45 m) and had only one room with no peristyle.[385] The second temple (550-540 BC) was considerably larger (20.40 m x 9.53 m), with the interior space divided into a *pronaos*, *cella*, and *adyton*, and was accompanied by an altar and enclosed within a *peribolos* wall.[386]

The cult of Zeus Meilichios was associated with that of Demeter Malophoros, and simple *stelae* with Greek inscriptions crowned by two carved human heads have been found dedicated to him in the western complex as well.[387] To the north is another small Archaic temple labelled Temple M and an altar. [388] Temple M, dated to 570-560 BC, is an example of how much more sophisticated monumental architectural complexes were becoming at this time, as it included a large staircase leading from the temple to the altar to the east, and a division of the *naos* and *pronaos* on the interior. This temple was also the first at Selinus to employ the Doric frieze, although the six metopes which remain are

[384] Boardman 1964, p. 197; De Angelis 2003, p. 131.
[385] Marconi 2007, p. 79-80.
[386] Marconi 2007, p. 85.
[387] Boardman 1964, p. 197.
[388] Boardman 1964, p. 197.

all plain.[389] There is also evidence here of the cults of Hera and Hekate[390], the latter to whom an Hekataion was built between 500 and 450 BC.[391]

There is one additional temple at Selinus, however its original location remains elusive. The foundations of the so-called Temple Y is unknown because its architectural elements were only discovered reused in the late Classical fortification wall at Selinus. Elements from its elevation, however, have been preserved, allowing scholars to identify this temple as the first in Selinus with a peripteral plan. Parts of the Doric frieze including the "small metopes" remain to us.[392] We cannot even be certain that all of the metopes belonging to the "small metopes" group as named by Marconi once belonged to Temple Y, but it is likely that at least a number of them did. This grouping nevertheless is the earliest series of figured metopes produced in Selinus. They are smaller than the carved metopes of Temples C, E, and F.[393] There are two groups within the series that are differentiated by style: the first has a fascia incised with a pattern of interlaced semicircles and a row of pendant leaves and has a thin side border; the second group has a fascia with an incised pattern of contiguous semicircles, and may or may not have borders. The scenes depicted on the metopes of group 1 are as follows: a sphinx in profile, the rape of Europa with the woman sitting on Zeus in the form of a bull, three goddesses[394], and the

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[389] De Angelis 2003, p. 134; Marconi 2007, p. 83-4.
[390] De Angelis 2003, p. 131, 134.
[391] De Angelis 2003, p. 139.
[392] De Angelis 2003, p. 135; Marconi 2007, p. 85.
[393] Marconi 2007, p. 88.
[394] They are so identified because they wear *polos*, but the identification of the individual goddesses have not been agreed upon by scholars. The triad of Demeter, Kore, and Hekate has been proposed to represent the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter.* Other triads like the Morai, Charites, or Horai have been suggested by Giuliani and Montuoro and Marconi respectively. Finally Athena and Artemis might be flanking Kore in the meadow before being kidnapped by Hades (suggested also by Marconi 2007, p. 98-9).

Delian Triad with Apollo and two goddesses, Artemis on the right and Leto on the left. Two metopes belong to the second group: the quadriga or four-horse chariot in frontal view (which should be identified as Poseidon and Amphitrite[395]), and Herakles fighting either the Cretan bull or Acheloos.[396]

Figure 53: The metopes from Temple Y at Selinus, Group 1: (from left to right) a sphinx in profile, the rape of Europa with the woman sitting on Zeus in the form of a bull, three goddesses, and the Delian Triad with Apollo in the centre, Artemis on the right and Leto on the left

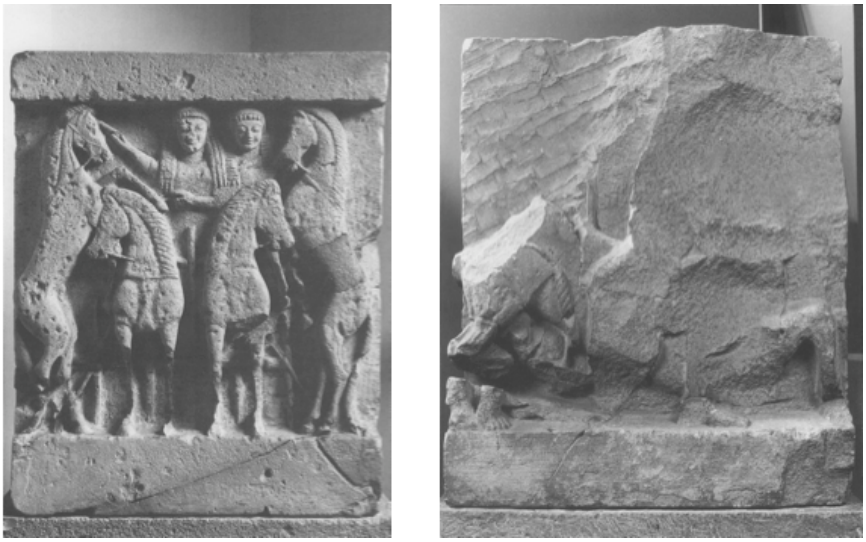

Figure 54: The metopes from Temple Y at Selinus, Group 2: the frontal quadriga (left), and Herakles fighting either the Cretan bull or Acheloos (right)

[395] Holloway 1988, p. 180.
[396] For an extensive description of both groups and each individual metope, see Marconi 2007, p. 77ff.

The first Sicilian coins were produced at Selinus and Himera in a rather simple form: the symbol of the respective cities was on the obverse, while a square punch-mark appeared on the reverse. At Selinus, the obverse type represented the city in visual form by depicting a stylized leaf of *selinon* with a central frond supported by another on either side. Later issues have the incised square on the reverse filled with a *selinon* leaf, sometimes with the first four letters of the city's name arranged variously in the four corners of the square.[397] The guise of the river-god Achelous in the form of a bull with a bearded man's head was popular in the presentation of Gela's own River Gelas on their coins.[398] On the coins of Selinus ca. 450 BC, the bull-monster version of the river-god is replaced by a young man, the only bull-like feature being the horn which protrudes from the brow. The River Selinus is shown standing before an altar as a naked youth holding a *phiale*, with which he is making a sacrifice, and a lustral branch; behind him there is a leaf of *selinon* or wild parsley that grows around Selinus, the symbol which was no longer the focus of the image.[399] The obverse of this coin (a tetradrachm) shows a chariot driven by Artemis and Apollo who has his bow raised and is ready to shoot. The obverse of a didrachm with the same reverse depicts the young Herakles defeating the Cretan bull.[400] The coinage of Selinus follows the trend of the other *apoikiai* in presenting divinities and symbols of the city to give an individual character to the image of the polis, but still does

[397] Rutter 1997, p. 102.
[398] Jenkins 1976, p. 26.
[399] Jenkins 1976, p. 26-9; Rutter 1997, p. 139.
[400] Jenkins 1976, p. 29-30; Rutter 1997, p. 139; for an extensive catalogue of Selinuntine coinage kept in the collection at the British Museum, see Forni 1963, p. 138ff.

not make clear the existence of any poliadic deity, nor do the clusters of Selinuntine temples.

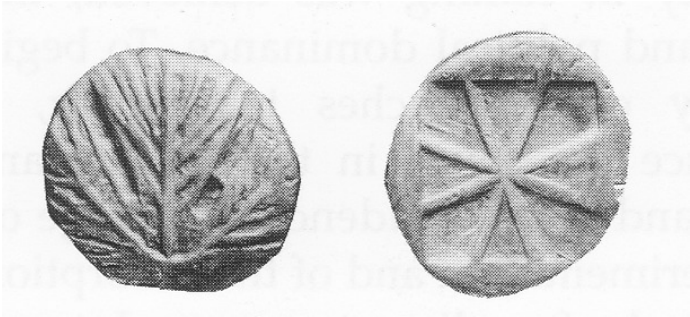

Figure 55: Selinon leaf / Incuse square divided into segments; stater, ca. 530 BC, Selinus

Figure 56: Chariot bearing Artemis and Apollo / River-god Selinus sacrificing; tetradrachm, ca. 450 BC, Selinus

Chapter 3: Urbanization and Polis Identity in Sicily — The Independent Growth of the *Apoikia* in Sicily from mainland Greece

The seven *apoikiai* surveyed—Naxos, Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, Himera, Gela, Akragas, and Selinus—yield is representative archaeological evidence of the Sikeliot cities. As the archaeological record of these settlements is intact from their moment of foundation, their development into fully formed poleis can be discerned more closely than most cities of mainland Greece. It is important to recognize, however, that while *apoikiai* may be the offspring of metropoleis of the mother country, these cities grew parallel to the poleis of the mainland and were not simply dependents or "colonies". The Greeks in the West, specifically those in Sicily, developed their own artistic and architectural variants on Greek style and urban planning, which was likely motivated by exigencies of the emerging communities. The designation of space was a priority for the arrangement of the nascent communities, including the establishment of common space, separated from private, residential areas. The common areas served the communities in many ways; a principal function was as ritual space for congregation and worship. Across the Archaic Period, these sanctuaries grew from an area distinguished by votive deposits to monumental constructions that embellished and glorified the communities. They functioned as visual indicators of the strength of the community; the wealth, prosperity, and authority of the polis which resulted from its successful foundation and growth was expressed in the colossal structures, emphasized not only by their size but also by sophisticated design and ornamentation, on view as a statement to the world, both to

inhabitants of the polis and outsiders. A notable trend among the intraurban sanctuaries of the Sikeliot cities is toward multiple temples and altars within one temenos. The deliberate employment of numerous structures, often arranged in clusters, and locations for worship implies dedication to multiple deities within the same sanctuary. This arrangement suggests that the settlers did not have poliadic cults but instead worshipped a broader pantheon without favouring one deity over another. The "indeterminate orientation" of civic cults in the *apoikiai* is especially important to an understanding of polis identity and invites questions regarding the reason for the lack of a poliadic deity anywhere in Sicily, and how the *apoikiai* still managed to foster a strong collective consciousness among their inhabitants. To answer these, it will be necessary to examine the authority behind the public building programs and the necessity of communal space in relation to urbanism. This chapter will conclude with a consideration of the cruciality of urbanization in producing a civic identity, especially within the *apoikiai*. While it is valuable to establish an exterior view of an urbanized and monumentalized polis, that is, the city as it would have been seen by other Greeks, indigenous groups, and foreign peoples, in actuality those affected most by this physical manifestation of polis identity are the inhabitants of the polis itself, and accordingly an interior, or emic, view is useful in evaluating the sacred landscape.

A number of patterns of use emerge among the seven *apoikiai* examined. A primary focus is the consistent and widespread phenomenon of urbanization beginning as early as the eighth century and continuing into the fifth century BC. Within a generation

of the foundation of the *apoikia*, settlers had already mapped out a basic urban grid driven upon which they would build as the city evolved and grew. This included the allotment of space for private, domestic use (for example the modest square houses at Megara Hyblaea dating to the foundation of the city[401]) and space that was public and communal. Most poleis notably did not build fortification walls at the initial point of settlement[402], the implications of which will be explored later. Special attention was given to the designation of ritual space both in the *asty* and *chora* of the city. Votive deposits found throughout each of these *apoikiai*, sometimes together with a simple altar, and, predating any architectural structures, suggest that these ritual spaces were allotted and in use from nearly the time of the initial settlement. Only after this was the space monumentalized and votives accompanied by colossal stone temples and great shrines: often these temples and shrines were grouped together (good examples are the clusters of temples at Selinus and Akragas), frequently constructed along the same axis. The monumental temples of Sicily appear in a higher volume than on the mainland. In some cases the deity or deities to which a temple was dedicated may be discerned through their ornamentation, votives, or plans. The identical design and the close proximity of Temples A and O at Selinus, for example, suggests that these are in fact twin temples dedicated to twin deities.[403] An analysis of the major temples and sanctuaries of the Archaic and Classical Periods reveals

[401] Mertens 1996, p. 316.
[402] Barnow 2002, p. 41.
[403] See figure 47 for comparison.

that there is no clear orientation to suggest the existence of a poliadic deity among any of the poleis in Sicily.

The patterns among the urban planning and allotment of space in the *apoikiai* of Sicily reveal that one of the first tasks carried out by the settlers was to create a rational urban grid with urban structures constructed and placed on the basis of their functionality; the Western Greeks consistently bore in mind what the space would be used for and planned the urban grid accordingly so that it would have the greatest potential to be practical.[404] The various buildings they erected adhered to their urban grids and were not a point of departure for the city's plan, which is the case among many cities in the mother country that had been inhabited before the eighth century BC.[405] It should come as no surprise that the need for communal ritual space was a primary concern to the first settlers; archaeological evidence demonstrates that space was designated for religious practice soon after they arrived in Sicily. Religion was a defining feature of Greek culture and a part of daily life, and its orthopraxic quality required space within which religious practice could be carried out. In this shared, communal space, the inhabitants of the polis were physically brought together in common ritual. In bringing the polis together in this way, religious space served a civic function as well, reinforcing the cultural and therefore civic identity of the Greek settlers. De Polignac puts this quite neatly: "In all probability colonization itself contributed to the reinforcement of the identity of the polis since, right from the start, it postulated the existence of a community framework within which it was

[404] Mertens 1996, p. 316.
[405] Mertens 1996, p. 316.

possible to address the problem of dividing up society in a way accepted by all members, and as we have seen, that framework and those terms were mediated by religion."[406] It is clear, however, that the Greeks of the Sicilian *apoikiai* did not entirely use the mainland as a model for their own cities, nor in fostering a sense of polis identity.

The *apoikiai* of the West grew and evolved not after the metropoleis of the mainland but parallel to them.[407] This is proven both by the urban grids and architecture of the West. Datable evidence pertaining to the urban grids of these poleis and their monumental architecture also confirm that the phenomenon of urbanization occurred simultaneously in Greece and the West. The first foundations of the Western settlements happened when the metropoleis themselves and the development of architectural styles were only just taking shape on the mainland. That is to say that the Greek settlers certainly brought with them what was familiar, in this case relating to building techniques. As the Archaic Period progressed, architectural and artistic styles were disseminated across the entire Greek world and brought familiar forms, such as the Doric and Ionic Orders, to Western Greece.[408] Settlers, however, often lacked models or prototypes after which they could create their cities and monuments; as Mertens explains, they could not bring material samples of buildings as they could with other art forms and so they had only abstract concepts of composition, functional layouts, building technology, and their own past experiences.[409] Nor were they bound by any tradition to

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[406] de Polignac 1995, p. 91.
[407] See Hall 2012, p. 22ff., Marconi 2007, p. 29ff, and Mertens 1996, p. 315ff.
[408] Mertens 1996, p. 315.
[409] Mertens 1996, p. 315.

build temples and urban grids entirely in line with the prototypes found in the mother country that were still taking shape at the time of overseas settlement.[410] The Western Greeks and specifically those in Sicily were as a result able to develop an architecture with its own autonomous physiognomy.

It has been recently proven that the regular urban grid was not invented by Hippodamus, and the system of straight streets intersecting at right angles appear much earlier than in the fifth century BC in the Greek world. It may specifically be the proportions of the city blocks that formed squares or nearly squared *insulae* (like those seen at the Piraeus and Thurion) that are attributed to Hippodamus.[411] The theoretical bases for urban planning should be attributed to the planners of the Sicilian urban grids of the Archaic and Early Classical periods. The urban grids of Naxos, Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, Himera, Gela, Akragas, and Selinus, in addition to those of other *apoikiai* in Sicily not surveyed in this work, show the development of urban planning from the last third of the eighth and into the sixth century BC and reflect the early but organized division of space within the urban centre.[412] Space was delineated for public (religious and civic) use, and residential space was allotted to the settlers near to the initial foundation of these settlements. The development of urban space was clearly a priority and was realized in the implementation of a rigid, orthogonal grid. It began with the division of land into equal sized plots given to the settlers that formed the residential area.

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[410] Mertens 1996, p. 315.
[411] See Barnow 2002, p.41ff, Pope 2014, and the discussion of early urban grids in chapter 1 of this work.
[412] Pope 2014, p. 205.

These plots at first included modest one-room houses, and the majority of the plot was used as a garden; the archaeological record at Megara Hyblaea boasts some of the best evidence for this. The houses and regular plots were laid out beside one another and were aligned consistently. This therefore formed the basis for the urban grid in Archaic Greek Sicily, which took the form of a *per strigas* system.[413] Main thoroughfares known as *plateiai*, commonly oriented east-west, were placed at large intervals and intersected *stenopoi*, narrower streets running north-south. This formed the long *insulae* characteristic of the Archaic urban grid in Sicily, which were altered in the Classical Period to forge the Hippodamean plan proper.[414]

In addition to urban planning, the Greeks in the West developed their own architectural styles. To avoid using terminology that implies the process of colonization, I refer to this as "Western" architecture, and to distinguish the circumstances as they were in Sicily from those in Southern Italy, I will refer to these patterns or characteristics with the adjective "Sikeliot".[415] For our purposes in illustrating the parallel growth of the *apoikiai* and the metropoleis of the mainland, we can address briefly the role of Sicily's poleis in developing a Western style complete with some prototypes that the West and Greece itself developed independently.

The definitive qualities of monumental temple architecture were not realized in Greece before the first half of the sixth century BC. By the seventh century BC, the

[413] Pope 2014, p. 205ff.
[414] Pope 2014, p. 205ff.
[415] See Mertens 1996, p. 315ff.

concept of the peripteral temple had developed at sites such as Isthmia, Corinth, Thermos, Argos, and Eretria. The Doric Order was established (Thermon, Kerkyra, Olympia), although before the first decades of the sixth century BC many constituent elements of the Doric Order (including the peristyle) were still being realized in timber or terracotta and the Ionic Order was still more variable in its proportions, ratios, and decorative forms.[416] Once the Greeks, including those in Sicily, began building major architectural works (early sixth century BC), they clearly did not have fully formed "prototypes" or paradigmatic temples to use as definitive models for their own. Because, however, documentation of the monumentalization of these metropoleis during the first half of the sixth century BC is extremely scarce, we can only postulate that there was some form of reciprocal relationship between Greece and the *apoikiai*.[417]

It is clear that some of the first monumental Doric temples of the Greek world were built in Sicily based on certain compositive challenges that the master builders had yet to work out. The first peripteral temple of the West, the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse (early sixth century BC), illustrates these challenges: the massive structure was erected wholly in stone with enormous, closely spaced, monolithic columns. The new disposition of the colonnade affected the entire order; the subdivision of the entablature could not be harmonized with the new column rhythm, meaning that the elements of the frieze were not consistently aligned with the columns.[418]

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[416] Mertens 1996, p. 320; according to Mertens, the Ionic Order never achieved a canonical formulation during the Archaic Period. See also Barletta 2001.
[417] Mertens 1996, p. 322.
[418] Mertens 1996, p. 324.

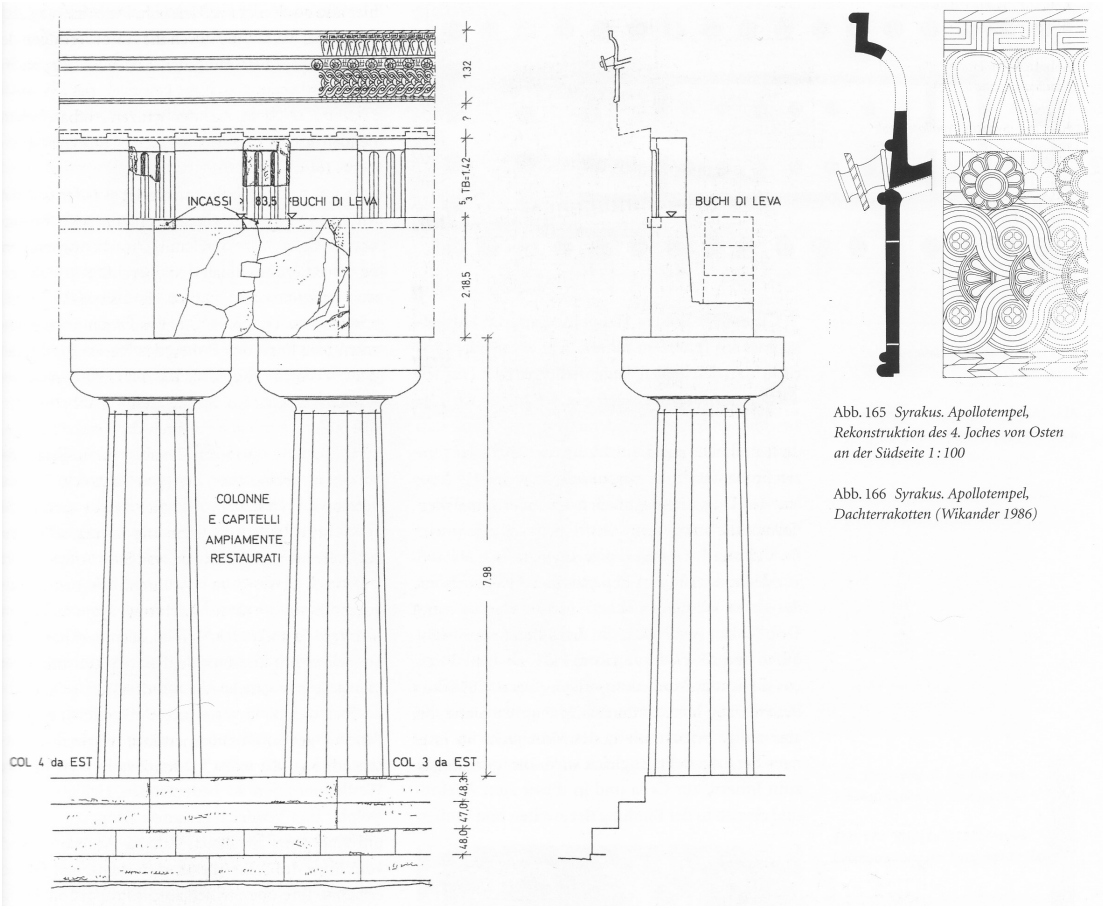

Figure 57: Restored elevations and diagram of the compositive elements of the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse detailing the entablature which is not harmonized with the new column rhythm (after Mertens 2006)

The master builders either ignored these incongruities or did not anticipate such consequences, but this problem in temples built shortly thereafter seems to have been quickly solved. This temple is also the earliest example known to us from the Archaic Period with an inscription naming someone involved in the building's construction. The inscription is located on the stylobate of the temple, but the step is worn and some of the letters in the middle of the inscription are not clear. The interpretation most widely accepted is, "Kleomenes the son of Knidieides made it for Apollo. And he included

columns. They are fine works."[419] Guarducci suggests, however, that Kleomenes was the *epistates* of the temple rather than the architect.[420] Whether Kleomenes was the master builder or a donor/official, he certainly felt that his involvement in the temple's construction was worth boasting of.

It may be argued that the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse acted as a prototype of a monumental peripteral temple in stone both for Sicily and the wider Greek world. The Artemision at Corfu (early sixth century BC), the oldest all-stone temple in Greece is often considered a model or prototype for the great temples in the West, but must have actually taken its queue from the Apollo temple at Syracuse and not vice versa.

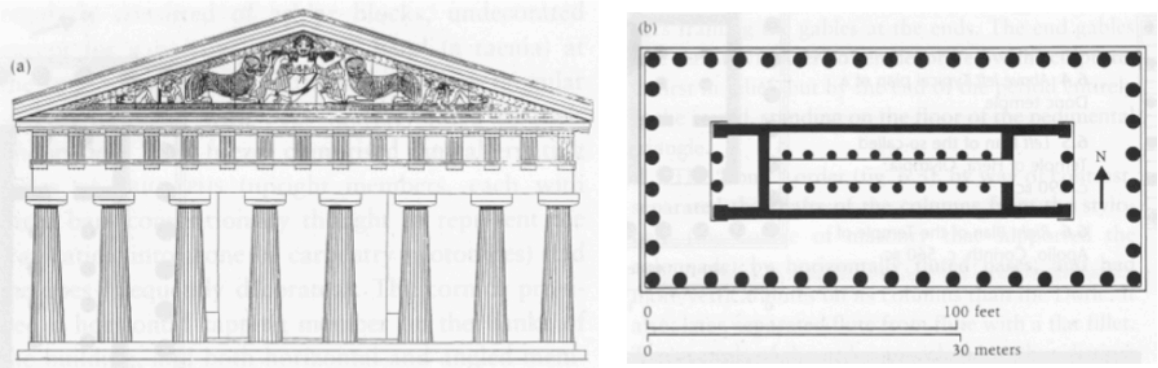

Figure 58: Reconstructed elevation (a) and plan (b) of the Artemision at Corfu (after Pedley 2007)

We need only look at the Artemision to see that the essential compositional elements in both temples are the same, but the master builders of the Artemision made use of some experimental technical measures (smoothing of the joint surfaces, lifting techniques) that are not present in the Apollonion.[421] The plan of the Apollonion at Syracuse includes

[419] Holloway 1991, p. 73.
[420] Holloway 1991, p. 73.
[421] Mertens 1996, p. 324.

features not found on the mainland and served as a forerunner to a group of early monumental temples in Sicily. The Archaic Sikeliot temple is characterized by its pronounced frontality, evolution along a central axis, and distinct spaciousness; the first two are realized in the double frontal colonnade and the *adyton* at the back of the cella of the Apollonion. Altogether, then, it may be said that the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse was itself without precedent.[422] The construction of the Temple of Zeus at Syracuse immediately followed that of the Apollonion and is almost identical save for the greater column spacing used to remedy the discordance between the entablature and columns.[423] The first Temple of Athena at Syracuse, another temple at Megara Hyblaea, and the earliest temple in the Athenaion in Gela followed shortly thereafter, each with plans indebted to this Sikeliot Doric temple.[424] The Selinuntine workshops were especially active throughout the sixth century BC and their products bear many of these same features.[425] While the chronology cannot be established with precision, it is clear that Sikeliot temple architecture evolved around the same time as that on the mainland, a time of experimentation and when the compositional elements of the monumental Doric temple were still being realized both in the mother country and the West.

[422] Mertens 1996, p. 322.
[423] Mertens 1996, p. 324.
[424] Mertens 1996, p. 324.
[425] Mertens 1996, p. 325-7; see also Marconi 2007, p. 77ff.

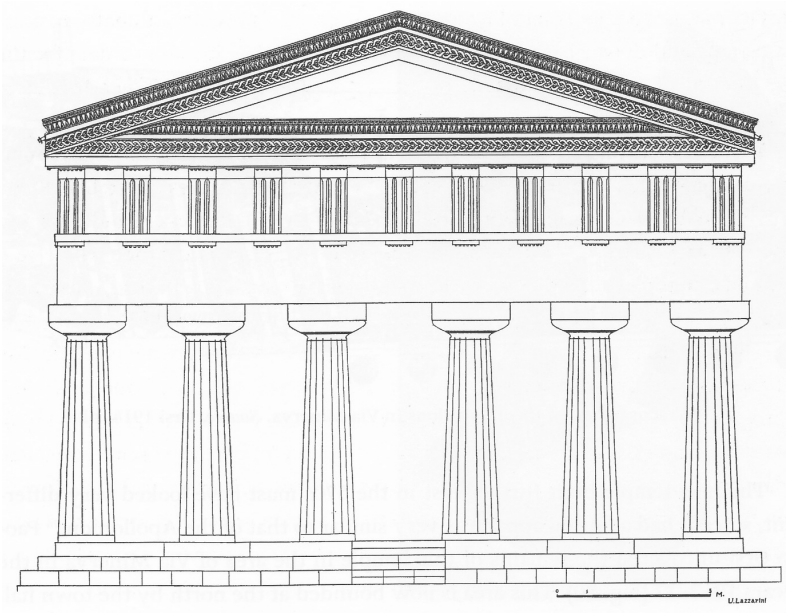

Figure 59: Reconstructed elevation of the Temple of Olympian Zeus at Syracuse (after Lissi 1958)

Greeks everywhere worshipped a broad pantheon, but on the mainland the main polis sanctuary is consistently oriented towards one deity with which the polis held a particular relationship. This poliadic deity aided in defining the character of the polis and therefore the polis identity which was shared amongst all inhabitants of that particular polis. This identity united them as a civic collective, and provided all inhabitants with a commonality among them, probably the only aspect of social life everyone shared equally.[426] Maddoli encapsulates this in saying that the polis was, "...perhaps, first and foremost, a community of a congregation."[427] This community dedicated themselves to usually one or two official cults, which local magistrates promoted and celebrated throughout the city. De Polignac argues for a "bipolar" quality in most mainland poleis in

[426] See de Polignac 1995, p. 91.
[427] Maddoli 1996, p. 487.

which one deity, often Apollo or Athena, was celebrated above the rest in an intraurban sanctuary in the agora or on the acropolis as the "protector of the polis" or "poliad", while another deity had a prominent extraurban sanctuary commonly located right on a threshold of the polis territory.[428] Some notable examples from the mainland are the poliadic cults of Athena at Athens (the monocentric quality of which is, admittedly, exceptional[429]); Zeus at Olympia; and Apollo at Argos, Corinth, Delphi, and Eretria.[430] Poliadic cults were emphasized by the monumentalization of their temples, which in turn propelled the economy of the polis, and it in itself represented a collective and united effort on the part of the community. A ritual calendar organized these cults whose holidays were incorporated into the life of the community, and whose rituals involved all of the cult's members. The poliadic cults must have been inclusive of all levels of society, from the nobles to the lowest members of the community, men and women of all ages, operating "horizontally", or it would fail to bring together the polis as a single collective.[431] Religion, then, was the foundation of social and political solidarity. The polis physically came together within the designated religious space dedicated to a particular deity (temple, shrine, sanctuary) in shared religious practice oriented especially towards this poliadic deity, a quality in which their identity was rooted, and which differentiated them from other poleis. So then was claiming a poliadic deity crucial to the

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[428] de Polignac 1995, 33 and 81.
[429] de Polignac 1995, 81-8.
[430] It must be conceded that not every mainland city has only one urban cult or one sanctuary, which is clear in even these examples, but there is an apparent trend towards favouring one deity or two deities over the rest in identifying with him/her via ancestry or tradition as proven by the archaeological and literary records of these poleis.
[431] de Polignac 1995, p. 60; Maddoli 1996, p. 487.

establishment and maintenance of a polis identity? The archaeological evidence of the Sikeliot *apoikiai* seems to suggest otherwise.

The following chart condenses the archaeological evidence of the seven *apoikiai* surveyed in the second chapter to emphasize which, how many, and in what capacity deities or other mythological figures were celebrated in these poleis during the Archaic and early Classical Periods. This comparative analysis will aid in illustrating the seemingly indeterminate orientation of Sikeliot sanctuaries and therefore the lack of any Sikeliot poliadic deity.

Table 1: Comparative analysis of the deities worshipped (and in what capacity) in the major *apoikiai* of Sicily

	Naxos	**Megara Hyblaea**	**Syracuse**	**Himera**	**Gela**	**Akragas**	**Selinus**
Apollo	Altar to Apollo Archegetes, coinage, site unknown		Doric temple on Ortygia, shrine on mainland; Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites, (suburban)				Temple C (?), Temple A/O (twins, other dedicated to Apollo) (?); Temple G dedicated to Apollo or Zeus (?); relief metope of Apollo and Daphne on Temple E3; depicted with Artemis and Leto in a metope from group 1 of Temple Y; coinage

	Naxos	Megara Hyblaea	Syracuse	Himera	Gela	Akragas	Selinus
Artemis			cult on Ortygia				Temple A/O (twins, other dedicated to Apollo) (?); relief metope of Artemis and Aktaion on Temple E3; depicted with Apollo and Leto in a metope from group 1 of Temple Y; coinage
Athena			Athenaion on Ortygia, "Ionic Temple", coinage	Early Classical Temple in lower city, 480 BC (Temple "C"); urban sanct.in upper plateau, Temples "A" & "D"; statuette of Athena Promachos	early temple (A), later Temple B	sanctuary on Rupe Atenea	relief metope of Athena and a giant on Temple E3
Demeter and Kore		periurban sanctuary at SE corner of asty	shrines on mainland, votive pits; suburban sanctuary at Cozzo Scardina; periurban sanctuary at Cyane Spring	sanctuary on upper plateau at Isolato II, block 11, with sacella	sanctuary on Bitalemi, sanctuary at Predio Sola, female votive statues, suburban cult at ex-railway station,	remains of three *sacella* containing altars and circular structures (usually interpreted as evidence for the cult of Demeter and Kore)	painted pottery of Demeter Malophoros, sanctuary to Demeter and Kore west of main urban area (associated with Zeus Meilichios and Temple M)
Hera	urban sanctuary located at s. end of asty, 7th century onward.	periurban sanctuary at NE corner of asty, temple dated to c. 570 BC			evidence for cult practice from the 7th century onwards, cult located near agora	Temple of Hera Lacinia at Gate III on Hill of Temples	evidence of cult in sanctuary of Demeter and Kore; Temple E3 (?); relief metope of Zeus and Hera on Temple E3

	Naxos	Megara Hyblaea	Syracuse	Himera	Gela	Akragas	Selinus
Herakles				Temple "B" on upper plateau possibly dedicated to Herakles		Temple at Gate IV on Hill of Temples	relief of Herakles and the Kerkopes (metope VIII) on Temple C; Herakles and an Amazon on Temple E3; depicted in a metope fighting the Cretan bull/Achelous from group 2 of Temple Y; Herakles and Cretan bull on coinage
Zeus			Olympieion on mainland		large temple, shrine to Atabyrios	sanctuary on Rupe Atenea; temple on Hill of Temples	Temple M dedicated to Zeus Meilichios (associated with sanctuary to Demeter and Kore west of main urban area); Temple G dedicated to Apollo or Zeus (?); relief metope of Zeus and Hera on Temple E3; depicted in a metope from group 1 of Temple Y (rape of Europa)
Figure particular to polis	Assinos (river god) on coinage		Arethusa (nymph associated with spring on Ortygia) on coinage; Leukaspis (Sican hero) on coinage	nymph Himera on coinage	river god Gelas on coinage		river god Achelous on coinage; River Selinus on coinage
Gorgons / Sileni	gorgoneia, sileni		gorgon/ Medusa reliefs, gorgoneia antefixes	gorgoneion			Perseus severing the head of Medusa assisted by Athena (metope VII) on Temple C

	Naxos	Megara Hyblaea	Syracuse	Himera	Gela	Akragas	Selinus
Unidenti-fiable figures	old, gloomy-faced hero, female figures on *pinakes*	female votive figurines; heröon to unknown hero					
Misc. Religious Figures (appearing only once in the surveyed evidence)	Dionysos on coinage	terracotta sculpture of Aphrodite enthroned; sculpture of the Great Mother goddess suckling twins		Temple B relief fragments of body parts and animals	satyr antefixes	temples on the Hill of Temples dedicated to: Asclepius, Concordia, the Dioscuri, and Hephaestus; eagle on coinage is the bird of Zeus Olympios; chariot driven by Helios (?) on coinage	Leto depicted with Apollo and Artemis in a metope from group 1 of Temple Y; evidence of cult of Hekate in sanctuary of Demeter and Kore

The comparative chart reveals some patterns of dedication across the Sicilian *apoikiai*. Most clear is the wide variety of deities worshipped within the individual Sikeliot poleis but also across Sicily. These deities tended to be worshipped in space that is shared among them; the most definitive examples are the clusters of temples we see grouped together at Akragas on the Hill of Temples, and the urban, east, and west complexes of temples at Selinus. Most temples in these *apoikiai* are aligned along the same or a similar axis.[432] There is insufficient archaeological evidence to determine that any deity in particular was worshipped consistently in all of the major Sikeliot poleis, but

[432] See figures 35 and 46.

as always, it is certainly possible that those cults that appear more frequently among them (Apollo, Athena, Demeter and Kore, and Zeus) and others were practiced in all or most of these poleis and are simply unknown through the lack of an archaeological or historical record. However, from the extant evidence, no religious figure in any of these *apoikiai* stands out as a definitive poliadic deity. A focus on few principle deities could be argued for in the cases of Naxos (Apollo/Dionysos) and Megara Hyblaea (Aphrodite). Even then, such conclusions are only planted in a lack of identifiable archaeological evidence which is likely due, at least in part, to the almost complete destruction of Naxos by Syracuse in the late fifth century BC [433], and then its later occupation by a Byzantine settlement which likely destroyed most evidence for cults outside of the urban grid, while Megara Hyblaea was defeated by Syracuse in the early fifth century BC and uninhabited from then on until the time of Timoleon in the fourth century BC.[434]

In the remaining five *apoikiai*, multiple deities are celebrated through temples, art, and votives without distinguishable ranking. At each polis the group of deities is different. It is possible that there were some Sikeliot preferences; certain cults or images appear often in the *apoikiai*. The gorgon, for example, appears frequently in Sikeliot art and architecture, specifically on temples in the form of antefixes or as part of a metopal or pedimental relief. As Holloway argues, no program of Archaic Greek architectural decoration should be considered merely an exercise of illustrating literary sources. The function of this kind of art was different and played an active role in cult practice: the

[433] Guido 1967, p. 207; Dunbabin 1948, p. 9.
[434] Rutter 1997, p. 11.

images either had an apotropaic purpose, acted as epiphanies, or aided in the mythical definition of the cult (or a combination of these functions).[435] The popularity of the gorgoneion can likely be explained by the apotropaic function of the monster as it was used to protect the house of the deity and the members of the cult from evil. This particular function of the gorgon in art is not surprising as monsters and beasts create a sense of awe, fear, and terror. The gorgoneion makes one of its first appearances in the *Odyssey* (11.634-5) when Odysseus describes the horrific face as a weapon being used by Persephone to deter intruders from the house of Hades.[436] Marconi, however, states that because Greek gods themselves were *apotropaioi* (averters of evil), the "evil" such images attempted to deter would more likely come from sacrilegious humans (looters, enemies, conquerors; fears for which there might be more cause in new territory). He also explains that one cannot ignore the anxiety, fear, and terror any audience felt while looking upon such images, feelings which are themselves central to the experience of the sacred. The gods were meant to be feared and to inspire awe, and so images like that of the gorgon or mythological beasts prepared those approaching the temple for their experience with the divine.[437]

A second example of popular Sikeliot imagery is that of the cult of Demeter and Kore, one of the earliest Greek cults practiced abroad, connected to Sicily by way of mythology. According to longstanding tradition, Hades' abduction of Persephone took

[435] Holloway 1988, p. 182-3.
[436] Marconi 2007, p. 215.
[437] Marconi 2007, p. 216.

place on a lake near Enna or at a Cyane spring near Syracuse.[438] We might also connect the presence of cults of other chthonic deities to her cult, like those of Hephaestus (Akragas) and Hekate (Selinus), as well as the popularity of the gorgoneion (Medusa being the handmaiden of Persephone and connected to the underworld). It is also natural that chthonic deities such as these would be celebrated in new settlements desperate for agricultural prosperity, and especially in Sicily, often referred to as the "granary" of the ancient world, where grain and some other crops grew in abundance.[439] Despite the cult's popularity, however, nowhere does it appear to take precedent as the main civic cult; other cults within the poleis have just as much if not more impressive evidence for their practice, and are also located more centrally within the urban grid. Furthermore, if the Sikeliot poleis claimed any poliadic deities, through which they defined and differentiated themselves from other poleis, their coinage would be the ideal place to express their claim, as we often see in mainland Greece. Instead, the coinage of the *apoikiai* is reserved for symbols of the individual poleis, including associated animals or figures from local traditions like heroes or nymphs, figures which are not celebrated in their stone temples or sanctuaries.[440] The coinage of these poleis and the varying selections of deities celebrated in their art and architecture do differentiate each polis from one another, but

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[438] Maddoli 1996, p. 491.
Inscriptions at Syracuse include the epithet "hennaia" = of Enna from early Classical Period, thus the myth is localized from the early Classical Period.
[439] Maddoli 1996, p. 491.
[440] The one exception to this is found at Akragas; the eagle as a symbol of Zeus appears on coinage for a brief time, but not Zeus himself, and there is a sanctuary on Rupe Atenea dedicated to the Olympian god. This is not enough to negate the pattern of indeterminate orientation among the Sikeliot poleis, nor suggest that Zeus was the poliadic deity of Akragas.

we find a pattern among them in the indeterminate orientation of any primary civic cults, and therefore in a consistent lack of a clear poliadic deity throughout Sicily.

How can one account for these major differences concerning the urbanization and monumentalization of the polis between the mainland and the *apoikiai* of Sicily? How was polis identity fostered in both regions under such varied circumstances? First, there are a number of possible factors that affected the path of urbanization and therefore monumentalization in Sicily which were not present on the mainland. The clearest difference between the mainland and Sicily is the various histories of the poleis. Many mainland sanctuaries, urban and non-urban, were deliberately built on top of ruins from the Bronze Age over known Mycenaean (or even Minoan) sites.[441] The occurrence is so frequent that a case can be made for continuity in religious practice from as far as the Minoan Period at some sites, surviving the Dark Ages, and perpetuating especially the most historical cults of Hera, Athena, Artemis, and Zeus into the Archaic Period and onwards on the very same sites used in the Bronze Age. Others hold that this continuity may have been more professed than real; archaeologists acknowledge a hiatus in the occupation of most of these sites between the end of the Bronze Age and the Geometric Period, and suggest that the Greeks coming out of the Dark Ages may have had the desire to connect with the prestigious past by trying to erase any interruptions in occupation from record and reusing Bronze Age votives and sculpture pieces.[442] These sites had some

[441] de Polignac 1995, p. 27; as De Polignac notes, the obvious exceptions are the urban and suburban sanctuaries of Eretria, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta.
[442] de Polignac 1995, p. 27-8.

sort of preexisting plan which had to be worked into the developing urban fabric of the Archaic polis, and must have dictated at least part of its layout.

The histories of the *apoikiai* in Sicily are very different from this. The settlements were not built over previously inhabited sites from the Bronze Age, but instead their habitation for the most part began when the Greeks arrived in the eighth and seventh centuries BC and began to build their poleis over generally uncultivated land. This had a very different effect on the urban planning of the polis, which could be designed ex-novo to best suit the functional needs of the polis. At the same time, the art and architecture of the Sikeliot *apoikiai* also followed its own path of development. We have already proven that the Greeks overseas did not always have strong models or prototypes after which they could shape their own art and architecture and urban centres. Furthermore, besides Thucydides stating Syracuse as the exception[443], a claim for which we have no concrete evidence, it is unlikely that any *apoikia* maintained close contact with its mother polis after the brief period of initial settlement. The *apoikiai* were also known to welcome emigrants from mainland poleis other than their mother polis, and indigenous peoples, and so the argument that the *apoikia* remained a loyal offspring of its mainland metropolis seems less viable.[444] There is also the likelihood of a reciprocal relationship concerning artistic production between the Greek settlers and indigenous groups whom they encountered in Sicily, although this influence is nearly impossible to quantify.[445] The

[443] Thucydides 6.6.
[444] Hall 2012, p. 28; Thucydides 6.5.
[445] Di Vita 1996, Hall 2002 and 2012, Marconi 2007, and Mertens 1996 and 2006.

Greek settlers expanded upon what foundations they did have at the time of settlement and developed their own trends in the avenues of both art and urban planning in parallel to but distinct from the mother country, both from necessity and opportunity. In mixing Greek settlers from different metropoleis to go on these expeditions to Sicily (which, as we recall from Hall, likely happened and supports the notion that these ventures to settle abroad may not have been as much a state-sponsored event as something less formal and driven at least in part by the lure of new land[446]), and by integrating indigenous peoples and new emigrants into the Sikeliot poleis, there must have been a number of traditions among them regarding cult practice. It is quite possible that the Greeks in Sicily chose to celebrate and monumentalize the cults of multiple deities rather than selecting a single poliadic cult so as to appease the religious traditions of all inhabitants as best they could.

This difference in the foundations of mainland and Sicilian poleis also has certain implications for the civic identity of polis inhabitants. Poleis built on Bronze Age sites (or at least their sanctuaries) could claim strong ties to ancient cults of major deities and profess (whether real or imagined) a religious continuity from the Mycenaean (or even Minoan) Period into the Geometric Period, thereby anointing their civic cult(s), which often times centered around their poliadic deity, with a prestigious ancestral element.[447] Most early sanctuaries, particularly the non-urban ones, were deliberately built on top of ruins from the Bronze Age.[448] The mainland Greeks celebrated the historical cults of

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[446] Hall 2012, 24-5.
[447] de Polignac 1995, p. 27.
[448] de Polignac 1995, p. 27; the urban and suburban sanctuaries of Eretria, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta are the best-known exceptions.

Hera, Athena, Artemis, Apollo, and Zeus on these sites as if the Helladic cults had survived the Dark Ages together with their own myths, attributes, and rites. Archaeological evidence stresses the actual discontinuity in these sites' usage between the Bronze Age and Geometric Period, but a professed link to the past inspired etiological stories and somehow legitimized and sanctioned the present state of things.[449] Hero cults on the mainland developed in a similar way: it was common in coming out of the Dark Ages for cities to claim a hero as their mythological founder and/or profess an ancestral connection to a heroic figure. Some cults were based on finding a Mycenaean tomb which was then professed by the city to belong to a specific hero and then used as the site of the figure's worship; other hero cults were not founded or celebrated based on tombs, rather the city claimed a relationship to them through the Homeric poems.[450] Examples of hero cults which have a particular connection to the ancestry and history of their relative poleis are: Menelaus at Sparta and Therapne, Ilos at Troy, Alcathoos at Megara, Danaos of Egypt at Argos, Theseus at Athens, and Amphion and Zetos in Thebes.[451] Without this claim to an esteemed past, the poleis of Sicily were not historically linked to any local ancestral tradition like the cities of the mainland, and therefore did not find any foundation for a main poliadic cult. The question is then why the Greeks did not simply import and replicate the kinds of ancestral traditions found in the mother country, but it has been made evident that mainland and Sikeliot poleis developed parallel to one another

[449] de Polignac 1995, p. 27 and 140.
[450] de Polignac 1995, p. 138-40.
[451] de Polignac 1995, p. 139-48.

and not necessarily sequentially as once believed. It is likely that poliadic deities on the mainland were dictated by longstanding traditions specific to the professed history of individual poleis, ancestral traditions to which they were proud to lay claim and provided a convenient basis for a polis identity. With newly settled communities like the *apoikiai*, no poliadic deity preceded their foundations. We must also remember that while settlers did indeed bring major aspects of Greek culture with them to the West, they additionally celebrated in their cults, art, and architecture local mythology (for example, the local heroes or mythological figures engraved on their coinage, or the popularity of the cult of Demeter and Kore). Without longstanding ancestral traditions, the Sikeliot settlers forged their own over time. These figures from local mythology are mostly nymphs, heroes, or river gods, and we only start seeing their importance in the late sixth to fifth centuries BC (as they appear on coinage), around a century or more after the initial settlement of most of the Sikeliot *apoikiai* (in comparison to the main cults already in existence at mainland sites rooted in tradition before the formation of these settlements into poleis during the Archaic Period).

So, then, what is the overall picture of the Sikeliot polis, and how did it constitute its identity within the Greek world? First to consider is the outward image of the Sikeliot polis as viewed by those outside of the polis: other Greeks, indigenous peoples of Sicily, and foreign groups overseas. It is not difficult to imagine how impressive an organized urban grid filled with monumental structures would have been to any audience; these majestic temples, often located on promontories within or surrounding the urban center,

rose above the city, vibrantly painted and elaborately decorated, and would have caught the attention of anyone approaching the city, even at a far distance. The remains of the urban temples at Akragas and Selinus standing tall over the hills of the site are still visible today approaching by sea or land. Public building programs undeniably made a powerful statement to the rest of the world, Greek and non-Greek alike, and leave any viewer with a sense of awe, intimidation, or both. Urban spaces were (and still are) a reflection of social life, and so these grand building programs were a reflection of a civic collective and the polis itself—its power, political authority, prosperity, and wealth—and the polis identity was in turn characterized and reinforced by these physical spaces.

The recent trend in discussions surrounding Archaic monumental architecture in the Greek West is to emphasize the meaning of temples as symbols of Greek identity which were especially crucial in solidifying the Greeks' position abroad.[452] This theory sounds appealing and is a convenient explanation for the rapid and abundant temple building that occurred in Greek settlements overseas, but, as Marconi reveals, the theory is more problematic than useful. First, it is based on the quantity of temples that remain in the archaeological record. It is true that colossal temples were favoured in marginal regions of the Greek world (such as Sicily and Asia Minor) during the Archaic Period, and the mainland has very little to offer today in this regard (one unfinished temple, the Olympieion in Athens), but does still boast a large number of monumental temples. It is wrong to assume that what is extant accurately reflects the building programs in their

[452] Marconi 2007, p. 29; See especially Höcker 1996, 68ff., and Osborne 1996, 262ff., as well as De Polignac's (1995, 98ff.) discussion of frontier sanctuaries in the Greek West.

entirety of either region.[453] Similarly, the view that the Greeks felt an exceptional desire to express their identity and secure their authority in stone by building numerous monumental temples in the *apoikiai* assumes an asymmetrical relationship between the Greeks and indigenous peoples. In his discussion regarding the use of the term "colonization" to describe the settlement of the Greeks abroad, Hall advises against assuming this kind of relationship (which is also implied when we use the term "colonization") existed. There is no definitive evidence that supports this assumption that one group was superior or exercised, at least consistently, this superiority over the other. Furthermore, the lack of any major military conflicts between the two groups suggests that they lived in their own regions of Sicily at least somewhat peacefully.[454] If the Greek settlers felt that their position in Sicily was being threatened, the argument that they had a desperate need to visually express their Greek identity and awe their opponents may logically follow. However, the fact that building fortification walls to surround the *apoikiai* was not a priority of the settlers at the time of their initial settlement disproves this.[455]

The most serious problem in attributing the building of monumental temples in the Sikeliot *apoikiai* to the desire to express their "Greekness" is the assumption that Hellenic identity existed from the late eighth and seventh century BC onwards.[456] Hall argues that the notion that Hellenic identity was defined at the margins of the Greek world fails to

[453] Marconi 2007, p. 29.
[454] Marconi 2007, p. 29ff.
[455] Barnow 2002, p. 41.
[456] For a more intensive discussion, see Hall 2002, Hall 2012, and Marconi 2007, p. 29ff.

account for variability in the type, intensity, and perception of the encounters between the Greeks and indigenous groups, which changed drastically from area to area. The Greeks must have still been aware of linguistic and cultural differences between themselves and the indigenous populations, but there is no evidence to suggest that they perceived these differences in Hellenic terms before the Classical Period.[457] More specifically, it is highly unlikely that any of the Greeks, abroad or at home, identified themselves in opposition to their non-Greek neighbours, or the "barbaroi" (a term also not in use at this time), before the Persian Wars in the fifth century BC.[458] It is more likely that the Greeks viewed their differences with the indigenous populations in civic or regional terms.

Most scholarship emphasizes the outward image of the polis and the view of outsiders, inferring that those most affected by, or the "focal audience" for, the urbanization and monumentalization of the civic centre is the world outside of the polis itself. There is a tendency to highlight the statement which the polis makes to the rest of the world by means of its impressive and authoritative urban grid and stone structures. It is only the efforts of recent work that acknowledge that the implications of these processes for the inhabitants of the polis itself are just as, if not more, noteworthy to our study of polis identity.[459] It is essential to understand the evolving civic space as an expression and reflection of the community of the polis, and therefore examine what kind

[457] Hall 2002, p. 121.
[458] Marconi 2007, p. 31; Hall suggests also that there never really seems to be a particularly strong level of identification with Hellenism and Hellenic consciousness in Sicily in any subsequent periods (2002, p. 122ff.)
[459] See Di Vita 1996, Hall 2002 and 2012, Marconi 2007, and Mertens 1996 and 2006.

of statement this made to the inhabitants of the polis and how it aided in both the formation and reinforcement of a polis identity.

Given the challenge of founding an entirely new settlement without much precedent or support from the mainland, the *apoikiai* in Sicily stand as testament to the cruciality of urbanization in the development and reinforcement of a polis identity. By the orthopraxic nature of Greek religion, sacred space was communal space for which areas within the urban grid were allotted from the initial point of settlement. The process of monumentalization aggrandized these spaces, and permanent stone temples testified to the importance of religious, and therefore communal, practice. The urbanization of the settlement made a strong statement to the growth, prosperity, wealth, and authority of the polis, both to outward audiences, such as indigenous peoples, foreign groups, and other Greeks, and to those living in the polis itself. Most significantly, the monumentalization of communal spaces, specifically the non-exclusive spaces of sanctuaries and shrines, spoke emphatically to the unity of the polis that perpetuated itself throughout the entire polis community. Sacred communal space physically brought together the polis as a civic collective in shared ritual practice. In this way, monumentalized sacred space was a physical manifestation of an abstract concept, the collective consciousness of those sharing this space. It was therefore primarily through the process of urbanization that the formation and reinforcement of polis identity was possible in the *apoikiai* of Sicily.

CONCLUSION

Urbanization in the Sikeliot *apoikiai* was the catalyst to the creation and reinforcement of polis identity from soon after the point of initial settlement onwards. A main priority of the Greek settlers was to first layout the foundations for an urban grid, and within this grid to designate space for ritual practice. This space was communal and brought polis inhabitants together publicly in shared practice towards a common goal. During the Archaic and Classical periods, this space was aggrandized, and the importance and permanence of religion was celebrated in stone temples with elaborate ornamental decoration and impressive votive offerings. Urbanization physically brought the polis together by means of an urban grid, allowing population, wealth, and prosperity to grow in the settlements so that these poleis then had the means to monumentalize religious space in this way. While the process of urbanization also occurred on the Greek mainland, it was not prior to the phenomenon taking place in Sicily, rendering the Sikeliot poleis simply as imitations of mainland poleis as once argued; rather urbanization in Sicily occurred over a timeline parallel to that of the mainland. The development of Sikeliot trends and even prototypes in temple architecture and urban planning confirm this in the material evidence. There is also no evidence of the *apoikiai* in Sicily ever adopting poliadic deities, a defining quality of polis identity within mainland poleis. Poleis in Sicily still achieved a sense of individualism from each other by way of their own traditions and mythology, either local (for example, the nymph Arethusa celebrated in Syracuse who is associated with a freshwater spring on Ortygia, or the river gods Gelas

and Selinus who are present on the coinage of their respective poleis) or regional (the image of the gorgon found particular popularity throughout Sicily, as did the cult of Demeter and Kore), and were also differentiated by their commercial outputs in trade and production. From the standpoint of social life, this lack of poliadic deities did not prevent the growth of a strong sense of civic identity within each Sikeliot polis. Their polis identities were not rooted in the cult practice of one deity in particular, but in cult practice itself, which fostered a collective consciousness among polis inhabitants by virtue of shared ritual practice, reinforced by the monumentalization of religious space and therefore religion in stone. This should force us to reconsider our understanding of polis identity on the mainland; while ancestral tradition and strong mythological roots assert the position of a poliadic deity in many mainland poleis and this relationship with the figure is a distinguishing characteristic of each city, it must be considered that, irrespective of the deity around which it was centered, it was the cult practice itself which united the people in communal space that was both civic and religious and affirmed and reaffirmed their polis identity.

Among the remains of Temple G at Selinus, archaeologist Francesco Cavallari discovered a large stone block broken into eight pieces. When reconstructed, the stone forms the base of a fifth century BC inscription naming a variety of deities belonging to the Selinuntine pantheon. Calder divides the inscription into two parts, the “Zeus-song” and the decree:

Thanks to the following gods the Selinuntines are victors.
Thanks to Zeus we are victors
And thanks to Fear
And thanks to Herakles
And thanks to Apollo
And thanks to Poseidon
And thanks to (the) Tyndaridae
And thanks to Athena
And thanks to Malophoros
And thanks to Pasikrateia
And thanks to the other gods
But thanks to Zeus above all.
Now since peace has come (the *boulē* and the people have decided) having beaten out (a shield) in gold and having pecked (into the shield) these (aforementioned) names, after they have engraved the Zeus-song, to deposit (the shield) in the Apollonion and (they have decided that) the gold-object be of sixty talents.[460]

Figure 60: The reconstructed base of the inscription from Temple G at Selinus

The inscription praises the gods for their part in one of Selinus' military victories and describes the elaborate thank offering that the people will dedicate to the gods in their piety. There is no single example from the archaeological record of Sicily that better illustrates the indeterminate orientation of poliadic cults in the *apoikiai* of Sicily and the

[460] Translation adapted from Calder 1963, p. 33 and 44.

broad pantheon of deities who are celebrated and whose cults are monumentalized in one polis. As is the case in Archaic and Classical Sicily, a poliadic deity was not integral to the formation and reinforcement of a polis identity; it was the gathering of inhabitants in a designated public space for the purpose of ritual practice itself that united the civic community in this collective consciousness.

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