

# ATHENS UNIVERSITY REVIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGY

ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΕΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ  
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟΥ  
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# Chalkidice

## The religious topography of the region during antiquity

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### ABSTRACT

*The collection and interpretation of information about the sanctuaries of Chalkidice during antiquity, which comprise the aims of this study, are based on the sources as well as the results of previous and recent archaeological research, without hard-and-fast chronological limits. The most important sites-cities of Chalkidice, where different populations lived, are discussed in light of historical course and development wherever this is possible. A number of important sanctuaries including those of Poseidon at Poseidi and Potidaea, of Dionysus and the Nymphs and later, Zeus Ammon at Aphytis, the imperial cult building complex at Kalindoia in Bottike, the sanctuary of Artemis at Sane in Pallene, and that of Apollo-Helios at Ouranopolis, were discovered during excavations, while others are attested in the ancient sources and inscriptions. We offer a presentation and commentary on portable finds, most of which are inscriptions and sculpture from sanctuary sites or which can be associated with such sites. We also endeavour to correlate ancient sites/cities with (primarily) epigraphic evidence coming from modern settlements/locations and providing religious information. We thus attempt to offer a comprehensive and diachronic assessment of the religious identity of Chalkidice.*

### A. INTRODUCTION

Today's Chalkidice is not identical to the geographical region called "Chalkidice" in antiquity, when the name referred to the area occupied by the Chalkideians in Sithonia and its hinterland. The latter must have settled there before the period of the colonization (eighth century BCE). Since the housing form and development of Chalkidice differed from that of the rest of Macedonia,<sup>1</sup> the area now called Chalkidice included not only the place where the Chalkideians had settled, but also colonies of cities of southern Greece,<sup>2</sup> Macedonian cities, and areas over which Hellenic tribes ranged (e.g. Bottike, Kroussis).<sup>3</sup> Barbarian populations were reported

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1 RE III.2: 2069–76, s.v. "Chalkidike" (Bürchner); Zahrnt 1971; Hatzopoulos 1988; Papazoglou 1988, 415–31; Westermarck 1988. Cf. *New Pauly* 3 (2003), 179–80, s.v. "Chalkidice" (M. Zahrnt).

2 On the colonization of Chalkidice, primarily by Euboeans see Tiverios 2002; 2008, especially 1–17; Abete 2008; Tiverios 2012; Stefani *et al.* 2019, 31–96.

3 For a discussion and review of the ancient sources, which appeared to separate Chalkidice and the colonies of the cities of southern Greece from Macedonia during the Archaic and Classical periods, see Xydopoulos 2006, 68, 70.

as having dominating Akte, the easternmost peninsula of Chalkidice. This region, extending between the Thermaic Gulf and Strymonic Gulf and lying south of the lakes Volve and Koroneia, and concluding in three smaller peninsulas (Pallene, Sithonia and Akte), was gradually and steadily incorporated into Macedonia.<sup>4</sup> Mount Cholomontas and Mount Chortiatis, known as *Kissos* (Κισσός)<sup>5</sup> during antiquity, also occupy this area. Our earliest information dates from the sixth and the fifth centuries BCE,<sup>6</sup> though it is not mentioned by this name, which is found in the work of the geographer Ptolemaeus<sup>7</sup> when referring to the whole peninsula.

Bottike occupied the center of the peninsula and belonged to the Bottiaeans, a Hellenic tribe which migrated to Chalkidice in the seventh century BCE, when the Macedonians drove them from their initial home in the valley between the river Haliacmon and the river Axios.<sup>8</sup> Their new home included a strip of land providing access to the sea northwest of Potidaea. Their center, Olynthus, was destroyed by Artabazus after 479 BCE and passed into the hands of the Chalkideians. During the fifth century BCE. Spartolus stands out among Bottiaean cities, while Kalindoia has been identified with the location Kalamoto in the area of Lagkadas. The valley of Anthemus in the northwest part of Chalkidice is a separate area which had belonged to the Macedonian kingdom since the fifth century BCE. During the Persian Wars, the cities of Chalkidice supported the Persians, and in the fifth century BCE they became members of the Athenian Alliance. During the Peloponnesian War, Chalkidice became a battlefield between the Athenians and the Spartans. During the same period, the Chalkideians formed a unit with Olynthus as its center until the latter's destruction in 348 BCE and the takeover of most of the area's cities by Philip the Second of Macedon. During the Hellenistic period, the center of control was transferred to Kassandria, a city founded by Kassandros in 315 BCE at the site of Potidaea.

However, despite their differences—which were largely the result of political choices—the cities of the peninsula of Chalkidice exhibited cultural relations, occasional political uniformity and interactions; cultural boundaries remained porous, particularly between neighboring regions and populations. This is why historical and archaeological research has to date considered Chalkidice a unified region, while pointing to historical changes that shaped and reshaped its geographical and political map. However, such references are primarily historical and topographical; only where applicable have they included approaches of a religious nature to excavated sanctuaries at specific sites. To date, however, there has been no assessment of the region's overall religious identity. The present study also considers Chalkidice a unified region. It traces and explores its sanctuaries during antiquity according to information provided by the sources and the results of older as well as more recent archaeological research, without hard-and-fast chronological limits. The study attempts to determine the religious identity of Chalkidice by utilizing information about its ancient sanctuaries according to both the sources and available archaeological data. Portable finds—primarily, inscriptions and sculpture—which come from sanctuary sites or can be associated with these are also considered. Taking into consideration, where possible, the history and development of Chalkidice's most important

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4 Papazoglou 1988, 415.

5 On the identification of Kissos with Chortiatis see Manoledakis 2007, 13–25.

6 On the sources and their interpretation see *infra* n. 7.

7 Chalkidica, Peninsula. *EAA*, Secondo Supplemento 1971–1974, I, Roma, 1994, 810–4 (J. Vokotopoulou) [=Vokotopoulos 2001, 543–50]. There are two main theories concerning the origin of Chalkidice's inhabitants later supported by other researchers: a) Harrisson (1912), who suggests that they were not Euboean colonists but rather an Ionic clan that formed part of a homonymous clan settled in Euboea. This theory was based on Herodotus, VII, 185, VIII 127, and b) Bradeen (1952), a theory based on the interpretation of later sources (Polybius, IX 28, 2) that they were in fact Euboean colonists.

8 Vokotopoulou 1990a, 119 (=Vokotopoulos 2001, 517); see *supra* n. 7, 811.



Fig. 1. Chalkidice. Cities, sites and sanctuaries.

sites and cities, their possible correlations are traced using primarily epigraphic evidence coming from modern settlements-sites and providing information about religion.

## B. CITIES, SITES AND SANCTUARIES (FIG. 1)

### *Dikaia*

A fourth century BCE<sup>9</sup> inscription from the greater area between the modern settlements of Nea Kallikrateia and Hagia Paraskevi, where the Eretrian colony of Dikaia was probably situated, includes a reconciliation agreement between two political parties in conflict and provides information about the religious life of the city. Three sanctuaries, including one of Athena, are recorded as having stood on the acropolis of ancient Dikaia. The mention for the first time of the Eretrian calendar month Daphnephorion presupposes a cult of Apollo (Daphnephoros) in Dikaia, with an annual feast, the Daphnephoria, as in the metropolis Eretria. Apollo must have been the patron deity and guarantor of oaths, as may be inferred from the text of the political oath, which includes the ritual of the *paratheke* (παραθήκη)<sup>10</sup>.

9 Voutiras and Sismanidis 2002; Voutiras 2008. Dikaia is almost unanimously identified as a site at the modern settlement of Nea Kallikrateia. On the numismatic evidence for Dikaia see Gatzolis 2010, 265–89. On the possible location of the ancient city see Papazoglou 1988, 202–3. On recent excavation activity in the area of Nea Kallikrateia see Bilouka and Graikos 2009.

10 The ritual of the *paratheke* (παραθήκη), including the meaning of an offering or a sacrifice on the altar of the

Apollo Daphephoros is mentioned, at least twice, in the text of the inscription. We may therefore infer that the city's most important sanctuary was dedicated to Apollo. There was also a sanctuary of Athena in Eretria, as attested by recent excavation reports. Dikaia's third sanctuary must have been dedicated to Artemis Amarysia, as Emmanuel Voutiras assumes.

### *Kalindoia*

A votive inscription, dated between 334/3 BCE and 304/3 BCE, from Kalamoto in Thessaloniki (ancient Kalindoia), mentions the names of the priests of Apollo and Asclepius,<sup>11</sup> who served annual terms. The sanctuary must have belonged to Apollo, who was the main deity in Bottike, as confirmed by the god's head on coins of the fourth century BCE.<sup>12</sup> The cult of Asclepius was incorporated later. The cult of Apollo in Bottike is also attested by an inscribed votive relief to Apollo Pythios and Artemis Hegemone dating to the first half of the second century BCE, which also comes from Kalamoto.<sup>13</sup> The above mentioned votive inscription provides a list of the succession of priests of Asclepius on a stone stele,<sup>14</sup> thus proving that they were the city's *eponymoi* (ἐπώνυμοι) (eminent citizens) and that such a text could be used for official dating. The stele is not an offering to Asclepius but to Apollo.<sup>15</sup> It is probable that there were also co-worshipped deities, as implied by other inscriptions from Kalamoto<sup>16</sup> attesting to a cult of Demeter.<sup>17</sup> There is also a statuette of Aphrodite, a Late Hellenistic variation of the Tiepolo Type.<sup>18</sup>

The results of relatively recent excavations (since 2003) have linked a public building (Fig. 2), most of whose structures were dedicated to the imperial cult<sup>19</sup> (in combination with the cult of Zeus and Rome), with previous finds, including an honorific decree of the first century CE (Inv. No MΘ 6921)<sup>20</sup> and a cuirassed statue now in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki (Inv. No MΘ 2663). The building remains at the site belong to three phases. The third, which has the most finds, is the imperial phase. In front of the temple there stood three structures which probably supported votive monuments. Marble statue fragments, part of a small altar, inscription fragments, and a marble pedestal for a bronze statue with a votive inscription to the emperor Trajan were found in this area. This inscription and part of a second inscription from the same area lead to the conclusion that the building functioned between 79 and 115 CE, whereas

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god (a part of an animal sacrificed or another offering), taken by the citizen who participates in the oath, is not attested elsewhere. On the issue see Voutiras and Sismanidis 2002, 267; Voutiras 2008, 789, 792.

11 Chatzinikolaou 2011, 73, 141 with bibliography.

12 Gaebler 1935, 51, no. 5–7, pl. I.7, XII.24–5.

13 Despinis *et al.* 1997, 93–5, no. 69, fig. 153 (Emm. Voutiras).

14 On the inscription see Vokotopoulou 1983; Hammond 1988; Badian 1989, 65–6, 69–70, no. 2; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1996, 110–7. Cf. *Bull. Épig.* 1988, 847; Riethmüller 2005, 322, no. 19; Chatzinikolaou 2011, 141.

15 There is a frequent phenomenon of the introduction of Asclepius' cult in a sanctuary that was previously dedicated to Apollo with the remark that the priests of the new god play a special role in the public life of the city. According to Voutiras (1989, 259–61), this is justified by the evidence provided in the text of the inscription from Kalindoia concerning the integration of the city of Kalindoia in Macedonia after the decision of Alexander the Third: [ἀφ' οἷ] βασιλεύς Ἀλέξανδρος ἔδωκε Μακεδόσι Καλίνδοια.

16 Sismanidis and Keramaris 1992, 399, fig. 2.

17 Pingiatoglou 1996, 912.

18 Despinis *et al.* 2003, 31, no. 168, fig. 446–7 (G. Despinis).

19 Sismanidis 2003a.

20 Sismanidis 1983.





Fig. 2. Kalindoia. General view of the Sevasteion complex (Areas A, B, C) (after Adam-Veleni 2008, 131 fig. 4 [K. Sismanidis]).

the rest of the finds date it between the late first century BCE and mid-third century CE.<sup>21</sup> One of the most important portable finds is a head of Athena (Minerva) with a Corinthian helmet, a piece that dates to the Imperial period and is probably a copy of a Classical work.<sup>22</sup> A colossal statue of the Prima Porta type depicting Octavian Augustus, a posthumous work probably dating to the Flavian era (several fragments were identified), with an inserted head were erected on an elongated built statue pedestal from one of the main areas (Area Γ). Also coming from this area is an inserted female portrait head, probably depicting Flavia Mysta, who is mentioned in an inscription dating to 86 CE, which came from the outskirts of Area Γ. According to the text, Flavia Mysta and her children built the temple of Kalindoia at their own expense, and left its maintenance to their fellow citizens. The statues of Flavia Mysta and her family were probably erected on pedestals at the complex (mainly Area Γ).<sup>23</sup> Additional areas, including a large limekiln containing several marble statue fragments, architectural members, and inscriptions, which seems to have been used immediately following the final destruction of the Sebasteion in the middle of the third century CE, complement the initial image of the complex. The earliest areas (A, B) date to the end of the first century BCE. This first temple was destroyed in the mid-first century CE and rebuilt together with Areas Γ and Δ.<sup>24</sup> The complex also had banquet and symposium halls for the monthly sacrifices in honor of Zeus and the emperor,<sup>25</sup> according to the well-known honorific decree of Kalindoia of the first century CE. Part of a statue of Hestia Boulaia was found next to a fifth area (Area E), which has been identified as a bouleuterion.<sup>26</sup> Spaces with an undetermined function and a statue pedestal with a series of niches also yielded portrait and architectural sculptures, a headless statuette of a seated Cybele,<sup>27</sup> and inscription fragments.<sup>28</sup>

21 Sismanidis 2003a.

22 On the head of Athena see Sismanidis 2003a, 150, 154, fig. 13–4. On similar heads see Despinis 1999.

23 Sismanidis 2003a.

24 Sismanidis 2004.

25 Sismanidis 2005.

26 Sismanidis 2006.

27 Sismanidis 2007.

28 Sismanidis 2008, 381–6. A periodic exhibition at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki included the presentation of the complex of the so-called Sebasteion of Kalindoia. A number of votive sculptures, honorific

The presence of Hera is implied in the reference of the month *Heraion* (Ἡραιών) in a *titulus* of the first half of the fourth century BCE from the location Kelli at Vrasta in Chalkidice.<sup>29</sup> The feast in honor of this deity, who was not generally popular in Macedonia,<sup>30</sup> would indicate the existence of a sanctuary in the area, though this is not attested. In contrast, there is a mention of a sanctuary of Artemis in a boundary inscription, dating to the period of Philip the Second's reign or the beginning of the third century BCE during the reign of Demetrios Poliorketes.<sup>31</sup> The text concerns the determination of the boundaries between the *komes* and cities of a semi-mountainous region, probably the inland area, which were settled after a royal letter to the involved communities of the Ramaioi, Paraipioi, Kisseitai, Osvaioi and Kallipolitai (the specific sites have so far proved difficult to identify). It was probably the greater area of southeastern Chalkidice lying between Bottike and Mygdonia and east of Chortiatis. A sanctuary of Artemis must be located in this area. The same epigraphic evidence provides information about the existence of a Hermeion and a Dioskoureion<sup>32</sup> in the wider area with the respective topographic references.

### *Olynthus*

There was a sanctuary of Artemis in Olynthus which is mentioned in the alliance treaty between Philip the Second and the Chalkideians.<sup>33</sup> The month of Artemision with a feast in honor of Artemis is found on an inscription of the fourth century BCE from the same city.<sup>34</sup> Hellenistic fragments of statuettes of Asclepius from Olynthus attest to the importance of his cult in the city, though there is no evidence of a sanctuary.<sup>35</sup>

### *Anthemus*

Ancient Anthemus<sup>36</sup> has not been located in excavations so far. Sites with extensive cemeteries

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and votive inscriptions from the area of the Sebasteion and its environs were exhibited, which provide information about the city of Kalindoia, its institutions, the priests and cults of Asclepius, Apollo, and Artemis during the Classical period, as well as the cult of Zeus, the goddess Rome and the emperor during the Roman period. See Adam-Veleni 2008. For a brief overview of the excavation data see Sismanidis 2009.

29 Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki Inv. No MΘ 10467. See Vokotopoulou 1986, 123–4 (=Vokotopoulos 2001, 419–20); Hatzopoulos 1988, 31–3, 80; Missailidou-Despotidou 1997, no. 52. The inscription is related with the region of Olynthus, a colony of the Chalkideians. The abovementioned hypothesis is based not only on the mention of the month of the Chalkideian calendar, which involved a feast in honor of the goddess, but on the use of the type οὐνή instead of ὠνή (*titulus*), which is frequent in similar examples from Olynthus, and the mention of the priest Kallipides that is attested in inscription texts of Olynthus. Cf. Chatzinikolaou 2011, 56 and n. 162–3.

30 Chatzinikolaou 2011, 54 ff.

31 Vokotopoulou 1986 (=Vokotopoulos 2001, 405–27); 1993a (=Vokotopoulos 2001, 628–47); Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, 123–45; Hatzopoulos 1996, 23–4, no. 4. Cf. Chatzinikolaou 2011, 82–3 and n. 422.

32 See supra n. 31.

33 Robinson 1934, 103–22; Bengtson 1975, 2:279–81, no. 308; Hatzopoulos 1996, 20–2, no. 2; Missailidou-Despotidou 1997, no. 4.

34 Hatzopoulos 1988, 80. Cf. Chatzinikolaou 2011, 84 and n. 447.

35 Despinis *et al.* 1997, 47–8, no. 29, fig. 58–61; Despinis *et al.* 2010, 22–3, no. 350, fig. 1056–9 (G. Despinis).

36 On Anthemus: RE 1.2:2369, s.v. "Anthemus" (G. Hirschfeld); Zahrnt 1971, 192–3; Hammond 1972, 190–1; DNP 1 (1996), 731, s.v. "Anthemus" (M. Zahrnt); Xydopoulos 2012, regarding the case of the devolution of the area to the Athenian tyrant Hippias by Amyntas the First. Specifically, on the site see Papazoglou 1988, 202–3; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, 35–9; Voutiras and Sismanidis 2002. K. Sismanidis (1987) had suggested the location "Toumba Aggelake" of Hagia Paraskevi in Thessaloniki, where there was an archaic cemetery, as a possible identification with ancient Anthemus. On the above suggestion see Sismanidis 1987, 788 n. 2, 802; Descamps-Lequime and Charatzopoulou 2011, 657 [K. Sismanidis]. The site is identified with the area of



Fig. 3. Statuette of Aphrodite. Galatista, Chalkidice. (after Despinis *et al.* 2003, fig. 442).

in the valley of the river Anthemus claim possible association with the ancient adjacent settlement. The finds that have been collected or turned over to museums attest to cults and consequently the existence of sanctuaries in the ancient city. An inscription from the possible region of Anthemus<sup>37</sup> attests to the cult of Demeter. The attested cult of the Egyptian gods, and obviously the existence of a sanctuary, is confirmed in an inscription of the late first century BCE from the area of the Christian church of Saint Paraskevi at Galatista, on which is written "the priestess has repaired" (ἡ ἱέρεια ἐπέσκεύασεν),<sup>38</sup> possibly a reference to the cult statue in the corresponding sanctuary. The cult is also attested in a votive inscription to Isis, Sarapis, and Anubis.<sup>39</sup> The pedestal of a votive offering by two *agoranomoi* (agora inspectors), lost today, bore a dedication inscription to the gods of the Agora. It came from Galatista and dated to 106/5 BCE.<sup>40</sup> Finally, sculptures depicting deities and coming from Galatista and the Hagia Paraskevi area (Saint Paraskevi) can probably be correlated with possible sanctuaries of the city of Anthemus. These include Late Hellenistic fragments of statuettes of Aphrodite and her court<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 3) and perhaps statuettes of Pan dating to the Roman period.<sup>42</sup>

### Stageira

Three sacred edifices and the remains of smaller related buildings were found on the northern hill of the area where the building remains of the ancient city of Stageira were discovered. Specifically, there is: a) a hecatompedon temple of the sixth century BCE that has been partially revealed, together with numerous architectural members; b) a small sanctuary of the sixth

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Galatista in Chalkidice.

37 Hatzopoulos 1996, 88, no. 68, pl. LX with previous bibliography; Pingiatoglou 1996, 912.

38 Vokotopoulou 1983 [1989], 279; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, 52-3, pl. 12,1-2; Christodoulou 2009, 335.

39 Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, 51-2.

40 Grammenos 2011, 789, no. 3 (M.B. Hatzopoulos).

41 Despinis *et al.* 2003, 30, no. 167, fig. 442-5 (G. Despinis), 31, no. 169, fig. 436-8, 63-4, no. 199, fig. 555-8 (B. Schmidt-Douna).

42 Despinis *et al.* 2010, 110, no. 443, fig. 1357 (G. Despinis).



century BCE with an altar and a sacrificial *eschara*, dedicated to an unknown female deity, that yielded portable finds, mostly female clay figurines, figurines of Dionysus, and lamps, and c) a circular building of the same period probably to be identified as a thesmophorion.<sup>43</sup>

Excavation in Stageira during the 1990s showed that the city expanded over both the northern and southern hills of the homonymous peninsula. They also revealed the material remains of the archaic temple a) atop the northern hill<sup>44</sup> (site "Liotopi"), where the first habitation of the city by colonists from Andros is attested around the mid-seventh century BCE (part of the fortifications, houses, and sanctuaries). The expansion of the settlement over the adjacent southern hill dates to the early fifth century BCE.<sup>45</sup> According to the written sources,<sup>46</sup> the structure uncovered on the northern hill was a Late Archaic temple of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira. Parts of marble architectural and portrait sculptures, metopes or (possibly) a frieze, examples of Ionic sculpture datable to the second half of the sixth century BCE, came to light. The excavator combined the in situ finds with a previously-unknown find in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, an inscribed stone stele with no indications of origin bearing the inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (Zeus Soter), which might be attributable to this temple.<sup>47</sup> This identification remains doubtful, however, given that the Archaeological Museum's inscription provides no information that could be connected with the temple of Stageira.

### *Olympiada, site "Mavrolakkas"*

A square stone construction with a sacrificial *eschara* in the center, used for the slaughtering of large animals according to the excavator's assumptions,<sup>48</sup> may have been connected with the presence of a large sanctuary.

## B. 1 PALLENE – KASSANDRA

During the Archaic and the Classical periods in Chalkidice, in addition to colonies and local settlements there were important sanctuaries built which continued to function in later periods. The colonies of the cities of southern Greece, especially in Pallene, flourished during this period. The fifth century BCE was a period of war with all its negative consequences: the Persian Wars, followed by a brief period of peace interrupted by the Peloponnesian War with the participation of the cities of Pallene<sup>49</sup> at heavy cost to themselves.<sup>50</sup> In the mid-fourth century BCE Philip the Second took over the peninsula and according to Demosthenes<sup>51</sup> he destroyed 32 cities. The conclusions of the excavators of the cities of Chalkidice confirm the fourth century destruction,<sup>52</sup> as well as these cities' later survival until they were abandoned

43 Rhomiopoulou 1999, 130; Sismanidis 1996 [2001]; Vokotopoulou 2001, 760; Sismanidis 1999, 136–7, fig. 38–9; 2003b, 63, 66–8, 70–3, 75–81, 89–93.

44 On Stageira see Zahrnt 1971, 238–43; Papazoglou 1988, 435 and Sismanidis 2012 with previous bibliography and references to the sources; on the site itself see Sismanidis 2012, 400 and n. 1.

45 Sismanidis 2012, 400.

46 Diogenes Laertius, 5.

47 Sismanidis 2012.

48 Sismanidis 2000, 350–1. Cf. the monumental altar of Zeus at Dion in Pieria (Pandermalis 1998, 291–2).

49 Thucydides, I 56–7, II 70; Diodorus, XII 41, XVI 8.

50 Thucydides, IV 121, 124, 129.

51 Demosthenes, Third Philippic 117.

52 Tsigarida and Papadimitriou 2009, 426 and n. 49. Cf. the case of the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon in Aphytis, a city that was destroyed in an earthquake (see Missailidou-Despotidou 2004, 120).

after the founding of Kassandreia in 315 BCE. During the Roman period the sporadic continued operation of a few earlier sanctuaries is however attested by repairs of their buildings and some new additions.

### *Potidaea - Kassandreia*<sup>53</sup>

The cult of Poseidon seems to have enjoyed a long tradition and great appeal in the peninsula of Kassandra. The toponym Potidaea of the Corinthian colony of Pallene attests to the spread of the god's cult in Chalkidice.<sup>54</sup> The cult tradition of the area seems to have influenced the founding of the city by Kassandros<sup>55</sup> in the Hellenistic period since Poseidon and his symbols were depicted on coinage issues of Kassandreia dating to the second and first century BCE.<sup>56</sup> However, Poseidon's presence more generally in Macedonia, apart from his sanctuaries in Potidaea<sup>57</sup> and on Cape Poseidi,<sup>58</sup> where the god was in direct contact with the sea and the old cult, is comparatively rarer than the cults of the other Olympian gods. The conclusions of excavation research regarding the sanctuaries of Potidaea and later Kassandreia are unclear due to the existence of two cities that were founded in different periods at the same location. From them, the following may be noted: a sanctuary was excavated in Potidaea outside the walls<sup>59</sup> with a temple of the fifth century BCE that seems to have been abandoned in the mid-fourth century.<sup>60</sup> Doric capitals from the area possibly belonged to a temple of Poseidon outside the city's north wall.<sup>61</sup> Recent excavation has revealed the foundations of a monumental rectangular edifice southwest of the modern village of Nea Potidaia facing the Thermaic Gulf. The excavator assumes that this temple —identified in previous research as the temple of Poseidon<sup>62</sup>— is Roman. This issue remains unclear.<sup>63</sup> The remains of a building made of stonework with a circular construction for offerings in the center, which were found in a public complex and date to the Classical period, have led to the assumption that this was also a religious building.<sup>64</sup>

In a comprehensive presentation of earlier and more recent finds from the site of a sanctuary, revealed in a series of rescue excavations (1991-94, 1998) southeast of the modern settlement of Potidaea, recent research has shown it to be a complex with rectangular spaces around a cobblestone court with a main building phase in the Hellenistic period which is perhaps to be identified as Potidaea's Metroon. Clay figurines of Cybele and Attis are the commonest portable finds. Research at lower levels revealed Archaic phases. The study of the data leads to the conclusion that during the Archaic period this area was a sanctuary of an as-yet unidentified deity. Its founding may have been connected with the founding of the city by the Corinthians, as attested by numerous Corinthian offerings and vases. The excavators assume that it was

53 On the area see Alexander 1963. On Kassandreia see Alexander 1968, 127-46; Papazoglou 1988, 424-6.

54 On the cult of Poseidon in Macedonia see Chatzinikolaou 2011, 58-61.

55 Zahrnt 1971, 214-8.

56 Gaebler 1935, 53, no. 10, pl. XIII.10.

57 On the possible identification of the area of the sanctuary see Herodotus, 8, 129; Alexander 1963, 23-4; Kousoulakou 2000, 321-9. Cf. Chatzinikolaou 2011, 60 and n. 208.

58 *Infra* n. 71.

59 Vokotopoulou 1997, 69 (=Vokotopoulos 2001, 719).

60 See n. 56. Cf. Tsigarida and Papadimitriou 2009, 426.

61 Vokotopoulou 2001, 749.

62 Woodward 1929, 234.

63 Kousoulakou 2000, 325-7.

64 Kousoulakou 2000.

dedicated to a female deity, perhaps Demeter, who had an organized sanctuary in Corinth; the colonists transferred her cult to Potidaea.<sup>65</sup>

A votive relief from Potidaea dating to the late fourth century BCE attests to the cult of the Mother of the Gods together with the cult of the Korybantes<sup>66</sup> and may be related to the aforementioned Metroon, while the text containing the aretalogy of Isis<sup>67</sup> presumes the existence of a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods and their respective cult.

Inscriptions from Kos<sup>68</sup> attest to the cult of Asclepius in Kassandreia, which participated along with Amphipolis, Pella, and Philippoi in the new Panhellenic festival in honor of the god. This festival was first organized in 242 BCE. There was probably a sanctuary that would have met its particular religious needs.

### *Sane in Pallene*

An open-air sanctuary, probably of Artemis, was located and excavated south of the settlement of Sane, a colony of the Eretrians. This cult, which displays clear similarities with that of Artemis Ephesia, dates between the seventh and the fourth century BCE.<sup>69</sup>

### *Mende - Poseidi*

The site of Poseidi<sup>70</sup> had the oldest known sanctuary of Poseidon in Macedonia. The origin of the cult can be dated to the eleventh or the tenth century BCE.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, it is the earliest known sanctuary in Chalkidice. At this site was the sanctuary of Mende,<sup>72</sup> a colony of the Eretrians, situated outside the walls and revealed along the southern coast of the cape. This important sanctuary was dedicated to Poseidon Pontios, and his cult<sup>73</sup> started from the Late Mycenaean period and continued until the Late Hellenistic period with an unclear gap during the ninth century BCE. The remains of a large ash-altar date to the twelfth century BCE, while the first apsidal cult building—the oldest Hellenic building in northern Greece—dates to the tenth century BCE. Various Hellenic cult practices with sacrifices and offerings also appeared at

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65 Kousoulakou and Kousoulakou 2002. The preliminary excavation report (Kousoulakou 2000 [2009], 702–4, fig. 34–6) mentions that a sanctuary complex was explored at the southeastern end of the settlement of Potidaea during construction works to provide access to the canal's new bridge. Two buildings (A and B) with construction phases dating to the Archaic and Classical periods were revealed. Figurines of Attis are among the portable finds. According to the excavator this area is probably connected with that of earlier excavations (1928) by S. Pelekidis that resulted in the locating of the Roman temple of Poseidon, which according to the sources (Herodotus, VIII 129) was outside the city. The correlation between recent and older excavation data remains unclear.

66 Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1973.

67 Veligianni and Kousoulakou 2001.

68 Hergoz and Klaffenbach 1952, 6.1, 7.1. Cf. Giovannini 1973, 465–6; Voutiras 1989, 258 and n. 35; Chatzinikolaou 2011, 140 and n. 988.

69 Vokotopoulou 1989 (=Vokotopoulos 2001, 453–99); Tsigarida and Papadimitriou 2009, 426. On the identification of Sane see Tiverios 1989, 57–63; Vokotopoulou 1989, 179–80 [=Vokotopoulos 2001, 453–4] and previous bibliography. Large quantities of Ionic pottery from the votive offerings to the sanctuary are mentioned. See also Vokotopoulou 2001, 756–7.

70 Thucydides, IV 14, VIII 129, VII 115.2; Strabo, VII 32.

71 Vokotopoulou 1990b; 1991; 1992; 1993b; 1996, 325–6 (=Vokotopoulos 2001 685–6); 2001, 753–5; Knoepfler 2000; Tiverios 2002, 10–3, 16. On the votive inscription to Poseidon Pontios see Missailidou-Despotidou 1997, no. 20. Cf. Chatzinikolaou 2011, 60 and n. 208.

72 On Mende see Papazoglou (1988, 428).

73 Knoepfler (2000), who studied the sources and inscriptions of Eretrian origin, suggests that the cult is of Eretrian origin.



Fig. 4. Aphytis. The temple of Zeus Ammon (after Tsigarida 2011, 170 fig. 6).

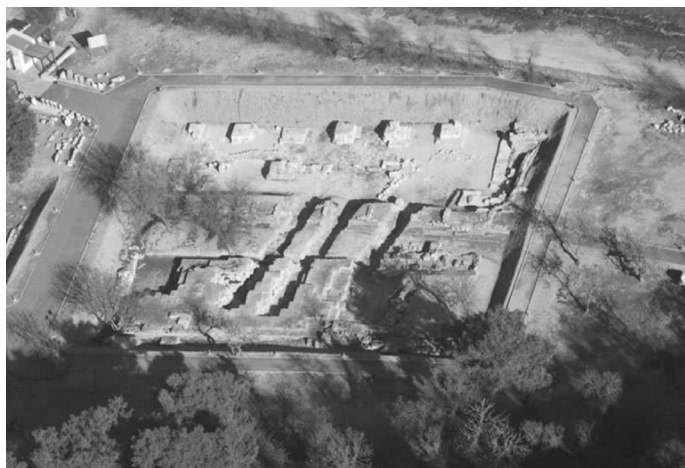


Fig. 5. Aphytis. Aerial photograph of the temple and open air corridor flanked by the two rows of monumental basis (after Tsigarida 2011, 173 fig. 14).

this site along with the Euboeans in the twelfth century BCE and continued until the Hellenistic period.<sup>74</sup> A total of three successive temples, an altar, and numerous deposits and places of sacrifice are mentioned. The inscribed altar dedicated to the worshipped deity dates to the early fourth century BCE.<sup>75</sup>

The remains of what was probably a public building of the Classical and Hellenistic periods and perhaps of a smaller sanctuary are visible on the adjacent hill of "Pyrgos"<sup>76</sup> (near Poseidi).

According to the excavators a temple was probably located at the site "Vigla" in Mende, on the acropolis of the ancient city. Portable finds include a clay antefix with a gorgoneion relief.<sup>77</sup>

### *Aphytis (Fig. 4-5)*

There was a sanctuary of Dionysus dating to the eighth century BCE in Aphytis. A temple of Zeus Ammon was built at the same site during the first half of the fourth century BCE.<sup>78</sup> Excavation research in the wider area north of the sanctuary, conducted from 2003 onwards, has shown that the first use of the site dates to the Early Iron Age. The temple of Zeus Ammon in the sanctuary and the stoa, which was located at the lower level of the building plot and seems to have been integrated into the sanctuary building program, were built in the fourth century BCE. The stoa formed the northern boundary of the sanctuary and was used as a

74 Tiverios 2002, 10–3, 16.

75 Vokotopoulou 2001, 753–5. For the results of a small supplementary excavation in the southern part of the area, where there are pyres and traces of rituals, see Moschonissioti 1994 [1999], 458. The excavator detects a destruction of the area during the ninth century BCE.

76 Tsigarida and Papadimitriou 2009, 426.

77 Vokotopoulou 1996, 321–2 (=Vokotopoulos 2001, 681–2); 2001, 752.

78 The sanctuary was discovered in 1969 in the territory ("*chora*") of Aphytis, south of the settlement. (Leventopoulou-Yiouri 1971; Voutiras 2000 with previous bibliography). On the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon at the same site see Vokotopoulou 2001, 749. On recent excavation research: Tsigarida and Vassileiou 2003; 2005. An investigation was recently carried out in the cave of the historical period connected with the sanctuary and known as the cave of the sanctuary of Dionysus since the beginning of the 1970s. It consists of a travertine cave and artificial tunnel, which according to the excavators was a water collection project, a type of channel leading to the temple (no longer in use today): Poulaki-Pandermali and Vaxevanopoulos 2004; Tsokas *et al.* 2005. On the designation and configuration of the archaeological site of the sanctuary and supplementary excavation research, which revealed numerous portable finds, mostly inscriptions attesting to the cult of the god and addressing the issue of the temple's dating, see Acheilara *et al.* 2008.

reception area for visitors. A part of the temple and stoa were destroyed in the early third century BCE. The temple was repaired and remained in use during the Roman period, while the stoa was abandoned and demolished. North of the sanctuary there were buildings and constructions datable to the first and the second century CE (a kiln, a tripartite space, a bath, etc.). The sanctuary was destroyed or abandoned during the fourth century CE and its north section was used as a cemetery during Byzantine times. A cave, a monumental staircase, cult buildings and a fountain building are connected with the cult of Dionysus. The temple of Zeus Ammon seems to have been included in a monumental building program<sup>79</sup> with different phases.<sup>80</sup> The reading of the name of Asclepius in the text of the inscription of a votive altar or base of a votive offering of the early second century BCE<sup>81</sup> from the area of the old sanctuary of Dionysus testifies to the importance of the cult to the Kassandreians and justifies its inclusion among the area's famous old sanctuaries. The sanctuary, which was successively dedicated to three related deities, remained important during the Roman period, when new buildings and a balneum were added. It may have been the only sanctuary in Pallene that survived in the Roman period. Excavation on plots north of the expropriated area of the sanctuary has revealed a large part of a bath and auxiliary rooms in its northwestern section, which are connected with the sanctuary. The coins found here date the use of the bath between the mid-second century CE and the end of the fourth century CE. The size, features, and public character of the bath inside the sanctuary place it in the category of balneums, which are generally rare in sanctuaries. The excavators assume that the bath was connected with therapeutic cures.<sup>82</sup> The sanctuary was destroyed during the reign of Theodosius the Great.<sup>83</sup>

### *Paliouri, Cape Kanastraion*

The testimony of the sources<sup>84</sup> and archaeological remains indicate the existence of a sanctuary of Apollo at Cape Kanastraion, near the modern settlement of Paliouri.<sup>85</sup> Although excavations have not been conducted, there are visible walls and parts of columns in the sea that may come from an ancient temple. An Ionic capital built into the Christian church of Saint Nikolaos at the tip of the cape might have been part of the superstructure of the same building. The votive inscription with the words Ἀπόλλωνι Καναστραίῳ from the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon<sup>86</sup> attests to a cult of this name, and the cult epithet's toponymic significance supports the abovementioned hypothesis for the presence of a sanctuary of Apollo near the cape.

A Hellenistic building on the hillside above the gulf of Hagios Georgios, in the southwest

79 It is a Doric peripteral temple. Monumental sanctuaries in Macedonia are usually found in colonies of the cities of southern Greece. See Schmidt-Douna 2002, 463-4. On Aphytis, a colony of the Eretrians, and the sanctuary see Xenophon, *Hellenica* V 3, 19; Zahrnt 1971, 167-9; Papazoglou 1988, 427-8; Missailidou-Despotidou 2004; 2007, 322.

80 Tsigarida 2011 with a comprehensive review of the results and conclusions of previous and recent excavation research.

81 The object is kept at the Saint Panteleimon's Monastery on Mount Athos and comes from a dependency of the monastery in the coastal area of Kallithea in Chalkidice (Voutiras 1989, 258-9, 265, fig. 3). Cf. Chatzinikolaou 2011, 140 and n. 991-2; Tsigarida 2011, 179.

82 Tsigarida and Vassileiou 2005; Tsigarida 2011, 178-80.

83 Tsigarida and Papadimitriou 2009, 426 and n. 43.

84 Strabo, VII 32 and 25; Livius, XXXI 45, 15; Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. "Kanastron", Scylax of Caryanda, *Periplus*, Amsterdam 1739, 25 Καναστραῖον τῆς Παλλήνης ἱερὸν ἀκρωτήριον.

85 Tsigarida and Papadimitriou 2009, 426.

86 Leventopoulou-Yiouri 1971, 360-1, fig. 9; Michaud 1972, 730, 736, fig. 339. Cf. Chatzinikolaou 2011, 73 and n. 335.



part of the peninsula of Pallene near the baths of Hagios Nikolaos, has been interpreted as a sanctuary without any indication about the identity of the worshipped deity.<sup>87</sup>

## B.2 SITHONIA

### *Hagios Nikolaos*

An inscription dating between the second and the third century CE from Hagios Nikolaos in Chalkidice provides information about the construction of a temple of Zeus Hypsistos by a couple of Antiocheans (Ἀντιοχιδέων)<sup>88</sup> and indicates the existence of the cult and a sanctuary of the god, probably at a neighboring site. M. Zahrnt assumes that the site of ancient Siggos is near Hagios Nikolaos, whereas F. Papazoglou, who accepts the above assumption, mentions that the city Siggos existed during the Roman period, to which the aforementioned inscription and the respective cult are dated.<sup>89</sup>

### *Torone – Peninsula of Lekythos*

Thucydides<sup>90</sup> mentions that there was a temple dedicated to Athena on the peninsula of Lekythos at Sithonia in Chalkidice.<sup>91</sup> This is the only testimony in the sources regarding the cult of this goddess in Macedonia. The site is associated with Torone in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Modern archaeological investigation has endeavored to locate the sanctuary<sup>92</sup> by correlating the fragments of Doric architectural members found in the fill of a Hellenistic water reservoir on Lekythos. Thucydides also mentions a Dioskoureion about three stades from the city of Torone.<sup>93</sup> However, the exact location of this sanctuary remains uncertain.

### *Parthenonas*

A sanctuary of the Archaic period is mentioned next to the modern settlement of this name, where a brief rescue excavation brought to light traces of sacrifices and archaic pottery. The sherds include a black-glazed vase with the inscription ΔΙΟΣ.<sup>94</sup>

## B.3 AKTE

### *Akanthus*

The rescue excavation at the site "Alonia" on the southern hill of the area inside the ancient city of Akanthus,<sup>95</sup> a colony of the Andrians, revealed the foundations of a temple that probably dates to the Classical period.<sup>96</sup> The excavator assumes that it was a temple of Athena. However,

87 Tsigarida and Papadimitriou 2009, 427.

88 Papangelos 2002. Cf. Chatzinikolaou 2011, 45–6 and n. 75.

89 Zahrnt 1971, 226–9; Papazoglou 1988, 430–1.

90 Thucydides, IV 116.2.

91 Chatzinikolaou 2011, 89–90 and n. 499.

92 Modern investigation was carried out by the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens. See Cambitoglou *et al.* 2001, 18–9, 74, 201, 264, 269–70.

93 Thucydides, IV 110.1.

94 Vokotopoulou 1996, 327, pl. 49a-b (=Vokotopoulos 2001 687).

95 On Akanthus see Thucydides, IV 84; 1. Zahrnt 1971, 146–50; Papazoglou 1988, 433–4.

96 Trakosopoulou 1995 [2000], 482–3; Trakosopoulou 1996 [2001], 451–2 (preliminary reports). Cf. Chronique

both the identity of the worshipped deity and the building's date remain for the present uncertain.

### *Sane – Ouranopolis*

A sanctuary containing two buildings was revealed southwest of the modern settlement of Nea Roda, near the ancient settlements of Sane, a colony of the Andrians founded in the seventh century BCE,<sup>97</sup> and Οὐρανιδῶν πόλιν (Ouranopolis), a city founded by Alexarchos, the brother of Kassandros, in 315 BCE.<sup>98</sup> One of the buildings is a Late Archaic *oikos* in antis with clay statues of Nikes for the decoration of the roof as acroteria,<sup>99</sup> and the other a Hellenistic temple with a pronaos, cella, three entrances, built pedestal, and ritual hearth. The portable finds, which include octahedral clay vases with astral symbolism—perhaps used for libations—an—a marble head with pyramidal termination, which is interpreted as the god Helios, lead to the assumption that it was dedicated to the cult of Helios; there are no corresponding indications for the worshipped deity(-ies) in the archaic building. The excavators are probably correct to assume that the cult of Helios, which was introduced to the archaic temple (probably dedicated to Apollo) and followed by the building of a new temple while the old one was still in use, was a new cult after the military campaign of Alexander the Great.<sup>100</sup> Apollo and Helios were worshipped in the Late Archaic and Hellenistic periods, respectively. According to the excavators<sup>101</sup> the older sanctuary, which belonged to Apollo, is connected with Sane, the colony of the Andrians.

Finally, regarding the part of Akte<sup>102</sup> that today belongs to Mount Athos recent research has endeavored to locate and record ancient artifacts in the collections of the monasteries of Mount Athos that come from sites on Mount Athos and areas of Chalkidice where monastery dependencies are situated. Votive inscriptions from the sanctuaries of Dionysus and later Zeus Ammon at Aphytis in Chalkidice are stored at Saint Panteleimon Monastery. Sculptures and reliefs are kept in a crypt in Docheiariou Monastery, while a votive relief is kept in the collection of Chelandariou Monastery. A built-in inscribed votive relief dedicated to Artemis Agrotera was found over the entrance of the refectory of the Monastery of Great Lavra. A built-in herm was found in Kastamonitou Monastery.<sup>103</sup> Their correlation with specific sanctuaries and settlements of Akte remains uncertain.

## C. CONCLUSIONS

Chalkidice, a separate part of northern Greece, was an attraction, as well as a bone of contention for many populations and their respective rulers. Generally, historical and archaeological

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Archéologique, *Kernos* 15 (2002), 436 and *Kernos* 16 (2003), 321 (Emm. Voutiras and K. Chatzinikolaou); Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1996, 301-3, fig. 7-8. It is a peripteral temple of a so far undefined rhythm (Schmidt-Douna 2002, 464-6).

97 Herodotus, VII 2; Thucydides, IV 18, 6; Tsigarida 1996, 1238.

98 Strabo, VII 35; Zahrnt 1971, 209 ff.; Papazoglou 1988, 431-2; Papangelos 1989, 1155-87.

99 Vokotopoulou 1996, 326-7 (=Vokotopoulos 2001, 686-7); 2001, 761.

100 Vokotopoulou and Tsigarida 1994 [1999], 461; Tsigarida 1996 [2001], 450-1; 1996. A fragmentary boundary inscription of the second half of the fifth century BCE, found south of the Hellenistic temple, attests to the continuation of the sanctuary's function in the Classical period (Tsigarida 1999, 151-6 with previous bibliography).

101 Tsigarida and Tsolakis 2004, 191-2, n. 3, 194.

102 Chovardas 2007, 92-140.

103 Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 399-401, fig. 8, 10.

research has considered Chalkidice as a unified region and pointed to historical changes that successively shaped its geographical and political map. In order to delineate the religious character of the peninsula of Chalkidice and its inland, as imprinted on the geographical map of the area, a mixed methodology had to be conducted since it was not a population with a single unified identity; rather, many populations inhabited an area where nothing was obvious and smoothly developing through time. Religion as a value system is significant in determining the identity of the populations of a region and is it determined by this identity. Hellenic tribes, indigenous populations, colonists from southern Greece, the Macedonians, and finally the Romans, all contributed to the formation of the religious identity of Chalkidice during antiquity to the extent that modern researchers have the chance to observe and the ability to interpret many religious phenomena and their interactions as these were shaped by successive historical conditions and developments.

This text is a topographic study based on the collection of evidence of a religious content from known ancient cities and modern sites that may be associated with them. Therefore, the purpose of the present study is mostly to design a topographic diagram taking into consideration the cults and not necessarily to deal with the history of the religions. We must seriously consider that the sample in archaeology is generally random, sometimes being only one inscription, just as in Dikaia. During the last decade the excavation results in Chalkidice are meager regarding antiquity, especially for the sanctuary sites that are examined in this study. However, the preceding tracking allows us to ascertain that the Olympian Gods were worshipped in Chalkidice, such as some deities of Anatolian origin that had had Greek interpretation. The identity of the population each time determines the preferences and the value system that religion expresses in the whole area and at great time length. The deities of the metropolises were worshipped in the colonies of southern Greece and the islands of the Aegean Sea, Kassandra and part of Sithonia, whereas the presence of other inhabitants, possibly of Thracian origin, seems to shape a more closed and silent landscape in Akte with the exception of the small antiquity collections of the area of Mount Athos, where the presence of Greek deities is apparent. The Hellenistic period seems to mark on a case-by-case basis the change in the habits, such as the case of the temple of Apollo in Nea Roda that was converted into the temple of Helios, probably with the concurrent introduction of a new cult after the military campaign of Alexander the Great or the case of Aphytis with a continuation of the use of the sanctuary of Dionysus and later Zeus Ammon during the Roman period, as well.

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