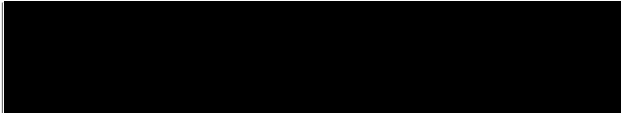


PILGRIMS
AND
PILGRIMAGE
IN THE
HELLENIC WORLD

A THESIS SUBMITTED BY M. P. J. DILLON,
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FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.



Frontispiece: A HERALD'S KERYKEION, SYRACUSE.

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PREFACE

This thesis, the aim of which is to evaluate the nature of pilgrimage in the Hellenic world, was started in 1983, after completion of an M.A. degree in 1987 at the University of Queensland, and has been assisted by a scholarship provided by the Australian Government, which allowed me to travel extensively in Greece between Sept. 1991 and Feb. 1992, visiting and studying the sacred sites covered in this work, and making extensive use of the library facilities in Athens. Since commencing my candidature, I have been working full-time in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of New England, and I would like to thank certain of my colleagues for their help and forbearance over this period, especially my Head of Department, Professor Trevor Bryce, for helping to arrange my leave of absence overseas, and also Dr. Lynda Garland, Dr. Minor Markle, and Assoc. Prof. Greg Stanton, for reading a draft of the thesis in late 1992. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. N. G. L. Hammond and Prof. J. Ober for reading a previous draft of chapter one, and for making valuable comments on its content and presentation. I would also like to thank participants at the conferences and seminars listed below, who gave encouragement and constructive criticism on the various occasions when I gave papers on topics related to the thesis: *International Seminar on Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, University of New England (1989); *Australian Society for Classical Studies*, Perth (1991); *Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens* (1992); *Australian Society for Classical Studies*, Canberra (1992). All faults and errors of interpretation in the work are, of course, my own.

While, in the transliteration of Greek words into English, the original spelling has been preserved as far as possible, this has still presented difficulties, as the move towards letter for letter transliteration leads to unfamiliar references (hence Aeschylus and Plutarch are used, rather than Aiskhylos or Ploutarkhos). I have generally translated titles of ancient works into English, except where the Latin title proves more familiar to the reader. The dialogues of Lucian are thus left with Latin titles: *Salt...*, rather than English *Dance* or Greek *Peri Orkhesseos*, has seemed most appropriate, and, for Plutarch, *Moralia* is used, rather than the Greek *Ethika* as is sometimes found. Well-known place names have been retained in their Latinised forms: Boeotia, not Boiotia, Attica not Attika, but, for places less familiar, a closer transliteration has seemed appropriate: for example, Lykosoura, Oropos. Some allowance has been made for dialect, for example, in the case of Andromakha of Apeiros, the personal name has been left as it appears in the text, while the place is left in its familiar form: she thus appears as Andromakha of Epeiros. In italicising Greek terms transliterated

into English, the practice adopted here has been to italicise on the principle of frequency of use in the thesis; words such as *theoroi* occur so frequently that they become familiar, while *arkhitheoros*, a related word, retains a technical aura, and is therefore italicised.

Inscriptions are generally cited as follows: *I. Magn.* 16.13-15 (referring to number of the inscription (16) and line numbers (.13-15)) and *pp.* and *lines* are only given in footnotes when necessary; for example, in citing inscriptions from *Hesperia*, the page, number (if appropriate) and line numbers are given, in order to avoid confusion over the reference. *SEG* numbers are generally only given when they do not duplicate other references. In referring to fragments the source of the fragment is given if this has been sighted, along with the editor, e.g. Hyp. fr. 32.111 (Harp. *s.v.* ἑλληνοδίκαι) (Kenyon). Despite my stay in Athens there are, unfortunately, still a small number of monographs and articles and primary sources to which I have not had access. Cross-references within the thesis are by note number: at ch. 3 n. 2 the entry “see ch. 4 n. 145, with text” indicates that the reader should turn to chapter four n. 145 and read the note and corresponding text. Dates are BC unless otherwise specified.

Books and monographs are referred to by short title, articles are referred to by journal and year without title, and for articles published in monographs and collected series the author's name and a short title are given; the full titles for all of these can be found in the bibliography. Abbreviations are as employed in *L' année philologique*; and further abbreviations, as for ancient authors and titles, can be found in the relevant bibliography. I do not list in the bibliography abbreviations for works cited by other authors but not sighted by myself. The figures are intended to be used in conjunction with the text, as they often elucidate points of detail and are referred in the discussion when appropriate. These include maps, which indicate the scope of pilgrimage throughout the Hellenic world, as well as illustrating a selection of plans and objects connected with the worship and cult practices of the Hellenic pilgrim. I would like to thank my wife, Lynda, for her invaluable assistance in the preparation of the figures.

Matthew P. J. Dillon

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