

## CONCLUSION

Pilgrimage was an activity attested in the Hellenic world from the beginnings of its history to the end of paganism. Primarily a religious activity, it was one of great significance in the life of Greeks from the inhabited world throughout this period. Involving a journey from the pilgrim's home environment to a sacred site outside the immediate vicinity, any expedition to a cult centre comprising more than a day's journeying, or involving a night's stay, can be considered as a pilgrimage, and in this case there may have been few adult Greek males at least, from anywhere in the Hellenic world, who did not at some point in their life undertake pilgrimage activity. The overriding attractions of pilgrimage to the Greeks in general were such that as an institution pilgrimage enjoyed great and continued popularity as a result of the benefits which it offered to the individual pilgrim in the Hellenic world and the ways in which it catered to his or her personal needs and priorities. Despite the numbers involved in pilgrimages, they were not a compulsory cult activity, however, and there was no obligation on the part of Greeks to undertake a pilgrimage: it was a voluntary religious action.

Greek city-states as a whole viewed others not only with suspicion, but often with hostility; moreover religion and religious activities played a very important part in the life of a Greek polis and were to a great extent the official concern of the city, rather than of its individuals. But pilgrimage transcended this commitment of the individual to his or her polis, for pilgrimage ensured that individuals of their own volition could travel and take part in events and rituals outside their own environment and city-state. In addition, pilgrimage was perhaps the only occasion, in the world of generally self-contained Greek poleis, in which an individual of one state could participate on equal terms in the activities of another city.

Pilgrimage involved many difficulties and hazards for the pilgrim, as well as demands of time and expenditure, and pirates and acts of war could endanger the safety of pious travellers. But the rewards were real, and various, depending on the motivation and needs of the pilgrims involved: advice from oracles, cures from healing sanctuaries, athletic or musical victories, the promise of salvation in the afterlife, or the chance to participate in an ethnic or local festivity. Where information about individual pilgrims is available, sources tell us only of successes - oracles received, cures gained, pilgrims initiated into mystery cults. Some of course may have been disappointed in their quest. Of these nothing is heard, and records have been distorted by the stress which accounts reserve for athletes and competitors at Panhellenic games, considered to be the only pilgrims of note by the ancient sources.

The rewards for a successful athlete were immense: he received a welcome home in the form of a civic reception and state pension, perhaps even being honoured by the dismantling of a section of the city walls in order to make a triumphant, *iselastic*, entry.<sup>1</sup> The best example of this is the case of Exainetos of Akragas, who won the stadion at the Olympic games in 410 BC (at the 92nd Olympiad) and upon returning to his city was conducted into it by a procession consisting of 300 chariots, each of which was drawn by two white horses, all the chariots belonging to citizens of Akragas. His pilgrimage to Olympia was thus very rewarding: there was the honour gained at Olympia, and the prestige which this brought to him at home.<sup>2</sup> There could also be state pensions for victors, providing a financial reward for successful journeys,<sup>3</sup> while for the victorious athlete pilgrim at Panhellenic celebrations there was also the reward of the wreath;<sup>4</sup> victorious athletes at the Delia received a material reward in addition. For the Spartan athletes who had made the pilgrimage to the main festivals and been victorious, there was the privilege of fighting near their kings when the Spartans went to war.<sup>5</sup> But bitter were the feelings of those who made a pilgrimage to an athletic centre and failed to carry off a prize, and Pindar records the fate of four youths who were defeated, who, slinking along the lanes, cringed from their enemies, afflicted by misfortune.<sup>6</sup>

However, on the basis of the number of sites and the popularity of pilgrimage, the athlete, or contestant in a musical contest, as a specialised pilgrim, was in the minority. The majority of Hellenic pilgrims would not have been competitors, and no special quality was asked of them as a prerequisite for a successful pilgrimage, except their willingness to travel and participate in the rituals involved, and their ability to

<sup>1</sup> Triumphant entry, without demolition of walls: Vitruvius 9.1 (212) (Olympia, Corinth, Nemea); Diod. 13.82.7. Triumphant entry, with demolition of walls: Suet. *Nero* 25.1; Dio 63.20; Plut. *Mor.* 639e.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. 13.82.7.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *Sol.* 23.3, cf. Diog. Laert. *Sol.* 1.55 (Olympic and Isthmian); Vitruv. 9, *praef.* 1. (Olympia, Corinth, Nemea); Dio 52.30.4-6 (pensions should only apply for Olympian or Pythian games, or in contests at Rome); Pliny *Ep.* 10.118.1, 10.119 (Bithynia).

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 675d-677b: a discussion of the use of pine at the Isthmia as the victor's crown. The prizes at the four main Panhellenic games were simple with wreaths of various kinds being awarded: wild olive (Olympia), bay (Delphi), pine (Isthmos), celery (Nemea), Paus. 8.48.2-3, cf. 5.7.7, 10.7.8. Prizes were offered at the first celebration of the Pythia but then the practise was discontinued: Paus. 10.7.5. Olive wreaths were not given as prizes at the Olympic festival until the seventh Olympiad (*FGH* 327 Phlegon of Tralles F 1 (11) (*Cod. Palat. Gr.* 398 p. 234 r), cf. Lee "First" *Olympic Games* 111. Paus. 8.48.2-3 notes that at most games a wreath of palm was given, and that at all games a palm would be placed in the right hand of the successful athlete, cf. Plut. *Thes.* 21.3. See also Broneer *AJA* 66 (1952) 259-63.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *Lyk.* 22.7-8.

<sup>6</sup> Pindar *Pythian Ode* 8, lines 83-87 (the translation is not line for line).

defray the necessary costs. The initiate at Eleusis, for example, need only understand Greek, make the sacrifice of a piglet, and pay the requisite fees to the sacred officials of the sanctuary, while the sick, regardless of their background, wealth, and place of origin, could find a cure as long as the regulations of the shrine were followed.

For individuals, pilgrimage was an event undertaken solely for personal motives, which could alter the pilgrim's life: most notably, a cure obviously meant a return to a state of physical and mental normality, and bring about a change in lifestyle. For women, it might mean the birth of children, and thus the bringing into being of a family and restructuring of personal relationships. An oracle could solve a problem, and so enhance the quality of one's lifestyle or career. Initiates at the mysteries had the hope of a more pleasant afterlife, and in the case of the initiates at the Samothracian mysteries there would be a physical reminder of their initiation: from the day of their initiation they would wear a ring as a memento of their initiation.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, because of the numbers of pilgrims involved and the widespread nature of the activity, as well as the desire of states to show their piety by participating in such important activities, there was official involvement, and on an impressive scale, with states as well as individuals participating in pilgrimages and festivals hosted by other centres. Pilgrimage was thus of both an official and non-official nature. *Theoroi* and *arkhithoroi* were sent out by their states in order to ensure that their state was represented in the worship of the gods at the main festivals; *spondophoroi* and *theoroi* dispatched to invite other cities to participate officially at their own sacred occasions; and states undertook by decree to participate for all time, agreeing to accept *ekkekheiriai* and respect the *asylia* of sites. Indeed, not to participate in such important pilgrimage events would be to incur divine wrath, and Greek states accordingly were accustomed to engage in official pilgrimage to express their piety, sacrifice to deities at their main cult centres, and win the favour of the gods. Moreover, official pilgrimage activity was a chance for states to demonstrate their political prestige and status, as well as providing scope for political contact with other states, not always to the other state's advantage, as when the Khian intrigues with the Spartans became clear to Athenians attending the Isthmian festival. For these official pilgrims, especially the *arkhithoroi* responsible for the expenditure involved, their motivation may have been political: to win the good-will of their fellow citizens by showing their generosity and public spirit in carrying out this service to the state. Nikias's *arkhithoria* to Delos is a case in point, though this need not exclude the consideration that these officials were also motivated by a sense of piety towards the gods. In certain cases official pilgrims received subventions from their home states, but for those who did not expenses could be high, an *arkithoria* being potentially a

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<sup>7</sup> Burkert *Greek Religion* 283 with 453.

more expensive burden than a *trierarkhia*. Pilgrimage was one of the few phenomena which motivated the Greeks to participate in a mass gathering; warfare alone saw a mass movement of population equivalent to the thousands involved annually in the Eleusinian procession. On a less organised basis, only merchants would have travelled the Greek roads to any comparable extent, and pilgrims journeying to sacred sites must have made a significant contribution to Hellenic movement between states and regions. This is a reflection of the settled nature of Greek culture: only war, trade and religion compelled the Greeks to travel from their homes. Pilgrimage, however, provided a greater motivation to the individual to assemble with others and travel of his or her own volition than warfare, nor, on any occasion, not even the Persian Wars, did warfare bring the Greeks of the East, West, and Greece itself together to such an extent. In this sense, pilgrimage was unique, uniting the Greeks in a physical sense, and encouraging them to congregate at festivals and sites, not only as official representatives of their city-states, but also, most importantly, on an individual basis. The existence of pilgrimage as a cultural phenomenon, and the extent to which it was practised, is also a reflection of the political organisation of the Greeks. The Romans did not make pilgrimages to festivals held in different cities under Roman sway, for the significant festivals centred on Rome, and the Sibyl at Cumae did not possess the prestige of the Pythia at Delphi. The fact that even in Roman times Hellenic pilgrimages continued unaltered, and under Roman protection, attests to the Roman perception of its uniqueness as an institution. The existence of different sacred sites throughout the Hellenic world, which attracted pilgrims from all over Greece, was due to the development of a culture based on a decentralised political structure, and in a society where, despite the dominance of a few states such as Athens and Sparta, most states were independent, the development of sacred sites of regional and Panhellenic importance became possible. The cosmopolitan nature of these gatherings was obvious: ordinary pilgrims from throughout the Hellenic world travelled to sanctuaries such as Epidauros on a regular basis, while at the great seasonal festivals the mass religious participation would have imparted a cosmopolitan flavour to all such occasions. Nowhere is this more evident than in the description, recorded by Dio Chrysostom, of the Isthmian festival, where, amongst the assembled crowds, writers and poets read aloud their works and were applauded, traders plied their wares, fortune-tellers forecast people's lives, jugglers performed their tricks, and the sophists and their disciples argued with each other.<sup>8</sup> This was the background atmosphere at a major Panhellenic religious celebration, and those who came to this festival and gathered around Diogenes the

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<sup>8</sup> Dio Chrys. 8.9.

Cynic at Isthmia included Sicilians, Ionians, Italians, Libyans, Massaliots, and men from the Black Sea region: a diverse ethnic gathering.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, while pilgrimage was universal throughout the Greek world, and states and individuals felt it important to attend pilgrimage sites, some occasions were restricted to those of particular ethnic groups. Various leagues had been formed throughout Greek history in an attempt by the Greeks to unite into larger bodies, and many of these, such as the Aetolian League, were based on ethnic origins: this political phenomenon was also reflected in the religious sphere. The pilgrimages organised by particular ethnic groups were sometimes purely religious, sometimes a reflection of a political union, and could be events of magnificence and hardly inferior to the Panhellenic festivals in status and expenditure. Indeed, it is unlikely that Nikias' extravagance at the Delia was ever rivalled at an Olympic festival. The nature of a festival obviously determined the scope of the expenditure involved, and the Delian celebration, on this occasion, allowed for lavish costume, boats decorated with gold, and well orchestrated choral displays. At Olympia, or at the other great festival gatherings, conspicuous expenditure by a state or official would have needed to take the form of a mass sacrifice, such as at Delphi, where two theoroi from Khersonasita were honoured for the sacrifice of a hecatomb. Moreover, as in the case of Alkibiades, other states could undertake conspicuous expenditure in order to honour a pilgrim from another polis, even at a festival which the honouring state was not holding: the Ephesians provided Alkibiades with a tent at Olympia which was twice the size of that of the Athenian theoria. Ionians, Dorians and Boeotians held such gatherings on a regular basis and in assembling at the Panionion, the shrine of Triopian Apollo, Ilium or Plataea, cities, towns and villages reasserted ethnic and local loyalties which transcended immediate political preoccupations. The coastline of Asia Minor bears witness to the fact that as a matter of course the majority of important towns there belonged to an association organising pilgrimage festivals in which these states participated. From Ilium in the north, to the Panionion at Cape Mykale, to the shrine of Triopian Apollo, pilgrimage sites enabled the Greek cities of Asia Minor to participate in religious celebrations not restricted to those of their own cities.

Pilgrimage, like warfare, resulted in large numbers of people on the move, whether in organised parties or in small, private groups. As a result warfare and pilgrimage, when occurring simultaneously, were bound at times to bring into conflict the interests of their participants and yet the two institutions were not in fact incompatible, nor did hostilities necessarily preclude pilgrims from travelling. Pilgrimage was a common activity in the Hellenic world, attracting the sanctity which protected all religious concerns, but as a matter of course political issues upset the

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<sup>9</sup> Dio Chrys. 9.5.

fabric of the Greek world at regular intervals, and warfare entailed dangers for the pilgrims journeying to and from sacred sites. To overcome this problem, the Greeks resorted to sacred truces: times of the year when pilgrims could travel in safety. Universally observed, these truces were effective, violations of the truces being rare and punished by international law enforced by the sanctuary to or from which the pilgrims were travelling. The offenders would be fined, and sometimes banned indefinitely from the sacred site. For example, an Olympic sacred truce every fourth year guaranteed the safety of all those travelling to Olympia for the athletic competitions and religious celebrations in honour of the supreme deity, Zeus, and many other festivals, such as the Leukophryena, also enjoyed such status. Pilgrims were not deterred, on at least some occasions, from attending a festival or sanctuary, even though political control of that site was disputed or under threat of military attack, as at Olympia in 364, though it is possible that such events, like the sacred wars at Delphi, may well have discouraged pilgrims from attending sites at times of conflict. Such threats to pilgrim well-being were recognised, and the fact that sacred truces were proclaimed, which, like the terms of the Peace of Nikias, guaranteed access to sacred sites, must indicate that there was a very real concern that warfare could interfere in religious activity, and a general determination to make sure that it did not in fact prohibit pilgrims from travelling to sacred sites in safety. Sacred truces were important for the continued success of pilgrimage, and their very existence, and the promise of safety inherent in them, will presumably have encouraged pilgrims; indeed, the official Athenian complaint to Philip II of Macedon, arising out of the seizing of Phrynion of Rhamnous during the Olympic truce, indicates how serious the reaction to violation of sacred truces could be. The sophisticated nature of arrangements for official pilgrimages - the officials involved in the proclamation of truces, those appointed to receive them, and the honoured and often inherited rank of each - shows how important invitations to members of other states were, and how vital it was that festivals should proceed and the interest of pilgrims be protected. The occasions on which states threaten sacred sites or cities in the territory of sacred sites during a truce are extremely rare, and even when threatened by military activity, pilgrims at sacred sites could feel safe and the festival itself take place unhindered.

As well as the sacred truce to protect pilgrims travelling to and from the festival, specific legislation was necessary to deal with the organisation of large numbers of worshippers at pilgrimage sites. It was usual for pilgrims to bring their own accommodation, or seek shelter in the tents of other pilgrims, or perhaps even purchase a tent upon arrival. Even healing sanctuaries would not generally provide accommodation for the sick visiting the site, and at Epidauros, for most of the period under discussion, the terminally ill died outside the sanctuary if the god failed to cure

them. Official delegations might be housed in a *katagogion* set aside for them, but not all officials could look forward to this: in the majority of cases individuals, *theorodokoi*, would host official visitors, or *theoroi* might also be accommodated in tents. Nevertheless, although the various pilgrimage sites did not make provision for the accommodation of pilgrims, they had various regulations which were for their benefit, and for that of the sanctuary involved. Clearly, a large number of participants from other states reflected well on the sanctuary; the efforts of the cities of Magnesia and Kos in the Hellenistic period to attract pilgrims from all over the Greek world to their festivals indicate the importance attached to having large crowds of pilgrims attend. Numerous worshippers from other states clearly gave the sanctuary prestige and status, and even at Sparta there is evidence to suggest that non-Spartans would attend at least the boy's gymnastic festival, and be given hospitality.<sup>10</sup> Concern for pilgrims' welfare gave rise at sanctuaries to provisions to ensure that pilgrims received a fair deal from the traders at the site, at Andania in particular from those who provided baths; at Ilium, a doctor was available. Religious sites were clearly concerned about their reputations, and the authorities in charge perceived that bad reports might discourage the faithful from travelling to the site. On the other hand, certain discomforts were obviously a matter of course: there were clearly problems with the water supply at Olympia until the second century AD, and pilgrims had to endure this, as a traditional grievance, while Epictetus' description of conditions there, the heat and bad bathing conditions, clearly portrays the expected *ambiance* at large pilgrimage gatherings.

The desire to attract large numbers of pilgrims was naturally accompanied by the wish to make their stay pleasant as well as orderly, and regulations at various sanctuaries prescribed codes of conduct for their visitors. The authorities at some sacred sites clearly attempted to make the stay of pilgrims as comfortable as possible by enacting specific legislation to safeguard their interests - and those of the site itself. Secular legislation had its religious counterpart, and there were of course religious regulations that pilgrims were required to observe, and precise attention to the prescribed details of the cult's ritual was necessary for all worshippers at a sacred site. Regulations were often specific to the site, but there were general overriding concerns, one of which was sexual activity, which was banned from temples and sacred buildings, and often precluded for participants in certain rites. Purification ceremonies were an essential part of cult ritual and the pilgrim had to be ritually pure before entering the shrine of the deity. Abstinence from sex, and avoidance of contact with blood (and thus avoidance of contact with those who had recently given birth) were most prominent amongst these. Abstinence from particular foods and hot baths, the

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<sup>10</sup> Plut. *Kim.* 10.5.

wearing of specified clothing and wreaths are further examples of specific restrictions on pilgrim behaviour, while pilgrims also had to perform the correct sacrifices and make thanksgiving offerings to complete their worship in the proper way. The pilgrim had to be prepared to observe these rules, or not to participate in worship at the site. Potential pilgrims in other states may have been made aware of the regulations prescribed for each cult by the theoroi who announced the festival, but in the case of Andania, and other sites where there do not seem to have been theoroi, word of mouth will presumably have played a large part, including “family knowledge”, in particular, mothers passing cult information onto their daughters, mothers and daughters being particularly prominent in the Andanian regulations. The provision of local markets, in which the paraphernalia of a particular cult, such as the boots necessary at the cult of Trophonios, could be purchased, would have been of importance in this respect, and in many cases pilgrim trade must have been a great asset to local markets. Information must also have been generally available on the periods when sanctuaries would have been open to pilgrims. Mystery centres, such as Andania and Eleusis, with annual initiation ceremonies were, of course, accessible only at the time of year when the initiations and mysteries of their respective deities were held. Some oracular shrines kept specific dates when pilgrims could seek an oracle, and Delphi is the most important example of this; clients would have needed to know when the oracle was available for consultation, and would presumably have planned their trips around these dates. Alexander III of Macedon was one of the few prepared to defy the set timetable. These considerations were not of importance at certain sites, and healing shrines, of necessity, could not set aside a specific day or days in each month for pilgrim consultants, as at Delphi. At the healing shrines of Epidauros, Kos, Pergamon and Oropos, year-round consultation of the oracle would have been the rule, and in the absence of evidence confining consultation to a specific time at any of these sites, it must be assumed that consultation could take place at any time.

Generally, Greek women were excluded from the political life of their polis, but they might take part in religious and cultural events, some of these being specifically their concern. Significantly, women were prominent in pilgrimage activity, and especially in the case of pilgrimages to healing sanctuaries. They could even act as sporting patrons and compete as athletes, such as the Spartan women who won races with chariots they sponsored, though female pilgrims who took part at the Heraia, and who competed in the athletic competitions attested from Roman times, were excluded from the Panhellenic competitions themselves, though winners could receive substantial marks of recognition. As pilgrimage was often an expensive affair, these women can be expected to have come from the upper socio-economic groups.



Presumably, they travelled in the company of male relatives, and were thus chaperoned. The physiological differences between male and female were reflected in cult practice, and women were subject to restrictions which did not apply to men, stemming mainly from concerns such as child-bearing, as well as possibly, at least at Andania, from a consideration that in matters of dress women might be in need of stricter sumptuary legislation than their male counterparts. Nevertheless, no difference was made in their standing *vis-à-vis* the deity involved, and women could play a prominent role as pilgrims as the Andanian regulations testify: at mystery celebrations and healing sanctuaries they rank equally with male initiates and consultants, and even at Delphi had the right to consult the oracle in their own persons. Thus, in matters of health, initiation, and oracular prophecy women had the right of access to all the sanctuary's prerogatives. It is rather the problems associated with sexual behaviour, and the inherent abhorrence of public displays of sexual activity on consecrated ground, that led to the segregation of men and women at at least some sacred sites, rather than that regulations were specifically aimed against women *per se*.

While official expenditure as a *theoros*, *arkhitheoros* or even *theorodokos* could be high, clearly, for all involved, pilgrimage was an activity that involved expense. The regulations at Andania, with their overtones of sumptuary legislation on possessions such as tents and clothes, suggests that many of the pilgrims there might well have come from the wealthier social classes. In general, for pilgrims, travel, overland or by sea, as well as the cost of sustenance, special clothing, tents for accommodation, the sacrifices and thanksgiving offerings, would have constituted a considerable expense. In addition, one of the main difficulties would have been that of the leisure time involved: if a pilgrimage from Athens to Oropos, and a stay there, meant a week's absence, then this was time when money was not being earned, or the farm cultivated, if the pilgrim was involved in working for a living. For the wealthy, this leisure was available; for the less wealthy, it would have been an important consideration in deciding whether or not a pilgrimage was a viable project. For many, for example, pilgrimage from Athens to Epidauros, involving an absence of many days, if not several weeks including the stay and incubation there, would have meant a loss of income which could not be borne. It was a five or six days walk from Athens to Olympia, and so for an Athenian pilgrim who intended to walk to Olympia and attend the festival there, this would involve, allowing for the five day festival, an absence of at least fifteen to seventeen days.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, the pilgrimage from Athens to the Greater Mysteries celebrated at Eleusis, while involving certain expense, seems to have been undertaken by most Athenian males at one stage or another in their

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<sup>11</sup> Xen. *Comm.* 3.13.5

lifetime. It should be noted, however, that there is a reference to an individual being willing to pay the costs of initiation for someone else as a gift, which could indicate that the costs of initiation, while not prohibitive, might not have been inconsiderable.<sup>12</sup> Clearly, however, the poorer Athenians saved the necessary money and made the pilgrimage, because they considered it worthwhile to become an initiate. This pilgrimage, with its associated costs, and lasting nine days, did attract those from the lower socio-economic groups, and is valuable evidence for the fact that pilgrimage was possible not merely for the wealthy. On the other hand, while many of the mysteries' initiates belonged to the poorer classes, they still remained a potent attraction also for the pre-eminent from Athens and from other states, such as Demetrios for whom the Lesser Mysteries were re-celebrated. It is also significant that the ban forbidding the pilgrims to reveal the true nature of their experiences, that what took place in the *telesterion* was not for the ears of non-initiates, remained in force for a millennium, successfully binding initiates of all states and classes. Hellenic sanctuaries in fact do not appear to have been class-conscious: the thanksgiving offerings demanded by Asklepios at Epidauros, and described in the *iamata* there, testify that this god was satisfied with gifts according to the rank and purse of his consultants. Ordinary people could presumably travel from their city to the Panionion or Triopion and enjoy the festival there at minimal expense, the main consideration being that of time spent away from work, whether trade or agriculture.

Pilgrimage was an activity of importance to all the Greeks, and pilgrimages were made from the beginning of Greek history. Through pilgrimage the continuity of Hellenic civilisation is revealed, and the extent to which the Greeks were *Hellenes*, with cultural unity and identity, rather than inhabitants of specific city-states. In as much as travel broadens the mind and widens the horizons, pilgrimage as an institution must inevitably have brought into contact Greeks of different states and classes and added to general cultural interaction in the Hellenic world. Through the centuries, with the aid of sacred trices, and inspired by a religious fervour for their deities, the Greeks continued to make their pilgrimages from the "Homeric" period until the end of paganism. It was a phenomenon which was an important facet of the cultural life of the Hellenic world, and as long as the pagan world persisted so too did pilgrimage to the most important holy sites. The oracle of Delphi gave out its last oracle in the fourth century to the apostate Julian; the Olympic Games ceased in 393;<sup>13</sup> the last hierophant at Eleusis took office in the last decades in the same century;<sup>14</sup> and the site at Epidauros has suffered destruction the responsibility for which has been assigned to Christian hostility. With the advent of Christianity, pilgrimage as a pagan

<sup>12</sup> Dem. 59.21, note, however, that there was an ulterior motive in this case.

<sup>13</sup> See Cartledge *Greek Religious Festivals* 107

<sup>14</sup> See Burkert *Mystery Cults* 50 with 151 n. 109 for references.

concept amongst the Greeks was lost forever. For a millennium pilgrimage had been an important part of Greek religious activity, a phenomenon enduring through the centuries, with both an official and unofficial function, open to all classes, and providing a religious experience rewarding for the pious, bringing them personal satisfaction and temporal reward (a cure, or an oracle in answer to a problem), as well as guaranteeing easier access to a pleasant afterlife.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Listed below are the literary texts and epigraphic collections used in the thesis, including editions, translations, and collections of sources; those editions most conveniently available have been used. Editions of inscriptions in journals are only listed if an editorial comment is referred to: for these see under *Modern Sources*. Teubner texts are denoted as: Teubner, Leipzig / Stuttgart; the Oxford texts as: Oxford; the Budé texts as: Budé, Paris; Loeb texts as Loeb, London. Numbers after titles indicate volumes of modern editions, unless specified otherwise. When only one volume of a set has been used, details for that volume only have been included. Scholiasts are listed under Schol.

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