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Religious Space and Construction of Ancient Greek Civic Communities

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Dans l'historiographie française, depuis l'ouvrage fondateur de Fustel de Coulanges, La Cité grecque, les historiens de la Grèce ancienne se sont toujours intéressés au problème des origines de la polis (Cité-Etat). Toutefois à partir des années 70, une nouvelle approche qui s'est surtout développée à la suite des travaux de Pierre Vernant et Pierre Vidal Naquet grâce aux chercheurs du Centre Louis Gernet de Paris, a repris le problème en privilégiant le rôle de la religion, plutôt que les aspects institutionnels et politiques. Un ouvrage a marqué le résultat de ces travaux, celui de François de Polignac, La naissance de la cité grecque, publié en 1984 avec une seconde édition revue et mise à jour en 1995. Au même moment, le développement des recherches archéologiques, notamment dans les sanctuaires, a considérablement renouvelé nos connaissances et a permis de démontrer le rôle que les sanctuaires ont joué à la fois dans la structuration progressive de l'espace public des premières cités, et dans l'intégration des membres de la communauté civique en gestation. F. de Polignac a pu définir la cité comme étant d'abord une communauté culturelle, et montrer que c'est à travers la participation à des fêtes religieuses que les premières sociétés grecques ont acquis leur cohérence communautaire et défini une forme primitive de citoyenneté en structurant un espace à la fois politique et religieux.

Nous proposons dans cet article de présenter deux cas concrets: Mégara Hyblaea en Sicile et Marseille en Gaule, deux colonies fondées respectivement dans la seconde moitié du VIII^e siècle av. J.-C. par des populations doriennes, et à la fin du VII^e siècle av. J.-C. par des Ioniens. Dans le premier exemple, grâce aux fouilles archéologiques, on peut voir que la répartition des cultes et de l'espace public suit une évolution qui correspond à une urbanisation et à une intégration progressives des différents éléments composant la communauté civique mégarienne. Au moment de la fondation, les sanctuaires dessinent comme une couronne autour de la cité, avec en même temps, mêlés à l'habitat, des cultes à caractère familial, ce qui reflète une structure encore éclatée et indifférenciée correspondant à une société en voie d'homogénéisation. Au contraire, à la fin du VII^e siècle, les sanctuaires se concentrent autour de l'agora, et dans un grand sanctuaire au nord-ouest où se situe vraisemblablement le temple de la divinité poliade; on a ainsi une organisation beaucoup plus rationnelle et centrée, avec une hiérarchie des espaces publics qui touche aussi les premiers sanctuaires. La première phase correspond à l'arrivée des premiers colons de différentes origines (Mégariens, Chalcidiens et Doriens) qui créent des quartiers avec leurs propres cultes qu'ils ont importés. Avec le temps, ces populations mixtes fusionnent pour créer une véritable communauté civique et une entité urbaine bien structurée avec les cultes distribués entre l'agora et le principal sanctuaire poliade reliés entre eux par l'avenue principale de la cité.

Dans le cas de Marseille, on ne peut compter que sur les sources littéraires car la présence de la seconde ville et premier port de France, interdit aux archéologues une exploration systématique de la cité antique. Grâce à la description du géographe grec Strabon, nous savons que les temples des divinités poliades se situaient sur l'acropole et étaient consacrés à Apollon Delphinien et à l'Artémis d'Ephèse, qui n'étaient pas les divinités poliades de Phocée, la métropole ionienne, mais les deux divinités les plus honorées par l'ensemble des populations ioniennes d'Asie Mineure. Ainsi, à cause de la vocation commerciale et méditerranéenne de Marseille, les colons voulaient que leur cité apparût très ouverte, et ils se considéraient plus comme des Panoniens que comme des Phocéens. En conséquence, ils choisirent les cultes poliades qui pouvaient le plus attirer les marchands ioniens.

Ainsi, de Mégara en Sicile à Marseille en pays celtique, à travers les vestiges archéologiques comme à travers les témoignages littéraires, on mesure l'importance de la dimension religieuse dans la genèse d'une communauté civique en Grèce ancienne. L'évolution des espaces sacrés permet de suivre l'évolution d'une société naissante, et la monumentalisation de ces espaces religieux est le signe d'une Cité-Etat arrivée à sa maturité.*

Ever since *La cité grecque* (Paris 1864), the founding work by Fustel de Coulanges, historians of Ancient Greece, have always been interested in the origin of *polis* (the City-State). Fustel de Coulanges believed that religion played a key role in the formation of the civic community, the building block of the City. During the following century, the pivotal work was *Griechische Staatskund* (Munich 1920-1926) by G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, a direct inspiration for G. Glotz's manual *La cité grecque* (Paris, 1928), which remained in use into the 1960s. After M. Ventris updated our information about the Mycenaean civilisation by deciphering linear B, the following works came to light: V. Ehrenberg's *l'Etat grec* in 1957 (translated from German in 1976), H. Van Effenterre's, *La cité grecque des origines à la défaite de Marathon* (Paris 1985) and O. Murray's and S. Price's *La cité grecque d'Homère à Alexandre* (Oxford 1990), translated into French in 1992. All these works handled the issue essentially from the institutional and political perspectives. However, from the 1970s onwards, a new approach developed, following the findings of Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet. Led by the researchers at the Louis Gernet Centre in Paris, it focused once more on the religious aspects of the City.

One work marked the result of these findings, François de Polignac's *La Naissance de la cité grecque*, published in 1984, republished and updated in 1995. It is not a return to Fustel de Coulanges' questioning, as these new findings owe much to the development of archaeological research, particularly in sanctuaries, which has renewed knowledge of the subject considerably, and shown the role played by sanctuaries in progressively structuring the civic space of early cities while at the same time integrating the members of the future civic community. Consequently, F. de Polignac was able to define the city as being a cult group, demonstrating that participation in religious festivals allowed early Greek societies to acquire their community coherence and define a primitive form of citizenship by structuring a space that was at the same time political and religious.

A word must be said about the spectacular development of archaeological science in the second half of the 20th century, because this phenomenon had important consequences for historiographical policies in all countries, particularly East-European countries that had, during this period, created archaeological institutes with considerable funding, on the condition that they contributed to the construction of the national identity. Many archaeological excavation and exploration programmes were launched which, when the publications were completed, gave the scientific community access to a considerable amount of new information. On the other side of the world, the United States was not to be outdone, and gave preference to chronological and typological study conditioned by a strong historio-culturalist tradition. At the end of the 1960s, L. Binford, professor at Chicago University, launched what was to become “new archaeology”, emulating natural sciences. Using an anthropological rather than sociological approach, he attempted to form archaeology into an autonomous science capable of constructing its own rules and scientifically validating its results. This dimension was reinforced in the second half of the 20th century by the progress of archaeometry which, with its notably more sophisticated dating methods, was far more reliable than typological classifications and the advance of environmental studies. Despite the numerous debates between the advocates of contextual archaeology and those of processual and post-processual archaeology, archaeology became firmly established as a method of exploration of the past. This was a recognition of the pioneering work of Goldon Childe who, through a functionalist approach, was one of the first in Great Britain to propose a sociological and anthropological interpretation of Prehistory (*The Dawn of European Civilization*, 1929).

Progress in our knowledge of ancient history therefore depends a lot on the data obtained from archaeological excavations. At the same time, the attention given to physical traces favours a much more social vision. In this way, religion is no longer examined only from the angle of mythology or beliefs. It is also determined through the relics left by the men who practised it, and these religious practices in Greek cities were observed in public spaces created and reshaped by constantly evolving social structures. Among these practices, territorial distribution by the founder, at the time the settlement started, was a pivotal event which can be located by archaeological excavations, aerial photography or various searching techniques. In this way, the study of how space was allocated, taking into consideration the gods who received their *temenos* (sanctuary) and the men who received their *kleros* (the pieces of land allotted to the settlers), contributes to a very rational conception of the establishment of sanctuaries: the planning implemented by the founder immediately determined the arrangement between private and public spaces, assigned or reserved, with no regard for any sacred or emotional value attributed to a site (spring, rock marked by lightning, cave, river mouths, etc). The danger of such an approach is that the city appears to have come ready-made from the head of its founder, because it is only the progressive realisation of a preconceived, virtual and largely deterministic programme.

Even so, colonial cities, because they were new, are today a privileged field of observation for the study of these phenomena. They gave rise to a normative and assertive urbanistic

policy, since settlers felt free to organise the space as they wished. Moreover, a colonial community was always a nascent community because of the very fact that the city was to be built. The original nucleus of colonists rarely represented more than two hundred men, and it therefore took several generations for the initial encampment to become a city and for the group of pioneers to become an urban community. Often from different hometowns, the colonists brought various traditions as well as religions specific to each of them. They had to then live together, honour the same poliad deities and participate in the same celebrations established by the city calendar. Such osmosis was not automatic, and through the slow evolutions identified by archaeology, it is possible for the historian to trace the formative stages of the social body. Chronology must also be taken into account. The earliest Greek colonial foundations came to light around the 8th century B.C. At that time, the major cities were still very young and still in development. The colonial phenomenon was itself a sign that this development was a difficult process, leading to segregation and exclusion. As a result, settlers did not reach their new territory with a ready-made, pre-established model. In this sense, colonial cities are a social laboratory worth observing.

Such a case was Megara Hyblaea, established on the eastern coast of Sicily, about thirty kilometres north of Syracuse (Fig. 1). According to Thucydides' chronology, which followed the tradition of the Syracusan historian Antiochus, it was founded in 728 B.C., a little after Syracuse and Leontini¹. This foundation was completed at the end of a difficult process, mingling Greeks of different origins (Chalcidians from the island of

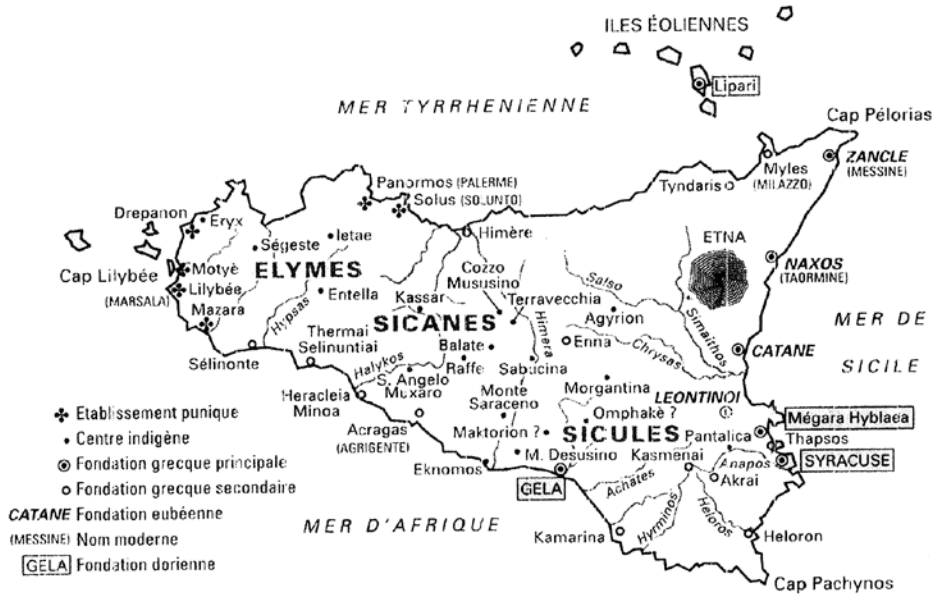


Fig. 1
Map of Sicily (from J.-L. Lamboley, *Les Grecs d'Occident*, Paris 1996).

Euboea, and other Ionians and Dorians, including some Megareans.). After a short stay in a port called Trotilon, located at a river mouth, the Megareans went to live with the Chalcidians from Leontini in a city a little further inland. They were later driven out by the Chalcidians and settled on the coast of Thapsos, where they were also chased away, very probably by the Dorians from Syracuse, who did not appreciate their being in such close proximity. Finally they were received by a native king, Hyblon, who gave them the territory where the city was founded, which subsequently took the name of Megara Hyblaea, a toponym evoking both the home town and the local setting. Literary sources also preserve the name of the founding father – Lamis, who died at Thapsos.

The idea that each colony was founded by a homogenous group of settlers from the same homeland is a fantasy, fashioned after recent European colonisations. In reality, the settlements were of a composite character with a multi-cultural dimension. It always ended, however, with the emergence of a dominant group, usually well-identified through the person of the founding father. In the case of Megara Hyblaea, with Lamis, there was definitely a specific Megarean contribution.

Archaeological data on the site is abundant following regular campaigns led by the French School in Rome since 1949, firstly with Fr. Villard and G. Vallet, and then with M. Gras and H. Tréziny, and the participation of architects Paul Auberson and Henri Broise. Their recent publication, dedicated to the ancient town, attempts to review and formulate hypotheses as to how the civic community coalesced from primitive nuclei and their religious traditions.

Traces of places of worship or sanctuaries are easily visible on the map (Fig. 2). One cluster is located in the north-west zone, with several votive offerings consisting of terracotta lamps and female statues (nos. 13 and 14). In the same area, there is the large sanctuary housing two temples, numbered 9 and 10, which has functioned since the origin of the city². This sanctuary is situated on the site of an ancient Neolithic village, which may explain why this site was chosen by the settlers, who perhaps wanted to respect a place whose ancient usage was obvious. Another cluster is located to the east in the agora district (Fig. 3), easily identifiable by its trapezoidal form. Its southern side is bordered by two small buildings of worship (temples g and h), datable to the second half of the 7th century. At the north-eastern corner of the agora, building d is identified as a *herôon*, often regarded as the tomb of the founding father. Other buildings, such as building c to the east and building j to the north, seem to have had a religious function. In relation to temples A and B in the north-west zone, the buildings there are of smaller dimensions.

To the east of the city, on the seashore, excavations have unearthed three sanctuaries. One is temple C, to the north-east near the lighthouse, datable to about 570 (Fig. 2, no. 20), while a second is situated to the east, in the overhang of the depression which separates the northern and southern plateaux. Architectonic terracotta found in a well suggests the presence of a building of worship (no. 34). The third is placed to the south-east (no. 24), a sanctuary, active from the end of the 8th century and adorned with a small temple at the end of the 6th century.

nodal point between two different orientations, defined by roads 24, 25, and 26 to the east of the gate, and by roads 22 and 27 to the west.

It is interesting to note that these five districts may reflect the five primitive villages that formed the city. One of Plutarch's texts indicates that the Megareans lived in villages, and that the citizens were grouped into five sectors called Heraeis, Piraeis, Megaries, Kynosoureis and Triposiskoi³. From that, it is tempting to see, in the five districts of Megara, the duplication, within a smaller area, of the synoecism of the home town. However, caution should prevail as new excavations may bring new orientations and new districts to light. Nevertheless, it is still true that areas of worship were distributed

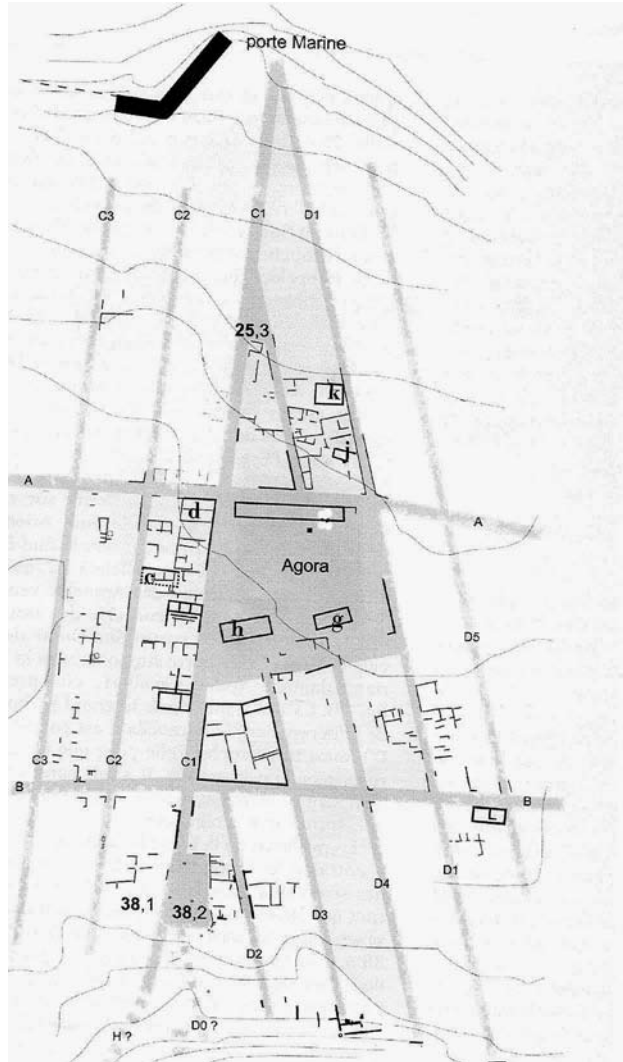


Fig. 3
Map of the agora of Megara Hyblaea (from G. Vallet - F. Villard - P. Auberson, *Megara Hyblaea 1. Le quartier de l'agora archaïque*, Rome 1976).

among the districts and thereby constituted centripetal hubs from which urban space was structured. At the same time, the space reserved for the agora could convey the intention to create a civic space, also centripetal, competing with the autonomy of each district and symbolising the unity of the community of the new colony. The trapezoidal form of the agora, which was in no way influenced by terrain, has intrigued researchers. If we consider that it was formed by four main avenues, two of which converged at the Marine Gate, we observe that the intersections formed five points that could each symbolise the village of origin, if one concedes that the contingent of settlers reflected the metropolitan social structure from which the synoecism of five villages⁴ came. As a result, the civic community of the new colony was structured gradually by tension between two antagonistic tendencies. Firstly, a family framework focused in the districts around areas of worship which can be linked to the phratries, which maintained the ancestral traditions of different groups of population from the home town, and secondly, the development of collective places of worship that cemented the new community in two public spaces that were reserved from the beginning. These were the poliad sanctuary and the agora. It is therefore men that make the city, and not walls, as Thucydides has Nicias say⁵. This structuring process was gradual, as the settlers, having different origins, did not arrive with a ready-made city pattern. Further to F. de Polignac's analysis one can propose a three-stage evolution⁶.

1. From foundation until about the third quarter of the 7th century, peripheral sanctuaries designed like a crown of worship around the city prevailed, as was the case at Agrigento. At the same time, all over the city, there were more family-oriented places of worship, probably creating or reinforcing social relations within the districts.

This structure was still fragmented and undifferentiated, representing a composite society on a coalescing curve. Each district would have been provided with a central square of its own, and a specific sanctuary on its periphery. None of the religious spaces, even reserved spaces, played a cementing role in the civic community. So, during that period, the area reserved for the agora did not have any area of worship and no collective necropolis was offered outside the walls.

2. From the last third of the 7th century until about 580, the organisation was more centred. On one hand, there was the large north-east sanctuary, where the temple of the poliad deity was probably situated, and on the other hand, there was the agora and its different buildings of worship. The two constitutive hubs of any Greek city were formed this way, with monumental developments corresponding to the real urban planning of the city. This is when the *hérôon* was erected in the north-eastern angle of the agora (building d), on the main road linking the agora to the sanctuary. If it corresponds to the tomb of the founding father, Lamis, more than a century after the settlement, it takes on a symbolic value as the town is only considered as founded when the civic community becomes aware of its own existence. Pausanias also cited at Megara, the hometown, the worship of the *prodomeis*, builder gods that were invoked before beginning construction and who had an altar-home⁷. Considering this from a town-planning perspective, the worship of these deities is entirely logical. It is to be noted that the

hérôon was perfectly integrated into the surface of a *kleros*, which was the smallest urban unit. There is a symbolic dimension which made this building the very expression of foundation at the time of the new organisation of the city, whether it was the cenotaph of the Founding Father or a *hérôon* of the builder gods.

3. The third and final phase was particularly characterised by the renovation of the orbital section of worship of the first phase. The entire northern part of the city shows clear evidence of the construction of much larger, monumental places of worship, such as temple A in the north-east sanctuary, and the temple in the lighthouse zone. The southern area, which is also the least explored, does not seem to have experienced this evolution. Small family places of worship, scattered in the habitat, also disappeared. These forms of worship, too strongly associated with a disconnected social organisation, were abandoned or absorbed by new forms of worship of a more civic nature.

The geometric division of the land, with allotments to settlers on arrival, must therefore not delude us. It did not create *ipso facto* a real urban unit. At first, the colonial society was still fragmented, and the settlement seemed more like the scale model of a synoecism, establishing equilibrium between the diversity of the components and the unity of the civic body. The different groups of founders remained quite autonomous, and the institutions necessary for running the community were not located in specific buildings in prestigious parts of the city. This urban pattern reflects, on a small scale, a system that must be quite close to that of *ethnè* federations, which was the social organisation of the Greeks before the City-State. From the beginning, the unity of this new society had to lie in the desire to live together, and having agreed to share the same destiny overseas. It takes at least three to four generations to see the creation of a true urban unit accompanying the construction of much larger, monumental places of worship and public spaces like the agora. This evolution enables us to assess the role played by religion and the distribution of sacred areas. Worship was not established once and for all, because its operation depended on the historical context. The poliad divinities only appeared progressively, and probably did not erase the original religions of early family solidarity. However, if there had not been the idea of a single urban network in the early stages of the settlement, the civic community may not have emerged at all. This is where one can best measure the originality and the richness of the Greek colonial experience.

We can therefore speak of a double foundation of the city. The first phase was on the settlers' arrival, sharing the land by equal distribution of lots to create an urban space that was both polycentric, with districts centred around their own areas of worship, and unitary, with an undeveloped space reserved for the agora. The second phase saw the genesis of the civic community. Family cults in the districts disappeared before the civic cults that materialised with the construction of temples gathered within two urban hubs connected by the main thoroughfare of the city, between the agora and the poliad deities' sanctuary. In both phases, religion played a crucial role because it was the constitutive element of identity, and therefore the binding catalyst. However, this religion evolved notably, and paradoxically, towards some sort of secularisation, chang-

ing from private family cults to public civic cults, and when the public trend towards the construction of much larger, monumental places of worship became visible, then one can say that the City-State was born. From the geometric foundation of the town to the genesis of the city, archaeology reveals to what extent sanctuaries remain privileged markers of social evolution.

The same idea is confirmed on reading literary sources, even though archaeological data is lacking. This is the case in the example of Marseille, a Phocaean colony founded in 600 B.C. The presence of the first French port on the site makes it very difficult to explore the city, which has to face all the problems of urban archaeology. There is no available map of the colony at its foundation, but the account of the geographer Strabo allows us to assess the importance of the religious element. This is how he describes the city:

The town of Massalia is a Phocaean settlement. It occupies a rocky terrain and its port lies at the foot of a theatre-like cliff oriented towards the south, and is fortified with solid ramparts, as is the town. In the acropolis stand the Ephesium and the shrine of Apollo Delphinus. Worshipping this Apollo is common to all Ionians, while the Ephesium is the temple of Artemis, only revered at Ephesus. Indeed, they say that at the time when the Phocaeans left the shores of their homeland, an oracle told them to take the guide that they would receive from Artemis of Ephesus as head of their expedition. Having therefore set sail for Ephesus, they tried to find the guide prescribed by the goddess. Aristarcha, one of the most highly regarded women in this village, saw the goddess standing before her in a dream and ordering her to sail with the Phocaeans, taking a scale model of the shrine with her. She did so, and when the settlers reached their destination, they built the shrine and awarded Aristarcha the highest honour by making her priestess. In all the colonies of Marseille, Artemis is worshipped above all other divinities and her statue is shown in the same posture and worshipped with the same rituals as those observed in the hometown⁸.

The poliad divinities of Marseille are clearly identified as Artemis and Apollo, who have their temple in the acropolis of the town, which was quite normal. However, Strabo's commentary points out that these divinities did not belong to Phocaea. That is surprising because settlers usually took the religion of their mother city with them. The rest of the text, which evidently had an aetiological function, gives the reason for this exception. The Phocaeans did not choose a Founding Father from among themselves. On the advice of an oracle, they stopped off at Ephesus, a little further south of Phocaea on the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, where a woman asked them to take the cult of Artemis of Ephesus with them. It is therefore a woman who, in a way, became the Founding *Mother* of the colony, a rare feat, and the only known case of a female guide on a colonial expedition. As a matter of fact, the impression is given that the goddess is the real founder of the city of Marseille, as the first act of the settlers was to erect the shrine devoted to her. As the shrine at Ephesus only had priestesses in the service of the goddess, it was normal that a woman should ensure the continuity of the cult at the other end of the Mediterranean. This importance of Artemis' worship at Marseille is also confirmed by the coinage chosen in the city, namely, the effigy of the goddess. Strabo's text does not tell us why the Massalians also chose to honour

Apollo Delphinus, but the author takes care to point out that this was not a deity exclusive to Phocaea, but rather a deity common to all Ionians living in Asia Minor and which originated in Miletus.

It is therefore clear that the identity of the Phocaean colony was not defined from the identity of the home city. Rather, the Ionian dimension is emphasized, an ethnic region much larger than one City. If this Artemis is that of Ephesus, her shrine, which in the Hellenistic age housed a temple that was one of the Seven Wonders of the World, knew greater fame than the city of Ephesus itself. All the Ionian peoples, and even the rest of Greece, went on pilgrimage to Ephesus to honour the deity, explaining the amazing wealth of this shrine, the most well-known in all Asia Minor, as the legend has it that when the Ionian peoples arrived, it was the town of Ephesus that welcomed Androcles, son of Codrus, archegete of the Ionians.

It becomes clear that the Phocaean settlers wanted their city to have the image of an Ionian city, where any Ionian would feel at home in finding the two religions most important to him, rather than that of a strictly Phocaean colony. It must be remembered that Marseille is a port, and that the colony therefore had an essentially commercial vocation. Its wealth was not so much based on the exploitation of a territory, which remained limited for a long time, but on profits gained from commerce, and it was therefore vital for the new settlement to attract Greek merchants, especially in an era when the Persian conquest forced many populations from Asia Minor into exile. The position of a town completely isolated in a barbarian country far from any other Greek city can also explain the choice of Artemis who, in her very ancient Panhellenic dimension, was the deity of extremities on the borders between the savage world and the civilised world, and therefore the deity in the best position to manage relations between Greeks and Barbarians, as well as the situation of refugees, foreigners and supplicants. Major ports developed a population that was in general more cosmopolitan than the cities inland, as is still the case of Marseille today, and that enables us to understand the choice of titular deities likely to welcome strangers, for the proper integration of different elements of the population. Artemis of Ephesus and Apollo Delphinus fully met this need, and Strabo was quite aware that such was the secret of Marseille's success.

From Megara Hyblaea in Sicily to Marseille in Celtic country, through archaeological remains as well as literary accounts, we assess the importance of the religious dimension in the genesis of a Greek civic community. The evolution of sacred spaces enables the observer to follow the evolution of a nascent society, and when such religious spaces undergo the construction of much larger, monumental places of worship, it is proof that a City-State has come to full maturity. In conclusion, we can recall the reflections of F. de Polignac in his very innovative work on the Greek city: "What we call *polis* is the result of a progressive or rapid installation of social and hierarchical cohesions taking the form of a quest for harmony when choosing the mediatory religions, and the rituals defining a religious citizenship"⁹.

NOTES

- * L'intégralité du texte en français est disponible sur le site: <http://web.upmf-grenoble.fr/SH/Perso-Hist/Lamboley/Lamboley.html/>. La traduction a été réalisée par Mme Hutchinson que je remercie personnellement.
- ¹ Thucydides VI, 3-4. Information on the foundation of Megara Hyblaea is also available from other authors: Strabo VI, 1, 12 and VI, 2, 2 (Strabo, who cited Ephorus of Cyme, places the foundation of Megara before that of Syracuse); Pseudo-Scymnus v. 270-282 (the author underlines the predominance of the Ionian element over the Dorian element; Polyaeus V, 5, 1-2 (this is the author that gives the most details on the Megarean sojourn at Leontini and the manner in which they were driven out. He gives quite a negative image of the Chalcidians). The information is often contradictory and prevents the reconstitution of a single, coherent story. It is explained by the fact that these different colonies were founded in a very short period and were rivals from the beginning, which gave birth to partisan local traditions.
 - ² Temple no. 10, or temple B, is the oldest, and seems to have been consecrated to a female divinity (Artemis, Hyblaea or Hera). Temple no. 9, or temple A, constructed around the 7th century, corresponds to the construction of much larger, monumental places of worship in a religion that was only secondary at the beginning. The centre of the sanctuary remains marked by the location of temple B.
 - ³ Plutarch, *Questions grecques* 17 = *Moralia* 295b.
 - ⁴ See J. Svenbro, *A Mégara Hyblaea: Le Corps Géomètre*, "Annales ESC", 37, 1982 p. 953-964. The author remarks that while creating a unified city, this organisation of space into five distinct districts grouped around the agora respected the social organisation of the Megarean society.
 - ⁵ Thucydides, VII, 77, 7.
 - ⁶ F. de Polignac, *L'installation des dieux et la genèse des cités en Grèce d'Occident, une question résolue? Retour à Mégara Hyblaea*, in *La colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale*, Coll. EFR 251, Rome 1999, p. 209-229.
 - ⁷ Pausanias I, 42, 1.
 - ⁸ Strabo, IV, 1, 4.
 - ⁹ F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1995, p. 148.

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