La cité interconnectée dans le monde gréco-romain

Madalina DANA & Ivana SAVALLI-LESTRADE

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La cité interconnectée dans le monde gréco-romain

Madalina Dana
est Maître de conférences HDR d'histoire grecque à l'Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, rattachée au Laboratoire ANHIMA (Paris).

Ivana Savalli-Lestrade
est Directrice de recherche au CNRS, rattachée au Laboratoire ANHIMA (Paris).

Illustration de couverture : La déesse Diktynna, à droite, représentant la cité de Polyrrhénia sur la stèle du traité entre Polyrrhénia et Phalasarna (début du III^e^ s. a.C.), en provenance du *Diktynnaion*, Crète (Cl. M. Guarducci, *IC* II, XI, 1, p. 132).

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La cité interconnectée dans le monde gréco-romain (IVe siècle a.C.- IVe siècle p.C.).

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Madalina Dana et Ivana Savalli-Lestrade

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Auteurs

Kostas Buraselis	Professeur émerite d'histoire ancienne, Université d'Athènes, kburasel@arch.uoa.gr
Christophe Chandezon	Professeur d'histoire grecque, Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier, chrchandezon@wanadoo.fr
Panos Christodoulou	Chercheur associé, Université de Chypre, panosch@ucy.ac.cy
Christy Constantakopoulou	Reader in Classics and Ancient History, Birkbeck, University of London, c.constantakopoulou@bbk.ac.uk
Madalina Dana	Maître de conférences d'histoire grecque, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, madalina-claudia.dana@univ-paris1.fr
Esther Eidinow	Professor of Ancient History, University of Bristol, esther.eidinow@bristol.ac.uk
Matthias Haake	Chercheur associé, Université de Münster, haakem@uni-muenster.de
Antony Hostein	Directeur d'études, EPHE, antony.hostein@ephe.psl.eu
Karine Karila-Cohen	Maître de conférences d'histoire grecque, Université Rennes 2, karine.karila-cohen@univ-rennes2.fr
Nicolas Kyriakidis	Maître de conférences d'histoire grecque, Université Paris 8, nicolas.kyriakidis@univ-paris8.fr
Nino Luraghi	Professor of Classics, Princeton University, nluraghi@princeton.edu
William Mack	Senior Lecturer in Ancient Greek History and Culture, University of Birmingham, w.mack@bham.ac.uk
Anna Magnetto	Professeur associé, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, anna.magnetto@sns.it
Christel Müller	Professeur d'histoire grecque, Université Paris Nanterre, christel.muller@mae.u-paris10.fr

Nikolaos Papazarkadas Associate Professor of Classics, University of California, Berkeley, papazarkadas@berkeley.edu

Adrian Robu Chargé de recherche, Académie Roumaine (IESEE)/ École Pratique des Hautes Études, adrianrobu@yahoo.com

Ian Rutherford Professor of Classics, University of Reading, i.c.rutherford@reading.ac.uk

Ivana Savalli-Lestrade Directrice de recherche, CNRS/ANHIMA Paris, ivana.savalli@wanadoo.fr

Julietta Steinhauer Teaching Fellow in Hellenistic History, University College London, j.steinhauer@ucl.ac.uk

Konstantinos Vlassopoulos Assistant Professor in Ancient Greek History, University of Crete, vlasop@uoc.gr

Sommaire

IV. *Représentations sociales et mobilités*

Towards a Typology of Sanctuary Networks: The Case of Roman Claros[1]

Ian Rutherford

Introduction

Network models seem to be useful in describing two aspects of ancient religion. The first aspect could be described as "epidemiology": the spread of a religious innovation, for example a new cult or a meme can be represented as a network made up of the places where it is attested and the links between them[2]. The second aspect could be called "affiliation": patterns of affiliation and participation in a cult can be represented as networks comprising the places where the participants come from. For example, major Greek sanctuaries attracted visitors from wide geographical area (pilgrims, *theoroi*, athletes, etc.), and may have evidence for filial cults, or the distribution of souvenirs or amulets linked to the shrine[3]. These two aspects have a tendency to overlap, in so far as the spread of a religious meme may be accompanied by continued affiliation, and an affiliation network is bound to change over time, expanding, contracting or fragmenting.

In all such investigations, it is important to distinguish two general senses of the term "network". First, from an abstract, mathematical point of view, any pattern comprised nodes and links between them ("ties") could be said to constitute a network, whatever the lived reality of the corresponding situation. A sociologist or historian might insist on a definition more grounded in lived reality, *i.e.* that for a pattern to qualify as a network, actual contact between the constitutive nodes has to take place and it has to be fairly regular. From this second point of view, it might seem strange to use the term "network" when analyzing the dissemination and migration of a religious practice when there may have been no subsequent contact. All such problems are particularly difficult when dealing with the limited evidence surviving from ancient societies where we are usually guessing about how much contact there was.

In this paper, I shall discuss these problems with reference to the oracle of Apollo at Roman Claros which has, by the standard of ancient religion, spectacularly good data for a century, much of it precisely dated. (The volume and variety of surviving data is unlikely to be an accident and probably indicates that Claros had mastered the art of propagating its

1 Many thanks to the organisers for inviting me. I use the following abbreviations: F = inscription as numbered in Ferrary 2014; MS = oracle as numbered in Merkelbach & Stauber 1996.

2 Applied in Collar 2013; see now the discussion of Woolf 2016.

3 This develops my work in Rutherford 2009 and 2013. For affiliation networks, see Newman 2010, chap. 3; the classic study, of women's clubs in the American South, is Davis *et al.* 1941.

I. Rutherford, in : *La cité interconnectée*, p. 165-181

reputation through inscriptions). I intend this as a recantation of the seriously incomplete sketch of the evidence for Claros included in my 2013 book[4]. I will consider four types of evidence I. records of visiting delegations; II. texts of oracles given by Claros; III. filial cults; and IV. dedications "in accordance with the exegesis of Clarian Apollo". In 2013 I dealt with only the first two of these, and I said little about the different types of network that might be involved in this case. The appearance of Jean-Louis Ferrary's definitive commentary on the records makes this a good time to revisit the question[5].

Records and Oracles

Many records survive from the sanctuary documented visits of civic delegations from much of Asia Minor, and to some extent Thrace, the Black Sea and Crete. The total number, including fragments, is 416. They begin about 105 CE (it is unclear why then; perhaps a decision was made then to record them) and continue to about 235 CE. The earlier ones are in the region of the Propylaea, later ones near the altar, on freestanding monuments and on the krepis of the temple, and the latest ones on the columns of the temple[6]. A total of 49 towns are represented, as well as the Koinon of the Macedonians (F 229). There is only one record of a delegation from mainland Greece, from Corinth. All the provinces of Roman Asia Minor are represented, except for Lycia-Pamphylia and Cilicia[7].

The Claros dossier is unique in the Roman Empire. Sending delegations or *theoriai* to sanctuaries is characteristic of the Classical and Hellenistic period. It is possible that similar practices happened elsewhere in the Roman Empire, without permanent records being made. In any case, it seems likely that this is a self-consciously nostalgic form of activity: the cities are acting as if they are living several hundred years earlier.

The number of records per city varies from one to 45. Some cities came fairly regularly[8]. These included two cities in SW Phrygia, Laodiceia on the Lycus (45) and Heracleia Salbake (31), along with two Ionian cities, Phocaea (25) and Chios (36). Other frequent clients close to Laodiceia are Tabai in Caria (17) and Aphrodisias (9). Beyond these core areas, fairly frequent clients are Acmonia in Phrygia (10), Sagalassus in Pisidia (5: see below), Iconium in Lycaonia (16) and, furthest to the East, Amaseia in Pontus (9). In Crete, Hierapytna has 11 and Lappa 9 (the sequence from Lappa started only around 180/1 CE according to Ferrary)[9]. For Parion in the Troad we have 5. For the remainder of cities we have between one and three records. Some cities sent them for a brief period and then stopped. Bargasa in Caria sent three right at the beginning of the sequence. Caesareia in Cappadocia sends them twice, in 162/3 and 165/6. Nicaea in Bithynia sends three in the 180s.

4 Rutherford 2013, 291-293.
5 Ferrary 2014.
6 Ferrary 2014, I, 25-37.
7 Notice that Hyde (F180) is usually counted as part of Lycaonia, but for a time it seems to have been transferred to the province of Cilicia: Ferrary 2014, I, 163 n. 138.
8 I use the useful survey in Ferrary 2014, I, 134-182.
9 Ferrary 2014, I, 182.

Just as most of the cities with the most records are comparatively close to Claros, so many of those with single record are the furthest away[10]. These one-timers include several cities on the Black Sea (Dionysopolis, Odessos, Deultum, Olbia, Chersonesos), several Macedonian ones (Stobi, Charax, Plotinopolis, Ainos, Hadrianopolis), and three in Pontus (Neokaisareia, Amisos, Neoclaudiopolis). This trend is not universal: the distant Amaseia in Pontus leaves several, and some cities closer to Claros leave only one. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a rough inverse correlation between distance and frequency. A related variable is whether or not the delegation has a chorus[11]. There seems to be a rough correlation between delegations that lack a chorus and cities attested only once, and thus a further correlation with more distant cities. It is rare for delegations-cum-choruses to come from the more distant locations, though there are a few examples[12].

Closely associated with these records are the texts of oracles, written mostly in hexameters, which are preserved at various locations in Anatolia or the European coast of the Black Sea, dating from between 50 CE and 250 CE[13]. Most of these respond to consultations made on behalf of cities, though in a few cases the consultor was an individual. The distribution of these comes from roughly the same areas as delegations, adding nine additional cities (there are five overlaps)[14]. Note, however, that we have oracles from Lycia (Oinoanda) and Pamphylia (Syedra, first century BCE). Many of them contain prescriptions relating to plague, generally thought to be the great plague which swept through the Roman Empire in the Antonine period[15].

Some of sequences may be the result of a crisis-consultation when the oracle of Claros ordered the client-city to send a regular delegation, something which naturally enough lasts for a few years and then stops. Several delegations are "in accordance with the oracle" (*e.g.* Bargasa: F 2, 10, 12), in one case explicitly the oracle of Claros (Perinthos: F 11, l. 8-9); an oracle from Hierapolis-Pamukkale, probably from Claros, instructs the city to send singers there. More surprisingly, an oracle from Ammon preserved in an inscription from Cyzicus also instructs the city to do this, as if the oracles of Ammon and Cyzicus are cooperating in a vast mutually reinforcing oracular network[16].

10 The maps in Ferrary 2014, II, 122-123 make this very clear.

11 No chorus: Amisos; Neokaisareia: no. 41; Amaseia: no. 46 has them, 56, no. 168; Neoclausiopolis: no. 64; Meiros: no. 102; Charax: no. 106; Olbia: no.108; Plotinopolis: no. 153; Augusta Marcianopolis: no. 163: *huper tes patridos*; Caesareia: no. 165; Creteia Flaviopolis: no. 170/178; Dionysopolis: no. 173; Odessos: no. 174; Stobi: no. 176; Amyzon: no. 177; Hyde: no. 18; Julia Phrygia: no. 181; Nicomedia: no. 182; Caesareia Germanike: no. 191; Kydonia: no. 212: *theoros tou khresmou*; 216: *ethuse teleian thusan*; Hadrianopolis: no. 234; Nicaea: no. 216; Ainos: no. 294; Deultum: no. 308, with an architect filial cult.

12 See the observations of Jones 2016, 935-936.

13 See Merkelbach & Stauber 1996. Add the implied oracle about a priestess' virginity from Stobi: *SEG*, XVII, 319.

14 Both forms of evidence survive for Iconium, Nicomedia and Odessos. Stobi should added, if we include *SEG*, XVII, 319 (see preceding note).

15 Plague oracles: Pergamum = MS 2; Hierapolis = MS 4; Caesareia Troketta = MS 8; Kallipolis = MS 9; a Lydian city on the Hermos = MS 11. Bruun 2012, 134 is, however, skeptical, since we lack precise dates for the oracles. For what its worth, there does not seem to be a increase in delegations during the years of the plague.

16 Hierapolis: *SGO*, 02/12/01; Rutherford 2007; Cyzicus: *SGO*, 08/01/01; Peek 1984.

The function of delegation sent to Claros probably varied: part of it was of course religious motivations of various sorts:

a. consulting the oracle; about 120 of the records have one or more *theopropoi*;

b. performing songs, that is praising and pleasing Apollo;

c. perhaps also getting up-to-date theological advice (see below).

In one case (F 216, Kydonia) the *theopropos* is said to "sacrifice a perfect sacrifice". In another case, that of Caesareia Germanike, the aim was to dedicate three silver statues of the gods as a thank offering (F 191)[17]. The record of Perinthos may have been inscribed on a dedicated statue, possibly an ancient one (F 11)[18].

But part of it may well have been the activity we call today "networking": that is, participating in a cult where cities from other places participated, showing off, getting news and leaving a record of the visit for future generations to see. Certainly, some cities took the opportunity to make statements there. Thus, the record for the delegation sent by Amisos in Pontus in 131/2 CE (F 36) describes the city as "free, autonomous and allied to the Romans in virtue of a treaty (*homospondos*)", dating the year from the Battle of Actium when it was given freedom by Octavian[19]. For Nicomedia in Bithynia we have a single record from 165/5 (F 182), with a single *theopropos*, where it proclaims itself "*metropolis*" and "first city of Pontus and Bithynia" (this may have been aimed at its rival Nikaia)[20]. For Caesareia in Cappadocia, at the other end of Anatolia, we have two records from 162/3 and 165/6; in the first (but not the second) Caesareia gives itself the grand title "first of Anatolia" (F 165). Such records were clearly meant to be noticed by among other people pilgrims visiting the sanctuary, and it is thus clear that Claros became something of a trans-Anatolian meeting place, transcending the boundaries of the Roman provinces[21].

The Shape of the Network(s)

If we consider the distribution of cities that sent delegations to Claros, what patterns emerge? Four features are worth noticing:

a. clustering: a tendency for several cities to come from the same area. The best example is the cluster of cities in the Maeander Valley: Laodiceia, Heracleia Salbake, Tabai, and Aphrodisias, along with Hierapolis, which consulted the oracle; delegations sent by these cities total over a quarter of the total[22]. (One could perhaps think of the Maeander Valley as

17 This record is unusual also because it refers to a festival and calls Claros its "maternal grandfather" (see below).

18 See the excellent remarks of Jones 2016.

19 Ferrary 2014, I, 170-171; Leschhorn 1993, 161.

20 On this issue, see Ferrary 2014, I, 172-175.

21 Good remarks on this aspect in respect of the clients from the Black Sea in Dana 2011a, 101.

22 For the Maeander Valley as a perceived region see Thonemann 2011, 22-26. Busine 2005, 136 suggests that the Via Sebaste which ran from Pisidia to Iconium, would have encouraged pilgrimage to the West.

an "optimal path" to the sanctuary from the East)[23]. But one could also mention the cities of Pisidia just to the East, those of Bithynia, the Propontis, the cites on the Western shore of Black Sea and those in Pontus, as well as those in Crete. For some reason neighbouring cities tend to behave in the same way – because of either cooperation or rivalry and peer-polity interaction[24]. To make the notion of "cluster" a little more mathematical, one might have recourse to "proximal point analysis" (PPA) as it has been successfully used by among others Anna Collar[25]. Thus, for each of client cities one may chart the three cities closest to it, ignoring chronological variations (see fig 1. and fig 2.); proximity for the purpose of this model is understood in terms of crude spatial coordinates (I am aware that different results would be obtained if proximity were understood in terms of real-life connectivity, which would, however, be much harder to assess.)[26]. So applied, PPA analysis suggests that there are sub-networks within the overall network. These may provide clues about how the cult of Apollo Klarios spread, in the same way as in her analysis of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus Anna Collar suggested that patterns of this sort provided an insight into how the cult was disseminated through the Western Empire.

b. significant absences and Roman affiliation. The number of cities attested – 58 – would no doubt be much greater if we had the full evidence. At the same time, there are significant absences: Louis Robert pointed out that many of the great cities of Ionia, except for Phokaia and Chios, were absent from the dossier, which he took as indicating a reciprocal exclusion; and even though evidence for a form of cooperation with Ephesos has since emerged, his point still stands[27]. Much of central Anatolia is also unrepresented; notice in particular that there is no sign of interest in Claros from the Galatian cities of Pessinus, Ancyra and Tavium, which the Romans had created as urban cities for the three Celtic tribes of the region; in this area religious orientation may have been different[28]. Similarly, Rhodes and Kos, two states that are distinguished for the volume of delegations they send to sanctuaries in the Hellenistic period, are absent[29]. One assumption made here is that all cities that sent delegations to Claros chose to have their visits recorded; but it is also possible that these cities sent small or less formal delegations on a regular basis, and chose not to have them recorded because they did not see it as all that significant.

23 For the notion of optimal paths, see Déderix 2017.

24 For this point, see Dana 2011a, 102. For contestation, see the case of Nicomedia and Nicaea mentioned above.

25 Collar 2013; see Terrel 1977.

26 See Collar 2013, 117: "This model shows centrality and isolation on the network, but it is a preliminary analysis and not a reflection of actual connections".

27 Note, however, that some sort of cooperation with Ephesos may be indicated by the oracle for the Lydian city on the Hermos = MS 11; see Graf 1992. The situation contrasts with the Hellenistic period when the Ionian *koine* sent *theoroi* to Claros: see Müller & Prost 2013.

28 For these see Mitchell, 1993, 86-8.

29 Paradoxically, the only record of a victor at the Klaria in the Roman period is for an athlete from Kos under Augustus: *Syll.*^{3}, 1066; Robert & Robert 1989, 52.

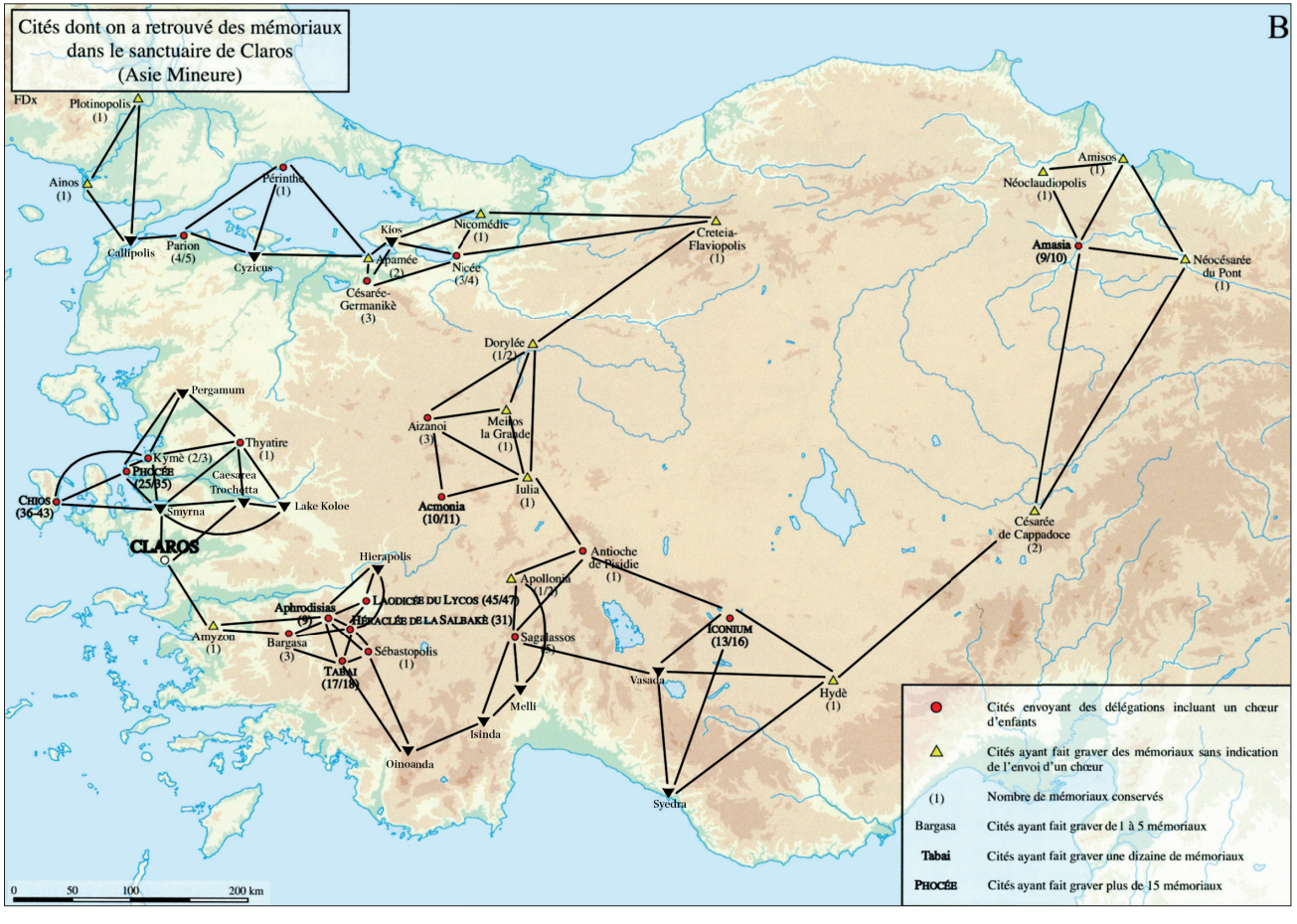

Fig 1. Map of the cities of Asia Minor (*from J.-L. Ferrary,* Les mémoriaux de délégations du sanctuaire oraculaire de Claros, d'après la documentation conservée dans le Fonds Louis Robert, *Paris, 2014, II, p. 123, fig. 003, drawing by I. Rutherford*).

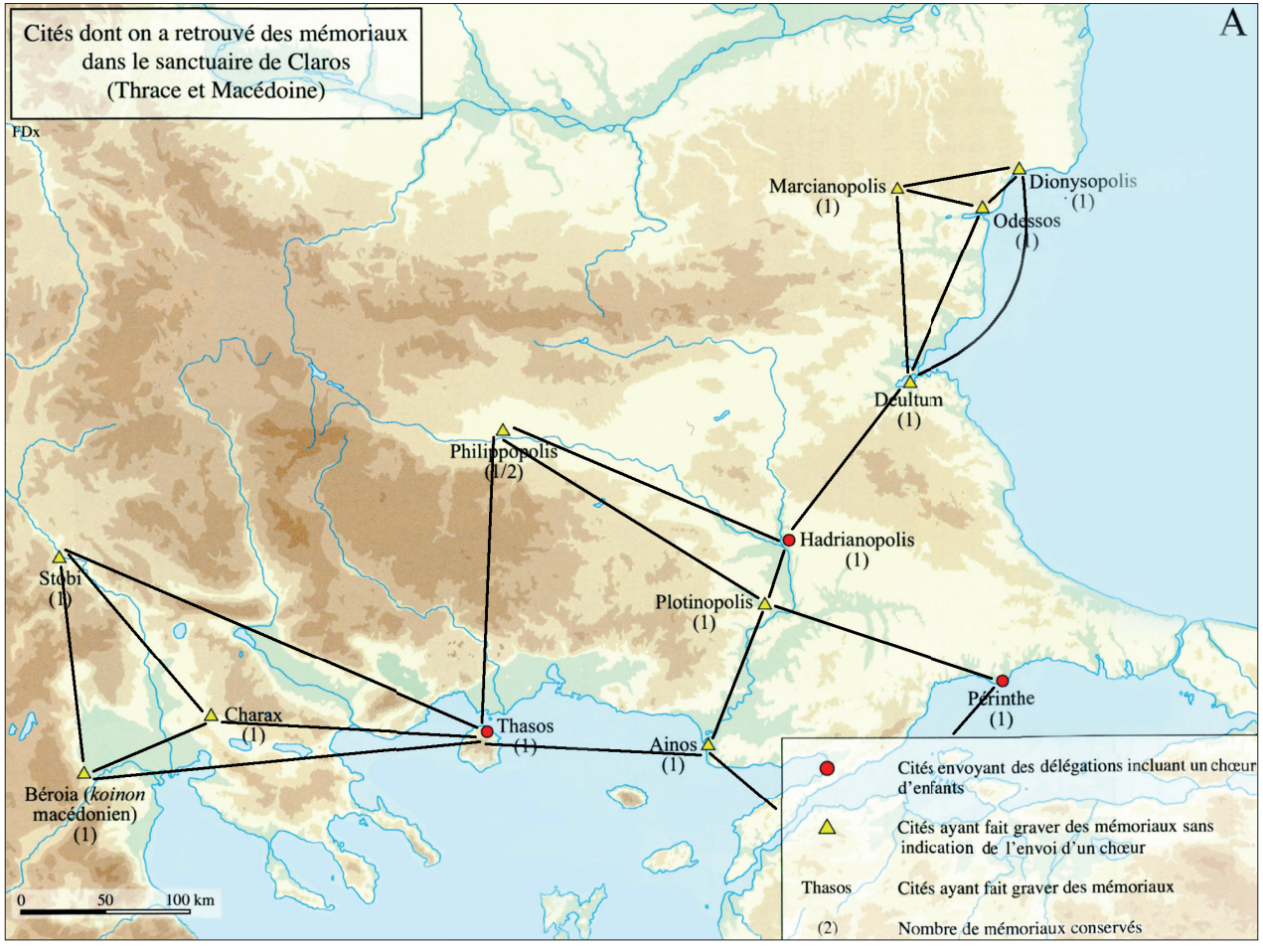

Fig 2. Map of the cities of Macedonia and Thracia (*from J.-L. Ferrary,* Les mémoriaux de délégations du sanctuaire oraculaire de Claros, d'après la documentation conservée dans le Fonds Louis Robert, *Paris, 2014, II, p. 122, fig. 002, drawing by I. Rutherford*).

Robert also pointed out that a few of the clients were Roman *coloniae* with a high percentage of citizens with Italian heritage[30]. Others had very obvious Roman names (such as Iulia in Phrygia, the two Caesareias and Neocaesarea Claudiopolis) or historical connections with Rome[31]. At Heracleia Salbake a prominent family were the Statilii, among them Trajan's celebrated doctor T. Statilius Crito; Peter Thonemann has recently argued that Heracleia Salbake was founded by their ancestor T. Statilius T. f. Taurus, one of Augustus' generals[32]. The explanation for Claros attracting such cities might be that other major sanctuaries were somehow felt to exclude the newer foundations, as Robert thought, or it might be that Claros was thought to be more Roman; after all, Germanicus had visited it (something remembered at least in the name of Caesareia Germanike), there are signs of imperial cult in the temple, and Hadrian had dedicated its façade[33].

That Rome is the whole explanation for the popularity of Claros in the Roman period is, however, unlikely. Madalina Dana has recently stressed that some cities at least probably had much earlier links to Claros, grounded in ancient alliances and trade routes, for example the cities of the West coast of the Black Sea[34].

c. The Mopsos-myth. One might have expected foundation mythology to play a part, perhaps involving the great prophet hero Mopsos, the son of Apollo and Teiresias' daughter Manto, who founded Claros[35]. The Greeks and Romans associated Mopsos with Pamphylia, and Cilicia, where he was one of the founders of Mallos, and lent his name to the city-names Mopsuhestia and Mopsukrene[36]; at Mallos he and Amphilochus were supposed to have founded an oracle, and at Mopsuhestia he was worshipped as a healing god[37]. Some sort of early tradition is suggested by late eighth century inscriptions in Hieroglyphic-Luwian and Phoenician from Karatepe and Çineköy in Cilicia Pedias which show that a dynasty there traced its origins to "Muksas" (Luwian) or "MPS" (Phoenician), the latter

30 Robert 1954, 27 (= *OMS*, VI, 547). See Ferrary 2014, I, 109, n. 69. Some of them refer to this status: Apameia in Bithynia (F 38, 298; see Blanco-Pérez 2015), Apollonia in Pisidia (F 325), Antioch in Pisidia (F 141), Deultum (F 308), Iconium (F 47, 53, 59, 71, 123, 126, 135, 138, 261; see Mitchell 1979), Parium (F 90, 157, 184, 225).

31 See Jones 2016, 935.

32 Thonemann 2011, 218-226. A member of the family led a delegation around 110 BCE: see F 4, l. 7-8.

33 See Ferrary 2000, 357-359, no. 8, published the base of a statue of Octavian from the "oracular crypt", which refers to "honours equal to the gods", and suggests that Octavian was worshipped alongside Apollo. Germanicus visited Claros in 18 CE, apparently the only sanctuary in Greece or Asia Minor he visited (Tac., *Ann*., 2.54; Halfmann 1986, 169); for another private consultation under Nero see Tac., *Ann*., 12.22. For a possible cult place for Tiberius see Price 1984, 254. Hadrian dedicated the façade of the temple of Apollo in the period 135/8 CE: Ferrary 2000, no. 13, although it is now believed on the basis of material carried in a ship wrecked off Kizilburun that construction might have started in the mid first century CE, possibly initiated by Sextus Appuleius (Ferrary 2014, I, 4 n. 18 with Ferrary 2000, no. 9). A fragmentary oracle from Hierapolis (MS 6) has been interpreted as ordering people to obey the Roman authorities. Rome recognized the inviolability of Claros in 190/189 BCE: Rigsby 1996, 353. The fact that the cult of Apollo and the imperial cult were combined in Sagalassus is probably relevant.

34 Dana 2011a, 101-102; see also Dana 2011b, 58-65.

35 Manto: Mac Sweeney 2013, 113-118.

36 Str. 14.16; see Houwink ten Cate 1961, 45-47.

37 Oracle at Mallos: Plu., *Mor*., 434D-F; healing god at Mopsuhestia: see *SGO*, 19/15/01.

presumably the same as Greek Mopsos[38]. However, the specific transanatolian foundation narrative that the Colophonian Mopsos colonized Pamphylia and Cilicia cannot be traced back any earlier than Callisthenes, Alexander's historian, in the late fourth century BCE[39]. No delegations from Cilicia to Claros are attested, while for Pamphylia we have only one oracle[40]. Mopsos could, however, have played a role in foundation mythology in areas closer to Claros: the oracle for Hierapolis-Pamukkale describes its citizens as "from the race of Apollo and Mopsos"[41], which suggests that the city was supposed to have been founded by Mopsos on his journey East up the Maeander Valley before he crossed the Taurus south into Pamphylia[42]; it follows that pilgrims from Hierapolis to Claros were in a sense retracing his steps. Compare also the case of Sagalassos in Pisidia, discussed below. Mopsos might also have been a factor in Cretan interest in Claros, since besides the usual version that his father was Apollo, there was an alternative version that his father was the Cretan Rhakios who was supposed to have been an early ruler at Claros[43].

d. Relations between colony and mother-city. In Classical and Hellenistic Greece, there is some evidence for cities which saw themselves as colonies sending sacred delegations back to the mother-city[44]. There is one explicit case in the dossier: a record for Caesarea Germanike refers to Claros as its "maternal grandmother", apparently because it was a colony of Apameia-Myrleia which in turn had been founded by Colophon (F 191 and 176-177)[45]; Apameia-Myrleia itself does not mention its colonial status in its records. It is not impossible that other cities thought of themselves as ancient colonies of Colophon as well (did Hierapolis think it was founded by Mopsos?).

In general, we seem to see two levels of activity[46]. A "regular, active" network seems to be constituted by the regular client cities of Claros. For the cluster of cities in NE Caria/SW Phrygia, for example (Laodiceia on the Lycus, Heracleia Salbake, Tabai, Aphrodisias), attendance at Claros was a more or less regular event, and regularity or "path-dependency" are properties we would associate with an active network[47]. In this case, there may even have been a degree of interacting with each other, either by way of common participation in religious rites or, on the other hand, emulation and rivalry[48]. Perhaps delegations from these locations even traveled together. Other regular attenders were Chios and Phokaia, along with the Cretan cities Lappa

38 For the Karatepe inscription, see Hawkins 2000, Part 1, 45-68; for the Çineköy inscription see Tekoğlu & Lemaire 2000.

39 Lane Fox 2009, 218-239; contrast the view of Oettinger 2008 that Mopsos arrived in the region much earlier.

40 See above p. 167. Notice that the client-city of Hyde was sometimes regarded as part of Cilicia; see n. 7.

41 For this, and the origins of the oracle, see Rutherford 2007. Mopsos is depicted on a Roman coin from Hierapolis: Imhoof-Blumer 1901-1902, 1, 235, no. 5; the only coin with Mopsos on according to Leschorn & Franke, 2002-2009, I, 203.

42 Cf. Str. 14.2.

43 Paus. 7.3.1-2. See Unwin 2017, 72-73. See also the remarks of Jones 2016, 935; Ferrary 2013, I, 146. For Rhakios, see also Forlanini 1996.

44 See Rutherford 2013, 61-62.

45 See Corsten 1990, 26; Pompon. 1.99: Hind 1999, 79, 81. Germanicus had a role in founding the city: Corsten 1990, 28-29.

46 So Busine 2005, 69 talks of "deux cercles différents de provenance des consultants".

47 For path-dependence, see Blake 2013; Page 2006.

48 Dana 2011a, 102.

and Hierapytna, Ikonium in Lycaonia, Sagalassos and Parion. Attending the festival may also have been an opportunity to meet regular attenders from other areas.

For other cities we have only one or two records, or an oracle (such as Pergamum, Kios and Hierapolis). These tend to be further way. A common reason for consulting the oracle may have been a crisis, but some of these cities may have take the opportunity to send a political message at the sanctuary, a location where information is likely to be widely shared, as in a communication network[49]. It makes mathematical sense to treat these as part of the same network. However, in historical/sociological terms one has to ask whether it would be better to keep these distinct from the core network of frequent clients and to see them as cities whose participation is occasional or casual. We could apply the term "network" to such casual participants as well, but only in a more abstract sense. Another possibility might be to model some of the outer circle of cities as belonging to a sort of epidemiological network, where the links imply an historical act of contact, but not sustained affiliation.

Filial Cults

A "filial cult" is a secondary cult founded, or believed to have been founded, from a primary, "original" cult[50]. One major form of evidence for filial cults in ancient Greece is the distribution of divine epithets which point unambiguously to a primary cult[51]. Key early examples are Apollo "Pythios"[52], Zeus Olympios, Demeter "Eleusinia", and Artemis "Ephesia", whom Pausanias says was worshipped in all cities[53]. The lived reality is behind such distributions of epithets is rarely clear. How were filial cults established? Sometimes the context was probably colonization (as in the narrative of the foundation of Massilia by the Phokaians)[54], but what other contexts were there? Did it require authorization from the authorities responsible for the central cult? Do links between primary and secondary cult last beyond the historical act of foundation[55]? Or might the reality be even more complex, for example if one of the "filial cults" was the centre of its own network[56]?

49 For communication networks, cf. Rutherford 2017; Maclean 2008, 144-145 on Northern India during the period of the British Empire, particularly the "Kumbha Mela" festival at Allahabad .

50 Surprisingly, there appears to be no comprehensive study of filial cults in ancient religion.

51 On the implications of the epithet, Parker 2003, 177-178.

52 See the thoughtful study of Davies 2007.

53 Paus. 4.31.8: "All cities worship Artemis Ephesia (of Ephesos), and individuals hold her in honor above all the gods." Evidence for a number of filial cults survive, most notably at Sardes, and at Marseilles and at sites on the East coast of Spain.

54 Str. 4.1.4; see Malkin 2011, 175.

55 Sometimes there is known to have been a link, for example in the case of the distribution of the "Samothracian" Gods in the Hellenistic period, which has a rough correlation with the origin cities of pilgrims to Samothrace: Rutherford 2013, 282-286.

56 Malkin 2011 argues that filial cults of Ephesian Artemis maintained links between the Western Mediterranean and Ionia, but it's not clear that they need to have done, at least in the long term. It is a mistake to assume that any pattern we choose to call a network is automatically long-lasting and resilient. In fact, network theory allows for the possibility that networks degenerate over time as nodes are lost, a process known by the technical term "percolation" (see Newman 2010, chap. 16) or "volatility" (see Ehrhardt *et al.* 2008); see also Moody & White 2003 on the loss of structural cohesion in networks.

Filial cults of Apollo Clarios seem to have been quite rare. The only certain case is Sagalassos in Pisidia, where it was linked to the imperial cult[57]. There were games attached to it (an *agon Klareios*),[58] founded in the first century CE[59]. In view of the tradition about the path of Mopsos across the Taurus into Pamphylia, it is tempting to assume that Mopsos was believed to have founded this[60]. There may have been another filial cult at Isinda in Pisidia (see below), and it has been suggested that there was another at Apameia Myrleia, which, as we have seen, claimed to be a colony of Colophon. The evidence for the Apameian cult is in the form of two coins which refer Apollo Clarios, one with a Latin legend from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the other with a Greek legend from the reign of Claudius[61]. Finally, at a site in the upper Tembris Valley in northern Phrygia, someone called Symmachus set up an altar on the instruction of the oracle (MS 19). Apollo sometimes instructs enquirers to set up apotropaic statues of Clarian Apollo, but it is not certain that these amount to a full filial cult[62].

On the other hand, there is also some evidence against the existence of filial cults. First, in the case of Laodiceia on the Lycus, the most faithful client of Claros, the delegations were led by a young priest of Apollo Pythios, who was also *agonothetes* of the Deia, the festival of Zeus[63]. This seems to rule out a cult of Apollo Clarios in Laodiceia. Secondly, some of the oracles prescribe rituals relating to deities other than Apollo Clarios, for example Apollo Kareios in Hierapolis (where the link with Claros seems to be made via Mopsos instead), or Apollo Soter in Caesareia Troketta.

Sagalassos also sent several delegations to Claros. That is not in itself surprising, but it is possible that this practice was in this case linked to the filial cult. (If so, we could add as a fifth category to the four set out on p. 168-173: "e. Relations between cults and filial cults"). One might compare the case of the well-known "Sacrilege Inscription" from Ephesos (cf. *IK,* 11.1a-Ephesos, 2), which presupposes that a link was maintained between the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis and its filial cult at Sardes via a *theoria*,

57 Talloen 2015, 160-161.

58 See Ferrary 2014, I, n. 125.

59 Talloen & Waelkens 2004, 200-205.

60 See Niemann *et al.*, 1890-1892, 15.

61 Ferrary 2014, I, 176. Burnett *et al.*, ed. 1992, 1, 721 suggested that that the second might be a modern forgery partly because of anomalies in the legend (ΚΛΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΜΥΡΛΕΑΝΩΝ), a. because the name Myrlea is not used on coin in this period, and b. because other coins from Apameia in this period have Latin legends, and party because "the appearance of the type of Apollo Clarios at Apameia is very strange and would suit a mint like Colophon better". However, the anomalous reference to Apollo Clarios could be explained by Apameia's status as a colony of Colophon and as for the name Myrlea, notice that Pomponius Mela calls it "Myrlea".

62 Thus, in the oracle for Hierapolis (MS 4, l. 16-19) Claros instructs the city to take care of their local cult of Apollo Kareios, and to set up statues of Apollo Clarios at the gates. In one case, he seems to have told a city to set up a statue of Ephesian Artemis: Graf 1992. In the agora of Corinth, Pausanias says there was a statue of Clarian Apollo, which might imply a filial cult.

63 Ferrary 2014, I, 153-154. In one record for Laodiceia (F 289), Apollo may be called *Pythiou k*[*ai Kla*]*riou*, which would imply that Apollo Klarios has somehow been introduced: Ferrary 2014, I, 155 citing Robert 1969, 305-306; the priests of Tabai seem to identify themselves as of a deity with the epithet Polioukhos: Ferrary 2014, I, 145-146.

albeit this one went from Ephesos to Sardes. Filial cults in Greek religion are not well understood, and it is not clear that relations were always maintained between mother city and filial cult, especially if the distance between them was very great; it is even possible that for some cities possession of a filial cult was to some extent a disincentive to visit the main cult[64].

Pisidia has produced a range of records related to Claros[65]. Delegations were sent not only by Sagalassos but by Antiocheia and Apollonia in the North; these cities make up one of the "clusters" I discussed above[66]. Pisidian Isinda (in the South, west of Termessos) had an "*agon Klarios pentaeterikos*", which may indicate another filial cult[67]. Finally, the ancient town in the South of Pisidia known today as Melli has a dedication to the gods "in accordance with the exegesis of Clarian Apollo", the only such case known from Anatolia (see the next section). The delegations are not unusual, but the filial cults and dedication are, suggesting that Clarian Apollo had a particular popularity in this region[68]. Perhaps we should speak of a secondary regional network of the cult based round Sagalassos, where the festival attracted visitors from the region[69].

Earlier on I identified several other clusters of client cities, using PPA to bring out the relationship. At least some of these could plausibly be identified as regional networks, not in the abstract mathematical sense, but in the sense that their interest in the cult was to some extent at least coordinated. It is not impossible that some of these regional networks conceal filial cults. For example, Apameia Myrleia and its colony Caesareia Germanike are both attested as having sent delegations to Claros, and Apameia may have had a filial cult (see above); so perhaps Caesareia Germanike participated in a regional festival of the god at Apameia. Kios, for which we have an oracle (MS 14), is also very close. Similar patterns might perhaps have existed in Pontus (centred on Amaseia?) or in the Black Sea. Whether such hypothetical regional networks ever played a role in disseminating knowledge of Apollo Clarios is impossible to judge.

Dedications to the gods "following the exegesis of Clarian Apollo"

Apart from the pilgrimage records and oracles, there is one more data set that is relevant to the theme of this paper: instances of the formula "for the gods and goddesses according to the exegesis of the oracle of Apollo of Clarus". The Latin version of this

64 See my remarks on Ephesian Artemis above.

65 See Talloen 2015, 181-183, 301-302.

66 Apollonia in Pisidia: French 1994, 64-65, no. 10.

67 Coins from Isinda with the legend "Isindeon Ionon" may also point to Claros: Talloen 2015, 301-302; cf. Robert 1983, 594 n. 2.

68 Mitchell 2003. Talloen 2015, 183 suggests that a cult of Zeus and Dione in Roman Termessos was a filial cult of Dodona, though notice that Zeus and Dione were already established in Aspendos in the second century BCE: see *SEG*, XXXVIII,1339.

69 Elsewhere (Rutherford 2013, 231-236) I have argued that the cult of Delian Apollo on the island of Kos could have been the centre of a regional subnetwork of that deity for the region. Kos maintained links with Delos, at least in the Hellenistic period.

(*diis deabusque secundum interpretationem oraculi Clari Apollinis*) has been found in inscribed on blocks of store or altars in nine locations scattered over the Western Roman Empire: Britain, Dalmatia, Numidia, Sardinia, Italy, Mauretania, and Spain. The only extant copy in Greek comes from Melli in Pisidia (see above): [θ]εοῖς και θεαῖς ἀπὸ ἐξηγησεως χρήσμου Ἀπόλλωνος Κλαρίου. The formula represents not dissemination of the cult of Apollo Klarios (*i.e.* filial cult), but rather the dissemination of an oracle of Clarus, interpreted in a certain way[70].

The wide dissemination of the formula is a surprise, given what we know of the records and oracles, which do not suggest great interest in the Western Mediterranean, although the Anatolian *coloniae* who frequented the oracle had Roman connections. Jeanne and Louis Robert argued that even from the Hellenistic period, Claros had deliberately sought to make itself accessible not just to Greeks but to barbarians, promoting a sort of religious cosmopolitanism[71].

The origins of these dedications would be easier to understand if we knew the date. One suggestion is that they were spread by central Roman authorities under the emperor Caracalla in the early third century CE[72]. However, there is no sign of imperial authorization in the inscriptions, and some scholars have preferred to date them as early as the mid-second century CE[73]. Christopher Jones has argued that, like many of the oracles, they were a response to the Antonine plague of the 160s, and were spread by the authorities of Claros; he saw them as protective inscriptions put up on walls to ward off plague[74]. Stephen Mitchell prefers to link the dedications to an Clarian oracle known from Oenoanda in Lycia and from manuscript sources in which Apollo proclaims that *aither* is the one divine principle, but that the other gods are its angels (MS 25, l. 26-28). This oracle was interpreted (the *exegesis* mentioned in the inscriptions) to mean that people should go on worshipping the traditional polytheistic deities as parts of the whole, a way of reconciling henotheistic tendencies in this period with traditional polytheism. The oracle from Oenoanda is usually connected with so-called "theosophical" oracles and placed in the third century CE, which Mitchell thought is a plausible date for all of the inscriptions[75].

In this case too, the agent for at least the primary dissemination of the formula was probably Claros, which either handed this doctrine to pilgrims (although none are known from these areas) or sent out Apolline missionaries, who capitalized on the fact that the

70 See Mitchell 2003, 153, who suggests this was the well known theosophic oracle from Oinoanda.

71 Robert & Robert 1989, 94-95, referring to the honorary inscription for Menippos, II, 31-32 (Menippos praised by all the Greeks and barbarians attending the festival).

72 Birley 1974; supported by Bruun 2012, 136.

73 Lane Fox 1985, 194.

74 Jones 2005.

75 Mitchell 2003; supported by Chaniotis 2010, 108, who argues that the Antonine date does not suit Cosa in Italy. Bruun 2012, 134-136 criticises the Antonine Plague interpretation on the grounds that the oracles specify the erection of statues (and not dedications of this type). Notice that Aither is one of number of gods the Lydian city on the Hermos is called on to worship according to the oracle from Hierapolis: MS 4.

authority of Apollo Clarius was widely recognised. Self-advertisement by sanctuaries is known from earlier periods as well; for example, in the Hellenistic period they routinely sent out festival announcers to advertise regular festivals, to proclaim the establishment of new ones or to secure recognition as "inviolable"[76]. In view of the geography, it is possible that some dissemination was also carried out by Roman soldiers, as Anna Collar has argued for the case of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus[77]. A good parallel for this might be the magical formula known as the "Ephesian Letters", which is widely disseminated in the ancient world, but by its name associated with Ephesos and possibly even promoted by the Ephesian sanctuary to some extent[78].

Like any phenomenon with a geographical distribution, the dedications "according to the exegesis of Apollo Clarios" can be thought of as constituting a network; in fact, we can extrapolate that they were part of a much bigger network comprising the hundreds or thousands of these dedications which must originally have existed. Rather than an affiliation network like the ones reconstructed on the basis of the records and oracles, this should be seen as an epidemiological network, which charts the spread of a meme, but does not necessarily tell is anything about the degree of long-term contact between the nodes.

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Abbreviations

OMS, VI	L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, VI, Amsterdam, 1989.
SGO	R. Merkelbach et J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, I-IV, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1998-2002.

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76 See Rutherford 2013, 73-82.

77 Collar 2013; see also Busine 2005, 189.

78 See Kötting 1950, 50; written on the statue: Plu., *Mor.*, 706D-E.

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