

THE HERO-CULT OF HIPPOLYTUS IN TROEZEN



ABSTRACT: The hero-cult of Hippolytus in Troezen is well documented in the archaeological, epigraphic and literary record. This paper focuses on the social function of the cult of Hippolytus in Troezen. After discussing the archaeological evidence for this hero-cult, I demonstrate how a special type of votive dedications that predominate in the assemblages of his sanctuary sheds light on the hero's specific social function and cultic identity (i.e. his kourotrophic power). By tying together the different types of evidence (archaeological as well as literary), I argue that the kourotrophic function of Hippolytus was an effective medium at the hands of the *polis*-authorities of internalising a reverent behaviour in the ancient worshippers.

I. THE TROEZENIAN SACRED PRECINCT FOR HIPPOLYTUS

LOCATED SOUTHWEST of Athens, Troezen is a coastal territory which is built on the eastern side of Argolis at a sea distance of about 3km, very close to the south of the Methana peninsula. The peri-urban sanctuary of Hippolytus is located NW across the modern town of Troezen.¹ It was located outside the city-walls at a distance of 670 km from the ancient agora.²

From 1890 to 1905, Philippe Legrand conducted a series of diagnostic excavations outside the city-walls of Troezen, where he revealed the sacred precinct of the sanctuary of Hippolytus.³ During Legrand's excavations, numerous architectural remnants from the foundations of the temple

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1. Oikonomidou (2015) 6 n. 9.
2. Polignac (1995) 47-51; Oikonomidou (2015) 16.
3. Robinson and Blegen (1933) 153.

of Hippolytus as well as the statuary and epigraphic remnants have come to light.⁴ Legrand was the first archaeologist to reconstruct the topography of the sanctuary of Hippolytus based on Pausanias' testimony (2.32.1-4), who is by far the most valuable guide as well as the most important ancient source of evidence for the identification of the material evidence associated with the Troezenian hero-cult of Hippolytus.⁵ By having Pausanias as his guide, Legrand revealed the extensive sanctuary-complex of Hippolytus (Fig. 1) including the sacred precinct (τοῦ περιβόλου, Paus. 2.32.3), which was enclosed in the Geometric *temenos*.⁶ The Geometric *temenos* of Hippolytus is situated NW of the sanctuary-complex. It consists of an irregular-shaped terrace enclosed within a polygonal *peribolos* (Fig. 1, no. 11). Compared with other hero-sanctuaries of the Geometric period, the same architectural layout can be discerned in the hero-shrines of Pelops at Olympia and of Opheltes at Nemea. Similarly, the Geometric *temenos* of Hippolytus in Troezen is roughly dated between the end of the eighth and the early seventh centuries BC.⁷

Next to the Geometric *temenos*, the archaeologists have also identified the remains of a *naiskos* dedicated to Hippolytus, which has an orientation to the West. It is a rectangular building (4,20 x 5,50 m.) with an anteroom (προθάλαμος) and a main room (σηκός).⁸ Towards the east of the *naiskos* of Hippolytus, inside the rocky outcrop the archaeologists revealed Geometric, Classical and Hellenistic pottery sherds (ὄστρακα) as well as terracotta dedications (κονιούρια) among the sacrificial residues.⁹ Further confirmation of this evidence comes from Pausanias who reports that annual sacrifices were performed in honour of the hero (θυσίαι ἐπέτειοι, 2.32.1).¹⁰

In fact, when Pausanias visited Troezen, he did not fail to acknowledge that the sacred precinct of Hippolytus, which enclosed the hero's temple and statue, was the most prominent sacred building of the area of Troezen

4. For the history of the excavations, see Giannopoulou (2013) 325; For the epigraphic evidence at the archeological site, see Legrand (1893) 84-121 and (1900) 179-215; For the architectural remnants, see Legrand (1905) 269-318.

5. Legrand (1905) 269-318.

6. The English translation for *temenos* (τέμενος) is periphrastic: it denotes a sacred precinct set aside, so as to be dedicated to a god/goddess. It derives from the ancient Greek verb τέμνω, meaning "to cut of" to underline the separation from the secular. See Pedley (2005) 29.

7. Welter (1941) 34; Musti-Torelli (1986) 320; Hall (1999) 51.

8. Giannopoulou (2018) 132.

9. Legrand (1905) 300; Welter (1941) 34; Saporiti (2004) 368; Oikonomidou (2015) 85 n. 262; Giannopoulou (2018) 133.

10. Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 184; Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 126 n. 55 and 57.

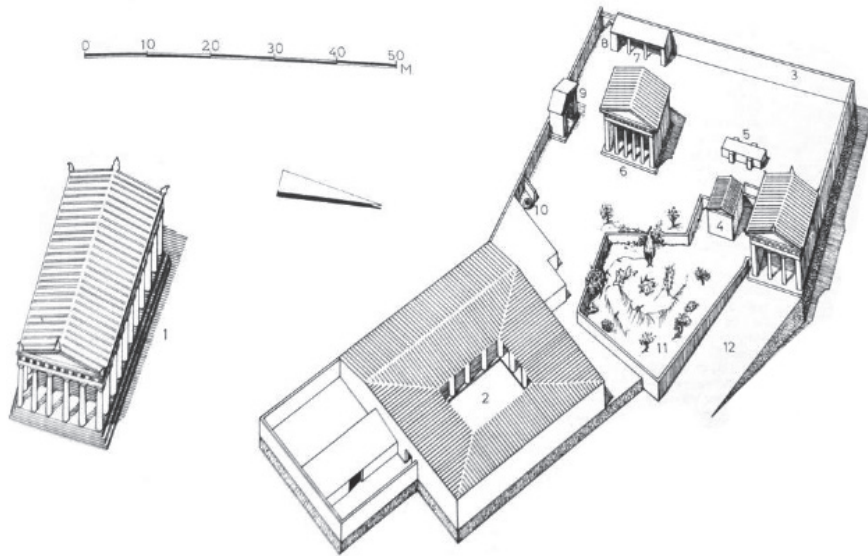


Fig. 1. A close-up view of the reconstruction plan of the *temenos* of Hippolytus. The numbers on the buildings correspond to the following buildings: 1: peripteral temple of Hippolytus, 2: Abaton?, 3: Western Wall, 4: small temple, 5: altar, 6: a temple-like structure (*naiskos*), 7: Stoa, 8: small entrance from SW corner, 9: Fountain house, 10: storage area, 11: Ancient *temenos* with *peribolos*, 12: Propylon. [Papahatzis (1976) 251].

(τέμενός τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἀνεῖται καὶ ναὸς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον, 2.32.1).¹¹ Pausanias' description is congruent with the archaeological discoveries that revealed the monumental *propylon* of the sanctuary-complex of Hippolytus (Fig. 1, no. 12), as well as a big Doric *peripteral* temple (Fig. 1, no.1) of Hippolytus southwards (31,85 x 17,35 m.).¹² The temple is dated to the late fourth century BC on the basis of its *poros*-foundations.¹³ The morphology of the sanctuary complex (i.e. including a temple and auxiliary sacred buildings) in honour of Hippolytus, had functional and architectural parallels with the sanctuaries of Amphiaraos at Oropos and the Herakleion in the island of Thasos.¹⁴ According to Huard, “the possession of a *ναός* is not an honour received by Pausanias' heroes but that commonly received by the gods, with the exceptions of Hippolytus at Troezen”.¹⁵

11. On the meaning of *ἐπιφανέστατον* as denoting “the most important place”, see Polinskaya (2013) 210.

12. Oikonomidou (2015) 5.

13. Konsolaki-Giannopoulou (2012) 214.

14. Ekroth (2007) 110.

15. Huard (2012) 38.

Concerning other cults that were venerated inside the sacred precinct (*περίβολος*) of Hippolytus on the north hill, where the Byzantine church is situated, we ought to note: (i) two dedicatory inscriptions attesting to the cultic existence of a joint cult of Asklepios and Hygeia within the sacred precinct of Hippolytus (*IG IV 771* and *IG IV 772*), (ii) the *τέμενος* of Apollo Epibaterios (Paus. 2.32.2) and (iii) the cultic pair of the heroines Damia and Auxesia (Paus. 2.32.2).¹⁶ Outside the sacred precinct of Hippolytus, there was the stadium of Hippolytus while above the stadium there was the temple of Aphrodite Kataskopia (Paus. 2.32.2) as well as a tomb of Phaedra, and a tomb of Hippolytus, all placed according to the position of a sacred myrtle.¹⁷ Finally, *IG IV 754* (late third century BC) supports the existence of a gymnasium dedicated to Hippolytus.¹⁸

The common cultic locus of the heroes was usually their tombs, where sacrifices were performed.¹⁹ The location of a hero's tomb, in some regions, was kept secret.²⁰ Likewise, when Pausanias (2.32.1) visited Troezen, the location of the tomb of Hippolytus was kept in secret. In substitution of their secret, the Troezenians had erected a memorial stone (*μνημα*, 2.32.4) to preserve the hero's story in the collective memory.²¹ From an archaeological perspective, Saporiti has excluded the possibility that Hippolytus received cultic honours at his tomb.²² In contrast, Oikonomidou has proposed that Hippolytus may have received cult in two different places within the same sacred precinct. She argues that the hero must have received worship in an underground built-tomb (a cenotaph) as well as in the Geometric *temenos*.

16. On the heroines Damia and Auxesia worshipped at Troezen, see Polinskaya (2013) 467-68. On the cults venerated inside the sacred precinct of Hippolytus, see Oikonomidou (2015) 9.

17. Welter also revealed two large and parallel retaining walls, which he verified as the remnants of the stadium of Hippolytus. On the basis of Pausanias' testimony (2.32.3), the foundations of the temple of Aphrodite Kataskopia, *ναὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (τοῦ σταδίου) Ἀφροδίτης Κατασκοπίας* have been identified by Legrand and Welter on the upper terrace on the eastern slope below the acropolis of Troezen, where the Byzantine Basilica is located. See Welter (1941) 34-37.

18. On the gymnasium of Hippolytus, see Legrand (1897: 550) and (1900: 185) and (1905: 297-98).

19. Bruit-Zaidman & Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 179.

20. From antiquity to the modern era, the phenomenon of secrecy is a common feature in religions. See Wolfson (1999) 1-2. In ancient Greek religion, the secrecy over the location of a hero's tomb is a recurring motif in other hero-cults (e.g., Oedipus' grave in Soph. *OC* 1518-1534, 1760-67; the secret graves of Neleus and Sisypheos at Isthmus in Paus. 2.2.2).

21. Frazer (1913) 281; Wiles (1999) 216 n. 36.

22. Saporiti (2004) 381.

What is certain, however, is that during the imperial period, Hippolytus was a primary deity within the sacred precinct, while his local priest appears to have had a prominent place and an annual office at Troezen (*Τροιζηνίους δὲ ἱερεὺς μὲν ἔστιν Ἴππολύτου τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα ἱερώμενος*, Paus. 2.32.1). In later times, visual representations of Hippolytus are identified on coins that fall into different dates: from the Hadrianic (117–138 AD) down to the periods of Commodus (180–192 AD) and Septimius Severus (193–211 AD).²³ Most significant for the identification of the social capacity of Hippolytus are the votive dedications²⁴ that had been unearthed in the area of his *temenos*, a subject that we will discuss in the following section.

II. VOTIVE DEDICATIONS: HIPPOLYTUS, A KOUROTROPHIC DEITY

It is a leitmotif that a worshipper's normative behaviour towards a deity was revealed and expressed through the offering of *timai* (cultic honours) to that god. A shift in the cultic nature of Hippolytus is attested in the first century BC, when Diodorus of Sicily remarked that the hero received by the Troezenians cultic honours equal to those of gods (*παρὰ Τροιζηνίους ἔτυχεν ἰσοθέων τιμῶν*, 4.62.4).²⁵ However, the term *ἰσόθεοι* describes the godlike honour as such, without actually saying anything precise about the social function of the cult of Hippolytus at Troezen. By the Imperial period it appears that Hippolytus was worshipped as a god (Paus. 2.32.4). As Ekroth has aptly remarked, “a hero can be called *theos* occasionally but still be a hero”.²⁶ What is significant to note is that divine parentage was a prerequisite for a hero to be called *theos* and be allotted godlike honour.²⁷ More insight into the identification of the god's cultic identity is gained by his votive dedications, an overlooked aspect of his Troezenian hero-cult which allow us to identify two essential and inter-related aspects of his hero-cult:

23. Oikonomidou (2003:109) and (2015: 79).

24. Welter (1941) 35–38; Oikonomidou (2007) 85–86; Oikonomidou (2015) 97.

25. Parallel instances of heroes who were worshipped at some point as gods include Protesilaus (Hdt 9.10.3) and Heracles (Paus. 2.10.1).

26. Comparative evidence for the denomination of heroes as *theoi* can be drawn from different *poleis*, mostly Athens and Thasos: (i) Heros-theos Hypodeiktēs of Athens (*IG II² 2501*) dated to the end of the fourth century BC, (ii) Heros Iatros of Athens (*IG II² 839*) dated to 221/0 BC, (iii) Heros-theos Egretēs of Athens (*IG II² 2499 = LSS 47*) and (iv) Theogenēs of Thasos (*LSS 72*).

27. Rhode (21966) 141 n. 23. Comparative cases are those of the hero-cults of Herakles ([Apollod.] 2.7.7), Dionysus (D.S. 3.62.6–7) and Asclepius (D.S. 4.71).



Fig. 2. Clay Votive Dedication (3 x 2,2 cm) from the sanctuary of Hippolytus in Troezen. [Giannopoulou (2018) 129 Fig.19]

- (i) The identity of the ancient worshipper.
- (ii) The hero's cultic identity through the eyes of the ancient worshipper.

The excavation season of 1905 in the sanctuary of Hippolytus brought to light a slight but telling concentration of miniature ring-shaped votive terracotta dedications (0.06 - 0.08 diameter), known as *κουλούρια*.²⁸ These dedications are in the form of a cylinder-ring with its ends overlapping and pressed flat (Fig. 2).²⁹ Legrand and Welter discovered these miniature votives within a deposit from the Geometric temenos of Hippolytus (Fig. 3) in assemblages of burned animal bones and pottery sherds ranging from the Geometric down to the Hellenistic periods.³⁰ It can be reasonably inferred that the Troezenian *κουλούρια* provide strong evidence for worshippers' strategies of reciprocity in the *hêrôon* of Hippolytus.³¹

Dedications of *κουλούρια* are relatively rare in Greek sanctuaries, and when found they are often associated with kourotrophic deities, in particular Hera. This observation is based on a substantial number of *κουλούρια* that were discovered in the Argive Heraion as well as in the Geometric deposit of the sanctuary of Hera Acraea at Perachora. These are dated from the Geometric period onwards.³² However, there are some variations in their form. For instance, flat *κουλούρια* in the shape of a single ring with scalloped edges were discovered in the Agamemnoneion at Mycenae (Fig. 4) while at Tiryns and Kalauraia, *κουλούρια* appear in the form of a double ring and

28. The *κουλούρια* from the site of Hippolytus come from old excavations. See Legrand (1897) and (1905).

29. Legrand (1905) 300-301; Welter (1941) 34; Gorrini (2001) 310 n. 101; Saporiti (2004) 368.

30. Welter (1941) 34; Musti and Torelli (1986) 315-316; As Oikonomidou (2015: 85) notes, "the date of the earliest votive dedications of the sanctuary cannot be safely identified due to the insufficient publications of the first excavators".

31. On the reciprocity between gods and men, see Versnel (1981) 100-111; Yunis (1988) 50-58; Parker (1998).

32. Argive Heraion: See Waldstein (1905) 42, 117, pl. 58; Menadier (1995) 159 (with references); Strøm (2009) 81 n. 72; Alexandridou (2013) 114 n. 448. Hera Akraia at Corinth: Larson (2007) 34; Strøm (2009) 81 n. 72.

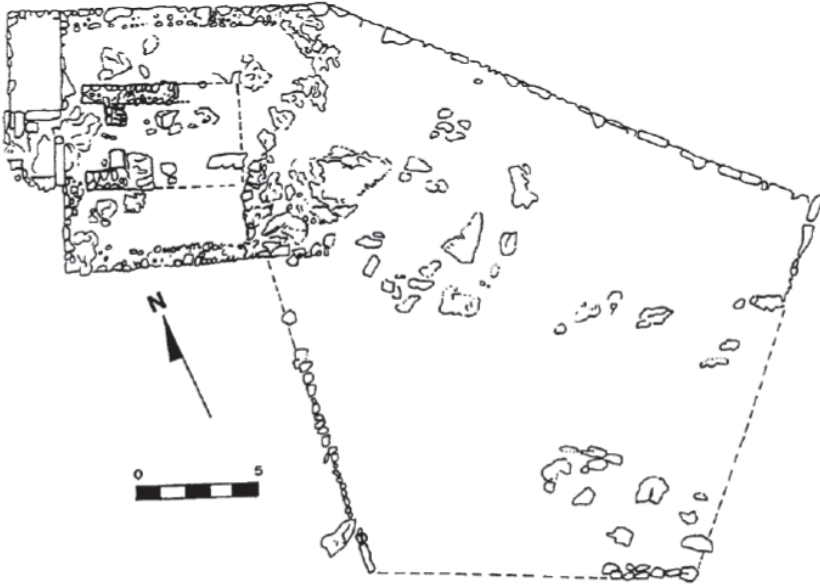


Fig. 3. Hypothetical plan of the Geometric *temenos* of Hippolytus
[Mazarakis-Ainian (1997) fig.242]



Fig. 4. Koulouria from the deposit of the Agamemnoneion at Mycenae [No. I 26]
[Cook (1953) no.I 26]

Solygeia in the form of a triple ring.³³ Principal dedicators of *κουλούρια* were normally female worshippers (i.e., women and maidens).³⁴ One may raise the question: what did these *κουλούρια* (terracotta dedications) represent?

These miniature dedications are loaded with underlying and divergent meanings: they either represent miniature votive wreaths or sacrificial cakes (*πόπανα*)³⁵ or clay imitations of bread rolls.³⁶ It has further been suggested that in contexts of pre-nuptial ritual *κουλούρια* may be regarded as miniature representations of girdles, like those dedicated by the Troezenian maidens to Athena Apatouria (*κατεστήσατο δὲ καὶ ταῖς Τροιζηνίων παρθένους ἀνατιθέναι πρὸ γάμου τὴν ζώνην τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀπατουρίᾳ*, Paus. 2.33.1).³⁷ Alternatively, I would suggest that on the basis of the shape and form of *κουλούρια* at Troezen, it can be argued that these votive offerings may symbolically represent symbolic wreaths of the unmarried girls' hair-locks in the form of votive terracotta dedications (*κουλούρια*). This rationale can be further supported by the following Euripidean passages that allude as well as justify the historicity of the Troezenian cult aetiology of Hippolytus.

III. THE HISTORICITY OF THE CULT-AETIOLOGY IN EURIPIDES

Euripides (*Hipp.* 1419-27) and Pausanias (2.32.1-4) did not fail to integrate the aetiology for the hero-cult of Hippolytus into the fabric of their narratives. The earliest attestation of a cult-aetiology of Hippolytus appears in fr. 446.1-6 Kannicht of Euripides' *Hippolytus Kalyptomenos*, where the Chorus praises Hippolytus for receiving cultic honours on account of his *σωφροσύνη* and *εὐσέβεια*.³⁸

33. Agamemnoneion: Cook (1953) 64, pl.23; Tiryns and Kalaureia: Alexandridou (2013) 115 n. 453.

34. For a discussion of *κουλούρια* at Heraia, see Cook (1953) 30-68; Salmon (1972) 159-204 and Menadier (1995) 159 n. 28, 29.

35. Brumfield (1997) 169-171.

36. This interpretation arises from the observation that similar objects are depicted on small votive trays. See Alexandridou (2013) 115.

37. For *κουλούρια*, see Penttinen & Wells (2009) 120 cat. no. 84; Alexandridou (2013) 114; Oikonomidou (2015) 80 n. 241. On the transitory-rituals and the dedication of girdles, see Forsén (2004: 296-97) and Parker (2004: 279).

38. Here, I have followed and adapted the translations by Mikalson (1991) 42 and Loeb translation of Collard and Cropp (2008) 484-485; On Hippolytus' being rewarded for his *sophrosyne* see Gregory (1991) 77-79. On the cult-aetiology in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, see Mills (1997) 191 and Ebbott (2017) 118.

ὦ μάκαρ, οἷας ἔλαχες τιμάς,
 Ἴππόλυθ' ἤρωσ, διὰ σωφροσύνην·
 οὔποτε θνητοῖς
 ἀρετῆς ἄλλη δύναμις μείζων·
 ἦλθε γὰρ ἢ πρόσθ' ἢ μετόπισθεν
 τῆς εὐσεβείας χάρις ἐσθλή.

What honour you, hero Hippolytus,
 received because of your self-control.
 No other power is greater for mortals than that of virtue,
 because a divine favour from reverence comes
 either beforehand or afterwards.

The close bond between reverence and divine benefaction is documented in the final episode of *Hippolytus Stephanephoros* (or *Stephanias*), where the hero's demise at the hands of Aphrodite galvanised Artemis not only to verbally laud his reverence (*εὐσέβεια*) but also to promise her gift to Hippolytus in the form of cultic honours. Naturally, a Troezenian cult-aetiology is employed in the extant *Hippolytus*, since the scene is set in Troezen. This is explicitly stated in the following Euripidean passage (*Hipp.* 1419-30):³⁹

σῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγαθῆς φρενὸς χάριν·
 σοὶ δ', ὦ ταλαίπωρ', ἀντὶ τῶνδε τῶν κακῶν
 τιμὰς μεγίστας ἐν πόλει Τροζηνία
 δώσω· κόραι γὰρ ἄζυγες γάμων πάρος
 κόμας κερδῶνται σοι, δι' αἰῶνος μακροῦ
 πένθη μέγιστα δακρῶν καρπουμένῳ.
 ἀεὶ δὲ μουσσοπιὸς ἐς σὲ παρθένων
 ἔσται μέριμνα, κοῦκ ἀνώνημος πεσῶν
 ἔρωσ ὁ Φαίδρας εἷς σε σιγηθήσεται.

And this will be the reward of your reverence and good thoughts: ...
 To you, poor man, I shall grant, in recompense for your sufferings,
 the greatest honours in the city of Troezen: For unmarried girls before
 their wedding will cut their hair for you, and eternally you will harvest
 the deep mourning of their tears. And virgins will always be mindful to
 sing to you, and Phaedra's love for you will never be forgotten.

39. Loeb translation of Kovacs (1995), much adapted.

The religious ramifications that emerge from the above fifth-century cultic *action* require a closer scrutiny for they must have had strong cultural and religious overtones for the contemporary audience.⁴⁰ First, from an inter-textual perspective, it evokes a Sophoclean passage where Herakles (Soph. *Phil.* 1441-43) expresses the belief that a person's reverence towards the gods is imperishable, a notion that is clearly alluded to in Hippolytus' cult *action* below that explicitly demonstrates that the criterion for his heroisation was his reverence. The cult-aetiology offered by Euripides' *Hippolytus* appears to have been synchronic with the ritual practice at Troezen. In this respect, from the cult action in the epilogue of Euripides' *Hippolytus*, two major rites can be detected both of which were intended to be the exclusive concern of Troezenian maidens (*ἐς σὲ παρθένων ἔσται μέριμνα*, 1428-29):⁴¹

(i) Hair-Dedication (ll. 1425-26)

(ii) Ritual Lamentation (ll. 1427-28)

In the ritual context of Troezen, the dedication of hair has been regarded as a pre-marital ritual, which every young girl (*κόραι γὰρ ἄζυγες γάμων*, *Hipp.* 1425-26) had to dedicate at the hero's tomb or mound (*ἡρόιον*, Schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 1424), or in his temple (Paus. 2.32.1): *ἐκάστη παρθένος πλόκαμον ἀποκείρεται οἱ πρὸς γάμου, κειραμένη δὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν φέρουσα*.⁴² In our context, it may be perceived as a kind of *προτέλεια* "preliminary sacrifice" before the marriage (Paus. 2.32.2).⁴³ More insight into this ritual's significance comes to us from Lucian's *De Dea Syria* 60, which refers to a unique ritual correspondence between the Hieropolitans and the Troezenians in their observance of the ritual of hair-cutting:⁴⁴

40. For the "familiar cultic language" that tragedians employ in their aetiologies, see Scullion (1999-2000) 229; On the reception of Euripidean aetiologies by their contemporary audience, see Dunn (2000) 3.

41. See the insightful paper by Seaford (2009: 221-34, for Hippolytus' cult-action see page 230) whose argumentative stance I fully endorse. Seaford acutely raises important methodological issues concerning the historicity of the cult-aetiologies attested in Euripides' plays. Seaford does not believe that any of them are literary inventions. As this paper demonstrates, Seaford's critique is further justified and supported by the material evidence. Considering the contemporary archaeological and epigraphic testimonies, it appears that the cult-aetiologies mentioned in Euripides' plays (in our case *Hippolytus*) are not literary inventions.

42. LSJ⁹, s.v. *ἡρόιον*, 'mound, tomb'.

43. Dillon (1999) 72 n. 57.

44. Lightfoot (2003) 531.

Ποιέουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο μόνουσι Ἑλλήνων Τροιζήνιοισι ὁμολογέοντες. λέξω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι ποιέουσιν. Τροιζήνιοι τῆσι παρθένοισι καὶ τοῖσιν ἡθέοισι νόμον ἐποιήσαντο μή μιν ἄλλως γάμον ἰέναι, πρὶν Ἴππολύτῳ κόμας κείρασθαι· καὶ ὧδε ποιέουσιν. τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ πόλει γίγνεται. οἱ μὲν νεηναῖοι τῶν γενεῶν ἀπάρχονται, τοῖς δὲ νέοισι πλοκάμους ἱροὺς ἐκ γενετῆς ἀπιᾶσιν, τοὺς ἐπεὰν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γένωνται, τάμνουσιν τε καὶ ἐς ἄγγεα καταθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀργύρεα, πολλοὶ δὲ χρύσεια ἐν τῷ νηφῷ προσηλώσαντες ἀπίασιν ἐπιγράφαντες ἕκαστοι τὰ οὐνόματα. τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ νέος ἔτι ὡν ἐπετέλεσα, καὶ ἔτι μεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ὁ πλόκαμος καὶ τὸ οὐνομα.

They have another odd custom, in which they agree with the Troezenians alone of the Greeks. I will explain this too. The Troezenians have made a law for their maidens and youths alike never to marry till they have dedicated their locks to Hippolytus; and this they do. It is the same at Hierapolis. The young men dedicate their first beards, then, they let down the locks of the maidens, which have been sacred from their birth. When they finally come to the temple, they then cut these off and place them in vases, some in silver and many in gold, and after nailing them up to the temple and inscribing their name on the vases, they depart. Similarly, I performed this act myself when I was a youth, and even now my hair-locks remains still in the temple, with my name on the vase.⁴⁵

The Hieropolitans (according to Lucian) practised the same ritual of the hair-cutting during the second century AD. It appears that the hair-cutting ritual was not short-lived at Troezen but it kept re-occurring in later centuries, like Lucian's time (second century AD) when the Troezenians have enacted a regulation for this ritual (*νόμον ἐποιήσαντο*).⁴⁶ During the Classical period, a similar pre-nuptial ritual is attested in the island of Delos, where both boys and girls used to cut off their hair locks and dedicate them on the tomb of the Hyperborean maidens in order to supplicate them (Hdt. 4.34):⁴⁷

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτας οἶδα ποιεύσας, τῆσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτησι τῆσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησάσῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων· αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμον πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον

45. Adapted translation from Elsner (2001: 143) combined with Strong (2013) 91-93.

46. Lightfoot (2003) 531.

47. Loeb translation by A. Godley (1921) 232-233.

εἰλιξασαι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι (τὸ δὲ σῆμα ἐστὶ ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός, ἐπιπέφυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίη)...

This I know that they do. The Delian girls and boys cut their hair in honour of these Hyperborean maidens, who died at Delos; the girls before their marriage cut off a tress and lay it on the tomb, wound about a spindle; this tomb is at the foot of an olive-tree, on the left hand of the entrance of the temple of Artemis..

Apart from the function of hair-dedication as a pre-marital ritual, there are some other textual references that indicate that boys offered their hair to river gods as thanksgiving for their nurture. For instance, Achilles dedicated a hair-lock to the river god Spercheios (*ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην ... Σπερχειῶ ποταμῶ*, Il. 23.141-53), Orestes dedicated his hair-lock to the river-god Inakhos in gratitude for his nurture (*πλόκαμον Ἰνάχῳ θροεπτήριον*, Aesch. *Cho.* 6-7). Similarly, in Arcadia, the boys of Phigaleia dedicated their hair to the river god Neda (Paus. 8.41.3) and in Athens the son of Mnesimache offered his hair to the river Kephisos (*ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Μνησιμάχης, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀνάθημα κειρομένον οἱ τὴν κόμην τοῦ παιδός ἐστι τῷ Κηφισῶ*, Paus. 1.37.3).⁴⁸

Another category of hair-offerings by maiden and boys is linked with rituals for heroes or heroines. These hair-dedications are conflated with ritual lamentations. For instance, the hair-offering of the children at the tomb of Medea's children in Corinth (Paus. 2.3.6), or the hair-dedications by the Megarian maidens at the *μνήμα* of the heroine Iphinoe (Paus. 1.43.4) and those of Delian boys and girls at the *σῆμα* of the Hyperborean maidens (*παῖδες δὲ θέρος τὸ πρῶτον ἰούλων / ἄρσενες ἠϊθέοισιν ἀπαρχόμενοι φορέουσιν*, Call. *Hymn.* 4.296-9).⁴⁹ All these virgin heroines have died young, like Hippolytus.⁵⁰ Moreover, hair-offerings were documented in association with the goddess Athena at Argos (Stat. *Theb.* 2.253-6) and the goddesses Hera Teleia, Artemis and the Fates at Athens (Hesych. γ 133; Pollux 3.38).⁵¹ I would further suggest that the rite of hair-dedication alludes to a

48. Richardson (1993) 182-83.

49. Leitao (2003) 113.

50. Segal (1993) 126-7.

51. Eitrem (1915) 364-5; Ghiron-Bistagne (1982) 48; Barrett (1964) 4 n. 3; Lyons (1997) 44 n. 26; Scullion (1999-2000) 225; Lightfoot (2003) 535 n. 17.

cultic affiliation with Artemis' rites (*A.P.* 6.276-77).⁵² In Leitao's view, the hair-dedicatory rite at Troezen should be seen as part of an initiation ritual whose aim was to maintain a good relationship between the living and the dead.⁵³ Clearly, Leitao's argument reflects the traditional scholarly views on initiation rituals that marked the transition from one life-stage to another: from adolescence to maturity of young women.⁵⁴

Even though Lightfoot has suggested that hair-dedication could not appeal to rationality, nonetheless, she convincingly argued that this ritual may be seen as a way of "leaving something oneself behind, something more intimate than, say, a piece of clothing".⁵⁵ According to Euripidean cult-aetiology, the second rite that Hippolytus received on Troezen was ritual lamentation which was divinely ordained by Artemis as a recompense for his sufferings⁵⁶ and as a way for ensuring the perpetuation of the hero's memory through the musical recitation of the hero's myth in the generations to come (*δι' αἰῶνος μακροῦ / πένθη μέγιστα δακρύων καρπονύμενφ· / ἄει δὲ μουσσοπιῶς, Hērph.* 1426-28).⁵⁷

The origins of this ritual expression are traced back to the Homeric funeral rituals (*ἐθρήνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναικες*, *Il.* 24.722) and especially to the songs of lament for Odysseus (*Od.* 18.202-205), Hector (*Il.* 22.391-95) and the funeral of Achilles (*Od.* 24.35-95), which foretell their post-Homeric worship in the form of hero-cults.⁵⁸ For instance, in the hero-cult of Achilles at Olympia (Paus. 6.23.3) and at Croton (*αἱ γυναῖκες πενθοῦσι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα*, Schol. Lyk. *Alex.* 857), women's ritual lamentations are attested.⁵⁹ Returning to the ritual lamentation at Troezen, it can be argued that this type of ritual necessitates the worshipper's emotional participation. Female

52. Gow and Page (1965) 510, 1375; Dillon (1999) 71 n. 49; Dillon (2002) 215, 315.

53. For the initiatory role of hair-dedication, see Jeanmaire (1939) 283; Pucci (1977) 184-186; Burkert (1985) 373-374 n. 29; Leitao (2003) 113.

54. The initiation rites were quite central in Burkert's seminal work on Greek Religion. Burkert (1985: 264) suggests that these rites originate from tribal initiations and their purpose was to symbolize the "crisis-strewn path that leads to adult life." Advocates: Graf (1993); Bremmer (1999); Calame (²2001; ¹1997) and Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 329-40.

55. Lightfoot (2003) 533 n. 11, 12.

56. It has been argued that Oidipous was another tragic character whose heroisation was granted as a recompense for his sufferings (Sophocles, *OC*); Jebb (1900) iiv; Bowra (1944) 309; *Contra*: Mikalson (1991) 33-34.

57. Kowalzig (2006) 92; Scodel (2010) 142; Parker (2011) 186-87.

58. Alexiou (2002); Dué and Nagy (2004) 66-67 n. 36, 37 and 38.

59. For the ritual at Croton, see Diod. Sic. 8.17 and Shaw (2001) 169 n. 24. For further cases of deities honoured with ritual lamentation, see Parker (2011) 186-187.

worshippers at the brink of marriage may have experienced a relatively high emotional distress. The emotional attachment to the hero during the performance of a cult song would have forged a strong emotional relationship between the maidens and the kourotrophic hero-god.

The mention that Hippolytus would have found this ritual beneficial (*καρπούμενον*, *Hipp.* 1427) is not obscure, as ritual lamentations appear to have been quite customary offering rites to heroes.⁶⁰ There remains to be considered, however, the ethical function of these rituals (hair-cutting and songs). The performative ritual of tearful hymns sung by maiden choruses to Hippolytus would have functioned as an ethical reminder in the mind of the ancient worshipper of Troezen that these hymns were part of the *polis*' life, a way of connecting the deep past with the historic present. In other words, it was "a way of learning a city-state's religious traditions and expressing one's devotion to the recognized gods".⁶¹

Marriage is a key aspect in our investigation of the cultic identity of Hippolytus, because his protective power over Troezenian maidens would have had wider implications for the whole *polis* of Troezen. To explain my rationale: in genealogical history, females are the link to collateral branches of the family stem.⁶² A *polis* could not be sustained without reproduction, and marriage was a vital institution for ensuring the perpetuation of the distinctive identity of a particular community.⁶³ In this respect, it was necessary for any young girl to learn how to submit to the mandatory rituals of their *polis*. This process was a social learned process through which the young maidens learned how to revere the hero.

Rituals were primarily social actions, which shaped the identity of the worshipping group.⁶⁴ The inculcation of reverence would have been transmitted from one generation to another either through the circulation of traditional local stories or through the annual memory-songs part of the hero's lamentation ritual. Every year, each female worshipper who would visit the sanctuary of Hippolytus in advance of her pre-nuptial rite would have encountered the display of past worshippers' votive dedications. The visibility of worshippers' past dedications in the walls of the temple may be imagined as another contributing factor for the inculcation and reinforcement of the

60. Seaford (1994) 139-41.

61. Furley and Bremer (2001) 21.

62. Cole (1984) 233-244.

63. Seaford (1994) 303, 306-307.

64. Tyrell & Brown (1991) 73.

reverence in the mind of the ancient worshippers. It is also worth recalling that the terracotta votive dedications (*κουλούρια*) are highly evocative of the passage in Euripides' *Hippolytus* where Hippolytus carries a hand-made plaited wreath to place on the statue of Artemis (*πλεκτὸν στέφανον*, *Hipp.* 73). In a sense, the hero's practical reverence may be conceptually and symbolically connected with the reverence expressed by the Troezenian maidens, who instead of real wreaths dedicated symbolic tokens of their hair locks in the form of *κουλούρια*.

Since Euripides is quite precise about the age of the female worshippers of Hippolytus, by inference it is reasonable to deduce that the terracotta votive dedications (*κουλούρια*) are in accordance with the cult-aetiology of Hippolytus in Euripides: in response to Artemis' order maidens should pay homage to the hero at Troezen (*τιμὰς μεγίστας ἐν πόλει Τροζηνία / δώσω· κόραι γὰρ ἄζυγες γάμων...*, *Hipp.* 1424-25). It appears, therefore, that Hippolytus may have been perceived as a *kourotrophos*, a deity "who cared... for those growing up".⁶⁵ It seems also reasonable to suggest that Hippolytus' quality as *kourotrophos* would be associated with Artemis *kourotrophos*, this very quality of his patron goddess, who actually establishes his cult at the play's end.⁶⁶ The capacity of Artemis as a *kourotrophos* lies in the fact that she was considered "presiding over the delivery, birth and upbringing of children; standing between the wild and tame. Artemis raised the children from their wild, unformed state to maturity, crossing the threshold by citizenship or marriage."⁶⁷

Every new generation of Troezenian maidens can be seen as a ring in a long chain that connected the (present) pre-martial rituals with the (past) pre-marital rituals of the old female ancestors of Troezen. By this way, the inculcation of reverence was reinforced through the connection of the present rituals with the *πάτρια* (ancestral practices), *εἰωθότα* (customary practices) and *νομιζόμενα* (traditional rites) of the local religious history of Troezen. Having discussed some of the processes through which the inculcation of reverence for Hippolytus was affected, it is now time to summarise the findings of this paper with a few concluding remarks. First, the hero's dedicated reverence (*εὐσέβεια*) towards Artemis not only caused his

65. Watson (2011) 90; For a list of *kourotrophic* deities, see Hadzisteliou-Price (1978) 189-95.

66. I owe this thought to the anonymous reader of the *Logeion*.

67. For the quality of Artemis as *kourotrophos*, see the studies by Vernant and Vidal-Naquet (1990) 197; For Artemis as the protector of children, youths of both sexes as well as of women and marriage, see the recent studies by Budin (2016) Chapters 4 and 5 and Léger (2017) 13-16.

premature death orchestrated by Aphrodite but also served as the action behind the inception of his hero-cult on Troezen. Significantly, the archaeological record vividly demonstrates and justifies the cult-aetiology of Hippolytus in Euripides: the hero was not only a tragic character but also a cult-figure, as he was worshipped at Troezen through an uninterrupted period from the Geometric to the Early-Roman periods.⁶⁸ Finally, I have brought forward the argument that the presence of the special type of votive dedications (i.e. *κουλούρια*) suggests that Hippolytus would have been perceived as a kourotrophos deity by the ancient worshippers.

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68. According to the local tradition, Diomedes was the founder of Hippolytus' cult in Troezen (Paus. 2.32.1): "Διομήδην λέγουσι ποιῆσαι καὶ προσέτι θῆσαι τῷ Ἴππολύτῳ πρῶτον: Diomedes, they say, made these [the sacred monuments], and, moreover, was the first to sacrifice to Hippolytus." See Welter (1941) 34; Musti-Torelli (1986) 320; On the sacrificial residues, see Welter (1941) 34 and Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 178 n. 52.

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