

Logistics in Greek Sanctuaries

Monumenta Graeca et Romana

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Logistics in Greek Sanctuaries

Exploring the Human Experience of Visiting the Gods

Edited by

Judith M. Barringer

Gunnel Ekroth

David Scahill



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Published as open access with the aid of grants from the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities and Riksbankens Jubileumsfond for the Advancement of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Sweden.

Cover illustrations: (*front*) Woman cooking, watched by a girl. Greek (Boiotia, Tanagra), Late Archaic Period, about 500–475 BC, terracotta, 10.7 × 11.3 × 8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Acc. no.: 01.7788; (*back*) Weight from Olympia with Zeus' name and eagle, bronze. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Ol. 12177 (Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung / Mirko Vonderstein).

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Barringer, Judith M., 1959– editor | Ekroth, Gunnel editor | Scahill, David editor

Title: Logistics in Greek sanctuaries : exploring the human experience of visiting the gods / edited by Judith M. Barringer, Gunnel Ekroth, David Scahill.

Other titles: Monumenta Graeca et Romana

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2025 | Series: Monumenta Graeca et Romana, 3050–5186 ; volume 30. New directions in Mediterranean archaeology | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2025010729 (print) | LCCN 2025010730 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004720893 hardback | ISBN 9789004720909 ebook

Subjects: LCSH: Temples—Greece | Religion and sociology—Greece—History—To 1500 | Architecture and society—Greece—History—To 1500 | Architecture—Human factors—Greece—History—To 1500

Classification: LCC NA275 .L64 2025 (print) | LCC NA275 (ebook) | DDC 726/.120809385—dc23/eng/20250429

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2025010729>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2025010730>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 3050-5186

ISBN 978-90-04-72089-3 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-72090-9 (e-book)

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Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

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MGR* Editorial Preface to Introduce the Subseries *Monumenta Graeca et Romana, New Directions in Mediterranean Archaeology (MGR-NDMA)

Monumenta Graeca et Romana (*MGR*) has since the publication of its first volume in 1963 served as an important publication venue for scholarship on the material and visual culture of the Greek and Roman worlds. However, much has changed in classical archaeology over the course of the past 70 years, and as the new editorial board for the series, it is our express objective for *MGR* to reflect these new developments in the field.

As part of this renewed mission for *MGR*, we welcome new submissions. We also introduce both a new format and a new subseries. The new subseries, *Monumenta Graeca et Romana, New Directions in Mediterranean Archaeology (MGR-NDMA)*, will be devoted to theoretically informed and agenda-setting studies that push the methodological and disciplinary scope of the fields of Mediterranean and classical archaeology (both terms here understood in the broadest possible sense) in new directions. These may take the form of both monographs and coherently structured edited volumes and can be organised in thematic, geographical or chronological terms, as long as they seek to provide new directions for future practitioners of the disciplines. Comparative work

across traditional boundaries in existing scholarship is especially welcome. To broaden the remit of *MGR*, we are also introducing a survey-volume format that offers cohesive surveys of specific types of objects, monuments, or regions. The survey format is flexible, but authors should aim to be as inclusive as possible in their coverage and approaches, designing each volume to be a useful starting point for scholars and students who are making their way into a new area of research or material.

The present volume is the first in the *Monumenta Graeca et Romana, New Directions in Mediterranean Archaeology* subseries. It makes an important and innovative contribution to the study of Greek sanctuaries by expanding our field of vision beyond the narrow focus on ritual and on to the nitty-gritty details of their daily operation, thereby opening a new window onto Greek religion and its material culture.

Troels Myrup Kristensen
MGR Editor-in-Chief

Anna Collar, Søren Handberg,
Kathleen Lynch
MGR Editorial Board

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Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in this text are those of the *American Journal of Archaeology* <https://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/abbreviations> and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition <https://oxfordre-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/classics/page/ocdabbreviations>. Additional abbreviations are as follows:

AGRW	<i>Associations in the Greco-Roman World</i> (https://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/)
AIO	<i>Attic Inscriptions Online</i> (https://www.atticinscriptions.com/)
BÉ	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i>
CGRN	<i>Collection of Greek Ritual Norms</i> (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/)
CID	Rougemont, G. 1977. <i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i> . Paris
CIRB	Gavrillov, A., N. Pavlichenko, D. Keyer, and A. Karlin, eds. 2004. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporiani</i> . St. Petersburg
IAmyzon	Robert, J., and L. Robert. 1983. <i>Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie 1. Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions</i> . Paris
I.Chalcedon	Merkelbach, R., F. Dörner, and S. Şahin, eds. 1980. <i>Die Inschriften von Kalchedon</i> . Bonn
Ilion	Frisch, P. 1975. <i>Die Inschriften von Ilion</i> . Bonn
I.Knidos	Blümel, W., ed. 1992. <i>Die Inschriften von Knidos</i> . Bonn
IK.Priene	Blümel, W., and R. Merkelbach, eds. 2014. <i>Die Inschriften von Priene 1</i> . Bonn
ILampsakos	Frisch, P. ed. 1978. <i>Die Inschriften von Lampsakos</i> . Bonn
ILindos	Blinkenberg, C. 1941. <i>Lindos. Fouilles et recherches 2. Fouilles de l'acropole. Inscriptions</i> . Berlin
IMT NördlTroas	Barth, M., and J. Stauber, eds. 1996. <i>Inschriften Mysia & Troas</i> . Munich. Version of 25.8.1993 (Ibycus). Packard Humanities Institute CD #7, 1996. Troas, Nördliche Troas, nos. 1–90
IMT Skam/NebTäler	Barth, M., and J. Stauber, eds. <i>Inschriften Mysia & Troas</i> . Munich. Version of 25.8.1993 (Ibycus). Packard Humanities Institute CD #7, 1996
ISmyrna	Petzl, G., ed. 1982–1987. <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> . Bonn
I.Stratonikeia	Çetin Sahin, M. 1981. <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia</i> . Bonn
I.Thasos 3	Hamon, P. 2019. <i>Corpus des inscriptions de Thasos 3. Documents publics du quatrième siècle et de l'époque hellénistique</i> . Paris
LSAM	Sokolowski, F. 1955. <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> . Paris
LSCG	Sokolowski, F. 1969. <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Paris
LSS	Sokolowski, F. 1962. <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément</i> . Paris
NGSL ²	Lupu, E. 2009. <i>Greek Sacred Law</i> , 2nd ed. Leiden
OR	Osborne, R., and P.J. Rhodes. 2017. <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 478–404 BC</i> . Oxford
RO	Rhodes, P.J., and R. Osborne. 2004. <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC</i> . Oxford

Hotels, Tents, and Sacred Houses: Spaces for Human Accommodation in Greek Sanctuaries

Gunnel Ekroth

To visit the gods, for whatever purpose, often meant traveling and leaving one's home. The journey itself was necessary if the deities you wanted to contact were not located next door. Once at the site where the gods were thought to be present, you had to find a place to stay the night. But ordinary worshippers were not the only ones who would have stayed at sanctuaries. Religious personnel required housing for longer or shorter periods, and there were also refugees and even squatters.

To stay at a religious location involves logistics. What kind of accommodation could be found, and who would provide this for the visitors: the sanctuary or private initiatives? How do these installations relate to the sanctuary proper as to both space and function? Did humans actually stay inside the *temenos* of the god, that is, on sacred ground?

Just as for many other aspects of the logistics in Greek sanctuaries, the evidence for people staying there is not extensive, neither the material remains nor the written sources.¹ Modern parallels can therefore be useful to tease out a fuller picture of the ancient situation, and not least to illustrate the infrastructure needed to manage large crowds coming to sacred places and spending the night.²

That people do travel to sacred sites in very large numbers can be illustrated by some modern examples.³ The small French city of Lourdes has 16,000 inhabitants but receives between 4 and 6 million visitors a year, who come to worship the Virgin and to be cured of illnesses.⁴ In fact, Lourdes is the second most visited site in France

and apparently, only Paris has more hotels per square kilometer.⁵ In addition, there are private lodgings and apartments to rent, as well as camping grounds. The number of pilgrims arriving by camper vans is substantial. The pilgrimage of the French Roma population, which takes place in the end of August and is one of the largest religious events of this ethnic group, involves up to 1,200 camping cars and caravans, parked on fields outside the city.⁶ In Saudi Arabia, the Tent city at Mina can house as many as 3 million Muslim pilgrims in more than 100,000 air-conditioned tents, covering an area of c.20 km².⁷ Not everyone will stay in these tents though, and Mecca is full of hotels, booked year round, including international chains such as Hilton, Inter-Continental, and Mövenpick.⁸ The housing situations at Mecca and Lourdes may seem to be exaggerated examples in comparison with ancient Greece. However, before access to cheap flights, the number of pilgrims at Mecca was much smaller—in the 1950s rarely more than 100,000, which is closer to the c.40,000 to 45,000 visitors that we assume may have come to ancient Olympia for the games.⁹ So where and how did all these ancient visitors stay?

1 For previous work on accommodation in Greek sanctuaries, see Ziebarth 1935; Casson 1974, 197–218; Kraynak 1984; Kraynak 1992; Dillon 1997b, 206–211; Ault 2005, 150–155; Stewart 2009.
2 For the use of modern parallels, see also Trümper in this volume. For the logistics of lodging for travelers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, see Constable 2003.
3 See Trümper in this volume for Indian religious festivals attracting huge crowds.
4 See https://sacredsites.com/europe/france/lourdes_facts.html (last accessed 25 April 2024).

5 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pope-lourdes-history-idUKLB15892820080911> (last accessed 25 April 2024).

6 Peyron 2014, 209–218.

7 Saudi Arabia is currently launching an international competition to increase the capacity of the Mina tent city to 10 million pilgrims to as part of their Vision 2030 agenda, see <https://uni.xyz/competitions/the-white-lands/info/about> (last accessed 25 April 2024).

8 What is claimed to be the world's largest hotel once finished, the Abraj Kudai with 10,000 rooms and 70 restaurants and owned by Saudi Arabia's ministry of finance, is currently under construction at Mecca, see <https://www.trendingbird.com/abraj-kudai-the-worlds-largest-hotel-in-makkah-saudi-arabia> (last accessed 25 April 2024).

9 For the visitors to Mecca in the 1950s, see Bianchi 2004, 50–51, fig. 4.1 The figure for Olympia is calculated by how many spectators could watch the competitions in the *stadion* and the testimony of ancient written accounts, see Barringer 2021, 44–45, n. 26.

1 Hotels

Contrary to both Lourdes and Mecca, Greek sanctuaries were not overflowing with hotels.¹⁰ Such installations are known from the written sources, designated as *katagogia*, *pandokeia*, or *xenones*.¹¹ In fact, most guesthouses mentioned in ancient texts and inscriptions are located at sanctuaries, and such facilities were probably more common than what our restricted evidence suggests.¹² On the other hand, our sources offer few details as to what these installations looked like and how they worked.¹³ When going to a sanctuary, describing the available accommodation does not seem to have been at the top of the list for ancient authors. Pausanias, who probably visited more sanctuaries than most other Greeks, does not mention any hotels for people to stay in or give any indication of where he himself stayed during his journeys.¹⁴

The archaeological record for hotels at Greek sanctuaries is not extensive either and linked to methodological problems.¹⁵ Excavations of cult places usually focus on the center of the sanctuary and the temple, and secular buildings situated further away tend to be neglected or not even sought. Ancient hotels are also difficult to distinguish both from dining halls and from the lodging for religious personnel or even private residences.¹⁶ Keeping

in mind the difficulties of finding and identifying hostels, such a facility was still apparently not a prerequisite for a sanctuary and of less importance than a stoa or a built installation for dining.

So why were hotels built? It is evident that it was not only a question of practicalities and comfort as important visitors also would stay in tents (see further below), and camping must have been the norm for most people coming to sanctuaries. A remote location of a sanctuary may have called for a hostel, while a position in or near a settlement provided options of staying with private individuals who rented rooms.¹⁷ The particularities of the cult may have been another reason. Two of the possible guesthouses known from the archaeological record are located at Asklepieia, where people went to be cured and therefore would stay for a longer period, perhaps also accompanied by family and friends.¹⁸ Oracle consultation may also have required an extended visit, and a *pandokeion* is known from Delphi.¹⁹ Economy could have been an additional reason for the construction of a hotel, as the epigraphic record shows that some sanctuaries owned guesthouses that were leased to provide a source of income.²⁰

In the few cases where we have more information, it is clear that the erection of a major hotel was due to particular circumstances. The late fourth-century BCE Leonidaion at Olympia was a private initiative, a dedication by Leonidas of Naxos to Zeus Olympios, which must have raised the status of the donor, as much as that of the sanctuary.²¹ Leonidas may have been a *theoros*, *theorodokos*, or a *proxenos*, who built the hostel to house other *theoroi* coming

10 See Kraynak 1984; Dillon 1997b, 206–211; Sinn 2005, 51–52.

11 For the terminology, see Kraynak 1984, 9–21. See also Constable 2003, 144, for the development of the terminology in Late Antiquity.

12 McDonald 1951, 365–367; Kraynak 1984, 24. Sinn's discussion of *katagogion* in *ThesCRA* (4, 51–52) only includes two examples.

13 Most of the excavated structures identified as hostels date to the second half of the fourth century BCE (Kraynak 1984, 24). The written evidence also suggests that hotels were more generally available during this period in sanctuaries, in cities and along the roadside.

14 Pausanias (5.15.1–4) mentions the Leonidaion at Olympia, but does not call it a hostel.

15 Lynn Kraynak's study of Greek hostels from 1984 identifies ten or possibly eleven cases of which seven are located next to sanctuaries; that is, the presence of a sanctuary is the reason why the hotel was constructed. To these can be added seven instances of written mentions, see Kraynak 1984, A2, A11, A12, A19, A20, A24, and A95. For the *kapeleia* on Samos, which may have served as hostels as well, see *NSGL*² no. 18, commentary on pp. 293–294; Habicht 1972, 220. On the archaeological evidence for Early Christian guesthouses for pilgrims, see Jensen 2020, 149–154.

16 For example, a building at Cape Zoster in Attika is classified as a possible hostel by Kraynak (1984, 62–63) and as a dining building by Goldstein (1978, 133), but which may also have been the house of a priest in an earlier phase. For the interpretation of the Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos as a high-class inn, see McDonald 1951. See also the contribution by Barringer in this

volume. For the difficulties in identifying guesthouses for pilgrims at Early Christian sites, see Jensen 2020, 150.

17 Dillon 1997b, 208; Aurigny 2020, 102. For hostels at remote sanctuaries, such as the Lykaion and Aulis, see Kraynak 1984, 82–108.

18 Asklepieia with hostels: Epidauron (Kraynak 1984, 63–73) and Gortys (Kraynak 1984, 79–81). For longer stays at Asklepieia, see von Ehrenheim 2015, 199–200.

19 Kraynak 1984, no. A20; Rousset 2002, 207–208, no. 32. On spaces for lodging at Delphi, see also Aurigny 2020, 101–104.

20 On Delos, the sanctuary owned a *pandokeion* and a *xenon*, which they rented out. These structures were not necessarily located next to the sanctuary. See Kraynak 1984, 25; Chankowski 2008, 293. Even private cults could sublet their accommodations to raise funds, as was the case for the *xenones* in the sanctuary of Herakles Diomedonteios on Kos (325–300 BCE), *CGRN* 96, ll. 80–85 with commentary; Campanelli 2016, 157–158.

21 Boersma 1973; Kraynak 1984, 49–65; Leypold 2008, 104–110. Scott (2010, 239) sees its construction as particularly linked to the importance of the games as boosted by Philip and Alexander. The presence of other hotels at Olympia is suggested by a *xenon* mentioned in a bronze inscription from c.500 BCE; see Rutherford 2013, 31, 367–368, A5.

to the sanctuary. The building was in use well into the Roman period, when Pausanias reports that it acted as the lodging for the Roman governors of Greece.²² The *Xenon* at Nemea, constructed in the late fourth century BCE after the site had been deserted for a century, can be connected to the re-organization of the sanctuary in relation to the political ambitions of Philip of Macedon, who may even have paid for the works.²³ The temple of Zeus was rebuilt, the altar extended, and a bath, as well as the hotel, were constructed (see p. 167, Fig. 10.4).²⁴ At Epidauros, the so-called *katagogion* was part of the major expansion of the sanctuary in the late fourth-early third century BCE, when the temples, the theater, and the Tholos were built (see p. 89, Fig. 6.5).²⁵ Attracting visitors and success in healing the sick were important issues for the sanctuary at Epidauros, which is evident from the prominent display of the *iamata* recording the experiences of those seeking the help of the god. The construction of the hostel may have been part of these efforts, as well. The most explicit literary description of a hotel is of the *katagogion* at the sanctuary of Hera at Plataiai, mentioned by Thucydides.²⁶ His description makes clear that this building was erected after the Thebans raised the city to the ground in 427, then used the stone and timber from Plataian houses to construct the hostel. Beds were made from brass and iron from the city and dedicated to Hera, so presumably they were placed in the *katagogion*. Possibly this hotel was aimed at attracting visitors to the Eleutheria festival after the city had been destroyed and providing housing for officials.²⁷

The size and location of these structures are also noteworthy. The Leonidaion was the largest architectural complex at Olympia apart from the later gymnasium, and had as many as 50 rooms, lodging between 100 to 300 people.²⁸ It was situated next to the Altis, and oriented towards the main access routes to the sanctuary from the west and the south. The *katagogion* at Epidauros housed as many as

140–420 people, and this structure, as well as the *Xenon* at Nemea, were the largest buildings in these sanctuaries, both prominently situated overlooking the *temenos*.²⁹ The *katagogion* at Plataiai was also substantial. According to Thucydides, it faced the Heraion and measured “200 by 200 feet” with rooms in two stories around a courtyard.³⁰ Not only the size, but also the proximity to the religious center of the sanctuary, were apparently important for these constructions. The best hotels at Lourdes today are located just to the south of the large precinct of the Sanctuary of our Lady at Lourdes and the cave where the young Bernadette Soubirous saw the apparition of the Virgin Mary in 1858. At Mecca, the most prestigious hotels tower over the Great mosque and the Kaba, like the huge ZamZam Pullman Makkah, with 1,300 suites and deluxe rooms. Even lodging facilities and hostels at Early Christian pilgrim sites were advertised as offering excellent views over the saint’s shrine.³¹

Accommodation at such a location not only provides a roof over the visitors’ heads, but also signals their status while being at the sacred site. Perhaps a similar attitude mind-set lay behind the more spectacular hotels at ancient Greek sanctuaries. The Leonidaion at Olympia not only occupied a prominent position in the sanctuary, but also was surrounded by an outer colonnade recalling a temple or a stoa, an unusual feature considering its function as a hotel. This embellishment caused Alfred Mallwitz to suggest that this architecture was perhaps meant to hint that those staying here saw themselves as no mere mortals.³²

2 Tents

Contrary to Lourdes with its many hotels, and more similar to Mecca, Greek sanctuaries probably permitted pilgrims to stay in tents and not in buildings.³³ Our information about such accommodation is primarily known from the literary and epigraphical record.³⁴ The archaeological

22 Paus. 5.15.2; Specht 2001.

23 Miller 1979, 103; Kraynak 1984, 122–147; Miller 1988, 144–145; Kraynak 1992; Scott 2010, 247.

24 The *Xenon* may have been meant primarily for the competing athletes rather than for ordinary visitors. The explicit construction of such housing is known from later evidence, for example, at Isthmia, where athletes could stay for free in the *oikoi* during the festival. See Geagan 1989, 355–356.

25 For the date, see Kraynak 1991, 1; Riethmüller 2005, 1: 293–4; Melfi 2007, 45. The term is not attested in the Epidaurian inscriptions.

26 Thuc. 3.68.3; Kraynak 1984, 34–37.

27 Dillon 1997b, 208.

28 Heermann 1984; Kraynak 1984, 49–56; Ault 2005, 152; Leybold 2008, 107–110; Barringer 2021, 54–58, 233–234. The Leonidaion measures 80 × 80 m.

29 Epidauros: Kraynak 1991, 7; Riethmüller 2005, 1: 294. The incubants would sleep in the sanctuary, in the *abatan*, for one or more nights to encounter the god in a dream and presumably then be housed outside the sacred area if staying longer. Nemea: Kraynak 1984, 122–147; Kraynak 1992.

30 Thuc. 3.68.3; Kraynak 1984, 8.

31 Jensen 2020, 146.

32 Mallwitz 1972, 252.

33 Some ancient visitors, like the Roma visiting modern-day Lourdes (see above), may have slept on their wagons or carts after their arrival.

34 For the evidence of tents, see Goldstein 1978, 12–27, 58–59; Deshours 2006, 92, 132; Gawlinski 2012, 142–145. Tents could also be used for commerce, ritual purposes, and most of all, for

material is slight, for example, metal stakes from tents found under the courtyard of the *Palaistra* at Olympia and postholes at some other sites.³⁵ The tents would have been made of cloth, leather, or even reeds, and the supporting structure of wood.³⁶

To get a better grasp of the scattered ancient evidence for the use of tents when visiting sanctuaries, comparison with a modern festival's provisions for camping may be useful. The Roskilde music festival in Denmark now attracts more than 100,000 visitors annually, and the logistics of camping are laid out in detail on their web site.³⁷ Our ancient evidence is obviously less full, but reveals how sanctuaries took active means to regulate and organize the campers, which is understandable if their numbers counted tens of thousands. We should imagine popular sanctuaries as surrounded by camping grounds, like the festival of Artemis at Skillous, to which all citizens and inhabitants of the region would come and stay in tents.³⁸

Many sanctuaries had empty spaces nearby that served to house the dining that followed sacrifices, the famous *Festwiesen* identified by Ulrich Sinn, which could also have been used for tents.³⁹ Such areas have rarely been

investigated in a consistent manner archaeologically, but a recent survey at the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda has identified a number of possible camping sites.⁴⁰ At Olympia, the area outside the Altis was to be used for dining and staying as is evident from Pindar and the scholia, while at a sanctuary of Zeus at Stratonikeia, camping was to take place in a specific location reserved for humans, presumably contrary to the areas for trade and keeping animals.⁴¹ Within the camping grounds, particular areas could be set aside for certain types of visitors. The extensive regulations of the Mysteries at Andania (late first century BCE) stipulate a specific area reserved for the Sacred Men's tents, and the uninitiated could not even enter this part of the camp.⁴² This restriction implies a particular sacred character ascribed to this area, especially as lustral basins and written instructions regulated the purity inside. On the other hand, it also suggests a kind of VIP area for the Sacred Men. It seems unlikely that prestigious visitors, such as Dionysios of Syracuse, who sent several lavish tents to Olympia in 388 BCE, would have camped with the *hoi polloi*.⁴³ Likewise, a late third-century regulation from Delphi prohibits anyone but the king himself from pitching a tent in the area of the stoa of Attalos, thus pointing to the exclusivity of this area.⁴⁴ At modern festival sites, such as Roskilde, there are also different camps depending on whether or not you bring your own tent or rent one on site, as well as how much you want to pay, but also depending on your resilience towards noise and garbage.⁴⁵

Securing a good spot for your tent was important. At Roskilde, festivalgoers traditionally arrive four days before the actual music festival begins. Those bringing their own tents queue up in front of the gates to the camping ground, and once the gates open, they run to the area where they prefer to pitch their tent. A mid-third-century decree from Delphi honors Mentor from Naupaktos with the right to place the first tent at the meeting of the Amphictyony.⁴⁶

banqueting; see Schmitt Pantel 1997, 312–313, suggesting that the verb *skanein* could be synonymous with “to banquet.” A late fifth-century BCE sacrificial regulation concerning the Anakeion at Elateia urges worshippers to sacrifice and raise a tent, presumably stipulating that the meat was to be eaten on the spot; see *CGRN* 33 with commentary. See also *LSCG* no. 168 (early second century BCE); Goldstein 1978, 41–43.

35 Olympia: Wacker 1996, 91, n. 67; Kyrieleis 2003, 95; Barringer 2021, 58. See also Sinn's comment on the finding of a bronze tip from a tent among remnants of meals at Olympia in the discussion of Kron 1988, 148. For postholes, see Kron 1988, 142–144, who also addresses tents erected for banqueting rather than sleeping at the Samian Heraion, where no *hestiatoria* have been found. Some *skenai* mentioned in texts and inscriptions may refer to improvised huts constructed at particular festivals rather than to proper tents; see Burkert 1985, 107.

36 For huts (used in the market) made of reeds, see Paus. 10.35.15. The use of well-built *skenomata* to construct a stockade by the Arkadians when they were attacked at Olympia (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.32) suggests more sturdy structures, but these may have been shops rather than tents to live in. For the temporality of such structures, especially round ones, see Cooper and Morris 1990, 71–72.

37 <https://www.roskilde-festival.dk/en/camping> (last accessed 25 April 2024).

38 Xen. *An.* 5.3.9. Polyainos, *Strat.* 6.45 describes how the Samians gathered in the sanctuary of Hera to celebrate her festival and erect tents (*eskenepoiounto*), see Goldstein 1978, 22–23. For tents surrounding the Altis at Olympia, see Taita 2014, 124–126.

39 Sinn 1988, 154–157; Sinn (1992, 180–183), who takes this space to be part of the *temenos*. The use of *Festwiesen* both for cooking and eating and for camping and sleeping needs further consideration. At the Roskilde festival, there is a separation between sleeping and cooking areas due to fire risks.

40 Frejman 2020, 71–78, and for criteria of identification, see 16–17 and 45–48. For the identification of camping grounds at the sanctuary of Sinuri, see Frejman 2020, 145–146, and at Nemea, Frejman 2020, 169–171. See also the contribution by Chandezon in this volume.

41 Pind. *Ol.* 10.46–47 with scholia; *I.Stratonikeia* 203, ll. 17–21.

42 *CGRN* 222, ll. 34–37; Gawlinski 2012, 145–148.

43 Diod. Sic. 14.109.

44 *CID* IV 85, l. 9; Goldstein 1978, 13–14; Aurigny 2020, 101. A tent could have been placed in the eastern area of the terrace, or awnings may have been installed between the columns or monuments by the help of ropes.

45 <https://www.roskilde-festival.dk/en/camping> (last accessed 24 April 2024).

46 *CID* IV 54, ll. 7–11; Goldstein 1978, 14.

Presumably, he first of all was able to choose where to put his tent. In Aristophanes' *The Peace*, a servant marks the space where the tent is to be erected at Isthmia by peeing in a circle on the ground.⁴⁷ The scholia to the passage are more matter-of-fact and clarify that people tried to secure a spot in advance and that this was the recommended way to proceed at crowded sanctuaries in order not to miss out on the best locations.⁴⁸

We do not know to what extent visitors to ancient sanctuaries brought their own tents or if they could be rented on the spot. The second-century CE inscription from Stratonikeia mentioned earlier records that the priest of Zeus Panamaros provided tents for the citizens, *xenoi*, and slaves.⁴⁹ Polyainos' *Strategmata* from the second century CE tells of the Samians going to the sanctuary of Hera and erecting their tents, presumably their own, while the women in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* probably also had their own tents.⁵⁰ You could also lodge in someone else's tent, as Plato apparently did when visiting Olympia, which may have meant eating and spending time with a group of strangers.⁵¹ The Andania inscription regulates the size of the tents; Laura Gawlinski calculates them to have been c.5 m², which would be small, but useful, and could accommodate four people lying next to each other tightly with c.50 cm width per person.⁵² The campers at Andania were not permitted to put curtains or hangings around the tents in the manner of modern tents equipped with porches, presumably to prevent people from occupying more space than absolutely necessary. This suggests that the visitors would bring their own tents, but also that the organizers wanted to maximize the use of camping ground space.⁵³

On the other hand, a tent did not have to mean simple accommodation, and a private tent may have been a chance to outshine other visitors. Just as the tents at

Roskilde range from the ultra-cheap mass-produced Chinese versions to the spacious cloth tents, so-called tenthouses with raised wooden floors and electricity, the ancient sources also mention large and luxurious tents.⁵⁴ Ion's tent described in Euripides' play is one example: c.900 m² and decorated with lavish textiles from the temple treasury.⁵⁵ This is a fictional case, and the tent may also have been used for ritual activities, which may have called for a more spectacular setting. As historical examples, we can cite the case of Alkibiades at Olympia, where the Ephesians provided him with a tent twice the size of the tent of the Athenian delegation, and Dionysios I of Syracuse sent tents made of colorful material and decorated with gold to Olympia, where they generated a lot of attention.⁵⁶

Once again, the modern analogy of Roskilde offers a useful comparison. The tents at Roskilde are organized in plots separated by lanes between them. In the *Thesmophoriazousai*, the women search tents and passageways to find the intruder Mnesilochos, suggesting an organization of the camp in a similar manner.⁵⁷ The Andania inscription stipulates the marking of the area for the Sacred Men's tents with *stemmata*, wreaths, or fillets.⁵⁸ Ropes used in public spaces may also have been an option.⁵⁹ On the other hand, Lucian complains that Olympia is crowded with tents and huts and is stifling hot, suggesting that all camp grounds were not well-organized.⁶⁰ At Roskilde, the plots are marked by strips of paint on the grass, and each quadrant is identified by a letter and a number. Festivalgoers are urged to memorize their quadrant's designation and location in order to find their way back to their tent.⁶¹ We have no ancient evidence for this practice, but one might assume that similar problems of getting lost cannot have been unheard of in the *Festwiese* at Olympia.

Too closely spaced and disorganized placement of tents would make fires a perpetual risk. The Greek regulations

47 Ar. *Pax* 879–880.

48 Or even end up without lodging, see Goldstein 1978, 14–16. What qualified as a good location may have been near important facilities, such as springs and baths, in the shade, or with a clear view of the processions and sacrificial activities; see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 9.22.

49 *I.Stratonikeia* 203, ll. 17–21; Dillon 1990, 83.

50 Polyainos, *Strat.* 6.45; Ar. *Thesm.* 624, 658. See also the discussion by Goldstein 1978, 23–26.

51 Ael. *VH* 4.9. Dillon (1990, 81) finds that this particular setting was a detail added by Aelian to create a better context for the ensuing dialogue.

52 Gawlinski 2012, 144.

53 The ban on *klinai* in the tents at Andania was perhaps also a way to squeeze in more sleepers (*CGRN* 222, l. 38; Gawlinski 2012, 148). A family may still have had several tents. Such tent groupings are common in Roskilde where they are often centered on a canopy, an installation recalling an ancient tetrastylon; see Albris, Beck, and Sørensen 2009, 8.

54 Roskilde: <https://www.roskilde-festival.dk/en/camping> (last accessed 2 April 2024).

For glamping tents: <https://www.bestproducts.com/fitness/equipment/g3197/glamping-luxury-tents/> (last accessed 24 April 2024).

55 Eur. *Ion* 1122–1166; Goldstein 1978, 9–13.

56 Alkibiades: [Andok.], *Against Alkibiades* 4.30; Goldstein 1978, 17. Dionysios: Diod. Sic. 14.109.

57 Ar. *Thesm.* 655–658. See Goldstein 1978, 23–26 for the discussion of where the play is set, on the Phyx or in the City Eleusinion, and whether the tents were erected inside or outside the sanctuary.

58 *CGRN* 222, ll. 36–37.

59 For ropes, see Gawlinski 2012, 146; and Gawlinski in this volume.

60 Luc. *Her.* 8.

61 *Roskilde Festival Guide* 2019, 94.

forbidding lighting fires in sanctuaries may have concerned the campsites, as well.⁶² We may note that the Delphic inscription that prohibits camping in the area of the stoa of Attalos also bans the use of fire.⁶³ Campfires, torches, candles, camping stoves, and barbecues are strictly forbidden in the camping areas at Roskilde, and the fire access routes must be free of tents and garbage.⁶⁴ One is not allowed to cook in the camping plots due to risk of fire.⁶⁵

Our ancient sources do not elaborate on the negative sides of camp life apart from Lucian's complaint that it was crowded and hot. Even if a festival was well organized, camping must have affected the environment substantially. The many regulations protecting trees, bushes, and grass in Greek sanctuaries certainly address the negative impact of visitors and their animals and carts to the site, inside, as well as outside, the *temenos*.⁶⁶ To better understand the camping experience at a Greek sanctuary, we would have to excavate the areas used for these activities. This has actually been done at Roskilde, revealing the huge impact of the festivalgoers on the ground surface, which needs to be ameliorated with gravel on a regular basis.⁶⁷ Rich finds of beer caps and condoms reflect activities other than the music, the main event of the festival.⁶⁸ Moreover, the soil still smelled of beer and urine when excavated. The phosphate levels were similar to those of a pigpen, and their intensity suggests that systematic soil sampling would allow the mapping of the location and extent of the camps even several thousands of years later. Considering that ancient inscriptions prohibit people from urinating in sanctuaries, and Plutarch even states that you are not to urinate against the altar or the god's building, peeing in campsites is likely to have occurred in

ancient Greece, as well.⁶⁹ This unappealing practice may, on the other hand, help us to locate ancient campsites, if we so desire.⁷⁰

Greek sanctuaries had personnel in charge of the logistics of the camping. At Andania, they were the Sacred Men.⁷¹ The Karneatai organized the Karneia festival for Apollo at Sparta, and Aristotle mentions officials managing public festivals, which may have included practicalities, such as housing, in addition to the purely cultic rituals.⁷² The number of such persons is difficult to assess; the Karneatai were only five, but all such officials must have been assisted by slaves.⁷³ In comparison, Roskilde in 2019 had c.130,000 festivalgoers, while the volunteers numbered more than 30,000. Presumably, there are greater demands on security and comfort today, but festival logistics in antiquity also must have needed substantial human resources.

3 Sacred Houses

Some of those staying at a sanctuary had to do so in their capacity as religious personnel. Where and for how long depended on the character of the cult, the requirements of the office, and the location of the sanctuary vis-à-vis other habitation and activities.⁷⁴ Some inscriptions regulate the time a priest had to be present in the sanctuary or make clear that if the priest does not appear even when the visitors call out, the latter may perform the sacrifices themselves.⁷⁵ If the sanctuary was located in a settled area, the priest or priestess may have lived at 'home,' and

62 Dillon 1997a, 124; Stewart 2009, 64, n. 128.

63 *CID* IV 85, l. 9.

64 *Roskilde Festival Guide* 2019, 86 and 94.

65 There are particular cooking areas, central squares in the neighborhood of the camping areas, where open fires are allowed and where visitors can prepare food. Tent fires have been a recurrent problem at Mecca, and after the major fire in 1997, 40,000 fireproof fiberglass tents were installed; see Imam and Alamoudi 2014, 1360; Bianchi 2004, 12, table 1.2; <https://specialtyfabricsreview.com/2008/09/01/fireproof-tents-shelter-visitors-at-mecca/> (last accessed 25 April 2024).

66 For regulations protecting the greenery in sanctuaries, see Dillon 1997a, 115–120; Brulé 2012, *passim*. See also Chandezon in this volume.

67 Albris, Beck, and Sørensen 2009. I thank Axel Frejman for this reference.

68 The most common finds were the bracelets worn by the festivalgoers to indicate their right to access the site.

69 For urination in sanctuaries, see Plut. *Mor.: De stoic. repugn.* 22; *CGRN* 225, B, ll. 80–81; Decourt and Tziaphalias 2015, 20, B 81–82; Ar. *Plut.* 1183–1184, where the priest complains that people only visit the sanctuary to relieve themselves.

70 The areas where animals for transport or sacrifice were kept at ancient sanctuaries might also be located by mapping phosphate levels.

71 *CGRN* 222, ll. 1–11 and commentary; Gawlinski 2012, 102–105.

72 Hesychios, s.v. Karneatai; Nilsson 1957, 120–121; Arist. *Pol.* 1322b; [*Ath.Pol.*] 56.3. At Epidauros, officials called *phrouroi* (*IG* IV².1 40, 41) and *nauphylakes* (*IG* IV² 1 393, 401) oversaw the site; for discussion of their tasks, see Stewart 2009, 53–63. For other officials concerned with the practicalities of the management of sanctuaries, such as *epimeletai*, *neokoroi*, and *zakoroi*, see Georgoudi 2005, 51–60; Stewart 2009, 5–7.

73 The Sacred Men at Andania were overseen by the council of the Ten Men, while the finances of the Mysteries were managed by the Five Men, see Gawlinski 2012, 154–157, 234–239.

74 See also Barringer this volume.

75 *CGRN* 175, ll. 2–6 (Amphiareion, Oropos, 386–374 BCE); *CGRN* 36, ll. 7–11 (cult of Zeus Pelinaios, Chios, end of fifth century BCE).

the house of the religious official may even have been attached to the sanctuary.⁷⁶

Securely identified priestly abodes are few, mainly due to the fact that they are difficult to distinguish from private houses, but also from structures in sanctuaries set apart for dining and storage or even from hostels. Buildings located near sanctuaries but lacking the trappings of regular Greek houses, for example installations for agricultural production, such as olive presses and grain mills, have been suggested as housing religious functionaries.⁷⁷ Multiple dining rooms can indicate that a building was not a private house, and some priestly houses could have been used as official dining spaces for participants of high status. In a sense, the official abode of the priest might resemble a modern ambassador's residence, which comprises a large official part for receptions and dinners, and a smaller part where the ambassador lives with his/her family. The idea behind this arrangement is that the ambassador hosts the guests in his/her home. Still, a particular building for the priest or priestess was not necessarily of major importance for Greek sanctuaries.

The epigraphical record from Greek sanctuaries often mentions houses, *oikiai* or *oikoi*.⁷⁸ At Eleusis, a late fourth-century BCE inscription lists the House of the Kerykes, as well as several other houses, some specified as sacred.⁷⁹ One of these sacred houses is described as the one where the priestess lives and this house is also to be purified, suggesting a location inside the sanctuary and that this building was not a regular residential one.⁸⁰ Both the House of the Kerykes and the sacred house of the priestess have been tentatively identified among the excavated remains based on the criteria outlined above,⁸¹ but in most cases, such houses cannot be tied to any

archaeological remains. The problem with the terms *oikos* and *oikia* is that they have a broad meaning and could be used for regular houses outside the *temenos* owned by the sanctuary and leased, but also for other buildings within the sanctuary, such as treasuries for storing votives, dining rooms, and even cult buildings.⁸² The difficulties of identifying an *oikos* for religious personnel in the archaeological record can be illustrated by a small two-room complex with a porch located behind the temple in the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda in Turkey.⁸³ The inscription on the architrave identifies the building as the *oikoi* dedicated to Zeus by the ruler Idrieus, but although we know this structure was called *oikoi*, its function remains unclear, and suggestions have ranged from a residence or office for the priest to a dining hall, archive, or prytaneion.⁸⁴

4 Other Types of Accommodation

Hotels, camping grounds and priestly houses are all official means for accommodating people visiting Greek sanctuaries. Sleeping in other buildings was also a possibility, although not always sanctioned.

Stoas are sometimes assumed to have been used for accommodation, but the question is to what extent ordinary visitors would be allowed to sleep in such buildings on a regular basis.⁸⁵ Cultic regulations sometimes explicitly ban staying in stoas except under certain conditions.⁸⁶ Incubants definitely would sleep here when seeking to be healed by the god through a dream, but such overnight stays could also cause problems. At Chalcedon,

76 For the archaeological, as well as written evidence, for priestly housing, see Deborah Stewart's excellent dissertation from 2009, esp. pp. 1–2 for different residential scenarios for cultic personnel. For the house of the priest of the Dionysiasts at Piraeus bordering the sanctuary, see Jaccottet 2003, 1: 163–170, 2: 25–27; Sosin 2005, 131, n. 10.

77 For a discussion of identifying criteria, see Stewart 2009, 372–379.

78 For the use and meaning of the terms, see Hellmann 1992, 291–294, 298–304; Stewart 2009, 70–72. An *oikia* might not have been more substantial than a tent, see Goldstein 1978, 44.

79 *Oikos* of the Kerykes: *IG* 11² 1672; for other mentions of houses in this inscription, see ll. 17, 28, 47, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 77, 86, 91, 94, 119, 127, 293.

80 *IG* 11² 1672, l. 127; Clinton 1974, 20.

81 Stewart (2009, 119–123) identifies the House of the Kerykes with the so-called Sacred house south of the sanctuary, and the house of the priestess with a building complex inside the *temenos* wall to the west of the fifth-century entrance to the north (Stewart 2009, 112–113).

82 Hellmann 1992, 299, 304; *ID* 97, l. 36. Designation of a house as sacred does not mean that it was used for a sacred purpose, but that it was owned by a sanctuary; for Delos, see Hennig 1983, 417; Chankowski 2008, 292. In the Delian accounts, several *hierai oikiai* and *hieroi oikoi* are rented out by the sanctuary, but none is linked to religious functionaries; see Kent 1948; Hellmann 1992, 189, 292, 298, 304.

83 Crampa 1972, 14–15; Hellström 2007, 119–125; Leypold 2008, 96–98. This is the earliest case of a building bearing an inscription marking it as an *oikos* (mid-fourth century BCE). The porch may have received a new roof c.100 CE. See Crampa 1972, 20, no. 21.

84 For the function, see Hellström 1989, 102–104.

85 This use of stoas seems often to be more of a generalized assumption by scholars than based on firm ancient evidence, see Pedley 2005, 75; *NGSL*² no. 26. For the South Stoa at Corinth interpreted as a hostelry with sleeping quarters, see Broneer 1954, 98–99. Perhaps visitors may also have slept in the colonnade around the Leonidaion in Olympia.

86 At the Letoon at Xanthos, only those who had offered sacrifice could stay in the stoas, see Le Roy 1986, 280, ll. 11–14, 295–296 (late second century BCE); *NGSL*² nos. 16, 26.

for example, the priest of Asklepios was responsible for keeping the stoas clean, while another inscription stipulates that bleeding or urinating in the stoas necessitated purification.⁸⁷ Asylum seekers seem to have slept in stoas, but their presence in sanctuaries was more *ad hoc*, and in some cases, the sanctuary tried to limit their stay.⁸⁸ Religious personnel could be housed in stoas, as well. An explicit example is an inscription laying out the creation of a new sanctuary to Apollo Helios Kisauloddenos at Smyrna, which included the building of a stoa with a tiled roof to lodge the sacred slaves and servants of the god.⁸⁹

To what extent dining rooms, either in stoas or as separate structures, were used for sleeping, is a question that deserves more attention.⁹⁰ Would the banqueters in the *hestiatoria* simply roll over and fall asleep on their *klinai* at the end of the evening? The dining room couches, which are designed for reclining, are sometimes too short for people to stretch out fully, considering the fact that they were made to recline on.⁹¹ The Π-shaped stoa at Brauron has been suggested to have housed the young girls, the *arktoi*, staying at the sanctuary, but they were children, and most scholars today see these rooms as regular dining facilities for adults.⁹² A separation between eating and sleeping space is clear from the late Classical historian Dosiades, quoted by Athenaios, who reports that there were two houses for the *syssitia* on Crete, one called

the *andreion*, where banquets took place, and the other, where the visitors slept, the *koimeterion*.⁹³ On the other hand, such an arrangement may not have been the norm and was therefore noteworthy.

5 Location of the Accommodation: Staying with the Gods?

This leads us to the last aspect to consider, the relation between the different modes of accommodation and sanctuary space. Were hotels, camping grounds, and houses designated for religious personnel located inside or outside the sanctuary? Would one be staying with the god or near the god? This question depends on how we define a sanctuary and most of all the *temenos*, the sacred area where the god's worship took place, and which was set apart and demarcated to keep it free from pollution.⁹⁴ What constitutes a *temenos* is a complex issue, which I am pursuing elsewhere, but a few comments should be made here.⁹⁵

Ulrich Sinn has argued that Greek sanctuaries had a sacred center, the *hieron alsos*, but also a subsidiary area, what he calls the *bebelon alsos*.⁹⁶ Here lodging, dining rooms, baths, and other kinds of infrastructure were located, and this area would also have been part of sacred space. By contrast, Marietta Horster sees a distinction in time and activities, where the sacred area can become 'smaller' or at least partly less sacred, when used for festivals with fairs and markets.⁹⁷ In his recent study of 'extra-temenal' areas, Axel Frejman identifies an extra-temenal zone outside the actual *temenos*, which was functionally, administratively, and conceptually connected to the sanctuary by the activities carried out in this area, but not sacred to the same extent.⁹⁸

87 Chalcedon: *LSAM* no. 5, ll. 24–26. Bleeding and urinating: *CGRN* 225, B, ll. 80–81. At Epidauros, the latrines attached to the early fifth-century BCE stoa serving as the *abaton* also may be related to the needs of the incubants staying overnight; see Lambrinouidakis 2002, 220.

88 On suppliants staying in sanctuaries on a regular basis requiring particular installations, see Sinn 1990, 67–69, 77, 83–97, 106–111; Sinn 1993, 95–97. The Andania inscription establishes a refuge for runaway slaves during the festival (*CGRN* 222, ll. 80–84; Gawlinski [2012, 187–194], who also discusses the practical implications of housing asylum seekers more generally). For hindering or expelling of asylum seekers, see Sinn 1990, 78–80, 97, 109–111; Sinn 1993, 91–93; and Chaniotis 1996. See also Gawlinski in this volume.

89 *I.Smyrna* 753, ll. 27–29 (second or third century CE). Pausanias (10.34.7–8) mentions stoas and dwellings built for the deity's servants at the sanctuary of Isis at Tithorea. See also Pausanias 10.32.12, who mentions housing (*oikeseis*) for asylum seekers and sacred slaves at the sanctuary of Athena at Elateia.

90 Cf. modern Japanese ryokans, where you both eat and sleep in the same room after a change of furniture. See also Scahill in this volume.

91 For couch dimensions, see Goldstein 1978, 300, 356. Attic vase paintings of *symposia* never show banqueters sleeping.

92 For the stoa at Brauron used as a sleeping space for the *arktoi*, see Papadimitriou 1963, 118–120; Bouras 1967, 75; Travlos, *Attika*, 55–56; for the interpretation as a dining space, see Leybold 2008, 51–52.

93 Ath. 4.143a–b.

94 The god could also own more land than the actual *temenos* (the sanctuary), and this additional terrain, often leased to generate income for the cult, could be located quite far away from the sanctuary proper; see Papazarkadas 2011 for the numerous Athenian examples. A sanctuary could also own land, which was neither used for cult nor agriculture, e.g., the *hiera ge* or *chora* at Delphi consisting of the plain of Kirrha below the sanctuary and the rocky peninsula that formed the western part of the Kirphis massif; see Rousset 2002, 183–192, fig. 5.

95 I am exploring this question in my project *The 'profanity' of Greek sanctuaries? Defining the temenos as a space for divine-human interaction 600 BC–200 AD*.

96 Sinn 1988, 154–157; Sinn 1990, 85–86; Sinn 1993, 95–97.

97 Horster 2010, 454.

98 Frejman 2020, 194–200.

The basic problem is that some human activities such as birth, death, and sex are incompatible with divine space and have to be located outside the *temenos*.⁹⁹ Many inscriptions regulating worshippers' visits to sanctuaries concern how to deal with the pollution arising from these actions before you enter, while others aim at controlling human impact once at the site, e.g., from fire, littering, and felling the god's trees.¹⁰⁰ Human presence in Greek sanctuaries was never uncomplicated or self-evident.¹⁰¹ Some regulations ban lodging in the *hieron* outright, such as a decree from the sanctuary of Dionysos at Knidos prohibiting male, as well as female, worshippers from staying there.¹⁰² In Arkesine on Amorgos, the *neokoros* was to prevent foreigners from entering and lodging in the Heraion.¹⁰³ A crisis may allow for more liberal access and use, such as in the *temenos* of Herakles Diomedonteios, where the buildings could be used as dwellings if there was a war.¹⁰⁴ Other inscriptions define who had the right to stay; for example, only those sacrificing could camp in the *temenos* of Zeus Labraundos at Patara or sleep in the stoas at the Letoon at Xanthos.¹⁰⁵ The question is whether or not sanctuaries would have taken the risk of housing the visitors inside the *temenos* unless this was absolutely necessary. Could they trust the visitors not to have sex in their hotel rooms, or risk the very pregnant to give birth or the very sick to die at the Asklepieia, if the hostels were located inside the *hieron*? Such aspects must be considered when we define the extent of *temene* and the location of different activities.

It seems that none of the hotels and camping grounds that we can identify are securely located inside *temene* unless we adopt a very wide and flexible definition of what constitutes the sacred area, and I am not sure that such a

definition corresponds to the ancient *temenos* concept.¹⁰⁶ Certain visitors did sleep inside the *temenos*, like those incubating, but they may not have slept in the *abaton* for more than a few nights. Some cures also called for them to leave the sacred area to be fully healed, such as pregnant women giving birth.¹⁰⁷ Asylum seekers were provided with temporary lodging inside the *temenos* or else they would not have been sufficiently protected, but their presence could also cause problems.¹⁰⁸ The complications of staying in sanctuaries for long periods are evident from the Spartan king Pleistoanax, who lived for 19 years as an asylum seeker in the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios.¹⁰⁹ He built a house, half of which was located inside the *hieron* and the rest outside, presumably to be able to enjoy both the benefits of divine protection and secular life.

If we look at the extant evidence, there are few archaeologically attested cases where priestly personnel lived inside the *temenos*.¹¹⁰ Judging from the written sources, it seems that when religious functionaries resided inside the sanctuary proper, they often seem to have been children, virgins, persons who had to remain chaste, or sacred slaves.¹¹¹ In short, these were individuals whose sexuality was restricted and therefore complied more easily with the purity regulations of *temene*. Religious personnel being housed inside the sacred area may also have been

99 Parker 1983, 32–104 and esp. 160–170.

100 For an overview, see Dillon 1997a and for the vegetation in particular, Brulé 2012.

101 For the negative human impact on sanctuaries even when visiting to worship the gods, see Ekroth 2024.

102 *IKnidos* 160; *LSAM* no. 55 (350–300 BCE). See Feyel and Prost 1998, 458, ll. 6–7 (with commentary) for the ban on sleeping in the *hieron* of Apollo on Delos. Thucydides (4.97) mentions the misuse of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delion by the Athenian soldiers staying there. The contract for the lease of the sanctuary of the Athenian hero Egretes (*IG* 11² 2499) stipulates that it had to be used as a *hieron*, perhaps to prevent people from staying in the buildings. For this particular sanctuary, see also McNerney in this volume.

103 *LSCG* no. 101 (350–300 BCE).

104 *CGRN* 96, C, ll. 82–86 concerning the *xenones* and the *oikia*.

105 Patara: *CGRN* 129. Xanthos: Le Roy 1986; *NGSL*² nos. 16, 26. In the Anakeion at Elateia, those sacrificing had to put up a tent, presumably for the post-sacrificial meal; see *CGRN* 33 with commentary.

106 Goldstein's conclusion (1978, 51) that there is no indication of tents outside the *hieron* is hard to accept. None of the dining halls that he discusses is located outside the sacred ground (1978, 297). Of the 37 dining buildings analysed by Leypold (2008), a third are located inside the *temenos* and five more possibly so, depending on how the limits of the sanctuary are defined.

107 The *iamata* from Epidauros make clear that incubating women seeking release from extended pregnancies leave the *hieron* before giving birth; see LiDonnici 1995, 84–87, A1, A2. On the heavily pregnant and severely sick being housed outside the *hieron* at Epidauros, see Paus. 2.27.1, 6.

108 For the handling of asylum seekers, see Sinn 1990, 78–80, 97, 109–111; 1993, 91–93; Chaniotis 1996; Stewart 2009, 12–23.

109 Thuc. 5.16.3.

110 Of the possible sacerdotal houses discussed by Stewart (2009), location inside the *temenos* is only suggested for the sacred house of the priestess at Eleusis and the Arrephoroi on the Athenian Akropolis.

111 The boy priest of Athena Krania at Elateia boarding with the goddess (Paus. 10.34.7–8); Corinthian boys and girls serving and residing in the sanctuary of Hera Akraia (Paus. 2.3.7); the Arrephoroi living on the Athenian Akropolis (Paus. 1.27.3; Stewart 2009, 223–249); Lokrian maidens at Troy living in the precinct of Athena, perhaps in one of the porticoes (Rose 2012, 170, n. 20); the god's slaves having dwellings inside the precinct of Asklepios at Tithorea (Paus. 10.32.12). The priestess of Herakles Charops at Thespias had to be a virgin during her lifelong service (Paus. 9.27.6–7). On the chasteness of the priestesses at Dodona, see Stewart 2009, 196–204.

expected to be segregated from the community in order to remain pure in preparation for contact with the god.¹¹²

We also have to separate fictional and mythical cases in the literary sources from inscriptions stipulating the housing conditions at a particular site. Maron, the priest of Apollo, who lived with his wife and child in the god's grove, described in the *Odyssey*; Iphigeneia staying in the temple of Artemis at Tauris; Charikleia residing in Apollo's precinct at Delphi; and the examiners in Plato's *Laws* who resided in the sanctuary of Helios and Apollo while holding office do not necessarily reflect real life practice.¹¹³ Living in the sanctuary may have been the result of particular circumstances, rather than the regular situation for religious functionaries, and was far from a prerequisite. Occasionally, such a residence could work as a means for constructing a special persona; Apollonios of Tyana, according to Philostratos, stayed in an Asklepieion already as a young boy and later was made a guest in Zeus' sanctuary at Olympia after having lectured from the temple and amazing everyone.¹¹⁴

6 Concluding Remarks

People going to Greek sanctuaries must have stayed somewhere during their visits but this was not an infrastructure that the sanctuaries prioritized for investment. Such structures were never a prerequisite of a sanctuary, and their construction often seems to have been due to particular requirements of the cult or local circumstances. Rather, efforts seem to have been directed toward managing the use of space around the sanctuary, in particular for camping, i.e., an activity that took place for a short duration, but involved large crowds. The management of these camping grounds, some of which must have housed tens of thousands of people, surely constituted a substantial logistical undertaking and also put serious strains on the local environment. Future exploration by survey and excavation of the surroundings of sanctuaries are desirable in order to fill out the picture provided by the written evidence so

that we better understand the logistical challenges that faced those responsible for the upkeep of ancient Greek sanctuaries.¹¹⁵ As a rule, all forms of accommodation seem to have been located outside the *temenos*. Even religious personnel rarely seem to have stayed inside sanctuaries, and most such cases concern mythical or fictional figures or particular cults. Although the god could be perceived as living in the sanctuary and even in his temple, humans generally would not, as mortal and immortal lifestyles were to a large extent incompatible. The space of the god would not serve as a hostel for men.¹¹⁶

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112 The priestess living in the sacred house at Eleusis may have done so, see Stewart 2009, 99, and also 38–41 on the marginalization of cultic personnel for purity reasons. The priest and priestess of the goddess Ma at Komana Pontika in the Pontos lived within the *temenos* (Strabo 12.8.9) and abstained from eating pork to preserve the sanctity of the precinct.

113 Hom. *Od.* 9.196–215; Eur. *IT* 65–66; Heliod. *Aeth.* 2.33.7; Pl. *Leg.* 945e, 946d. See also Diod. Sic. 5.44.1–5: the priests of Zeus Triphylios have their houses (*oikiai*) around the temple of the god on the fictional island of Panchaia.

114 Phil. *VA* 1.8, 1.16, 4.31.

115 Axel Frejman's doctoral thesis (2020) constitutes a most welcome contribution to this issue.

116 A church of St. George at Zorava, Syria, built in 515 CE on the site of a pagan temple, carries the following inscription above the door, which serves to illustrate who would stay where in a religious setting: "The *katagogion* of the *daimones* became the house (*oikos*) of God". For the text, see Kraynak 1984, 259, no. 106; *OGIS* 610.1; Trombley 2001, 363–364.

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