

ARTICLE

Roman Fountains in Greek Sanctuaries

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Abstract

In sanctuaries at Eleusis, Olympia, and Xanthos, second-century C.E. patrons built novel water features near traditional benefactions and sacred monuments; careful placement of these new water sources helped emphasize their historical and sacral relevance. Juxtaposed with the archaic treasuries at Olympia, the Early Classical Kallichoron Well at Eleusis, and the Hellenistic Grotto of the Nymphs at Xanthos, the latest additions to these sanctuaries incorporated a number of innovative architectural and display features—including large open-air basins and apsidal porticoes—that created a striking visual contrast between old and new. In each of the three sanctuaries, the strategic placement of the fountain emphasized the role of the new patron as guardian of long-standing religious traditions, while the arresting architectural form simultaneously maximized the visual impact of the fountain on thirsty worshipers and heightened the anticipation of the rituals that would be carried out in front of the monument.*

INTRODUCTION

Long after Greece and Asia Minor were incorporated into the Roman world, many long-standing Panhellenic, regional, and polis sanctuaries remained religious and communal focal points; festivals at these sanctuaries flourished as prized elements of shared cultural heritage. Cicero, for instance, praised the Eleusinian Mysteries for their civilizing effect, and emperors from Augustus to Commodus were initiated into the cult.¹ Hadrian reestablished a traditional footrace for boys at the Nemean Games that had fallen from the festival program, while the agonistic

program and sacred rituals at Olympia remained remarkably consistent throughout the Imperial period.² Rites at spring sanctuaries continued unabated, and the Letoon at Xanthos received renewed attention when it also became the locus of imperial cult worship. Indeed, many sanctuaries experienced a renaissance when, with imperial support, communities revived or updated existing festivals, established new games, and added imperial cult activities.³

Under Hadrian and his Antonine successors, the revival of sacred festivals was paralleled by the rejuvenation of sanctuaries; this surge in building activity monumentalized sanctuaries and improved amenities and conditions for competitors and spectators alike. Many of these building projects can be attributed to collective efforts, but a remarkable number were at least partially funded by individual elites holding priesthoods. Wealthy individuals apparently used their priestly positions as springboards for giving costly donations that went well beyond the requirements of any liturgy; the emperor also infrequently augmented his participation in ephemeral rituals at a sanctuary by erecting a permanent monument. Among the most arresting second-century architectural projects attributable to known elite and imperial patrons are the monumental hydraulic edifices added to the venerable sanctuaries of Eleusis and Olympia in the province of Achaia and Xanthos in Lycia. Spanning a broad range of sanctuary types, each of these sacred locales had an impressive pedigree that attracted considerable atten-

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¹ Cic. *Leg.* 2.14.36; Clinton 1989a.

² Paus. 6.16.4. For discussions of the Olympic Games during the Imperial period, see Finley and Pleket 1976; Sinn 2000; Spivey 2004.

³ The newly established games are often divided into two broad categories: sacred crown games (*agones hieroi kai stephanitai*), which awarded crowns as well as the right to stage a

triumphal entry back home, and prize games (*agones themateitai*), which offered cash rewards. The sacred crown games theoretically were gifts of the emperor and were often named for him, whereas the prize games usually were named after the elite benefactor who had established them. The organization of both types of festivals followed earlier Greek and Hellenistic models, and cities would declare their games equal to those at Olympia or Delphi as they vied with one another to attract competitors and crowds. In this climate of agonistic rivalry, cities and elite benefactors throughout the Greek East used old and new festivals to augment their status by simultaneously emphasizing the Greek heritage of their community and their loyalty to Rome (e.g., Mitchell 1990, 189; Boatwright 2000, 94–5; Van Nijf 2001, 311; Weir 2004, 176–77).

tion during the Roman period, and this fame led to lavish benefactions such as monumental fountains. Although fountains and other water features were added to preexisting sanctuaries throughout the Imperial period, the ones at Eleusis, Olympia, and Xanthos are particularly notable for their extraordinary combination of cutting-edge architectural forms and prominent locations in the existing sacred landscape. Sources of potable water, these monuments were set in heavily trafficked areas, where essential ritual actions were carried out. In each instance, the newly built monuments were strategically juxtaposed with sacred water sources or earlier benefactions, creating a marked contrast not only in architecture but also in the very nature of the monuments. These novel versions of monumental fountains transformed a basic amenity into something eye-catching and engaging, and benefactors used the inventive fountains to commemorate their involvement with the priesthoods and festivals of the sanctuary. After discussing the topographic placement, architecture, and patron of each edifice, this article considers how the new hydraulic monuments became integral components of long-standing rituals, thus influencing and transforming the experience of festival participants at ancient Greek sanctuaries and a Hellenized indigenous spring site.

FORECOURT FOUNTAIN AT ELEUSIS

Communities and elite benefactors throughout the Greek East used festivals to augment their status by simultaneously emphasizing the Greek heritage of their community and their connection to Rome; the emperor, local gods, and civic founders were lauded in prose or poetry, and their images were paraded through the city and exhibited throughout the festival. On a more fundamental level, the emperor ratified and sometimes even initiated the establishment of new

contests and festivals as well as the revival of old ones,⁴ so changes to the ritual calendar reinforced ties between emperor and community. Under Hadrian, for instance, Athens added several new crown games to its already extensive religious calendar, including the Panhellenia, an agonistic festival founded in 137 C.E. by the Panhellenion, a cultural and religious league of cities and tribes established by Hadrian in 131/2 C.E.⁵ The principal purpose of the Panhellenion League is not well understood, but it was closely connected with both the imperial cult and the Eleusinian Mysteries, a civic festival central to Athenian religious life that, unlike the Panathenaia and the City Dionysia, was open to a broad spectrum of participants.⁶ Delegates to the Panhellenion served as priests of the imperial cult, the agonothetes supervising the Panhellenia wore a crown adorned with busts of the emperors, Panhellene member states sent harvest offerings to Eleusis, and the archon of the Panhellenion may have occasionally administered the annual initiation festival at Eleusis.⁷ Clinton has even suggested that the Panhellenion took over the financial oversight of Eleusis.⁸ If this was the case, then Hadrian created an international body with dual responsibilities to Rome and to a renowned festival essential to the host city's religious identity and heritage. The parallel management of imperial and traditional cults by the Panhellenion seems to have been successful; according to Pausanias, who was writing a generation after Hadrian had established the league, the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries was an awe-inspiring spectacle, the sacredness of which was equaled only by the Olympic Games.⁹

Before he became emperor, Hadrian was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries.¹⁰ His creation of the Panhellenion, an international organization linked with his office and the Mysteries, paralleled his personal participation in the Mysteries and patronage of Eleu-

⁴E.g., Wörle 1988; Mitchell 1990, 191; Weir 2004, 176–77.

⁵Cass. Dio 69.16.2; *IG* 4² 384; Jones 1996, 33; Spawforth 1999, 339–44; Romeo 2002, 21–2. In its early years, applications for league membership required Hadrian's approval, and the criteria for membership included descent from a Greek polis and good standing with Rome. For discussions of the Panhellenion, see Oliver 1970; Spawforth and Walker 1985; Jones 1996; 1999, 118–20; Boatwright 2000, 147–50.

⁶Anyone could be initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries as long as he or she knew Greek, had not committed murder, and could pay the initiation fee (Mylonas 1961, 247–48; Clinton 1974, 13; 1993, 116).

⁷Clinton 1989a, 1520–22; Spawforth 1999, 343; Riccardi 2007, 382. Spawforth and Walker (1985, 87) point out that the agonothetai of the Panhellenion included the Athenian millionaire Herodes Atticus and Rufus of Perinthos, the latter of whom Philostratus (*VS*, 2.597–98) states is the wealthiest man in the Hellespont and the Propontis.

⁸Clinton 1999, 99. The permanent meeting place of the league was probably in the heart of Athens, and a large building east of the Roman Agora is often identified as the Panhellenic sanctuary where Hadrian was assimilated with Zeus Panhellenios (Thompson 1987, 9; Jones 1996, 46; Camp 2001, 203). Other possible meeting places for the Panhellenion are the City Eleusinion, the Olympieion in Athens, and the sanctuary at Eleusis. Pro City Eleusinion: Riccardi 2007, 386; Palinkas 2008, 221. Pro Olympieion: Willers 1990, 54–67. Pro Eleusis: Jones 1996, 36; Clinton 1999, 100; Spawforth 1999, 347.

⁹"Many are the sights to be seen in Greece, and many are the wonders to be heard; but on nothing does heaven bestow more care than on the Eleusinian rites and the Olympic games" (Paus. 5.10.1 [translated in Jones and Ormerod 1918]).

¹⁰Clinton 1989b, 56–7.

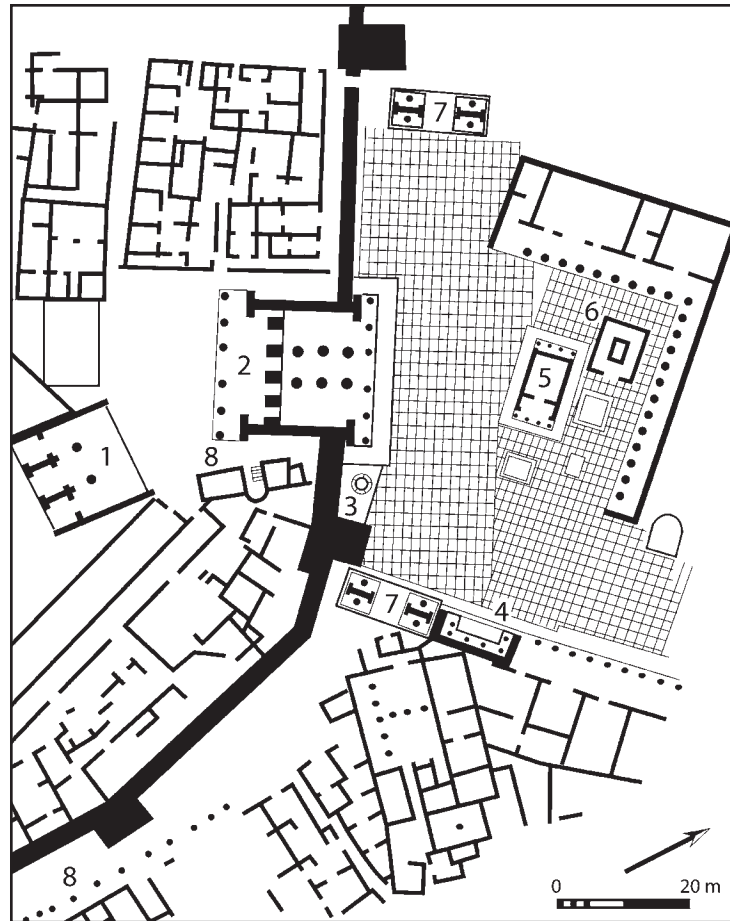


Fig. 1. Plan of the Roman forecourt at Eleusis, showing the monuments discussed in the text: 1, Lesser Propylaea; 2, Greater Propylaea; 3, Kallichoron Well; 4, forecourt fountain; 5, Temple of Artemis Propylaea and Poseidon; 6, eschara; 7, commemorative arches; 8, three-brick channels (adapted from Lancaster 2010, fig. 9).

sis, where he was probably responsible for the fountain that greeted worshipers as they reached the end of the Sacred Way and entered the forecourt of the sanctuary (fig. 1). As emperor, Hadrian was an honorary citizen of Athens and took an active part in the festival life of the city. He served as *agonothetes* for the prestigious Dionysiac festival and participated in the Greater Mysteries during each of his three imperial trips to Greece in 124/5, 128/9, and 131/2 C.E.¹¹ The emperor's interest in Eleusis went beyond his repeated participation in the ephemeral rites to encompass projects such as the maintenance of the Sacred Way leading to Eleusis. In 124/5 C.E., he built a bridge over the Cephissus River

in Eleusis and reinforced the river embankments to provide a safer crossing for the sacred procession.¹² He was also at the sanctuary in the spring of 129 C.E., a date that does not correspond with the ritual calendar; the unusual timing of this visit may suggest that he was supervising building projects at the sanctuary.¹³

Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries required a substantial time commitment, with the initiation traditionally broken into two festivals placed six months apart. In the spring, the Lesser Mysteries were performed in Athens. Six months later, the nine-day festival of the Greater Mysteries was split between Athens and Eleusis and culminated in the induction of neo-

¹¹ *IG* 2² 3630; Graindor 1934, 1–58; Follett 1976, 107–25; Clinton 1989b, 56; Boatwright 2000, 144–45.

¹² Graindor 1934, 35–6; Mylonas 1961, 185; Follett 1976,

113–14; Willers 1990, 13; Boatwright 2000, 168; Camp 2001, 208.

¹³ *SIG* 3, 838; Clinton 1989b, 57; Lancaster 2010, 453–54.

phytes into the cult. The first four days of the Greater Mysteries featured a procession of ephebes and cult personnel from Eleusis to Athens, a public invitation to initiation, the ritual bathing of initiates and perhaps the bathing of the sacrificial pigs in the sea, and a festival for Asklepios.¹⁴ Then the cult personnel and revelers formed one or two processions that traveled from the City Eleusinion in Athens to the sanctuary at Eleusis.¹⁵ Led by the statue of Iacchos, the personification of the joyous cry of Eleusinian initiates,¹⁶ the neophytes participated in ritual events throughout the 22 km journey. Many rites took place at sacred topographic features, including the Rheitoi, saltwater lakes sacred to Demeter and Kore that marked the ancient boundary between Athens and Eleusis, and the Eleusinian Cephissus River, beside which Hades abducted Kore.¹⁷ The physical journey ended on the sixth day of the festival, when the procession approached the sanctuary. Barred from entering until the following evening, the initiates probably performed sacrifices and ritual ablutions outside the walls and danced in front of the Kallichoron Well where, according to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (lines 98–9), Demeter had rested during her wearying search for her daughter and been cheered by the Eleusinian maidens.¹⁸

Located outside the sanctuary proper and facing the terminus of the Sacred Way, the Kallichoron Well received its hypaethral stone enclosure in the first half of the fifth century B.C.E. By the second century C.E., it was among the oldest preserved monuments in Eleusis (fig. 2).¹⁹ Sometime before Pausanias passed through in 160 C.E., the precinct of the Kallichoron Well was incorporated into a dramatically modernized forecourt for the sanctuary. The extensive forecourt project was completed in two phases, the earlier of which paved the terminus of the Sacred Way and the area in front of the Kallichoron Well with marble slabs. At its northern end, the new forecourt pavement is oriented with the Sacred Way, and then as the roadway approaches



Fig. 2. Kallichoron Well, Eleusis.

the entrance to the sanctuary, the slabs shift in orientation so they align with the Kallichoron Well and adjacent gateway to the sanctuary. Contemporary with the forecourt's pavement is a monumental fountain that marked the transitional point where the two orientations in paving converged (figs. 3, 4).

The concrete podium of the single-story fountain supported a π -shaped facade with six freestanding columns featuring greenish cipollino shafts set on white marble bases. Presumably of the Corinthian order, the columns supported an engaged entablature and framed a rectangular, open-air basin, the waters of which passed through eight spouts set into the front wall of the basin to fill small basins set in the depressions cut into the whitish-yellow marble stair below.²⁰ This step is one of two that elevate the fountain above the level of the forecourt pavement. The lower step is of blue Hymettian marble, a color choice that emphasizes the ground line of the fountain. The combination of blue and white marble steps also subtly ties the building to an earlier monument at Eleusis with water features and a similar color palette: the mid first-century

¹⁴ Paus. 2.26.8; Plut., *Vit. Phoc.* 28.3; *IG* 2² 1078; Mylonas 1961, 247–50; Clinton 1988.

¹⁵ There has been much debate over the timing and makeup of the procession (or processions) to Eleusis. Mylonas (1961, 252–58) suggests that there was a single procession to Eleusis. Clinton (1988; 1993, 116) argues that there were two processions, one on the fifth day and one on the sixth day of the Greater Mysteries. Robertson (1999) also thinks there were two days of processions, but he argues that the makeup of the processions was different from that put forth by Clinton. Graf (1996, 61–4) agrees that there were two processions, but he suggests that they took place on the same day.

¹⁶ Clinton 1992, 65.

¹⁷ Paus. 1.38.1–5; Palinkas 2008, 13–15.

¹⁸ In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (lines 270–72), the god-

dess asks that her temple be built on the hill above the Kallichoron Well. The use of the well as a topographic focal point in the hymn may have resulted in the well serving as an important topographic marker along the Eleusinian processional route beginning in the Early Archaic period. When the entrance to the sanctuary was moved in the Early Classical period, the original well was covered up and a new well was dug next to the new entrance. This second incarnation of the Kallichoron Well is the one at which Hadrian and other second-century C.E. initiates danced (Clinton 1992, 27–8; Palinkas 2008, 90).

¹⁹ Paus. 1.38.6; Mylonas 1961, 256–57; Clinton 1988, 70–1; 1993, 118; Ziro 1991, 17–47; Palinkas 2008, 15–16, 91.

²⁰ Orlandos 1936; Glaser 1983, 105.



Fig. 3. Forecourt fountain (*left*) and commemorative arch (*right*), Eleusis.

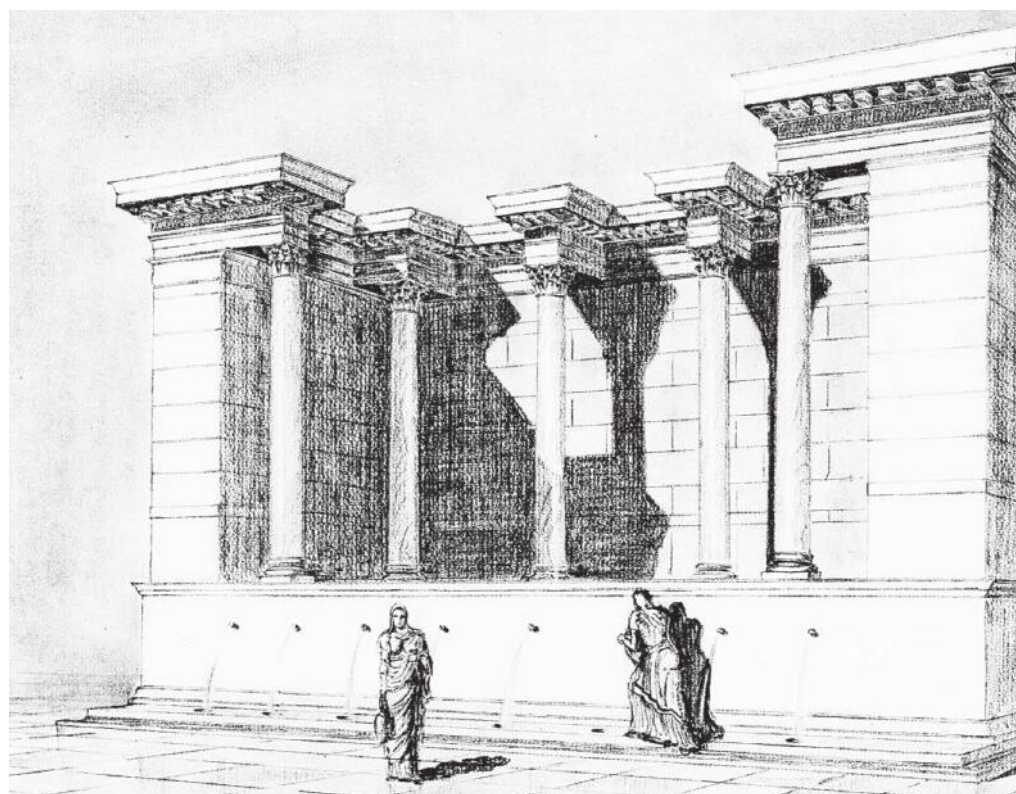


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the forecourt fountain, Eleusis (Orlandos 1936, fig. 12).

B.C.E. Lesser Propylaea, where basins in Hymettian marble flanked the central passageway.²¹ The liminal placement of the Lesser Propylaea basins, which presumably were used for ablutions by those who had crossed through the gateway, references the traditional placement of *perirrhanteria*, which had stood at sanctuary thresholds since the seventh century B.C.E.²² This tradition is also echoed in the site of the forecourt fountain at the very end of the Sacred Way, where the Kallichoron Well has just come into view. The careful placement of the monumental fountain suggests that the patron was familiar enough with the sanctuary to understand where a potable water source would have the greatest effect on festival participants.

Clinton has identified a fragmentary inscription as the probable dedicatory inscription of the forecourt fountain. Found to the left of the Greater Propylaea and thus in the vicinity of the fountain, the inscription is carved on a large, fragmentary block that appears to be architectural in nature:²³

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς? Σεβ]αστὸς
π(ατήρ) π(ατρίδος) [τ]αῖς θεαῖς
[τὴν κρήνην ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν] ἤγαγεν

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, father of the fatherland, dedicated the fountain to the goddesses and brought water to the sanctuary.

Given the strong circumstantial evidence that the structure was built during the Hadrianic period, Clinton has restored the inscription with Hadrian as the probable imperial patron of the edifice.

The open-air design of the forecourt fountain starkly contrasts with the traditionally roofed fountains still supplying the cities and sanctuaries of Greece. Since the sixth century B.C.E., Greek fountains had normally taken the form of a covered, rectangular basin set behind a colonnade that concealed the water from the view of passersby; the Southwest Fountain House in Athens provides an example of this architectural type (fig. 5). Under Hadrian's patronage in Greece, this long-established Greek conception of a fountain gave way to an emphatically Roman design, in which a large settling basin sat in front of an aedicular facade and water became a focal point of display.²⁴ The dramatically new design aesthetic exhibited at Eleusis is

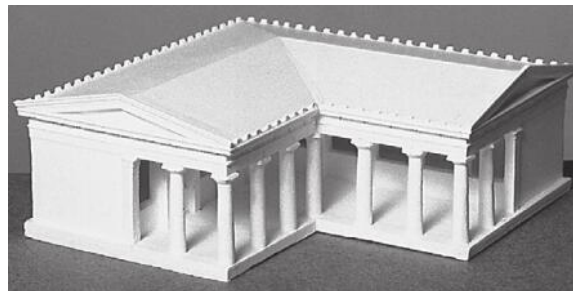


Fig. 5. Model of the Southwest Fountain House, ca. 350–325 B.C.E., Athens (courtesy the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations).

shared by the fountain at Olympia discussed below as well as by the second-century fountains built in the city centers of Nikopolis, Gortyn, and Athens (table 1). At Athens, the fountain located in the southwest corner of the Athenian Agora featured an open-air apsidal settling basin, the back curve of which was articulated by a Corinthian facade (fig. 6). Similar to the arrangement at Eleusis, water passed through spouts set in the front wall of the settling basin to fill a narrow, rectangular channel below. Here, it could be retrieved by visitors who had climbed the three steps leading up to the fountain's terrace.²⁵ The Athenian fountain, which is located at the transitional point where the Panathenaic Way leaves the classical Agora and begins its ascent up the Acropolis, is part of an extensive urban water supply network fed by an aqueduct begun by Hadrian (probably during his third and final trip to Athens in 131/2 C.E.) and dedicated by Antoninus Pius in 140 C.E.²⁶

Comparisons of the materials and techniques used for vaulting the hydraulic channels associated with the fountains at Athens and Eleusis indicate that the two projects were overseen by the same group of construction experts and thus were probably contemporaneous. In Eleusis, the brick channel that runs along the exterior of the southeastern fortification wall has been linked with the forecourt fountain and variously identified as its feeder or drainage channel. Lancaster has pointed out that the Eleusinian channel shares an unusual vaulting technique with the remains of the hydraulic line that fed the imperial fountain in

²¹ Hörmann (1932) identifies three phases of the Lesser Propylaea and attributes the fountains to the second phase, but Palinkas (2008, 181–83) convincingly demonstrates that the fountains were part of the original structure.

²² Cole 1988, 162. Fullerton (1986) suggests that a pair of archaizing caryatids with attached basins may have stood in the Lesser Propylaea. Perhaps they stood above the basins flanking the central passageway, thus transforming the basins into

more traditional *perirrhanteria*.

²³ IG 2² 3196; Clinton 1999, 99; 2005, no. 449; 2008, no. 449. Clinton (1999, 2005) inserts a question mark after the name of Hadrian to reflect the lack of direct evidence for this reading.

²⁴ Longfellow 2009; 2011, 108–9.

²⁵ Walker 1979, 151–52; Longfellow 2011, 122–28.

²⁶ CIL 3 549; Leigh 1998.

Table 1. Second-Century C.E. Fountains Referenced in the Text.

Location	Description	Dimensions (m)	Patron	Date (C.E.)
Alexandria Troas	semicircular civic fountain	lgth. 17.05, wdth. at widest point 8.32	Herodes Atticus	probably dedicated 134/5
Argos	pseudo-basilica fountain on slope of Larissa Hill	lgth. across front facade 15.5, wdth. 12.55	Hadrian	dedicated 124
Athens	semicircular civic fountain in classical Agora	lgth. of basin 14.5, wdth. of basin at widest point 8.3	probably planned by Hadrian	mid second century
Delphi	semicircular structure (fountain?) behind bouleterion	lgth. of exedra ca. 6.25, wdth. of exedra at widest point ca. 4.5	Delphians	terminus ante quem 160
Eleusis	π -shaped fountain in forecourt of sanctuary	lgth. 11.4, wdth. 5.72	probably Hadrian	mid second century
Gortyn	π -shaped civic fountain across from so-called praetorium	lgth. ca. 16, wdth. ca. 10	unknown	ca. 150–200
Nikopolis	π -shaped civic fountain inside main gate	lgth. ca. 17, wdth. ca. 13	probably Hadrian	mid second century
Olympia	semicircular fountain in Altis	lgth. ca. 31, wdth. at widest point ca. 16	Regilla (architecture), Herodes Atticus and Eleians (sculpture)	dedicated 149 or 153
Xanthos	nymphaeum in Letoon	lgth. of rectangular room 12.55, wdth. of rectangular room 10.5, diam. of portico ca. 27, wdth. of portico ca. 4	probably Claudius Marcianus	probably dedicated 130 or 131

the Athenian Agora. In both Athens and Eleusis, the vault of the water channel is formed with three prefabricated curved bricks of similar sizes and shapes. The channel located above the City Eleusinion in Athens provides the earliest securely datable example of this vaulting technique in Greece, and Lancaster traces its origins to the arches in Parthia made from three or five preformed curving bricks. She suggests that this technique for creating arches was brought to Greece by the hydraulic experts who had been involved in Trajan's Parthian War and who subsequently traveled with Hadrian during his imperial tours.²⁷ The use of this imported technique in both the Athenian and Eleusinian channels provides some of the strongest

circumstantial evidence for the first phase of the Eleusinian forecourt project being planned by Hadrian and perhaps completed under his successor.

The Eleusinian fountain is linked to Hadrianic Athens not only by the vaulting of its associated conduit but also by the unusual architectural arrangement of its π -shaped facade. As mentioned above, freestanding columns carried an engaged entablature with a double-fascia epistyle. Orlandos notes that the western facade of the Library of Hadrian also features freestanding Corinthian columns carrying an engaged entablature with a double-fascia epistyle (fig. 7).²⁸ Furthermore, the Athenian columns have cipollino shafts with contrasting Pentelic marble capitals,²⁹ creating a similar effect

²⁷ Lancaster's (2010) study confirms a long-standing hypothesis that the Eleusinian aqueduct can be associated with the Hadrianic period (e.g., Mylonas 1961, 183–84; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 102; Clinton 2008, no. 449).

²⁸ Orlandos 1936, 291–94; Boatwright 2000, 154; Palinkas 2008, 225.

²⁹ Kane et al. 1999, 318–20.

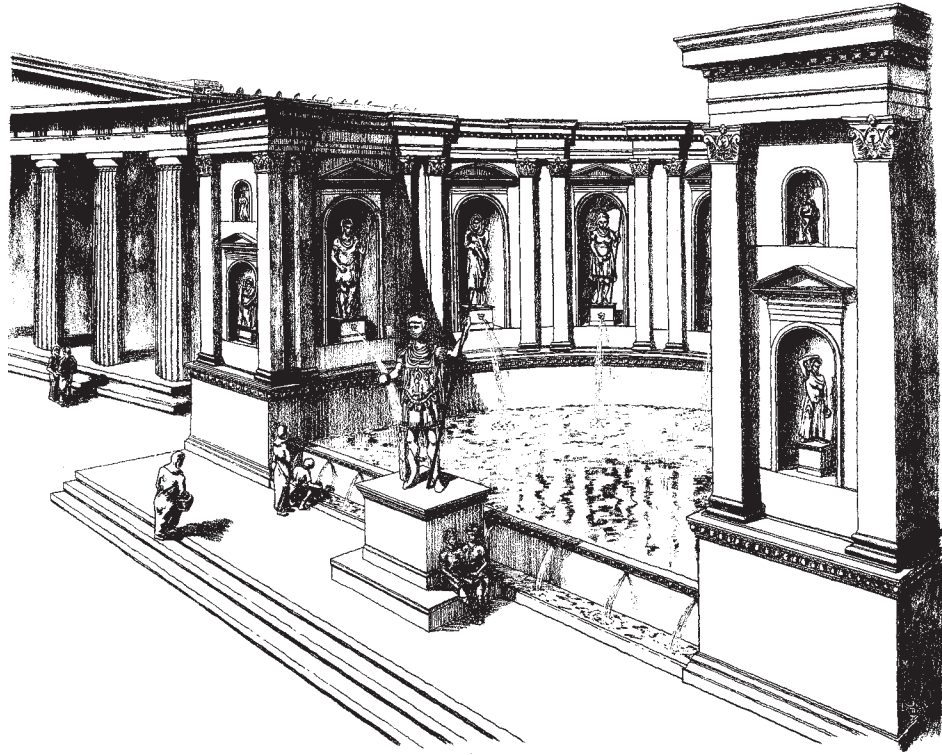


Fig. 6. Reconstruction of the nymphaeum in the classical Agora, mid second century C.E., Athens (courtesy the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations).

to that of the columns of the Eleusinian fountain. The library is associated with Hadrian's visit in 131/2 C.E., and the architectural features seen on monuments at Athens and Eleusis may suggest a shared workforce and imperial patron.

In addition to the parallels found in Hadrianic Athens for the materials and architectural details of the fountain and its associated channel, the comprehensive forecourt renovation indicates that the project was conceived of and begun by an emperor. The columns *en ressaute* of the forecourt fountain produced the illusionary effect of a covered walkway, the physical inaccessibility of which created a striking contrast with

the contemporary stoa that abruptly ends at its lateral wall. Facing the hydraulic edifice across the forecourt is a sequence of buildings orientated along the same axis as the fountain: the Temple of Artemis Propylaea and Poseidon with an altar in front; an eschara, or sunken altar for burnt sacrifices to chthonic deities; and an L-shaped stoa. That the fountain and facing buildings are similarly oriented and do not overlap the pavement indicates that they were contemporary with one another and the pavement.³⁰ This sequence of buildings and the Kallichoron Well were integral to the ritual activities required of initiates before entering the sanctuary.³¹ Furthermore, the pavement changes

³⁰ Spawforth and Walker 1985, 102; Willers 1996, 180–82; Palinkas 2008, 225–28.

³¹ Sometime before 182 C.E., these functional structures were joined by three more decorative ones. The Greater Propylaea, which replaced the Early Classical gateway, was probably built by Marcus Aurelius. Standing next to the Kallichoron Well, it is modeled on the propylaea built by Mnesikles on the Athenian acropolis. The Greater Propylaea was joined by two commemorative arches spanning the entrances to the forecourt from Megara and the harbor of Eleusis. Both arches

were dedicated by the Panhellenion to Demeter, Kore, and the emperor (*IG* 2² 2958). Like the Greater Propylaea, these commemorative arches make architectural references to Athens—but to the Hadrianic city rather than the Periclean one. They are modeled on the arch that Hadrian built to demarcate his new quarter of Athens, which contained the Olympieion. As Palinkas (2008, 224–25) notes, the participants in the Eleusinian Mysteries were coming straight from Athens, so they probably recognized the obtrusive architectural references to the Classical and Hadrianic city.

orientation at the temple, altar, and fountain, indicating that they were conceived of as a physical unit marking the outer threshold of the sanctuary. As sacrifices took place at the altar, participants gazed at the forecourt fountain, which extended and completed the axial line begun by the temple and altar. Like the Castalia Fountain at Delphi, the forecourt fountain precedes the main part of the sanctuary and yet is an integral part of the ritual activities.

FOUNTAIN IN THE ALTIS AT OLYMPIA

Philostratus (*VS* 2.551) credits Herodes Atticus with the construction of an aqueduct at Olympia in honor of Zeus. And yet this 1 km long aqueduct piped water to a fountain with a dedicatory inscription that clearly states that the aqueduct and fountain were dedicated by Appia Regilla, the Roman wife of the Athenian millionaire:³²

Ῥήγιλλα ἱέρεια
Δήμητρος τὸ ὕδωρ
καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῷ Δί.

Regilla, priestess of Demeter, (dedicated) the water and everything connected with the water to Zeus.

Regilla served as priestess of Demeter Chamyne in 149 or 153 C.E., and the dedicatory inscription suggests that she built or dedicated the fountain in return for the honor of being granted the esteemed priesthood by the citizens of Elis, the Greek polis in control of Olympia.³³ Demeter was long honored at Olympia with a sanctuary located at the base of the small hill optimistically called Mount Kronos.³⁴ As priestess of Demeter, Regilla performed sacrifices at the altar located on the northern side of the racetrack across from the judge's stand. When the games were underway, the altar marked where she sat, emphasizing her presence as a married woman in attendance at the Olympic Games and providing her with a unique level of Panhellenic prominence.³⁵ After the priesthood ended, the fountain served as a continual reminder of her sacral service and extended her presence at the sanctuary in perpetuity.

Traditionally called the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus (fig. 8), the fountain is located in the Altis, the sacred heart of the sanctuary. It was built according to the latest international trends of its time in fountain architecture and aquatic display—trends introduced to Greece under Hadrian and exemplified by the impe-

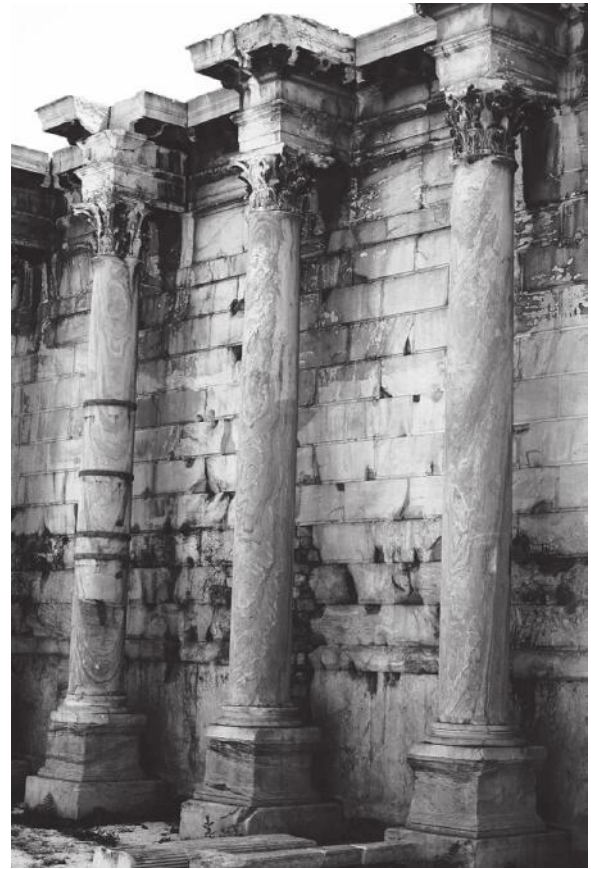


Fig. 7. Facade of the Library of Hadrian, 131/2 C.E., Athens.

rial fountain in the Athenian Agora. Indeed, the fountain at Olympia so closely emulates the architecture of the Athenian fountain that Walker has suggested that the same workshop created them.³⁶ Like the semicircular nymphaeum in the classical Agora, the fountain at Olympia is dominated by a large open-air apsidal settling basin. The supplying aqueduct piped water to a reservoir located behind the semicircular facade; 11 lion-head waterspouts sent the water into the massive apsidal basin in front. At the front of this basin, the water traveled through another set of 11 lion-head waterspouts to fill a thinner, longer rectangular basin. From here, 83 outlet pipes provided water to spectators and filled the channel below, which directed the water to amenities located to the west. Faced in polychrome marble, these basins have stone foundations and are constructed with square bricks over a concrete

³² Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, no. 610.

³³ Bol 1984, 109.

³⁴ Paus. 6.21.1.

³⁵ Pomeroy 2007, 88.

³⁶ Walker 1979, 163.

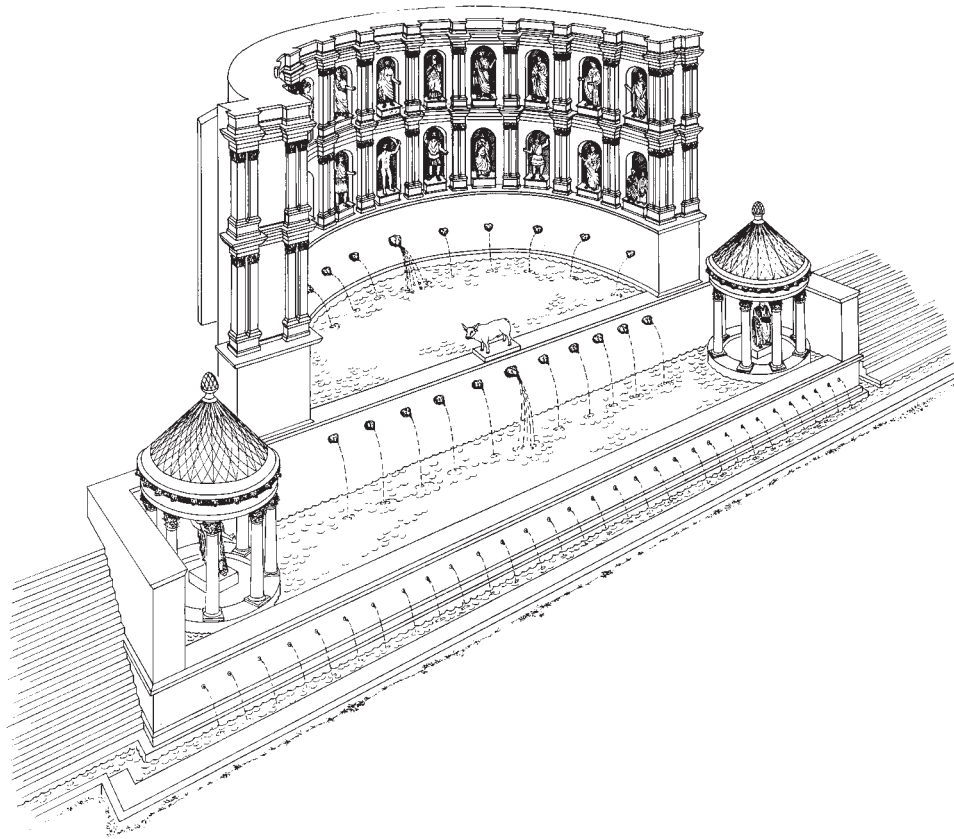


Fig. 8. Reconstruction of the fountain at Olympia, dedicated 149 or 153 C.E. (E. Gehnen; © DAI Athens, neg. 1996/1441).

core.³⁷ Terraced above the level of the Altis and supported by six poros stone buttresses, the back wall of the apsidal basin at Olympia carried a two-story aedicular facade adorned with Corinthian pilasters and 22 statue niches, 11 in each story.³⁸ Bol suggests that a statue of Zeus—the god to whom the fountain was dedicated—stood in the central niche of each story. The remaining niches in the lower story held statues of the Antonine imperial family, while those in the upper story held slightly smaller statues of members of the families of Regilla and Herodes Atticus. The inscribed

statue bases recovered from the fountain record that Herodes Atticus sponsored the statues of the imperial family, thus indicating that he directly participated in the benefaction. So, too, did the citizens of Elis, who contemporaneously donated the statues of the families of Regilla and Herodes Atticus.³⁹

The dedicatory inscription of the fountain is carved on the flank of a marble bull that once perched on the front retaining wall of the apsidal basin (fig. 9). The bovine dedicatory inscription recalls traditional dedications in Greece, particularly the votive dedica-

³⁷ Two rectangular bricks found at Olympia are stamped with the name of Herodes, but their rectangular shape and lack of physical association with the nymphaeum suggest that neither one belongs to it (Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, nos. 734–35; Tobin 1997, 317).

³⁸ See Bol (1984) for further discussion of the architecture and sculpture. Walker (1979, 187–88) has pointed out that the monopteroi at either end of the rectangular basin were added during a later phase. The brick foundation of the western monopteros overlaps the marble revetment of the basin,

and the details of the column capitals of the monopteroi differ from those of the pilasters associated with the aedicular facade.

³⁹ Bol (1984) notes that the stylistic similarities between the two groups of statues indicate they were made by the same workshop, and Kane et al. (1999) use isotopic analysis to determine that the statues commissioned by Herodes Atticus and the Eleians were carved from the same lot of Pentelic marble blocks.

tions of cattle at Olympia, from small eighth-century B.C.E. bronze and terracotta votives to the massive bull dedicated by the Eretrians in the early fifth century. The foundations of the latter are still visible east of the Temple of Zeus.⁴⁰ In the second century C.E., inscribing the flank of a bull was an intentional archaizing gesture that both emphasized the longevity of the sanctuary sacred to Zeus—a god to whom the dedication of a bull was particularly suitable—and projected a picture of traditional piety that assimilated Regilla with the Greek community. Born into the affluent Appian family, Regilla immigrated to Greece after marrying Herodes Atticus, whom she met while he was in Rome tutoring Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus during the early 140s C.E.⁴¹ As a foreigner, Regilla was not eligible for hereditary Greek priesthoods like those her daughters were eligible for at Eleusis. The costly priesthood of Demeter was one of a limited number of venerable Greek priesthoods available to Regilla.

Herodes Atticus and Regilla are associated with a number of dedications at Panhellenic sanctuaries, including Regilla's dedication to Hygieia at Olympia; Herodes Atticus' statues of Demeter and Kore at Olympia; his chryselephantine statues in the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, where he probably also built the Great Baths; and his renovation of the stadium at Delphi.⁴² Also at Delphi are two statues of Regilla erected near the Temple of Apollo and a poorly preserved exedra constructed of brick-faced concrete with a limestone revetment.⁴³ Fronted by a polygonal platform, the latter supported statues of Herodes, Regilla, and at least three of their children. Located in the heart of the sanctuary below the temple terrace and behind the bouleterion, this semicircular structure stood near a sacred spring that had been associated with the Sanctuary of Ge and later the Sanctuary of Asklepios. Not enough remains of the apsidal monument to determine whether it served a hydraulic function, but its shape, location, and sculptural display make it a diminutive echo of the apsidal nymphaeum at Olympia. A similar connection is drawn between



Fig. 9. Bull inscribed with the dedicatory inscription of the fountain at Olympia. Olympia, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 373 (G. Hellner; © DAI Athens, neg. 1979/467).

sacred sites by the stadia Herodes Atticus constructed at Delphi and Athens, the former of which included a niche fountain and the latter of which was built for the Panathenaic festival. The Athenian stadium complex included a temple of Tyche, and Regilla served as the first priestess of the new cult.⁴⁴ This newly created priesthood, which was probably held for life, allowed Regilla to preside over the athletic games associated with the venerable festival, thus integrating her into long-standing Athenian traditions in a manner suitable for the wife of the local millionaire and mother of his children.

Herodes Atticus was favored by Hadrian and served as agonothetes of the first Panhellenia.⁴⁵ As is to be expected of a Panhellene and Athenian claiming descent from the Kerykes clan—one of two clans that monopolized the Eleusinian priesthoods—Herodes Atticus was initiated into the Mysteries and was active at Eleusis.⁴⁶ His known dedications at the sanctuary

⁴⁰ Paus. 5.27.9; Hyde 1912, 208; Taylor 2009, 40.

⁴¹ SHA *M. Ant.* 2.4; *Verus* 2.5; Tobin 1997, 30.

⁴² Paus. 2.1.7, 6.21.2, 10.32.1; Philostr. *VS* 2.551; Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, no. 288; Tobin 1997; Reinhard 2005. In addition to their benefactions at Panhellenic sanctuaries, Herodes Atticus and Regilla can be associated with dedications in Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy, many of which are venues of entertainment and spectacle. Hydraulic monuments seem to have been of particular interest to the couple. Herodes Atticus built an aqueduct, baths, and a civic fountain at Alexandria Troas, as well as another aqueduct at Canusium and another bath complex at Thermopylae (Philostr.

VS 2.551; Tobin 1997). Regilla is honored at the Peirene fountain in Corinth with a statue, and Robinson (2011, 247–48) has suggested that she or Herodes Atticus is probably responsible for the Skylla group added to the fountain court.

⁴³ Daux and Salač 1932, 49–55; Tobin 1997, 303–5.

⁴⁴ Ameling 1983, 2:109–10. The statue of Regilla that Herodes dedicated in the sanctuary of Tyche at Corinth serves as a reminder of his temple in Athens and her service to Tyche (*SEG* 13 226).

⁴⁵ Philostr. *VS* 2.549–50; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 85.

⁴⁶ *IG* 2² 3604b.

include statues of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and Regilla, as well as the clothes and jewelry of Regilla after her suspicious death in 160 C.E.⁴⁷ As wife of a prominent Athenian, Regilla almost certainly was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries and thus would have encountered the forecourt fountain at Eleusis; she also would have encountered the semicircular fountain in the classical Agora in Athens while performing her duties as priestess of Tyche.⁴⁸ At both Attic sites, great care was taken to advantageously locate the fountain in the existing landscape; the same can be said about the placement of the fountain of Regilla at Olympia. Where the Eleusinian fountain marked the transition from secular to sacred space and the Athenian dedication marked the transition from the classical Agora to the Acropolis, the novel benefaction at Olympia was literally set in line with the traditional dedications of the sanctuary: the civic treasuries.

Some 293 Olympiads were celebrated in a sacred landscape that was frequently altered as cities and individuals added new edifices and dedications (fig. 10). Victory lists indicate that the sanctuary became truly Panhellenic in the seventh century B.C.E.;⁴⁹ during this same century, a stadium was built, wells were dug to provide for those attending the games, and wooden treasuries were built to store the ever-growing numbers of votive offerings.⁵⁰ The Altis probably received its first temple, the so-called Heraion, ca. 600–590 B.C.E.⁵¹ Located northwest of the ash altar to Zeus and facing east, the peripteral temple was connected by a path to the stadium; over the course of the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.E., the northern edge of the path was lined with a row of stone treasuries and altars, which were elevated on a long stepped terrace located at the base of Mount Kronos.⁵² Dedicated by Dorian cities and colonies as geographically far-flung as Byzantium and Gela, nearly all these treasuries were built to commemorate victories. Varying in height, size, and architectural decoration, most of the treasuries took the form of an inner room approached through a porch with two Doric columns in antis. The small, templelike buildings housed the precious

votives dedicated to Zeus by the cities, but the treasuries were also vibrant votives themselves, designed to display the wealth and success of the dedicating poleis on an international stage. Roughly aligned with one another and elevated above the route between the stadium and the Heraion, the treasuries became lasting witnesses to the Panhellenic nature of Olympia and reminders of the traditional benefactions to the sanctuary, which became especially poignant after the patronage of cities was eclipsed by that of wealthy individuals and rulers. The shift in patronage essentially began with Leonidas of Naxos, who provided a hostel and banquet halls, and Philip II of Macedon, whose Olympic victories were celebrated in the Altis with an opulent marble tholos housing chryselephantine statues of his family.⁵³

Archaeological excavations have unearthed a total of 15 small buildings on the treasury terrace, including two buried beneath the monumental fountain that Regilla added to the terrace in the second century C.E.⁵⁴ When Pausanias toured the sanctuary, he described 11 treasuries and noted that some continued to function as civic treasuries, such as that of the Carthaginians, while others stood empty, such as that of the Geloans, or served new functions, such as that of the people of Cyrene, which now held imperial statues.⁵⁵ A similar change in function was experienced by the Metroon, which the Eleians added along the processional way in front of the treasury terrace in the fourth century B.C.E. Placed between the Heraion and the Zanes (statues of Zeus), the Metroon apparently was transformed into a temple of the imperial cult in the first century C.E.

When the fountain of Regilla was added to the Altis, it thus was framed by the oldest temple on the site and a place of imperial worship. This fountain transformed the appearance and amenities of the Altis, even though it was not the first source of potable water in the sacred grove. That distinction probably goes to the edifice that included the mid seventh-century B.C.E. fountain statue, two pieces of which were recovered from the southwest corner of the

⁴⁷ *IG* 2² 4072, 4779; *SEG* 1 55. Herodes was accused of causing her death by kicking her in the stomach when she was eight months pregnant (Philostr. *VS* 2.555).

⁴⁸ Two of Regilla's children served as Hearth Initiates while she was still living (*IG* 2² 3608; Clinton 1974, 110).

⁴⁹ Until 696 B.C.E., all the winners came from poleis in the Peloponnese (Spivey 2004, 169).

⁵⁰ Mallwitz 1988, 98; Sinn 2000, 130–31. Dörpfeld (1935, 1:137–51, 2:pl. 13) identifies a mid seventh-century B.C.E. structure built over the ash destruction layer as the first temple to Hera. Mallwitz (1966, 340–57; 1988, 86) does not be-

lieve this structure is a temple.

⁵¹ There is little agreement over whether this temple was originally intended as a temple to Hera, to Zeus, or to both deities (e.g., Dinsmoor 1950, 53; Ashmole and Yalouris 1967, 5; Arafat 1995, 466–67).

⁵² Over time, this path would also be lined with 16 bronze statues of Zeus hurling a thunderbolt, paid for by the fines levied on cheating athletes.

⁵³ Paus 5.20.9.

⁵⁴ Walker 1979, 184; Bol 1984, fig. 4.

⁵⁵ Paus. 6.19.2–10; Arafat 1995, 471.

Heraion and northeast of the Philippeion (fig. 11).⁵⁶ Taking the form of a crouching lion, the limestone statue is unique among fountain sculptures, both because it is the earliest known Greek fountain figure and because it employs the entire body of the lion as a water spout rather than just the head.⁵⁷ This statue must have stood on a pedestal or the lip of a covered basin and spouted water from its mouth into a pool below, an impressive display for its time.⁵⁸ By the time Regilla added the fountain between the Heraion and the Metroon, the lion fountain might have been forgotten or fallen into disuse, for Lucian (*De mort. Peregr.* 19) reports that Peregrinus vociferously complained that this fountain had changed the atmosphere of the agonistic festival, replacing hardy spectators who stoically endured their dehydration with effeminate. Stoned for his commentary, which was made while he was drinking from the fountain, Peregrinus delivered an apology of sorts at the next Olympic Games and self-immolated at a later one.

The novelty of the architecture and kinetic water display of the fountain at Olympia was heightened by its placement at the end of the line of archaic treasuries. The aedicular facade, approximately 18 m high as reconstructed, dwarfed the treasuries, the Metroon, and even the Heraion. The dramatic juxtaposition of the massive apsidal fountain with the small, rectangular treasuries appears to be purposeful. The fountain is carefully positioned so its lower basin is set within the line of the poros stone staircase that leads from the Altis to the treasury terrace, and the line of the upper basin corresponds to that of the front facades of the treasuries (fig. 12). This placement of the marble fountain so it continues the line of the diminutive archaic treasuries while also towering above them sets up a striking visual contrast between the fountain and the treasuries. It also allowed the new benefactor literally to set her gift in line with those of earlier benefactors. Whereas the treasuries contained the precious objects offered to Zeus, the fountain contained the gift of water dedicated to Zeus but readily available to all.



Fig. 11. Lion water spout, ca. 650 B.C.E. Olympia, Archaeological Museum (W. Hege; © DAI Athens, neg. 710).

NYPHAEUM IN THE LETOON AT XANTHOS

Grotto springs were traditional elements of the sacred landscape, and nymphs were often honored in a natural cave, or nymphaeum, near a water source. If a natural cave did not exist at the source, an artificial one could be built. Both natural and artificial grottos became places for worshiping the nymphs associated with springs, and these sites provided evocative links to the sacred heritage of the community.⁵⁹ Although the fountain at Olympia is fed by an aqueduct, its apsidal form set against the side of Mount Kronos recalls this long-standing tradition of the grotto shrine.⁶⁰ At Xanthos in Lycia, the home of the nymphs is again referenced by the architectural form of a fashionable hydraulic monument, but the edifice is actually built at the spring source. The Letoon, an extra-urban sanctuary located approximately 4 km from the city of Xanthos, was originally sacred to the Elyanas, Lycian spring deities who became known as nymphs after Lycia became Hellenized.⁶¹ The indigenous cult of the

⁵⁶Treu 1897, 26. This fountain was joined by a *perirrhanterion*, which the Spartans dedicated in the late seventh century B.C.E. (Treu 1897, 27). Outside the Altis, more than 200 temporary wells were dug between the early seventh century and the mid fourth century B.C.E. Once the open stone channels were installed, far fewer wells were dug (Mallwitz 1988, 98–102; 1999; Schauer 2003, 166–95).

⁵⁷Water spouts taking the form of lion, ram, and satyr heads have been recovered in the Peloponnese (Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 35).

⁵⁸Glaser (1983, 96) notes that the right side of the lion is worked differently from its left, and thus this unusual statue

may have been one of a pair.

⁵⁹For more information on spring sites associated with nymphs, see Costabile et al. 1991; Larson 2001.

⁶⁰The fountain Hadrian dedicated on the slope of the Larissa Hill in Argos provides an earlier example of a monumental fountain fed by an aqueduct that, through its architectural form and topographic placement, recalls the Grotto of the Nymphs (Longfellow 2009, 217–23; 2011, 113–14). At Erythrai, a certain Marcus Claudius dedicated an artificial grotto fed by an aqueduct to Demeter, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus (Elderkin 1941, 126, 135).

⁶¹Strabo 14.2.2, 14.3.6.



Fig. 12. The steps to the treasury terrace, interrupted by the fountain, Olympia.

sanctuary partly informed its appeal to later worshippers, and long after the sanctuary had been expanded to include Greek deities, the demands of the spring divinities compelled drastic topographic and architectural changes at the site, including the addition of a monumental nymphaeum dedicated to Hadrian.

The nymphs originally were worshiped in the northern part of the sanctuary (fig. 13). Because of the rising water table, the North Portico and the early buildings beneath and near it are now mostly submerged, but Metzger was able to identify a long, narrow rectangular precinct among the early buildings as a fifth-century B.C.E. fountain, presumably a monument integral to the worship of the Elyanas. Fed by a single conduit on its eastern side, Metzger suggests that the monument should be reconstructed as a basin accessed by a series of steps.⁶² Variations of this format were used for early fountains at sacred springs throughout Asia Minor and Greece, including the Castalia Spring at Delphi and the Sacred Spring at Corinth.

In Graeco-Roman mythology, the sanctuary at Xanthos was connected with Leto and her search for safe

haven from Hera's wrath. After giving birth to Apollo and Artemis on the floating island of Delos, Leto took her children to Lycia, where she encountered an unsympathetic populace. Ovid (*Met.* 6.313–81) remembers the spring at the Letoon as the place where Leto transformed hostile peasants into raucous frogs after they blocked her from accessing the restorative water of a little lake set in a hollow. Writing in the second century C.E. and citing Menekrates of Xanthos as a source, Antoninus Liberalis (*Metamorphoses* 35) relates the sanctuary to the place where cattle herders drove the goddess away from the spring. Wolves then guided Leto to the nearby Xanthos River so she could satiate her thirst and wash her babies. In gratitude, she dedicated the river to Apollo and then returned to the spring to turn the foolish herdsmen into frogs. In the Classical period, Leto, Apollo, and Artemis became the primary deities of Lycia, and the Letoon served as the federal sanctuary of the Lycian League. The sanctity of the site was reinforced throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods with sacred festivals and monumental building projects.⁶³

⁶² Metzger 1980, 21–4; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 252. A second hydraulic monument was built in the northwest corner of the sanctuary during the late fourth or early third century B.C.E.

⁶³ Appian (*Mith.* 27) records how a dream dissuaded Mithridates from cutting down the trees in the sanctuary to fuel his siege of nearby Patara.

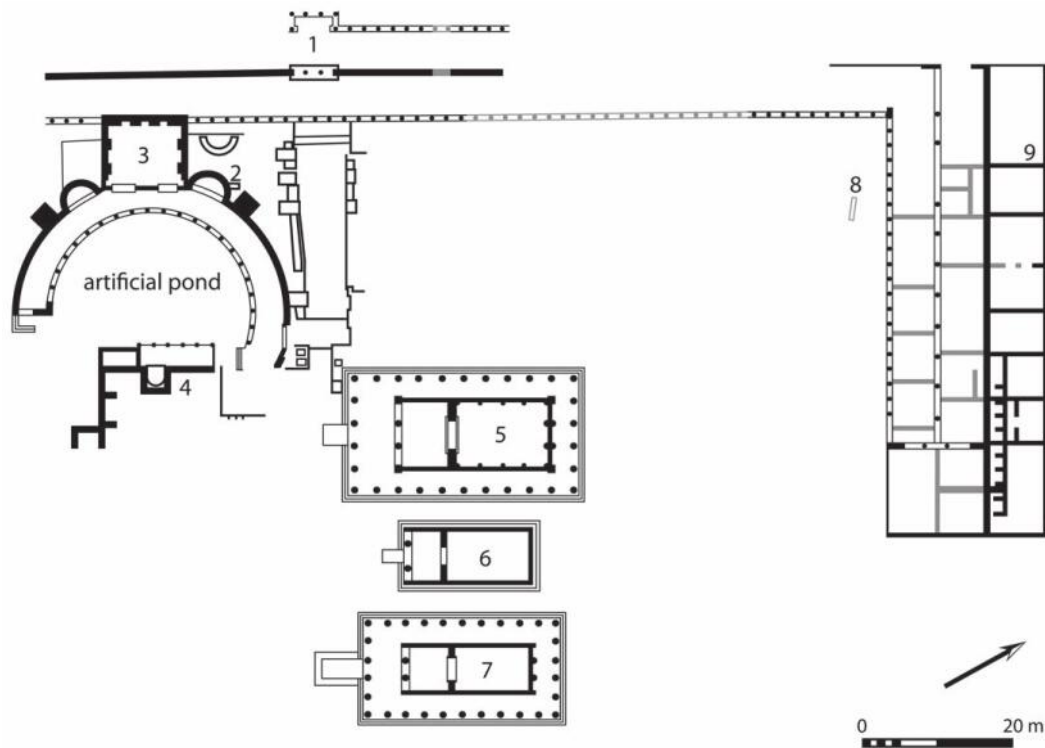


Fig. 13. Plan of the Letoon at Xanthos, showing the monuments discussed in the text: 1, propylon; 2, bovine pillar monument; 3, Roman nymphaeum; 4, Hellenistic shrine to the nymphs; 5, Temple of Leto; 6, Temple of Artemis; 7, Temple of Apollo; 8, stepped fountain dating to the fifth century B.C.E.; 9, North Portico (drawing by S. Trentin; adapted from des Courtils 2001, fig. 1).

A stele recovered at the Letoon credits the Lycian dynast Arbinas, who died ca. 380 B.C.E., with introducing the cult of Leto to the sanctuary; pottery sherds provide a *terminus post quem* of 400 B.C.E. for the earliest Temple of Leto at the site, and an inscribed statue base near the structure states that Arbinas built the temple.⁶⁴ The Temple of Leto shared a rocky plateau with temples to Artemis and Apollo as well as the Sacred Spring of the nymphs. In the mid second century B.C.E., the Lycian temples were replaced by larger stone temples that dramatically transformed the sacred landscape of the sanctuary.⁶⁵ The Temple of Leto was rebuilt at such a large size that the spring that had bubbled to the surface a few meters south of the temple was no longer accessible to worship-

ers. Therefore, the spring was artificially channeled below the temple plateau so it burst forth from a monolithic rock to fill an artificial pond more than 3 m deep.⁶⁶ At the same time, the nymphs were given a new abode along the eastern edge of the pond. The shrine consisted of a concrete retaining wall with a small vaulted room at its approximate midpoint. A paved platform provided access to the vaulted room, which held a semicircular bench for votive offerings and functioned as an artificial grotto.⁶⁷ This grotto stood within the long-standing tradition of emphasizing the sanctity of the spring by providing a place for the worship of nymphs.

In 1969, a circular altar was recovered from the mud in the pool overlooked by the grotto.⁶⁸ Dedicated

⁶⁴ Le Roy 1991, 345; des Courtils 2001, 217–18.

⁶⁵ des Courtils 2001, 219. The temples and new spring sanctuary were part of an extensive rebuilding program that included a Doric portico that framed the north and west sides of the sanctuary.

⁶⁶ Metzger et al. 1974, 335–36; des Courtils 2001, 220. The channeling of the spring away from the temple terrace also

protected the temple foundations against inundation (Mitchell 1984–1985, 101).

⁶⁷ Metzger 1970–1971, 315; Metzger et al. 1974, 336–38. This shrine underwent a number of renovations, and the paved platform eventually was extended along the entire length of the facade.

⁶⁸ Metzger 1970–1971, 316–17.

to Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and the nymphs, the altar confirmed the continued worship of spring nymphs at the Letoon. Further confirmation came from a first-century B.C.E. pillar supporting a bull, which was erected near the sanctuary's entrance and dedicated to both the Letoon triad and the nymphs.⁶⁹ In the second century C.E., this pillar monument was incorporated into the back wall of a remarkable new nymphaeum that combined the monumental aspects of second-century fountains with the sacral aspects of the traditional homes of the nymphs (figs. 14, 15). Placed just inside the western propylon and beside the Sacred Way, the new edifice faced the man-made grotto across the artificial pond filled by the Sacred Spring. Thus, unlike the fountains at Eleusis and Olympia, which had water piped into them from a distant water source, the monument at Xanthos was fed by the spring it embraced,⁷⁰ making it a sacred monument integral to the functioning of the sanctuary. The architecture of the nymphaeum at Xanthos, however, is extremely fashionable, and its careful placement at the site parallels that of the fountains at Eleusis and Olympia.

Le Roy heralds this second-century C.E. structure as the only truly grand imperial addition to the sanctuary.⁷¹ The nymphaeum featured a large semicircular portico stretching more than 27 m around the western half of the enormous open-air pool filled by the spring; the spring entered the pool at a rocky outcrop just beyond the northeastern terminus of the portico.⁷² The colonnade was accessed at its northern end by steps leading down from the Sacred Way and at its southern end by a staircase leading up from a road and past a small basin; the basin's placement between the road and entrance to the portico is evocative of the traditional placement of *perirrhanteria*. The portico had a solid back wall with a foundation of polygonal masonry that extended to the level of the socle; this foundation supported brick walls revetted in white marble.⁷³ The solidity of the wall prevented worshippers from looking back toward the Sacred Way and focused their attention on the pool embraced by the Corinthian colonnade of the portico.⁷⁴ The midpoint

of the portico was marked by a rectangular space. Metzger has identified it as a room accessed through two doorways, but Dörfl-Klingenschmid has suggested it was a basin originally closed off by a parapet wall.⁷⁵ This axial space was flanked by two semicircular exedrae and two rectangular niches. Its back and lateral walls contained a total of nine sculptural niches, and an inscription on the wall below the central niche of the back wall preserves the name of the patron of the monument:⁷⁶

Αὐτοκράτορα [[Τραϊανὸν
Ἀδριανὸν]] Σεβαστὸν πατέρα
πατρίδος Ὀλύμπιον τὸν
σωτήρα Κλαύδιος Μαρκιανός

Claudius Marcianus (dedicated this) to the Emperor Trajan Hadrian Augustus Olympios, savior, father of the fatherland.

Claudius Marcianus served as *archiereus*, or high priest, of the imperial cult in 130 or 131 C.E., a date that is accepted for the initial construction of the edifice, the decorative features of which were added over the following decades.⁷⁷ The location of the inscription on the wall beneath the central niche suggests that Claudius Marcianus not only dedicated the statue of Hadrian that stood in the niche but also dedicated or codedicated the nymphaeum. Like Regilla, Claudius Marcianus probably used his prominent priesthood as the impetus to bequeath the innovative nymphaeum in the heart of the sanctuary. But rather than dedicating a fountain superfluous to the needs of the cult, Claudius Marcianus may have integrated his gift into the worship of both the nymphs and the emperor.

The placement of the enormous and highly unusual hydraulic complex beside the Sacred Spring in the Letoon monumentalized the regional office and imperial standing of the new patron of the sanctuary. The Letoon was the center of the imperial cult in Lycia, and the North Portico, one room of which had a thin layer of water over a mosaic paving, has been identified as the locus for the imperial cult.⁷⁸ Balland

⁶⁹ Metzger 1970–1971, 319.

⁷⁰ Balland 1981, 61.

⁷¹ Le Roy 1991, 351.

⁷² Metzger et al. 1974, 336.

⁷³ Metzger et al. 1974, 333.

⁷⁴ Balland (1981, 74 n. 265) likens the treatment of the acanthus on the limestone capitals of the portico to that of the capitals of the Traianeum at Pergamon and the use of polygonal masonry to that of the imperial granary built under Hadrian at Myra, one of the two principal ports along the Lycian coast. The granary can be dated by its consular inscription to 119 C.E.

⁷⁵ Metzger 1970–1971, 315; Dörfl-Klingenschmid 2001, 252–53.

⁷⁶ Balland 1981, 57–9. The erasure of Hadrian's name and title is unexpected. Balland (1981, 59) points out that a new imperial name has not been added, nor has the dedicant's name been modified, details that indicate the erasure was not due to reuse. He suggests that Hadrian's title might have been too long, and thus the stone cutter started over on another block.

⁷⁷ Balland 1981, 60, 64.

⁷⁸ Metzger et al. 1974, 315–16; des Courtils 2003, 164–65.



Fig. 14. Hellenistic grotto facing the Roman nymphaeum across the artificial pond at the Letoon, Xanthos, in June 2006.



Fig. 15. Roman nymphaeum at the Letoon, Xanthos. Because of the rising water table, the monument was under-water in June 2010.

has suggested that the rectangular room behind the semicircular portico of Claudius Marcianus' nymphaeum may also have provided an additional space for imperial cult activities.⁷⁹ If this is the case, then the new nymphaeum presents not only an architectural juxtaposition with the artificial cave across the pond but also a religious one. The insertion of the imperial cult into existing sanctuaries and existing cult practices was fairly standard in the Greek East. As discussed earlier, the Panhellenion performed duties for both the Eleusinian Mysteries and the imperial cult, a combination that allowed a broad consortium of communities simultaneously to celebrate ties to Greek heritage and the emperor. A similar emphasis on a communal relationship to venerable gods and the reigning emperor characterized the new and revived agonistic festivals endorsed by Hadrian across the Greek East, as well as the building projects undertaken in sanctuaries such as the Letoon. The presence of the imperial cult at the Letoon provided a tangible way for the Lycian community to express their ties to the emperor and augment their general standing in the broader Roman world.

The Letoon is one of several spring sanctuaries that were renovated or newly built during the Hadrianic period, yet it stands apart as one whose building projects are sponsored by an elite rather than Hadrian himself. According to Cassius Dio (69.10.1) and the anonymous author of the *Historia Augusta* (*Hadr.* 12.2), Hadrian added a monument in honor of the divine Plautilla at the existing spring sanctuary at Nemausus (Nîmes) in France. Such a monument effectively joined the worship of the spring deity with the imperial cult. At the springs of Daphne in Turkey, a reservoir complex also integrates imperial worship with the cult of the local source divinities. Hadrian built the complex to regulate the water flowing into his eponymous aqueduct, which fed Antioch-on-the-Orontes. The sixth-century chronicler Malalas (*Chronographia* 11.278) provides a lengthy description of the complex, which includes a temple to the nymphs. The only statue he describes inside this temple is a large, seated statue of Zeus holding a globe, a symbol associated with imperial power since Augustus. This probably is a statue of Hadrian assimilated with the most powerful of the Roman gods, and the inclusion of the statue in the source sanctuary transforms the spring into a place for imperial worship.⁸⁰ On Mount Zaghoun in Tunisia, Hadrian

built a new complex over the spring that served as the source for an aqueduct he presumably ordered to be constructed for Carthage after his visit to the drought-ridden area in 128 C.E.⁸¹ Often discussed in conjunction with the description by Malalas of the complex at Daphne, the Zaghoun spring sanctuary consists of two terraces, with the spring in the lower one. The upper terrace is enclosed by a semicircular colonnade. Along its central axis, a small barrel-vaulted grotto is partially dug out of the hillside.⁸² The combination at Zaghoun of a semicircular colonnade with a room on its central axis has an obvious parallel in the nymphaeum at the Letoon, as does the juxtaposition of a man-made grotto with monumental architecture. These architectural similarities suggest that Claudius Marcianus may have been familiar with Hadrian's patronage of spring sanctuaries and may even have emulated the imperial benefactions. By adding a monumental fountain to an existing spring sanctuary and setting up a striking architectural contrast between his showy gift and the more traditional nymphaeum across the artificial pond, Claudius Marcianus honored Hadrian with a display that compared favorably with the benefactions given by the emperor at spring sanctuaries around the Mediterranean. Furthermore, Balland has pointed out that Hadrian and Sabina were traveling through Lycia in 129 C.E. The close chronology between their trip and the priesthood of Claudius Marcianus suggests that the high priest of the imperial cult may have built the nymphaeum—the construction of which would have been approved by Hadrian—in commemoration of the imperial journey through the region.⁸³

TOPOGRAPHIC PLACEMENT AND DISPLAY

At Eleusis, Olympia, and Xanthos, three patrons dramatically increased the effect of their hydraulic gifts by physically juxtaposing them with existing monuments and ritual spaces. At Eleusis, the forecourt fountain is strategically positioned so it is visually connected to the sacred activities that took place in the liminal space outside the sanctuary, both those at the altar in front of the Temple of Demeter and those at the Kallichoron Well. Offering fresh water to festival participants, this fountain stands at the point where the precinct of the Kallichoron Well has just come into view along the Sacred Way. This visual juxtaposition between the venerable sacred well and a new potable water source suggests

⁷⁹ Balland 1981, 61.

⁸⁰ Downey 1961, 222; Norris 1990, 2333, 2347; Boatwright 2000, 138–39.

⁸¹ A fragmentary inscription dated to 145/6 C.E. found in the large baths in Carthage may make reference to the com-

pletion of the aqueduct line (*CIL* 8 12513; Ferchiou 1999, 76).

⁸² Rakob 1974, 55.

⁸³ Balland 1981, 65–74.

that the fountain was carefully placed to heighten the anticipation of the initiates who had completed their physical journey and were nearing the end of their spiritual journey. Furthermore, the ability to drink while in the presence of a sacred water source suggests an intentional play on the senses of the expectant initiates. Drawing refreshment and perhaps performing ritual ablutions while looking at the Kallichoron Well, with all its sacred significance for the cult and the religious future of the initiate, must have been a powerful stimulant, jogging awake travel-weary neophytes who had already spent six days preparing for the initiation. For the initiates, a night and day were spent preparing for entry outside the walls of Eleusis, and during this point of the Greater Mysteries, the second-century C.E. forecourt must have been subject to intensive use. Within this ritual context, the new fountain and ancient well worked together to fulfill both the earthly needs and spiritual quest of the neophytes.

At Olympia, the positioning of the apsidal marble fountain beside the old-fashioned treasures primarily made of local stone emphasized the continuity of traditional forms of benefaction, even though the monument type was noticeably new. The careful placement of the fountain in the oldest part of the sanctuary and its arresting form emphasized that Regilla, a Roman woman with connections to the imperial family,⁸⁴ had held the prestigious Greek priesthood. Indeed, the dedicatory statue provided a lasting way for the newest patron in the Altis to evoke and participate in such ephemeral sacred events. The inscribed bull marking the central axis of the fountain aligned the ultramodern dedication with traditional bovine dedications at Olympia. This connection is further emphasized by the placement of the flamboyant fountain at the base of Mount Kronos overlooking the ancient ash altar of Zeus, where the bovine sacrifices signifying the end of the Olympic Games took place. This altar also witnessed daily sacrifices by the Eleians, as well as oracular sacrifices and those performed at an individual's behest.⁸⁵ The ability of a worshiper to quench his thirst with cool spring water while watching the final procession of victorious athletes to the Temple of Zeus or the smoky sacrifice of bovine thighs must have colored the experience of the sacred events and influenced the festivities; this was perhaps the point of the infamous outburst by Peregrinus. The combination of cutting-edge architectural form and archaizing dedicatory inscription allowed Regilla to position herself as a powerful and knowledgeable benefactor at

the forefront of architectural trends, as well as a pious one with strong ties to the sacred heritage of Greece.

The play on the senses, shared by the fountains at Olympia and Eleusis, also seems to govern the placement of the third extraordinary water benefaction at Xanthos, which, in addition to providing a striking backdrop for ritual activities, is integrated into the Sacred Spring at the heart of the Letoon. Like the benefaction at Olympia, the new monument at the Letoon dwarfed its predecessor, and its unusual architectural form and positioning created different ways of perceiving and interacting with the sacred space. Like the forecourt fountain at Eleusis, the apsidal nymphaeum at Xanthos is placed along the Sacred Way, where it monumentalized a transitional space adjacent to the propylon. From the older bovine dedication built into its back wall to the steps leading the worshiper from the Sacred Way into the portico, the new monument guided and transformed the experience of a worshiper at the site. By physically embracing the artificial pond created by the Sacred Spring and guiding the visitor to the watery room on its axis, the Corinthian portico acted as a conduit through which worshipers accessed their religious destinations. Contrasting with the Doric and Ionic colonnades of the rectilinear temples and porticoes, the curving Corinthian colonnade of the portico looked as glamorously out of place as the Olympian fountain lined up with the archaic treasures.

The second century C.E. was a time when the emperor and elites gave innovative gifts to sanctuaries, and the architect of each fountain highlighted the importance of the patron by using building materials and architectural forms new to the sanctuary. These hydraulic monuments commemorated the past but also addressed the future, making bold statements about the durability of the memory of the current patron at the site. In each of the three sanctuaries examined in this article, benefactors intimately familiar with the ritual context engaged with, and responded to, the existing sacred landscape by sponsoring hydraulic monuments uniquely suited to the site. By choosing a striking architectural form and siting the edifice where it interacted with an existing monument similar in function, the benefactors also transformed the landscape and thus the effect of the sacred space on the worshiper participating in festival celebrations and religious rituals. A wide variety of factors went into the architectural design and placement of the dedications, but one consistent factor seems to be the connection with Hadrian and his monumental benefactions in cities and sanctuaries

⁸⁴Pomeroy 2007, 14.

⁸⁵Paus. 5.13.8–11.

across the Mediterranean. At Eleusis, the liminal fountain is located at the end of the Sacred Way, where it speaks to the traditional piety and progressive aesthetic tastes of the newest patron of the sanctuary: Hadrian himself, whose repeated personal participation in the Eleusinian Mysteries presumably influenced the strategically placed benefaction. At Olympia and Xanthos, the hydraulic monuments can be associated with the priesthoods of Regilla and Claudius Marcianus, respectively; for both of these elite benefactors, the honor of holding sacred offices seems to have been the catalyst for the fountain dedication. At the same time, the inspiration for the remarkable architectural form and even the prominent placement of their extraordinary gifts may be found in the hydraulic legacy of Hadrian. The fountain of Regilla takes a strikingly similar form to that of a fountain associated with Hadrian in Athens, while that of Claudius Marcianus—which juxtaposes an apsidal portico with an older grotto of the nymphs—creates a new monument with architectural elements similar to those that dominated the source sanctuary on Mount Zaghoun. The reservoir complex at Daphne probably was similar in function and perhaps even in appearance to the complex on Mount Zaghoun, which brings the imperial example geographically closer to Xanthos. The connections that can be drawn between the benefactions of Hadrian and those of Regilla and Claudius Marcianus can be partially attributed to the imperial interest in Greek cultural heritage and the fact that sanctuaries offered meaningful and visible ways for individuals to exert a positive influence on their communities and make themselves known to the emperor. At Olympia and Xanthos, monumental benefactions allowed Regilla and Claudius Marcianus to forge a permanent link between their priesthoods and venerable religious traditions while simultaneously emphasizing their commitment to the larger imperial community and influencing future rituals at the sites.

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