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## THE PROBLEM OF THE EARLY PROXENÍA AND THE GREEK SANCTUARY\*

This essay tries to comprehend why different cities or states in early Greece which were supposed to have different political structures, since in the early days of the archaic age had the proxenía - that is, the institution of the guest-friendship - as a legitimate form of representation vis-à-vis to other cities. My intention here is first of all to outline a historic analysis within a certain theoretical picture, which should enable us to better understand the meaning of *proxenía* in the archaic times and further to analyze the role of sanctuaries, such as Delphi, as supporters of the proxenía in the early Greek world.

The signs of hospitality were spread in the Greek world since earliest times and we could even say that it was a sort of "brand" of the entire classical world<sup>1</sup>. It was an established characteristic of this society, part of its *Paideia*, and each well-educated Greek ought to be instructed in its use as well. Hospitality was an essential aristocratic value and also a hierarchical right with a characteristic code. The *status quo* of the aristocracy consisted, to the one part, in supporting goods, cattle and land and, to the other part, in the handling with the maintenance of nobleman values<sup>2</sup>. Since the earliest times, the Greek word for "guest" or "foreigner" was *xénos*, which however was only one of its meanings; for this word meant in the Homeric times namely also "stranger", "foreigner", "guest" or "enemy", a remarkable ambivalence that marks how the use of this concept must be understood in connection with its time. Moreover, according to M. I Finley the meaning of *xénos* "stand in

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<sup>1</sup> MARROU, H.-I. – *Histoire de l'Éducation dans l'Antiquité* – Paris: ed. Seuil, 1950 (pp.27-39); PÖSCHL, V. – "Griechische Gastfreundschaft von der Antike bis heute" in: *Wegweisende Antike – Zur Aktualität Humanischer Bildung* – org. Herding, O. und Ohshausen, E., Baden-Württemberg: ed. Württembergischer Verein zur Förderung der humanistischen Bildung – Beiheft 1, 1986 (pp.25-38); MAUSS, M. – *The Gift – Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic*, Trans. Ian Cunnison – London – ed. Cohen and West Ltd., 1954.

<sup>2</sup> HERMAN, G. – *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* - Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987; FINLEY, M. – *Die Welt des Odysseus* – Darmstadt: Verl. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968 (pp.72-113); DIRLMEIER, F. – "ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ – ΦΙΛΟΘΕΙΑ" in: *Ausgewählte Schriften zu Dichtung und Philosophie der Griechen* – org. by Görgemanns, H. – Heidelberg: Verl. Carl Winter- Universität, 1970 (pp.31-48).

direktem Verhältnis zu seiner Macht"<sup>3</sup>. The *xenia* - or rather the *idioxenia*, that is a private guest-friendships -, which could be acceptable as translation of guest-friendship<sup>4</sup>, was actually an institution based on continuance, obligations, "universal" recognition and sacral rituals. Each instance of *xenia* was meaningful and important not only in the private sphere but also to all members of the community involved, either performed by the guest or by the host<sup>5</sup>. For these reasons, the limit between the personal and public matters is very difficult to be drawn - one would say invisible - and we can perceive their representatives, or protagonists, as joint partners and authors – *Sujet Collective* – instead of private friends or ambassadors<sup>6</sup>. It is not to be overlooked the fact that, once established the contact between both sides – guest and host - a comfortable atmosphere was created through gift exchanges and feasts, propitiating to each side the opportunity to negotiate their interests under their respective points of view, which proved to be very useful for creating a network of reciprocity. The Greeks lived in an environment of constant hostile atmosphere and they had always to combine therewith a recognized system of relationship. For instance, if one was requested to fight in war, one would count on an effective replacement by a relative, a protector or even ally, who could be his former guest<sup>7</sup>. In a broadest sense, if one was forced to leave home and search for refuge, if one had to travel and needed provisions from a supply house, or if one was involved in a battle and had to appeal to military foreign power, one could rely on his network. Therefore, this system permanent assured that one would always have a secure source of assistance. It is hard to indicate whether the *xenia strictu sensu*, a legal mean of relationship among Greek cities, had immediately the same meaning in the entire Greek world, that is as source of supplies, men and weapons, because it is not easy to prove the unit of the Greek law *de facto* in Greek world, mainly in the archaic era. In this case, we can suppose that *xenia* was an authentic "trade of values", when both sides

<sup>3</sup> FINLEY, M. – *op. cit.*, (p.107); FRISK, H. – "xénos" – in: *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* – Vol. II: Κρ-Ω, Heidelberg: Carl Winter - Universität, 1970 (pp.333-334).

<sup>4</sup> GSCHNITZER, F. – "Politarches – Proxenos – Prytanis – Beiträge zum griechischen Staatsrecht" – in: *Sonderdruck aus Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband XIII, München: Alfred Drucknmüller, 1974 (p.632).

<sup>5</sup> FINLEY, M. – *op. cit.* - *ibidem*; HERMAN, G. – *op. cit, idem*.

<sup>6</sup> For the concept of "Sujet Collective" see GOLDMANN, L. – *Littérature et Société – Problèmes de Méthodologie en Sociologie de la Littérature* – Colloque, Bruxelles: ed. Univ. de Bruxelles, 1967, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> STAHL, M. – *Aristokraten und Tyrannen im archaischen Athen – Untersuchung zur Überlieferung zur Sozialstruktur und zur Entstehung des Staates* – Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Wiesbaden, 1987 (mainly pp.89-105); HERMAN, G. – *Ritualized Friendship, passim*; FINLEY, M. – *op. cit.*, cap. 4.

exchange experiences and points of view<sup>8</sup>. In the archaic times, granting to the *xénos* protection and friendly reception was not just a humanitarian act, but rather a religious duty. Hence, since *xenia* was a sacral commitment, her disregard meant divine sanction and human punishments<sup>9</sup>. The holy guest-friendship was not an exclusive feature of the Greek world: it was a general characteristic in the Antiquity, a direct consequence of the official state participation in foreign affairs<sup>10</sup>. The sacral obligations supported by the state in regarding to the hospitality was conditioned by life circumstances in a world that was in permanent battle and dispute.

Foreigners utilized the intervention of the Gods in their own favour as a mean through which they could get inviolability. After the assumption of Zeus *Xénios* as the God of the hospitality, "all strangers and beggars are [protected] by Zeus"<sup>11</sup>. The distinguished values of aristocracy – *aretaí* – guaranteed the existence and continuation of the *proxenia* as a normative way to keep its values.

We cannot speak on Greek hospitality without mentioning the gifts exchange; the logic of giving is the logic of receiving as well. As one expected mutuality, eventually it became a social obligation. A remarkable testimony of the connection between hospitality and self-interest can be found in the Homeric literature of the *Ilias* and the *Odyssey*. According to M. I. Finley, it would be an incorrect estimation "in der Beharrlichkeit, mit der solche Zahlungen "Geschenke" genannt werden, nur einen Euphemismus sehen zu wollen"<sup>12</sup>. Its meaning lies on the aristocrat system as a guarantee of relationship. From the moment on, when the *póleis* constituted itself politically and became in their political structures more and more complex, the *xenia* got another significance and a more important role than in the frame

<sup>8</sup> FINLEY, M. – "The Problem of the Unity of Greek Law" – cap. 8 in: *Use and Abuse of History* – London: pub.Chatto and Windus Ltd., 1975 (pp.129-142); *contra* GERNET, L. – "Einführung in das Studium des Alten Griechischen Rechts" in: *Zur Griechischen Buchgesellschaft – Wege der Forschung* org. by Berneker, Band XLV, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968 (pp.4-38); see also JOHNSTON, A. W. – *Trademark on Greek Vases*, Warminster, Wiltshire, England: Ed. Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1979, and OSBORN, R. – "Pride and prejudice, sense and subsistence exchange and society in the greek City" – in: *The City and the Country in the Ancient World* – org. by Rich, J. and Wallace-Hadrill, A. – London: ed. Routledge, 1992 (pp.119-145).

<sup>9</sup> LATTE, K. – "Der Rechtsgedanke im archaischen Griechentum". in: O. Berneker (org.) – *Zur griechischen Rechtsgeschichte. Wege der Forschung*, Vol. XLV, Darmstadt: WBG, 1968 (p.84).

<sup>10</sup> HEICHELHEIM, F. M. – "Fremdenrecht" – in: *Der kleine Pauly – Lexikon der Antike in fünf Bänden*, Vol. 2, München: DTV, 1979, 612-613, with bibliography.

<sup>11</sup> "πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες / ξεῖνοί τε πτωχοὶ τε" (Hom. *Od.* VI,207-208); PÖSCHL, V. – *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> FINLEY, M. – *Die Welt des Odysseus – op. cit.*; MAUSS, M. *op. cit.*, *passim*.

of the family circle<sup>13</sup>. The impossibility to maintain a local, political and permanent peace because of the remaining needs, either economic, social or political, stipulated in many ways by personal ties, leaves the communities with no option but on *proxenia* to fall back. The presence of the *pro-xénos*, literally "instead of the guest or before the guest", implied an agreement in front of the domestic discussions of the community, functioning as a guarantee. The "foreigner" became an appropriate and useful companion for the entire community<sup>14</sup>, then "...die Gastfreundschaft eines einzelnen Stammesmitgliedes (...) verpflichtet sie alle, so stark war der personale Zusammenhalt der Stammesgemeinschaft"<sup>15</sup>. It is a *communis opinio* among all researchers that the *proxenia* has its roots in the *xenia*, not only in its etymological meaning, but also in its institutional traits: the *proxenia*, "inherited" some features of the *xenia*<sup>16</sup>. The modern researches agree unanimously, therein also for the sake of the lack of epigraphic or literary documents concerning the archaic times and because of the abundant amount of documents in the classic times, that the stamped model of the *proxenia* lies in a "classical picture", either in a legal sense or in an institutional way. Its exact geographical origin of the *proxenia* is uncertain, and although we know almost nothing about its beginnings, we can point out that its development as a recognized institution was born in the Central Greece area, very probably between the regions of the Thessaliens and the Arkadiens, and further in other territories<sup>17</sup>. Its classic and original sense was "state hospitality". This

<sup>13</sup> GAUTHIER, P. – *Symbola, Les Étrangers et la Justice dans les Cités Grecques*, Nancy, 1972. For development of *Xenia* in classical time see RHODES, P. J. "ΞΕΝΙΑ and ΔΕΙΠΝΟΝ in the Prytaneum" in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* – org. Eck, W. et alii, Vol. 5 – Bonn: Verl. Rudolf Halbelt, 1984 (pp.193-202).

<sup>14</sup> VIRGILIO, B. – "Nei poemi omerici, nei casi in cui è riciesta la testimonianza, in primo luogo, per una sorta di ἀπιστία, ci si assicura della collegialità die testimoni; in secondo luogo, non è forse da ritenersi un portato della esperienza negativa del testimone mortale, per cui si sono trasferite alla sfera divina le qualità ideali del testimone e quindi la assoluta fiducia in questa figura" (p.16). VIRGILIO, B. – "I πρόξενoi Testimoni in Alcuni Documenti Epigrafici di Magna Grecia" in: *Epigrafia e Storiografia – Studi di Storia Antica* – Vol. I, Pisa Ed. Giardini – 1987 (pp.13-22).

<sup>15</sup> SCHÄFER, H. – *Staatsform und Politik*, Leipzig, 1932 (p.14).

<sup>16</sup> SCHÄFER, H. *op. cit.*, p.14; GSCHINITZER, F. – "Proxenos" – in: *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* – org. Ziegler, K. et alii – Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, Supplementband XIII, 1973 (pp.629-730); GAUTHIER, P. *op. cit.*; MONCEAUX, P. – *Les Proxénies Grecques*, Paris: Librairie des Écoles d'Athènes et de Rome du Collège de France et de l'École Normale Supérieur, 1886; HERMAN, G. – *op. cit., passim*; see MAREK, Chr. – *Die Proxenie* – Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984.

<sup>17</sup> MAREK, Chr. *op. cit.* (p.121); MONCEAUX, P. *op. cit.* (p.9); EHRENBERG, V. – "When did the Poleis Rise?" in: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London: MacMillan & Co and Council of The Society for The Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1937 (pp.147-159).

meaning is object of the most extensive and exhausting investigation in the most famous work by C. Marek<sup>18</sup>. According to him, the distinction of the concept in earlier and classic sources is a weak argument and the thesis of the ambiguity of the concept to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. should also be disregarded, at least in Olympia<sup>19</sup>. Nevertheless, he affirms that "...Überall, vermutlich auch in Boetien, haben die Städte unabhängig von einer Bundesmitgliedschaft Proxenoï ernannt. Dies setzt in der Tat voraus, daß das sogenannte Bundesbürgerrecht nicht die unumschränkte rechtliche Gleichstellung in allen Mitgliedstaaten *ipso iure* bedeutet haben kann" and he adds "Die Verleihung der bundesstaatlichen Proxenie an Landfremde muß nach ihrer Wirksamkeit als Auszeichnung und Privilegierung (wie auch (...) die Vergabe städtischer Proxenoïen) *unterschiedlich* interpretiert werden..."<sup>20</sup>. His statement calls in question the legal value of the *proxenia* in inter-relations states, so far we cannot decide whether it was recognized by all member states.

One of the first records of an awarded *proxenia* was found on the Westlokrian island, Korkyra (Corfu), on a gravestone from the archaic time, between the late 7th and the middle 6th century B.C:

"Of Menekrates son of Tlasias (is) this tomb,  
an Oiantheers according to (his) origin. But for him the people erected it.  
Proxenos, people's friend (he) was. Meanwhile on the sea,  
he found the death, misfortune over the people.  
Praximenes came for it out of the homeland  
and erected together with the people this grave of [his] brother"<sup>21</sup>  
(IG, IX, 867).

It concerns to a man who drowned in the sea. He was probably an aristocrat. We have scanty information about his dwelling in the early time - in Oianthea or Euanthea - merely that it came under the influence and even the threat of a Corinthian power expansion<sup>22</sup>. Such inscription elucidates different aspects of his daily life, giving us, for example, his ethnic

<sup>18</sup> MAREK, Chr. *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> *Idem, op. cit.*, 358, note 52.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p.126, §2 – 3. Stressed by me. Compare p. 122, § 4. It seems a contradiction with his prior arguments.

<sup>21</sup> ECKER, U. – "Grabmal und Epigramm–Studien zur Frühgriechischen Sepulkraldichtung" in: *Palingenesia*, org. by Lendle, O. und Steinmetz, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990 (pp.88-110 and 233-235). RUZÉ, F. et VAN EFFENTERRE, H. – *Nomina – Recueil D'Inscriptions Politiques* – Collections de l'École Française de Rome, Vol.1 – Paris: Verlag École Française de Rome, Palais Farrière, 1994.

<sup>22</sup> GUARDUCCI, M. – "Epigrafi di Carattere Pubblico" in: Guarducci, M. – *Epigrafia Greca*, Vol.II – Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato – Libreria dello Stato, 1969 (pp.11-41 and 162-176).

membership, political responsibilities in the face of the local elite and also his native country. Following the latest researches<sup>23</sup>, the four-time repetition of the words *dâmos* / *damósion* assigned on his cenotaph and the occurrence of *filos* in this text are not accidental: they make reference to a political outlook, then it seems that for the deceased it was something remarkable to be honored at that moment by the "democratic wing" (in the course of the discussions in Corcyra)<sup>24</sup>. It was elsewhere said that an especial achievement of the archaic grave inscriptions was when it praised the deceased regardless his reputation while still alive. Gravestones inscriptions did not have as aim a "...private Gedächtnisstütze für einen mündlichen Vortrag, sondern stellten eine öffentliche Botschaft dar, die ein kollektives Erinnern über Generationen hinweg ermöglichten"<sup>25</sup>. In this sense, it is difficult to assume that the actions of the *próxenoi* during his life were a merely *privatus ac separatus* deed, like the *idióxenos* once was. Since the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Oianthea had been a strategic position at the Gulf of Corinth, perhaps even incomparable to other cities in this zone. In the inscriptions of Delphi sanctuary, the name of Oianthean occurs very often<sup>26</sup>. However, our interest here is not to perscrutate what kind of involvement with the Delphic Oracle had Oianthea, but rather to emphasize the large influence that Delphi exercised on cities like Oianthea<sup>27</sup>. In the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the Greek world suffered deep changes in its history. This process will not be described in details, and we will focus on the importance of the period, in order to allow us to understand the emergence of the *proxenia* as a legitimated institution to the relationships between the *póleis*. As W. Burkert<sup>28</sup> affirms, the Apollon-

<sup>23</sup> See bibliography by ECKER, U. – *op. cit.* (pp.88-110 and 233-235).

<sup>24</sup> WALLACE, M. B. – "Early Greek πρόξενοι" in: *Phoenix*, vol. 24, 1970 (pp.189-208). ECKER, U. – *op. cit.* (pp.88-110); also WALLACE, M. B. – "Notes on Early Greek Grave Epigrams" in: *Phoenix*, vol. 24, 1970 (pp.95-105); GUARDUCCI, M. *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> ECKER, U. – *op. cit.* (pp.233-235).

<sup>26</sup> MEYER, E. – "Oianthea". in: *Der kleine Pauly – Lexikon der Antike*, Vol. 4, München: ed. DTV, 1979 (pp. 250-251). See also Fouilles de Delphes III, 1-6, 0040, 2:214; SGDI (Samml. Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.) II, 1908, 04 and BCH, col. IV, 72, 1921.

<sup>27</sup> FORREST, W. G. G. – "Central Greece and Thessaly" in: *The Cambridge Ancient History – The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Century B.C.* – Vol. 2a. III, part 3, Editors – Boardman, J. and Hammond, N. G. L. – Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press (pp.286-320); KIECHLE, F. K. – "Korkyra und der Handelsweg durch das adriatische Meer im 5 Jh. v. Chr." in: *Historia – Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* – org. Heinen, H. et alii – Vol. XXVIII, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner 1979 (pp.173-191); HAMMOND, N. G. L. – "The Peloponese" – in: *The Cambridge Ancient History – The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Century B.C.* – Vol. 2a. III, part 3, Editors – Boardman, J. and Hammond, N. G. L. – Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, (pp.321-359).

<sup>28</sup> BURKERT, W. – *Die griechischen Religion – der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* – Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1977 (p.188).

Temenos in Delphi was not established before 750 B.C. Nevertheless, the *Ilias* already describes the rich treasures that the threshold of the God of Delphi sheltered<sup>29</sup>. It is clear that since the 7<sup>th</sup> century - perhaps earlier, in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> B.C. - the Delphic Oracle helped the foundation of some colonies and led them into distant coasts around the Mediterranean Sea, and even farther, so that without the advice of the Pythia, the priestess of Delphi, a community hardly could dare to found other colonies<sup>30</sup>. Moreover, since the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., not only Greek cities of central Greece's neighborhood went to her in search of its counsels, but also foreign kings from Near Asia - Lydia and Phrighia - looked for the oracles of the Pythia. Consonant with H. Berve "auch hier erweist sich der Herr von Pytho – pythische Apollo – als eine ordnende, Maß und Regel setzende Macht, als ein Hort der Gesittung"<sup>31</sup>. Apollo is the God of purification, the God of cultic inquiries, of reform, and of encoded oracles. In order to heal human "impurity", it was necessary a superhuman knowledge. The Oracle's revelation was, however, indirect and wrapped, and, therefore, he became *Loxias*, named the "oblique": "Der Gott der Reinigungen muß zugleich Orakelgott sein"<sup>32</sup>. The Oracle's speeches were one of the earliest uses of the writing in Greece<sup>33</sup>. Since the administrative sphere used more and more writing means in public matters, recorded oracle speeches also contributed decisively to a change in regard to the reference system of this society. The legitimacy of its acts, the confidentiality and authenticity are documented through records, with the "blessing wishes" of the God of the Oracle<sup>34</sup>. This device propitiated that the oracle messages overcame local boundaries, achieving relevance in other places, through times<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> Hom. *Ilias*, IX, 404-409.

<sup>30</sup> This chronology and the effective participation of Delphoi in such undertaking are but disputable. See LESCHHORN, W. – *Gründer der Stadt – Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte*, Stuttgart: 1984. See also CRAHAY, R. – *La Littérature Oraculaire chez Hérodote* – Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de L'Université de Liège – fascicule CXXXVIII, Paris: ed. Les Belles Lettres, 1956 (pp.182-233); BERVE, H. – "Das delphische Orakel" (1949) in: *Gestaltende Kräfte der Antike – Aufsätze und Vorträge zur griechischen und römischen Geschichte* – org. by Buchner, E. und Franke, P. R. – München: C. H. Beck'sche, 1966 (pp.21-41).

<sup>31</sup> BERVE, H. – *op. cit.* (p.31).

<sup>32</sup> BURKERT, W. – *op. cit.* (p.231).

<sup>33</sup> STAHL, M. – *op. cit.* (pp.29-42).

<sup>34</sup> PARKE, H. W. and WORMELL, D. E. W. – *The Delphic Oracle*, 2 vol. Oxford: Oxford, 1956.

<sup>35</sup> BURKERT, W. – *op. cit.* (pp.225-232); DIRLMEIER, F. – "Apollo, Gott und Erzieher des hellenischen Adels" in: *Ausgewählte Schriften zu Dichtung und Philosophie der Griechen* – org. by Görgemanns, H. – Heidelberg: Carl Winter- Universität. 1970 (pp.31-48).

Shortly after the first Holy War (591/590 B.C.), Delphi was included into the Amphiktyonic League – a group of cities or tribes bound by a cult alliance, which had their centres both in the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela, near Thermopylae, and at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, one of the most important religious centres of the Greek world<sup>36</sup>. The goal of the pyläic-delphic Amphiktyony was essentially to expand its power with regard to its most next neighbors through the influence of the Apollo sanctuary in Delphi. The political balance between the cities was very delicate, so that the emergence of a League of cities meant essentially the maintenance of their own existence by protecting themselves against the attacks of the hostile *póleis* a sort of sacral guarantee of the territory and, above all, a local provision of food<sup>37</sup>. It must be underlined, however, that territorial battles between the *póleis* aimed always self-provision and never had a "universal" purpose<sup>38</sup>. With the rise of Delphi as a middle ground between the cities during the archaic age and under the protection of the Amphiktyonic members, whose circle expanded itself gradually, the domains of Apollo were attaining an increasing significance. The cultic activity of the Oracles plays an important role in this context as well. Besides the typical procedures against illnesses, death and other plight, the interference in marriages and other private matters, the Delphic Oracle also interfered considerably in public matters, such as natural disasters, plagues or territorial conflicts. In addition, ritual matters permitted tacitly effects of self-legitimization depending on the cult and on the "Client"<sup>39</sup>. Thus, shrines like those in Delphi

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<sup>36</sup> TAUSEND, Kl. – *Amphiktyonie und Symachie – Formen zwischen staatlicher Beziehungen im archaischen Griechenland*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner – Historia Einzelschriften – 73, 1992; ZEILHOFER, G. – *Sparta, Delphoi und die Amphiktionen im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus* – Nürnberg: Fakultät-Alexander-Universität, 1959.

<sup>37</sup> "A Greek (or Roman) city normally expected to feed itself from corn grown in own *chóra* (*territorium*) or at any rate grown nearby", in: STE CROIX, G. M. de – *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World, from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquest*, Duckworth, London, 1981 (p.10), quoted by MORRIS, I. – "The early Pólis as a City and State" in: *The City and Country in the Ancient World*, RICH, J. and WALLACE-HADRILL, A., London, ed. Routledge, 1991.

<sup>38</sup> SCHÄFER, H. *op. cit.* (p.9); DEFRADAS, J. – *Les Thèmes de la Propagande Delphique*, Paris, Lib. C. Klincksiek, 1954; PARKE, H. W. – *Greek Oracles* – London: ed. Hutchinson Univ. cap. 5 and cap. 6.

<sup>39</sup> VERNANT, J. P. – Vernant, J. P. "Sans cette double intégration de l'intelligence divinatoire dans la mentalité commune et de fonctions du devin dans l'organisation sociale, la *divination* serait incapable de remplir rôle que lui reconnu les anthropologues de l'école fonctionnaliste. Celui d'une instance officielle de légitimation proposant, dans ce cas de choix lourds de conséquences pour l'équilibre des groupes, de décisions socialement <objectives>, c'est-à-dire bénéficiant, de la part du corps social, d'une consensus général qui place ce genre de réponse aus-dessus de contestations" (p.10). "Parole et Signes muets" in: *Divination*



ever since became a privileged *medium* in the interstate relationships due to its religious nature, by legitimating social instances and replacing the previous way of relations involving different states, when local communities based their interstate relations on private ties. This time was gone, but in no way the states were allowed to keep out of religion's influence, something compared to a "laicisation". On the contrary, now they needed to send out their envoys to foreign states, and the only way to legitimate them as such representatives was a religious way<sup>40</sup>. In a short space of time, this local process became a firm political and economic connection between these cities and Greek sanctuaries in order to secure their surviving and political existence. One can suppose, therefore, that the internal balance among the members of the Amphictyonic League was very weak and the local elite had an essential function in solving both the domestic tension and external problems<sup>41</sup>. A further criterion of connection between the *próxenoi* and the interstate relations was to offer to conspicuous citizens honors and rights, which were administered by sanctuaries like Delphoi and frequently connected with the award of the *proxenia*: *énktesis*<sup>42</sup>, *atéleia*<sup>43</sup>, *promantéia*<sup>44</sup>,

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*et Rationalité*, org. by Vernant, J. P. *et alii*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1974 (pp.9-25); see also WHITTAKER, C. R. – "The Delphic Oracle: belief and behavior in ancient Greece and Africa" in: *Harvard Theological Review* – LVIII, 1965 (pp.21-47); PARK, G. K. – "Divination and its Social Contexts" in: *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* – Vol. 93, part 2, July to December – England: ed. Robert MacLehose & Co. Ltd – Univ. Glasgow, 1963 (pp.195-209).

<sup>40</sup> ULF, Chr. – "Überlegungen zur Funktion überregionaler Feste im Archaischen Griechenland". in: Eder, W. und Hölkeskamp, K.-J. (org.): *Volk und Verfassung im vorhellenistischen Griechenland. Beiträge auf dem Symposium zu Ehren von Karl-Wilhelm Welwei in Bochum*, 1–2 März, Stuttgart: 1996.

<sup>41</sup> Summed up by: PARKER, R. – "Greek States and Greek Oracles" in: *CRUX – Essays Presented to G. E. M. de Ste Croix on his 75 th Birthday* – editors: Cartledge, P. A. and Harvey, F. D. History of Political Thought, vol. VI, Engl.: Imprint Academic, 1986 (pp.298-325).

<sup>42</sup> See generally remarks in GSCHNITZER, F. *op. cit.* (pp.710-721) and also MAREK, Chr. – *op. cit.* (pp.121-160); THÜR, G. – "Enktesis" – in: *Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Vol. 3, org. Cancik, H. und Schneider, H., Verlag J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart – Weimar, 1998 (p.1037).

<sup>43</sup> RHODES, P. J. – "Ateleia" – in: *Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Vol.2, org. Cancik, H. und Schneider, H., Stuttgart – Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1997 (pp.150-151). *Idem*, "Isoteleia" – in: *Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Vol 4, org. Cancik, H. und Schneider, H., Stuttgart – Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler 1998 (pp.1144). Also OEHLER, R. – "atéleia" – in: *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Vol. 3, II, 2. org. by Ziegler, K. – Stuttgart: Verlag Alfred Druckenmüller, 1895 (pp.1911-13).

<sup>44</sup> POUILLOUX, J. – "Promanties collectives et protocole delphique" in: *Bulletin de Correspondances Hellénique* – LXXVI – Paris: ed. de Boccard, 1952 (pp.484-513); BERVE, H. und RADKE, G. – "Promantis" in: *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertums-*

*ásylon*<sup>45</sup>, *asfáleia*<sup>46</sup>, and above all, *euergesía*<sup>47</sup>. All these privileges were not valid everywhere and at any time, then, each state had its own political priorities. Most of these honors in the classical period, some almost exclusively granted to *próxenoi*, were conferred in ceremonial cults at sanctuaries<sup>48</sup>. Consequently, it is now possible to point out some general characteristics:

a) These privileges can be seen as complementary functions of the *proxenia*. In earliest times, the *proxenia* could not be regulated as a state office, including different forms of mentioned privileges, so that the *proxenia* admitted more than a single interpretation;

b) The usual meaning of the *próxenos* in earliest time as a testimony, or even guarantor and truster in interstate disputes, contradicts not the usual interpretation of *proxenia* as state guest-friendship, as seen on the sepulchral inscription of Menekrates, but rather complements it<sup>49</sup>.

c) The institution of *proxenia*, represented by its delegates, did not renounce the conventional rites and cults at the shrine in Delphoi on the basis of the characteristics of the Greek religion, but rather made large use of them. They formed an essential component of this society.

My argument is namely as follow: The *proxenia* was an institution by means of which local communities sought to solve, through testimonies or

*wissenschaft*. Vol. 45, Tomus XXIII, I. org. by Ziegler, K., Stuttgart :Verlag Alfred Druckenmüller, 1975 (p.647).

<sup>45</sup> CHANIOTIS, A. – "Asylon – hieròn ásyilon" – in: *Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Vol. 3, org. by Cancik, H. und Schneider, H., Stuttgart – Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 1998 (pp.143-44); SZANTO, E – "asylia" in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Vol. 3, org. by Ziegler, K., Stuttgart: Verlag Alfred Druckenmüller, 1895 (pp.1881-86); STENGEL, P. – "Asylon" in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Vol. 3, org. by Ziegler, K., Stuttgart: Verlag Alfred Druckenmüller, 1895 (pp.1879-1881).

<sup>46</sup> SZANTO, E. – "asfáleia" in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Vol. 3, Tomus II,2/SI, org. by Ziegler, K., Stuttgart: Verlag Alfred Druckenmüller, 1896 (p.1726).

<sup>47</sup> GEHRKE, H.-J. – "Euergetismus" in: *Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Vol 4, org. Cancik, H. und Schneider, H., Stuttgart – Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 1998 (pp.228-230). MEIER, M. – "Euergetes" – in: *Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Vol. 4, org. Cancik, H. und Schneider, H., Stuttgart – Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 1998 (p.228). See also KARAVITES, P. – "Euergesia in Herodotus and Thucydides as a Factor in Interstate Relations" in: *Revue Internationale des Droit de l'Antiquité* – Dir. Hendrion, R. et alii – 3<sup>o</sup> série – Tome XXVII – Bruxelles: Office International de Librarie (pp.69-79).

<sup>48</sup> GSCHNITZER, F. – *op. cit.* p.703. und *passim*; WALLACE, M. B. – "Early Greek πρόξενoi" in: *Phoenix*, vol. 24, 1970 (pp.189-208), with a list of the earliest *proxenies* decrees.

<sup>49</sup> For other instances see GAUTHIER, P. – *op. cit.*, MONCEAUX, P. – *op. cit.*, VAN EFFENTERRE, H. et RUZÉ, F. – *op. cit.* and VIRGILIO, B. – *op. cit.*

guarantors - *próxenoi* - as a representative of a foreign community, their own internal conflicts and to secure, simultaneously, their external links with other communities. The role of the *proxenia* takes, then, another shape - at least since the ends of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., when the Persian Empire strongly threatened the Greek world, and cities like Athens, Sparta and Corinth played a more prominent role in territorial matters. The *proxenia* slowly became a *liturgy* of the cities, with their respective rights and obligations<sup>50</sup>. In this sense, there was "Laicisation" neither with regard to the "Xenia" nor to the "Proxenia", but there were rather significant changes in the Greek religion in relation to the political systems of the cities that, through the administration of the sanctuaries, could better control it<sup>51</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> MONCEAUX, P. – *Les Proxénies Grecques, passim*.

<sup>51</sup> The concept of Laicisation is very disputable. See LUPPINO, Emma – "La Laicizzazione della Proxenia. Il caso di Alcibiade" in: *Religione e Politica nel Mondo Antico* – org. Sordi Marta (contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica – Vita e Pensiero) Vol. VII – Milano: Pub. Univ. Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1981 (pp.73-79); *contra* FUSCAGNI Stefania – "Sacrilégio e Tradimento nell'Atene del V secolo" – *Ibidem*, (pp.64-72): "il concetto di <laicità dello Stato> è una categoria estranea alla Polis, è riscontrabile tuttavia una opposizione o meglio una differenza tra l'ambito dello *hieron* e quello dell'*hosion*" (p.70). SORDI, Marta. On Delphoi's Temple in 6th. century B.C. see the article recently published of BRANDT, H. – "Pythia, Apollon und die älteren griechischen Tyrannen" in: *Chiron* – München: C. H. Beck'sche – Vol. 28, 1998, (pp.193-212).