Chapter 3

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Large Temples as Cultural Banners in Western Sicily

Abstract: An Elymian identity given by Thucydides (6.2.3) illustrates well ethnic convergences in classical Sicily. Refugees from Troy called themselves Elymians, founded Segesta and Eryx, and were later joined by some storm-driven Phokians. The Trojan ethnic component may reflect a Sicilian tradition at least as early as the late sixth century BCE (Stesichoros), strengthened through time, so that by the Roman period Segesta won tax relief on the basis of "kinship diplomacy." Identifying what is Elymian about Segesta is challenging, and the main topic of two international congresses (Pisa 1997, 2000). The Sanctuary at Contrada Mango was partially excavated by Vincenzo Tusa in the 1950s, and yielded Archaic pottery with graffiti in Elymian, but written in the Greek epichoric alphabet of Megara Hyblaia: thus convergence began early. This article addresses convergences in religious architecture: the Unfinished Temple at Segesta (ca. 420 BCE), Segesta's stellar attraction today, has been studied thoroughly by Dieter Mertens (1984). Not as well known is a Greek, Doric temple of similar size but earlier fifth-century date, in the sanctuary at Contrada Mango at Segesta. Pieces of its superstructure lie scattered on the ground. Whereas Mertens was able to document Athenian influence in the unfinished temple, other sources of influence, and originality, are evident in Contrada Mango's earlier temple.

Keywords: Selinus, Segesta, Elymians, Contrada Mango

The central location of Sicily in the Mediterranean, with large tracts of well-watered arable land and a salubrious climate, and excellent harbors with convenient trade links to Spain and France, Etruria, and Carthage made Sicily very desirable to newcomers after the Bronze Age. The general perception in classical antiquity of the population of Sicily was that most Sicilians had come to the island in earlier generations from somewhere else, much like the current population of America. A significant part of Sicily's experience in the Archaic and Classical periods was the competition and friction between cities founded by people of different origins. This paper explores the role of monumental religious architecture in the relationship between Elymian Segesta and their Greek neighbors at Selinus in western Sicily.[1]

1. I thank Sandra Blakely and Billie Jean Collins for the invitation to speak at the conference

Elymian Identity and Origin

In his account of Sicily's history, Thucydides describes in detail the ethnic convergences into an Elymian identity in this part of the island (6.2.3). He says the Elymians were refugees from Troy, and founded Segesta and Eryx. They were joined by some storm-tossed Phokians, who had fought at Troy, were driven by storms to Libya, then came to Sicily. His source for this information is thought to be Antiochos of Syracuse; Hellanikos gives a parallel but slightly different account (*CT* 3.270–274). Thucydides describes the Segestans in detail because of their crucial role in luring Athenians into Sicilian affairs in the later fifth century BCE: The Segestans brought sixty talents to Athens for a month's pay for sixty ships, and they claimed they had plenty of money at home (which proved to be false). Thucydides notes in another passage (6.6.2) that disputes over intermarriage rights and territorial borders had set off hostility between Elymian Segesta and Greek Selinus. This led eventually to the Athenian invasion of Sicily in the late fifth century.

Thucydides classifies the Elymians as "barbarians," one among several groups settled in Sicily, who, however, were so diplomatically and rhetorically skilled that they persuaded the Athenians to join their cause. In her study of kinship in Thucydides, Maria Fragoulaki points out that the Elymians probably emphasized their Trojan descent in the powerful and emotional speeches they are said to have delivered (Fragoulaki 2014, 300–302). The Phokian element of their population could also claim multiple longstanding kinship ties with Athenians, reflected also in the mid-fifth century alliance betweem Phokis and Athens concerning affairs at Delphi (McInerny 1999, 188–91). A successful embassy of Segestans to Athens, which yielded the renewal of an alliance between the two cities and an exchange of oaths, is documented in the well-known marble inscription of 418/17 BCE, set up on the Athenian Akropolis (*IG* I^3 11).[2]

Another ingredient in the Sicilian ethnic mix is the unsuccessful claim of Sparta on Eryx, Segesta's sister city, also founded by Elymians. Herodotus describes how the Spartan Dorieus intended to establish a new city there ca. 510, to be renamed Herakleia, based on the claim that the whole area belonged to the Heraklids, and how he had Delphic support (5.43). Diodorus expands on this, and narrates the legend that Herakles had already conquered it, and left it in trust for his descendants (4.23.2–3; Malkin 1994, 206–7). Furthermore, there is an Athenian strand in the stories about anti-Dorian Eryx—Daedalus,

in Palermo. I am very grateful to the Soprintendenza of Trapani and the archaeological park of Segesta for permission to study the architecture on the ground of Contrada Mango in 2016, and to Rossella Giglio, Sergio Aguglia, Agata Villa, and Monica de Cesare. I also thank the Mango Team: Jess Paga, Thomas Rose, Morgan Condell, and Rocco Leonardis.

2. For this much-discussed decree see Matthaiou 2004, and 2011 where a new fragment is added; summary in Tracy 2016, 219.

considered to have been an Athenian, is said to have been responsible for laying the foundations of the famous temple of Aphrodite Erycina (Diod. Sic. 4.78.4–5). Virgil has Aeneas found the sanctuary of Venus on the citadel of Eryx, named for Aeneas's brother (5.24, 5.759–760).

The Trojan ethnic component may reflect a Sicilian tradition articulated at least as early as the later sixth century BCE, perhaps in the lyric poetry of Stesichoros, and the tradition was certainly strengthened through time. Stesichoros's Sicilian version of events is depicted on the *Tabula Capitolina*, small-scale renditions in both images and text of the Fall of Troy and Aeneas's flight to the west, probably made in the Augustan period (Petrain 2014, 97–102). In an account contemporary with those tablets, Strabo has the Trojan hero Aegestes fortify Segesta at the direction of Philoctetes, who had founded Croton (6.1.3, 254). By the time of Roman domination in Sicily, Segesta had won tax relief on the basis of "kinship diplomacy," a reciprocally useful type of allegiance inspired by putative or actual genealogies and kinship (Jones 1999; Patterson 2010; Battistoni 2010). According to Cicero, Segesta joined the Roman side in the First Punic War because of shared Trojan ancestry (Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.83, 125).

Claiming descent from refugee Trojans has a seemingly retrospective, far-fetched cast if our reference is the Homeric epics and other celebratory poetry. In 480 BCE, however, the citadel of Troy had a functioning sanctuary, visited by Xerxes when his huge army swept up the west coast of Asia Minor to invade Greece. According to Herodotus, Xerxes climbed the citadel, heard from an expert about what had happened there, and sacrificed to Athena Ilias, thus casting himself as the avenger of Troy (7.43). The Magi offered libations to the dead heroes. Clearly there must have been some sort of temple at Troy, and an altar, where Xerxes could sacrifice one thousand head of cattle, an event that required extensive preparation (Rose 2014, 144–46). For Thucydides and the Elymians in the later fifth century, Troy was not only the city of legend and poetry, but also an established, still-existing place with a local community and a shrine where one could make sacrifices, and, spectacularly, Xerxes had done this in recent memory. Trojan descent, of course, was used creatively for many centuries and for many purposes. Etruscans also had taken up the story of Aeneas and other refugees at least by the sixth century BCE, and in Etruscan art there are numerous representions of Aeneas and his family in flight (*LIMC* 1:381–96 [F. Canciani]; Galinsky 1969, 113–40). The Hellenistic coinage of Segesta, after 263, features Aeneas and Anchises specifically.

The Sanctuary at Contrada Mango

Sorting out what is Elymian (with a claimed Trojan component) about Segesta is a challenge, already undertaken in two international congresses published in

Pisa in 1997 and 2000.[3] At Segesta, early evidence for Elymian identity has come from the Sanctuary at Contrada Mango (fig. 1). The sanctuary and its environs were partially excavated by Vincenzo Tusa in the 1950s and early 1960s, and yielded early archaic pottery with graffiti in Elymian, but written in the Greek epichoric alphabet of Megara Hyblaia and Selinunte (V. Tusa 1957, 1961, 1964, 1968–1969, 1992). Such pottery was also found up the slope in nearby Grotta Vanella at Segesta, now under study by Monica de Cesare and her colleagues (de Cesare and Serra 2012; de Cesare 2015). It is clear that ethnic convergence with neighboring Greeks began very early, and this convergence is manifested in the religious sphere of sanctuaries, temples, and shrines.

At Contrada Mango, in addition to the sherds with Elymian graffiti, and sixth- and fifth-century pottery imported from Athens, Tusa also found evidence of at least three buildings, two of them in the Doric order, and at least one of them is a peripteral temple (fig. 2). We are currently studying the blocks of the site exposed on the ground, and I share our preliminary findings here. As other scholars have remarked, if we didn't have the literary and historical texts about Segesta, or the sherds with graffiti, we might have supposed Segesta was a Greek city. What interests us here is their persistent Elymian identity combined with their construction of monumental Greek religious architecture in the fifth century BCE.

The Siting of Contrada Mango: Segesta's Currently Known Topography

Segesta's stellar attraction today, the Unfinished Temple (sometimes referred to simply as "the Doric temple") is a fixed point in both the landscape and in architectural scholarship (fig. 3). It has been studied thoroughly and documented by Dieter Mertens in his monograph of 1984 (Mertens 1984; 2006, 410–16). Construction of the temple was undertaken around 420 BCE, but the cella walls, interior stairs, fluting of columns and stylobate were not completed, probably because of the Carthaginian invasion of 409 BCE (fig. 4). As Mertens has fully demonstrated, Athenian influence is evident in some significant aspects of the design of the Unfinished Temple, such as the use of the 4:9 ratio in various parts of its elevation, a distinctively Iktinian ratio used also in the contemporary Temple of the Athenians on Delos. The architect also included Sicilian features in the overall design at Segesta, such as interior stairs leading to the attic, and carved floral anthemia in the corner viae of the geison. Possibly the Sicilian architect either had traveled to Athens to see the Parthenon, or read Iktinos's book on the Parthenon, cited by Vitruvius (Vitr. *De arch.* 7, pr. 12).

3. The bibliography is now extensive: see, e.g., La Genière 1978; Nenci 1990; Biondi and Cassanelli 1992; De Vido 1997; Spatafora and Vassallo 2002; Albanese 2003.



Figure 1. Sanctuary at Contrada Mango, from east. Photograph by Thomas Rose.



Figure 2. Sanctuary at Contrada Mango, from west. Photograph by Margaret M. Miles.



Figure 3. The Unfinished Temple at Segesta. Photograph by Thomas Rose.

On the summit of the northern of the two acropoleis of Segesta, excavations conducted by the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa (directed by Carmine Ampolo) have been uncovering the Hellenistic agora, and their team has studied and reconstructed a large double-storied Hellenistic stoa (Ampolo and Parra 2009; Olivito and Taccola 2014). The Hellenistic agora and later Roman forum include stoas, a macellum, a cryptoporticus, a bouleuterion and a gymnasion. The site is perhaps most famous for its beautifully situated Hellenistic theater (Marconi 2012), frequently illustrated since the days of the early modern travelers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who journeyed to Segesta specifically to see the great Unfinished Temple and this theater. Segesta's fortification walls and gates have also been traced, visible on topographical surveys (Camerata Scovazzo 1996). Segesta continued as an attractive site for habitation even in postantique periods: a mosque of the Arab period and the Norman castle at Segesta also have been studied (Molinari 1997).

The Sanctuary at Contrada Mango forms the southern, third point of a large topographical triangle, with the Unfinished Temple as the northwestern apex and the theater as the the northeastern apex. The sanctuary was placed on a terrace supported by an extremely well-built temenos wall, constructed on the east slope of the south acropolis of Monte Barbaro. Just south of Contrada Mango, a large valley opens out, and the ancient roadways south and west branch out from here. The sanctuary formed a visible marker of Segestan territory for those traveling from the south or southeast: in particular, the



Figure 4. The Unfinished Temple at Segesta, east façade. Photograph by Margaret M. Miles.

sanctuary faces the territories of Segesta's Greek neighbors at Selinus directly south, and Carthaginian neighbors at Motya (and later Lilybaeum) to the western coastal areas. Segesta's own ancient harbor (noted by Strabo 6.2.5, 272) is today's delightful Castellamare del Golfo, just some seventeen kilometers north of the ancient city. Thus, the Sanctuary at Contrada Mango is situated just

above a major crossroads, with passages leading around the double acropolis north to the harbor and Panormos.

The Temenos Wall of Contrada Mango

Vincenzo Tusa's excavations of the 1950s and early 1960s uncovered a large temenos supported by a massive terrace wall. The entire rectangular circuit is preserved, and 90 percent of it is visible today—a short unexcavated stretch runs under an old farm building that still stands on the east side of the site. We believe the entrance to the sanctuary (and a possible propylon) lies in this unexcavated, eastern stretch. Some ancient blocks are built into the walls of the dilapidated farm building, and many of the farmer's olive trees remain on and around the site.

The temenos wall is especially thick and deep on the west and south sides, because it was also serving as a retaining wall—there are supporting spurs built along the south side. The builders of the wall dug deeply into a thick natural fill, caused by geological accumulations over millenia. This fill and the surrounding geological features were studied by geologists Catalano and Maniaci (1992), who provide the sole published plan of the temple's foundational area, as they reconstructed it from geophysical surveying. In a view of the inner northwest corner (fig. 5), the massive trench dug by the builders of the west temenos wall through natural accumulated fill is clearly visible. This wall must have been set in the late Archaic or early Classical period, at least by ca. 480 BCE. The blocks are typically uniform in size, set as headers and stretchers, but the corners are treated very carefully, with sophisticated techniques, including the use of T-clamps and dowels.

A part of the southwest corner of the temenos is represented by a block with setting lines, cuttings for T-clamps, pry holes for crowbars and even a cutting for a lewis lifting device (fig. 6). This temenos wall was important enough to spend time and resources, including extensive quarrying and laying, and the cost of metal clamps for corner blocks. The wall was also topped with a coping course, much like a small simple geison in profile, that allowed rain to drip free of the walls. The sanctuary is very large, some 47.80 × 96 m, close to the size of an American football field (which is about 48.5 × 91.4 m).

The Temple(s) in Contrada Mango

Scattered around the temenos, inside and out, are large blocks from at least one large Doric temple, and a possible second temple, and evidence of re-use of original blocks for some further structure. Probably an earthquake or landslide destroyed the buildings, and subsequently many of the architectural pieces must have been carried away from the site for reuse in medieval or



Figure 5. Temenos wall, from south. Photograph by Margaret M. Miles.



Figure 6. Southwest corner block of temenos wall. Photograph by Margaret M. Miles.

later structures. Only a relatively small percentage of the blocks are visible on the site today, appoximately 250 (including fragments).[4] The blocks are made of a hard, dark gray limestone, quarried locally, perhaps from quarries near Alcamo, a nearby town to the northeast of the archaeological site.

The surviving architectural blocks visible on the ground are in two series, one datable to the late sixth century BCE with only a few blocks remaining, and the other datable to about 475 BCE, with many blocks remaining, including representative pieces of the whole peristyle. One question is whether in fact there are at least two temples, or one temple that was built in the sixth century and then replaced and refurbished in the fifth century. A possible third building is represented by at least five unfluted drums with a diameter of about 0.86 m, that is, quite a large building. Previously, a selection of these blocks were studied by Dieter Mertens (1984, 87–92), who provides a partial elevation and other details to use as a comparison in his thorough investigation of the later Unfinished Temple, and by Adriana La Porta (1992), who drew a selection of the drums and capitals. Those two studies provide helpful documentation of some of the remaining blocks. We are finding variations from this previous work, and are preparing a complete documentation of all blocks visible today.

For the early fifth-century temple, we find that great care went into the temple, just as in the construction of the temenos wall. Cuttings for clamps and dowels, for empolia in the column drums, and for lifting devices in the entablature, all demonstrate that the builders had the complete repertoire of techniques of the period. The outer surfaces of the blocks were finely finished, and stuccoed: traces of fine stucco remain on many of the blocks. There is also evidence of masons' marks, used either as a way of keeping track of contracted work, or as assembly marks (fig. 7).

Although column drums are the most numerous type among the preserved blocks, we have been able to identify pieces of every part of the entablature, including finely carved Doric capitals (fig. 8), parts of the architrave (with regulae), a well-preserved triglyph block (fig. 9), many geison blocks, parts of an intermediate course between the top of the geison and the sima, and fragments of the sima. Blocks that were smaller and rectangular (such as parts of the steps, wall, and triglyph and metope frieze) are the among fewest preserved, since those would have been the most obvious ones to take by scavengers.

Another crucial part of this project is working out a proper ground plan, which no one has yet done. The plan published by Catalano and Maniaci (1992), based on their geophysical survey of 1990, provides a rough sense of the scale of the temple relative to the area of the temenos. The primary focus of the

4. The shapes of more large blocks are discernable under the surface, and future excavation should yield more of the temple. In this project, we are studying only what is already accessible on the surface, without excavation.



Figure 7. Fragment of a column drum, with mason's mark. Photography by Margaret M. Miles.

authors was the geology of the terrace, and they state that the foundations are totally robbed out. Their plan reflects the general footprint proper to a Doric peripteral temple, and it is a useful starting point. There is in fact a short stretch of foundations still in situ, however, that were uncovered by Tusa, aligned with the temenos wall. Elsewhere on the site a few other blocks probably from foundations are partially exposed.

Once again with this deep part of the construction, we found ourselves impressed with the care with which the foundations were laid, and they appear to be in situ. There is no doubt that the temple was heavily robbed out, but we should expect more to be preserved in the unexcavated areas. The temple was approximately 28 × 56 m, about the same volume as the later Unfinished Temple. By way of comparison, the Unfinished Temple at Segesta is 26.25 × 61.25 m (Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2006, 830), and the Parthenon in Athens is 30.9 × 69.5 m (both on the stylobate). A provisional, general elevation by architect Rocco Leonardis is given in figure 10.

The techniques of construction, and morphological similarities in the design of courses point to Selinus as a source of inspiration for the Segestan temple. At Selinus, temples then under construction include Temples G (a gigantic peripteral Doric temple, ca. 44.97 × 109.12 m), begun in the late sixth century BCE on the eastern hill of the city, and the third phase of Temple E



Figure 8. Doric capitals, Contrada Mango. Photograph by Margaret M. Miles.

(25.32 × 67.73 m), built ca. 470, also on the eastern hill, and probably dedicated to Hera. In this "frontier" area of western Sicily, avid construction of large peripteral temples was an ongoing project throughout the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, until the invasions of Carthage in 409 BCE.

The placement of the temple at Contrada Mango made the temple by far the dominant feature in the southern approach to Segesta, facing the road from Selinus, Segesta's nearest Greek neighbor. In fact, once the Unfinished Temple was underway a generation later, soon after 420, the two impressive temples would have been visible from both the southern and western approaches. This fits nicely with the paradigm suggested by François de Polignac (1995) about high-profile sanctuaries as territorial markers.

Apart from details about its appearance, date, and reconstruction, perhaps the most interesting question for issues of religious convergence is to what deity it might have been dedicated. At present there is no firm evidence; the wealth of finds in secondary deposition from Grotta Vanella, under study by de Cesare (2015), seems likely to have come from the acropolis. For the sanctuary at Contrada Mango, it is tempting to think of Artemis, since her cult is described as very important to the Segestans in Cicero's account of the plundering of the cult statue of Artemis by Verres in the late 70s BCE. The statue was apparently quite ancient, and had been looted earlier by Carthaginians.



Figure 9. Triglyph, Contrada Mango. Photograph by Margaret M. Miles.

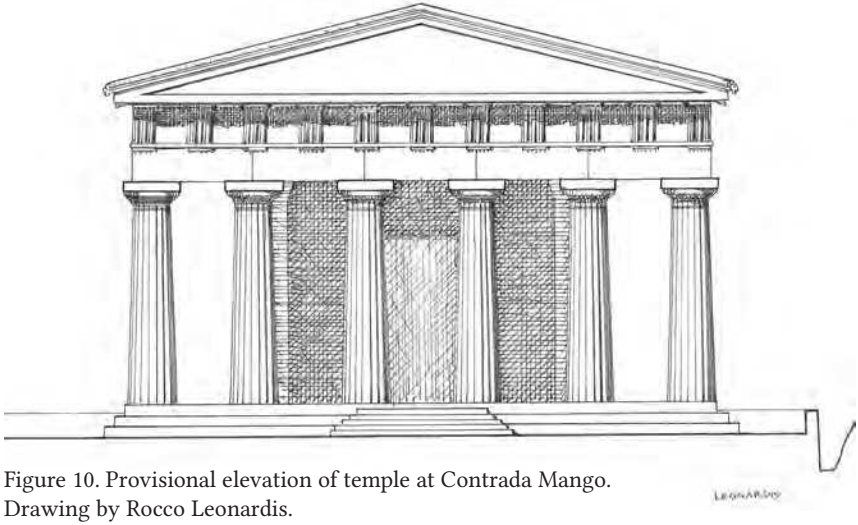


Figure 10. Provisional elevation of temple at Contrada Mango. Drawing by Rocco Leonardis.

The statue was found in Carthage by Scipio Aemilianus and was repatriated to Segesta, and then rededicated by Scipio Aemilianus. Cicero himself had seen it there when he was quaestor in Lilybaeum. During his term, he had toured this part of the island and was shown the statue by the locals at Segesta. But then, a few years after Cicero's term about 73 BCE, the Roman governor Verres took it away for his own collection (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.73–80; Miles 2008, 177–80). If the Temple at Contrada Mango was dedicated to Artemis, we would have to consider the orientation of the temple, which might in that case have faced west, like most temples of Artemis in the Greek world, rather than east. But this is just speculation. Another possibility is the temple was dedicated to Athena, because of the prominence of Athena at Troy, and the small bronze votive weapons found by Tusa in deposits near the temenos walls perhaps offer some supporting evidence (Di Noto 1997; de Cesare 2015, 307). Both suggestions are, of course, based on "Greek" comparisons.

The people of Segesta were receptive to a wide range of cultural influences, Phoenician, perhaps Egyptian (based on a few finds), and certainly Greek. The strongest material influence seems to have been Greek. Both Tusa and Di Miro have commented on what has so far not been found in the sanctuary: a Greek sanctuary in Sicily would be packed with terracotta votive offerings, evident even as surface finds, and this sanctuary at Contrada Mango so far seems not to have been, although considerable caution is needed, since much of the excavated material is still unpublished (de Cesare 2015). Tusa remarks that although the temple or temples are clearly Greek (in form and execution), the rites must have been Elymian, and that did not include very frequent offerings of small terracotta votives. Other than reports from the period of Roman control over the sanctuary of Venus Ericina, however, we have little evidence for what Elymian rites were like, or how they differed from Greek rituals.

I return to Thucydides's account of the relations between Segesta and Selinus, noted above, since he provides significant evidence: the quarrel that led to Athenian intervention was about intermarriage and border disputes (6.6.2). Segesta is the only non-Greek city specifically reported to have had intermarriage with a Greek city, and the context of Thucydides's comment suggests a legal dispute. The context also suggests that this was an ongoing concern, not a new issue. Perhaps the easy receptivity of Greek culture at Segesta may be best explained by intermarriage between Segestans and Selinuntines, an exogamous system commonly reported by anthropologists. As for the border disputes, again the evidence even for the borders themselves is scant, but in the topographical area where we might naturally expect a border, at Poggioreale, is a sanctuary of Herakles, identified by an inscribed dedication dated to the late seventh or early sixth century BCE. The location is about thirty kilometers from the coast, and it may represent a border sanctuary of

Selinus or a frontier area between Selinus and Segesta. The significance of the inscription is debated, with one proposal that it is a dedication to Phoenician Melqart, made by an Elymian. As Irad Malkin points out, the ambiguity of the inscription reflects the ambiguity of Herakles's presence in Sicily, either as Greek Herakles making claims for Greeks or Phoenician Melqart making claims for Phoenicians or Elymians (Malkin 1994, 213–18; 2011, 121–29). Another border dispute may have occurred somewhere around the Mazzoros River between the two cities, ca. 454/53 (De Angelis 2016, 118–19).

Another bit of information we have about Segestan rituals is given by Herodotos after his account of the failed attempt of Dorieus the Spartan to colonize Eryx in about 510 BCE (5.42–48). Herodotos says that one of Dorieus's followers was a man named Phillipos of Croton, who was an Olympic victor and the best-looking man of his day. Because of his good looks, he received from the people of Segesta the unparalleled honor of a hero shrine erected on his tomb, at which religious ceremonies were still held in Herodotus's time to win his favor (Hdt. 5.47). From this comment we learn that the Segestans made their defeated Spartan enemy, who had tried to conquer the Elymian city Eryx, into a hero, because he was valiant and good-looking. This reveals, it seems, a rather Greek attitude toward life and death, and Greek appreciation of male pulchritude.[5]

Moreover, in the negotiations between the Segestans and Athens before the Athenian invasion of Sicily, Thucydides reports that the Segestans, along with some refugees from Leontinoi, approach the Athenian Assembly as suppliants, in a formal style, which is a Greek ritual (6.19.1; *CT* 3.354). These savvy envoys knew enough to make their case solid with appropriate ritual.

In the relationship between Greek Selinus and Elymian Segesta we see Greek cultural influence, but not domination. In fact, Segesta stalwartly, and to her own advantage, maintained a separate and independent ethnic identity even while adopting Greek religious architectural display as early as the sixth century with the unexcavated temple, and continuing with more temples, a Hellenistic theater, and a Greek-style agora framed with stoas. Yet the Roman Senate recognized the Elymians as "cousins" of Rome by virtue of their Trojan descent and putative founding by Aeneas. Perhaps Athena of Ilion should be sought at Segesta even if she is not the deity of Sanctuary of Contrada Mango. Whereas Mertens was able to document Athenian influence in the Unfinished Temple, other sources of influence, and originality, are evident here. The tantalizing remains of the early classical temple help to illustrate the religious history of fifth century BCE Elymian Segesta within a generally Greek sphere of influence.

5. Further on Dorieus and other hero cults at Segesta, see Malkin 1994, 203–13; 2011, 133–38; de Cesare 2015. Herodotus (2.50.3) remarks that Egyptians do not have hero cults, perhaps suggesting that he regarded hero cults as a Greek institution.

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