

PREFACE

The *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries* were in the spotlight of an international congress held from the 17th to the 19th June 2010 at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster. The conference's thematic orientation emerged from the research undertaken by Peter Funke in the Cluster of Excellence *Religion and Politics in Pre-modern and Modern Cultures* that exists at the University of Münster since 2007. This Cluster of Excellence also enabled the generous financing of this congress, to whose preliminary organisation and realisation Katharina Knäpper, Katarina Nebelin, Sebastian Scharff, and Annedore Wessels contributed significantly. Special gratitude is thus owed to them. Furthermore, for their valued support in preparing the present publication, we give our sincere thanks to Lisa Stratmann, as well as to Christopher Borghorst, Marie Drauschke, Sophia Salzwedel, and Sebastian Scharff. For the generous permission to use his plan of the excavations in Thermos as a basis for the design of the book cover, we cordially thank Ioannis A. Papapostolou (Athens). Finally, we wish to express our appreciation to the Franz Steiner Publishing House for including this volume into their programme, and especially to Katharina Stüdemann, who supervised the publication with her usual great competence.

The complex relationships between religion and politics are the subject of discussion focused on by the Cluster of Excellence in Münster. Researchers from almost all fields of the university's Faculties of Theology, Law and Philosophy examine this topic in both synchronic cross-sectional and diachronic longitudinal analyses. The sub-project conducted by Peter Funke is directly linked to this topic. It discusses the political role of religion and cult in the interstate co-existence of the ancient Greek world of states. The research is based on the observation that the fundamental structure of the religious 'system' of the Greek world of states, being simultaneously both polytheistic and pluralistic, creates specific conditions governing a discourse strongly influenced by religious aspects that was evidently imperative for interstate co-existence. An analysis of the basics and the general framework of this specific discourse in interstate communications promises instructive insights into the complex interplay

between religion and politics, transcending far beyond the field of Greek antiquity. As this subject still encompasses a very broad thematic area, the so-called 'trans-regional' sanctuaries were first focused on with the aim of producing a differentiated analysis of the political role – or rather: the political roles – of these sanctuaries, as will be clarified in the following introduction.

The conference proceedings at hand include in revised form those contributions presented at the congress in Münster that examine individual regional case-studies. Simultaneously, they are sub-studies for an intended fundamental and comprehensive representation of the ancient federalism which will also include the reflections of the conference's remaining participants. This volume, entitled *Greek Federal States*, will be published by Hans Beck and Peter Funke by the Cambridge University Press in 2014.

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GREEK FEDERAL STATES AND THEIR SANCTUARIES: IDENTITY AND INTEGRATION

Some Introductory Remarks

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In order to achieve a differentiated analysis of the political roles of trans-regional sanctuaries, it is essential to establish more precisely the meaning of what is generally called ‘inter-regional’. I would like to open up the bipolar view on Greek sanctuaries, which frequently sees them from either of the two following perspectives: the point of view of an individual polis or within a panhellenic context. This kind of dichotomy conceals the potential of cults and sanctuaries to perform multiple functions both *in religiosis* and *in politicis*. For just as ‘polis-religion’ encompassed a great variety of religious manifestations in the form of cults carried out by *gene*, families or individuals, beyond it existed a wide range of spatially and functionally differing spheres of influence generated by trans-regional sanctuaries. In order to describe these adequately, the term ‘panhellenic’ does not suffice.

Thus, the sanctuary at Delphi, for instance, functioned as a panhellenic sanctuary only on certain occasions. Otherwise it served as amphictyonic center, thus being limited to a smaller circle of participants; furthermore, it included an oracle that was influential far beyond the boundaries of the Greek world. At the same time, the sanctuary always remained a site for local cults. Thus, one and the same sanctuary could potentially develop functions and exert an influence on both the local and regional, but also the trans-regional and panhellenic level. Even non-Greek regions could be affected, though not all sanctuaries could attain that status and this did not develop at will. In most cases a sanctuary’s function and its spatial dimensions seem to have existed in a mutually reciprocal interrelationship, whose respective pre-conditions and general circumstances have to be explained in each case. It is in this way only that the respective political aspects can be more specifically determined.

It is thus my concern to differentiate the functions performed by the so-called trans-regional sanctuaries with special consideration to their respective political roles. By focusing on the political dimensions I primarily aim at establishing the formative function of religion and cult in the structuring of rule and political order. The trans-regional sanctuaries of the world of Greek states can illustrate exemplarily the formative and integrating function of religion. They are particularly well suited to the task of analysing the cults' functions in the development and formation of inter-state and even federal-state organisation in antiquity.

The question of the political functions of trans-regional sanctuaries thus fits into the larger context of research regarding the functional mechanisms of religion and cult in the development and organisation of statehood and political rule in antiquity. The reference to trans-regionality targets a specific phenomenon that can be observed predominantly, but not only, in the ancient world of Greek states – namely the existence of sanctuaries whose geographic area and sphere of influence was limited neither to a clearly circumscribed landscape nor to the area of a polis, but extended far beyond.

The so-called amphictyonic sanctuaries were a specific type of these trans-regional sanctuaries. They formed the cultic center of groups of neighbouring states, tribes, or other socio-political communities. Of these, the Delphic amphictyony is certainly the most well-known, if by no means the only case. Recent research has far too often underestimated the significance of these forms of amphictyonic state alliance for the genesis and organisation of specific state structures in antiquity, both within and between states, and far too seldom even perceived them, due to a one-sided focus on the respective cultic character. Researchers seem to have lost sight of the unmediated interaction and the inseparable connection between religion and cult on the one hand and what we refer to as 'statehood' on the other.

It is thus necessary to pay more attention to the political influence exerted by the amphictyonic as well as other trans-regional sanctuaries and cultic communities. Above all, the structural regulations and mechanisms of these communities, which could also exist among states, should be considered. In this way, the framework of these cultic centers, surpassing by far that of a purely religious and sacral-legal sphere, can be further clarified. The trans-regional sanctuaries had the potential to develop a great power of integration *in politicis* as well, even to such an extent that they were able to support the creation and maintenance of the identities of those who participated in these sanctuaries. Cultic community and political community were thus closely interwoven, but in such a way that the 'amphictyonic identity' did not compete against each

‘individual state identity’, but rather complemented it, thus being able to develop an additional power of integration. This functional relationship is exemplified by the cases of Delphi, the Panionion, or the Triopion, just as by the case of Delos as the early centre of the Delian League.

The relations between the different identities were not static, but able to develop in very different directions: on the one hand, the collaboration in trans-regional cults and sanctuaries could result in a stabilisation of the individual ‘state’ or ethnic identity of the participating communities, as the all-embracing amphictyonic or inter-state character intentionally affected the institutional organisation of the administration and practice of cult; on the other hand, whenever the central sanctuaries of tribal or state alliances produced federal amalgamations, very extensive convergences *in politicis* among the communities taking part in the cult could be found. This development culminated in the generation of trans-regional cult centers.

As yet no systematic investigation has been undertaken concerning the status and mode of action of the central cults and sanctuaries in the Greek federal states within the ensemble of Greek levels of identity. Over time, a symbolic system consisting of religious practice, sanctuaries, deities, rituals, religious institutions and behaviour developed within these associations, normally composed of several, at least theoretically equal groupings. This system displayed the religious unity of the cult community, but also functioned as both a means of expression and a stabilising element of the community’s cohesion and identity *in politicis*. Sanctuaries and cults could thus have a unifying effect on the federal-state level, becoming recognised among the citizens of the alliances’ individual member states as central reference-points for federal-state identification.

In the absence of one predominant site, in many cases one or several state sanctuaries served as ‘substitute centers’ for the Greek federal states. In fact, this seems to have been the rule, for in this way it was possible to circumvent the problem of potential competition between the individual member states and disputes over preeminence within an alliance. The founding of a completely new capital, built overnight like the Arcadian city Megalopolis, apparently remained an exception. In contrast, the ‘usual’ case is represented by the southern Italian states, joined in the middle of the fifth century by the states of Croton, Sybaris, and Kaulonia: a sanctuary of Zeus *Homarios* was founded in order to serve as a central meeting place, assuming a constitutive role in the new alliance of states (Pol. 2,39,5–6).

This example is of great significance. Just as in many other Greek federal states, here too specific sanctuaries not only served as cultic-religious centers,

but simultaneously as gathering places for the respective state institutions: the alliances undertook joint construction projects on the sites; the election of cultic officers took place here as well as the collection of fines that were paid out to the sanctuaries. There was no distinction between the state treasury and that of the sanctuary. Due to their significance as 'symbolic' acts, the state festivals celebrated regularly in the sanctuary assured the member states' 'collective identity'. Here, the potential inherent in religion to provide a focus for group identities is tangible. This effect was produced by the shared cult practice, standardised behavioural rules with respect to the 'sacred', and the festivals as the climax and intensification of cultic life. Even during Roman domination, the state cults had by no means degenerated into merely inessential and temporary institutions, ossified in traditional forms and able to fulfil, at most compensatory functions. In the self-perception of the members, the federal states were based not only on a purely political cooperation, freed from any religious and cultic ties, but rather formed a kind of 'Lebens- und Kultgemeinschaft', even if it was created by political action and secured by law. The state sanctuaries demonstrated the binding force of an order that was acceptable to all sides and for this reason effective. A 'symbolic system' consisting of religious practice, sanctuaries, rituals, and religious institutions, which could if necessary be fundamentally transformed under the influence of historical development, connected the federal states internally into religious and political unities.

The papers collected in this volume aim to prove whether this – here very general – description can hold up to an examination based on individual cases. A large number of examples has been selected intentionally in order to draw from as wide a spectrum of manifestations as possible. A simple listing of case studies is not sufficient; it is necessary to examine them in comparison with one another. It may then be possible not only to present a wide variety of different types, but also to determine the differences as well as the structural similarities and identities in order to more precisely describe the role of sanctuaries in the political integration of the Greek federal states and the ways in which they secured their identity.