

IN THE NAME OF ZEUS?

A BRIEF HISTORICAL ESSAY

ON THE ABSENCE OF HOLY WAR

IN CLASSICAL GREEK ANTIQUITY¹

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Summary: It is well known that the ancient Greeks did not fight ‘holy wars’ against other Greeks or other peoples, and this is often stated as a simple fact. This essay both provides the evidence needed to show that ‘holy wars’ are indeed virtually absent from ancient Greek history and discusses *why* this was so.

1. Prolegomenon

Throughout history countless wars have been motivated or exacerbated by religion and in the present era, too, religion is, to varying degrees, a brutalizing ingredient of many violent conflicts.² What about the ancient Greeks? Did they wage religiously motivated wars against their neighbours? This is one of the questions examined in the following, and to anticipate, the answer is that they did not do so. This is perhaps well known – but *why* is it that the Greeks did not wage holy wars? This question is examined less frequently and will, accordingly, also be at centre in this essay.

1 The study I present here in memory of my treasured friend and teacher Mogens is based on a conference paper I gave years ago in The European Network for the Study of Ancient Greek History. Mogens attended the conference, and he encouraged me to, as he said, ‘put some footnotes on it’ and publish it in English. I never really got around to doing that, though I did publish the piece in various incarnations in Danish (Nielsen 2016 and Nielsen 2021). But here it is in English, in mournful memory of a friend that I shall miss for the rest of my life.

2 On religious violence, see Lincoln 2006 and 2013.

2. Greek borrowings of foreign cultural innovations

As is well known, the Greeks were perfectly happy to take over inspired inventions from neighbouring peoples. From the Phoenicians they took over the art of writing;³ from the Lydians coinage;⁴ and from the Egyptians monumental stone sculpture⁵ – to mention just a few significant examples of borrowing: what the Greeks derived from these borrowings is, in fact, among the chief reasons why we study ancient Greek history.⁶ Moreover, as we shall see, Greeks sometimes took over gods from foreign peoples and we may, then, say that peaceful coexistence with their neighbours, also in the context of religion, was not completely unknown to the Greeks. But Greeks were also more than ready to take up arms against their neighbours: Greeks fought wars against, *e.g.*, Celts,⁷ Elymians,⁸ Etruscans,⁹ Iapygians,¹⁰ Lucanians,¹¹ Messapians,¹² Persians,¹³ Phoenicians,¹⁴ Romans,¹⁵ Scythians,¹⁶ Sikels,¹⁷ and Thracians.¹⁸ There were all sorts of reasons for these wars, but only rarely was religious conflict among them. Accordingly, the main conclusion of this essay is the following: peaceful coexistence with the neighbouring world, also in the context of religion, was not unknown to the Greeks, and religious conflicts very rarely provoked war or created other serious conflicts.

3 Jeffery, *LSAG* 1-12; Powell 1991: 5-10; Murray 1993: 93; Osborne 1996: 107-12; Hall 2007: 57.

4 Murray 1993: 238; Howgego 1995: 1-3; Osborne 1996: 250; Schaps 2004: 96.

5 Richter 1970: 2; Boardman 1991: 18-20; Hall 2007: 260; Muskett 2012: 20.

6 Cf. Whitmarsh 2015: 16.

7 Montagu 2000: 115-16.

8 Ray 2009: 115-16.

9 Montagu 2000: 49-50, 58.

10 Ray 2009: 110-11.

11 Montagu 2000: 87; Ray 2009: 143.

12 Ray 2009: 55-56.

13 Montagu 2000: 50-52, 52-56, 57-58, 59, 61, 82, 83-84, 85-86, 89; Ray 2009: 28-46, 60-85, 91-105, 124-28, 129-30, 278-84.

14 Montagu 2000: 56-57, 78, 80, 83, 86, 89, 92, 98, 112-13; Ray 2009: 85-90, 140, 257-72.

15 Montagu 2000: 137-38.

16 Muratov 2015: 592-93.

17 Montagu 2000: 60-61, 67; Ray 2009: 116-17.

18 Ray 2009: 128-29, 273-74.

3. Religious rituals in Greek warfare

This is not to deny that religion in many ways staged the unfolding of Greek military campaigns.¹⁹ Greek *poleis* would often consult an oracle about the prospect of victory before setting out on a campaign;²⁰ thus, Argos consulted with Delphi prior to the Battle of Sepeia in 494;²¹ Athens did so prior to Battle of Salamis in 480;²² Sparta did so prior to the Peloponnesian War;²³ and the Thebans consulted various oracles prior to the Battle of Leuktra in 371.²⁴ During actual campaigns, sacrifices were offered at numerous points.²⁵ Spartan kings appointed to command campaigns sacrificed to Zeus Agetor even before the army began its march out of Lakedaimon,²⁶ and if this sacrifice produced favorable omens,²⁷ the army marched on to the border of the region, where sacrifices were offered to Zeus and Athena, the *diabateria* sacrifice ‘for crossing’.²⁸ Such sacrifices are attested only for the Lakedaimonian army,²⁹ but the forces of other *poleis* must surely have followed their own rituals. During the actual conduct of campaigns, numerous sacrifices were offered to the gods, i.e. before setting out from camp, before crossing a river etc., and before battle.³⁰ Such sacrifices were offered both for propitiation³¹ and for divination.³² Accordingly, armies were accompanied in the field by

19 Jost 1992: 138-46; Chaniotis 2005: 143-65.

20 Pritchett 1979: 296-321; Jost 1992: 142-43.

21 Hdt. 6.18-19.2, 77.2.

22 Hdt. 7.140-144; Parker 2005: 109-15 assumes that this was the last Athenian consultation of an oracle prior to a campaign. – In Athens, and presumably in many other *poleis*, sacrifices were offered prior to marching out (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.49).

23 Thuc. 1.118.3, 123.1, 2.54.4.

24 Paus. 4.32.5.

25 On sacrifices during campaigns: Jameson 1991; Parker 2000b.

26 Xen. *Lac. pol.* 13.2.

27 Xen. *Lac. pol.* 13.2: ἦν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλλιερῆσι κτλ.

28 Xen. *Lac. pol.* 13.2.

29 Schwartz 2004: 112.

30 Pritchett 1971: 109-15; Jameson 1991: 198; Schwartz 2004: 112-13.

31 Jost 1992: 141.

32 For divination in the field, see Pritchett 1979: 47-90; Flower 2008: 153-87; Trampedach 2020.

priests (*hiereis*) and seers (*manteis*),³³ and an Athenian catalogue of casualties dated to ca. 460 BCE lists a *mantis* among the fallen;³⁴ whereas a ca. 400 BCE catalogue of battle casualties from Argos lists both a seer and a priest among the victims.³⁵ When the pre-battle sacrifice (*sphagia*) had produced good omens, the troops marched into battle singing the *paian*, a hymn addressed to various divine powers both before and after battle;³⁶ as sung before battle, it must have been an apotropaic prayer.³⁷ Upon defeating the enemy, a Greek army erected a trophy, *tropaion*, on the spot where its phalanx had routed the enemy.³⁸ The *tropaion* displayed weapons stripped from the defeated foe nailed to a wooden stake and was, accordingly, a triumphant proof of the reality of victory. The erection of the *tropaion* was accompanied by, again, *paian*-singing (this time in jubilation)³⁹ and a sacrifice,⁴⁰ and the trophy was itself in fact a thank-offering to Zeus Tropaios.⁴¹ From the spoils taken from the defeated enemy more thank-offerings could be made and were often made, usually as a

33 See e.g. Hdt. 7.219, 7.33 and Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.18, 7.2.21; cf. Flower 2008: 153–87.

34 IG I³ 1147.127: Τελένικος μάντις. On *manteis* accompanying Athenian forces, see Parker 2005: 117–18; such *manteis* were not always Athenian citizens, but the seer Sthorys of Thasos was granted Athenian citizenship in acknowledgement of his services at the naval battle of Knidos in 394 BCE (Parker 2005: 117).

35 SEG 29.361 l. 3 (μάντις) and l. 5 (ἱερεύς).

36 DNP 9: 147–49.

37 Pritchett 1971: 105–8; Schwartz 2004: 115.

38 On such *tropaia*, see Pritchett 1974: 246–75; Stroszek 2004; Rabe 2008; Trundle 2013; Kinnee 2018: 1–60; Schröder 2020: 86–91, 186–99, 242–49; Havener 2020: 267–77.

39 RE XVIII.1: 2348.

40 Pritchett 1979: 186; Trundle 2013: 126, 135; Havener 2020: 270; Schröder 2020: 191–94.

41 Gorgias fr. 6: μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων τρόπαια ἐστήσαντο τῶν πολέμιων, Διὸς μὲν ἀγάλματα, ἑαυτῶν δὲ ἀναθήματα; see Pritchett 1979: 186; Parker 2005: 400; Dowden 2006: 64; Trundle 2013: 134; Schröder 2020: 91.

dekate,⁴² since they had been contracted *ex voto*.⁴³ Such offerings were either ‘raw’ or ‘converted’.⁴⁴ Raw offerings consisted of the actual weaponry stripped from the fallen enemy – helmets, shields, greaves etc. – and were dedicated both in sanctuaries at home⁴⁵ and in the great Panhellenic sanctuaries, Olympia in particular, from ca. 750 BCE and well into the fourth century; from the later sixth century, dedicated pieces of weaponry were often inscribed with the names of both the victor and the defeated.⁴⁶ Converted offerings were objects, sculptures in particular, or buildings,⁴⁷ specially produced to serve as religious dedications and financed by proceeds from the selling of booty. Raw weapon-offerings were made at Olympia by e.g. the city-states of Messana,⁴⁸ Syracuse,⁴⁹ Hipponion,⁵⁰ Rhegion,⁵¹ Taras,⁵² Apollonia Adriatica,⁵³ Orchomenos,⁵⁴

42 *IvO* 254 (ca. 440 BCE), 255 (ca. 440 BCE), 256 (ca. 440 BCE), 259 (ca. 420 BCE); *SEG* 17.243 (ca. 458 BCE), 31.558 (ca. 369 BCE); *I.Delphes* 1.130 (ca. 500–475 BCE), 1.137 (fourth century), 1.289 (ca. 550 BCE), 1.573 (ca. 414 BCE), 4.191 (ca. 500–450 BCE), 4.456 (ca. 450 BCE).

43 *Ex voto*: Baitinger 2011: 3, 27; on these vows: Pritchett 1979: 230–37. Such vows given in prayer hardly feature in the historians, probably because they were completely standard and unremarkable, but in poetry such a vow is sometimes described, as in Aesch. *Septem* 271–77 (Nielsen 2017: 26).

44 On this distinction, see Jim 2014a: 18–19.

45 Weaponry was dedicated in temples at e.g. Thebes (Diod. 12.70.5) and Syracuse (Diod. 16.80.6).

46 On such dedications of spoils, see Pritchett 1979: 285–95; Jackson 1991; Baitinger 2001: 80–92; Baitinger 2011; Larson 2009; Jim 2014a: 176–202; Schröder 2020: 24–53. On methodological problems confronting the study of weapon dedications, see Frielinghaus 2011: 210–32.

47 On treasuries, see Rups 1986.

48 *SEG* 24.313–14 (early fifth century).

49 *SEG* 11.1212a (mid-fifth century).

50 *SEG* 11.1211 (525–500 BCE).

51 *SEG* 24.303–5 (490s BCE).

52 *IvO* 254–56 (ca. 440 BCE).

53 Baitinger 2001: 244 no. 22a (480s BCE).

54 *SEG* 11.1208, 17 205 (mid-fifth century).

Tanagra,⁵⁵ Thebes,⁵⁶ Sikyon,⁵⁷ Psophis,⁵⁸ Argos,⁵⁹ Kleonai,⁶⁰ Athens,⁶¹ and others. Converted thank-offerings in the form of sculptures were likewise dedicated at local sanctuaries⁶² and, more prominently, at Panhellenic sanctuaries, in particular at Delphi and Olympia; at Delphi, such dedications were made by e.g. Massalia,⁶³ Lipara,⁶⁴ Taras,⁶⁵ Plataiai,⁶⁶ Thebes,⁶⁷ Megara,⁶⁸ Gortys,⁶⁹ Kaphyiai,⁷⁰ Sparta,⁷¹ Argos,⁷² Aigina,⁷³ Knidos;⁷⁴ and at Olympia by e.g. Akragas,⁷⁵ Apollonia Adriatica,⁷⁶ Naupaktos,⁷⁷ Elis itself,⁷⁸ Kleitor,⁷⁹ Mantinea,⁸⁰ Mende,⁸¹ and Byzantion.⁸² Con-

55 SEG 11.1202 (late sixth century).

56 SEG 24.300 (late sixth century).

57 SEG 31.369 (mid-fifth century).

58 SEG 24.299 (500-475 BCE).

59 SEG 11.1203 (ca. 500-480 BCE).

60 SEG 24.320 (500-450 BCE).

61 SEG 22.346 (first half of the fifth century).

62 On the Athenian acropolis: Hdt. 5.77.4 (on which see Schröder 2020: 74-79); Paus. 4.36.1; on the acropolis of Sparta: Paus. 3.18.8 (on which see Schröder 2020: 237-36).

63 Paus. 10.18.7 (see Schröder 2020: 67 (late sixth century)).

64 Paus. 10.16.7 (see Schröder 2020: 67 (fifth century)).

65 Paus. 10.10.6 (see Schröder 2020: 150-51 (ca. 470 BCE)).

66 Paus. 10.15.1 (Schröder 2020: 148 (ca. 479 BCE)).

67 Paus. 10.13.6 (see Schröder 2020: 261).

68 Paus. 10.15.1 (see Schröder 2020: 152)).

69 *I.Delphes* 4.456 (δεκάταν πολέμιον; see Jacquemin 1999: 335 no. 305 (ca. 450 BCE)).

70 *I.Delphes* 4.191 (ἡλόντες τῶν [πο]λεμίον; see Jacquemin 1999: 337 no. 317 (500-450 BCE)).

71 Paus. 10.9.7-10 (see Schröder 2020: 257-58 (late fifth century)).

72 Paus. 10.9.12 (see Schröder 2020: 257 (date uncertain but Classical)).

73 Hdt. 8.122 (see Schröder 2020: 148 (ca. 479 BCE)).

74 *I.Delphes* 1.138 (2: ἀπὸ τῶμ πολέμιων δεκάταν; see Jacquemin 1999: 319 no. 114 (fourth century)).

75 Paus. 5.25.5 (mid-fifth century).

76 Paus. 5.22.3 (see Schröder 2020: 152 (mid-fifth century)).

77 *IvO* 259; Paus. 5.26.1 (see Schröder 2020: 252-56 (ca. 420 BCE)).

78 Paus. 5.27.11 (see Schröder 2020: 238-39 (ca. 400 BC)); Paus. 5.24.4 (ca. 363 BCE)).

79 Paus. 5.23.7 (ca. 500 BCE).

80 Paus. 5.26.4 (see Schröder 2020: 255 (mid-fifth century)).

81 Paus. 5.27.12.

82 *Neue IvO* 33a (sixth century).

verted thank-offerings in the form of treasuries were dedicated at Olympia by Syracuse and Megara,⁸³ and at Delphi by Akanthos, Syracuse and Thebes.⁸⁴ Such rituals, then, set the stage for Greek warfare but were not, of course, the reason why Greeks went to war: they served to achieve the goodwill of the gods and to thank them in the traditional and appropriate way by offerings, and nobody went to war in order to force the enemy to offer *sphagia* or make offerings of spoils at sanctuaries.

Thank-offerings were clearly based on the idea that the gods were capable of influencing the outcome of a battle, an idea well-known from e.g. the Homeric *Iliad*, which even depicts the gods as taking part in hostilities. The Greek martial divinities proper were Ares and Athena,⁸⁵ but in principle all divinities could take an interest in warfare.⁸⁶ Thus, the Athenians held that Pan had assisted them at Marathon in 490 BCE,⁸⁷ and a remarkable fifth-century inscription from Selinous on Sicily lists the following divinities as bringers of victory: Zeus, Phobos, Herakles, Apollo, Poseidon, the Tyndarids, Athena, Malophoros and Pasikrateia⁸⁸ – and even adds: “and the other gods”.⁸⁹ The Greeks, then, assumed that their gods took an active interest in, and were capable of, influencing the outcome of wars – but they assumed that the gods influenced everything, and war is not privileged in this respect.

Rather than motivating war, the rituals surrounding Greek wars could sometimes put an end to campaigns. Thus, Thucydides thrice relates how the Lakedaimonians discontinued campaigns due to failed *diabateria*,⁹⁰

83 Paus. 6.19.7 (Syracuse) and 6.19.13 (Megara, on which see Shröder 2020: 59–60).

84 Plut. *Lys.* 1.1 (Akanthos); Paus. 10.11.5 (Syracuse, on which see Schröder 2020: 251); Paus. 10.11.5 (Thebes, on which see Scott 2016: 100–11).

85 Burkert 1985: 140 (Athena), 169–70 (Ares); Deacy 2000.

86 Jost 1992: 139–40.

87 Christensen et al. 2009: 150–51.

88 *IG* XIV 2687.1–6.

89 καὶ διὰ τὸς ἄλλος θεός (6). – See Parker 2005: 401–3 for more examples of divine engagement in Athenian campaigns.

90 Thuc. 5.54.2: ὥς δ’ αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια θυομένοις οὐ προυχώρει, αὐτοί τε ἀπῆλθον κτλ.; 5.55.3: ἐξεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Καρύας, καὶ ὥς οὐδ’ ἐνταῦθα τὰ διαβατήρια αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, ἐπανεχώρησαν; 5.116.1: Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λακεδαιμόνιοι μελλήσαντες ἐς τὴν Ἀργεῖαν στρατεῦειν, ὥς αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια [ἱερὰ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις] οὐκ ἐγίνετο, ἀνεχώρησαν.

and Xenophon records that King Agis of Sparta in ca. 400 BCE discontinued a campaign – though he had already penetrated deeply into enemy territory – because the area was hit by an earthquake that the king interpreted as a bad omen.⁹¹ Religion could also prevent a *polis* from even taking the field. *Poleis* celebrating major religious festivals often proclaimed an *ekecheiria*, a sacred truce, to protect the festival and its participants. *Poleis* accepting such a truce committed themselves to non-aggression against the *polis* proclaiming it as well against travellers going to the festival,⁹² and by and large such truces were respected. A *polis* celebrating a festival with associated *ekecheiria* could itself evade treaty-obligations by referring to its celebration of the festival. Members of the co-called Peloponnesian League of Sparta, the alliance which was one of the main pillars of Spartan military might, were by oath obligated to ‘follow the Lakedaimonians whithersoever they may lead’.⁹³ From this invariable obligation there was, however, an exception: Allies could abstain from campaigns if “something to do with the gods or heroes” prevented them from participating.⁹⁴ And the celebration of a religious festival with associated *ekecheiria* could be construed as an obstacle to campaigning,⁹⁵ and *poleis* such as Mantinea⁹⁶ and Phleious⁹⁷ are known to have been absent from league campaigns under the cover of this stipulation. These examples, in fact, show *e contrario* what the purpose of the rites surrounding campaigns was, namely to ensure that a campaign could be conducted, and they did not turn Greek wars into ‘holy wars’ in the strict modern sense. It was, we may say, on account of practicabilities that religion put a damper on warfare, not on account of any dogmatic content.

91 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.24: ἄγων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἄγις ἐνέβαλε διὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς τὴν Ἥλείαν κατὰ Λάριον. ἄρτι δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὄντος ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ κοπτομένης τῆς χώρας, σεισμὸς ἐπιγίγνεται· ὁ δ' Ἄγις θεῖον ἡγησάμενος ἐξελθὼν πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα.

92 On sacred truces, see Lämmer 2010; Golden 2011; and Theotikou 2013.

93 de Ste. Croix 1972: 106, 339.

94 Thuc. 5.30.1 (τι θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων κώλυμα); see de Ste. Croix 1972: 115, 339.

95 de Ste. Croix 1972: 118–20.

96 Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.2.

97 Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16.

4. Religion and martial rhetoric

It cannot, however, be denied that religion was exploited as a source of pro-war rhetoric. Thus, at 8.144.2, Herodotos has the Athenians lecture the Spartans on why they are determined not to ally themselves with the Persians: πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν μηδ' ἦν ἐθέλωμεν· πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ.⁹⁸ Religion is here adduced as the prime reason (πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα) for carrying on with the war, but the war is not presented as a 'holy war', "in the sense of a war whose purpose is to fight people and states who follow another religion."⁹⁹ Rather, it is a question of revenge: vengeance for desecration of local cults,¹⁰⁰ and such revenge was not infrequently adduced as a reason for war,¹⁰¹ featuring in the rhetoric of Alexander 'the Great' during his Persian campaign.¹⁰² However, one will search in vain in the three great classical historians for fiery speeches pleading for war on a religious basis. Admittedly, the concept of 'sacred war' (ἱερὸς πόλεμος) is found in Greek literature; however, it is extremely rare and is used exclusively to refer propagandistically to two intra-Greek wars fought for the political control of Apollo Pythios' sanctuary

98 "There are many compelling reasons against our doing so, even if we wished: the first and greatest is the burning of the temples and images of our gods – now ashes and rubble. It is our bounden duty to avenge this desecration with all our might – not to clasp the hand that wrought it" (transl. de Sélincourt 2003). – See further Hunt 2010: 140–41 with n. 31; Rung 2016; and Nielsen 1996: 46–48. – Intra-Greek wars could also be described as 'the will of the gods': see Mac Sweeney 2013: 189 on Mimnermos fr. 9 (West), though this hardly refers to wars fought with religious motivations (in Mimnermos the reference is to the Ionian conquest of Smyrna; Allen 1993: 78 suggests that θεῶν βουλῇ refers to "some sort of positive assistance from the gods").

99 Hunt 2010: 84.

100 Polinskaya 2010: 71.

101 van Wees 2004: 20–21; Chaniotis 2005: 157.

102 Kremmydas 2013: 203–4.

at Delphi,¹⁰³ and these were not ‘holy wars’ of dogmatics:¹⁰⁴ the Greeks did not wage ‘holy wars’ in the names of their gods¹⁰⁵ – though it cannot, of course, be excluded that a genuine desire to end what was perceived as abuse of Delphi played some role in the wars over the sanctuary, in particular perhaps in the Third Sacred War (356–346 BCE) during which the Phokians drew heavily on Apollo’s property to finance mercenaries.¹⁰⁶

5. Polytheism and political fragmentation

The classical Greeks, then, did not fight holy wars. What is the reason for this, as it must surely seem from a modern perspective, remarkable state of affairs? The explanation is, I suggest, that the Greeks were polytheists to the bone. ‘Tolerance’ – by which I mean a mental disposition to accept and acknowledge that other peoples have other religions (or gods and cults) – was woven into the genetic structure, as it were, of Greek polytheism, and this to such an extent that the Greeks did not even have a word for ‘tolerance’ in this sense.¹⁰⁷ It was, it seems, simply taken

103 See Pownall 1998; cf. Hansen 2011: 13; Constantakopoulou 2015: 276; Burliga 2016: 141. Modern scholarship usually counts four ‘sacred wars’ for control of Delphi, but only two of these are actually referred to as *ἱερός πόλεμος* by ancient evidence (the second, ca. 448 BCE, and the third, 356–346 BCE). – In comic phantasy, a *hieros polemos* against Zeus himself is toyed with at Ar. Av. 556 (Dunbar 1998: 259 comments that to an Athenian ear this would recall the second Sacred War of ca. 448 BCE).

104 Cf. Burkert 1986: 82: “«heilig» ist hier mehr Sachbezeichnung als verpflichtender Appell.” – Parker 2016: 132: “There was no clash here of religious values.”

105 Burkert 1986: 82; cf. Hunt 2010: 84.

106 On the Third Sacred War, see Buckler 1989. – A Boiotian inscription (IG VII 2418) dating to the Third Sacred War states (2–4) that the war was fought *περὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἐμ Βελφοῖς* π[ο]τ τῶς ἀσεβιοντας τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ Π[ο]υθίῳ; the war, then, was ‘about’ the sanctuary; but in 22–23 the inscription states that the war was waged *ὕπὲρ τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἐμ Βελφοῖς*, that is ‘for the benefit of’ the sanctuary (for this meaning of *ὕπὲρ*, see Parker 2005: 40 and Jim 2014b).

107 Garnsey 1984: 6 (cf. 25: “Toleration theory was a byproduct of persecution and came from those in a position of weakness.”). – In other words, Greek polytheism

for granted that various peoples had each their own set of gods and that these were all equally divine,¹⁰⁸ or perhaps even the same: In *The Iliad*, Greeks and Trojans have the same gods,¹⁰⁹ and Herodotos¹¹⁰ seems to be of the opinion that the gods are everywhere¹¹¹ really the same, though with varying epichoric names.¹¹² There was no reason to wage wars over this simple fact, and it also meant that there was hardly any fanaticism in classical Greek polytheism.¹¹³ Moreover, this view of the world also meant that there was no basis for that religious demonization of others which has often been an historical precondition for the outbreak of holy wars:¹¹⁴ there really wasn't anything holy wars could be about.¹¹⁵

The political fragmentation of the Greek world into hundreds of *polis*¹¹⁶ must, I further suggest, have contributed significantly to the development of this open-minded and unwarlike view of religion. As emphasized by several historians of Greek religion, every single one of the many hundreds of Greek *poleis* had its own distinctly epichoric pantheon which

lacked that intolerance which is a defining characteristic of dogmatic monotheistic religions (Assmann 2010: 14).

108 Garnsey 1984: 2, 6, 24; West 1999: 22; Mikalson 2005: 172; Osborne 2015: 12.

109 Ehnmark 1999: 364-65; Burkert 1986: 82, 1990: 5; Hall 2007: 261; Rutherford 2013: 64-65; Osborne 2015: 11; Parker 2017: 37. – Trojan sacrifices to Zeus: *Il.* 4.48-49; 24.66-70; prayers to Athena: *Il.* 6.297-312; Homeric gods are worshipped also by aithiopians, who are hardly meant to be perceived as Greeks: *Il.* 1.423-424, 23.205 and *Od.* 1.22.

110 Parke 1967: 52; Hall 1989: 183-84; Rudhardt 1992: 224-26; Parker 1996: 159; Parker 2017: 37; Gould 1994: 103-4; Harrison 2000: 209; Kaplan 2006: 135; Malkin 2011: 8, 131; Osborne 2015: 12-13. – Herodotos may have been exceptionally well-traveled and thus perhaps more openminded than the average Greek, but as pointed out by Burkert 1990: 5-8 similar ideas appear in earlier texts (cf. Parker 2017: 37 on Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1) fr. 305). Parker 1996: 193 describes this idea simply as “the Greek perception.” See also Whitmarsh 2015: 26 and Larson 2016: 7.

111 This ‘translatability’ of gods from one culture to another was a fundamental characteristic of ancient Mediterranean polytheism: Assmann 2010: 18-19.

112 This being the case, missionary activities were negligible in Greek religion (cf. Larson 2016: 326).

113 Larson 2016: 195.

114 Furseth & Repstad 2007: 266, 269.

115 Parker 2005: 453.

116 On which see *CPC Inv.* and Hansen 2000 and 2006.

was not identical to that of any other *polis*,¹¹⁷ though they were recognizably all part of the same overall system.¹¹⁸ Religious diversity and variation, then, was the norm in the Greek city-state culture. Some major gods, such as Zeus, Apollo and Athena were, of course, worshipped almost everywhere, but other divinities, such as Aphaia on Aigina,¹¹⁹ Pan in Arkadia¹²⁰ or Ennodia in Thessaly¹²¹ were more closely connected with specific localities. Even a major Olympian goddess such as Hera was not worshipped in every pantheon. On Aigina she did not, it seems, have a cult,¹²² but at Argos, less than a day's travel from the island, she was the chief divinity honoured with a monumental Doric temple,¹²³ a chryselephantine cult-statue,¹²⁴ and a splendid festival, the *Hekatomboia*, which included famous games.¹²⁵

In religious terms, we may say, the Greek world was truly polycentric and consisted of more than a thousand epichoric universes. In a certain sense, then, the Greek world was just as fragmented religiously as it was politically. There was, of course, a high degree of similarity in the way in which Greek *poleis* worshipped their gods: temples,¹²⁶ animal sacrifices,¹²⁷

117 Sourvinou-Inwood 1990: 295; Zaidman & Pantel 1992: 207; Bremmer 2006: 1, 2015: 606; Parker 2011: 70-73; Polinskaya 2013: 9-15; Larson 2016: 9, 24, 128, 194.

118 Lévy 2000; Schachter 2000.

119 On Aphaia: Tomlinson 1976: 104-8; Polinskaya 2013: 177-96; McInerney 2013: 67-73.

120 On Pan: Jost 1985: 456-76; Borgeaud 1988: 3-44; Nielsen 1999: 39-40. Cf. Parker 1996: 164.

121 On Ennodia: Graninger 2006: 182-206; 2009: 109-24; Mili 2015: 147-58.

122 Polinskaya 2013: 122-23.

123 Pfaff 2003.

124 Lapatin 2001: 101-5.

125 On the *Hekatomboia*, see Nilsson 1906: 42-45; Ringwood 1927: 67-69; Kramer 1970: 29; and Amandry 1980; Nielsen 2018: 24, 29-30, 41-43, 55, 65-66, 70, 89, 100, 108, 129, 131, 156, 165, 174-76, 185-86, 200-1, 209, 214. – The Heraion was prior to the 460s BCE a “confederate sanctuary for all the communities of the Argive Plain” and came under the exclusive control of Argos only when this city had destroyed Mykenai in the 460s BCE (Hall 1995: 613).

126 Gruben 1986; Sinn & Leypold 2005; Spawforth 2006.

127 Hermay & Leguilloux 2004; Bremmer 2007; Hitch & Rutherford 2017.

processions¹²⁸ and spectacular festivals¹²⁹ were standard and ubiquitous phenomena in Greek cults. But a Greek could *not* assume that the neighbouring *polis* worshipped exactly the same divinities as his own *polis* did. This fundamental state of affairs, however, does not seem to have constituted a problem for the Greeks at all.¹³⁰

6. Other polytheistic religions of the ancient Mediterranean

For any Greek *polis*, the most important neighbours must have been the hundreds of other Greek *poleis*, but throughout the far-flung Greek world Greeks came into contacts with numerous foreign peoples: Egyptians, Phoenicians, Etruscans, Romans, and so on. Almost all foreign peoples with whom Greeks came into contact were polytheists like the Greeks themselves.¹³¹ The Egyptians were polytheists,¹³² and so were the Etruscans,¹³³ the Hittites,¹³⁴ the Mesopotamians,¹³⁵ the Persians,¹³⁶ the Phoenicians,¹³⁷ the Romans¹³⁸ and the Scythians,¹³⁹ to mention just a handful of

128 Burkert 1985: 99-101; True et al. 2004.

129 Burkert 1985: 99-109; Chaniotis et al. 2011; see also the relevant chapters of Brandt & Iddeng 2012.

130 Cf. Mikalson 2005: 172.

131 Larson 2016: 6; cf. West 1999: 19: "Among the ancient civilizations polytheism was the norm."

132 Teeter 2013: 14.

133 Simon 2006: 45.

134 Wright 2007; Collins 2013: 97.

135 Pongratz-Leisten 2013: 36.

136 Malandra 2013: 116-17.

137 Clifford 1990: 56-58; Gawlikowski 2012: 310; Dolansky 2013: 56-57.

138 Schultz 2013: 160.

139 Hdt. 4.59.

neighbouring peoples. All these peoples conceived of their gods in anthropomorphic forms,¹⁴⁰ as did the Greeks, and they all performed animal sacrifices in honour of their gods, as did the Greeks.¹⁴¹ Nowhere did dogmatic texts (scripture) occupy the central position they do in various modern monotheistic religions. In fact, most ancient peoples of the Mediterranean world did not have dogmatic texts at all,¹⁴² and it is, accordingly, anachronistic to think of these ancient polytheistic religions as religious denominations in the modern sense. Ancient polytheists did not *believe* in the gods in the way modern monotheists are expected to do: They simply accepted the existence of gods, and acted accordingly.¹⁴³ In other words, most peoples with whom the Greeks came into contact had religions which were more *like* than *unlike* the religion of the Greeks in several crucial respects.¹⁴⁴ Though later ages have seen followers of rather similar religions fight each other mercilessly, in the Greek case the overall similarity of the religion with the religions of the neighbours, in particular as concerns the lack of dogma, does, in fact, seem to have contributed to reducing the risks of serious religious conflicts considerably.

140 Teeter 2013: 15 (Egyptians); Wright 2007, Collins 2013: 95 (Hittites); Bonfante 2006: 20 (Etruscans); Beaulieu 2007: 165, Pongratz-Leisten 2013: 37 (Mesopotamians); Duchesne-Guillemin 2002 (Persians); Dolansky 2013: 59 (Phoenicians); Schultz 2013: 160 (Romans); it should follow from Herodotos' *interpretatio Graeca* of the seven Scythian gods, and in particular from the fact that *agalmata* were a feature of the cult of Ares (4.59), that he thought of them as anthropomorphic. That Xenophanes assumed the Thracians to have anthropomorphic conceptions of divinity should follow from fr. 21 (Graham).

141 Teeter 2013: 19–20 (Egyptians); de Grummond & Simon 2006: *passim* (Etruscans); Collins 2013: 100–1 (Hittites); Pongratz-Leisten 2013: 44 (Mesopotamians); Malandra 2013: 117 (Persians); Markoe 2000: 132, Dolansky 2013: 62 (Phoenicians); Schultz 2013: 163 (Romans); Hdt. 4.60 (Scythians).

142 Teeter 2013: 13, 18 (Egyptians); Schultz 2013: 161, 165 (Romans); Gaifman 2016: 250 and Kindt 2016: 12 (Greeks). See also Robertson Smith 1956: 16–21. – This does not mean, I should emphasize, that there were no religious assumptions or values in Greek religion, see Harrison 2007.

143 Assmann 2010: 15.

144 Cf. Larson 2016: 325.

7. Religious conflicts

Occasionally, however, religion did produce conflict, in particular when Greek polytheists faced monotheists. I give two examples, one minor and one more serious; both, however, are later than the classical period, which is my chief concern in this essay. The first and minor episode occurred while St Paul was at Ephesos in the first century AD, and is narrated in Acts 19:23-41. St Paul, it seems, had denied the sacred quality of local artefacts produced, presumably, for dedication in the famous temple of Artemis (19:26: λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοὶ οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι).¹⁴⁵ The Ephesian artisans, apprehensive of their business and of the prestige of the sanctuary of Artemis (19:27: τὸ τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς οὐθὲν λογισθῆναι μέλλειν τε καὶ καθαλεῖσθαι τῆς μεγαλειότητος αὐτῆς ἣν ὅλη ἡ Ἀσία καὶ ἡ οἰκουμένη σέβεται),¹⁴⁶ which perhaps amounted to one and the same thing, broke into a riot against the Christian community, crying “Great is Artemis of Ephesos!” (19:28: Μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων). The rioting seems to have been put to rest in a single day and without injuries. If Acts can be trusted, the anger of the artisans was at least partly provoked by their devotion to Artemis, but the main thrust of the narrative suggests that it was in reality “motivated by commercial, rather than religious, scruples.”¹⁴⁷

The second and much more serious example of violent religious conflict is the war between King Antiochos IV Epiphanes and Judean insurgents based in Jerusalem.¹⁴⁸ This was a regular war which lasted throughout the 160’s BCE down to the foundation of a more or less autonomous Judean state in 142 BCE. In the present context, however, it is the events of the 160’s BCE which are of interest. In 167 BCE the King decreed a series of stipulations which amounted to a ban on the practice of Judean religion: Circumcision was prohibited,¹⁴⁹ Torah-scrolls were collected

145 “... saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands.”

146 “... that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth.”

147 Snyder 2013: 180; cf. Parker 2017: 152.

148 On this conflict see the following works on which I base my brief account: Mørkholm 1966; Tcherikover 1972; Momigliano 1975: 97-122; Hyldahl 1990; Habicht 2008.

149 Momigliano 1975: 100.

and put to the fire, and massive executions of disobedient Judeans were carried out, according to Judean sources.¹⁵⁰ The cult in the Jerusalem temple was terminated, and the temple itself was rededicated to Zeus Olympios¹⁵¹ – and pigs were sacrificed on a newly constructed ‘heathen altar’.¹⁵² Moreover, statues of Zeus and King Antiochos were erected in the temple.¹⁵³ All this led to a revolt against the King, the famous Maccabean Revolt.¹⁵⁴ From the point of view of the Judean insurgents the fight was for political autonomy, but first of all it was a fight for the right to practice Judean religion again. From the point of view of the King, the prohibition against Judean religion was a legitimate administrative act whose aim was to neutralize an emergent insurrection against his rule.¹⁵⁵ The King, it seems, had been caught up in an internal Judean struggle for power, in which a more traditional faction faced a Philhellenic and Greek-inspired faction which had the support of the King and collected his taxes.¹⁵⁶ It was, it is commonly held, in complete concert with the Philhellenic faction, his own men, as it were, that the King decreed his ban on Judean religion, a ban which, at least as far as I know, is the only prohibition against the religion of a foreign people known from Greek

150 Mørkholm 1966: 146, 148; Tcherikover 1972: 139; Habicht 2008: 349. Polytheistic Greek sources on this conflict are all lost (Momigliano 1975: 102).

151 Mørkholm 1966: 147; Tcherikover 1972: 139; Momigliano 1975: 100; Habicht 2008: 349.

152 Mørkholm 1966: 147; Hyldahl 1990: 199.

153 Mørkholm 1966: 147; Tcherikover 1972: 128. – In itself, the erection of a ruler’s statue in the temple of a god was not unprecedented, see Chaniotis 2003: 439: “The Hellenistic kings were often worshipped as ‘temple-sharing gods’ (*synnaoi*) through the erection of their statue in the temple of other deities (e.g. Attalos I in Aigina and Sikyon, Antiochos III and Apollonis in Teos, Attalos III in Pergamon, Ariarathes V in Athens and Mithradates VI on Delos).” Cf. I. Petrovic 2015: 433.

154 Mørkholm 1966: 149. Such measures were “unheard of in the Greek-speaking world from immemorial times” (Momigliano 1975: 100); prior to this conflict “Greeks had fully respected the uniqueness of the Jewish people and its religion” (Hyldahl 1990: 188).

155 Tcherikover 1972: 141-42; Hyldahl 1990: 199.

156 Tcherikover 1972: 118; Mørkholm 1966: 142; Momigliano 1975: 106.

history. To the King, it was all about *Realpolitik*,¹⁵⁷ not about religious dogmatics, about which he probably had no conception:¹⁵⁸ he spent his formative years as a hostage in Rome¹⁵⁹ and lived for a while at Athens¹⁶⁰ – two major centres of traditional polytheism. The ban on Judean religion was probably based on bad advice,¹⁶¹ and as soon as he understood that the King cancelled it, and from 164 BCE it was once more possible to practice Judean religion.¹⁶²

This traditional view of the Maccabean Revolt has recently been challenged by Sylvie Honigman in a monumental study, which argues that there was, in reality, no persecution of Judeans and no prohibition against Judean religion,¹⁶³ and if that is correct, there is no example of Greeks waging war on a foreign religion to exterminate it.¹⁶⁴ But even if the traditional reconstruction is correct, we should note three things: that the clash was with a monotheistic religion; that the King withdrew his ban; and that such a ban is completely uncharacteristic of the normal way in which Greeks interacted with foreign religions.

8. Greek import of foreign cults

What is characteristic of the Greek attitude to the religion(s) of their neighbours is lively interest and even participation, and Greek *poleis* did not hesitate to adopt foreign cults if they responded to their religious needs: Greek *poleis* adopted cults both from other Greek *poleis* and from non-Greek peoples. In the classical period, Athens imported several cults from non-Greek areas: In the fifth century, Bendis was imported from

157 Tcherikover 1972: 123; Mørkholm 1966: 158; Hyl Dahl 1990: 199.

158 Tcherikover 1972: 136; Mørkholm 1966: 138, 144.

159 Tcherikover 1972: 122; Mørkholm 1966: 35.

160 Mørkholm 1966: 40.

161 Mørkholm 1966: 138.

162 Mørkholm 1966: 153–56; Habicht 2008: 349.

163 Honigman 2014.

164 Judeans outside Judea will have been unaffected by the persecution of Antiochos (Momigliano 1975: 115).

Thrace and became the object of public cult;¹⁶⁵ Sabazios arrived from Phrygia,¹⁶⁶ whence came also Kybele, perhaps already in the late archaic period;¹⁶⁷ and Ammon, whose oracle in Libya Athens consulted several times¹⁶⁸ (as did also Elis, Sparta and Rhodos),¹⁶⁹ was imported as well.¹⁷⁰ Also in the classical period, the Athenian assembly granted metics from Egypt the right to found a sanctuary of Isis, just as metics from Kition on Cyprus were granted the right to found a sanctuary for their epichoric Aphrodite.¹⁷¹

This is not, of course, to deny that foreign gods and the ways they were worshipped were occasionally frowned upon, witness Demosthenes' scornful remarks about the cult of Sabazios at 18.259-260,¹⁷² whose aim is to ridicule Aischines. But in general, the attitude to foreign gods and cults may fairly be described as receptive, and, this receptive attitude was not a peculiarly Athenian characteristic: Kybele, *e.g.*, was imported by Greek *poleis* in Asia Minor¹⁷³ and is attested as far away as at Lokroi Epizephyrioi in Magna Graecia by an archaic dedication.¹⁷⁴ Bendis

165 On Bendis at Athens, see: Garland 1992: 111-14; Parker 1996: 160-61, 170-75; Arnaoutoglou 2015.

166 On Sabazios in Athens: Parker 1996: 194.

167 Pérez 1994.

168 Plut. *Kim.* 18.7; *Nic.* 13-14; Pritchett 1979: 300-1; Parker 2005: 111.

169 Elis: Paus. 5.15.11 (cf. Parke 1967: 211-12); Sparta: Plut. *Lys.* 25 (cf. Parke 1967: 219-20); Rhodos: Diod. *Sic.* 20.100.3-4.

170 On Ammon in Athens: Classen 1959: 352-54; Woodward 1962; Parke 1967: 212-13, 215-19; Garland 1984: 106-7; Parker 1996: 195-96

171 *IG II²* 337. *Strictu sensu* the decree grants the Kitians ἔνκτησι[ν] χ[ω]ρίου (40-41), the right to buy a piece of land, but the understanding throughout the text is that a sanctuary of Aphrodite will be founded on this piece of land: περὶ ἰδρύσειως τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (10-11); περὶ τῆς ἰδρύσειως τοῦ ἱεροῦ (21-22); χωρίου ἔνκτησιν ἐν ᾧ ἰδύσονται ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης (36-37); ἔνκτησι[ν] χ[ω]ρίου ἐν ᾧ ἰδύσονται τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης (40-42). It is also clear that the Egyptians had already founded a sanctuary for Isis: οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ τῆς Ἰσιδος ἱερὸν ἰδρύονται (43-45).

172 See Wankel 1976: 1133-34; Price 1999: 116. – The plot of Euripides' *Bacchae*, moreover, is based on the idea that the introduction of a foreign god could provoke fierce opposition.

173 *E.g.* Kyzikos: Hdt. 4.76.3; Kolophon: Mac Sweeney 2013: 131; cf. Burkert 1985: 178, 1987: 35; Pérez 1994; Anderson 2015: 317. A cult of Kybele is attested also at late-archaic Olbia: Dubois, *Olbia du Pont* no. 81.

174 SEG 35.1820, 49.1357 (cf. Burkert 1987: 35).

may have been adopted also at Abdera.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, as already noted, Elis, Sparta and Rhodos all consulted the oracle of Ammon, and his cult was adopted by several *poleis* other than Athens in the classical period. He is known to have had cults at Thebes in Boiotia,¹⁷⁶ Elis¹⁷⁷ and Sparta¹⁷⁸ in the Peloponnese, Aphytis on the Chalkidike,¹⁷⁹ and he was, not surprisingly, a major god in the Greek *poleis* of Libya (Barke, Euhesperides, Kyrene and Taucheira).¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, he is depicted on coins from Metapontion in Magna Gracia;¹⁸¹ Melos,¹⁸² Nisyros¹⁸³ and Tenos¹⁸⁴ in the Aegean; Aphytis on Chalkidike,¹⁸⁵ Kyzikos¹⁸⁶ and Lampsakos¹⁸⁷ on Propontis; Pitane in Aiolis;¹⁸⁸ Mytilene on Lesbos;¹⁸⁹ Arkades on Crete;¹⁹⁰ and an unidentified mint on Cyprus,¹⁹¹ and such types may also be indicative of local cults, as is certain in the case of Aphytis. Another non-Greek cult which was widely adopted was that of Egyptian Isis: "By the fourth century BCE, temples dedicated to Isis were established on the islands of Delos, Rhodes, Kos, Samos, Lesbos, and Cyprus as well as in Ephesus on the mainland of Asia Minor;"¹⁹² to which we may add, *e.g.*, Eretria on Euboea.¹⁹³ Just as they took over brilliant foreign inventions like coinage and the alphabet, then, Greeks adopted cults from foreign peoples, and the fact that cults to be imported were foreign was apparently not a

175 Oppermann 2012: 346.

176 Paus. 9.16.1 (cf. Classen 1959: 350; Woodward 1962: 5; Parke 1967: 207).

177 Paus. 5.15.11 (cf. Classen 1959: 350; Parke 1967: 211-12).

178 Paus. 3.18.3 (cf. Classen 1959: 351-52; Parke 1967: 210-11, 219-21).

179 *CPC Inv.* 282; Tsigarida 2011.

180 Austin 2008: 213.

181 *CPC Inv.* 282.

182 Head, *HN*² 892.

183 Head, *HN*² 635.

184 Head, *HN*² 493.

185 Head, *HN*² 209-10.

186 Head, *HN*² 524.

187 Head, *HN*² 530.

188 Head, *HN*² 537.

189 Head, *HN*² 558-59.

190 Willetts 1962: 235.

191 Head, *HN*² 745.

192 Teeter 2013: 14. Cf. Dow 1937 and Smith 1977.

193 Ducrey et al. 2004: 256.

problem. When it came to religion, Greeks were fully ready to adopt foreign gods.¹⁹⁴

9. Mixed *poleis*

One reason for this receptive attitude towards foreign cults is probably the fact that, as already pointed out, the polytheistic religions of the ancient Mediterranean world resembled each other in several crucial respects (above section 6). Another contributory factor may well, I suggest, have been the fact that quite a few Greek *poleis* had mixed citizen populations, that is: citizen populations which did not consist only of ethnic Greeks but of Greeks and citizens of one or more other ethnicities, obvious examples being Halikarnassos, Naukratis and Emporion, all three of them respectable Greek *poleis*.¹⁹⁵ In the *CPC Inv.* such *poleis* are described as ‘mixed *poleis*’, and some 80 cases are recorded.¹⁹⁶ The number of mixed *poleis* may well have been higher, since judgement on the ethnic composition of a *polis* must be suspended in many cases on account of lack of decisive evidence: Ephesos¹⁹⁷ and Miletos,¹⁹⁸ *e.g.*, should probably be

194 Conversely, the cult of Greek Herakles was widely adopted by non-Greeks: Larson 2016: 336–45.

195 All three are described in *CPC Inv.*, Halikarnassos as no. 886 (Karia), Naukratis as no. 1023 (Egypt), and Emporion as no. 2 (Spain).

196 In the order of *CPC Inv.*: *In Spain*: Emporion; *on Sicily*: Abakainon; Aitna; Alaisa; Galeria; Henna; Hippana; Imachara; Longane; Morgantina; Mysistratos; Nakone; Tauromenion; *in South Italy*: Laos; Poseidonia; Temesa; *in the Adriatic*: Adria; Ankon; Brentesion; Lissos; Spina; *in Mygdonia*: Lete; Sindos; Therme; *in Bisaltia*: Traïlos; *in Chalkidike*: Akrothooi; Charadrous; Dion; Kleonai; Olophyxos; Thyssos; *in Thrace*: Berga; Datos; Myrkinos; Sirra; Kypsela; Alexandropolis; Pistiros; *on the Black Sea*: Orgame; Gorgippia; Nymphaion; Pantikapaion; Theodosia; Gyenos; Phasis; *on Propontis*: Artaïou Teichos; Plakia; Skylake; *in Troas*: Antandros; Azeia; Gargara; *in Karia*: Amos; Amynandeis; Amyzon; Bargylia; Chalketor; Chios; Euromos; Halikarnassos; Hyrmisseis; Idrias; Idyma; Kalynda; Karyanda; Kedreai; Kindye; Latmos; Medmasos; Mylasa; Olymos; Pedasa; Telemessos; Termera; Tralleis; *in Lykia*: Xanthos; *in Pamphylia*: Aspendos; Perge; Side; *in Kilikia*: Mallos; *in Syria*: Posideion; *in Egypt*: Naukratis.

197 Buxton 2002: 16 with n. 48.

198 Mac Sweeney 2013: 64–67.

added to the list. In such mixed *poleis*, ethnic Greeks and non-Greeks lived side by side in the same community, generation after generation, and this probably made the Greeks in question rather receptive to the religious traditions of their non-Greek fellow citizens.¹⁹⁹ Thus, the Milesian cult of Apollo at Didyma was clearly influenced by local Anatolian traditions²⁰⁰ and so was the cult of Artemis at Ephesos;²⁰¹ and at Ephesos there was even a tradition, attested in Pindar,²⁰² to the effect that the famous sanctuary of Artemis had been founded by the non-Greek Amazons.²⁰³ And, importantly, I have found no evidence of serious religious conflicts in these mixed *poleis*. Most, though not all, mixed *poleis* were located on what is usually regarded as the periphery of the Greek world, but given the intense interaction among the communities of this world, the attitudes developed in the mixed *poleis* will probably have influenced attitudes to foreign religions in homeland Greece,²⁰⁴ so to speak, attitudes which were quite receptive even to begin with. When it came to religion, then, Greeks often associated closely with non-Greeks.

10. Foreigners in Panhellenic sanctuaries

But of course, in the context of religion, as in many other contexts, Greeks associated even more closely with other fellow Greeks, with whom they shared *i.a.* language, mythology and lifestyle in a broad sense. As pointed out above, every Greek *polis* may be said to have constituted a religious community unto itself (above section 5), but, as is well known, there were in the Greek city-state culture also religious institutions that

199 Cf. Larson 2016: 322.

200 Mac Sweeney 2013: 66-67.

201 Mac Sweeney 2013: 147-49.

202 Pind. fr. 174 (Maehler) *apud* Paus. 7.2.7: οὐ μὴν πάντα γε τὰ εἰς τὴν θεὸν ἐπύθετο ἔμοι δοκεῖν Πίνδαρος, ὃς Ἀμαζόνas τὸ ἱερὸν ἔφη τοῦτο ἰδρύσασθαι στρατευομένας ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας κτλ. As is clear from τὰ εἰς τὴν θεόν, the reference is to the sanctuary at Ephesos, not to Apollo's sanctuary at Didyma, as assumed by Maehler. On this tradition, see Mac Sweeney 2013: 137-56.

203 On the Amazons as "the complete opposite of what it meant to be Greek," see Mac Sweeney 2013: 152.

204 Cf. Larson 2016: 337.

cut across city-state boundaries and were potentially shared by *all* Greeks, chief among which were the so-called Panhellenic sanctuaries,²⁰⁵ in particularly those at Olympia and Delphi,²⁰⁶ though there were others besides these famous examples, *e.g.* the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros and that of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. In these sanctuaries Greeks from all *poleis* were free to worship, and quite a few actually did so. Accordingly, these sanctuaries created intense interaction which contributed to the maintenance of Greek identity. The most significant Panhellenic sanctuary was probably Delphi, primarily on account of the oracle. Most of the questions which individuals and *poleis* put to the oracle concerned religious affairs,²⁰⁷ and here, then, was an institution which – by giving religious instructions with some authority – might give at least some direction to a city-state culture that was extremely fragmented in both political *and* religious terms.²⁰⁸ Delphi, then, was a Panhellenic sanctuary of crucial importance to the cohesion of Greek culture. Even so, the sanctuary was open to non-Greeks and was frequented by, for example, Thracians, Lydians, Romans and Etruscans who consulted the famous oracle²⁰⁹ and made costly dedications: the kings of Lydia made several monumental dedications at the sanctuary: Gyges (ca. 680–645 BCE) and Kroisos (ca. 560–546 BCE) may have constructed treasuries, though this is uncertain.²¹⁰ Suspicion has also been cast upon the dedications of Gyges reported by Herodotos (1.14),²¹¹ but the silver crater

205 On this term, see Nielsen 2014a: 134–36.

206 On Olympia: Nielsen 2007 and 2014; Roy 2013; on Delphi: Nielsen 2008; Scott 2010.

207 Fontenrose 1978: 26, 233; Kearns 2015: 32. See also Bowden 2005: 122–33.

208 Anderson 2015: 311; A. Petrovic 2015: 349.

209 *Thracians*: Hdt. 6.34 (on which see Scott 2005: 165); *Syll.*³ 195, an honorific decree of the mid-fourth century BCE by the *polis* of Delphi bestowing *promanteia* on the sons of the Thracian king Kersobleptes. *Lydians*: Hdt. 1.13.1, 1.19.2, 1.47.3, 1.53.3, 1.55.2, 1.69.2, 1.85.2, 1.91.4; Lydians enjoyed *promanteia* at Delphi: Hdt. 1.54.2. *Romans*: Liv. 5.16.9–11, 23.11.1–3, 29.10.6, 29.11.6, Phleg. *Mir.* 3.5, Plin. *NH* 34.12.26, Claud. 8.141–144. *Etruscans*: Hdt. 1.167.2. A consultation by the Persian satrap Tiribazos is recorded in Diod. Sic. 15.8.4. The Sicel leader Duketios may also have consulted the oracle (Scott 2005: 165).

210 Strabo 9.3.8 (cf. Jacquemin 1999: 72–73 and cat. nos. 345–46).

211 Kaplan 2006: 130–31.

of Alyattes (ca. 610-590 BCE)²¹² and the lavish gifts and sacrifices by Kroisos²¹³ are certain and famous. *I.Delphes* 3.124 is a (private or communal) fifth-century Etruscan dedication to Apollo;²¹⁴ and two Etruscan city-states, Agylla and Spina, even constructed treasuries at Delphi,²¹⁵ which must surely count as evidence for extensive use of the sanctuary. Also worth noting is a bronze statue dedicated by the Sardinians,²¹⁶ a dedication by the *Ampeliotai*, an *ethnos* in Libya;²¹⁷ and the extremely generous donation made by Pharaoh Amasis of Egypt (ca. 570-525 BCE) towards the construction of the Alkmeonid temple.²¹⁸ Clearly, there was interaction with non-Greeks even at Panhellenic sanctuaries.

11. Foreigners in other sanctuaries

Just as the Greeks themselves worshipped foreign gods and adopted their cults, foreigners, even powerful foreigners, worshipped at Greek sanctuaries. Moreover, it was not merely Pythian Apollo who was the recipient of such honours. King Alyattes constructed two temples for Athena Assesia at Assesos in the territory of Miletos;²¹⁹ King Kroisos made dedications to Apollo at Didyma, also in the territory of Miletos;²²⁰ at Ephesos, in the famous sanctuary of Artemis, Kroisos dedicated “the golden cows and most of the columns”;²²¹ on the Hellenic mainland, he dedicated a great

212 Hdt. 1.25.2 (cf. Jacquemin 1999: cat. no. 342; Kaplan 2006: 131).

213 Hdt. 1.50-52 (cf. Jacquemin 1999: cat. nos. 343-44; Buxton 2002: 7; Kaplan 2006: 132). See also Bacchyl. 3.61-62 with Kaplan 2006: 131-32.

214 Cf. Jacquemin 1999: cat. no. 303.

215 Agylla: Strabo 5.2.3 (Jacquemin 1999: cat. no. 12); Spina: Strabo 5.1.7 (Jacquemin 1999: cat. no. 443); both treasuries were presumably constructed in the fifth century.

216 Paus. 10.17.1 (cf. Jacquemin 1999: cat. no. 428).

217 Anaxandridas of Delphi (*FGrHist* 404) fr. 4 (cf. Jacquemin 1999: cat. no. 16).

218 Hdt. 2.180.2. – On the temple: Gruben 1986: 74-76; Maas 1997: 104-9; Nielsen 2013: 11, 29-31.

219 Hdt. 1.22.4 (cf. Buxton 2002: 55; Mac Sweeney 2013: 67).

220 Hdt. 1.92.2, 5.36.3 (cf. Kaplan 2006: 133; Mac Sweeney 2013: 67).

221 Hdt. 1.92.1: ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἱ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί (transl. de Sélincourt); see Buxton 2002: 55-60. Fragments of three columns inscribed with the

golden shield to Athena Pronaia at Delphi;²²² a golden tripod to Apollo Ismenios at Thebes;²²³ and to Amphiaraios at Oropos, he dedicated a golden shield and a golden spear.²²⁴ the historicity of the last item has recently been confirmed by the spectacular recovery at Thebes of a late-archaic inscription mentioning the dedication and mentioning Kroisos by name as the dedicator.²²⁵ Finally, Kroisos donated gold to the Lakedaimonians for the adornment of the statue of Apollo at Thornax in Lakonia.²²⁶ Egyptian rulers, too, made dedications at Greek sanctuaries other than Delphi. Thus Pharaoh Necho II (609-593 BCE) dedicated his military outfit to Apollo at Didyma;²²⁷ and he very probably also made a dedication to Athena at Ialysos on Rhodes.²²⁸ Pharaoh Amasis (570-525 BCE) was a great giver of gifts: he made dedications to Athena at Kyrene;²²⁹ to Hera on Samos;²³⁰ and to Athena Lindia at Lindos on Rhodes.²³¹ Persians, too, made dedications at Greek sanctuaries. The commander Datis made a dedication to Apollo at Delos²³² and he also conducted a huge sacrifice on the island.²³³ Datis also made a dedication to Athena Lindia at Lindos on Rhodes: even if he is not the [... στ]ραταγὸς τοῦ Περσᾶν βασιλέως listed

formula *Basileus Kroisos anetheke* survive: see Tod, *GHI* I.6 (cf. Buxton 2002: 14-15; Kaplan 2006: 133 n. 17). – Note also that the Lydian Paktyes sought refuge at both Kyme and Chios (Hdt. 1. 157-160): at Chios, Herodotos makes clear, he sought the protection of Athena Poliouchos, and at Kyme he probably also sat as *hiketes* in a sanctuary.

222 Hdt. 1.92.1.

223 Hdt. 1.92.1.

224 Hdt. 1.52.

225 See Papazarkadas 2014: 233-47. The text of the epigram is found on p. 240; verse 4 reads: [ἀσπ]ίδα τὰν Qροῖσος κα[λφ]ὸν ἄγαλ[μα θέτο].

226 Hdt. 1.69.4.

227 Hdt. 2.159.3.

228 Skon-Jedele 1994: 2356-57.

229 Hdt. 2.182.

230 Hdt. 2.182.

231 Hdt. 2.192, 3.47.3 (cf. the Lindian Temple Chronicle XXIX.36-55). See also Francis & Vicker 1984.

232 *JG* XI.2 164.A.35; 161.B.96; 199.B.24 (cf. Higbie 2003: 122).

233 Hdt. 6.97.2 (cf. Scott 2005: 345). – Note also that according to Ktesias (*FGrHist* 688) fr. 13.2 Dareios constructed an altar for Zeus Diabaterios in connection with his Scythian campaign in ca. 513 BCE, presumably somewhere near Kalchedon (cf. Tuplin 2010: 282).

in the Lindian Temple Chronicle at XXXII it is clear from D.34-38 that he did make a dedication to the goddess. An individual by the name of Pharnabazos and thus presumably the Persian satrap of Daskyleion (ca. 413-370 BCE)²³⁴ dedicated a robe to Athena at Athens;²³⁵ and the great King Xerxes himself, it may also be noted, sacrificed to Athena Ilias at Ilion²³⁶ and ordered a sacrifice to Athena Polias at Athens after his sack of the Acropolis;²³⁷ and in 411 BCE, the Persian satrap Tissaphernes conducted a sacrifice to Artemis at Ephesos.²³⁸ Also worth noting is the consultations by the Persian commander Mardonios of the oracles of Apollo at Abai in Phokis and Akraiphia, of Trophonios at Lebadeia, and of Apollo at Thebes, all in Boiotia;²³⁹ as well as the prayer by the Persians to Themis and the Nereids recorded by Herodotos (7.191.2).²⁴⁰ An otherwise unknown Etruscan king, Arimnestos, dedicated a throne to Zeus at Olympia, according to Paus. 5.12.5,²⁴¹ and in general, the numerous artefacts of foreign provenance recovered from Greek sanctuaries have been thought to “signify that non-Greeks were allowed to frequent and to patronize Greek holy places” (Buxton 2002: 39).²⁴² Conversely, Greeks frequented sanctuaries in non-Greek lands. Thus, Sostratos of Aigina made a dedication in a sanctuary at Tarquinia in Etruria in the late sixth century,²⁴³ and a certain Melanthios made a dedication to Amun-Re (*interpretatione Graeca* = Zeus Thebaieus) in Egypt ca. 550-525 BCE, whereas one Pythernos made one to Isis ca. 500, to give a few examples.²⁴⁴

234 Harris 1995: 230.

235 IG II² 1412.11, 1421.118, 1424a.303, 1428.143.

236 Hdt. 7.43.2.

237 Hdt. 8.54-55 (cf. Nevin 2017: 27).

238 Thuc. 8.109.1.

239 Hdt. 8.134-135.

240 Cf. Mikalson 2003: 87-88; Kaplan 2006: 136. – On Persians in Greek sanctuaries, see also Mitchell 2007.

241 For a possible fragment at Olympia of an early Etruscan throne, see Strøm 2000.

242 Cf. Kyrieleis 1993: 146 and Scott 2015: 232 on non-Greeks artefacts discovered at the Samian Heraion. – Conversely, Greeks residing in non-Greek communities sometimes ‘went native’, as did the Greek residents at fifth-century Egyptian Memphis: Larson 2016: 346.

243 SEG 26.1137; Polinskaya 2013: 204-5.

244 SEG 27.1106, 1115 (cf. Parker 2017: 37). – On Greeks visiting Egyptian sanctuaries, see Chaniotis 2005: 150.

12. Asklepios of Epidauros and Demeter and Kore of Eleusis

Olympia and Delphi were the most significant Panhellenic sanctuaries, but, as already hinted, there were others besides these which functioned in more or less the same way, such as for example the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros in the Peloponnese and that of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis near Athens.²⁴⁵ At Eleusis, any Greek,²⁴⁶ in fact, anyone in command of the Greek language,²⁴⁷ that is: Greek-speakers and not only ethnic Greeks, could be initiated into the great mysteries, which promised a blessed existence in the afterlife. The sanctuary attracted people from most areas of the Greek world and gradually developed into one of the most important Greek religious institutions at all.²⁴⁸ In the late-classical and Hellenistic periods Asklepios developed into the chief medical god of the Greek world.²⁴⁹ Originally, it seems, he was a minor figure,²⁵⁰ but during the fifth century he developed into a major god who was worshipped in much the same way as the traditional Olympian gods.²⁵¹ This development seems to have taken off primarily at Epidauros, and his sanctuary there developed into a minor Panhellenic sanctuary to which sick people travelled from afar to be cured by the gentle god. The famous fourth-century ‘miracle inscriptions’²⁵² recovered at the sanctuary document that afflicted individuals from the following areas and cities were treated by the god:²⁵³ Epeiros; Thebes in Boiotia; Pellene in Achaia; Kaphyiai in Arkadia; Messene in Messenia; Sparta in Lakeldaimon; Argos,

245 On the Panhellenic aspects of the sanctuary at Eleusis, see Clinton 1994.

246 Cf. Hdt. 8.65.4: ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται.

247 Theon Smyrnaeus, *De utilitate mathematicae* 14.23 (εἶργεσθαι ... τοὺς φωνὴν ἀξύνετον ἔχοντας); Origenes, *Contra Celsum* 3.39 (φωνὴν συνετός); Libanios, *Decl.* 13.1.19 (τὴν φωνὴν Ἑλλήνας εἶναι); cf. Burkert 1985: 286; Anson 2009: 22; Bowden 2010: 52.

248 Burkert 1985: 285.

249 Burkert 1985: 267.

250 Garland 1992: 116-17; Zaidman & Pantel 1992: 86, 128-29; Parker 1996: 183, 2000a: 73; Bremmer 2006: 60; Kearns 2015: 34; Whitmarsh 2015: 46.

251 Garland 1992: 117; Zaidman & Pantel 1992: 129; Price 1999: 109.

252 On which see LiDonnici 1995.

253 Asklepios is consistently described as ὁ θεός in these inscriptions.

Halieis, Hermion and Troizen in the Argolid; Aigina; Athens; Pherai in Thessaly; Keos and Thasos in the Aegean; Kyrrhos in Macedonia; Torone on the Chalkidike; Herakleia on the Black Sea; Kios and Lampsakos in the Propontic area; Mytilene on Lesbos; Chios in Ionia; Knidos in Karia; and Crete. A number of such medical sanctuaries developed during the fourth century, for instance at Oropos on the border between Attica and Boiotia. A Judean is known to have consulted this sanctuary in the early Hellenistic period,²⁵⁴ and such sanctuaries, then, were not the exclusive preserves of Greeks, though they were probably everywhere in the majority.

13. Import of cults from other Greek poleis

There were, in conclusion, religious institutions which cut across city-state boundaries, even important institutions. But to a Greek, the most important religious institutions must undoubtedly have been those of his or her²⁵⁵ own *polis*. As pointed out above, each *polis* had a pantheon unique to itself and not identical to that of any other *polis* (section 5). This is an essential observation, but it is equally important to note that *polis*-pantheons were not static but rather dynamic entities. As already pointed out, Greek *poleis* often did not refrain from introducing non-Greek cults into their pantheons (section 8): A *polis*-pantheon, then, was not sealed but open-ended. This open-endedness meant, as clarified above, that Greek *poleis* imported cults from non-Greek peoples, but *poleis* also took over cults from other Greek *poleis*. The cult of Asklepios, as it developed at Epidauros during the fifth century, was imported, already in the fifth century, on Aigina,²⁵⁶ at Athens,²⁵⁷ at Corinth,²⁵⁸ at Sikyon²⁵⁹

254 I.Oropos 329.11 (300-250 BCE): Μόσχος Μοσχίωνος Ἰουδαῖος ἐνύπνιον ἰδὼν προστάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ κτλ. On this inscription, see Lewis 1957.

255 In the *polis* as a religious community women were *included* as opposed to *excluded* as they were in the *polis* as a political community (Hansen 2008: 9; Nielsen 2015: 30-31).

256 Polinskaya 2013: 263-64.

257 SEG 25.226; Garland 1992: 116-35; Wickkiser 2009; Anderson 2015: 313-15.

258 Lang 1977: 4; Garland 1992: 123.

259 Garland 1992: 121.

and at Halieis in the southern Argolid in the fourth century.²⁶⁰ These are all *poleis* situated rather close to Epidauros, but before the end of Antiquity the cult of Asklepios was to be found *at more than 320*²⁶¹ locations throughout the Greek world, and had developed into one of the most popular cults at all. So popular did the cult of Asklepios eventually become that it posed “the most serious challenge to Christianity. It is perhaps for this same reason that the early Christians were so ruthlessly efficient in destroying his sanctuaries.”²⁶² Elements of the Eleusinian cult, too, were exported, though not as widely as the cult of Asklepios, it seems: its influence, however, can be found in at least 25 different locations outside of Attica.²⁶³

The evidence for the importation of cults from other Greek *poleis* is richest for Athens, which is hardly surprising. In the late-archaic to classical period, Athens imported at least the following divinities from other Greek *poleis*: Aiakos was imported from Aigina;²⁶⁴ Athena Itonia from Thessaly;²⁶⁵ Dionysos Eleuthereus from Eleutherai in Boiotia;²⁶⁶ Maleatas from Epidauros, just like Asklepios;²⁶⁷ Pan was imported from Arkadia;²⁶⁸

260 IG IV².1 122.69-82; cf. Ducrey et al. 2004: 108 for a late fifth-century cult at Eretria on Euboia and IG IV⁴ 950.77-82 for a fourth-century cult at Sparta.

261 I take this number from Garland 1992: 122 n. 2. The *CPC Inv.* notes cults of Asklepios in the following 53 *poleis* and they are all rather early, though this cannot be a complete list of early cults, selective as the *CPC Inv.* is on religious matters: *In Spain*: Emporion; *on Sicily*: Akragas; *in the Adriatic*: Epidamnus; *in Akarnania*: Medion; *in Elis*: Kyllene; *in Arkadia*: Alipheira, Gortys, Pheneos, Thelphousa; *in Messenia*: Korone, Messene; *in Lakadaimon*: Etis, Eua, Las, Pellana, Prasiai; *in the Argolid*: Halieis, Troizen; *in the Saronic Gulf*: Kalaureia; *on Euboia*: Eretria, Styra; *in Thessaly with adjacent areas*: Kierion, Krannon, Larisa, Skotoussa, Trikkha, Hypata, Herakleia, Melitaia, Azoros, Gonnos, Oloosson; *in the Aegean*: Anaphe, Chalke, Therma, Kos, Astypalaia, Kos Meropis, Melos, Paros, Peparethos; *in Macedonia*: Beroia, Dion, Mieza, Pella; *in Bisaltia*: Amphipolis; *in Thrace*: Ainos; *on Lesbos*: Mytilene; *in Aiolis*: Autokane; *in Ionia*: Erythrai; *on Crete*: Arkades, Lebena, Lisos.

262 Garland 1992: 134.

263 I take this number from Bowden 2007: table 1 on pp. 73-74.

264 Hdt. 5.89.3; Parker 1996: 157.

265 Parker 1996: 157.

266 Connor 1990: 9; Garland 1992: 42; Blok 2000: 20; Raaflaub 2000: 256.

267 Parker 1996: 182.

268 Garland 1992: 47-63; Parker 1996: 163-68; Anderson 2015: 312-13. On Pan in Attica, see also Krasilnikoff 2008 and 2016: 9-11.

Poseidon Kalaureiates from Kalaureia;²⁶⁹ Zeus Kenaïos from Euboeia;²⁷⁰ and Zeus Nemeos was almost certainly imported from Kleonai.²⁷¹ But other Greek *poleis* presumably acted in much the same way: Aiginetan Aphaia seems not to have been adopted outside Aigina, but Thessalian Ennodia found her way to Syracuse on Sicily;²⁷² Sikyon,²⁷³ Argos,²⁷⁴ Epidaurous;²⁷⁵ and Kleonai²⁷⁶ in the Peloponnese; Histiaia on Euboea;²⁷⁷ Opous in Eastern Lokris;²⁷⁸ Beroia²⁷⁹ and Pella in Macedonia;²⁸⁰ Rhodes;²⁸¹ and Egypt.²⁸²

A particularly graphic example is provided by Arkadian Pan.²⁸³ He was not only introduced to Athens but seems to have become widely known throughout the Greek world already in the fifth century. Thus, when discussing the Egyptian divinity Mendes, whom he identifies with Pan, Herodotos states that Egyptian painters and sculptors represent him “just as the Greeks do, with the face and legs of a goat”,²⁸⁴ and thus clearly presupposes knowledge of the god’s peculiar appearance among his intended audience, hardly Arkadians all of them.²⁸⁵ Knowledge of the god’s physiognomy and appearance is also presupposed by his reasonably frequent depictions on coins of various city-states in the fifth and fourth centuries. In the fifth century, Pan appears on coins from Messana on

269 Parker 1996: 28; Anderson 2015: 311.

270 IG I³ 383.131; Parker 1996: 157; Anderson 2015: 311, 316.

271 SEG 52.48 face A fr. 2.10; Lambert 2002: 373.

272 Mili 2015: 147 n. 287.

273 Paus. 2.10.7, 23.5; cf. Graninger 2009: 116; Mili 2015: 147 n. 287.

274 Paus. 2.23.5; cf. Graninger 2009: 116; Mili 2015: 147 n. 287.

275 IG IV².1 273; cf. Mili 2015: 147 n. 287.

276 Mili 2015: 147 n. 287.

277 IG XII.9 1193.

278 IG IX.1 281.

279 EKM 1. *Beroia* 23.

280 SEG 30.579.

281 IG XII.1 914.

282 OGIS 53.

283 On Pan as a distinctive Arkadian god, see Nielsen 1999: 39–40.

284 Translation by de Sélincourt; cf. Hdt. 2.46.2: γράφουσί τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῷγαλμα κατὰ περ Ἑλληνες αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα.

285 For Pan in classical art, see Brommer 1949–1950 and Boardman, *Pan*.

Sicily;²⁸⁶ Abdera²⁸⁷ and Ainos in Thrace;²⁸⁸ Phokaia in Ionia;²⁸⁹ and Idyma in Karia;²⁹⁰ in the fourth century, he appears on coins from Syracuse on Sicily;²⁹¹ Medma,²⁹² Metapontion²⁹³ and Pandosia in South Italy;²⁹⁴ Anaktorion in Akarnania;²⁹⁵ Pantikapaion (if this is really Pan²⁹⁶) on the Black Sea;²⁹⁷ Phokaia in Ionia;²⁹⁸ and Nagidos in Kilikia.²⁹⁹ In some cases, such as Pandosia, the choice of Pan may simply be a pun on the name of the city, but even this presupposes awareness of his characteristics. In other cases, his appearance on coins may be a reflection of a local cult, though this cannot always be verified by other evidence. But classical cults outside Arkadia and Athens are attested at *e.g.* Gela on Sicily;³⁰⁰ Anthedon³⁰¹ and Thebes in Boiotia;³⁰² at Megara;³⁰³ Elis;³⁰⁴ Pharai in Messenia;³⁰⁵ at Sparta;³⁰⁶ Epidauros;³⁰⁷ Chalkis on Euboea;³⁰⁸ Pharsalos³⁰⁹ and Skotoussa

286 RE Suppl. VIII: 966; Boardman, *Pan* no. 269.

287 RE Suppl. VIII: 967; Boardman, *Pan* IX.A (cf. no. 53).

288 RE Suppl. VIII: 966; Boardman, *Pan* no. 270.

289 RE Suppl. VIII: 967; Boardman, *Pan* IX.A.

290 RE Suppl. VIII: 967; *CPC Inv.* no. 893; Boardman, *Pan* IX.A.

291 RE Suppl. VIII: 978; Boardman, *Pan* IX.B.

292 *CPC Inv.* no. 60; Rutter, *HN Italy* no. 2426.

293 RE Suppl. VIII: 978; Boardman, *Pan* IX.B.

294 RE Suppl. VIII: 977-8; *CPC Inv.* no. 64; Rutter, *HN Italy* nos. 2450-52; Boardman, *Pan* IX.B and no. 271.

295 RE Suppl. VIII: 978; Boardman, *Pan* IX.B.

296 See Boardman, *Pan* no. 272.

297 *CPC Inv.* no. 705; Boardman, *Pan* no. 272.

298 RE Suppl. VIII: 978; Boardman, *Pan* IX.B.

299 *CPC Inv.* no. 1010.

300 RE Suppl. VIII: 998.

301 Schachter 1986: 194.

302 Schachter 1986: 91; *CPC Inv.* no. 221.

303 RE Suppl. VIII: 955; Borgeaud 1988: 232 n. 46.

304 SEG 11.1236.

305 *CPC Inv.* no. 320.

306 RE Suppl. VIII: 995.

307 SEG 55.429; SEG 58.338.

308 RE Suppl. VIII: 996.

309 SEG 46.655; *CPC Inv.* no. 413.

in Thessaly;³¹⁰ on the islands of Andros³¹¹ and Thasos;³¹² at Beroia,³¹³ Pella³¹⁴ and Pydna in Macedonia;³¹⁵ at Ainos in Thrace;³¹⁶ at Kyzikos on the Propontis;³¹⁷ at Ephesos³¹⁸ and Miletos in Ionia;³¹⁹ at Knidos in Karia;³²⁰ and at Hyrtakina on Crete.³²¹ Pan's cult, then, is a paradigmatic example of the ease with which Greek *poleis* took over cults from other *poleis*, and Greek *poleis* had clearly no problems with adopting cults from other Greeks.

14. Foreigners at polis-festivals

This receptive attitude towards other Greeks is visible in other interesting ways as well. Thus, Greek *poleis* regularly allowed citizens of other *poleis* to be present at and participate in their religious festivals, as is evident at the great festivals of Panhellenic stature. It is, admittedly, correct that Greek *poleis* sometimes excluded specific groups from participation in their cults. Thus, according to Herodotos (8.134.2), Thebans were excluded from the oracle of Amphiaraos at Oropos.³²² Occasionally, foreigners as such were excluded from certain rituals and cults, but as pointed out by Funke (2006: 4), this is in fact quite rare and not at all the

310 CPC Inv. no. 415.

311 RE Suppl. VIII: 997.

312 CPC Inv. no. 526.

313 CPC Inv. no. 533.

314 CPC Inv. no. 543.

315 SEG 50.622.

316 RE Suppl. VIII: 997; CPC Inv. no. 641.

317 RE Suppl. VIII: 999; CPC Inv. no. 747.

318 RE Suppl. VIII: 999.

319 RE Suppl. VIII: 999.

320 RE Suppl. VIII: 999.

321 CPC Inv. no. 963.

322 Cf. Funke 2006: 2.

general rule.³²³ It may be correct that ‘full participation’ in cult and rituals was generally restricted to citizens,³²⁴ but this cannot possibly have meant that foreigners could not be present at, *e.g.*, festivals and, in particular, the associated *agones*: this would have made *e.g.* the frequent granting of *proedria* to foreigners an absurd gesture. Such grants must be interpreted as an indication that the issuing *poleis* regularly expected foreign attendants at their festivals: *proedria* was an honorary front seat at public spectacles and the expectation must have been that the honorand would make use of this privilege, *i.e.* that he would actually attend the festivals into which the spectacles were incorporated. Grants of *proedria* were not at all unusual, and I give merely a few examples: Epi-*dauros* in the Argolid is known to have granted προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς δαμο[σ]ίοις to a citizen of Lampsakos;³²⁵ Eretria on Euboea is known to have granted προεδρίῃ ἐς τὸς ἀγῶνας to a citizen of Taras;³²⁶ Olbia on the Black Sea is known to have granted προ[ε]δρία to a citizen of Istros³²⁷ and to all citizens of Miletos;³²⁸ Erythrai in Ionia is known to have granted *proedria* to a citizen of Athens³²⁹ and προεδρίῃ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν (SEG 31.969 (351-344 BCE)) to a citizen of Mylasa; and Iasos in Karia is known to have granted a citizen of Knidos³³⁰ and a citizen of Chalketor³³¹ *proedria* already in the fifth century; in the fourth century Iasos granted *proedria en tois*

323 See also Parker 2011: 240 and Nevin 2017: 10-11.

324 Rutherford 2013: 201; Funke 2006: 4-5. Thus, it was presumably only citizens of the host-*polis* who were entitled to a portion of the sacrificial meat at festivals (Shear 2021: 19, 86-87, 92-93); from Syll.³ 286 (350-315 BCE) it appears that citizens of Miletos by decree at Olbia had obtained the right to “sacrifice at the same altars and participate in the same public rituals on the same conditions as citizens of Olbia” (2-6, my translation: the redundancy is original); presumably such activities were not open to foreigners *without permission* but such permission could, in fact, be granted.

325 IG IV².1 51 (fourth century).

326 Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 82 (411 BCE).

327 Dubois, *Olbia du Pont* no. 19 (fourth century).

328 Syll.³ 286 (350-315 BCE).

329 Syll.³ 126 (early-fourth century).

330 SEG 6.982C (500-450 BCE).

331 SEG 36.982A (fifth century).

agosin to a Macedonian³³² and to a citizen of Meliboia.³³³ The presence of foreigners at festivals may have been subject to other *rules* than those governing the participation of citizens,³³⁴ but their presence was clearly anticipated.

Moreover, foreigners demonstrably participated in the various *agones* which were a standard feature of Greek religious festivals: Most festivals comprised competitions of various kinds, in the recitation of epic poetry, in the performance of drama, or, most common of all, in competitive sports.³³⁵ Athletic competitions were staged at both Eleusis and Epidauros, and at both sanctuaries foreign athletes are well-attested: Athletes from Corinth,³³⁶ Thebes³³⁷ and Opous in Eastern Lokris³³⁸ entered the *Eleusinia*,³³⁹ and athletes from Corinth,³⁴⁰ Argos,³⁴¹ Aigina³⁴² and Ialysos on Rhodos³⁴³ entered the *Asklapieia*.³⁴⁴ This festival also comprised rhapsodic competitions, and Ion of Ephesos was victorious at one point.³⁴⁵ The tragic competitions at the Athenian *Dionysia* were entered by poets from Tegea in Arkadia, Sikyon and Phleious in the northern Peloponnese, Eretria on Euboia and Chios in Ionia.³⁴⁶ Obviously, non-citizens could enter the *agones* at the religious festivals of Greek *poleis*.

Moreover, Greek *poleis* did not simply expect and accept the presence and participation of foreigners at their festivals, they actively *encouraged*

332 *Ilias* 60 (late fourth century).

333 *Ilias* 54 (late fourth century).

334 Funke 2006: 5; Nevin 2017: 11.

335 Chaniotis 2011: 21-22; Nielsen 2018: 11-167.

336 Pind. *Ol.* 13.110.

337 Pind. *Isthm.* 1.57.

338 Pind. *Ol.* 9.99.

339 On the *Eleusinia*, see Deubner 1956: 91-92; Kyle 1993: 47; Parker 2005: 468-69; Simms 1975; Clinton 1979.

340 *Anth. Pal.* 13.19.9.

341 SEG 35.267 (fourth century).

342 Pind. *Nem.* 5.50-52.

343 *Syll.*³ 82 (420s BCE).

344 On the *Asklapieia*, see Ringwood 1927: 70-71; Sève 1993; Miller 2004: 129-32. – On foreign entrants at athletic festivals, see Nielsen 2014b.

345 Pl. *Io* 530ab.

346 See Cropp 2005.

and *invited* foreigners to participate. They did so for instance by awarding valuable prizes for victories in *agones*³⁴⁷ and, more importantly, they did so by sending out sacred embassies, styled *theoroi* or *spondophoroi*,³⁴⁸ who travelled the Greek world and invited both individuals and public delegations to participate in their festivals.³⁴⁹ Organizers of major festivals such as Corinth³⁵⁰ and Elis³⁵¹ developed such epangelic systems, and so did Athens and Epidauros. Athens announced both the Eleusinian Mysteries,³⁵² the *Eleusinia*³⁵³ and the *Panathenaia*³⁵⁴ throughout the Greek world, and Epidauros announced the *Asklapieia* in the same way.³⁵⁵ Even tiny *poleis* developed epangelic networks to announce their festivals. Thus, at Arkadian Lousoi was celebrated a festival in honour of Artemis Hemera, and at Hermion in the Argolid one for Demeter Chthonia. In an intra-Greek context these were probably rather insignificant festivals, but to Lousoi and Hermion they were important enough to prompt the development of epangelic systems³⁵⁶ in emulation of the systems operated by such major *poleis* as Elis and Athens: Lousoi and Hermion, too, attempted to attract foreigners to their festivals. Intra-Greek religious interaction, in conclusion, was characterized not by violent conflicts but by lively interest and peaceful coexistence.

15. Summing up

To sum up: Each of the more than 1,000 *poleis* which existed already in the classical period had a pantheon, a system of cults, of its own, and though all these pantheons resembled each other, no two were identical,

347 Miller 2004: 133-37; Kyle 2014: 31-32; Larson 2016: 143.

348 Perlman 2000: 15 n. 11.

349 Rutherford 2013: 71-92; Nielsen 2023: 76-77.

350 Thuc. 8.10.1.

351 Perlman 2000: 63-66; Nielsen 2007: 38-39, 62-68.

352 *IG I³ 6.B*, 17-27, 36-47; Rhodes & Osborne, *GHI* no. 35; cf. Price 1999: 26, 103; Perlman 2000: 34; Parker 2005: 201; Rutherford 2013: 42.

353 Parker 2005: 201.

354 Parker 2005: 88, 201

355 Perlman 2000: 67-97; Nielsen 2007: 63-68.

356 Lousoi: Perlman 2000: 158-60; Hermion: Perlman 2000: 161-66.

and it may reasonably be said that religious fragmentation and diversity was a basic characteristic of Greek polytheistic religion. To any Greek *polis*, the most important part of the neighbouring world was all the other Greek *poleis*, but in the wider Mediterranean, Greeks came into contact with a large number of foreign peoples such as the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Lydians, Persians, Etruscans and Romans. None of these peoples had a religion completely identical to that of the Greeks, but they all had one which resembled Greek religion in a number of crucial respects: They were all polytheists, they all had anthropomorphic conceptions of divinity and they all celebrated great festivals³⁵⁷ with animal sacrifice as a central ritual. From the point of view of a Greek *polis*, accordingly, there were only minor differences between its own religion and the religions of the neighbours, be they Greek or non-Greek: they were all polytheists partying on sacrificial meat at enjoyable festivals.

What characterized Greek religious relations with their neighbours was not conflict, but rather receptiveness, interest and interaction. Greek *poleis* imported cults from each other, but they also imported cults from non-Greek peoples and some of these cults rose to become quite popular. Greek *poleis* shared a number of sanctuaries which cut across city-state boundaries, Delphi being the most prominent example, but these were also frequented by non-Greeks such as Lydians, Etruscans, Romans and Judeans. And Greeks frequented sanctuaries abroad, in Etruria, for instance, but perhaps predictably, the most lively religious interaction was with other Greeks. The religious festivals of the Greek *poleis* commonly allowed citizens of other *poleis* to take part in the celebrations, and *poleis* actively encouraged and invited other Greeks to participate. As for religion, the normal relations of a Greek *polis* with the neighbouring world consisted in, to put it in admittedly modern and anachronistic terms, tolerant and peaceful co-existence, receptiveness, interest and interaction. We know of only few serious conflicts triggered by religious clashes, and in those few that we do know polytheistic Greeks faced monotheists, creatures from another planet, as they must have seemed. Competition and conflict were among the chief social principles of Greek culture, to the extent that war, not peace, was the normal state of affairs for

357 See Burkert 2013.

most *poleis* most of the time.³⁵⁸ But conflicts and wars were hardly ever triggered by *religious* differences: as Whitmarsh (2015: 26) says, “no one ever fought a war in the name of Zeus.”

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