

Klaus Freitag and Matthias Haake (eds.), *Griechische Heiligtümer als Handlungsorte. Zur Multifunktionalität supralokaler Heiligtümer von der frühen Archaik bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019. 330pp. EUR 59.00.

Ancient Greek sanctuaries have been the topic of diverse studies since the beginning of classical scholarship, and for several decades the political, social, economic and cultural importance of supra-local sanctuaries has been the focus of varied research. One such example is a conference volume edited by Peter Funke, Klaus Freitag and Matthias Haake in 2006.¹ So, it was a fitting, perhaps even obvious choice to hold a conference in 2015 in honor of Peter Funke for his 65th birthday on a similar topic. The volume to be reviewed here is a product of that conference. It consists of fifteen papers by various scholars, with concluding remarks by Robert Parker (pp. 323–330). Regrettably, there is no introduction that would connect the contributions, just a short foreword. However, the first paper by Matthias Haake (pp. 1–30) gives a concise summary of the main topic of the volume: what people did at supra-local Greek sanctuaries. Haake also gives a helpful review of the scholarship.

The following six papers deal with questions of communication in and through supra-local sanctuaries—including communications with the gods, with other individuals and communities, as well as within communities. Christoph Ulf (pp. 31–56) deals ostensibly with the old topic of the influence of (supra-local) sanctuaries on the genesis of the Greek *polis*. Ulf argues, however, for a more complex dynamic in which ethnic and *polis* identity influenced the development of truly supra-local sanctuaries (like at Olympia, Nemea, Isthmia and Delphi) and vice-versa. Ioanna Patera (pp. 57–74) discusses transformations in the sacrificial practices at supra-local Greek sanctuaries from the sixth to the third century BCE and especially the significance of these developments in the shaping of a common identity for developing federal states. In his paper, Fritz Graf (pp. 75–86) gives some insight into “lead invocations in Greek sanctuaries” mainly from the 2nd and 1st century BCE. Interestingly, nearly all these lead tablets are from local rather than supra-local sanctuaries and shrines. Graf convincingly suggests that since all the invocations concerned quite personal matters, the authors of the invocations – often women – chose sanctuaries that were geographically and personally closer to them. Klaus Freitag (pp. 87–120) considers to what extent Greek sanctuaries from the late Classical to the Hellenistic period became centers of education and knowledge transfers. Marie-Kathrin Drauschke (pp. 121–136) investigates the practice of setting up ‘international’ treaties in inscriptions at ‘neutral’ locations – often Panhellenic or at least supra-local sanctuaries – to which all parties involved nevertheless had to have religious or political connections. Angelos Chaniotis (pp. 137–154) reminds us that sanctuaries were not only places of communication between men and gods, but also

¹ Cf. K. Freitag et al. (ed.) *Kult - Politik - Ethnos. Überregionale Heiligtümer im Spannungsfeld von Kult und Politik. Kolloquium, Münster, 23.-24. November 2001*, Stuttgart 2006.

between the worshippers among themselves. He focuses on the utilization of emotions in the communication strategies of Roman functionaries from Flamininus to Nero towards the Greek communities.

Kai Trampedach's paper (pp. 155–173) is the first in a group of articles concerning the most prominent supra-local sanctuaries. Trampedach shows that the Oracle of Delphi was not a center of Panhellenic propaganda, and its priesthood did not in any way try to control political events through manipulated prophesies. Rather, they tried to stay neutral and to secure the sanctuaries position in the changing political landscape from the 5th to the 3rd century BCE. Clarisse Prêtre (pp. 175–185) turns to the sanctuary of Asclepius in Epidaurus, especially to the epigraphic habit at the sanctuary in the 4th and 3rd century BCE. The following three contributions deal with Olympia. Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge (pp. 187–205) looks at the formation of the sanctuary and the games at Olympia in the 6th century, their development down to the mid-fifth century, and the role played in this process by the community of the Eleans. Tonio Hölscher (pp. 207–225) investigates the way the statues were placed inside the Hera-sanctuary at Olympia, according to Pausanias. He draws the conclusion that the Heraion at Olympia was in fact used for local festivals and games and that girls and women were included prominently in this local cult activities. Sebastian Scharff (pp. 227–249) rounds out the triad of papers on Olympia, showing that despite the unstable political situation in the first century BCE the games at Olympia had not lost their appeal to the Panhellenic community of athletes.

The last three papers deal with legal and economic aspects of supra-local sanctuaries. Alain Bresson (pp. 251–277) looks at the western Greek sanctuaries as arenas for fairs and slave markets as well as for the manumission of slaves. Andrew Lepke's (pp. 279–301) epigraphic analysis of supra-local sanctuaries in the 2nd century BCE, especially Delphi, also considers manumission, particularly by slave-holders who are not members of the sanctuaries political communities. And finally Katharina Knäpper (pp. 303–321) examines the aspirations of Greek communities in western Asia Minor in the 3rd and 2nd century BCE to attain territorial *ἀσυλία* for their locale sanctuaries by ascribing to them a supra-local importance.

It is, of course, the nature of edited volumes such as the one under review here, that the contributions vary in topic and coverage. Nevertheless, all of the chapters in this volume treat important questions about the political, social, economic and cultural as well as religious significance of Greek sanctuaries with an actual or perceived supra-local importance. Thus, anyone with scholarly interest in the subject should find the volume a useful and important contribution.

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