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arena huntsmen honoured the cults of Nemesis, Ares, and Nike.¹⁰⁸ The cult of the dead was also a focus for groups who had accepted the idea of an afterlife.¹⁰⁹

This multi-cultural city was chosen by the apostle Paul as the first stop on his journey to Europe in 49 AD. Sailing from the Troad via Samothrace he put ashore at Neapolis, the port for Philippi and, with his companions, took the Via Egnatia to Philippi itself. There he founded the first Christian church in Europe.¹¹⁰ Paul had particularly close links with the Church at Philippi, as can be deduced from the expressions of love in his letter to the Philippians, and from two other later visits he made to the city. However, we have very little information about the life of the Apostolic church here in the first centuries of the Christian era.¹¹¹ With the foundation of Constantinople as a capital of the eastern Roman Empire and the change of religion, Philippi rejected paganism and became a centre of Christian worship. The first small Christian church, dedicated to St. Paul ("Basilica of Paul"), was built beside the pagan heroon of Euephenes. It was later replaced by the monumental octagonal church.

¹⁰⁸ F. Chapoutier, "Némésis et Nike," *BCH* 48 (1924), 287–303; F. Chapoutier, "Un troisième bas relief du théâtre de Philippi," *BCH* 49 (1925), 239–244.

¹⁰⁹ P. Collart, "Ἱερακαδόουσις μοι πόδις," *BCH* 55 (1931), 61–64; Collart, *Philippi*, pp. 476–485.

¹¹⁰ Ch. Bakirtzis and K. Koester, eds., *Philippi at the Time of Paul and After His Death* (Harrisburg, 1998).

¹¹¹ P. Pilhofer, *Philippi I, Die erste Christliche Gemeinde Europas*, (WUNT) 87 (Tübingen, 1995); E. Verhoef, "The Church of Philippi in the First Six Centuries of our Era," *HTS* 61 (2005), 565–592.

CHAPTER 21

TRADITIONAL CULTS AND BELIEFS

M. Mari

Ancient Greek religion is most easily studied in a *polis*, or a small regional area.¹ A wide region is more difficult to investigate, especially when its political definition (like *Makedonia*) refers to a geographical area which changed significantly over time. The scope of *Makedonia* changed greatly between the Archaic, Hellenistic and Roman periods, and within it differing degrees of urban development differentiated the "micro-regions" of Macedonia from one another.² The dialectic between *polis* and *chora* developed very differently in each of these "micro-regions," further complicating attempts at a general study of the entire region's cults and religious traditions. There can be no sufficiently documented study of the characteristics and functions of each god, the use of divine epithets, or even the composition—if not the very existence—of a "Macedonian" *pantheon*. However, some significant features of the religious life of pre-Roman Macedonia can be picked out, highlighting some constants among so many local peculiarities.

Literary sources on religion either preserve data which struck the Greeks for their strongly "local" flavour (Macedonian epithets, names of gods, festivals, or unparalleled religious usages), or which deal with single events which stand out in a "grand narrative" (mainly from Philip II's reign onwards). Luckily, archaeological and epigraphic discoveries have enormously enriched our knowledge of the region's cults, sanctuaries, and religious traditions, although most of the data currently available to us is not any earlier than the Hellenistic period. Thanks to this new material and epigraphic evidence, we can today safely maintain that sanctuaries of the Olympic gods did already exist in Macedonia in the late Archaic Age and that in the same period some Macedonians were already active

¹ On the general problem see Madeleine Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris, 1985), p. 545; Robert Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 3–4.

² Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, 1 (Athens-Paris, 1996), pp. 49–123.

in Panhellenic sanctuaries outside Macedon. Macedonian religion and culture were not, therefore, progressively "hellenized" only by the kings from the late fifth or the fourth century BC onwards.³ Even the most seemingly "exotic" characteristic of the religious landscape of ancient Macedonia (the far from "monumental" appearance of most sanctuaries revealed by the archaeological research) is not unparalleled in the Greek world. It is at least partly due to the frequent employment of perishable building material and to the uninterrupted occupation of so many sites in later periods.⁴

Epigraphic material provides us with more specific, first-rate information on royal interventions in the management of cult centres and "pan-Macedonian" festivals, on the sanctuaries' administration, and on relationships with civic authorities, on private cults, and on the diffusion of individual cults in different areas. Sometimes, an inscription even confirms a later literary source (which had been previously dismissed as unreliable). Illuminating examples are the healing cult of Darron (now

³ For a general picture on Macedonian religion, largely based upon literary sources and coins and now out of date, see Werner Baerge, *De Macedonum sacris* (Halle, 1913). Pella provides a good example of the deep changes in our knowledge of a Macedonian city's pantheon: cf. Despoina Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou, Πέλλα, 1, *Ιστορική επισκόπηση και μαρτυρίες* (Athens, 1971), p. 37, with Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati, "Τερά της Πέλλας," in Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη, Πόλις και χώρα στην αρχαία Μακεδονία και Θράκη (Thessaloniki, 1990), pp. 195–203, and Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati et al., Πέλλα και η περιοχή της. Pella and its environs (Athens, 2004), pp. 53–64 and pp. 139–44. On the excavations at Dion see Dimitrios Pandermalis, *Dion. The Archaeological Site and the Museum* (Athens, 1997); id., *Διον. Η ανακάλυψη* (Athens, 1999), and the annual reports in *Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη* (Thessaloniki, from 1989 onwards; below quoted as *AErgMak*); more particularly, on the late Archaic sanctuaries of Demeter, the most ancient cult buildings known so far in Macedonian "Old Kingdom," see the reports by Semeli Pingiatoglou in *AErgMak* 4 (1990), 205–15; *AErgMak* 5 (1991), 145–56; *AErgMak* 6 (1992), 223–33; *AErgMak* 10 (1996), 225–32; *AErgMak* 15 (2001), 355–62; *AErgMak* 17 (2003), 425–32; *AErgMak*. Επετειακός τόμος (Thessaloniki, 2009), 285–94; ead., "Η λατρεία της θεάς Δήμητρας στην αρχαία Μακεδονία," in *Ancient Macedonia* 6 (Thessaloniki, 1999), pp. 91–9. On the archaeological evidence from Dion and Vergina on the pre-Hellenistic "Greekness" of the Macedonian religion see Chrysoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, "In the Shadow of History: The Emergence of Archaeology," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 94 (1999), 353–67 (esp. pp. 360–1). On the Macedonian activities in the Panhellenic sanctuaries see below. For a wide discussion of the representation of the Macedonian pantheon by many modern scholars as "Thracian" and non-Greek and of the related theories on its "hellenization," see Jean N. Kallérís, *Les anciens Macédoniens. Étude linguistique et historique*, 2 (Athens, 1954–76), pp. 532–72.

⁴ See Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos, "The Sanctuaries," and Lilly Kahil, "Iconography of Gods and Myths," in René Ginouvès and Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos, eds., *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton, 1994), respectively pp. 106–109 (at p. 106) and pp. 109–116 (at p. 110); Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, "In the Shadow," pp. 361–2; and the examples in Pinelopi Iliadou, *Herakles in Makedonien* (Hamburg, 1998), p. 111; Lilimbaki-Akamati et al., Πέλλα, p. 59 and p. 142.

epigraphically attested at Pella in the second century BC), the epithet of Dionysus *Pseudanor* (whose existence has been confirmed by dedications of the Roman period from Beroia), and that of Heracles *Aretos* (attested at Edessa). Even the cult paid to Heracles by the Macedonian kings as their "ancestor" (*Propator*), attested by Arrian, can be put into relationship with that of Heracles *Patroos*, well known now from the epigraphic sources and which was practised not only within the royal circle, but by all social classes.⁵

It is no accident that many of our bits of literary texts about Macedonian cults refer to social and political peculiarities of the region. Such sources seem to be particularly fascinated by the kingship or by the "homeric" aristocracy of the *Hetairoi*. Perhaps they considered these and other "oddities" of Macedonian society as examples of backwardness, or as relics of habits which once had been more widespread in the Greek world, or even as evidence of a "primitive" Greece. However, such opinions are more explicitly expressed by modern scholars than by ancient sources. Modern scholars have been tempted to establish a comparison between Macedonian and "homeric" kingship, inclining them to see in the Macedonian king the "High Priest" of the state, a role nowhere stated explicitly in our sources. Such functions were indeed exercised by the kings, but only under specific circumstances, as by the Spartan kings, in particular during war. The Macedonian kings presided over the solemn purification of the army during the festival of the *Xandikà*, and they offered sacrifices before battles and thank-offerings to celebrate victories. The deities known to have been honoured with dedications after successes in war are Zeus (whose special relationship with the Macedonian kings was partly due to their claimed Heraclid descent) and goddesses, such as Athena, Artemis *Tauropolos*, and Enodia.⁶

⁵ See, on Darron, Hesych., s.v. Darron; Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati, in *AErgMak* 5 (1991), 83–95; Lilimbaki-Akamati et al., Πέλλα, pp. 57, 59, pp. 61–2, and pp. 141–2; on Dionysus *Pseudanor*, Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.1; Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine* (Athens, 1994), pp. 65–79; on Heracles *Aretos*, Hesych., s.v. [Aretoi] (a passage whose text has often been considered uncertain); Baerge, *De Macedonum sacris*, pp. 185–6 and n. 190; Iliadou, *Herakles*, pp. 61, pp. 90–1, p. 109, and p. 212 no. 106; on Heracles *Propator*, Arr., *Anab.* 6.3.2; on Heracles *Patroos* at the royal palace of Aegae, see Iliadou, *Herakles*, p. 58, pp. 205–6 and no. 91; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, "In the Shadow," p. 354, n. 10; Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 2, no. 30. On the social features of the cults of Heracles *Patroos* and *Kynagidas* see Iliadou, *Herakles*, pp. 78–84, pp. 98–9, and pp. 110–1.

⁶ On Athena as a "war goddess" for the Macedonian kings, and on her epithet *Alkis* or *Alkidemos* in Livy 42.51.1–2, see Agnes Baldwin-Brett, "Athena ΑΑΚΙΑΗΜΟΣ of Pella," *Museum Notes* 4 (1950), 55–72; Emmanuel Voutiras, "Athéna dans les cités de Macédoine,"

The "national" sanctuary of Dion, in Pieria, where the "pan-Macedonian" festival of the *Olympia* was held, was consecrated to Zeus and to the Muses. According to our sources, the festival was founded (or rather perhaps reorganized) by King Archelaus (413–399 BC) as a *panegyris* similar to those celebrated in the main sanctuaries of southern Greece. It included athletic, theatrical and musical competitions. Its specific "Macedonian" character can be seen in the opportunity it gave to the king to meet periodically with the representatives of each element of state (nobles, army, cities, *ethnē*). The "national" meaning of the sanctuary at Dion has been confirmed by the epigraphic sources; the most important royal dedications after military successes were consecrated here, and the sanctuary also displayed copies of the most relevant public documents.⁷ Another festival, the *Hetairideia*, was also held in honour of Zeus (*Hetaireios*) by both the Macedonians and the Magnetes, two neighbouring peoples who were also linked by mythical genealogical ties.⁸ The *Hetairideia* were presumably meant to strengthen the ties of comradeship (*hetaireia*) between the Macedonian king and his "Companions" and to mark officially the admission of new members into a selected elite.

The interrelation between cults and social roles in Macedonia is also clear in other social contexts. M. B. Hatzopoulos has stressed the importance of "rites of passage" in a conservative society such as Macedonia. According to his interpretation of the epigraphic evidence, ritual actions marking the transition between the different ages of human life and the undertaking of social roles according to gender survived for a longer time (or were more effective) in Macedonia than in any other Greek region. Although the exact field of action of each deity in such a universe is not always clear, it seems that Artemis and Demeter presided over the rites involving women, Dionysus and Heracles over those reserved to men.⁹ The ritual aspects related to the service of the ephebes are particularly well known from such important documents as the gymnasiarchal law of Beroia (second century BC). Generally speaking, the Macedonian epe-

Kernos 11 (1998), 111–29 (at pp. 120–1). On royal dedications to Artemis *Tauropolos* and Epeidia see Emmanuel Voutiras, "Victa Macedonia. Remarques sur une dédicace d'Amphipolis," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 110 (1986), 347–355; Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 2, no. 29; *Anth. Pal.* 16.6.

⁷ Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos and Manuela Mari, "Dion et Dodone," in Pierre Cabanes and Jean-Luc Lamboley, eds., *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité*, 4 (Grenoble, 2004), pp. 505–13.

⁸ On the *Hetairideia* see Ath. 13.572 D (= Hegesand., *FHG* 4, p. 418, fr. 25); on Magnes and Macedon as sons of Zeus and Thyia see Hes. *Cat.*, fr. 7 Merkelbach-West.

⁹ Hatzopoulos, *Cultes*.

beia can be seen as a "civic" parallel to the educational system which was originally restricted to aristocratic youths and included the institution of the "royal pages" (*basilikoi paides*). The selection of those fit for the latter service and of those among them who were to become *Hetairoi* of the king was presumably marked, in its turn, by specific rites, of which, however, very little is known.¹⁰

Appropriate rites also accompanied the last "passage" of human life—that of death—and these are some of the best known features of Macedonian religious life. All we find in literary sources are a few narratives of royal funerals¹¹ and some "ethnographic" information on funerary ceremonies in the areas east of the river Axios, outside the primary core of Macedonia.¹² Our knowledge of the whole matter owes much, again, to the archaeological research. While the sensational discoveries at Vergina have reopened discussions on the royal funerary rites and their meaning, much new data on the funerary habits and on beliefs about death and afterlife at all social levels have been provided by the necropoleis of several Macedonian cities and by the monumental "Macedonian tombs" from within and outside the kingdom. Chthonic deities, such as Hades, or the couple Demeter-Persephone frequently appear on the painted walls of the tombs, and other archaeological data confirm that the cult which was paid to them was deeply rooted. If we include the evidence of the Roman period, including that from the innermost regions of Upper Macedonia, to the statistics, we should also rank Artemis and Heracles as particularly popular gods in the funerary field, and as able to fill very varied roles (Heracles, apparently, more in Macedonia than anywhere else in the Greek world). As usual, the local peculiarities can be impressive. The findings from the graves of Pella, for instance, reveal a fascinating sharing of roles and functions between Aphrodite and Persephone in funerary contexts. Another interesting source of information are the *epistomia*, the gold leaves put over a corpse's mouth, sometimes carrying brief dedications together with the deceased's name. Several *epistomia*, dating from the fourth century BC onwards, have been found in Macedonian sites and have revealed that

¹¹ Hatzopoulos, *Cultes*, pp. 87–111; Ivana Savalli-Lestrade, *Les philoi royaux dans l'Asie hellénistique* (Geneva-Paris, 1998), pp. 291–300. On the gymnasiarchal law from Beroia see Philippe Gauthier and Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos, *La loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia* (Athens, 1993).

¹² Manuela Mari, "The Ruler Cult in Macedonia," in Biagio Virgilio, ed., *Studi ellenistici*, 20 (Pisa-Rome, 2008), pp. 219–268 (at pp. 223–8).

¹³ Crestonia and Mygdonia: see Hdt. 5.5 and Ath. 8.334 E–F (= Hegesand., *FHG* 4, pp. 420–1, fr. 40; cf. Baegel, *De Macedonum sacris*, pp. 53–4, 145–6).

Macedonians of all social levels shared Orphic beliefs in the afterlife and related "initiator rites," in which the main role was played by Dionysus, while Persephone acted as an "intermediary" between the dead and the god.¹³

Returning to the subject of the kings, a relevant part of their "religious" role in Macedonian society can be seen in the cult which they sometimes received. It is uncertain whether they were regularly heroized after death, while it seems certain that neither the Temenids nor the Antigonids ever received a regular and "national" divine cult while still alive. In contrast with other Hellenistic kingdoms, there never were priests specifically devoted to a ruler cult in Macedonia, nor did the kings take cult epithets as a part of their official titulature. On the other hand, like other Hellenistic kings, they did occasionally receive (already *before* the Hellenistic period) divine honours in their lifetime from cities within the kingdom who were trying to obtain benefits from them or expressing gratitude for kind treatment. According to our available sources, such a form of ruler cult was exclusively practised in Macedonia by cities which either had not been part of the original kingdom (Amphipolis, Cassandrea) or had struggled for a long time to remain autonomous (Pydna).¹⁴

At a lower social level it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the religious landscape of each Macedonian city, that is, the location of the cults in either an urban space or its surrounding *chora*, the history of the local *pantheon* and the assignment of different "functions" among its gods. Archaeological exploration allows us, however, to draw wider conclusions at least about a few cities. The "holy city" of Dion provides a good example, as several important features of its *pantheon* are now well known. Here the cults of Artemis *Eileithyia* and of Aphrodite *Hypolympidia* progressively merged with that of Isis; the sanctuaries of Demeter and Asclepius were close neighbours linked to each other, and the latter cult enjoyed a long and steady success; in Roman times the cult of Athena, embodying the city's freedom, was possibly set against that of Zeus, who had been linked with royal power and the "national" meaning of the sanctuary.¹⁵ At Aegae-Vergina archaeological discoveries have revealed important features not only of Macedonian funerary beliefs, but also of

¹³ An updated picture of the funerary rites and beliefs in Macedonia and a large bibliography on the theme can be found in Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets, Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos, and Yvette Morizot, eds., *Rois, cités, nécropoles. Institutions, rites et monuments en Macédoine* (Athens, 2006).

¹⁴ Mari, "The Ruler Cult".

¹⁵ See above, note 3 for bibliography.

the cults of the city, whether practised by the kings in the palace itself (the already mentioned Heracles *Patroos*), or the "civic" ones for which the royal family showed a special interest (such as Eukleia), and, finally, those cults which were particularly important in popular devotion (the Mother of the Gods).¹⁶ Our knowledge of the cults of the "capital" Pella has also radically changed in recent years. Much information derives from the Hellenistic sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and of Aphrodite, which was located in the very city centre and was extremely popular, and from the *Thesmophorion*, which was more peripheral. The epigraphic evidence which confirms the existence of Darron suggests that at least at Pella this healing god coexisted with Asclepius for a long period.¹⁷ It is also possible to reconstruct the main features of the "sacred topography" of Beroia. Much is now known, mainly thanks to the inscriptions, of the two most important local cults, Heracles *Kynagidas* and Asclepius, and some phases of their history, and it is also possible to establish a relationship (probably not merely a topographical one) between the cult of Demeter and Kore-Persephone and that of Dionysus.¹⁸ As for cities which were not in the original core of Macedonia, a particularly interesting case is that of Amphipolis, which was for a few years in the fifth century BC an Athenian colony, then an autonomous *polis*, later a "Macedonian" city under Philip II and his successors, and after 168 BC the chief town of one of the Roman districts of Macedonia. Each phase of the city's history was marked by significant changes in its religious life. We are also able to reconstruct, at least partly, the inner hierarchy of its local *pantheon* and to catch the

¹⁶ See Manolis Andronikos, *Vergina. The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens, 1984); the reports by Stella Drougou in *AErgMak* 4 (1990), 5–20; *AErgMak* 5 (1991), 1–7; *AErgMak* 6 (1992), 45–9; *AErgMak* 7 (1993), 43–50; *AErgMak* 8 (1994), 103–7; *AErgMak* 10 (1996), 41–54; *AErgMak* 11 (1997), 115–20; the papers by Saatsoglou-Paliadeli quoted below in note 3; Iliadou, *Herakles*, p. 58 (see above, note 4); in this volume, the chapters by Angeliki Kottaridi and Chrysoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli.

¹⁷ See the studies quoted in notes 3 and 5 and Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati, *To ιερό της Μητέρας των Θεών και της Αφροδίτης στην Πέλλα* (Thessaloniki, 2000); in this volume, the chapter by Ioannis Akamatis.

¹⁸ See, along with the studies quoted below, note 23, J. M. R. Cormack, "Royal Letters in Beroia," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 40 (1939/40), 14–16; Victoria Allamani-Souri, "Ἀπόλλωνι, Ἀσκληπιῷ, Ὑγίειᾳ—επιγραφικὴ μαρτυρία γιὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖο τῆς Βέροιας," *AD* 1984 (1990), 206–31; Hatzopoulos, "The Sanctuaries," pp. 108–9 (see above, note 4); id., *Institutions*, 1, pp. 416–25 and pp. 440–1; id., *La Macédoine: géographie historique, langue, cultes et croyances, institutions* (Paris, 2006), pp. 56–7; Iliadou, *Herakles*, pp. 54–61 and pp. 189 ff (see above, note 4); Laurence Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia, cité de Macédoine. Étude de topographie antique* (Béroia, 1999), pp. 65–83; Jürgen W. Riethmüller, *Asklepios. Heiligtümer und Kulte*, 1 (Heidelberg, 2005), pp. 180–4.

open-minded attitude of the local community towards new and "foreign" cults.¹⁹

For a truly "national" dimension to Macedonian cults, we have to come back—inevitably—to the kings and the "pan-Macedonian" festivals. Many of the sacrifices and rites which were executed by Alexander during the Persian expedition have been interpreted by modern scholars as the "itinerant" version of festivals which were regularly celebrated by the *Makedones* at home. While it is difficult to identify such festivals and their names, J. N. Kallérís pointed to a suggestive correspondence between the names of the months of the Macedonian calendar and those of "national" festivals. The couples *Xandikà* / *Xandikos* and *Daisia* / *Daisios* definitely refer to *exclusively* Macedonian festivals and month-names.²⁰ During the *Xandikà* the annual purification of the army was celebrated. In the case of the *Daisia*, inscriptions show that the kings intervened to regulate the management of this festival, one which was not celebrated in one place at the presence of the king (like the *Olympia* and the *Xandikà*), but separately in each city.²¹ The introduction of the Macedonian calendar and festivals marked the definitive annexation of a city to the kingdom and its transformation into a "Macedonian" city in terms of status and institutions. Such a transformation could take place in very different ways and time, as precisely the calendars of Amphipolis, Cassandrea and Philippi show.²²

An historical synthesis of the religion of pre-Roman Macedonia cannot simply distinguish between a "civic" and a "national" dimension. They coexisted and were interrelated. Any cult of ancient Macedonia and its possible "political" meanings should be studied from two different points of view, that of the central power and that of the city where it was located. Moreover, a cult or a sanctuary often performed very different functions

¹⁹ Manuela Mari, "Culti e identità (mutanti) di una polis greca: il caso di Anfipoli," in Marco Palma and Cinzia Vismara, eds., *Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Gabriella Braga* (Cassino, forthcoming).

²⁰ Kallérís, *Les anciens Macédoniens*, 2, pp. 553–72 (see above, note 3); Catherine Trümper, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen* (Heidelberg, 1997), pp. 262–70.

²¹ On the *Xandikà* see Kallérís, *Les anciens Macédoniens*, 1, pp. 237–8 (see above, note 3); Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 1, p. 290 and n. 1, pp. 319–20. On the *Daisia* see Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 1, p. 150, pp. 411–2, p. 415, and pp. 423–4; Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos and Louisa D. Loukopoulou, *Morrylos, cité de la Crestonie* (Athens, 1989), pp. 44–9; Mari, "The Ruler Cult," pp. 229–30 (see above, note 11).

²² Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 1, pp. 157–9, pp. 163–5, pp. 188–9, and pp. 201–5; Trümper, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 268–70.

depending on the social origin of the "performers." The social complexity of Macedonia and its mixture of backwardness and modernity must also be kept in mind when dealing with its religious history. I will limit myself here to a few significant cases.

Some deities were the object of a special cult by the royal family or had specific connections with the kingship, but were also popular in very different social contexts. Heracles *Kynagidas*, on the one hand, was the recipient of royal dedications by Antigonid kings and (possibly) the patron of "rites of passage" at the highest social levels. His most famous sanctuary, at Beroia, was attended by the kings themselves and was administered by priests who were chosen from members of the civic elite. At the opposite pole of Macedonian society, the same god presided over the manumission of slaves, at least in the Roman period, revealing a social flexibility which was probably a primary feature of the cult of Heracles in Macedonia.²³ Similarly, the cult of Enodia was particularly popular in Macedonia, as in Thessaly, and had specific ties with the kings, but was also practised at all possible social levels, assuming different functions in each social context.²⁴ Dionysus was also particularly popular, and played extremely varied roles. His importance was primary not only in the funerary field and in "rites of passage," but also in cult activities practised in the countryside and related to agriculture. But he too has peculiarly royal connections, as a dubious (but interesting) passage by Athenaeus records that the "bacchic ceremonies" were a relevant part of the "ancestral rites" of which the king took personal care.²⁵

In some cases it seems possible to distinguish radically different, or even opposite, meanings of the same cult depending on whether it was

²³ See above, note 5 and, moreover, Charles Farwell Edson Jr., "The Antigonids, Heracles and Beroea," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 45 (1934), 213–46; Victoria Allamani-Souri, "Ἡρακλῆς Κυναιγίδας καὶ κυνηγοί," in *Ancient Macedonia* 5 (Thessaloniki, 1993), pp. 77–107; Hatzopoulos, *Cultes*, pp. 92–111 (see above, note 5).

²⁴ Louis Robert, "Une déesse à cheval en Macédoine," *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960), 588–95; Jeanne and Louis Robert, *Bull. Ép.* (1979), no. 260; *Bull. Ép.* (1980), no. 313; *Bull. Ép.* (1981), no. 316; Pavlos Chrysostomou, "Οἱ θεσσαλομακεδονικοὶ θεοὶ τῶν καθαρμῶν καὶ ἡ μακεδονική γιορτὴ Ξανδικά," *Makedonika* 29 (1993–94), 175–208; id., *Ἡ θεσσαλικὴ θεὰ Ἐν(ν)οδία ἢ Φεπάτα θεὰ* (Athens, 1998).

²⁵ Ath. 14.659 F-660 A (quoting a letter of Olympias to Alexander), on which see Ernst A. Fredricksmeyer, "The Ancestral Rites of Alexander the Great," *Classical Philology* 61 (1966), 179–82. As in the case of Heracles, the importance and the strong peculiarities of the cult of Dionysus in Macedonia are indirectly confirmed by the local epithets and other specific pieces of information preserved by the lexicographers (Baege, *De Macedonum saeris*, pp. 80–5; on *Klodonos* and *Mimallones*, "dionysiac" nouns known also to Polyaeus 4.1. cf. also Hatzopoulos, *Cultes*, pp. 73–87).

practised at court or in the cities. According to Voutiras' interpretation, the kings paid cult to Athena basically as a military deity, in order to propitiate or to celebrate successes in war, whereas in Macedonian cities the goddess symbolized autonomy from the central power, a function which, of course, became clearer after the Roman "liberation" of Macedonia.²⁶ The cult of Asclepius, on the contrary, was both a truly "popular" cult and a useful means of royal political action. The god received a cult in Macedonia as early as the fourth century BC, as is suggested by several clues from within the kingdom and confirmed by the official presence of King Perdiccas (III) and the representatives of many independent nearby cities in a list of *theorodokoi* from Epidaurus of 360/59 (IG IV 1², 94b). A few years later, one of the most effective steps in Philip II's creation of a "new" Macedonia was the appointment of the priest of Asclepius as eponymous magistrate in (probably) all cities of the kingdom.²⁷ Such an initiative and its success were promoted by the established popularity of this god in regions which had been politically separate until that point. This "political" use of the Asclepius cult did not affect the inner hierarchy of each city's *pantheon*, as the priest of the god might be the eponymous official of communities in which the main sanctuary and the "poliadic" role was reserved for quite other deities.²⁸ That the kings never aimed at standardizing local cults is also confirmed by the variety of names which were given to the civic subdivisions (the *phylai*). Even in "new cities," those founded or refounded by the kings themselves, some features recur, but the chosen names are not identical. The names of the *phylai*, in their turn, reflected the main cults of each city when it had been founded, and testify that the pantheon was not planned from above even in the case of a new foundation.²⁹

Alternatively, some civic (or even "poliadic") cults grew in importance precisely due to the kings' interest in their sanctuaries. Alexander's "last plans," or *hypomnemata*, included, according to Diodorus Siculus (18.4.4–5),

²⁶ Voutiras, "Athéna" (see above, note 6).

²⁷ Emmanuel Voutiras, "Ἡ λατρεία τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ στὴν ἀρχαία Μακεδονία," in *Ancient Macedonia 5* (Thessaloniki, 1993), pp. 251–65; Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 1, pp. 153–4, p. 182, and p. 391; Riethmüller, *Asklepios*, 1, pp. 174–86; 2, pp. 320–4 (see above, note 18).

²⁸ Calindolia, Beroia, and Amphipolis are good examples: see respectively Voutiras, "Ἡ λατρεία," pp. 259–60; Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 1, p. 154 n. 6; Mari, "Culti e identità" (see above, note 19).

²⁹ On the names of the *phylai* in Philippi, Philippopolis, Thessalonike and Heraclea Lynkestis see Riethmüller, *Asklepios*, p. 183 (in all four cities a tribe named after Asclepius is attested) (see above, note 18) and Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 1, p. 88, p. 103, pp. 120–1, and p. 159 (also on Cassandrea).

the project (never to be carried out) of rebuilding or restoring particular sanctuaries. The list includes three Macedonian cult places, the "national" shrine of Zeus and the Muses at Dion, that of Athena at Kyrrhos and that of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Amphipolis.³⁰ All three sanctuaries presumably had, in Alexander's (or his historians') eye, some sort of "national" meaning. The *Tauropolion* of Amphipolis, for instance, was a sanctuary which often attracted the kings' attention, though remaining first and foremost the religious symbol of its city. At least in the Hellenistic period, a similar role was played by the sanctuary of Heracles *Kynagidas* at Beroia.

In other cases, however, the kings' interventions in a sanctuary eclipsed its "civic" role or created dangerous conflicts of interest. Examples are provided by the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods at Thessalonike and by the sanctuary of Eukleia at Aegae-Vergina. The former was one of the most famous such sanctuaries in the whole Mediterranean and remained a focal point of the city's religious life on into Roman times, but the kings' interference in its administration was at times heavy, as is shown by the text of Philip V's *diagramma* concerning the management of its wealth. Indeed, the shrine is known to us almost exclusively due to the interest which the royal family paid to it. So too the "civic" profile of Eukleia, which was usually so strong in the Greek *poleis*, almost fades at Aegae. The urban topography confirms that around Eukleia's sanctuary the urban space was an "annex" of the royal family's power and of the buildings which symbolized it (the palace and the tombs).³¹

Finally, scattered evidence for the Macedonians' presence in Panhellenic sanctuaries allows us to catch some of the outward projection of the religious life of the region. Here, too, we must be aware of distinctions between the political levels of the state (king, *ethnos*, cities), and between the different geographical areas (the "Old Kingdom," the territories east of the river Axios, the Upper Macedonia, the Greek colonies in Thrace and Chalcidice). As usual, the literary sources refer (almost) only to the

* On Alexander's "last plans" and the related historiographic problems see Manuela Mari, *Al di là dell'Olimpo. Macedoni e grandi santuari della Grecia dall'età arcaica al primo ellenismo* (Athens, 2002), pp. 249–63.

³¹ On the sanctuaries mentioned in the text and the related epigraphic sources see Mari, "Culti e identità" (see above, note 19); Emmanuel Voutiras, "Sanctuaire privé—culte public? Le cas du Sarapieion de Thessalonique," in Véronique Dasen and Marcel Piérart, eds., *Ἱδία καὶ δημόσια. Les cadres "privés" et "publics" de la religion grecque antique* (Liège, 2005), pp. 273–88; Chrysoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, reports in *AERG Mak* 10 (1996), 55–68; *AERG Mak* 16 (2002), 479–90; ead., "Queenly Appearances at Vergina-Aegae. Old and New Epigraphic and Literary Evidence," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2000), 387–403.

kings. The Temenids' activities in this field started early, most probably before the Persian wars. They were markers of their membership of the late Archaic "international aristocracy" which usually participated in Panhellenic games or offered important dedications in the main sanctuaries. The kings of Macedonia, more specifically, looked for an official "acknowledgement" from the hard-core of the *Hellenikon*. From both angles we should view the initiatives of Alexander I, who participated in the stadium race at Olympia, probably as early as the final years of the sixth century, thus obtaining the official acknowledgement of his own (and his family's) Greekness, and also offered wealthy dedications at Delphi and maybe Olympia itself after the Persian wars. The Macedonian presence in Panhellenic sanctuaries saw a decisive increase only in the time of Philip II, especially after the king's intervention in the third Sacred War in defence of Delphi and his subsequent admission into the Amphictiony in 346 BC.

As for the activities of Macedonian cities, *ethnē*, and individuals in these sanctuaries, a fragmentary inscription informs us that some inhabitants of Pieria were already active in Delphi at the same time as Alexander I's earliest activities in the Panhellenic sanctuaries (late sixth-early fifth century BC: *CID I*, 1). There was not yet, however, a collective "official" presence in a great sanctuary, and nothing of that kind is so far attested, prior to the third Sacred War, for any area or city subject to the Macedonian kingdom. Here, the list of *theorodokoi* for Epidauros' envoys of 360/59 BC is revealing. Here the only official representative of *Makedonia* is King Perdiccas III himself, while no fewer than twenty-one cities of Thrace, Macedonia, and Chalcidice (all independent at the time) have their own representatives. At least seven cities of those twenty-one were active in other important Greek sanctuaries before 346 BC, again as independent *poleis*. Before long all those cities (Mende, Potidaea, Acanthus, Arethousa, Scione, Tragilus, Amphipolis) were to be annexed to the kingdom only during Philip's reign.

Only during Alexander the Great's reign did cities which were part of Macedonia become "visible" in the Panhellenic sanctuaries. The first known Olympic victor to be recorded as a *Makedon* won in the games of 328, and a few years later the city of Pella dedicated a monument at Delphi to its citizen Archon (a member of Alexander's entourage who had won horse races in the Pythian and Isthmian games) and to his relatives. There is the first known dedication by a Macedonian city in the "Old Kingdom" in a Panhellenic sanctuary, and occurs almost two centuries after those offered by the neighbouring cities (independent at the time) of Mende and Potidaea. An official presence of the *Makedones* as a collective entity

is recorded even later, when statues of the King Philip V were dedicated by them at Delos and Samothrace.

This evidence does not show, of course, that the original core of Macedonia was only progressively "hellenized" from above, on the kings' initiative. The very concept of "acculturation" may be challenged, and such an interpretation is disproved by the late Archaic activities of the above mentioned "Pierians" in Delphi, or by the fact that the earliest temples of Dion (still in Pieria), the temples of Demeter, date to the same late Archaic period. All the available evidence from the fourth century and the Hellenistic period contributes to a consistent picture of a "regional *pantheon*" which was definitely Greek, although open to different influences and characterized by local peculiarities which are only partly known to us. The pieces of information relating to the Panhellenic sanctuaries are precious, however, because they show how differently the different components of Macedonia were "visible" from outside and how their political condition and self-perception changed over time. As in many other features of their history, so in their activities in the *koinà hierà* (which, in Herodotus' view, played a decisive role in defining what the *Hellenikon* actually was)³² the Temenid and Antigonid kings, the free Greek *poleis* of the coastal regions, the cities of the "Old Kingdom," the villages and *ethnē* of inner Macedonia and the *Makedones* as a whole remained for a long time discrete entities.³³

³² Herodotus defines "Greekness" (*Hellenikon*) as ὁμαίμων τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεὶς τε ὁμότροπα (8.144.2).

³³ Due to the limits in space, for all the themes dealt with in this paragraph and the related sources I simply make reference here to two previous studies of mine: *Al di là dell'Olimpo: "Macedonian Poleis and Ethnē in the Greek Sanctuaries Before the Age of Philip II,"* in *Ancient Macedonia 7* (Thessaloniki, 2007), pp. 31-49.