

JAN N. BREMMER

The World of Greek Religion and Mythology

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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433



Jan N. Bremmer

The World of Greek Religion and Mythology

Collected Essays II

Mohr Siebeck

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ISBN 978-3-16-154451-4 / eISBN 978-3-16-158949-2
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-158949-2

ISSN 0512-1604 / eISSN 2568-7476
(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

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The book was typeset using Stempel Garamond typeface and printed on non-aging paper by Gulde Druck in Tübingen. It was bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

in memoriam

Walter Burkert (1931–2015)

Albert Henrichs (1942–2017)

Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (1945–2007)

Preface

It is a pleasure for me to offer here the second volume of my Collected Essays, containing a sizable part of my writings on Greek religion and mythology.¹ Greek religion is not a subject that has always held my interest and attention. During my all too long study of Classics at the Free University in Amsterdam (1962–1969), the subject was taught only once by my *Doktorvater* G.J.D. Aalders (1914–1987), a scholar of real substance and a somewhat shy man.² His course on Asclepius interested me, but not quite enough to leave me fascinated by Greek religion. My attitude towards the subject began to change when, during my military service in the Intelligence branch of the Dutch armed forces (1970–1972), I discovered the work of the Latinist and historian of religion Hendrik Wagenvoort (1886–1976).³ Wagenvoort was an imaginative scholar, who combined great philological expertise with a wide interest in folklore, archaeology and anthropological studies. His book on inspiration by bees in dreams, in particular, led me to take up the study of the soul in ancient Greece and also directed my attention towards conceptions of the soul among Native American and Siberian peoples.⁴ The latter topic, in turn, led me to shamanism, which has remained an abiding interest in the years since.⁵

Military service gave me plenty of opportunities to read but no theoretical framework within which to situate what I was learning. This gradually changed

¹ Cf. J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity. Collected Essays I* (Tübingen, 2017).

² On my studies, see the biography in J. Dijkstra, J. Kroesen and Y. Kuiper (eds.), *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity. Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer* (Leiden, 2010) xxiii–xxxii; see also D. Barbu, Ph. Matthey and N. Meylan, ‘Entretien avec Jan N. Bremmer’, *Asdiwal* 7 (2012) 7–20.

³ Cf. J.H. Waszink, ‘Levensbericht H. Wagenvoort’, *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen* (Amsterdam, 1976) 239–45; H.S. Versnel, ‘Hendrik Wagenvoort (1886–1976) and the Study of Roman Religion’, in H. Hofmann (ed.), *Latin studies in Groningen, 1877–1977* (Groningen, 1990) 73–92; A.J. van Omme, ‘Tussen filologie en folklore: Hendrik Wagenvoort (1886–1976)’ = <https://www.digibron.nl/search/detail/d742a55155ae65f3b-51208924299b3aa/tussen-filologie-en-folklore-hendrik-wagenvoort> (accessed 29-3-2019).

⁴ H. Wagenvoort, *Inspiratie door bijen in de droom* (Amsterdam, 1966); J.N. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton, 1983), which is an improved version of my 1979 dissertation; this volume, Chapter 11.

⁵ Most recently, J.N. Bremmer, ‘Shamanism in Classical Scholarship: where are we now?’, in P. Jackson (ed.), *Horizons of Shamanism: A Triangular Approach* (Stockholm, 2016) 52–78 and ‘Method and Madness in the Study of Greek Shamanism: the case of Peter Kingsley’, *Asdiwal* 13 (2018) 55–71.

in the 1970s when I discovered not only the French *Annales* school, with its interest in *mentalité* and *longue durée*, but also the work of Victor Turner (1920–1983) and Mary Douglas (1921–2007),⁶ and the *École de Paris* of Jean-Pierre Vernant (1914–2007: Ch. 1.5), Pierre Vidal-Naquet (1930–2006), and Marcel Detienne (1935–2019), whose recent death marks the passing of that generation of scholars. Yet the greatest influence on my thought was the work of Walter Burkert (1931–2015: Ch. 1.5). His *Homo necans* made a lasting impression on me, even though I found the original German edition extremely hard to understand at times.⁷ His work on myth and ritual has been a continuing source of inspiration and, sometimes, contestation, as has his focus on sacrifice.⁸ I was equally inspired by Burkert's turn in the late 1970s towards an interest in the contacts between Greece and the Orient, although most of my articles on that subject have been collected elsewhere.⁹ Here, I concentrate on influences from Anatolia (Ch. 16), an area barely touched on by Burkert, undoubtedly because at that time most of the epic languages had not yet been deciphered or had only been studied in an unsatisfactory manner.

Equally important for me was a meeting with Fritz Graf in the summer of 1974, when we both attended a conference in Lancaster (UK) organised by the International Association for the History of Religion. I had just been assigned to review his book on Eleusis and Orphic poetry and was eager to get to know the author of that remarkably learned dissertation.¹⁰ We immediately hit it off, as we shared many of the same interests and took very similar approaches to the study of ancient religion.¹¹ Through him, I met Richard Buxton, another old friend, and in the course of these and the following years I also made the acquaintance of Claude Calame, Albert Henrichs (1942–2017: Ch. 15, Appendix 2), Robert Parker, and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (1945–2007: Ch. 8). These friends, each in their own way, have been instrumental in moving the study of Greek religion away from issues related to agricultural fertility and towards a focus on myth and ritual, and their contextualisation in Greek culture. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, they all contributed to *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*.¹²

⁶ Fritz Graf and I were the first to apply the work of Victor Turner to the study of Greek religion, as noted by H.S. Versnel, 'Een klassiek antropoloog in de klassieke wereld', *Antropologische verkenningen* 13 (1994) 46–55.

⁷ W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berlin, 1972), translated as *Homo necans* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983); cf. my review in *CR NS* 35 (1985) 312 f.

⁸ As he wrote to me in acknowledgement of the gift of my *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Leiden, 2008): 'Viele Ihrer Themen sind ja eine Art Gespräch mit Vorschlägen von mir' (letter 27-12-2008).

⁹ Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture*.

¹⁰ F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (1974); cf. my review in *Mnemosyne* IV 3 (1978) 321 f.

¹¹ Cf. D. Barbu, 'Entretien avec Sarah Iles Johnston & Fritz Graf', *Asdiwal* 7 (2012) 21–40 at 26.

¹² J. N. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London and New York, 1987, 1988²).

In retrospect, it is hard to imagine that most of us were in our early forties and still without a Chair.

Even though in the early 1980s I also became interested in early Christianity, I continued to work on Greek religion and mythology.¹³ A persuasive case can be made that mythology is an integral part of Greek religion:¹⁴ mythology is one of the important ways in which the Greeks reflected on their gods and rituals, even if in later antiquity knowledge of mythology became primarily a way of displaying cultural capital (Ch. 30.1). It is therefore surprising that there are no separate chapters on myth in the great handbooks of Nilsson (Ch. 1.4) and Burkert (Ch. 1.5), or in Robert Parker's recent study of Greek religion.¹⁵ Given the contemporary scholarly acceptance of an almost all-embracing connection between myth and religion, the title of my book, *The World of Greek Religion and Mythology*, might have seemed more familiar to the nineteenth-century German scholars who still strongly distinguished between the two.¹⁶ Yet, since many non-specialists still today seem to consider Greek mythology a subject separate from religion – take for example Stephen Fry's bestseller *Mythos* (2018) – I opted to bring the words together in my title while also making them distinct. Admittedly, this distinction reflects modern ideas rather than those of the ancient Greeks themselves, but we cannot understand anything of the ancient world except through the concepts that provide the building blocks of our own thought.

It will be useful to give a brief survey of the contents of this book. I begin with a section dealing with gods and heroes (Chs. 1–7). It is remarkable how little attention the gods receive in the great works on Greek religion of the twentieth century (Ch. 1), a trend that can also be observed in more general handbooks of and companions to religious studies.¹⁷ This neglect and downplaying of the gods, probably the result of the modern process of secularisation, has always seemed strange to me and it is for this reason that I started my own analysis of Greek religion, after a survey of its general characteristics, with the gods.¹⁸ This was also why I proposed a conference on the gods when I was Visiting Leventis Professor in Edinburgh in 2007.¹⁹

¹³ My writings on initiation will appear as J.N. Bremmer, *Becoming a Man in Ancient Greece and Rome: Myths and rituals of initiation* (Tübingen, anticipated 2020).

¹⁴ For a subtle discussion, see R.L. Fowler, 'Thoughts on Myth and Religion in Early Greek Historiography', *Minerva* 22 (2009) 21–39.

¹⁵ R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* (Ithaca and London, 2011). Differently, J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1994, 1999²; reprinted Cambridge, 2006) 55–68.

¹⁶ Cf. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 2 vols (Munich, 1906).

¹⁷ I.S. Gilhus, 'What Became of Superhuman Beings? Companions and Field Guides in the Study of Religion', in P. Antes *et al.* (eds), *Contemporary Views on Comparative Religion* (Sheffield, 2016) 375–87.

¹⁸ See Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 11–26; note also the prominence of the gods in Parker, *On Greek Religion*, 64–102.

¹⁹ The conference resulted in J.N. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds), *The Gods of Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh, 2010).

It is rather striking that a number of books have since appeared that have reacted against this neglect (Ch. 1, note 1). Nevertheless, these can only begin to compensate for the disregard of the subject over such a long period and there are several aspects of the gods that deserve further discussion, including the nature of Greek polytheism,²⁰ the modes and spheres of activity of the individual gods and their mutual relationships,²¹ the nature of the divine identity (person or power), divine epiphanies and metamorphoses,²² and, last but certainly not least, the problem of what constitutes a god.²³ As I have argued before, ‘poetry, art, and cult all incessantly impressed upon the Greeks the personal aspects of their gods’.²⁴ In contrast to the claims of our francophone colleagues,²⁵ it is anthropomorphism, rather than the gods being primarily ‘powers’, that is therefore critical to understanding the Greek divine world, even if the dimension of ‘powers’ should not be neglected either. Yet there are also other aspects of the Greek conception of the gods that we should look at and which have not received much attention in recent times.

What is the underlying unity of each Greek divinity? It is obvious that one Greek god or goddess often has a range of very different functions and a multitude of epithets. Many of them were worshipped from Mycenaean times (Ch. 1.1) up until late antiquity, that is, for well over one-and-a-half millennia. It would be odd if during this period some divinities had not developed differently in one place or region from the changes they underwent in the rest of the Greek world. Yet, as so often, the exceptions usually prove the rule. Thus, we can see that Aphrodite is the goddess of persuasive charm, not only in love, but also in calming the sea and bringing citizens together, and Poseidon, as I argue here (Ch. 2), the god of brute force.²⁶ Other divinities, such as Dionysos (Ch. 3), are more

²⁰ Cf. M. Bettini, *Elogio del politeismo* (Bologna, 2014); P. Bonnechere and V. Pirenne-Delforge, ‘Réflexions sur la religion grecque antique: comment appréhender le polythéisme?’, in B. Collette-Dučić *et al.* (eds), *L’Esprit critique dans l’Antiquité I* (Paris, 2018) 57–97; add A. Henrichs, *Die Götter Griechenlands. Ihr Bild im Wandel der Religionswissenschaft* (Bamberg, 1987) = H. Flashar (ed.), *Auseinandersetzungen mit der Antike* (Bamberg 1990) 116–162 and ‘Götterdämmerung und Götterglanz. Griechischer Polytheismus seit 1872’, in B. Seidensticker and M. Vöhler, *Urgeschichten der Moderne* (Stuttgart, 2001) 1–19.

²¹ For a lucid start, though, see Parker, *On Greek Religion*, 88–96.

²² R. Buxton, *Forms of Astonishment: Greek myths of metamorphosis* (Oxford, 2009); G. Petridou, *Divine Epiphany in Greek Literature & Culture* (Oxford, 2015).

²³ Cf. A. Henrichs, ‘What is a Greek God?’, in Bremmer and Erskine, *Gods of Ancient Greece*, 19–39; more generally, E. Thomassen, ‘What Is a “God” Actually? Some Comparative Reflections’, in Antes, *Contemporary Views on Comparative Religion*, 365–74; this volume, Chapter 1.1.

²⁴ Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 23.

²⁵ See also the review by M. Finkelberg, *CR* 68 (2018) 312–15 of G. Pironti and C. Bonnet (eds), *Les dieux d’Homère. Polythéisme et poésie en Grèce ancienne*. (Liège, 2017).

²⁶ Cf. Parker, *On Greek Religion*, 90: ‘a shared element can easily be identified in the power and dangerous violence of all three’ (aspects of Poseidon), that is, ‘horses, the sea and earthquakes’, 91 (Aphrodite),

challenging to define, and analysing this aspect of the Greek pantheon still remains a hard nut to crack.²⁷

In general, little thought has been given to the hierarchy within the pantheon and to the emergence of the pantheon itself. The birth of the classical pantheon with its twelve gods and goddesses, influenced by traditions native to Anatolia, (Ch. 1.1), was concomitant with the rise of the religious category of ‘hero’ (Ch. 6.1) and the gradual differentiation between divinities and their statues (Ch. 7.2). This whole process, which is still not well understood, effected a clear distinction between gods and heroes, but also between major and minor gods, which is to say between those inside and those, such as a number of Orphic divinities (Ch. 5), who stood outside the pantheon. Indeed, it is obvious that certain gods were considered to be more important than others in the lives of the ancient Greeks, as is made plain by the prominence or absence of their temples, their location in the centre or margin of the community, or their place at the front or the back in divine processions on Greek vase paintings.²⁸ In the case of a minor god like Hephaistos (Ch. 4), the Greeks constructed his *persona* by letting him ride on a randy animal, by giving him a minor goddess as his wife, and by picturing him as physically malformed. Both myth and cult, then, helped to create a picture of a divinity mediated not only by poetry or prose but also by the many representations on coins, sculptures and vase paintings.

The next section in this collection takes up a number of key themes in the study of Greek religion (Chs. 8–16). It is probably fair to say that in recent years the most heated discussions concerning Greek religion have focused on the idea of *polis* religion. As first formulated by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood and then instantiated in Robert Parker’s two splendid books on Athenian religion,²⁹ the idea that the *polis* defines and controls Greek religion has lately been criticised from various directions.³⁰ The sharpest critic has been Julia Kindt, who has pointed to structures above and below the *polis*, the lack of coherence within the *polis*, and the relative neglect of religious beliefs.³¹ In addition, Jörg Rüpke, with his Lived Ancient Religion (LAR) project, has stressed the agency of the indi-

²⁷ For a nuanced discussion, see Parker, *On Greek Religion*, 84–97.

²⁸ Cf. Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 15, 21, also with its distinction between ‘orderly/central’ and ‘disorderly/eccentric’ gods, misrepresented by H.S. Versnel, *Coping with the Gods* (Leiden, 2011) 145.

²⁹ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: a history* (Oxford, 1996) and *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005).

³⁰ For a spirited defence, though, of the idea, see now R. Parker, ‘Religion in the Polis or Polis Religion’, *Praktika tes Akademias Athinon* 2018, 20–39.

³¹ J. Kindt, *Rethinking Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 2012); this volume, Chapter 8, Introduction (with further bibliography). For beliefs, see E. Eidinow *et al.* (eds), *Theologies of Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 2016); J.N. Bremmer, ‘Youth, Atheism and (Un)Belief in Late Fifth-Century Athens’, in B. Edelmann-Singer *et al.* (eds), *Sceptic and Believer in Ancient Mediterranean Religions* (Tübingen, 2020), forthcoming.

vidual within ancient religion.³² My own view is that there are a number of messy margins to the idea of *polis* religion (Ch. 8), found in those areas where the *polis* clearly had little or no control, such as divination (Ch. 9), magic (Ch. 10), or eschatology (Chs. 11 and 12). The stress on agency in the LAR approach has also pointed to the weakness of the *polis* religion idea when it comes to accounting for innovation and private initiative. Yet the LAR approach itself does not, perhaps, recognise sufficiently that there were certain limits to religious initiatives, and that the *polis*, and later the Roman administration, could penalise those innovators or dissidents who, in their opinion, went too far.³³

One might also wonder if the *polis* religion approach is not too Athenocentric, overly influenced by the wealth of material we have for Athens.³⁴ When we look to the West, to Magna Graecia, we find such innovators as Pythagoras, Xenophanes, the Orphics, and Empedocles (Ch. 12). Did the colonies perhaps leave more space for religious innovation? To the East we find in Anatolia and Persia, for example, areas that influenced Greek religion in various ways (Ch. 16). Again, does the focus on Athens perhaps make us neglect somewhat the religious developments that took place in the areas outside the Greek mainland?

In the early 1980s, second-wave feminism reached Europe from the US and women's history became popular. I was one of those attracted to this new subject. In addition to writing a number of articles on early Christian women,³⁵ I also looked at women in ancient Greece more broadly.³⁶ In the process, I came to realise that old women have never received much attention. My chapter on this topic here (Ch. 14) is clearly much indebted to John Gould (1927–2001), whose anthropological approach to Greek culture I greatly admire. I was also inspired to take a closer look at the behaviour of women in maenadic myth and ritual (Ch. 15) by a meeting with Albert Henrichs and by his studies of maenadism. The insight that we should be aware of the differences between these

³² For the LAR, see J. Albrecht *et al.*, 'Religion in the Making: the Lived Ancient Religion approach', *Religion* 48 (2018) 568–93; J. Rüpke, 'Lived Ancient Religions', in J. Barton (ed.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (Oxford, 2019) = <http://oxfordre.com/religion/> (accessed 6-4-2019).

³³ Cf. J.N. Bremmer, 'Religious Violence between Greeks, Romans, Christians and Jews', in A.-K. Geljon and R. Roukema (eds), *Violence in Early Christianity: victims and perpetrators* (Leiden, 2014) 8–30 and 'Religion and the Limits of Individualisation in Ancient Athens: Andocides, Socrates and the fair-breasted Phryne', in M. Fuchs *et al.* (eds), *Religious Individualisation: historical dimensions and comparative perspectives* (Berlin and Boston, 2020) 1009–32.

³⁴ Equally, one cannot help wondering if the approach to urban religion by Jörg Rüpke is not too much inspired by Rome, see his 'Religion als Urbanität: ein anderer Blick auf Stadtreligion', *Zs. f. Religionswiss.* 27 (2019) 174–95.

³⁵ Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs*, *passim*.

³⁶ Cf. J.N. Bremmer, 'De vrouw in de Griekse wereld', in R. Stuip and C. Vellekoop (eds), *Middeleeuwen over vrouwen* 2 (Utrecht, 1985) 25–36, 180–81.

two media of Greek religion arose initially from my study of the scapegoat ritual and will also be reflected upon in this volume (Ch. 24).³⁷

Any admirer of Burkert must have some interest in sacrifice (Chs. 17–22), a subject with which he himself remained fascinated all his life. While some of his insights remain valid, such as those concerning the hunting ancestry of sacrifice,³⁸ our understanding of the topic has increased considerably in the time since he wrote his *Homo necans*. Great progress has been made in three areas, in particular. Whereas Burkert mainly had to work with literary material, more recent research has noted the evidence from vase paintings and votive reliefs, has stressed the importance of zooarchaeological excavations and analyses, and has drawn attention to the many local and regional differences through a better knowledge of the so-called sacred laws. It is for these reasons that I attempt here a fresh analysis of the ideal animal sacrifice, which aims to take into account all these new developments (Ch. 17). The epigraphical evidence, especially, has shown that, at the local level, Greek sacrifice displayed many subtle differences, the study of which is still in its infancy. For example, people could sacrifice young or old, black or white, pregnant or non-pregnant animals, as well as front or back legs, or with or without wine. Here, I discuss one of these differences: the sacrifice of pregnant animals (Ch. 18). As always, we should first collect all the available material, as I have aimed to do, and only then look for an analysis. I have tried to combine the objects of the rituals, the divinities, with what I call the ‘logic of ritual’, that is, the ways the Greeks used various elements, such as age, colour, time of day, and the absence or presence of wreaths and wine, to give meaning to their rituals. It is only via such an approach that we will gain a better understanding of the symbolic system of ancient sacrifice.

The Greeks not only sacrificed animals but, at least in myth, also humans, and girls in particular (Chs. 19–22). Human sacrifice remains a subject of endless fascination to the wider public, as is witnessed by the publicity surrounding the recent discovery of a skeleton at Mt Lykaion, supposedly proving ancient tales about local human sacrifice (but see Ch. 19.3). The most famous case of ancient sacrifice is, undoubtedly, Iphigeneia. I discuss Iphigeneia’s myth in detail (Ch. 20) but also pay attention to the ways in which Euripides imagined her sacrifice (Ch. 21) and her role as a priestess in the act of human sacrifice (Ch. 22). The playwright’s fascination with such sacrifices is well documented but, as I try to show, it is only via close attention to the vocabulary and practices of *ani-*

³⁷ Cf. J.N. Bremmer, ‘Scapegoat Rituals in Ancient Greece’, *HSCP* 87 (1983) 299–320, updated and slightly expanded in my *Greek Religion and Culture*, 169–96; this volume, Chapter 16.2.

³⁸ Cf. J.N. Bremmer, ‘Transformations and Decline of Sacrifice in Imperial Rome and Late Antiquity’, in M. Blömer and B. Eckhardt (eds), *Transformationen paganer Religion in der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin and Boston, 2018) 215–56 at 236–43.

mal sacrifice that we can understand the ways in which Euripides presented Iphigeneia's myth on stage.

The final section of the volume concerns myth (Chs. 23–30). I have long been interested in the relationship between myth and ritual (Ch. 24), but myth is such a broad subject that scholars continually discover or focus on new areas, such as, recently, its narrative, cognitive and emotional aspects.³⁹ Despite this ongoing evolution, more traditional features remain important too, such as the relationship of myth to history (Ch. 25), propaganda (Ch. 26), and local mythography (Ch. 27). Myth can be part of a specific genre like the novel (Ch. 28), but it can also have a broader scope, as when it shapes our ideas about the four seasons through personifications (Ch. 29). Finally, knowledge of myth could function as cultural capital in Roman times, offer access to repositories of (supposed) truth in the Middle Ages, open roads to Greek pre-history in the Romantic period, and can suggest keys to Greek culture in general to scholars in modern times (Ch. 30). With so many different functions and so many different ways of approaching the subject, one can only remain sceptical about one's own results!

I would like to thank the friendly and efficient staff of Mohr Siebeck, Rebekka Zech in particular, for making this such a nicely produced book. My thanks also to Berghahn (New York), Blackwell Publishing (Oxford), Brill (Leiden), the Department of the Classics at Harvard University, Diagonal Verlag (Marburg), Edinburgh University Press, De Gruyter (Berlin), Habelt (Bonn), *Kernos* (Liège), Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya (Barcelona), the Norwegian Institute at Athens, Ośrodek Praktyk Teatralnych 'Gardzienice' (Gardzienice), Oxford University Press, Peeters (Leuven), Presses Universitaires de Liège, Routledge (London), Steiner (Stuttgart), the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome, and the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (Darmstadt) for their permission to reprint the articles mentioned in the Acknowledgements. As I noted in the Preface to my first volume, it is impossible to completely redo one's own research of nearly four decades. Yet I do not want to reprint views that I no longer support or to offer the reader out-of-date references. I have therefore updated the bibliography, made a number of small changes and corrections, removed overlaps where possible, reorganised a few sections and added more evidence when available. Naturally, this could not be done in every case, but I have always tried to bring the volume up to date with regard to the more important issues. In two chapters, on the Ancient Near East (Ch. 16) and sacrifice (Ch. 17), I have used the original text and notes, which I had to abbreviate, sometimes considerably, before their previous publication in order to stay within the prescribed chapter

³⁹ For the importance of narrative for Greek religion, see also J. Kindt, *Revisiting Delphi: religion and storytelling in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 2016). Cognitive aspects: R. L. Fowler, *What's in a Myth* (s.l., 2017) = https://www.academia.edu/36190873/Fowler_Whats_in_a_Myth (accessed 6-4-2019); S. I. Johnston, *The Story of Myth* (Cambridge MA and London, 2018).

lengths of the handbooks. There is one exception to this updating. In 1984, I pioneered a kind of neuro-scientific approach to maenadism (Ch. 15). My references at the time reflected the state of the art, but the world of neuroscience has since exploded with new developments and it would be preposterous to claim that I have been able to keep up with it. Thus, I offer this chapter more as a model for inspiration than as a claim to the last word on maenadism.

The many debts I have incurred in the course of the years spent writing these articles I mention at the end of each chapter. Here I would single out Walter Burkert, Albert Henrichs and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood. These friends and colleagues have inspired and stimulated me over many years, and their passing away has made the study of Greek religion and mythology so much the poorer. That is why I dedicate this volume to their memory.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ I am most grateful to my friends Laura Feldt, Bob Fowler and Julia Kindt for their comments and to Paul Scade for his skilful correction of my English.

Contents

Preface	VII
Abbreviations	XXI

Section I Gods and Heroes

1. The Greek Gods in the Twentieth Century	3
2. The Power of Poseidon: Horses, Chaos and Brute Force	21
3. Dionysos in 1933	29
4. Hephaistos Sweats or How to Construct an Ambivalent God	47
5. Divinities in the Orphic Gold Leaves: Euklès, Eubouleus, Brimo, Kybele, Kore and Persephone	61
6. The Emergence of the Hero Cult	85
7. The Agency of Statues	101

Section II Aspects of Greek Religion

8. <i>Manteis</i> , Magic, Mysteries and Mythography: Messy Margins of <i>Polis</i> Religion	125
9. The Status and Symbolic Capital of the Seer	147
10. Incantatory Magic: The Date, Place and Author of the Getty Hexameters	165
11. Body and Soul between Death and Funeral in Archaic Greece	175
12. The Construction of an Individual Eschatology: The Case of the Orphic Gold Leaves	197

13. Religious Secrets and Secrecy in Classical Greece	215
14. No Country for Old Women	231
15. Greek Maenadism	251
16. Greek Religion and the Ancient Near East	279

Section III
Animal and Human Sacrifice

17. Animal Sacrifice	303
18. The Sacrifice of Pregnant Animals	337
19. Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice: Lykaon, Polyxena and the Case of the Rhodian Criminal	349
20. The Sacrifice of Iphigeneia	373
21. Imagining Human Sacrifice in Euripides' <i>Iphigeneia in Aulis</i>	391
22. Human Sacrifice in Euripides' <i>Iphigeneia in Tauris</i> : Greek and Barbarian	403

Section IV
Myth

23. What is a Greek Myth?	419
24. Myth and Ritual: A Difficult Relationship	427
25. Myth and History: The Foundation of Cyrene	447
26. Myth as Propaganda: Athens and Sparta	463
27. Myth and Mythography: <i>The Pride of Halicarnassus</i>	475
28. Myth and the Novel	491
29. Myth and Personifications: The Birth of the Seasons (<i>Hôrai</i>)	497
30. A Brief History of the Study of Greek Mythology	511

Appendix

Gerardus van der Leeuw and Jane Ellen Harrison	533
Acknowledgements	539
Index of Names, Subjects and Passages	541

Abbreviations

AASA	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene</i>
A&A	<i>Antike und Abendland</i>
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ARG	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
BABESCH	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving – Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
C&M	<i>Classica & Mediaevalia</i>
CGRN	J.-M. Carbon, S. Peels and V. Pirenne-Delforge, <i>A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms</i> (Liège, 2016–) = http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne</i>
DT	A. Audollent, <i>Defixionum tabellae</i> (Paris, 1904)
DTA	R. Wünsch, <i>Defixionum Tabellae Atticae</i> (Berlin, 1897)
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–1958)
G&R	<i>Greece & Rome</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
IC	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i>
ICS	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGDS	L. Dubois, <i>Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile: contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire grec colonial</i> (Rome, 1989)
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JÖAI	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>

LEC	<i>Les Études Classiques</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> (Zürich and Düsseldorf, 1981–2009)
LSAM	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> (Paris, 1955)
LSCG	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (Paris, 1969)
LSS	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément</i> (Paris, 1962)
MD	<i>Materiali e Discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici</i>
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome</i>
MH	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
NGSL	E. Lupu, <i>Greek Sacred Law</i> (Leiden, 2009 ²)
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
PGM	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i>
PP	<i>La Parola del Passato</i>
QUCC	<i>Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1884–1973)
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
REAug	<i>Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RPh	<i>Revue de philologie</i>
SA	<i>Scienze dell'Antichità</i>
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SGD	D. R. Jordan, 'A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora', <i>GRBS</i> 26 (1985) 151–97
SGDI	H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> , 4 vols (Göttingen, 1884–195)
SIFC	<i>Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica</i>
SIG	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 4 vols (Leipzig, 1915–1924 ³)
SMSR	<i>Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni</i>
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
ThesCRA	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> (Los Angeles, 2004–2012)
ThLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
WJA	<i>Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft</i>
WS	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Section I

Gods and Heroes

Chapter 1

The Greek Gods in the Twentieth Century

The Greek gods are still very much present in modern consciousness, whereas the ancient rituals have been long forgotten. Yet even though Apollo and Dionysos, Artemis and Aphrodite, Zeus and Hermes are household names, they have hardly been at the centre of the modern study of Greek religion. Of the most influential and innovative students of Greek religion of the last half of the twentieth century, Walter Burkert (below § 5) concentrated on myth and ritual, and Jean-Pierre Vernant (§ 5) made his name with studies of the psychological and sociological aspects of Greek culture. The gods were never the real focus of their attention. In fact, their lack of interest continued a situation that had already begun at the start of the twentieth century when classical scholars started to turn their attention to ritual rather than myth and the gods. The situation has been changing in recent years with the appearance of a number of studies on the gods,¹ but it may still be useful to take a look at the ways the best historians of Greek religion of last century analysed the gods.²

When the first Indo-Europeans entered Greece in the early centuries of the second millennium BC, they arrived not without gods. So much is clear from comparisons with other Indo-European cultures. It is much harder to know whom they brought and how they called their gods. For reasons unknown, at an early stage the Greeks seem to have dropped the Proto-Indo-European term **deiwos*, ‘god’, attested in nearly all branches of the Indo-European family, which literally means ‘belonging to the sky’ and is derived from **dyeus*, ‘bright sky, supreme god’ (Greek *Zeus*).³ Instead they opted for *theos*, cognates of which have been recognised in Armenian and Phrygian.⁴ The new term semantically

¹ J. N. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds), *The Gods of Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh, 2010); H. S. Versnel, *Coping with the Gods* (Leiden, 2011); J. J. Clauss et al. (eds), *The Gods of Greek Hexameter Poetry: from the Archaic Age to Late Antiquity and beyond* (Stuttgart, 2016); G. Pironti and C. Bonnet (eds), *Les dieux d’Homère: polythéisme et poésie en Grèce ancienne* (Liège, 2017); R. Gagné and M. Herrero de Jáuregui (eds), *Les dieux d’Homère II – Anthropomorphismes* (Liège, 2019).

² For the nineteenth century, see M. Konaris, *The Greek Gods in Modern Scholarship: interpretation and belief in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany and Britain* (Oxford, 2016).

³ M. L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007) 120.

⁴ For Greek and Armenian, see H. Martirosyan, ‘The Place of Armenian in the Indo-European Language Family: the relationship with Greek and Indo-Iranian’, *Journal of Language Relationship* 10 (2013) 85–138 and R. I. Kim, ‘Greco-Armenian: the persistence of a myth’,

developed from ‘to put, to place’ to ‘what has been characterised by what has been put/built in a sacred place, by the divine, by the sacred’.⁵ The change must have happened at an early stage of Greek history, as it had already taken place in Mycenaean times, the oldest period for which we have evidence regarding the gods of ancient Greece, as the frequent attestations of Linear B *te-o* show. As no history of Greek religion contains an overview of the gods in Mycenaean times before the appearance of Walter Burkert’s history of Greek religion in 1977,⁶ I will start with that period (§ 1), and continue by taking a brief look at the, arguably, best four histories of Greek religion from the twentieth century: those by Wilamowitz (§ 2), Gernet (§ 3), Nilsson (§ 4) and Burkert (§ 5).

1. Mycenaean times

Traditionally, the Indo-Europeans located their gods in heaven, as did the Greeks. In Homer,⁷ and thus surely going back to Mycenaean times, the gods are the ‘heavenly ones’ or those ‘who occupy the broad heaven’, whereas mortals live on the earth, but the expression ‘gods and men’ with its variants must be equally old and is formulaic in Homer.⁸ Another old element of speaking about the gods is the notion that the gods had a different language from men, such as when Homer (*Il.* 14.290–1) tells us that an owl is called *chalkis* by the gods but *kumindis* by men; the occurrence of this notion in Hittite, Old Irish, Old Norse and Greek texts shows that it is already Indo-European and must have been part of the poetic vocabulary of the invading Greeks.⁹

Albert Henrichs has identified three divine properties that set gods apart from mortals and define their divinity, namely immortality, anthropomorphism, and power,¹⁰ to which we should add agency as, for example, manifest-

Indogermanische Forschungen 123 (2018) 247–71. Greek and Phrygian: Ch. de Lamberterie, ‘Grec, phrygien, arménien: des anciens aux modernes’, *Journal des Savants* 2013, 3–69.

⁵ See, most recently, I. De Meyer, ‘L’étymologie du mot grec “θεός”’, *RPh* 90 (2016 [2018]) 115–38.

⁶ W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart, 1977, 2011²), translated as *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985).

⁷ E. Kearns, ‘The Gods in the Homeric Epics’, in R. L. Fowler (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Homer* (Cambridge, 2004) 59–73; Pironti and Bonnet, *Les dieux d’Homère*; Gagné and Herrero, *Les dieux d’Homère II*.

⁸ Heaven: *Il.* 1.570; 3.364; 5.373, 867, 898; 7.178, etc. Earth: *Od.* 6.150–3; Hes. *Th.* 372–3, cf. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 120, 126; Janko on *Il.* 14.198 (‘gods and men’).

⁹ More recently, C. de Lamberterie, ‘Grec homérique *môly*: étymologie et poétique’, *LALIES* 6 (1988) 129–38; F. Bader, *La langue des dieux, ou l’hermétisme des poètes indo-européens* (Pisa, 1989); West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 160–62; A. Willi, *Sikelismos* (Basel, 2009) 247–49.

¹⁰ A. Henrichs, ‘What is a Greek God?’, in J. N. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds), *The Gods of Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh, 2010) 19–39; for immortality, see also A. Baratz, ‘The Source

ing itself in epiphanies.¹¹ Unfortunately, due to their administrative nature, the Mycenaean tablets are totally uninformative about the nature of the gods, but comparisons with other Indo-European peoples once again suggest that these properties will have been there from the very beginning of Greek religion, as will have been divine invisibility; in Mycenaean times there may have even been an ‘invisible god’,¹² just as the later Greeks worshipped an ‘unknown god’ (*Acts of the Apostles* 17.23).¹³ In any case, the gods certainly received a cult, as offerings, sacrifices but, seemingly, hardly bloody ones, and sanctuaries are well attested, although again without many details of note.¹⁴

There can be little doubt that the Mycenaean knew a number of gods, if not as many as the thousand gods of the Hittites.¹⁵ Yet there must have been enough to make the expression ‘all the gods’, which we find in Mycenaean Knossos,¹⁶ meaningful. And indeed, at present there are more than 40 names of minor and major divinities known in the Linear-B tablets,¹⁷ of whom about one-third survived into the first millennium in the same form or as a variant: Ares,¹⁸ Artemis,

of Divine Immortality in Archaic Greek Literature’, *SCI* 34 (2015) 151–64; R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* (Ithaca and London, 2011) 64–102.

¹¹ As is noted by E. Thomassen, ‘What Is a “God” Actually? Some Comparative Reflections’, in P. Antes *et al.* (eds), *Contemporary Views on Comparative Religion* (Sheffield, 2016) 365–74. Epiphanies: V. Platt, *Facing the Gods* (Cambridge, 2011); G. Petridou, *Divine Epiphany in Greek Literature & Culture* (Oxford, 2015).

¹² J. L. García Ramón, ‘Anthroponymica Mycenaea: 5. *a-wi-do-to* /*Awisto-dotos*/ und die unsichtbaren Götter im Alph.-Griechischen. 6. *we-re-na-ko* und Myk. */*wrēn*/: alph.-gr. ὠρην, ἄρην’, *Živa Antika* 55 (2005) 85–97 at 86–91; West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 127–34 (‘Characteristics of divinity’).

¹³ P. W. van der Horst, *Hellenism-Judaism-Christianity. Essays on Their Interaction* (Leuven, 1994) 165–202; A. Henrichs, ‘Anonymity and Polarity: Unknown Gods and Nameless Altars at the Areopagus’, *ICS* 19 (1994) 27–58.

¹⁴ Offerings and sacrifices: J. Weilhartner, *Mykenische Opfergaben nach Aussage der Linear B-Texte* (Vienna, 2005); H. Whittaker, ‘Burnt Animal Sacrifice in Mycenaean Cult: a review of the evidence’, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 31–32 (2006–2007) 183–90; M. B. Cosmopoulos and D. Ruscillo, ‘Mycenaean Burnt Animal Sacrifice at Eleusis’, *Oxford J. Arch.* 73 (2014) 257–73. Sanctuaries: A. Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers’ Dwellings to Temples: architecture, religion and society in Early Iron Age Greece* (1100–700 BC) (Jonsered, 1997); F. Rougemont, ‘Les noms des dieux dans les tablettes inscrites en linéaire B’, in N. Belayche *et al.* (eds), *Nommer les dieux. Théonymes, épithètes, épicles dans l’Antiquité* (Turnhout, 2005) 325–88 at 339–41; J. L. García Ramón, ‘Der Begriff des Heiligtums aus sprachgeschichtlicher Perspektive’, in C. Frevel and H. von Hesberg (eds), *Kult und Kommunikation* (Wiesbaden, 2007) 17–38.

¹⁵ B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*, 3 vols (Leiden, 1998–2001).

¹⁶ The expression is ancient, at least Graeco-Aryan, cf. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 122, 127. On the relationships between the gods, see J. Gulizio, ‘Mycenaean Religion at Knossos’, *Pasiphae* 1 (2007 [2008]) 351–58.

¹⁷ See the detailed discussion, with full references, by Rougemont, ‘Les noms des dieux’.

¹⁸ J. L. García Ramón, ‘Mykenische Personennamen und griechische Dichtung und Phrasologie: *i-su-ku-wo-do-to* und *a-re-me-ne*, *a-re-i-me-ne*’, *Pasiphae* 1 (2007 [2008]) 323–35 at 329–35; A. Willi, ‘Ares the Ripper: from Stang’s Law to long-diphthong roots’, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 119 (2014) 207–25.

Dionysos, Diwia (below), Eileithyia, Enyalios,¹⁹ Hephaistos, Hera,²⁰ Hermes, Mother of the Gods, Poseidon,²¹ the Winds, whose priestesses are mentioned in Knossos, and Zeus. Other names that survived into later times are Enesidaon, Erinys, Paeôn and Potnia, but they have lost their independent status: Enesidaon probably became an epithet of Poseidon as En(n)osidas,²² as did Erinys of Demeter (Paus. 8.25.5), and Paeôn, although still independent in the *Iliad* (5.401, 900), soon ended up as an epithet of Apollo and Asklepios.²³ Potnia was a generic designation for goddesses in Mycenaean;²⁴ it survived in Homer as a formulaic epithet, especially of Hera and ‘mother’, which occurs mainly at the end of a verse.²⁵ Finally, as the Linear B texts come from only a few places in Greece, mainly Pylos, Knossos, Khania and Thebes, it is not surprising that some old gods also survived elsewhere. In Homer, we not only find Helios, the sun god, but also Eos, the goddess of dawn, both marginalised in the Greek pantheon, but of incontestably Indo-European origin.²⁶ Sparta worshipped Helen as a goddess,²⁷ and her myths strongly suggest that she goes back to the Indo-European Sun-Maiden.²⁸ In Boeotia, Zeus’ consort was called Plataia, ‘Broad’. As Prthivī, ‘Broad’, is also the name of Earth, Heaven’s wife in the Vedas, it seems that this ancient pairing survived in a Boeotian backwater.²⁹

¹⁹ For the name and its etymology, see P. Högemann and N. Oettinger, *Lydien. Ein altanatolischer Staat zwischen Griechenland und dem Vorderen Orient* (Berlin and Boston, 2018) 77–79 (possibly Lydian).

²⁰ J. de la Genière (ed.), *Héra: images, espaces, cultes* (Naples, 1997); J. N. Bremmer, ‘Hera’, in L. Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York, 2005²) 3914–16; J. L. García Ramón, ‘Hera and Hero: reconstructing lexicon and god-names’, in D. M. Goldstein *et al.* (eds), *Proceedings of the 27th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference* (Bremen, 2016) 41–60; V. Pirenne-Delforge and G. Pironti, *L’Héra de Zeus. Ennemie intime, épouse définitive* (Paris, 2016).

²¹ Ch. Doyen, *Poséïdon souverain* (Brussels, 2011); this volume, Chapter 2.

²² Stesichorus S 105+143 Davies = F 114.10 Finglass; Pind. *P.* 4.33 with Braswell *ad loc.*, 173, *Pae.* 52d.41, 60a.6,

²³ I. Rutherford, *Pindar’s Paeans* (Oxford, 2001) 13–17; F. Graf, *Apollo* (London and New York, 2009) 81–84, 139; this volume, Chapter 10.

²⁴ C. Boëlle, *Po-ti-ni-ja: l’élément féminin dans la religion mycénienne, d’après les archives en linéaire B* (Nancy and Paris, 2004).

²⁵ Hera: *Il.* 1.357, 4.50, etc. Mother: *Il.* 1.357, 6.264, etc.

²⁶ West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 194–217 (Sun), 217–27 (Dawn); T. Pronk, ‘Old Church Slavonic (*j*)utro, Vedic *usár-*‘daybreak, morning’’, in L. van Beek *et al.* (eds), *Farnah: Indo-Iranian and Indo-European studies in honor of Sasha Lubotsky* (Ann Arbor and New York, 2018) 298–306.

²⁷ R. Parker, ‘The cult of Helen and Menelaos in the Spartan Menelaion’ = https://www.academia.edu/22684765/The_Cult_of_Helen_and_Menelaos_in_the_Spartan_Menelaion (accessed 7-8-2018).

²⁸ SEG 26.457, 458, cf. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 230–36; N. Laneres, ‘L’har-pax de Théragné ou le *digamma* d’Hélène’, in M. B. Hatzopoulos (ed.), *Phônés charaktêr ethnikos* (Athens and Paris, 2007) 237–69.

²⁹ W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1979) 132–34; Janko on *Il.* 14.323–25; West, *Indo-European Myth and Poetry*, 174–75, 178, 182.

Different invading groups of Greeks may well have brought along or preserved different parts of their Indo-European heritage.

The above list shows that several major Greek gods are still absent from the Mycenaean pantheon: Aphrodite, Apollo, Athena and Demeter. As the latter is also rare in Homer, she perhaps was much older than our evidence suggests. Traditionally, her name has been interpreted as ‘Earth Mother’ on the basis of Indo-European parallels, but the first element of her name, **Dā*, is still much debated.³⁰ Athena may well have developed from the Mycenaean ‘Potnia of Atana’ (below), whereas the other two gods seem to have been ‘imports’. Already early on, the Greeks themselves connected Aphrodite with Cyprus, and modern research still considers this island an important station in the transmission of Eastern influence on the formation of the goddess.³¹ Finally, the origin of Apollo is still disputed and, at present, his etymology cannot be considered as assured. Although the Greeks themselves sometimes connected Apollo with Lycia,³² the Lycian name for Apollo was Natr, as the trilingual inscription of Xanthos seems to suggest.³³ A connection with the Hittite god Appaliunaš (attested ca. 1280 BC) is almost certain, but at this moment the most plausible solution seems to be an origin in an Anatolian non-Indo-European language.³⁴ It is clear, then, that from the very beginning the Greek pantheon was a dynamic group of gods and goddesses with winners and losers in the course of time.

There was probably a hierarchy among Mycenaean divinities, as Poseidon is mentioned most and receives the greatest number of offerings in Pylos. Rather surprisingly, he almost certainly had a wife, Posidaeja (PY Tn 316.4), just as Zeus seems to have had a wife Diwia, who survived in outlying Pamphylia,³⁵ but who was already replaced in Mycenaean times by Hera. Zeus and Hera even have a son, Drimios (PY Tn 316.8–9), but he, too, is no longer attested in the first millennium. As in Classical times, some of these gods seem to have had an epithet, an important part of the Greek divine personality, which is gradually re-

³⁰ West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 175–8; A. Willi, ‘Demeter, Gê, and the Indo-European Word(s) for “Earth”’, *Historische Sprachforschung* 120 (2007) 169–94.

³¹ *Od.* 8.362–63; *Hes. Th.* 199; Sappho 22.16, 134; Alcaeus 296b.1, 380; *Hom. H. Aphrodite* 2, 58–59; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985) 152–53; V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L’Aphrodite grecque* (Liège, 1994) 309–69; J. C. Franklin, ‘Greek Epic and *Kypriaka*: why “Cyprus matters”’, in J. Goodnick-Westenholz *et al.* (eds), *Music in Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 2010) 213–47; this volume, Chapter 16.3.

³² *Il.* 4.101, 119; *Eur. F* 700; *Arr. Bith.* fr. 34 Roos.

³³ O. Carruba, ‘Cario *Natri* ed egizio n t r ‘dio’’, in M. Fritz and S. Zeifelder (eds), *Novalis Indogermanica* (Graz, 2002) 75–84.

³⁴ N. Oettinger, ‘Apollo: indogermanisch oder nicht-indogermanisch?’, *MSS* 69 (2015) 123–43.

³⁵ C. Brixhe, ‘Achéens et Phrygiens en Asie Mineure: approche comparative de quelques données lexicales’, in Fritz and Zeifelder, *Novalis Indogermanica*, 49–73 at 54–55 (Pamphylia); Rougemont, ‘Les noms des dieux’, 337 n.63 (Linear B). Perhaps, though, she was Zeus’ daughter: I. Serrano Laguna, ‘Di-u-ja’, in E. Alram-Stern *et al.* (eds), *Metaphysis* (Leuven, 2016) 285–91.

ceiving long overdue attention.³⁶ This is especially clear in the case of Potnia, a generic epithet that was applied to different goddesses and determined by a reference to a cult place or a specific characteristic. The topographical title ‘Potnia of Atana’ (KN V 52.1) is comparable to other topographical epithets, such as Apollo Delios or Aphrodite Paphia, and the ‘Potnia of the horses’ (PY An 1281.1) looks very much like the later Athena Hippias or Poseidon Hippios, ‘of the horses’. The most intriguing combination is Hermes Areias (PY Tn 316.7), which resembles the later Athena Areia or Aphrodite Areia.³⁷ But whereas in classical Greek religion a goddess is always combined with the adjectival form of a god, or vice versa,³⁸ this is clearly not the case in Mycenaean times.

From Homer onwards, these divinities, which remain hardly more than names in the Mycenaean texts, become visible as individual characters by their names, epithets, cults, statues,³⁹ myths,⁴⁰ which create a divine unity whereas cult tends more to diversity, and iconographies.⁴¹ Moreover, in the course of time, from this motley collection of gods there rose a group of twelve Olympian gods, the Dodekathéon, who were seen as representative of the complete Greek pantheon,⁴² even though each local pantheon had its own, slightly varying composition.⁴³ This Dodekathéon seems to recall the role of the twelve gods in Hittite religion via the twelve Titans, who almost certainly were derived from the

³⁶ Belayche, *Nommer les dieux*; F. Graf, ‘Gods in Greek Inscriptions: some methodological questions’, in Bremmer and Erskine, *The Gods of Ancient Greece*, 55–80 at 67–74; R. Parker, *Greek Gods Abroad* (Oxford, 2017) *passim*.

³⁷ For Aphrodite Areia, see G. Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre. Figures d’Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne* (Liège, 2007) 265–68.

³⁸ R. Parker, ‘Artémis Ilithyè et autres: le problème du nom divin utilisé come epiclèse’, in Belayche, *Nommer les dieux*, 219–26 at 219–20, 225; J. Marcos Macedo, ‘Noun Apposition in Greek Religious Language: a linguistic account’, in P. Poccetti and F. Logozzo (eds), *Ancient Greek Linguistics* (Berlin and Boston, 2017) 565–79; R. Parker, ‘Zeus Plus’, in C. Bonnet *et al.* (eds), *Puissances divines à l’épreuve du comparatisme* (Turnhout, 2017) 309–20.

³⁹ See, more recently, B. Alroth, ‘Changing Modes in the Representation of Cult Images’, in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Athens and Liège, 1992) 9–46; T. Scheer, *Die Gottheit und ihr Bild* (Munich, 2000); S. Bettinetti, *La statua di culto nella pratica rituale greca* (Bari, 2001); P. Linant de Bellefonds *et al.*, ‘Rites et activités relatifs aux image de culte’, *ThesCRA II* (Los Angeles, 2004) 417–507; K. Lapatin, ‘New Statues for Old Gods’, in Bremmer and Erskine, *The Gods of Ancient Greece*, 126–51; F. Hölscher, *Die Macht der Gottheit im Bild* (Heidelberg, 2017); this volume, Chapter 7.

⁴⁰ For the contribution of myth to our knowledge of the nature of divinity, see R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* (Cambridge, 1994) 145–51.

⁴¹ The standard work is *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich and Düsseldorf, 1981–2009); see also D. Grassinger *et al.* (eds), *Die Rückkehr der Götter* (Regensburg, 2008).

⁴² K. Dowden, ‘Olympian Gods, Olympian Pantheon’, in D. Ogden (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2007) 41–55; I. Rutherford, ‘Canonizing the Pantheon: the Dodekathéon in Greek religion and its origins’, in Bremmer and Erskine, *The Gods of Ancient Greece*, 43–54.

⁴³ V. Pirenne-Delforge (ed.), *Les Panthéons des cités des origines à la Périégèse de Pausanias* (Liège, 1998).

Hittites.⁴⁴ But where and when did this development start? A hitherto neglected testimony allows us to be more specific. In his poem about the entry of Dionysos into the Olympus with the help of Hephaistos,⁴⁵ Alcaeus (F 349e) uses the expression ‘one of the twelve’. The qualification shows that around 600 BC the idea of a Dodekatheon was already prevalent on Lesbos, an island where Hittite influence is indeed in evidence.⁴⁶ Via Lesbos, and perhaps other Ionian islands, the idea of the Dodekatheon gradually spread to Athens and Olympia where it becomes visible around 520 BC.⁴⁷ At around the same time we see the materialisation of the concept of the hero as a class of supernatural beings between gods and men, even though some figures kept hovering between the two categories, such as Heracles.⁴⁸ It is only at this moment, then, that the classic image of Greek religion with its gods, heroes and humans is fully in place.

2. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

Let us now turn to the modern historians of Greek religion and start our survey with Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931), the greatest Hellenist of modern times,⁴⁹ who wrote an unfinished history of Greek religion in two volumes in the very last years of his life and died while correcting the proofs.⁵⁰ It was the synthesis of a life-long, ever more intensive study of Greek religion and mythology. Its first volume is wholly dedicated to the older gods until

⁴⁴ J. N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Leiden, 2008) 77–78.

⁴⁵ See this volume, Chapter 4.

⁴⁶ K. and S. Tausend, ‘Lesbos – Zwischen Griechenland und Kleinasien’, in R. Rollinger and B. Truschneegg (eds), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006) 89–111; H. Mason, ‘Hittite Lesbos?’, in B. J. Collins et al. (eds), *Anatolian Interfaces* (Oxford, 2010) 57–62; Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture*, 317; A. Dale, ‘Alcaeus on the Career of Myrsilos’, *JHS* 131 (2011) 15–24.

⁴⁷ Thuc. 6.54.6, see, most recently, S. Georgoudi, ‘Les Douze dieux des Grecs: variations sur un thème’, in S. Georgoudi and J.-P. Vernant (eds), *Mythes grecs au figuré: de l’antiquité au baroque* (Paris, 1996) 43–80 and ‘Les Douze Dieux et les autres dans l’espace culturel grec’, *Kernos* 11 (1998) 73–83; R. W. Johnston and D. Mulroy, ‘The Hymn to Hermes and the Athenian Altar of the Twelve Gods’, *Class. World* 103 (2009) 3–16.

⁴⁸ See this volume, Chapter 7.1.

⁴⁹ In addition to the many articles and books, authored and edited, by W. M. Calder III on Wilamowitz, see R. L. Fowler, ‘Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff’, in W. W. Briggs and W. M. Calder III (eds), *Classical scholarship. A Biographical Encyclopedia* (New York and London, 1990) 489–522.

⁵⁰ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1931–1932). For excellent discussions of Wilamowitz as historian of Greek religion, see A. Henrichs, ‘“Der Glaube der Hellenen”: Religionsgeschichte als Glaubensbekenntnis und Kulturkritik’, in W. M. Calder III et al. (eds), *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (Darmstadt, 1985) 262–305; R. L. Fowler, ‘Blood for the Ghosts: Wilamowitz in Oxford’, *Syllecta Classica* 20 (2009) 171–213.

Homer,⁵¹ but its scheme of pre-Hellenic, old-Hellenic and Homeric gods has become completely outdated through the decipherment of Linear B. Yet it remains a lasting insight that Greek religion is strictly local in character, even though it has only more recently led to local histories of Greek religion.⁵² In the second volume Wilamowitz follows the further history of Greek religion, in which the Panhellenic gods receive a more than 250 page exposition, by far the largest in any of the modern histories, that culminates in Plato. It is rather striking to see that theology is fully incorporated into his narration, whereas the more recent histories, although paying attention to the religious role of poets and philosophers, never give the impression that this is seen as an important part of Greek religion. It is surely symbolic that both Nilsson and Burkert treat them towards the ends of their handbooks.⁵³ Naturally, Wilamowitz discussed authors like Lucian and Pausanias, but he did not think of the novel and hardly spent any time on late antique magic and theurgy. He rejected Christianity, but had intended to discuss the reasons for its victory. Unfortunately, his death prevented him from completing that part, and we have only a few jottings left which show how interesting this last chapter could have been.

Wilamowitz started his study with a long methodological chapter, which in several ways has a surprisingly modern ring. In its very first sentence, he already reacted against those that saw the Greek gods as unchangeable with fixed characters. That is why he used the expression *Die Götter sind da*, 'The gods are present' (that is, in the world of time and place), as a kind of refrain in his introduction.⁵⁴ The formulation may well have been in reaction to Walter F. Otto's (1874–1958) dictum *Die Götter sind*, 'The gods exist', as the latter's *Die Götter Griechenlands* had appeared in 1929,⁵⁵ the very year that Wilamowitz had started his own book.

⁵¹ In the light of history, one can only read with admiration his protest against the talk about 'Rassenreinheit' in ancient Greece, cf. Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, 1.50.

⁵² Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, 1.46–47, see especially the splendid volumes of R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* (Oxford, 1996) and *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) and I. Polinskaya, *A Local History of Greek Polytheism: gods, people and the land of Aigina* (Oxford, 2013).

⁵³ M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2 vols (Munich: I: 1941¹, 1955², 1967³, II: 1950¹, 1961²). 1.741–83; Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 305–37.

⁵⁴ Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, 1.17–19, 23, 42. As Henrichs (*per email* of 2-6-2009) comments: 'What Wilamowitz tried to express is the fact that when seen with the eyes of a (cultural) historian Greek gods do not live on Olympus or in some kind of dream world or vacuum, but they exist in the historical here and now. The *da* in the German phrase is not the equivalent of the Greek *ekei*, 'there', but conveys the sense of an identifiable presence. Like the German *die Götter sind da*, the version 'the gods are there' can also be used in an unmarked sense as an equivalent of 'the gods exist', but it could also mean in a marked sense that 'the gods are (over) THERE', i.e. pointing to a specific locale that need not be too near to the speaker. The translation 'the gods are present' would avoid that ambiguity'.

⁵⁵ W. F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands. Das Bild des Göttlichen im Spiegel des griechischen*

Index of Names, Subjects and Passages

- Aalders, G.J.D. VII
- Achilles
- cults of 93
 - death 96
 - as god 93
 - and initiation 421
 - in late antiquity 494
 - and Menesthios 494
 - travesty 389, 494, 531
- Achilles Tatius
- 1.8.6 491
 - 6.1 494
 - 8.6 495
 - 8.11.2 492
 - 8.12 492
 - 8.13 495
- Acusilaus, fragments, *FGrH* 2/Fowler
- proem *Genealogies* 141
 - strategy of authentication 141–42
 - F 28 = 28F 40
- Adonis/Adonia 260, 271, 292–94
- gardens of Adonis 293
 - and women 298
- Adranos, sweating god 113
- Aegina
- Damia and Auxesia 107
 - tomb of Aeacus 217
- Aeschylus, fragments, ed. Radt
- *Agamemnon*
 - 231–35 322
 - 232 398, 405
 - 236–37 397, 405
 - 426 171
 - 1021 166–67
 - 1051 173
 - *Bassarai*
 - F 743 274
 - *Cabiri* 59
 - and Eleusinian Mysteries 224–25
 - F 96–97 59
 - *Choephoroi* 613–22 216
 - *Danaids*
 - F 44 208
 - *Eumenides* 69 244
 - *Psychagôgoi*
 - F 273a 170
 - *Semele* 34
 - *Seven against Thebes*
 - 269 315, 411
 - *Suppliants*
 - 985, 1022 171
 - *Theoroi/Isthmiastae*
 - F 78a 108
 - *Trophi*
 - F 246a 240
 - Fragment 262 500
 - 277 342
- Agae 32
- Agria(o)nia 37–41
- Alcaeus, fragments, ed. Voigt
- F 129 33
- Alcmaeonis*, fragments, ed. Bernabé/Davies
- F 6B = F 5D 377
- Alcman, fragments, ed. Page/Davies/Calame
- F 20PD = 12C 499
- Alexis, fragments, ed. Kassel-Austin
- *Mandragorizomene* 245
 - F 117 41
 - F 140 145
 - F 201 221
- Alma-Tadema, L. 258, 273

- Amphiaraus, hero/god 93
 – as warrior 150
- Anacreon, fragments, ed. Page/Campbell
 F 38 501
 F 411 274
- Anaxagoras 158–59
- Andocides
 1.11 228
 1.12 226
- Androtion *FGrH* 314
 F 6 387
- Anios 127
- Antheadai/Anthes 488–89
anthestrides 344, 393
- Antimachus, fragments, ed. Matthews
 F 92 293
- Antoninus Liberalis 513
- Aphrodite 7
 – Antheia 344
 – Areia 8
 – and Ares 57, 244
 – and Horae 502
 – and Inanna/Ishtar 280
 – as old woman 232
 – Ourania 308
- Apollo
 – Agreus 454–55
 – Anatolian 7
 – and colonisation 457
 – and Cyrene 454–56
 – and Dionysos 43
 – god of new beginning 457
 – god of oracles/seers 149–50
 – and Horae 506
 – Iatros 169
 – Lykeios 363
 – Nomios 454–55
 – Patroos 15
 – and Poseidon 25
 – and raven 460
 – and Sibyl 154
- Apollodorus, handbook 374–75
 – edited by Heyne 519
 – sources 513–14
 1.7.2 327
- 1.9.16 325
 2.2.2 40
Ep. 3.16 375
Ep. 3.20–21 387
- Apollodorus of Athens, *FGrH* 244 514
 F 131 35
- Apollonius, *Mirabilia*
 3 149
- Apollonius Rhodius
 1.14 325
 1.494–511 207
- Arbman, E., on the soul 179–80
- Arcadia, backward 358
 – human sacrifice 360–70
- Archilochus, fragments, ed. West
 F 183 149
 F 196A 181, 344
- Ares, and Hephaistos 56, 59
- Argonauts 98, 148, 150, 162
 – on Lemnos 439–40
 – pre-Homeric 419
 – and sacrifice 325
- Ariadne 42–43
- Aristides
Or. 41.6 55
- Aristophanes, fragments, ed. Kassel-
 Austin
 – *Birds*
 962–63 126
 980–89 128
 983–88 158
 – *Clouds*
 555 237
 830 227
 984–85 331
 – *Ecclesiazusai*
 1056 244
 – *Frogs*
 137–42 188
 186 203
 269–70 188
 – *Horae*
 F 581 508
 – *Lysistrata*
 562 237
 582 468

- *Thesmophoriazusai*
 - 448 237
 - 995 271
- Aristotle, fragments, ed. Rose
 - F 101 188
 - F 192 220
 - F 491 486
 - F 556 488
- Artemis 19
 - Agrotera 454
 - and Aphrodite 492
 - Aristoboule 350
 - and bear 388
 - Einodia 381
 - Elaphebolos 377
 - Elaphiaia 377
 - Ephesia 118, 287
 - eunuch priests 287–88
 - and Hecate 382
 - Hymnia 23
 - and initiation 393, 412–13
 - Iphigeneia 386
 - as Iphigeneia 389
 - landscape of 211, 260–61, 393
 - and Orestes 412
 - and Pan 495
 - Parthenos 382, 413
 - Phosphoros 404–05
 - and Poseidon 386
 - pre-battle sacrifice, see *sphagia*
 - and pregnant animals 344
 - and Rhodopis 492
 - sanctuaries, situation of 404
 - *sphagia* 322, 332, 385, 395, 398, 401
 - statue in Ephesus 110
 - Tauropolos 382–83, 411–13
 - Triklaria 378
- Asius, fragments, ed. West
 - F 13 217
- Assmann, J. 474
- Athena 7
 - Areia 8
 - in Caria 483
 - Hippias 22
 - Malis 287
 - Polias, 345
 - and Poseidon 25
 - Skiras 345
- statue of 116
- statue in Callimachus 107
- statue in Homer 104
- Atrahasis* 25, 75, 275
- augmented triad 81–82
- Autonoe 32
- Bacchylides, ed. Maehler
 - 5.180 172
 - 13.186–89 504
 - 15.53–55 504
 - 19.49–50 32
- Barron, J. 467
- basileus* 152
- Battos 448–62
 - also Aristoteles 459, 461
 - also Battiades 461
- Baubo 65, 68, 70, 204, 244
- belief 10
- Bellerophonotes 484–86
- Bernabé, A. 73, 198, 201–03, 206
- Bernal, M. 282
- Black Sea, name 408
- Boccaccio 516
- Boedeker, D. 93–100
- Book of Dede Korkut* 421
- Brellich, A., on heroes 452
- Brimo 69–70, 205
- brothers,
 - dividing territory 470
 - specialisation 67
- Burckhardt, J. 86
- Burkert, W. IX
 - on Adonia 292
 - and Ancient Near East VIII, 280–82, 295
 - on gods 16–19
 - influenced by Mannhardt 525
 - on Jane Harrison 537
 - on heroes 86–87, 91
 - no magic 128
 - myth lacks in handbook IX
 - on myth and ritual 439–40, 523, 525, 530

- on Orphism 135–36, 139, 207, 209
- on Persephone 83
- on poets and philosophers 10, 144
- on Pythagoras 220–21
- on ritual 346–47, 434–35
- sacrifice XIII, 329–31
- and W.F. Otto 45
- Buxton, R. VIII
- Cabiri 49–50
 - and Cybele 50
 - and drinking 59–60
 - and Hephaistos 49–50
 - and Meter 50, 57
 - numbers 50
- Calame, C. VIII, 260, 267, 423, 432, 453, 474
- Callimachus, fragments, ed. Pfeiffer/ Harder
 - *Epigrams*
 - 22 172
 - *Hecale*, ed. Hollis 63
 - *Hymn to Apollo* 460–61
 - 5 505
 - 81 506
 - 318–20 58
 - *Hymn to Artemis*
 - 70–71 210
 - *Hymn to Zeus*
 - 52–54 479
 - Fragments
 - 612 421
- Camarina, and Athens 76, 138
- Cameron, Al. 511
- cannibalism 37, 258, 322, 363, 365, 368, 370, 384, 403, 441, 495
- Caria, autochthony 478, 480
- Casadio, G. 281
- Cassandra, rape of 104–05, 107
 - as seer 155
- Centaurs 523
- Cerberus 189
- Charon 130–31, 188–89, 194
- Clemens Alex. *Protr.* 2.21.2 210
- colonisation, Greek 448–49
 - and Delphi 454–55
 - marriage imagery 456–57
- Conon 513
- Cornford, F.M. 525
- Cratinus, ed. Kassel-Austin
 - *Boukoloi* 72
 - *Thracian Women* 108
- Creuzer, G.F. 475, 520
- curse tablets, origin 129, 169
- Cypria*, fragments, ed. Bernabé/Davies/West
 - sacrifice of Iphigenia 334, 374–77, 392
 - F 4BD = 5W 502
 - F 8B = 5D 210
 - F 23B = 17D = 20W 376
 - F 34B = 27D 352
- Cyrene, foundation 447–62
- Dacira 342
- Deio 69
- Demeter 7
 - *aischrologia* 343
 - and cannibalism 368
 - Chloe, pregnant victims 340–41
 - Chthonia 63–64, 73
 - and Deio 69
 - and Ge 73
 - and goats 171
 - and Hecate 173
 - and Kybele 73
 - and Meter 73
 - as old woman 232
 - and pigs 306–07
 - Thesmophoros 65
 - and torches 172
 - and Zeus Eubouleus 65–66
- Demosthenes
 - 18.259–60E 234, 238
 - 18.284 238
 - 19.199, 249 238
 - 43.62 233
 - 57.45 236
- Derveni Papyrus, ed. Kouremenos/Kotwick 69–71, 73, 145
 - Egyptian influence 207

- ejaculation by Ouranos 207
- on Eumenides 339
- and *magoi* 298–99
- and Orphic secrecy 223
- purity in 212
- size 137
- Detienne, M. IX, 45
 - on Adonia 292
- Deucalion 327
- Diagoras, atheist 110, 226–27
- Diels, H. 156
- Dieterich, A. 136, 433, 535–36
- Dione 34
- Dionysos X–XI, 31–44
 - Agrios 38
 - and Apollo 43
 - and Ariadne 42–43
 - Bakchios 71, 78
 - *bakchoi* 70–72
 - Bassareus/os 274
 - epiphany 36
 - Euios 271–72
 - (Eri)kryptos 40
 - as a girl 531
 - and Hipte 286
 - and Horae 505–07
 - *katabasis* 33
 - and Lycurgus 37, 40–41
 - and madness 42
 - Melanaigis 36
 - Orthos 507
 - and pigs 307
 - and Thetis 40, 79
 - Thyonais/eus/idas 33
- Diotima 155
- Diphilus, fragments, ed. Kassel-Austin

F 125	238
-------	-----
- Diwia 7
- Dodds, E. R., on maenadism 251
- Dodona, priestesses 154
 - priestesses old women 238–39
- Douglas, M. IX
- Drimios 7, 33
- Dumézil, G. 17
- Ea and the Beast* 283
- Eileithyia(i) 51, 58
 - priestess old woman 238
- Einodia
 - and Artemis 173, 381–82
 - and Hecate 173, 382
- Eleusis, local mythology 205
- Eleusinian Mysteries 71, 72, 205
 - grade of initiation 212
 - origin in initiation 223
 - passwords 210–11
 - profanation of 227–29
 - secrecy of 223–29
- Empedocles
 - and Eleusinian Mysteries 212
 - and Orphism 140
- Enesidaon 6
- Endymion 487–88
- Enyalios 6
- Eos 6
- Epimenides 140, 153
 - grave of 156
 - skin of 126, 156
- Epimenides of Crete, fragments, ed.

<i>FGrH</i> 457/Fowler/Bernabé	
T 1F	480
F 4–6b, 18, 21 = 6–12F	299
F 6a = 47B = 8F	205
F 13F	293
F17 = 4F	499
- Epicure, and mother 238
- epiphany 5
- Eratosthenes, star myths 476, 512
- Erinyes 6
- Eubouleus 61–68, 139, 199–200
- Eubulus, fragments, ed. Kassel-Austin

F 122	317
-------	-----
- Euklês 61–68, 199–200
- Eumelos, fragments Davies/Bernabé
 - *Europia* 32
 - *Titanomachy* 290–91

F 6DB	216
F 10DB	480
F 1D = F11B	32

- Eumenides 76, 200
 – and Erinyes 200
 – pregnant animals 338
 Euphorion, fragments, ed. Lightfoot
 F 109 169
 Euripides, fragments, ed. Kannicht
 – Heaven and Earth 208
 – *Alcestis*
 357–62 138
 – *Bacchae*
 maenads in 251–70
 2 32
 120–22 479
 298–99 42
 680 240
 1008 211
 – *Cretans* 205
 F 472 72
 – *Cyclops*
 25 271
 – *Electra*
 15 376
 803 313
 – *Eurystheus* 108–09
 – *Hecuba*
 – date and Getty Hexameters 170
 – and Polyxena 353–57
 152 170
 267–68 397
 355–56 398
 1199–1200 37, 397, 404
 – *Helen*
 435–82 233
 1562 356, 400, 405
 – *Heraclids*
 561 357
 – *Hippolytus*
 Artemis and Aphrodite 492
 Hippolytus, popular name 493
 – *Hypsipyle* 249
 F 759a 139
 F 752f 249
 F 752g 479
 F 758a 139
 – *IA*
 role Artemis 392–93
 end Christian 391
 human sacrifice in 391–402
 perversion of *locus amoenus* 211
 reception of 391
 women ‘talking at the loom’ 248
 185–302 403
 1199–1200 404
 – *Ion*
 194–200 248
 292 468
 507–09 248
 1024 173
 1048 173
 1297 468
 1589–94 468
 – *IT*
 human sacrifice in 403–15
 name of Iphigeneia 376
 statue in 107, 110, 408–09
 temple in 408
 31 389
 1153 389
 1162–67 389
 – *Kresphontes*
 murder of Kresphontes 471
 F 448a–459 469
 – *Melanippe Desmotis*
 F 494 338
 – *Melanippe Sophe* 207, 249–50
 F 484 205, 207, 249
 – *Meleagros*
 F 532 130
 – *Phaeton*
 F 781 173
 – *Phoenissae*
 sacrifice of Menoecus 380
 1754–57 32
 934 378
 – *Suppliants*
 526 184
 – *Temenos/Temenidae*
 myth of Kresphontes 470
 – *Troades*
 194–95 233, 240, 500
 Farnell, L.R. 38, 86
 – on nature mythology 524
 festivals
 – Agria(o)nia 37–40
 – Anthesphoria 343

- Anthesteria 37
- Apatouria 54
- Chalkeia 54
- Chloia 341
- Choes 131
- Chthonia 239
- Dipolieia 329–32
- Ekdysia 437–38
- Elaphebolia 377, 382
- Eleutheria 93–94
- Feralia 239
- Herosanthia 343
- Karneia 459
- Kronia 290–91, 350–52, 442–44
- Liberalia 239
- Lupercalia 364
- Lykaia 359
- Oschophoria 345
- Parentalia 239
- Septerion 522
- Skira 260
- Thargelia 289, 508
- Theoxenia/Theodaisia 324
- Tonaia 56
- see also Adonia, Thesmophoria
- Finley, M. 231
- Finn/*fian* 366
- flowers, and girls' maturation 343–44
- Fontenelle, B. de 427, 517–18
- Forrer, E. 280, 289
- Frazer, J. G. 152
- on Adonis 292
- influenced Gernet 526
- influenced W. R. Smith 433, 524–25
- Fréret, N. 427, 518–19
- Friedrich, J. 288
- Fulgentius 515
- funeral rites 183–95
- *ekphora* 191–93
- lamentation 190
- meal 193
- *prothesis* 186–91
- *thêkê* 193
- Ge/Gaia, in curse tablets 131
- in Halicarnassus 478–79
- Kourotrophos/ic 340, 455
- as Mother of Gods 133
- and Okeanos 204
- and Ouranos 203–04
- and pregnant animals 339
- Geertz, C.
- definition religion 143
- on emic/etic 324
- Gernet, L.
- on gods 12–13
- and initiation 527
- on maenadism 268–69
- on myth 526–27
- Getty Hexameters 165–74
- girls
- as calves/foals 355
- and flowers 343–44, 393
- 'girl's tragedy' 441, 451
- herding cattle 454
- initiation of 413
- as wine pourers 501
- goats, herding of 172
- gods, Greek 3–20
- agency 4–5
- anthropomorphic X, 4, 14
- assembly of 281
- Carian 285–86
- character of 347
- 'decarnalisation' of 325
- definition 13
- distance from 109–10, 117
- Dodekatheon 8–9, 106
- epithets 8, 131
- heavenly 4
- and heroes 89–90, 106
- humans family of 203–04
- identity of X
- immortal 4–5
- invisible 5
- language 4
- Luwian 285–87
- Lycian 284
- Lydian 284
- and men 4
- modern neglect of IX
- Mycenaean 4–9
- Orphic 61–83

- pantheon, birth of XI, 8–9, 291
- personified abstractions 12, 497–98
- power 4
- in procession 501
- spheres of activity X
- statues 101–22
- theogony rare 299
- theophoric names 19
- unity X
- unknown 5
- Gold Leaves
 - Egyptian influence 208–09
 - gods in 61–81
- Golden Fleece 526–27
- Gould, J. XIII, 143, 236
- Graiai 500
- Graf, F. VIII, 66, 139, 154, 169, 477
 - on curse tablets 129
 - on Hephaistos 47, 60
 - on hero cult 87–88
 - and initiation 412, 421
 - on pregnant animals 337
 - on ritual 346–47, 434, 443
- grove, sacred 393, 459
- Gruppe, O. 279–80
- Hades 130
 - etymology 75
 - house of 185
 - as underworld 201
- Halbwachs, M. 461
- Halicarnassus 475–89
 - name, etymology 481
 - Carians in 481, 484
 - Vitruvius, in Halicarnassus 482–83
- Harrison, J.
 - and Durkheim 534
 - and initiation 525
 - inspired by W.R. Smith 433, 534
 - and Johan Huizinga 533
 - and van der Leeuw 533–37
 - on maenadism 251
 - on myth and ritual 435–36, 524–25
 - on Orphic eschatology 210
- Hebat 286–87
- Hecataeus, fragments, ed. *FGrH 1/*
 - Fowler 153, 222, 475
 - F 1 = F1F 142
- Hecate
 - Chthonia 133
 - and Iphigeneia 382
- Helen, Indo-European 6, 420
 - and Menelaos 87
- Helios 6, 287, 320
- Henrichs, A. VIII, XII, 4, 204, 275–76
 - on human sacrifice 384
 - influenced by W.F. Otto 45
 - on local mythology 204–05
 - on maenadism 251–52, 275
 - on oracles 126
- Hephaisteia 54
- Hephaistos XI, 47–60
 - and Ares 56, 59
 - and Athena 58
 - Cabiri 49–50
 - craftsman 48
 - and Dionysos 56, 59
 - and donkey 58–59
 - and Erechtheus/Erichthonios 54
 - and Hera 55–58
 - illegitimate 51
 - lame 52–53
 - and Lemnos 51
 - marriage 52
 - smith 49
 - sweats 52
 - and Thetis 57–58
 - as wine pourer 53
- Hera 6
 - Antheia, pregnant animals 343
 - as Beroe 34, 232
 - and Hephaistos 55–58
 - and initiation 343–44
 - statue in Argos 107
 - statue in Samos 56–57, 110–11
- Heraclēs 9
 - apotheosis 280
 - archaic statues 113, 118
 - deeds pre-Homeric 419
 - as Eleusinian initiate 225
 - and Geryon 420–21

- god/hero 93, 106
- statue destroyed 110, 113
- statue sweats 113
- Heraclitus, *Allegoriae*
 - 26 51
- Heraclitus, philosopher
 - criticises 153
 - on the Sibyl 154
 - on statues 106
- Herder, J.G. 428–29, 519
- Hermaphroditos 288, 481–84
- Hermes Areias 8
 - Chthonios 130–31
 - Dolios 131
 - Eriounios 130–31
 - Katochos 130–31
 - and Persephone 132
 - popular 130–31
 - mutilation of herms 217–18
 - statues 109
- Hermione, cults 63, 239
- Hermippus, fragments, ed. Kassel-Austin
 - *Moirai*
 - F 43 227
- Hermotimus 149
- Herodotus
 - 1.171–75 478, 480, 485
 - 1.132 166, 313
 - 2.53.2 141
 - 2.119.2–3 370
 - 2.134 493
 - 3.129–37 219
 - 4.49 492
 - 4.103.2 382, 413
 - 4.135 492
 - 4.146.3 457
 - 4.147 460
 - 4.150–61 447–51, 459
 - 4.196 449
 - 5.43 127
 - 6.52–53 470–71
 - 7.94 467
 - 7.99.3 488
 - 7.204 471
 - 7.228 150
 - 8.44 467
- 8.65 225
- 8.124.3 219
- 9.21.3 219
- 9.67 219
- heroes 85–100
 - Agamemnon 86–87
 - altars 90–91
 - between gods and men 90
 - etymology of ἦρωες 89–90
 - and gods 89–90
 - as gods 92–93
 - heroines 90
 - heroon 90
 - malformed 452
 - Odysseus 87
 - rise of cult 91–92
 - rituals for 92
 - as title 88–89
- heroisation 93–100
- Hesiod, fragments, ed. Merkelbach-West
 - *Catalogue*
 - Athenian? 467
 - date of 466
 - F 1 324
 - F 10a 465, 487
 - F 23ab 173, 376, 381
 - F 139 293
 - F 204 98
 - F 215 453–54
 - F 217A 32
 - *Theogony*
 - 106 204
 - 60–61 502
 - 381 173
 - 477–84 478–79
 - 535–61 326
 - 914 170
 - 976 32
 - *Works*
 - 21–26 153
 - 64 454
 - 73–75 502
 - 111 426
 - 590 172
 - 686 177
 - Fragments
 - 307 168

<i>hieros logos</i>	167	5.900	6, 168
Hipponax, fragments, ed. Degani		6.135–37	210
– on scapegoats	289	6.286–87	232
F 6, 26, 30	289	7.8–9, 137–38	420
Hestia, and pigs	306	7.320–22	319
Hesychius, ed. Latte/Hansen/Cunningham		7.467–69	440
α	750	8.393–94	500
α	788	8.432–35	501
β	1160–61	8.546–71	151
ε	5957	9.141	380
ε	6926	9.145	375–76
η	822	9.322	174
ι	1122	9.409	178
ρ	405	9.534–36	325
τ	107	10.266	420
Heyne, C. G.	428–29, 443, 518–20	10.334	363
Hippolytus	493	11.454	37
holy books	140	11.741	168
Homer		13.45	148
– Cyclops, Oriental background	283–84	13.172–73	151
– and <i>Gilgamesh</i>	284, 295	13.365–66	155
– Nausicaa, Oriental background	283–84	13.685, 689	464
– Oriental influence	295	14.201	132
– <i>Iliad</i>		14.219–23	210
1.3–5	182	14.290–91	4
1.39–41	326	14.323–25	32
1.69	378	14.518–19	180
1.157	170	16.173ff	494
1.69 148	378	16.181–83	454
1.320	380	16.321–22	489
2.299–332	376–77	16.505	178
2.604	420	16.856	180
2.831	151	18.27	188
2.858	150	18.122	210
3.384	332	18.317	187
3.95–312	321	18.339	210
4.167–68	166	18.350–53	186
4.197	190	18.398	210
5.149–51	151	18.495–96	232
5.296	180	19.250–68	321
5.401	6, 168	19.304–08	189
5.696	177	20.57–58	22
5.749–50	500	21.578–80	178
		22.25	178
		22.170–72	326
		22.261	177
		22.362	178, 180
		22.414	189

22.467	177	11.618–19	419
23.9	190	12.70	419
23.42	189	12.97	168
23.65–67	182	12.127–36	454
23.69–76	185	14.407	499
23.100	182–83	14.437	319
23.104	182–83	14.428	316
23.131–37	192	15.469	210
23.175–76	384	17.176	499
23.747	440	18.345	166
24.82	37	19.176	451
24.163–64	188	19.593	169
24.215	210	20.360	149
24.580–81	188	22.328–29	153
24.615	368	23.379–80	153
24.699	155	24.90	190
24.712, 724	187	24.315–17	189
24.720–24	190	24.44–46	186, 189
24.742–45	187	24.408, 411	315
24.782–87	192		
– <i>Odyssey</i>		<i>Homeric Hymns</i> , ed. West	
1.438	241	– <i>Apollo</i> 305–55	51, 58
2.96–102	188	– <i>Aphrodite</i>	
2.346	241	love on mountains	529
3.40–44	317	love for shepherd	487
3.309	193	88–80	502
3.444	316	2, 58–59	7
3.430–63	304	2.5–13	502
3.447	355	– <i>Demeter</i> 139, 244, 273	
4.85–89	455	47–50	189
7.268	170	56	170
8.294	440	101–02	232
9.551–55	326	206–10	436
10.65	185	360	170
10.217–22	181	478–79	223–24
10.469–70	499	– <i>Dionysos</i>	34, 55
10.521	194, 200	A 1	57
10.560	180	A 2–3	32
11.29	194, 200	D 12	33
11.51–55	181	– <i>Gaia</i>	
11.65	180	17	133
11.72–76	185	– <i>Hephaistos</i>	54
11.321–25	42	– <i>Hermes</i> 115	48
11.339	499	66–67	499
11.424–26	187	450	171
11.476	194, 200	<i>hōra</i>	498
11.507	203	Horae	497–509
11.541–43	183	– <i>Antheiai</i>	344

– and Aphrodite 502–03	84	90, 465
– and Dionysos 505–06	85	343
– and Graces 502–03	86	340, 342–43
– kourotrophic 455	92	319
– number of 508–09	99	388
– and Peitho 502	109	393
– serving role 502–03	117	320
– and Sun 508	138	32, 258
– and Themis 503–04	148	338
Hultkrantz, Å., on the soul 179–80	149	342
Hyacinthus 44	156.3	41
	179	342
Hyginus 476, 512	– <i>SEG</i>	
Hyperides, fragments, ed. Blass	9.131–35	455
F 205 234	9.182	451
	9.189	461
Hypnos 55	11.188	66
	14.715	39
Ibycus, fragments, ed. Davies	15.195	41
F 258 352	16.478	65
<i>Ilioupersis</i> , fragments, ed. Bernabé/West	18.343.31	65
– p. 89B = Arg 4cW	20.716	359
initiation	23.215–17	472
– boys 343–44, 530–31	24.277	38
– at Brauron 387–88	26.98	49
– cannibalism 362–65	26.402	66
– in Crete 438–39, 455	26.457–58	6, 87
– girls 343–44	26.1237	261
– girls as ‘bears’ 387–88	28.759	451
– nine years 365–66	28.1245	162
– and poets 421	29.60	100
– removing clothes 362–63	29.361	150
– and wine pouring 530–31	30.62	162
– and wolves 360–70	30.158	158
Ino 32	30.1004	51
inscriptions	31.48	100
– <i>CGRN</i>	31.633(B)	272
2 342	31.1285	351
7 314	32.218	127
12 316	32.336, 351	49
21 90	33.36	100
25 340	33.115	508
26 465	33.147	321
34 340	33.473	38
40 155	33.1981	49
52 321, 339	34.151	77
56 338, 339	34.940	76
57 341	34.971	173

35.37	133	48.692–94	93
35.117	317	48.1020	73
35.491	455	48.748.I,II,IV	38–39
35.526	155	48.1123	65
35.665	38	48.1770–71	77
35.882	330	49.1173	77
35.989	451	49.1292	78
35.1115	505	49.1301	76
36.142	162	49.1999	359
36.565	38	50.831, 836–37	50
36.1011	297	51.328	133
36.1763	131	51.758	78
37.65	95	51.1029	507
37.759	320	51.1527	507
37.884 II	297	53.715	481
38.468	38	53.1194	486
38.671	330	53.1301	506
38.776	49	53.1303	506
38.1476	485	53.1603	481
39.855	377	53.1786	70, 73
39.863	413	55.612	64
40.4	465	56.392	38
40.124	54	56.753	507
40.146	77	57.1311	286
40.858	77	58.1301	506
40.1675	366	58.1605	291
41.182	395	60.1150	506
41.236	155	61.151	162
42.194	68	63.408	155
42.273bis	49	63.1093	503
42.274	92	63.957	291
42.535	338	64.201	479
42.785	382	64.830	166
42.846	76	64.1171	316
42.2179	461	64.1415	290
43.1541	453	64.1418	290
44.910	78, 199	64.1427–28	290
44.1541	460	64.1635	481
45.646	69	intellectuals, competition	142, 153, 219, 222
45.1194	50, 52	Ion, myth of	464–69
45.2150	352	Ionians, name of	465
46.23 ^a	90	Iphigeneia	322
46.72	100	– as Artemis	389
46.1065	451	– cult of	385–90
46.2326	451	– claimed by Argos	387
47.1469	76	– claimed by Megara	387
47.1660	497		
48.55	100		

- death, real 399, 405
- and Hecate 382, 386
- and Helen 386
- identified as Parthenos
- name of 375-76, 389
- Orsilochia 389
- Roman variant 383-84
- sacrifice of 373-90
- willing victim 381
- Isaac, sacrifice of 375, 379, 381, 385
- Isaeus
 - 8.16 313
- Isocrates
 - 3.42 99
 - 4.28 221
 - 6.22.31 473, 74
 - 9.39 90, 99
 - 14.60 96
 - 19.5-9 127
- Jeanmaire, H., on maenadism 268
- Jiménez san Cristobal, A.I. 198, 201-03, 206
- Johnston, S.I. 181
- Kallisto 367-68, 388, 441
- Kerényi, K. 526
- Kindt, J. XI, 197
- Klymenos 63-64
- kolpos* 79-80, 210
- Kore 64-66, 77; see also Persephone
 - Chthonia 77
 - dedication breasts 77
 - sacrifice of ram 77
 - Soteira 77
 - taboo name 76
 - and Zeus Eubouleus 65, 341
- Kouretes 478-80, 525
 - and Korybantēs 480
- Kranaa/oi/os 486
- Kresphontes, myth of 469-73
- Kronos, sacrifice to 340
 - in Delphi 290
 - human sacrifice 350-52, 379
 - and the Titans 288-91, 444, 479
- Lampon 159
- Leeuw, G. van der 533-37
- Lefkandi 91
- Lemnos 51-52
 - New Year festival 439-40
- Lethe 132-33, 203
- Leto
 - and initiation 343, 437
 - Phytia 437
- Leukippos, Cretan myth 257, 436-39
- Lloyd-Jones, H. 45, 476
- locus amoenus* 79
 - in Euripides, *IA* 79
 - in Gold Leaves 79
- Longus, *Daphis and Chloë*
 - and Echo 496
 - myth in 495-96
 - and Syrinx 495
 - 1.27 495
 - 2.33, 34 495
 - 3.5, 8, 11 495
 - 3.23 496
- Loraux, N. 95
- lycanthropy 363-64
- Lycurgus, king 40-41
- Lykaon 366-69
- Lykomids, and Orphism 138-39
- maenadism 251-77
 - *bassarai* 274
 - chase of 41
 - Dirce as 215
 - *euai/hoi* 271-72, 275-76
 - in Elis 266-68, 270
 - falling 265-66, 274-76
 - fire handling 254-56
 - function of 268-70
 - head shaking 262-63, 276
 - iconography 253
 - and initiation 266-69
 - immune to pain 256
 - no levitation 256
 - loose hair 261, 276
 - Macedonian 271-75
 - and 'madness' 265

- maidens 272
- not mass hysteria 257–58
- and milk 169
- music in 262–64
- myth and ritual in 252–59
- *narthêkophoros* 206, 272–73
- at night 262, 276
- old women as 240, 268
- *omophagia* 258–60
- *oreibasia* 260–61, 273–75
- ritual of 259–66
- Roman 275–77
- snake handling 252–54
- threefold 32, 272, 275–76
- Thyiades 33, 269, 273–74
- torches 275–76
- Vergil on 276–77
- violence 36–37
- whirling dances 263, 276
- magic 128–33
 - and curse tablets 129–33
 - against females 129
 - and Getty Hexameters 165–74
 - and politicians 128
 - not ‘unlicensed’ religion 128–29
 - *magoi* 70–71, 298–99
 - Near Eastern influence 129
 - singing 166, 411
 - and souls 201
 - wandering 298–99
- Malinowski, B. 430, 525
- Mannhardt, W. 42, 432, 434, 525
- mantis*, etymology 149; see also seers
- Marathon 93–94
- Masson, O. 126
- Megistias, Spartan seer 150
- Melampus 107, 151
- Menander, fragments, ed. Kassel-Austin
 - *Dyskolos*
 - 387 240
 - *Perikeiromene*
 - 287–88 237
 - *Sikyonios*
 - 3 ff. 240
- Meropis*, fragments, ed. Bernabé/Davies
 - F 4BD 169
- Meter
 - Hipte 286
 - Oureia 73
- Meuli, K. 303, 327–28
- Minyas*, fragments, ed. Bernabé/Davies
 - F 1 188
- Minyads 32, 39, 248, 267–68
- Moirai
 - and Eumenides 338–39
 - pregnant animals 338
- months
 - Agrionios 38–39
 - Batromios 341
 - Boedromion 226
 - Bouphonion 330
 - Elaphebolion 377
 - Eumenideios 76
 - Ilaios 522
 - Koreios 76
 - Metageitnion 350–51
 - Thyios 33
- Mopsos
 - warrior 150, 162
 - wandering 296–97
- Mounichos 127
- Müller, F.M. 420, 429–30, 524
- Müller, K.O. 41, 429, 443, 520–21
- Murray, G. 525, 536
- Musaeus, and Eleusis 204
- Muses, declining position 423
- mystai* 70–72
- Mysteries; see also Eleusinian Mysteries
 - Bacchic 72, 206
 - date of 221
 - Hecate 71
 - Kore 77
 - Orphic 223
 - Samothrace 71, 223
- myth
 - and Ancient Near East 431, 528
 - importance of XIV
 - collective importance 421–24
 - definition of 424–26, 528
 - ‘good to think with’ 529

- historiography of 427–32, 511–31
- and history 432, 447–62, 529–30
- of Hittites 294–95
- Indo-European background 528
- and mythography 475–77
- *mythos* 422, 474
- *mythus* 519
- as narrative 422, 521, 528
- nature interpretation of 430
- and novel 491–96
- as old wives' tale 240–41, 249
- and personifications 497–509
- and propaganda 463–74
- part of religion IX, 523
- and ritual 30–31, 56, 256–57, 427–45, 530–31
- 'stronger'/'softer' versions 384
- traditional/untraditional 409–22, 431, 528
- Mythographus Homericus 513
- mythography
 - and cultural capital 514
 - in Enlightenment 517–20
 - handbooks of 412
 - in Middle Ages 514–17
 - in nineteenth century 520–23
 - and *polis* religion 141–42
 - in Renaissance 516–17
- Natalis Comes 516–17
- Neanthes 220, 361
- Nilsson, M.P.
 - and Ancient Near East 280
 - on gods 13–16
 - on heroes 85–86
 - influenced by Mannhardt 434, 525
 - no magic 128
 - on Minoan/Mycenaean religion 280
 - on myth (and ritual) 25, 36, 434, 523
 - on Orphism 134–35
 - on Persephone 82, 343
 - on poets and philosophers 10, 144
 - on pregnant animals 337
 - on propaganda via myth 463–64
 - and ritual 525
 - on sacrifice 337
- nine years 58, 365–66
- Nock, A.D. 537
- Norden, E. 134, 136
- nurses 240–41, 250
- Nymphs 13, 457
- oracles,
 - Athenian 127
 - and books 127–28
 - and emotional atmosphere 161
 - and kings 127
 - of Laios 127
 - Sibylline 127, 161
 - Spartan 126–27
 - speak 126
- Orpheus
 - from Camarina 76, 138
 - and Eurydice 138
 - and Inca Manco Capac 427, 518
 - oldest poet 145
- Orphic *Argonautica* 70
 - 513 170
 - Attic poetry 77, 137
 - Gold Leaves 61–83, 197–213
 - *Hymn on Demeter* 139
 - *Hymns* 68, 72, 138
 - *Katabasis* 137–38, 202
 - *Physica* 138
 - *Theogony* 137–39
- Orphicorum Fragmenta*, ed. Bernabé/
Graf-Johnston
 - 1B 139
 - 20–21B 205
 - 82B 205
 - 89B 77, 137
 - 139B 69
 - 187B 205
 - 200B 205
 - 390B 139
 - 421B 178
 - 474B = 1GJ 72, 77, 80, 199,
201–03, 205
 - 475 ii.19B = 8GJ 67, 78, 199, 203
 - 476B = 2GJ 79–80, 178, 202–03
 - 477B = 25GJ 203
 - 478–80B = 10–14GJ 203
 - 481B = 16GJ 80
 - 481–84a = 15, 18, 29GJ 203

- 485–86B = 26abGJ 78, 80, 199
 487B = 3GJ 199, 200, 211
 488B = 5GJ 60, 64, 73, 78–79,
 81–82, 199, 209
 489B = 7GJ 199
 490B = 6GJ 199
 489–91B = 6, 7, 9GJ 61, 73, 78, 80, 82
 492B = GJ4 73, 77
 493B = 27GJ 67, 69, 72, 79–80, 205,
 211
 493aB = 28GJ 64, 72
 494B = 17GJ 199
 495B 74
 496B = 30–31GJ 72, 80, 211
 528B 73
 531B 138
 567B 72
 576B 72, 206
 578 i.23B 67
 578 i.18, 22?B 68
 653–64 140
 708B 138
 717B 137
 810B 138
 870B 76, 138
 1103B 138
 1104B 70
 Orphism 70–72, 133–41
 – anthropogony 208
 – and books 135, 140–41
 – close to Eleusis 205
 – Earth and Heaven in 204–05, 208
 – Egyptian influence 203, 206–08
 – and Empedocles 140
 – eschatology 197–213
 – gods 61–83
 – initiates, ranks of 205–06
 – and Lykomids 138
 – and meadows 211
 – and memory 202–03
 – *orpheotelestai* 140
 – priestesses 80
 – purity from ancestral guilt 212
 – and Pythagoreanism 220
 – not a sect 136, 139
 – not in tragedy 130
 – wealthy men/women 80, 139
 Otto, W.F. 10, 29–45, 526, 535
 Paeôn 6, 168
 Palaephatus 512
 Pandora 502
 Panyassis, fragments, ed. Davies, Bernabé
 F 5D = 8B 33
 F 13DB 505
 F 22bD = 27B 293
 Parker, R. VIII–IX, XI, 15, 54, 67, 76,
 139, 345
 – on Demeter Chloe 141
 – on hero cult 92, 96
 – on Kares/Keres 37
 – on magic 128, 146
 – and myth IX
 – on *polis* religion XI, 125
 Parthenius 476, 511–12
 Parthenos, goddess 382, 413
 Pausanias
 1.23.7 389
 1.33.1 389
 1.40.4 503
 1.41.3 386
 1.43.1 376, 382
 2.2.2 216
 2.11.4 338
 2.17.4 503
 2.20.5 507
 2.22.6 387
 2.29.6 217
 2.35.1 386
 2.35.7 239
 3.18.10 503
 3.19.3–4 503
 4.3.8 472
 4.5.4 472
 4.27.6 472
 5.1.5 487
 5.11.7 503
 5.15.3 507
 5.17.1 504
 6.8.2 360
 6.20.2–3 238
 6.22.10–11 377
 6.26.1–2 33
 6.8.2 360
 7.5.9 503

- 7.19.3 378
 7.21.1–5 378
 7.25.10 118
 7.26.5 386
 7.27.1 118
 8.2.3 367
 8.2.6 360
 8.38.7 361
 9.3.1 35
 9.12.3–4 35
 9.17.1 379
 9.24.3 118
 9.25.8 343
 9.26.3 127
 9.35.1–3 508
 10.33.11 42
- Pegasus 22, 486
 Pelarge 343
 Pelops, shoulder 368
 pentekonter 449
 Persephone 74–83
 – and corn 74
 – as *despoina* 79
 – etymology 74, 130
 – garden 170–71
 – in Gold Leaves 78
 – close to hera 344
 – and Hermes 131
 – receives rams 309
 – spelling name 75–76, 137, 170
 – She with P. 131
 – and torches 172
 – taboo name 78, 170–71, 199
- Pherecrates, fragments, ed. Kassel-Austin
 F 28 317
 F 76 501
 F 186 245
- Pherecydes, fragments, ed. Fowler
 – no theogony 141
 F **52A 141
 F 53 204
 F 90b 34
 F 90d 33
 F 148a**b 43
- Philip
 – *AP* 9.22 = XXXVI GP 344
- Philippus Comicus, fragments, ed. Kassel-Austin
 F 1 109
- Philochoros, fragments, *FGrH* 328
 – and Mysteries 66
 – Fragment 5 507
 77 138
 173 507
- Philodamos, ed. Furley-Bremer
 1.7 33
- Philodemus, *On Piety*, ed. Obbink
 – on Iphigeneia 386–87
- Phineus 127, 505
- Phoronis*, fragments, ed. Davies/Bernabé
 – on Dactyls 50
- Photius, ed. Theodoridis
- Pindar, fragments, ed. Maehler, Rutherford
 – *Olympian Odes*
 3.14, 18 170
 4.2 500
 6.96 170
 9.27 170
 – *Nemean Odes*
 3.8 171
Paeans
 7c(a) 149
 – *Pythian Odes*
 3.97–99 32, 33
 4 458
 5 458–60
 5.24 170
 9 453–58
 9.53 170
 11.22 384, 399, 405
 12.2 170
 – Fragments
 F 30 504
 F 52a 504
 F 75 505
 F 95 171
 F 129 170, 211
 F 165 173
- Pisander, fragments, ed. Bernabé
 F 8 176
- Plataia 6, 35

- Plataiai, graves at 94–95
- Plato
- on ‘old wives’ tales’ 249
 - *Cratylus*
 - 397CD 339
 - 404CD 199
 - *Gorgias*
 - 527A 241
 - *Laws*
 - 6.782C 362
 - 19.887D 249
 - 12.957D 168
 - *Minos*
 - 315C 362
 - *Phaedo*
 - 69C 206
 - *Phaedrus*
 - 229A 499
 - 244B 238
 - *Politicus*
 - 279–80 168
 - *Republic*
 - 364B–365A 139, 160
 - 377–78 240, 249
 - 621AB 203
- Plato Comicus, fragments, ed. Kassel-Austin
- F 204 109
- Pliny
- *NH* 8.81 361
- Plutarch
- *Antony* 24.5 38
 - *Coriolanus* 38.1–3 119
 - *De genio Socratis* 578B 215
 - *Demosthenes* 19–20 161
 - *Nicias* 4.2 157
 - *Pelopidas* 21–22 384
 - *Theseus* 20 42
 - *Timoleon* 39 193
- poets, against seers 153
- polis* religion XI
- Athenocentric XII, 212
 - debate about XI–XII, 125–46
 - and magic 130–33
 - margins of XII, 125–46
- polis* talisman 215–16
- and kings 216–17, 526
- Polyidos of Argos 127
- Polyxena 332, 352–57, 400, 405
- Porphyry
- on human sacrifice 350, 353
 - on images 120
 - *On Abstinence*
 - 2,7 508
 - 2.54 350
 - 3.25.4 205
- Poseidon X, 6, 21–27
- and Apollo 25
 - and Artemis 386
 - Asphaleios 22–23
 - and Athena 25
 - Hippios 22, 281
 - horse sacrifice 320
 - Isthmios 488
 - and Kaineus 24
 - Mycenaean 7, 21
 - Phratrrios 23
 - Phykios 341
 - Phytalmios 23, 437
 - and sea 24–25
 - Temenites 341
- Posidippus, ed. Austin-Bastianini
- on Greek religion 271
 - on maenadism 271–75
 - 44 271
 - 55 248
 - 63 90
 - 128 271
- Potnia 6
- Praxidikai 133
- Preller, L. 41, 521–22
- Pride of Halicarnassus* 476–90
- priestesses, old women as 238–39
- maiden 345, 383, 385, 495
 - key-holders 389, 406
- Proitids 32, 40–41, 107, 267, 307
- Prometheus, Oriental background 283
- propaganda, and fake news 463–64
- Propp, V., on folktale 440–42
- Pythagoras/eans 217–22
- tie with Demeter 221

- Pythia 153–54
 – old woman 238–39
- Rhadamanthys 489
- Rhea, and pregnant animals 340
- Rhodope/is 492–93
- Riedweg, C., on Gold Leaves 198, 203
- ritual
 – Cambridge ritualists 56, 525, 536
 – historiography of study 432–35
 – logic of 347–48
 – and myth 30–31, 56, 256–57, 427–45, 524–25
 – *Myth and Ritual School* 436
 – of reversal 57, 107, 111, 439
 – terminology of 432–33
- rivers, as gods 14
- Robert, C. 465, 471, 523
- Rohde, E. 41
- Roscher, W.H. 522
- Rüpke, J., and Lived Ancient Religion XI–XII,
- sacrifice
 – adorning victims 310, 396–98
 – animal 303–35
 – and barley groats 312–13
 – beginning of 406–07
 – birds 308
 – blood 316, 398, 407–08
 – cakes 339, 382
 – and castration 309
 – chthonic 322–23, 337
 – cockerels 308
 – counter clockwise 312
 – cow 305–06
 – deer 334, 382–83, 400–01
 – distribution meat 319–20
 – dogs 308
 – dramatisation 313
 – emic interpretation 323–27
 – and ephebes 311, 314–15, 355–56
 – etic interpretation 327–33
 – fish 308
 – foundation 280
 – gallbladder 317
 – gender of victims 338
 – as a gift 326
 – goats 307–08
 – and gratitude 325–26
 – no guilt 330
 – horses 320
 – human 321, 349–415
 – and hunting 328–30, 333
 – *kanephoroi* 310, 312, 329
 – king as sacrificer 381, 399
 – knife 314–15
 – and Levant 328
 – libation 319, 322–23
 – lifting victim 314–15, 399–400, 405
 – lustral water 312
 – *mageiros* 319
 – of maidens 379–80
 – Minoan 333
 – music at 310–11
 – Mycenaean 5, 333
 – normative 304–20
 – oath 321
 – *obeloi* 318
 – *ololygê* 315, 411
 – osteological evidence 305
 – *pelanos* 318
 – of Persian princes 373
 – perversion of 324, 471
 – piglets 307, 320–21
 – pigs 306
 – and prayer 313
 – pre-battle 332, 385, 395, 398, 401
 – pregnant animals 337–48
 – preliminary 321
 – procession 310–12, 396–97
 – and purification 312–13
 – purificatory 320–21
 – ram 77
 – regional variation 305
 – ‘secular’ approach to 335
 – selection of victims 309
 – sheep 307–08
 – in Sparta 310
 – *sphageion* 398
 – *splanchna/optes* 317–18
 – step-by-step accounts 304–05
 – stunning of victim 314
 – and tail 307, 317

- and thighs 307, 316
- *thyos/sphazo*, difference 353–54, 393–94, 404, 409
- unblemished 379, 397, 404
- victims special 397–80
- voluntariness of victim 311, 314, 355, 397
- wineless libation 323, 338–39
- by women 329
- and wreaths 310, 339
- Salmakis 480–84
- Sappho, fragments, ed. Voigt
 - and Charaxos 492
 - F 17 32
 - F 140a, 168 293, 298
- Sarpedon 283
- Sayce, A. 288
- scapegoats, ritual 281, 288–89
 - fairest as sacrifice 378, 404
 - feasted 351
- Schmidt, M. 492
- Schwab, G. 428
- Scullion, S. 346–47
- secrecy/secrets 215–30
 - of Pythagoras/eans 217–22
 - of Theban hipparch 215–17
- seers 126–28
 - and Apollo 149–50
 - in Athens 157–60
 - augury 148
 - Bakis 126–27
 - Calchas 148, 378
 - *engastrimythoi* 160
 - fame of 153
 - female 128, 153–55, 160, 271
 - and hepatoscopy 148, 317
 - and kings 151–53
 - Musaeus 127
 - in Old Testament 162–63
 - and poets 153
 - and sacrifice 398
 - Simmel on 221
 - in Sparta 156
 - Telmessian 162
 - Trojan 150–51
 - wandering 162–63, 296–97
 - as warriors 150–51, 161–62
 - young 151
- Segal, Ch. 261
- Semele 31–34
 - grave 35
- Servius 514
- Seven against Thebes 87
- Sibyl 154
- Simonides, fragments, ed. Page/ Davies
 - new Simonides 93–100
 - on war dead 93–100
 - Fragment 542 153
 - 557 352
 - 608 380
- Slings, S. 476
- Smith, J.Z. 333
- Smith, W.R.
 - influenced Durkheim and Freud 433
 - and Frazer 433, 524
 - inspired Jane Harrison 433
 - on myth and ritual 433, 524
- Solon, fragments, ed. West
 - F 4a 464
 - F 11 168
 - F 36 133
- Song of Release* 443
- Sophocles, fragments, ed. Radt
 - secrecy Oedipus' grave 216
 - *Ajax* 1283–87 470
 - *Antigone* 690 200
 - 891–93 200
 - 1001–02 173
 - 1199 382
 - *Electra* 157 376
 - 566–69 377
 - *Oedipus in Colonus* 1530–32 216
 - *Oedipus Rex* 965 173
 - *Polyxena* F 522–28 353
 - F 535 382

- *Trachiniai*
 - 219 271
- Fragments
 - 269a.51 133
 - 353 173
 - 535 382
 - 879 201
- soul, and body 175–83
 - of the dead 180–83
 - and *eidôlon* 182–83
 - of the living 175–80
 - in pre-Socratics 177–78
 - *psychê* 176–79
 - and *thymos* 179–80
 - winged 181, 194, 200
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. VIII
 - definition Greek religion 142–43
 - Durkheimienne 143
 - on Orphism 135–36
 - on Persephone 83
 - on *polis* religion XI, 47, 99, 125, 128
 - on *Pride of Halicarnassus* 477, 482
- Spartoi 478
- Spiro, M., definition religion 143
- statues 101–22
 - agency, becomes unacceptable 118–19
 - aniconic 117, 122
 - archaic 107–10, 116–17
 - bound 57, 111, 117
 - Christian polemics 120–21
 - chryselephantine 112–13
 - Daedalic 108–10
 - dangerous 412
 - fallen from heaven 110
 - fluidity between statue and divinity 105–06
 - healing 118
 - of Hecate 119
 - of Lysander 113
 - of olive wood 107
 - of pear wood 107
 - polemics against 119–20
 - speaking 114–15
 - sweating 113, 115, 119
 - terminology 101–04
 - in theurgy 119–20
 - turning 115–16
 - of Vesta 114
 - weeping 115
- Stephanus Byz., ed. Billerbeck
 - α 80 488
 - η 51 51
 - κ 82 488
 - λ 56 51
- Stesichorus, fragments, ed. Davies/
Finglass
 - F 135–36D = 118F 352
 - F 215D = 178F 382, 386
 - F 223D = 85F 325
- Stilbides 150
- Strabo
 - 8.6.15 486
 - 6.1.12 452
 - 7.4.2 413
 - 8.7.1 469
 - 10.3.9 224
 - 10.3.19 478
- Strato, fragments, ed. Kassel-Austin
 - F 1 305, 313
- supplication 104
- symbola* 67
- Teiresias, still has *noos* 182, 203
- Telchines 50
- Telenikos, Athenian seer 150
- Teneros 127
- Tethys, and Tiamat 132–33
- Theo(a)genes, statue of 111, 118
- Theoclymenus, ecstasy of 149
- Theocritus
 - 2.91 246
 - 6.40 246
 - 7.126–27 246
 - 26.30 211
- Theognis
 - 649–50 181
- Theophrastus, fragments, ed. Forten-
baugh
 - *Characters*
 - 28.3 233, 500
 - F 584A 325, 331, 362, 507

- theopropos* 149
theos 3–4, 21
 Theos and Thea 67–68, 78, 139, 199
 Thesmophoria 65–66, 69, 260
 – in Clement 77
 – obscenities 244
 Thetis
 – and Dionysos 40, 79
 – and Hephaistos 57–58
 – wedding with Peleus 132, 501
 Thucydides
 1.25 313
 2.25.3 219
 6.28.1 227
 6.69.1–2 321
 Thyone 32–33
 Triptolemos, genealogy 204–05
 Troeltsch, E. 136
 Trojan War, and initiation 421
 Turner, V. IX
 Typhon 290
 Tyrtaeus, fragments, ed. West
 20.2 32
- underworld, euphemism for 199
 taboo, on names 76, 78, 131, 170–71
 Usener, H.
 – and Christianity 536
 – influenced by Cambridge group 433, 536
 – influenced Gernet 526
 – influenced W.F. Otto 30
 – on myth and ritual 31, 522–24, 535–36
 – on Python 522
- Varro, on metamorphosis 360–61
 Vatican Mythographers 515–16
 Vernant, J.-P. IX, 45
 – on gods 17
 – on myth 431, 527
 – on sacrifice 331–33
 Versnel, H.S.
 – on Apollo 149, 457
 – on the *Bacchae* 36
- on human sacrifice 380
 – on myth and ritual 31, 441–44
 Vico 519
 Vidal-Naquet, P. VIII
 Wagenvoort, H. VII
 warriors, two commanders 150
 Watkins, C. 171
 Weber, M. 136
 wedding
 – bath 396
 – collective 438
 – gesture 354–55
 – rituals 394–95, 455–56
 (were)wolves 360–70
 West, M.L. 136, 281–82
 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von
 – on gods 9–12, 30
 – on Endymion 457
 – on Jane Harrison 536
 – on Iphigeneia 385
 – on mythology 431, 525
 – on Orphism 134
 Wilhelm, A. 99
 Winds 6, 12
 wine, mixed/unmixed 242–43, 507
 women XII
 – as bogies 250
 – new cults 80, 234
 – old 231–50
 – as porters 233, 410, 500
 – as story tellers 248–50
 – terrifying 244
 – *vetula-Skoptik* 243–45
 – and wine 254
 – as witches 244, 245–47
- Xenophanes,
 – on anthropomorphism, 106
 – criticises 153
 Xenophon
 – *Anabasis*
 1.2.10 359
 4.5.4 173, 395
 5.6.29 148

- *Lak. Pol.*
 - 4.1-3 219
- *Memorabilia*
 - 2.7 237
- Zagreus 43, 72
- Zeus
 - Akraios 477
 - Ampeleites 286
 - Aphesios 327
 - Areios 286
 - Basileus 479
 - Boulaios 18
 - Bouleus 65-66, 341
 - Eleutherios 95
 - Eubouleus 65-67
 - Eumenes 76
 - and Ganymedes 530
 - Herkeios 15
 - and Horae 499
 - Idaios 72
 - and Kouretes 478-79, 525
 - Kretagenes 479-80
 - Ktesios 15
 - Lykaios 358-70
 - Meilichios 15-16
 - Olympios 327
 - Osogo(llis) 285
 - Patroios 16
 - Phratrios 16
 - Phyxios 327
 - Polieus 341-42, 345
 - Sabazios 286
 - Soter 16
 - Strategos 286
 - Stratios 285