GREECE & ROME
New Surveys in the Classics No. 24

GREEK RELIGION

BY
JAN N. BREMMER

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GREEK RELIGION

Jan N. Bremmer

in memory of

Marius Daniël Bremmer

(1933–1992)

PREFACE

Students of Greek religion are fortunate in having at their disposal the best recent study of a 'dead' religion: Walter Burkert's *Greek Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985). Since the English edition is not essentially different from the German original of 1977, my survey will concentrate on developments since approximately that date. Although Burkert's handbook will be quoted only incidentally, its influence is pervasive, and is always to be presupposed. In the survey I shall offer a synthesis of new insights, join in some important debates, and offer various extended analyses as possible methodological models.

In the notes I quote only the most recent literature. Many of these studies are not the work of Anglo-Saxon scholars: the most important modern contributions have come from Switzerland and France; in third position, *ex aequo*, England and the Netherlands; the United States enters as fourth, with Italy as a potential runner-up. To quote only English publications would thus give a completely wrong impression.

Although it has not always been explicitly mentioned in this context, every country has its own culture which naturally influences the image of Greek religion that it produces. These images may range from a more romantic approach (the Germans), via a more philosophical (the French), to a more common-sensical (the English). The present survey, written by a Dutchman, is deliberately eclectic, but other students of Greek religion will surely unmask this pretension.

The turmoil of Dutch universities at this present time does not offer very favourable conditions for research, and I would not have succeeded in finishing this survey in time without the help of family and friends. Annemiek Boonstra energetically assisted me in a number of ways. My wife Christine and Matthijs den Besten helpfully commented on the first version. Professor Herman Brijder, Director of the Allard Pierson Museum (Amsterdam), kindly advised me in the choice of pictures and generously put the photographs at my disposal. Finally, Ian McAuslan was patient to a fault and skilfully edited the text at the last possible moment. I am, however, indebted most to Barbara Boudewijnse and André Lardinois who, from their respective anthropological and classical expertise, weeded out mistakes and forced me to clarify or rethink numerous points. If this survey in some ways contributes to a better understanding of Greek religion, it is largely due to their careful reading and stimulating discussions.

I have always enjoyed oral and written exchanges of opinion on Greek

religion with friends and colleagues, old and new. It is therefore appropriate to thank Claude Bérard, W. Burkert, Richard Buxton, Claude Calame, Susan Cole, Ken Dowden (who kindly corrected the penultimate version of the first and last chapters), Chris Faraone, Nick Fisher, Fritz Graf (who discussed Orphism with me), Albert Henrichs, Jean-Marc Moret, Dirk Obbink (who discussed the gods with me), Robert Parker, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, H. S. Versnel and Pierre Vidal-Naquet. The best way, of course, of starting the study of Greek religion would be to read the works of all these scholars.

Finally, I dedicate this modest book to the memory of my uncle Marius, who advised me to study Classics and was always there as a friend to talk to, not least in matters of religion. His untimely death was a great loss to his family and to all who were privileged to know him.

Groningen, June 1994 Jan N. Bremmer

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ABBREVIATIONS

AION	*Annali, Istituto orientale di Napoli: Archeologia e storia antica*
Bruit/Schmitt, *Religion*	L. Bruit Zaidman and P. Schmitt Pantel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* (Cambridge, 1992)
Burkert, *GR*	W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985)
DDD	K. van den Toorn, B. Becking, P.W. van der Horst (eds), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden, 1994)
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58)
Graf, *NK*	F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985)
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
IC	*Inscriptiones Creticae*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich, 1981–)
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

For texts and fragments I have used the most recent standard editions.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Abbreviation:
APM = Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam

Fig. 1 Athena with her owl, Attic black-figure lekythos, Athena Painter (*ca.* 490 B.C.), APM inv. no. 3754.

Fig. 2 Greek bronze mirror with Aphrodite and doves (*ca.* 470 B.C.), APM inv. no. 566.

Fig. 3 Dionysus and satyr, one side of Attic black-figure eye-cup (*ca.* 530 B.C.), APM inv. no. 684.

Fig. 4 Satyrs treading grapes, Attic black-figure oinochoe, Gela Painter (*ca.* 500–490 B.C.), APM inv. no. 3742.

Fig. 5 Dionysus on mule, Attic red-figure krater, Flying Angel Painter (*c.* 570 B.C.), APM inv. no. 11.068.

Fig. 6 Gilded bronze statue of Apollo in temple with adjacent picture of Apollo, fragment of South-Italian (Taranto) red-figure calyx krater (*ca.* 390 B.C.), APM inv. no. 2579.

Fig. 7 *Kouros* from Eastern Greece, height 28 cm. (*ca.* 580 B.C.), APM inv. no. 13.116.

Fig. 8 Sacrificial procession, Attic black-figure Siana cup by the C Painter (*ca.* 570–65 B.C.), Taranto I.G. 4346, after H. A. G. Brijder, *Siana Cups* 1 (Amsterdam, 1983), Plate 12a.

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Fig. 11 Polyxena and Achilles, who is waiting in ambush for her brother Troilus, black-figure lekythos, Athena Painter (*ca.* 490 B.C.), APM inv. no. 3737.

Fig. 12 Battle of Amazons against Heracles, whose head is missing, one side of an Attic black-figure band-cup, Phrynos Painter (*ca.* 555 B.C.), APM inv. no. 8192.

Fig. 13 Girl sacrificing at altar, Attic red-figure alabastron, Painter of Copenhagen 3830 (*ca.* 470 B.C.), APM inv. no. 648.

Fig. 14 Capture of Persephone by Hades, fragment of South-Italian (Taranto) red-figure krater, near Painter of the Birth of Dionysus (*ca.* 380 B.C.), APM inv. no. 2588.

Fig. 15 Pelinna gold tablet, after K. Tsantsanoglou and G. M. Parássoglou, *Hellenika* 38 (1987), 7.

Fig. 16 Marble statue of Cybele as 'Lady of Animals' (*ca.* 330 B.C.), APM inv. no. 3986.

Fig. 17 Oldest representation of Pan playing on his pipes, fragment of Attic black-figure krater (*ca.* 490–485 B.C.), APM inv. no. 2117.

I. INTRODUCTION: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Was there ever such a thing as 'Greek religion'? It may be an odd question to start this survey with, but it should be absolutely clear from the start that Greek religion as a monolithic entity never existed. When Greece emerged from the Dark Age around 800 B.C., different communities had developed in very different social, political, and economic ways, and this development was reflected also on the religious level. Every city had its own pantheon in which some gods were more important than others and some gods not even worshipped at all. Every city also had its own mythology, its own religious calendar and its own festivals (Ch. IV.3). No Greek city, then, was a religious clone.[1] Yet the various city-religions overlapped sufficiently to warrant the continued use of the term 'Greek religion'. The family resemblance (to borrow Wittgenstein's famous term) of these 'religions' was strengthened by poets like Homer and Hesiod (below), who from the eighth century onwards produced a kind of religious highest common factor by inventing, combining, and systematizing individual traditions, which they then spread via performances at aristocratic courts or local and pan-Hellenic festivals (§ 3).[2]

Greek religion received its characteristic form in the 700 or so big and small cities, the *poleis*, which spread Greek culture from Spain to the Black Sea. The independence of these cities gradually diminished through the development of larger powers, such as Sparta and Athens, and they eventually had to cede their independence to Philip and his Macedonians. These developments brought about rapid changes in the structure of Greek religion (Ch. VII). In this survey we will concentrate on the religious practices and beliefs during the 'glory that was Greece', namely the archaic and classical periods. Given its pre-eminence in the sources, Athens will often be our most important example, but I intend to show also something of the diversity of Greek religious culture.

Before we start looking in more detail at its different aspects, it may be helpful to sketch its main qualities in broad outlines. Greek religion, then, was 'embedded'; it was public and communal rather than private and individual, and it had no strict division between sacred and profane (§ 1). It was also polytheistic and 'interconnected'; it served to maintain order and produce meaning; it was concerned with the here and now and passed down by word of mouth not through written texts (§ 2). Finally, it was male dominated (Ch. VI) and lacked a religious establishment (§ 3).[3]

I would like to conclude this introduction with two more observations.

First, religious historians often give a relatively static picture of the archaic and classical age, as if during this period religion remained more or less unchanged until the Hellenistic period. Admittedly, it is not easy to keep a proper balance between a synchronic system and diachronic developments. Yet a modern history should at least try to stick to a minimal diachronic perspective. Second, the table of contents of this pamphlet may suggest to the reader that the following chapters are all independent subjects, which have little to do with one another. Nothing is further from the truth. Gods and sanctuaries, myths and rituals, gender – since they are mutually supportive, they should ideally all be treated together in one close-knit treatise.[4] This is hardly possible, but it will be one of our challenges to show the interdependent nature of Greek religion.

1. *Embeddedness*

Whereas most Western countries have gradually separated church and state, the example of other societies, such as Iran and Saudi-Arabia, shows that this is not so everywhere. In ancient Greece, too, religion was totally embedded in society – no sphere of life lacked a religious aspect.[5] Birth, maturity, and death, war and peace, agriculture, commerce, and politics – all these events and activities were accompanied by religious rituals or subject to religious rules; even making love was named after the goddess of love, *aphrodisiazein*. Sanctuaries dominated the skylines, statues of gods stood on the corners of the streets, and the smell of sacrifice was never far away. Indeed, religion was such an integrated part of Greek life that the Greeks lacked a separate word for 'religion'.[6] When Herodotus wants to describe religions of the neighbouring peoples of Greece, he uses the term 'to worship the gods', *sebesthai tous theous*, and when he wants to describe the Greek nation he speaks of 'the common blood, the common language and the common sanctuaries and sacrifices' (8.144.2). In other words, for Herodotus the problem of describing foreign religions could be reduced to the question 'which (other) gods do they worship and how'.[7] In such an environment atheism was simply unthinkable. The term *atheos* did not originate before the fifth century and even then indicated only a lack of relations with the gods.[8]

Embeddedness went together with the virtual absence of private religion, since in classical Greece the notion of a private sphere was still in an early state of development. There could be individual cult acts, such as sacrifice, the dedication of an *ex-voto* (Ch. III.3), or a silent prayer (Ch. IV.2), but cult was always a public, communal activity, and worship outside

the basic groups of family, deme (commune), tribe, and city did not attain respectability before the weakening of the polis at the end of the fifth century. This public character also meant that religion was strongly tied up with social and political conditions. As life in Greece was dominated by free males, they could (and did) seriously restrict religious opportunities for women (Ch. VI.1) and slaves, whose religious position was modest, except for those festivals where the social order was temporarily suspended and they could enjoy themselves (Ch. IV.3).[9] The role of politics is visible, for example, in the struggle for religious authority in Sparta. There the highest magistrates in their competition for power with the kings had created alternative modes of consulting the gods in order to be independent from the seers, who were controlled by the kings.[10] It is also illustrated by Athens: when the city became more democratic it created priesthoods additional to those controlled by the aristocrats, and when it became more imperialistic, it started to extend the cult of its most important goddess, Athena, in other cities.[11]

Embeddedness also influenced the conceptualization of the sacred. In modern Western society the sacred is limited to a direct connection with the supernatural and sharply separated from the profane, but the situation was rather different in Greece. Here a variety of words existed to express our notion of the sacred. The most important term in this respect is *hieros*, which is everything that has to do with sanctuaries and the gods; for example, to sacrifice is *hiereisthai* and a priest is a *hiereus*. In short, *hieros* is 'as it were the shadow cast by divinity',[12] but it does not mean 'taboo', a quality often associated by anthropologists with the sacred, which is only expressed by certain verbs, *hagizo*, *enagizo* and *kathagizo*.[13] In addition to *hieros*, the Greeks used *hagnos*, which could be applied to humans and gods: regarding the gods and important social institutions, such as supplication and the oath, it denotes their awesomeness, but in the case of humans it refers to their ritual purity. The two notions are not easily combined, and in the late Archaic Age, when the gap between the human and the divine became enlarged, a new word, *hagios*, was introduced which is first attested for altars (Simonides fr. 519.9) and applies especially to temples, rites, and mysteries.[14]

Another key term in this area is *hosios*. It had a wide range with a basic meaning of 'permitted by or pleasing to the gods'. For example, *hosios* could be contrasted with *hieros* in order to contrast civic funds with those of the gods, but could also denote purity because pollution is offensive to the gods. More strongly, the notion of 'pleasing' included that of 'justice', as is illustrated by a recently published funerary epigram of a certain

Sosikrates, who died 'not in a *hosios* way but through an unjust death' (*SEG* 38.440). The Athenians often used the combination *hiera kai hosia* to indicate two types of prime importance to society: the right ritual behaviour and the correct treatment of fellow men. Even if the latter was not 'sacred', it was still felt to be parallel to and co-ordinate with the other sphere. The same goes, in a way, for important institutions of society, such as the symposium or political offices, which were marked with a certain sanctity by the wearing of garlands. So in Greece, the sacred 'appears as the intensely venerable rather than the absolutely other'.[15]

2. *Polytheism, piety, and pollution*

Unlike Christianity and Islam, Greek religion was polytheistic. This is not just a difference in quantity. In polytheism, the pantheon constitutes a kind of system, where gods may complement one another or may be in mutual opposition (Ch. II.3). Did every Greek worship all the gods of their pantheon? We do not know, but it is unlikely. Wealthy Athens had dozens of sanctuaries, whereas excavators have found only three temples in small Priene on the west coast of modern Turkey. In some cases worshippers may have tried to remedy the lack of sanctuary of a specific deity by dedicating a figurine of one god in the sanctuary of another, but on the whole inhabitants of rich urban centres must have had many more possibilities for worship than the ordinary man in the country or in small poleis.[16]

Unlike God or Allah, polytheistic gods only cover a limited sphere of life. Their importance, as for example expressed in sacrifice (Ch. IV.2), depends on their specific realm. As only the totality of the gods was believed to cover the whole of life, ranging from orderly Apollo to bloodthirsty Ares, piety never meant devotion to only one god, although the closeness of a shrine may have fostered a special relationship with a god or hero (Ch. III.3). It was only in Hellenistic times that faith in one god, *pistis*, became possible (Ch. VII.3); only after the birth of Judaism and Christianity do we find conversions.[17] In fact, religious singlemindedness was definitely dangerous, as Euripides showed in his *Hippolytos* (428 B.C.) where the protagonist comes to a sad end through worshipping Artemis but refusing Aphrodite.[18] Consequently, piety did not yet include loving a god. As Aristotle bluntly states: 'it would be absurd if someone were to say that he loves Zeus' (*MM*. 1208 b 30).[19]

Proper Greek piety, *eusebeia*, on the other hand, was connected with a root *seb-*, 'retreat in awe', but in the classical period the element of

reverence had come to the fore and even extended to loving parents and patriotism.[20] The important quality of piety was to keep the ancestral customs. As Isocrates observed: 'piety consists not in expensive expenditures but in changing nothing of what our ancestors have handed down' (7.30). Impiety, or *asebeia*, came closer to our own ideas and included temple robbery, killing suppliants, entering certain temples when not permitted or holding the wrong ideas. Even though the evidence for many Athenian trials for impiety against famous philosophers is late, Socrates was executed on the charge of innovation in regard to the gods not for, say, religious theft.[21] Religious tolerance was not a great Greek virtue.[22]

Whereas the Christian world-view increasingly separates God from this world, the gods of the Greeks were not transcendent but directly involved in natural and social processes. Myths related divine visits on earth and in Homer's *Iliad* gods even participated in the fighting before Troy.[23] Gods also intervened in the human world in cases of moral transgressions: the myth of Oedipus relates the fatal consequences of incest, and the Spartans believed that their murder of helot suppliants in a sanctuary of Poseidon had caused the catastrophic earthquake of 462.[24] It is for such connections as between the human and divine spheres that a recent study has called the Greek world-view 'interconnected' against our own 'separative' cosmology.[25]

An important consequence of overstepping or breaking existing cosmological, social, and political boundaries was the incurring of pollution. The vocabulary of pollution and purity together with its concomitant practices was most frequently used in Greek religion to indicate proper boundaries or categories not to be mixed. Natural pollutions are to a certain extent understandable with the messiness accompanying birth and the smells arising from a decaying body. But we would not so readily use the vocabulary of pollution for the violation of temples, divine statues, and sacred equipment, which infringes the domain of the gods, or for murder, which infringes social relations, as does killing suppliants, whilst madness and other diseases infringe the wholeness of the physical person. On the other hand, incest and cannibalism were seen as monstrous polluting crimes, which confuse the boundaries between men and animals. Males who confused gender roles by practising passive homosexuality and women who transgressed boundaries of respectability by prostituting themselves were also considered to be polluted. The latter, though, were not seen as contagious or dangerous and the committers of these sexual activities did not need to purify themselves. The employment of this particular vocabulary with the corresponding rites of purification can, in one way, be

seen as an important Greek way of dealing with maintaining religious and social norms and values in times when the legal process was still underdeveloped.[26]

In addition to removing disorder, Greek religion also gave meaning and explanation to life. Dreams, waywardness of behaviour, unforeseen events such as shipwrecks, plagues and earthquakes – all could be traced to particular gods and in this way were given a recognizable and clear place in Greek world-view; if necessary, there were even anonymous gods to take the blame.[27] On the other hand, not everything became clear through the mediation of religion and some divine actions remained inexplicable. Tragedians explored these actions, but their juxtaposition of the human and the divine in such plays as Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* or Euripides' *Bacchae* shows something of the bafflement the gods' reactions on occasion could evoke.[28]

Most Greek religion, though, was directed at this life not the hereafter. In Homeric times, death was still more or less the end of life, although people believed in an underworld. In the course of the Archaic Age, life after death became an issue for reflection. Aristocratic circles, probably the more intellectual amongst them, began to reflect about their personal fate and crave for an existence prolonged beyond their allotted lifespan. Salvation through leading a model life or through initiation into mysteries gradually gained in popularity (Ch. VII.1), but belief in a life after death never flourished to the extent it did in the Christian Middle Ages. There if anywhere in Greek religion, it seems that opinions differed widely.[29]

Such a variety of opinion is hardly surprising in a society that was oral rather than literate. Books did not play a role in Greek religion except for a few 'sects', such as the Orphics (Ch. VII.1), and children were religiously socialized by attending and practising rituals.[30] This meant that religious ritual played a much larger role in Greek life than in modern society. Together with the absence of a Holy Book went the absence of a creed and, consequently, of heresy. In fact, religious authority was widely fragmented because there was no Greek equivalent to Christian ministers, Jewish rabbis or Islamic mullahs. Most citizens could sacrifice by themselves; indeed, Herodotus was amazed that the Persians had to call upon a Magus to perform their sacrifices (1.132).

3. *Religious specialists*

Outside their own home, though, the Greeks could meet certain religious specialists, in particular poets, priests, and seers. Poets were undoubtedly

the main religious 'inventors' and 'reproducers'. Even if he exaggerated slightly, Herodotus was not far wrong when he stated that Homer and Hesiod defined the theogony, gave the gods their epithets, assigned their functions, and described their forms (2.53.2). Poets could exert this influence because they were supported by the aristocrats who controlled life through their religious, political, social, and cultural hegemony.[31] Poets also enlarged their religious capital by claiming to be in close contact with the gods. Not only did they manage to make the Greeks believe, if not unconditionally, in the divine guarantee by the Muses of the information they supplied:[32] they also claimed a privileged knowledge about the gods which was denied to normal humans, as for instance when Homer tells us that an owl is called *chalkis* by the gods but *kumindis* by men (*Il.* 14. 290–1).[33]

Poets also regularly 'invented' religious traditions, if necessary by borrowing from neighbouring peoples. It was only realized in the 1950s that the myth of Kronos' castration of his father Ouranos derived from the Near East: the slow but steady decipherment of ever more clay tablets has now shown that this myth ultimately derived from the Hurrians having passed through Hittite and Phoenician intermediaries.[34] And less than a decade ago it became clear that the division of the world between Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades through the throwing of lots, as described in the *Iliad* (15.187–93), derives from the Akkadian epic *Atrahasis*. And when Hera, in a speech to deceive Zeus, says that she will go to Oceanus, 'origin of the gods', and Tethys, the 'mother' (*Il.* 14.201), she mentions a couple derived from the parental couple Apsu and Tiamat of the Babylonian creation epic *Enuma Elish*.[35]

Priests conducted larger rituals and supervised sanctuaries (Ch. III.1), but never developed into a class of their own because of the lack of an institutional framework. Consequently, they were unable to monopolize access to the divine or to develop esoteric systems, as happened with the Brahmans in India or the Druids among the Celts. On the whole, priesthoods had no great influence except for those of certain important sanctuaries, such as the Eumolpides and Kerykes in Eleusis (Ch. VII.1) and the Branchidai at Apollo's oracle at Didyma (Ch. III.3). Despite their modest status, priests must have played an important role in the transmission of local rituals and myths, and Hellanicus, one of the earliest historians, used priestesses of Hera in Argos as his most trustworthy chronological source (*FGrH* 4 F 74–84).

In the case of problems or inexplicable events, it was a seer who could bring help. In the Archaic Age seers were still aristocrats, who participated

in every aspect of aristocratic life, including the battlefield. But despite their expertise, their words were not definitive. People were free to accept or reject their advice, and epic and tragedy supply various examples of seers whose word was wrongly neglected, such as that of Teiresias in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*.[36]

In the later classical age the position of poets and seers declined through various developments, such as the rise of literacy, increasing knowledge of the world, and growing self-reliance. Even though tragedians still held an important position in the adaptation and formation of religious traditions in the fifth century, they now had to share their one-time monopoly with historians and philosophers. After the fifth century the former took over to a large extent the task of preserving religious traditions and the latter became the main 'theologians'. Moreover, at the end of the Archaic period the most important religious authority had become the polis, which now mediated and articulated all religious discourse and controlled all cultic activity. There was no creed or divine revelation and so the polis, when challenged, appealed to the traditional nature of rites, *ta nomizomena*, and customs, *ta patria* (Ch. IV.1).[37] Such a stress on tradition could lead to rigidity, but possible tension between conservatism and innovation was resolved by introducing new cults, not abandoning old ones.[38]

NOTES

1. As was first argued, in an exemplary investigation of Aphrodite in Locri Epizephyrii, by C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading Greek Culture'. Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 147–88 (= *JHS* 98, 1978, 101–21); note also S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Göttingen, 1978), pp. 290–373; A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia*, 3 vls (London, 1981–6); Graf, *NK*; M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris, 1985); R. Parker, 'Spartan Religion', in A. Powell (ed), *Classical Sparta* (London, 1989), pp. 142–72.

2. For this influence see especially G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past* (Baltimore, 1990) and *Greek Mythology and Poetics* (Ithaca, 1990), pp. 36–82.

3. I have profited from the stimulating short introductions to Greek religion by W. Burkert, in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 14 (Berlin and New York, 1985), pp. 235–53; R. Parker, in *The Oxford History of the Classical World* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 254–74, J.-P. Vernant, in M. Eliade (ed), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 6 (New York and London, 1987), pp. 99–118; F. Graf, in H. Poser (ed), *Handbuch der Semiotik* (Berlin and New York, 1994), Ch. 42; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, in Bremmer (ed), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Religions* (London, 1995).

4. This is rightly stressed by Bruit/Schmitt, *Religion*, p. 228.

5. The terminology is from Parker (n. 3), p. 265.

6. In fact, our concept 'religion' only developed after the Reformation, cf. J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985), p. 170, overlooked by T. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion* (Baltimore and London, 1993), pp. 40–3.

7. Cf. W. Burkert, 'Herodot als Historiker fremder Religionen', *Entretiens Hardt* 35 (Vandoeuvres and Geneva, 1990), pp. 1–32, esp p. 4; see also F. Mora, *Religione e religioni nelle storie di Erodoto* (Milano, 1986).

8. Cf. Bremmer, 'Literacy and the Origins and Limitations of Greek Atheism', in J. den Boeft and A. H. M. Kessels (eds), *Actus . . .* (Utrecht, 1982), pp. 43–55; the studies and bibliographical surveys by

M. Winiarczyk, *Philologus* 128 (1984), 157–83 and 136 (1992), 306–10; *Elenchos* 10 (1989), 103–92; *Rhein. Mus.* 133 (1990), 1–15 and 135 (1992), 216–25; Ch. VII.2.

9. For slaves and Greek religion, see F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom* (Stuttgart, 1990²).

10. F. Jacoby on *FGrH* 596 F 46; Bremmer, 'The Skins of Pherekydes and Epimenides', *Mnemosyne* IV 46 (1993), 234–6.

11. Priesthoods: E. Kearns, 'Change and Continuity in Religious Structures after Cleisthenes', in P. A. Cartledge and F. D. Harvey (eds), *Crux. Essays . . . presented to G. E. M. de Ste. Croix* (London, 1985), pp. 188–207. Athena: B. Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik und politischen Propaganda Athens im Delisch-Attischen Seebund* (Munich, 1990); I. Kasper-Butz, *Die Göttin Athena im klassischen Athen* (Frankfurt, 1990).

12. So, strikingly, Burkert, *GR*, p. 269; see also Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 151f.

13. Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 328–31.

14. For the vocabulary of the sacred, see Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 147–50; A. Dihle, *Jahrbuch f. Ant. und Christ.* Suppl. 11 (1985), 107–11 and *Reall. f. Ant. und Christ.* 14 (1988), 1–16; A. Motte, 'L'expression du sacré dans la religion grecque', in J. Ries (ed), *L'expression du sacré dans les grandes religions* 3 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1986), pp. 109–256; J. Nuchelmans, 'A propos de *hagios* avant l'époque hellénistique', in A. Bastiaensen et al. (eds), *Fructus centesimus. Mélanges G. J. M. Bartelink . . .* (Steenbrugge and Dordrecht, 1989), pp. 239–58.

15. So Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 153 (also for garlands), 323, 330 (*hosios*); W. R. Connor, '"Sacred" and "Secular". *Hiera kai hosia* and the Classical Athenian Concept of the State', *Ancient Society* 19 (1988), 161–88.

16. Cf. B. Alroth, *Greek Gods and Figurines* (Uppsala, 1989), pp. 64–105, reviewed by F. T. van Straten, *Opusc. Athen.* 19 (1992), 194f.

17. *Pistis*: D. R. Lindsay, *Josephus and Faith* (Leiden, 1993). Conversion: R. MacMullen, *Changes in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 130–41, 322–7.

18. Cf. B. Gladigow, '*Chresthai theois*. Orientierungs- und Loyalitätskonflikte in der griechischen Religion', in C. Elsas and H. G. Kippenberg (eds), *Loyalitätskonflikte in der Religionsgeschichte* (Würzburg, 1990), pp. 237–51.

19. For a discussion of the notion 'loving god (God)', which ranges from classical times to the early Christian period, see T. Söding, 'Das Wortfeld der Liebe im paganen und biblischen Griechisch', *Ephemerides Theol. Lovanienses* 68 (1992), 284–330.

20. K. J. Dover, *Greek popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 246–54; C. Watkins, in P. Baldi (ed), *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology* (Berlin and New York, 1990), p. 297 (etymology).

21. H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion* 1: *Ter Unus* (Leiden, 1990), pp. 123–31; D. Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcements of Morals in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 203–17. Trials: K. J. Dover, *The Greeks and Their Legacy* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 135–58; W. R. Connor, 'The Other 399: Religion and the Trial of Socrates', in M. A. Flower and M. Toher (eds), *Georgica. Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell* (London, 1991), pp. 49–56.

22. Tolerance: P. Garnsey, 'Religious Toleration in Classical Antiquity', in W. J. Sheils (ed), *Persecution and Toleration* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 1–27.

23. Visits: D. Flückiger-Guggenheim, *Göttliche Gäste. Die Einkehr von Göttern und Heroen in der griechischen Mythologie* (Berne and Frankfurt, 1984).

24. Oedipus: Bremmer, 'Oedipus and the Greek Oedipus Complex', in Bremmer (ed), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1990³), pp. 41–59. Spartans: Hdt. 1.128, cf. Parker, *Miasma*, p. 184. In general: W. Speyer, *Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld* (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 254–63.

25. See the innovative study by Th. C. W. Oudemans and A. Lardinois, *Tragic Ambiguity* (Leiden, 1987), rev. by S. Goldhill, *CR* 38 (1988), 396f (too negative); R. Buxton, *JHS* 109 (1989), 216f; H. van Looy, *Ant. Class.* 58 (1989), 256–8; M. Fresco, *Mnemosyne* IV 47 (1994), 289–318.

26. Pollution: Parker, *Miasma*; add G. Neumann, '*Katharós* "rein" und seine Sippe in den ältesten griechischen Texten', in H. Froning et al. (eds), *Kotinos. Festschrift Erika Simon* (Mainz, 1992), pp. 71–5. Roman religion seems to use the idea of pollution to a much smaller extent.

27. H. S. Versnel, 'Self-sacrifice, Compensation and the Anonymous Gods', *Entretiens Hardt* 27 (Vandoeuvres and Geneva, 1981), pp. 135–95, esp. 171–9.

28. Cf. J. Gould, 'On making sense of Greek religion', in P. Easterling and J. Muir (eds), *Greek*

Religion and Society (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 1–33; R. G. A. Buxton, 'Bafflement in Greek Tragedy', *Metis* 3 (1988), 41–51.

29. For the development of beliefs and attitudes regarding death, see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'To Die and Enter the House of Hades: Homer, Before and After', in J. Whaley (ed), *Mirrors of Mortality* (London, 1981), pp. 15–39; eadem, 'A Trauma in Flux: Death in the 8th Century and After', in R. Hägg (ed), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century* (Stockholm, 1983), pp. 33–48. *Contra*: I. Morris, 'Attitudes towards Death in Archaic Greece', *Class. Ant.* 8 (1989), 296–320. Variation: Dover, *Greek Popular Morality*, pp. 261–8.

30. Bremmer, 'The Family and Other Centres of Religious Learning in Antiquity', in J. W. Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald (eds), *Centres of Learning* (Leiden, 1994).

31. Cf. J.-M. Bremer, 'Poets and Their Patrons', in H. Hofmann and M. A. Harder (eds), *Fragmenta dramatica* (Göttingen, 1991), pp. 39–60; G. Weber, 'Poesie und Poeten an den Höfen vorhellenistischer Monarchen', *Klio* 74 (1992), 25–77.

32. Cf. I. J. F. de Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 45–53; S. R. Slings, 'Poet's Call and Poet's Status in Archaic Greece and Other Oral Cultures', *Listy Filologické* 119 (1989), 72–9 and 'Orality and the Poet's Profession', *Acta Ant. Hung.* 33 (1990–2), 9–14; M. Finkelberg, 'A Creative Oral Poet and the Muse', *AJPh* 111 (1990), 293–303; A. Ford, *Homer. The Poetry of the Past* (Ithaca, 1992), pp. 180–97.

33. Language of the gods: 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); Ford, *Homer*, p. 175.

34. See most recently H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta, 1990), pp. 38–43; E. Neu, 'Der alte Orient: Mythen der Hethiter', in G. Binder and B. Effe (eds), *Mythos. Erzählende Weltdeutung im Spannungsfeld von Ritual, Geschichte und Rationalität* (Trier, 1990), pp. 90–117.

35. On these derivations from the Ancient Near East see the fascinating study by W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution. Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age* (Cambridge Mass., 1992).

36. On seers see now Bremmer, 'Prophets, Seers and Politics in Greece, Israel and Early Modern Europe', *Numen* 40 (1993, 150–83), 151–9 (with full bibliography); D. Lateiner, 'The Perception of Deception and Gullibility in Specialists of the Supernatural (Primarily) in Athenian Literature', in R. Rosen and J. Farrell (eds), *Nomodeiktes. Greek Studies in Honor of Martin Ostwald* (Ann Arbor, 1994), pp. 179–95.

37. Cf. J. D. Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion* (Chapel Hill and London, 1983), pp. 96—8; H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, p. 130.

38. Cf. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'What is *Polis* religion?', in O. Murray (ed), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford, 1990, 295–322), p. 304; eadem, 'Further Aspects of Polis Religion', *AION* 10 (1988), 259–74.

II. GODS

Gods have not been at the very centre of modern discussions of Greek religion.[1] Yet there are several questions worth asking. What did the Greeks see as important differences between themselves and the gods, and between gods and heroes? Which factors helped to define the identity of individual gods (§ 1)? How do we study the pantheon (§ 2)? What did the Greeks consider to be the sphere of influence of individual gods? What was the nature of the divine hierarchy? Last but not least, were the gods persons or powers (§ 3)?

1. *God, gods and heroes*

At an early stage of their history the Greeks replaced the Indo-European word **deiwos* (Latin *deus*) with *theos* in order to denote the most powerful category among the supernatural beings they worshipped. *Theos* is related to Armenian *di-k*, 'gods', and Latin *fanum*, 'sanctuary', but its precise meaning remains obscure. Sometimes, though, the Greeks used a different term. Whenever they felt that a god intervened for a short time, directly and concretely in their life, they spoke of *daimon*, which only later acquired its unfavourable meaning.[2]

Greek gods resembled and differed from the Christian God in important aspects. Like Him, they were invisible, but they were not loving (Ch. I.2), almighty, or omnipresent; moreover, they were 'envious and disorderly' (Herodotus 1.32.1), their presence could be uncanny, sometimes horrific, and, last but not least, they were frivolously amoral. In particular the divine sense of justice in Homer is problematic, but we reach a better understanding when we consider the relationships between gods and mortals as analogous to those between princes and commoners. Although gods did uphold the rules of justice, their obligations to kin and friends had priority. This attitude reflects the absence in Homeric society of a developed legal system, and it is only natural that in a more regulated period such a lack of a divine sense of justice came to be questioned.[3]

Divine uncanniness comes to the fore in tragedy, as for example in Euripides' *Hippolytos*, where Poseidon despatches a bull from the sea in order to kill Hippolytos. This darkness of divinity is typical of tragedy, but its prominence in this particular genre should not lead us to make it the starting point of generalizations: approaching the gods from their role in comedy would lead to completely different results. Rather, it is typical of

Greek religion that it combined this polarization and radicalization of experiencing the divine.[4]

The gods' frivolous behaviour accentuates mortal plodding and is typical of their outspoken anthropomorphism, which is Homer's greatest contribution to Greek religion.[5] Even Greek onomastics shows its success: names indicating the gift of a specific deity, like Athenodorus or Apollodorus, appear only after Homer. However, the resemblance between gods and men is only relative. As the appearance of Demeter in her *Homeric Hymn* (275–80) illustrates, divine epiphanies show the gods as tall, beautiful, sweet-smelling, awe-inspiring, in short as 'superpersons'.[6] Precisely because of divine anthropomorphism it was necessary to stress the immortal–mortal boundary.[7] In several Greek myths gods are being tested: Ariadne challenging Athena's weaving skill or Marsyas questioning Apollo's flute-playing genius. The stories invariably end badly for mortals, as do love affairs with gods: Semele was burned to ashes, when she begged Zeus to appear in full glory. The message of these myths is clear: the gap between gods and humans is unbridgeable.[8]

Yet anthropomorphism made the gods highly vulnerable to criticism, which Xenophanes (*ca.* 500 B.C.) was the first to state publicly. Subsequent generations of intellectuals took these criticisms seriously and tried to counter them through the strategies of allegory and rationalization. Others would be more daring, and Herodotus' allusion to Protagoras' famous statement 'Concerning the gods I am unable to discover whether they exist or not, or what they are like in form' (2.53.1) shows to what extent fifth-century intellectuals were already questioning the traditional picture of the gods (Ch. VII.2).[9]

If the gods differed from humans, they also differed from another category of supernatural beings: the heroes, who, as Vernant has emphasized, occupied an intermediate position between gods and men.[10] The origin of this group is still puzzling. Since Homer presents heroic tombs and heroic cult from the narrator's point as cultic institutions in the making, the hero must already have been a well-established category in his time, but the archaeological evidence suggests that it is not much older.[11] In the end, it seems to have been a kind of lowest common denominator for mythological grandees like Heracles, faded divinities like Helen (Ch. V.2, VI.1), mythological culture heroes like Prometheus, and important historical figures like Brasidas, a Spartan general who was killed in action in 422 (Ch. VII.3).[12] Usually, heroes were benevolent and played an important role in guarding oaths and protecting cities, but they could also be malicious and send all kinds of diseases. In a fragment published in 1967, the chorus of

Aristophanes' *Heroes* says: 'we are the guardians of good things and ill; we watch out for the unjust, for robbers and footpads, and send them diseases – spleen, coughs, dropsy, catarrh, scab, gout, madness, lichens, swellings, ague, fever. That's what we give to thieves.'[13] Even though gods and heroes regularly overlapped in function and heroes were sometimes called 'gods', the heroes' radius was usually more limited and their cult concentrated on a tomb. Yet the boundaries between gods and heroes were often fluid and conceptions of the hero varied widely in the Greek world.[14]

What established the identity of an individual god? The question may surprise, since the possibility of finding a unity beneath the multifarious aspects of the deities has recently been strongly denied. And indeed, local manifestations of gods could vary widely even within a single city. Yet a number of factors contributed to a recognizable core. Most important was the name of the divinity, which was often further specified by an epithet denoting function or origin, like Hermes Agoraios, 'Of the market', or Demeter Eleusinia, 'From Eleusis' (Ch. VII.1).[15] However, few divine names were immediately transparent and even originally clear names, like Apellon or the birth-goddess Eleuthyia, 'She who comes', were soon obscured to Apollon (§ 3) and Eileithyia (Ch. III.2). The awesomeness of the gods forbade a straightforward approach.[16]

A god's name was given content by myth (Ch. V), which related his family and deeds. Family ties were means of establishing connections or indicating related functions among divinities: we cannot separate Leto's motherhood of Apollo and Artemis from the connection of all three divinities with initiation.[17] Deeds helped to define and reflect on divine functions. The *Homeric Hymns*, for example, show Hermes as thief, Aphrodite as seductress, and Demeter as founder of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The *Hymns* also relate divine appearances: Dionysus looked 'like a young man on the brink of adolescence' and Apollo like a 'vigorous youth on the brink of manhood'. Art equally reflected on and contributed to the mental image that the Greeks made of their gods. Vases and mirrors frequently display gods with fixed attributes: Poseidon with a trident, Athena with an owl (fig. 1), Zeus with a thunderbolt, Aphrodite with doves (fig. 2).[18] These attributes must have helped to identify individual gods, just as in dreams gods appeared in a shape familiar from the, often local, painted and sculptured representations.[19] A final determining factor was cult. The place in the calendar, prominent or not (Ch. IV.3); the location of sanctuary, be it in town or country (Ch. III.2); the nature of the sacrificial victim, normal or 'abnormal' (Ch. IV.2); the mode of ritual, supportive of or undermining the social order (Ch. IV.3): all these elements contributed to a specific percep-

1. Athena with her owl

2. Greek bronze mirror with Aphrodite and doves, which in Greece were a typical lovers' gift

tion of individual gods and helped to reinforce the image their worshippers had of them.[20]

2. *The pantheon*

Before we discuss individual gods, we must first look at the Greek pantheon as a whole. The main gods were a group of twelve Olympioi who resided on Mt Olympos and this number goes back at least to the sixth century, since the younger Pisistratus dedicated an altar to the Twelve Gods in the agora (*ca.* 520 B.C.), which served as the focal point for reckoning distances to places outside Athens.[21] How do we find order in this ragbag of gods, which also comprised many minor divinities, such as Pan

and the Nymphs (Ch. VII.2)? A popular approach has long been, and still is,[22] to distinguish between Olympian and Chthonian (viz. of the earth and underworld) gods. This view originated during the Romantic period and was already considered canonical in the early 1800s. Following a notice in Porphyry's *The Grotto of the Nymphs* (6), Olympians were claimed to have temples and high, square altars for food sacrifices but Chthonians and heroes (Ch. III.1) only low, circular altars for burnt offerings. In fact, modern archaeology has proved that for the classical period this distinction has no general validity. Chthonian gods like Zeus Meilichios can have a high or a low altar.[23]

More recently, Jean-Pierre Vernant and his school have stressed that the pantheon is a system, of which we should study the structures instead of concentrating on divinities as individuals. Which gods are paired and which are opposed to each other? What is the precise mode of intervention? What logic governs their being? In addition to these questions, we should also try to search for the, often hidden, hierarchies within the pantheon. Here new possibilities have been opened up by a study of divine representations. A fine example is a black-figured vase of the painter Sophilos (*c.* 580 B.C.) with the wedding procession of Thetis and Peleus moving towards the house of Peleus: we see Hestia and Demeter, Chariclo and Leto, Dionysus, Hebe, Cheiron, Themis, three Nymphs; Hera and Zeus on a cart followed by three females (the accompanying inscription has been lost); Amphitrite and Poseidon on a cart followed by three Charites; Aphrodite and Ares on a cart followed by five Muses; Apollo and Hermes on a cart followed by three Muses; Athena and Artemis on a cart followed by three Moirai, Oceanus, and two Eileithyiai (Ch. III.2). The procession is concluded by Hephaestus on the back of a donkey; naturally, Hades had no place in this festive happening. The procession shows not only the pairing of certain gods but also a clear hierarchy: some gods go by cart, others on foot. Taking these new approaches into account we will now discuss the major gods and conclude by analysing the structures and hierarchies within the Greek pantheon, and the problem whether the Greek gods were persons or powers – or perhaps both.[24]

3. *Gods orderly and 'disorderly'*

The main divinity of the Greek pantheon was Zeus, whose development from a weather-god worshipped on mountaintops to the supreme god shows influences from Anatolia, which was also the source of the succession myths relating his coming to power. However, Zeus never reached

the same position in Greece as Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome: his festivals were not important, and only few cities named months after him. Instead, he became the protector of the social and moral order.[25] Zeus' first wife was Dione, whose name is attested in Linear-B, but who 'survived' only in outlying Dodona and far-away Pamphylia; already in Mycenaean times she was replaced by Hera, whose name probably means 'Mistress'. Hera was the goddess who 'holds the keys of marriage' (Ar. *Thesm.* 973), and in this function her cult was panhellenic but not prominent. On Samos, she received votives in the shape of ships, and it is typical of the plasticity of Greek polytheism that the importance of the sea for Samos could add this local aspect to her cult.[26]

If Zeus was the 'chief' of the pantheon, Athena and Apollo had the greatest number of main polis sanctuaries (Ch. III.2). Athena's temple is attested on many acropoleis throughout the Greek world; her statuette, the Palladium, functioned as a polis talisman, and she frequently received the epithet Polias or Poliouchos. As a city goddess she also watched over the new generation. In Athens, during her and Zeus' Apatouria festival youths were integrated into the phratries, and during the Arrhephoria young girls, the Arrhephoroi, ended their participation in weaving the new *peplos* for the Panathenaea (Ch. IV.2) via a secret ritual that confronted them with sexuality, thus preparing them for adult life (Ch. VI.1). Although this initiatory function is not totally absent elsewhere, it was prominent in Athena's special city: one more testimony to the fluidity of Greek polytheism.[27]

Athena's protecting function reflected itself in her armed appearance, which was probably influenced by the popular armed goddesses of the Orient.[28] In war, Athena especially functioned as an adviser to warriors – witness her close relationship with Achilles and Odysseus in Homer. She displayed the same intelligence as Athena Ergane, the supervisor of spinning and weaving, two of the main tasks of Greek women: many sanctuaries of Athena contain dedications of distaffs and loom-weights. However, Athena's intelligence not only connected her with women's crafts but also with artisans (and thus with Hephaestus), with carpenters in building the Argo and the Trojan Horse, and with knights in mastering horses. In all these cases Athena represents civilization and cleverness against nature and brute force.[29]

Apollo, the other central polis god, probably derives his name from the yearly Doric assembly, the *apellai*, where the youths were incorporated into the community of the adults. Consequently, he is situated between adolescence and adulthood, and it is this aspect of Apollo which made him

the supervisor of initiatory rites but also the centre of political institutions of the polis, especially when worshipped with the epithets Delphinios and Lykeios. From this function it also becomes understandable why Apollo is closely connected with music and dance, given that Greek youths had to be able to sing and dance, and it explains why he was *the* god of Greek colonization: the position of groups of colonists often resembled that of the initiands outside civilization. The incorporation of ephebes also meant a fresh start for society. Apollo embodies this aspect of renewal by being closely associated with purification, which often separates the new from the old, culture from nature and the pure from the impure. This 'purificatory' aspect perhaps also explains his 'divinatory' function as god of seers and 'owner' of the Delphic oracle. For just as he separated the pure from the impure, so he separated the certain from the uncertain in the present, past, and future – even though his utterances remained, to humans, often opaque.[30]

Apollo's sister Artemis goes back to an age in which hunting was still of prime importance, witness her title 'Mistress of the Animals' (*Il.* 21.470) and the corresponding iconography. Ethnology shows that such Ladies/Lords of the Animals were often initiatory gods, and this may explain why Artemis supervised the transition of girls into womanhood and in some cities even boys' initiation. The initiatory role reflected itself in myth, which often pictures Artemis and her nymphs hunting in the wild. The stay outside civilization on the brink of culture – Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931), the greatest Hellenist of modern times,[31] has felicitously termed her 'Göttin des Draussen' – also explains other aspects: Artemis represents the incursion of disorder in festivals of reversal (Ch. IV.3) or she marks the boundaries of normality by receiving sacrifices before and after battle.[32]

Like Apollo, Artemis played a role in the life of the state in her manifestations as Phosphoros, 'Light-bringer' and Soteira, 'Saviour'. 'Light' often means 'life' or 'salvation' in Greek and many a legend related the intervention of Artemis in a difficult situation for the community: a beam of light showed Thrasybulus and his band the way in their successful attempt at restoring democracy in Athens in 403 and the Byzantines were saved from Philip II and his tunnel-digging Macedonians through clouds of fire sent by Artemis Phosphoros. As with 'purificatory' Apollo, this 'saving' aspect can be understood from Artemis' initiatory role which saved the community from extinction through the access of new members.[33]

If Zeus, Athena, and Apollo especially stood in the centre of the polis, the position of some other gods was more 'off centre'. Poseidon was connected

with the sea, earthquakes, horses, and men's associations. Homer already pictures him as driving his chariot over the waves, while the monsters of the deep play beneath him: 'they know their lord' (*Il.* 12.28). Poseidon also controlled the power of the earth: earthquakes were ascribed to his anger and many cities, especially on the earthquake-prone western coast of Turkey, worshipped him as Asphaleios, 'Immovable'. In addition to ruling the powers of nature, the god was also widely associated with horse racing and breeding, as his epithet Hippios illustrates. Finally, Poseidon was the ancestor of various tribes, such as the Boeotians and Aeolians, the god of alliances of cities, such as the pan-Ionic league, and the supervisor of boys' maturation. Not surprisingly, women were forbidden entry into some of the sanctuaries of this macho god. In short, Poseidon is the god of chaos in nature and brute force in men and animals.

Various myths describe Poseidon's defeat by other gods, in particular Apollo and Athena, as is well illustrated by a famous Athenian myth. When Athena and Poseidon struggled for supremacy over Attica, he brought forth a salt sea, traces of which were said to be visible on the Acropolis, whereas she planted the first olive tree: in the ensuing trial Athena prevailed. The message of the myth is clear. Even though his power was inescapable, there was no place for Poseidon in the ordered society of the Greek city-state.[34]

In many places Poseidon was closely connected with Demeter. The nature of the association is obscure but strongly suggests that Demeter was perceived as a goddess whose relationship to the social order was problematic. This impression is confirmed by the extra-mural location of her sanctuary (Ch. III.2); the fact that her favourite sacrificial victim was the 'abnormal' pig (Ch. IV.2), and the strange Arcadian myth that Poseidon turned himself into a stallion, when Demeter fled from him in the shape of a mare, thus begetting the first horse – a type of myth with clear Indo-European parallels.[35] More positively, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* movingly relates how Demeter searched for her kidnapped daughter Persephone and on her return instituted the Eleusinian mysteries (Ch. VII.1);[36] later times, drawing on Demeter's connection with fertility (Ch. VI.3), added the gift of agriculture. In various places the goddess was even closely associated with political power, witness her cult by the ruling Sicilian family of the Deinomenids and the royal family of Ephesus.[37]

However, in the course of time Demeter's political role lost in importance and the positive aspect of fertility was overshadowed by another side of the goddess. Demeter's festival, the Thesmophoria, was *the* great women's festival, when men were excluded from sex and sometimes, if only

symbolically, from power (Ch. VI.3). Surely, it is this aspect of the goddess, not her agricultural function as Burkert suggests, which made her position 'eccentric' in the male-dominated social and religious order.[38]

Finally, Dionysus, the god most discussed in modern times. It used to be thought that he was a latecomer among the gods, but a recently found Linear B tablet in Cretan Khania has now definitively established his presence in the Mycenaean pantheon.[39] Modern approaches, especially those by Jean-Pierre Vernant and his *équipe*, have paid much attention to Dionysus as a mask god, also defining him as the Other who is at the same time male and female, young and old, near and far, etc.[40] This is hardly convincing: nowhere does Dionysus wear a mask and the polar opposites on which this view is based are mostly neither attested very early nor always persuasive: the effeminate Dionysus seems to have a background in initiation, when boys were temporarily dressed as girls (Ch. IV.3).[41]

Methodologically, this approach also takes the wrong turn, because our point of departure should be the god's festivals. These are the oldest testimonies to his sphere of action and speak a clear language: although his festivals abounded with merry-making, they also displayed characteristics of a break-up of the social order, such as the split of society into its two gender halves during the widespread Agrionia; the equality of slaves during the Anthesteria (Ch. IV.3), or the prominence of the phallus during the Dionysia. At times, this 'anti-order' aspect could make them unpleasantly ambiguous: on Chios armed forces occupied the streets leading to the agora, where, presumably, the sacrifice for Dionysus took place during the Dionysia. In a few neighbouring islands the 'dangerous' side of Dionysus also came to the fore in some of his epithets: on Chios he was called Omadios, or 'Raw', on Lesbos Omestes, or 'Eater of raw meat' (Ch. VI.3), and on Tenedos Anthroporrhaistes, or 'Destroyer of man'. Myth stressed this negative side by letting Dionysus arrive from a barbarous country, Thrace, as it did with Ares, another problematic god (Ch. IV.3).[42]

Similar ambiguities came to the fore among the satyrs and maenads, his mythical followers. Satyric drama and vases often show us the happy side of the Dionysiac world through the satyrs: buffoonery, drinking, and all kinds of sexual activities (fig. 3, 4). Yet some of the latter, such as masturbating and coupling with animals, were definitely not socially acceptable, although the god himself was also sometimes associated with the mule, a very randy animal (fig. 5).[43] And tragedy showed his female followers, the maenads, both resting in serene peace and committing the most gruesome murders in their ecstasy (Ch. VI.3), as Euripides' *Bacchae* so well illustrates; in fact, Dionysus frequently received the epithet Bacchos

3. Dionysus with cantharus and satyr with erect member.

(or one of its variants), the Greek term par excellence for ecstasy and madness.[44]

Dionysus' divine relationships also display this tension between order and 'anti-order'. He was sometimes, understandably, connected with Aphrodite: in antiquity, too, wine and love went together. He was also connected with Artemis and it fits in with her marking of the boundaries of normality (above) that she more than once supervised the restoration of order after Dionysiac disorder, as when she cured the madness of Proitos' daughters (Ch. VI.2). It is rather surprising that he was even associated with Apollo, most clearly in Delphi where Dionysus 'ruled' three months in the winter and Apollo the rest of the year.[45] Yet this relationship perhaps sums up best Dionysus' position in Greek society: society cannot live without a temporary relaxation of the social order, but order has to be restored.[46]

If we had more space, we would also have analysed Hermes (but see below), Hephaestus, Aphrodite, and Ares (Ch. IV.3) and personifications like Eirene, 'Peace' and Thanatos, 'Death',[47] but our discussion so far is sufficient to draw some conclusions. First, Vernant and his school are clearly right to draw attention to connections between gods. It is important to see that both Athena and Poseidon are connected with horses in rather different ways, that Apollo and Athena always defeat Poseidon, that Apollo

and Dionysus are opposites but still both necessary for the city. On the other hand, these connections do not replace a study of the sphere of action of the individual gods. Athena or Apollo are more than the sum of their connections: the Greek pantheon was not the product of an ancient logician.[48]

4. Satyrs treading grapes, while a monkey sits under the table.

Second, when we now return to Sophilos' vase, we see that those at the centre of the social order went by cart: Zeus, Athena, Apollo, and Artemis. Considering the disruptive effects of male power and sex, it may surprise that they were joined by Poseidon, Ares, and Aphrodite, but male force always remained necessary for the survival of the polis, whereas sexual pleasure was necessary for its reproduction.[49] However, the location of Poseidon's sanctuaries (Ch. III.2) and the deviant nature of the sacrificial victims of Ares and Aphrodite (Ch. IV.2), show that these last three gods clearly were considered to be more at the margin of the social order. On the other hand, the great gods who went on foot, Demeter and Dionysus, are those with festivals in which the normal social order was temporarily dissolved, be it by the dominance of women or the prominence of wine and the phallus. Since both gods are (virtually) absent in Homer and both are *the* gods of Greek mystery cults (Ch. VII.1),[50] the conclusion must be that both were seen as different and occupying an 'eccentric' position in the pantheon. The position of gods on other Attic vases confirms this picture: a central place for Zeus and Apollo but an eccentric position for Ares, Hermes (the god of thieves, merchants, and ephebes, in short of socially marginal groups), Poseidon, and Dionysus.[51] Evidently, a divinity's relationship to the social order was an important consideration for the Greeks in the (conscious or unconscious) construction of their pantheon.[52]

5. Dionysus on mule with his panther.

Yet we cannot speak of a Greek divine hierarchy without two important qualifications. The picture we have sketched is, perhaps inevitably, too static. The pantheon was not a fixed entity, but worshippers could try to promote the position of a god: Pan and the Nymphs gained much in prominence in the course of the classical period (Ch. VII.2), and in 340/339 B.C. a Delphic hymn to Dionysus proclaimed that the god should be worshipped the whole year round, that means not only during the winter as had been usual.[53] The picture also insufficiently takes into account the fact that each individual city had its own pantheon, in which particular gods could be more prominent than in other cities. For example, Demeter was especially popular in Sicily and she, naturally, was the most important divinity in Eleusis (Ch. VII.1), whereas on Chios Dionysus enjoyed a particular popularity – reputedly, the first settler of the island was even his son Oinopion.[54] In short, our picture is basically a panhellenic model, from which we should not automatically extrapolate to individual cities and moments.

Thirdly and finally, whereas Burkert approaches the Greek gods as persons, the school of Vernant prefers rather to see them as powers.[55] And

indeed, to an important extent Greek gods did personify specific powers and qualities. This appears clearly from the oppositions between gods (§ 2): when Poseidon and Aphrodite are contrasted in ritual (Ch. IV.3), the opposition can hardly be separated from their respective embodiments of 'brute power' and 'love'. Similarly, when Athena defeats Poseidon, a Greek would not have failed to notice that 'intelligence' defeats 'brute power'. The distinction we have posited between 'orderly' and 'disorderly' gods in the Greek pantheon would be, if correct, an additional illustration of this side of the Greek gods. Moreover, the growing allegorization and euhemerization of the Greek gods in the course of the fifth century could hardly have taken off without this quality of the gods.

On the other hand, poetry, art, and cult all incessantly impressed upon the Greeks the personal aspect of their gods. It would be wrong, therefore, to choose between the views of Burkert and Vernant. 'Power' and 'person' are two sides of the Greek gods which could both come to the fore at different times and in different contexts. Poets stressed rather the personal side, whereas philosophers started to promote the 'power' aspect of the divinities. Both approaches co-existed for a long time and the tension between the two reflects an essential quality of the ancient Greek gods.

NOTES

1. But see G. Sissa and M. Detienne, *La vie quotidienne des dieux grecs* (Paris, 1989). A detailed historiographical survey: A. Henrichs, *Die Götter Griechenlands. Ihr Bild im Wandel der Religionswissenschaft* (Bamberg, 1987) = H. Flashar (ed), *Auseinandersetzungen mit der Antike* (Bamberg, 1900), pp. 116–62.

2. *Theos*: H. Rix, *Kratylos* 14 (1969 [1972]), 179f. *Daimon*: De Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers*, pp. 158, 239f.

3. Cf. H. van Wees, *Status Warriors* (Amsterdam, 1992), pp. 142–9; differently, H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley, 1983[2]); W. Kullmann, *Homerische Motive* (Stuttgart, 1992).

4. Tragedy: J. D. Mikalson, *Honor Thy Gods* (Chapel Hill, 1991), pp. 17–68, a valuable study despite its weak theoretical basis, cf. H. Yunis, *CR* 43 (1993), 70–2. Comedy: this is insufficiently taken into account by Gould, 'On making sense of Greek religion'.

5. Frivolity: Burkert, 'Götterspiel und Götterburleske in altorientalischen und griechischen Mythen', *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 51 (1982), 336–67; J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 144–204 (the gods' serious side). Anthropomorphism: J.-P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals*, ed. F. Zeitlin (Princeton, 1991), pp. 27–49; Burkert, 'Homer's Anthropomorphism: Narrative and Ritual', in D. Buitron-Oliver (ed), *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Washington, 1991), pp. 81–91.

6. Cf. H. S. Versnel, 'What did Ancient Man See when He saw a God? Some Reflections on Greco-Roman Antiquity', in D. van der Plas (ed), *Effigies Dei* (Leiden, 1987), pp. 42–55; G. Mussies, 'Identification and Self-Identification of Gods in Classical and Hellenistic Greece', in R. van den Broek et al. (eds), *Knowledge of God in the Graeco-Roman World*(Leiden, 1988), pp. 1–18; B. Gladigow, 'Epiphanie, Statuette, Kultbild. Griechische Gottesvorstellungen im Wechsel von Kontext und Medium', *Visible Religion* 7 (1990), 98–121.

7. See also R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece. The Contexts of Mythology* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 146–9, on the poignant character of this boundary in the *Iliad*.

8. Tests: I. Weiler, *Der Agon im Mythos* (Darmstadt, 1974), pp. 37–128. Affairs: G. Piccaluga, *Minutal. Saggi di storia delle religioni* (Rome, 1974), pp. 9–35.

9. Xenophanes: see most recently J. Lesher, *Xenophanes of Colophon* (Toronto, 1992), pp. 78–119. Subsequent generations: D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 5–33. Herodotus: Burkert, 'Herodot über die Namen der Götter: Polytheismus als historisches Problem', *Mus. Helv.* 42 (1985), 121–32.

10. J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1974), pp. 117f.

11. Cf. A. Henrichs, 'The Tomb of Aias and the Prospect of Hero Cult in Sophokles', *Class. Ant.* 12 (1993), 165–80; C. Antonaccio, 'The Archaeology of Ancestors', in C. Dougherty and L. Kurke (eds), *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 46–69; J. Whitley, 'The Monuments That Stood before Marathon: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Archaic Attica', *Am. J. Arch.* 98 (1994), 213–30.

12. Heracles: C. Bonnet and C. Jourdain-Annequin (eds), *Héraclès* (Brussels and Rome, 1992); E. Tagalidou, *Weihreliefs an Herakles aus klassischer Zeit* (Jonsered, 1993). Prometheus: P. Pisi, *Prometeo nel culto attico* (Rome, 1990).

13. Ar. fr. 322, translated and commented upon by Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 243f.

14. The best modern discussion is now E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (London, 1989); see also M. Visser, 'Worship your enemies: aspects of the cult of heroes in ancient Greece', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 75 (1982), 403–28.

15. Denial: R. Seaford, *CR* 40 (1990), 173. Hermes A.: Graf, *NK*, 270; M. Osanna, 'Il culto di Hermes Agoraios ad Atene', *Ostraka* 1 (1992), 215–22.

16. Names: B. Gladigow, 'Gottesnamen I', *Reall. f. Ant. und Christ.* 11 (1981), 1102–1238; F. Graf, 'Namen von Göttern im klassischen Altertum', in *Handbuch der Namenforschung* (Berlin and New York, 1995).

17. Bremmer, *Mnemosyne* IV 42 (1989), 263, commenting on Leto's connection with initiation in Chios, cf. Graf, *NK*, 60f.

18. Poseidon: C. Bérard, 'Iconographie-Iconologie-iconologique', *Etudes de Lettres* (1983), 5–37, esp. 15–20. Athena: C. Bron, 'La gent ailée d'Athéna Poliade', in C. Bron and E. Kassapoglou (eds), *L'Image en jeu de l'antiquité à Paul Klee* (Lausanne, 1992), pp. 47–65; H. Shapiro, 'From Athena's Owl to the Owl of Athens', in Rosen/Farrell, *Nomodeiktes*, pp. 213–24. Zeus: K. W. Arafat, *Classical Zeus* (Oxford, 1990), p. 166 notes that Zeus' thunderbolt is almost completely absent from the later fifth century onwards. Doves: L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* 7 (1990), pp. 159–83.

19. Cf. F. T. van Straten, 'Daikrates' Dream', *Bull. Ant. Besch.* 51 (1976, 1–38), 14–16; B. Gladigow, 'Präsenz der Bilder – Präsenz der Götter. Kultbilder und Bilder der Götter in der griechischen Religion', *Visible Religion* 4–5 (1985–86), 114–33.

20. Good observations on the nature of the Greek gods also in M. Jost, *Aspects de la vie religieuse en Grèce* (Paris, 1992²), pp. 1–34.

21. C. R. Long, *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome* (Leiden, 1987); S. Angiolillo, 'Hestia, l'edificio F e l'altare dei 12 Dei ad Atene', *Ostraka* 1 (1992), 171–6; L. M. Gadberg, 'The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 61 (1992), 447–89; R. Nünlist, *ZPE* 99 (1993), 250 (to swear 'by the twelve gods' is still customary in contemporary Greece).

22. Cf. Burkert, *GR*, pp. 199–203; A. Henrichs, 'Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus: Zur Ambivalenz der chthonischen Mächte im attischen Drama', in Hofmann/Harder, *Fragmenta dramatica*, pp. 162f.

23. Cf. R. Schlesier, 'Olympian versus Chthonian Religion', *Scripta Class. Israel.* 11 (1991–2), 38–51; add F. T. van Straten, *Bull. Ant. Besch.* 49 (1974), 187–9 (altars). Zeus Meilichios: Graf, *NK*, 24, 204f. See now also S. Scullion, 'Olympian and Chthonian', *Class. Ant.* 13 (1994), 75–119.

24. Vernant, *Mythe et société*, pp. 103–20; Bruit/Schmitt, *Religion*, pp. 176–214; A.-F. Laurens and F. Lissarrague, 'Entre dieux', *Metis* 5 (1990 [1992]), 53–73 (Sophilos).

25. In general: H. Verbruggen, *Le Zeus crétois* (Paris, 1981); Arafat, *Classical Zeus*; *DDD*, s.v. Zeus (F. Graf).

26. Dione: E. Simon, *LIMC* III. (1986), s.v.; G. Dunkel, 'Vater Himmels Gattin', *Die Sprache* 34 (1988–90), 1–26, esp. 16f. Hera: C. J. Ruijgh, 'Le Mycénien et Homère', in A. Morpurgo Davies and Y. Duhoux (eds), *Linear B: a 1984 survey* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1985), 143–90, esp. 154f. (name); Graf, *NK*, 206 (marriage); H. Kyrieleis, 'The Heraion at Samos', in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds), *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches* (London, 1993), pp. 125–53, esp. 141–3 (ships). In general: A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *LIMC* V.1 (1990), s.v.

27. Talisman: C. A. Faraone, *Talismans & Trojan Horses. Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (New York, 1992). Polias/Poliouchos: Graf, *NK*, 44, 181f, 209 (archives). Athena and

initiation: C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles* 1 (Rome, 1977), pp. 232–41; F. Graf, 'Die lokrischen Mädchen', *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 2 (1978), 61–79.

28. G. Colbow, *Die kriegerische Istar. Zu den Erscheinungsformen bewaffneter Gottheiten zwischen der Mitte des 3. und der Mitte des 2. Jahrtausends* (Munich, 1991).

29. Athena Ergane: Graf, *NK*, 211f. Intelligence against force: M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society* (Hassocks, 1978), pp. 187–213 (seminal). In general: P. Demargne, *LIMC* II.1 (1984), s.v.; *DDD* s.v. Athena (F. Graf).

30. Etymology: A. Heubeck, *Glotta* 65 (1987), 179–82. Initiation: M. Jameson, 'Apollo Lykeios in Athens', *Archaiognosia* 1 (1980), 213–36; Graf, *NK*, 56f (Delphinios), 220–7 (Lykeios). Music: S. Sarti, 'Gli strumenti musicali di Apollo', *AION* 14 (1992), 95–104. In general: W. Lambrinudakis, *LIMC* II.1 (1984), s.v.; innovative, H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion* 2: *Transition & reversal in myth & ritual* (Leiden, 1993), pp. 289–334.

31. For his rather personal views 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), pp. 262–305 (Artemis: 302f).

32. C. Calame, *Choeurs de jeunes filles* I, *passim*; Graf, *NK*, 52 (boys), 237f (girls), 243–9 (disorder/order), 414f (boys); K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* (London, 1989), *passim*.

33. Graf, *NK*, 228–43 (Phosphoros, Soteira). In general: L. Kahil, *LIMC* II.1 (1984), s.v.; Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals*, pp. 195–257.

34. Bremmer, '"Effigies dei" in Ancient Greece: Poseidon', in Van der Plas, *Effigies Dei*, pp. 35–41.

35. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley etc., 1979), pp. 127f; W. Doniger O'Flaherty, *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts* (Chicago and London, 1980), pp. 166–212 (interesting parallels, improbable interpretations).

36. A newly published Latin papyrus with the myth of Alcestis offers a further testimony for the tradition that Demeter also went down to Hades to find Persephone, cf. G. Harrison and D. Obbink, 'Vergil, Georgics I 36–39 and the Barcelona Alcestis', *ZPE* 63 (1986), 75–81.

37. L. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek State* 3 (Oxford, 1907), pp. 68–75; add Her. 7.153 (Deinomenids); Strabo 14.1.3 (Ephesus), and her epithet Patroie in Thasos (*SEG* 29.766).

38. *Contra* Burkert (Ch. 1, note 3), p. 240. Demeter: Burkert, *GR*, pp. 159–61; G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Misteri e culti mistici di Demetra* (Rome, 1986); L. Beschi, *LIMC* IV.1 (1988), s.v.; M. Lambert, 'Nomkhubulwana: the Zulu Demeter', *Akroterion* 35 (1990), 46–59. Poseidon: O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* 2 (Munich, 1906), p. 1138.

39. E. Hallager et al., 'New Linear B Tablets from Khania', *Kadmos* 31 (1992), 61–87; for the etymology of his name see M. S. Ruipérez, *Opuscula selecta* (Innsbruck, 1989), pp. 293–7.

40. Excellent surveys: A. Henrichs, 'Loss of Self, Suffering, Violence: The Modern View of Dionysus from Nietzsche to Girard', *HSCP* 88 (1984), 205–40 and '"He Has a God in Him": Human and Divine in the Modern View of Dionysus', in T. Carpenter and C. Faraone (eds), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca, 1993), pp. 13–43, esp. 31–9 (Vernant *cum suis*). Note also H. Cancik, *Dioniso in Germania* (Rome, 1988).

41. No mask: C. Bérard and C. Bron, 'Dionysos, le masque impossible', in F. Besbi (ed), *Dionysos: mito e mistero* (Ferrara, 1991), pp. 309–20. Polarities late: compare Henrichs, 'Loss of Self', 235 n. 85. Effeminate: Bremmer, 'Dionysos travesti', in A. Moreau (ed), *L'Initiation* 1 (Montpellier, 1992), pp. 189–98.

42. Agrionia: Graf, *NK*, 79f; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, pp. 82–5. 'Dangerous' Dionysus: Graf, *NK*, 74–96; add now *P. Oxy.* 53.3711 (local explanation of the epithet Omestes).

43. R. Seaford, *Euripides: Cyclops* (Oxford, 1984); T. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Art* (Oxford, 1986); A. Henrichs, 'Myth Visualized: Dionysos and His Circle in Sixth-Century Attic Vase-Painting', in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, 1987), pp. 92–123; F. Lissarrague, 'The Sexual Life of Satyrs', in Halperin, *Before Sexuality*, pp. 53–81; G. M. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting* (Ann Arbor, 1992).

44. Graf, *NK*, 285–93; add S. G. Cole, *GRBS* 21 (1980), 226–31; A. Bierl, *Dionysos und die griechische Tragödie* (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 228f, rev. by G. Casadio, *Quad. di Storia* no. 38 (1993), 185–98. For Dionysus' role in tragedy note also S. des Bouvrie, 'Creative Euphoria. Dionysos and the Theatre', *Kernos* 6 (1993), 79–112.

45. Aphrodite: E. R. Dodds, *Euripides: Bacchae* (Oxford, 1960²), p. 123. Artemis: Graf, *NK*, 242f. Apollo: Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 123–5; Gasparri (n. 46), *LIMC* s.v., 467f; C. Calame, *Thésée et l'imaginaire Athénien* (Lausanne, 1990), pp. 364–9.

46. For Dionysus in general see A. Henrichs, 'Changing Dionysiac Identities', in B. Meyer and E. Sanders (eds), *Jewish and Christian Self-definition* III (London, 1982), pp. 137–60, 213–36; C. Gasparri, *LIMC* III.1 (1986), s.v.; Versnel, *Inconsistencies*, 1, 96–205; Carpenter/Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*; *DDD*, s.v. Dionysos (F. Graf).

47. H. A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art* (Kilchberg and Zurich, 1993).

48. *Contra* Bruit/Schmitt, *Religion*, p. 185 (the Greek pantheon is a 'rigorously logical ensemble').

49. For this ambiguous character of some Greek gods, see also Oudemans/Lardinois, *Tragic Ambiguity*, pp. 95f.

50. P. Wathelet, 'Dionysos chez Homère ou la folie divine', *Kernos* 4 (1991), 61–82.

51. We must always be careful, though, to take context into account, since Dionysus regularly occupies a central place in drinking scenes.

52. Vases: Laurens/Lissarrague, 'Entre dieux'; Arafat, *Classical Zeus*, pp. 177f (Zeus); Ph. Bruneau, *LIMC* II.1 (1984), 491 (Ares). Hermes: G. Siebert, *LIMC* V.1 (1990), s.v.; C. Miquel, 'Images d'Hermès' and J.-L. Durand, 'L'Hermès multiple', in Bron/Kassapoglou, *L'image en jeu*, pp. 13–23, 25–34, respectively.

53. Cf. L. Käppel, *Paian* (Berlin and New York, 1992), pp. 206–84.

54. Graf, *NK*, 74–97, 125f.

55. Burkert, *GR*, pp. 182–9; Bruit/Schmitt, *Religion*, p. 177 ('gods were not persons so much as powers'); note also Oudemans/Lardinois, *Tragic Ambiguity*, p. 94: 'Greek gods are not clearcut individuals but focuses of divergent cosmological oppositions'.

III. SANCTUARIES

Popular ideas about Greek places of worship are much influenced by the splendour of a few surviving temples, such as Athena's Parthenon or Poseidon's temple at Sounion. Yet these aesthetically pleasing but ruined and empty buildings give little insight into their former functions. So let us first look at sanctuaries proper (§ 1), then their locations (§ 2) and, finally, their secular and religious functions (§ 3).[1]

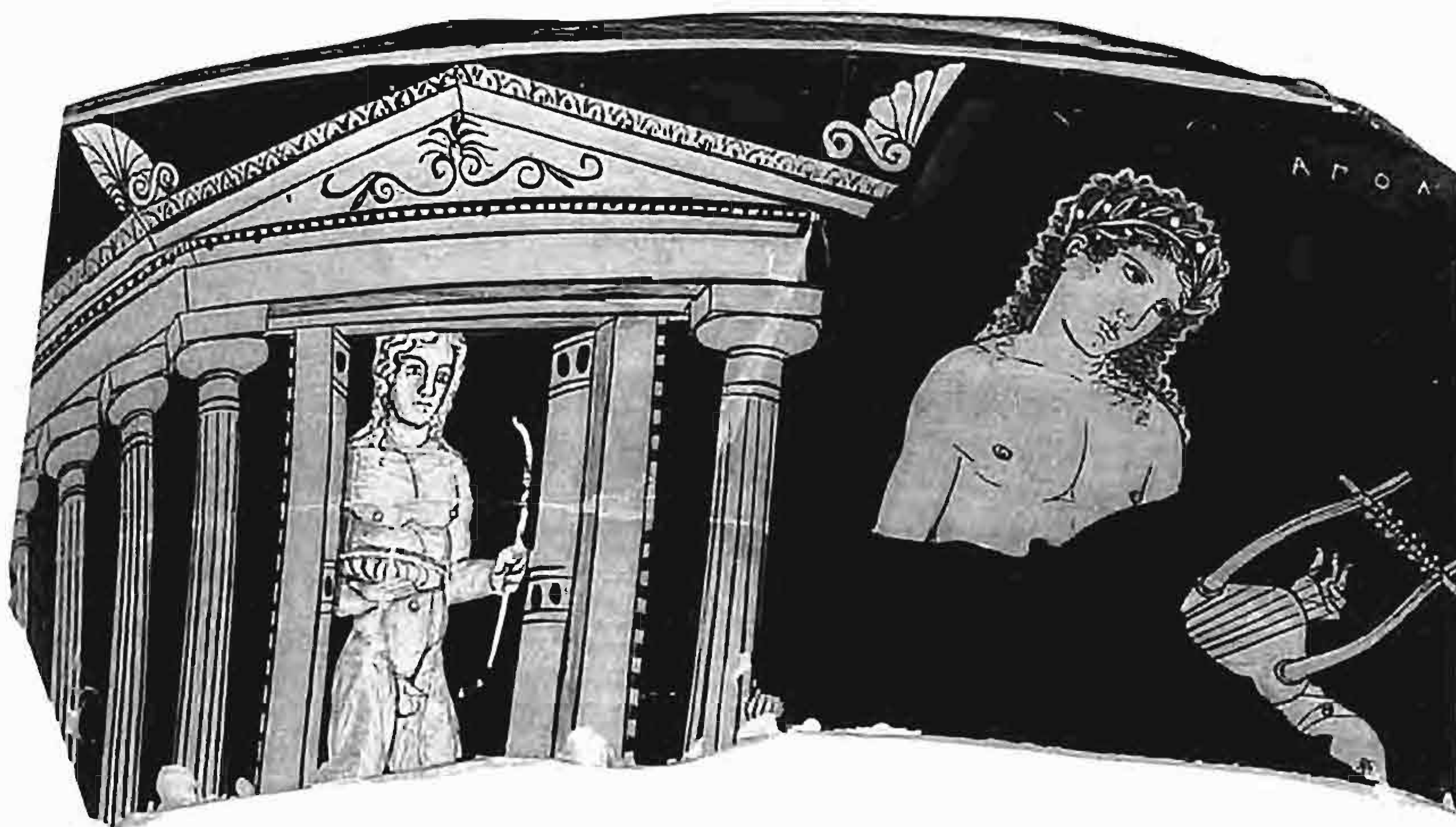
1. *Buildings, statues, and personnel*

In our oldest literary source, Homer, sanctuaries with a temple, statue, and priest(ess) are already well established. Hector's mother Hecuba went to the temple of Athena on the Acropolis, where the priestess Theano opened the doors, put Hecuba's valuable gift of an embroidered robe on the knees of Athena's statue and pronounced a prayer (*Il.* 6.285–311), and Zeus went to Cretan Ida, the site of 'his *temenos* and . . . altar' (8.48). As archaeology has shown, this combination of a *temenos* (a piece of land set aside for gods or heroes) with altar had already emerged in the Dark Age, but it would last to the 8th century when the first temples appeared on the scene;[2] this late arrival precluded a standard form and, for example, some temples always remained roofless.[3] Typical signs of a sanctuary were water (for ritual use), a tree or grove, and a stone (to mark the place as special),[4] but only the altar was indispensable: some sanctuaries never acquired a temple.[5]

A sitting statue, such as Athena's in Troy, was normal for goddesses in Archaic Greece, whereas male gods preferred the more manly attitude of standing (fig. 6).[6] Other divinities, though, could have aniconic statues: Apollo Agyieus regularly appears on coins as a conic column and the famous image of Eros in Thespiae was only a rough stone.[7] As such statues co-existed with the more 'normal' figurative ones,[8] aniconism probably tended to indicate a certain 'abnormality' of the cult. And indeed, strange statues of Artemis and Hera, but also of Dionysus, were regularly associated with festivals of reversal (Ch. IV.3); sometimes these statues were considered so dangerous that they were tied up and only released once a year.[9]

In the sanctuaries, priests usually officiated for gods and priestesses for goddesses, but, as with sacrificial victims (Ch. IV.2), there was no iron rule: Athena regularly had a priest. Priests performed sacrifices and guarded the

treasures of the sanctuary, but in larger sanctuaries special personnel did the more menial jobs, such as preventing birds from fouling statues. In smaller, rural sanctuaries priests were not always present and here worshippers themselves could sacrifice after having called for the priest in



6. Gilded bronze statue of Apollo in temple with adjacent picture of the god himself with his lyre.

vain.[10] As mediators between gods and worshippers, priests distinguished themselves through their white or purple clothing, and on vases priestesses are often pictured with metal keys, some of which have been excavated; in fact, temples were usually closed to worshippers and only opened on fixed or festive days: it was the altar not the temple which was the real centre of a sanctuary.[11]

Rather strikingly, adolescents sometimes occupied a priestly function in initiatory cults. This shows how different Greek priests could be from ours. The occasional appearance in the outfit of their divinities is another illustration of this difference; on Attic vases Athena's priestess is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the goddess. Was this identification perhaps a priestly strategy to increase status because Greek priests were always subject to the authority of the people and never managed to develop into a ruling class, as they did in India or ancient Israel?[12]

There was no sharp distinction betwen gods and heroes in these respects. Admittedly, a sanctuary of heroes (heroön) was normally smaller than that of divinities, but some heroa were large enough to allow the squatting of

Attic refugees during the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 2.17.1). Heroes also had a statue and were regularly portrayed in armour, as many were believed to have been great warriors. Several authors, who are all later than the 4th century B.C., distinguish between a divine (*bomos*) and heroic (*eschara*) altar, the first being rectangular, monumental, and with a projecting step or stepped base, whereas the latter would be low, hollow, circular, and standing directly on the ground. As with the distinction between Olympian and Chthonic gods (Ch. II.2), reality was more diverse, and various heroes had a divine altar.[13]

2. *Locations*

Major sanctuaries outside the walls or situated at remote places played important roles in the rise of panhellenism, political federations, and the birth of the polis. Delphi and Olympia developed in an especially spectacular way in the ninth and eighth centuries because here the aristocracies of the surrounding places could meet and compete in games and conspicuous offerings, thus fostering panhellenism. Other sanctuaries away from major cities developed into centres of political federations, such as Poseidon's at Boeotian Onchestos and on the isle of Kalaureia, off Troizen. Finally, sanctuaries could mark the borders of a city's territory, such as those of Hera Lacinia and Apollo Aleos, respectively south and north of South-Italian Croton, or they could be used to strengthen ties with border areas, as the Peisistratids did by connecting Athens with the outlying sanctuaries of Brauron and Eleutherae. In short, the location of the sanctuary contributed to determine its social and political roles.[14]

Much less attention has been directed towards the question why some divine sanctuaries were located in the polis but others not.[15] If a sanctuary important for the religious life of the community is not situated in the heart of that community or at such a distance that citizens have to leave their familiar surroundings in order to worship, we may expect those cults to be in some ways in opposition to those which occupied a more central location. As cults co-determine the character of gods (Ch. II.1), an extra-mural cult may also point to an 'eccentric' or less central divinity.[16] Is this supposition true?

In the heart of the city we naturally find Zeus and Athena, who as polis gods *par excellence* had sanctuaries on the agora and the acropolis, respectively, although Zeus' origin as weather god remained visible in his sanctuaries on mountaintops.[17] Apollo and Demeter were more ambivalent cases. Apollo's sanctuary was often located on the agora, as in Peloponnesian

Argos, Cretan Dreros, and Crimean Olbia, but he was also worshipped away from the centre at the sea-side, especially with the epithet Delphinios, or in the 'suburbs', as in the Athenian Lykeion. The differing locations probably reflect his own ambivalent position between adolescence and adulthood (Ch. II.3).[18] When inside the city, Demeter's sanctuaries were nearly always away from inhabited areas and the agora, as in Corinth and Priene. As a rule, they were situated before or somewhat outside the city, often on the slope of a hill, which precludes an agricultural interpretation and fits with her 'eccentricity' (Ch. II.3).[19] Finally, sanctuaries of the birth-goddess Eileithyia could be found near the city gate: not because she presided over the production of future soldiers, but because there was no place in the heart of the city for a goddess closely connected with pollution.[20]

Outside the polis we usually find sanctuaries of Poseidon,[21] Dionysus,[22] Hera, and Artemis. The Heraion was about 6–10 kilometres away from the city centre in Argos, Croton, Paestum, and on Samos; on Paros it was situated in a hilly area. Hera's sanctuaries were connected with initiation and festivals of reversal; moreover, the rituals were often performed by women but concluded by men. Clearly, the Homeric picture of the quarrelsome wife of Zeus has overlaid a much older, more interesting cult.[23] Artemis' sanctuaries could also be found in mountainous regions, but their distinctive feature was the closeness of rivers and swampy places – witness her epithet Limnatis, 'of the Marshes'. This 'watery' environment was typical of Artemis, and the second-century rhetor Maximus Tyrius already noted that 'fountains of water, hollow thickets, and flowery meadows are sacred to Artemis' (8.1). Dry as Greece was, these areas connected with Artemis must have been striking for their moist, luxuriant lushness. As places of eternal spring they were particularly suited to girls in the full bloom of youth – a striking confirmation of Artemis' initiatory function.[24]

The location of hero-sanctuaries does not seem to have been very different from divine complexes. They could be sited on prominent hills, in the midst of mountains, such as the *temenos* of Telephos on the Arcadian mount Parthenion, or near springs, like the one at Attica where Makaria was worshipped. Heroes (not heroines), who had founded a city, were often buried in the agora and clearly closely connected with the life of the polis;[25] in some cities, as in Athens and Thebes, there was even a secret heroic grave on which the safety of the city depended.[26] Other heroes were situated near the city gates – not primarily because the gates relate to the status of the hero as a liminal category, but because they were the most vulnerable parts of the city which therefore needed support from supernatural warriors: Apollo was also often invoked as defender of the gates.[27]

Our analysis of the location of sanctuaries, then, has confirmed our discussion of the gods and heroes: those connected most with the political and social order also occupied central places in the Greek poleis. For a complete picture of Greek gods and heroes the location of their sanctuaries cannot be neglected.

Finally, familiarity breeds contempt, as the proverb says, but does it also promote intimacy? In other words, was it religiously important to live close to a sanctuary? For the Greeks, of all the good relationships between men, that between neighbours was considered to be best. It would hardly be surprising, therefore, if they also developed a special relationship with those gods and heroes whose shrines and sanctuaries were in their neighbourhood or even adjacent to their houses. In fact, many examples in ancient literature show that 'a hero whose shrine was near an individual house might be "domesticated" and receive regular greetings and offerings from his mortal neighbours; in return, the hero was expected to influence the fortunes of "his" family'. If, indeed, our literary evidence mainly concerns heroes, this does not mean that the closeness of a divine shrine was considered to be insignificant. On the contrary. Many Greek parents gave their children names, which were expressive of the fact that a god was their neighbour (*geiton*), such as Athanogiton (Athena), Damatrogiton (Demeter), Diogeiton (Zeus), Pythogeiton (Apollo), or just Theogeiton. One may even wonder whether these names were not suggestive of a more personal devotion to a specific god.[28]

3. *Social and religious functions*

Greek sanctuaries functioned in a much more varied way in society than modern churches, as some examples of their social, economic, and political roles may illustrate.[29] Excavations and literary testimonia show that many sanctuaries contained temporary and permanent buildings which were used for dining; in some cases, as in Corinth, the cooking pots and drinking-cups could still be recovered. The small Greek houses offered little possibilities for larger groups and, moreover, a sanctuary was a secure place to meet, since it was divine property.[30] This security was frequently made use of by slaves, criminals, and political victims for refuge through the ritual of supplication.[31] As in modern days, the number of suppliants could be considerable: Herodotus mentions the presence of 300 boys in a Samian sanctuary of Artemis (3.48). Not surprisingly, some sanctuaries had to set aside large tracts of land on which to keep these 'permanent pilgrims'.[32]

Like the medieval Church, major sanctuaries owned large estates to pay

for their upkeep and personnel, but these estates also had a wider economic function.[33] The land was leased and on Delos, for instance, we hear of farms, trees, barley, and vineyards. And like the medieval Church, rich estates stimulated greed. Many a sanctuary issued a sacred law to prohibit the grazing of its meadows and the cutting of its trees.[34] The land could be so valuable that various wars were fought over the uncultivated land of the Cirrhaean plain below Delphi; comparable wars took place in Crete even up to the end of the second century B.C.[35]

Temples also functioned as reserve banks. In the debate before the second Athenian expedition to Sicily, Thucydides lets Nicias warn that the Sicilians not only had considerable private means but also great wealth in the sanctuary of Selinus (6.20.4), where, as in other temples, objects of precious metal were safeguarded by countersigning them with names of gods. Indeed, the inventories of Greek sanctuaries, on which temple officials recorded the treasures and dedications (below) of the temples at the end of their service, demonstrate their considerable wealth.[36] Inventories also show that in times of need cities and their inhabitants happily borrowed from their gods but were not always as forthcoming in paying back. The gods were lenient creditors.[37]

In addition to their economic function, temples also played a role in political life. The first written laws in Greece were deposited in a sanctuary or actually inscribed on the more visible walls of the major temple of the city, such as the famous laws of Cretan Gortyn on the walls of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios. Indeed, it usually was a sanctuary of Apollo that contained the laws, decrees, and treaties of a city, although the Athenians used the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, the Metroon, as their city archive. At least initially, the choice of a temple for 'publication' and preservation must have suggested inviolability and a binding character. When the Ephesian philosopher Heraclitus (*ca.* 500 B.C.) deposited his work in the temple of Artemis (Diog. Laert. 9.6), his gesture may still have presupposed this tradition.[38]

But what about worship? Some sanctuaries were specialized, such as those for mysteries and healing cults (Ch. VII.1,2) or those to obtain oracles. Divination has to uphold a certain amount of objectivity to remain credible and, consequently, major oracular shrines were situated at a fair distance from the territories of influential city-states: Homer knew already of the wealth of Delphi (*Il.* 9.404f) and far-away Dodona with 'the Helloi, your interpreters, with unwashed feet, sleepers on the ground' (16.234f); Olympia, too, started as an oracular shrine before giving us the Olympian Games.[39] But some oracles were nearer home, such as those of Amphiaraos

in Oropos, not far from Athens, Trophonios, not that far from Thebes, Didyma near Miletos, and Claros on the edge of the territories of Notion and Colophon.[40] There is a certain difference between these far-away and near-to-home oracles. The earlier flourished especially in the archaic period and were consulted in such matters as colonization and land distribution, the great problems in the period of Greek state-formation. The latter were more consulted in matters of potentially civic troubles. But in all cases ancient oracles assisted in making choices and setting the seal on collective decisions rather than in predicting the future. The crystal ball is a recent invention.[41]

The main purpose of most sanctuaries, though, was to enable worshippers to sacrifice (Ch. IV.2) and to make votive offerings. Whenever the Greeks wanted to thank the gods and/or tried to obtain a favour, they could dedicate a votive offering, which would be a more lasting testimony than a sacrifice. Even though the extremes in value (poor painted wooden panels and rich gold and silver plates) have all but disappeared, many inscriptions and votive reliefs have been preserved which allow us a unique glimpse into Greek religious practice. Through them we see who thought of the gods and why, where, and what offerings were thought suitable.[42]

Thanks to the possibility of using very cheap material, all sections of society could make votive offerings. Men, women, families – the gods were most hospitable. Sometimes, foreigners also made dedications to Greek gods. Herodotus mentions the many votives in gold and silver of Croesus (1.50–2, 90), but he was not the only one to do so: in Archaic times especially (see below) many traders, in particular Phoenicians but also the occasional Etruscan, enriched Greek sanctuaries.[43]

The 'why' of offerings is sometimes explained by the 'what'. After a victory, part of the booty could be consecrated. As here was a story to tell, local sanctuaries thus served as a kind of museum, which helped to keep collective memories alive.[44] A girl could dedicate her toys to Artemis on the eve of her wedding and a boy his statue (the famous *kouroi*) to Apollo on the occasion of his initiation, even if these were sometimes extremely small (fig. 7).[45] Healing gods received replicas of the limbs they had cured and so their sanctuaries were filled with arms and legs, vulvae and penises.[46] In other cases, worshippers dedicated figurines of divinities in their specific sanctuaries but also in those of other gods; once again, the gods were most hospitable.[47] Finally, there were costly gifts whose purpose was clearly not only to please gods but also to impress humans, such as those by Croesus; the gift of golden tripods to Delphi by Sicilian tyrants at the beginning of the fifth century was in the same vein.[48]

7. A *kouros* could also be small: this copy from Eastern Greece is only 28 cm.

People also dedicated curious objects. In the Heraion of Samos, teeth of a hippopotamus, antlers of an antelope, and eggs of an ostrich have been found. In the same sanctuary even living curiosities, peacocks, walked about.[49] In other words, some major sanctuaries must have looked like one big 'curiosity shop'. And what about the inside of popular temples? An inventory of the Athenian temple of Asclepius describes in great detail where the dedications were located: a gold crown, iron finger-ring and gold chain 'at the ridge beam', and a woman's face and 10 silver reliefs 'on the left as one enters. First rafter.' The inventory thus allows us to reconstruct the whole interior of the temple,[50] which 'must have closely resembled not the bare rooms of our drawings but the most jumbled and crowded antique store or museum storeroom that most of us can imagine'.[51]

Finally, dedications have a history, too. In the course of the Archaic Age, striking changes took place in the major Greek sanctuaries. A good example is the dedication of bronze jewellery in Olympia. Whereas only 49 finds have been made from the period *ca.* 1050–750 B.C., there are 948 finds from *ca.* 750–450 B.C. but, again, only 77 finds from *ca.* 450–150 B.C. These changes, which can be paralleled in other objects such as hoplite figurines and helmets, are not easy to explain. They probably reflect the changing status of the aristocracy at the end of the Archaic Age, but other factors may also have played a role. The absence of informative texts prevents a clearer view in this respect.[52]

NOTES

1. For a relatively short survey see Burkert, *GR*, pp. 84–98, to be supplemented now by his 'The Meaning and Function of the Temple', in M. V. Fox (ed), *Temple in Society* (Winona Lake, 1988), pp. 27–47 and 'Greek Temple Builders: Who, Where, and Why?', in R. Hägg (ed), *The Role of Religion in the Early Polis* (Stockholm, 1995). Two informative collections: *Le sanctuaire grec = Entretiens Hardt* 37 (Vandoeuvres and Geneva, 1992); Marinatos/Hägg, *Greek Sanctuaries* (good bibliography by E. Ostby, 192–227).

2. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Early sanctuaries, the eighth century and ritual space', in Marinatos/Hägg, *Greek Sanctuaries*, pp. 1–17, esp. 8. For the vocabulary of sanctuaries see M. Casevitz, in G. Roux (ed), *Temples et sanctuaires* (Lyon, 1984), pp. 81–95.

3. J. N. Coldstream, 'Greek Temples: Why and Where?', in Easterling/Muir, *Greek Religion and Society*, pp. 67–97; R. Schmitt, *Handbuch zu den Tempeln der Griechen* (Berne, 1992). Roofless temples: M.-C. Hellmann, 'Les ouvertures des toits ou retour sur le temple hypèthre', *Rev. Arch.* 1993, 73–90.

4. Water: G. Panessa, 'Le risorse idriche dei santuari greci nei loro aspetti giuridici ed economici', *Ann. Sc. N. Pisa* III 13 (1983), 359–87; S. G. Cole, 'The uses of water in Greek sanctuaries', in Hägg, *Early Greek Cult Practice*, pp. 161–5. Tree: Burkert, *GR*, pp. 85f. Grove: J. Scheid et al., *Les bois sacrés* (Naples, 1983). Stone: Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, pp. 138–40.

5. Altars: R. Etienne and M.-Th. le Dinahet (eds), *L'espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations méditerranéennes de l'antiquité* (Paris, 1991); R. Etienne, 'Autels et sacrifices', in *Sanctuaire grec*, pp. 291–312. No temple: Sourvinou-Inwood (n. 2), p. 16 n. 60 (e.g., no temple in the Miletan Delphinion before the Romans).

6. H. Jung, *Thronende und sitzende Götter* (Bonn, 1982); add Graf, *NK*, 44f.

7. Cf. U. Kron, 'Heilige Steine', in Froning, *Kotinos*, pp. 56–70; V. Fehrentz, 'Der antike Agyieus', *JDAI* 108 (1993), 123–96.

8. Cf. A. A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Atlanta, 1988), pp. 226f.

9. Graf, *NK*, 81–96; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, index s.v. 'chained gods'. Statues are an under-researched subject, but see R. Gordon, *Art History* 2 (1979), 5–34; I. B. Romano, 'Early Greek Cult Images and Cult Practices', in Hägg, *Early Greek Cult Practice*, pp. 127–33; A. Larcher, 'Gemalte Götterstatuen. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie der pompejanischen Wandmalerei', in B. Otto and F. Ehrl (eds), *Echo. Festschrift J. B. Trentini* (Innsbruck, 1990), pp. 197–208; 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), pp. 9–46.

10. Graf, *NK*, 40 (calling), 214 (Athena's priest). Birds: Eur., *Ion* 106–9; J. Maxmin, *JHS* 95 (1975), 175–80 (metal 'umbrellas' to protect statues); P. Danner, '*Meniskoi* and *Obeloi*. Zum Schutz von Statuen und Bauwerken vor den Vögeln', *Jahresh. Österr. Arch. Inst. Wien* 62 (1993: Hauptblatt), 19–28.

11. Cf. A. G. Mantis, *Problemata tes eikonographias ton iereion kai ton iereon sten archaia Ellenike techne* (Athens, 1990), pp. 28–65 (keys), 82–96 (iconography of priests), 114f (catalogue of preserved keys); R. Garland, 'Priests and Power in Classical Athens', in M. Beard and J. North (eds), *Pagan Priests* (London, 1990), pp. 75–91, esp. 77–81; this volume, Ch. I.3.

12. Adolescents: Bremmer, 'The role of the temple in Greek initiatory ritual', in *Actes du VIIe Congres de la F.I.E.C.* I (Budapest, 1983), 121–4. Identification: C. Bérard, 'Hommes, prêtres, dieux', in J. Waardenburg (ed), *L'Islam: une religion* (Geneva, 1989), pp. 95–120.

13. Cf. E. Kearns, 'Between God and Man: Status and Function of Heroes and Their Sanctuaries', in *Sanctuaire grec* (pp. 65–99), pp. 65–8. Heroes as warriors: Ar. fr. 240; Van Straten (Ch. 2 n. 23), 187–9 (also on altars).

14. For these roles see especially F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque* (Paris, 1984); id., 'Mediation, Competition, and Sovereignty: The Evolution of Rural Sanctuaries in Geometric Greece', in S. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds), *Placing the Gods* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 3–18; C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles* (Cambridge, 1990); eadem, 'The origins of pan-Hellenism', in Marinatos/Hägg, *Greek Sanctuaries*, pp. 18–44.

15. Locations of sanctuaries in Magna Graecia: I. Edlund, *The Gods and the Place* (Stockholm, 1987); G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed), *Magna Grecia* 3 (Milano, 1988), pp. 149–58. Greece and the Aegean: A. Schachter, 'Policy, Cult, and the Placing of Greek Sanctuaries', in *Sanctuaire Grec*, pp. 1–57; Osborne/Alcock, *Placing the Gods*.

16. As is persuasively argued by F. Graf, 'Culti e credenze religiose della Magna Grecia', *Atti Taranto* 21 (Naples, 1982), 157–85, esp. 166.

17. Athena: Burkert, *GR*, p. 140; Graf, *NK*, 44. Zeus: Graf, *NK*, 182, 197, 202f (mountains); M. Langdon, *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos* (Princeton, 1976); M. L. Zimmerman Munn, 'The Zeus Sanctuary on Mt Kokkygion above Hermion, Argolis', *Am. J. Arch.* 90 (1986), 192f.

18. Graf, 'Apollon Delphinios', *Mus. Helv.* 36 (1979), 2–22 (near the sea or on the agora); Graf, *NK*, 222 (A. Lykeios on agora).

19. Cf. S. G. Cole, 'Demeter in the Ancient Greek City and its Countryside', in Alcock/Osborne, *Placing the Gods*, pp. 199–216. Locations of Demeter's sanctuary on an acropolis (Thebes, Mytiline, Lepreon) may derive from the goddess's connection with political power (Ch. II.3).

20. Gate: Paus. 2. 5. 4 (Corinth), 2. 18. 3 (Argos, cf. M. Piérart, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 106, 1982, 141–9), 2. 35. 11 (Hermione); in general, R. Olmods, *LIMC* III.1 (1986), s.v. *Contra* Kearns, 'Between God and Man', p. 74, who neglects the abnormality of the goddess's sacrificial victim (a dog: Ch. IV.2) and the regular location of birth-goddesses outside the city (Graf, *NK*, 421f).

21. Poseidon's sanctuaries are often near the sea but also in the mountains, cf. Bremmer, 'Poseidon'; R. Schumacher, 'Three related sanctuaries of Poseidon: Geraistos, Kalaureia and Tainaron', in Marinatos/Hägg, *Greek Sanctuaries*, pp. 62–87.

22. There were no temples of Dionysus in classical times, but the name of his sanctuary in Athens, *en limnais*, or 'in the marshes', suggests locations outside the city, as does thefact that on vases Dionysus' sanctuary is often a cave, cf. C. Bérard, '*Axie taure*', in *Mélanges . . . Paul Collart* (Lausanne, 1976), pp. 61–73.

23. R. Hägg, in M. Piérart (ed), *Polydipsion Argos = Bull. Corr. Hell.* Suppl. 22 (Paris, 1992), pp. 14–16 (Argos); E. Lattanzi, in *Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard* 16 (Naples, 1991), 67–71 (Croton); K. Junker, *Der ältere Tempel im Heraion am Sele* (Cologne, 1993: Paestum); H. Kyrieleis, in Marinatos/ Hägg, *Greek Sanctuaries*, p. 125 (Samos); A. Corso, *Ann. Sc. Arch. Atene* 62 (1984 [1988]), 97–101 (Paros). In general: Graf, 'Culti e credenze', 166–71.

24. Cf. A. Motte, *Prairies et jardins de la Grèce antique* (Brussels, 1973), pp. 94–104; P. Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes* (Paris, 1987), pp. 197–200.

25. W. Leschhorn, *Gründer der Stadt* (Stuttgart, 1984); I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden, 1987), pp. 189–240; S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides* 1 (Oxford, 1991), pp. 20f.

26. Faraone, *Talismans & Trojan Horses*, pp. 115f; Bremmer, 'Religious Secrets and Secrecy in Classical Greece', in H. Kippenberg and G. Stroumsa (eds), *Secrecy and Concealment in Ancient and Islamic History of Religions* (Leiden, 1994).

27. For the hero-sanctuaries see Kearns, 'Between God and Man', although I differ from her interpretation on heroes at the gates (74), cf. Graf, *NK*, 173–6 (Apollo).

28. Cf. J. S. Rusten, '*Geíton hḗros*: Pindar's Prayer to Heracles (*N.* 7.86–101) and Greek Popular Religion', *HSCP* 87 (1983), 289–97, esp. 296 (quotation). Rusten has overlooked the onomastic evidence, which, curiously, was especially popular in the Megarid, cf. L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* 5 (Amsterdam, 1989), p. 261.

29. These aspects are under-researched, but see F. Ghinatti, 'Manifestazioni votive, iscrizioni e vita economica nei santuari della Magna Grecia', *Studia Patavina* 30 (1983), 241–322.

30. Cf. F. Cooper and S. Morris, 'Dining in Round Buildings', and N. Bookidis, 'Ritual Dining in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth: Some Questions', in O. Murray (ed), *Sympotica* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 66–85 and 86–94, respectively.

31. See most recently F. Letoublon, 'Le vocabulaire de la supplication en grec', *Lingua* 52 (1980), 325–36; Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 181–6; Mikalson, *Honor Thy Gods*, pp. 69–77.

32. K. A. Christensen, 'The Theseion: A Slave Refuge at Athens', *Am. J. Anc. Hist.* 9 (1984), 23–32; U. Sinn, 'Greek sanctuaries as places of refuge', in Marinatos/Hägg, *Greek Sanctuaries*, pp. 88–109; *Athen. Mitt.* 105 (1990), 53–116 (Heraion at Perachora), and *Ant. Welt* 23 (1992), 175–90 (Sounion).

33. Cf. R. Osborne, 'Social and economic implications of the leasing of land and property in Classical and Hellenistic Greece', *Chiron* 18 (1988), 279–323; C. Ampolo, 'The Economics of the Sanctuaries in Southern Italy and Sicily', in T. Linders and B. Alroth (eds), *Economics of Cult in the Ancient Greek World* (Uppsala, 1992), pp. 25–8; S. Isager and J. Skydsgaard, *Ancient Greek Agriculture* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 181–90.

34. Delos: M. Brunet, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 114 (1990), 669–82. Trees: A. Henrichs, '"Thou shalt not kill a tree": Greek, Manichaean and Indian Tales', *Bull. Am. Soc. Pap.* 16 (1979), 85–108; B. Jordan and

J. Perlin, 'On the Protection of Sacred Groves', in *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow* (Durham NC, 1984), pp. 153–9.

35. Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 160–6; A. Chaniotis, 'Habgierige Götter, habgierige Städte. Heiligtumbesitz und Gebietsanspruch in den kretischen Staatsverträgen', *Ktema* 13 (1988 [1992]), 21–39.

36. It was not until the fourth century that these treasures, which the inviolability of sanctuaries had always protected, became the object of looting, cf. Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 170–6; W. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 5 (Berkeley etc., 1991), pp. 160–8.

37. Selinus: *SEG* 34. 970. Temples as banks: Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 170–5; C. Ampolo, 'Fra economia, religione e politica: tesori e offerte nei santuari greci', *Scienze dell'Antichità* (henceforth *SA*) 3–4 (1989–90), 271–9; T. Linders, 'Sacred Finances: Some Observations', in Linders/Alroth, *Economics of Cult*, pp. 9–13.

38. R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition & Written record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 38–40 (Metroon); K.-J. Hölkeskamp, 'Written Law in Archaic Greece', *PCPhS* 38 (1992), 87–117, esp. 99–102.

39. Dodona: F. T. van Straten, 'Twee orakels in Epirus', *Lampas* 15 (1982), 195–230 (also on the Epirote nekyomanteion); R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV (Cambridge, 1992), p. 350, makes a strong case for Helloi instead of Selloi, although Archilochus heard Selloi (fr. 183: the seer Selleus), cf. F. Bossi, *Studi su Archiloco* (Bari, 1990[2]), pp. 207–10. Delphi: Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*. Olympia: U. Sinn, 'Die Stellung der Wettkämpfe im Kult des Zeus Olympios', *Nikephoros* 4 (1991), 31–54.

40. Amphiaraion: P. Roesch, in Roux, *Temples et sanctuaires*, pp. 173–84. Trophoneion: P. and M. Bonnechère, *Les Et. Class.* 57 (1989), 289–302. Didyma and Claros: H. W. Parke, *The Sanctuaries of Apollo in Asia Minor* (London, 1985); J. Fontenrose, *Didyma. Apollo's Oracle, Cult and Companions* (Berkeley etc., 1988), with the reviews by R. Parker, *CR* 39 (1989), 270f and C. Morgan, *Hermathena* 146 (1989), 64–9; L. and J. Robert, *Claros* I (Paris, 1989); J. de la Genière, 'Le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Claros; nouvelles découvertes', *REG* 103 (1990), 95–110; K. Tuchelt, *Branchidai – Didyma* (Mainz, 1992).

41. Cf. R. Parker, 'Greek States & Greek Oracles', in P. Cartledge and F. Harvey (eds), *Crux. Essays . . . G. E. M. de Ste. Croix* (London, 1985), pp. 298–326; C. Morgan, 'Divination and Society at Delphi and Didyma', *Hermathena* 147 (1989), 17–42.

42. The most important studies are by F. T. van Straten: 'Gifts for the Gods', in H. S. Versnel (ed), *Faith Hope and Worship* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 65–151; 'Unclassical Religion in Classical Greece: The Archaeological Angle', *Proc. XIIth Congr. Arch.* 4 (Athens, 1988), 288–92; 'Votives and Votaries in Greek Sanctuaries', in *Sanctuaire grec*, pp. 247–84. Painted votives: M. Nowicka, 'Les portraits votifs peints dans la Grèce antique', *Eos* 78 (1990), 133–6. Formulas of votives: M. L. Lazzarini, 'Iscrizioni votive greche', *SA* 3–4 (1989–90), 845–59.

43. Phoenicians: I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, 'Fremde Weihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern von 8. bis zum Begin des 7. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrb. Röm.-Germ. Zentralmus.* 32 (1985), 215–54. Etruscan: A. Johnston, *Arch. Anz.* 1993, 597f.

44. Cf. A. H. Jackson, 'Hoplites and the Gods: The Dedication of Captured Arms and Armour', in V. D. Hanson (ed), *Hoplites. The Classical Greek Battle Experience* (London, 1991), pp. 228–49.

45. *Greek Anthology* 6.280 (girl); W. Martini, *Die archaische Plastik der Griechen* (Darmstadt, 1990).

46. For anatomical votives see most recently B. Forsén and E. Sironen, *ZPE* 87 (1991), 173–5.

47. Cf. Alroth, *Greek gods and figurines*; eadem, 'Visiting gods', *SA* 3–4 (1989–90), 301–10.

48. R. Krumeich, 'Zu den goldenen Dreifüsse der Deinomeniden in Delphi', *JDAI* 106 (1991), 37–62.

49. Cf. J. Boessneck and A. von den Driesch, *Athen. Mitt.* 96 (1981), 245–8 and 98 (1983), 21–4. Peacocks: Antiphanes, fr. 173; Menedotus *FGrH* 541 F 2.

50. On inventories see D. Knoepfler (ed), *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque* (Neuchâtel and Geneva, 1988); T. Linders, 'Inscriptions and Orality', *Symb. Osl.* 67 (1992), 27–40.

51. S. B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion* (Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 177–248 (inventory) and *Asklepios at Athens* (Amsterdam, 1991), pp. 41–6 (quote, p. 46).

52. On the changes see A. Snodgrass, 'The Economics of Dedication at Greek Sanctuaries', *SA* 3–4 (1989–90), 287–94.

IV. RITUAL

In his handbook, Burkert considers ritual to be the cornerstone of Greek religion and, accordingly, starts his analysis with a chapter called 'Ritual and sanctuary'.[1] As he uses the term 'ritual' as self-evident,[2] we will start with some introductory observations on the use of the term and on the possibilities for studying ancient ritual (§ 1). Subsequently we analyse important ritual acts, such as prayer, procession and, in particular, sacrifice (§ 2). We conclude the chapter with a discussion of various larger ritual complexes (§ 3).

1. *What is ritual?*

Considering the importance attached to ritual in modern studies of Greek religion,[3] it is rather surprising to notice that the Greeks did not have an all-embracing category called 'ritual'.[4] They approached ritual acts and processes from at least three different angles. First, they called many of their ritual activities *ta nomizomena*, 'what is customary' (Ch. I.3); modern scholarship of ritual also stresses the importance for rites to look traditional, even if they are recent constructions or innovations.[5] Second, they often named rituals after their central, most striking act: the Athenian festival Anthesteria was often called Choes from its most striking day (§ 3) and the *sphagia*, a type of sacrifice which was not followed by a banquet, was named after its most striking act, the 'piercing of the throat'.[6] Third, many elaborate rituals were called *heortai*, a term associated with good food, good company, and good entertainment.[7] The *heorte* was an important way of celebrating the gods, which provided a pleasant interruption to the routines of everyday life. As the philosopher Democritus observed, 'a life without *heortai* is like a road without inns' (B 230).[8]

This fragmentation of the vocabulary of what nowadays is called 'ritual' is not a purely Greek phenomenon. In fact, it is only since the turn of this century that anthropologists and historians of religion have started to use 'ritual' as the standard term for repetitive, representational behaviour that often has to be decoded.[9] In other words, by introducing a new classification based on only one aspect of a mass of heterogeneous phenomena, viz. its prescribed and repetitive character, they could reduce both single rites, such as prayer (§ 2), and extended rituals, like initiation (§ 3), to one common denominator. We follow the modern categorization but keep in mind that 'ritual' is not a native category.

It is not easy to analyse ancient ritual, since the evidence usually stems from different periods, places, and genres. Moreover, the nature of the evidence rarely enables us to integrate the opinions of the participants or to describe a ritual in all its details, since ancient authors focussed on the unusual and considered the usual too well-known to be mentioned. Necessarily but regrettably, our descriptions, then, often have to focus on the structure of the ritual and to be short on its psychological impact.

2. *Prayer, procession, and sacrifice*

The more elaborate Greek festivals were made up of a limited number of basic ritual acts: dances,[10] musical and athletic contests,[11] prayers and hymns, processions and, most important of all, animal sacrifices. Prayers usually followed a structure of invocation, claim for attention, and request, as when Achilles prays to Zeus (*Il.* 16.233–48). Striking differences from Christian prayer were the lack of a feeling of gratitude (instead, the Greeks offered expressions of praise and honour), the posture (Greeks did not kneel but prayed with hands raised [see Appendix], the loudness (silent prayer became more usual only in Late Antiquity), and the regular singing of prayers in the form of hymns;[12] the latter sometimes developed into a special genre for a particular god: paeans for Apollo and dithyrambs for Dionysus.[13]

Processions were part and parcel of Greek life.[14] The sacrificial procession paraded the value of the sacrificial victim and the piety of the sacrificers (fig. 8). The wedding procession advertised the official nature of a wedding, and for more than half a millennium a yearly procession kept the

8. Sacrificial procession

memory alive of those who had fallen at the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C. Processions with a divine statue were often part of festivals of reversal (§ 3) but could also stress the existing order, as when, once a year, Miletan aristocrats, the Molpoi, travelled in procession to Didyma singing paeans at all the sanctuaries along the road. Processions could even symbolize the restoration of the old order, as when Thrasybulus solemnized the restoration of Athenian democracy in 403 B.C. with a march from the Piraeus to the Acropolis. In short, the functions of processions were manifold.[15]

Processions were particularly suited to make symbolic statements about power relations, since they often drew large audiences. For example, during the sacrificial procession of the Panathenaea Athenian colonies and allies had to parade a cow and panoply, the daughters of Athenian metics carried parasols for female citizens, and adult metics carried sacrificial equipment; colonies also had to contribute a phallus to the procession of the Great Dionysia.[16] Whereas processions thus demonstrated Athenian superiority, they could also demonstrate modesty. During the Spartan Hyacinthia festival, adolescent girls rode down in a procession to Amyclae, showing themselves off to the community after, probably, an initiatory seclusion at the border area. Some aristocratic girls rode in race-carts, others in carriages with the shape of griffins or goat-stags. The daughter of the Spartan king Agesilaus went in one of the latter vehicles, a public one, which was 'no more elaborate than that of any other maiden'. Evidently, the Hyacinthia procession normally demonstrated that some Spartans were more equal than others, although Spartan ideology claimed otherwise.[17]

All these elements were important, but the pivot of Greek ritual was undoubtedly animal sacrifice.[18] Both Burkert and Vernant (with his Parisian *équipe*) have devoted much of their scholarly efforts to the meaning of sacrifice and its place in Greek society – although drawing very different conclusions. We still miss studies focusing on local practices,[19] but two developments, especially, enable us now to evaluate these studies in a more satisfactory way than a decade ago. The school of Vernant has demonstrated that Attic vases are an important source for sacrificial representations.[20] Secondly, biologists have started to analyse faunal remains of excavated altars, which now allows a glimpse of the realities of Greek sacrificial practice.[21] Instead of a step-by-step analysis of normative Greek animal sacrifice, sacrifices at the beginning of battle, at the crossing of rivers, at the conclusion of oaths,[22] and human sacrifice,[23] space limits us to two questions.

Bearing in mind our attention to the hierarchy within the Greek

pantheon (Ch. II.3 and III.2), we will first briefly look at the choice of sacrificial victims. Did all divinities receive the same animals or did some fare better than others? Although cattle constituted the most valued victims, the preferred victims for all major gods were sheep and goats.[24] The main exceptions to this rule were Hestia (the goddess of the [city] hearth), who customarily received a preliminary, usually cheap, sacrifice, and Demeter, who traditionally received a pig(let); on Attic vases Dionysus was also regularly associated with a pig sacrifice.[25] Polluted Eileithyuia (Ch. III.2), cruel Ares (§ 3) and spooky Hekate received dogs, lovely Aphrodite birds, and randy Priapus fish.[26] Admittedly, excavations have demonstrated the sacrifice of dogs to Apollo in Didyma, but this is probably due to influence from Asia Minor: Hittites and Lydians happily consumed dog meat.[27] Most gods, then, received cattle, sheep, and goats, whereas inedible or very cheap animals were offered to those divinities, who were connected with impurity and/or situated at the margin of the social order. The 'eccentric' position of Demeter and Dionysus, which we already noticed during our discussion of the gods (Ch. II.3) and the locations of sanctuaries (Ch. III.3), is confirmed by the 'eccentricity' of their victims, the pigs, whose rooting, digging habits made them less suitable for densely populated areas.[28] Evidently, the choice of sacrificial victims reflected and helped to reinforce the divine pecking order.

The question of sacrificial hierarchy has hardly received attention in recent times, but the second question goes to the heart of the current debate on Greek sacrifice: what was the significance of the ritual surrounding the killing of the sacrificial victim? Following the views of Karl Meuli (1891–1968) that Greek sacrifice eventually derived from hunting practices and that hunters, feeling guilty for having killed their game, regularly tried to disclaim their responsibility,[29] Burkert has made this feeling of guilt the focus of his sacrificial theory.[30] His crown witness is the Dipolieia, an Athenian festival during which an ox was sacrificed because it had tasted sacrificial cakes. Subsequently the sacrificial knife was condemned and expelled from the city, but the ox ritually re-erected, yoked to a plough. In the aetiological myth the killer of the ox eased his conscience by suggesting that everybody should partake in the killing of the sacrificial victim.[31] Burkert takes this 'comedy of innocence' to be paradigmatic for every sacrifice: humans experience *Angst* when actually killing the animals and have feelings of guilt over the blood which they have shed.

However, Burkert's observations cannot be accepted in their totality, since there are virtually no testimonies of actual fear and guilt among the Greeks. On the contrary, Attic vases constantly connect sacrifice with ideas

of festivity, celebrations, and blessings.[32] The ritual of the Dipolieia cannot make up for this absence: it had only limited circulation,[33] and it already presupposed the developed Attic rules of justice.[34] Its protagonist was a plough-ox, which, reportedly, it had once been a crime to kill at Athens.[35] Meuli considered the plough a latecomer in the ritual, but it was its vital position in Athenian society and its closeness to the farmer that made the killing of the plough-ox the subject of an elaborate ritual: Theophrastus explicitly notes that the ritual was inaugurated to enable people to eat the ox (fr. 584A).

The expansion of the Athenian state, however, which required the sacrifice of numerous oxen in order to feed the people at the banquets accompanying state-festivals – Isocrates mentions sacrificial processions of three hundred oxen (*Ar.* 29) – removed the original tie which the farmers of an earlier, smaller Athens will have felt with their plough-ox. It is no wonder, then, that already Aristophanes in his *Clouds* considers the Bouphonia an archaic affair (984f). Consequently, we should not generalize from this particular sacrificial ritual to a general view of killing in Greek sacrifice.

Finally, in explicit opposition to Meuli and Burkert, Jean-Pierre Vernant has argued that (1) Greek sacrificial rites should not be compared with hunting rituals but resituated within their proper religious, Greek system and that (2) the killing of the victim does not constitute the centre of gravity of sacrifice,[36] although he explicitly notes that rituals, myths, and representations are all painfully careful in avoiding any reference to the actual killing of the sacrificial victim. He even uses the expression *mensonge* ('lie'!) *par omission* for this hiding of an apparently unpalatable truth.[37] In this way, according to Vernant, the Greeks wanted to exclude the elements of violence and *sauvagerie* from their sacrifice in order to differentiate it from murder.

Vernant is certainly right in questioning Meuli's and Burkert's all too strong accentuation of the influence of hunting traditions: Meuli totally overlooked the influence of Syro-Palestine,[38] and unlike hunters (and the Jews), the Greeks broke the bones to extract marrow, as excavations in Samos, Didyma, and Kalapodi have shown.[39] On the other hand, the differentiation between sacrifice and murder does indicate an underlying feeling of unease with the ritual, as is confirmed by other indications. In the myth of the Dipolieia the killer of the ox is a foreigner; the sacrificial knife is hidden as long as possible;[40] the Greeks employed the euphemism 'to do' for sacrificing, and without the existence of some mixed feelings about sacrificial killing, it remains hard to explain why Orphics, Pythagoreans,

and Empedocles rejected animal sacrifice altogether.[41] Killing for sacrifice, then, did not generate fear and *Angst*, but it certainly generated feelings of unease.

Finally, whereas the Greeks themselves did represent gods in the act of sacrifice (fig. 9), the protagonists in the modern debates feel apparently ill

9. Sacrificing Nike

at ease with the religious functions of sacrifice and approach the subject in a strikingly secular manner. For Meuli, it was nothing but ritual slaughter; for Burkert the shared aggression of the sacrificial killing primarily leads to the founding of a community, and for Vernant sacrifice is, fundamentally, killing for eating.[42] Clearly, though, this act, which stands at the centre of Greek ritual, is much richer than these reductive formulas suggest. We need more investigations into its religious, literary,[43] social, economic, and cultural significance, but these researches will have to take into consideration all available kinds of evidence. Future studies of sacrifice will be satisfactory only if they are based on literary, epigraphical, iconographical, and archaeological evidence.[44]

3. *Initiation and festivals*

Regarding more elaborate rituals, modern anthropology often distinguishes between rites of transition, like initiation, and cyclical rites, such as New Year. We will conclude this chapter with a discussion of both types, paying special attention to their function, symbols and logic. We start with initiation, which has become an increasingly popular issue among classical scholars in the last decade.[45] Instead of the more often discussed rites of Athens and Sparta,[46] we will concentrate on Crete, about which the fourth-century historian Ephorus has left us a detailed, contemporary report.[47] As was the case with 'ritual' (§ 1), the Greeks had no term for 'initiation', but Minoans and early Indo-Europeans practised it,[48] the Spartans called their initiatory process *agoge* ('the leading of a horse by the hand': see below on *agela*), and the names of various initiatory festivals have survived. We, the outsiders, construct a whole, whereas the insiders focused more on the different parts.[49]

Cretan political power was in the hands of an aristocratic elite which dominated both the serfs (the native Cretans) and the less privileged free. The aristocrats were organized in clubs and dined in 'men's houses' (*andreia*), where young Cretan boys, summer and winter dressed in the same dirty garment, waited on the adults. They received little food and drink, and their main activity was fighting. At seventeen, the boys who were 'most conspicuous and also most influential' – surely the sons of the elite – collected as many boys as possible around them into an *agela*, or 'herd of horses': apparently, the youths were seen as unruly foals that had to be domesticated.[50]

The 'herds' were supervised by the fathers of these boys, who also directed their most important activities: running, hunting, dancing in choruses, marching over steep roads, and fighting in gymnasia 'with the fist and with clubs, as was prescribed by law' (Heraclides Lembus fr. 15). On certain appointed days, the *agelai* fought against each other, 'marching rhythmically into battle, to the tune of *aulos* and lyre, as is their custom in actual war'. In addition to these physical activities, the boys also had to learn their letters and songs, 'prescribed by the laws', which consisted of laws, hymns to the gods, and praises of brave men, although Plato, who still knew them, rated their quality rather low (*Laws* 666D).

The final stage of Cretan education began with a ceremonial casting off of the dirty garment: in fact, in various Cretan cities the technical term for leaving the *agela* was 'to undress'. The change is firmly located in an initiatory setting by the aetiological myth of the Ekdysia ('Undressing')

festival at Phaistos for Leto, an initiatory goddess (Ch. II.3): a girl who had been brought up as a boy actually changed into a real boy the moment she became an adolescent. Further details are absent, but both the names 'nude ones' and 'very nude ones' for adolescents near maturation, and the existence of a 'Festival of the Garment' (Periblemaia) at Lyttos, strongly suggest that the order of the final stage of initiation was: undressing, being nude and donning the new adult garment. The focus on the garment during the 'graduation' is hardly surprising, since Ephoros tells us that the elite were characterized by a distinctive dress. Clearly, the transition from dirty garment to adult dress was too great to be made in one step. It had to be eased and dramatized by a series of festivals.[51] In Sparta, where the difference between youths and adults was even more strongly marked, initiation was also concluded with a series of festivals, but in Athens, where the difference was much less strong, a concluding festival no longer existed.

In addition to nudity, the contrast with the future status was also expressed in a different way. Ephoros tells us that shortly before official adulthood the aristocratic boys were 'kidnapped' for a short homosexual relationship; in fact, in more or less formalized ways pederasty was widely spread in the Greek world. As, ideologically, the boys could only play a passive role in the relationship, this part of the ritual stressed their non-manhood before they became real males.[52]

The physical side of Cretan initiation, then, prepared the boys for a life in which fighting was of the utmost importance, whereas songs helped to instil the corresponding ideology. At the same time, the initiatory process had been manipulated to reflect the political situation of Crete. The prominent position of the elite's sons and the focus on the garment impressed the domination of the aristocrats on their inferiors but, by incorporating the latter into the *agela*, feudal ties were promoted which helped to support the political system. As Burkert often stresses continuity in ritual, it is equally important to note its innovative powers and flexibility. This is shown by the introduction of literacy in the training, which will not predate the fifth century, and the stress on running, which was absent from Athenian and Spartan initiation. Crete is very mountainous and without the ability to run Cretans could hardly have survived as soldiers. In fact, running was so important that the Cretan term for adult was *dromeus*, or 'runner': even ecology can be a factor in the shaping of a particular ritual.

Contrasts not only played a role in the logic of rites of transition; we also find them in cyclical rituals, as a Theban festival may illustrate. Xenophon tells us in his contemporary *Hellenica* (5.4.4–6) that Theban polemarchs (generals) customarily celebrated a festival of Aphrodite at the

end of their office. In the winter of 379 the pro-Spartan polemarchs were promised a night with women and wine, but the veiled women turned out to be conspirators in disguise, who efficiently disposed of their opponents and liberated the town from the Spartans. How do we explain this connection of the military with the goddess of love?

The connection is less surprising than might at first sight be expected, since Aphrodite was associated with the god of war, Ares, in literature (witness Homer's delightful story of their liaison), in art (witness the representation of Ares assisting with Aphrodite's birth), and in cult (witness their communal temples and altars). Moreover, Aphrodite was widely associated with magistrates, civilian and military, whose harmonious cooperation she was believed to promote. Yet the goddess was also sometimes contrasted with Ares because in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* Athena states that she took no pleasure 'in the works of golden Aphrodite but liked wars and the work of Ares' (9–10). So how do we approach the Theban case?[53]

The answer is found on Aegina, the island from which Plutarch explains the otherwise unknown ritual of the 'solitary eaters' in his *Greek Questions* (301E–F). The Aeginetans celebrated a festival of Poseidon by isolating themselves in their homes and by feasting in silence without the presence of non-kinsmen and slaves for sixteen days. The festival shows all the signs of a disturbance of the social order: normally the Greeks feasted uproariously in the company of family and friends. Interestingly, the festival was terminated with the Aphrodisia before the return of normal life. Since Poseidon was also a macho god (Ch. III.3), he was in various ways comparable to Ares. So in both cases the transition from the sphere of war and virility to peace was eased by passing through the opposition to war: love. At the same time we may assume that the juxtaposition of the two festivals put their contrasting contents in sharper relief: the significance of individual parts of a more elaborate ritual cannot be separated from their position within the ritual.

We now turn to more elaborate festivals, of which the analysis has made much progress in recent decades: Burkert's *Homo necans* (1983) and Graf's *Nordionische Kulte* (1985) provide outstanding examples; yet only two decades ago the former's combination of structuralism, functionalism, and ethology was deemed so revolutionary that the original German edition (1972) was not reviewed in the major classical journals.[54] We will built upon their insights in an analysis of perhaps the most complex Greek festival that we have, the Athenian Anthesteria. As is often the case with Greek festivals, we partially depend on later sources for our reconstruction and not all events are securely attested.[55]

The festival took place on three successive days in the month Anthesterion, roughly the end of February, which were called Pithoigia, Choes, and Chytroi. The first day, 'The opening of the wine jars', dramatized the opening of the festival, as did the first day of the Thesmophoria (Ch. VI.3). On that day the farmers of Attica brought their jars with new wine to the sanctuary of the god of the wine, Dionysus 'in the marshes' (Ch. III.2), to have the wine ceremoniously opened, mixed with water, and tasted for the first time. This was also the moment of celebrating the god. As a fourth-century eyewitness noted, 'delighted then with the mixture, the people celebrated Dionysus in song, dancing, and calling upon him as Flowery, Dithyrambos (§ 2), the Frenzied One, and the Roarer' (Phanodemus *FGrH* 325 F 12). Wine mixed with water was the main drink in Greece and an indispensable part of libations. It is therefore not surprising that the advent of new wine was a matter of general concern and controlled by the community.

But as with the Cretan 'graduation', the advent of such an important drink as new wine had to be extended in time. The next day, the Choes ('Jugs'), which often gave its name to the whole festival (§ 1), started with the chewing of leaves of buckthorn (a rather unappetizing plant). Doors were smeared with pitch, temples were closed (with the exception of that of Dionysus), and men on wagons reviled passers-by. This dissolution of the social order preceded a strange drinking contest in the late afternoon, which was held both centrally, supervised by the highest magistrate, and locally in the various Attic demes (districts and villages). Contrary to custom, the Athenians brought unmixed wine, their own jug (*chous*) and were seated at separate tables, whereas normally guests were regaled, drunk mixed wine from cups, and reclined together on couches. Crowned with ivy, the plant dear to Dionysus, the banqueters awaited the sign of a trumpet, seen as an uncanny instrument by the Greeks, before trying to drain their three litres (!) as quickly as possible in complete silence.[56]

The ritual shows a clear resemblance to that of the Aeginetan 'solitary eaters' and illutrates how the Greeks shaped a 'negative' (part of a) ritual by a reversal of normal practices. Other means would be the absence of wreaths; libations of unmixed wine, water or oil instead of mixed wine;[57] or the dark colour and/or holocaust of the sacrificial victim instead of a sacrifice ending in a banquet.[58] It was the presence and intensity of these ritual markers which determined the nature, positive or negative, of a ritual.

The resemblance with Aegina extended to the level of myth. The Aeginetans explained their festival as recalling the return of the survivors

of the Trojan War. Since they had no wish to hurt the feelings of those whose relatives had not returned, they feasted separately and secretly. In a comparable way, the Athenian custom of silent drinking was explained by the arrival of the matricide Orestes, whom Athenians did not want to entertain except in silence and at a separate table. A different, perhaps later, aetiology connected the strange features with the Athenian murder of Aetolians who had brought them the wine. These myths can be used as a substitute for the unknown reactions of participants, since they tell us how the atmosphere was perceived. We have another indication as well of the sombre mood: we are told that at the time of the Choes Sophocles had choked on an unripe grape. Since at that time of year grapevines could hardly have finished blossoming, the anecdote is most likely not historical – the more so since Anacreon reportedly also choked on a grape. Yet it is important to note that the sad event was said to have occurred during the Choes, thus fitting the sombre atmosphere of the ritual.[59] The myth of Orestes focused on the strange nature of the contest, which can only have lasted a few mintues. Afterwards everybody indulged in a copious dinner and even a misanthrope would have at least one table companion. The picture of the banquet in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* is a happy one and that obviously is how the Athenians abroad remembered the festival (below).[60]

So far one could have thought that the festival was only for Athenian male citizens, but nothing would be further from the truth. A few texts and certain small jugs, confusingly called *choes*, show that three-year-old children received such jugs as toys and probably were the centre of special attention on this day. Slaves, too, had a good time and their licence was explained by the great number of Karian slaves or the one-time Karian ownership of a part of Attica: the stress on Karians seems to suggest mumming by the slaves. Another explanation spoke of the Keres, spirits of the dead. It is hard to choose from these explanations and probably unnecessary, since both (ancestral) Karians and spirits of the dead are structurally equivalent: entities normally absent from ordered Athenian life.[61]

The licence of the slaves was one more sign of the dissolution of the social order. Their inclusion in the general atmosphere of merriment may well have contributed to better relations with their owners, since such festivals of reversal could work as a safety-valve, as American ex-slave testimony confirms. But did they also have a legitimizing function as has been suggested recently? Perhaps in the eyes of the ruling class but hardly from the point of view of the slaves. Such a view could only be sustained if Athens had been a relatively static society. Athenian slaves, however, had

often been imported during their own lifetimes and their massive flight during the Peloponnesian War shows their refusal to accept the existing order. In fact, several of these festivals of reversal became the scene of revolution, which is hard to explain if they really helped to legitimize the existing order.[62]

The recent find of a sacrificial calendar in Thorikos, which dates from the 430s or 420s, shows that during the Choes this deme sacrificed a small, tawny (or perhaps black) kid that lacked milk teeth to Dionysus. The dark colour fitted the character of the day and the small size of the kid seems to suggest the absence of a public banquet: such a goat could hardly have fed many stomachs. Apparently, the Attic demes contributed a modest public supplement to the many private festivities.[63]

Yet society cannot live in permanent disorder and at the end of the Choes a herald announced the third day of the festival, the Chytroi ('Pots'). The return to order seems to have been celebrated by a symbolic wedding between the wife of the highest magistrate and the god, although our evidence for this event having taken place at the Anthesteria is not unequivocal.[64] It was certainly celebrated by remembering the Flood. People ate a stew of all kinds of vegetables and sacrificed to Dionysus and Hermes Chthonios, the god associated with the victims of the Flood. Aristophanes' *Frogs* mentions a procession with drunken people on the Chytroi (211–19) and, thus, the festival seems to have been officially concluded with choruses at the place where it had all begun: the sanctuary of Dionysus.

For the Athenians themselves one of the most striking features of the festival must have been the licence accorded to the slaves and it is therefore not surprising that their return to normality had to be dramatized. So at the end of the festival the owners, presumably, said: 'To the door Karians/Keres. (It's) no longer Anthesteria.' Similarly, the enormous phallus which had been carried round Athens during the Dionysia was ceremoniously burned at the end of that festival.[65]

On the third day, another feast also took place. Girls commemorated the maiden Erigone, who hanged herself after the murder of her father Ikarios for introducing wine to Attica, by swinging. This feast, the Aiora, is not found in non-Athenian Anthesteria festivals and is not attested in literature as part of the Anthesteria before the Hellenistic era; the artistic evidence for the corresponding myth is only found during Roman times. Although the myth fits the Dionysiac themes of the festival and the special place of the girls fits that of young children and slaves, this part seems to be a later addition from a particular local festival: one more testimony to the flexibility of ritual.[66]

Of all their festivals, the Anthesteria lay closest to the Athenians' hearts. As a political refugee, Themistocles introduced it to Magnesia, which he had received as a fiefdom from the Persian king. It was also celebrated at the court of the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius, where it may well have been organized for, or perhaps by, Plato during his stay in Sicily. This feeling lasted into the third century, since the followers of Epicurus countered accusations of atheism against their master with the argument that he had celebrated the Choes and had advised his pupils to do likewise. And Callimachus mentions an Athenian who celebrated the Anthesteria in Egypt. Clearly, the festival had become part and parcel of Athenian identity, like Christmas for European colonists or Passover for Jews.[67]

The Anthesteria displays the typical signs of *la grande festa*, as ethnologists have called the type of festival which all over the world dramatized the advent of the new harvest/fruit/wine by a sharp break with the existing order. The festival, then, resembled a New Year celebration, and this may explain why teachers were paid during the festival (Eubulides, fr. 1). Yet its New Year character was naturally stressed less than that of the official Athenian New Year. This was celebrated in Hekatombaion, a month marked by two official New Year festivals, Synoikia and Panathenaea (§ 2), and preceded by two festivals characterized by the dissolution of the social order, Kronia (Ch. V.3) and Skira.[68]

As was customary, the Anthesteria had given its name to the month in which it was celebrated: Anthesterion. It was an old Ionian month, which went back to the period before the Ionian colonization, as Thucydides already realized; we may thus safely assume that the Anthesteria was one of the oldest Greek festivals. Greek calendars are under-researched, but they are important for determining the connotations attached to a festival and for the varying positions of divinities in Greek cities. Yet here, too, we have to be careful. The month Anthesterion, like other months, did not occupy the same place in the year in the calendar of every Ionian city: evidently, names of months were moved around and changed in the course of the centuries.[69]

It is time to come to a close. We have seen that the study of smaller and larger rituals has to take into account many aspects: the calendrical order, the spatial organization, gender, social groups and relations, systems of classification, psychological and emotional aspects, power aspects, the place of divinities, local peculiarities, the internal logic, and commentaries of participants. The fragmentary state of our tradition often makes it impossible to pay attention to all these aspects, but we should at least try. In a way, the study of Greek ritual has only just begun.

NOTES

1. As do Bruit/Schmitt, *Religion*, but J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse* . . ., 1958[1] (Paris, 1992[2]), begins with the vocabulary of the sacred, and Jost, *Aspects*, with the gods.

2. But note his *Structure and History*, pp. 35–58.

3. For a (not quite satisfactory) historical survey see I. Morris, 'Poetics of Power. The Interpretation of Ritual Action in Archaic Greece', in Dougherty/Kurke, *Cultural Poetics*, pp. 15–45.

4. As is observed by C. Calame, '"Mythe" et "rite" en Grèce: des catégories indigènes?' *Kernos* 4 (1991), 179–204, esp. 196–203.

5. Cf. E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

6. Cf. C. Calame, 'Morfologia e funzione della festa nell' Antichità', *AION* 4–5 (1982–3), 3–23; J. Rudhardt, 'Remarques sur le geste rituel . . .', in A.-M. Blondeau and K. Schipper (eds), *Essais sur le rituel* 2 (Louvain and Paris, 1988), pp. 1–13.

7. The usual translation by 'festival' hardly covers the variety of ancient festivities or the presence of sombre aspects amongst them.

8. J. Mikalson, 'The *Heorte* of Heortology', *GRBS* 23 (1982), 213–21; Calame (n. 4), 196f. In general: Burkert, 'Die antike Stadt als Festgemeinschaft', in P. Hugger (ed), *Stadt und Fest* (Unterägeri and Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 25–44; C. Meier, 'Zur Funktion der Feste in Athen im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus', in W. Haug and R. Warning (eds), *Das Fest* (Munich, 1989), pp. 569–91.

9. Cf. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, pp. 55–79. The opposition sacred/profane originated at exactly the same time, cf. F.-A. Isambert, *Le sens du sacré* (Paris, 1982), pp. 215–45. This coincidence requires further study.

10. S. H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion* (Baltimore and London, 1993).

11. H. Kotsidu, *Die musischen Agone in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Munich, 1991); H. A. Shapiro, 'Mousikoi Agones: Music and Poetry at the Panathenaia' and D. Kyle, 'The Panathenaic Games: Sacred and Civic Athletics', in J. Neils (ed), *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Hanover and Princeton, 1992), pp. 53–75, 77–101, respectively.

12. See, respectively, H. S. Versnel, 'Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer', in Versnel, *Faith*, pp. 1–64; P. W. van der Horst, 'Silent Prayer in Antiquity', *Numen* 41 (1994), 1–25; J. M. Bremer, 'Greek Hymns', in Versnel, *Faith*, pp. 193–215. In general: J. D. Mikalson, 'Unanswered Prayers in Greek Tragedy', *JHS* 109 (1989), 81–98; D. Aubriot-Sévin, *Prière et conceptions religieuses en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1992).

13. Käppel, *Paian*; B. Zimmermann, *Dithyrambos* (Göttingen, 1992).

14. Burkert, *GR*, pp. 102f; W. R. Connor, 'Tribes, Festivals and Processions', *JHS* 107 (1987), 40–50; Bruit/Schmitt, *Religion*, pp. 105–7.

15. Plataea: Burkert, *Homo necans*, 1972[1] (Berkeley etc., 1983), pp. 56f. Molpoi: K. Gödecken, 'Beobachtungen und Funde an der Heiligen Strasse zwischen Milet und Didyma, 1984', *ZPE* 66 (1986), 217–53. Thrasybulus: B. Strauss, 'Ritual, Social Drama and Politics in Classical Athens', *Am. J. Anc. Hist.* 10 (1985 [1992!]), 67–83.

16. *IG* I[3] 34.42, 46.15f, 71.57 (cow, phallus, and panoply); Ael. *VH*. 6.1 (equipment); M. C. Miller, 'The Parasol: An Oriental Status-Symbol in Late-Archaic and Classical Athens', *JHS* 112 (1992), 91–105, esp. 103–5; Neils, *Goddess and Polis* (beautifully produced); S. G. Cole, 'Procession and Celebration at the Dionysia', in R. Scodel (ed), *Theater and Society in the Classical World* (Ann Arbor, 1993), pp. 25–38.

17. Xen. *Ag*. 8.7 (quote); C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles* 1, pp. 306f.

18. For good surveys see now M. H. Jameson, 'Sacrifice and Ritual: Greece', in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger (eds), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean. Greece and Rome* 2 (New York, 1988), pp. 959–79; M. Lambert, 'Ancient Greek and Zulu Sacrificial Ritual', *Numen* 40 (1993), 293–318.

19. But see now V. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens* (Atlanta, 1993).

20. Cf. J.-L. Durand, *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1986); see also F. T. van Straten, 'Greek Sacrificial Representations: Livestock Prices and Religious Mentality', in T. Linders and G. Nordquist, *Gifts to the Gods* (Uppsala, 1987), pp. 159–70 and, especially, S. Peirce, 'Death, Revelry, and *Thysia*', *Class. Ant.* 12 (1993), 219–66.

21. See more recently J. Boessneck and A. von den Driesch, 'Tierknochenfunde aus Didyma', *Arch. Anz.* 1983, 611–51; id., *Knochenabfall von Opfermahlen und Weihgaben aus dem Heraion von Samos*

(Munich, 1988); J. Boessneck and J. Schäffer,'Tierknochenfunde aus Didyma II', *Arch. Anz.* 1986, 251–301; D. Reese, 'Faunal Remains from the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania, Athens', *Hesperia* 58 (1989), 63–70; M. Stanzel, *Die Tierreste aus dem Artemis-/Apollon-Heiligtum bei Kalapodi in Böotien/Griechenland* (Diss. Munich, 1991); K. Tuchelt, 'Tieropfer in Didyma – Ein Nachtrag', *Arch. Anz.* 1992, 61–81.

22. Battle: M. Jameson, 'Sacrifice before Battle', in Hanson, *Hoplites*, pp. 197–227; F. Jouan, 'Comment partir en guerre en Grèce antique en ayant les dieux pour soi', *Revue de la société Ernest Renan* 40 (1990–1), 25–42 (also on crossing rivers); Peirce, 'Death', 253f. Oath: C. Faraone, 'Molten Wax ...', *JHS* 113 (1993), 60–80.

23. A. Henrichs, 'Human Sacrifice in Greek Religion', *Entretiens Hardt* 27 (Vandoeuvres and Geneva, 1981), 195–235; Bremmer, 'Scapegoat Rituals in Ancient Greece', *HSCP* 87 (1983), 299–320; D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London and New York, 1991), rev. Burkert, *Gnomon* 66 (1994), 97–100.

24. Cf. M. Jameson, 'Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Classical Greece', in C. R. Whittaker (ed), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity* = *PCPhS*. Suppl. 14 (1988), 87–119, esp. 94.

25. Hestia: Eupolis fr. 301; Graf, *NK*, 363; M. Detienne, *L'écriture d'Orphée* (Paris, 1989), pp. 89–98. Demeter: Jameson, 'Sacrifice', 92; E. G. Pemberton, *Corinth. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, vol. 18.1 (Princeton, 1989), p. 96 (pigs and goats); D. Ruscillo, 'Faunal Remains from the Acropolis Site, Mytilene', *Class. Views* 37 (1993), 201–10. Dionysus: Peirce, 'Death', 255f.

26. Dogs: Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 357f; Graf, *NK*, 422. Birds: Lydus, *Mens.* 4.64. Fish: *Anthol. Graeca* 10.9, 14, 16; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 9 (1950), 82.

27. Cf. Boessneck and Schäffer, 'Didyma II', 285–94, 300; B. J. Collins, 'The Puppy in Hittite Ritual', *J. Cuneiform Stud.* 42 (1990), 211–26.

28. Cf. Jameson, 'Sacrifice', 98f. W. Houston, *Purity and Monotheism* (Sheffield, 1993), pp. 82, 85f, also points out that pigs need shade and water, neither of which was continuously available in most places in ancient Greece.

29. K. Meuli: *Gesammelte Schriften* II (Basle, 1975), pp. 907–1021 (1946[1]). On Meuli see especially A. Henrichs, 'Gott, Mensch und Tier: Antike Daseinsstruktur und religiöses Verhalten im Denken Karl Meulis', in F. Graf (ed), *Klassische Antike und Neue Wege der Kulturwissenschaften. Symposium Karl Meuli* (Basle, 1992), pp. 129–67.

30. For Burkert's views see most recently: 'Opferritual bei Sophokles. Pragmatik – Symbolik – Theater', *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 27 (1985), 5–20; 'The Problem of Ritual Killing', in R. G. Hamerton-Kelly (ed), *Violent Origins* (Stanford, 1987), pp. 149–76, 177–88 (discussion); 'Offerings in perspective: surrender, distribution, exchange', in Linders/Nordquist, *Gifts to the Gods*, pp. 43–50.

31. Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 136–43; Durand, *Sacrifice et labour*, pp. 43–87 (representations in black-figure vase painting).

32. This is rightly stressed by Peirce, 'Death'.

33. The month Bouphonion, 'Ox-killing' only occurs on Euboea, its colonies, and adjacent islands: Karystos (*IG* XII.9.207), Chalkidike (*SEG* 38.671), Delos (*IG* XI.2.203 A; *SEG* 35.882), and Tenos (*IG* XII.5.842).

34. So, rightly, D. Obbink, 'The Origin of Greek Sacrifice: Theophrastus on Religion and Cultural History', in W. W. Fortenbaugh and R. W. Sharples (eds), *Theophrastean Studies* (New Brunswick and London, 1988), pp. 272–95; Henrichs, 'Gott, Mensch, Tier', pp. 153–8; M. A. Katz, 'Buphonia and Goring Ox: Homicide, Animal sacrifice, and Judicial Process', in Rosen/Farrell, *Nomodeiktes*, pp. 155–78.

35. Aristoxenus fr. 29 Wehrli (Pythagoras avoided eating plough-oxen); Ael. *VH* 5.14; Varro, *De re rustica* 2.5.3; Columella 6 *praef.* 7; Schol. *Od.* 12.353; see also Aratus 131f; Ovid, *Met.* 15.120–42, 470; Rosivach, *Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens*, pp. 161–3.

36. M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant (eds), *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, 1979[1] (Chicago, 1989); Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals*, pp. 290–302 (Vernant's opposition to Meuli and Burkert: pp. 291f).

37. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals*, 296, translated, less lapidarily, as 'overt and falsifying omission'.

38. Burkert, 'Opfer als Tötungsritual. Eine Konstante der menschlichen Kulturgeschichte?', in Graf, *Klassische Antike*, pp. 169–89.

39. Samos: Boessneck and Von den Driesch, *Knochenabfall*, 6. Didyma: id., 'Didyma II', 257. Kalapodi: Stanzel, *Tierreste aus Kalapodi*, p. 45.

40. Peirce, 'Death', 256f has overlooked the fact that from her few exceptions Busiris' attempt to sacrifice Heracles is a typical case of a 'perverted' sacrifice, which supports rather than undermines the 'taboo' on the presence of the knife, cf. J.-L. Durand and F. Lissarrague, 'Héros cru ou hôte cuit: histoire quasi cannibale d'Héraklès chez Busiris', in Lissarrague and F. Thelamon (eds), *Image et céramique grecque* (Rouen, 1983), pp. 153–67.

41. Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 299f.

42. Cf. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, p. 948: 'das Olympische Opfer nichts anderes sei als ein rituelles Schlachten'; Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 35–48; Vernant, in *Entretiens Hardt* 27 (1981), 26: 'Sacrifier, c'est fondamentalement tuer pour manger'.

43. See, most recently, R. Seaford, 'Homeric and Tragic Sacrifice', *TAPhA* 119 (1989), 87–95; J. Jouanna, 'Libations et sacrifices dans la tragédie grecque', *REG* 105 (1992), 406–34.

44. For example, Peirce, 'Death', bases her views of sacrifice mainly on the iconographical evidence with its strong Dionysiac bias. Such a view is as skewed as that of Greek religion based solely on tragedy (Ch. II.1); on the difference between 'icon and text', R. Hamilton, *Choes & Anthesteria* (Ann Arbor, 1992), pp. 123–46.

45. Burkert, *GR*, pp. 260–4, 448f; A. Moreau, 'Initiation en Grèce antique', *Dial. d'Hist. Anc.* 18 (1992), 191–244; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, pp. 48–60 (extensive bibliographies); F. Graf, 'Initiationsriten in der antiken Mittelmeerwelt', *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 36.2 (1993), 29–40.

46. Sparta: see now M. Pettersson, *Cults of Apollo at Sparta. The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaidiai and the Karneia* (Stockholm, 1992). Athens: P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le Chasseur noir* (Paris, 1983[2]), pp. 151–75 (1968[1]: a classic); see now also his 'The Black Hunter Revisited', *PCPhS* 212 (1986), 126–44 ~ 'Retour au chasseur noir', in *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque* II (Paris, 1989), pp. 387–411.

47. Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 149 (= Strabo 10.4.16–20: all quotes); M. Laurencic, '*Andreion*', *Tyche* 3 (1988), 147–61.

48. N. Marinatos, *Minoan Religion* (New York, 1993), pp. 201–20; J. Bremmer and N. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography* (London, 1987), pp. 38–43, 53–6 (Bremmer: Indo-Europeans).

49. Anthropologists, such as C. Geertz, *Local Knowledge* (New York, 1983), pp. 56–8, have stressed that these views are two, necessary, sides of the same coin. This is a more constructive attitude than that of Rudhardt and Vernant *cum suis*, who sometimes seem to suggest that we can look at Greek practices as if we ourselves were Greeks.

50. For this important metaphor in Greek initiation see Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles* 1, pp. 374f; this volume, Ch. VI.1.

51. Ekdysia: Nicander *apud* Ant. Lib. 17, cf. Bremmer, 'Dionysos travesti', 194. 'To undress': *IC* I.ix (Dreros).1.A.99f; I.xix (Malla).1.17f, etc. 'Nude ones': *IC* I.ix (Dreros).1.D.140f (*azostoi*), cf. Hsch. s.v. *azostos*. 'Very nude ones': *IC* I.ix (Dreros).1 A.11f (*Panazostoi*). Periblemaia: *IC* I.xix (Malla).19.1.

52. See my 'Greek Pederasty and Modern Homosexuality', in Bremmer (ed), *From Sappho to De Sade* (London, 1991[2]), pp. 1–14; C. Calame, *I Greci e l'Eros* (Bari, 1992), pp. 65–81. For (unpersuasive) objections to the initiatory interpretation see K. J. Dover, *The Greeks and their Legacy* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 115–34; D. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (London, 1990), pp. 54–61. 'Kidnap': Bremmer/Horsfall, *Roman Myth*, pp. 105–11 (Bremmer).

53. Ares and Aphrodite: *LIMC* II.1 (1984), 123–5 (A. Delivorrias), 482f (Ph. Bruneau); Graf, *NK*, 264 (magistrates). Ares: P. Wathelet, 'Arès le mal aimé', *Les Et. Class.* 60 (1992), 113–28; *DDD*, s.v. (Bremmer). Aphrodite: V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque* (Athens and Liège, 1994).

54. See Bremmer, *CR* 35 (1985), 312f and *Mnemosyne* IV 43 (1989), 260–3, respectively.

55. Cf. Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 213–43; Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 108–22; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison, 1983), pp. 92–9; C. Auffarth, *Der drohende Untergang. "Schöpfung" in Mythos und Ritual im Alten Orient und in Griechenland* (Berlin and New York, 1991), pp. 202–72; Hamilton, *Choes* (the most systematic, if rather sceptical, discussion of the sources); A. Bowie, *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual and Comedy* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 35–9, 147–50 and 'Religion and Politics in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*', *CQ* 43 (1993), 10–31, esp. 22–4.

56. Trumpet: Graf, *NK*, 245; P. Krentz, 'The *Salpinx* in Greek Warfare', in Hanson, *Hoplites*, pp. 110–20.

57. Cf. Graf, *NK*, 28 (wreaths, libations); A. Henrichs, 'The Eumenides and Wineless Libations in the Derveni Papyrus', *Atti XVII Congr. Int. Papir.* II (Naples, 1984), 255–68.

58. Whereas Burkert in his *Homo necans* overvalues sacrifice, painting it always in dark colours, sacrifice is virtually absent in Graf's *Nordionische Kulte*. In my view sacrifice is an important element in determining the nature of Greek rituals but usually not as sombre as Burkert suggests.

59. Sad or glad events were often remembered on ominous or felicitous days, cf. A. Grafton and N. Swerdlow, 'Calendar Dates and Ominous Days in Ancient Historiography', *J. Warburg and Courtauld Inst.* 51 (1988), 14–42; A. Chianotis, 'Gedenktage der Griechen', in J. Assmann (ed), *Das Fest und das Heilige* (Gütersloh, 1991), pp. 123–45.

60. R. Buxton, *Sophocles* (Oxford, 1984), p. 4; Val. Max. 9.8 (Anacreon). *Acharnians*: N. Fisher, 'Multiple Personalities and Dionysiac Festivals: Dicaeopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*', *G & R* 40 (1993), 31–47. Misanthrope: Plut. *Ant.* 70.

61. *Choes*: Hamilton, *Choes*, pp. 63–121. Kares/Keres: Bremmer, *Soul*, pp. 113–18.

62. *Contra* Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, pp. 116f (cf. Bremmer/Horsfall, *Roman Myth*, pp. 86f), although his observations on festivals of reversal are of great interest (pp. 115–21).

63. Thorikos: *SEG* 33.147, cf. R. Parker, 'Festivals of the Attic Demes', in Linders/Nordquist, *Gifts to the Gods*, pp. 137–47, esp. 142; A. Henrichs, 'Between Country and City: Cultic Dimensions of Dionysus in Athens and Attica', in M. Griffith and D. Mastronarde (eds), *Cabinet of the Muses* (Atlanta, 1990), pp. 257–77, esp. 262f.

64. As is persuasively argued by Hamilton, *Choes*, pp. 55f. In any case, Burkert, *Homo necans*, p. 235, mistakenly suggests that Aristotle speaks of a sexual act, cf. P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 104f. In general: A. Avagianou, *Sacred Marriage in the Rituals of Greek Religion* (Berne, 1991); Janko, *Commentary*, p. 171.

65. Choruses: Hamilton, *Choes*, pp. 38–42. Phallus: *Com. Ant. Fragm.* III 398f, no. 7 Kock; Dio Chr. 33.63.

66. E. Pochmarski, *LIMC* III.1 (1986), s.v. Erigone I; D. Gondicas, *LIMC* V.1 (1990), s.v. Ikarios I.

67. See, respectively, Possis *FGrH* 480 F 1; Diog. Laert. 4.8; Philodemus, *De pietate* 806–8, 865–9 Obbink (Epicurus: to be added to the sources in Hamilton, *Choes*); Call. fr. 178.

68. *La grande festa*: Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, pp. 127f. Synoikia: Graf, *NK*, 167; Hornblower, *Commentary*, p. 265. Skira: Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 143–9.

69. Thucydides: 2.14.4, but see Hornblower, *Commentary*, pp. 266f. Names: J. Sarkady, 'A Problem in the History of the Greek Calendar (The Date of the Origin of the Months' Names)', *Acta Class. Debrecen* 21 (1985), 3–17; Burkert, 'Athenian Cults and Festivals', *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* IV^2 (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 245–67.

V. MYTHOLOGY

Myth played an important role in Greek religion: it illustrated and defined the roles of gods and heroes (Ch. II.1); it explained aspects of rituals (Ch. IV.3), showed correct or deviant patterns of behaviour, and reflected on human behaviour and the cosmos.[1] Since, of all aspects of Greek religion, myth has probably drawn the greatest attention and the largest number of different approaches,[2] we start with a short historical survey of these approaches and a discussion of recent definitions (§ 1). Then we analyse origins and uses of myth (§ 2) and study the relations between myth and ritual (§ 3). We conclude by looking at some changes in the popularityof myths, as reflected by the visual arts, and the nature of myth itself (§ 4).[3]

1. *A mini-history and a definition*[4]

After the allegoric interpretation of the Renaissance, as exemplified by the hugely successful handbook of Natale Conti (*ca.* 1520–1600), and the a-historical use of Greek mythology as material for literature in the seventeenth century, modern research started at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[5] Pioneers were the Frenchmen Bernard de Fontenelle (1657–1757) and Nicolas Fréret (1688–1749), of whom the first postulated a kind of 'primitive' mentality, initiated comparative mythology, reflected about the transmission of myths and, last but not least, recognized the fatal influence of writing on mythology – all this in a small treatise. The latter saw mythology as the expression of the culture, customs, and social order of a specific community.[6]

Despite this promising start there was insufficient philogical expertise in France to develop these ideas. The situation was different in Germany, where the Göttingen professor of Greek, Christian G. Heyne (1729–1812), introduced the term *mythus* to stress that he was not dealing with a *fabula*, the invention or fiction of a poet. According to Heyne, myth was the expression of a specific *Volksgeist*, it explained the admirable or frightening aspects of nature and, although less marked in his work, was a means to preserve the memories of great exploits.[7] In the nineteenth century two Müllers (no relation) further developed Heyne's insights. The first, Karl Otfried (1797–1840), stressed that myth was the reflection of a national (= tribal) identity and various historical periods. The second, Friedrich Max (1823–1900), directed his attention to the connection between myth and nature and saw an important clue in the use of etymologies. The

dominance of these approaches came to an end towards the later part of the nineteenth century, when the unification of Germany (1870) lessened interest in the political background of Greek myth and new insights in comparative linguistics of the so-called *Junggrammatiker* (after 1878) destroyed the basis of most etymologies produced by Müller and his followers.[8]

Fresh developments came in the 1870s, when two other Germans, Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831–80) and Hermann Usener (1834–1905), started to draw attention to the explanatory value of agriculture for Greek religion and, moreover, saw that in various cases myths were linked to rituals (§ 3).[9] The stress on fertility was hugely successful and became canonized in the writings of James G. Frazer (1854–1941), the famous author of *The Golden Bough* (1890¹),[10] and Martin P. Nilsson (1874–1967), who dominated the study of Greek religion until the 1960s.[11] The link with ritual was especially elaborated in England by the so-called Cambridge ritualists, whose most famous representative, Jane Harrison (1850–1928), eventually discredited this direction by her all too fanciful analyses.[12]

After the First World War, the excesses of the ritualists and the rejection of comparative studies by the classical world strongly diminished interest in Greek mythology, but in the middle of the 1960s structuralism promoted new interest, which came to the fore in the works of Burkert and Vernant with his Parisian *équipe*. Whereas Burkert's main interest has been in links between myth and ritual (§ 3), Vernant *cum suis* have focused on those aspects of myth which elucidate aspects of Greek culture and society, such as the position of women (Ch. VI.2), values of plants and animals (§ 2), or the role and place of sacrifice (Ch. IV.2).[13]

It is hardly surprising in this post-modernist time that in the 1980s scholars have started to call into question the validity of the notion of myth. And indeed, Greek *mythos* does not mean 'myth' but 'is, in Homer, a speech-act indicating authority, performed at length, usually in public, with a full attention to every detail'.[14] Noting the absence of a proper Greek term, Claude Calame has therefore proposed the new term 'symbolic process' instead of the conventional distinctions of myth, ritual, and artistic representations. Since his term obscures important differences between myth and ritual (§ 3) and since 'myth' is engrained among anthropologists, we do not follow him but will keep in mind that 'myth', like 'religion' (Ch. I.1), 'ritual' (Ch. IV.1) and 'initiation' (Ch. IV.3), is a modern construction.[15]

What, then, do we mean by 'myth' in early Greece? Burkert once proposed the definition 'myth is a traditional tale with secondary, partial

reference to something of collective importance'; more recently, he has suggested 'traditional tales of special "significance"', which comes very near to my own 'traditional tales relevant to society'. In other words, the definition alerts us to those tales which are traditional (even new myths tend to follow patterns of old myths), are of collective importance (they are meant for public performance and not a vehicle for private views), and are transferable from one society to another (Greek mythology is not a closed corpus).[16]

Yet to some extent the definition is deficient, since it fails to mention the element of performance. Early Greek myths were told to an audience, of which composition and circumstances were continuously changing; moreover, each time a myth was related it was adapted to the conventions of the genre, which could be epic, choral lyric, hymns, drama, or private telling. Consequently, there was no one authoritative version of a myth. Poets knew standard plots, which they constantly had to adapt. So we should perhaps reformulate our definition to 'performances of traditional plots relevant to society', since only after the introduction of literacy did myth become a 'text' (§ 4).

2. *Origins and uses*

Greek mythology of the Archaic and Classical period was a conglomerate of old and new, indigenous and imported.[17] The myths of Achilles, Arion (the first horse: Ch. II.3), Helen (Ch. VI.1), and the cattle-raiding Heracles (Ch. II.2) all seem to go back to Indo-European times (and maybe Heracles even further).[18] It is their concentration on prime interests of early societies – initiation, horses, marriage, food – which explains their continuity. Other old myths, such as the strange birth of Erichthonius/Erechtheus (Ch. VI.2) from the seed of Hephaestus and the mythical complex of Demeter and Persephone (Ch. II.3), which was closely connected with the Thesmophoria (Ch. VI.3), remain unfortunately undatable.[19]

New imports were Oriental theogonic and cosmogonic myths (Ch. I.3), but poets also borrowed individual motifs as in the case of Bellerophontes. After king Proitos' wife, out of spite for rejection by the hero with whom she was in love, had denounced him before her husband, the king sent Bellerophontes to his father-in-law, the king of Lycia, with a letter containing 'many life-destroying things' (*Il.* 6.152–210). Homer's version of the myth contains two motifs which are most likely derived from the Near East, since both occur in the Old Testament: the Potiphar episode from the story of Joseph (*Genesis* 39) and the fateful letter David sent to his chief-of-

staff to get rid of the man whose wife, Bathsheba, he wanted to marry (2 *Samuel* 11f). But when, why, how, and where did these Oriental borrowings take place?[20]

The borrowings most likely postdate the Mycenaean period: there is no influence from Canaanite myths, although the powerful city of Ugarit flourished until the invasions of the Sea Peoples, and the version of the Mesopotamian epic *Enuma elish* which is quoted by the *Iliad* (Ch. I.3) was hardly composed before 1100 B.C. A later date may also explain why these myths have been imported. Originally, the mental horizon of the Greeks was less the creation of the world than the origin of their own city, which presupposed the existence of the gods.[21] Interest in the creation of gods and the cosmos fits the new interest in the world which became visible in Ionia in the Archaic age. The varying geographical origins of the myths (Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and the Syro-Phoenician coastal area) all point to an area in the Middle East, probably Northern Syria and/or Cyprus, where Greek traders will have heard Oriental bards or story-tellers and transmitted their myths to poets at home. Such a transmission must have been an important factor in the origin of the many differences between Greek and Oriental versions.[22]

What were the uses of myth? One answer would surely have to be: pure entertainment. Choral lyric with its combination of music, dance, and song provided quite a spectacle, and for thousands of Athenians the dramatic performances must have been welcome breaks in the winter months. However, myths were also a serious matter, since, amongst other things, they defined gods (Ch. II.1) and illuminated rituals (§ 3), supplied arguments in debates, served as models of ethical and religious behaviour, helped to establish political identities or advance political claims, and contributed towards the Greek *mentalité*. Let us look at a few examples.

When Achilles had withdrawn into his tent in anger and the Trojans were threatening the Greek camp, an embassy came to Achilles in a last attempt at persuading him to renounce his anger. His old tutor Phoenix then told him the myth of Meleager, who had not only killed the Calydonian boar (fig. 10) but also his mother's brother in a battle over the spoils. When his mother cursed him, Meleager became very angry and withdrew from the battle in which the Kouretes threatened to take his town, Calydon in Aetolia. Only at the very last moment did Meleager rejoin the battle, but by his prolonged withdrawal he had forfeited the presents which had been promised to him (*Il.* 9.529–99).

The passage is illustrative in more than one aspect. First, it strongly suggests that myths were told to persuade people to change their actions

Second, the anger of Meleager is hardly mentioned in other versions and, therefore, will be Homer's invention to make the myth more suitable to its context. Third, myths could be continuously adapted, since only from about 500 B.C. do we find versions in which the fate of Meleager was connected with a log of wood which his mother threw into the fire after she had heard about her brother's death.[23] Apparently, this spectacular motif appealed to the changing tastes of the Greek public, which had become interested in a 'more emotional, even larmoyant appeal'.[24]

10. Terracotta representing the Calydonian Hunt

The Calydonian boar had been sent by Artemis, whom the father of Meleager, king Oeneus, had forgotten during a sacrifice. The omission was not unique. Tyndareus once forgot to include Aphrodite, which angered the goddess to such an extent that she made his daughters Helen and Clytaemnestra desert or even deceive their husbands: in other words, Tyndareus' omission eventually led to the Trojan War. Finally, Hera's anger at Pelias for not having been honoured set off the expedition of the Argonauts. These myths, then, also showed the terrible consequences of not giving the gods their proper due.[25]

Instead of focusing on panhellenic expeditions, myths could also advance social and political claims of families and cities, sometimes via

genealogies.[26] Hippocrates' family was traced back to the healing hero Asclepius and that of the Athenian priests of Poseidon Erechtheus to Erechtheus, son of Ge (Earth) and Hephaestus. The Athenians promoted the ancestorship of Ion to win the support of the Ionians against the Spartans during the Peloponnesian War. In his tragedy *Ion* Euripides even went as far as having Creusa conceive Ion by Apollo but his brother Dorus, the ancestor of the Dorian Spartans, by a mortal, whereas traditionally Dorus was the maternal uncle of Ion. One could also adduce foul play in the past. The Spartans underpinned their possession of Messene by claiming that after the return of the Heraclids, who had divided the Peloponnese between them, Kresphontes received Messene via tricks: Sparta's conquest of this area was thus fully justified.[27]

The political side of Greek myth has often been discussed, but much less attention has been given to ways in which myth was shaped by and articulated the Greek mental landscape. Its pictures of cities and crossroads,[28] warriors and women (Ch. VI.2), meadows and mountains,[29] plants and animals can help us to see how the Greeks perceived their world.[30] For instance, when Inachus, the main river of the Argolid, was worshipped as the first king of Argos and ancestor of the Argives, or when Acheloos, the largest river of Northern Greece, was closely connected with the education of boys, it is clear that the Greeks perceived their rivers rather differently from, say, those living close to the Thames or the Mississippi.[31] More investigations in this direction will eventually enable the reconstruction of a 'mythical Greece'.[32]

Earlier generations rather optimistically thought that Greek myth also could be used to reconstruct past events, but Greek oral tradition probably was 'of the most fluid kind, its transmission casual, and its lifespan usually short', as can indeed be demonstrated for Athens. On the other hand, myth does reflect customs, relations, institutions, and perceptions of early Greece; in some cases it even preserved extinct institutions. When myth tells that heroes such as Hippolytus and Theseus were educated by their maternal kin, comparisons with other Indo-European societies show that this type of education (fosterage) lasted in Western Europe into the Middle Ages, although it did not survive into classical Greece.[33]

Yet when using myth for the reconstruction of social life in early Greece, we must be very attentive to genre and ideology, as myths about the family may illustrate. The *Iliad* tended to avoid focusing on family conflict, but Attic tragedy pictured struggles within the family in the most sombre colours. And whereas father–son hostility usually ended badly,[34] the brother–sister relationship was invariably good. The brother was the

protector of his sister's honour: Achilles could ambush Troilus when he accompanied his sister Polyxena to a fountain (fig. 11). Even when, in Euripides' *Helen*, the priestess Theonoe opposed her brother, she was reconciled with him at the end of the play. In both cases, myth did not reflect the realities but the imperatives of life in a society with weak legal institutions. In such a society families needed one another in order to survive and prosper, and that is an important message of these myths.[35]

11. Polyxena and Achilles, who is waiting in ambush for her brother Troilus

3. *Myth and ritual*

In recent decades scholars have paid much attention to the relation between myth and ritual. Although myths existed without rituals and rituals without myths, the two symbolic systems were often interrelated. This relationship is only gradually becoming clearer and is still the subject of lively debates. In the course of time three possibilities have been suggested: myth is the scenario for ritual; ritual generates myth, and ritual and myth arise at the same time, *pari passu*. We will look at all three possibilities and start with the influence of myth.[36]

Cities not infrequently appropriated figures from panhellenic mythology for a local cult. So Athens instituted a cult for Theban Oedipus, and in the sixth century Argos founded a heroön for the *Seven Against Thebes*

according to a recently discovered inscription and in this way 'reclaimed' these warriors. In Tarentum we can notice a more specific influence of myth, since women were excluded from the cult of Agamemnon – surely in memory of his murder by Clytaemnestra. However, this was the proverbial exception proving the rule: in general such cults did not display details characteristic of their myth.[37]

More complicated are myths produced by rituals. An interesting example is the myth of Perseus. When this hero of Mykenai beheaded the Gorgon Medusa with a sickle, 'out jumped big Chrysaor and the horse Pegasus' (Hesiod, *Theog.* 281). The winged horse enabled Perseus to rescue the maiden Andromeda from a sea monster in Joppa-Jaffa, where in Roman times the 'huge bones' (prehistoric fossils?) of the monster were shown to tourists – an often neglected use of mythology. Burkert rightly noted that 'the steed and the warrior are indicative of a trial of initiation', but he overlooked important testimony in support of his interpretation.[38]

In 1892 the following, early fifth-century Mycenaean inscription was published: 'If there is no *damiorgia* (a Doric office), the *iaromnamones* ('recorders of sacred matters') for Perseus are to serve as judges for the parents, according to what has been decided.' Apparently, Perseus was closely connected with contests of boys, whose role model he will have been. Now in the sanctuary of the initiatory Spartan goddess Ortheia masks have been found of old women and of a handsome young man; moreover, Spartan boys engaged in contests and dedicated, when victorious, iron sickles to the goddess. As Michael Jameson perceptively has observed, these Spartan initiatory customs must form the ritual counterpart of Perseus' myth: Mycenaean boys took leave of the world of the females with a sham fight in which masks of terrifying females played an important role. We may even wonder whether this use of masks in ritual is not also the background for Theseus' victory over the Minotaur with the help of Ariadne: another initiatory fight. The Minotaur is often pictured as a man with a bull's head and we know that in Cypriot Amathus priests officiated with bull's masks in a sanctuary of Aphrodite Ariadne. But whereas Perseus' fight seems to reflect the break with the world of the women, Theseus' victory signifies the entry into the world of the adults: some Greek warriors wore bull helmets and on his return Theseus became king of Athens.[39]

Finally, my compatriot Versnel has recently strongly argued that in some cases myths and rituals were formed *pari passu*. His main witness is the myth and ritual complex of Kronos and the Kronia. Versnel has approached this complex as follows. First, he collected all mythical tradi-

tions about Kronos, which show that myth depicts this god sometimes negatively (from parricide to general lawlessness), sometimes positively (king of a Golden Age). Subsequently he collected the ritual testimonia, which at Rhodes speak of human sacrifice but in Athens of a very happy atmosphere, since during the festival masters and slaves happily dined together.[40] Surveying the myth and the rite, he concluded that 'Kronian ritual is just as ambiguous as Kronian myth'.

Regarding the historical development Versnel suggests that the rite started with an agricultural festival (for obscure reasons devoted to Kronos), which in historical times 'was firmly anchored in a festive complex which marked the transition from the old to the new year and that, accordingly, it was celebrated with rites of role reversal'. In cult, Kronos developed into the 'mythical' god of the precosmic era with its Utopian and catastrophic aspects. Consequently, according to Versnel, we find in this complex a correspondence between myth and rite in structure and atmosphere in such a way that both deal with the same type of experience in the same affective mode and this *pari passu*.[41]

Finally, as we have seen (§ 1), Calame has suggested replacing 'myth' and 'ritual' by the new term 'symbolic process'. Yet the myth and ritual of Perseus illustrate at least four important differences between these two symbolic systems.[42] First, whereas the ritual was acted out by boys and men with masks, myth speaks of a real fight between a young man and an old hag, Medusa: what is symbolic and reversible in ritual, becomes realistic and irreversible in myth. Second, myth is selective: it mentions only Perseus' fight, whereas the ritual must have been quite a spectacle with judges, spectators, and contestants. This selectivity can be quite remarkable. On the island of Lemnos, there was a temporary separation of the sexes during the period leading up to the yearly arrival of new fire. The corresponding myth speaks of a murder of the husbands by their wives but has no mention whatsoever of fire: clearly, a ritual should not be reconstructed on the basis of a myth only. Third, myth bestows significance on ritual. The contest in the ritual for Perseus was not just any game, since the winner became, so to speak, a Perseus-to-be. The significance could also be of an explanatory manner, since many a myth explained striking details of the ritual. Fourth, the name (Pegasus) and idea of a winged horse most likely derive from the Near East, as does the location of Andromeda in Joppa/Jaffa. Evidently, myth can incorporate motifs from other myths and be removed from its ritual basis; in fact, whole myths migrated from one cult to another.[43] The acceptance of Calame's new term, then, would obscure important differences between myth and ritual. At the same time,

we have also seen that ritual often generated myth, but the relationship was not a simple one and cannot be reduced to one formula.[44]

4. *Visual arts and changes*

Our concentration on the performative and linguistic aspects of myth should not conceal the great importance of the visual arts for the study of myth. The splendid initiative of an iconographical encyclopedia of classical mythology (*LIMC*) now enables a more intensive 'crossfertilization' between literature and the visual arts, which in antiquity hardly constituted two independent streams of tradition.[45] In fact, we can sometimes notice a virtually immediate response of artists to poets. After Pindar had described the throttling of serpents by young Heracles in his *First Nemean Ode*, which was first performed in Sikyon shortly after 470 B.C., Attic painters represented the feat within a few years of the poem.[46] Painters may even have invented versions of myths, which are absent from the literary tradition. On a Douris cup, datable to 480–470 B.C., a dragon disgorges Jason in the presence of Athena and a similar scene already occurs on a late seventh-century Corinthian alabastron, although extant literature never mentions this detail. On the other hand, the early archaic poet Eumelos wrote an epic, *Corinthiaca*, in which Medea played a considerable role, and vase-painters may have taken the scene from this epic or similar archaic Argonautic poetry.[47] However this may be, the interaction between poetry and the figurative arts remains a vexing problem and deserves further attention.[48]

In the course of time some myths lost in popularity, whereas others suddenly caught the Greek imagination. In contrast to the fragmentary state of the literary tradition, the enormous output of vase-painters allows us to trace such changes in Athens, the main producer of vases, in chronological detail. By simply counting surviving vases, even though these are only a fraction of the Archaic production, we can notice around 560 B.C. a new preference in Athens for myths with specifically Attic associations, such as Theseus and the Minotaur (Ch. IV.3), or those panhellenic myths which the Athenians in some sense adopted as their own, such as the ones about Heracles (Ch. II.1). This popularity can be correlated with the reconstruction of the Panathenaea (Ch. IV.2) in the 560s and thus testifies to a new spirit in contemporary Athens.[49]

Attic vase-painters' interest in mythological scenes strongly diminished after 480 B.C. Literature itself did not follow suit, but in the course of the classical period the position of the poet as the main producer and innovator

of religious traditions started to lose importance: by the Hellenistic age his function had largely been taken over by philosophers and historians. This development also influenced the status of myth, which no longer had the same relevance to society; typically, in the fourth century myths start to be called 'old wives' tales'.[50] It will hardly be chance that in the same century Asclepiades of Tragilus published *Subjects of Tragedy*, the first book in which tragedies were retold and compared with earlier versions. In the Hellenistic period myths were collected as background material for the explanation of great poets or organized around a uniform theme, such as the *Library* ascribed to Apollodorus which is arranged genealogically by mythical families. These collections, in which myths have been reduced to fixed texts, are now our main source for the knowledge of Greek mythology. Yet we should always remember that these fixed texts are only pale reflections of the performances which once brought these myths to life.[51]

Finally, our analysis has shown a variety of approaches to myth in the course of time. Gradually, methodological pitfalls and possibilities are becoming clearer, but we are still far from a scholarly consensus regarding the best methods. The plasticity, multifunctionality, and polysemy of myth always make its analysis a hazardous undertaking.

NOTES

1. Cf. T. S. Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter. Zur Bedeutung griechischer Heroenmythen im Selbstverständnis kleinasiatischer Städte* (Munich, 1993), pp. 24–9.

2. It is therefore curious that there is no chapter on mythology in M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* 1 (Munich, 1967[3]), the previous standard handbook on Greek religion; Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales*; Burkert, *GR*, and Jost, *Aspects*. Bruit/Schmitt, *Religion*, pp. 143–75 do discuss mythology but rather unsatisfactorily: they virtually neglect Burkert's contributions but praise Georges Dumézil highly.

3. Good introductions, each with a different approach: K. Dowden, *The Uses of Greek Mythology* (London, 1992); F. Graf, *Greek Mythology* (Baltimore and London, 1993); S. Saïd, *Approches de la mythologie grecque* (Paris, 1993); Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*. See also C. Calame (ed), *Métamorphoses du mythe en Grèce antique* (Geneva, 1988): Bremmer, *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*; L. Edmunds (ed), *Approaches to Greek Myth* (Baltimore and London, 1990).

4. The best historical survey now is Graf, *Greek Mythology*, pp. 9–56.

5. Natales Comes, *Mythologiae (sive explicationum fabularum libri X)* (Venice, 1551; 1567[2], repr. New York, 1976), cf. R. M. Iglesias Montiel and C. A. Moran (eds), *Natale Conti, Mitologia* (Murcia, 1988), pp. 7–35; J. Starobinski, 'Fable et mythologie aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', in *Le remède dans le mal* (Paris, 1989), pp. 233–62.

6. Fontenelle: A. Niderst (ed), *B. de Fontenelle. Oeuvres complètes* III (Paris, 1989), pp. 197–202 ('De l'origine des fables', tr. and introd. by B. Feldman and R. D. Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology (1680–1860)*, Bloomington and London 1972, pp. 7–18). Fréret: Graf, *Greek Mythology*, 16f, add B. Barret-Kriegel, *Jean Mabillon* (Paris, 1988), pp. 163–209, 277–82 (bibliography).

7. G. Chiarini, 'Ch.G. Heyne e gli inizi dello studio scientifico della mythologia', *Lares* 55 (1989), 317–31; F. Graf, 'Die Entstehung des Mythosbegriffs bei Christian Gottlob Heyne', in id. (ed), *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft. Das Paradeigma Roms = Colloquium Rauricum* III (Stuttgart, 1993), pp. 284–94.

8. Karl M.: W. M. Calder III et al. (eds), *Karl Otfried Müller Reconsidered* (Atlanta, 1995). Max M.: H. Lloyd-Jones, *Blood for the Ghosts* (London, 1982), pp. 155–64; G. W. Stocking Jr, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York and London, 1987), pp. 56–62; L. P. van den Bosch, 'Friedrich Max Müller: een Victoriaans geleerde over het onderzoek naar mythen en religie', *Nederlands Theol. Tijdschrift* 47 (1993), 186–200.

9. Cf. Bremmer, 'Hermann Usener', in W. W. Briggs and W. M. Calder III (eds), *Classical Scholarship. A Biographical Encyclopedia* (New York and London, 1990), pp. 462–78; H. Dieterich and F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Usener und Wilamowitz. Ein Briefwechsel 1870–1905*, revised by W. M. Calder III (Stuttgart, 1994). Mannhardt: no modern study.

10. R. Ackerman, *J. G. Frazer: His Life and Work* (Cambridge, 1987); M. Beard, 'Frazer, Leach and Virgil: The Popularity (and Unpopularity) of *The Golden Bough*', *Comp. Stud. in Soc. and Hist.* 34 (1992), 203–34.

11. Cf. J. Mejer, 'Martin P. Nilsson', in Briggs/Calder, *Classical Scholarship*, pp. 335–40; A. Bierl and W. M. Calder III, 'Instinct against Proof. The Correspondence between Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Martin P. Nilsson on *Religionsgeschichte* (1920–1930)', *Eranos* 89 (1991), 73–99, repr. in W. M. Calder III, *Further Letters of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff* (Hildesheim, 1994).

12. R. Schlesier, 'Prolegomena to Jane Harrison's Interpretation of Ancient Greek Religion', in W. M. Calder III (ed), *The Cambridge Ritualists Reconsidered* (Atlanta, 1991), pp. 185–226 ~ H. Kippenberg and B. Luchesi (eds), *Religionswissenschaft und Kulturkritik* (Marburg, 1991), pp. 193–235 (German version); Bremmer, 'Gerardus van der Leeuw and Jane Ellen Harrison', ibid., pp. 237–41.

13. Good examples of their work in R. Gordon (ed), *Myth, Religion and Society: Structuralist Essays . . .* (Cambridge, 1981), with an informative introduction by R. Buxton (pp. ix–xvii).

14. R. Martin, *The Language of Heroes* (Ithaca, 1989), pp. 12–42, esp. 12; see also A. H. W. Adkins, 'Myth, Philosophy, and Religion in Ancient Greece', in F. E. Reynolds and D. Tracy (eds), *Myth and Philosophy* (Albany, 1990), pp. 95–130.

15. J.-P. Vernant, 'Le mythe au réflechi', *Le temps de la réflexion* 1 (1980), 21–25; M. Detienne, *The Creation of Mythology*, 1981[1] (Chicago, 1986); C. R. Philips III, 'Misconceptualizing Classical Mythology', in Flower/Toher, *Georgica*, pp. 142–51; C. Calame, '"Mythe" et "rite" en Grèce', and *Illusions de la mythologie* (Limoges, 1991).

16. See, respectively, Burkert, *Structure and History*, p. 23 and 'Mythos – Begriff, Struktur, Funktionen', in Graf, *Mythos in Mythenloser Gesellschaft*, pp. 9–24, esp. 17; my 'What is a Greek Myth', in Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 1–9 (also on differences between myth and other types of traditional tales, such as legends, *Sagen* and fairy-tales). Note also Graf, *Greek Mythology*, pp. 1–8; Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, pp. 12–17.

17. Cf. Bremmer, 'What is a Greek Myth?', pp. 1–3; Burkert, 'Typen griechischer Mythen auf dem Hintergrund mykenischer und orientalischer Tradition', in D. Musti et al. (eds), *La transizione dal Miceneo all' Alto Arcaismo* (Rome, 1991), pp. 527–38.

18. Graf, *Greek Mythology*, p. 74 (Achilles); C. Grottanelli, 'Yoked Horses, Twins, and the Powerful Lady: India, Greece, Ireland and Elsewhere', *J. Indo-European Stud.* 14 (1986), 125–52 (Helen); Burkert, *Structure and History*, pp. 78–98 (Heracles).

19. Erichthonius/Erechtheus: R. Parker, 'Myths of Early Athens', in Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 187–214, esp. 194; Kearns, *Heroes of Attica*, p. 161.

20. P. Frei, 'Die Bellerophontessage und das Alte Testament', in B. Janowski et al. (eds), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1993), pp. 39–65; note also Burkert, 'Oriental and Greek Mythology', in Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 10–40.

21. C. Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* (Göttingen, 1986); Burkert, 'Denkformen der Kosmologie im Alten Orient und in Griechenland', in M. Münzel (ed), *Ursprung* (Frankfurt, 1987), pp. 9–18.

22. I follow Auffarth, *Drohende Untergang*, pp. 129f and Graf, *Greek Mythology*, pp. 95f, rather than Burkert, 'Typen griechischer Mythen', p. 535.

23. The late date makes it unlikely that Homer on purpose left out the motif, cf. J. March, *The Creative Poet* (London, 1987), pp. 27–46; Bremmer, 'La plasticité du mythe: Méléagre dans la poésie homérique', in Calame, *Métamorphoses du mythe*, pp. 37–56; S. Woodford et al., *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), s.v. Meleager.

24. Burkert, 'The Making of Homer in the Sixth Century B.C.: Rhapsodes versus Stesichoros', in *Papers on the Amasis Painter*, pp. 43–62, esp. 52.

25. Aphrodite: Stesichorus, fr. 223. Hera: Ap. Rhod. 1.14; Apollod. 1.9.16.

26. For Hellenistic times see now Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter.*

27. Families: Thomas, *Oral tradition*, pp. 155–95. Athens: R. Parker, 'Myths of Early Athens', in Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 187–214, esp. 206f; E. Simon, *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), s.v. Ion. Sparta: L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris, 1938), pp. 199f (Kresphontes as a herophoric, typically Messenian name); C. Calame, 'Spartan Genealogies', in Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 153–86; M. A. Harder, 'Euripides' *Temenos* and *Temenidai*', in Hofmann/Harder, *Fragmenta dramatica*, pp. 117–35.

28. F. Zeitlin, 'Thebes: Theatre of Self and Society in Athenian Drama', in J. Winkler and eadem (eds), *Nothing to do with Dionysos?* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 63–96; S. Saïd, 'Tragic Argos', in A. Sommerstein et al. (eds), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis* (Bari, 1993), pp. 167–89; S. Johnston, 'Crossroads', *ZPE* 88 (1991), 217–24.

29. Motte, *Prairies et jardins*; exemplary, R. Buxton, 'Imaginary Greek Mountains', *JHS* 112 (1992), 1–15.

30. M. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis*, 1972[1] (Princeton, 1994[2]); R. Buxton, 'Wolves and Werewolves in Greek Thought', in Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 60–79.

31. Inachus: Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, pp. 123f; S. E. Katalis, *LIMC* V.1 (1990), s.v.; Graf, *NK*, 104–6 (Acheloos).

32. Good observations towards such a project in Dowden, *Uses of Greek Mythology*, pp. 121–49; Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, pp. 80–113.

33. Oral tradition: Thomas, *Oral Tradition*, p. 283. Fosterage: Bremmer/Horsfall, *Roman Myth*, pp. 53–6 (Bremmer).

34. Genre: R. Seaford, 'The Structural Problems of Marriage in Euripides', in A. Powell (ed), *Euripides, Women, and Sexuality* (London and New York, 1990), pp. 151–76. Father–son: Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Culture*, pp. 244–84.

35. Brother–sister: Bremmer, 'Why did Medea Kill Her Brother Apsyrtos?', in J. Clauss and S. Johnston (eds), *Aeetes' Daughter. Essays on Medea . . .* (Princeton, 1995). Troilus: A. Kossatz-Deissman, LIMC I.1 (1981), s.v. Achilleus, no. 206–388; P. Wathelet, *Dictionnaire des Troyens de l'Iliade*, 2 vls (Liège, 1988), s.v. Troilos.

36. For a detailed historical survey of the various approaches see Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, pp. 15–88 (~ Edmunds, *Approaches*, pp. 25–90).

37. See, respectively, A. Lardinois, 'Greek Myths for Athenian Rituals', *GRBS* 33 (1992), 313–27; A. Pariente, 'Le monument argien des "Sept contra Thèbes"', in Piérart, *Polydipsion Argos*, pp. 195–229; Graf, *NK*, 391 (Tarentum). In general: N. Richardson, 'Innovazione poetica e mutamenti religiosi nell'antica Grecia', *Stud. Or. Class.* 33 (1983), pp. 15–27.

38. Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, pp. 83–5; add Pomponius Mela 1.64 (tourists); P. B. Harvey, 'The Death of Mythology: The Case of Joppa', *J. Early Christ. Stud.* 2 (1994), 1–14.

39. Cf. M. Jameson, 'Perseus, the Hero of Mykenai', in R. Hägg and G. Nordquist (eds), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid* (Stockholm, 1990), pp. 213–30. Bulls' masks: Ovid, *Met.* 10.222–37; Graf, *NK*, 415f; A. Hermary, *Rep. Dept. Antiq. Cyprus* 1986, 164–6; id. and O. Masson, 'Deux vases inscrits du sanctuaire d'Aphrodite à Amathunte', *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 114 (1990), 187–214. Helmets: H. Brijder, *Siana Cups II. The Heidelberg Painter* (Amsterdam, 1991), pp. 430–2; see also Graf, *NK*, 415f (bull warriors). Minotaur: S. Woodford, *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), s.v.

40. One may have some qualms about the historic reality of the ambiguity of Versnel's reconstructed ritual complex, since for Rhodes our information speaks only of a negative ritual and regarding Athens only of a positive one. Is it methodologically permitted to obliterate local differences in this way? Or is the reconstruction valid only for a 'deep' structure and, if so, what is then the relationship with the 'surface' of the ritual?

41. Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, pp. 88–135 (~ Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 121–52). Versnel also discusses iconographical representations of a veiled Kronos which, contrary to his suggestion (104f), all post-date the classical period, cf. E. B. Serbeti, *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), s.v.

42. See also Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, p. 96 (myth/life), pp. 151–5 (myth/ritual).

43. Lemnos: Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 190–6. Pegasus: Frei, 'Bellerophontessage', 48f. Migrating myths: Graf, 'Das Götterbild aus dem Taurerland', *Antike Welt* 10.4 (1979), 33–41 and *Greek Mythology*, pp. 116f.

44. I have not the space to enter in a discussion of the sociobiological explanations by Burkert, *Structure and History*, pp. 1–58, and Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, pp. 79–88 (~ Edmunds, *Approaches*, pp. 62–7) of some myth and ritual complexes, but see the objections of Bremmer/Horsfall, *Roman Myth*,

pp. 29f (Bremmer); Auffarth, *Drohende Untergang*, pp. 573–82; Bremmer, 'Mythe en rite in het oude Griekenland', *Nederlands Theol. Tijdschrift* 46 (1992), 265–76; Graf, *Greek Mythology*, pp. 52f.

45. See now also T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: a guide to literary and artistic sources*, 2 vls (Baltimore and London, 1993).

46. J.-M. Moret, 'The Earliest Representations of the Infant Herakles and the Snakes', in B. K. Braswell, *A Commentary on Pindar Nemean One* (Fribourg, 1992), pp. 83–90.

47. J. Neils, *LIMC* VI. 1 (1992), s.v. Iason, no. 30–5. Recently, a small fragment of archaic Argonautic poetry has been published: *P. Oxy.* 53.3698, mentioning Orpheus, Mopsus, and Aeetes.

48. Note now also H. Knell, *Mythos und Polis. Bildprogramme griechischer Bauskulptur* (Darmstadt, 1990); T. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (London, 1991); H. Shapiro, *Myth into Art* (London, 1994).

49. H. Shapiro, 'Old and New Heroes: Narrative, Composition, and Subject in Attic Black-Figure', *Class. Ant.* 9 (1990), 114–48. Note also the table with changes on the Attic panel amphoras in I. Scheibler, 'Bild und Gefäss . . .', *JDAI* 102 (1987), 57–118, esp. 89.

50. Bremmer, 'The Old Women of Ancient Greece', in J. Blok and P. Mason (eds), *Sexual Asymmetry. Studies in Ancient Society* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 191–215, esp. 200f.

51. Cf. A. Henrichs, 'Three Approaches to Greek Mythography', in Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 242–77; M.-M. Mactoux, 'Panthéon et discours mythologique: le cas d'Apollodore', *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 206 (1989), 245–70; C. Jacob, 'Le savoir des mythographes', *Annales ESC* 49 (1994), 419–28.

VI. GENDER

Historians and anthropologists use the term 'gender' to denote the social meanings and cultural constructions of femininity and masculinity instead of the physical connotations of sex. Although anthropologists have also done some work on concepts of masculinity,[1] recent studies of Greek religion have mainly analysed positions and representations of women, in so far as they have focused on gender differences at all. We will therefore first look at some elements of the female life cycle and daily life (§ 1), then look at representations of women in art and myth and at goddesses as possible role models (§ 2), and conclude with a discussion of the most important women's festivals (§ 3).[2]

1. *The life cycle and daily life*

In Athens gender differentiation was immediately apparent at birth, since parents hung a woollen fillet on the doorpost for girls and an olive wreath for boys. The symbolism seems clear: weaving and spinning were among the main activities of Greek women, whereas an olive wreath was the prize given to the male winner of the Olympic games.[3] Regarding young girls, little is known about religious activities in general, but we are reasonably well informed about their coming-of-age rituals, which have recently drawn much attention.[4]

Typical motifs of Greek female initiations were the prominence of aristocratic girls, seclusion, humiliation, choral dancing, physical exercise, and attention to beauty, as the following examples may illustrate. In Athens four girls of noble families, the *arrhephoroi*, lived on the Acropolis for a number of months (below). In Attic Brauron noble girls stayed for a while as 'she-bears', *arktoi*, in the sanctuary of Artemis, where they passed their time with dancing, running, and weaving.[5] In Corinth seven boys and seven girls of the most prominent families spent a year in the temple of Hera Akraia on the Acropolis dressed in black clothes and with close-cropped hair. In Ilion two maidens of the best families of Locri had to spend one year in the temple of Athena Ilias, which they had to keep clean, while being barefoot, their hair cut short and with only one dress to wear. On Keos, finally, marriageable girls had to spend the day in sanctuaries with sport and dancing, but at night they performed menial duties in other people's homes. All these rites are most easily understood as transformations of initiations, since these are their closest parallels.[6]

In Sparta female initiation lasted longer than anywhere else in Greece. Here the girls received a thorough physical training in palaestras and racing-courses to become fit for producing firm and vigorous children. During the later part of their initiation some girls received a female lover. The seventh-century poet Alcman already describes the principal girls of a chorus, Hagesichora and Agido, as being in love with each other (fr. 3 Calame = 1 Page/Davies). Comparable 'lesbian' relationships existed on the island of Lesbos where girls received a pre-matrimonial training by means of dance and song in various circles: the poems of Sappho, the 'mistress' of one of these circles, testify to her passionate love for some of her pupils.[7]

In the final part of their initiation Spartan girls moved in the sphere of Helen who in Sparta was worshipped as a goddess. An important element in her service was running, which was not unique to Sparta: girls in Brauron ran races (above); in Chios girls ran against boys, and during Hera's festival in Elis girls ran in a very short dress, hair loosened, and right shoulder and breast bare.[8] In Helen's service the girls also performed choral dances during which these 'little Helens' sang patriotic songs and displayed their beauty. This connection between beauty and female adolescence was widespread. In Athens an aristocratic, marriageable girl could simply qualify her function as carrier of the sacrificial basket in processions (*kanephoros*) with 'when I was a beautiful girl' and the exemplary female novice of Arcadia was significantly called Kallisto, or 'The most beautiful'. In fact, in several places female initiation ended with a beauty contest. The parallels suggest that originally the situation in Sparta had not been all that different, but Spartan males, being a minority, had intensified the traditional physical exercise and concern for beauty to ensure that their domination over the Messenian helots was supported in all possible ways.[9]

Although the ritual elements were largely comparable, local myths varied widely and tied the rites closer to their communities. For example, in the myth of the *arrhephoria*, which is widely but not universally believed to reflect an initiation scenario, the three daughters of Athens' first king Kekrops (Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse) grew up in the palace on the Acropolis. The goddess Athena gave them a basket to guard and sternly forbade them to look inside it, but one night the sisters opened the basket and saw the child Erichthonius/Erechtheus and two snakes. Panic-stricken by this view they cast themselves from the Acropolis. In addition to explaining the presence of precincts of Aglauros and Pandrosos on the heights and slopes of the Acropolis, this myth associated the *arrhephoroi* with the heart

of the Athenian tradition and motherhood: Erichthonius/Erechtheus was the first human king; a snake who was believed to guard the city was the most famous inhabitant of the Acropolis, and Athenian women put gold amulets in the form of snakes around their own babies 'observing the custom of their forefathers and of earth-born Erichthonius' (Euripides, *Ion* 20f).[10]

Why was it usually only a few aristocratic girls who participated in these 'initiatory' rites and why was the coming of age of 'lower-class' girls not ritualized? An answer to this difficult question may perhaps be found in Crete, where only the aristocratic boy had a pederastic relationship, even though the other boys 'graduated' with him (Ch. IV.3). Similarly, the relationship of Hagesichora and Agido seems to have been paradigmatic for the other Spartan girls. Evidently, aristocratic youths played a more prominent role in the ancient puberty rites than other adolescents. When in the course of the Archaic period the puberty rites lost their original significance, perhaps because of urbanization, they were not totally abolished but reduced to a symbolic participation of a few boys and/or girls. It is only understandable that these few 'exemplary' youths were recruited from the nobility, considering its dominant position. In democratic Athens such an exclusively aristocratic privilege was no longer tolerable, as is shown by a vote that all Athenian girls had to be a 'bear' at Brauron, which was known to the fourth-century historian Krateros (*FGrH* 342 F 9). This discontent in Athens with the prominent place of aristocratic girls already comes to the fore in the Archaic period, when non-aristocrats frequently dedicated statues of their daughters (*korai*) on the Acropolis to advertise their own status.[11] In many places in Greece, though, after the disintegration of the puberty rites the wedding seems to have become the main rite dramatizing the transition from youth to adulthood for girls of all classes.

Married Greek women would soon experience that religion helped to sustain a social system in which they occupied an inferior position, but which, paradoxically, also enabled them temporarily to escape from that system. Women were considered to be more susceptible to impurity and pollution, and giving birth was sometimes linked with defecating and urinating as the three important taboos on sacred ground, which illustrates a regular association of women with 'dirt'. This association also spilled over into secular life where, for example, in the Hippocratic tradition only female patients were 'purified' with excrements.[12] These negative associations also appeared in other ways. Statues of goddesses were more often washed than those of gods, sexual abstention seems to have been more strictly enforced for priestesses than for priests, and women were more

often excluded from sanctuaries, especially from those of macho gods and heroes, like Poseidon (Ch. II.3) and Heracles (Ch. II.2).

Female festivals, on the other hand, enabled women to move among other women for a limited period (§ 3). Greek males realized the importance women attached to these events, since Democritus reportedly did his utmost not to die during the most important women's festival, the Thesmophoria, in order that his sister would not be prevented from attending (Diogenes Laertius 9.43). Women also played an important role in the new cults and 'sects' that gradually infiltrated the Greek world – a phenomenon well attested for Late Antiquity when women were instrumental in the spread of Gnosticism, Manichaeism and, in particular, Christianity. Older Athenian women, who actively used their possibilities of wandering more freely in the streets than was allowed to pre-menopause women, propagated cults of Cybele and Sabazios (Ch. VII.2). If these women often give the impression of belonging to the lower social strata, this cannot be said of those women who were interested in Bacchic teachings. It is rather striking that several of the recently published, so-called Orphic gold leaves, which are now increasingly being recognized as deriving from Bacchic groups (Ch. VII.1), have been found in graves of wealthy women in various parts of the Greek world. From a religious point of view, clearly more went on behind the closed doors of Greek women's quarters than was dreamt of in most scholars' philosophies.[13] Yet male Greeks were not prepared to allow women much freedom in religion, and festivals such as the Thesmophoria were closely supervised by males. In the fourth century the Athenians executed at least two women for introducing new cults and would have put to death the courtesan Phryne for the same reason, if in front of the male jury her lawyer had not spectacularly bared her breasts.[14]

2. *Representations and role models*

What images of Greek women were mediated through religion? An answer cannot be exhaustive, but two areas especially deserve our attention. Numerous Attic vases display women practising or participating in various rites, especially wedding rites. They often mark the bride's beauty and thus reflect the Greek view of female adolescents (§ 1). These vases were given as a wedding present to the bride and women may well have internalized this view and appreciated these gifts. Equally popular were paintings of women performing libations for departing warriors or participating in funerals as mourners and, especially after the first half of the fifth century,

as visitors at a grave. These vases present us with positive roles of women but always being subject to or serving men.[15]

Although positive images of women were not absent, negative representations dominated. Mythology, especially, played an important role in spreading and sustaining negative images of women in all stages of their lives, starting with the myths surrounding the first woman, Pandora, who was credited with bringing evils such as disease and old age to man through her curiosity.[16] As was the case with boys (Ch. IV.3), adolescent girls were seen as 'untamed' fillies and their initiation as a kind of 'domestication', which on vases was often represented as a 'capture' of a fleeing girl by a youth.[17] The metaphor is very clearly expressed in Euripides' *Hippolytus* when the chorus evokes how Aphrodite gave the girl Iole to Heracles, 'a filly, unyoked to the marriage bed, husbandless before' (546f). Moreover, girls were compared to heifers and myth pictured both Io and the daughters of Proitos wandering around as cows.[18] Yet the metaphor of the marriage yoke suggests an important difference from boys' initiation. Despite the similarities, boys became free men on adulthood, but women always remained 'yoked'.

The 'domesticating' function of marriage was also represented on the level of cult and ritual. Spartan girls worshipped certain pre-nuptial heroines, the Leukippides, whose name, 'White Mares', reflected their transitional position between youth and married adulthood, as did their sometime appearance as adolescents and as newlyweds. Myth also related their capture by the Dioscuri, the mythical models of the young Spartan males, whom Alcman significantly calls 'tamers of fast horses' (fr. 2 Calame = 2 Page/Davies). The capture ended in marriage, which was a direct reflection of the Spartan wedding custom of 'kidnapping' the bride. The Thessalians even acted out the equestrian metaphor in their wedding ritual. Here as Aelian (*ca.* A.D. 170–240) relates, 'a man about to marry, when offering the wedding sacrifice, brings in a war-horse bitted and even fully equipped with all its gear; then when he has completed the sacrifice and poured the libation, he leads the horse by the rein and hands it to his bride. The significance of this the Thessalians must explain.' We need not share Aelian's despair, since the meaning of the gesture seems clear: among the horse-loving Thessalians a man expected his wife to act like a completely domesticated and tamed horse.[19]

The recurrent motif of young girls falling in love and betraying their own family presents a more negative portrayal. It is already alluded to in the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus sees Ariadne (11.321–5), whose assistance had been decisive in Theseus' conquest of the Minotaur (Ch. V.3). Another

early example is Medea, who had helped Jason to procure the Golden Fleece. Both girls do not fare well after their betrayal, as was to be expected: Greek myth could hardly have condoned such behaviour. In these and similar cases the ambiguous action of the girls (helping and betraying) reflected the ambiguous position between their own and (future) husbands' families in an early society where the support of the family was all-important (Ch. V.2).[20]

Adult women also occupied this ambiguous position and they, too, were pictured as betraying their husbands, witness Eriphyle's betrayal of the seer Amphiaraos (Ch. III.3) for a golden necklace. Moreover, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has recently drawn attention to myths of the 'bad mother': in the myths of the Phineids, the sons are being blinded by the mother and sometimes their stepmother, and in the myth of Ino Themisto killed her own children by accident while trying to murder her stepchildren. The collective imagination probably considered a murdering mother too harsh and therefore replaced her by a stepmother, since in some versions of these myths the mother alternates with the stepmother. Yet the message seems clear: Greek males and their offspring were highly vulnerable in the family sphere and the loyalty of their wives was never to be taken for granted. On a subconscious level, women remained frightening to Greek males even after menopause, as can be seen by the number of terrifying females that were represented as old women: Moirai, Empousa, Lamia, Graiai, and Erinyes. From adolescence to old age, then, myth depicted women in more or less negative ways. It is important to note that these mythical representations were not seen as something of a distant past but explicitly connected with the present. When Odysseus meets Agamemnon in the underworld, the latter complains about his murder by his wife Clytaemnestra and comments: 'she has brought shame on herself and future generations of women, even if one of these were to be honest' (*Od.* 11.433f).[21]

Frightening women not only occurred within Greek culture, but myth even located them outside the borders of the Greek world. The *Iliad* only alludes to a tribe of warrior women, the Amazons, 'women equal to men' (3.189, 6.186), but the formula looks old and Homer may not have told everything he knew. Other epics were more informative and the *Aethiopis* related the fight between Achilles and Penthesileia, the queen of the Amazons. In the Archaic period Heracles' battle against the Amazons became one of the most popular feats in the visual arts (fig. 12), only to be succeeded by Theseus. The few data which the tradition supplied made the Amazons into a relatively 'empty' myth which could be filled by successive

periods with their most favourite hero. This 'emptiness' also appears from the widely diverging interpretations of modern scholars: from nineteenth-century matriarchy to the contemporary 'Other'. Every age receives the Amazons it deserves.[22]

12. Battle of Amazons against Heracles, whose head is missing, with his heroic friends

If mythology supplied few females as attractive role-models for Greek women, what about goddesses? Eileithyia, the goddess presiding over the actual birth (Ch. III.2) seems to have played only a functional role in the lives of Greek women, but Demeter, the goddess by whom women swore oaths, must have been more attractive to them, in particular because of her Thesmophoria festivals (§ 3).[23] However, Greek parents never gave their daughters the name Demeter, since the distance between gods and mortals was normally too great to give a child the name of a god (Ch. II.1). The only exceptions to the rule were Artemis and Bendis, a Thracian goddess who was introduced in Athens in the later fifth century and worshipped as a kind of double of Artemis (Ch. VII.2). Their names were regularly given to girls and the reason seems apparent. In the *Odyssey* Nausicaa's pre-eminence among her friends is compared to Artemis' position among her nymphs (6.102–9). By naming their daughter Artemis, parents probably hoped for a similar pre-eminence among her contemporaries.[24]

The reason why goddesses were hardly satisfactory role-models lies in one of the peculiarities of the Greek pantheon which we have not yet mentioned: representations of gods and goddesses in no way directly reflected the common role patterns of the sexes in human life. On the

the contrary, the Greek pantheon contained a striking asymmetry. Whereas the gods did not play important roles in typically female activities, the reverse was true for goddesses. Admittedly, Athena supervised spinning and weaving, but she was also the goddess of artisans, closely connected with war and always represented in armour (Ch. II.3). Hera and Aphrodite (Ch. IV.3) were also, in varying ways, connected with war,[25] and Artemis was the goddess of the hunt (Ch. II.2). Burkert has pointed out that archaeological findings prove that this prominent position of goddesses in the male world goes back to pre-agricultural hunting cultures, but the darkness of prehistory prevents any further understanding.[26] Greek mythology, then, was not too woman-friendly and this makes the role of female festivals even more important.

3. *Women's festivals*

The most widespread women's festivals were the Thesmophoria festivals.[27] I purposely use the plural because modern research regularly discusses the festival in the singular – as if it was the same all over Greece. For example, when one of the most interesting recent analyses concludes: 'Their [the women's] specific procreative potential is celebrated as essential for the continuity of the community *and* this takes place in the [political] centre of the community: Kalligeneia close to the Pnyx . . .', it overlooks the extra-urban nature of most sanctuaries of Demeter (Ch. III.2). We will sketch the festivals in outline and apply a certain 'ritual logic' in our reconstruction of the order of events during the festivals, but we have to take into account that they were old, panhellenic, and displayed local differences.[28]

The festivals generally lasted three days, of which the Athenian names have been preserved, but they were celebrated in Sicily for ten days, since here Demeter and Kore occupied important positions in the local pantheon. In Athens participation was restricted to married women from noble families, but such social differentiation need not have taken place everywhere; in some places girls also seem to have attended.[29] In Athens the first day was known as *Anodos* because it started with the 'Ascent' of the women with their equipment, food, and shrieking piglets to the sanctuaries of Demeter, which were usually situated on hills (Ch. III.2). They built huts in which they stayed during the festivals, and made beds with twigs of withy, flea bane, and certain types of laurel – all antaphrodisiac plants.[30] On the level of myth this absence of sexuality was symbolized in Demeter's gift of the Thesmophoria to an old woman (Corinth) or the maiden daughters of the first king (Paros) – both belonging to categories on either side of

licit sexuality; in a Peloponnesian version, the Danaids who had murdered their husbands during their wedding night had brought the festival from Egypt: an interesting indication of the festival's perceived 'otherness'.[31] Since the women had temporarily deserted marriage, the absence of sexuality was heavily marked during the seclusion – which may well have reassured the husbands.

The second day was called *Nesteia*, or 'Fasting', which the women spent fasting, sitting on the ground, and without the usual flowery garlands. This is the day on which Aristophanes has situated a meeting of all Athenian women in his *Thesmophoriazusae*, although in reality Athenian women probably never celebrated the festival together but seem to have met only in their own demes.[32] As Versnel suggests, it fits the 'abnormal' character of the day that on this day Athens released its prisoners and suspended court sessions and council meetings: the 'reversals' strongly contrasted the 'Fasting' with the return to 'normality' on the last day when fertility of land and humans became the main focus of activities.[33] And just as the death of Sophocles was located on the most sombre day of the Anthesteria (Ch. IV.3), so Plutarch located the death of Demosthenes on 'the most gloomy day of the Thesmophoria' in his *Life of Demosthenes* (30) – typically, if most probably wrongly.

Demeter's fasting during her search for Persephone came to an end when, in one version of the myth, an old lady, Baubo, made her laugh by lifting her skirt. As the Demeter myth was closely connected with the Thesmophoria in various places in Greece, it is attractive to connect the lifting of the ritual fasting with the reports about mocking, sham fights, and indecent speech during the festivals: the return to 'normality' had to be marked by a period of very 'abnormal' female behaviour. Herodotus mentions that not everything about the Thesmophoria could be freely told and these 'secrets' may well relate to this part of the festivals (2.171.2).[34]

On the third day, the Kalligeneia, decayed remains of piglets were fetched up from subterranean pits (*megara* or *magara*), where they had been left to rot for some time, and placed on altars as future manure. In addition to this concern for the fertility of the land, there was also concern for human procreation: Kalligeneia was invoked as goddess of birth in Athens on this day. It is probably these positive aspects of the day which were celebrated with the sacrifice of pigs, the sacrificial victim appropriate to Demeter (Ch. IV.2).[35] In a famous study Marcel Detienne has argued that women themselves were not allowed to sacrifice but that sacrifice was

strictly male business. Yet literary, epigraphical and archaeological (fig. 13) evidence all attested to the contrary and already in Bronze Age graves women were buried with sacrificial knives.[36]

13. Girl sacrificing at altar

Only a few anecdotes about males spying and Aristophanes' play attest to male curiosity about the Thesmophoria. It was very different with the maenads, the female followers of Dionysus in myth and ritual, whose ecstatic rituals took place every other year on mountains in the winter. Greek myth abounds with startling pictures of their mad behaviour culminating in the description of their murderous ecstasy in Euripides' *Bacchae*: running over mountains, moving like birds, handling fire and snakes, attacking men, and tearing apart animals, children, and even the

Theban king.[37] Literature and art have provided us with much information about these rituals, which are also reflected in some of the names of maenads on vases, such as the references to the nightly character of the ritual in the names 'Torch' (*Lampas*) and 'All night long' (*Pannychis*): apparently, the rituals could be relatively freely observed or talked about.[38] In recent times much attention has been directed to the disentanglement of myth and ritual in these reports; to distinguishing those images of maenads which matched the visual experience of a contemporary viewer from those which were 'invented' by the painter or copied from other images; to the representation of the maenads in literature and art, and to the origin and function of the ritual. Let us look at a few elements of these discussions.

By taking into account distinctions between myth and ritual (Ch. V.3) and comparative evidence we can often reasonably decide in what ways the mythical imagination 'processed' elements of ritual. When in the *Bacchae* maenads are said to eat raw meat, a judicious comparison with the tasting of small portions of meat from domesticated animals in epigraphically attested maenadic ritual shows that the carnivorous women operated only on the level of myth. On the other hand, comparisons with ecstatic rituals from all over the world strongly suggest that elements such as walking barefoot, headshaking, moving to shrill music and clappers, and singing in high-pitched voices were not invented by the ancient sources.[39] Regarding the representations on the vases we can investigate which elements are consistently attested or note the lack of functionality of certain details. For example, long ago it was already convincingly argued that the consistency in the ways the women's poses in maenadic dances were pictured and their absence in other female Dionysiac representations implied that they reflected 'real life' dances. And when for no obvious reasons round cakes (?) appear at the shoulders of the 'idol' of Dionysus on the so-called Lenaean vases, they will hardly have been invented by the painter.[40]

It is clear that poets and painters have been much intrigued by the maenads. Already Homer compares Andromache to a 'maenad', when she in fear for Hector's life rushes through the house (*Il.* 6.389), and tragedy abounds with allusions to maenadism, especially in Euripides. Sometimes maenadism enables the playwright to let a female character move freely outside her house, as in his *Antigone*. In other cases, mythical maenads are used as a point of comparison for the frenzied behaviour of his male protagonists, as in the *Heracles*.[41] Vase-painters also showed great curiosity about the maenads but certainly not at all times. The high points of interest

seem to have been the end of the sixth century and the fourth century. Moreover, interest was clearly limited to certain contexts. Maenads are absent from white-ground lekythoi and, considering the interest of Bacchic mysteries in afterlife (Ch. VII.1), it is at least noteworthy that maenads also never appear on funerary pots.[42]

There is little known about the origin of maenadism, although a background in initiation is not unlikely.[43] It is clear, though, that maenadic ritual was widespread in the Greek world and locally there must have been all kinds of variants.[44] The ritual must have fulfilled various functions in Greek women's lives – that is, in the lives of 'upper-class' women, since the ritual was probably limited to that class. First, it gave the women the possibility of a genuine religious experience through their identification with Dionysus during the ritual. Second, the rituals provided occasions for leaving the home and staying with other women without the immediate supervision of males. Third, by going into trance the women could perhaps reach a more authentic self-expression than in their normal fixed roles. Yet the limited occurrence of the rituals (only every other year), the restricted participation (above) and the male supervision from a distance should not make us overrate the importance of these rituals for Greek women, however fascinating they were for Greek males (and modern scholars!).

Our last festival is the Adonia, which yearly took place in high summer.[45] During the festival women of all classes mourned the death of the divine youth Adonis with ecstatic, nightly dances and planted quickly germinating green salad stuff on sherds, which at the end of the festival were thrown into the sea. The cult, which served more or less the same functions as maenadic ritual, is attested first in the Eastern part of the Greek Mediterranean.[46] It clearly derives from Syro-Palestine, witness the connection of Adonis' name with the Semitic title *adon*, 'Lord', and testimonies about the offering of incense to Baal on flat roof-tops.[47] The growing of the gardens seems to have originated in the widespread agricultural custom to grow a few plants in order to test the quality of seeds, but it is obscure how or why this custom was incorporated into the Adonis ritual.[48] In myth Adonis is painted in very negative colours. He is the product of incest, a coward who hides himself among lettuce plants, is passive in love affairs and perishes in a hunt: from a male point of view not a very threatening figure. Did the women accept the male negative view or were there female voices whose independent opinion have been lost?

In modern rural Greece women seem to have internalized the male negative views about them,[49] and there are really no indications that

ancient Greek women had developed an alternative ideology.[50] One thing seems sure. As our discussion of the rituals, myths, and festivals has shown, cult provided only limited possibilities to Greek women for support and self-expression, and lower-class women may have fared even worse than aristocratic females. Moreover, mythology produced and maintained a stream of negative images about women. In the end Greek religion was not that different from the women-unfriendly spirit of Greek culture at large.

NOTES

1. J. Scott, 'Women's History', in P. Burke (ed), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 42–66; D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making. Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven and London, 1990).

2. No modern history of Greek religion has a separate chapter on gender.

3. Ephippus fr. 3; Nonnus, *Dion.* 25. 220; Hesch, s.v. *stephanon ekpherein*. We do not know how widespread this custom was.

4. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles* (seminal); Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*; more elementary, E. Specht, *Schön zu sein und gut zu sein. Mädchenbilding und Frauensozialisation im antiken Griechenland* (Vienna, 1989).

5. Most recently, S. G. Cole, 'The Social Function of Rituals of Maturation', *ZPE* 55 (1984), 233–44; Brulé, *Fille d'Athènes*, pp. 179–283; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions* (Athens, 1988); Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, pp. 9–47; Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play*, pp. 169–93. Our knowledge has greatly increased by L. Kahil's publications of goblets with representations of the rituals: most recently, *Comptes rendus de l'Ac. des Inscr.* 1988, 799–813 (with bibliography).

6. Corinth: Calame, *Choeurs* 1, pp. 220–3. Ilion: Graf, 'Die lokrischen Mädchen', *Studi Storico-Rel.* 2 (1978), 61–79. Keos: Plut. *Mor.* 249.

7. Sparta: Calame, *Choeurs* 1, *passim*. 'Lesbian' love: Calame, ibid., pp. 433–6; 2, 86–97; A. Lardinois, 'Lesbian Sappho and Sappho of Lesbos', in Bremmer, *From Sappho to De Sade*, pp. 15–35.

8. Chios: Athen. 13.566E. Elis: Paus. 5.16, cf. C. Calame, 'Pausanias le périégète en ethnographie', in J.-M. Adam et al. (eds), *Le discours anthropologique* (Paris, 1990), pp. 227–50; N. Serwint, 'The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia and Prenuptial Initiation Rites', *Am. J. Arch.* 97 (1993), 403–22.

9. Helen: Calame, *Choeurs* 1, 333–50; *SEG* 26.457f, 35.320 (?); L. Kahil, *LIMC* IV.1 (1988), s.v. *Kanephoros*: Brulé, *Fille d'Athènes*, pp. 301–8. Kallisto: A. Henrichs, in Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 254–67; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, pp. 182–91; I. McPhee, *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), s.v. Contests: Graf, *NK*, 275.

10. On the ritual and myth see now Brulé, *Fille d'Athènes*, pp. 79–123; Parker, 'Myths of Early Athens', pp. 195f (whom I closely follow); U. Kron, *LIMC* IV.1 (1988), s.v. Erechtheus; G. J. Baudy, 'Der Heros in der Kiste. Der Erichthoniosmythos als Aition athenischer Erntefeste', *Antike & Abendland* 38 (1992), 1–47.

11. R. Ross Holloway, 'Why Korai?', *Oxford J. Arch.* 11 (1992), 267–74; H. Rühfel, 'Ein frühklassisches Knabenköpfchen', in Froning, *Kotinos*, pp. 175–80, notes that girls' marble statues were often smaller than those of boys. See in general also the observations of R. Osborne, 'Looking on – Greek style. Does the sculptured girl speak to women too?', in I. Morris (ed), *Classical Greece: ancient histories and modern archaeologies* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 81–96.

12. Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 84f; S. G. Cole, '*Gynaiki ou Themis*: Gender Difference in the Greek *Leges Sacrae*', *Helios* 19 (1992), 104–22; H. von Staden, 'Women and Dirt', ibid., 7–30.

13. Bremmer, 'Why did Early Christianity attract Upper-Class Women?', in A. Bastiaensen et al. (eds), *Mélanges G. J. M. Bartelink* . . . (Steenbrugge and Dordrecht, 1989), pp. 37–47 (Late Antiquity); id., 'Old Women', pp. 193f; add Theophr. fr. 486. F. Graf, 'Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology', in Carpenter/Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, pp. 239–58 (graves).

14. Supervision: Cole, '*Gynaiki ou Themis*', 113f. Executions: Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 115–19.

15. Cf. C. Bérard, 'L'ordre des femmes', in id. et al., *La cité des images* (Lausanne, 1984), pp. 85–104; F. Lissarrague, 'Femmes au figuré', in P. Schmitt Pantel (ed), *Histoire des femmes en Occident I.*

L'antiquité (Paris, 1990), pp. 159–251; H. Shapiro, 'The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art', *Am. J. Arch.* 95 (1991), 629–56.

16. Mythology: J. Gould, 'Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens', *JHS* 100 (1980), 38–59, esp. 52–8. Pandora: J. Rudhardt, 'Pandora: Hésiode et les femmes', *Mus. Helv.* 43 (1986), 237–9; N. Loraux, *Les enfants d'Athéna* (Paris, 1990²), pp. 261f.

17. Vases: Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Culture*, pp. 58–98. 'Taming': Calame, *Choeurs* 1, pp. 411–20; R. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book II* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 77–93; P. Ghiron-Bistagne, 'Le cheval et la jeune fille ou de la virginité chez les anciens Grecs', *Pallas* 32 (1985), 105–21.

18. Io: N. Yalouris, *LIMC* V.1 (1990), s.v. Io I. Proitos: Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 168–73; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, pp. 70–95.

19. Leukippides: Calame, *Choeurs* 1, pp. 323–33; M. Prange, 'Der Raub der Leukippiden auf einer Vase des Achillesmalers', *Antike Kunst* 35 (1992), 3–18. 'Kidnapping': Bremmer/Horsfall, *Roman Myth*, p. 110 (Bremmer). Thessaly: Aelian, *Nat. An.* 12. 34 (tr. A. F. Scholfield, Loeb).

20. Cf. M.-L. Bernhard and W. Daszewski, *LIMC* III.1 (1986), s.v. Ariadne; s.v. Ariatha (F. Jurgeit); J. Neils, *LIMC* V.1 (1990), s.v. Iason (Medea). Betrayal: Bremmer, 'Old Women', p. 204.

21. Eriphyle: R. Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 37. Sourvinou-Inwood: 'The Fourth Stasimon of Sophocles' *Antigone*', *BICS* 36 (1989), 141–65; 'Myths in Images: Theseus and Medea as a Case Study', in Edmunds, *Approaches to Greek Myth*, pp. 395–445; 'Sophocles' Antigone as a "Bad Woman"', in F. Dieteren and E. Kloek (eds), *Writing Women into History* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 11–38. Old women: Bremmer, 'Old Women', p. 203.

22. See now the innovative approach of J. Blok, *The Early Amazons* (Leiden, 1994).

23. E. Degani, in J. M. Bremer and E. W. Handley (eds), *Aristophane = Entretiens Hardt* 38 (Vandoeuvres and Geneva, 1993), p. 42.

24. O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca selecta* 2 (Paris, 1990), pp. 543–7 (= *ZPE* 66, 1986, 126–30: Artemis), 605–11 (= *Mus. Helv.* 45, 1988, 6–12: Bendis).

25. Argive initiates received a shield during the Heraia, cf. Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 163f; L. Moretti, 'Dagli *Heraia* all' *Aspis* di Argo', *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 16 (Rome, 1991), 179–89.

26. Burkert, 'Weibliche und männliche Gottheiten in antiken Kulturen ...', in J. Martin and R. Zoepffel (eds), *Aufgaben, Rollen und Räume von Frau und Mann* (Freiburg and Munich, 1989), pp. 157–79; N. Loraux, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une déesse?', in Schmitt Pantel, *Histoire des femmes* 1, pp. 31–62.

27. See most recently Parker, *Miasma*, pp. 81–3; Burkert, *GR*, pp. 242–6; J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (London, 1990), pp. 188–209 (also on Adonia); U. Kron, 'Frauenfeste in Demeterheiligtümern: das Thesmophorion von Bitalemi', *Arch. Anz.* 1992, 611–50; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, 228–88. I refer to these studies for the sources.

28. *Contra* Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, p. 275.

29. This is problematic, but passages, such as Strabo 1.3.20 (the death of 25 maidens during the Thesm.); Cicero, *Verr.* 4.99 (women and maidens perform sacrifices for Demeter in Sicilian Catane); Luc. *Dial. Meretr.* 2.1 (courtesan and virgin attending); Schol. Theocr. 4.25c (maidens and women participating, if in garbled and clearly late [books mentioned!] text), suggest the possibility of local varieties or later developments.

30. On huts and beds see now U. Kron, 'Kultmahle im Heraion von Samos archaicher Zeit', in Hägg, *Early Greek Cult Practice*, pp. 135–47 and 'Frauenfeste', 620–3; D. Baudy, 'Das Keuschlamm-Wunder des Hermes ...', *Grazer Beitr.* 16 (1989), 1–28. I am not sure whether the hiding of a pine-twig under the withy in Miletos was meant to suggest 'fertility ... not accorded consummation, as Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, p. 248 states, since the text (Didymus, *Symp.* fr. 6, ed. Schmidt, pp. 374f: with thanks to D. Holwerda and St. Radt) is hopelessly corrupt.

31. Cf. Servius, *Aen.* 1 (Corinth); Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F 89 (Paros); Hdt. 2.171 (Danaids).

32. For the connection of the play with the festival see F. Zeitlin, 'Travesties of Gender and Genre in Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazousae', in H. Foley (ed), '*Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York, 1981), pp. 169–217; Bowie, *Aristophanes*, pp. 205–27. For the celebration of the Athenian Thesmophoria only in demes we may expect a study by Kevin Clinton.

33. Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 2, pp. 242–4.

34. Baubo: F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 1974), pp. 170f. Secrecy: C. Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin and New York, 1986), p. 11.

35. Our main source, Schol. Luc. 275.23–76.28 Rabe, probably describes the Athenian festival but

the ritual also occurred in other places, cf. Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie*, pp. 119f. *Megara/magara*: L. Robert, *Opera omnia selecta* 2 (Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 1005–7 and *Opera* 5, pp. 289f; K. Clinton, 'Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries', in Hägg, *Early Greek Cult Practice*, pp. 69–80. For the connection with fertility of the land note also the dedications of ploughs and hoes in the Thesmophoreion of Gela: Kron, 'Frauenfeste', 636–9.

36. M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant (eds), *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grecque* (Paris, 1979), pp. 183–214. *Contra*: Kron, 'Frauenfeste', 640–3, 650; R. Osborne, 'Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece', *CQ* 43 (1993), 392–405.

37. For the *Bacchae* see now J. March, 'Euripides' *Bakchai*: A Reconsideration in the light of Vase Paintings', *BICS* 36 (1989), 33–66; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 131–205, *passim*.

38. Cf. A. Kossatz-Deissmann, 'Satyr- und Mänadennamen auf Vasenbildern . . .', in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5 (Malibu, 1991), 131–99, esp. 175–92.

39. Cf. Bremmer, 'Greek Maenadism reconsidered)', *ZPE* 55 (1984), 267–86; A. Bélis, 'Musique et transe dans le cortège dionysiaque', in P. Chiron-Bistagne (ed), *Transe et théâtre = Cahiers du GITA* 4 (Montpellier, 1988), 9–29.

40. I take these examples from R. Osborne, 'The ecstasy and the tragedy: varieties of religious experience in art, drama and society' in C. Pelling and C. Sourvinou-Inwood (eds), *Tragedy and the Historian* (Oxford, 1995: interesting methodological reflections). Dance: see now M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, 'Danse et transe. La dance au service du culte de Dionysos . . .', in Ghiron-Bistagne, *Transe et théâtre*, 31–53.

41. Cf. R. Kannicht, 'Antigone bacchans', in Froning, *Kotinos*, pp. 252–5; R. Schlesier, 'Mixtures of Masks: Maenads as Tragic Models', and R. Seaford, 'Dionysus as Destroyer of the Household: Homer, Tragedy, and the Polis', in Carpenter/Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, pp. 89–114, 115–46.

42. I owe these data to Osborne, 'The ecstasy'; for representations on the so-called Lenaean vases see now F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le dieu-masque: une figure du Dionysos d'Athènes* (Paris, 1991).

43. Bremmer, 'Greek Maenadism', 282–4; but see also R. Seaford, 'The Eleventh Ode of Bacchylides: Hera, Artemis, and the Absence of Dionysos', *JHS* 108 (1988), 118–36.

44. See the survey by Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 134–50.

45. Burkert, *GR*, pp. 176f; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 103–5; add to Versnel's full bibliographies Bremmer, 'Onder de parfum, in de sla, tussen de vrouwen: Adonis en de Adonia', *Hermeneus* 59 (1987), 181–7.

46. Hes. fr. 139; Sappho fr. 140a, 168; A. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13 (1972), 92–4 (Epimenides); Panyassis fr. 22b Davies.

47. See for one more possible example of Semitic influence M. Stol, 'Greek *Deikterion*: the Lying-in-State of Adonis', in J. H. Kamstra et al. (eds), *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen, 1988), pp. 127f.

48. G. J. Baudy, *Adonisgärten. Studien zur antiken Samensymbolik* (Frankfurt, 1986), whose initiatory interpretations are not convincing; see also G. Pilitsis, 'The Gardens of Adonis in Seres Today', *J. Mod. Greek Stud.* 3 (1985), 145–66; A. Hiltebeitel, 'South Indian Gardens of Adonis Revisited', in Blondeau/Schipper, *Essais sur le rituel* 2, 65–91; F. Heinimann, *Mus. Helv.* 49 (1992), 81f (new testimony).

49. Cf. J. du Boulay, 'Women – Images of Their Nature and Destiny in Rural Greece', in J. Dubisch (ed), *Gender & Power in Rural Greece* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 139–68.

50. *Contra* Winkler, *Constraints of Desire*, pp. 188–209, who draws his modern parallels not from rural areas but from circles which have already come into contact with Western ideas.

VII. TRANSFORMATIONS

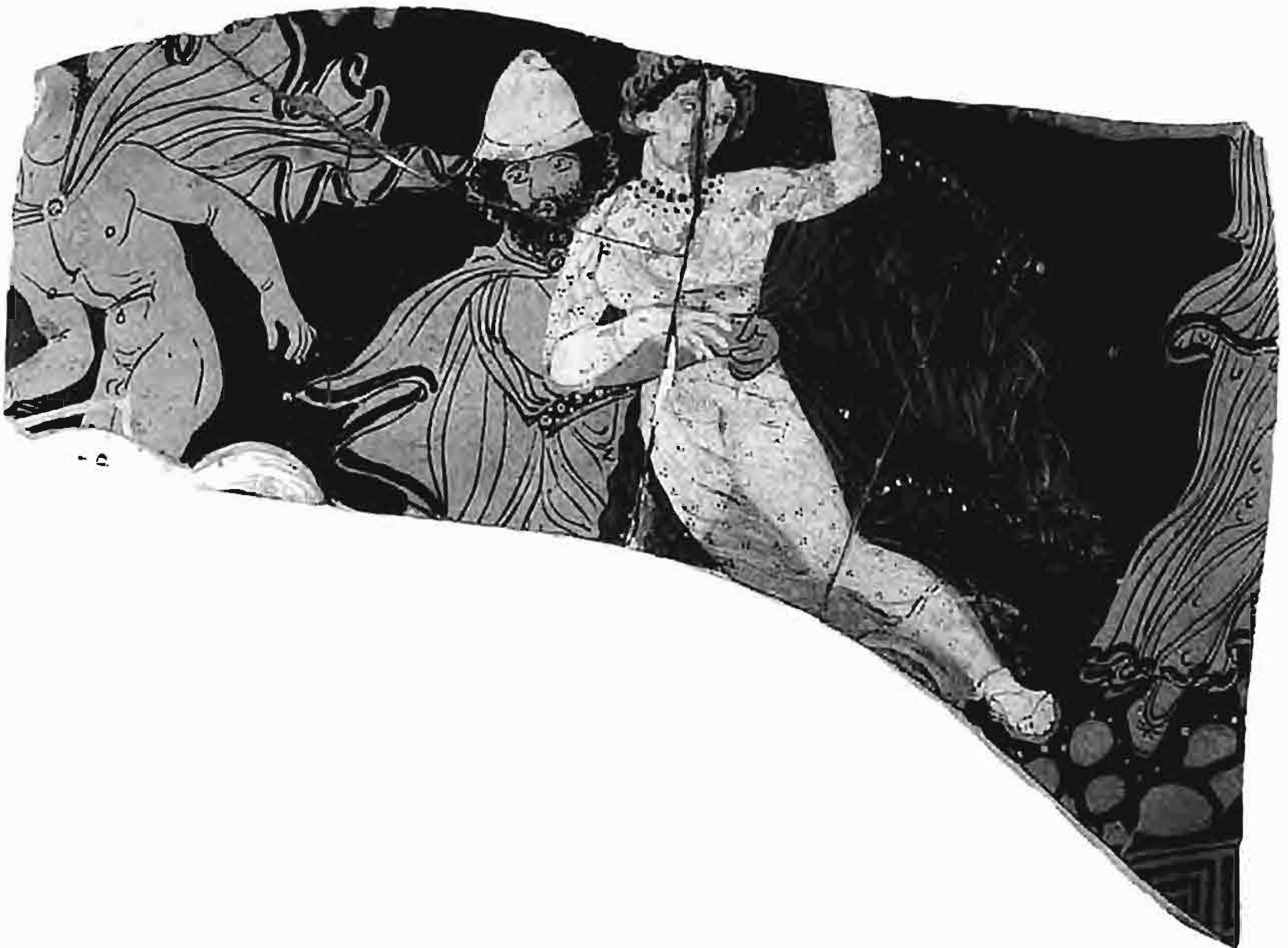
Although we have already noticed various changes in the period under survey, we, too, have been insufficiently (Ch. I.1) able to escape a certain static view. In this last chapter, therefore, we will concentrate on changes in Greek religion. We first discuss the Eleusinian mysteries (§ 1), then Orphic ideas and Bacchic mysteries (§ 2), and conclude with a sketch of the more structural transformations during the transition to the Hellenistic period (§ 3).

1. *The Eleusinian Mysteries*

Mysteria was originally the Athenian term for the Eleusinian festival of Demeter and Kore but was later used for a whole range of cults, from Isis to Mithras, whose principal resemblances were initiation, secrecy, and a certain interest in afterlife (the Samothracian and Mithraic mysteries excepted).[1] The Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated annually in the sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter Kore/Persephone on a hill (Ch. III.2), which was situated outside Eleusis, one of the many demes of Athens; the autumn festival lasted more than a week and knew two degrees of initiation.[2]

After a procession from Athens to Eleusis along the (still existing) Sacred Way and more individual rites of fasting and purification, the climax of the ritual took place collectively in the main building, the *telesterion*. Here, at night, the hierophant showed 'a single harvested ear of grain' and called out at the top of his voice: 'the Mistress has given birth to a holy child, Brimo to Brimos'.[3] The mention of the corn ear seems to confirm Isocrates' words that Demeter was well disposed towards Attica 'because of benefits which only the initiated may hear' (*Panegyr*. 28). It also suggests that the mysteries did not conceal an esoteric wisdom. In fact, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, the oldest source (late seventh century B.C.) to relate the institution of the mysteries by Demeter during her search for her kidnapped daughter (fig. 14),[4] explains the secrecy from the 'awesomeness' of the rites and states that 'a great reverence of the gods restrains utterance' (478f).[5]

The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* singles out two gains for initiates: prosperity in this life and a blessed state in the life hereafter (480–9). The prosperity was reinterpreted by the Athenians as the gift of corn and connected with Triptolemus, an Eleusinian king, who is relatively unimportant in the *Hymn*. During the heyday of the Athenian empire he was



14. Capture of Persephone by Hades

promoted to great prominence as the Attic cultural hero who taught the art of agriculture to the world.[6] After the decline of the empire the emphasis gradually shifted from agriculture to eschatological hopes, but the mysteries kept their popularity. Plato extensively used Eleusinian realia and terminology in his *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, and followers of Epicurus argued the 'religious correctness' of the master by his participation in the mysteries.[7]

The earliest archaeological evidence for the sanctuary dates from the late eighth century B.C., but the widespread occurrence of a Demeter Eleusinia in Ionia and the Peloponnese – the Laconian sanctuary dates from *ca.* 700 B.C. – demonstrates an early popularity of the cult. The Peloponnese with its beauty contest (Ch. VI.1) points to an initiatory background, whereas the Ionian connection with (royal) families (Ch. II.2) and the administration of the Eleusinian cult by two *gene* (clans), the Eumolpids and Kerykes, suggest the cult of a *genos*. If we combine these data with the presence in the Eleusinian festival of a boy, 'who was initiated from the [state] hearth [at the marketplace]', we can see that initiation into the mysteries must have originated in the archaic puberty rites of a *genos*.[8]

A similar development from initiatory to mystery cult probably took place elsewhere in Attica. In Phlya, Themistocles rebuilt a shrine of mystery rites (*telesterion*) for his clan, the Lykomids, after it had been burnt by the Persians. Many centuries later the traveller Pausanias reported that the Lykomids chanted songs of Orpheus and a hymn to Demeter at the ceremonies in their 'club-house' (*kleision*). The resemblance of this 'club-house' to other Greek 'men's houses' and the 'wolf' (*lykos*) in the name of the *genos* suggest a background in tribal initiation. Apparently, some Attic initiatory cults were reconstructed and reinterpreted as mysteries after the disintegration of male puberty rites in the course of the Archaic period.[9]

Unfortunately, much less is known about three other public mystery cults in the Classical period: those of Samothrace, Lemnos, and Thebes. As for Samothrace, it is unlikely that the local gods had a Greek origin, since a non-Greek language was used well into the Hellenistic period. Unlike Eleusis, the Samothracian mysteries were geared towards protection at sea and not eschatological expectations. Of the mysteries of the Kabeiroi on Lemnos and in Thebes little is known with certainty, except that wine played an important role in these cults. The consistent connection of the Kabeiroi with the Great Goddess points to an origin in a pre-Greek cult, but the lack of sufficient data makes it impossible to disentangle the mixture of non-Greek roots and Greek (re)interpretations.[10]

2. *Orphic ideas and Bacchic mysteries*

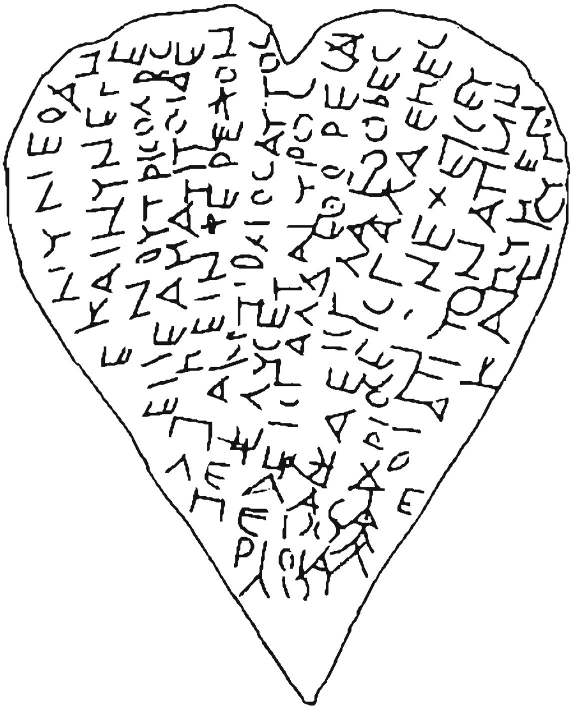
If the interpretation of the Eleusinian mysteries is only progressing at a snail's pace, in the last two decades the increase in knowledge and understanding of the books, doctrines, rites, initiators, and groups connected with Orphic ideas and Bacchic mysteries has been nothing less than spectacular.[11] Around 500 B.C. a new religious 'movement' arose in Southern Italy, which distributed its ideas in the form of poems ascribed to Orpheus, the mythical singer par excellence, to legitimize the innovation.[12] The earliest sources indicate a closeness to Pythagorean ideas and practices but also to Dionysiac cult. Herodotus already identified Orphic and Bacchic rites (2.81) and in the Euripidean *Hippolytus* (428 B.C.) Theseus uses the verb *bakcheuein* for Orphic rites (953f); moreover, in Black-Sea Olbia fifth-century bone plaques have been found with the mention of *Orphikoi* in a Dionysiac context.[13] Apparently, Orphic ideas and Bacchic mysteries belonged to the same complex. The two most popular early mysteries, then, were cults of precisely those two divinities who were 'eccentric' in the Greek pantheon (Chs II.3, III.2, IV.2).

It was always known that the most important, original Orphic poem was a theogony. Direct knowledge, though, was lacking and scholars had to extrapolate from reconstructions of the ever expanding Hellenistic and Late Antique Orphic theogonies.[14] Thanks to the provisional publication in 1982 of the papyrus (*ca.* 325 B.C.) from Derveni (Macedonia) which contains a commentary on a fifth-century, probably original Orphic theogony, we now have direct access to a number of verses of the oldest theogony.[15]

The papyrus shows that Orphic theogony contained a succession myth à la Hesiod but with more scandalous details, such as Zeus' incest with his mother. The theogony probably started with Night, since the papyrus mentions 'Night-born heaven, who was the first king' (X.6). Such a beginning is supported by the birth of Aristophanes' Orphic egg of Night in the *Birds* (693–7) and by the fourth-century philosopher Eudemus' knowledge of a theogony beginning with Night;[16] after two introductory hymns, the imperial collection of *Orphic Hymns* also starts with a hymn to Night.[17] On the other hand, the so-called rhapsodic Orphic theogony, which may be as early as the Attic historian Clidemus (*ca.* 350 B.C.: *FGrH* 323 F 25),[18] mentions a Protogonos as first king. We may therefore conclude that competing versions already existed at an early stage of the 'movement'.

The papyrus breaks off at the moment of Zeus' incest with his mother. In later versions Zeus mated with the product of this union, Persephone, and begot Dionysus, whom the Titans slew. This 'ancient grief of Persephone' is already mentioned by Pindar (fr. 133):[19] it was therefore, presumably, already part of the Derveni theogony. The meaning of the episode is clarified by the climax of the rhapsodic theogony, which dealt with the origin of mankind, as presumably in the oldest theogony: as descendants of the Titans, men were of tainted but divine origin.[20] Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the papyrus does not allow us to see whether the theogony referred to reincarnation, a doctrine attributed to Orphism by early sources.[21]

In addition to the papyrus, recent years have also witnessed the discovery of a number of so-called Orphic gold tablets. These minute tablets were, so to speak, passports to the underworld and have been found in graves in Italy, Crete, Thessaly, and Lesbos. Around 1970 the then available texts, which presuppose oral circulation,[22] had been classified into two groups: in one (A) the soul addresses the powers of the underworld; the other group (B) contains instructions to the dead person.[23] But the Pelinna gold tablets published in 1987 (fig. 15) bridge the differences between the two groups and also provide additional evidence for the connection between Orphic anthropogony and Bacchic mysteries,[24] since the dead



15. Pelinna gold tablet (no. a) in the shape of an ivy-leaf, the plant sacred to Dionysus

person has been instructed: 'Tell Persephone that Bakkhios [in Orphism Persephone's son: above] himself has set you free' (line 2) – a line understandable in the light of Persephone's 'ancient grief'.[25] New discoveries complicate the matter even further, since the most recently published tablet mentions Brimo and thus seems to indicate Eleusinian influence (above).[26]

The literary evidence for Bacchic mysteries is rather poor and the gold tablets provide few pointers to Bacchic ritual, although a reference to purity suggests purifications.[27] In fact, it is not even clear in what ritual context the tablets were used: initiation into the mysteries or funeral? The Derveni papyrus also suggests a ritual situation for the Orphic theogony, since its first line probably (the text is very fragmentary) stated: 'I will speak for those entitled. Close your doors, ye profane' (III.8). Moreover, if we may compare the end of the so-called Jewish–Hellenistic *Testament of Orpheus*, the theogony would have closed with a call for secrecy.[28] Since the commentator mentions that the initiates had to pay for their ceremony but failed to achieve understanding (XVI.2–12), Bacchic initiates probably had to listen to the theogony during initiation but did not interpret it correctly in the eyes of the commentator.

The mention of pay suggests that in the time of the commentator Orphic/Bacchic initiators demanded money for their services. This fits with Plato's denigrating remarks about Orphic 'begging priests and soothsayers' at 'rich men's doors', who used Orphic books in their ritual and performed sacrifices for purifications and special rites for the dead (*Rep.* 2.364D–E).[29] Plato's observations also indicate that the clientèle was rich, which is confirmed by the discovery of tablets in graves of wealthy women (Ch. VI.1) and by Herodotus' mention of the Bacchic initiation of the Scythian king Skyles in Olbia (4.78–80). Two tantalizing testimonia even suggest the existence of 'congregations': the Olbian mention of *Orphikoi* and the statement in a fifth-century inscription from Italian Cumae that 'it is not lawful for anyone to be deposited here [presumably a burial-plot] unless he has been initiated to Bacchus (*bebakcheumenon*)'.[30] Yet it seems hardly permissible to extrapolate from these two examples to a more general model.

As often with new cults, Orphism was a mixture of old and new. While

using the traditional idea of genealogy, it presented a somewhat more streamlined succession. The Derveni papyrus also reminds us of Xenophanes (fr. 23) with its stress on the position of Zeus: 'Zeus is the head, Zeus the middle, through Zeus all things come to pass' (XIII.12).[31] At the same time it presented an explanation of the origin of mankind and some eschatological comfort. By preaching an ancient guilt and (sometimes?) practising vegetarianism, Orphism directly opposed the this-worldly spirit of Greek religion (Ch. I.2) and its community-supporting practice of sacrifice. Moreover, Euripides' mention of a variety of Orphic books in his *Hippolytus* (954) points to another striking difference with mainstream religion. The books were clearly considered offensive in Greek oral society, just as sceptical sophists were negatively associated with books.[32] Despite these 'deviations' the 'movement' was successful and already in the fifth century Orphic ideas had penetrated the Eleusinian and Theban (above) mysteries.[33]

The new discoveries, then, have greatly illuminated the early history of Orphism, even though the reasons for its origin, popularity and transmission of ideas, connection with Bacchic mysteries, and its social location still pose many questions.[34]

3. *Structural changes*

The rise of Orphic ideas and connected practices was only one of the developments which gradually changed the face of traditional religion. We will therefore close this chapter by sketching some of those transformations while focusing on the gods, the area in which arguably most changes occurred. Xenophanes' critique of divine anthropomorphism (Ch. II.1) and Orphic changes in divine genealogy show that around 500 B.C. the Homeric picture of the gods no longer satisfied intellectuals. In the following century this dissatisfaction only intensified, if in various different ways. To start with, we can notice a blurring of identity of some divinities. In Aeschylus' *Lycurgus* trilogy Orpheus called Apollo Helios, and the connection with Orpheus may not be Aeschylus' innovation, since the Derveni papyrus quotes an Orphic hymn which equates Demeter with Hestia.[35] Similar equations also occurred in Pindar, Sophocles, and Euripides, but in all these cases they remained limited to Demeter and less important divinities like Rhea, Ge, and the Mother of the Gods.[36] There was more to come.

It had always been known that the sophist Prodicus first denied the essential qualities of the gods but subsequently invested them with a new identity by claiming that they had been deified by their admiring

contemporaries because of their discoveries of 'foods, shelter, and the other practical skills'. But from a recently published scrap of papyrus from Herculaneum it now appears that according to Prodicus in an earlier stage of cultural evolution 'primitive man, [out of admiration, deified] the fruits of the earth and virtually everything that contributed to his subsistence'. These views were an instant success in Athens and are parodied in Aristophanes' *Birds* (414 B.C.: 685ff) and Euripides' *Bacchae* (406 B.C.: 274–85).[37] Their mention in comedy and tragedy shows that Greek intellectuals not only discussed these ideas in private but brought them out in the open to be discussed by the whole of Athens.[38] Prodicus, though, remained an honoured citizen on his home island of Keos and nothing suggests that he had drawn consequences from his theoretical views for ritual practice; in fact, except for Orphics and Pythagoreans, few philosophers seem to have been critical of animal sacrifice before Theophrastus' *On Piety* (fr. 584), although in his last work, the *Laws*, Plato calls non-animal sacrifice 'pure' (782C).[39]

On the other hand, we should not underestimate the impact of these 'atheistic' views. Admittedly, the regular atheistic statements in Euripides' tragedies do not show that the poet was an atheist, as has often been thought, but they demonstrate that such views could be debated and formed part of contemporary discourse.[40] In addition, Euripides' late tragedies problematize the position of the gods. His *Ion* and *Orestes* show the protagonists Creusa and Orestes deserted by the gods and in his *Helen* and *Iphigeneia in Tauris* gods no longer play a significant role. It is even more telling that in Thucydides they are simply absent and the religious factor is almost neglected in his work.[41] Others went beyond intellectual scepsis: the mutilation of the statues of Hermes and the profanation of the Eleusinian mysteries in 415 B.C., just like the founding of sacrilegious clubs like the *Kakodaimonistai* ('Worshippers of bad luck'), show to what extent the upper classes had been estranged from traditional religion.[42]

If the existence of the gods becomes problematic, interest in divine intervention in the public sphere will soon diminish. After the catastrophic Athenian expedition to Sicily in 415 B.C., Aristophanes all but neglected the seers who for so long had been one of the main targets of his mockery, Thucydides no longer paid attention to oracles in the part of his work that covered the period after 416 B.C., and they are absent from New Comedy.[43] When oracles returned to favour around the fateful time of the battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.), when the Greek cities lost their independence to Philip and his Macedonians, Demosthenes, as Plutarch notes in his biography, argued that the Athenians of Pericles had 'reckoned such things

as mere pretexts for cowardice, and pursued the plan which their reason had dictated' (19f). Such a strong contrast between reason and divination would hardly have been possible in the fifth century.

Religious developments, though, are rarely straightforward. If intellectuals could be dismissive of the gods, others welcomed them. In the second half of the fifth century various new gods, healing and ecstatic, made their entry into Athens, the city about which we are best informed. Just before 420 B.C. the healing god Asclepius from Epidaurus made his entry into Athens, accompanied by his sacred snake which supposedly Sophocles welcomed into his house. The cult of the god became immediately very popular, although it was not for free: in many sanctuaries of healing gods excavations have uncovered 'treasuries' in which grateful patients had to leave donations. This particular attention to the body is typical of a growing interest in the private sphere, which becomes more noticeable in the fourth century.[44]

The growing interest in divinities with ecstatic cults reflects a similar movement away from the ordered public sphere. From Phrygia, via Ionia, the goddess Cybele (fig. 16) had gradually migrated towards Greece, where the aspect of ecstasy in her cult became visible in Athens around 420 B.C., when her name is first mentioned in Attic comedy.[45] Other divinities who seem to have entered Athens at about the same time or slightly later were Adonis (Ch. VI.3), Bendis, and Sabazius.[46] All these gods have in common both an ecstatic cult and, apparently, a female clientèle. Sally Humphreys has attractively suggested that the male attention of vase-painters and playwrights shows a deep but ambiguous attraction to these rites, in which one could become completely possessed by a god and escape from the framework of the *polis*. In the same way, we can consider Euripides' portrayal of the maenads (Ch. VI.3) and Pentheus' initiation in his *Bacchae* as a kind of mental experiment in such an escape and loss of self. But it would still be a while before male citizens could openly practise such possession cults. One exception occurred in Attica, around 400 B.C., when a certain Archedemos of Thera decorated a cave of Pan (fig. 17) for the Nymphs and composed a number of inscriptions, in which he calls himself *nympholeptos*, or 'seized (possessed) by the Nymphs'.[47]

It was not only ecstasy which distinguished these new cults from those of the traditional gods. As Euripides' *Bacchae* shows, these new gods also require to be praised. The chorus calls Dionysus 'the foremost divinity of the blessed ones' (377f) and 'not less than any of the gods' (777) and calls him 'Lord, Lord' (583). Words even fail Teiresias to describe 'how great he will be throughout Hellas' (173). As Versnel has demonstrated, this aspect

16. Marble statue of Cybele as 'Lady of Animals'

foreshadows a feature of the gods which becomes much more prominent in Hellenistic times. The elevation of one god over all the others also entails a more exclusive affection for one god. The believer wants 'to serve' the god and becomes his 'servant' or 'slave'. This feature, too, only becomes prominent in Hellenistic times, but Euripides already presents us with Hippolytus' love for Artemis and Ion's devotion to Apollo. Both protagonists are youths, as is Pentheus in the *Bacchae*: apparently, the playwright (still?) found it difficult to imagine adult males in such religiously dependent roles.[48]

A preference for one god became more common in Hellenistic times, when religion as embedded in the polis had become religion as choice of

differentiated groups.[49] This tendency was already transparent in the middle of the fourth century when Plato in his *Laws* proposed a law that 'no man shall possess a shrine in his private house; when a man feels himself moved to offer sacrifice, he shall go to the public temples for that purpose and deliver his offerings to the priests of either sex whose business is to consecrate them' (10.909D, tr. A. Taylor).

17. Oldest representation of Pan playing on his pipes

It is highly interesting to note that according to Plato this 'privatization' of religion apparently went hand in hand with a growing interest in magic (11.933A). Magic was a traditional element of Greek society, but it had become increasingly marginalized by the attacks of philosophers and doctors, who in some ways competed for the same clientèle.[50] Plato describes solitary confinement for those who 'in their contempt of mankind bewitch so many of the living by the pretence of evoking the dead [necromancy] and the promise of winning the gods by the supposed sorceries of prayer, sacrifice, and incantations, and thus do their best for lucre to ruin individuals, whole families, and communities' (*Laws* 10.909B, tr. A. Taylor). Yet the increasing number of recent discoveries of curse tablets (*defixiones*) shows magic to have been pervasive in all layers of society and several tablets curse the leading politicians of late fourth-century Athens.[51]

It is not easy to trace the causes of all these transformations. Ideas about the gods clearly changed under the influence of philosophers and playwrights, but the increasing interest in private religion is much more difficult to explain. An important factor must have been the gradual change in the political situation in Greece, which developed into large blocks, such as the Athenians and Spartans with their respective allies. This development promoted a growing professionalization in war and politics of one part of the upper classes but estranged another part from public life. This development also reflected itself in growing cultic honours for the few powerful individuals. Whereas the Spartan general Brasidas was only worshipped after his death in 422 B.C., his colleague Lysander, who for a time was the most powerful individual in the Eastern Aegean, received divine cult on Samos at the end of the fifth century. Ruler-cult would not become popular before Alexander the Great, but the way was paved for a completely new relationship between Greek *poleis* and their rulers.[52]

It is time to come to a close. At the end of the Classical period Greek religion showed all the signs of a religion in transition. Although ritual had not essentially changed, ideas about the gods certainly did, and the emphasis on public cult was shifting to private religious practices.[53] Yet the traditional structure was still fairly strong and would only slowly be transformed by new elements, such as ruler-cult, growing social stratification and continuing philosophical criticism.[54] The ultimate defeat by Christianity was still far away.

NOTES

1. For an excellent, if perhaps too static, view see now W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge Mass. and London, 1987) ~ *Antike Mysterien* (Munich, 1990); F. Graf, 'Mysteria', in Bremmer, *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Religions*. Mithraism: most recently, R. Turcan, *Mithra et le Mithraicisme* (Paris, 1993); K. Dowden, 'Mithraic mysteries', in Bremmer, *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Religions*.

2. Full reconstruction: Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 248–97; add K. Clinton, 'The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis', in Marinatos/Hägg, *Greek Sanctuaries*, pp. 110–24. Degrees: K. Dowden, 'Grades in the Eleusinian Mysteries', *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 197 (1980), 409–27. Iconography: K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult. The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Stockholm, 1992).

3. The enigmatic detail is only supplied by the Gnostic 'Naassenian', who is quoted by the third-century church father Hippolytus in his *Refutation of All Heresies* (5.8.39f), for whose Gnostic sources see J. Mansfield, *Heresiography in Context* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 318–23.

4. The precise connection of the *Hymn* with the mysteries is much debated, see R. Parker, '*The Hymn to Demeter* and the *Homeric Hymns*', *G&R* 38 (1991), 1–17; Clinton, *Myth and Cult*, *passim*; H. Foley (ed), *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Princeton, 1993).

5. See also Bremmer, 'Religious Secrets and Secrecy in Classical Greece', in H. Kippenberg and G. Stroumsa (eds), *Secrecy and Concealment in Ancient and Islamic History of Religions* (Leiden, 1994).

6. M. Peters, *Die Sprache* 33 (1987), 272 (etymology); A. Raubitschek, *The School of Hellas*, ed. D. Obbink and P. Vander Waerdt (New York, 1991), pp. 229–38 ('The Mission of T.'); Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik*, 167–298; T. Hayashi, *Bedeutung und Wandel des Triptolemosbildes vom 6.–4. Jh. v. Chr.* (Würzburg, 1992).

7. Plato: Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie*, 1–69. Epicurus: Philodemus *De Pietate* 550–9, 808–10 Obbink.

8. Demeter Eleusinia: Graf, *NK*, 274–7, 490; R. Parker, 'Demeter, Dionysus and the Spartan pantheon', in Hägg, *Early Greek Cult Practice*, pp. 99–103; C. Stibbe, 'Das Eleusinion am Fusse des Taygetos in Lakonien', *Bull. Ant. Besch.* 68 (1993), 71–105. Boy: Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 280f.

9. Lykomids: Simonides fr. 627; Plut. *Vit Them.* 1; Paus. 1.22.7, 31; 4.1.5–9. Wolves and initiation: Bremmer/Horsfall, *Roman Myth*, p. 43 (Bremmer). *Kleision* as 'men's house': L. Gernet and A. Boulanger, *Le génie grec dans la religion*, 1932[1] (Paris, 1970), p. 72. I am indebted here to a forthcoming study by Dirk Obbink of various aspects of the Derveni papyrus (below).

10. Samothrace: S. G. Cole, *Theoi Megaloi. The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace* (Leiden, 1983); Burkert, 'Concordia Discors: the literary and the archaeological evidence on the sanctuary at Samothrace', in Marinatos/Hägg, *Greek Sanctuaries*, pp. 178–91. Lemnos: Burkert, *Homo necans*, pp. 194f. Thebes: J.-M. Moret, 'Circé tisseuse sur les vases du Cabirion', *Rev. Arch.* 1991, 227–66. Great Goddess: Graf, *NK*, 117f.

11. Orphism: Burkert, 'Craft versus Sect: the Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans', in Meyer/Sanders, *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* 3, pp. 1–22 and *GR*, pp. 290–304; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983), rev. by L. Brisson, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 202 (1985), 389–420; F. Graf, *Gnomon* 57 (1985), 585–92; N. Richardson, *CR* 35 (1985), 87–90; G. Casadio, *St. Mat. Storia Rel.* 52 (1986), 291–322 and *Orpheus* 8 (1987), 381–95. The best bibliography is by A. Bernabé, *Tempus* (Madrid) 0 (1992), 5–41.

12. For time, place, and Pythagoreanism see Bremmer, 'Orpheus: from Guru to Gay', in Borgeaud, *Orphisme* (see note 16), pp. 13–30, esp. 23–6, somewhat modified here. Orpheus as singer: Graf, 'Orpheus: a Poet among Men', in Bremmer, *Interpretations*, pp. 80–106.

13. Graf (n. 11), 590; J. Vinogradov, 'Zur sachlichen und geschichtlichen Deutung der Orphikerplättchen von Olbia', in Borgeaud, *Orphisme*, pp. 77–86; L. Zhmud', 'Orphism and Graffiti from Olbia', *Hermes* 120 (1992), 159–68.

14. For these later poems see the many studies of Luc Brisson, now conveniently collected in his *Orphée et l'Orphisme dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine* (London, 1995).

15. The text has been published in *ZPE* 47 (1982), after p. 300; see also West, *Orphic Poems*, pp. 75–7. At a conference on the papyrus at Princeton in May 1993 Prof. K. Tsantsanoglou presented two additional fragments, which precede those already published.

16. Night was also first with Silence in Antiphanes' comedy *Theogony* (?), cf. L. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae comici Graeci* 2 (Berlin and New York, 1991), pp. 366f. Eudemus: L. Brisson, 'Damascius et l'Orphisme', in Ph. Borgeaud (ed), *Orphisme et Orphée en l'honneur de Jean Rudhardt* (Geneva, 1991), pp. 157–209, esp. 201f.

17. Cf. L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* 7 (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 569–73, with a discussion of, surely Orphic, dedications to Night. For Night first see also Graf (n. 11), 588.

18. As is shown by Dirk Obbink (n. 9) against West, *Orphic Poems*, p. 251.

19. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 80–105.

20. For a possible background of this myth in Oriental mythology see J. Bottéro, 'L'anthropogonie mésopotamienne et l'élement divin en l'homme', in Borgeaud, *Orphisme*, pp. 211–55 (sceptical); Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, pp. 126f (more positive).

21. Cf. G. Casadio, 'La metempsicosi tra Orfeo e Pitagora', in Borgeaud, *Orphisme*, pp. 119–55. For an 'Orphic katabasis' see H. Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion and Miscellanea* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 333–42; N. Horsfall, *ZPE* 96 (1993), 17f.

22. R. Janko, 'Forgetfulness in the Golden Tablets of Memory', *CQ* 34 (1984), 89–100 (with reconstruction of an archetype of group B).

23. Cf. G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 277–393 (list on p. 286); see also the list in Graf, 'Dionysian Eschatology', 257f; add the unpublished Lesbian text announced in *Arch. Reports* 1988–9, 93; this chapter, note 26. A. Bottini, *Archeologia della salvezza* (Milano, 1992), is useful for the archaeological background of the Italian tablets.

24. The Hipponium tablet (published in 1974) already mentions '*mystai* and *bacchoi*', see most recently A. Bernabé, 'El poema órfico de Hipponion', in J. A.López Férez (ed), *Estudios actuales sobre textos griegos* (Madrid, 1991), pp. 219–35.

25. K. Tsantsanoglou and G. Parássoglou, 'Two Gold lamellae from Thessaly', *Hellenika* 38 (1987), 3–17; see also Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Epic*, pp. 105–9; Graf, 'Textes orphiques et rituel bacchique', in

Borgeaud, *Orphisme*, pp. 87–102; G. Apicella, 'La lamelle di Pelinna', *St. Mat. Storia Rel.* 58 (1992), 27–39; Graf, 'Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology'.

26. P. Chrysostomou, *He Thessaliké theá En(n)odía é Pheraía theá* (Diss. Thessaloniki, 1991), 372ff: *Sýmbola. An(d)rikepaidóthyrson – Andrikepaidóthyrson – Brimó – Brimó. Eísithi hieròn leimóna: apoinos gar ho mystes.* †*apedon*†. Unfortunately, the text, which was mentioned by Prof. Tsantsanoglou at the Derveni conference, is not dated. Similar *symbola*, or 'passwords' are mentioned for later Bacchic mysteries, cf. Riedweg, *Mysteriensymbolik*, pp. 82–4; Burkert, *Mystery Cults*, pp. 45–7.

27. Bacchic mysteries: Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 150–5; Burkert, 'Bacchic *Teletai* in the Hellenistic Age', in Carpenter/Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, pp. 259–75.

28. Cf. C. Riedweg, *Jüdische-hellenistische Imitation eines orphischen Hieros Logos* (Munich, 1993), pp. 47f (beginning: with many parallels), 52 (end).

29. This may confirm the suggestion, with some hesitations, of Graf, 'Dionysian ... Eschatology', 250 that the leaves presuppose the funeral. But would these 'priests' always have been available in the case of sudden deaths outside big cities? Or were the leaves sometimes handed out during an initiation for later use at the funeral?

30. Cumae: R. Turcan, 'Bacchoi ou Bacchants', in *L'Association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes* (Rome, 1986), pp. 227–46; G. Casadio, 'I *Cretesi* di Euripide e l'ascesi Orfica', *Didattica del Classico* 2 (1990), 278–310, esp. 293f.

31. See also Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, p. 210.

32. Orphic books: Detienne, *L'écriture d'Orphée*, pp. 109–15. Sophists: J. Mansfeld, *Mnemosyne* IV 33 (1980), 94 n. 345.

33. Eleusis: Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens*. Thebes: Moret, 'Circé tisseuse'.

34. For a new overview see R. Parker, 'Early Orphism', in A. Powell, *The Greek World* (London, 1985), to which I am much indebted.

35. Apollo: M. L. West, *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 34–43. Derveni papyrus: this is shown on the basis of Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 185 by Dirk Obbink (n. 9).

36. Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, p. 108; especially, Dirk Obbink (n. 9).

37. Cf. A. Henrichs, 'The Sophists and Hellenistic Religion: Prodicus as the Spiritual Father of the Isis Aretalogies', *HSCP* 88 (1984), 139–58.

38. See the important discussion by S. Humphreys, 'Dynamics of the Greek Breakthrough: The Dialogue between Philosophy and Religion', in S. Eisenstadt (ed), *The Origins & Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations* (Albany, 1986), pp. 92–110, 494–502.

39. For intellectual atheism and Plato's and Theophrastus' attitudes to sacrifice see P. Meijer, 'Philosophers, Intellectuals and Religion in Hellas', in Versnel, *Faith, Hope, and Worship*, pp. 216–63; J. V. Muir, 'Religion and the new education: the challenge of the Sophists', in Easterling/Muir, *Greek Religion and Society*, pp. 191–218. Critique of sacrifice: G. Sfameni Gasparro, 'Critica del sacrificio cruento e antropologia in Grecia. Da Pitagora a Porfirio I: la tradizione pitagorica, Empedocle e l'orfismo', in F. Vattioni (ed), *Sangue e antropologica* 5 (Rome, 1987), I, pp. 107–55.

40. M. L. Lefkowitz, 'Was Euripides an Atheist?', *St. It. Fil. Class.* III.5 (1987), 149–66 and '"Impiety" and "atheism" in Euripides' dramas', *CQ* 39 (1989), 70–82; C. Riedweg, 'A Euripidean Fragment', *CQ* 40 (1990), 124–36 and 'The "Atheistic" Fragment from Euripides' *Bellerophontes* (286 N²)', *Ill. Class. Stud.* 15 (1990), 39–53.

41. H. Yunis, *A New Creed: Fundamental Religious Beliefs in the Athenian Polis and Euripidean Drama* (Göttingen, 1988); M. Fusillo, 'Was ist eine romanhafte Tragödie? Überlegungen zu Euripides' Experimentalismus', *Poetica* 24 (1992), 270–99 (with extensive bibliographies); S. Hornblower, 'The Religious Dimension to the Peloponnesian War, or, What Thucydides Does Not Tell Us', *HSCP* 94 (1992), 169–97.

42. Cf. O. Murray, 'The Affair of the Mysteries: Democracy and the Drinking Group', in Murray, *Sympotica*, pp. 149–61.

43. N. D. Smith, 'Diviners and Divination in Aristophanic Comedy', *Class. Ant.* 8 (1989), 140–58; Dover, *The Greeks and Their Legacy*, p. 72 (Thucydides).

44. New gods: Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 102–23; R. Garland, *Introducing New Gods* (London, 1992), esp. pp. 116–35 (Asclepius: with full bibliography). Sophocles: Henrichs, '"Der Glaube der Hellenen"', 298–301. Donations: G. Kaminski, 'Thesauros. Untersuchungen zum antiken Opferstock', *JDAI* 106 (1991), 63–181.

45. Eupolis, fr. 259.115, to be added to the detailed discussion in Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 105–

11; add for her origin Graf, *NK*, 110–5; I. Fakri, 'Die Entstehung der frühen Kybelebilder Phrygiens . . .', *Jahresh. Österr. Arch Inst. Wien.* 57 (1986–7: Beiblatt), 41–107.

46. Bendis: C. Montepaone, 'Bendis Tracia ad Atene: l'integrazione del "nuovo" attraverso forme dell'ideologia', *AION* 12 (1990), 103–21; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 111–13; Garland, *Introducing New Gods*, pp. 111–14; *SEG* 39.210; Ch. VI.3. Sabazios: E. N. Lane, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii* 3 (Leiden, 1989); Versnel, pp. 114–18 (who makes him also a Thracian, but those testimonies are all Hellenistic and later).

47. Attraction: Humphreys, 'Dynamics', p. 107. For Pan and Nymphs: F. T. van Straten, 'Daikrates' dream', *Bull. Ant. Besch.* 51 (1976), 1–38; W. R. Connor, 'Seized by the Nymphs: Nympholepsy and Symbolic Expression in Classical Greece', *Class. Ant.* 7 (1988), 155–89.

48. Cf. H. Pleket, 'Religious History as the History of Mentality: The "Believer" as Servant of the Deity in the Greek World', in Versnel, *Faith, Hope, and Worship*, pp. 152–92; Versnel, *Inconsistencies* 1, pp. 169f, 194–7.

49. See the perceptive remarks by J. North, 'The Development of Religious Pluralism', in J. Lieu et al. (eds), *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (London, 1992), pp. 174–93.

50. Magic traditional: C. Faraone, 'Sex and Power: Male-Targeting Aphrodisiacs in the Greek Magical Tradition', *Helios* 19 (1992), 92–103 and 'The Wheel, the Whip and Other Implements of Torture: Erotic Magic in Pindar *Pythian* 4.213–19', *Class. J.* 89 (1993), 1–19. In general: F. Graf, *La magie antique. Idéologies et pratiques* (Paris, 1994); C. Faraone, 'Magic', in Bremmer, *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Religions*.

51. Cf. C. Faraone, 'The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells', in Faraone and D. Obbink (eds), *Magika Hiera* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 3–32; C. Habicht, 'Attische Fluchtafeln aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen', *Ill. Class. Stud.* 18 (1993), 113–18.

52. Cf. S. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 25–40; see also A. Świderek, 'La cité grecque et l'évolution de la mentalité religieuse dans les premiers temps de l'époque hellénistique', *Eos* 78 (1990), 259–72.

53. For the fourth century see the useful study by J. Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion* (Chapel Hill and London, 1983); see also C. Auffarth, 'Aufnahme und Zurückweisung "Neuer Götter" im spätklassischen Athen: Religion gegen die Krise, Religion in der Krise?', in W. Eder (ed), *Die athenische Demokratie im vierten Jahrhundert: Krise oder Höhepunkt?* (Stuttgart, 1994).

54. For a good survey of Hellenistic religion see Z. Stewart, 'La religione', in R. Bianchi Bandinelli (ed), *Storia e civiltà dei Greci* 8 (Milano, 1977), pp. 503–616.

APPENDIX: THE GENESIS OF GREEK RELIGION

When groups of Indo-European raiders invaded Greece at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., they did not arrive without their religious baggage. On the contrary, it is surprising how much of later classical belief and practice goes back to this early heritage. Linguists have concluded that the early Indo-Europeans worshipped a divine family consisting of a Sky Father (**Dyeus pater*), his wife the Earth Goddess (**Pltwi mater*), a Daughter of the Sky (**Diwos dhugeter*), and twin Sons of the Sky (**Diwos sûnû*) – all figures in the Greek pantheon.[1] The Sky Father has become Zeus, still the most prominent god, but the name of his one-time wife only survived in a small town, Boeotian Plataea.[2] In ancient India, the Daughter of the Sky was Dawn, Usas, whose name survived as Eos, but she is no longer a 'daughter of Zeus'; that title was now used for other goddesses, such as Athena and Artemis. Finally, the twin Sons survived as the Dioskouroi, whose name reflects the fact that they had become role models for the military age-set of the youths beyond adolescence in pre-Homeric times, the *kouroi*.[3] In some cases, then, we note a continuity in structure not name, in others a continuity in name not structure, but it is important to note that in all these cases continuity does not mean lack of change: tradition always has to be appropriated.

The raiders also had a vocabulary of the sacred, as both *hagnos* and *hieros* go back to Indo-European times.[4] They prayed with hands raised and practised libation: *sponde* derives from an Indo-European root **spend*, 'to make a libation', and *choe* is connected with Sanskrit *hotra*, 'sacrifice' and Iranian *zaotar*, 'sacrificial priest'.[5] Burkert has suggested that they also practised animal sacrifice, arguing from the term 'hecatomb', that is 'an act which brings in 100 oxen'. Yet the hitherto proposed etymology and interpretation of the term are not really convincing and we must leave the question of animal sacrifice open.[6]

Finally, the invaders brought a poetic tradition, which transmitted not only myths about great heroes and the prime interests of their society (Ch. V.2),[7] but probably also contained traditions about the gods, since their Homeric epithet *doteres eaon*, or 'givers of good things', suggests poets singing of the gifts of the gods.[8] The same conclusion is suggested by the presence in Linear B texts of formulae such as 'Mother of the Gods' and 'Drimios, the son of Zeus', which presuppose a divine genealogy.[9]

After their invasion on the mainland the proto-Greeks merged with the existing population, of whose religious tradition there is not much to say

given the absence of any early texts or pictorial representations. The Linear B texts, which have survived through the fires that destroyed the Minoan and Mycenaean palaces in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., already suggest a unified pantheon which has incorporated Indo-European and autochthonous gods: Zeus but also Athena and Hera. We see here the contours of later Greek religion appearing. But what about the influence of Minoan Crete or Santorini, where the discovery of wall frescoes has shown the one-time brilliance of their culture? The patient work of archaeologists is making it increasingly clear that Minoan elements on the mainland were more a veneer than integrated parts of a religious system. Contrary to long received wisdom, there never was a Minoan–Mycenaean religion:[10] the Cretan legacy to Greek religion was relatively small though not negligible.

Especially during the Archaic Age Greece experienced considerable religious influence from the Orient (Ch. I.3). It is not improbable that the familiar picture of the Homeric assembly of the gods but also the phenomenon of divine epithets, such as 'cloud-gathering' Zeus, in fact derived from Oriental epic. On the ritual level, there seem to have been wandering Oriental healers and diviners, who imported into Greece ritual techniques which are clearly recognizable as Oriental, such as hepatoscopy (divination from livers of sacrificed animals),[12] foundation deposits, rites of purification, and magic.[13] Greek religion, then, was the composite product of many traditions.[14]

NOTES

1. Cf. W. Euler, 'Gab es eine indogermanische Götterfamilie', in W. Meid (ed), *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz* (Innsbruck, 1987), pp. 35–56; Dunkel, 'Vater Himmels Gattin'.

2. Burkert, *Structure and History*, pp. 132–4.

3. The importance of this age-set is already waning in Homer, cf. A. Hoekstra, *Epic Verse before Homer* (Amsterdam, 1981), pp. 76–81.

4. *Hieros*: J. L. Garcia Ramón, 'Griechisch *hieros* und seine Varianten, vedisch *isirá*', in R. Beekes et al. (eds), *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie* (Innsbruck, 1992), pp. 183–205; add. F. Bader, *Studi Class. e Or.* 41 (1991), 76–83. *Hagnos*: Burkert, *GR*, p. 17.

5. Prayer: G. Dunkel, 'Periphrastica Homerohittitovedica', in B. Brogyanyi and R. Lipp, *Comparative-Historical Linguistics: Indo-European and Finno-Ugric* (Amsterdam, 1993), pp. 103–18. Libation: E. Polomé, 'Der indogermanische Wortschatz auf dem Gebiete der Religion', in Meid, *Studien*, pp. 201–17, esp. 208.

6. Burkert, *GR*, p. 18; *contra*, E. Campanile, 'Riflessioni su *hekatómbe*', in *Studia linguistica . . . dedicati alla memoria di Enzo Evangelisti* (Milano, 1991), pp. 149–54.

7. As is suggested by the formulae *kleos aphthiton*, 'imperishable fame', and *klea andron*, 'glories of men': see most recently C. Watkins, in E. Polomé and M. Winter (eds), *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures* (Berlin and New York, 1992), pp. 411–16; E. Campanile, 'Zur Vorgeschichte der idg. Dichterformeln', in Brogyanyi and Lipp, *Comparative-Historical Linguistics*, pp. 61–71.

8. J. B. Hainsworth on *Od.* 8.325 (comparison with the *Rig-Veda* suggests that this is an extremely old formula); C. J. Ruijgh, *Mnemosyne* IV 44 (1993), 539.

9. F. Graf, 'Religion und Mythologie im Zusammenhang mit Homer', in J. Lataczs (ed), *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung* (Leipzig and Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 331–62, esp. 350f.

10. Still largely supported by Burkert, *GR*, p. 21, but see now especially the studies by R. Hägg, 'Mycenaean Religion: the Helladic and the Minoan components', in A. Morpurgo Davies and Y. Duhoux (eds), *Linear B: a 1984 survey* (Louvain, 1985), pp. 203–25 and 'The Role of Libations in Mycenaean Ceremony and Cult', in Hägg/Nordquist, *Celebrations of Death and Divinity*, pp. 177–84; W.-D. Niemeier, 'Cult Scenes on Gold Rings from the Argolid', ibid., pp. 165–70.

11. See now Marinatos, *Minoan Religion*.

12. Cf. Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, pp. 46–53; add F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier* (Paris, 1991), pp. 55–69.

13. For this influence see now Burkert's *Orientalizing Revolution*. Not all of Burkert's parallels are persuasive, though. For example, it seems unlikely that the myth of the *Seven Against Thebes* derived from the Orient, cf. H. W. Singor, 'The Achaean Wall and the Seven Gates of Thebes', *Hermes* 120 (1992), 401–11.

14. See now also Burkert, 'The Formation of Greek Religion at the Close of the Dark Ages', *St. It. Fil. Class.* 85 (1992), 533–51.

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