JAN N. BREMMER

The World of Greek Religion and Mythology

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Mohr Siebeck

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Jan N. Bremmer

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Collected Essays II

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in memoriam

Walter Burkert (1931–2015)
Albert Henrichs (1942–2017)
Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (1945–2007)

Preface

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

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

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

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

[3] Cf. J.H. Waszink, 'Levensbericht H. Wagenvoort', *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen* (Amsterdam, 1976) 239–45; H.S. Versnel, 'Hendrik Wagenvoort (1886–1976) and the Study of Roman Religion', in H. Hofmann (ed.), *Latin studies in Groningen, 1877–1977* (Groningen, 1990) 73–92; A.J. van Omme, 'Tussen filologie en folklore: Hendrik Wagenvoort (1886–1976)' = https://www.digibron.nl/search/detail/d742a55155ae65f3b51208924299b3aa/tussen-filologie-en-folklore-hendrik-wagenvoort (accessed 29-3-2019).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[9] Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture*.

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

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

[12] J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London and New York, 1987, 1988[2]).

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

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

It will be useful to give a brief survey of the contents of this book. I begin with a section dealing with gods and heroes (Chs. 1–7). It is remarkable how little attention the gods receive in the great works on Greek religion of the twentieth century (Ch. 1), a trend that can also be observed in more general handbooks of and companions to religious studies.[17] This neglect and downplaying of the gods, probably the result of the modern process of secularisation, has always seemed strange to me and it is for this reason that I started my own analysis of Greek religion, after a survey of its general characteristics, with the gods.[18] This was also why I proposed a conference on the gods when I was Visiting Leventis Professor in Edinburgh in 2007.[19]

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

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

[15] R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* (Ithaca and London, 2011). Differently, J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1994, 1999^2, reprinted Cambridge, 2006) 55–68.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[24] Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Section III
Animal and Human Sacrifice

Section IV
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Appendix

Abbreviations

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

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

Section I

Gods and Heroes

Chapter 1

The Greek Gods in the Twentieth Century

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Mycenaean times

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

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

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

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

[6] W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart, 1977, 2011[2]), translated as *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[17] See the detailed discussion, with full references, by Rougemont, 'Les noms des dieux'.

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

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

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

[20] J. de la Genière (ed.), *Héra: images, espaces, cultes* (Naples, 1997); J. N. Bremmer, 'Hera', in L. Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York, 2005[2]) 3914–16; J. L. García Ramón, 'Hera and Hero: reconstructing lexicon and god-names', in D. M. Goldstein *et al.* (eds), *Proceedings of the 27th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference* (Bremen, 2016) 41–60; V. Pirenne-Delforge and G. Pironti, *L'Héra de Zeus. Ennemie intime, épouse définitive* (Paris, 2016).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[28] *SEG* 26.457, 458, cf. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, 230–36; N. Laneres, 'L'harpax de Thérapné ou le *digamma* d'Hélène', in M. B. Hatzopoulos (ed.), *Phônês charaktêr ethnikos* (Athens and Paris, 2007) 237–69.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

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

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

[45] See this volume, Chapter 4.

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

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

[48] See this volume, Chapter 7.1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[53] M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2 vols (Munich: I: 1941[1], 1955[2], 1967[3], II: 1950[1], 1961[2]).) 1.741–83; Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 305–37.

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

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

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