

BLACKWELL ✠ ANCIENT ✠ RELIGIONS



# ANCIENT GREEK RELIGION

SECOND EDITION

JON D. MIKALSON

 WILEY-BLACKWELL

Material com direitos autorais



This second edition first published 2010

© 2010 Jon D. Mikalson

Edition history: 1e (2005, Blackwell Publishing Ltd)

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

*Registered Office*

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

*Editorial Offices*

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at [www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell](http://www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell).

The right of Jon D. Mikalson to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book. This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in regard to the subject matter covered. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Mikalson, Jon D., 1943–

Ancient Greek religion / Jon D. Mikalson. — 2nd ed.

p. cm. — (Blackwell ancient religions)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-8177-8 (pbk. : alk. paper) 1. Greece—Religion. 2. Religion—History. I. Title.

BL783.M55 2010

292.08—dc22

2009005597

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Set in 10.5/13pt Minion by Graphicraft Limited, Hong Kong

Printed in Singapore

I 2010



# CONTENTS

<a href="#"><i>List of color plates</i></a>	<a href="#">vii</a>
<a href="#"><i>List of figures</i></a>	<a href="#">ix</a>
<a href="#"><i>List of maps</i></a>	<a href="#">xiii</a>
<a href="#"><i>Preface</i></a>	<a href="#">xv</a>
<a href="#"><i>Abbreviations</i></a>	<a href="#">xix</a>
<b>I</b> An Overview: Greek Sanctuaries and Worship	1
<b>II</b> Greek Gods, Heroes, and Polytheism	31
<b>III</b> Seven Greek Cult Myths	53
<b>IV</b> Five Major Greek Cults	67
<b>V</b> Religion in the Greek Family and Village	123
<b>VI</b> Religion of the Greek City-State	149
<b>VII</b> Greek Religion and the Individual	169
<b>VIII</b> Greek Religion in the Hellenistic Period	185
<b>IX</b> Greek Religion and Greek Culture	205
<i>Glossary of recurring Greek terms</i>	227
<a href="#"><i>Index</i></a>	<a href="#">231</a>





# COLOR PLATES

- Plate 1 A drawing of the Athenian Acropolis and environs, by Peter Connolly.  
Plate 2 The Royal Ontario Museum model of Athena Parthenos in the *cella* of the Parthenon.  
Plate 3 A drawing of the Panathenaic procession on the Acropolis, by Peter Connolly.  
Plate 4 A drawing of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis as it appeared in the fifth century B.C.E., by Peter Connolly.  
Plate 5 A drawing of the interior of the Telesterion, the Hall of Initiation of Demeter's sanctuary at Eleusis, by Peter Connolly.  
Plate 6 A drawing of the Theater of Dionysus in Athens, by Peter Connolly.  
Plate 7 A cutaway view of a two-story house near the Agora in Athens, by Peter Connolly.  
Plate 8 A drawing of the Painted Stoa in the Agora in Athens, by Peter Connolly.

## Credits:

1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 © Connolly through akg-images, London.





# FIGURES

I.1	Head of a bronze statue of a god, usually identified as Poseidon or Zeus and dated to about 460 B.C.E.	2
I.2	View of the Aegean Sea from the <i>cella</i> of the Temple of Poseidon at Sunium.	4
I.3	A marble altar of 194/3 B.C.E., discovered in the Agora of Athens.	6
I.4	Drawing of the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, founded in Athens by the grandson of the tyrant Pisistratus in 522/1 B.C.E.	9
I.5	The tombstone of the Athenian priest Simos of the deme Myrrhinous, dating from 370–360 B.C.E.	12
I.6	An Athenian red-figure <i>crater</i> of about 425 B.C.E., representing a scene of sacrifice.	13
I.7	Bronze statue of a god, usually identified as Poseidon or Zeus, from about 460 B.C.E.	18
I.8	A reconstruction of the sanctuary of Poseidon Soter at Sunium and of the fort which enclosed it in the late fifth century B.C.E.	20
II.1	An Athenian red-figure cup of about 440–430 B.C.E., representing the adventures of Theseus.	39
II.2	Tomb (Soros) in plain of Marathon of the 192 Athenian soldiers who fought the Persians and died there in 490 B.C.E.	40
II.3	Drawing of a red-figure Athenian <i>amphora</i> of about 475–450 B.C.E., showing the reception of Heracles on Mount Olympus.	42
II.4	A reconstruction of the sanctuary of Athena Sounias at Sunium.	45
III.1	An Athenian red-figure cup of about 440 B.C.E., showing the birth of Erichthonius (Erechtheus).	55
III.2	An Athenian red-figure drinking cup of about 440 B.C.E., probably representing the Aiora (“swinging” ritual) in honor of Erigone, the daughter of Icarius.	59
III.3	The marble Stoa at Brauron, built in the 420s B.C.E.	60
IV.1	The head of Athena on an Athenian silver coin from the late second century B.C.E.	68
IV.2	View through the Propylaea (gateway) of the Athenian Acropolis.	69
IV.3	View of Erechtheum from the south.	70
IV.4	Plan of Erechtheum.	71
IV.5	The <i>peplos</i> and how it was worn by Greek women.	72

IV.6	The central scene of the east side of the Parthenon frieze, apparently depicting the presentation of Athena's <i>peplos</i> at the Panathenaia.	72
IV.7	An Athenian black-figure Panathenaic vase of about 490 B.C.E.	77
IV.8	The Great Eleusinian Relief of about 440 B.C.E., from Eleusis.	80
IV.9	The Eleusinian Triptolemus on an Athenian red-figure cup of about 480 B.C.E.	82
IV.10	Dionysus and a grape harvest on an Athenian black-figure <i>amphora</i> of about 535 B.C.E.	86
IV.11	Roman copy of a late fifth-century B.C.E. relief sculpture of a <i>maenad</i> .	88
IV.12	Dionysus and two <i>maenads</i> on an Athenian red-figure <i>crater</i> from about the mid-fifth century B.C.E.	90
IV.13	Head of Dionysus on a silver coin from Thebes, about 395–387 B.C.E.	91
IV.14	Apollo, Artemis, and Leto on an Athenian red-figure <i>crater</i> of about 460–450 B.C.E.	92
IV.15	A plan of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios at Delphi.	96
IV.16	Apollo Pythios, the Pythia, and personnel and artifacts of the Delphic Oracle on an Athenian red-figure <i>crater</i> of the fifth century B.C.E.	98
IV.17	The head of Zeus Olympios on a silver coin of Elis, from about 421–370 B.C.E.	102
IV.18	Photograph of British Museum model of Olympia as it would have appeared about 100 B.C.E.	104
IV.19	Plan of fifth-century B.C.E. sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.	105
IV.20	One possible reconstruction of the Altar of Zeus at Olympia.	106
IV.21	Photograph of the Temple of Zeus in the British Museum model of Olympia.	107
IV.22	Drawing of Phidias' gold and ivory statue of Zeus Olympios in his temple.	108
IV.23	A bronze votive statuette of Zeus hurling the thunderbolt.	112
IV.24	Photograph of the British Museum model of Olympia, showing the Temple of Hera and the Pelopion.	114
IV.25	An early fifth-century B.C.E. bronze votive statuette of a runner at the starting line of an Olympic race.	115
IV.26	A depiction of a <i>pancratation</i> contest on a black-figure vase of the sixth century B.C.E.	116
V.1	Drawings of fifth-century B.C.E. Athenian gravestones.	126
V.2	A fourth-century B.C.E. sculpted relief depicting a sacrifice to Artemis Brauronia.	130
V.3	The <i>prothesis</i> of a funeral as depicted on a red-figure Athenian <i>loutrophoros</i> of the mid-fifth century B.C.E.	134



V.4	A woman in mourning at a tomb, depicted on an Athenian white-ground <i>lekythos</i> of 475–450 B.C.E.	135
V.5	A fourth-century marble statue of a girl, found at Brauron.	138
V.6	The reception of the bride at the groom's house, as depicted on an Athenian red-figure cup dated after 460 B.C.E.	140
VI.1	The Hephaisteion, the temple of Hephaestus and Athena Hephaistia in Athens.	154
VI.2	Drawing of the state monument of the ten eponymous heroes after whom the Athenian tribes were named.	163
VIII.1	The head of Heracles on a silver coin of Erythrae, from about 375–350 B.C.E.	194
VIII.2	Drawing of a section of Artemidorus' rockcut sanctuary on Thera.	200
IX.1	A plan of the Athenian Agora, by Peter Connolly.	209
IX.2	A photograph of model of west side of Athenian Agora.	209
IX.3	Drawing of the ancient apsidal temple model from Perachora.	211
IX.4	Roman copies of statues of tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogiton.	212
IX.5	A Roman copy of statue of Demosthenes.	213
IX.6	A marble dedication to Artemis by Nicandre, from Delos.	214
IX.7	Bronze statues of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, from temple at Dreros.	215
IX.8	Statues of Cleobis and Biton, from Delphi.	216





# MAPS

I.1	Map of Attica.	3
IV.1	Map showing the route the initiates of the Eleusinian Mysteries took in the procession from Athens to Eleusis.	79
IV.2	Map illustrating sites of cult of Dionysus of Thebes.	87
IV.3	Map of Greece and Crete, featuring sites discussed in Chapter IV.	93
IV.4	Map of the four sites of the international stephanitic games of the Classical period.	103
VIII.1	Map of Hellenistic sites discussed in the text.	187







# PREFACE

This book is intended to serve as a first introduction to the fascinating subject of ancient Greek religion. It will be, I hope, a place to begin but certainly not to end. The study of Greek religion is wondrously complex, involving hundreds of deities of several different types who were worshiped over a period of nearly two thousand years in hundreds of ancient Greek city-states. The deities, their myths and rituals, and even the beliefs about them varied, in greater or smaller degrees, from city to city and from century to century. The complexity of Greek religion is understandably daunting for those first approaching it, and I attempt here to make the subject more intelligible initially by a variety of strategies. First, I limit my descriptions largely to Greek religion as it was practiced in the Classical period, from about 500 to 323 B.C.E. I do not attempt to describe the developments over many preceding centuries that led to its form at this time, and I devote only Chapter VIII to distinctive features of religion in the Hellenistic period (323–30 B.C.E.). Secondly, I center much of the discussion on Athens because the evidence – literary, artistic, archaeological, and epigraphical – is many, many times more abundant for Athens than for any other one Greek city-state and this allows us to see better the coherency of the Greek religious system. But even a full account of religion in classical Athens would require several volumes, and for this introduction I have chosen to direct attention first to some basic concepts, then to a select group of deities and cults which, each in its own way, represent important aspects of Greek religious life, then to the religion as practiced in the context of the family, the village, and the city-state, and, finally, to the religious life of the individual. For each deity, ritual, belief, and myth I have attempted to concentrate on what seems to me essential for the purpose at hand, leaving aside many of the questions and uncertainties, variant ancient accounts, and details that accompany many of these topics. Also, we intend to give a general account, and to virtually any general statement about Greek religion some exceptions may be found. In addition, readers should be forewarned that many of the statements made on every page have been challenged at one time or another by one modern scholar or another. And, finally, this book is largely descriptive, based on the ancient evidence that survives, and it limits discussion of modern theoretical interpretations of these complex subjects. Over the last hundred and fifty years a number of theoretical systems to explain major elements of Greek religion have come and sometimes gone. These theoretical approaches hold great interest in themselves, but one needs to know what the Greeks themselves did and said about their religion before one can adequately apply

or evaluate the various theoretical systems to explain it all. The books and essays suggested in **Further Reading** at the end of each chapter will begin to open up for readers the full complexity of these subjects, but we need a place for those interested in the subject to begin, and I hope that this book offers that.

An excellent place to pursue further the topics, deities, and religious practices introduced in this study is the third edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1996) which offers concise discussions by experts along with some basic bibliography. An abbreviated version of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* which collects the entries on Greek and Roman religion and myth is *Oxford Dictionary of Classical Religion and Myth* (Oxford, 2003), edited by E. Kearns and S. Price. For more advanced study I offer, at the end of each chapter, suggestions for **Further Reading**. These include references to other general accounts of Greek religion, and they include especially J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (GR) (Oxford, 1994), W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (GR) (Cambridge, MA, 1985), S. Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks* (RAG) (Cambridge, 1999), and L.B. Zaidman and P. Schmitt Pantel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* (RAGC) (Cambridge, 1992). Each of these books is valuable in quite different ways, and in **Further Reading** I give references to them when they offer a fuller account or a different interpretation of the topic at hand.

In recent years lonely travelers in the ancient world have been given many companions, collections of essays on numerous topics, each entitled *Companion to*, and in many there is an essay on Greek religion suitable for the readers of this volume. Some are focused on periods, as *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Pericles* (Samons II, 2007), with an essay on "Athenian Religion in the Age of Pericles" by Boedeker. Two, so far, treat the Hellenistic period: *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Bugh, 2006), with "Greek Religion: Continuity and Change in the Hellenistic Period" by Mikalson and *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Erskine, 2005), with "Hellenistic Religion" by Potter and "The Divinity of Hellenistic Rulers" by Chaniotis. Some treat individual ancient authors, such as *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus* (Dewald and Marincola, 2006), with "Herodotus and Greek Religion" by Scullion or *Brill's Companion to Herodotus* (Bakker, De Jong, and Van Wees, 2002), with "Religion in Herodotus" by Mikalson. There are many other such companions, some published and some forthcoming, on topics such as Greek tragedy and tragedians, Greek philosophy and philosophers, Greek law, and a wide range of other topics, and the essays in them on Greek religion can be read with profit. T.J. Smith and D. Plantzos are preparing *A Companion to Greek Art*, which will have several essays placing the various genres of Greek art into their religious contexts. *A Companion to Greek Religion* (ed. D. Ogden, Oxford, 2007), is devoted entirely to Greek religion and has a wealth of valuable essays, and references to it hereafter will be abbreviated to Ogden, *Companion*. I give references to these companions and similar writings second rank in the suggestions for **Further Reading**. And under **Further Reading** I offer lastly some references to more detailed accounts of the individual topics to be found in scholarly articles, books, and other collections of essays. Of special note here is R. Parker's *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2006) (abbreviated as Parker, *Polytheism*), a new and very



valuable study of many aspects of religion in Athens. Also new in this edition are references to M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), abbreviated as Robertson, *A History*, a venerable and exceptionally valuable work, well illustrated and still in print, treating in two volumes the history and development of the various forms of Greek art, often in their religious context. New, too, are references, for sculpture, to the two volumes of A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture* (New Haven, 1990), abbreviated as Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*.

The suggestions for **Further Reading** form in no sense a complete bibliography for each topic, but each item will lead the reader to many further treatments of the topic. The reader will also find now and in the future much of use and interest in a new series, "Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World," published by Routledge Press. So far have appeared K. Dowden, *Zeus* (2006); E. Griffiths, *Medea* (2006); L. Edmunds, *Oedipus* (2006); C. Daugherty, *Prometheus* (2007); and R. Seaford, *Dionysus* (2007), and many more are promised. Finally, those interested in the religious environment in which Greek religion developed and thrived and in shared and distinctive features among the religions of Greece, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Israel, Anatolia, Iran, Minoan Crete, and Etruria will find most helpful *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide* (Oxford, 2004), edited by S.I. Johnston. Virtually all of these books have appeared since *Ancient Greek Religion* was first published in 2004, and they are but one of several indicators of the strong and growing interest in all aspects of ancient Greek religion.

Some discussion in the text is based on quotations or summaries of important ancient writings, and I strongly suggest that some of these be read in their entirety. These include the *Homeric Hymns* to Demeter and to Apollo, Euripides' *Bacchae* and *Ion*, Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, and Pausanias' descriptions of Olympia in Books 5 and 6 of his *Description of Greece*. For the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and the poems of Hesiod and Pindar I use the translations of Richmond Lattimore (*The Iliad of Homer*, Chicago, 1951; *The Odyssey of Homer*, New York, 1965; *Hesiod*, Ann Arbor, 1959; *The Odes of Pindar*, Chicago, 1947); for the *Homeric Hymns*, the translations of Apostolos N. Athanassakis (*The Homeric Hymns*, Baltimore, 1976). All other translations are my own.

I throughout offer what would seem proximate equivalents in dollars for the ancient Greek monetary sums, at the rate of one drachma to \$100. In fifth-century Athens one drachma was roughly the average daily wage, and by our conversion a lower-to middle-class Athenian would earn approximately \$30,000 a year. For the English spelling of ancient Greek names I follow, with the exception primarily of epithets of the gods, the conventions of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*<sup>3</sup>.

Alfred Bertrand at Blackwell Publishing first suggested this book to me, and he and his colleagues Angela Cohen and Simon Alexander have contributed much to making it a reality. Robert Garland read the whole of this manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions and corrections, as did the anonymous reader for Blackwell Publishing. Kevin Clinton kindly commented on the Eleusinian material. I am especially indebted to my colleague Tyler Jo Smith who helped me find, select, acquire, and properly describe the illustrations. For assistance with the



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





# ABBREVIATIONS

Bremmer, <i>GR</i>	Bremmer, J.N., <i>Greek Religion</i> (Oxford, 1994)
Burkert, <i>GR</i>	Burkert, W., <i>Greek Religion</i> (Cambridge, MA, 1985)
Hansen	Hansen, P.A., <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> (Berlin, 1983)
<i>IE</i>	Engelmann, H. and R. Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> , 2 vols. (Bonn, 1972–3)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
Ogden, <i>Companion</i>	Ogden, D., <i>A Companion to Greek Religion</i> (Oxford, 2007)
Parker, <i>Polytheism</i>	Parker, R., <i>Polytheism and Society at Athens</i> (Oxford, 2006)
Price, <i>RAG</i>	Price, S., <i>Religions of the Ancient Greeks</i> (Cambridge, 1999)
Robertson, <i>A History</i>	Robertson, M., <i>A History of Greek Art</i> (Cambridge, UK, 1975)
Stewart, <i>Greek Sculpture</i>	Stewart, A., <i>Greek Sculpture</i> (New Haven, 1990)
Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel, <i>RAGC</i>	Zaidman, L.B. and P. Schmitt Pantel, <i>Religion in the Ancient Greek City</i> (Cambridge, 1992)



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



particularly important because their navy was instrumental in establishing and maintaining their empire and because trade by sea, especially the importation of the grain necessary to feed their people, was central to their economy. The Athenians were the most sea-oriented of all Greeks in this period, and for them Poseidon assumed a special importance.

Our sanctuary of Poseidon will be located at Sunium, on the summit of a promontory on the southernmost tip of the Athenian coastline. This promontory overlooks a large expanse of the Aegean Sea which Athenian warships and freighters regularly traversed as they made their way to and from the Athenian harbor at Piraeus. We have chosen this cult site for our Poseidon because the Athenians chose it for theirs. By the middle of the fifth century the Athenians had at Sunium a fully developed sanctuary of Poseidon, with a temple visible still today from many miles out at sea. We re-create, hypothetically, the beginnings and development of this sanctuary, not in an attempt to describe and explain the features of the real cult of Poseidon there but to establish a model for the nature and development of Greek sanctuaries in general. We shall later see many modifications to this model as we examine the cults of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis, of Demeter at Eleusis, of Apollo at Delphi, and several others, but it will be useful to have a model of typical sanctuaries in mind before we turn to the exceptions.



Map 1.1 Map of Attica.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



and with a molding around the top edge. We are obliged to carve Poseidon's name on it, so that both the god and visitors know it is his. Each altar is so designated with the god's name or with the name of a specific group of gods because there were no "common" altars to serve all the gods. If one wished to make an offering to Athena, one must offer on her altar. If, as in our case, the offering is to Poseidon, it must be made on his altar. An offering to Poseidon on an altar of Athena would be received by and would influence neither deity. Our altar is of stone because it must endure the elements. On occasion we will want to burn offerings on it, and then we will put on the altar a metal pan to protect its surface from the fire and ashes. We will orient our altar, as always, to the east, but, by chance, in our sanctuary at Sunium it will appropriately also face the open sea. We have inscribed on it Poseidon's name in large letters, perhaps painted for ease of reading.

And so our sanctuary of Poseidon is founded. The one essential element, the altar, is in place, inscribed with Poseidon's name. The altar is oriented to the east and overlooks the Aegean. Since it is of marble and has sculpted moldings, it is a bit more elaborate than altars found in the simplest sanctuaries, and this betokens future development of the sanctuary.

---

## The Temenos

As was very commonly done, we will mark off an area around our altar. We might use boundary stones (*horoi*) at the corners or a surrounding fence (*peribolos*), thereby establishing the enclosed area as a separate precinct. We are "cutting off" (for which the Greek is *temnein*) an area from the surrounding land, and the Greek term for such an enclosed area is *temenos*. Our *temenos* is to be dedicated to a god and hence is "sacred" (*hieron*), and the two terms together, *temenos* and *hieron*, mark the two aspects of our sanctuary: a *temenos* as a separate precinct, and a *hieron* as a sacred place, the god's property. Let us use a low fence, quite probably of mud brick or field stone, which will serve more to demarcate the sacred area than to protect it. It might deter the wandering cow or sheep, but its gate would not be locked and the *temenos* would be readily accessible to human visitors. Everything within the *temenos* is "sacred," that is, the property of the deity, and the deity, not the fence, will protect it. *Sylân* is the Greek word for "to steal," and property and persons in Greek sanctuaries enjoyed *asylia*, the right "not to be stolen." Individuals seeking refuge in these sanctuaries had *asylum*. They were under the protection of the god of the sanctuary and could not be removed against their will. They might be tricked out or starved out, but under no circumstances could they be forcibly dragged out. To steal property of the god from a *temenos* was both a civil

The abode of the gods is a protection shared by all men.

Euripides, *Heraclidae* 260

The altar is an unbreakable shield, stronger than a fortification tower.

Aeschylus, *Suppliant Women* 190



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.

democratic institutions in 508/7. For state cults established after this date priests and priestesses were often, in the tradition of Athenian democracy, selected by lot for annual terms. The priest's prime responsibility as *hiereus* is to manage the *hiera*: the offerings, sacrifices, and the sanctuary itself and its property, all of which were *hiera* ("sacred"). The priest would surely know much of the traditions and rituals of the cult, but for a cult of Poseidon, unlike, for example, that of Demeter at Eleusis, this would not be esoteric, closely held, secret knowledge. Even the rituals of sacrifice would be, as it were, generic, common to the cults of many deities, but with, perhaps, one or two local idiosyncracies. The priest's role was not that of a rabbi or pastor – he tended not the worshipers but the deity. He would serve only the cult of one deity, and his authority as priest was limited to the cult of that deity. There were no "colleges" of priests whereby individual priests might combine their authority or knowledge and make pronouncements on matters of religion in general. In a small cult such as ours the priest's duties would occupy only a few days each year, and he would be, if not retired, a farmer, sailor, merchant, stone mason, or engaged in some other occupation. While holding his priesthood he could serve in the military and hold government office. His income from his priesthood would be minimal, probably only portions, often the skins, of the animals sacrificed on the altar or of other food offerings left there. Our priest would live in his own home away from the sanctuary and would have no special restrictions on his dress and behavior. Except on festival days, when he might wear special robes, he would be indistinguishable from his fellow citizens. The priesthood would, however, bring him a certain respect in the community, perhaps even a reserved seat in the theater for the tragedies and comedies in the annual festival of Dionysos.

Priests, as tradition says, are expert in giving gifts through sacrifices from us to the gods as the gods wish them and in asking for us from the gods in prayers the acquisition of good things.  
Plato, *Politicus* 290c8–d2

---

## Sacred Days

Virtually every one of the hundreds or even thousands of deities with cult sites in a Greek city-state had one day each year that was specially his or hers. The day might be celebrated by only the family that tended the cult, by the people of the neighborhood, or by all the citizens of the state. Worship on this day was intended, in general terms, to keep the deity happy with his devotees throughout the year. It was, as it were, routine religious maintenance and might be thought of, in crude terms, as an annual auto or home insurance payment. For a cult tended by one family, it might well involve just a simple prayer and offering by the priest in the morning. The family might also sacrifice a goat or sheep and have a feast for family members and friends. The deity's festival day might also include the whole neighborhood or village that participated in this cult.



**Figure I.5** The tombstone (.62 m. high) of the Athenian priest Simos of the deme Myrnhinous, dating from 370–360 B.C.E. His priesthood is indicated by the sacrificial knife he carries and by his long, unbelted garment. Courtesy of National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 772.

Let us imagine at this early stage a rather simple festival day for Poseidon at Sunium. For all Athenians the eighth day of each month was sacred to Poseidon, and let us put his annual festival day on the eighth day of the month Posideon. This, the sixth month of the Athenian year, fell in mid-winter and was named, like most Greek months, after a festival held in it – here the Posidea of Poseidon. And so, on Posideon 8, the priest, members of his family, and some neighbors will gather at the sanctuary at dawn to celebrate the Posidea. They will offer a prayer to Poseidon to come to their sanctuary – since Greek gods were not





**Figure 1.6** An Athenian red-figure *crater* (mixing bowl for wine) from about 425 B.C.E., by the Cleophon painter or a member of his circle; 42.3 cm. high and 47 cm. in diameter. In the lower center stands the altar over which the bearded sacrificer washes his hands in a bowl held by a young man. In his left hand the young man holds a container for the sacrificial knife. The victim, a sheep, is depicted on the left. Note the double-flute player on the far left and the garlands worn by all. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 95.25. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. On similar sacrifice scenes on vases, see T. Carpenter, "Greek Religion and Art," pp. 409–15 in Ogden, *Companion*.

omnipresent —, to receive their offering, and to protect them and their friends as they venture out to sea, and then they will make an offering. This might well be the end of it, and they then would turn to other business of the day. If they sacrifice an animal, however, they will probably make a day of it, butchering and cooking the animal and settling down for a feast in the afternoon. The prayer and sacrifice will offer moments of great religious solemnity, but they will occur in the context of the pleasures of family, friends, neighbors, and good food.

#### *Months of the Athenian Year*

Hekatombaion	June–July
Metageitnion	July–August
Boedromion	August–September
Pyanopsion	September–October
Maimakterion	October–November
Posideon	November–December
Gamelion	December–January
Anthesterion	January–February
Elaphebolion	February–March
Mounichion	March–April
Thargelion	April–May
Skirophorion	May–June



## Dedications

---

There were also occasions of worship apart from the annual festival days, and these often arose in times of personal need. We might imagine that Apollodorus is about to make a business trip, sailing with a cargo of wine to Byzantium and planning, with the proceeds of the sale, to buy grain, sail back to Athens, and sell the grain there for another profit. Apollodorus might well come to our sanctuary and promise Poseidon one-tenth of his profits if he returns safely from this long and dangerous voyage. He makes a *vow* to Poseidon in a prayer, and, if all goes as he wishes, he must give to Poseidon what he promised. The gift he gives to Poseidon as a result of such a *vow* is a *votive offering*, and, in the Greek tradition, he would most likely not give the cash but would have made from the cash a beautiful object (*agalma*) such as a small statuette or a sculpted or painted plaque which would *adorn* the sanctuary. He would, of course, wish to memorialize his gift, to let his friends and the god know who gave it, and so he would inscribe his name on it, perhaps in a text like this:

“Apollodorus, son of Diopeithes, after having made a vow,  
Erects this for you, Poseidon, as a tithe.”

Similarly Diocles, after a long and successful career as a sailor, might present the sanctuary with a *thank-offering* – perhaps some tools of his trade or a terracotta plaque inscribed simply,

“With thanks, to Poseidon, from Diocles, son of Hermias, a sailor.”

We call such gifts, both votive offerings and thank-offerings, *dedications*, and we find them today in museum cases throughout the world. They include vases of all types, often in miniature; statues and statuettes of deities and of the animals commonly sacrificed to them; stone, wooden, and terracotta plaques representing the deity or the worshipers praying and sacrificing to the deity; clothing and tools; and inscriptions describing the deity’s services to the individual. When these gifts have been dedicated in a sanctuary, they become the god’s property and are sacred. Some might be used for processions and other religious purposes, but they otherwise cannot be removed from the *temenos*. We should imagine them set on pedestals or benches, hung from the *temenos* wall, nailed to or hung from trees within the sanctuary, perhaps set on the altar, and displayed in various other ways.

After a few decades, there would be dozens of such dedications in our sanctuary of Poseidon. They are now his property, but more importantly they demonstrate to all visitors the power of the deity. Each represents, in its own way, an individual who thought he was helped by Poseidon, who thought his prayers to Poseidon were answered. This is well illustrated by an anecdote set on the island Samothrace at the sanctuary of the Great Gods who, like Poseidon, protected

sailors at sea. A friend is trying to convince the notoriously impious Diagoras of Melos that the gods are concerned with human affairs. He points to the many dedications in the sanctuary and asks, “Do you not see from so many painted votive tablets how many men by their vows escaped the violence of storms and arrived safely into port?” His argument did not impress Diagoras, but the anecdote serves to record how most Greeks would view the collection of dedications in a Greek sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> Taken as a group, dedications are tangible evidence of the deity’s existence, power, and the range of that power, and they show the *honor* in which the deity is held by his worshipers.

These dedications are durable goods, unlike the food of offerings and sacrifices on the altar. They were probably meant to survive in the sanctuary forever, but, of course, some were more durable than others. Silver statuettes, for example, might suffer from the elements and from pigeon droppings, and we will soon want to erect in our sanctuary a small building to protect them. In major panhellenic sanctuaries like Delphi and Olympia there were many such *treasury buildings*, finely built, often of marble with elaborate sculptural decoration, often given by prosperous city-states to house their dedications in the sanctuary. But for our Poseidon sanctuary we imagine in a corner of the *temenos* a rather simple wooden building, roofed, with shelves on the interior walls to hold the dedications. It might have a locked door, but perhaps not. Again, the prime protection for these and all dedications is their location in a sanctuary and the god’s concern for his own property. It is most important that our treasury building be *within* the sanctuary. We are not to remove any of the god’s property from his *temenos*. If some of the vase or terracotta dedications are accidentally broken and become unsightly, we will bury them in a *votive pit* within the sanctuary. Even when old and broken, they must still be respected as the god’s property. Once buried, these *votive deposits* may survive through the centuries and millennia, and when discovered by archaeologists they are a prime source for the many Greek dedications we see in the museums today.

Now, before we undertake a major expansion of our sanctuary, let us review what we have: an altar, inscribed with Poseidon’s name, oriented to the east; a *peribolos* enclosing the altar in a *temenos* about 10 × 20 meters; dozens of dedications, both votive and thank-offerings, displayed throughout the sanctuary; and a treasury building housing the more perishable and perhaps more precious dedications. All of this is superintended by the priest of Poseidon.

---

## Statue and Temple

Let us imagine that we are in now 479 B.C.E. The Greeks have in the past year successfully repelled a massive invasion of their lands by the Persian king Xerxes with, as Herodotus (7.184–185) claims, his 1,000 warships and 2,500,000 soldiers of many eastern nationalities. Decisive in the Greek success was their total victory in the sea battle in the Bay of Salamis, off the coast of southern Attica and a mere



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



**Figure 1.7** Bronze statue of a god, 2.09 m. high, usually identified as Poseidon or Zeus, from about 460 B.C.E. It was recovered from the sea near Cape Artemisium off the east coast of Greece and is now in the National Museum, Athens. For a close view of the head, see Figure 1.1. It is this statue we use as a model for the statue of Poseidon Soter in his sanctuary at Sunium. On this statue see Robertson, *A History*, pp. 196–7 and Stewart, who identifies him with Zeus, in *Sculpture*, pp. 146–7. Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. no. Wagner N.M. 4533.

on a base near the west end of this room, facing toward the door of the *cella*. It is often said that Greek temples are oriented to the east. That is true, but the matter can be better stated. In a sanctuary the altar – which almost always preexists the temple – is oriented to the east, and the temple is oriented to the altar. Both thus face east, but the altar determines the orientation of the temple. As a result, we will have aligned, facing the east, our monumental statue of Poseidon Soter, the building in which he stands, and the altar. We should imagine that on his festival day, the Posidea of Poseidon 8, when the *cella*'s doors are opened in early morning, the light of the sun rising in the east flows in upon Poseidon, illuminating him and bringing the bronze to life in an otherwise rather dark room. Poseidon's gaze, in turn, is directed through the open doors and falls upon the activities around his own altar. Our bronze Poseidon will observe the acts of worship directed to the real Poseidon at his altar on his festival day.

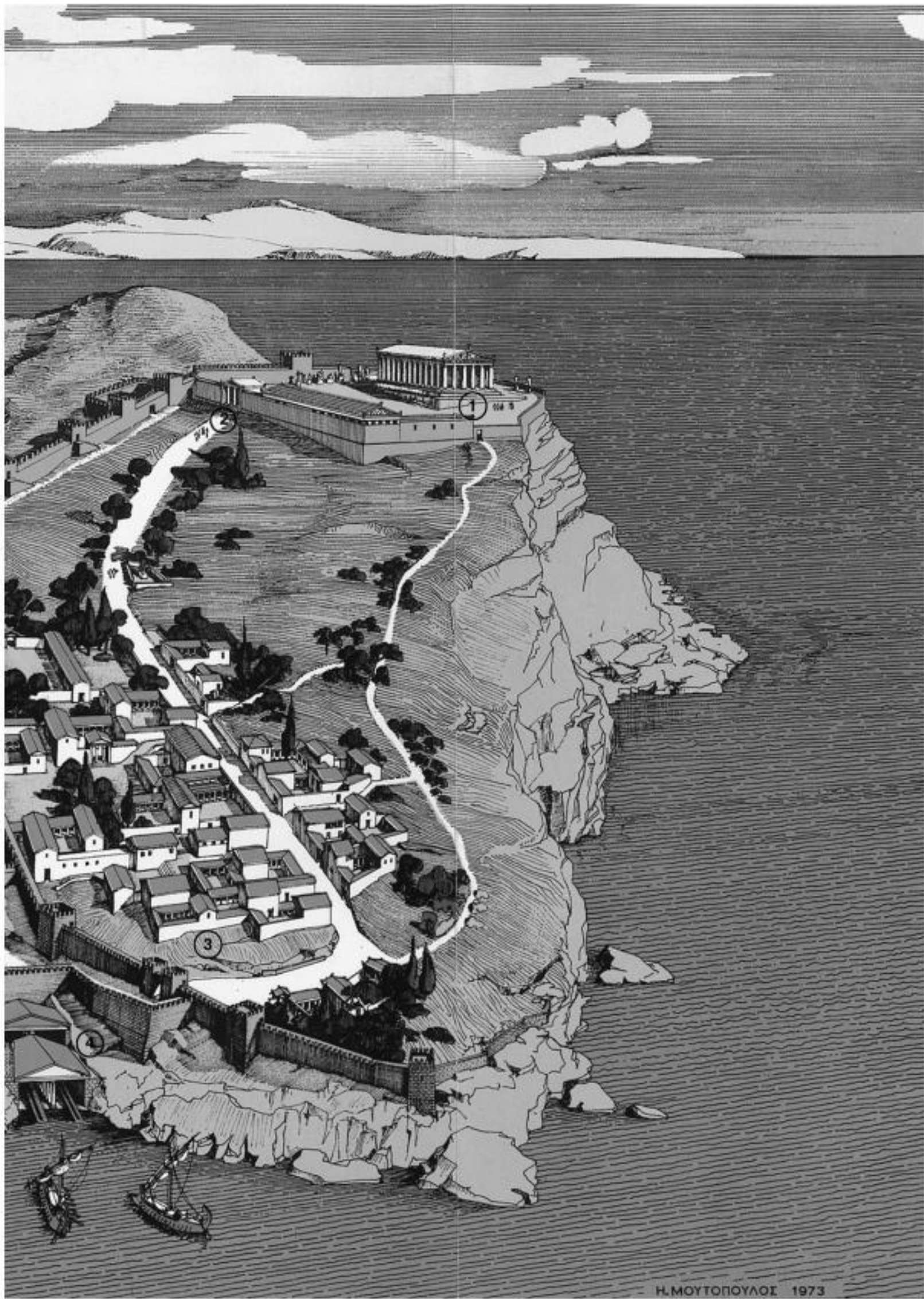


The temple itself is a dedication to the deity, albeit a very expensive one, paid for by the state often from the booty of war or, as at this time by the Athenians, from revenues from their empire. Like other dedications it may be a thank-offering for victory in war, a votive offering fulfilling a vow made by the state in unusually desperate circumstances, or even a gift to appease an angry deity. Unlike a Christian church, the temple does not house the altar and is not the central place of worship. In the Greek sanctuary the outdoor altar remains the religious center, the place of offering and prayer. The temple functions rather as an elaborate treasury building, sheltering the statue and other particularly precious or fragile dedications made to the deity.

Our sanctuary of Poseidon at Sunium has now undergone repair, expansion, and elaboration, and for our purposes is complete. Let us survey the results and imagine the sanctuary as it appeared in about 440 B.C.E. The altar is very much like the original, a rectangular block of marble, 1½ meters high and wide, 2 meters long, inscribed with Poseidon's name and epithet (Poseidon Soter). It is surrounded by a stone *temenos* wall, 2 meters high, enclosing a level area of 60 × 80 meters, with an ornate, marble gateway. Beside the gate now stands a handsome marble *perirrhanterion*, inscribed with Poseidon's name. To the west of the altar and oriented on it stands the temple, and let it be the one the Athenians themselves built at Sunium in just these years. It is a Doric temple of white marble from a local quarry, about 31 meters long and 13 meters wide, with 34 exterior columns (6 on the front and back, 13 on each long side) supporting an entablature of marble and a roof of wood. It has both a front porch and a back porch. A sculptured frieze represents the battle of the Centaurs against the Lapiths, that of the gods against the giants, and the labors of Theseus, Poseidon's son – all symbolizing the victory of the forces of civilization over those of violence and disorder. Inside the *cella*, at its west end, stands on a marble base the bronze Poseidon Soter wielding his trident. Also inside the *cella*, probably on shelves and pedestals, are precious dedications accumulated in recent years. The whole sanctuary is gradually being filled by statuettes, plaques, inscriptions, and other private dedications, but most prominent among them, perhaps along one long side of the *temenos* wall, is the Phoenician ship, now on a marble base, with an inscription in large letters reading,

“To Poseidon Soter of Sunium, from the ships of the Phoenicians and Persians in the glorious victory of the Athenians around divine Salamis.”

Our sanctuary is now large, elaborate, and quite wealthy, and a single priest can no longer assume all the responsibilities for it. He may well appoint a lay assistant, a *neokoros*, who will tend to the maintenance of the buildings and grounds. The Athenian state, which has invested heavily in our sanctuary, may also appoint, annually, a lay committee of *hierotamiai* (sacred treasurers) or *epimeletai* (overseers) to superintend the finances of our sanctuary, both of its property and its expenditures for festivals and other activities. The state thereby establishes jurisdiction over financial matters, but the purely religious matters of worship – sacrifice, prayer, and



**Figure I.8** A reconstruction of the sanctuary of Poseidon Soter at Sunium and of the fort which enclosed it in the late fifth century B.C.E. 1. The temple of Poseidon Soter. 2. The gateway to the sanctuary. 3. The quarters of the soldiers and sailors manning the fort. 4. The naval installations of the fort. Courtesy of EKDOTIKE ATHENON S.A.



dedication – are still under the authority of our priest. And, in our cult, the priest is still selected by his family, largely free from any state authority.

As we have completed our sanctuary, we caution again here that it is not intended to represent precisely the actual sanctuary at Sunium that one can trace on the ground at the site or in the plans of books describing it.<sup>2</sup> Our sanctuary has most of the elements actually found there, but is intended primarily as a model of a typical, fully developed Greek sanctuary, and each real sanctuary, including that of Poseidon at Sunium, had some distinct, idiosyncratic features of buildings, dedications, priesthoods, and ritual. The same is true of the activities of worship we now attribute to our cult of Poseidon Soter at Sunium. Most are not expressly attested for this sanctuary by historical sources, but all are typical of such activities at other sanctuaries and thus, like the sanctuary itself, form a standard model for comparison with religious activities we describe in later chapters.

---

## Worship

With our sanctuary complete, we can now turn to the worship of Poseidon. But what is worship in the Greek religious tradition? Greek religious worship is fundamentally the doing of deeds and the giving of gifts that show *honor* (*tímê*) to the deity. Worshipers wanted to honor the deity for the power the deity had and for the good things that deity provided. Greek gods wanted from their devotees “honor” and “respect,” not “love.” Unlike in the Christian tradition, the Greek god, even Zeus, is not “our father,” and we are not “his children.” We are not expected to love a Greek deity as a child would his parent. It is “honor” and “respect” that the Greek gods want from humans. But what kind of “honor” is this to be? It is not the honor that children owe their parents, nor the honor that a slave owes to his master. The Greeks, who themselves had slaves and thought slavish honor unworthy of a freeman and typical of barbarian societies like the Persian, would not subject themselves to it, even for their gods. Rather it is, I think, the kind of “honor” a subject owes his king, the kind of honor a *good* subject owes to a *good* king. That in highly democratic Athens of the fifth century Athenian worshipers thought themselves subjects of a good, divine royalty may seem paradoxical, but fundamental Greek conceptions of the relationship of god to man had been established centuries before, in the Mycenaean (ca. 2200–1100 B.C.E.) and Dark (ca. 1100–750 B.C.E.) Ages, and those conceptions of the relationship, because of the strong conservatism in Greek religious tradition, maintained themselves through the various changes of the political systems of Athens and other Greek city-states.

The Greeks honored their gods because these gods had the power to help them and did help them in matters which the Greeks thought lay beyond their control. These matters included, in the most general terms, 1) fertility of crops, animals, and human beings, 2) economic prosperity, 3) good health, and 4) safety in the dangers of war and seafaring. Most Greek gods contributed to human life in one

or more of these areas. The rites of Demeter, for example, were very much directed to fertility of crops and probably aided the fertility of animals and humans as well. Aphrodite had her role in human fertility, Hera in marriage. Zeus gave the rain necessary for abundant harvests, promoting both fertility of crops and economic prosperity to this farming society. Artisans turned to Hephaestus and Athena in

We do not see the gods themselves, but we infer their immortality from the honors which they have and from the good things they provide us.

Pericles, in Plutarch, *Life of Pericles* 8.6

As far as you have the power, do sacrifice to the immortals, innocently and cleanly; burn them the shining thighbones; at other times, propitiate them with libations and burnings, when you go to bed, and when the holy light goes up in the sky; so They may have a complacent feeling and thought about you; so you may buy someone else's land, not have someone buy yours.

Hesiod, *Works and Days* 336–41 (Lattimore translation)

I do not believe that the gods, if they thought they were wronged by me, did not punish me when they had me amidst the greatest dangers. For what danger is greater for men than to sail the sea in wintertime? When they had my person in this situation, when they had control of my life and property, then were they saving me? Were they not able even to prevent my body from getting proper burial?

Andocides 1.137–38

their work, and merchant sailors to, of course, our Poseidon. For good health in the mid-fifth century the Athenians turned to local heroes, to Apollo, and even to a cult of Athena Hygieia (Of Health) on the Acropolis, but in 420, after a devastating plague, they imported Asclepius from Epidaurus and established major sanctuaries and healing centers for him in both Piraeus and Athens itself. The Athenians faced constant, annual dangers from war and seafaring, and for the former they turned especially to their armed patroness, Athena, and for the latter to Poseidon. In each of these areas the Greeks recognized the importance of their own efforts, but in each there was a large element of the uncontrollable, and it was there that they sought the gods' favor. When they went to war or sailed on their small boats on the windy, choppy Aegean, they wanted the gods to be happy with them – hence the annual festivals – and ready to help if need be. They wanted the gods as an umbrella of protection under

which they could exercise their own human abilities. They looked to the gods' protection as subjects would look to the protection of a king in matters beyond their control, and, just as subjects would respect and thank a king for helping in times of need, so the Greeks “honored” and thanked the gods when they helped them.

Most notably *not* on the list of items the Greeks thought beyond their control was their own behavior. The Greeks did not have their gods lay down a code of human behavior or enforce any such code. The Greeks worked out their standards of ethical behavior in earlier times especially through their poetic literature and their law codes and later through philosophy. As we shall see later, Greek gods do occasionally punish human injustice, but not nearly so often in everyday life as in Greek literature, and usually only when that behavior impinges on the honor due the gods. By and large, in practiced religion the Greeks thought that their gods showed little interest in the ethical behavior of their devotees towards their fellow Greeks.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



# INDEX

- Academos 40  
Aceso 43  
Acheloös 207  
Achilles 103, 177, 194, 219  
Aegeus 40, 49–50, 163, 191  
Aegisthus 177, 218  
afterlife 38, 81, 90, 125–7, 177–84, 207–8  
Agamemnon 77, 100, 177  
Agathe Tyche 5, 109, 195  
Agave 87  
Aglaurus 40, 44, 48–9, 73, 132, 137, 142, 150  
Agrionia 90–1  
Aiora 58–9  
Ajax, son of Oileus 218  
Ajax, son of Telemon 16, 40, 158, 163, 202  
Alcibiades, of Athens 218  
Alcmene 40, 44, 177  
Aletrides 137–8  
Alexander I, of Macedon 117  
Alexander III, of Macedon 111, 117, 186, 189–91, 194–7, 213  
Alpheius River, as a deity 108–10  
altars, nature of 5–7, 13, 16, 18, 27, 37–8, 68–9, 74–5, 104–10, 124–5, 130, 190, 195, 199–201, 208, 210  
Amazons 218  
Ammon 193, 196  
Amphiaraus 10, 41  
Anius 186  
Anthesteria 58–9  
Antigonos I, of Macedon 111, 186, 190, 202  
Antiochus I, of Syria 194–5  
Antiochus IV, of Syria 112, 192  
Antony, of Rome 186, 195  
Anubis 192  
Apallaxikakos 193  
Apatouria 141–2, 147–62  
Aphrodite 6, 22, 36, 50, 109, 140, 152–3, 156, 161, 174, 188–9, 198, 207; In the Gardens 137; Ourania 188; Pontia 194; Strateia 194  
Apollo 17, 22, 34, 36, 44, 49, 109–10, 113, 132, 156, 178, 196, 214–15; Agyieus 48, 124–5, 130, 160, 206, 210; Apotropaïos 48, 128; of Delos 8, 43, 164, 176, 186, 193; Delphinios 94, 128, 151, 193, 214–15; Hyacinthios 44; Lykeios 49, 128; Moiragetes 97; Mousagetes 46; Nymphegetes 48, 128; Patroös 5, 162, 192, 209; Pythios 3, 5, 16, 36, 48–9, 60, 63, 66, 92–103, 109, 121, 124, 128, 151–2, 159, 162–4, 170, 193, 201; Stephanophoros 200, 202; Thermios 109  
architecture 206, 211–12, 225  
Areopagus 220–1  
Ares 36, 101, 113, 142, 157, 194; Hippios 109  
Arete, as a deity 195  
Argonauts 218  
Ariadne 218  
Aristogiton 40, 212–13  
Arkteia 60–1, 137–9, 146, 152, 171  
Arrephoria 136–7, 146  
Arrephoroi 136–7, 146, 161, 192  
Arsinoe 197–8  
Artemidorus, of Perge 199–202  
Artemis 4, 34, 36, 43–4, 50, 92, 109–10, 132, 140, 152, 156, 164–5, 178, 189, 214–16; Agoraia 109; Agrotera 109, 158; Aithopia 193; Brauronia 59–61, 65, 102, 110, 130–1, 137–9, 150–3, 161, 194; Coccoca 109; of Delos 186; Hekate 49; Limnatis 139; Lochia 138; Mounichia 158; Soteira 200–2

- Asclepius 4, 22, 42–3, 131–2, 140, 153–4, 168, 182, 186, 188–9, 193–4  
 Astarte 187, 189  
 asylum 7, 144, 158, 173–5  
 Atargatis 187  
 Athena 3, 5, 7, 10, 17, 22, 34–7, 58, 71, 75–6, 109, 131–2, 156–8, 164–5, 176, 189, 192, 196, 207, 213–14, 217–18; Archegetis 136; Areia 33, 101, 110, 142, 157; Boulaia 33, 44, 163, 210; Ergane 108–10, 155; Hephaistia 5, 33, 57, 154–5, 208; Hippias 33, 44, 56, 109; Hygieia 22, 33, 74, 153; Itonia 33; Leitis 108–10; Moria 56; Nike 33, 49, 74, 76, 157, 193, 195; Paionia 33; Parthenos 68, 70, 73–4, 76, 78, 106, 213; Phratia 33, 141, 162; Polias 17, 33, 41, 44, 47–9, 55–8, 63, 68–78, 89, 113, 119–20, 128–30, 132, 136–7, 150–1, 155–62, 166, 171, 186, 191, 193, 210; Promachos 55, 68–9, 73, 76, 157, 213–14; Skiras, 33; Soteira 33; Sounias 45, 50, 56  
 Attalus I, of Pergamum 186, 191–2, 202  
 Auxo 142  
  
 Ba'al 187  
 Basile 132  
 Bendis 188  
 Berenice, of Egypt 197  
 Biton 215–16  
 Boreas, as a deity 157, 207  
 Bouphonia 61–2, 65  
 Brauronia 137–9, 146, 171  
 Brimus 84  
 Bubastis 193  
  
 Cadmus, as hero 86–9, 91  
 Caesar Augustus, of Rome 111, 186  
 Castor 177, 196  
 Cecrops 40–1, 44, 55–6, 69, 71, 73, 137, 142, 150  
 Celeus, of Eleusis 81  
 centaurs 218  
 Cephalus, of Athens 181–2  
 Cerberus 180  
 Ceryces, of Eleusis 83  
 Chalkeia 155  
 charis 24–5, 155, 164, 170, 175, 178  
 Charites 6, 109, 164–5  
 Charon 180  
 chthonic deities, nature of 5–6, 36–8, 43, 51, 156  
 Cimon, of Athens 38–9  
 Cinesias, of Athens 175–6  
 City Dionysia 129, 143, 150, 161–2, 191–2, 219  
 Cladeius River, as a deity 109  
 Cleisthenes, of Athens 41, 141, 162, 202  
 Cleobis 215–16  
 Cleopatra VII, of Egypt 186, 195–8  
 Clytemnestra 78, 95, 177  
 comedy, and religion 54, 85, 136–7, 164–5, 182, 190  
 Creon 174  
 Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus 162  
 Critius, of Athens 212  
 Croesus, of Lydia 97, 208  
 Cronia 144  
 Cronus 43, 104–5, 113, 144  
 curse tablets 36–7  
 curses 58, 152, 165–6, 173, 178, 180  
  
 Darius, of Persia 157  
 dead 8, 32, 36–8, 125–7, 171, 174–5, 180–2, 207 *see also* Afterlife  
 death 170, 174–5, 177–82, 184, 207–8, 215  
 dedications, nature of 14–17, 19, 23–8, 41, 55, 70, 76–8, 95, 110–12, 115, 130–2, 138, 153–9, 163, 166–7, 176, 183, 192–3, 198, 206, 213–17  
 Delphic Oracle 41–2, 57, 60, 82, 91–103, 113, 157, 163, 170–1, 201, 210  
 Demeter 22, 36–8, 128, 131, 140, 165, 188–9, 196; Chthonia 38; Eleusinia 3, 11, 36, 38, 47–9, 63, 68, 78–85, 89, 92–4, 101, 118, 120, 128, 133–4, 144, 150–2, 158, 161, 164, 183, 193–4, 196, 198; Thesmophoros 133, 165, 196  
 Demetrius of Phaleron 188  
 Demetrius Poliorcetes 111, 202  
 Democritus, of Abdera 133  
 Demophon, of Eleusis 79, 119





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.

- Themis, as a deity 109  
 Themistocles, of Athens 46, 159, 217  
 Theodosius, of Rome 113  
 Theogamia 139–40  
 Theoi Megaloi 14–15, 199–200, 202  
 Theron, of Acragas 117  
 Theseia 39  
 Theseus 19, 38–41, 48–50, 144, 150, 158, 161, 163, 202, 218, 225  
 Thesmophoria 81, 133–4, 144–6, 152–3, 160, 164–5  
 Thespis 59  
 Thoricus 49  
 Timotheus, of Athens 188, 196  
 Titys 178  
 tombs and tombstones 101, 125–7, 134–6, 143–4, 162, 171, 179–80, 191, 207  
 tragedy, and religion 46, 54, 57, 77–8, 83, 85–9, 92, 95, 102, 136, 162, 174, 183–4, 198, 190–2, 206–7, 210, 219, 221–2  
 Trajan, of Rome 111  
 Triptolemus 80–2  
 Tritopatores 48–9  
 Twelve Gods 9, 213, 218  
  
 votive offerings, nature of 14–15, 19  
 vows 14–15, 19, 132, 153–5, 158  
  
*xenia* 174–5, 221  
 Xenophanes, of Colophon 222  
 Xerxes, of Persia 15–16, 46, 157–8  
  
 Zeus 2, 4, 9, 18, 22, 25, 34–6, 42, 61–3, 65, 71, 76, 78, 81, 84, 86, 88–9, 94, 97, 132, 142, 144, 154–5, 157, 164–6, 178, 189, 194, 196, 210, 222; Agoraios 109, 155–6, 193; Ammon 196; Apomyios 109, 115; Areios 108; Basileus 101; Boulaios 5, 44, 163, 193, 210; Chthonios 108, 110, 128; Eleutherios 5, 208–10; Epopetes 48; Herkeios 48, 108, 110, 124–5, 130, 144, 150, 160, 162; Horkios 111, 116, 142; Hymettios 154; Hypsistos 109, 198; Katabaites 109–10; Katharsios 108, 110; Keraunios 108–10; Ktesios 48, 130, 143, 152, 160; Laoitas 107; Moiragetes 97, 109; Naios 100; Nemeios 6, 103, 113; Olympios 6, 16, 43–4, 47, 63, 68, 75, 102–18, 121, 124, 151, 176, 192–3, 200, 202; Ourios 193; Phratrios 141, 162; Polieus 48–9, 61–2, 65, 128, 186; Soter 196, 210, 213–14; Teleios 48–9, 132, 140; Xenios 173



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.





You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.



You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book.