

## General Index

For authors and works cited, see also the index of passages (p. 178). Works named in this index are discussed in general terms. Page numbers in *italic* indicate illustrations.

- Achilles: in the *Aethiopis*, 88; and Athena, 21; Iliadic model of prayer, 46; and myth of Meleager, 69; origin of myth, 68; and Polyxena, 72, 73, 84  
 Adonia, 95–6  
 Adonis, 95–6, 108  
 Aegina, 56–7, 58–9  
 Aeschylus: *Lycurgus* trilogy, 106  
*Aethiopis*, 88  
 afterlife, 8, 97, 98  
 Agamemnon, Tarentum cult of, 73  
 Aglauros, 82  
 Agrionia, 25  
 altars, 19, 34–5  
 Amazons, 88, 89  
 Amphiaraios, 40, 87  
 Anthesteria, 25, 44, 57–62  
 Apatouria, 21  
 Aphrodisia, 56–7  
 Aphrodite, 16, 18, 56, 70, 114; Amathus sanctuary, 74; and Ares, 56, 89; and Ariadne, 74; and Dionysos, 26; and doves, 17; festivals of, 56–7; and Poseidon, 29–30, 56; position in pantheon, 19–20, 27–8; as role model, 88; sacrifice to, 49; in Thebes, 56  
 Apollo, 21–2, 33, 37; A. Agyieus, 32; A. Aleos, 35; A. Delphinios, 22, 36; aniconic statuary, 32; conflation with Helios, 106; and Dionysos, 26, 27; and gates, 37; hymns to, 46; and initiation, 16, 21–2, 41; in Ionian genealogy, 71; A. Lykeios, 22; Marsyas myth, 14; and paeon, 46; and Poseidon, 23, 27; position in pantheon, 20, 27, 29; A. Pythios, 39; sanctuaries of, 10, 35, 36, 39  
 Apollodorus: *Library*, 78  
 Ares: and Aphrodite, 56; mythic origin, 25; position in pantheon, 19–20, 27–8, 29; sacrifice to, 28, 49  
 Argonauts, 71, 77–78  
 Argos, 36, 71, 73; Heraion, 10, 36, 84  
 Ariadne, 14, 60, 74, 86–7  
 Aristophanes, and seers 107; *Lysistrata*, 84; *Thesmophoriazusae*, 91  
 Arrhephoria, 21, 81, 82–3  
 Art, *see* cult images; vase-painting; visual art  
 Artemis, 21, 22–3, 89; A. Agrotera, 16; in Calydonian boar myth, 70; and Dionysos, 26; epithets and identities, 16, 114; as girls' name, 89; and Hippolytus, 110; and initiation, 16, 22, 23, 41, 81; A. Limnatis, 36–37; A. Lochia, 16; A. Phosphoros, 22–23; position in pantheon, 20, 27; sanctuaries of, 36–7, 40, 81; A. Soteira, 22; statues of, 32–3  
 Asclepiades of Tragilus: *Subjects of Tragedy*, 78  
 Asclepius, 33, 49, 71, 107–8; temple of, Athens, 43  
*asebeia* (impiety), 6  
 atheism, 3, 106–7  
 Athena, 16, 17, 20–1, 114, 115; Ariadne myth, 14; *arrhêphoria* myth, 82–3; cult officials, 34, 84; A. Ergane, 21; and Hephaistos, 22; A. Ilias, 81; and initiation, 21, 82; A. Nike, 16; in Orphic theogony, 102; and owl, 16; A. Polias, 16, 21; A. Poliouchos, 21; and Poseidon, 23, 27, 30; position in pantheon, 20, 27; priest/ess, 31, 34; as role model, 88, 89; sanctuaries of, 20, 35–6, 81; spread of cult, 4; statues of, 21, 32  
 Athens: altar to the Twelve Gods, 19; Athena and, 4, 21, 23; Athenocentric bias, 1, 11, 107; festivals, 21, 50–1, 75, 90, 91, 92, 97–9 (*see also* Anthesteria; Panathenaea); gender differentiation, 79; heroes and, 37, 73, 74, 77, 98; initiations, 21, 54, 55, 81, 82–3; local myths, 23, 82–3, 98; local oracle, 40; new cults of fifth century, 107–10; politics and religion, 4, 83, 112; response to Prodicus, 106; sanctuaries, 5, 35, 36, 39; temple of Asclepius, 43; vase-painting, 76–7, 86; women and cult in, 85  
*atheos*, 3  
 Attica, 37, 50, 102, 108–9; *see also* Anthesteria; Athens; Brauron; Eleusis; Phlya  
 Battle of Chaeronea, 107; of Plataea, 46  
 beauty contest, 82, 99  
 belief, 8

- Bendis, 108  
 Boeotia, 23, 35, 114  
 books, 105  
 Bouphonia (Dipoliceia), 50–1  
 Brasidas, 112  
 Brauron, 35, 81, 82, 83  
 Brimo, 98, 103  
 Burkert, Walter: on the gods, 29, 89–90; *Greek Religion*, 44; *Homo necans*, 57; on myth, 66, 67, 74; on sacrifice, 47–8, 50, 51, 52, 114–15  
 Calame, Claude, 75–6  
 calendar, 50, 62  
 Chios, 25, 29, 82  
*choê*, 114  
 Choes, 44, 57, 58–62  
 choral lyric, 69  
 class: and initiation practices, 53–4, 55, 81, 83; and women in cult, 85, 90, 95  
 comedy, 13, 106, 107, 108; *see also* Aristophanes  
 contests: drinking, 58, 59; as feature of festivals, 46; initiation, 74, 76, 82, 99  
 Conti, Natale, 64  
 Corinth, 36, 38, 81, 90  
 Crete, 39, 115; Dreros, 36; Gortyn, 39; Ida, 31; initiation practices, 52–5, 83; Orphic tablets, 102  
 Croesus, 41  
 Croton, 35, 36  
 cult images, 21, 32–3, 46  
 curse tablets, 112  
*daimôn*, 12  
 Danaids, 87, 91  
 dance, 45–6, 81, 82  
 death, 8  
 dedications *see* votives  
 Delos, 39, 42  
 Delphi, 23, 26, 32, 35, 40, 42; *see* oracle  
 Demeter, 16, 23–4, 28–9, 68, 97–8; D. Eleusinia, 16, 99; and Eleusis, 29, 97–100; in Orphism, 102, 104, 106; position in pantheon, 19–20, 28–9; D. Patroie, 23; and Poseidon, 23–24; as role model, 88–9; sacrifice to, 48, 49; sanctuaries of, 36, 99; in Sicily, 24; and Thesmophoria, 90–92  
 democracy, 4, 83, 112  
 Democritus, 45, 85  
 Demosthenes, 3, 91, 107  
 Derveni papyrus, 101–2, 104  
 Dietienne, Marcel, 66, 92  
 diachronic development, 2; attitudes to the gods, 30, 105–7; dedication practice, 43; divination, 107; fifth-century Athenian trends, 107–10; of the pantheon, 18–19, 20, 24, 29; vase-painting subjects, 77, 94–5; *see also* Hellenistic period  
 Didyma, 46  
 Dione, 20  
 Dionysos, 24–6, 26, 27, 28, 48–9; D. Anthroporraistes, 25; and Aphrodite, 26; and Apollo, 26; and Artemis, 26; in the *Bacchae*, 110; and Dionysia, 25, 47; and dithyrambs, 46; and goats, 60; D. Omadios, 25; D. Omestes, 25; in Orphic theogony, 102; position in pantheon, 19–20, 28–9; sanctuaries of, 36; statues of, 32–3; theriomorphism, 14; *see also* Anthesteria; maenads; Orphism  
 Dioskouroi, 80, 114  
 Dipoliceia, 50–1  
 divination, 22, 40, 115–16; *see also* oracle; seers  
 divine intervention, 6–8, 12, 107  
 Dorians, 71  
 Eastern influences, 115–16; Anthesteria, 62; cult of Adonis, 95; cult of Kybele, 108; on myth, 9–10, 68–9, 75, 76; Orphism, 101; sacrificial practice, 51  
 ecstatic cults, 108–9  
 Egypt, 75, 91, 102  
 Eileithyia, 20, 36, 49, 88  
 Eirene, 112  
 Ekdysia, 54  
 Eleusis, 10, 16, 29; Eleusinian Mysteries, 97–9, 102, 105, 107  
 Eleutherae, 35  
 embeddedness, 1–5  
 Empedocles, 51  
 enslaved people, 60; festival licence, 25, 46, 59–60, 61, 62, 75; and religion, 3  
*Enuma Elish*, 10, 69  
 Eos, 114  
 Epicureans, 61, 98  
 epithets of gods, 9, 16, 115; Apollo, 22, 36; Artemis, 16, 22–3, 36–7; Athena, 16, 21; Demeter, 16, 99; Dionysos, 25, 58; Hermes, 16; Poseidon, 23; Zeus, 115  
 Erechtheus/Erichthonius, 68, 71, 82–3  
 Eumelos: *Corinthiaca*, 77  
 Eumolpids, 99  
 Euripides, 94, 106–7; *Antigone*, 94; *Bacchae*, 8, 25, 92, 108, 109–11; *Helen*, 72, 107; *Heracles*, 94; *Hippolytus*, 6, 13, 80, 110–11; *Ion*, 71, 107, 110–11; *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 107; *Orestes*, 107  
*eusebeia* (piety), 6  
 family relations, 72, 86–7  
 feasting, 50–1, 56, 59, 61  
 festival licence and disorder: Artemis and, 22, 32–3; Demeter and, 24, 28–9; Dionysos and, 25, 28–9, 32–3; enslaved people and, 60, 61, 75; *la grande festa*, 62; Hera and, 32–3, 36; statues and, 32–3, 46  
 festivals, 45–7, 56–7; Anthesteria, 25, 44, 57–62; Dipoliceia, 50–1; New Year, 62;

- women's, 24, 57, 68, 85, 88, 90–6; *see also* festival licence and disorder; initiation; Mysteries
- Fontenelle, Bernard de, 64
- founder cults, 15, 37
- fountains, 84
- Frazer, James G., 65
- Fréret, Nicolas, 64–5
- gender, 79; priesthood and, 34; *see also* women and girls
- genealogy, 71, 78, 105
- gods/goddesses, 12; anonymous, 6; anthropomorphism of, 13–15, 105–6; Chthonian, 19; dangers of dishonouring, 70; exclusivity of devotion, 6, 110–11; and heroes, 15, 32, 34–5; hierarchy, 19–20, 27–9, 48–9; Homeric, 13–14; individual identities, 15–17; pantheon, 18–20, 29; as powers *vs.* persons, 29–30; pre- and post-Homeric understandings, 14–15, 105–7; role models for women, 88–9; theogonic myth, 68–9, 101–2; theriomorphism, 14, 25; twelve, 18; *see also names of individual gods*
- Graf, Fritz, 57
- Great Goddess, 100
- Hades, 9–10, 20, 97, 99
- hagios*, 4
- hagnos*, 4, 114
- Harrison, Jane, 65
- healing cults, 41, 107–8; *see also* Asclepius
- hecatombs, 114–15
- Hekate, 49
- Helen, 70, 82
- heortai*, 45
- Hephaistos, 18, 20, 21, 68, 71
- Hera, 20, 115; H. Akraia, 81; and Argonaut myth, 70; Argos priestesses of, 10, 84; Elis festival, 82; H. Lacinia, 35; position in pantheon, 19–20; as role model, 88, 89; sanctuaries of (Heraia), 35, 36, 42, 81; statues of, 32–3
- Heracles, 68, 76, 77, 84, 88, 89
- Heraclitus, 40
- Hermes, 20, 29
- heroes, origin of cult, 15; and gods, 15; local appropriation of, 73, 77; sanctuaries and shrines of, 19, 32, 33, 34–5, 37–8; secret graves, 37
- Hestia, 19, 48
- Heyne, Christian G., 65
- hieros*, 4, 5, 114
- Homer: gods in, 13–14, 21, 36, 115; sanctuaries in, 31; women in, 88
- Homeric Hymns*, 16; *to Demeter*, 99–100
- homosexual activity, 7, 81; *see also* pederasty
- hosios*, 4–5
- Humphreys, Sally, 108
- Hyacinthia, 47
- hymns, 46
- Indo-European roots, 12, 24, 52, 68, 114–15
- initiation, Apollo and, 21–2; Artemis and, 22, 23, 37; in Crete, 52–55; dedications on, 41; Dionysos and, 24; Hera and, 36, 81; Mystery cults, 97–8, 99–100; Perseus and, 74; priest role, 34; in Sparta, 47, 52–3, 55, 74, 81, 82, 83
- interconnectedness, 7
- Ionia, 62, 68, 71, 99
- Jameson, Michael, 74
- justice, 5, 13, 50
- Kabeiroi, 100
- Kakodaimonistai, 107
- Keos, 81
- Kerykes, 99
- kleision*, 100
- kleos andrôn/apthiton*, 114
- korai*, 83
- Kore *see* Persephone
- kouroi*, 41, 42
- Kronia, 62, 74–5
- Kronos, 74, 75
- Kybele, 108, 109
- Lady/Lord of the animals, 22, 109
- Lemnos, 76, 87, 100
- Lesbos, 18, 25, 81, 102
- Leto, 16, 19, 21, 54
- Leukippides, 80
- Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 76
- libation, 58, 86, 114
- light, 22–3
- literacy, 8
- Locri, 81
- Lysander, 112
- maenads, 25, 77, 92–5, 108
- magic, 111–12
- Manichaeism, 85
- marriage, 80–1; Hera and, 20, 88; Sacred Marriage festival, 62; *see also* weddings
- Medea, 86–7
- Meleager, 69–70
- metics, 3, 47
- Meuli, Karl, 49–52
- Miletos, 40, 46
- Minoan culture, 52, 115
- mourning, 86
- Müller, Friedrich Max, 65
- Müller, Karl Otfried, 65
- Mycenaean culture, 20, 73–4, 115
- mysteria*, 97
- Mysteries: Bacchic, 100, 104–5; Eleusinian, 97–9, 102, 105, 107; Lemnos, 100; Lykomids, 99–100; Phlya, 99–100; Samothrace, 97, 100; Thebes, 100

- myth, 64; cross-cultural influence, 9–10, 68–9, 75, 76, 102; definition of, 67–68; and divine function and identity, 16, 25; of divine supremacy struggles, 23; as evidence for thought and custom, 71–2; festival aetiology, 58–9; and immortal–mortal boundary, 14; initiatory, 82–3; and landscape, 71–2; and ritual, 72–6; scholarly approaches, 64–7; status of, 77–8; uses, 69–71, 74, 78; in visual art, 76–7, 78; women in, 86–8
- mythography, 66–7, 78
- mythos*, 67
- naming practices, 13, 38, 88–9
- New Comedy, 107
- Nike, 53
- Nilsson, Martin P., 65
- nomizomena, ta*, 11, 44
- Nymphs, 19, 22, 29, 108–9; *nympholeptos*, 109
- Oedipus, 6
- Okeanos, 10, 20
- Olbia, 36, 101, 104
- Olympia, 32, 35, 42, 43
- Olympian gods, 19
- oracle, 40, 84, 107; of Delphi, 22, 84; of Didyma, 10, 40; of Dodona, 20, 40; of Klaros, 40; of Oropos, 40; of Trophonios, 40; *see also* seers
- Orestes, 59
- Orphism, 51, 85, 100–6; Gold Tablets/Leaves, 85, 102–4, 103
- Oschophoria, 54
- paean, 46
- Palladium, 21
- Pan, 14, 19, 29, 108, 110
- Panathenaea, 21, 46–7, 62, 67, 77
- Pandora, 86
- Pandrosos, 82
- pantheon, 5–6, 18–20, 29; *see also* names of individual gods
- Parker, Robert, 16, 51
- patria, ta*, 11
- pederasty, 55, 83
- Pegasus, 73, 76
- Pelinna Gold Tablets, 102–4, 103
- Peloponnese, 71, 90–1, 99, 108; *see also* Argos; Sparta
- Pentheus, 108
- Periblemaia, 54
- Persephone, 24, 68, 97–99, 102
- Perseus myth, 73–6
- personal religion, 3, 11, 38, 111, 112
- Phryne, 85
- piety, 6
- Pindar, 106; *First Nemean*, 76
- Pisistratus (the younger), 19
- pistis*, 6
- Plato: *Phaedrus*, 98; *Symposium*, 98
- poets, 1, 10–11, 77–8; and visual arts, 76–7
- poleis*, 1, 3–4, 11, 35–6; appropriation of Panhellenic heroes, 73, 77; and Hellenistic religion, 111; local pantheons, 29; political use of myths, 71
- polis* religion, 11
- pollution, 7; *see also* purity/purification
- polytheism, 5–6
- Poseidon, 16, 23–4, 29–30; Aeginetan festival of, 56–7, 58–9; and Aphrodite, 29–30, 56; and Apollo, 23, 27; P. Asphaleios, 23; and Athena, 23, 27, 30; and Demeter, 23–24; and earthquakes, 7, 23; P. Hippios, 23; in the *Hippolytus*, 13; in the *Iliad*, 9–10, 23; position in pantheon, 19–20, 27–8, 29; sanctuaries of, 28, 35, 36, 84; trident of, 16; women excluded, 84
- prayer, 46
- Priapus, 49
- priests and priestesses, 8–9, 10, 33–4, 74, 8416
- processions, 46–7
- Prodicus, 106
- prostitution, 7
- purity/purification, 4, 5, 7; Apollo and, 22; choice of sacrifice and, 49, 106; Mystery rites and, 97, 104; women and, 84
- Pythagoreanism, 51, 101, 106
- ritual, 44–5, 62–3; definition of, 45; Eastern influence, 115–16; myth and, 72–6; reversal in, 58; *see also* festivals; initiation; sacrifice
- rivers, 19, 71
- Romanticism, 19, 24
- ruler cult, 112
- Sabazios, 85, 108
- sacrifice, 47–52, 57; of birds, 49; comedy of innocence, 50; critique of, 50; of dogs, 49; of fish, 49; of goats, 48, 49, 60; human sacrifice, 48, 75; opposition to, 105, 106; of oxen, 50–1; of pigs, 48–9, 91–2; role of priest, 9, 34; *sphagia*, 44–5; by women, 92
- Samos, 20, 36, 42, 112
- sanctuaries: altar in, 32; functions, 38–43; groves, 32; of healing gods, 108; location, 35–8; numbers of, 5, 20; officiants, 33–4, 74; physical features, 31–3, 34–5, 91; water, 32
- Sappho, 81
- satyrs, 25, 27
- seers, 4, 9, 10, 22, 84, 107
- Seven against Thebes, 71, 73
- sexuality/sexual activity: and the Dionysiac, 25; and initiation rites, 21, 55, 81, 83; and pollution, 7; priestly celibacy, 84; and the social order, 27–8; and women's festivals, 24, 90–1
- shrines: heroic, 6, 37–8; oracular, 40; private, 85, 111
- Sibyl, 84

- Sicily: Anthesteria, 61; dedications at Delphi, 42; Demeter and, 24, 29, 90; evidence of women sacrificing, 92; sanctuary of Selinus, 39
- singing, 22, 46, 94
- Skira, 62
- slaves *see* enslaved people
- Socrates, 6
- Sophocles, 59, 106, 108; *Antigone*, 87
- Sparta: 462BC earthquake, 6–7; and genealogical myth, 71; Hyacinthia, 47; initiatory customs, 47, 52–3, 55, 74, 81, 82, 83; marriage, 80; religious authority, 4; rulers worshipped, 112
- sphagia*, 44–5
- spondê*, 114
- statues *see* cult images; *korai*; *kouroi*
- supplication, 4, 38, 86; pollution from transgressing, 6–7
- Synoikia, 62
- taboo, 4
- Tarentum, 73
- telestêria*, 97, 99
- temenos*, 31
- temples, 19, 31, 33, 34, 39–40, 43; *see also* sanctuaries
- Tenedos, 25
- Tethys, 10
- Thebes, 37, 40, 56; Mysteries of the Kabeiroi, 100, 105; Seven against Thebes, 71, 73
- Themistocles, 61, 99–100
- theogony, 68–9, 101–2
- theos*, 12
- Theseus myth, 54, 72, 74, 77, 86, 88
- Thesmophoria, 24, 57, 68, 85, 88, 90–2; and *magara/megara*, 91
- Thessaly, 80–1, 102
- Thrace, 25
- Thucydides, 107
- Titans, 18, 102
- tragedy, 10, 66, 78; 'atheistic' views in, 106–7; family discord in, 72; gods in, 8, 13; maenads in, 25, 94; mothers in, 87; seers in, 10
- transvestism, 24, 54
- treasure houses, 42
- tree, as god, 14, olive, 23; in sanctuary, 32, 39
- Triptolemos, 98
- Usener, Hermann, 65
- vase-painting: and ecstatic cults, 108; maenads in, 94–5; mythological trends, 76–7, 88; and pantheon hierarchy, 19–20, 27–9
- Vernant, Jean-Pierre: on Artemis, 22; on Dionysos, 24; on the pantheon, 19, 27, 29–30; on sacrifice, 48, 51, 52; and study of myth, 66
- Versnel, H. S., 91
- visual art: attributes of gods, 16–17; votive, 20, 41–2, 43, 83, 108; women in, 88, 92–3, 94–5; and written myths, 76–7, 78; *see also* cult images; vase-painting
- votives/dedications, 20, 40–3, 83, 85, 108
- weddings, 46, 80, 83, 86
- wine and drinking, 57–8, 59, 100
- women and girls, 3; adolescence, 80–3; cult propagation, 85; festivals, 90–6; gathering opportunities, 84–5; goddesses and, 88–9; maenads, 25, 77, 92–5, 108; mythological depictions, 86–8; in mythology, 86–8; as priestesses, 34, 84; as seers, 10, 84
- Xenophanes, 14, 105
- Zeus, 16, 20, 114, 115; in the *Iliad*, 9–10, 42; in Orphism, 101, 102, 105; position in pantheon, 19, 27, 29; sanctuaries of, 35–6; Semele myth, 14; *see also* Apatouria