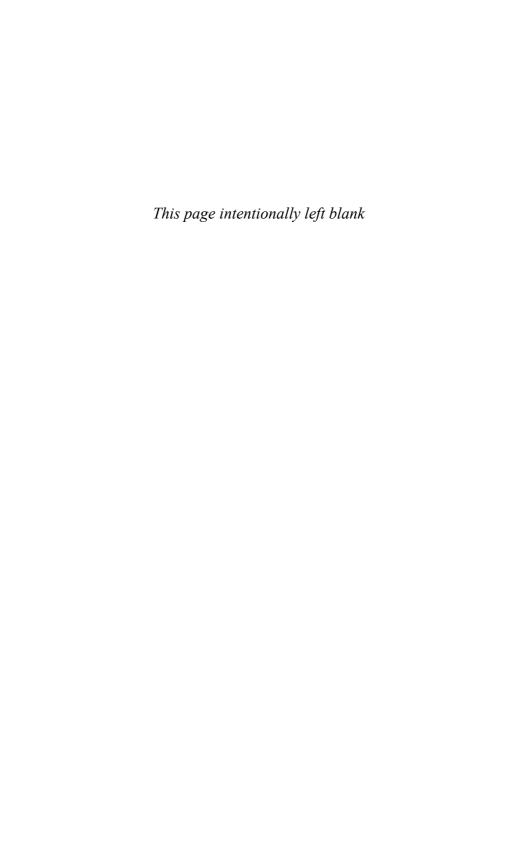


Smoke Signals for the Gods



Smoke Signals for the Gods

Ancient Greek Sacrifice from the Archaic through Roman Periods

F. S. NAIDEN





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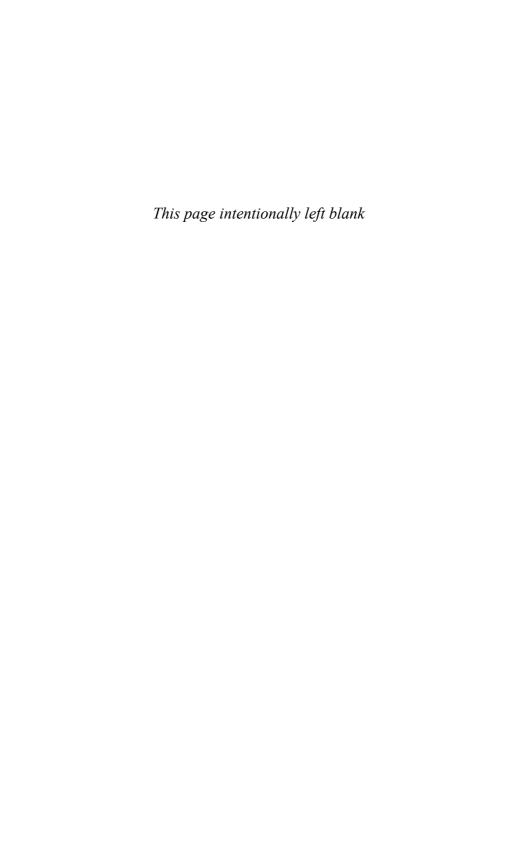
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Preface

THIS BOOK DEALS with a subject that evokes the slaughter of animals and the feasts of the Homeric poems and Classical Athens. Yet the most common Greek word for killing an animal for a god was thuein, "to make smoke." English "dusky" is a cognate. So are Latin fumus, or "smoke," and Latin thus, or "incense." A Greek worshipper used smoke to send a message to a god, just as an American Indian used smoke to send a signal to a distant point. The two leading views of Greek sacrifice say little of this smoke. One of these views, Walter Burkert's, supposes that Greek ways of making animal offerings descended from Stone Age hunters. As implied by the title to one of Burkert's books, Homo Necans, the Greek worshipper was a prototypical killer.² The most important part of the rite was the killing of the animal. The other leading view, that of Marcel Detienne and the late Jean-Pierre Vernant, supposes that Greek ways of making animals offerings, and also eating them, unified the citizenry of the Classical city-states. The Greek worshipper was the prototypical democrat.³ The most important part of the rite was feeding the worshippers. The same conclusions would hold for religions with similar rites, such as the religion of pagan Rome, or even of ancient Israel.

Scholars of Greek religion had other reasons to doubt these views, and even to doubt the importance given to animal offerings. Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne trafficked in social science with more or less staying power; and Burkert did the same with natural science. Archaeologists had always known there was more to worship than animal sacrifice. Literary critics knew that the stress on rituals, coupled with a divorce of ritual from mythic antecedents, had done a kind of

^{1.} *Thuein: DIR* s.v. *dheu*, II.5, which is the extended form, *dheus. Thus* and *fumus* derive from *dheu*; English "dusk" from *dheus*. Further discussion at chapter 6 here. In contrast, Greek *tuphein* and its English cognate, "smoke," have no sacrificial character.

^{2.} Burkert (1983), a translation of a 1972 original, followed by Burkert (1985) and other works discussed in chapter 1 here.

^{3.} Vernant and Detienne (1989).

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violence to Greek experience, which was as much about gods and heroes known though myth as it was about rites known through anthropology and sociology. And they knew that the gods of the poets and historians responded to acts of sacrifice less predictably than in the two prevailing views. Neither view paid much attention to the gods, or considered the standards by which gods might judge worshippers, or the laws that worshippers ought to obey.

In the last two decades, dissent arose. In Italy, Christian Grottanelli and others pointed out that the distribution of sacrificial meat was less egalitarian than Vernant and Detienne had supposed.⁴ Next came the work of Folkert van Straten, whose compendium of Greek vases and other visual evidence showed that killing animals was one aspect among many, and not the most important.⁵ In her work on osteology, Gunnel Ekroth showed that much meat, even from cattle, did not result from an act of sacrifice, again making the ritual less important.⁶ Jan Bremmer launched several critiques of Burkert, recently in regard to worshippers' responses to acts of slaughter.⁷ In his essay "Antigone the Lawyer," the legal scholar Edward Harris noted that the gods had laid down norms to which human laws conformed, norms that would affect the conduct of rites.⁸ In contrast, Burkert had said that Greek gods "do not give laws."

Essential to both of the prevailing views, but especially for Burkert, was the notion that the killing of animal victims aroused guilt among the worshippers. In response, they supposed, or pretended to suppose, that sacrificial victims went willingly to their deaths. For Burkert, this response relieved guilt at killing; for the two French writers, it relieved guilt at eating flesh and blood. Stella Georgoudi, once a collaborator of Detienne, expressed reservations about this idea, and so did I.¹⁰ In my study of supplication, I noticed that the gods allowed supplication to be rejected, and asked whether they would also allow sacrifice to be rejected. That response to the rite would negate the solidarity important to Vernant and Detienne.

These objections have inspired two recent volumes of essays. *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice: Ancient Victims, Modern Observers* appeared some

^{4.} Grottanelli and Parise (1988), including responses by Burkert 163-175 and Detienne 177-191.

^{5.} Hiera Kala, anticipated by van Straten (1987).

^{6.} Ekroth (2007), (2008a), and (2008b).

^{7.} Bremmer (2008a, 1998).

^{8.} Harris (2004).

^{9.} Burkert (1985) 248.

^{10.} Georgoudi (2005) and Naiden (2007).

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months ago. Edited by Christopher Faraone and myself, it brought together some recent objections to the prevailing views, notably in essays by Albert Henrichs and Jaś Elsner.¹¹ A volume soon to appear, entitled *Animal Sacrifice in the Ancient World*, edited by Ian Rutherford and Sarah Hitch, includes more innovative work by Gunnel Ekroth.¹² Yet no new monograph on sacrifice has appeared, and so far as I know, none of these writers intends to undertake one. This is one reason that I have decided to write this book. Another is that my pieces in these two volumes have not made my chief objection against the prevailing views. Wilamowitz made this objection in another connection, saying:

Die Götter sind da.13

The gods are there: this is the point that, in their different ways, both Henrichs and Harris have made, and that no recent work has developed, save for the last section of Robert Parker's *Polytheism and Society at Athens*. ¹⁴ The gods of sacrifice deserve a book of their own, which is as much as to say that the religious feelings of the ancient Greek worshipper also deserve a book of their own—religious feelings, not the violent feelings of interest to Burkert or the sociable feelings of interest to the two French writers.

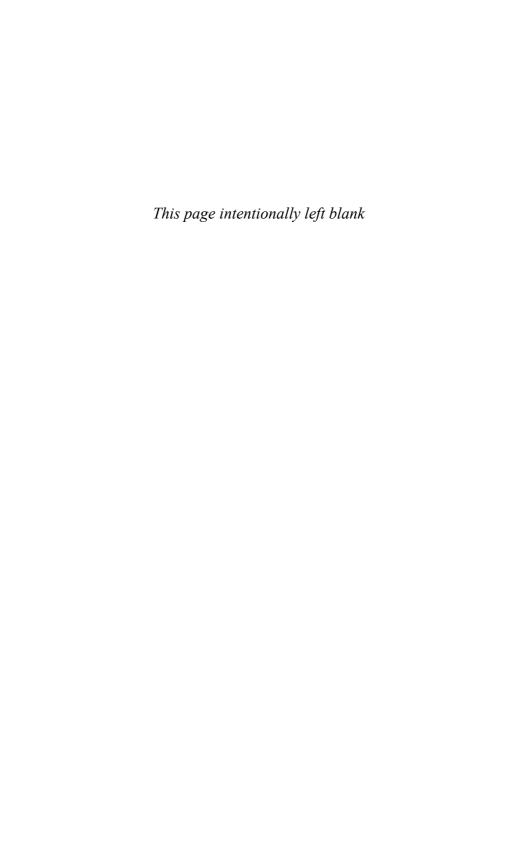
Many contemporary scholars might have written this book. Those I have named in the preceding paragraph have read or listened to all or part of it, notably Edward Harris. Others have helped, too, starting with my assistant Rachel Hynson and with Stefan Vranka and Sarah Pirovitz at the Oxford University Press. The Cambridge University Press allowed me to cite portions of essays published in the two volumes mentioned above; the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and *the Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* allowed me to cite portions of articles; the National Humanities Center gave me two quiet but stimulating semesters in which to finish this book; and the faculty and staff of the History Department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill supported this book with funds, leave, and encouragement. No ancient Greek would have understood the gesture, for Greeks gave dedications to a god or goddess, not a mortal, but I dedicate this book to my wife.

^{11.} Henrichs (2012), recapitulating earlier work cited in his refs., and Elsner (2012).

^{12.} Eckroth (forthcoming).

^{13.} His obiter dictum in Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931-32).

^{14.} Parker (2005b) pt. 4.



Spelling and Abbreviations

FOR CONVENIENCE, GREEK names other than familiar place names are Latinized, and other Greek words are spelled with Roman letters except in instances when they are cited or refer to dictionary entries. A few Latin titles have not been translated, but the rest have, save in the footnotes.

Names of journals are cited as in L'Année Philologique, but journals in the field of the Tanakh and the New Testament are cited as in the Handbook of Style of the Society of Biblical Literature, 8.4.2. Except for Demosthenes, abbreviated "Dem.," and Menander's Dyscolos, abbreviated Men. "Dysc." The names of Greek and Roman authors and titles of works and collections are cited as in A Greek-English Lexicon, ed. H. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H. Stuart Jones (Oxford 1968) = LSJ, and as in the Oxford Latin Dictionary, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford 1982) = OLD. Titles of books of the *Tanakh* and the New Testament are cited as in the sixteenth edition of the Chicago Manual of Style. Titles of Plutarch's essays are abbreviated in Latin. Titles of works of Church Fathers are cited as in J. Migne, Patrologia Latina (Paris 1844-55). Epigraphical works and collections are mostly cited as at Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress, by the Packard Humanities Institute (Los Altos, Calif.: 2006-) but occasionally as in LSJ. Where newer editions of works and collections are cited, they appear in the bibliography, where they are identified by editor, except for a few commonly used collections found in the list immediately below. Commentaries identified by commentator appear in the bibliography, as does other secondary literature. Where translations are quoted, the English text is that of the translator. Otherwise, the English text is that of the author, who has sometimes borrowed words or phrases from the Budé series or from the Loeb Classical Library.

References to vases and other artworks appear as in the *Lexicon Iconographi-cum Mythologiae Classicae*, ed. H. Ackermann and J.-R. Gisler (Zurich, 1981–97) = *LIMC*, and as in F. T. van Straten, *Hiera Kala: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Leiden, 1995) = *Hiera Kala*. Where possible, the notes for the

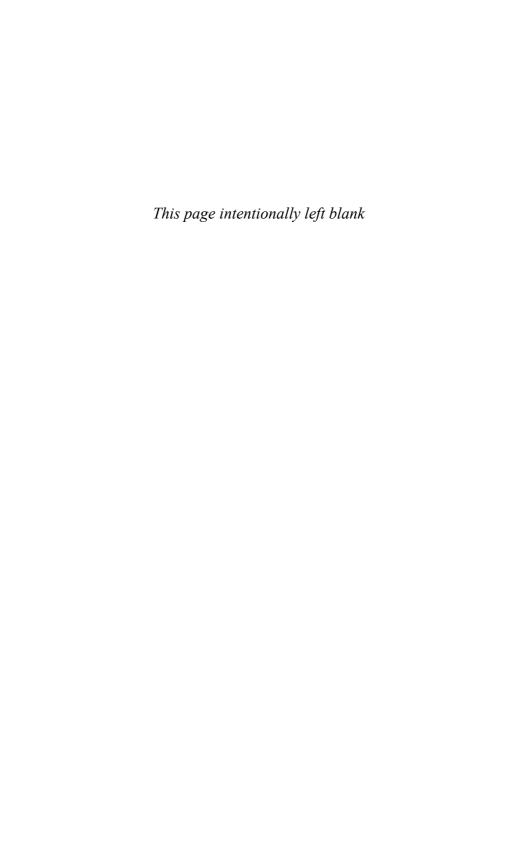
illustrations include a reference to a standard work, sometimes abbreviated as in *LIMC*. Other abbreviations:

- Agora 12 Black and Plain Pottery of the Sixth, Fifth, and Fourth Centuries BC, ed. B. Sparkes and L. Talcott [The Athenian Agora XII (Athens, 1970)].
- Agora 15 Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors, ed. B. Meritt and J. S. Traill [The Athenian Agora XV (Princeton, 1974)].
- Aphrodisias Aphrodisias Inscriptions, ed. D. McCabe (Princeton, 1991).
 - Atlante Atlante dei complessi figurati [Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e medievale 9 (Rome, 1973)].
 - BWK Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens, ed. G. Petzl [EA 22 (Bonn, 1994)]
 - CEG Carmina Epigraphica Graeca, ed. P. A. Hansen (Berlin, 1983–89).
 - CIS Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum (Paris 1881–).
 - D-K *Die Fragmente de Vorsokratiker*, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz (Berlin, 1952⁶).
- Daremberg-Saglio *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, ed. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio (Paris, 1877–1919).
 - Delph. Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes, ed. A. Belis (Paris, 1992).
 - Dict. Ant. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, ed. W. Smith (New York, 1843).
 - DIR American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots, ed. C. Watkins (New York, 2000²).
 - Didyma II: Die Inschriften, ed. A. Rehm (Berlin, 1958).
 - EB Encyclopaedia Britannica (London, 1910–11³).
 - EAH Encyclopedia of Ancient History, ed. R. Bagnall et al. (London 2011).
 - EGHT Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition, ed. G. Speake (London, 2000).
 - ER The Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. M. Eliade (New York, 1987).
 - FGrH Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin, 1923–58).
 - *GGR Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, ed. M. Nilsson (Munich, 1967³⁾.
 - Hesperia (1941) S. Dow, "Greek Inscriptions," Hesperia 10:1 (1941): 31-27.
 - Iasos Die Inschriften von Iasos, ed. W. Blümel (Bonn, 1985).
 - I Lindos Lindos: fouilles et recherché, 1902–1914, ed. C. Blinkenber and K. Finch (Berlin, 1931).

- I Stratonikeia Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia, ed. M. Çetin Sahin (Bonn, 1981).
 - K-A *Poetae comici Graeci*, ed. R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin, 1983–)
 - *KAI Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, ed. H. Donner and W. Röllig (Wiesbaden, 1971–73³).
 - KP Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike, ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer (Munich, 1979).

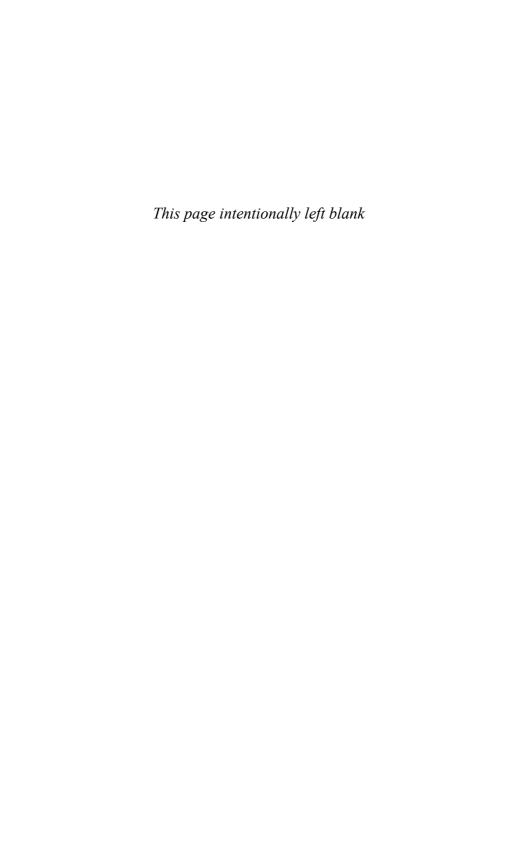
The Life of Adam and Eve

- As in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, trans. W. Johnson, ed. J. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y., 1983).
- LGS Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae, ed. I. von Prott and L. Ziehen (Leipzig, 1896–1906).
- LSAM Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure, ed. F. Sokolowski (Paris, 1955).
- LSCG Lois sacrées des cités grecques, ed. F. Sokolowski (Paris, 1969).
- LSCG Supp. Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément, ed. F. Sokolowski (Paris, 1962).
 - MonInst Monumenti Inediti pubblicati dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica (Rome and Paris, 1912).
 - NP Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike, ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider (Stuttgart, 1996–2003).
- OB Gilgamesh The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts, ed. A. R. George (Oxford, 2003).
 - OCD Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford, 1996³).
 - ODB Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. A. Kahzdan (Oxford, 1991).
 - ODCC Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F. Cross and E. Livingstone (Oxford, 2005³).
 - RE Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. A. Pauly and G. Wissowa (Stuttgart 1894–1980).
- Roscher, Lex. Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, ed. W. H. Roscher (Leipzig 1884–1937).
 - ThesCRA Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum, ed. J. Balty, J. Boardman, et al. (Los Angeles, 2004–6).
 - TrGF Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta, ed. B. Snell et al. (Göttingen, 1971–2004)
 - TSSI Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, ed. J. Gibson (Oxford, 1971–82)

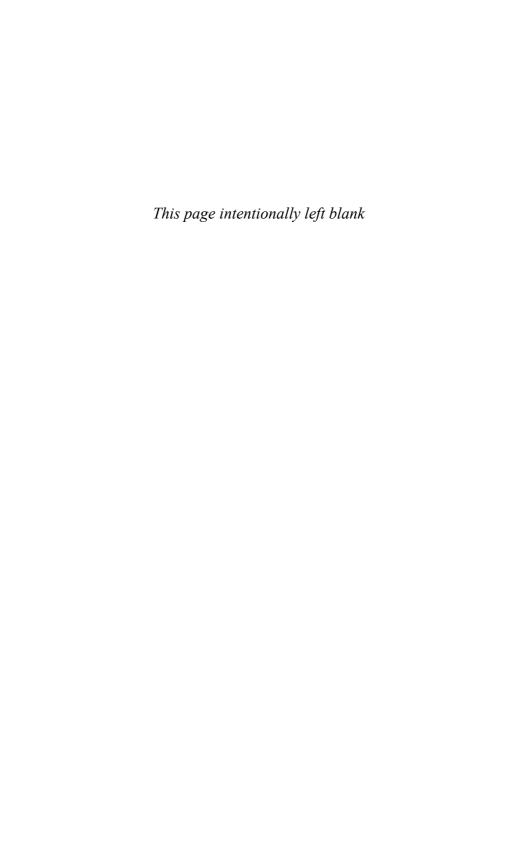


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Smoke Signals for the Gods



The Invention of a Ritual

WHEN AN ANCIENT Greek prayed, he or she might burn an offering. After noticing the smoke from the fire, a god might grant the prayer and accept the offering, or he might not. Odysseus experienced both responses. At the start of the *Iliad*, when the Achaeans suffered from a plague, Odysseus brought a hecatomb of animals to the priest of Apollo, Chryses, hoping that the priest would sacrifice them and pray to Apollo for relief. Chryses was a likely intercessor, for the god had inflicted the plague after Agamemnon refused to release his daughter, a captive. Odysseus returned the girl to her father. With this wrong righted, the priest performed the rite, and Apollo "heard him," ending the plague.¹ On another occasion, Odysseus did not obtain his request. After he escaped from the Cyclops, he sacrificed the ram that had carried him to safety from the monster's cave—an apt thanksgiving. When the smoke rose into the air, Zeus "paid no heed." By blinding the Cyclops, Odysseus had wronged the monster's father, Poseidon, and he had not righted the wrong. This time, Odysseus was at a disadvantage. Before, he was not.

It did not matter what the offering was. The Achaeans gave some number of cattle, Odysseus a particular ram. Other worshippers in Homer gave incense and a woven dress.³ Nor did it matter how many people made the offering, or how many would benefit. Odysseus and Chryses offered the hecatomb on behalf of the army, but Odysseus offered the ram on behalf of his crew. The conduct of the worshippers did matter. The Achaeans had satisfied Apollo, but Odysseus had not satisfied Zeus. The god also mattered. After Apollo granted Chryses's prayer, the Achaeans sang and danced.⁴ They sensed the god's presence, which Homer confirms, saying that the god watched. Sacrifice let the worshippers commune

^{1.} *Il.* 1.434–456, especially 456, τ οῦ δ' ἔκλυε.

^{2.} *Od.* 9.551–555, especially 555, $\vec{ov} \kappa \epsilon \mu \pi \alpha \zeta \epsilon \tau o$. The same animal: Stanford ad 9.550.

^{3.} *Il*. 6.297–311.

^{4.} *Il*. 1.471-474.

with the god. Or, if the god were displeased, as Zeus was, the rite failed to achieve this effect. The two sides communicated, but did not commune.

Sacrifice did not depend on an animal as opposed to other offerings, or on an animal's death. It did not evoke guilt, and it did not depend on a community as opposed to an individual. In recent years, scholars have stressed all these features. Animals, death, and guilt have figured in the work of the German scholar Walter Burkert. *Homo Necans* described animals as the indispensable, if not the only, sacrificial offerings; designated the killing of the animal as the apex of the ritual; and imputed guilt to the worshippers who slaughtered the animal. Rather than commune with the god, or even communicate with him, the worshippers bonded with one another, but through guilt, not joy. In *Greek Religion*, a leading handbook, Burkert added that sacrifice was the chief religious ritual. It earned this distinction by directing the worshippers' violence into peaceful channels.

A stress on animals and community has come from the late Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne. Their 1979 book of essays, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, described sacrifice as a source of meat, and thus agreed with Burkert, but with less attention to death and violence. The apex of the ritual shifted from killing the animal to eating it, and the ambience shifted from Teutonic guilt to Gallic delectation. Sacrifice united worshippers, as before, but it remained the chief ritual for a new reason, its role in civic life. Like Burkert, these scholars were atheistic in method. They minimized the gods, and they also minimized divine moral standards. Rather than explain what any worshipper did wrong, they explained what the ritual did right.

This book will not attempt to describe every part or kind of Greek sacrifice. Instead we shall begin with how, with the help of some predecessors, Burkert and the French scholars wrote the gods out of sacrifice. We shall ask when and how a god or goddess appears in sacrifices such as the Homeric examples used by Burkert and others, and how a god or goddess affects the context of this rite. Then we shall explore how the rite and the god complement one another. Sacrifice required a worshipper, a god, and a rule of conduct.

A Nineteenth-Century Prelude

The roots of the views of Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne reach into the Victorian era. In *Lectures on the Religions of the Semites*, first published in 1889, William Robertson Smith defined sacrifice as a ritual, as opposed to a custom or

^{5.} Burkert (1983), or *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, somewhat removed from the German, philological idiom of the original, *Homo Necans: Interpretationen Altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*.

^{6.} Burkert (1985) and (2010²) makes no material difference for the treatment of animal sacrifice.

^{7.} Vernant and Detienne (1989), originally published in 1970 as La Cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec.

a sacrament—in other words, as an occasion for analysis rather than observation or participation. Robertson Smith also linked sacrifice to the death of animal victims. His near-contemporary, Émile Durkheim, plus Durkheim's coadjutors Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, developed the theme of solidarity through ritual. Half a century later, Karl Meuli supplied the theme of guilt among worshippers who put animals to death. By the 1950s, the elements of a ritual of violent solidarity lay to hand. Burkert and the two French scholars took up these elements and added the claim that sacrifice was the chief ritual.

Robertson Smith began his career as a professor of theology in the Free Church of Scotland. Prompted by historical criticism of the Bible, he asked how the sacrifices of the ancient Hebrews originated, and answered that these sacrifices derived from those of primitive peoples, especially Arab nomads—sacrifices that he thought had remained unchanged for millennia. In these rites, the worshippers killed and consumed an animal that represented a clan totem. The animal was their god, and by eating it they bonded with each other. Thanks to the ritual, this effect was automatic; only sacrilege or some ceremonial mishap could prevent it. Sacrifice was a joyful occasion, but this joy did not depend on the action of the animal or god.⁸ It depended on the worshippers' performance of the ritual. As much as this theory owed to the Christian Eucharist, it did not appeal to the Free Church, any more than Robertson Smith's other writings, and he wrote his chief book, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, while professor of Arabic at Cambridge.

Robertson Smith also dealt with shrines that provided the common setting for sacrifice. Without using the phrase, he regarded shrines as "sacred space." Once within this space, the worshipper fell subject to what he experienced as magical powers, but what Robertson Smith regarded as characteristics imputed to the locale. This view implied that the space would control the worshipper; by extension, the space would transform him. A later near-contemporary of Robertson Smith, Arnold van Gennep, drew this conclusion not in regard to sacrifice but in regard to rites of passage. The same conclusion about sacred space and sacrifice would come soon afterward.

Robertson Smith rendered much scholarship obsolete. Before him, the sacrificial offering, whether animal or otherwise, had been more important than the sacrificial meal.¹⁰ By the same token, the purpose of the sacrifice, such as expiation

^{8.} Robertson Smith (1894) preceded by Wellhausen (1978) 76.

^{9.} Kontaktmagie: Robertson Smith (1894) 76. Rites of passage: Van Gennep (1909).

^{10.} E.g., Legrand (1912) 956–957, where the meal is less important than the use of the *sacrificium* to thank or appease.

or thanksgiving, had been more important than the effect.¹¹ The distinction between "bloody sacrifice," German "blutige Opfer," and bloodless sacrifice, although common, had not displaced another classification of offerings, which was between "breathing offerings" and lifeless, or literally "breathless," ones.¹² Now meals, solidarity, and bloodshed came to the fore. So did automatic efficacy. Perhaps the best known dictionary or encyclopedia article on sacrifice, in the 1911 *Britannica*, said that the primitive worshipper would attribute "a more or less self-contained efficacy to the ritual procedure." ¹³ So would the ancient or medieval worshipper. Sacrifice was a widespread, not to say universal, religious practice.

Robertson Smith balanced two aspects of sacrifice, the psychological and the sociological. By reaffirming community, the sacred meal affected both the emotions of the worshippers and their social ties. Yet these two aspects of the rite might conflict with one another. The psychological aspect pointed toward a phenomenology of ritual, in which scholarly analysis must report the worshipper's experience from within. The sociological aspect pointed toward a political economy of ritual, in which analysis must report the community's experience from without. In Robertson Smith, this conflict is latent. In later writers, it would become patent. Psychological analysis would tend to come from German and Swiss Protestants, sociological analysis from Francophone Jews.

The solidarity postulated by Robertson Smith reappeared in the work of the French sociologist Émile Durkheim a few decades later.¹⁵ So did automatic efficacy and a tacit notion of sacred space, along with an interest in effects rather than purposes. So did universality: saying nothing about Greeks, Durkheim propounded views applicable to them as well as to the Australian aborigines who were his subject. Durkheim differed from Robertson Smith in positing a sense of

^{11.} As in ancient sources beginning with Il. 9.499–501 and Hes. Op. 338, advising a worship to "appease" the gods "by means of doing sacred things." Thus Legrand (1912) 956–957; Stengel (1910) index s.v. $\delta\iota a\beta a\tau \dot{\eta}\rho\iota a$, $\kappa a\theta a\rho\mu o\dot{\iota}$, $\delta\iota a\nu \dot{\eta}\rho\iota a$, $\nu\iota \kappa \eta\tau \dot{\eta}\rho\iota o\nu$. In the background: the conversion of another purpose, eucharisterios, into the Eucharist of Christianity.

^{12.} Bloody vs. unbloody: perhaps first in Smith, "Sacrificium"; see also Schoemann (1861–63) 2.215; Legrand (1912) 957 and Stengel (1910) 20–21, with other distinctions attached. Empsucha: Ziehen (1939) 588, citing Mnesimach. fr. 1; Paus. 8.2.2 (where sacrifice is deemed wrong because it puts "breathing creatures" to death); Pl. Lg. 6.782c; and E. TGrF fr. 472, forbidding a priest to eat empsucha.

^{13.} Marett (1911) under the influence of Robertson Smith (1894) and A. Lang (1899). Critique of "ritual" in this sense: Asad (1993) and Bremmer (1998).

^{14.} Cf. the related notion of embedded religion, meaning to say, religion that the worshipper does not designate as such, but that the scholar nonetheless recognizes, in Nongbri (2008) with bibliography at 441 n. 4.

^{15.} Durkheim (1925²), summed up in the "Conclusions" to pt. 3.

the sacred, *le sacré*, which would operate through the gods of ancient polytheism. ¹⁶ Durkheim's followers Hubert and Mauss, in their *Sacrifice, Its Nature and Function*, described the perils worshippers encountered in dealing with this new entity. ¹⁷ *Le sacré* was too much for them, and so an act of sacrifice required not just a worshipper to provide the offering but also an expert to assist the worshipper—to purify him, and, when the offering was killed or burned, to act in his stead. This expert was *le sacrificateur*, a figure recognizable in Greek religion as well as in the Hebrew and Vedic texts that most interested Hubert and Mauss. Robertson Smith's clan meal had required no such expert.

Hubert and Mauss, and Durkheim, too, lacked Robertson Smith's stress on bloodshed. Instead they stressed the victim's role as a gift to the god of the sacrifice. Mauss also assumed that the worshipper (or the *sacrificateur*) asked for the animal's pardon before killing it. This version of solidarity provided for self-abnegation, not self-aggrandizement, and balanced joy with the anxiety that accompanies proffering a gift. The sacred meal remained, but without a totem to be devoured. Rather than allowing a worshipper to ingest a god, sacrifice "modified the condition of the moral person who accomplished it." The rite accomplished a social and even a civic purpose. Yet it accomplished this purpose by ushering the worshipper into a "sacred world" that differed from the profane—in other words, a sacred space. Of the sacred space.

The notion that the animal pardoned the worshipper implied that the worshippers felt guilt, a conclusion advanced by the Swiss scholar Karl Meuli, who wrote about sacrifice in 1946.²¹ Meuli did not view sacrifice as either a meal or a gift, but instead as a way of compensating the animal victim for the crime of putting it to death. The killers would even attempt to revive the animal by reconstituting it, using its bones and hide. Since nothing of this sort happened in ancient Greece, save in one report of one festival, the Bouphonia, Meuli looked elsewhere for evidence, finding it in Siberia.²² The corresponding religion was not

^{16.} On the subject of Robertson Smith's influence on Durkheim, see Goody (1961) 145–149, noting that the Durkheim followed Robertson Smith in regarding religion as a communal practice, whereas magic, for example, was an individual practice.

^{17.} Hubert and Mauss (1964).

^{18.} Gift: Mauss (1925) 1.4. Gift-giving, but without the expansive analysis found in Mauss, dates back to Tylor (1871). A recent variation on the theme: Silber (2002). Pardon: Hubert and Mauss (1964) 33.

^{19.} Hubert and Mauss (1964) 13.

^{20.} Ibid. 97.

^{21.} Meuli (1946). A recent assessment: (1992).

^{22.} Bouphonia: chapter 3 here.

polytheism, as with Hubert and Mauss, or totemism, as with both Robertson Smith and Durkheim, but shamanism. Meuli supposed this to be the original religion, a distinction previously given to totemism. Unlike Robertson Smith, he did not regard any animal as an incarnate god. He regarded animals as fellow creatures, and as victims.

With Meuli, the psychological aspect of sacrifice parted company from the sociological. The Stone Age hunter might have felt what a Classical Greek did, but he could not have organized a ritual in anything like the same way. The hunter's leader, the shaman, was not the expert of Hubert and Mauss, and there was no Stone Age sacred space. With this split went a loss of historical context. Robertson Smith linked a primitive practice to the Hebrews, and thus to Greece, and Hubert and Mauss linked Israel and ancient India, and again added Greece, but Meuli discounted these societies, and supposed that his Siberian hunters passed down their motive and their ritual, or part of it, to Indians, Greek, and other Europeans. If the Semitic parallels favored by earlier scholars did not suit some aspects of Greek sacrifice, such as the treatment of animal blood, these new parallels did not suit other aspects, such as the use of shrines, and so Meuli minimized shrines.

Meuli also caused the topic of animal sacrifice to diverge from two others, vegetal sacrifice and human sacrifice. The pairing of bloody and bloodless sacrifices put animal and vegetal offerings on a par, and Robertson Smith and Durkheim had not challenged this view. Hubert and Mauss had said that offerings needed to be destroyed, but not always put to death, and so they, too, had put these two kinds of offering on a par. In all these writers, human sacrifice was an occasion for cannibalism. Meuli chose to downgrade vegetal offerings, and he dismissed human sacrifices as rare. Outside tragedy, human sacrifices were very rare in any Greek source, and even in this one genre human victims never received the same treatment as sacrificial victims.²⁵ Yet scholars had long regarded them as a model for animal sacrifices, and not just because of cannibalism: Freud, for one, held that animal sacrifice resembled murder, especially the murder of a parent.²⁶ Meuli replied that

^{23.} Later Indo-European treatments of Greek sacrifice: Benveniste (1969) 2.223–231, but without insisting on the transmission of a single dominant practice. Critique: Lincoln (1991).

^{24.} Meuli (1946) 220–221, speaking of altars only as a place for animal horns and sacrificial blood. Indo-European sacrifice and temples: Watkins (1995) 67, quoting Benveniste (1938), as at Haudry (1985²) 125.

^{25.} Never in regular cult: Henrichs (1981) 195 with refs. at n. 2, followed by Hughes (1991) and (2007). Similarly, Graf (1979b) 34 on Greek reports of human sacrifice among Scyths in Tauria.

^{26.} A scholarly comparison of sacrifice to murder, via human scapegoats: J. Harrison (1911) 36–37. Freud (1913).

the relation between human and animal sacrifice was the other way around. The primordial crime victimized animals. It concerned hunting, not parricide.²⁷

Meuli wrote in the shadow of World War II, which darkened the meaning of sacrifice for Europeans. Yet he and his French predecessors, who wrote with their own version of Edwardian optimism, agreed with Robertson Smith's proposition that sacrifice was a ritual of "self-contained efficacy." This ritual centered on the worshipper and the animal victim, not the god or spirit to whom the victim would go. The ritual did not begin with some divine command, whether an oracle or omen; it did not climax with the presentation of the sacrifice to the god; and it did not end with the god's accepting (still less rejecting) the sacrifice. It permitted communication, but this communication was not taken to be a prayer. Prayers often accompanied sacrifices, yet without denying this feature, scholars did not integrate prayers into the study of sacrifice. Sacrifice functioned as it would have without any prayer. Disagreements had arisen elsewhere—about the psychological and sociological components of the rite, about the choice of primitive or civilized parallels, and about the role of experts such as priests.

Other aspects of sacrifice had suffered neglect. None of these writers linked sacrifice to natural science, or to the Greek polis. Burkert would make the first of these links, and Vernant and Detienne would make the second.

Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne

When Burkert's *Homo Necans* appeared in 1972, it met with little response among classicists. The professor of Greek at Oxford, Sir Hugh Lloyd Jones, thought that he was incompetent to review it.²⁹ A generation later, Burkert's amalgam of Robertson Smith and Meuli, plus some new elements, had become familiar in English universities and elsewhere.

^{27.} Meuli (1946) 227–228, speaking of attitudes toward animal victims. The last monographs on the once agitated topic of Greek human sacrifice: Hughes (1991) and Bonnechère (1994), both skeptical of earlier literature describing this practice as widespread at some early period. Hughes (2007) ch. 2, accepts the conclusion implicit in his title, and in Bonnechère's conclusion (311), "un phénomène marginal au centre de la polis": for Greece, human "sacrifice" is a literary and not a religious subject.

^{28.} E.g., prayer and sacrifice are separate topics in Robertson Smith (1894²), Wellhausen (1878), and Benveniste (1969). Recent scholarship on prayer that minimizes or does not mention sacrifice: Aubriot-Sevin (1992), save for 33–48 on "prières cultuelles"; and Pulleyn (1997) 12, saying only that prayer was "part of the build-up" to sacrifice. Articles on prayers in Homer and tragedy do not divide prayers into those accompanied by sacrifice and those unaccompanied: e.g., the Homeric studies at Lateiner (1997) 253, and the studies named at 248 n. 16; and Mikalson (1989).

^{29.} To the author in 2000 apropos of Lloyd-Jones (1998), a paper on sacrificial ritual.

From Robertson Smith, Burkert drew automatic efficacy and the sacred meal. He jettisoned the totemism found in Robertson Smith and Durkheim, but retained the purpose of achieving solidarity. He mostly disagreed with Hubert and Mauss, and so he did not regard sacrifice as a gift, and did not allot any great role to priests or experts. He agreed with them in assigning sacrifice the role of altering "the moral condition" of worshippers, but he did not imagine the same moral condition. Hubert and Mauss thought that sacrifice, by letting worshippers give a gift to an invisible being, taught selflessness and sociability. Burkert envisioned worshippers much as Meuli had. Worshippers were originally hunters, and even later, in the cities of ancient Greece, were butchers, or butcher's customers. They felt guilty, as in Meuli, and so they devised a ritual that would atone for their guilt. Rather than promote good conduct, sacrifice mitigated bad conscience. Like Meuli, Burkert stressed the psychological, not sociological, aspects of sacrifice.

Burkert differed from Meuli in his notion of the relation between men and animals. Meuli's hunters pitied animals, and so the ritual was, in Meuli's words, a "comedy of innocence." Burkert's hunters feared one another, and so they feared that killing animals would lead to killing human beings. The comedy of innocence gave way to its opposite, a tragedy in which the worshippers knew the worst about their own propensities. In this new drama, the worshippers could not expect the animal to pardon them, as in Hubert and Mauss, or pretend that the animal might revive, through some reconstitution, as in Meuli, and instead had to suppose that the animal went to the altar willingly, not thanks to any act of pardon or any prospect for a miracle. ³¹

The justification for this notion lay in Burkert's borrowing from the sociobiology of Konrad Lorenz, who had compared human aggression to aggression among other species. Sacrifice was more aggression, comparable to much primate behavior, but directed away from fellow humans toward animals. Lorenz also gave Burkert a reason to regard sacrifice as the most important Greek religious ritual. As Burkert wrote in *Homo Necans*, "society is built on impulses of aggression controlled by ritual, as Konrad Lorenz has shown." Sacrifice did what all rituals do, but with the filip that it provided solidarity.

In Greek Religion, Burkert imagined a typical sacrificial scene:

^{30.} Unschuldskomödie: Meuli (1946) 224. Comment on this concept: Peirce (1993) 223 n. 16 and Bonnechere (1999).

^{31.} The willing victim first appeared in Burkert (1966).

^{32.} Burkert (1966) 112. More in this vein: Burkert (1992).

The peculiar form of Greek sacrificial ritual [is that] . . . together on the same level, men and women stand here about the altar, experience and bring death, honour the immortals, and in eating affirm life in its conditionality: it is the solidarity of mortals in the face of immortals.³³

Little of this amalgam would have appeared in an account of Greek sacrifice written in the mid-nineteenth century. The writers of that time would have mentioned "honouring the immortals," but they also would have mentioned communicating with them through prayers, hymns, and signs. Nor would they have positioned mortals "in the face of the gods" (*sic*), or, to be exact, against them, as meant by *gegen*, the original German for "in the face." The phrase "men and women" would not have suited either the mid-nineteenth century or Robertson Smith. The phrase "solidarity of mortals" avoids any distinction between *sacrifiant* and *sacrificateur*, as in Hubert and Mauss. Rather than speak of such roles as these, Burkert speaks of emotions.

More in *Homo Necans* than in his later works, Burkert argued that these emotions originated in prehistory, or even in the development of primates prior to the emergence of *Homo sapiens*. Here Burkert again followed Meuli.³⁴ Yet Meuli went back only to the Stone Age, whereas Burkert went farther, to the behavior of Lorenz's herds or packs. Burkert eschewed the once common comparisons between Greeks and other pagans, or between Greeks and Hebrews. By the same token, Burkert paid little attention to a characteristically urban source for sacrifice, epigraphical records. Philosophical interpretation of sacrifice, notably by Pythagoreans, carried more weight than civic regulation of the rite.

Burkert's psychological emphasis led him to minimize several aspects of sacrifice. First, he minimized the role of the gods, who in *Greek Religion* appear in only the third chapter, after chapters on prehistory and on "Ritual and Sanctuary," especially "Animal Sacrifice." Second, he minimized prayers and the priests who utter them; *Greek Religion* allots them only four pages. Third, he minimized moral factors in sacrifice, which receive the same total of four pages. He ignored legal factors. Greek gods, he said, did not give laws—a view implicit in Meuli and Robertson Smith. In contrast, sacred space remained. Burkert

^{33.} Burkert (1985) 53.

^{34.} Including Burkert (1983, 1985, 2001). For Burkert's background, see Henrichs (1981) 197–199.

^{35.} As noticed by Bremmer (1998) 12-13; so also Naiden (2006b) 193-194.

^{36.} Burkert (1985) 95-99, especially 95.

^{37.} Burkert (1985) 246-250.

^{38.} Burkert (1985) 248, but this view is not confined to followers of Meuli; e.g., E. Otto (2007) 91.

defined the Greek word *temenos* not as a shrine for a god, but as a place "set apart for the sacred work, for sacrifice."³⁹

The views of Jean-Pierre Vernant and his collaborator, Marcel Detienne, developed in tandem with Burkert's, but as these two writers were of a sociological, not psychological, bent, the killing of the animal appealed less to them than the sacrificial meal. At this meal, they discovered a civic, Greek version of the solidarity first described by Robertson Smith and Durkheim.⁴⁰ In the words of Vernant's 1981 article, sacrifice was "an operation that offers an animal's life to the gods and transforms its body into food for human consumption."⁴¹ The division of the victim found in Hesiod, which was between some bodily parts and others, changed into a split between the insubstantial, which went to the gods, and the substantial, which went to the worshippers.⁴² It would be inconceivable for the gods to reject such an offering, just as it was inconceivable that the worshipper would slaughter an animal without eating it. The ritual worked automatically, but it did not express emotions, as with Burkert. Instead it distributed food.

Rather than a struggle against violence and guilt, this view implied a struggle over the food supply—a peaceable struggle over portions and control. The setting was no longer primitive or tribal, as was possible with Burkert, but urban and civic. Sometimes important before, gift-giving was more important now, for gift-giving to gods on the one hand and to the diners on the other unified the ritual. The gods were less important than before. Even in Burkert, the gods had faced the worshippers, but now they took their portion and departed, leaving the scene to the worshippers and to the civic authorities in charge of the slaughter and the meal. These authorities were more important even than in Hubert and Mauss. Now they controlled access to food as well as access to a god.

Burkert, Vernant said, made too much of animal behavior in the course of sacrifice. At The animal and its death received little attention in the Greek sources, whereas feasting received more. In Vernant's view, it deserved more. Feasting, not slaughtering, was the main human contribution to an act of sacrifice, and it was also the way most people participated. In a second criticism, Vernant laid more stress on solidarity than did Burkert. Burkert said that sacrifice created this emotion. Vernant, Detienne, and the scholars working with them replied that solidarity created sacrifice. According to Detienne's own essay, "Culinary Practices

^{39.} Burkert (1985) 87.

^{40.} A theme perhaps conveyed by Vernant's teacher, Gernet (1932).

^{41.} Vernant (1981) 9.

^{42.} Hes. Op. 537-541.

^{43.} Vernant (1981) 129.

and the Spirit of Sacrifice," "any military or political undertaking... must begin with a sacrifice followed by a meal." Summarizing the work of an earlier scholar, Jean Rudhardt, Detienne went on to say, "participation in a social group or political community authorizes sacrifice." This view would have suited any polis, from Sparta to Athens, or even Alexandria, but Detienne focused on Classical democracies. For the most part, he said, they distributed meat per capita, and so he concluded, "the ritual marks equality before the meat."

Vernant and Detienne shifted attention from Meuli's Stone Age or Burkert's age of primates to the Classical period, and from northern Europe to mainland Greece and Ionia. The French also paid little attention to Near Eastern practices contemporary with Classical Greece, but for a different reason. Mesopotamian sacrifice, Vernant said, was a way of feeding the gods, not of feeding a community after offering up an animal's life. Vernant added that Greek religion was much less a product of writing than the religions of the Near East. Perhaps for this reason, *Cuisine of Sacrifice* paid as little attention to epigraphical records as Burkert did.

Like Burkert, Vernant and Detienne preserved the human aspects of sacrifice at the expense of the divine aspects. *The Cuisine of Sacrifice* gave the gods no chapter of their own, and it let the vanishing gods take their priests with them. In his essay dealing with sacrificial victims, Jean-Louis Durand devoted only two pages to priests (Detienne and Vernant not mentioning them in their own contributions). Durand noticed the priestly portion of sacrificial meat, one of the perquisites given priests, but accounts for it as "the exception required for honor." He conceded that priests had the "honor of approaching the gods," but he did not suppose that priests had duties, in particular, the duty of offering prayers; prayers do not appear in *Cuisine of Sacrifice*. ⁴⁹ Prayer might imply some moral factor in

^{44.} Vernant and Detienne (1989) 3, 14. In regard to military enterprises, so also Plu. *An seni* 787b.

^{45.} Vernant and Detienne (1989) 13. A longer statement of this view: Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 49–52 (isonomia), 76–90 (citizenship), 131–147 (festivals). A social democratic version, in which most recipients of meat are both equal and hungry, the latter because of their poverty: Finley (1983) 40.

^{46.} Vernant (1991) ch. 14; see also Burkert (1985) 57 and the Assyriologist W. Lambert (1993) 198. A different view: Abusch (2008) 42–43, describing Mesopotamian practices as though they resembled *theoxenia* and the use of *trapezōmata*.

^{47.} Vernant (2000) 154–155. Bibliography on Burkert, Vernant, and other recent views: Parker (1996b). Among those omitted by Parker: Dirlmeier (1935), an attempt to summarize divine attitudes toward human misconduct, but without legal concepts.

^{48.} Durand (1989) 104.

^{49.} Ibid., 105.

sacrifice, and any moral factor had vanished, too. Only sacred space remained. This space was now less for Burkert's "sacred work" than for profane consumption.⁵⁰

Both the French scholars and Burkert focused on thusia, defining it as animal sacrifice before a meal, and so both scanted the topic of offerings other than livestock. In Greek Religion, Burkert allotted them seven pages. Detienne wrote a monograph on incense, a prestigious (and originally exotic) oblation; but neither put any oblation on a par with animal sacrifice.⁵¹ What burned ought to bleed. This orientation marked a shift from earlier pairings of bloody and bloodless offerings. Both schools also treated sacrifice as a ritual sure to achieve certain effects—for Burkert, the justification of violence and the obfuscation of guilt, and for Vernant and Detienne, the suppression of violence and the justification of social and political organization. In regard to the roles of gods, priests, and morals, Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne went farther than Robertson Smith, Durkheim, or others. Reduced to a totem in Robertson Smith, the god was now reduced to a visitor at a human occasion. Replaced by a shaman in Meuli, the priest now left the scene. He was a hierarch with no place at an egalitarian occasion. Ignored by Robertson Smith, if not by Hubert and Mauss, the moral factors in sacrifice became superfluous.

All these shifts—fewer gods and priests, less talk of morals, and fewer vegetal offerings—met with approval in the most consulted of publications, dictionary articles. These articles leave the gods under the rubric "Mythology," put "Priests" in entries under that title, divide the topic of religion from the topic of morals, or popular morals, and skimp on vegetal offerings. Yet they find room to cite Burkert and the French writers as authorities, and sometimes to add that sacrifice is the central ritual of Greek religion. In the third edition of the Oxford Classical Dictionary, the article "Sacrifice, Greek," devotes itself to the two schools and their points of agreement and disagreement. In the Neue Pauly, the article "Opfer" gives another summary of the two schools, and calls sacrifice the central act in all religions. The article "Griechische Religion" gives thusia pride of place as "Greek Normative Animal Sacrifice" and accepts the "ideological presuppositions" of

^{50.} Ibid., 89.

^{51.} Burkert (1985) 66-73; incense, 62; Detienne (1994).

^{52.} Parker (1996b), although Parker speaks more about communication, and less about violence and meals, in his Parker (2011) ch. 5; Bendlin (2000), listing only Burkert, Meuli, Vernant, and Detienne among modern theorists, but in the introduction preceding Bremmer and Heinze (2000) 1241–1243, who stress "Tieropefer mit Opfermalkzeit"; Hermary (2004) 159–161. See also Karanika-Dimarogona (2000). Emphasis given to Burkert: Carrasco (2005), correcting the omission of Burkert in Henninger (1987). Cf. Taft (1991) s.v. *Eucharist*, in a work in which there is no article on "sacrifice": the nineteenth century has survived the twentieth. For recent Orthodox and Catholic literature on the Eucharist, see his references.

Vernant. The article "Les sacrifices dans le monde grec" in the *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* follows Vernant and Detienne without demur.

Brief as they are, these articles did not notice a caveat Burkert inherited from Robertson Smith, one Vernant and Detienne would surely accept: a ritual might fail for two reasons, sacrilege and ceremonial errors.⁵³ Were there no other reasons? Whatever the reason, what would the god or goddess do?

The God's Part in Sacrifice

To discover the god in action, we should remember that besides the killing and eating of interest to the three leading writers, animal sacrifice included half a dozen phases. First came the gathering of the worshippers and their purification; then the preliminary offerings of barley and the like; then the prayer, the most important; and then the disposition of the animal in divine and human portions, the release of fire and smoke, and the inspection of the entrails. Even the meal did not mark the end of the rite. Music and dance sometimes followed. All these phases addressed themselves to the god, and he or she responded to them all, paying no heed to the number of worshippers and little heed to the type of offering. Just two examples of Homeric sacrifice—the first in Odyssey 3, when Nestor sacrifices to Athena on Pylos, and the second in *Iliad* 6, when the priestess Theano and the Trojan women sacrifice to Athena in her shrine in Troy—illustrate most of these phases. Other examples in Homer, and a few from later sources, illustrate the rest.⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly, some of the same material appears in the opening pages of the books of Burkert and of Vernant and Detienne.⁵⁵ These authors, though, say little about any god, let alone describe a sacrifice as a god saw, heard, and smelled it.

^{53.} Sacrilege in Burkert (1985) 248–249. Ceremonial requirements: 56 (voluntary victim), 77–79 (purification). A similar view: Parker (1983) 257–260, but chiefly with scapegoats as remedies. Another view: Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994) 73–81, following Staal (1989), and thus doubting whether rituals are communicative, and thus discounting flaws in communication between worshippers and gods.

^{54.} Some others: Ar. Av. 848–1057; Pax 948–1125; Men. Dysc. 394–549; E. IA 1540–1583, but at first with a human victim; Lucianus Sacr. 12–13; Heliod. 3.1–6. The sacrifice undertaken by Aegisthus in E. El. 790–839 is as long as these, but terminates at the act of killing; more killing, but of the sacrificateur, replaces rending, serving, and eating. The long description at h Mer. 108–137 is a parody. A discussion of the difficulties in using just one act to illustrate all phases, not only because of incompleteness but also because of inconsistency: Kirk (1981) 62–68, and especially the table on 64.

^{55.} Od. 3.430–474 as an example: Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 29–32, a work expanding on Vernant and Detienne (1989). The same example plus Il. 1.438–474, 2.402–433: Burkert (1983) 1–12, esp. 3–7. Summaries based on Homeric examples: Burkert (1985) 56–57; Vernant and Detienne (1989) 10–14. An old handbook containing a similar summary: Stengel (1920) 108–114. A new one: Hermary et al. (2004) 110–129.

At the start of *Odyssey* 3, Athena has taken the guise of a sea captain and has recommended her traveling companion, Telemachus, to Nestor. She wishes to help Telemachus but also to help Nestor, a ruler from whom Telemachus seeks news and advice. To draw Nestor's attention, she has metamorphosed into a bird, and flown away. This feat has made her recognizable, and also made Telemachus welcome. No sooner has she departed than Nestor prays to her, promising a sacrifice. This vow shows that he is addressing the sacrifice to her, but so does another feature of the scene, her presence. She stands by, invisible, as he goes about the business of the rite, beginning with his call to for others to participate:

A cow came from the field, and the companions of bighearted Telemachus came from the swift, well-balanced ship. The smith came, with his bronze gear in hand, the tools of his trade—a hammer, and anvil, and well-made tongs. He used them to beat gold. 56

This gathering betrays no guilt that the animal is going to its death, nor any emphasis on the act of slaughter—no mention of the knife with which the animal will be dispatched, nor of any rope by which it might be led. Many sources show these features, and Homer takes them for granted in order to stress the goldsmith and his tools.⁵⁷ As will soon emerge, beautifying the victim will be more important for Athena than killing it.

In two ways this act differs from many others. They begin with a procession, not an assembly, and the god presents himself or herself not in person, but through an image in a shrine. *Iliad* 6 provides an example of a procession and of an image in a shrine:

When the women reached the temple of Athena on the acropolis, pretty-cheeked Theano opened the doors. She was a Cissean and the wife of Antenor the breaker of horses. The Trojans had made her priestess of Athena.⁵⁸

^{56.} Οd. 3.430-435: ἦλθε μὲν ἃρ βοῦς /ἐκ πεδίου, ἦλθον δὲ θοῆς παρὰ νηὸς ἔΐσης / Τηλεμάχου ἔταροι μεγαλήτορος, ἦλθε δὲ χαλκεὺς /ὅπλ' ἐν χεροὶν ἔχων χαλκήϊα, πείρατα τέχνης, /ἀκμονά τε σφῦράν τ' εὐποίητόν τεπυράγρην, /οἶσίν τε χρυσὸν ἐργάζετο.

^{57.} E.g. *Hiera Kala* 31–42 for knives, kept in the *kanoun*; for ropes, see chapter 3 here.

^{58.} Il. 6.297–300: Αἷ δ' ὅτε νηὸν ἵκανον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ, /τῆσι θύρας ὤιξε Θεανὼ καλλιπάρῃος /Κισσηῗς ἄλοχος Ἀντήνορος ἱπποδάμοιο· /τὴν γὰρ Τρῶες ἔθηκαν Ἀθηναίης ἱέρειαν.

For Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne, a procession like this is a social occasion. It also brings people from the secular space of the polis to a sacred space, from daily life among one another to the eternal life of the gods. It has a divine destination, just as Nestor's sacrifice has a divine observer. And it has an obvious leader, the priestess entrusted with the keys to the shrine. For this reason alone, the sacrifice cannot take place without her—and for this reason alone, she is more important than these three writers imply.⁵⁹

The next phase of an animal sacrifice, the purification of the worshippers, helped make sacrifice acceptable to the god. In *Odyssey* 3, the singer reduces this phase to a glimpse of the vessel carrying the water for purification, and in *Iliad* 6, he omits purification, but other descriptions of sacrifice confirm this phase and the attention worshippers gave it, washing their hands but also sprinkling water around the altar, and, in Aristophanes, on the victim. ⁶⁰ The priest or other celebrant might wash first or order an attendant to do the sprinkling. Linking these precautions was the altar and the sacrifice that would occur there. To put the matter negatively: the entire sacred space did not need to be purified. The altar and those who approached it did. An Aeschylean passage confirms the divine interest in cleanliness at and about the altar. 61 In the Seven Against Thebes, where the chorus worries that the leader of Thebes, Eteocles, will not make acceptable sacrifices, the scholia explain that acceptable sacrifices would come from a man who had clean hands.⁶² Then there is negative evidence: Cadmus died searching for lustral water, and the infant of Hypsipyle died when she went looking for some.⁶³ And there is archaeological evidence. Perirrhantēria, lustral basins like the founts found in Catholic churches. served the same purpose as these founts—not just providing water for purification, but providing it in so many places that these objects served as boundary markers for shrines.⁶⁴ Just this preoccupation is missing from the account of purification given by Burkert, even though he draws the same parallel.⁶⁵ He does not follow the scholion in linking cleanliness to a divine response to a sacrifice.

^{59.} Kirk ad 6.298–299 notes that at 6.89, where Helenus proposes this sacrifice, Hecuba, not Theano, will have the key, so that the priestly role is kept within the royal family—for Burkert (1985) 46, an earlier stage of religious development.

^{60.} Ar. Pax 948–962. Same sprinkling around the altar: Lys. 1129–1131, Av. 850.

^{61.} Od. 3.440–441. Long descriptions: Il. 1.449, Ar. Av. 958–959; Pax 961; Men. Dysc. 440; E. IA 1568–1569.

^{62.} Schol. A. Sept. 700.

^{63.} E. Ph. 662, E. Hyp. As at Bond (1963) 18.

^{64.} Wycherley (1974) 65.

^{65.} Burkert (1985) 77; so also Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 9–10, 129; and earlier, *GGR* 1.101–104.

The following phase in Nestor's sacrifice, throwing barley groats at the altar, occurs at the same time as his prayer to Athena, and also at the same time as another offering, made by cutting some hairs from the head of the animal:

When the old horse-driver Nestor had made a start with the water vessel and the barley grains, he prayed much to Athena. He also made an offering by taking hairs of the head of the creature and throwing them into the fire.⁶⁶

Later sources call these two ancillary offerings *aparchai*. One or both appear in most long descriptions of sacrifice.⁶⁷ *Iliad* 6 omits these *aparchai* but mentions *thuē*, unspecified burnt vegetal offerings that accompany a *peplos* the women have woven for the goddess, but as soon as Theano and her company enter the shrine and present these offerings, the prayer begins, the same as in *Odyssey* 3.⁶⁸ Centuries of scholars have speculated about the meaning of the barley and the hair, and Burkert (though not the two French writers) joins in the speculation.⁶⁹ For the god, *aparchai* and prayer merge in a single attempt to gain his or her attention. After being presented by the worshippers, the barley lands on the altar, the hairs feed the fire and its smoke, and the prayer comes to the god's ears, a triple announcement.

The prayer, however, outweighs the other two. Nestor extended his hands above the altar, in the direction from which the god would supposedly listen, and opened communication with him. The "much" in his praying would have included reports of his vow, and perhaps also requests or thanks, reasons for granting requests, and more vows. The prayer would have been longer than Homer's description implies, and more imposing, for it took place amid general silence, if not quiet praying by other worshippers. The reason that the singer does not report the prayer verbatim is that the chief request, for Athena's benevolence, has proved superfluous. She is present, hence benevolent. Nestor is lucky enough to be praying for a request already granted.

Theano did as Nestor did, but was unlucky. Extending her hands toward the goddess—that is, to an image in the temple—she made a request fortified by a vow:

^{66.} Od. 3.444–446: γέρων δ' ἱππηλάτα Νέστωρ /χέρνιβά τ' οὐλοχύτας τε κατήρχετο, πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνη /εὖχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων.

^{67.} Il. 1.449, 2.410, Ar. Av. 849-850, Pax 962, Men. Dysc. 440.

^{68.} Il. 6.270, 6.301-304.

^{69.} Burkert (1985) 66-68; Rudhardt (1958) 219-222; Stengel (1910) 40-50.

Mistress Athena, protector of the city, break Diomedes's spear and let him fall headlong before the Skaian gates. If you take pity on the Troy and Trojans' wives and their helpless children, we will sacrifice twelve cattle to you in the temple.⁷⁰

As she speaks, the image of Athena listens, and will shortly respond with a nod of the head. Or, if we discount the nod, which occurs in a verse athetized by the ancient editor Aristarchus, we will know Athena's response by way of her dealings with Diomedes. So far, the goddess has helped him. In the next day's fighting, she will decline to turn against him, either by breaking his spear or causing him to fall in battle. Unlike Nestor's, Theano's prayer will be denied. That could happen to any prayer—and to any sacrifice accompanying a prayer. When the prayer is denied, the sacrifice fails of its object.

The tendency to treat sacrifice and prayer separately has not kept recent writers from acknowledging this link between the two practices. Burkert, for one, says that rituals seldom lack a prayer. These writers do not acknowledge that an act of animal sacrifice always included a prayer, if only a prayer to accept the offering. An act of animal sacrifice had to have an auditor, for the prayer, and a viewer, for the offering, and this auditor and viewer had to be one and the same. A sacrifice constituted a performance for an invisible audience of one.

Once uttered, the prayer leaves the spatial and temporal confines of the rite and reaches an auditor, who is often present symbolically, as in *Iliad* 6. The prayer often refers to the worshipper's previous dealing with the god, as doubtless in *Odyssey* 3, where the singer says only that Nestor made many prayers to Athena. If Nestor asked for a blessing, the prayer stretched into the future; in *Iliad* 6, where Theano asked for help against the Achaeans, it did likewise.⁷³ This context lies even farther removed from killing and eating than the preceding phases do. They were preliminaries or ceremonies. This is neither. Instead it is the scene of a narrative—a religious narrative on which the worshipper's life, health, and prosperity depended. For Telemachus if not Nestor, Odysseus's life was at stake. For Theano, Troy was at stake.

^{70.} Il. 6.305-310: πότνι' Άθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολι δῖα θεάων /ἆξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος, ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν /πρηνέα δὸς πεσέειν Σκαιῶν προπάροιθε πυλάων, /ὄφρά τοι αὐτίκα νῦν δυοκαίδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῷ. . . ἱερεύσομεν, αἴ κ' ἐλεήσῃς /ἄστύ τε καὶ Τρώων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα.

^{71.} The athetized verse: as in Aristarchus preserved by Aristonicus; Kirk ad 6.311 accepts the verse.

^{72.} Burkert (1985) 73.

^{73.} Il. 6.305-310.

In the next phase, the disposition of the animal, Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne notice bloodshed, but the Athena of *Odyssey* 3 noticed the goldsmith. He had gilded the horns of the victim so that

the goddess would see the pretty sight, and enjoy it.74

The victim gives esthetic satisfaction to the god. In *Iliad* 6, Theano and the Trojan women offered Athena a *peplos* meant to do likewise. Homer echoes Theano through the phrase *hiera kala*, "attractive offerings." This commonplace faces no competition from any phrase that describes sacrificial animals as inspiring guilt.⁷⁵ Burkert nonetheless thought that this emotion surfaced when female worshippers reacted to the animal's death. To express their guilt, they raised the *ololugē*, a cry expressing revulsion. This response appears in *Odyssey* 3 and elsewhere. Yet the women in *Iliad* 6 raised the same cry, and in that instance it could not have expressed that emotion.⁷⁶ Rather than kill an animal, Theano presented the *peplos*. Jan Bremmer drew the conclusion that this parallel implies, and said that the *ololugē* expressed the excitement felt by the worshippers. Some other worshippers who present to Athena a *peplos*, those inscribed on the Parthenon frieze, must have felt the same excitement.

To help secure a favorable response, the worshippers often gave the god a portion of an animal victim. *Odyssey* 3, like other long descriptions in Homer, notices that Nestor removed the thigh pieces the god would receive, added fat to this portion, and folded it.⁷⁷ Four more acts took place—stunning the animal with the axe, cutting its throat, putting it on the altar, and rending it.⁷⁸ Burkert stresses these, but other descriptions correct this emphasis. They omit one or more of the four, such as stunning the animal, or even all four.⁷⁹ The common feature is the attempt to please, not the bloodshed or choice of cut. Had slaughter or shanks

^{74.} Od. 3.438: ἵν' ἄγαλμα θεὰ κεχάροιτο ἰδοῦσα.

^{75.} *Hiera kala* or, in brief, *hiera gignesthai*, in just one work, Xenophon's *Anabasis*: 1.8.15, 2.2.4, 4.3.9, 4.6.23, 5.4.22, 5.6.29, 6.2.15, 6.4.9, 6.4.25, 6.5.2, 6.5.8, 6.5.21, 7.2.15–16, 7.6.44, 7.8.10, 7.8.20. *Ou kallierein*: 7.1.40. *Ou gignesthai (kala)*: 2.2.3, 6.4.13, 6.4.16, 6.4.22, 6.4.25, 6.6.36. Periphrastic exceptions: 5.5.3, 6.1.22 (*ou sēmainen*).

^{76.} Burkert's view: (1985) 56. Excitement, not horror: Bremmer (2008a) 136–137, citing *Od.* 3.450; so also *Il.* 6.301; so also Kirk and Leaf ad 6.301, followed by Graf (2002) 34.

^{77.} Od. 3.456-458.

^{78.} Od. 3.449-450, 453-455.

^{79.} Some omission at *Il.* 1.459–461, 2.422–424; Ar. *Pax* 1017–1018, 1021, 1040, 1088; Men. *Dysc.* 440; entire phase omitted at E. *LA* 1540–1583, Lucianus *Sacr.* 12–13; and at Heliod.3.5.2.

been necessary, Theano and her women would have brought a victim. The divine portion may be taken for granted, but it varies.⁸⁰

Having disposed of the victim, the worshippers did not immediately receive any part of it. Instead the priest or celebrant did. In *Odyssey* 3, Nestor and his sons did.

The old man roasted the meat on spits, and poured bright wine over it. The young men beside him had forks in their hands. And when the thigh pieces had burned away and they had eaten the entrails, they chopped up everything else and put it on prongs, and roasted it as they held the tipped prongs in their hands.⁸¹

Pouring wine fed the fire with alcohol, and so it sent smoke into the sky. The word for the smoke, *knisē*, was also the word for the burning fat included in the divine portion, and so the smoke communicated this portion from the worshippers to the god, as also reported in Aristophanes's *Birds*. The *knisē* rose parallel to the words of the prayer. Going up and out, it moved from the scene of the rite to the larger scene, the context in which the god responded. The worshippers followed it, gazing upward, toward the god and not each other.

This twofold appeal—prayer and smoke—marked the apex of the rite. It had an esthetic element found in the purification, the animal, and the smoke, a moral element found in the prayer, an element of leadership found in the person of the priest or other celebrant, a ceremonial foreground, and a narrative background. It remained for the god to respond—to accept the offering, the prayer, and the worshippers, too. And he responded forthwith. When eating the *splanchna*, Nestor and his sons could not help but observe whether these parts of the animal were appealing to the eye—well-formed, spotless, and all accounted for—in a word, *kala*. Entrails in this condition betokened a favorable god. Flawed entrails betokened an

^{80.} $M\bar{e}ria$ only in archaizing sources: RA 1942/43.19.10 (Delphi), AA 1907.126.9 (northern Black Sea), Halikarnassos 123.4. Skelos: IG iv² 1.41.10–12, presumably LSAM 59.2–3, where one leg goes to the priest and the other to the god; and the many instances in varied sources in which the priest's portion is not distinguished from the divine portion, as explained in Putt-kammer (1912) 16–31. The general term theomoiria is ambiguous in this sense. Omos: LSCG 151b.19–20, IG xii.2.72.1–2.

^{81.} Οd. 3.459-463: καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζησ' ὁ γέρων, ἐπὶ δ' αἴθοπα οἶνον /λεῖβε' νέοι δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν. /αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρ' ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχνα πάσαντο, /μίστυλλόν τ' ἄρα τἆλλα καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειρον, ὤπτων δ' ἀκροπόρους ὀβελοὺς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες.

^{82.} Ar. Av. 187-193.

unfavorable god.⁸³ In the first case, the offering would be pleasing, the prayer granted, the worshipper helped. In the second case, all would be reversed.

While acknowledging this phase of sacrifice, Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne describe the inspection of the entrails as divination. From this perspective, entrails do not count as another encounter with the god, the same as purification, *aparchai*, and prayer—as a fourth phone line on the same desk. Instead, the entrails form part of a distinct practice, one not part of animal sacrifice followed by a meal. In this practice, an animal goes to its death, but for a different purpose, one that Burkert says is to provide "an aid to decision-making." Rather than direct his victim to the god, the worshipper directed it toward the problem the rite should solve. Yet some sources for the inspection of entrails, especially the vase paintings catalogued by Folkert van Straten, do not link inspection to divination but instead link it to sacrificial meals. A worshipper in these circumstances sought not aid in decision-making but an answer to a prayer, or acknowledgment of thanks. The inspection of entrails provided these. It brought the slaughter of the animal to fulfillment.

The last phase of a sacrifice, the meal, would seem to be a human affair. Yet some Homeric sacrifices include singing and dancing after the meal, two activities that a god might notice. After the sacrifice led by Chryses in *Iliad* 1, Apollo notices. Having "heard" the prayer, he "enjoys" the music and dancing. The esthetic response runs parallel to the religious response. Or a god might notice and take umbrage. In Sophocles's *Electra*, the gods Clytemnestra thought had helped her kill Agamemnon perhaps took umbrage at her sacrificial dances, the same as at her sacrifices.⁸⁷ Here, too, the religious and the esthetic response run parallel. Gods pay attention to music and dance in Plutarch, too.⁸⁸ The human gathering the French writers especially emphasize includes a divine spectator whom they and Burkert omit but whom *Odyssey* 3 includes.

^{83.} Inspection of *splanchna* without hepatoscopy being mentioned, and without a priest performing the inspection: Hdt. 6.68, Ar. *Pax* 1040, Plb. 3.11.5–6, 7.12, Plu. *Arat.* 50.3–4. General statement: A. *PV* 493–499, where Prometheus says that he invented the inspection of *splanchna* and the reading of the spleen and the lobe of the liver, distinct practices.

^{84.} The table of contents of Burkert (1985), listing "Fire Rituals" and "Divination" separately from animal sacrifice; Zaidman and Schmitt-Pante (1992) 121–128, doing likewise for "Divination."

^{85.} Burkert (1985) 113–114. For Vernant and Detienne (1989), it is also important that divination customarily does not precede a meal, as is evident from Paus. 5.24.9–11; at Burkert (1985) 252, Burkert expresses doubts about this conclusion. See chapter 3 here.

^{86.} Hiera Kala 189-191 with V242, 254, 261, 262.

^{87.} Il. 1.467-474, S. El. 280-281.

^{88.} Plu. Q. conviv. 632c.

Recent accounts of this phase of sacrifice also miss a motive for singing and dancing. This is not the solidarity important to both Burkert and to Vernant and Detienne, but a joy in the god's presence. Plutarch says,

The joyful thing about a festival isn't the abundance of wine or the cooking of meat. It's the good hope and impression that the divine is present and kindly and will receive the ceremonies favorably.⁸⁹

To convey this joy, *Odyssey* 3 puts Athena among the worshippers, and *Iliad* 1 puts Apollo in earshot. *Iliad* 6 highlights Plutarch's remark that the god or goddess "will receive the ceremonies favorably." Will she? This question, not killing or eating, brought men before gods, and in so doing brought them together.

These glimpses of the goddess in action cannot avoid the evidentiary perils of Homeric poetry. A goddess who attends a sacrifice incognito is unusual, and so is a cameo for a goldsmith. So is the long description that finds room for the two of them, and so is the placement of this passage near the start of the poem, as though it were a guide for the audience. To counteract this display of idiosyncrasy, we need to follow Athena and her worshippers in some medium of expression with more examples, and with less artistic torsion applied to the rite. Vase paintings provide such a medium. They have their own drawback, which is that each of them commonly presents only one phase of a sacrifice, but other paintings present the rest. This medium confirms not only the importance of each phase of the sacrifice, but the failure of either killing or eating—Burkert's interest, and the interest of Vernant and Detienne—to dominate the record. As Van Straten observed in Hiera Kala, few vase paintings—or votives, sculptures, or other media—present the moments at which the worshippers kill or rend the animal that is the sacrificial victim. He might have added that most do not represent the worshippers eating together, either. Most do not even show the worshippers paying any heed to the victim (with the exception of the few worshippers who must keep it moving, or must restrain it).90 They do not show the worshippers acknowledging one another, let alone sitting together and eating. Instead they show the worshippers looking toward the altar, and toward the god often found beside or beyond it. All eyes are on the god, or the place of contact with this being. Joy, hope, fear, awe-more feelings than there are worshippers-crowd

^{89.} Plu. Non pos. suav. 1102b: οὐ γὰρ οἴνου πλῆθος οὐδ' ὅπτησις κρεῶν τὸ εὐφραῖνόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, ἀλλ' ἐλπὶς ἀγαθὴ καὶ δόξα τοῦ παρεῖναι τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ καὶ δέχεσθαι τὰ γινόμενα κεχαρισμένως.

^{90.} Hiera Kala 187.



FIGURE 1.1 How to entertain a goddess

the line of sight between him and them. They see the invisible. They are sure of it. That is how they see themselves.

Figure 1-1, a Boeotian *lekanis* or pot of about 550 BCE, spreads worshippers in a semicircle leading to Athena. Spear raised, she stands at the right center, below an altar where a fire burns. Nearest the altar comes a *kanēphoros* carrying atop her head the *kanoun* or basket holding the *aparchai*, perhaps a knife, and a fillet with which to decorate the victim. To be nearest to the altar, and to the god, is an honor, and the young woman does not waste it: eyes front, she watches Athena. Next comes a man leading the victim, a bull. The fillet in the basket confirms that the bull must be rendered attractive, but the ropes tied to its rear legs confirm that it need not be rendered willing. Meanwhile, a piper plays as he walks behind the animal: Athena will have music. Following are four men, the first and fourth

^{91.} Fig. 1.1. London BM B 80 = *Hiera Kala*, fig. 14, V107 = *LIMC* II s.v. *Athena* (C. Scheffer) 586.

carrying wreaths, for they wish to be attractive, too. The second carries water for the ceremony of purification, that other aspect of good looks. The third carries a knife, explaining why the *kanoun* may not hold one. After this foursome comes a cart with more worshippers, the last of whom carries another wreath. An armed man brings up the rear. His spear is down, Athena's up.

The sacrificial procession now gives way to a scene in which four men encircle a billy-goat. One man lays hold of one of the horns. They are commandeering the animal, presumably for a sacrifice evoked by the wreaths carried by two of the party. A roped bull, two mules lashed by the driver of the cart, and now a captured goat—men rule animals, and the goddess rules men. Will she lower her weapon and accept what they offer? This picture leads up to the same climax as the Homeric scene. The picture, though, cannot show what her choice will be, what will motivate it, what has transpired between her and these worshippers before, and what will transpire now. For that we must go back to Homer, but we should not confine ourselves to one or two examples.

Sacrifice in Context

Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne regard sacrifice as a self-contained event. It begins when worshippers gather, and ends when they disperse. Yet *Odyssey* 3 and *Iliad* 6 show that sacrifice occurred in a context stretching into the past, when relations between the god and the worshippers began, and also into the future, when the god responded to the sacrifice and the consequences of his or her response unfolded. Other acts of sacrifice figured in this context, and so did the conduct of the worshipper and the god. The relation of the act to the context was like the relation of a word to the rest of a sentence. Just as a word gains meaning from the sentence in which it appears, the act of sacrifice became comprehensible as part of a sequence—as an episode, not a self-contained event.

The link between the act and the context was the worshipper's prayer. This prayer looked to the past, and to some blessing like a harvest, or some misfortune like a plague, and it also looked to the future, requesting relief from the plague or victory over the invader. Or, if there were no misfortune, the prayer looked to the past and responded with thanksgiving, and looked to the future and asked for benevolence. As with Nestor and Theano, the prayer was either answered or denied, and the request or thanksgiving was either accepted or rejected. The future depended on this choice.

The response did not need to take any one form. If the god granted the prayer, he might listen or nod, or might take pleasure in the offering. When the smoke went up, the god might accept that, and when the entrails were inspected, the god might cause them to be normal. The god might join the worshippers at their feast,

and instill joy in them. Or the god might do the opposite: find the worshippers unclean, reject the prayer, scant the offering, ignore the smoke, pervert the entrails, shun the feast. The god turned negative far less often than he or she remained positive, but the Homeric poems afford examples of most of these responses, beginning with Athena's rejection of Theano and the *peplos* in *Iliad* 6.92 Where epic falls silent, other sources do not. A negative response to purification appears in the Sacred Law of Cyrene, one of the oldest and longest of sacrificial regulations. It says that if a worshipper presents the god with the wrong animal, the worshipper must clean and purify the altar—an admission that the god has rejected the victim.93 In the previous section of the essay just quoted, Plutarch negates a festival's "joyful thing."

Homeric poetry also illustrates a context including several acts—one stretching from the start of the *Odyssey* down to the hero's arrival on Scheria, and including four of the five acts of sacrifice performed by Odysseus or his crew during this time. ⁹⁴ All these acts prove unacceptable to the god being addressed, and the last of them is emphasized. After Odysseus arrives, the context changes, affecting the outcome of four acts attended by Odysseus but performed by others, plus one earlier act performed by him according to Circe's instructions. ⁹⁵ All these acts prove acceptable, and the last one is distinctive, if not emphasized. ⁹⁶ The use of sacrifice reverses itself, and the context is the reason.

The first sacrifice in the *Odyssey* commences the run of failures, and also shows how the context may stretch far into the future. While at Troy, Odysseus sacrificed to Zeus. The singer does not say, but the hero likely prayed for success in war and a safe voyage home. These sacrifices occurred throughout the war, and must have numbered in the dozens, or even the hundreds. These were "proper sacrifices," or sacrifices that the hero made *hiera rezōn*. Yet as Athena says to Zeus at the poem's start, these sacrifices have done him no good:

Does your heart not turn toward him, even now?97

^{92.} Rejected prayer: *Il.* 6.311. Offering scanted: *Od.* 9.555. Ignored smoke: *Il.* 8.552. Perverted entrails vel sim.: *Od.* 12.396–397, 20.348; cf. S. *Ant.* 999–1022, esp. 1005–1013. Cases where no distinction is drawn between rejection of prayer and scanting of offering: *Il.* 8.551–552, *Od.* 1.60–61. Tacit rejection: *Il.* 1.315–317, *Od.* 3.159–160, 12.233–265,13.184–187.

^{93.} LSCG Supp. 115.26-31 with Parker (1983) 339.

^{94.} *Od.* 1.60–62, 3.159–160, 9.551–555, 12.339–365.

^{95.} The first three: Od. 8.59–61, 71–72 (by Alcinous); 14.414–457 and 16.453 (by Eumaeus); 11.23–50 anticipated by 10.516–529, containing Circe's instructions.

^{96.} The last: the homecoming at Od. 24.215, 364. This list excludes the foretold act at Od. 11.130–132 = 23.277–279.

^{97.} Od. 1.60: οὐδέ νυ σοί περ ἐντρέπεται φίλον ἢτορ; So also the complaining question at Od. 1.62 ending οὐ χαρίζετο.

Athena means to say that Zeus had partly rejected these sacrifices. Although he allowed the Achaeans to prevail, he did not allow Odysseus to reach home. In answer, Zeus blames Poseidon, angry at Odysseus for blinding the Cyclops. Poseidon, of course, must be accommodated, and a worshipper who expects otherwise will meet with rebuff. The crucial feature of the context for these sacrifices is the relation between two gods. Proper sacrifice cannot prevail against their mutual understanding, which dates from the division of the world among them and their brother, Hades.

The next act occurred just after Odysseus and the rest of the Achaeans left Troy and arrived on Tenedos. The voyage had already gone poorly. At Troy, Agamemnon and Menelaus had quarreled. Agamemnon wanted to wait, and sacrifice to Athena, Menelaus to leave. Nestor, the teller of this story, averred that any sacrifices to Athena were sure to be rejected. He does not need to explain that the Achaeans permitted the violation of her priestess Cassandra. Along with this reason comes violation of supplicatory norms, for Cassandra supplicated at Athena's statue. Rather than attend these futile sacrifices, Nestor, Menelaus, and Odysseus, too, sailed away and reached Tenedos. "We got there," Nestor explains,

and made holy sacrifices to the gods. We yearned to go home.⁹⁹

These were proper sacrifices, too, the same as Odysseus's at Troy, and they accompanied the same plea as before, to go home, but the gods remained hostile:

Zeus had no return in mind for us, the villain. He inspired a second quarrel among us.

As a result of this quarrel, Odysseus went one way, Nestor another. Like the sacrifice proposed by Agamemnon, this one caused dissension. Gods not only rejected sacrifices, but used rejection to split the communities that sacrifice supposedly would unify. As for Zeus's reason, it was surely the same as Athena's. The Achaeans had participated in, or tolerated, sacrilege and violation of supplicatory norms. Their sacrifices deserved to fail. As the god of supplication, or Zeus Hikesios, the chief god would have reason to reject these worshippers on this occasion.

When Odysseus takes up his story six books later, in *Odyssey 9*, he omits the topic of sacrifice in describing his first few adventures after parting with the

^{98.} Naiden (2006a) 153-154.

^{99.} Od. 3.159–161: ές Τένεδον δ' έλθόντες έρέξαμεν ίρὰ θεοῖσιν, /οἴκαδε ἱέμενοι' Ζεὺς δ' οὔ πω μήδετο νόστον, /σχέτλιος, ὅς ρ΄ ἔριν ὧρσε κακὴν ἔπι δεύτερον αὖτις.

Achaeans. The rite reappears during the encounter with Cyclops. Besides blinding him, Odysseus had pilfered his stores. Odysseus had also supplicated the Cyclops under false pretences, wrongdoing that involved not just supplicatory norms but also the guest-host relation, another concern of Zeus, but as Zeus Xenios. The hero had now fallen foul not just of an understanding among divine brothers, but of two customs Zeus wished to foster. Described by punishing him, as Athena punished the violator of Cassandra, Ajax the Lesser. Instead the god let Odysseus select a prize victim, a ram stolen from the Cyclops. Then, as Odysseus says,

I sacrificed it by the seaside to Zeus, the son of Cronus, the cloud-gatherer who rules the world, and I burned the thigh pieces. ¹⁰¹

An impeccable performance, as before, and doubtless a familiar request, to return home, accompanied by thanks for the hero's deliverance from the monster. Yet the god not only "paid no heed" but also prepared to punish the worshipper:

He was planning the destruction of all my ships and my companions.

Just before, the Cyclops had prayed to Poseidon to cause the destruction of the ships and men. Weighing the two prayers, and remembering Poseidon, Zeus chooses to grant the Cyclops's prayer, Odysseus excepted, and to deny the hero's prayer, Odysseus again excepted.¹⁰²

Poseidon, *xenia*, supplication—all figure in the context of this rejected sacrifice. So does the request for a safe homecoming, denied to the Achaeans before, and denied to Odysseus now. In the *Odyssey*, a rite that goes wrong tends to go plainly wrong. In contrast, the most important troubled worshipper of the *Iliad*, Agamemnon, is an ambiguous figure, liable to less severe rejection. His rival, Achilles, is spared any sacrificial troubles, though not a rejected libation.¹⁰³ Yet Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne do not allow for this sort of variation, any more

^{100.} A longer account: Naiden (2006a) 139-140.

^{101.} Od. 9.551–553, followed by 555: τὸν δ' ἐπὶ θινὶ /Ζηνὶ κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίδη, ὃς πᾶσιν ἀνάσσει, /ῥέξας μηρι εκαιον . . . ἀλλ' ὅ γε μερμήριζεν, ὅπως ἀπολοίατο πᾶσαι /νῆες ἐΰσσελμοι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι.

^{102.} Other views of this act: Fenik (1974) 222–223, saying that the rejection of the sacrifice is unjustifiable, and Heubeck and Hoekstra ad 9.550–555, saying that it does not result from Odysseus's misconduct, but only from Zeus's obligations toward Poseidon. A similar view: Reinhardt (1948) 85–86.

^{103.} Il. 2.420, 16.249-252.

than they allow for the divine role that Athena plays one way, and Zeus another. They suppose a rite with fewer roles, and fewer ways to play them, a rite with one meaning, not episodes with many meanings.

They also miss instances of parody, such as the next rejected sacrifice in the *Odyssey*, occurring on the Island of the Sun. In part, it is one more Odyssean morality tale. Warned by Circe not to make this sacrifice, Odysseus shared this warning with his men, and when they insisted on violating the warning, and killing the Sun's cattle, he refused to participate.¹⁰⁴ His reasons for refusing form a compendium of the lessons taught so far. First, the cattle belonged to Helios. This was the lesson of respecting divine standing—Poseidon's lesson for Odysseus. Second, destroying the Sun's property was sacrilege. That was the lesson of the sacrifices Athena would have rejected in book 3, as the Achaeans sought to return. Third, transgressing *xenia* might prejudice a sacrifice. This was the lesson of the ram in book 9.

Yet in part, the slaughter of the Sun's cattle is a parody. The men did not wash their hands, and so they skipped the preliminary of purification. As their initial offering they used leaves instead of barley. Since they had no alcohol to pour over the fire, they poured water, but that must have dampened the fire rather than cause it to rise, and so it must have been an ill omen—another reason for the god to reject the offering. Then the roasting pieces of meat provided another ill omen:

The hides crawled, both the raw and roasted meat bellowed on the spits, and a sound of cattle went up.¹⁰⁵

In contrast, a successful sacrifice would include a curling tail and presentable entrails. These flaws run parallel to the flaws in motive, character, and request. The act of sacrifice and the context are both amiss, and the effect is both horrifying and humorous.

This nadir reveals several Homeric norms for sacrifice. Most failures concern context, and here the context is an act of sacrilege. The worst failures, though, concern both context and ceremony, and here the ceremony is so much water instead of wine. And the worst end not only in rejection but catastrophe—this time, in the deaths of the worshippers in a storm at sea. Yet the distinctiveness of the *Odyssey* appears, too. The nadir comes in the middle of the poem. What goes down will now go up.

^{104.} Od. 12.339-365.

^{105.} Od. 12.396–397: εἶρπον μὲν ῥινοί, κρέα δ' ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσ' ἐμεμύκει, /ὀπταλέα τε καὶ ὡμά' βοῶν δ' ὧς γίνετο φωνή. Another view of these signs, as portents unrelated to sacrifice: Heubeck and Hoekstra ad loc., citing Stockinger (1959) 135.

To fare better, the hero takes advice from experts. An Underworld sacrifice made in book 10 proceeded according to instructions given to Odysseus by Circe. 106 He had gone there to learn about his homecoming from Tiresias, to interview the spirits, and, of course, to ask Hades, the third divine brother, for safe passage. Obeying Circe in every detail, he provided the *aparchai*, slew a black sheep for Tiresias, slew more, and poured the blood into the pit for the spirits of the Underworld to drink, prayed to them besides, and then, when the spirits arrived, ordered his companions to help. They sacrificed and prayed to Hades and Persephone. The two gods granted the request for safe passage. It was, in effect, a request to be acknowledged as living men, and the two gods did not object to it. Unlike the crew who would slay the Sun's cattle, Odysseus performed scrupulously. The result corresponded—not shipwreck, but an informative and safe trip to the most hazardous of destinations.

Once the sacrifice ended, and the spirits of the dead appeared to Odysseus, as Circe predicted they would, Odysseus met Tiresias, and the motif of expert advice repeated itself as Tiresias told Odysseus how to appease Poseidon. The hero would need to make another voyage after returning home, and to sacrifice at the propitious moment. Odysseus hearkened to these instructions, too, repeating them verbatim to his wife after he returned, twelve books later. The context now stretched beyond the *Odyssey*'s end, just as it had begun at Troy, before the poem's start.

This sacrifice and the slaughter of the Sun's cattle form a pair. The first was elaborate and correct, if unusual, whereas the second was elaborate, incorrect, and bizarre. The first solved Odysseus's old problem, Poseidon, whereas the second gave his men a new problem, the Sun. The first asked for forbearance, whereas the second asked for something more—forgiveness. Both altered the context. The first gave Odysseus a future, and the second deprived the men of theirs. As Homer said at the beginning of the poem, he was resourceful, whereas they were foolish. He did not persist in sacrificial errors, whereas they did.

Now, the hourglass turned over. In the remaining twelve books of the poem, Odysseus went from hapless adviser to honored bystander, and failure turned into success. The first success featured Odysseus as Alcinous's guest of honor. Alcinous, the celebrant, resembled the Nestor of *Odyssey* 3. He enjoyed implicit divine favor, and he made unspecified but unimpeachable requests for prosperity and for good will toward his guest. Like Nestor's, both requests were granted in

^{106.} Od. 10.519-529 vs. 11.23-50.

^{107.} *Od.* 11.130–132 = 23.277–279.

^{108.} Od. 1.1 vs. 1.8.

advance. Save for Poseidon, the gods wished to leave Scheria in peace and let Odysseus go home. Athena had also helped Odysseus compete in games on Scheria. The second success occurred when Odysseus departed for Ithaca under a Phaeacian escort that was safe as long as they were bringing Odysseus home. Once again, Alcinous was the celebrant. In this case, Tiresias's prophecy of the hero's return was unfolding, and Athena's sponsorship of him continued. For the poem to attain its climax, Odysseus's recovery of his wife and his household, these two sacrifices must succeed, and so they did succeed. In the background lay the misdeeds of the suitors. For Odysseus to return and punish them, successful sacrifice was again indispensable. Otherwise, one man (or one and a few helpers) could not defeat 108 suitors.

On Ithaca, Odysseus attended two more successful sacrifices, both led by the slave Eumaeus, who received his master at his hut in the countryside. The first is emphatic, running thirty lines.¹¹⁰ Odysseus had arrived incognito, as Athena did for Nestor's sacrifice on Pylos, and so Eumaeus faced a test: would he perform well under observation? The slave, like the Homeric hero, passed the test. He prayed to all the gods for Odysseus's return, and also prayed to Hermes and Maia in particular, perhaps in thanksgiving. Along with this pair of prayers, the slave made every provision that poverty and isolation would allow, including a double portion for the gods and an honorary portion for his guest. These particulars contradicted the parody in book 12.111 As acceptable as this ceremony was, the first of the two prayers was even more so. Odysseus was already home, and so Eumaeus's request had already been granted. Assuming that the second prayer gave thanks, Eumaeus made himself the most complaisant of worshippers, giving instead of asking. About the second sacrifice, the singer says little, but Athena was present, transforming Odysseus. 112 Divine presence betokened divine acceptance, as it did for Nestor in book 3.

Like the sacrifices of Alcinous, these sacrifices had a long background. Eumaeus had been demonstrating his loyalty to Odysseus for years, if not decades. He wanted Odysseus to return no less than Athena did, so her visiting him during the second sacrifice acknowledged this shared wish. These sacrifices also had consequences stretching into the future. By sacrificing well, Eumaeus proved himself trusty, and so Odysseus could recruit him for the very small army with which he

^{109.} Od. 8.59-61, 71-72, 13.24-28.

^{110.} Od. 14.417-457.

^{111.} Double portion: *Od.* 14.426–428 followed by 435; see chapter 3. Honorary portion: 14.437–438.

^{112.} Od. 14.453-455.

would fight the suitors and then the suitors' kinsmen. Eumaeus would later receive a homestead of his own, one he earned partly by performing the duties of a head of a household during the two sacrifices at his hut.

First several failures, now one success and then another. The context had changed: Eumaeus avoided the errors of Odysseus's crew, Odysseus avoided misconduct such as had occurred in the cave of the Cyclops, Poseidon dropped out of the story, and Athena remained. Alcinous and Eumaeus acted in accord with a prophecy that guaranteed acceptance of sacrifices made for the sake of the return home. Save on the Island of the Sun, the performance of ceremonies had little to do with this change, for most ceremonies before and afterward were proper. Moral factors changed, and the divine dispensation changed.

If the act of sacrifice was like a word in a sentence, and the context was like the entire sentence, the sentence might be long, as in this case, where the context developed over half a lifetime. The sentence or context might end unexpectedly, as also in this case. It always ended by making sense. The divine response to the prayers made during acts of sacrifice was never arbitrary. Some worshippers were fools, like the crew, and some were not, like Eumaeus and Odysseus. None were victims of chance.

The Plan of This Book

As Albert Henrichs has observed, the gods of sacrifice have received little recent attention. In recompense, chapters 2–4 of this book ask how these gods might be pleased or displeased. In one respect, this is a small topic, for it excludes any aspect of sacrifice that serves human purposes only—for example, the psychological aspects of interest to Burkert, or the sociological aspects of interest to Vernant and Detienne. In another respect, it is a large topic, for it includes anything of interest to a divine spectator, auditor, and judge. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the consequences of the alternatives of pleasing or displeasing this spectator. One consequence is the worshippers' attempt to avoid giving displeasure, especially by means of rules that would increase the chances of success. Some rules involved rewards, some punishments; many involved expert advice from priests. Another consequence is the comparatively modest place worshippers gave to animals and to meat-eating. Just as a sacrificial offering did not need to be an animal, not every animal that was consumed needed to be a sacrificial victim. Chapters 7 and 8,

^{113.} Henrichs (2010) 24–27, though without discussion of what I have called the context for the ritual; so also Parker (2005b) 387–452. Older work subject to the same qualification, and to another, which is their neglect of *leges sacrae*: Otto (1956) and Kerényi (1971).

which are retrospective, ask how mistaken views of sacrifice and animals arose, and trace them farther into the past, often back to early Christianity.

What does it mean to please a god? First, the worshipper must approach the divinity, in a shrine, or the divinity must approach the worshipper, as Athena did. Next, the worshipper must present his offering, and some request that went with it, commonly a prayer, and he must also present himself. In these phases, Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne make much of the offering, but little of the request. They regard the offering as an independent act, and the prayer as dependent. Yet the two were complementary and mutually indispensable. Without an offering, the worshipper had nothing for the god to accept. Without a request, an offering was mute, like a gift without a greeting. Chapter 2 accordingly deals with both. In this chapter, ceremonial issues predominate. Festal calendars, oracles, and epiphanies all figured in the worshipper's choice of approach or invocation. The choice of offering was no less various: animals, vegetal offerings, and libations. Whatever the choice, the venue must be apt, and the offering must be *kalos*.

The no less important matters of the worshipper, his request, and the god's response, fall to chapter 3, where moral issues predominate. Contrary to Burkert's view, the sacrificial victim was not a moral agent, and so Greeks did not suppose that these victims went willingly to their deaths. Instead, the worshipper was a moral agent, one who must make a justifiable request and present himself as deserving of help or acknowledgment. He, too, must be *kalos*, but in both a physical sense, thanks to a garland or white clothes, and a moral sense, thanks to purification and the avoidance of wrongdoing that purification cannot rectify. Unlike the offering, the request and the character of the worshipper were matters of context. Purification aside, they did not involve the performance of a ceremony.

In the last part of chapter 3, the god responds favorably. He receives an approach, complies with an invocation, accepts the smoke arising from the fire, and arranges the animal's entrails to provide a good omen, whether in an act of divination or other animal sacrifices. If there is a prayer, the god listens; if there is some request, the god grants it. Every effort of the worshipper receives its reward, and so does the worshipper himself, when, as Plutarch puts it, the god cheers the worshipper with his company—communion as a benefit of communication. Worshippers cherished these rewards enough to perpetuate them through memorials and works of art. The ritual found in recent scholarship forms only one part of a visual as well as verbal discourse on sacrifice.

Chapter 4 surveys the instances in which a god rejects a sacrifice, a response seen in some ninety passages. Ignored save for a few acts of sacrilege and three dozen cases of unsuccessful divination, this response inverts the more common response of acceptance. Rather than accept an approach, the god absents himself; rather than respond to an invocation, the god ignores it. Rather than accept an

offering, he rejects it; rather than listen to a prayer, he dismisses it. Rather than find human or beast *kalon*, he finds them repugnant. This chapter mirrors its predecessor.

Chapter 4 deals mainly with context, for context, far more than ceremony, provides the reasons for rejection. Some acts of rejection occur for esthetic reasons. Instead of being *kala*, the sacrifices prove improper, disorderly, or distorted, as on the Island of the Sun. Rejection for this reason was often remediable. More acts occur because of violations of *agraphoi nomoi*, precepts that include moral strictures, such as rejection of those who violated *xenia*, and violations of fate or other divine dispensations, such as rejection of those who, like Odysseus in book 9, asked for what a god would not give for fear of offending a fellow Olympian. These rejections for moral or divine reasons were seldom remediable. As in the *Odyssey*, these acts reflected the genre and the narrative in which they occur. Just as chapter 3 turns from sacrifice to art, chapter 4 turns from sacrifice to the idiosyncrasy of works of literature, and shows how these works shaped the rite, including acts of sacrifice commonly described as divination.

Chapter 5 asks how worshippers tried to avoid rejection, and answers that they delegated responsibility for sacrifice to those with the time, money, and expertise to perform well—to heads of families, to kings and magistrates, and above all to priests. This delegation of responsibility impinges on any view of sacrifice as communal. Sometimes a gathering, sacrifice was more often an event in which worshippers, including communities, entrusted others to act on their behalf, as in *Iliad* 1, when Odysseus went to Chryses. This delegation also impinges on any view of sacrifice as egalitarian, for it gives priests a greater role than that allotted to them by Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne. Even the Athenian democracy showed no animus against these traditional experts. It often rewarded them, and less often punished priests, magistrates, and others who failed in their responsibilities, or otherwise endangered the community's relation with gods. Groups such as demes did likewise, but fell short of the polis in the scope of their regulations. Only the polis expelled malefactors from shrines, and only the polis set the highest standards for sacrificial offerings.

Chapter 6 questions two ways scholars have set animal victims apart from other offerings. First, scholars of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have supposed that all beef, mutton, and pork came from sacrificial animals, a view that goes too far. Some meat came from animals that had not been sacrificed, especially some meat sold in markets. In Sparta, pork served in messes did not come from sacrificial animals. Second, recent writers (and especially Detienne) have supposed that meat from sacrificial animals sufficed to feed large groups, including the citizenry of leading cities, another view that goes too far. No act of sacrifice could feed the citizens of a city of hundreds of thousands, and

few could feed cities of tens of thousands. These issues relating to animals extend beyond sacrifice and reach into the Greek economy and Greek social organization. In Athens, and some other cities, the distribution of meat depended on markets as well as, and sometimes instead of, sacrificial meals. Meat-eating was not only less ritualistic than supposed, but more commercial than supposed. In Sparta, if not elsewhere, the distribution of meat depended on the messes, and so it was both less ritualistic than supposed and more military. Both communities had evolved away from sacrificial feasts, and had done so before or during the Classical period.

Chapter 7 returns to the observation that Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne focus on death, animals, and community, whereas the Greeks did not. The bibliography of Greek sacrifice lets us trace this focus to Robertson Smith and Durkheim. If, though, we turn from Greek sacrifice to Christian opinions of the Greeks, and to sacrifice in Christianity, we can trace this focus much farther back. The feature of death, and especially bloodshed, derives from the Lutheran Hegel, yet also from the Catholic de Maistre. The former turned sacrificial violence into a stage of religious history, whereas the latter turned it into an inspiration for a kind of political martyrdom. These two writers derived this theme from the Church Fathers and Saint Paul. Fascination with sacrificial animals owes much to Christian insistence on a peculiar human sacrifice, that of Christ, while the notion of a sacrificial community owes much to the Eucharist.

Besides tracing these themes, chapter 7 draws a distinction between this long, mostly Christian and scholarly treatment of sacrifice and the neglect of the subject by the ancient writers. This irony is the chapter's starting point: how did a subject that the Greeks largely ignored become so important to writers who disapproved of (or later only analyzed) the religion of the Greeks? The answer to this question lies not only in tracing themes, but in reckoning with several events, including the French Revolution, and the European encounter with subject peoples who might be mistaken for latter-day pagans.

These seven chapters all center on an animal sacrifice followed by a meal, but notice vegetal offerings, especially incense. Where vegetal offerings occur without an animal offering, they work in the same way: a standard of attractiveness, a prayer, and one of two outcomes. Where vegetal offerings occur alongside an animal offering, they again work in the same way, but the role of the vegetal offering changes. Rather than providing an alternative, it provides a supplement. In contrast, the animal offerings often called *sphagia* can appear without vegetal offerings. Because these offerings do not end in meals, they appear less often in these pages, but sometimes work the same way, through positive and negative response to acts regarded as divination. In contrast, libations unaccompanied by any other offering, although very common, seldom work this way, for the sources report

only two rejections of such a libation.¹¹⁴ For this reason, libations lie outside the ambit of this book, save as an aspect of other sacrifices. The same is true of other features of sacrifices, even prayers. Save as part of sacrifice, they go unremarked. And the same is true of sacrifices for which acceptance and rejection are irrelevant, including sacrifices for the purpose of purification and oath-taking, and some sacrifices to chthonic beings (although not heroic sacrifices described as acts of *thusia*).

As a result, these chapters do not pay the same heed to any and every kind of sacrifice. They concentrate, as Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne do, on one kind of sacrifice, thusia, in which the worshipper slaughters a victim, divides it between himself and the god, and burns the god's portion. Yet they do not ignore a sacrifice in which there is no animal, only a vegetal offering, and the common term for the rite is still thusia. Nor do they ignore a sacrifice in which the worshipper kills an animal, gives all of it to the god, keeps none of it, and either burns or drowns it, a kind of rite for which the common term is "holocaust." The same is true of a sacrifice in which the worshipper kills an animal and extracts the entrails, and the god responds through this part of the animal, a rite for which the common term is "divination," and it is also true of a sacrifice in which the worshipper kills an animal and discards it, a rite for which the common term is sphagia (or two kinds of it, one during an oath and another before battle). The god plays a part in all these rites, but not the same part. Sometimes the god accepts the whole, and sometimes only a part; sometimes the god accepts without ado; and sometimes the god witnesses rather than accepts.

For this reason alone, unitary treatment of Greek sacrifice is impossible. Yet obstacles appear even for a book limited to sacrifices in which the god plays the largest part. To begin with chronology: some periods of Greek history come either too early or too late for any discernible sacrificial context. About divine responses, for example, we know nothing before the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and little after the second century CE. This book accordingly begins with the two epics and ends with the time of Pausanias. Within this period of nearly a thousand years, the sources do reveal some continuity in the character of divine responses to sacrifice. Esthetic, moral, and divine reasons for rejection persist, and so does the suppleness of sacrificial communication. Yet the sources also reveal changes due to genre and medium. Ominous rejection of sacrifices, for example, is less common after Homer and tragedy but does appear in fiction, centuries later. Civic and personal inscriptions, in contrast, avoid rejection in favor of

^{114.} *Il.* 16.249-252; Th. 5.28.6 is a tacit rejection. Bad news forestalls the libations at A. *Pers*. 219-223.

instructions, and present another chronological gap. Sacrificial regulations from the first two centuries CE are less numerous than those of the last four centuries BCE, but not more numerous than those of the fifth century. This rise and fall may mean that, compared to the fifth century, the next few had more leisure and money to devote to sacrifice, and to regulation, but it need not mean that Athens faced more rejection in 125 CE than in 125 BCE. Nor need it mean that Athens abjured the gods of sacrifice.

Just as the most important gap in recent views of sacrifice is the absence of the gods, the most important gap in recent use of the evidence for sacrifice is neglect of the effect of art and literature, and likewise public documents, on every account of the rite. Some acts of sacrifice are verifiable, and the phases and routines of sacrifice are ascertainable, but no report of sacrifice is neutral. Homeric epic, so often used to illustrate sacrifice, also illustrates how acts of sacrifice meet narrative needs and express authorial bias. If the Homeric poems abound in both success and failure, Herodotus abounds in examples of failures that reveal a kind of reasoning about divine rejection of worshippers. In the hands of this author, sacrifice is a tool, as it is in Xenophon's. The view that Xenophon is pious and reliable underestimates his originality, overestimates his fairness, and simplifies the relation between piety and reliability.

Tragedy, in contrast, presents a familiar danger, for in this genre sacrifices go wrong more often than elsewhere. Yet this generic trait does not mean that rejection lacks a trio of grounds, beginning with esthetics, or that vegetal sacrifices are not numerous. In one respect, instances of sacrifice in tragedy are comparatively naturalistic. This genre surpasses epic and history in its social balance—women sacrificing as well as men, cheap or simple sacrifices alongside hecatombs, extemporaneous prayers as opposed to the formulaic prayers found in (and taken for granted by) other Archaic or Classical literature. Comedy provides the same balance, and also provides evidence for the sale of meat in markets, but evidence to be rescued from the perils of exaggeration.

Inscriptions offer their own peril to the interpreter—official optimism. Whereas many of these documents set forth rules, and some set forth punishments, few point out divine displeasure that motivates the polis to punish those who sacrifice improperly. This omission is due not to any attitude toward sacrifice but to an aversion toward failure. Inscriptions do not record unpassed bills, rejected supplications, or denials of honors to those seeking them. Stone-cutting is too expensive for that, and so is stone. Yet the inscriptions recording sacrificial rules are correspondingly numerous, and so are those recording honors to celebrants, especially priests. On both counts, inscriptions say more than historiography or any genre of poetry, and so they depart from any egalitarian image of sacrifice.

Visual sources, especially vase paintings, correct this bias. They report phases of the rite, not instructions. Because they are so numerous, they provide a check against sources with fewer examples; because they are mass-produced, they provide a check against the vagaries of literary genius. Yet these sources are no more neutral than any others. They never show divine anger at a sacrifice, or ceremonial error, or the content of any prayer, or any reason to reject a prayer. Without being official, they are still optimistic.

Evidence for sacrificial ceremonies begins earlier and ends later than evidence for the context. For this reason, some accounts of sacrifice, including Burkert's, begin with the Minoan or Mycenaean practices, and they continue until the end of paganism, or well after the second century CE. 115 Yet this evidence for ceremonies is problematic. In the Minoan and Mycenaean periods, we know nothing about the gods other than some of their names, and so we cannot be sure whether Minoan platforms or Mycenaean terraces containing faunal remains are altars. 116 Nor can we be sure of rooftops with faunal remains, or of mountaintops with remains and bonfires. 117 Even if we were, we would not know whether a god accepted or rejected any offering. At the other end of antiquity, the quandary is not archaeological but polemical. Christian denunciations of pagan sacrifice do not allow a pagan god either to accept an offering or grant a request. They only allow offerings to be wasted. Even if our interest is conversion, and not paganism, we cannot tell what sacrifice has to do with conversion. We do not know when or why worshippers thought sacrifices failed.

Sacrifice was a cultural artifact as well as a form of behavior; a concatenation of practices, including literary practices, as well as a ceremony. It was also a venture into the supernatural. It could not start or end, or succeed or fail, without a god.

^{115.} Minoan: Burkert (1985) 19–47; GGR 1.269–271, 275–278. Late antiquity: Burkert (1985) 317–331; GGR 2.711–723.

^{116.} Bergquist (1988) 29–30, although she supposes, as Ekroth (2007) 69 does, that sacral meals can occur without sacrifices. See chapter 6.

^{117.} Burkert (1985) 27 with n. 26.

Venues and Offerings

MOST SACRIFICES SUCCEED, but scholars have seldom asked why. Instead they have asked about the social and political consequences, as with Vernant and Detienne, or asked about the emotional consequences, as with Burkert. This preference has enlarged the human and animal role in sacrifice, but it has diminished the gods' role. These authors say little about the gods, particularly in animal sacrifice followed by a meal. For them, gods matter more for myth than for ritual; among sources for ritual, gods matter more in epic and tragedy than in prose. For killing and eating, the chief features of animal sacrifice, gods do not matter. They are bystanders or recipients, not participants.

This chapter and the next will show how the god contributes to a successful sacrifice. Such a sacrifice begins either by approaching or invoking him. If it begins with an approach, the god's image shows where to go. The god himself, or some other god, has often spoken through an oracle telling the worshippers when or where or how to sacrifice, and or has made an epiphany telling them where and why. To make their approach propitious, the worshippers heed these commands. To make their invocation to the god attractive, they sometimes provide additional offerings called *trapezōmata* or *theoxenia*.

Once the worshippers have come before the god, or the god has joined the worshippers, they must present not just an offering but also a request, even if this is only a request to accept their sacrifice. The offering must be attractive, the request plausible. The worshippers, moreover, must present themselves as deserving favor. They must purify themselves, but they must also show good character, meeting a moral as well as ceremonial standard. If the god accepts the offering, request, and worshipper, he signals this response. He will receive the smoke and aroma that arise from the sacrificial fire, or will allow the entrails of the animal to be normal. He will grant a prayer, or will gladden the worshipper. Save for the entrails, this response has nothing to do with animals as opposed to other kinds of offerings, and so it has nothing to do with the killing that concerns Burkert, or the meat-eating that especially concerns Vernant and Detienne. It has everything to do with the god's choice. This choice depends partly on ceremonial factors, in

other words, on the rite as such. It also depends partly on the context of the rite—on the viability of the request, the nature of the god, and the character of the worshipper.

The worshipper's approach or invocation, his offering and request, his character, and the god's favorable response: these are the chief phases of an acceptable animal sacrifice. According to the recent writers, these phases ought to be peculiar to this act. Yet they are not. Each phase in such a sacrifice followed by a meal runs parallel to a phase in making other acceptable sacrifices, notably offerings of incense. According to the same writers, these phases ought to terminate in a self-contained act, a ritual. Yet they may not. Sacrifices transmute into commemorations of acts, or take the form of vows to perform acts. They involve substitutes, many of them works of art.

To summarize the divine role in sacrifice, Lucian gives his version of the desk with several phone lines—a hallway in Olympus where Zeus checks several portals. At one portal, prayers enter. Zeus listens and divides the worshippers making the prayers into two groups, the pious and the impious, and hearkens to the pious. At another portal, *thusiai* enter. Zeus sniffs the smoke and looks down, observing who is performing the sacrifice.¹ Although Lucian does not say so, the pious prayer may well accompany a sacrifice. Request, ceremony, and worshipper all come before the god, who takes notes—and gives rewards. The joke is not just that Zeus has too much work but also that he cannot avoid it.

Worshippers' Approaches

As myths warn, approaching a god might prove fatal, and so, save in Aristophanes, no Greek visited the palaces on Olympus, and few visited Tartarus. Instead the worshipper approached via an image, an *agalma* or *bretas*, found near an altar. If he approached Hestia, a hearth served as the image (and as the altar). Without the image, the worshipper could not be sure that the god would be there. Without the altar, the worshipper could not make his (or her) offering, or at least could not make a burnt offering; poles and pillars serving as images could receive libations and garlands without need for an altar. If there were several altars to as many gods, the worshipper might sacrifice to all of them. There might be several images, too, as in Aeschylus's *Suppliants*. In the same of the several images, too, as in Aeschylus's *Suppliants*.

^{1.} Lucianus *Icar*. 25-26.

^{2.} E.g., a masked libation pole for Dionysus portrayed on a fourth-century Neapolitan stamnos, Naples 2416.1 with Alroth (1992), fig. 21, with general remarks; and the *tropaia* for Zeus mentioned below.

^{3.} A. Supp. 429, 463.

The divine image might be wrought or unwrought, large or small.⁴ It might be a theriomorphic image, like the equine Demeter that received sacrifices in Phigalia, or it might not be an image of any sort.⁵ On the battlefield, a trophy would receive sacrifices in the name of Zeus Tropaios.⁶ The pointed pillar called Apollo Agyieus received worship, too.⁷ For one domestic cult, Zeus Ktesios, tokens, sēmeia, would serve.8 We do not know what these tokens were, but Pausanias reports that the people of Chaeronea worshipped a scepter of Zeus, "and (for it) they stock a table with meat and cakes." The scepter received sacrifices every day, but not in a temple. A priest kept the sacred token in his house, and periodically brought it to the shrine. Other aniconic images might make the same peregrination, as the image of Zeus Ithomatas did when it left the house of the priest of this Messenian cult.¹⁰ Although Greek writers criticize some such images, they do not condemn all of them. Xenophon, for one, objects to honoring stones and stocks, ξύλα, rather than $τ\grave{a}$ ἱερά, or "sacred things." This remark implies that these stocks and stones were not sacred, but it does not imply that any and all aniconic images were unacceptable.11 Theophrastus tells of a man who stops and anoints every stone set up to Hecate at crossroads. He thinks that the man is overzealous but not that Hecate should be ignored.¹² These two authors are advocating clarity and moderation, not iconic imagery.¹³

The same reservation holds for early and late styles of images. In the upper left of figure 2.1, a Classical vase painting, Dionysus sits on a rock with two Maenads and a Silenus for company.¹⁴ The god of this scene differs from the Dionysus of

^{4.} Unwrought or rude: $d\phi \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} s$ $\pi \epsilon \pi o i \eta \mu \epsilon \nu a$, to use words attributed to Aeschylus at Porph. Abst. 2.18. Such a stone receiving honors, including sacrifice: Paus. 9.27.1 (Thespiae). Honors for a square but aniconic stone: Paus. 7.22.4 (Pherae). Well wrought: $\pi \epsilon \rho i \epsilon \rho \gamma \omega s$ $\epsilon i \rho \gamma \alpha \sigma \mu \epsilon \nu a$. Small: handheld Artemis Orthia (Paus. 3.16.10–11). Large: Apollo at Amyclae (Paus. 3.19.2).

^{5.} Paus. 8.42.4-5. So also the semipiscine Artemis of 8.41.5.

^{6.} Woelcke (1911) 147-148. Background: Pritchett (1971-1991) 2.46-75.

^{7.} S. TGrF fr. 370 and later sources at Fehrentz (1993) 133-138.

^{8.} Ath. 11.473b-c, referring to a drinking cup.

^{9.} Paus. 9.40.10–12, esp. τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ πεμμάτων πλήρης.

^{10.} Paus. 4.33.2.

^{11.} X. Mem. 1.1.14.

^{12.} Thph. Ch. 16.1-5.

^{13.} Thus also Lane Fox (1996) 152-154.

^{14.} Fig. 2.1. Apulian volute crater from Ruvo, around 400 BCE, Naples Mus. 82922 (H2411) = *LIMC* s.v. *Dionysus* (C. Gasparri) 863.



FIGURE 2.1 Dionysus, Old Style and New

the scene below. Here two maenads dance, as above, and a third stands beside an altar with a knife and a kid. Beside her, a statue of Dionysus portrays the god with a thyrsus, like the Dionysus in the upper band, but in an older style. Both styles will serve. Even if we imagine the statue in the lower band replaced by a statue in the style of the upper band, the old statue would likely be stored somewhere in the shrine, and not destroyed. It retained its validity. In the odd case, older and newer images shared the worshipper's attention, as at the Heraeum on Samos. 15

Images underwent an inaugural ceremony, *enkathidrusthai*, or "setting up." We know little about this ceremony, save that it began with an offering (not a hecatomb, or anything like it, only a pot of beans), but we do know that colonists transported inaugurated images overseas.¹⁶ The Delphic oracle told the Phocaeans headed for Marseilles, at the other end of the Mediterranean, to bring with them some image that they might transplant—an *aphidryma*. One image in

^{15.} Romano (1980) 3; Bettinetti (2001) 21. So also Paus. 9.38.1 (Graces at Orchomenos).16. Schol. Ar. Pl. 1197.

Attica supposedly came from Tauria.¹⁷ The shrine of Athena at Pergamum started the same way, with an *aphidryma* taken from the shrine of Athena Alea in Tegea.¹⁸ The Ionian shrine near Ephesus was, too, but the worshippers couldn't get even a copy of the altar that the Delphic oracle told them they needed.¹⁹

An image like this boasted some divine pedigree. It fell from the sky, showing it came from a god, or washed ashore in the same way, or carried some divine charge and came to the shrine thanks to the labors of a hero.²⁰ It would not matter where the hero stole it. Diomedes stole the Palladium from Troy, but this plunder was welcome for the Argives, who claimed that they ended up with this image of Athena.²¹ Or the image might be occasion for some other miracle, like the stone outside of Gythium:

That in the Doric dialect is named Zeus the Descender (*Kappōtas*). The people say that Orestes sat on the stone and stopped being insane.²²

Pausanias means to say that the worshippers of this lithic Zeus believed that the god had descended on Orestes and cured him—an occasion linking Zeus and Orestes to this spot, and giving them reason to worship there. Only in tragedy would the image—Euripides uses the word *xoanon*—prove harmful, in the form of the Trojan Horse. But only in Euripides is this dedication mistaken for an image.²³

Whether an image, a token, or a site marker, the god's manifestation did not coincide with the god. It might be present, the god absent. Even at Delphi, Apollo was absent all but one day a month.²⁴ Then the temple doors were closed, announcing that the god was not in residence. The god might even be in hiding: Boeotian women would look for Dionysus each spring on Mount Helicon, but

^{17.} E. IT 1449-1461 (Artemis). See Graf (1979b) 35-36.

^{18.} Marseille: Str. 4.1.4. Pergamon: Paus. 8.4.8–9. Ar. *Pax* 923 is more or less abbreviated, but does show that the ceremony did not always require an animal victim. An exception to the correlation of god and image: sacrifices to one god at the altar of another (Zeus at Hera, *LSCG* 1a.19–20, Zeus at Demeter, *Lindos II* 183).

^{19.} DS 15.49.1-2.

^{20.} Sky: Paus. 1.26.6 (Athena), E. *IT* 976–978 (Brauronian Artemis, transported by Orestes), Paus. 4.16.7 (Artemis Orthia, ditto). Ashore: Ath. 15.672b–e (Samian Hera).

^{21.} Paus. 2.23.5, 2.24.2-3.

^{22.} Paus. 3.22.1, where the two sentences appear in reverse: Ὀρέστην λέγουσι καθεσθέντα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μανίας· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος ἀνομάσθη Ζεὺς Καππώτας.

^{23.} E. Tro. 525.

^{24.} An exception: Asclepius, accessible daily at Chalcedon (LSAM 5.23–30) and Epidaurus (LSCG Supp. 25.1). Yet even here, the god traveled (IG iv² 1.122 no. 23).

complain that they could not find him. Argives thought Dionysus hid in a lake, and summoned him with trumpets.²⁵ Tragedy gives the ne plus ultra. When Orestes arrives in Athens and speaks of Athena, he wonders where she is. Libya? Phlegrae, in Thessaly? Since gods hear at a distance, she should take heed in either place. She soon arrives, but says she was listening while at Sigeum, in Asia Minor. Orestes had the wrong continents.²⁶

To avoid ending up like the Boeotian women, worshippers scheduled *epidēmia*, or "sacrifices while the god is in residence." A common occasion for *epidēmia* was the god's birthday, for worshippers were sure the god would be among them on that occasion. (This was one reason that Greeks celebrated divine birthdays monthly and not yearly.) Other occasions were annual, as when Apollo returned to Delphi from the north, where he received worship from the Hyperboreans. The calendar might be crowded: Aphrodite spent nine days every year in Libya, but before and afterward was in Sicily. Yet the calendar was fixed. When Alexander the Great appeared on the wrong day, and then insisted on being received, the priestess said no, that would be *paranomos*, or illegitimate. To prevent confusion about a god's whereabouts, for example, about Dionysus in Pirene, the sacred calendar would warn worshippers of the schedule. Most of the time, closed temple doors must have warned worshippers that the god was absent.

To satisfy themselves that the god had come, the worshippers might move his image from one place to another. Dionysus, a god sometimes thought to have established himself later than the other Olympians, was the god mostly likely to enter a community with his image atop a cart or even a boat. To be bathed, images of goddesses would make a round-trip between a temple and a stream; when given new clothes, they would disappear behind a veil, then reappear. The cardinal feature of these movements was that control over the image gave the worshippers access to the god. ³²

^{25.} Plu. Quaest. symp. 717a, de Isid. 364f.

^{26.} A. Eu. 292-295, 397-402.

^{27.} Van Gaertringen (1909).

^{28.} At Athens, the third (Graces) fourth (Hermes), first and sixth (Artemis), seventh (Apollo), eighth (Theseus), "and so on," schol. Ar. Pl. 1126: $\kappa \alpha i \; \check{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta \; \check{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \omega$.

^{29.} Ael. VH 1.15.

^{30.} Plu. Alex. 14.3-4.

^{31.} The occasion of the Katagōgia, regulated at *LSAM* 37.5, 21–22; so also Miletus (*LSAM* 48.21–2 with refs.), and Athens (Paus. 1.38.8), although here the calendar is missing.

^{32.} Dionysus and others: Parker (2005) 302–305. Pluntēria: Call. *Lav. Pall.* with other sources as at Rutherford (2001) 404–405.

Unlike the god, the image could not take flight. As long as the invading Athenians occupied a temple of Heracles outside Syracuse, the people of Syracuse could neither perform customary sacrifices nor take these sacrifices elsewhere. They had to wait until the invaders withdrew, and the image would be free to receive them. By the same token, the Spartans in Thucydides did not suppose that worshipping Zeus at Sparta would replace worshipping him at Olympia.³³ If the Elean custodians of Olympia refused to accommodate Sparta's need, Sparta would not forget the wrong, and eventually would avenge it. In Athens, litigants asked courts to accomplish vengeance. Aeschines merits conviction because his policy led to the abandonment of shrines to Heracles in the countryside.³⁴ Now worshippers could not visit rural Heracles. The one escape from this dilemma was theft, such as Diomedes performed at Troy. Figure 2.2 illustrates this exploit.³⁵ As Diomedes heads for the exit, image in hand, he leaves behind an altar that is now useless. The goddess might appear beside it, but only if invoked. She would not appear as a matter of course.

This caveat explains several unsuccessful attempts to keep gods from dissociating themselves from an image. Sometimes the worshippers prayed that the god would not abandon them; sometimes they chained the god's image. That would keep the god accessible, they supposed, and so they could continue to sacrifice to him. Had these attempts succeeded, the balance of power within sacrifice would have changed: more for the worshippers, less for the god. Sacrifice would have been more of the human affair envisaged especially by Vernant and Detienne. Yet these attempts fail. The first failure occurred after the Trojan War, when the Trojans regretted that Poseidon had abandoned his shrine in the city.³⁶ Centuries later, at Tyre, then besieged by Alexander, the people chained Apollo to prevent him from abandoning them, yet the city fell.³⁷ At Sparta, Enyalios was chained permanently, and at Athens, Nike was kept forever wingless, lest these gods leave and take victory with them, yet Athens fell and Sparta met with defeat. The same logic, but a different fear, led the people of Orchomenos to chain a statue of Actaeon.³⁸ Yet the hero, escaping confinement, ravaged the land around the city. Attempts to immobilize images confirmed the power of the god to go elsewhere.

^{33.} Heracles: Plu. Nic. 24.6. Zeus: Th. 5.53.2.

^{34.} Dem. 19.86; so also 19.256.

^{35.} Fig. 2.2. A red-figure cup, Oxford Ashmolean 1931.39, Diomedes painter = ARV^2 1516.1 = LIMC s.v. Diomedes I (J. Boardman) 32.

^{36.} E. Tro. 25.

^{37.} DS 17.41.7-8, Curt. 4.3.19-22, Plu. Alex. 24.3-4.

^{38.} Paus. 3.15.7, 9.38.5; so also Aphrodite Morphō, 3.15.11, chained at Sparta but in a symbolic sense, which was to encourage fidelity in wives. A survey of the evidence: Merkelbach (1996) preceded by Graf (1985) 81–96.



FIGURE 2.2 Palladium en route

To build the altars that accompanied these images, worshippers would look for more divine instructions. A whole class of altars arose where one manifestation of Zeus, the thunderbolt, had come to earth.³⁹ More common were oracles—so much so that Sophocles's Dianira, when wondering why Heracles is building temples and altars, supposes that the reason is either an oracle or a vow.⁴⁰ Plato speaks in the same sense, and so does Xenophon; Aristophanes supplies the reductio ad absurdum, in which a stranger chances on an altar and an act of sacrifice and wants to know what oracle justified them.⁴¹ Almost two dozen such oracles

^{39.} Artem. Oneir. 2.9. Stones falling to earth with similar results: Paus. 9.38.1.

^{40.} S. Trach. 239.

^{41.} Pl. R. 4.427b, Lg. 5.738b, 6.772c-d, 9.828a; X. Mem. 1.3.1; Ar. Pax 1088. A dream, not an oracle: Robert (1978) 393.

establishing altars to diverse gods survive from throughout Greece. 42 Delphi supplied most of these, but numerous examples also come from Dodona. 43 One worshipper built an altar because a god listened to him there; another built an altar because a god hadn't, and the altar might make the god change his mind. 44 No less numerous and diverse were oracles establishing hero cult. 45

Gods also gave guidance about other matters related to the religious setting, Some oracles provided for modifications of cult.⁴⁶ Others provided for addressing one god rather than another, or for restoring traditional sacrifices.⁴⁷ A few told the worshippers on whose behalf to sacrifice.⁴⁸ All these oracles concerned regular sacrifices, but other oracles concerned occasional sacrifices, such as the oracles that told Epimenides how to sacrifice on behalf of a polluted Athens in 490 BCE.⁴⁹ The Greeks had the oracular habit: before sacrificing in some new way, they would ask Delphi or some other place about which god, where, when, and how. Apollo would serve as an exegete, a notion expressed both in an Athenian inscription and in Plato.⁵⁰ In contrast, the god seldom recommended

^{42.} Attica: Paus. 1.37.6 (Apollo), SEG XXI.519.5–10 (Athena and Ares), IG i³ 78.25–26 (Demeter), Plu. Arist. 19.6 (nymphs); Suda s.v. 'E $\mu\beta\alpha\rho$ os (Artemis at Mynichia), Suda s.v. 'A $\rho\kappa\tau$ os (at Brauron). Plataea: Plu. Arist. 20.3 (Athena). Megara: Paus. 1.43.8 (Apollo). Aegina: Paus. 2.29.8 (Zeus). Sparta: Paus. 3.17.1 (Eileithuia). Lebadeia: DS 15.53.4. (Zeus). Delphi: Hdt. 7.178.2 (Winds). Cyzicus: Delph. 3.3.343 (Poseidon, Ge). Erythrae: SIG 1014.2, 74, 89–90, 145, 160 (Aphrodite, Dionysus, Two Goddesses). Magnesia on Maeander: Magnesia 228 (Hera). Metapontum: Hdt. 4.15.3 (Apollo). Assessus: Hdt. 1.19.3 (the second of the two Athena temples built by Alyattes, the first being a replacement). Anaphe: IG xii.3 2.48.24–30 (Apollo). Temessos: TAM III 1.32.6–7.

^{43.} As in Eidinow (2007) ch. 5.

^{44.} IG v. 1.242 vs. IG vii 1883.3.

^{45.} Athens: Plu. *Thes.* 36.1, *Cim.* 8.6 (Theseus); Paus. 1.32.5 (Echetlaeus). Corinth: Paus. 2.3.7 (children of Medea). Sparta: Paus. 3.3.6 (Orestes), 7.1.8 (Tisamenus). Mantinea: Paus. 8.9.4 (Arcas). Boeotia: Plu. *QG* 293e (Charilla). Delphi: Paus. 9.23.3 (Pindar), *V. Aesopi* W 142, Zen. 1.47 (Aesop). Epizephyrian Locri: Plin. *NH* 7.152 (Euthumus). Aegina: Paus. 1.44.9, 2.29.8 (Aeacus). Paros: *IG* xii.2 155 (Asclepius). Astypalaea: Paus. 6.9.8 (Cleomedes). Unnamed god: *TAM* IV 1.83, V 1.789.

^{46.} Attica: *IG* i² 78.4–5 (Apollo). Delphi: *Delph*. 3.1.483.4–5 (Sōtēria), 3.2.47, 3.3.342. Artemis Leukophrune at Magnesia on Maeander: *SIG* 557.5–10, 558.10–13, 559.4–8, 560.16–18. Methumna: Oenomaus apud Eus. *PE* 5.36 (Dionysus). Delian Serapeum: *SIG* 663.14–15.

^{47.} Traditional sacrifices: Dem. 43.66, DS 34/5.10 (by Romans, but to Aetnean Zeus).

^{48.} *IG* i³ 40.64–69, where subjugated Euboeans are told to pray for Euboea, not any polis; there must have been other, now lost examples.

^{49.} Pl. Lg. 1.642d.

^{50.} Pl. R. 4.427b, IG i² 78.4-5.

communal sacrifices through the less authoritative medium of dreams. 51 Dreams inspired sacrifices by individuals. 52

Less often, a god would provoke sacrifice by means of an epiphany. Unlike epidēmia, epiphanies were unscheduled; unlike oracles, they occurred in unpredictable places.⁵³ Many were of heroic date, like that of Demeter at Eleusis.⁵⁴ One, the reign of Cronus, was preheroic, although this did not prevent Athenians from dating it to the time of Cecrops.⁵⁵ Later epiphanies responded to some crisis like a foreign invasion, as in 279/8 BCE, when the Gauls broke into central Greece and attacked Delphi. Apollo witnessed this act of hierosulia and made a display of his powers. The forms of display varied: according to Justin, Apollo appeared as a youth of superhuman size, making his bow clang, as in Homer, to the amazement of the priestess; according to Pausanias, Apollo manifested himself through earthquakes, thunder and lightning, and, as a coup de grâce, through human madness, another Homeric trope. ⁵⁶ The cast of gods varied, too: in Justin, Apollo plus Artemis and Athena; in Pausanias, Apollo plus demigods. With respect to sacrifice, the results did not vary. An annual sacrifice at Delphi, the Sōtēria, resulted from this display of the god's power. Through their delegates at Delphi, the Coans made a record of the thanks that they gave for the god's help. The Smyrnaeans sacrificed on a new altar inscribed to Apollo and other gods whom they thought participated.⁵⁷ Inscribed hymns, no doubt sung at the sacrifices, recalled the event.58

^{51.} The only examples of sacrifice ordained through a dream: in the Lindian Chronicle (*I Lindos* ii 2d69, 77–78), and in Plu. *Them.* 20.

^{52.} Plu. Alex. 41.5, Men. Dysc. 412–417, IG iv 2 1.122 no. 25, 33, although a dream or hupnon, is implied in other instances.

^{53.} A distinction drawn for the sake of classifying sacrifices, but not found in Greek use of words derived from *epiphanein*, and misleading with respect to some gods, especially Dionysus, who came and went frequently, as at the Athenian Lenaea (schol. Ar. Ra. 479); see Otto (1933) 75–76. Literature on epiphanies leading to regular sacrifices as opposed to others: only Pfister (1924) 297–298, mentioning Pan in Athens, Sosipolis in Olympia, and the Dioscuri at Sagra; the topic is missing from Wachsmuth (1979).

^{54.} *H Cer.* 470–482 (Greater Mysteries), Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 5b (Anthestēria presumably established when Dionysus first arrived in Attica), Lycurg. fr. 50 (*procharistēria* for Persephone), A. *Eu.* 1021–1047 (procession of the Semnai).

^{55.} Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 97. Another "early" example: *H. Ap*. (Apollo's journey from Delphi to Delos, leading, in Attica, to the Pythaïs).

^{56.} Justin 24.8.3–7; Paus. 10.23.1–9. Pfister (1924) 298 notes thankofferings in response to epiphanies, but does not generalize on the subject of epiphanies and sacrifice. An auditory rather than visual epiphany commemorated by a sacrifice: Peisandros *FGrH* 333 F 2.

^{57.} SIG 398.14-20; Delph. 3.1.483.

^{58.} Delph. 3.2.138.16–19: χαριστήρια.... τ \hat{a} ς τε έπιφανείας τ \hat{a} ς γεγενημένας ἕνεκεν.

Apollo's defense of Delphi against the Persians some 200 years before must have inspired comparable records, but these have not survived, leaving Herodotus to vouch for the god's intervention.⁵⁹ About the same time, the epiphany of Pan in rural Attica during the Persian invasion led to the establishment of a shrine.⁶⁰ Much later, toward the end of the Hellenistic period, epiphanies of Artemis led to the establishment of the festival of Artemis Leucophrynia in Magnesia on the Maeander.⁶¹ Zeus appeared at Panamara and in Mysia to the same effect, as did Athena among Greek colonists in the Crimea.⁶² Like the epiphany of Apollo at Delphi, these epiphanies drew attention from numerous poleis.⁶³ Here the epigraphic record includes notice given by smaller groups such as artisans.⁶⁴ Epiphanies for heroes led to sacrifices, too, but these epiphanies preceded displays of valor. In Attica, Theseus received at least half a dozen regular festal sacrifices.⁶⁵ Numerous as these instances are, there may have been many more. The sources, often historians reporting epiphanies in battles, tend to neglect the sacrifices afterward.⁶⁶

Some gods favored epiphanies, but others did not. According to the Ephesians, at least, Artemis was the most epiphanic deity,

honored not only in her native land, which she has made more famous than all other places, thanks to her divine power, but also among Greeks and Barbarians, so that holy places and enclosures to her go up in many places, and temples and altars are founded, . . . because of the clear manifestations due to her.⁶⁷

^{59.} Hdt. 8.37.

^{60.} Hdt. 6.105 with Paus. 1.28.4, 8.54.6.

^{61.} As at Magnesia 16-87. A summary GGR 2.225-227.

^{62.} Zeus: *Panamara* 3.2-3, *IvP* I 247. Athena: *IosPE I*² 344.1-4.

^{63.} E.g., Apollonia (*Apollonia Salbake* T 315.19), Acarnania (*Magnesia* 10.25–26), Athens (ibid. 17.14–16), Boeotia (18.6–8), Chalcis (19.2–4), Epidamnis (*Apollonia Salbake* T 514.8).

^{64.} Technitai of Dionysus: Magnesia 22.9-11.

^{65.} In Attica, to Theseus: Plu. *Thes.* 18 (Delphinia), 14.2 (Hekalēsia), Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 111 (Kybernēsia), Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 16 (Oschophoria with Jacoby's translation), Plu. *Thes.* 22.4–7 (Pyanopsia), 24.3–4 (Synoikia). To Heracles: DS 4.18.3, St. Byz. s.v. "Αγρα καὶ "Αγραι (Lesser Mysteries). To Ion: Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 13. A sample of instances elsewhere: Paus. 6.20.3–5 (Sōsipolis at Olympia), Plu. *QG* 304c–e (Heracles on Cos), Str. 6.1.10 (Dioscuri on Sagra).

^{66.} See the list of military epiphanies in Pritchett (1971–1991) 3.2. Two more in the "New Simonides": Hornblower (2001) 140–147 with refs.

^{67.} LSAM 31.9–14, where only ἐπι[φανείας] is preserved, but follows the word ἐναργείς: [οὐ μόνον] ἐν τἢ ἑαυτῆς πατρίδι τεμμᾶται, ἢν ἁ[πασῶν] / [τῶν πόλεων] ἐνδοξοτέ ραν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας θειότητ[ος πεποίη]- / [κεν, ἀ]λλὰ καὶ παρὰ [Ἔλλησίν τε κ]αὶ [β]αρβάρ[ο]ις, ὥ[στε παν]- / ταχοῦ ἀνεῖσθαι αὐτῆς ἱερά τε κα[ὶ τεμένη, ναοὺς δὲ] / αὐτῆ τε εἰδρύσθαι καὶ βωμοὺς αὐτῆ ἀνακεῖσθαι διὰ / τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῆς γεινομένας ἐναργεῖς ἐπιφανείας [supp. Dittenberger].

Zeus, Hecate, and Apollo competed with Artemis.⁶⁸ Poseidon, Hestia, and Hera drew back. One aspect of sacrifice may explain this disparity. An epiphany seldom was so peaceable or private an event that a god could accost a mortal and tell him or her to bring sacrifices in the future, as Pan did when he hailed the Athenian messenger Phidippides from a roadside cave. An epiphanic god would need to be puissant, like Zeus, but inclined to take human form, again like Zeus, and unlike Poseidon, who took the form of earthquakes. Exceptions to this observation people the comic stage, but they are minor deities, like Aristophanes's Clouds, or intermediaries, like Hermes. The one epiphanic minor deity who had a major Athenian cult was Asclepius.⁶⁹

Many of the most famous sacrifices, like those at the Athenian Panathenaea, had multiple origins. According to one story, Erichthonius started the Panathenaea, and a vase shows Athena joining him by running alongside his chariot.⁷⁰ If this was an epiphany, a second origin was, too, but an epiphany of a different kind, at which Athena killed the giant Aster or Asterius.⁷¹ Here the epiphany of the god overlapped with funeral rites. The first story was more widespread than the second, and both met with correction in sources that said Theseus renamed the festival, even if he did not start it. 72 Even in so famous a case, the link between the god and the sacrifice was contestable, especially since stories of images and epiphanies lacked a central source comparable to the Delphic oracle (although even this source never issued an official record). Yet most sacrifices fell into one of the three categories just named. In a survey of leading Attic festivals made by Robert Parker in *Polytheism and Society*, most fall into these categories, or the comparable category of an appearance by Theseus, Heracles, Ion, or Triptolemus: ten epiphanies or visitations, two oracles, two removals of images, and nine manifestations of these four heroes. 73 Of the rest, three commemorate acts of

^{68.} Zeus and Hecate: *LSAM* 69.1–7 (Stratonicia); *IvP I* 247 (Pergamum); perhaps at Aphytis, as at Paus. 3.18.3, provided that coins of Aphytis bearing an image to Zeus attest to a cult at the epiphanic place. Hecate: *Lagina* 10.57. Apollo: the inscription found at the shrine of Pythian Apollo in Argos, for which see Vollgraff (1956) 79–84.

^{69.} Philostr. VA 4.18 (Asclepius's arrival, celebrated at Athens in the Epidauria).

^{70.} NM Copenhagen Chr. VIII.340 = *LIMC* s.v. *Erechtheus* no. 50, a black-figure oinochoe of the late sixth century, noticed by Parker (2005) 254–256, along with the literary sources cited below.

^{71.} Arist. fr. 637, schol. Aristid. 13.189.

^{72.} Paus. 8.2.1.

^{73.} Ten epiphanies: Anthestēria, Epidauria, Greater Mysteries, Kronia, Panathenaia, Procession of the Furies, Procharistēria, Pythaïs, Thesmophoria. One visitation: rural Dionysia. Three oracles: Brauronia, Mounichia, Dipolieia. Two removals: urban Dionysia, Tauropolia. See Parker (2005) 380–383.

worship.⁷⁴ Three or four are questionable.⁷⁵ Just three remain outstanding, the Apatouria, the Metageitnia, and the Hieros Gamos of Zeus and Hera. Five feature multiple explanations.⁷⁶

Image, oracle, epiphany—all would bring the worshipper to the proper place. Once the worshippers arrived, they might draw near to the altar in a parade. Accounts of sacrifice sometimes begin with these parades—for example, Burkert's in *Greek Religion.*⁷⁷ Yet the sacrificial god may have been on the scene long before any parade started. The Athenian sacrifices to Apollo, Ares, and Demeter began with Delphic instructions, and the outburst of sacrifices at Delphi and elsewhere began when Apollo appeared and routed the Gauls. All these sacrifices started with the god's contact with humankind, not citizens' contact with each other. By the same token, the parades at these and other sacrifices headed for an image of a god. Figure 2.3, a drawing taken from a black-figure oinochoe, portrays two worshippers parading. Bull, men, and phallus, too, all head toward Athena, who is offstage to the right. One god, Dionysus, sometimes did more, and participated in parades to altars by riding in a chariot. Yet even with a divine participant, there is a divine destination.

This destination did not consist of "sacred space" as construed in recent writing. Gods had shrines, and these spaces were sacred, but the destination was a god and likely an image, not a space. Without this image—and without the assurance that the god was in residence—the space in which the image stood was inert. Until the god manifested himself, it remained so. Meanwhile, the god might manifest himself elsewhere. That is why the next topic is divine responses to invocations.

^{74.} Eleusinia (Arist. fr. 637, schol. Pi. O. 9.150.) Kallyntēria (Phot. s.v. Καλλυντήρια), Plyntēria (Phot. s.v. Καλλυντήρια, Hesych. s.v. Πλυντήρια).

^{75.} Questioned by Parker (2005) 380–383. as lacking any explanation: Arrephoria, Chalkeia, Prometheia. Also questionable, save for the scapegoat: Thargēlia.

^{76.} Anthestēria, Brauronia, Panathēnaia, Pyanopsia, Thesmophoria, as in Parker ibid. In these cases, I have selected one explanation.

^{77.} Burkert (1985) 99, where he takes up "Festivals," the only previous description of animal sacrifice, 55–59, being a general account without reference to shrines. So also Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 35, "The *thusia* proper began with a procession." Less strongly: Price (1999) 30.

^{78.} Fig. 2.3, London BM 1905.7-11.1 = ABV443/3 = Hiera Kala fig. 8.

^{79.} H. Jones (1912) no. 86, a sarcophagus lid in which a mounted Dionysus follows a Bacchante to a small altar; Jones includes other items, such as 85, in which the parade is much the same, but the altar is missing.

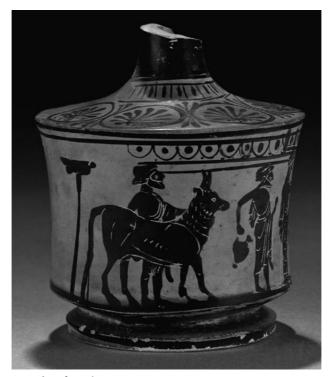


FIGURE 2.3 Heading for Athena

Worshippers' Invocations

The Greek who does go to Olympus, Aristophanes's Trygaeus, arrives meat in hand, but finds that the gods have abandoned the place. That mitigates his effrontery, but gives him the task of reaching them. Most worshippers performed this task by invoking the god to whom they wished to sacrifice. This request, made during the sacrificial prayer, mimicked other prayers that asked a god to come and listen. Yet the act of sacrifice worked two changes in the prayer. Besides coming and listening, the god must also accept the offering made to him. As an inducement to come, the worshipper would sometimes present the god additional offerings by way of *trapezōmata*, additional offerings put on a table beside the altar, or *theoxenia*, a banquet. These two changes reflected divine flexibility. A god need not be perfectly anthropomorphic. He must appear, listen, and perhaps eat.

^{80.} Ar. Pax 193.

^{81.} Any god but the immobile Hestia (Pl. Phaed. 247a).

Greek prayers, and Greek hymns, commonly contained imperatives telling the god to come or listen. According to a scholion to Aristophanes, every libation preceded a summons to a god. Yet only two Homeric prayers uttered during the sacrifice of an animal preceding a meal give such a command—Chryses's prayer during the sacrifice in *Iliad* 1, and a tardy prayer by a visitor, Mentor, during the sacrifice to Poseidon in *Odyssey* 3. More numerous passages in comedy include a chthonic command. One more appears in Pindar, who asks Zeus to accept a rite. From the fourth-century onward, however, written hymns sung at sacrifices fill the gap. One subgenre, cletic hymns, invoked a god on frequently sacrificial occasions. From the corpus of Orphic *Hymns* contains many examples of such imperatives. A paean to Apollo composed for the Athenian Pythias festival in either 138 or 128 BC gives an illustration of summoning a god while acknowledging the difference between a god abroad and a god in residence. The first seven lines include the summons and draw the distinction between the Muses, who are abroad, and Apollo, who is not:

Daughters of loud-thundering Zeus, come and sing about your relative, golden-haired Phoebus, who is visiting the well-watered Castalian streams together with the well-known Delphic women—who is coming up to the rocky seat of twin-peaked Parnassus—.

A few lines later comes news of the sacrifice:

Hephaestus is burning the thighs of young bulls on the altars. Arabian incense is floating with the flames toward Olympus.

In the last sentence, the hymn alludes to censers.

^{82.} Schol. Ar. Ra. 479.

^{83.} Il. 1.451, Od. 3.55.

^{84.} Ar. Pax 973-977; Av. 895-902; absurdly, Lys. 204; to Zeus, E. fr. 907 TGrF.

^{85.} Pi. O. 13.29. Rite: $\tau \epsilon \theta \mu \acute{o} \nu$.

^{86.} Men. Rh. 333-334 with Weinreich (1914) 524-531.

^{87.} Porta (1999) 181–182. For a survey of sources, see Pulleyn (1997) app. 1.

^{88.} Delph. 3.2.137.1–7: [... Δ ιὸς] ϵ[ρι]βρόμουου θύγατρες ..., / μόλε[τ]ϵ, συνόμαιμον ἵνα Φοιοῖβον ωιδαϵ[ῖ]-/σι μέλψητε χρυσεοκόμαν, ὃς ἀνὰ δικόρυν- / βα Παρνασσίδος ταᾶσδε πετέρας ἔδραν' ἄμ' [ά]- / γακλυταιεῖς Δ ϵελφίσιιν Κασταλίδος / ϵοὐύδρου νάματ' ἐπινίσεται. . . . δὲ βωμοιοῖσιν Ἅ- / φαῖστος αἰ ϵίθε<ι> νέων μῆρα ταούρων' ὁμου- / οῦ δέ νιν Ἡραψ ἀτμὸς ἐς < ϶ Ο>λ<υ>μπον ἀνα κίδν[α]- / ται.

A passage in the Orphic *Hymns* forms a bridge between commands to listen or come and commands to accept a sacrificial offering. The worshipper says:

Let me call upon Dionysus Liknitēs with these prayers. . . . Come, blessed one, and accept these gratifying offerings. ⁸⁹

In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes another doublet occurs. As he presents what he calls a *thusia*, Socrates addresses the Clouds of the title:

Accept this sacrifice as you enjoy these offerings, and listen.

The Clouds oblige the philosopher, but nothing becomes of the *thusia* mentioned, perhaps, to link sacrifices to listening. Other worshippers took listening for granted, and confined themselves to commands to accept. In Herodas's fourth *Mimiamb*, Asclepius should "accept a tidbit," meaning a cock. A third example, again from Aristophanes, confirms ordinary practice by way of exaggeration. In the *Peace*, Trygaeus, the votary of this divinity, says to her:

Most honored queen and goddess, Peace, our lady, mistress of choruses and weddings, accept our sacrifice.⁹²

Trygaeus's slave echoes his master, saying, "So accept it." This bit of bullying confirms the formula, as does the slave's next sally. In the past, he says, the goddess has seemed to receive sacrifices as some women seem to receive their lovers, meaning that she has not received them in all sincerity. He concludes, "Don't do any more of that to us." An example from Heliodorus also reflects (even if it does not reproduce) common practice, and shows that requests to accept, unlike requests to appear, must have been common at festivals where the god or hero

^{89.} Orph. Η. 46.8: Λ ικνίτην Δ ιόνυσον $\dot{\epsilon}$ πευχα $\hat{\imath}$ ς τα $\hat{\imath}$ σδε κικλήσκω, . . . εὖφρων $\dot{\epsilon}$ λθέ, μάκαρ, κεχαρισμένα δ' $\hat{\imath}$ ερὰ δέξαι.

^{90.} Ar. Nu. 274: ὑπακούσατε δεξάμεναι θυσίαν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖσι χαρεῖσαι. Dover, ad loc., goes farther, saying that the *thusia* was included by rote.

^{91.} Herod. 4.13: $\tau \dot{a}\pi i\delta o\rho\pi a\,\delta \dot{\epsilon}\xi a\iota\sigma\theta \epsilon$.

^{92.} Ar. Pax 973–977: {TP.} $^{3}\Omega$ σεμνοτάτη βασίλεια θεά, / πότνι' Εἰρήνη, / δέσποινα χορῶν, δέσποινα γάμων, / δέξαι θυσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν. 978: {OI.} Δέξαι δῆτ', . . . 986: Τούτων σὰ πόει μηδὲν ἔθ' ἡμῖν.

^{93.} Kleinknecht (1937) 44–48, 52–53 and Horn (1970) 61 notice these passages, though neither discusses acceptance of sacrifices.

was in residence. In this novelist's version of the worship of Neoptolemus at Delphi, the procession and prayer culminate in a hymn asking the hero "kindly to accept this sacrifice." The oracular appendix to the *Anthologia Graeca* summarizes and generalizes: "Let the temple of Hera accept . . . a pretty calf . . . and let Apollo accept the same." An oracle supposedly given to the emperor Augustus says very much the same: let Hera accept a cow and a calf. 96

Other examples depart more or less from common practice. An offering and a new rite to go with it are what Bdelycleon asks Apollo to accept when the "hater of Cleon" wishes to celebrate his father's decision to be a kinder judge in the Athenian law courts:

Accept a new rite, Lord. We've devised it for my father.⁹⁷

In *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Agamemnon asks Artemis to "accept" a sacrifice, or *thuma*, which is a human being. In *Hecuba*, the heroine does the same, but describes the human victim as a source of blood that she compares to libations. In these two plays, as elsewhere in tragedy, pathos arises from the comparison between human and animal victims.

Yet even in tragedy, a wish for acceptance appears without complications. The chorus of the *Seven Against Thebes*, who have feared lest the gods desert them, tell Eteocles that gods will accept *thusiai* from him, and that if they do, the Furies—meaning disaster—will not enter his house, and will not enter the city, either.⁹⁹ Acceptance brings the god to humans, and humans to safety: that is the Chorus's equation, and a normal, unremarkable one, for all of the criticism to which Eteocles subjects them. Nor does the Chorus mean anything abnormal by *thusiai*. These are sacrifices the gods should "accept," the same as others.

Yet invokers of gods ran a risk. Asking the god to come to them, they might as well have asked him to ignore others. What then? Could a god, like Stephen Leacock's rider, go in several directions at once? Another genre, satire, seized on this aspect of the topic. Lucian imagined Zeus complaining that he must "be at the Olympia while I also follow the war near Babylon, send hail upon the Getae, and

^{94.} Heliod. 3.2.4, δέχνυσο δ' εὐμενέων τάνδε θυηπολίην.

^{95.} Anth. Gr. App. Orac. 214.15–17: δαμάλης δὲ βοὸς δέμας ἀγλαὸν Ἡρης δεξάσθω νηὸς . . . ἀπόλλων / . . . ἷσα δεδέχθω.

^{96.} Zos. 2.6.1. So also the language in the Sybilline oracles in Phlegon FGrH 257 F 37.2b.145–149.

^{97.} Ar. V. 876: δέξαι τελετὴν καινήν, $\mathring{\omega}$ 'αξ, $\mathring{\eta}$ ν τ $\mathring{\omega}$ πατρὶ καινοτομοῦμεν.

^{98.} E. IA 1572, Hec. 535.

^{99.} A. Sept. 700–701. Accept: $\delta \acute{\epsilon} \chi \omega \nu \tau \alpha \iota$. Normalcy: Zeitlin (1970) 193.

feast among the Ethiopians."¹⁰⁰ In part, Zeus is complaining about having to receive offerings in two places, Elis and Ethiopia. Yet Zeus could also have complained of having to keep track of several rites, as in Lucian's picture of the god's duties on Olympus. How much time should Zeus assign to prayers, how much to *thusiai*, and how much to the oath offerings that entered by a third portal?¹⁰¹ A god was all too distractible.

In response, worshippers tempted the god with additional offerings put on a table beside the altar. Less often, they enlarged this hospitality into a banquet, *theoxenia*. The latter practice drew even closer than the former to the degree of intimacy Greeks found dangerous. Yet no participant at a *theoxenia*—and there were famous ones, including Sophocles and Jason of Pherae—ever reported hearing a god, still less seeing or touching one. None reported receiving a return invitation. *Theoxenia* lured the god. It did not aggrandize the worshipper.

The first example of *trapezōmata*, in the *Odyssey*, lacks a table, but it stresses the honor this sort of sacrifice gave to the god. The host, Eumaeus, is conducting his sacrifice for the disguised Odysseus. Four slaves styled *hetairoi* act as Eumaeus's assistants. Once they bring a pig, Eumaeus kills it, and he and they butcher it. When he divides the meat, one portion goes to the nymphs and Hermes, one to Odysseus (the best cut), one to himself, and four to the assistants. ¹⁰³ The portion for the nymphs and Hermes is not the gods' portion. Eumaeus has already consigned that portion to the fire. It consisted of hairs from the animal and part of the raw flesh. ¹⁰⁴ The food for the nymphs and Hermes is an additional portion for them. ¹⁰⁵ Had Eumaeus put it on a table, it would constitute a *trapezōma*. Without forgetting his unrecognized master, Eumaeus has enticed the gods.

^{100.} Lucianus Bis. Acc. 1-3, esp. 2: ὑφ' ἔνα καιρὸν ἔν τε Ὀλυμπία τῆ ἑκατόμβη παρεῖναι καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τοὺς πολεμοῦντας ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ ἐν Γέταις χαλαζᾶν καὶ ἐν Αἰθίοψιν εὐωχεῖσθαι.

^{101.} Lucianus Icar. 26.

^{102.} These and others names: Deneken (1881) 10. A similar view of the limits of the practice, if not its purpose: Veyne (2000).

^{103.} Od. 14.434-437.

^{104.} Od. 14.446, called $\tilde{\alpha}\rho\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, consisting of hair (14.422) and flesh (427–428). The gods do not receive *splanchna*, and the common terms *erdein* and *rezein* are missing, and so Rudhardt (1958) 255 said Eumaeus does not perform a sacrifice. Yet as Casabona (1966) 70 noted, the offering at 14.446 is said to be burnt, $\theta\hat{\nu}\sigma\epsilon$; $\tilde{\alpha}\rho\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ as meat but, taken from the portions at 14.434–437: Petropoulou (1987) 139.

^{105.} Assuming that this portion is not burned at Od. 14.446–447, the view of Stanford ad loc. Munro ad loc. disagreed, as did Casabona (1966) 70. Schol. Od. 14.446 gives two interpretations, $\mathring{a}\pi \alpha \rho \chi \alpha \acute{a}$ or $\tau \grave{a} \mathring{a}\pi \rho \mu \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \theta \acute{e} \nu \tau a \tau \sigma \hat{i} \varsigma \theta \epsilon \sigma \hat{i} \varsigma$.

Many inscriptions illustrate this practice. Table portions of raw meat were routine at the shrine of Demeter in Andania, scene of the well-known Mysteries. As David Gill noted in his article on *trapezōmata*, Attic sacred calendars mention these tables and offerings. Other locations at which they appear include Pergamum, Erythrae, Mytilene, Cos, Messene; the gods honored include not just Asclepius and Demeter but Nike, chthonic divinities, and sundry heroes and heroines. The inscriptions often do not say what meat this was, but they do assume that any interested parties knew; a few times, they settle disputes about this question. Some tables were handsomely stocked—in one case, with a goat's carcass. Plato Comicus was thinking of these tables when he let a character complain, "How few table offerings are left!"

Setting forth a table did not change the rest of the act of sacrifice (and in this respect, it differed from *theoxenia*). It allowed the worshipper—the person making a prayer at the sacrifice in question, or perhaps a worshipper who has given a bride in marriage, or a civic benefactor sponsoring a sacrifice—to transfer some of the meat from himself and his party to the gods, or, in effect, to the staff of the shrine. In another, frequent instance, the divine table achieved a different transfer. Greeks set out food for Hecate at night, at crossroads and elsewhere. In spite of being reproached for it, passersby often ate these offerings. In

Theoxenia substituted a banquet for the table. Two features distinguished this sacrifice from others: the banqueting couch for the divine visitors and the consignment to them of varied, cooked parts of the animal. (Although an artist could convey a banquet but not include a table, as in figure 2.4, where Poseidon reclines

^{106.} LSCG 65.86.

^{107.} LSCG 1a.19; 20b passim (Tetrapolis); SEG XXXIII.147.17–19 (Thorikos). Gill (1974) 122–123 distinguishes table portions from *theoxenia*, a view found in Hermann (1841) 2.89. Stengel (1910) 171 observed that the offerings termed *theomoiria* at *Iscr. di Cos* 25.14. were also portions assigned to a god but consumed by priests, and thus likens them to *trapezōmata*.

^{108.} Pergamum: *LSAM* 13.15 for Asclepius. Attica ditto: Ar. *Pl.* 677–678. Erythrae: *LSAM* 24a14–15, 18–19. Mytilene: *LSCG* 125.2 Cos: *LSCG* 163.16–19, for Nike. Messene: *LSCG* 64.13–14, for Demeter. Chthonic divinities: *IG* ii² 1933–1935.

^{109.} An inscription can refer to "all the other table pieces" and not be misunderstood (*LSAM* 13.14–15). Evidence of disputes: *LSCG* 163.14–18.

^{110.} CID 1.13.20-23 (a goat). Also ample: a limb, half a head, and the side of a haunch: SEG XLVI.173.3-5.

^{111.} Pl. Com. fr. 74 K-A: ώς ὀλίγα λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτραπεζωμάτων.

^{112.} Priene 11.14-15, LSCG 177.101-103, IG v.1 1390.86.

^{113.} Dem. 54.39. Plu. *Q. conviv.* 708f–709a says that a worshipper of Hecate could expect smoke but no food—the same as an Olympian god at a sacrifice without a table set aside for him.



FIGURE 2.4 Eros as waiter

on a couch on the lower right, Zeus sits enthroned to the lower left, and an Eros serves Poseidon food.)¹¹⁴ Only a few gods received this largesse, notably Apollo at Delphi, where he received *theoxenia* in the hymn just quoted. Among heroes, *theoxenia* was mainly for the Dioskouroi, invited into worshippers' homes. *Theoxenia* also differed from ordinary sacrifice in the kind of honor rendered to the gods or others. In *theoxenia*, they supposedly ate. In ordinary sacrifice, they supposedly battened on the smoke of burning offerings. In the former case, they received sustenance, but in the latter case only satisfaction. *Theoxenia* would appear to be aberrant.¹¹⁵ Vernant called such feeding of the gods Mesopotamian, not Greek.¹¹⁶

^{114.} Fig. 2.4. Attic red-figure bell crater of around 400 BCE, Adolphseck $77 = ARV^2$ 1346.1 = LIMC s.v. Poseidon (E. Simon) 260; LIMC s.v. Erechtheus 10. Above, Athena on one side and Erechtheus on the other pour libations unconnected with the theoxenia.

^{115.} Two accounts of *theoxenia*, but without any account of the relation of this practice to the prevailing view: Pfister (1919) and Jameson (1994); Flückiger-Guggenheim (1984) 24–26 seizes on the difficulty, arguing that the notion of a divine guest is a compromise among competing needs. A brief account: Kearns (1996).

^{116.} Vernant (1991) 302–303. Another view of Mesopotamian feeding: G. Anderson (1987) 14–19, noting the shift away from feeding in SB *Gilgamesh* as compared to OB *Gilgamesh*.

Yet *trapezōmata* and *theoxenia* could begin in a common way, by instruction from an oracle. ¹¹⁷ Or they could begin in another common way, as a thanksgiving: the Athenians began the custom of setting forth sacrifices and a couch for the goddess Peace after the conclusion of the armistice with Sparta in 375/74. ¹¹⁸ They could occur at home, for the Dioskouroi, as well as in shrines. ¹¹⁹ *Thusia* of the usual sort might accompany *theoxenia*, at least according to a Delphic inscription and a Pindaric scholion, which both ignore dividing the animal into human and divine portions. ¹²⁰ The Dioskouroi, at least, received incense during *theoxenia*. ¹²¹ All this would lure the god, but it would not turn the god into some Mesopotamian being. The god remained himself or herself: polytopic, eager for honor yet vulnerable to distractions. Zeus, for one, did not often trifle with *theoxenia*. Yet this rite might attract gods and heroes with less business at their portholes.

Approach and invocation were not just for acts of sacrifice with an animal victim and a meal. In Homer, the Trojan women approached Athena and took a *peplos*, not animals. In Pausanias, worshippers approached the image of Sosipolis in Elis with cakes, not animals. On the occasion of monthly sacrifices at Olympia, priests and visitors gave vegetal offerings only.¹²² Oracles sometimes ordered vegetal offerings, as for Astypalaea.¹²³ An epiphany of Apollo and Artemis accompanied the first arrival of wheat offerings from the Hyperboreans to Delos.¹²⁴ Many invocations make the same point: asking a god to come and listen could accompany some offering other than an animal eaten at a meal.¹²⁵ In Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, a worshipper asks a god to accept an animal offering of *sphagia*, given before an oath rather than before a meal.¹²⁶ Besides being meat, *trapezōmata* were sometimes cakes and other vegetal offerings. Such tables were for poorer gods, like Hecate and Hermes, whose pillars held bits of food.¹²⁷ (In contrast, Aristophanes's

^{117.} IG ii² 1933-5.

^{118.} Nep. Tim. 1.2.3, Isoc. 15.110.

^{119.} I.e., gods who were epidēmountes, as at schol. Pi. O. 3 preface.

^{120.} Thusia: IG xii.5 12957, schol. Pi. O. 3.6.

^{121.} Attic red-figure hydria, Plovdiv Museum 1527, 425–400 BCE = ARV^2 1187 = LIMC s.v. Dioskouroi (A. Hermary) 3.577 no. 14.

^{122.} Il. 6.292-311, Paus. 6.22.4, 5.15.10.

^{123.} Paus. 6.9.8, a specification missing from the other hero cults in Pausanias noted at 45 above.

^{124.} Hdt. 4.35.1-2, where the names of the two gods go unmentioned.

^{125.} CEG 345 = IG xii.Supp. P. 86; CEG 418 = IG xii.3.1075; CEG 367 = IvO 252. Further bibliography: Porta (1999) 187, listing all three.

^{126.} Ar. Lys. 204, where the language is metaphorical.

^{127.} Nilsson (1940) 8 with fig. 4.

Plutus describes two tables for Asclepius, one for fowl and one for cakes and figs.)¹²⁸ The same was true of *theoxenia*, especially for the Dioskouroi.¹²⁹ In Athens, where the Dioskouroi received hospitality at the public hearth, the two gods received cheese, cakes, olives, and leeks, and no meat.¹³⁰

Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne do not distinguish between approach and invocation, and in several respects they are right. In either situation, the worshipper had to gain the god's notice. Aside from the offering, which was the most important way to accomplish this, and aside from the worshipper's own appearance, which was the second most important, the worshipper had two others, music and dance. If there were a parade to an altar, the music and dance might begin then. If there were not, they began as soon as the invocation ended, and the rest of the sacrifice began. Plato explains:

A man should devote himself to certain pastimes—sacrifice, song, and dance. That way, he will gain the gods' approval.¹³¹

Plato does not mean the gods' appreciation, for he goes on to say,

That way he will defeat his enemies in war.

Song and dance buttressed requests for victory, and presumably other requests. They were common enough that a quiet sacrifice drew the attention of Plutarch. 132

Some sacrificial music was instrumental, and some was vocal, in the form of hymns sung while offerings burned. For instrumental music, Van Straten's collection provides examples, including *aulai* and citharae.¹³³ The syrinx or pipe figured at sacrifices, too.¹³⁴ Most common was the double pipe, appearing not

^{128.} Ar. Pl. 672-681.

^{129.} Nilsson (1940) 69.

^{130.} Ath. 4.137e.

^{131.} Pl. Lg. 8.803e, referring only in part to the purrhikē: διαβιωτέον τινὰς δὴ παιδιάς, θύοντα καὶ ἄδοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἵλεως αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν δυνατὸν εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν μαχόμενον

R. 2.653d adds that sacrificial song and dance put the worshipper in the gods' company. So also Plu. E apud Delph. 389c, assigning music to offerings at all seasons.

^{132.} Plu. *QG* 301e.

^{133.} Hiera Kala, V55, 347, 349, 359. A survey of the subject: Nordquist (1992).

^{134.} Plu. De mus. 1136a, Men. Dysc. 432; SIG 589.46, also mentioning a cithara-player and flutist.

only on vases but in a sacrificial procession in Menander's *Dyskolos*, in great sacrifices for Apollo reported in Pausanias and Plutarch, and in the great but fantastic sacrifice in Aristophanes's *Birds*.¹³⁵ This instrument was louder than the cithara or syrinx. Played by musicians who often were at the rear of a procession, it had to overcome the aural distractions of sometimes recalcitrant animals, not to mention incidental noise, and it had to ring out when used to signal that the next victim should be brought to the altar.¹³⁶ It had to ring out again over the voices raised when the libation was poured over the roasting flesh of the victim.¹³⁷ Where animal sacrifices accompanied orgiastic worship, otherwise unreported drums, rattles, and cymbals strengthened the effort.¹³⁸ Yet strength was not the only desideratum. Musicians wore long robes that served as sacral clothing.¹³⁹ The god was not expected to come and listen to an ordinary performance.

Sacrificial dancing appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where it pleases the god, and is found in art, too, as in figure 2.5, a Spartan bluestone relief on which women dance before an altar of Apollo while a man brings forward an ox. ¹⁴⁰ Oddly, the sources that describe sacrifices say little about the divine response to dancing. Plato, who criticized kinds of music at sacrifices, says nothing about kinds of dancing. ¹⁴¹ Yet this pastime must have been nearly as common as music, which was so common that the sources pause to notice any custom forbidding it. ¹⁴²

Since dance and music preceded or followed the two acts most important to recent writers, slaughter and feasting, they may seem to be incidental. An oracle from Didyma dispels this impression. Apollo says:

Why should your well-nourished hecatombs of creatures with cloven feet and your statues of expensive gold or your image worked in . . . silver

^{135.} Men. Dysc. 432-434, Paus. 8.38.8, Ar. Av. 857-858.

^{136.} Suggested by Ziehen (1931) 231-232, by analogy with the use of trumpets at contests.

^{137.} Call. Jov. 1-3.

^{138.} LSJ s.v. τύμπανον, κροτάλον, κύμβαλον.

^{139.} W. Anderson (1994) 56-57.

^{140.} Dancing as well as singing: h. Ap. 149–150. Figure 2.5: bluestone relief, Sparta Museum 689, from the Amyklaion, third century = Tod and Wace (1906) no. 689, fig. 72 = LIMC s.v. Apollon (O. Palagia) 958 = MDAI(A) 20 (1904) 24–31. Dancing in tragedy: Henrichs (1996)b.

^{141.} Pl. R. 3.399d.

^{142.} Apollod. 3.15.7, Paus. 8.38.7, Ath. 1.139d.



FIGURE 2.5 Spartan sacrificial dance

matter to me? Immortals don't need possessions and they do not care for what delights mortals.¹⁴³

He instructs them:

Sing songs in my grove of fig trees.... I enjoy all kinds of song, especially the old. That's much better for me.

This late oracle in verse does not mean that worshippers should abandon victims in favor of choruses. It does reflect the god's image as a connoisseur, not a gourmand.

Yet even though every worshipper needed to provide entertainment, just as he needed to provide an offering, the difference between approach and invocation remained important. Often the god was on the scene from the start, in the form of an image, an advantage for the worshipper, and sometimes the god had commanded the worshipper's presence by an

oracle, another advantage. Sometimes the sacrifice commemorated an epiphany, yet another link to the god and another advantage. Sometimes the worshipper did not enjoy these advantages. He had to compete with all others bombarding Zeus with invitations to attend. Rather than receive instruction from an oracle, the worshipper had to give directions to the god. Rather than respond to an epiphany, the worshipper had to ask for some version of one, such as *theoxenia* provided. Rather than (or besides) attending to the altar, the worshipper had to attend to a table.

Once the god appeared, no worshipper relaxed. The worshipper now had to present his offering, his request, and himself. The curtain rose before the audience

^{143.} Didyma 580.1–10, dated to the third century CE at Robert and Robert (1958): $[\tilde{\omega} \mu \hat{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon oi, \tau i \mu oi]$ εἰλιπόδων ζατρεφεῖς ἑκατόμβαι / [λαμπροί τε χρυ]σοῖο βαθυπλούτοιο κολοσσοὶ / [καὶ χαλκῷ δεί]κηλα καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἀσκηθέντα; / [οὐ μέντοι] ἀθάνατοι κτεάνων ἐπιδευέες εἰσὶν / [οὐδέ τινος χρ]είης, ἢπερ φρένας ἰαίνοννται / [θνητοί.... χαίρω δὲ ἐπὶ πάση ἀοιδῆ, . . . / . πολλὸν δ' εἰπερ τε παλαιῆ . . . / . . . ἐμοὶ πολὺ φέρτερόν ἐστιν.

of one, or a small audience that would respond as one. The worshipper did have that consolation. If several gods received the worshipper, as Hermes and the Nymphs did to Eumaeus, they responded in unison.¹⁴⁴

Standards of Comportment

The worshipper who trundled before the god his (or her) animal, request, and person was no small expert. Why should a god like Zeus want this species of livestock or that one, or sometimes want horses, wild goats, or dogs? Why should he want a white animal on one occasion, a young animal on another, and a female on another? Why should no two gods want the same animals, and why should the same god want one thing in one place and another thing in another? The worshipper knew, but the sources seldom tell. The sources say even less about sacrificial requests—in other words, about prayers as opposed to offerings—so devising categories again proves difficult. Only concerning the worshipper do the sources say more, and here they moralize about piety and reverence.

Yet several standards emerge. The offering should be *kalos*, physically attractive. The request should be unexorbitant. The worshipper should be *hosios*, pious, but also *kalos* in both a physical and a moral sense. All three facets—the animal, the request, and the worshipper's standing—needed to be satisfactory. Save for one example, no god ever approved of some one of these and disapproved of the others. ¹⁴⁷ Instead the god approved of all or of none.

Kalos partly meant whole or "finished," *teleios*, a commonplace of Greek sacrifice, but if the offering were an animal it also meant "sound" or in good fettle. The first of these two traits was a matter of defect, and was indubitable. A pig had to have a tail; on the other hand, a castrated male animal would be acceptable. The second trait was a matter of quality, and was doubtful. It might mean

^{144.} On the other hand, separate altars meant separate responses, As in the Athenian Erechtheum, where Poseidon, loser to Athena in the contest for the honor of being tutelary god, had an altar (Paus. 1.26.5). A Spartan example: *X. Lac.* 13.2 with Dindorf ad loc. A survey: Gaifman (2005) 199–203.

^{145.} Cook (1914–1940) 1.180 n. 5 (horses), 2.926 (dogs, wild goat).

^{146.} White vs. black: Stengel (1910) 187–191. Young versus old: Stengel (1920³) 153–155. Male versus female: Stengel (1910) 191–197. A recent dossier of evidence for these questions: Hermary (2004) 68–101. Perhaps the first to dismiss these questions: Maimonides (1963) ch. 26.

^{147.} Il. 2.420, discussed in ch. 4.

^{148.} Pig: Ar. Ach. 784. Castrated animals are only rarely prohibited, as at SIG 1024.6, 9.

a good animal, or it might mean the best animal available, as when Minos dared to offer Poseidon a worse bull while keeping a better one for himself. Dissatisfied, the god punished him by having his wife fall in love with the better one. 149 Less arrogant worshippers took the precaution of seeking out the best animals and setting them aside for the god. In both private and civic settings, these suitable animals were *thusima*, acceptable for sacrifice. 150 A phrase in the *Odyssey*, "select hecatombs," marks the first appearance of this practice. 151 At Tegea, an official saw to it that *thusima hiera*, and no other animals, were pastured on sacred land. 152 Although no source says so, sacred lands elsewhere may have served the same purpose.

A community unsure of weeding out the unacceptable this way could weed them out another way, by holding a health or beauty contest. On Cos, the contest pitted one tribe against another. First, the tribe of the Pamphylians brought forward three cattle for a public sacrifice. If none proved acceptable, the tribe of the Hylleis would do the same. If these were not acceptable either, the Dumanes did the same. If the judges remained dissatisfied, the tribes started over again, for a total of eighteen cattle. If all eighteen proved inadequate, another set of civic groups, each called a *chiliastus*, or thousand, had its turn. Each thousand provided a single ox, and the judges would have no choice but to approve one. Zeus received the winner, Hestia one of the losers. The donor received only the honor of making his donation—a reward that a tyrant, Jason of Pherae, thought inadequate. He gave a crown of gold to the city contributing the finest bull for the Pythian Games. Here the requirement for a handsome creature reached its financial and organizational apex.

The inscription providing for the Cos beauty contest does not say what test of soundness the judges used to select the winner, but other Greeks used several. By way of setting the scene for an animal sacrifice, Lucian mentions one—"bellowing,"

^{149.} Apollod.3.1.4.

^{150.} Pig: Ar. Ach. 784. Quality: LSAM 39.10–14, where thusimos does not mean "suitable for sacrifice" by age, as the age is specified by the adjective koureios.

^{151.} Od. 5.102, έξαίτους έκατόμβας.

^{152.} LSCG 67.5-7.

^{153.} Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 62.17–28. A different view: Burkert (1983) 138 n. 10, holding that Hestia and Zeus received the same ox. Again, see chapter 3 here.

Not all communities are always so demanding: at Eretria, two of four sheep furnished for the Artemisia would be accepted (*LSCG* 92.7-8). Other contests: *LGS* 29.21 (Athens), 88.37 (Euboea).

^{154.} X. HG 6.4.29.

but half-voiced, [like] a sound from a flute. It's apparently a good sign. 155

Lucian's noisy animal appears in other sources. According to a scholion to Homer and also according to Strabo, the victim must bellow for the signs to be good. ¹⁵⁶

At Delphi, Plutarch says, the priests tested animals' vigor. Plutarch also corrects any impression that the god is noticing the piteousness of an animal, and not its fettle. His *Decline of Oracles* reports:

Priests say that they sacrifice victims and pour libations and observe the victims' movement and trembling in order to obtain a sign from the god as to whether he will prophesy or not. What else would this mean?¹⁵⁷

Plutarch's speaker goes on to set forth the conditions in which the god will indeed prophesy. He includes wholeness, or a want of defects, but that is not all:

The animal must be pure, whole, and undamaged with respect to both its body and its vitality. Judging the body is not hard, but to assess vitality, bulls are given grain, billy-goats are given peas. If they do not taste the food, they are thought unsound.¹⁵⁸

Vigor means appetite. In the same way, the priests of Apollo in Syria, with its sacred fish, fed the fish and declared the god favorable if these creatures ate.¹⁵⁹

Along with noise, motion, and appetite, Plutarch adds a third test, sensitivity, tested by seeing whether animals respond to water. "The nanny goat is tested with cold water. It's unnatural for an animal with any vitality to remain motionless or

^{155.} Lucianus Sacr. 12–13: μυκώμενον καὶ ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς εὐφημοῦν καὶ ἡμίφωνον ἡδη τ $\hat{\eta}$ θυσί α ἐπαυλοῦν. . . . For the test imposed on the losing animal at Cos, see chapter 3 here.

^{156.} Schol. *Il.* 20.404; so also Str. 8.7.2 with schol.

^{157.} Plu. Defec. orac. 437a: οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὅσιοι θύειν φασὶ τὸ ἱερεῖον καὶ κατασπέν δειν καὶ τὴν κίνησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τρόμον ἀποθεωρεῖν ἑτέρου τίνος τοῦτο σημε ῖον ἢ τοῦ θεμιστεύειν τὸν θεὸν λαμβάνοντες; So also 438a, where τὸ ἱερεῖον should not ἀκίνητον ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ἀπαθὲς.

^{158.} Plu. Defec. orac. 437b: δεῖ γὰρ τὸ θύσιμον τῷ τε σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀσινὲς καὶ ἀδιάφθορον. μήνυτρα μὲν οὖν <τῶν> περὶ τὸ σῶμα κατιδεῖν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπόν ἐστι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν δοκιμάζουσι τοῖς μὲν ταύροις ἄλφιτα τοῖς δὲ κάπροις ἐρεβίνθους παρατιθέντες· τὸ γὰρ μὴ γευσάμενον ὑγιαίνειν οὐκ οἴονται.

A different view: vitality as manna, in Schwen (1927) 129.

^{159.} Polycharmos FGrH 770 F 2c-e. Evaluation according to movements: 2b.

unaffected during a dousing." ¹⁶⁰ This response also appears in Aristophanes, where a sacrifice to the goddess Peace—soon to be rejected, Trygaeus fears, because she abhors bloodshed—includes the same test. Trygaeus and his slave are standing beside the altar, victim beside them:

TRYGAEUS: Come on! Get the basket and the water and go around the altar to the right.

SLAVE: OK. Anything else? I've gone round.

TRYGAEUS: Let me see. I'll take this torch and dip it in the water. [To the sheep as he waves the dripping torch] Give a shake and don't dawdle. 161

As the sheep shakes off the water, Trygaeus also waves the dripping torch at the worshippers. Making a humorous comparison between the water for the one and the water for the other, the slave says, "We've poured all this water on them, yet they are standing there, stock still!" Although the comparison is absurd, the test is clear.

Pausanias adds yet another test, rearing, as at Messenian heroic sacrifices. Ample visual evidence, notably the recalcitrant oxen on the Parthenon frieze, supports Pausanias. Hands and ropes restrain numerous animals threatening to rear, buck, or break loose. If In figure 2.6, also from Van Straten, one worshipper has a bull by the horns, another has it by the tail, and a third ropes the creature, which responds to their efforts by rearing. In figure 2.7, a votive tablet antedating the Parthenon frieze by only a decade or so, the situation is even worse: the worshipper in the center stands in front of the animal, not to the side or behind, and yanks it forward toward the altar. Further evidence in *Hiera Kala*

^{160.} Plu. Defec. orac. 437b: τὴν δ' αἶγα διελέγχειν τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ' οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ψυχῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐχούσης τὸ πρὸς τὴν κατάσπεισιν ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀκίνητον.

A different view: Detienne (1989) 9.

^{161.} Ar. Pax 956–960: {TP.} Åγε δή, τὸ κανοῦν λαβὼν σὺ καὶ τὴν χέρνιβα / περίιθι τὸν βωμὸν ταχέως ἐπιδέξια. / {OI.} Ἰδού. Λέγοις ἃν ἄλλο· περιελήλυθα. / {TP.} Φέρε δή, τὸ δαλίον τόδ' ἐμβάψω λαβών. / Σείου σὺ ταχέως. Disputes about the order of the lines have no bearing on the animal's gesture unless with Blaydes ad loc., the "shaking" is attributed to Trygaeus and 960 is emended accordingly. For "shaking" in the middle voice meaning "shake something off," here water, see LSJ s.v. σ είω III.

^{162.} Ar. Pax 971–972: ἡμῶν καταχεόντων ὕδωρ τοσουτονὶ / εἰς ταὐτὸ τοῦθ' έστ \hat{a} σ'.

^{163.} Paus. 4.32.3. A different view: Georgoudi (2005) 2.1.16.

^{164.} Himmelmann (1997) fig. 22, 23, reproducing Carey's (1992) drawing of pieces 1-3, where the animals rear.

^{165.} Fig. 2.6. NY Met 56.171.149, Attic red-figure bell crater, Kekrops Ptr., ARV^2 1347/3 = Hiera Kala, fig. 54 and no. 91.

^{166.} Fig. 2.7. *Atlante*, pl. 286 top = Himmelmann (1997) fig. 40.

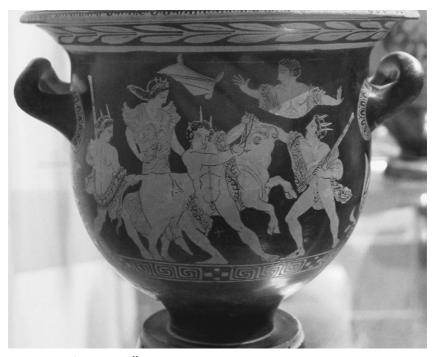


FIGURE 2.6 A most unwilling victim

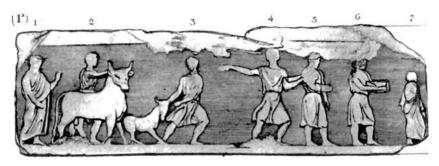


FIGURE 2.7 The victim (temporarily) prevails

is abundant.¹⁶⁷ Every common sacrificial species appears, from bulls to goats. Whatever the particulars, the animal's behavior denotes some quality that, unlike wholeness, is not superficial and that, unlike bellowing or shaking, is not momentary.

^{167.} Rearing sacrificial animals in *Hiera Kala*: V91. Animals held by the horns lest they buck: *Hiera Kala* V38, 42, 65, 69, 107 (bottom), 121, 127, 128, 130, 131, 135, 136, 140. Animals restrained by ropes lest they buck: three bulls, V21 (top), 107 (top), 123; 23 others: V9, 16, 28, 36, 39, 41, 43, 55, 68, 72–74, 76, 78–79, 85, 89, 91, 98, 107, 115, 118, 139. These figures come from a total of 140 vase paintings included by Van Straten to show phases of the act of sacrifice before the slaughter of the animal.

All these tests of soundness would appeal to any god or goddess, but one test, whether an animal was pregnant, appealed to goddesses more or less linked to fertility, including Demeter and Ge, but also Hera in Miletus, Rhea in Cos, and others Nilsson listed in his brief treatment of the topic in *GGR*. A passage in Cornutus compares pregnancy to other tests of fitness:

People very naturally sacrifice pregnant sows (to Demeter). They select those that are fertile . . . and have perfect offspring. 168

Unlike other divinities, this maternal goddess demanded quality twice over, once in the sow, and once in the litter.

As Lucian summarizes, the animal must behave in a lively but not indecorous way—one compatible with the conduct of the sacrifice. Otherwise, the worshippers will replace it. In a scene in Menander, they will replace it if it interferes with the sacrifice by eating leaves from ceremonial branches. ¹⁶⁹ Dio implies the replacement of the animal if it struggled too much. ¹⁷⁰ An uncharacteristically scrupulous Alexander thought it was ominous when his comrade Clitus the Black stopped partway through a sacrifice and left, but found the victims following him. ¹⁷¹ For Alexander the animal had to behave well even if the sacrifice never occurred. The king ordered another sacrifice, but with new animals.

The product of all this effort, the acceptable animal, received honors. On Cos, the winning beast received a crown, watched a libation of wine being poured before him, and was attended with olive and laurel branches.¹⁷² The gilding of horns is missing from this list, but not from Greek practice from *Odyssey* 3 onward. The god wanted animals as well as humans to be at their best. Even amid the hurry and anxiety of a prebattle sacrifice, the god would expect no less.¹⁷³ He did not, however, put animals and humans on a par. Once a sacrificial animal was slaughtered, no Greek paid further honors to it. Unlike Egyptians, Greeks did

^{168.} GGR 1.151–152 with Corn. ND 28: θύουσι δ' \dot{b} s ἐγκύμονας πάνυ οἰκείως τὸ πολύγονον...καὶ τελεσφόρον παριστάντες.

^{169.} Men. Dysc. 393-398.

^{170.} D.C. 41.61, cited by Ziehen (1939) 611.

^{171.} Plu. Alex. 50.4.

^{172.} LSCG 151a.28-32.

^{173.} Garland during *sphagia* or *thusia* by armies or their leaders: X. An. 7.1.40, Arr. An. 2.26.4, Plu. Alex. 33. Animal garlanded: Plu. Ages. 6 (although this is a deer at Aulis). Crown for animal: Plu. Pelop. 22, X. HG 6.4.29. See Blech (1982) 303–308.

not mourn for sacrificial animals.¹⁷⁴ For Egyptians, the animal was an object of veneration. For Greeks, it was a means to an end.

The god did not want the whole of the animal. Save in *trapezōmata* and *theoxenia*, the Greeks did not conceive the god as eating it; comic writers observed that the god had no need of it. Instead the god received portions that served some purpose other than feeding.¹⁷⁵ First, the killing of the animal caused blood to splatter the altar. The god received this blood as part of his portion of the victim. (The rest of the blood might fall into a bowl, such as appears in the *Odyssey*. From there, it went onto the altar or became part of the worshippers' portion, thanks to its use in sausage.)¹⁷⁶ Second, the god received bones burnt at the altar, mainly the thigh bones, but often others that varied from place to place and even from one sacrifice to the next.¹⁷⁷ Whatever they were, these bones fed the fire that sent smoke heavenward, and so did the animal fat allotted to the god. Once again, the god received not so much a substance as a sign. The god would respond to this sign when accepting the offering. The same was true of the entrails, the god's third portion. They provided another sign to which the god would respond. These signs were essential. Killing was not. It was instrumental.¹⁷⁸

When a worshipper burnt the entire animal for the god, nothing changed. As in Lucian, the worshipper still might pour blood around the altar and inspect the remains. At Sicyon, the worshippers still separated the divine portion from the rest, but burned both. Fire and smoke still arose, and the god might still respond, as would be true of chickens sacrificed without any pouring of blood, or inspecting of entrails, or splitting of portions. If the aroma were unsatisfactory, the worshippers

^{174.} Lucianus Sacr. 15.

^{175.} No taste: Men. *Dysc.* 450–453. Other portions: *Sam.* 399–402. The same observation: Burkert (1983) 7. The consequent conclusion that animal sacrifice is not a valuable offering: Plu. fr. 47 = schol. Hes. *Op.* 335–336; more cautiously, that it is not more valuable than other kinds: Hes. *Op.* 336–338 with Stengel (1910) 28 n. 1.

^{176.} Bowl: *Od.* 3.444 with schol.; so also Ar. *Thes.* 754–756 with schol. Blood sausage in the Classical period: see chapter 6 here. Opposing views: Stowers (1998) to which add Burkert (1985) 59–60, holding that blood staining the altar was "a characteristic of the sacrificial act as such" and not part of a division of this substance between god and worshipper.

^{177.} There is no monograph, nor even any survey article, on this subject, but see Ekroth (forthcoming) with literature dating back to Puttkammer (1912); and the discussion in chapter 6.

^{178.} A similar view, but of Vedic and Israelite sacrifice: McClymond (2008) 2.

^{179.} Lucianus Sacr. 13.

^{180.} Paus. 2.10.4-6.

^{181.} Lucianus J. Trag. 15, Porph. VP 36.

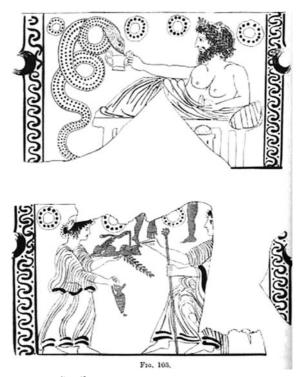


FIGURE 2.8 A young girl's offering

might add incense.¹⁸² If the god were underwater, holocaust gave way to drowning. Although fire did not rise, the animal sank, and Poseidon received it.¹⁸³

When vegetal offerings came before the god, as at the lower left of figure 2.8, where a girl presents an oinochoe, a cake, and a lighted taper, nothing changed save for the lack of bloodshed and entrails.¹⁸⁴ Olympian gods especially welcomed incense, a substance that, like other burnt offerings, was attractive to see and to smell. (Of the usual pantheon, we know that ten received incense offerings.)¹⁸⁵

^{182.} Paus. 9.3.5.

^{183.} Suid. s.v. $\kappa \acute{a}\theta \epsilon \tau o \varsigma$, Lex. rhet. p. 270.8, Phot. s.v. $\kappa \acute{a}\theta \epsilon \tau o \nu$.

^{184.} Fig 2.8. A drawing taken from a Classical Boeotian vase = Kern (1890) pl. 7 bottom = Harrison (1903) fig. 101.

^{185.} Ten gods (Zeus, Poseidon, Hera, Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Dionysus, Athena, and Hermes), literary and epigraphical sources listed first, followed by visual evidence in Zaccagnino (1998) apps. CT ("thymiateria") and RT ("fonti iconographice"). Zeus: [And.] 4.29; Paus. 5.15.10, Orph. H. 20; LIMC s.v. Erechtheus 4 no. 10, a red-figure calyx crater. Poseidon: RT 453–8. Hera: Men. Sam. 157, 671 (proteleia); ID 1403 BbII.7 (Delos); CT 178–81, 183–4,

Numerous temple inventories report *thumiatēria*, or censers such as are implied in the Delphic hymn to the Muses. ¹⁸⁶ Celebrants will have used these censers both during sacrifices of animals and on other occasions. In the Delian Artemisium in the fourth century and in the 270s BCE, the two periods for which a temple inventory survives, the temple stored five kinds of censers in two areas. The inventory does not say how many censers there were at any one time, but it includes items of gold as well as gilded and silvered bronze weighing up to 3,200 drachmas. ¹⁸⁷ Supplies could be comparably luxurious:

Seleucus I sent 10 talents of incense and one of myrrh to Didyma.¹⁸⁸

An example of these *thumiatēria* appears in figure 2.9, the right-hand panel of the early Classical relief known as the Ludovisi throne. Here a veiled woman offers incense in a *thumiatērion* she holds in her left hand. The scene is likely an Ionian temple of Aphrodite at Locri in Sicily.¹⁸⁹ A second example, in figure 2.10, is more elaborate.¹⁹⁰ A woman upholds the bronze censer, which is 35 centimeters high. Censers like this might well be dedicated to the god whose temple

^{186–7, 189–95, 203–4 (}Paestum); CT53, 279 (Hera Lacinia). Demeter: RT 130, 137, 458 (Eleusis). Apollo at Didyma: *Didyma* 65.25–6. Delian Apollo: *IG* xi.2.161 B83, B99; 287 B46, B49, B51; *ID* 298 A20, A24, A37; 313 A31; 314 B155; 421 B55–6; 428 B6; 439 A84, A87; 1401 AB 3–5; 1403 AbI.74; 1409 AaI.94–5. Artemis: *Didyma* 65.25–6. *SEG* XXI.557.11–2 (Brauron); *IG* xi.2.161 B 11, B36–7; 164 A 60–1, A75–6, 199 B42–3, B51–2 (Delos). Aphrodite: Pi. fr. 122 ed. Maehler (Corinth), Th. 6.46.3 (Eryx); *ID* 1412 A29, 1442 B33, B35 (Delos); RT 95 (Sicilian), 435 (Eryx?). Dionysus: Kallixeinos *FGrH* 627 F 2; *IG* xi.2 110.19–20, 126.11, 128.51–2, 54–5 (Delos); *SEG* XXXIV.95.90–99 (Dionysus Melpomenos?). Athena: *IG* i³ 342.4–7, 343.9–10; xii.8 51.22–3 (Imbros); RT 46–7 (Parthenon frieze). Hermes: Paus. 7.22.3, Porph. *Abst.* 2.16; RT 341–4. A general statement about the gods by Hermes: Ar. *Pl.* 1114.

^{186.} To cite only censers described in the catalogue of votives from the Delian Artemisium, area A, dated 434–315 BCE with an equal sign designating identical phrases: ID 104.12.27–29 = 104.17.4; 104.16.7, 104.16.8 = 104.17.3; 104.16.9, 104.17.5. Similarly described items from area Ba, in mostly chronological order: IG xi 2 161b.36 (279 BCE) = 162.29 (278 BCE); 161b.36–37 (279 BCE) = 162b.30–31 (278 BCE); 164a.61–62 (276 BCE), 75 (276 BCE); 199b.42–43 (274 BC), 51–52 (274 BCE). Another item from area Ba, the only one described as damaged: 161b.11 (279 BCE) = 162b.8 (278 BCE).

^{187.} Gold: *ID* 104.17.4. Gilded: 104.39–41. Silvered: 104.45; 3200 drachmas, including *phialē*: 104.39–41.

^{188.} Didyma 19.58-59.

^{189.} Fig. 2.9. Museo Nazionale Romano 8670, 475–450 BCE = Zaccagnino (1998) item RT ("fonti iconographice") 45 = Guarducci, fig. 2. Locri: Ashmole, "Locri Epizephyrii and the Ludovisi Throne," 252.

^{190.} Fig. 2.10. Bronze, Archaeological Museum, Delphi, Greece 7723, c. 450 BCE = *Delph*. 5.155–160 no. 199 = Zaccagnino (1998) item CT ("thymiateria configurati") 164 = Tölle-Kastenbein, pl. 117b.



FIGURE 2.9 A priestess with her incense

they served.¹⁹¹ The contrast between the simple and the elaborate objects makes a twofold point about the ubiquity of these sacrificial implements: they were recognizable enough to be included in a temple relief and valuable enough to be well wrought and made of bronze, not to mention precious metal. When Euripides's Ion encounters the servant girls in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, he calls them "incense-bearers." ¹⁹²

Since incense offerings could be very small, simpler censers were common in homes.¹⁹³ Unglazed, low, and shallow, this sort of censer differed little from an open tray. Other terms for censers used at home refer to the hearth at which the

^{191.} Th. 6.46.3. Dedicants: Zaccagnino (1998) items FE ("fonti epigraphice") 4, 11–13, 19, 22 (Athens), 77–78 (Oropus) with discussion at pp. 63–64.

^{192.} E. *Ion* 510-511. Yet Plutarch limits the shrine to laurel and white flour (*Pyth. orac.* 397a), and Plato rejects incense, a stance more likely to be old-fashioned than innovative (Lg. 8.487b).

^{193.} No. 1360, pl. 44, Agora 12 with 1.182-183, a type dating mainly to "the late fifth century."

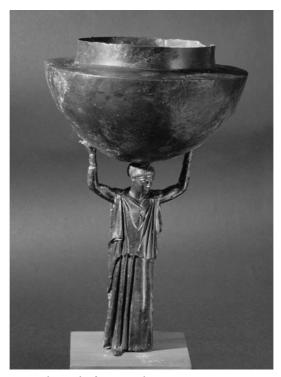


FIGURE 2.10 A censer that embodies a worshipper

censer stood (*escharis*, *escharion*) or to the tripod supporting the censer (*tripodis-kos*).¹⁹⁴ These terms confirm the common use of censers. "Something atop a domestic altar," an *escharion*, was a censer, and so was "something on a tripod." Figure 2.11, a table in Cristiana Zaccagnino's monograph on *thumiatēria*, contrasts taller and fancier models often found in shrines with those found at home.¹⁹⁵

In one respect, incense surpassed all other offerings. The worshipper could burn it not only in the shrine, but during a procession on the way. As Achilles Tatius describes a parade:

The sacrifice was impressive—a great parade of incense, a party-colored arrangement of flowers. The scents were kassia, frankincense, and saffron; the flowers narcissus, roses, and myrtles. The smell of the flowers rivaled

^{194.} Zaccagnino (1998) 44-48.

^{195.} Fig. 2.11. Ibid. table 2.

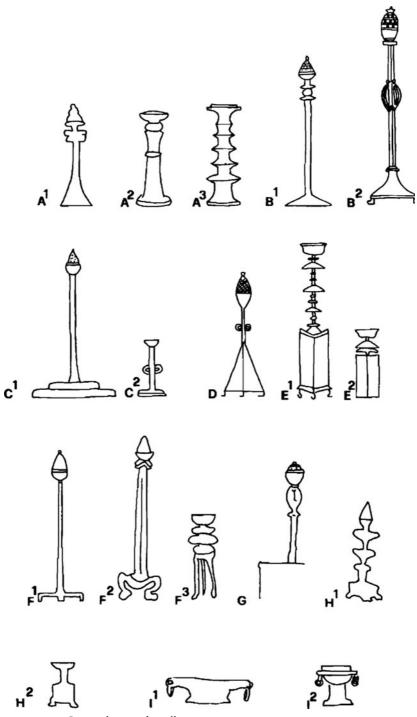


FIGURE 2.11 Censers large and small

the incense, and a blended aroma wafted into the sky. . . . The victims were many and colorful, but the cattle from the Nile were outstanding. 196

On an occasion like this, portable altars might serve in lieu of a censer (although such altars also appeared in homes and temples).¹⁹⁷ Like bigger altars, they were garlanded. The head of an ox sometimes was attached to the side, or an ox skull, as if to compare the incense offering with that of the most costly animal.¹⁹⁸ The two were often complementary, as in Achilles Tatius. Yet incense was not always a complement to an animal offering. It commonly was an offering in its own right, plus a fumigant. It may have first appealed to the Greeks as an improvement on native fumigants.¹⁹⁹ It may also have appealed to them because it was handier than animal sacrifice. Because it was a holocaust, it left nothing behind. Because it was blendable, it could be diluted. Because it clung to some surfaces, it would keep pleasing the god after the worshipper had departed.²⁰⁰

Taken together, other vegetal offerings were even more common—barley, wheat, and fig cakes put on the altar, not to mention the hair and barley used as preliminary offerings when an animal was slaughtered.²⁰¹ Like incense, these could be either complementary or independent. Cakes were often independent; hair was independent when offered to the dead; and barley was always complementary.²⁰² Whatever the use of these offerings, they were often burned, like the divine portion

^{196.} Ach. Tat. 2.15.1-3: καὶ γὰρ ἦν πολυτελής. πολλὴ μὲν ἡ τῶν θυμιαμάτων πομπή, ποικίλη δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀνθέων συμπλοκή. τὰ θυμιάματα, κασσία καὶ λιβανωτὸς καὶ κρόκος τὰ ἄνθη, νάρκισσος καὶ ρόδα καὶ μυρρίναι ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνθέων ἀναπνοὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν θυμιαμάτων ἤριζεν ὀδμήν. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἀναπεμπόμενον εἰς τὸν ἀέρα τὴν ὀδμὴν ἐκεράννυε,... τὰ δὲ ἱερεῖα πολλὰ μὲν ἦν καὶ ποικίλα, διέπρεπον δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ τοῦ Νείλου βόες.

^{197.} A survey of these small altars on Delos: Deonna (1938) 374–380. Processions: θυματήριον πομπικόν (ID 1403 II.1.28, 1416 al.85, 1417 al.1–5, 1423 al.13, 1425.II.20, 1429 bl.42–3, 1432 all.19, 1441 all.65, 1442 A.81, all between 165 and 145/4 BCE).

^{198.} Deonna (1938) 380-382.

^{199.} The arrival of incense in Greece dated to the seventh century, the diffusion of the substance dated from then until about 550 BCE: Zaccagnino (1997) 102. Approximately agreeing: Plin. NH 13.1. Native cedar and citron wood: Od. 5.59–60 with thuōdēs perhaps referring to these woods at Od. 4.121, 5.246, 21.52. Other plants: Plin. NH 13.2.

^{200.} Clinging to surfaces, including the clothes of the worshipper: Lucianus Syr. D. 30.

^{201.} Cakes, whether baked or otherwise: there is no monographic treatment, but see Stengel (1910) 66–73; Ziehen (1937) and Amandry (1950) 86–103. Preliminary offerings, i.e., *prothumata*, as at Eust. ad *Il.* 1.449 and schol. *Od.* 3.441.

^{202.} Although some scholars have thought that barley was originally an independent offering. Ancient speculation: Plu. *QG* 292c, Porph. *Abst.* 2.6. Older scholarly speculation about the purpose of the offering: Eitrem (1915) 261–264. Recent speculation: Burkert (1985) 66–68.

of an animal, and so they presented the god a blend of fire, smoke, and aroma. The barley and hair, which were left or thrown at the altar, and not burned, concentrated the god's attention, just as blood would. Even if the god received such unlikely offerings as those given at the Thargelia, a summer harvest festival—unidentified eilyspoa, agrostis, a reed identified as dog's-tooth grass, nuts, pulses, "oak" and arbutus berries—they went up in smoke and gave the god the chance to respond.²⁰³

Animal versus Vegetal

Granting that animal and vegetal sacrifice were comparable, which was more common and whom should we ask? We should not enlist Homer. Apart from his heroes having too many beeves, too few of his women and slaves sacrifice. If we turn to fiction, with more women and more cities, religious rituals tend toward prayers without any offering, especially private prayers. 204 Inscriptions are unsatisfactory, too, because they are mostly municipal, and so they report sacrifices by a rich, collective worshipper, the polis, rather than sacrifices by poor individuals. 205 Drama, with its domestic scenes, does better than Homer and inscriptions in accounting for women, and it does better than fiction in presenting gestural as opposed to verbal acts. Although it cannot allow for the slaughter of animals onstage, it can accommodate this act offstage. This genre has a penumbra all its own—interrupted or projected acts, *aetia* and distant festivals, and rituals likely to include animal sacrifice. 206 Yet even if we count only acts performed (or interrupted) in the course of the play and in the place where the play occurs—a set of unities to help confine the evidence—we have enough for the purpose of comparison.

^{203.} Porph. Abst. 2.7.1 ed. Bouffartigue. Eiluspoa and other difficulties: Bouffartigue ad loc.

^{204.} Charito: private prayer at 2.2.7, 3.2.12, 3.8.7; domestic *thusia*, 3.8.3; domestic and communal *thusia* at 3.2.15; communal *thusia*, 3.7.7; communal *thusia* in Babylon, 6.2.4. X. Eph.: 1.3.1 festival followed by private prayer, 1.4; 1.5.6–8 *thusia* to chthonic divinities; 1.8.1–2 festival; private prayer 4.2.4–5, 4.3.3–4; 5.11 festival, private prayer, and dedication; 5.13.4 private prayer in a public setting. Longus: 2.24 vow and private prayer; 2.28; 2.30.4–31.2 *thusia* bis; 3.10, 4.24–25 domestic *thusia*; 4.26.1 *thusia*. Cf. Achilles Tatius: 1.1.2 *sōstra*; 2.12.3 *thusia*; 2.15.1–3 *thusia*; 3.5.4, private prayer. In Heliodorus crosscultural influences complicate any comparison.

^{205.} In IG ii², the plural for the word for censer, *thumiatēria*, and the plural for the basket for sacrificial knives, *kana*, appear approximately the same number of times, around several dozen, depending on supplements. IG ii² 1424a, 1425, and 1638 refer to groups of both of these objects. Yet incense seldom appears in prescriptions for the conduct of sacrifices: *Priene* 51.192, 66.256, IG v.2 514.

^{206.} Interrupted: below. Projected (or vowed): E. *Or.* 1137–1139, S. *Ant.* 150–154, A. Sept. 275–276. Distant festivals: E. *IIT* 222–223 (Panathenaea), 1096–1105 (Delian Artemis, *Hell.* 1469–1470 (Hyacinthia). *Aetia*: E. *Alc.* 1098–1105, *Med.* 1378–1384. Likely rituals: S. *OC* 1049–1054 (Mysteries), E. *Bac.* 130–134 (Dionysia). A different view of this material: Zeitlin (1970) chs. 5–6.

Twenty-seven uninterrupted examples of sacrifice appear in complete tragedies, nine in complete comedies. Within tragedy, Aeschylus and Sophocles differ somewhat from Euripides. In the first two authors, sixteen uninterrupted acts occur, plus four interrupted acts. 207 Seven of these sixteen include animal victims, but nine do not. Only two of the seven include an intended meal of meat. One is the monthly celebration of Agamemnon's death by Clytemnestra in the *Electra*. The other is the *Antigone* sacrifice conducted by Tiresias, an offering that falls apart before any feast can begin.²⁰⁸ A third sacrifice is oddly described, for Heracles plans "offerings of fruits" in the Women of Trachis. This act included animals, as Casabona thought, but the narrative stresses vegetal offerings.²⁰⁹ The other acts with animals are modest affairs—an oath sacrifice in the Seven Against Thebes, a diabaterion, or river-crossing sacrifice, in the same play, a purification in the Eumenides, and a sacrifice at a tomb in Sophocles's *Electra*. Of the four interrupted acts, one or two include animal victims. ²¹⁰ Neither of these could include a meal. In a total of twenty sacrifices, two indubitable meat meals occur—a proportion attributable to this genre's penchant for disappointment and surprise, but partly to the seven acts performed by women, only one of which, Clytemnestra's lewd celebration, includes an animal victim. These seven acts include crucial acts by Atossa and prominent acts by Clytemnestra in Agamemnon.

^{207.} Sophocles, nine uninterrupted acts, with vegetal offerings noted: OT 1–5, 14–22, incense onstage by priest and people to gods; OT 911–923, garlands and incense onstage by Jocasta to Apollo; OC 469–490, water and honey offstage by Ismene to Furies; Ant. 1005–1113, offstage by Tiresias and people to gods; Trach. 237–238 with 287–288, $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \eta$ $\tau' \, \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \kappa \alpha \rho \pi \alpha \dots \, \dot{\alpha} \gamma \nu \dot{\alpha} \, \theta \dot{\nu} \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ offstage by Heracles to Zeus; El. 50–53, 83, offstage by Orestes to Agamemnon; El. 269–270, unspecified libations offstage by Aegisthus to Hestia; El. 280–281, monthly by Clytemnestra to unspecified god; El. 634–657, $\theta \dot{\nu} \mu \alpha \theta' \dots \pi \dot{\alpha} \gamma \kappa \alpha \rho \pi'$ onstage by Clytemnestra to Apollo. Aeschylus, seven uninterrupted acts including one pair of acts, with vegetal offerings noted: Ag. 91–96, incense offstage by Clytemnestra to the gods; Ch. 7–8, 14–15, hair and unspecified libations onstage by Orestes and Electra, a pair of acts, to Agamemnon; Eu. 280–283, offstage purification by Orestes; Sept. 42–48, off-stage oath by the Seven; Sept. 378–379, offstage Sept. 379–379, offstage Sept. 3

^{208.} S. El. 280-281; Ant. 1005-1013.

^{209.} S. Trach. 238, 88 with wording as above; Casabona (1966) 305–306, thought, in the light of l. 756, that $\theta \dot{\nu} \mu a \tau a$ meant animal offerings. Cf. S. El. 634–65l.

^{210.} Sophocles, with vegetal offerings noted: *OC* 888–889 with 1159, offstage by Theseus to Poseidon; *El.* 426–427, unspecified libations by Chrysothemis to Agamemnon. Aeschylus, ditto: *Ag.* 1054–1057, offstage by Agamemnon at the hearth in the palace; *Pers.* 204–208, a *pelanon* on stage by Atossa to *daimones*. Excluded: projected *thusiai* to the Furies at A. *Eu.* 1037.

Euripides presents somewhat more animal sacrifice. Of eleven uninterrupted acts, only four lack animals.²¹¹ Of the seven others, however, four lack a meal.²¹² Of the three with a meal, one is a meal of a single sheep—an unnamed consultant's sacrifice in Ion-and two are public feasts (the Heraea in Electra and Xuthus's birthday celebration in *Ion*). ²¹³ Four more sacrifices are interrupted, but all include animals—the calf that Aegisthus is sacrificing to the nymphs in Electra, the golden lamb that Atreus was about to sacrifice in the same play, the sheep that Heracles thinks to sacrifice in a rite of purification in Hercules Furens, but that prove to be his own children, and the fatally interrupted sacrifice by Neoptolemus when consulting Apollo in Andromache.²¹⁴ Here is matter for two more meals, although one of the two would be small, the same as in the case of the unnamed consultant in Ion. At most, we can reckon with five meals in fifteen, two of them large. The difference between Euripides and the other two dramatists shows how our evidence depends on authorial penchant, but it also shows that both animal and other sacrifice are common and that the latter brings women to the fore. As many scholars have noticed, the language found in descriptions of sacrifice is often unusual, but unusual language need not denote unusual action. There was no tragic way to kill an ox or a sheep.

The nine examples from comedy, including eight from Aristophanes, include no interrupted acts, but one vague act, in the *Clouds*, where the offering for an act of *thusia* goes unnamed, and a mock act, in *Lysistrata*, where the heroine describes a libation as though it were an act of *sphagia*. These two aside, the ratios remain much the same: three acts of animal sacrifice with a meal, two libations, and two vegetal offerings. Animal sacrifice was no more common than other kinds; animal sacrifice with a meal amounted to a fraction of the whole; and a meal was but one use to which to put an animal.

^{211.} E. *Alc.* 170–171, garlands by Alcestis throughout her house; *Hipp.* 73, garland by Hippolytus offstage to Artemis; *Or.* 114, 1185, 1323, honey, milk, and wine, by Hermione offstage to Clytemnestra on Helen's behalf; *Supp.* 1–86, Proērosia by Aethra on stage, a case where the interruption is temporary.

^{212.} E. Hel. 1556–1588, by Helen and Menelaus offstage to Poseidon; El. 171, Heraea offstage, and 91–92 with 513–515 by Orestes on stage to Agamemnon; Herael. 673 with 821, prebattle offstage and sacrifices by manteis offstage (two acts). Excluded: the doubtful lines at E. Alc. 132–136.

^{213.} E. Ion 225-231, El. 171, Ion 1125-1128.

^{214.} E. *El.* 785–814, 713–726; *HF* 922–930; *And*. 1100–1117. The same meal for Neoptolemus: Pi. *N*. 7.42–43.

^{215.} Problematic: Ar. Nu. 274, Lys. 202–204. Sacrifice and meal: Pax 968–1310; and two domestic acts, Pl. 819–820, 1136–1138, and Men. Dysc. 394–549. Libations: Ar. Ach. 148, Pax 433. Vegetal offerings: Ach. 246–249, Pl. 677–678.

The comic evidence has its own complication—celebrations occurring immediately after the end of the play. In the *Birds*, a wedding feast will occur; in the *Acharnians*, the festival of the rural Dionysia; in the *Assemblywomen*, public feasts or *sussitia* inaugurated as part of a political reform. Yet these feasts do not change the ratios. Although the play does not say so, the wedding feast ought to include meat from sacrificial animals. The rural Dionysia should, too, even though once again the play does not say so. The *sussitia* of the *Assemblywomen*, in contrast, include no provision for sacrificial meat. Like the other two plays, this one refers to nonsacrificial meat. ²¹⁶ In comedy, public meals do not require animal sacrifice.

Aside from drama, another kind of evidence recommends itself—reports of daily sacrifices. To this writer's knowledge, there is no report of a daily animal sacrifice. Regarding daily vegetal sacrifice, a scholion to Hesiod says:

As for appeasing the gods, it's conventional to use the indispensable libations and the acts of *thusia* that come after them, both at daybreak and at nightfall, like cakes and other such things; and to spend one's money to sacrifice the first fruits that are easiest to get, and to be on constant lookout to make the gods kindly toward us.²¹⁷

This observation implies that vegetal offerings were more frequent than animal offerings, and so does another kind of evidence, the passages listing kinds of sacrificial offerings. The Hesiod passage on which the scholiast is commenting says that the poet's brother should "do sacred things insofar as one is able," "burn thigh pieces besides," and "pour libations and make smoke" twice a day. While imploring Achilles in *Iliad* 9, Phoenix says that the gods respond to "smoke from vegetal offerings $[\theta \nu \acute{\epsilon} \epsilon \sigma \sigma \iota]$, . . . the pouring of libations, and smoke from burnt flesh $[\kappa \nu \acute{\iota} \sigma \eta]$," or vegetal, liquid, and animal offerings. ²¹⁹ Aristophanes speaks of

^{216.} Nonsacrificial meat also discussed in chapter 6: Ar. Av. 1079–1082 (birds), Ach. 1005–1012 (birds and hares), Ecc. 842–845 (fish, hare, and unspecified tragemata), 1169–1175 (fish, hare, and birds).

^{217.} Schol. Hes. Op. 337–341 = Plu. fr. 47: τ ò <δ'> α ὖ <ίλάσκεσθαι> τοὺς θεοὺς ταῖς ἀπαραλείπτοις σπονδαῖς καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τούτων <θυέεσσι> ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἢ νυκτός, οἶον ψαιστοῖς ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶ τοιούτοις, ἐνδείκνυται. καὶ ὅτι χρὴ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀπαρχαῖς ταῖς εὐπορίστοις ἀπάρχεσθαι . . . διὰ τῆς συνεχείας τηροῦντας αὐτῶν τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐμενές.

^{218.} Hes. *Op.* 336–339, where West ad loc. thinks that "doing sacred things" means "burning thigh pieces" and that cakes are meant, not incense; cf. schol. 336, glossing $\theta v \mu i \alpha \mu a$. Stengel (1892) 448 notes the same contract between *hiera* and *thuea* in other sources.

^{219.} *Il*. 9.499-501.

four sacrificial items—incense, laurel, barley cake, and animals.²²⁰ Lucian's list runs as follows: Iphigenia, bulls, oxen, a calf, a *peplos*, a cock, a wreath, and incense. The most common items appear at the end of the list, the least common at the start, a satiric variation.²²¹

These impressions drawn from literary sources must take the place of any archaeological estimate of the frequency of different kinds of sacrifices. On the one hand, the remains of many vegetal offerings are harder to detect than the remains of the offerings of large livestock. (In a temple site, the bones forming part of the divine portion are the easiest remains to detect.) On the other, there is little evidence of animal sacrifice at home. No room in a Greek home was called anything like a sacrifice room, or even a sacred precinct; the home itself was a *domos*, or house, or an *oikos*, or household, with the sacred associations of the English word *home*.²²² As Brian Sparkes long ago observed, most Greek homes from the Classical period onward did not even have hearths. Pet scholars updating the work of Sparkes report few remains of animal bones. Pet scholars updating the work of Sparkes report few remains of animal bones. Scarce domestic *thusia*, as in Plato's *Republic*, where Cephalus sacrifices an animal, offsets abundant *thusia* in shrines.

For offerings of all kinds, the animals often presented by groups of worshippers balance the vegetal offerings often presented by individuals, and animal offerings with vegetal preliminaries, or *aparchai*, balance vegetal offerings of incense in parades with animals. The common feature of these offerings could not be groups or bloodshed. It was attractiveness, *kallos*. That feature accommodated the alternatives of approach and invocation, shrine and freestanding prayer, bloody and bloodless, solid and liquid; it explained, at Delos, why the altar for animals stood

^{220.} Ar. *Pl.* 1114. Cf. Arnob. *adv. gent.* 5.3, listing *mola salsa*, incense, blood, and aromatic wood (*verbena*). D. L. 4.56 differs slightly, listing *knisē*, *lipos*, and *thulēmata* for the gods, the last coming from incense or burnt vegetal offerings. Plu. *Frat. amor.* 501e lists *thusiai*, first fruits, and unspecified sacrifices to Dionysus.

^{221.} Lucianus Sacr. 2.

^{222.} Comments on terminology: Morgan (2007) 116-118.

^{223.} Sparkes (1962) 132; so also later refs. given at Foxhall (2007) 234. A fourth-century exception at Athens: T. Shear (1973) 147–149.

^{224.} Foxhall (2007) 240, citing House 7 at Halieis as an exception, for which see Ault (2000) 485–490.

^{225.} Cephalus: Pl. R. 1.318c. Literary sources do not generalize about this issue, but see Plu. Lyc. 12.1–5, implying that domestic *thusia* was rare at Sparta, and Philochorus FHG 1.408, saying that in Athens the *gunaikonomoi* and the Areopagites attended weddings and other domestic *thusiai*, and thus implying that many *thusiai* were weddings.

next to a vegetal altar, why at Delphi every consultant presented a *pelanos* (a common vegetal offering) as well as victim.²²⁶ In omitting that feature, Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne simplified the way the rite began, and reduced the variety among offerings to a menu of sacrificial animals; even among these animals, they overlooked the inspections that determined the quality of the offering. They also overlooked how the victim, like any offering, was a sign for the god to answer, or, in acts of divination, to manipulate—a means to an end. They overestimated the animal, and underestimated the god. They also overlooked human prayers and divine responses. The next chapter takes up these two phases of a successful sacrifice.

^{226.} Delos: DL 8.13. Delphi: Amandry (1950) chs. 8-9.

Prayers and Answers

TOLD THAT THE Greek worshipper wanted an apt venue and a handsome offering, Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne would object, and say that this view misses the moral and emotional aspect of the start of an act of animal sacrifice. The animal felt afraid; the worshippers who would kill it, or watch it die, felt guilty; and so the worshippers supposed that the animal went willingly to the slaughter. For Burkert, this supposition dated back to the beginnings of sacrifice, and beyond, to Stone Age hunters. The two French scholars did not consider hunting, but they did agree about the Greek feeling of guilt, one they attributed to sacrifice. For the French, guilt arose from killing a helpless creature, whereas for Burkert it arose from killing a creature somewhat like oneself.¹ For all three writers, the animal was a moral agent. Outside classics, some scholars have more or less agreed with this view. Long ago, Vladimir Propp linked sacrifice and hunting, though without positing guilt on the part of the hunters. J. Z. Smith linked them, too, but posited anxiety, not guilt, on the part of the hunters.²

In one respect, this objection is right. Moral agency is crucial for sacrifice. It affects the worshipper's standing in the eyes of the god whom the worshipper has approached or invoked, and it affects the prayer or thanksgiving the worshipper makes. Above all, it affects the god's response to the worshipper and the prayer, and to the rest of the ceremony. For the god, *hiera kala* are not only attractive, but upstanding—fair physically, and fair morally. Moral agency is also akin to another concern of the god, whether a request made to the god is acceptable in the light of *agraphoi nomoi*, unwritten laws of divine origin. Some of these laws are moral commonplaces, whereas others are divine dispensations. Acts of sacrifice conform to these *nomoi*.

^{1.} Although Detienne (1994) 52–56 says that killing oxen was objectionable because they were regarded as fellow laborers, citing several late sources that condemn the slaughter of working oxen (schol. *Od.* 12.353, Ael. *NA* 12.43, schol. Arat. 132).

^{2.} Propp (1987) anticipated Vidal-Naquet (1981) and Smith (1987). An inversion of these views, to the effect that sacrifice arose because god was taken to be a carnivore: Ehrenreich (1997) 31.

In another respect, this objection is wrong. Moral agency does not belong to animals. It belongs to worshippers and to the god, the principals in the act of sacrifice, and not to offerings that happen to be slaughtered. It matters most not at the start of the rite, when the animal comes forward, but near the end, when the god responds. It belongs to the context of the rite, not the ceremony.

This chapter begins with evidence for the view that sacrificial animals are agents, finds them to be instruments, and passes on to the moral and other demands that sacrifice imposes on worshippers. It closes with the ways a god signals acceptance of a sacrifice—ways as diverse as the rite itself.

The Supposedly Willing Victim

Walter Burkert first argued that sacrificial animals assented to being sacrificed in his essay "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual." Almost a century earlier, commentators on Aristophanes had anticipated him, as did Eduard Fraenkel in his commentary on Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*. These scholars, however, did not include willing victims in any general account of sacrifice, nor did Hubert and Mauss. In his article "Opfer" in the Pauly-Wissowa, Ludwig Ziehen did offer such an account, but he spoke only of a "tradition" about willing victims, and of an introductory ritual that "probably" was involved. A generation later, Burkert's *Doktorvater*, Karl Meuli, went farther, but his work remained little known. In these circumstances, it fell to Burkert to explain that after the sacrificial victim had been brought to the altar and sprinkled with water, it lowered its head in a gesture the Greeks saw as a nod of assent. In Burkert's words, "... the animal was supposed to express its assent by bowing its head." Burkert also supplied a motive for this gesture. He said that it absolved those slaughtering the animal from any responsibility for killing it.

Scholars of Greek religion and Greek tragedy have agreed with Burkert about the nod in assent, or at least agreed about assent, but they have not always agreed

^{3.} Burkert (1966) reprinted in Burkert (2001) 1–36. Burkert's view did have a parallel in the work of Girard (1972) 13–17, for whom the paradigmatic innocent victim was a human being, not an animal. So also Bloch (1992) but without Girard's model of the scapegoat (102–130).

^{4.} Aristophanes: Zacher ad Ar. *Pax* 960–961, in light of a scholion to these verses, followed by Platnauer and Sommerstein ad loc. Fraenkel: ad A. *Ag.* 1297.

^{5.} Ziehen (1939) 612. "Tradition": "Überlieferung." "Probably involved": "Es war das wohl ein Teil des $\chi \epsilon \rho \nu \dot{u} \mu a \sigma \theta a \iota$."

^{6.} Meuli (1946) 227–228. Neither Burkert nor Meuli cite a similar view expressed in Robertson Smith (1894 2) 303–306.

^{7.} Burkert (1966) 107.

about the motive of avoiding responsibility.⁸ Folkert Van Straten, noting that animal victims were often held by ropes, questioned whether nodding was more than a formality.⁹ *Per litteras* Jan Bremmer has questioned the nod, too, and in print he has doubted any Greek wish to avoid responsibility for killing animals, noting that there are "virtually no testimonies of actual fear and guilt among the Greeks." ¹⁰ Both Bremmer and Van Straten imply that Burkert's notion of a nod that assuaged guilt might be viable if revised so as to give some other role to the sacrificial animal. Meuli and Burkert themselves said that the animal might approach the altar willingly. ¹¹ Like a nod, this act would assuage guilt. ¹²

Yet the literary evidence is problematic. Almost all the evidence for the assenting nod, a total of sixteen sources, appears in two footnotes in Burkert's 1966 article. In *Homo Necans* he adds only one additional source, and in later works he refers to the article and to *Homo Necans*.¹³ Later scholars have adduced only one passage, from Menander.¹⁴ Just one passage has escaped notice, and it is an explanatory remark in Athenaeus.¹⁵ Although Burkert and others do not say so, this body of evidence falls into several categories of animal behavior: during ordinary acts of sacrifice, during extraordinary or miraculous acts of sacrifice, and during acts reported because they are aetiological. The most important evidence concerns the behavior of animals during ordinary acts; it includes diverse literary sources and one inscription. Within this category, passages in authors or inscriptions serve as guides for interpreting mostly shorter passages in scholia. Less important

^{8.} Vernant (1991). See also Parker (1983) 305, but substituting cannibalism for murder.

^{9.} Hiera Kala 101–102. Van Straten (1987) 170 wrote in the same vein. The same conclusion, but based on a smaller body of evidence: Peirce, 255–256. Tentative objections: Georgoudi (2005). For the conclusion that the assent was a formality, see Sommerstein and Fraenkel ad loc.

^{10.} In print: Bremmer (1994) 41. Another objection of Bremmer's: the variability of sacrifice according to place and period, in Bremmer (1998) 24. Similar: Price (1999) 17.

^{11.} Burkert (1966) 106.

^{12.} As in Bremmer (1983) 307-308.

^{13.} Burkert (1966) n. 43, 45. Ten sources in n. 43, given in Burkert's order: Ael. NA 10.50, 11.4; Apoll. Mir. 13; Arist. [Mir.] 844a no. 137; Plu. Pel. 22, Luc. 24.6–7; Porph. Abst. 1.25; Philostr. Her. 329, 294; Plin. NH 32.17. Six sources in n. 45, also in Burkert's order: Porph. Abst. 2.9; schol. Ar. Pax 960; schol. A.R. 1.425; Plu. Q. conviv. 729f, Defec. orac. 435b–c, 437a; SIG 1025.20. Burkert (1966) 106 quotes A. Ag. 1297 and Burkert (1966) 107 quotes Ar. Pax 960. Burkert (1983) 4 n. 13, adds schol. Il. 1.449, but this passage is interpretive, not descriptive. Burkert (1985) 369 n. 6 cites (1966) 107 n. 43.

^{14.} Men. *Dysc.* 393–398, brought to my attention by Bremmer, deals not with a sacrifice but with an attempted but incomplete sacrifice; it is discussed below.

^{15.} Ath. 9.409b.

is animal behavior during extraordinary acts such as *thaumata* and *mirabilia*. This behavior deserves notice because it contrasts with behavior in ordinary acts. The sources for this category are exclusively literary. Least important is behavior under the circumstances of an *aetion*. A handful of passages from Porphyry and Plutarch fall into this category. The visual evidence, in contrast, is unproblematic and abundant. It shows that sacrificial animals were sometimes obstreperous. Comparatively neglected, this evidence comes from Van Straten's collection—and prompted him to question the view that animals went willingly to the altar.

The oldest description of animal behavior in an ordinary act of sacrifice appears in Aristophanes's *Peace*. In the scene in which Trygaeus sprinkles the worshippers and the sheep with water, the sheep respond by shaking (*seiein*). A nod is possible, but incidental. As for the second element in Burkert's formulation, assent, *seiein* implies agitation or distress. At *Lysistrata* 1312, for example, dancers' hair shakes like a Bacchant's; at *Clouds* 1276, Strepsiades says that a sick man's head shakes. Another description of animal behavior, Plutarch's for Delphi, uses the terms *tremein* and *kradainein*, which do not mean nod, either. As for assent, it is even harder to envision here than in the previous passage. *Tremein* and *kradainein* imply shock, not assent. So also with the "quivering and twitching" Plutarch reports at places other than Delphi. The term here, *diaseiein*, resembles *seiein*, and so the upshot is more of the same: some movement other than a nod, although the animal may nod incidentally, and no assent.

The calendar from Cos has less to say but is similar. It says that that one victim should "bow down" before the altar. Here for the first time a movement is not only elicited but apparently required: without this movement, the inscription implies, the sacrifice will be forbidden. But this distinction, one due to the character of the document, does not lead to any new conclusions. The term found in the law, *hupokuptein*, does not mean "nod," although it does not make nodding impossible, and it does not mean assent. One meaning, "to bow in supplication," concerns the god of the sacrifice, just as assent would, but differs greatly in meaning: a suppliant makes a request but does not give permission. Another meaning, "to bow in obeisance" by passing under a yoke, is similar. It concerns a monarch, however, not a god, and the purpose of the act is to submit, not to assent. Is

^{16.} *LSJ* ss. vv.

^{17.} SIG 1025.20 = Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 62.20.

^{18.} LSJ s.v. $\dot{\nu}\pi$ οκ $\dot{\nu}\pi\tau$ ω, citing this inscription in the sense of "supplicate." None of the other thirty or thirty-one victims listed in the Cos calendar (see Rhodes and Osborne [2003] no. 62.13–14) are required to "bow."

In assessing animal behavior, these passages should prevail over two other, shorter passages, both of them scholia. One of them, a scholion to line 960 of *Peace*, says that the animal "will shake its head and seem to nod in assent to the sacrifice." This statement would appear to support Burkert, but it is questionable on two grounds. First, it glosses *seiein*, "to shake," as *epineuein*, "to nod," thus reducing a movement of the body to a movement of the head. It thus misrepresents the play, in which the animal "gives a shake" to throw off water. Second, the scholion fails to acknowledge the animal's likely agitation and distress. Instead the scholion imputes assent to the animal. The other scholion, one to Apollonius of Rhodes, is questionable on the same grounds. It says that water is poured on a sacrificial animal so that it will nod (*epineuein*). Aristophanes says that pouring water on an animal makes it shake, and Plutarch says that pouring water on an animal makes it tremble. These actions, to repeat, do not imply assent.

Aristophanes, Plutarch, the Cos inscription, and the two scholia form the sum of the evidence adduced by Burkert and other writers in support of the view that the sacrificial animal nods in assent under ordinary circumstances. In these sources there is much movement, less nodding, and some arguable assent. If we turn to sources for extraordinary acts, we are no longer dealing with behavior expected during a ritual. Instead the behavior of the animal is unexpected, and may occur prior to a ritual. This behavior shows that some special event, some *thauma* or *mirabilium*, is occurring, but not that the animal is playing its part in the routine of sacrifice. None of the animals in these sources nod. Nor do they consent, except insofar as they lend themselves to some divine purpose.

In the oldest passage, in Aeschylus, "a god-driven bull" steps up to the altar. The animal moves on its own, but not at its own wish: the god "drives" it.²³ In Aelian, the miracle is much the same: Aphrodite "leads" the sacrificial animals to her altar at Eryx.²⁴ In Philostratus's *On Heroes*, wild animals come forward to an altar of the hero Rhesus, and their action counts as an omen showing that the god

^{19.} A further difficulty: LSJ s.v. $\epsilon\pi\nu\nu\epsilon\nu\omega$ gives only one instance of this verb with any dative other than the dative of means or the indirect object, from a second-century CE papyrus in which the nod is given to a request, not an act ($P.Giss.\ I.4\ II\ 9$).

^{20.} A.R. 1.415.

^{21.} Cf. Van Herwerden ad *Pax* 960: absurdum loci deprauati interpretandi conamen. Ziehen (1939) 612 prefers to base the "Überlieferung" about assent on Plutarch.

^{22.} *Thaumata* vel sim.: *Ael. NA* 11.4, A. *Ag.* 1297, Arist. [*Mir.*] 844b no. 137, Apoll. [*Mir.*] 13, Philostr. *Her.* 294, 329, Plin. *NH* 32.17, Plu. *Luc.* 24.7, *Pel.* 22. Similar is *idion*: Ael. *NA* 10.50.

^{23.} A. Ag. 1297.

^{24.} Ael. NA 10.50, ἄγει.

is in the vicinity, hunting. In another passage in the same work, domesticated animals go to the altar willingly by way of an omen from Achilles, the hero to whom they will be sacrificed.²⁵ In Plutarch's *Lucullus*, the animal's behavior is again the same, and the meaning of this behavior is, too: coming forward is a good omen.²⁶ In three other sources cited by Burkert, Aelian's *Natural History*, Plutarch's *Pelopidas*, and Pliny's *Natural History*, animals of good omen do not even come forward all the way to the altar. Instead they come partway and must be led the rest. In yet other sources, the animal travels a great distance.²⁷ In Aristotle, a goat leads a procession for 70 stades. This, too, is a good omen.²⁸

Unlike the passages about ordinary sacrifice, these passages sometimes describe remote places.²⁹ They often count as *legomena*.³⁰ And they are more or less miraculous. All these features point to the conclusion drawn by Ziehen about the passage in Aeschylus: the sources regard miraculous behavior as rare. These features also point to a conclusion drawn by Nilsson: reports of such miracles formed part of the competition among shrines.³¹ They assured worshippers that sacrifices at the shrines were acceptable to the gods.

There remains one category to consider, animal behavior in *aetia*. In prose sources, there are only four such passages, three in Porphyry's *On Abstinence* and one in Plutarch's essay *Why Pythagoreans Avoid Fish More Than Meat*. In *On Abstinence* 1.25, Porphyry says that sacrifice began so that a vegetarian humankind would not starve. The first animals to be sacrificed do not nod. When presenting themselves at the altar, they carry out a god's wishes, the same as the bull in Aeschylus. As in the *thaumata*, the animal's act is one of good omen. It is far removed from ordinary sacrifice. In *On Abstinence* 2.10 (only 2.9 being cited by Burkert) Porphyry summarizes more *aetia* in which sacrifice begins so that humankind may eat. Only one is relevant. In this story, about the cult of Zeus Polieus at Athens, there is once again no nod and no assent. According to Porphyry, the first animal to be slaughtered for this cult supposedly deserves his fate on account of tasting a sacred cake, but Porphyry rejects this explanation as unfair, saying that the animal's behavior was an accident, not a crime. Cited by Burkert and others as

^{25.} Philostr. Her. 294, 329.

^{26.} Plu. Luc. 24.7.

^{27.} Ael. NA 11.4, Plu. Pel. 22, Plin. NH 32.17.

^{28.} Arist. [Mir.] 844b no. 137; so also Apoll. [Mir.] 13.

^{29.} Plu. Luc. 24.7, Philostr. Her. 294, 329.

^{30.} Ael. *NA* 11.4, Philostr. *Her.* 294, Arist. [*Mir.*] 844b no. 137. Similar later report: Apoll. *Mir.* 13.

^{31.} Nilsson (1906) 2.227.

evidence for Greek guilt at the killing of sacrificial animals, Porphyry and the other sources imply that the animal might well protest its fate. Rather than be a willing victim, it might be an unwilling one.³² Late reports of a tradition against killing a working ox speak in the same sense. If not unwilling, these victims would be unsuitable.³³

Yet another *aetion*, this one recounted in 2.9, differs from the preceding ones in providing a nod in assent. In this story, one Episcopus, an Eretrian who wishes to institute the sacrifice of sheep, consults Delphic Apollo, who makes two statements on the subject. The first statement is that it is not right, or *themis*, to kill sheep; the second is that if the animal nods when sprinkled with water (or perhaps when presented water to drink) and "nods" willingly, Delphi will give the opposite judgment, and declare the sacrifice proper.³⁴ Here for the first time the evidence tallies with Burkert. Yet this *aetion* is also one more instance of the Aeschylean pattern. Although the animal is willing, so is Apollo, who uses the oracle to give his own assent to the sacrifice. He, not the animal, declares the sacrifice proper. The explanation for the pairing of nod and assent is not that the animal accepts its fate, as Burkert would have it, but that the god has intervened. The animal then conforms to the god's wishes.

Like Porphyry in *On Abstinence*, Plutarch sets forth an *aetion* of wrongdoing by animals. When humans respond to the animals' depredations by killing and sacrificing them, they are unsure whether they have acted justly, and Plutarch adds that worshippers still prefer that animals nod in assent. Here again, the evidence tallies with Burkert. Plutarch, however, is reporting ancient *logoi* and calls his notion of human guilt an inference, *eikazein*.³⁵ Inference aside, Plutarch's account suffers from the same bias as Porphyry's. Both are Pythagorean, and both argue that the practice of sacrifice attests to a decline in human morals. As Dirk Obbink observed in his essay on Theophrastus, this decline shows that most Greeks did not share Pythagorean scruples. For them, killing an animal was not a wrong to be explained.³⁶

^{32.} Paus. 1.28.10 accordingly reports a subsequent trial of the axe with which the animal was slain; similar is Ael. VH 8.3. Recent literature: Henrichs (1996a). Another view: Naiden (2012) preferring the evidence found in Pausanias to that found in Porphyry, the former explaining the origin of a court, the latter explaining the origin of the crime (as Porphyry thought) of killing animals. As shown by the bibliography to these two articles, interpretation of this rite has veered between these two poles for decades.

^{33.} See note 1 above. A different view: Vernant and Detienne (1989) 6.

^{34.} Nod: κατανεύει.

^{35.} Plu. Q. conviv. 729e-f.

^{36.} Obbink (1988) 283-286.

So much for the prose: the verse source is Ovid's *Fasti*, which turns wrong-doing by animals into a mishap, as when an ass brays, frustrating the amours of Priapus, and goes to an aetiological, sacrificial death.³⁷

If these literary sources are to be supplemented by artistic sources, a much larger body of evidence presents itself. Van Straten, the main compilation, includes 140 vase paintings of the stage of an act of sacrifice preceding the killing of the animal. These pictures refocus attention on ordinary acts of sacrifice, as in Aristophanes, and echo these sources by showing much movement but little nodding and no assent. Besides bucking and rearing animals and other signs of vitality, the vases show animals running away, kneeling, or being hung upside down.³⁸ Only three of Van Straten's pictures show the bent head that would indicate a nod.³⁹ This is not to say that some of the animals on the vases catalogued by Van Straten might not happen to make this gesture. The sixty-three vases that show the animal being driven or led are all compatible with it.⁴⁰ These animals may be thought to nod as they move along.

The remaining element in Burkert's conception, assent, is easier to assess. Thirteen paintings show a worshipper laying one or both hands on the horns or shoulders. This action implies compulsion, the opposite of assent. Figure 2.7 has presented such a scene. Also incompatible with assent are the twenty-six vases of Van Straten that show animals restrained by ropes. Several are goats, and one is a fawn. The biggest animal, the bull, is sometimes roped by the legs and the horns. There are three such unlucky creatures in Van Straten—as many as lower their heads. On ten other vases, the smallest animals, cocks, pigs, and hares, are carried under the arm, dragged by a hind leg, or hoisted over a shoulder. Then there is the pig that is about to get away. In response, a boy catches it

^{37.} Ov. F. 1.339-440.

^{38.} Kneel: *Hiera Kala* V37 plus 101 n. 307; Himmelmann (1997) fig. 30. Buck: *Hiera Kala* V91 in the same catalogue. Run away: V71. Hang upside down: V64.

^{39.} Hiera Kala V90, 129, 370.

^{40.} *Hiera Kala* V5, 6, 8–9, 11–13, 16–17, 19, 21, 25, 30, 31, 35–36, 38–39, 41, 43–44, 49, 50–52, 54–55, 58, 60–61, 62, 67–69, 72, 74–76, 78, 80, 82, 84–86, 89, 91, 96, 98, 106, 108, 112–115, 118, 121, 123–124, 126–128, 130–131, all identified as such by Van Straten, who describes the animal as "driven" or "led" in his catalogue.

^{41.} Hiera Kala V38, 42, 65, 69, 107 (bottom), 121, 127, 128, 130, 131, 135, 136, 140.

^{42.} Goat: Hiera Kala V16, 36, 118. Fawn: V139.

^{43.} Hiera Kala V21 (top), 107 (top), 123. Others: nos. 9, 28, 39, 41, 43, 55, 68, 72–74, 76, 78–79, 85, 89, 91, 98, 107, 115.

^{44.} Carried under arm: *Hiera Kala* V77. By leg: V22, 83, 92, 94, 100, 103, 104, 139. On shoulder: V64 (with a pole).

by the hind legs.⁴⁵ All this evidence shows recalcitrance, a theme found in literature. In his *Lucullus*, for example, Plutarch says that the animal in this case did not need to be tied with rope, like others.⁴⁶ The *thaumata* and *mirabilia* agree with Plutarch. The unrestrained but compliant animal is unusual.

Burkert's view, in sum, rests mainly on scholia and Pythagorean sources. It does not square with the scene in Aristophanes's *Peace*, with Plutarch on Delphi, with Plutarch's remark on the common use of ropes, or with the vases. It concerns Greek intellectual history, and late Greek intellectual history at that. It does not concern Greek impressions of animal behavior. Nor does it concern any mistaken conviction about animal behavior, or in particular, any tendentious or "ideological" conviction. Such a conviction would require more than ignoring ropes and chains. It would require statements about willing victims, yet mainly Pythagorean sources provide such statements. It would also require images, yet the ensemble of images in *Hiera Kala* does not make such a showing. Without such statements and images—without such cultural surroundings—how would worshippers put aside the evidence of their eyes? Would they suppose that the victim had had a deathbed conversion?

The recent work of David Konstan raises another objection. An ideological conviction about willing victims imputes a range of feelings and perceptions to animals, including feelings to which humans owed a thoughtful response. Yet as Konstan has shown, Greek literature seldom goes so far. ⁴⁷ Pythagoreans excepted, the notion of a sensitive, quasi-human mammal was rare. As we will soon see, it does not appear in Greek hunting manuals.

Nor would an ancient Greek commonly compare the death of a sacrificial victim to the execution of a human being, even an execution performed in some way reminiscent of sacrifice. Unlike an animal, a human being was a moral agent, and might volunteer to be executed, as several times in Euripides. If a human were executed against his or her will, only some divine dictate would justify this death. Otherwise, the execution would be murderous or, if attended with sacrificial features—like a killing at an altar—sacrilegious: Euripides provides examples of each of these horrors. In such cases, the worshippers must sometimes compare the wrong done by murder with the rights demanded by a god. In an animal sacrifice, the worshippers do not make such a comparison.

^{45.} Hiera Kala V71.

^{46.} Plu. Luc. 24.7; Arist. [Mir.] 844b no. 137.

^{47.} Konstan (2005, 2006, forthcoming). Similarly, Bremmer (1987) 126–128 on animals' lack of *nous*, and mostly, of *psychai*; and Calder (2011) 108–111, complaining of Greek "speciesism."

^{48.} E.g., the Taurian nomos in E. IT, and the injunction—eventually reversed—in E. IA.

^{49.} Threatened murder: E. Heracl. Sacrificial features: E. El.

Animals at Altars

The alternative role for the sacrificial victim, that of going willingly to the altar, is attractive not only because it makes a more modest demand on the animal but because it runs parallel to the behavior of hunted animals, who sometimes went to altars when fleeing pursuit. But the sacrificial animal that went to the altar and the quarry that went to the same place differed. The victim went unwillingly, and died, whereas the quarry went willingly, and survived. Burkert rightly supposed that hunting and sacrifice had something in common, but wrongly supposed that this common element was a killer's guilt. It was the god's altar, a focus for two rituals, sacrifice and supplication.

Let us start with a cautionary observation: sometimes a sacrificial victim had no altar to go to. In these acts, the animal might follow the worshipper, but this would not be the same as approaching either an altar or any other fixed location. Some sacrifices performed to solemnize oaths fall into this class. In *Iliad* 19, Talthybius stands beside the oath-swearer, Agamemnon, "holding" a boar; evidently it followed along.⁵⁰ The same is true of most if not all sacrifices performed before battle. When a Spartan king made the customary prebattle sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera, he did not have time to find or build an altar. The enemy was opposite. He sacrificed any goat at hand.⁵¹ Or the worshippers in these cases picked up the animal and carried it to the place of sacrifice, which might be a hearth as opposed to an altar. Typical is the act of sacrifice performed by Eumaeus, in *Odyssey* 14, when he sets forth *trapezōmata*. When Odysseus arrived, his host

went to the sties, where the race of pigs was penned. He picked out two, brought them, and sacrificed the pair of them.⁵²

This act occurred in the country, where most slaves lived. The weight to be given to sacrifice of this kind depends on how many Greeks were slaves, helots, and the like. The sacrifice by Eumaeus happens to be the only sacrifice by a slave to be described in any detail.⁵³

If there is an altar, the worshipper may tote the animal. The important passage from Aristophanes's *Peace* begins with the slave going offstage and "fetching" a

^{50.} Il . 19.251. "Holding": $\check{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu$.

^{51.} As at X. HG 4.2.20.

^{52.} Οd. 14.73–74: $\beta \hat{\eta}$ δ' ἴμεν ἐς συφεούς, ὅθι ἔθνεα ἔρχατο χοίρων. / ἔνθεν ἑλὼν δύ' ἔνεικε καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἱέρευσεν.

^{53.} To judge from no such description being cited by Bömer (1981), although pp. 111–118 and 134–140 show that slaves worshipped Zeus as *eleutherios* etc.

lamb.⁵⁴ Other visual media present more impressive and familiar evidence. The life-size statue of Rhombos bearing a calf, one of the best known from the Athenian Acropolis, portrays a worshipper carrying an offering over his shoulder as he goes to an altar in a sanctuary.⁵⁵ The same holds true for the well-known rambearer from Thasos, twice life-size, that like the statue of Rhombos appears in Boardman's standard work on Greek Archaic sculpture.⁵⁶ At Mount Lycaon in Arcadia, four votive statuettes of worshippers carrying animals to sacrifice have survived.⁵⁷ Even more than the vases, these objects represent many others that have not survived or not yet been recovered. Nor should this evidence be omitted on the grounds that these worshippers are carrying the animals to some place other than a sacrificial altar. The votive character of the statues militates against any other interpretation.⁵⁸

If the animal is too big to carry, the worshippers will "drive" it, the term used in the inscription from Cos.⁵⁹ When Odysseus's crew sacrifices the bulls of the Sun in book 11, they do the same and "herd" the cattle.⁶⁰ Once again, the visual evidence is abundant. The images of rearing and bucking animals noted in chapter 2, showing that many victims gave proof of vitality, also show that these victims were more or less forced to the altar, whether by hand or by ropes, whether in the Panathenaic procession or in Lycia. The long-standing controversy about whether the Athenians sometimes raised bulls and put them on the altar need not be revived in order to show that Greeks sometimes labored to transport animals to the place of sacrifice.⁶¹

This labor would be greatest at public altars. The sacred way leading to some of these altars tended to go uphill. The worshippers would have to coax them, as shown on the Parthenon frieze. Many shrines were on mountaintops or on

^{54.} Ar. Pax 937. "Fetch": $\check{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\ldots\lambda\alpha\beta\check{\omega}\nu$.

^{55.} Boardman (1978) fig. 112.

^{56.} Ibid., fig. 69.

^{57.} Hiera Kala 55 n. 145.

^{58.} So also *Hiera Kala* 55–56. Van Straten cautiously excluded from his catalogue of vases many images in which a herdsman might be carrying or driving an animal as part of his work, and not to an altar. He included only nos. 1, 3, 4, 20, 57, 88, 93, 125 in his catalogue.

^{59.} Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 62.20-21. "Drive": ἐπάγειν.

^{60.} Od. 12.356-358. "Herd": περιστήσαντο. Similar Od. 3.439.

^{61.} Evidence for lifting: *Hiera Kala* 109–113, "The Butchers Who Laughed at Stengel," referring to the German scholar who accepted several butchers' opinion that a bull or cow was too heavy to lift, as at Stengel (1910) 115. Modern animals are bigger than ancient ones, a point pursued in chapter 6.



FIGURE 3.1 A victim in chains

acropoleis like those of Athens or Corinth, or in other places with commanding views. In Attica, Sunion affords an example. The long climb might end in a ramp, as may have existed at the altar of Zeus at Pergamum. Here the last 25 meters of the climb would have been the hardest. Even if sheep and goats were as easy to handle as elsewhere, cattle would not be. Once these creatures had climbed the sacred way, a second difficulty appears: controlling the large numbers that might mill around. One way was to attach the animals to rings. On the lower level of the altar of Apollo at Claros, for example, stand four rows of embedded stone blocks with attachments for iron rings. One hundred blocks have these attachments, suggesting hecatombs at this location. At Claros, no rings survive, but figure 3.1, a bas-relief from the altar of Domitian at the Artemisium in Ephesus, includes the same kind of ring (although in this image the ring is attached to the altar, not

^{62.} Queyrel (2005) 44.

^{63.} De la Genière (1998) 82 with fig. 4, a drawing reproduced in Queyrel (2005), fig. 7. Similar but fuller conclusions: De la Genière and Jolivet (2003) 190–191 with pls. 38–39.

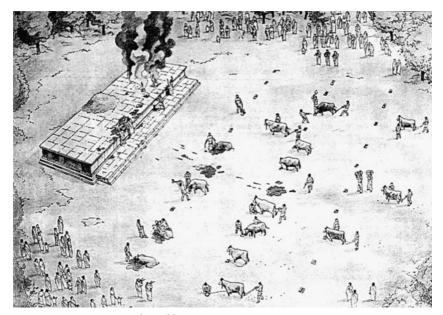


FIGURE 3.2 An open-air charnel house

to an embedded stone block).⁶⁴ Such attachments and rings must have been common. They have survived at Dion in Macedonia. Figure 3.2 envisions the scene.⁶⁵ At altars like this, the animals do not make an approach. Instead the worshippers pen them. Were the soil in Greece less unfavorable to the preservation of metal objects, we would be able to guess how common these arrangements were.

The reason for all this effort appears in several authors: some animals do not go willingly either to altars or any place else. Pausanias says that if an animal is unused to the halter it dislikes being led, Plutarch says that even heifers are hard to catch, and Propertius says, with the air of retailing a commonplace, that bulls move as desired only when roped. Eichen cites epigraphical evidence to the same effect. Every one of the twenty-six vases of Van Straten that shows ropes around an animal says the same thing as well, and so do the hundred rings at Claros. Recalcitrant animals needed restraint.

One might expect some source to say how animals were supposed to react to this regime, and one Greek epigram does address the topic. This anonymous

^{64.} Fig. 3.1. De la Genière (1998) fig. 3.

^{65.} Fig. 3.2. Ibid. fig. 5, 83.

^{66.} Paus. 4.32.3; Plu. Luc. 24.6, Prop. 2.34.47-48.

^{67.} Ziehen (1939) 611, citing SIG 57.33.

couplet does not, however, take Porphyry's hint and compare animals to murder victims. Instead it compares them to gladiators. Speaking to Marcus Aurelius, some sacrificial bulls salute him, as gladiators would, but the comparison goes awry when they fail to say *nos morituri te salutamus*. Instead they say:

We white bulls salute you, Marcus Caesar. Another such victory and we are undone.⁶⁸

These animals make their plaint because they, unlike other gladiators, have no reason for hope. No victory of their own can help them, and a victory of the emperor's will doom them. But the joking second line of the couplet does not apply only to the emperor's bulls. Other sacrificial animals might be imagined to say the same, and Plutarch says as much.⁶⁹ A recent study of American slaughter-houses has confirmed the common rural impression that an animal about to be slaughtered may sense its fate, and that as a result it may struggle, a response that makes it tougher to eat.⁷⁰ In response, slaughterhouses have set about calming and even deceiving animals, a tactic somewhat like a vase painting in Van Straten, where a worshipper pats the animal with one hand as he controls it with the other, which grasps a horn.⁷¹ But even here, the animal is not consenting. Instead it is oblivious.

Just as an animal going to the slaughter senses its fate, resists, and must be dragged to the altar, an animal being hunted senses its fate, flees, and may escape into a shrine, or a grove attached to a shrine. Rather than become an unwilling victim, it becomes an unknowing suppliant. Some stories about such animals count as *thaumata* and *mirabilia*, the same as some stories about victims, but the numerous reports of animals taking refuge show that this event was no negligible part of the hunt. Deer, for example, hid in the grove of Apollo at Kourion.⁷² When Xenophon established his shrine for Artemis, he allowed for hunting in a grove, but required that users pay a sacrificial tithe.⁷³ The grove, and no doubt

^{68.} Amm. Marc. 15.4.16: οἱ βόες οἱ λευκοὶ Μάρκω Καίσαρι χαίρειν \cdot εἰ πάλιν νικήσεις, ἡμμες ἀπολλύμεθα.

^{69.} Dion. 57.4, cited by Georgoudi (2005) 15.

^{70.} Siegel and Gross (2000) 33.

^{71.} Louvre C 10.754, Attic red-figure stamnos, Eucharides Ptr., ARV^2 228/32 = Hiera~Kala~ fig. 47 and no. 135.

^{72.} A brief treatment: Naiden (2006a) app. 6, citing inter alia Ael. NA 4.1, Plin. NH 8.21, 8.57. Kourion: Ael. NA 11.7, Str. 14.6.3.

^{73.} X. An. 5.3.13 with J. Anderson (1985) 70-71.

many others, was a hunting ground but not a game park.⁷⁴ That spelled a bigger and less costly enclosure than a park.

As shown by Pseudo-Plutarch, the hunter respected such enclosures. The hunter (and the victim) in this story, King Teuthras of Mysia, pursued a boar into a shrine of Artemis:

Once inside the shrine, the boars spoke with a human voice . . . "King, spare the goddess's nursling." He senselessly killed the animal. Artemis took the matter hard, revived it, driving him mad with leprosy into the bargain. Horrified by what had happened to him, the king spent his time in the mountains.⁷⁵

On the advice of a prophet, the king's mother appeased Artemis with sacrifices, built an altar, and then dedicated a golden boar decorated with a human face. The construction of the altar recognized Artemis's rights, and the dedication of the boar expiated the king's violation of these rights. The human face likened the animal to a suppliant. Better known stories of hunters who entered shrines, notably stories about the shrine of Zeus at Mount Lycaon, in Pausanias, introduce complications. At this shrine, the animal revealed its new status by losing its shadow and the hunter who transgressed died within a year. The essentials remain as in Pseudo-Plutarch. The god punished the hunter for where he went, not how he felt.

This attitude implies that the hunter who stayed out of shrines might pursue his quarry without guilt. The two hunters who left behind books about the subject, Xenophon and Arrian, did just that. They are not, to be sure, the first Greek sources for hunting. Even before Homer, Minoan and Mycenaean art depicts hunting. Yet this ample record does not describe the hunter's attitude toward his prey.⁷⁷ Neither do literary sources for the Calydonian or Erymathian boar hunts,

^{74.} The distinction: Tuplin (1996) 113. Hellenistic game parks in Macedon: Plb. 31.29.3–4 with Briant (1993) 230–232. Both hunting grounds and game parks left the hunter at liberty elsewhere: Orth (1913) 563–564.

^{75.} Pseud.-Plu. De fluv. 21: ὁ σῦς ἀνθρωπίνη φωνῆ χρησάμενος . . . Φεῖσαι, βασιλεῦ, τοῦ θρέμματος τῆς θεᾶς · μετεωρισθεὶς δὲ Τεύθρας ἀνεῖλεν τὸ ζῶον. Ἡρτεμις δὲ μισοπονήρως ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν πρᾶξιν, τὸν μὲν κάπρον ἀνεζωπύρησεν · τῷ δὲ παραιτίω τοῦ συγκυρήματος ἀλφὸν μετὰ μανίας ἔπεμψε. Δυσωπούμενος δὲ τὸ πάθος ἐν ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις διέτριβεν.

^{76.} Lycaon: Paus. 9.38.6. Aetolian Hera and Artemis: Str. 5.1.9. Another view of these groves: Graf (1993) on overtones of the age of Cronus in some groves, a further discouragement to hunters.

^{77.} A different view: Schnapp (1997) 150–156, arguing for the equivalence of hunter and prey in early Greek representations. A similar view: Lonsdale (1979) 154.

or the hunt for the boar of Crommyon. The Plato, who disapproves of deception by hunters, this theme is only implicit, whereas in Xenophon it is explicit. This author recommends the cudgel for small game, and poisons, sinkholes, and caltrops for big game. There might be some occasion for guilt if Xenophon paid more attention to the moment of killing, or some ground for thinking that killing made Xenophon uncomfortable if he suppressed it altogether, but he mentions it several times: when the nets fail to hold the quarry, which must then be run down, and when the hunter has had his spear knocked out of his hands by a boar and must improvise. Killing matters when it is difficult. It is occasionally embarrassing, not inevitably shameful.

Xenophon does feel some compunction at killing young hares, which he believes to be reserved for Artemis. To this extent, he humanizes animals. But he does not humanize them so much that he will not kill more dangerous young wild pigs or adult females. A sow, for example, should be killed no less than a boar—but not by the hunter lying on the ground, because sows bite, whereas boars thrust their tusks into midair. Yenophon cares more about crops than about the suffering of animals. So

In visual sources, meanwhile, no scenes appear that would excite pity for animals—for example, scenes of animals stepping into traps or succumbing to hounds. This is one of the remarkable blind spots found in the numerous pictures of hunting catalogued by Alain Schnapp in the monograph based on his 1987 thesis, including black-figure painting over a century older than Xenophon. Two other blind spots contribute to overlooking the harm done to the prey—the

^{78.} West (2010).

^{79.} Pl. Lg. 9.822d-24c, objecting to nets, traps, and stalking unsuspecting animals at night; and Pol. 271.

^{80.} Cudgel: X. Cyn. 5.16. Poison: 11.3. Sinkholes: 11.4. Caltrops: 9.11–17. Only nets (2.9) are common today.

^{81.} X. Cyn. 6.24, 10.14-18.

^{82.} A different view: Schnapp (1997) 138–140, holding that the Classical view of the hunt was somewhat negative, as hunting involved deception. But he cites no source other than Plato as immediately above. A similar view: Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1909) xi, observing that the Greeks could not have felt guilty about killing animals in the early period in which hunting was common. The larger issue of justice for animals: Franco (2000–2001), reporting no particulars on hunting. Older literature: Lonsdale (1979) 158 n. 1.

^{83.} X. Cyn. 5.14.

^{84.} Pigs: X. Cyn. 10.23. Adult females: 10.18.

^{85.} X. Cyn. 5.34, for the interpretation of which see Longo (1989) 75–76. Another view: J. Anderson (1985) 15, and Bevan (1987) holding that all bears were sacred to Artemis, not just those in groves.

absence of some weapons, like bows and arrows, and the absence of the surroundings, like holes and thickets where animals could be cornered.⁸⁶

Far from feeling guilt, the hunter, like the worshipper, admires the vitality of the impending victim. After describing a hare's speed and agility, Xenophon writes, "The sight is so charming that when a man has seen a hare traced, discovered, chased, and caught he forgets whoever (or whatever) he is in love with." Xenophon does not mention killing the animal, only catching it, but Arrian finds even this hint at the animal's fate inappropriate, and says that the older writer should have omitted being caught and kept the rest. Since Xenophon has described the thrills of chasing the hare, the quickest animal, Arrian switches to the thrills of pursuing animals with greyhounds, a breed unknown to Xenophon, and makes his knowledge of this breed his excuse for writing a work on hunting. In the main, these two writers' works are about driving dogs, *kunegetika*, not about killing prey; Arrian expressly rejects killing as his subject or as a reason to hunt. The favorite quarry is the hare, prized for the swiftness that it shares with hounds. Among the names Xenophon suggests for hounds are Hasty (Sperchön), Vigorous (Thallōn), Impetus (Hormē), and Zeal (Spoudē).

Like the worshipper, the hunter was pious. Arrian lists the many gods whom a hunter should propitiate, and says that hunters should give to Artemis "first fruits of what has been taken." ⁹² The first hunting tale in Greek literature reflects this sense of *charis*. In *Odyssey* 10, the hero goes hunting for game, and Homer says that a god presented the hunter with his target, a stag. Here was a gift, but given by a god to a worshipper, not by a worshipper to a god. Rather than pray for it, Odysseus hailed it as a good omen. ⁹³ The scene is glad, like an acceptable sacrifice but less solemn.

The hunter's piety impeded him only when his quarry reached the altar. Here sacrifice and hunting intersected. Just as the worshipper transferred the animal to the god, the hunter relinquished it to the god. In each case, the animal took the

^{86.} Schnapp (1997) ch. 6.

^{87.} X. Cyn. 5.33.

^{88.} Arr. Cyn. 16.7-8.

^{89.} Arr. Cyn. 1.4, 15.1, 16.4.

^{90.} Arr. Cyn. 16.4.

^{91.} X. Cyn. 7.5.

^{92.} Arr. Cyn. 34. Examples of such trophies, mostly for deer: Philostr. Im. 1.28.6, Anth. Pal. 6.111, 112, 121, DS 4.22.3, O. Met. 12.266.

^{93.} Od. 10.158–184. Presentation: 158–159. Omen: 174–177.

form of an offering, but only in the case of sacrifice did the worshipper act on the offering, and become "the moral person" of Hubert and Mauss. In this situation, the worshipper was the moral agent, not the animal. The god would now deal with this agent—first, with the worshipper's request, and then with the worshipper himself.

Worshippers' Requests

Horn or censer in hand (or with a handful of dog's-tooth grass), the worshipper could now make his or her request. This, too, had its esthetic side, borrowed from prayers. The speech must be decorous, one sense of *euphēmia*; silence must sometimes be observed, another sense of the same word; and the prayer must follow guidelines studied over a century of scholarship. Yet requests also followed a logic unrelated to esthetics. The request had to match past practice, and it had to match the capacities or wishes of the god. It derived from the context, not from the ceremony.

The request that demanded the least of the god, and that would be easiest to grant, was for *charis*, in other words, for the god to acknowledge the grateful feeling that motivated the sacrifice. This request for *charis*, often unspoken, amounted to a request to accept the offering. The god would reply in kind, as if to agree that one good turn deserved another, but as Robert Parker observed, a request of this kind did not mark an attempt to bargain with the god.⁹⁵ Instead it showed reverence, perhaps joy, but perhaps also fear—the likely emotions of a human actor as the immortal audience gazed down on him. Similar to this request was the fulfillment of a vow, as in *Odyssey* 3.⁹⁶ A sacrifice of this kind asked the god to remember an answered prayer. If the second request was common, as Dianira said, the first was even more so, for it could combine with other requests, such as a tacit request that the god remember that a sacrifice had occurred in compliance with an oracle, or in response to an epiphany. (If, in contrast, the sacrifice occurred as part of a request to obtain an oracle, the god commonly agreed, but for a different reason: the god did not give up his freedom to give whatever answer he liked.)⁹⁷

^{94.} The two senses of *euphēmia*: Mensching (1926) 86. In sacrifice: Pl. *Lg.* 7.821d. Evidence in tragedy: Stehle (2004) passim. Prayer guidelines: Pulleyn (1997) chs. 2–3 with refs.

^{95.} Parker (1998) 109: "kharis... given in return for kharis is not... a recompense." A similar category: $d\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}\rho\iota\sigma\varsigma$, as at LSJ s.v. same.

^{96.} Vow at *Od.* 3.380–384 with sacrifice at 3.429–477; Plu. *Thes.* 18.2 with 22.2; Longus 2.24 with 2.30.4–31.2; Diph. fr. 43 K-A (sacrifice with vow implied). Visual evidence discussed immediately below provides many more examples.

^{97.} As Ion explains to Creusa (E. *Ion* 363–370). Another term for requests to accept offerings was *chrēstēria* (Pi. O. 6.70 (sundry for Zeus), E. *Ion* 419 (Delphi), *ID* 2231 (Delos).

Yet many requests departed from this logic. Most plausibly, worshippers asked to give honor. Also plausible was to give thanks, often according to a formula. Heliodorus, hellenizing his Phoenicians, says that Tyrians used such a formula after one of their number won at the Pythian games. Returning home with the victor, they sacrificed at the seaside, *nikētērion* and *charistērion*, "thanks for victory," although this translation misses the reverence the worshippers would express. Many such sacrifices occurred not after a victory, as at the festival of Artemis Agrotera in Athens, but after a deliverance or a cure, a river-crossing or a sea voyage; as Arrian puts it, they commemorated "good fortune." *Euangelia* gave thanks for good news of all kinds, and for this reason was a common epigraphical term for thanksgivings. Others, called *aparchai*, occurred after a harvest or catch. The *procharistēria* were thanksgivings performed by Athenian magistrates at the start of the year. In the case of civic sacrifices, another sacrifice of thanksgiving, called *epiteleōma*, occurred after any sacrifice that proved acceptable; perhaps this was the most common occasion of all. The god has seen all this before, and welcomes it.

If a sacrifice occurred *ante eventum*, some other request replaced thanks—for example, a request for safe passage or for good crops. In Athens, agricultural sacrifices to obtain good crops were one of the two main occasions for festivals; the other was thanksgiving for crops.¹⁰⁵ Yet many, if not most, requests were not

^{98.} So familiar an idea that only one source need be noted: Thph. fr. 12, comparing this motive to others, and finding it preferable.

^{99.} Heliod. 4.16.8. So also as at *LSJ* s.v. with further examples at DS 20.76.6, as well as the Athenian evidence at Pritchett (1971–91) 3.168–183. (*Eu)charistēria*: Plb. 5.14.8, Arr. *An.* 5.29.1, 6.19.5, 6.28.3, Heliod. 4.16.8, 5.15.3, 5.27.3. Victory followed by erecting a trophy, or *epinikia*: Szymanski (1908) 63–71.

^{100.} I.e., sōtēria, diabatēria, and anabatēria (less attested than the first two, but see Plu. Soller. an. 984b). For civic sōtēria, see Pfister (1929) 1223; for personal sōtēria, i.e., thanks to savior gods, see Höfer (1916–24). Compulsory diabatēria: IG xii.4.319.5–9. ϵn $\xi \nu \mu \phi o \rho a$ ϵa $\delta v a \theta a$ $\delta v a$

^{101.} Civic examples from the Hellenistic and Imperial periods: Robert (1936) 187. Civic and Classical: *IG* xii Supp. 168.5. Undated and personal: *IG* iii App. 109.7, in a binding spell. So also A. *Ag.* 594–595, Polyaen. 1.44, 2.1.3.

^{102.} Harvest: see the treatment of the Athenian *proērosia* below. Catch: Ath. 297d–e, tuna, and eels, the common feature being their size. A different view: Vernant and Detienne (1989) 127, holding that tuna were sacrificed because of their bloodiness. All these *aparchai* differ from those that are dedications, or from *aparchai* that form a part of *thusia*; see Stengel (1910) 40–50. Other *aparchai* of fish: *Anth. Pal.* 10.9 (anon.), 10.16.11–14 (Theaetetus Scholasticus).

^{103.} Lycurg. 7.1.

^{104.} Lycurg. 6.2, πάντων ὕστατα ταῦτα θύεσθαι καὶ ἐπιτελεώματα εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων θυμάτων.

^{105.} Parke (1977) 184.

material. A common one was for aid during a term of office, $eisi(t\bar{e})t\bar{e}ria$.¹⁰⁶ Characteristically, both magistrates and priests performed these inaugural sacrifices.¹⁰⁷ We know most about military sacrifices of this type. One such sacrifice occurred in town before an army departed for a campaign.¹⁰⁸ Next came sacrifices when the army crossed the frontier, amply reported in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile, the invaded made a sacrifice asking the god to ward off the invaders.¹¹⁰ These preliminaries aside, armies would sacrifice daily while on the march; Agesilaus did so at dawn.¹¹¹ Nor would armies fail to sacrifice on occasions when other travelers would—for example, when crossing a river.¹¹² Armies also observed the traveler's custom of giving sacrifices to the gods of a locality.¹¹³

Only after all these sacrifices would an army turn to the rites occurring before any siege, battle, or march.¹¹⁴ Yet a final sacrifice remained. When in full view of the enemy, Spartans sacrificed a goat to Artemis, and Athenians made some customary sacrifice, too. This victim, of course, was not eaten, or even inspected. Most military sacrifices excluded eating.¹¹⁵ Acts of *sphagia*, they were not acts of

^{106.} Crops: X. *Oec.* 5.19. *Eisi(tē)tēria*: Lys. 26.8 (archons); Th. 8.701, Dem. 21.114–115 (councilors); *Agora* 16.270.4 (hipparchs). As Parker (2005) 98 observes, these were sometimes sacrifices on behalf of others as well as on behalf of the inaugurated magistrate. For this practice, see chapter 5 here.

^{107.} Eisi(tē)tēria by priests: Zeus Sōtēr as at Mattthaiou (1992); Asclepius as at IG ii² 975.4.

^{108.} Paus. 4.22.5, X. HG 6.5.49, 7.2.21.

^{109.} Hdt. 9.10.3, the frontier of the Peloponnesian League; Th. 5.54.2, 5.55.3, 5.116.1, polis frontiers; X. HG 3.4.3, 5.3.14, 5.4.7, 6.4.19, 6.5.12 ditto. See Popp (1957) 42–46 with only these Lacedaemonian examples, but see A. Sept. 379, an act of sphagia, if not thusia, performed by Amphiaraus for the Seven, and X. An. 2.2.3, an act of divination performed by a Spartan mercenary for a mixed force.

^{110.} Paus. 9.13.6, an act of *enagismos* by Epaminondas in response to the Spartan invasion.

^{111.} X. HG 4.6.6, 5.4.49, 6.5.18.

^{112.} River: Hdt. 6.76, Arr. An. 1.4.5, 5.8.2. Voyage: X. An. 6.6.35.

^{113.} X. HG 3.1.21 (Dercylidas at Scepsis), Plu. Pyrr. 12 (Pyrrhus at the acropolis of Athens), Ar. An. 1.18.2 (Alexander at Ephesus), 2.5.8 (Soli), 3.1.4 (Memphis), 4.22.6 (Nicaea), Plu. Cleom. 30 (Antigonus Gonatas at Sparta), Plb. 4.73.3 (Philip V at Olympia).

^{114.} Xenophon alone supplies numerous examples: *An.* 1.8.15, 2.2.3–4, 4.3.9, 6.4.9, 5.6.29, 6.4.9, 6.4.14 and 20, 7.8.23; *HG* 2.4.15, 3.1.17 and 19, 3.4.15, 4.2.18. Yet tragedy does, too, albeit with the complication of human victims: E. *Heracl.* 3240, 399–402, a single example conflated with the death of Macaria; E. *Ph.* 174, conflated with the death of Moeneceus. A proposed act: E. *Rh.* 30.

^{115.} Spartans: X. HG 3.4.23, 4.2.20. Athenians: Hdt. 6.112.1, Plu. Phoc. 13. The Ten Thousand: X. An. 4.3.17, complicated by a river-crossing. Neither eaten nor inspected: X. An. 1.8.15 and 6.5.21, where sphagia refers to killing without inspecting, and hiera refers to both. Yet some authors do not observe this distinction, as at app. 3b nos. 1–4 below; see Stengel (1886) 310.

thusia in the sense that one portion was burned for a god and another consumed by the worshippers. Xenophon, though, imagines Cyrus the Great telling his men to eat the flesh of an animal killed in an act of *sphagia*, and this must have sometimes happened when soldiers were hungry enough. He has elsewhere, we must beware of drawing too strong a distinction between animal sacrifice followed by a meal and sacrifice of other kinds. They may overlap.

This overlap occurs again in regard to requests for mercy, sometimes called *lōfeia*. 117 Some scholars have held that when Greeks asked a god for mercy, or—to avoid any legal connotation—when Greeks sought to appease divine anger, they did not practice thusia, and above all, did not eat any part of an animal. 118 Instead, they practiced sphagia or burnt animals in holocausts. Yet the worshipper hoping to placate a god might begin an act of thusia, and look for the signs described in the next section of this chapter, and then, if he observed one of these signs, might complete the sacrifice and eat some of the animal as well. In *Iliad* 1, the Greeks wish to placate Apollo, favorable signs follow, and the Greeks feast. In Odyssey 12, the Phaeacians sacrifice twelve bulls to an angry Poseidon, hoping he will relent. The verb of sacrifice, hiereuein, excludes an act of sphagia or a holocaust. 119 Phoenix's statement about sacrifices in *Iliad* 9, referring as it does to placating divine anger, mentions knisē, a result of thusia. Herodotus gives an example, too: the sacrifices by which the Athenian exiles accompanying Xerxes are to placate the gods for the burning of the city are thusiai. 120 In civic inscriptions, instructions to perform thusia do not always refer to a motive, but two inscriptions mentioning not thusia but katathusia show that this related act was reserved for holocausts, and so they imply that other, more numerous acts were not holocausts.¹²¹ By the same token, a worshipper seeking to appease a god might avoid sphagia as well as thusia, and make a bloodless offering, as at Phigalia, where an angry Demeter received libations. 122

^{116.} X. Cyr. 6.4.13, 7.1.1.

^{117.} E.g., AR 2.485-486.

^{118.} Schoemann (1861–63²) 2.239; Legrand (1912) 957, referring to "sacrifices expiatoires"; Stengel (1886) 307; Ziehen (1939) 581 expresses reservations about any strict distinction. A narrower distinction: no feasting after one kind of sacrifice that often allayed anger, *enagismata*: Parker (1997) 40.

^{119.} Od. 13.184–187. Hiereuein as synonymous with rezein: Casabona (1966) 20.

^{120.} I.e., $\theta \hat{v} \sigma \alpha \iota \tau \dot{a} i \rho \dot{a}$ (Hdt. 8.54.2).

^{121.} SEG IV.425.13–15, ἔνκαυσιν Ἀντιόχωι ἥρωϊ καταθύσαντες ταύρους δύο; SEG XXIII.566.13–20, ἐκατὸμ βοῦς καταθύσας. The celebrants in these two cases were magistrates.

^{122.} Paus. 8.42.6, 11.



FIGURE 3.3 A sacrifice by three voyagers

As the example of Phigalia implies, vegetal offerings again resemble animal offerings. Incense-burning could precede requests for ships to sail safely, an example of which appears in figure 3.3, a Roman relief showing a sacrificial scene at the stern of the merchant vessel at the left. 123 It could also precede requests for blessings on public crossings, and requests for sōtēria. 124 It could follow success, as eucharistēria. 125 Incense could also make requests for help, including not just sōtēria but lutēria, requests for help in some predicament. 126 Other vegetal offerings were versatile also. In *Odyssey 9*, Odysseus makes a vegetal offering, presumably one of thanks, while in the Cyclops's cave. In book 15, Telemachus makes a vegetal offering before sailing home to Ithaca. 127 Tragedy and Thucydides offer examples already noticed—prayers for release, for help, and for victory in war.

In all these examples, we have assumed that the worshippers made only one request, and that they agreed what it was, but some sacrifices, especially those made at festivals, might accompany several requests. Worshippers might not agree as to what they were, and might not wish to let outsiders know. The Thesmophoria provides an example. Reasoning from the worshippers' throwing

^{123.} Fig. 3.3: a late third-century CE relief discovered at Torlonia, as at Meiggs (1973^2) , pl. 20, with Casson (1971) 182 n. 69.

^{124.} Crossings: LSCG 87.11. Sōtēria: Hermipp. 8.

^{125.} D.H. 9.35. The sacrifices at A. Ag. 91–96 are ostensibly for the same purpose.

^{126.} Λουτήριοι, S. El. 635. Λύσις, OT 921.

^{127.} Od. 9.231-232, 15.258-260. This was Casson's interpretation of fig. 3.3.

piglets into a pit, a scholion said that the worshippers asked the gods to bless growing crops and also growing children. The scholion may be wrong, or wrong for some worshippers and right for others. In another description of the festival, Diodorus mentions crops, but not children. Both these writers are male, and Callimachus, in his Hymn to Demeter, imagines that the celebrants at the Thesmophoria would not tell outsiders about the festival, including any request. He says they change their minds about this matter at the last moment, and that is Callimachus; but in the end they keep silent, and that is tradition. 128 No matter his (or her) request, the worshipper did not dare forget himself. First, he ought to be hosios. As Socrates paraphrased this requirement, being hosios was knowing how to make sacrifices (thuein) and utter prayers (euchesthai). 129 In part, this quality was a matter of physical appearance, not unlike the standard imposed on a sacrificial victim. The worshipper might wear white. 130 The worshipper and the animal both might wear a garland, and both might be washed or sprinkled with water.¹³¹ In larger part, it was a matter of standing, of being "acceptable in the god's sight." 132 In Aeschylus's Seven Against Thebes, where the chorus worries that Thebes's leader, Eteocles, will not make acceptable sacrifices, the scholia explain that acceptable sacrifices would come from a man who was hosios and feared no divine punishment, as well as from one who had clean hands.¹³³ Of these three ideas, the first two look to the worshipper's standing. Giving his own twist to "divine punishment," Socrates says it would be absurd for the gods to respond to sacrifices without considering whether the sacrificer were just or hosios. 134 As Menander summarizes: "Sacrifice plenty, so long as you haven't been impious." 135

This requirement extended to those related to the worshipper, beginning with the others in attendance. A passage in Aristophanes explains the common practice for them. In *Peace*, the poet parodies a question spoken on the occasion

^{128.} Schol. Lucian. 275–76; D.S. 5.4–5; Call. *Cer.* 1–17, cited to this effect by Johnston (2012) 235.

^{129.} Pl. *Euth.* 14d. Or the reasoning may be negative as well as crude: rather than give to the gods, the man who is *anosios* steals from them (5d).

^{130.} E.g., *IvP* II.264, Polyaen. 1.27.2; so much is implied by regulations calling for *eukosmia*, like *IG* xi.2 1109.50.

^{131.} As at *Hiera Kala*, fig. 43 = British Museum F 66, an Apulian red-figure bell crater, c. 375–350 BCE.

^{132.} As at Benveniste (1969) 2.198-202. Cf. Burkert (1985) 270 defining *hosios* in relation to sacred space rather than the god.

^{133.} Schol. A. Sept. 700.

^{134. [}Pl.] Alc. 2.149e.

^{135.} Men. Sent. 508; so also Sent. 340, fr. 683.1-6 K-A.

of a libation, and thus of any animal sacrifice followed by a meal. This question "Who is here?" implies an answer like the one supplied by a scholion: "Those here are many good men and true," *polloi kai agathoi*.¹³⁶ These were welcome—and not others. As Plutarch says, it was impious for anyone and everyone to attend any and all rites: *themis* did not permit this carelessness.¹³⁷

After those in attendance came those related to the worshipper, but absent. In Athenian sources, this group includes the worshipper's fellow citizens. Aeschines touches on this group in *Against Ctesiphon*, where he descants against citizens who fail to punish sacrilegious persons in their midst. How do these citizens expect to sacrifice and ask the gods for any boon? He goes on to paraphrase a law imposing a curse on the sacrilegious and "those giving them rein" and he concludes:

If they don't punish the sacrilegious, they won't sacrifice in a respectable way to Apollo or Artemis or Leto or Athena Pronaia. These gods won't receive victims from them, either. 138

The *hosioi* should sacrifice amid their own kind. Plato agrees with Aeschines but reverses the relation: if citizens who are impious make sacrifices, the *hosioi* will not be able to gain the gods' favor:

The impious establish shrines and altars in private houses. They think to win over the gods in secret, by means of sacrifices and prayers. They pile up injustice with no limit and bring down divine accusations on themselves and those who are better than they are but tolerate them. The whole community is "rewarded," thanks to the impious, and justly, too. ¹³⁹

In response, Plato proposes legislative reforms such as punishing those who do not restrain criminals caught in the act.¹⁴⁰

^{136.} Schol. Ar. Pax 968.

^{137.} Plu. Vit. prud. 522f.

^{138.} Aeschin. 3.121: μηδ' όσίως, φησί, θύσειαν οἱ μὴ τιμωροῦντες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνιμηδὲ τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῆ Λητοῖ μηδ' Ἀθηνᾳ Προνοία, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτῶν τὰ ἱερά.

^{139.} Pl. Lg. 10.909b: ἱερά τε καὶ βωμοὺς ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἱδρυόμενοι, λάθρα τοὺς θεοὺς ἵλεως οἰόμενοι ποιεῖν θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς, εἰς ἄπειρον τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐξάνοντες αὐτοῖς τε ἐγκλήματα πρὸς θεῶν ποιῶνται καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, οὖσιν αὐτῶν βελτίοσιν, καὶ πᾶσα οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἀπολαύῃ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τρόπον τινὰ δικαίως.

^{140.} Pl. Lg. 9.881d, punishing those who do not interrupt children abusing their parents, a crime offensive to Zeus *Homognios*.

Although no legislator, Xenophon develops the point. When he says that no magistrate who has neglected his parents should sacrifice while on duty, he does not introduce any new idea. Men who neglect their parents resemble Plato's heapers of injustice and Aeschines's sacrilegious. The new idea comes when Xenophon implies that the magistrate who is not *hosios* should not sacrifice on behalf of the city—of behalf of thousands of other presumably upright citizens. When in office, an individual who is not *hosios* harms a community of those who are.¹⁴¹

Antiphon makes the same point, too, but about any and all who are not *hagnos*, and he makes it plainly, saying that the community will suffer if such people enter shrines, meaning partly that it will suffer if they attend sacrifices.¹⁴² He also says that those making sacrifices before journeys will suffer if the polluted are among them.¹⁴³ By naming this group, he points to others, including armies and navies. All would perform *diabatēria* and the like. Accounts of sacrifice centered on the polis tend to neglect such sacrifices, and treat civic sacrifices instead, yet civic sacrifices overlapped with these travelers' rites. Civic sacrifices included those performed by ambassadors at shrines elsewhere, such as the sacrifices performed at Delos by Athenian ambassadors, and so, if the ambassadors could not travel safely, these overseas sacrifices could not take place.

Antiphon gives the example of those aboard ship. This is the passage in which he insists on having clean hands:

You know, I think, that many people with unclean hands or some other pollution board ships and travel alongside those who in their souls are *hosioi* in relation to the gods. Some people didn't die this way, but ran great risks because of such company. Many people who clearly aren't *hosioi* attend sacrifices and prevent customary sacrifices from being acceptable.¹⁴⁴

The trouble is all the worse because the sacrifices were "customary." By this word, Antiphon means that the animal and request both met the usual standard.

^{141.} X. Mem. 2.2.3.

^{142.} Antipho 1.10.

^{143.} Antipho 5.82–83; so also E. *El.* 1351–1355. Other sources on these sacrifices: Lys. 1.19, And. 1.139, X. *Cyr.* 8.1.25.

^{144.} Antipho 5.82: πολλοὶ ἦδη ἄνθρωποι μὴ καθαροὶ χεῖρας ἢ ἄλλο τι μίασμα ἔχοντες συνεισβάντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον συναπώλεσαν μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ψυχῆς τοὺς ὁσίως διακειμένους τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη ἐτέρους ἀπολομένους μὲν οὔ, κινδυνεύσαντας δὲ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους διὰ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, τοῦτο δὲ ἱεροῖς παραστάντες πολλοὶ δὴ καταφανεῖς ἐγένοντο οὐχ ὅσιοι ὄντες, [καὶ] διακωλύοντες τὰ ἱερὰ μὴ γίγνεσθαι τὰ νομιζόμενα.

Yet without good company, the sacrifices would fail. The chorus in the *Seven Against Thebes* agrees, but without mentioning the sacrifices.¹⁴⁵

Antiphon (meaning the defendant for whom he writes) now tells how to divide the pious from the wicked. At first, he seems to be speaking of his own good luck:

Well, that never happened when I was around. I sailed with people who made splendid voyages.¹⁴⁶

He explains:

When I attended sacrifices, they always proved perfectly acceptable.

The defendant supposes that this experience of his was common knowledge. Common knowledge like this would let the performer of sacrifices know that he was in good company, and that the sacrifices would prove acceptable. Success depended on this knowledge and kinds of knowledge akin to it—rumor, memories of criminal action against the polluted, and perhaps omens. Among these kinds of knowledge, the Athenian basileus's proclamation that accused murderers not attend sacrifices must have been among the most imposing.¹⁴⁷ Here a more or less rare form of pollution, caused by a murder that led to a prosecution, met with a response by the city's most venerable magistrate. Echoing the magistrate were the relatives of the victim, for they proclaimed the identity of the accused as well. The prohibition included two phases of an animal sacrifice, or, to put the matter another way, several rites that might be either part of a sacrifice or on their own purification and libation. To prevent purification, the archon forbade the accused to use the community's lustral water, and to prevent libations, he forbade him from using the community's cups and bowls—the concerns expressed in Against Timocrates.

Yet the defendant also points to a flaw in this kind of knowledge. He speaks after the fact. The character of someone attending a sacrifice would often emerge this way. Until it did emerge, the rest of those in attendance could not be sure whether this individual would imperil the sacrifice. To return to the prosecution

^{145.} A. *Sept.* 597–608, cited by Dover (1974) 253, to prove a related point: the pious who perish are also the just.

^{146.} Antipho 5.83: Ἐμοὶ τοίνυν ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὰ ἐναντία ἐγένετο. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὅσοις συνέπλευσα, καλλίστοις ἐχρήσαντο πλοῖς τοῦτο δὲ ὅπου ἱεροῖς παρέστην, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου οὐχὶ κάλλιστα τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο.

^{147.} Dem. 20.158 with Arnaoutoglou (1993) 115-116, 130.

of murder: had someone frequented the home of the accused?¹⁴⁸ That man's presence would imperil sacrifices, too. When, though, would his fellow worshippers learn of this misconduct? Until they knew, how could they guess? Or take an example far removed from murder, dishonoring one's parents. A character in Euripides exclaims:

If a man does not honor his parents, let him never sacrifice beside me. 149

No magistrate would help the worshipper avoid this sort of bad company. Or take another family example, but far removed from dishonoring one's parents. In Isaeus, a speaker notes that when a woman married an Athenian citizen, she would need to participate in a wedding sacrifice. If she was not a proper bride, her in-laws would object to her presence ¹⁵⁰ If they failed to object, the marriage was one more voyage headed for shipwreck. What could they do?

According to Antiphon, these worshippers would have had to know whether attendees were *hosioi* "in their souls," their *psychai*, and no Greek practice allowed one worshipper at a sacrifice to plumb the soul of another. Nor did prejudice serve as a substitute for this kind of knowledge. Slaves, for example, were banned from some sacrifices, but not all.¹⁵¹ The same was true of foreigners and women—and men banned from the Thesmophoria.¹⁵²

Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne do not speak of the soul. Their picture of sacrifice has room for quadrupeds, and for garlands and gilded horns, but none for an aspect of the human personality that might seem more Christian than pagan, or at least more important for some Greek sects than for the common worshipper. Yet the worshipper put his soul before the god, not just his offering or reputation. His soul bore the impress of what he had been and done; it made him clean or unclean; and it made him fit or unfit. It formed part of the sacrificial context, but a part that the worshipper might fear was obscure. In contrast, the

^{148.} Dem. 21.22 with Macdowell ad 21.104.

^{149.} Ε. TrGF 852.3–4: ὅστις δὲ τοὺς φύσαντας μὴ τιμᾶν θέλη, / μή μοι γένοιτο μήτε συνθύτης τοῖς θεοῖς. The following lines add Antiphon's complaint about impious shipmates.

^{150.} Is. 8.19.

^{151.} Plu. QG 301e, noting an exception, a ban on slaves at a festival of Poseidon at Aegina. Slaves were commonly present as servants, as in Men. Dysc. passim, discussed in chapter 5; see also Dignas (2002) 34, 153.

^{152.} Foreigners: Hdt. 6.81, *LSCG Supp.* 95; *SIG* 981. Women: seven cults, or shrines, and one type of cult (to Heracles) listed by Osborne (1993b) 398. These regulations differ from those imposing some burden on women, such as bans on fancy dress and jewelry.

common knowledge evoked by the defendant formed an obvious part of the context. Another part was tradition, meaning accounts of what the god had done in the past in the same circumstances. This part, too, would be obvious, like common knowledge. The soul was otherwise, as the Emperor Hadrian complained,

animula vagula blandula—

a line Donne translated with an eye to the soul's unpredictability, as though it were a sprite:

My little wandering, sportful soul.

Perhaps only a god could grasp this part of the context, pick out pious men like the defendant, and bless them. The Socrates of Xenophon gave the god this task, and so did Theophrastus. Theophrastus added that some worshippers supposed the god did not care, but in saying so he implied that other worshippers supposed the god did.¹⁵³

An attractive offering, a plausible request, an upright man amid his own kind: how difficult was this trio to achieve? Images, oracles, epiphanies, the inspection of animals, the charms of incense, the logic informing requests—all these made it easier. They could not eliminate anxiety. When the curtain fell, the worshipper could not tell how well he had performed. That depended on the reaction of the audience of one.

Favorable Response to Sacrifice

The god mostly accepted the offering, request, and worshipper before him.¹⁵⁴ Yet the god never appeared before the worshippers and ate, even at *theoxenia*, and almost never took worshippers into his company, as Zeus and the other gods took the Ethiopians in Homer. The god was not much more likely to answer a prayer on the spot, or send an omen. He said yes otherwise. Just as the god learned of the sacrifice through more than one portal, the worshipper learned the results through more than one response.

^{153.} Socrates: X. Mem. 1.3.3. Theophrastus: fr. 7.52–54 ed. Fortenbaugh (1992). "Some" supposing god indifferent: fr. 9.3–8.

^{154.} Nor did he consult any other gods associated with the sacrifice by way of *prothumata*, for which see Casabona (1966) 103–108. So also Paus. 1.34.5, where consultants at Oropus sacrifice to "everyone whose name is written on the altar," with Roesch (1984).

As Plutarch reports, the word *kallierein*, and the related phrase *hiera kala rezein*, designated acceptance. The phrase first appears in the *Odyssey*. When the Old Man of the Sea warns Menelaus about a trip to Egypt in book 4, he tells the hero that he must perform *hiera kala* before the gods will let him go home. We should not mistake sacrifices such as this for attempts to obtain information rather than acceptance. Rather than predict the future, these sacrifices rendered a god favorable to a course of action. Menelaus, for example, did not make his Egyptian sacrifice to learn his fate. The Old Man of the Sea had already told him as much. He made the sacrifice in order to render the gods favorable to his return home. As Xenophon says in the *Anabasis*, "[I] sacrificed to see whether the gods would let [me] try to lead the army to Zeuthes," a Thracian ally. Xenophon did not sacrifice to know whether he and the men would reach Zeuthes.

Other worshippers did not need the Old Man's instruction: they sacrificed so as to *kallierein*.¹⁵⁹ In these cases, and in inscriptions, too, to sacrifice, *thuein* or *thuesthai*, or *bouthutein*, was one thing, which is to sacrifice; *kallierein* was another, which is to sacrifice acceptably.¹⁶⁰ A paraphrase in numerous Attic inscriptions confirms this distinction. If sacrifices performed by a priest have gone well, the priest would report to the Assembly "good results from the sacrifices he has made." ¹⁶¹ If the Assembly "accepted" this news, *dechesthai*, their reaction echoed

^{155.} Plu. Q. conviv. 632c, giving the divine response to kallierein as dechesthai.

^{156.} Od. 4.474-476, so also *Il.* 11.727-730, Od. 7.189-191. The opposite end of the generic register: Herod. Mim. 4.79.

^{157.} Casabona (1966) 88–91; so also Suid. s.v. Καλλιέρημα: θυσία εὖπρόσδεκτος and EM s.v. Καλλιέρημα . . . ~ Έλληνες δὲ . . . τοῦτο καλοῦσι καλλιέρημα, ὅταν τῷ δαίμονι φίλον τὸ θῦμα.

^{158.} X. An. 7.2.15–16: θύετο εἰ παρεῖεν αὐτῷ οἱ θεοὶ πειρᾶσθαι πρὸς Σεύθην ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα. A similar view: Flower (2008) 88, calling these sacrifices instances of "possession divination," meaning that the god had taken possession of a nonhuman agent in order to manifest his will. "Possession divination": Zeusse (1987) 376.

^{159.} Aeschin. 3.131, 152; Lucianus Bis. Acc. 2; Plb 32.15.1–7, where $\kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \iota \epsilon \rho \dot{\eta} \sigma \alpha s$ differs from $\beta o \upsilon \theta \upsilon \tau \dot{\eta} \sigma \alpha s$.

^{160.} Athens: *IG* ii² 1224.a–c.13 (166 BCE), *MDAI(A)* 66 (1941) 228, 4.5 (late second century BCE). Elsewhere is some earlier as well as late evidence: Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 87.20–21 (Cos, mid-fourth to second century BCE), *SEG* XV.517.2.4–5 (Paros, mid-second century BCE), *ID* 2529.25–26 (Delos, 116/5 BCE), *LSCG* 83.32 (Coropus, c. 100 BCE), *Halikarnassos* 7.28 (fourth century CE), *SEG* XXV.680.10–12 (Magnesia, second century CE), *Panamara* 93 (undated). Roman era, Athens only: *IG* ii² 1006.26, 1028.5–7, 1029.4–5, 1039.55–56, 1043.48–49, *Agora* 15.293.8–10, *Hesperia* 16.170.57. *Bouthutein* vs. *kallierein*: *Panamara* 93, *Priene* 51.43–44, *MDAI(A)* 29 (1904) 152.1.26–27.

^{161.} *IG* ii² 354.10–11 (328/7 BCE), 410.11–13 (c. 330 BCE), 661.15–17 (283/2 BCE). Archon: 668.6–8 (282/1 BCE). *Agonothetēs*: 780.7–9 (c. 246/5 BCE). *Prutaneis*: 790.13–15 (235/4 BCE). Demarch: 949.14–16 (165/4 BCE). Editors have restored the phrase in many more instances.

that of the god when he received the sacrifice. Or an inscription would convey this distinction through a sacrifice being not only made, but "fulfilled," *suntelein*. 162

Kallierein implied that the god found the victim to be *kalos*. This finding took two forms, one of which began with epic and continues down to the Roman era, and the other of which may have begun just before the start of the Classical period. The first form was smoke and scent arising from the fire and reaching the god's nostrils. This *knisē* ascends to the heavens many times in the Homeric epics and *Hymns*.¹⁶³ Zeus calls *knisē* a divine prerogative, and Achilles and Phoenix mention it among ways of propitiating gods.¹⁶⁴ Tragedy offers a metonym: in Euripides, sacrifices of thanksgiving are occasions to light a fire, not send up smoke or scent.¹⁶⁵ In practice, fire and smoke went together, and terms could refer to either one.¹⁶⁶

Fire, smoke, and scent might seem incidental. Burkert rightly found them important. Fire rituals formed a category of their own, he wrote, one not to be subsumed into bloody sacrifice. In his monograph on incense, Detienne found that source of smoke important, too, especially in rites performed by women. For this chapter, fire and smoke were gifts, and as such might meet with rejection. These rejections happen thrice in Homer. In *Iliad* 1, the Achaeans are attempting to purify themselves in order to escape the plague. After the purification, they sacrifice hecatombs to Apollo,

And the knisē went up to heaven as it twisted round in the smoke.¹⁶⁸

Apollo, however, does not take pleasure in this offering. Instead he fails to react. Soon afterward, Achaeans under Odysseus perform another sacrifice, the successful sacrifice led by Apollo's priest. Now the god does react, hearing the

^{162.} IG ii 2 957.4, 958.5, IK Sestos 1.62, IG xii. Supp. 554.7, Teos 31.33, IMT Skamander und Nebantäler 187.32. Epitelein: Priene 66.27.

^{163.} In addition to the references below, Il. 1.317, 8.548, h. Ap. 58.

^{164.} Zeus: *Il.* 4.49 = 24.70 Phoenix: 9.469. Achilles: 1.66.

^{165.} E. Or. 1137, Supp. 155 with Collard ad 155.

^{166.} E.g. empyromancy at E. Supp. 155, A. PV 498; Pi. O. 6.7 is vague.

^{167.} Burkert (1985) 60–64, noting the preservation of fires from sacrifices, as in Spartan military sacrifices (X. Lac. 13.2, Nic. Dam. FGrH 90 F 103.144 Athena's priestess at Soli was the hupekkaustria (Plu. QG 292a).

^{168.} Il. 1.317: κνίση δ' οὐρανὸν ἶκεν έλισσομένη περὶ καπνῷ. Kirk ad 1.315–317 observes that a sacrifice like the one to come at 1.438–744 is "inappropriate before Apollo's reaction to events at Khruse were known." Compositional explanation for the discrepancy: Faraone (2011). Cf. Leaf ad loc., observing that the Greeks must have supposed that Apollo would accept their restitution in advance.

prayer and also enjoying the paean sung to him afterward.¹⁶⁹ In *Iliad* 8, smoke ascends a second time. This time the Trojans are sacrificing, and:

The winds bore the *knisē* from the plain into heaven.

Homer does not say what request the Trojans made at this sacrifice, but Hector has just expressed hope that he will kill Diomedes and fear lest the Achaeans escape. To Zeus will not fulfill these hopes, and in the manuscripts of the *Iliad* he responds just as Apollo does, by failing to react. Verses preserved in the dialogue *Alcibiades II* confirm and also explain this response. These verses follow almost immediately after the verse just quoted:

The blessed gods did not take any part in the *knisē*—not at all. They hated holy Ilium, and the people of Priam.¹⁷¹

Since some gods did not hate Troy, these verses exaggerate. They do not err in saying that this offering met with rejection. As Hector's hopes imply, the Trojans prayed for victory, and the gods rejected this prayer plus the accompanying offering. If we think again of Lucian's portals, Zeus closed one of them. The third instance, in the Odyssey, adds a twist. When the crew sacrifices the cattle of the Sun, the $knis\bar{e}$ reaches the nostrils of Odysseus, who realizes that the gods will not accept such an offering. ¹⁷² Instead they will reject it and punish the worshippers. In this worst of rejections, the smoke travels sideways.

The hope of pleasing gods with *knisē* long outlasted Homer. Aristophanes confirms *knisē* as a divine prerogative, but supposes that it might be cut off rather than ignored or misdirected. Diogenes Laertius says that a one-time atheist, regretting his views, "made the god's nostrils flare with *knisē*." Plutarch and Lucian refer to the idea, and Chariton quotes *Iliad* 1.317 during sacrifices by a king in

^{169.} Il. 1.457, 474.

^{170.} Ιl. 8.549: κνίσην δ' ἐκ πεδίου ἄνεμοι φέρον οὐρανὸν εἴσω.

^{171.} Il. 8.550–551: $\tau \eta \hat{\gamma} \hat{\delta}$ δ'οὖ $\tau \iota$ θεοὶ μάκραρες $\delta \alpha \tau \acute{\epsilon} ον \tau o$, / οὖδ' $\check{\epsilon} \theta \epsilon \lambda ον \cdot μάλα$ γάρ σφιν ἀπήχθετο 'Ίλιος ἱρή. A different view: Kirk ad Il. 8.548–552, holding that Homeric gods do not consume $knis\bar{e}$, on account of their "decarnalization"; but see Il. 4.49 = 24.70. If the dialogue is not platonic, "decarnalization" is still objectionable, for the practices of theoxenia and trapezōmata continue into the Hellenistic period in which Alcibiades II might have been composed.

^{172.} Od. 12.369.

^{173.} Ar. Av. 187–193; DL 4.56: κνίση ... θεῶν ἔδαισε ῥῖνας.

Babylon.¹⁷⁴ Awareness that $knis\bar{e}$ was fallible survived, too: the king does not receive what he prays for. The same awareness animated cults in which the god could not receive smoke, such as the cult of Apollo's sacred fish. The priest fed bits of sacrificial meat to the fish, and if they ate it, the god was favorable; if they turned away, he was not.¹⁷⁵

Knisē did not commonly fail to please. The ostentatiousness of the Homeric exceptions implies as much, and so does another custom. Once fire and smoke went aloft, the Greeks might preserve the fire as a mark of divine favor. The Spartan army, for example, marched behind torches lit from the fire of sacrifices to Zeus Agetor.¹⁷⁶ (In *Greek Religion*, Burkert summarizes many examples of the related practice of maintaining perpetual fires in temples, but does not link this practice to sacrifice, perhaps because sacrificial altars stood outside temples, and perpetual fires were inside.)¹⁷⁷

What, though, if the god responded to the fire, but the worshippers could not tell? They could use another method, inspecting the *splanchna* or entrails of the victim, a method to which Aeschylus lent prestige when he attributed it to Prometheus.¹⁷⁸ If the entrails, and also the sacrum and tail, were shapely and well colored, the god had reacted favorably. Checking entrails occurred before meals, before purification, and before divination.¹⁷⁹

Aristophanes describes this practice in *Peace*. Trygaeus, preparing his sacrifice for the goddess of the title, has started a fire at an altar, gotten a table, and had a slave bring in the thigh bones after slaughtering the animal offstage (partly so that Peace, a pacifist goddess, will not witness the deed, and partly, as Trygaeus says to the chorus-leader, to avoid the cost of killing a sheep). Next, Trygaeus goes to get the *splanchna*. He tells the slave:

Roast them well.

^{174.} Plu. Quomodo quis suos 83d, Lucianus Icar. 27, Charito 6.2.4. A survey: Lilja (1972) 31-47.

^{175.} Polycharmos *FGrH* 790 F 2. Other sources for the cult: Plu. *Soller. an.* 976c, Pl. *NH* 32.17. Fish that may have acted similarly: *Smyrna* 11.

^{176.} X. Lac. 13.2.

^{177.} Burkert (1985) 61, where he also notices that fire is a sign of favor but again without a link to sacrifice.

^{178.} A. PV 493-499, regarding inspection of *splanchna* and of livers and spleens in particular, and mentioning the sacrum if not the tail. Other *splanchna*: the *omentum* (Eub. fr. 94 K-A) and gall bladder (Men. Dysc. 452). There were variations according to the type of sacrifice, e.g., gall bladder not consecrated to Hera occurs in marriage sacrifices (Plu. Consol. Apoll. 41f).

^{179.} Purification: Klitodemos FGrH 323 F 14, splanchneuein.

When he sees that an interloper may be distracting the boy, he insists:

Roast them! Keep quiet! Hands off the sacrum!

And he adds:

The tail is doing handsomely.¹⁸⁰

The word "handsomely," the adverbial form of *kalos*, is the keystone of the scene. If the tail does handsomely, by curling, the offering is *kalos*, and Peace will accept it. As a scholion to this passage paraphrases:

(Slave,) keep your spit away from the sacrum. Make sure you don't touch it. People use it to divine the will of the gods. . . . The custom was to put the sacrum and the tail in the fire and to tell whether the sacrifice was well received by means of certain signs. ¹⁸¹

In this scene, Trygaeus, no expert, will do the divining. The same happens in *The Birds* and in other sources, notably Xenophon, where responsibility goes back and forth between worshippers and experts.¹⁸² Elsewhere, experts called *manteis* or *thuoskopoi* dominated (and at the cave of Trophonius, they inspected twice, to be sure).¹⁸³ Whoever the inspector might be, his task included checking not only the tail and sacrum but also the other entrails, which ought to be smooth and well colored. Like Menelaus, the inspector was not employing divination to predict the future. He was making an offering to render the god favorable, and seeing whether he had succeeded.¹⁸⁴ If he did succeed, he might put the entrails in the

¹⁸ο. Ατ. Pax 1043, 1053–1055: {TP.} "Όπτα καλώς νυν αὐτά" . . . {TP.} "Όπτα σὰ σιγ $\hat{\eta}$ κάπαγ' ἀπὸ τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς ὀσφύος Ή κέρκος ποεί καλώς .

^{181.} Schol. Ar. Pax 1053–1054, quoted along with this episode in the play at Hiera Kala 154–155, but without stress on to kalon: οἶον πρόσεχε, μὴ ἄψη αὐτῆς ταύτη γὰρ μαντεύονται ... ἔθος εἶχον τὴν ὀσφῦν καὶ τὴν κέρκον ἐπιτιθέναι τῷ πυρί, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σημείοις τισὶ κατανοεῖν, εἰ εὐπρόσδεκτος ἡ θυσία.

^{182.} Ar. Av. 1118. Inspection by the commander: X. An. 2.2.3–4, 6.4.20. Joint responsibility: 5.6.29, 7.8.10. First without a *mantis*, then with: X. An. 6.4.14. At Hdt. 7.33–37, in contrast, only *manteis* are assigned responsibility.

^{183.} Paus. 9.39.5-7.

^{184.} Thus Halliday (1913) 113, although he supposed that that this notion developed from primitive ordeals.

hands of the divine image, or on the image's knees. 185 He did not put other animal parts there, for he was not giving the god food. He was reciprocating.

In *Hiera Kala*, Van Straten notices that vase painters gravitated toward these scenes of inspection, including both the *splanchna* and the sacrum and tail. ¹⁸⁶ So common a practice, and one so similar to Homer, where *splanchna* were choice cuts of meat, even if they were not signs from the god, did not likely derive from the Mesopotamian practice of hepatoscopy, imported into Greece sometime after Homer. ¹⁸⁷ Instead the Greeks responded to hepatoscopy as they did to incense. Both were prestigious, Near Eastern versions of their own practices, and so the Greeks adapted them despite drawbacks. Incense, for one, was costly. Hepatoscopy required a costly animal, a sheep as opposed to a pig or goat, and either experts or expertise acquired by observation, as in Xenophon. If the signs were unfavorable, they would have to start over, killing another sheep, or perhaps many, until the signs changed, or they ran out of animals, Xenophon's experience at Calpe. ¹⁸⁸

A worshipper satisfied with the entrails did not expect some god to drop from the heavens and say "acceptable" (*euprosdektos*). Sometimes, the worshipper could take acceptance for granted, as with requests to show *charis* to a god, or requests that a god come and accept a sanctioned offering. Given a victory offering by Agamemnon, Zeus took it and did not need to say so.¹⁸⁹ The response to many more requests, such as for a good catch or harvest, would come in the fullness of time. (Only in comedy would the response to a request for prosperity come promptly, at the end of a play, as happens to Trygaeus's request for the blessings of Peace.)

The fullness of time might try a worshipper's patience. To respond sooner, a divinity might send an omen. In the *Iliad*, Zeus twice responds to sacrifices this way. At Aulis, he sends a serpent in response to an undescribed prayer for favorable winds. As Calchas would have it, the omen betokens not only favorable

^{185.} As at Chios 7.1–8, 78.5–7, and 81. General statement: Ar. Av. 518–519. Cf. LSCG Supp. 77, where Sokolowski holds that $\tau \dot{\alpha} \stackrel{?}{\in} s \chi \epsilon \hat{\iota} \rho \alpha s \kappa \alpha i \gamma o \dot{\nu} \nu \alpha \tau \alpha$ did not refer to entrails.

^{186.} Hiera Kala 156–157 with the examples given at chapter 1, note 85 here.

^{187.} Speculation on origins: Flower (2008) 30–31. Favoring a Greek origin for hepatoscopy: the restriction of this practice to animals commonly subject to *thusia* (with the exception of hepatoscopy from dogs at Paus. 6.4.2). Stengel (1910) 74–75, citing some of the instances of Homeric *hiera kala rezein* vel sim. that make no mention of inspecting *splanchna* (*Il.* 11.727–730, *Od.* 7.189–191, 11.130–132 = 23.277–279), supposes that the consumption of these portions had a "sakrale oder religiöse Bedeutung."

^{188.} Xenophon's watching and learning: X. An. 5.6.29. His shortage of animals: An. 6.4.20.

^{189.} *Il*. 7.313-325.

winds, but eventual success. On the first day of battle, he sends an eagle in response to Agamemnon's prayer for support. This time no sacrifice is occurring, but many sacrifices have occurred at the same place, the altar of Zeus standing before Odysseus's hut.¹⁹⁰ Apollonius of Rhodes follows suit, but includes a scene that blends response by way of an omen with response by way of sacrificial smoke. In this scene, the celebrant, Jason, pours wine over the fire, as usual, and the flames leap up, again as usual, but the poet treats this event as a good omen.¹⁹¹ Apollonius also matches Homer in following the omen with the immediate grant of a worshipper's request for favorable winds.¹⁹²

In later authors, though, good omens are rare. One exception, Plutarch, confines omens to those that occurred not after a sacrifice, but in the middle of it. In the first instance, in his life of Themistocles, the protagonist is conducting an animal sacrifice when two events coincide. Themistocles lays eyes on some Persian captives, and the altar fire rises higher. He halts the animal sacrifice and sacrifices the Persians instead. This instance makes the familiar point that an offering must please the god but adds that it may please the god yet shock human feeling. In the second instance, the gods provide the requested conditions for smooth sailing from Eretria to the mainland, but before the completion of a sacrifice being made to them. The unroasted meat lies on the beach, supplying the *aetion* for a customary sacrifice in which meat is not roasted but left unattended. This instance illustrates the primacy of prayer in the common pairing of prayer and animal sacrifice. So long as the prayer does not go unanswered, the sacrifice may go unfinished.

Just as fire may leap up, blood may spurt, as happens in two plays.¹⁹⁵ One of the plays is Euripides's *Helen*, where the bull dies aboard a ship fleeing Egypt. The other play is Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, where the boar the heroine slaughters to solemnize an oath is only a metaphor for a wine jar from which she pours a libation. In this play, the supposed blood flows handsomely, *kalōs*. This phrasing of Aristophanes may parody a customary observation. If so, the worshippers looked for yet another sign that their victim was *kalos*, a sign noticeable at the moment

^{190.} Il. 2.305-306, 8.250.

^{191.} A.R. 1.1141, 1.437.

^{192.} A.R. 2.523-526; Od. 4.584-587, where Menelaus's prayer for favorable winds is evident from the context.

^{193.} Plu. Thes. 13.

^{194.} Plu. QG 298c. So also Tim. 8.2-4, Them. 26.2.

^{195.} E. Hel. 1587-1588, Ar. Lys. 205.

of death. Rather than feel horror at the bloodshed, as Burkert supposed, they felt relief.

In a few shrines, the ominous response became traditional. At the spring of the heroine Ino at Epidaurus Limera: a successful worshipper threw his loaves into the water, and they sank.¹⁹⁶ Vegetal offerings thrown into the crater of Etna burned.¹⁹⁷ Since success was common under these circumstances, the omen shrank into a likely response, like the ascent of smoke from the altar.

The divinity's last avenue of response translated acceptance into an emotion. For Plutarch, this was "the joyful thing about a festival." In this passage, with its "good hope and impression that the divine is present and kindly," the "hope" that the god is present refers to an invocation, and the hope that the god is kindly refers to a request. Yet the "joyful thing" about sacrifice was not this checklist, any more than it was food and drink. Joy sprang from divine communion with the worshippers. When the Clouds descend on Socrates in response to his request, his new pupil Strepsiades says, "They've permeated everything," a joke the pupil takes seriously. Then, as the Clouds speak, Strepsiades exclaims,

Mother Earth, what a sound! It's sacred, venerable, and wonderful! 199

Prose writers call this elation *terpsis*, or delight, Thucydides's description of *thusia*. Plato calls *thusia* one of the pleasures, or *hēdonai*.²⁰⁰ This delight or pleasure was not epiphanic. In Plutarch's words, the worshippers have an "impression" but do not behold an apparition. This delight was nonetheless intense. Plato surely thought of it when he said that "for a happy life," sacrifice was the best thing a good man could do:

That and keeping company with the gods through prayers and dedications and every kind of service—the handsomest thing [kalliston] and the most suitable.²⁰¹

^{196.} Paus. 3.23.8; so also Zos. 1.58 about Aphaca in Syria.

^{197.} Paus. 3.28.9. Similar: D.C. 41.45, where incense needed to flame up when thrown into jets of gas coming from fissure in the earth at the Nymphaeum in Apollonia.

^{198.} Plu. Q. conviv. 632c, quoted in chapter 1.

^{199.} Ar. Nu. 328: πάντα γὰρ ἤδη κατέχουσιν, followed by364: τοῦ φθέγματος, ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ τερατῶδες. Cf. E. Hipp. 1391–1393, but without sacrifice.

^{200.} Th. 2.38, Pl. R. 364b-c, 364e-65a.

^{201.} Pl. Lg. 4.716d: ώς τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ θύειν καὶ προσομιλεῖν ἀεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ ἀναθήμασιν καὶ συμπάση θεραπεία θεῶν κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον καὶ ἀνυσιμώτατον πρὸς τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον.

Kalliston alludes to several elements of the experience—man, beast, ceremony, exaltation.

In the view of Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne, the worshippers enjoyed mutual solidarity. Ancient sources agree with this view. Plato says that the practice of sacrifice should make citizens familiar with one another and also makes them cooperative. ²⁰² In Athenaeus, sacrificial feasting features mutual enjoyment among participants. ²⁰³ Yet this solidarity is not the whole story. The rest is communion. To return to Burkert's phrase, "the solidarity of mortals in the face of immortals"—in other, words, the camaraderie among the worshippers—does not divide them from the god. Instead their camaraderie depends on the god's response to them. They form a group with the god, not without the god. Without the god, they are formless.

As Plutarch would imply, acceptance did not depend on an animal victim. Incense and vegetal offerings could go up in smoke and please the god. Before meetings of the Athenian Assembly, the herald

used incense to summon up things divine. That way he joined like to like, so that through the presence of these divine things any Athenians having something good to say may give their advice.²⁰⁴

Incense to the god: like to like. This comparison did not escape the people of Homeric times as the tragedians conceived them, and so, at the start of *Oedipus Rex*, in the midst of a plague,

the city is heavy with incense, with paeans and with laments.²⁰⁵

Surely the gods will respond favorably to these sacrifices—and Apollo does, sending advice via Creon. At the behest of the priest of Zeus, the people of the town now cease their supplications.²⁰⁶ Like the Athenians, they have received divine help. Given the genre, they will not keep it for long. They did not, however,

^{202.} Pl. Lg. 5.728d, 6.771c.

^{203.} Ath. 8.363d.

^{204.} Schol. Aeschin. 1.23: διὰ θυμιαμάτων ἐπικαλῶν τὰ θεῖα εἶλκε τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὰ ὅμοια, ἵνα διὰ τῆς τούτων παρουσίας ἀγαθόν τι ἔχωσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι βουλεύεσθαι.

^{205.} S. OT 4–5: Πόλις δ' όμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει, / όμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων.

^{206.} S. OT 147-150.

need an animal to obtain it. Neither did other cities full of incense, mentioned in Plutarch.²⁰⁷ The same comparison occurred to those too poor to offer an animal. As Alciphron says, the poor bring cakes to the gods, and those who are poorer still bring "very decayed lumps of incense," perhaps some grains "they had picked up from sacrifices at home."²⁰⁸ Lines of Euripides assured them that their sacrifices were more acceptable than the animal sacrifices of the rich.²⁰⁹ Put aside the tendentious comparison, and the claim holds good. When Penelope used barley grains to accompany her prayer for the safety of her son, in *Odyssey* 4, Athena "heard her prayer."²¹⁰ She did not need to give the goddess a victim.

At the opposite end of the spectrum from the poor, but also from Odysseus's wife, stood Apollonius of Tyana, the savant who burnt acceptable incense while arrogating to himself the attitude of an expert such as a reader of entrails. Presenting himself to a king who was about to sacrifice a white horse to Helios, Apollonius proposed a contest. The king would perform his sort of *thusia*, and Apollonius would perform his:

He threw frankincense on the fire, looked where it tended and how it formed circles and how many peaks it made and where it caught fire, and how it seemed pure and lucky, and said, "You do the rest of the sacrificing, king, according to your customs. These are mine."²¹¹

No doubt other plumes of incense were less impressive, or at least less impressively analyzed. So long as the worshipper could interpret them, they would give the vegetal offering the power to communicate.

Spectacular acceptance aside, many vegetal offerings found routine acceptance—for example, the two daily sacrifices recommended by Hesiod, after he mentions animal sacrifices:

^{207.} Plu. Amic. mult. 95c, Superst. 169d, Virt. mor. 455d, Q conviv. 623c.

^{208.} Alciphr. 3.17, χόνδρους. λιβανωτοῦ . . . ους οἴκοι ἀναλεξάμενος τῶν ἱερῶν . . . εὖ μάλα εὐρωτιῶντας.

^{209.} E. fr. 327.4-7 TrGF.

^{210.} Od. 4.760-768, esp. 468, ἔκλυεν ἄρης.

^{211.} Philostr. VA 1.31: τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἦκεν, ἐπισκεψάμενος δὲ αὐτὸ ὅπη δια νίσταται καὶ ὅπη θολοῦται καὶ ὁπόσαις κορυφαῖς ἄττει καί που καὶ ἐφαπτόμενος τοῦ πυρός, ὅπη εὖσημόν τε καὶ καθαρὸν φαίνοιτο "θῦε," ἔφη, "λοιπόν, ὧ βασιλεῦ, κατὰ τὰ σαυτοῦ πάτρια, τὰ γὰρ πάτρια τἀμὰ τοιαῦτα."

Burn handsome thighs on the altar. At other times, worship with libations and burnt offerings [thuessi], both when you go to bed and when the bright light returns. ²¹²

According to Cicero, every Greek house in Sicily had a store of incense for this purpose.²¹³ Hesiod now proceeds to the requests that accompanied these offerings

so that the gods' hearts and minds may be kindly toward you, and so that you may buy someone's else's homestead and he may not buy yours.

The second of the two requests cannot have been routinely accepted, but the first was. Also routinely accepted were the incense sacrifices performed in shrines, including elaborate rituals like those performed for Zeus once a month at Olympia, and performed much more often for Aphrodite. By the same token, some vegetal offerings, like some animal sacrifices, were much riskier, especially with an additional generic factor. In *Oedipus Rex*, Jocasta takes incense to Apollo, but it does her no good. The same is true of the spectacular vegetal sacrifices mounted by Clytemnestra at the start of *Agamemnon*. ²¹⁵

Normal, delayed, normal, ominous, animal, and vegetal—amid this variety, were there no ambiguous answers? Homer provides an example in which Zeus accepts Agamemnon's sacrifice but rejects his prayer for help. Yet even here, Zeus's rejection of the prayer is temporary. The only other example comes from the source that is Homer's opposite, Lucian, who makes it his business not just to include exceptions, but to extract misleading rules from them. In his *Saturnalia*, the worshipper has just sacrificed to Cronus, who has accepted the offering. The worshipper, though, doubts whether the god will grant his request. He asks for help:

^{212.} Hes. Op. 337–339; ἐπὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ μηρία καίειν ' / ἄλλοτε δὲ σπονδῆσι θύεσσί τε ἱλάσκεσθαι, / ἡμὲν ὅτ' εὐνάζη καὶ ὅτ' ὰν φάος ἱερὸν ἔλθη. Followed by 340–341: ὥς κέ τοι ἵλαον κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἔχωσιν, / ὄφρ' ἄλλων ώνῆ κλῆρον, μὴ τὸν τεὸν ἄλλος.

^{213.} Cic. Verr. 2.4.46.

^{214.} Zeus: Paus. 5.15.10. Aphrodite: V. A. 1.416, Pi. fr. 122 ed. Maehler. Helios: Philostr. VA 31, Ov. Met. 4.171–270, Paus. 6.20.2. Apollo: E. Ion 510. Hestia: DS 5.68, in homes, a location where thusiai of animals would be impracticable.

^{215.} A. Ag. 91–96, which are not animal offerings, as noted by Frankel (1950) 2.54.

^{216.} Il. 2.419: οὖδ' ἄρα πώ.

Cronus, I suppose you are in charge at present. We have sacrificed to you, and done so acceptably [kallierein]. As a result, what can we ask for and get?

The god explains that the worshipper must do the asking, and the god must do the listening:

The right thing for you to do is to decide what to pray for. You shouldn't expect me, your ruler, to know what you'd like, not unless I'm a *mantis*. . . . If possible, I won't deny your prayers. ²¹⁷

Cronus is right about the limits on acceptable requests. To remember Lucian's Zeus, a god would consider the worshipper's piety. Yet Cronus is tardy in saying so. He should have spoken before the worshippers sacrificed, or rather, they should have realized as much before they approached him. The situation must be a joke—and it is. The Saturnalia are taking place. Ambiguous answers have their season.

Sacrifice outside of satire was unambiguous. Purification invited or assumed a response; from *aparchai* to entrails, each offering did. The prayer or hymn did; and the rising smoke did. Rather than contradict each other, these responses complemented one another. A sacrifice lacking one would present another, or several others. This saturation, and not any one element, like killing, distinguished animal sacrifice from other rites—and even distinguished it, in some degree, from sacrifice without an animal. If the fiery or smoky signal was the typical sacrificial act—the act of *thusia*—the animal offering had the most fire and smoke, and the most other signals to add. Without being common, it could be exemplary.

So far, we have considered individual acts of acceptable sacrifice. But if we remember that sacrifice was not self-contained event but an episode—a word in a kind of sentence, but not the whole of the sentence—we shall also remember that one acceptable act of sacrifice might succeed another, often over years. Sacrifice was a relation between two sides, not just a performance. The Greek term for this relation was *theophilia*, meaning the gods' affection and concern for their worshippers. Sacrifice was not the whole of *theophilia*, and so sources for *theophilia* often do not mention it. Homer, for example, never mentions sacrifices by Tydeus to Athena, a hero to whom she shows *philia*. Euripides, though, mentions Hippolytus's sacrifices to a favorable Artemis.²¹⁸ As with heroes, so with cities.

^{217.} Lucianus Sat. 1: Ω Κρόνε, σὺ γὰρ ἔοικας ἄρχειν τό γε νῦν εἶναι καὶ σοὶ τέθυται καὶ κεκαλλιέρηται παρ' ἡμῶν, τί ἂν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν αἰτήσας λάβοιμι παρὰ σοῦ; / Τοῦτο μὲν αὐτόν σε καλῶς ἔχει ἐσκέφθαι ὅ τι σοι εὐκτέον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μάντιν ἄμα ἐθέλεις εἶναι. ὸν ἄρχοντα, εἰδέναι τί σοι ἥδιον αἰτεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ τά γε δυνατὰ οὐκ ἀνανεύσω πρὸς τὴν εὐχήν.

^{218.} Il. 5.116; E. Hipp. 1333.

Hera showed *philia* to several cities, especially Argos, where she no doubt manifested her feeling by accepting sacrifices at the Heraeum.²¹⁹ But the evidence for *philia* and habitual sacrifice does not confine itself to heroes and cities, or to the corresponding genres of epic and drama. If a man returned safely from a voyage, people might say he had a good helmsman—a helmsman who was a *daimōn*, or spirit. Aristotle, who reports this saying, objects to it:

It's nonsense to say that a god or a spirit is the friend of a man like that, but isn't the friend of the very best and most thoughtful people.²²⁰

Aristotle wants gods to choose the best of friends, but even so he does not object to a god having a passenger for a friend. Antiphon has already explained this sort of friendship. The passenger performed acceptable sacrifices, and did it routinely. He was a fare-paying Odysseus, the hero an envious Ajax called "dearest to the gods." Doubtless he went under many names in many places. Nor did it matter what sort of sacrifice occurred. Figure 3.3 shows sailors sacrificing incense, and Thucydides reports the fleet performing libations.

Yet again, animal sacrifice followed by a meal overlaps with other offerings. Now we shall look at the afterlife of an animal sacrifice and find that it overlaps with objects of several kinds. Sacrifice often began before its start, and outlasted its conclusion.

Substitutes for Sacrifice

A neglected feature of Greek animal sacrifice, at least among historians of religion, is the mass of clay or metal models of sacrificial animals or pictures of sacrificial scenes painted on wood, formed from terra cotta, or carved in stone. These models or pictures would either commemorate an act of sacrifice that had already taken place or make a promise to perform a sacrifice, or even replace a sacrifice. The worshipper would deposit the object in a shrine, often at or near an altar, and in this way give it to the god just as the worshipper had given, or would give, a victim. He was availing himself of a substitute—not just a record, but a gift that the giver would ask the god to accept, *dechesthai*, the same as a sacrificial

^{219.} Il. 4.51.

^{220.} Arist. EE 7.1247a: ἀλλὰ ἀτοπον θεὸν ἢ δαίμονα φιλεῖν τὸν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν βέλτιστον καὶ τὸν φρονιμώτατον. Dirlmeier (1935) 58–63, who quotes this passage, also discusses whether the relation might be reciprocal, so that a worshipper might be friendly to a god, and concludes mostly no, citing Arist. MM 2.1208b.

^{221.} S. Aj. 132, $\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu \phi i \lambda \tau a \tau o \nu$.

animal.²²² The gift, however, would outlast the victim, save for the victim's horns, or skull, which might also be kept in the shrine.²²³ The commemoration of an act of sacrifice, by means of an ex-voto, is better known than the alternative of a pledge to perform a future sacrifice, or of a model used as a replacement.²²⁴ Yet pledges and replacements are easy to identify. They expect the god to respond at some time in the future, and a few ask the god to.²²⁵

Many small metal and terra cotta figures representing animals from sacrificial species have survived. Had wooden figures survived as often, the total would be enormous. These objects come from all areas and periods.²²⁶ Poleis dedicated large and prominent objects such as the bronze sacrificial bull that stood in the Eleusinion in Athens, and bas-relief images of bulls being led to sacrifice on the Parthenon frieze.²²⁷ The Parthenon itself affords another example of a substitute. It is not a temple, for it has no altar. Scholars commonly describe it as a storehouse for votives and the like.²²⁸ This building also perpetuates the thanks given by the Athenians after the battle of Marathon, and so it commemorates sacrifices. By the time it was finished, in 432, it had already outlasted these sacrifices by almost sixty years. Nor was it unique. There was no altar at the Athenian Hephaestaeum (or least none discovered so far). ²²⁹

The Parthenon shows how the substitute can surpass the original. Yet more modest objects can do this, too. One, a small bronze bull from the Athenian Acropolis, bears the words "A prayer of Pisis." ²³⁰ The word for prayer, *hikesia*, differs from *euchē* in implying that Pisis made an approach to a god, rather than asking a god to listen, and so it refers to her dedicating the object in a shrine.

^{222.} Examples where this verb appears, albeit none of them models of sacrificial animals: IG xii Supp. p. 86 (spoils constituting a tithe), 3.1075 (a statue), IvO 252 (a statue), as at Porta (1999) 187–188. A cursory view: *Hiera Kala* 159–160. Burkert (1985) and Vernant and Detienne (1989) do not deal with the topic.

^{223.} Horns or bucrania: Hiera Kala, figs. 27, 32, 34, 43, 117.

^{224.} Burkert (1985) 68–70; briefer still, Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantell (1992) 59–60; cf. Price (1999) 58–63. An ancient general statement: Lys. 2.39.

^{225.} IG i³ 791, 857, 1014. CEG 334.

^{226.} *Hiera Kala* 54–58, including 54 n. 139 for bronze figurines, 55 n. 145 for Arcadian shrines. Acknowledging that sacrificial models were numerous: Rouse (1902) 298–301. Yet there is only one example in the selection made in Pfohl (1966) no. 49.

^{227.} Eleusinion: Paus. 1.14.4.

^{228.} Hurwitt (1999) 163–164 with D. Harris (1996). I owe this comparison to Neer (2012) 102–103.

^{229.} See again Neer (2012) 211.

^{230.} Athens NM 6695 with De Ridder (1896) #529 and IG i³ 543.

Yet Pisis could not have performed the sacrifice to which her dedication refers. As a woman, she could not have put the animal to death, nor could she have divided it into divine and human portions. Some man or men performed these duties. As for the act of approach and dedication, the *hikesia*, did it come from her alone, or from her and others? What about the prayer made when the animal was killed, or the prayer made when she dedicated the object? Only this act is sure to be hers alone. Or was there no sacrifice, and no need for men to make it, either in the future or at any time?

This object proves to be more than a worshipper's record of an act of sacrifice. Pisis and unknown others, surely men, shared the act, and their shares in it changed as the act, or the chain of acts, moved from beginning to end. Only at the end did Pisis take charge of what became an expression of devotion.²³¹

The notion that there would be no sacrifice—in other words, that the object was not part of either a commemoration or a vow—is the most difficult to establish. Yet a few literary sources confirm this possibility. When Ptolemy Philopator was about to sacrifice elephants after his victory at Raphia, in Syria, he learned that the god would not accept such an offering but would accept bronze figurines of elephants instead. Pisis may have skipped the sacrifice, too, and made a prayer that the god protect her family's cattle. If the cattle flourished, she would explain, the god would receive his portion, his first fruits. Although unsure, this interpretation squares with several sources saying that only the rich commonly sacrificed large animals. This interpretation also accounts for the high proportion of bulls among sacrificial substitutes.

The few sacrificial pictures on wood and terra-cotta and the many in stone, for which Van Straten catalogues over 200 examples, resemble models such as Pisis's. Like a model, a picture of a sacrificial scene would be either a souvenir or

^{231.} Cf. Kron (1996) 155–171. Price (1999) 61 n. 48 rightly observes that the importance of families does not favor wives over husbands; as noted immediately below, the most striking statistic in *Hiera Kala* is the number of pictures with men, women, and children all present.

^{232.} Plu. Soller. an. 972c; so also Centuria 1, sec. 24, where the Locrians sacrifice models instead of animals.

^{233.} Similar view: *Hiera Kala* 55. The opposite view: Schachter (1986) 66–110, arguing that in Boeotia, only those wealthy enough to sacrifice cattle made dedications of bronze bulls. Another prayer by a dedicant who prays alone although sacrificing as part of a group: *Hiera Kala* R73 = fig. 57, a fourth-century bas-relief Brauron 1151, showing four couples although one wife prays and makes the dedication.

^{234.} Hp. Aër. 22.

^{235.} A different view, but acknowledging the difficulty of distinguishing an ex-voto from a promise: Villing (1997) 85–87, a description of ambiguous models of bulls dedicated to Athena.

pledge, but also a gift. It commonly portrayed an altar, an animal victim, one or more worshippers, perhaps other sacrificial items, like a *kistē* for sacrificial cakes and a *kanoun* for a sacrificial knife, and a *chernips* for lustral water. If it included worshippers, it almost always included a god standing or seated near the altar in an attitude that indicated acceptance—facing the worshippers and sometimes participating in the sacrifice by holding a *phialē* in his hand. A hero would stand by the couch of his worshipper, as Asclepius does, or extend a cornucopia, as Palaemon does.²³⁶ As with the model, so with the picture: it was an acceptable sacrifice. The picture did not, however, mark any preference for one element in an animal sacrifice as opposed to another. As Van Straten observed, a picture of this type almost never included either the killing of the animal, Burkert's leitmotif, or the banquet afterward, the leitmotif of Vernant and Detienne.²³⁷

Even more than models, pictures draw attention to families or clubs rather than larger groups. Nearly half of Van Straten's catalogue, or 116 items, show men, women, and children together.²³⁸ Ten or twelve items show women or women and children without men.²³⁹ Only twenty-four show men, or even men and youths, without women or children.²⁴⁰ Only two likely show a college of magistrates.²⁴¹ Figure 3.4, involving a small club, presents a pillar dedicated to Zeus Karaios by a dinner club in Thespiae in Boeotia. Above the inscription on the front appears a bas-relief of an ox skull. On the two adjacent sides appear reliefs of a pig's jaw and skull. The inscription reads "The club members erected [this pillar] to Zeus Karaios."²⁴² The names of eight members follow.

^{236.} Hiera Kala R22; R97-98.

^{237.} Hiera Kala R225, discussed at 103.

^{238.} Eleven of the 116 show "adults" not distinguished by gender, but 107 show both men and women as well as children: *Hiera Kala* R1, 3, 8, 11, 13 and perhaps 14, 17–19, 20 (adults), 22–23, 26–28, 31, 33–34, 37–39, 44, 47, 48–49, 52, 54–55, 58, 66, 68–69, 73–74, 76–78, 83 (men and adults), 87, 89 (adults), 90, 97, 106, 111–116, 119 (adults), 124, 126, 128, 130–132, 134–139, 143–145, 146 (adults), 148, 149, 152, 153 (adults), 156, 158, 160–162, 163 (adults), 165, 168, 171 (adults), 172, 174–178, 179 (adults), 180–185, 186 (woman and other adults), 191–198, 200–205, 207–208, 210–211, 213, 218, 223, 227, 223, 234, 238 (adults).

^{239.} Hiera Kala R16, 24, 45, 62, 75 bis, 79, 142, 209, 2226, 235. Possibly the same: R103, 236.

^{240.} Surely: *Hiera Kala* R10, 60, 81, 82, 85, 86, 91, 93, 94, 96, 100, 104–105, 110, 117, 129, 150, 154, 164, 173, 187, 217, 225, 240. Possibly, since the relief is fragmentary: R6, 15, 32, 61, 65, 83, 84, 92, 212, 214, 215, 220, 241. Items in which Van Straten describes the worshippers only as "adults" are taken to include both men and women.

^{241.} Hiera Kala R60, 150. A male thiasos: 86.

^{242.} Fig. 3.4. De Ridder (1922) 261 n. 88, fig. 37 = Hiera Kala, fig. 78 with Roesch (1965) 323.



FIGURE 3.4 A boucranion from Thebes

Although not ambiguous, like Pisis's, this substitute is complex. It commemorates the skulls and bones that commemorated acts of sacrifice—a memorial to a memorial, explained partly because stone is more lasting the bones, and partly because the pillar serves better than the bones to commemorate the club's meals. The bas-relief of the *bucranium* includes fillets that originally would have hung from the horns of the slaughtered animals—a grace note commemorating a grace note. This substitute also makes a pun. Zeus Karaios, or Zeus "at the head," now has a pillar topped with images of skulls.

The men who erected figure 3.5, a votive relief from Hellenistic Olbia, outdid even the dining club. On the right of their votive tablet reclines a hero with an attendant heroine. A familiar of the hero, a snake, drinks from the *phialē* he holds in his left hand. The hero's right hand raises a cornucopia. Five men present themselves as worshippers. No animal appears beside them, but the altar at which the sacrifice will occur holds a votive relief plaque on which a slave leads a sheep. The cornucopia, the *phialē*, the plaque—these worshippers are advertising their resources, something they also do in this inscription:

Theocles the son of Thrasydamas, Demetrius the son of Phocritus, Athenaeus the son of Conon, and Nautimus the son of Heroxenus bought grain (and dedicated) the image to the Hero who lends an ear.²⁴³

These members of a board that bought grain for festivals and other civic events have discharged their duty, and said so three ways: a sacrifice represented on the altar in the votive plaque, a sacrifice about to occur in the presence of the four officials, and whatever sacrifice will occur in the vicinity of this relief, which, like others, no doubt stood within a shrine. The first of these sacrifices is a matter of projection, the second a matter of anticipation, and the third a matter of common knowledge.

^{243.} Fig. 3.5: σιτωνήσαντες Θεοκλη̂ς Θρασυδάμα, Δημήτριος Φωκρίτου, / Άθήναιος Κόνωνος, Ναύτιμος Ήροξένου, γραμματεύοντος / Άθηνοδώρου τοῦ Δημαγόρου τὸν τύπον Ήρωι Ἐπηκόωι. Votive relief. Polites collection, *Hiera Kala* R150 = fig. 108 with *I. Olbia*, 67 n. 72.



FIGURE 3.5 A sacrifice at but not atop an altar

Whether simple, like the figurine of Pisis, or showy, like the relief from Olbia, these substitutes share a quality that distinguishes them from any sacrificial act, or from any remains of any sacrificial act, save for skulls: they endure, and so they accumulate. Substitutes might be disposed of, of course, but even small ones were likely not to be cast away, but to be melted down, or, if made of stone, used as rubble. Then the name of the donor and the fact of his donations survived in the form of a published donor list. The rare act of melting votives and using the metal to mint coins might require some sign of divine approval, such as the Phocians obtained before melting votives at Delphi during the Third Sacred War. Three decrees on melting votives all provide for creating new votives out of old ones, and thus preserving the god's property. Even before any such thing happened, the votive or other similar record was protected by regulations. At the sanctuary of Amphiareus, temple personnel received instructions about storing votes in a shed and using them for libations.

Substitutes for animal sacrifice resembled substitutes for offerings of first fruits. These substitutes replaced crops and fish catches, but also war spoils, works

^{244.} Permanence of votives: Linders (1987). Recreation of votives, if only in appearement for melting them down: Lewis (1986) 79.

^{245.} Approval (although Diodorus mocks it): DS 16.27.1-2. Melting down: 16.30.1.

^{246.} LSCG 41–42 (Shrine of the Hero Doctor in Athens), 70 (Amphiareum in Oropus); see also Linders (1989–90).

^{247.} LSCG 70.12-20.

of art, and even books.²⁴⁸ They commonly consisted of coin or precious metal but might consist of an object supposedly of the same value, like the star given by the Aeginetans to Delphi after the Persian Wars.²⁴⁹ The god made no objection to being deprived of his or her nourishment or objets d'art, and took the money. In the *Odyssey*, Aegisthus assumes that the gods will accept gold as well as sacrifices; his ethical opposite, Eumaeus, assumes the same thing.²⁵⁰

Among the last three figures, two illustrate solidarity among worshippers. Yet these two also illustrate competitiveness, and all three examples confirm the esthetic aspect of sacrifice. The painter Parmenio might have sacrificed a pig to the god, but instead he painted a lifelike picture of a pig and gave the god the picture. Custom was an artist, too: at the Athenian festival of Zeus Polieus, the worshippers gave the god cakes in the shape of sacrificial animals, and so did worshippers elsewhere. And on Mount Cithaeron, they gave Zeus and Hera cattle stuffed with wine and incense. Greek gods might like leeks, but they also liked variety. Substitutes were *hiera kala*, the same as animals:

Allow me, god, to dedicate another.²⁵⁴

The term "substitutes" assumes that a rite occurs and that an object replaces it, but the number of these objects points to another relation between substitutes and rites. In a chain of links between worshipper and god, some links were rites, and some were objects. The chain might be so long that counting links would be futile, the same as counting animal and vegetal sacrifices. Comparing any one link to another would also be misleading. Just as no sacrifice would match the Parthenon, no object would make the multifarious impression that *thusia* could. The two forms of expression complemented one another. In this way as in others, sacrifice was an artifact as well as form of behavior.

^{248.} Rouse (1902) 62-65.

^{249.} Hdt. 8.122.

^{250.} Od. 3.274, 16.18.

^{251.} Paus. 2.20.9, with a somewhat different version at Eust. *Il.* 2.308. Similarly, the Locrians made wooden models of cattle, and sacrificed them (Apostol. 10.78).

^{252.} Th. 1.126.6 with schol. and with Orth (1922) 2094. A different view: Hornblower ad loc., saying that the scholiast was guessing, but conceding that the offerings in this passage, called *thumata* and not *hiereia*, cannot be, or cannot be only, animals. *Thumata* as vegetal offerings: S. El. 637–649 with LSJ s.v. $\theta \hat{v} \mu a$ 1. A motive for Thucydides's contrast: to compare Athenian vegetal offerings to Peloponnesian animal offerings, and then to report that the Delphic oracle preferred the former.

^{253.} Paus. 9.3.8.

^{254.} $IG i^3$ 728: οῖ χαίροσα διδοίες ἄλ(λ)ο ἀναθ εναι.

A Farewell to Success and an Introduction to Failure

Worship does not provide the gods anything that they lack. It makes us better able to keep them disposed to share unstintingly with us, . . . we always have something good from the gods, and their attitude never changes.²⁵⁵

This fragment comments on the lines in Hesiod about daily sacrifices of incense. The gods do not need incense, this writer reasons, and so sacrifices cannot be acts of barter. (Porphyry reasoned the same way, saying that knisē nourished demons, not gods.)²⁵⁶ Rather than meet divine needs, sacrifices affect the gods' "disposition." This chapter and the previous one have found three factors that would affect this disposition. One is esthetic—the inspection of animals, the decoration of animals and worshippers, the examination of hiera kala, the creation of substitutes. This standard is mainly visual, but also auditory, tactile, and olfactory. It is partly a matter of beauty in an abstract sense illustrated by works of art, but partly a matter of beauty in a practical sense illustrated by a county fair. The second is moral. Besides purification, it includes moral and social expectations for worshippers. It overlaps with the first because the upstanding worshipper is attractive as well as respectable, "fair" in two senses. The third is theological, not as a matter of a creed but as a matter of unquestioned belief in oracles, epiphanies, omens and miracles, and, above all, in divine powers of judgment, powers that seized on wisps of smoke or animal tails and overwhelmed a worshipper like Strepsiades. This factor overlaps with the second through nomos. Both the second and the third pertain to the context of the act. The first factor pertains to the rite.

Most sources, to be sure, say more about the rite than about the context. Civic regulations report inspection and examination, and archaeology recovers objects, but save for objects that refer to previous success, these sources almost never report contextual elements like the request or response. Prose writers report dozens of oracles but far fewer prayers. Poets describe the ambience of acceptance but not always the reasons for it, and they have more to say about the character of the god than about the standing of the worshipper. Only orators say much about the worshipper, and they wish to gain his vote on a jury or in an assembly. Yet taken together, these sources say much about the context—far more than allowed

^{255.} Plu. fr. 47 = schol. Hes. Op. 335–336: ἡ γὰρ ἱλέωσις οὐκ ἐκείνοις προστίθησιν ὁ μὴ εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιτηδειοτέρους ποιήσει πρὸς τό. . . . μετέχειν ἀκωλύτως · . . . τὸ μένειν ἡμῦν τὸ εὖ ἀεὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι διαμένουσιν ἀεὶ ὅμοιοι ὄντες.

^{256.} Proph. Abst. 2.42.

by Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne, or by Nilsson and Stengel.²⁵⁷ Nor are these sources exclusively poetic or fictional. The context is not a conceit found only in Homer or the tragedians.

No matter the factors, the god's disposition was unpredictable. Accepting a sacrifice was a matter of choice. Sometimes the god declined to be gracious. Sometimes he said no.

²⁵⁷. I.e., in Nilsson's GGR and Stengel (1920), neither of which discusses the outcome of sacrifices.

4

A God Says No

IN GREEK RELIGION, unlike some other fields, unsuccessful sacrifice has gone mostly unnoticed.¹ Scholars have allowed only for sacrilege and ceremonial error, categories that turn an unsuccessful sacrifice into an abnormal one.² Or they have turned to another category, neglect, and stressed that the gods punish those who forget or decline to sacrifice. On both counts, they are right. Sacrilege leads to failure, as on the Island of the Sun, and neglect leads to punishment, as in many examples, beginning with the *Iliad*.³

Yet normal sacrifices prove unsuccessful, too. Otherwise, requests for clear sailing would not end in shipwreck, as happens when the Achaeans leave Troy, and requests for help would not end in a city's destruction, as happens to the Trojans. In all, Greek sources record the rejection of some fifty acts of sacrifice, whether by denying requests or otherwise. This total excludes negative extispicy, which supplies another three dozen instances.⁴

^{1.} The failure of ritual due to poor performance, but without moral factors: Hüsken (2007) 348. The delayed effects of failure, but without the trope of delayed punishment: Polit (2007). The fundamental study: Tambiah (1979), who nevertheless does not suppose that failure or rejection depend on the god as opposed to the worshippers.

^{2.} The only recent general statement acknowledging rejection: Versnel (1985) 249. A particular statement: Hitch (2009) ch. 3, reviewing Agamemnon's record of success and failure, with Ekroth (2011). A long-standing exception to the objections to the rejection of sacrifices: the response to morally unworthy sacrifice according to Plato (*Lg.* 4.716e-717a with other passages discussed in chapter 3 above), as noted in Mikalson (2010) 64–65, and more generally, at Burkert (1985) 332–335, and Price (1999) 137–141. Nineteenth-century scholars allowed moral concerns, but without linking them to sacrifice: Creuzer (1810–12) 3.110–112 (Zeus) vs. 4.634–635 (sacrifice). Nothing on rejection, but much on the tough-mindedness needed for it: Lefkowitz (2003).

^{3.} The Island of the Sun: chapter 1 above. The sin of omission in Homer: *Il.* 7.450, 12.6, *Od.* 4.352; supposed at *Il.* 5.177–178. So also E. *Hel.* 1355–1357; Asklepiades *FGrH* 12 F 14, Peisandros *FGrH* 16 F 10; X. *An.* 7.8.1–6; Philostr. *VA* 7.39.

^{4.} As in appendices A and B, listing acts of rejection chronologically by source.

Gods had reasons to say no—esthetic, moral, and systemic reasons that worshippers forgot at their peril. Esthetic reasons for rejection concerned the animal and the worshippers' handling of it, and other features of the ceremony. One such sacrifice occurred on the Island of the Sun. Moral reasons concern unwritten laws governing society. The rejection of Odysseus in *Odyssey 9* offers an example: he violated *xenia* by pilfering the Cyclops's cave, and so Zeus rejected his offering of a ram. Systemic reasons concerned unwritten laws, too, but these were laws or dispensations affecting the gods, such as the allotment of the world to Zeus and his brothers. Respect for this allotment prompted Zeus to reject Odysseus and his ram, just as *xenia* did, but also because Poseidon took offense at the blinding of his son. As this example shows, reasons might overlap, but the first of these three categories was the least serious and the easiest to correct in a subsequent sacrifice, and the last of the three was the most serious and the hardest to correct. As this contrast implies, rejected sacrifices were not always remediable.

Just as successful sacrifice led to works of art, unsuccessful sacrifice led to moralizing, recriminations, and conflicting accounts. Some sources stress esthetic reasons, some moral and systemic ones. Some few ask whether worshippers could not bribe their way out of rejection, and many answer that they could not. Some portray rejection as coming from the gods themselves, but some portray it as coming from the gods' human agents. Some are legendary, some verifiable.

Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne have their motives for avoiding this subject. By introducing esthetic and other factors intro sacrifice, rejection ranges beyond the social and political factors of interest to these writers. Rejection involves responsibility, but not solidarity; it puts individuals and groups on a par rather than giving groups a distinct relation to the rite. Rejection also runs against these scholars' notion of Greek religion as a whole. As Antiphon says, rejection might involve the soul—the spirit and attitude and feelings of the worshipper. In connection with sacrifice, at least, Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne do not envision any such ancient Greek religious faculty. Nor do they suppose that any sacrificial god would notice the soul. This chapter will seek to show that these writers again underestimated the gods, and underestimated the Greeks.

Types of Rejection

The gods' way of saying no was the opposite of the way they said yes. The alternatives of approach and invocation made no difference, nor did the presence or absence of an animal victim. Neither did genre, for instances of gods saying no appear in contexts from Homer down to Pausanias, from Delphic tradition to the Attic stage. If some kinds of negative response were rare, others were common. If some were mild, others were severe or catastrophic.

When worshippers approached the god of the sacrifice, the god might absent himself, but permanently, by abandoning the shrine. The gods of captured cities commonly responded this way. As Aeschylus writes:

The saying is that the gods of a captured city desert it.5

Given the difficulties in the text of the *Seven Against Thebes*, either the Chorus or the king of Thebes, Eteocles, may speak this line.⁶ If spoken by the Chorus, it implies that the city should pray not to be captured. If spoken by the king, it implies that the gods will not intervene but will wait on events, so the city must rely on its own efforts. Either way, the gods will respond to an unsuccessful defense by quitting Thebes. Their decision to depart is not contingent on choral prayer or communal effort. When the Chorus returns to the subject, they imagine the gods exchanging Thebes for someplace else:

How could you trade away the warlike plain of this country, and leave the ground and its deep soil to enemies?⁷

In other plays, Trojans might have uttered these lines. In Lycurgus's *Against Leocrates*, a prosecutor says something similar, but about an individual, not a community. Leocrates, he claims, took his ancestral gods with him when he left Athens. That piece of impiety deprived Leocrates's family of their gods, and so it did them the harm that the king or the chorus feared would befall Thebes. This source also differs from the play of Aeschylus in that the worshipper took the initiative—no small difference, for he took the initiative away from the gods, but not a difference that would bother this aggressive prosecutor.

This passage implies rejected sacrifices in countless sieges. It explains the shackled gods of the previous chapter, Euripides's Poseidon abandoning his Trojan altars, and the variant reported in an Aeschylus scholion that the gods not only deserted Troy but also took their images with them.9 It also explains the practice of taking an *aphidryma* to a new settlement: like a talisman, this image would safeguard the people. And it explains the feature of a city's capture most

^{5.} Α. Sept. 217–218: ἀλλ' οὖν θ εοὺς / τοὺς τῆς ἁλούσης πόλεος ἐκλείπειν λόγος.

^{6.} The chorus: all mss except M. The king: Rose (1957) 1.179.

^{7.} Α. Sept. 304–306: ποῖον δ' ἀμείψεσθε γαίας πέδον / τ \hat{a} σδ' ἄρειον, ἐχθροῖς / ἀφέντες τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν;

^{8.} Lycurg. in Leocr. 97, 129.

^{9.} E. Tro. 25-27, Soph. fr. 452 TrGF.

likely to appear in the works of historians and biographers. These sources, which say nothing about statues and little about gods, often report the fate of suppliants who gathered in temples during the sack of a city. Tacitly or expressly, they agree with Thucydides's formula that these suppliants belong to the victors at the siege. Having abandoned the shrines, the gods did not protect suppliants there.¹⁰

Another response, a negative omen connected to an image, suited the god who wished to reject but not depart. In Herodotus, King Cleomenes comes to the Argive Heraeum to request support for an attack on Argos. The king realizes that Hera's favorable response to a sacrifice will show that she has granted his request, whereas her unfavorable response will show the contrary. In his zeal, he ignores the priest's objection that foreigners should not sacrifice in the shrine:

Cleomenes told his Helots to take the assistant priest from the altar and beat him. He performed the sacrifice himself.¹¹

Rejection should follow, and it does:

He was in the shrine, trying to sacrifice acceptably, when a flame burst from the chest of the statue of the goddess.

After this display, Cleomenes abandons his attack. A quibble he later makes, saying that fire from the head would have been favorable, and not unfavorable, confirms the image's power to respond to a worshipper. Although no other source reports such a response to an act of animal sacrifice, the motif of the statue's response to worshippers was common—common enough for Lucian to satirize in "The Syrian Goddess"—and surely overlapped with animal sacrifice from time to time.¹²

More often, the god wishing to reject a sacrifice would turn oracles against the worshipper. In this kind of rejection, the god would refuse to let a worshipper consult him. The worshipper would approach the god's shrine, make the preliminary sacrifice, often a goat, and learn from the priest that the god would decline

^{10.} Th. 4.98.2 with Naiden (2006a) 152–154, allowing an exception for heralds and priests. Abandonment of oracular shrines by gods: Plu. *Defec. orac.* 418d.

^{11.} Hdt. 6.81 followed by 6.82: Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱρέα ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπαγαγόντας μαστιγῶσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσε. 6:82: καλλιερεομένω δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίω ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι.

Assistant: the chief celebrant being the priestess of Hera.

^{12.} Lucianus Syr. D. 36-37 with Lightfoot ad loc.

to speak to him. Varied sources report eight such instances at Delphi.¹³ In chronological order, the six dateable consultants were the murderer of Archilochus, Alyattes of Lydia, Croesus, Sybarites of the sixth century, Messenian emissaries of the early fourth century, and Athenians of the late fourth century. The two legendary consultants were Heracles and some Locrian emissaries of the heroic period.

The dateable consultants met with much the same rejection. To the murderer of Archilochus, Calondas, the oracle responded by expelling him from the shrine. To Alyattes, who consulted Delphi according to Herodotus, the oracle said $o\dot{v}\kappa$ $\epsilon \phi \eta \gamma \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$, "She refused to give an oracle," meaning that she refused to speak to his emissaries. To Croesus, the next ruler of the Lydians, "she didn't answer," οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο. To the Sybarites, who came to the shrine after their sacrificial altars became ominously bloody, the oracle said the same thing, but in words closer to Herodotus, οὖ σε θ εμιστεύσω, "I shall not prophesy to you." To the Messenians, who came seeking advice about dealing with Sparta, the oracle repeated herself, words Isocrates rendered as οὐδὲν ἀνεῖλεν, "She offered them nothing." The Athenians reported in Pausanias met with much with the same reply as this one, and exactly the same reply as Alyattes: $\vec{ov\kappa} \dots \vec{\epsilon}\phi\eta\sigma\epsilon \chi\rho\dot{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$, "she refused to give an oracle." Plutarch changed this phrasing in order to express indignation at Calondas, and Xenophon changed it so that Croesus could ask his question before being dismissed, and Isocrates changed it to achieve variatio. Three sources—one moralistic, one apologetic, and one showy—but one formula, found in a fourth, Pausanias, and also in Aelian, the source for the Sybarites.

As for the two legendary consultants, they meet with similar rejections. Aelian says that the oracle wouldn't let the Locrians into the shrine, the response in Plutarch, but before the fact. Pausanias says that when Heracles approached the Pythia, she said où $\kappa \, \hat{\epsilon} \, \theta \epsilon \lambda \hat{\eta} \, \sigma \alpha i \, \text{oi} \, \chi \rho \hat{a} \nu$, "she didn't wish to speak to him," the routine response. The genuineness of a rejection did not affect the consensus that Delphi sometimes said no, and occasionally used force. Nor did political factors. The kings of Lydia were not easy to reject. In the case of the Messenians, Delphi rejected a community. In the case of the Athenians, Delphi rejected not only an official delegation, but added that it would reject all citizens of the city.

Didyma rejected sacrificers, too, and no doubt other oracular shrines did.¹⁴ Like divine desertion, this method of rejection was widespread and well known.

^{13.} Hdt. 1.19.2 (Alyattes), Isoc. 6.31 (Messenian emissaries), X. Cyr. 7.2.18–20 (Croesus), Plu. Ser. num. 560e with Heracl. Pont. fr. 8 ed. Wherli (Calondas), Paus. 5.21.5 (Athenians), Ael. VH 3.43 (Sybarites), fr. 50 ed. Domingo-Forasté. (Locrians), Apollod. 2.6.2 (Heracles). Roman period: Sopater p. 740 (Nero), Malalas Chron. 231 (Augustus), Ath. 3.98b (anonymous).

^{14.} Heracl. Pont. fr. 50 ed. Wehrli (1969).

Unlike desertion, this method was institutional. Rejection might come from a god's agents as well as from a god. It might come from priests, that group given little standing by Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne. Or it might come from lesser authorities who go unmentioned in these writers, such as the phratry ("brother-hood") members who decided on the admission of an Athenian youth. Since phratry membership gave proof that a man was an Athenian citizen, these groups bore a responsibility they took seriously enough to reject some applicants. Then they might prevent an applicant from performing a sacrifice, the *koureion*, that accompanied admission. The prevention of the sacrifice—a kind of rejection in advance, as at Delphi—might even occur at the last moment, when the phratry members would remove the sacrificial victim from the altar. That way the god of the altar, Zeus Phratrios, would not take offense.

Since the phratry brothers could also reject an applicant by way of a hearing, preventing him from sacrificing must have been an uncommon expedient. Such a rejection could prove notorious, as in a case involving neither priests nor phratry brothers but magistrates. When Agesilaus went to Aulis to sacrifice on behalf of the expedition he would soon lead to Asia Minor, he set about this ritual without expecting to be prevented. Yet he was. No doubt reacting to news given to them by the authorities in Aulis, Theban magistrates hastened to the scene and prevented him from making his sacrifice. They said that as the leader of a foreign army, he had no business sacrificing there. This response differed from saying that a consultant or a youth was unworthy, but it led to the same result—rejection in advance.

Sometimes a god would utter an epiphanic no. Asclepius resorts to this method, but while channeling his appearance through a dream. When a worshipper of his who has come to Pergamum and performed the preliminary sacrifice proves to have committed incest, the god appears to the priest of the shrine. "Remove him," the god says in a dream, and the priest doubtless does.¹⁷ Like prevention, this method inverts the response of abandoning a shrine. In that case, the god leaves. In these cases, the worshipper leaves on the god's say-so. Both methods involved human agents, whereas the rare method of using an image did not. Even though the evidence does not prove it, the nocturnal epiphany must have been as common as any official act.

^{15.} Phratry membership: McDowell (1978) 70. Removal of a victim: Is. 6.22. IG ii² 1238.27–33 and 118–119, referring to a hearing, are difficult to reconcile with the passage in Isaeus unless $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\tau\omega$ 1 at 118 means "next," as with Dittenberger ad loc., or "previous," as suggested by Kent Rigsby to the author.

^{16.} X. HG 3.5.5; Plu. Ages. 6.6; Paus. 3.9.4.

^{17.} Philostr. VA 1.10.

A god might also content himself with a tacit refusal. At the start of the *Odyssey*, when Athena reproaches Zeus for neglecting her favorite, Odysseus, she accuses him of this kind of rejection. In book 9, Zeus rejects Odysseus this way again, when "paying no heed." Apollo does the same when he ignores the Greek purification sacrifice in *Iliad* 1. Such language appears in other genres, too, and in later periods. In Menander, a celebrant who is presumably a pimp complains, "I used to sacrifice to gods that would not pay me any attention." In fiction, the god may be guilty of deceit. Or the god or hero may speak figuratively: the dead hero Achilles, angry at the Trojans, will not "give them a truce." If this is heroic periphrasis, rejection is subject to bureaucratic periphrasis, too. An inscription from Hellenistic Cos says:

If any woman makes a sacrifice in the company of any of the assistant priestesses, let half (be given) to the priestess. If the woman does not relinquish this perquisite to the priestess as provided by law, let her sacrifice go for naught.²²

Although the last phrase is unparalleled, this inscription points to a common situation: violation of municipal or other sacrificial regulations in circumstances in which the polis or other body would not punish the peccant worshipper but would choose to believe that her or his sacrifices would be rejected. By the same token, rejection was subject to literary modulation. Uncured sickness is a sign of tacit rejection in one novelist, Xenophon of Ephesus; unrequited love in another, Chariton.²³ Political setbacks appear in historiography.²⁴ In records of cures, such as those kept at Epidaurus, the sign of tacit rejection was that Asclepius failed to appear to worshippers during their incubation.²⁵ Seldom reported, this form of rejection must have been common—far more common than epiphanic rejection at the hands of this god.

^{18.} *Il.* 1.315-317, discussed in chapter 3.

^{19.} See immediately below, where the context is discussed.

^{20.} $\epsilon \nu \eta \delta \rho \epsilon \nu \sigma \alpha \varsigma$, Charito 3.8.3–4.

^{21.} Philostr. VA 4.16: σπονδας ... ας ϵγω οὐ δώσω.

^{23.} X. Eph. 1.5.6–8, 1.10.5; Charito 6.2.4, where the citation of *Il.* 1.317, another unsuccessful offering, also implies rejection.

^{24.} Hdt. 1.50; Plb. 29.18.1, an alleged sacrifice that the author says would be rejected.

^{25.} IG iv² 1.122 no. 25, Pl. Cur. 260-269.

To say no without the trouble of a departure, a rebuff, or a refusal, the god might seize on the animal victim. Sometimes, he spoiled the smoke or the *splanchna*. As Tacitus says, rain would serve this purpose. So would birds that swooped down on the sacrificial meat. While explaining why this never happened at Olympia, Pausanias confirms belief in this kind of omen:

Kites never trouble those sacrificing at Olympia. (If a kite snatches the entrails or some meat, this is customarily an improper sign for the worshipper.)²⁶

Several sources agree with Pausanias about the behavior of this species of bird in Olympia and perhaps elsewhere in Elis.²⁷ Yet this sort of sign happened often enough for Dodona to tell consultants making a journey to stop when birds of prey attacked the divine portion of a sacrifice.²⁸

Rather than wait for a bird to snatch the innards, the god might even disturb them himself. If the worshipper inspected the entrails, the early practice, they proved to be rough or discolored.²⁹ If he or a *mantis* checked the liver, the late practice, the lobes would prove abnormal, or worse, missing, as happens in tragedy, but as also happened to Agesilaus when he performed hepatoscopy and then decided to abandon his advance on Dascyleum in 396 BCE.³⁰ As shown by two examples in Herodotus, not to mention others in Xenophon, rejection by way of the entrails could encompass numerous acts of sacrifice, not just single acts. After the Spartans committed the sacrilege of killing Persian heralds, a curse laid on them prevented their sacrifices from yielding good omens. The same thing happened to the Aeginetans who committed sacrilege in Demeter's shrine: a divine curse afflicted their rituals, and so they proved unable to allay the curse through sacrifices.³¹

^{26.} Rain: Tac. Hist. 2.3 Paus. 5.14.1: οἱ γὰρ ἰκτῖνες . . . ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς θύοντας ˙ ἢν δὲ ἀρπάση ποτὲ ἰκτῖνος ἤτοι σπλάγχνα ἢ τῶν κρεῶν, νενόμισται τῷ θύοντι οὐκ αἴσιον εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον.

^{27.} Offerings to Zeus: Ael. NA 2.47. Elis: [Arist.] Mir. 842a-b, Pl. NH 10.28. General statement: Theopomp. FGrH 115 F 76 on Panhellenic festivals.

^{28.} Steph. Byz. s.v. $\Gamma a\lambda \epsilon \hat{\omega} \tau a\iota$, ed. Billerbeck (2006), where Dodona tells consultants to make a journey and stop when birds of prey attack the *mēria* offered in sacrifice.

^{29.} I.e., ou kallierein, as at Men. fr. 224.8 K-A.

^{30.} E. El. 827-828; X. HG 4.8.7. Other irregularities in the hiera: Plu. Sol. 12.6.

^{31.} Hdt. 7.133-134, 6.91.

Vegetal sacrifices might meet with ill omens, too, but not, of course, omens in which birds snatched the offerings. Instead the ill omen accompanying, say, a libation, would need to occur somewhere in the vicinity of the act of pouring the liquid, or at about the same time. Thucydides reports a well-known example not viewed in this light. When the great Athenian fleet was about to sail to Syracuse, the sailors, soldiers, and attending citizens participated in libations and prayers.³² Their request was for military success and a safe return. The gods would give no such boon, but the libations and prayers took place without incident. The ill omen was the violation of the Herms at about the same time. As Thucydides says, this act struck the Athenians as unpropitious, even as a sort of "a bird of ill omen," the very event Pausanias ruled out at Olympia.³³

So far, the god has allowed the sacrifice to occur and chosen his or her method of reply. Yet the god could also violate this protocol and interrupt a sacrifice—a rare and severe response. In Sophocles's Antigone, this omen befalls Tiresias, who sacrifices on behalf of Creon. As the gods object to Creon's rule, Hephaestus, as Tiresias puts it, did not let the fire be lit, and some unnamed god caused the sacrificial flesh to fall apart.³⁴ In Plutarch, Themistocles is performing an animal sacrifice when ominous flames leap up from the fire and signal that the proffered animals are unacceptable.³⁵ In the novel of Achilles Tatius, Zeus swoops down via an eagle and snatches the sacrificial victim from the altar.³⁶ If these responses are frightful, so are several others in which the god does not meddle with the events at the altar. One such response is the god causing an eclipse or the like, either during or after a sacrifice. Herodotus, for example, reports an eclipse in response to a sacrifice by the Spartan king Cleombrotus, who is seeking to know whether to advance from the Isthmus during the Persian Wars.³⁷ Or the god may inflict some disease more serious than lovesickness—yet easy to contrast with it, for the disease attacked the sexual organs. The source for

^{32.} Th. 6.32.1.

^{33.} Th. 6.27.3, \vec{o} iωνός. Nothing to this effect in the commentaries of Hornblower (1991) ad loc., although Hornblower notices that Hermes was the god of travel, or of Gomme et al. [1945–81, here, Dover (1965)], or in the articles cited at n. 211 below.

^{34.} S. Ant. 999-1022.

^{35.} Plu. Them. 13.

^{36.} Ach. Tat. 2.12.2.

^{37.} Herodotus: 9.10.3. Threatened disappearance of the sun in Homer: *Od.* 12.357–358. A complex case in Homer: *Od.* 20.356–357, discussed below. A different view, holding that Herodotus thought the eclipse an excuse for a retreat: Meyer (1953–58) 4.1.373; so also How and Wells (1936) ad 9.10.3.

this flagrant response is again Herodotus. This time the offending monarch is a foreigner, Alyattes.³⁸ In the record of cures at Epidaurus, Asclepius operates in another register. He plagued a rejected worshipper with flies that made it impossible for him to practice his trade.³⁹

At worst, a god interrupted a sacrifice by inflicting a catastrophe. When the people of Helice decided not to let the Ionians sacrifice at their shrine of Poseidon, they went so far as to seize Ionian *theōroi* attending a sacrifice there. They then supposed that after offending the god they could go on using his shrine—among other things, go on sacrificing. Poseidon sent an earthquake that destroyed the shrine and the town of Helice along with it.⁴⁰ This rarest of rejections bears the signature of the god, the same as Asclepius sending flies. Other gods used the common method of responding to impure worshippers by cursing them.⁴¹

It made no difference whether the animal sacrifice included a meal. A meal likely accompanied the rejections suffered by Odysseus in *Odyssey* 1 and 9, and it accompanied the partial rejection suffered by Agamemnon in *Iliad* 2. To judge from a comic poet's remark about "feeding the Delphians," rejection there accompanied a meal for the locals (although not, presumably, for the worshipper). The same ought to have been true at shrines of Asclepius. In contrast, a meal did not accompany the rejection inflicted by Apollo at the Trojan seashore. As Xenophon implies with his story of Cyrus the Great, a meal did not commonly accompany rejection that took the form of unfavorable divination. Nor would a meal accompany any rejected holocaust. In cases where the source says nothing about any meal and refers only to an act of *thusia*, we cannot be sure, but there must have been meals at some times but not others.

As Thucydides shows, it made no difference if the offering was not an animal. In *Iliad* 6, of course, Athena shook her head when offered incense and a *peplos*. ⁴³ A goddess would not spit fire at her priestess as though the priestess were an interloper, but would still reject her, vow included. If we regard the *peplos* as a dedication, not an offering, Athena's action runs parallel to the gods' rejecting the woven offerings of Aegisthus, and to Apollo's rejecting two

^{38.} Hdt. 1.19.2.

^{39.} IG iv² 1.122 no. 22.

^{40.} DS 15.49.

^{41.} Plu. fr. 90.

^{42.} Com. adesp. 460.

^{43.} Il. 6.297-310. Incense and preparation of the peplos: 269-272. Verse 311: chapter 1 above.

dedications at Delphi after the Persian Wars. 44 In Aeschylus's Persians, Queen Atossa met with ominous rejection when an eagle fled to the altar of Phoebus with a hawk in pursuit. 45 Sophocles prefers another twist, interrupting an offering sure to be rejected—Clytemnestra's offering of unspecified thumata in *Electra*. 46 Euripides replies with an example that takes over a thousand lines. In his Orestes, Hermione goes on her sacrificial errand, locks and libations in hand, at line 94. What to pray for comes up at line 115. The errand is under way much later at 1185. Then Helen, who dispatched Hermione in the hope of finding divine protection, finds herself captive instead. Among descriptions of animal sacrifice, only Heliodorus's sacrifice to Neoptolemus at Delphi begins and ends at times so far apart. ⁴⁷ The opposite device was *husteron-proteron*, the name of the eating club that took supper in the morning. Then sacrifice would be over before it began, for it would be rejected in advance, as in Aeschylus's Persians. After Atossa's rejection by way of the eagle, she tries again, with the same hope of neutralizing an evil dream about her son, Xerxes. On the advice of her Persian diviners, or thumomanteis, she pours unspecified libations, choai, and prays to the deceased Darius to help Xerxes. As she prepares, a herald announces Xerxes's defeat. Her dream proves to be prophetic, and so her libations prove superfluous—a rite rejected before it starts.

At the opposite pole gather routine rejections of vegetal offerings in prose sources. Some such rejections were ominous. Loaves tossed into the water at Epidaurus Limera might sink rather than rise, as they did when sacrifice was acceptable, and some offerings tossed into Mount Etna might not catch fire, with the same result.⁴⁸ Other routine rejections were not ominous, but tacit. In comedy, pimps suffer this kind of rejection, Menander's pimp surely among them.⁴⁹ Animal offerings were too expensive for him.

Pimps aside, how did rejection affect the worshipper? Plutarch writes about this topic in the same passage in which he describes the joy felt during acceptable sacrifice. He also happens to remember Menander's pimp:

^{44.} Od. 3.274, rejection being implied by the gods' favoring Orestes in his murder of Aegisthus. Two dedications: Hdt. 8.122 (by the Aeginetans), Paus. 10.14.5–6 (by Themistocles, though Pausanias is unsure of this instance). Aegisthus gave gold, too; yet the same pair of offerings met with acceptance at Plb. 5.86.11, to a ruler; and Heliod. 2.25.2).

^{45.} A. Pers. 204-208.

^{46.} S. El. 637-659.

^{47.} Heliod. 3.1-6.

^{48.} Paus. 3.23.8; so also Zosimus 1.58 about Aphaka in Syria. Crater of Etna: Paus. 3.23.9.

^{49.} Comedy: Pl. Cur. 200-209, Men. fr. 759, 683.1-6 K-A.

Taking away a flute and a crown from some festivals is one thing, but if the god is not present and does not receive our sacrifices, what remains is profane, glum, and dispirited. . . . When sacrificing [the worshipper] stands beside the priest doing the killing as if beside a butcher. Afterward, he goes away saying, as Menander puts it, "I sacrificed and the gods paid me no heed."⁵⁰

In part, Plutarch is making the same point he made about acceptance. The god's presence determines the character of the human gathering. Plutarch also addresses the two modern themes for sacrifice, killing and eating. The meaning of the death of the animal depends on the god, not on the killer; as Plutarch says, the god determines whether or not the priest resembles a butcher. The god also determines whether the meal is festive. The worshippers do not.

The god speaks plainly. When he rejects, he quits the shrine. When he accepts, he stays. When he rejects, the statue spits fire or turns away. Otherwise, it holds fast. When he rejects, he distorts the entrails; when he accepts, he leaves them be. He lets the sacrificial fire go out, or be put out; otherwise, he lets the fire leap up. He saddens worshippers; otherwise, he gladdens them. His message is generically determined: omens mostly in Homer and tragedy, abnormal entrails in history, biography, and autobiography, no admission at Delphi, no vision in the sanitarium. That, too, makes the message easy to understand. So does the god's habit of punishing worshippers in other ways, such as illness, death, or loss of property.⁵¹

Whatever the method or source, the essentials of rejection do not vary. A god or gods, for there are sometimes more than one (and sometimes Zeus decides for others), addresses an individual or a group, usually an individual, and reveals his response, rather than let the worshipper report it.⁵² Worshippers could even

^{50.} Plu. Non pos. suav. 1102c-d: αὐλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐνίων ἑορτῶν καὶ στέφανον ἀφαιροῦμεν, θεοῦ δὲ θυσία μὴ παρόντος πρὸς ἱερῶν ἀποδοχὴν ἄθεόν ἐστι καὶ ἀνεόρταστον καὶ ἀνενθουσίαστον τὸ λειπόμενον . . . καὶ θύων μὲν ὡς μαγείρῳ παρέστηκε τῷ ἱερεῖ σφάττοντι, θύσας δ' ἄπεισι λέγων τὸ Μενάνδρειον, "ἔθυον οὐ προσέχουσιν οὐδέν μοι θεοῖς'.

^{51.} As reported in the "confessional" inscriptions most recently published in BWK; for the extensive bibliography, see Chaniotis (2004b) 4 n. 10.

^{52.} Gods: *Il.* 8.548–552, *Od.* 3.143–147, 3.159–161, 12.356–365, 12.387–388. Groups of worshippers: *Il.* 6.297–311, 8.548–552, *Od.* 3.143–147, 3.159–161 (Zeus deciding), 12.356–365, 12.387–388. E. *Alc.* 119–120, Isoc. 6.31, Heracl. Pont. fr. 50 ed. Wehrli (1969), Paus. 5.21.5, Ael. fr. 47 ed. Domingo-Foroasté (1994), Philostr. *VA* 4.16. Reports: E. *Alc.* 119–120, Paus. 5.21.5, Philostr. *VA* 4.16.

anticipate the god's response, as in Homer, Thucydides, and Euripides.⁵³ Nor is the report often in doubt. In Homer, just one rejection is complicated by the god accepting the sacrifice but rejecting the request temporarily—Agamemnon's request for victory in *Iliad* 2.⁵⁴ One other is uncertain—the sacrifice that Odysseus, in one of his lying tales, says that the brother of Idomeneus made when some Achaeans visited him on the way home from Troy. These visitors, if not the brother, likely prayed for favorable winds, but Zeus sent them unfavorable winds for eleven days.⁵⁵ Their likely request seems to have met with temporary rejection, like Agamemnon's. Other sources do not report such complications—not even Herodotus.

Worshippers did not pause to ask, as a medieval or modern worshipper might, whether the god spoke directly, through a miracle, or indirectly, through a prophet, or indirectly and institutionally, through a priest. Rather than classify the voices that might say no, they heard and acknowledged them.

Reasons for Mild Rejection

Why do gods reject sacrifices? Since Greek religion is polytheistic, the answer might depend on the identity of the god. Or it might depend on the identity of the worshippers, for example, on the family or community to which they belonged. Or it might depend on the type of offering, or on the request.⁵⁶

Does rejection depend on the identity of the god who rejects? No. Zeus, Hera, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite reject.⁵⁷ So do the heroes Achilles and Asclepius and the titans Helios and Leto.⁵⁸ Does it depend on the god's locale? No. The scene may be Aphrodite's supposed temple at Babylon or her

^{53.} Homer: *Il.* 10.46, where Hector's sacrifices are preferred to those of the Greeks; *Od.* 13.184–187, for which see n. 146 below. Th.: 5.11.2, saying that Hagnon, aside from being pro-Athenian, unlike the worshippers, would be jealous of Brasidas, a new hero, and would respond unfavorably. So also E. *Alc.* 119–122, where the worshippers cannot think of an altar that they might approach.

^{54.} *Il.* 2.419–421, leading Aristarchus to object in comments preserved by Didymus. Kirk ad loc. observes that the case is unique, though not that the rejection is temporary.

^{55.} Od. 19.196-202.

^{56.} Comments on such conventions: Smith (1990) 25–34, on Christian comparanda; Bloch (1992) ch. 3.

^{57.} Zeus: *Od.* 9.551–555. Hera: Ach. Tat. 2.12.2. Athena: Aeschin. 3.121. Apollo: as at note 13 here. Artemis: X. Eph. 1.10.5, Aeschin. 3.121. Aphrodite: Charito 3.8.4, 6.2.4, Pl. *Poen.* 846–847.

^{58.} Achilles: Philostr. *VA* 4.16. Asclepius: as at notes 17, 25 here. Helios: *Od.* 12.356–365, 12.387–388. Leto: Aeschin. 3.121.

attested one at Calydon, Asclepius's famous one at Epidaurus or his likewise famous one at Pergamum.⁵⁹ In the same spirit, tragedy's Lycian Apollo rejects the sacrifices of Jocasta and Clytemnestra and grants the prayer of Electra.⁶⁰ Greek polytheism does not impede rejection. No Greek god interferes with another god who is rejecting a celebrant. In the *Odyssey*, Zeus cooperates with a Titan who rejects.⁶¹

Does rejection depend on the identity of the party rejected? For example, does it affect individuals but not groups? No. A named individual presents an offering in numerous instances. The first is Odysseus, who meets with rejection when he sacrifices to Zeus in *Odyssey 9*, and the last is Nero, who meets with rejection when he comes to Delphi and then fails to obtain an interview with the oracle. But in two cases, a community has sent delegates to Delphi, only to meet with the same response given Nero. Aeschines speaks of rejectible sacrifices by the people of Athens; naming four gods, he might have named many more. Nor does rejection depend on political position. It befalls a Roman emperor, Greek, Lydian, and Persian kings, Greek legates, seamen and soldiers. Nor does it depend on status. On one side is the murderous Heracles; on the other, the murderous Calondas. The hero and the villain receive the same treatment.

Does it depend on the animal? No. Cows, a ram, goats, sheep, and lambs are all offered and rejected; sheep would have been, too, had Trygaeus not removed his victims from the sight of the goddess of Peace.⁶⁷ This sort of rejection does not result from the gods' preferring other offerings, a view held by scholars for several centuries. For these scholars, the gods preferred human offerings, and rejected—or

^{59.} Aphrodite; Charito 3.8.3–4, 6.8.4, Pl. *Poen.* 846–847. Asclepius: Pl. *Cur.* 260–269, Philostr. *VA* 1.10.

^{60.} Jocasta denied: S. OT 911-923. Electra's prayer granted: S. El. 1376-1383.

^{61.} Od. 12.356–365, 12.387–388. For cooperation between the shrines of Olympian Zeus and Delphic Apollo at Paus. 5.21.5, see below.

^{62.} Od. 9.551-555, Sopater p. 740.

^{63.} Isoc. 6.31, Ael. fr. 47 ed. Domingo-Forasté (1994).

^{64.} Aeschin. 3.121.

^{65.} Emperor: Sopater p. 740. Kings by nation, omitting Homer: Hdt. 9.10.3; Hdt. 1.50 with X. *Cyr.* 7.2.18–20; Charito 6.2.4. Legates: Isoc. 6.31, Ael. fr. 47 ed. Domingo-Forasté (1994). Sailors: *Od.* 12.356–365, 12.387–388. Soldier: Plu. *Ser. num.* 560e with D. Chr. 33.12.

^{66.} Paus. 10.13.4, Plu. Ser. num. 560e with Heracl. Pont. fr. 8 ed. Wehrli (1969²).

^{67.} Promised cows: *Il.* 6.308–309. Ram: *Od.* 9.551–555. Goats as Delphi: Plu. *Defec. orac.* 437b. Sheep: Ar. *Pax* 1017–1018. Lambs: Pl. *Poen.* 449–456. Sheep: Ar. *Pax* 1017–1018. If Demeter's interference with Aeginetan sacrifice includes her own cults, pigs are, too.

originally rejected—animal offerings as inferior. See Yet human offerings meet with both acceptance and rejection, even in early sources. Lycaon's human offering, made in a primitive setting, met with rejection. In spite of Homer's reservations, Achilles's offering of Trojan prisoners met with tacit acceptance. Sometimes a god prefers an animal. In *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Agamemnon attempts to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis, this human victim disappears, and a slaughtered deer replaces her. The attending seer, Calchas, takes pains to say that that the animal has pleased the goddess and that she has accepted the sacrifice. At other times, the god prefers a human being. In Plutarch's life of Themistocles, the protagonist is about to make an animal sacrifice, observes a bad omen, and switches to a human sacrifice.

Does it depend on whether the man, beast, or other offering is entirely burnt, as in a holocaust, or partly burnt, as in *thusia*? No. Croesus offered a holocaust of valuables to Apollo, asking for victory, but he got defeat. When arguing that sacrifice may be displeasing to the gods, Lucian mentions the same kind of sacrifice, a holocaust, and so he implies that it may be displeasing, like the rest.⁷³ Yet holocausts can also succeed, even succeed routinely.⁷⁴ Reserving holocausts for a crisis makes no difference. Croesus faced a crisis—war with Cyrus the Great. In contrast, Odysseus used *thusia* in a crisis, when he sought to appease Poseidon.⁷⁵ *Thusia* could succeed where the other ritual failed.⁷⁶

Does it depend on the nature of the request? No. Two or more Greek celebrants ask for safe voyages, help in war, guidance from Apollo, and cures from Asclepius; they also seek to appease an angry goddess and an angry Titan.⁷⁷ Individual

^{68.} Hughes (1991) 90–91 with refs. A similar view: Ziehen (1939) 588, holding that the human victim was more acceptable, but reserved for emergencies.

^{69.} Paus. 8.2.3-4, where another celebrant gains acceptance with the cake.

^{70.} *Il*. 23.174-176.

^{71.} E. IA 1587–1595. A treatment of representative Greek evidence: Henrichs (1992).

^{72.} Plu. Them. 13.

^{73.} Hdt. 1.50, Luc. Sacr. 12-13.

^{74.} Paus. 9.3.5.

^{75.} Od. 11.130, success being shown by the term kala.

^{76.} A different view: Ekroth (2008a) 90-91, calling holocausts "high-intensity" and *thusia* "low-intensity." Cf. the distinction between piacular, inedible offerings and eucharistic, edible offerings in Stengel (1886).

^{77.} Voyages: X. Eph. 1.10.5, *Od.* 3.145–146, and presumably *Od.* 9.551–555. War: *Il.* 2.408–433, and presumably 8.548–552, Hdt. 6.81–82. Apollo: as at note 16 here with S. *Ant.* 999–1022. Asclepius: IG iv² 1.122 no. 25, Pl. *Cur.* 260–269, Philostr. *VA* 1.10. Appeasement: *Od.* 3.143–147, *Od.* 12.356–365.

celebrants seek a cure or prolonged life from other gods; appeasement from a hero; blessing for a marriage, the preservation of a marriage, romantic success. One celebrant, Odysseus, gave thanks—in other words, asked that the god acknowledge his thanks, the easiest request for a god to grant—but Athena says that he got no *charis* from Zeus.

When Odysseus sacrificed beside the ships of the Argives, at wide Troy, he offered you *charis*, didn't he? Why were you so angry with him?⁷⁹

As noted in chapter 1, this disappointment took its place among others in the *Odyssey*. It also represents many other instances in which worshippers offered *charis*, but got none in return.

Even the most pressing request, for the community's survival, meets with rejection. Armies make this request before or during battle. Frontier sacrifices fail in Herodotus, who mentions the complication of an eclipse, and in Thucydides, who does not mention any complication. Beginning with the Trojans of *Iliad* 8, sacrifices by the invaded fail. River-crossings bring more trouble—one general blamed the river. Prebattle sacrifices fail five times in Xenophon alone. Herodotus comes the famous failure, at Plataea, where the Persians have come close enough to the Spartans to shoot many of them, yet the Spartans must wait for the omens to change. Their leader, King Pausanias, keeps busy with the sacrifice, which occurs amid the army, a location making him the easiest of targets. Yet the omens do not change. Pausanias then makes a change in the ceremony he is performing. Rather than kill and look for favorable signs—surely not for a smooth liver, but some cursory sign—he turns to a nearby temple of Hera and prays, not for a blessing, but for his men to preserve some "hope of victory." He is

^{78.} Cure or life: X. Eph. 1.5.6–8, E. *Alc.* 119–120. Hero: Philostr. *VA* 4.16. Marriage etc.: Ach. Tat. 2.12.2, Charito 3.8.3–4, 6.2.4.

^{79.} Od. 1.60–62: οὖ νύ τ' 'Οδυσσεὺς / 'Αργείων παρὰ νηυσὶ χαρίζετο ἱερὰ ῥέζων / Τροίη ἐν εὐρείη; τί νύ οἱ τόσον ὧδύσαο.

^{80.} Hdt. 9.10.3, Th. 5.54.2, 5.55.3, 5.116.1. In Herodotus, the frontier is that of the Peloponnesian league.

^{81.} Trojans *Il.* 8.548–552, rejected by Kirk ad loc. on the grounds that all the gods are meant by these lines, not just those hostile to Troy; but cf. [Pl.] *Alc.* 2.149d. A historical example: Paus. 9.13.6, an act of *enagismos* by Epaminondas in response to the Spartan invasion, yet here again the presence of the Spartans says more about their military reputation than about the diffusion of the practice, which must have been general.

^{82.} A. Sept. 366, ou gignesthai kala. Hdt. 6.76, ou kallierein. The general: Hdt. 6.76.

^{83.} X. An. 2.2.3, 4.3.9, 7.8.23, HG 6.5.49, 3.4.15, 4.2.18.

reducing his request to a fighting chance. Hera now sends the sign that Artemis, presumably, would not send before.⁸⁴ Only one kind of military sacrifice was very likely to succeed—the act of *sphagia* occurring immediately before contact with the enemy.⁸⁵ In Herodotus, even this kind failed.⁸⁶

Rejection depended not on these factors—communities, or animals, or needs—but on the god's dissatisfaction. Expecting *hiera kala*, the god might find himself given *hiera ou kala*. These were rejectible, just as the others were acceptable. The criterion could be aesthetic, meaning that the sacrifice was unattractive, either because of the victim or other offering or because of the particulars of the ceremony. It could be moral, meaning that the sacrifice was repugnant, either because of the nature of the request or the character of the worshipper. Or it could be systemic, meaning not that the sacrifice was unorthodox but that it was ungodly, and violated some divine dispensation. Or it could be several of these at once.

To meet esthetic criteria, worshippers had to begin with clean hands, proper dress, and a satisfactory offering. A god would also expect further efforts on the worshipper's part—fresh garlands and handsome clothes, courtly speech, and good music. For the most part, these features were not indispensable, but their absence boded ill. A sacrifice without these features might be unsatisfactory for other reasons, too, and so would meet with rejection. It would fail as a whole.⁸⁷

The god's wish for clean hands emerges from the scholion to Aeschylus saying that those who will make acceptable sacrifices have clean hands, and from the abundance of *perirrhantēria*. Also applicable are passages that do not mention clean hands but do mention pollution and prescribe washing or sprinkling as a preparation for sacrifice or for other ceremonies in a shrine.⁸⁸ None of these passages warns that a god would reject a sacrifice by a polluted person, but rejection would surely be the upshot. Confronted with pollution, the god would turn

^{84.} Hdt. 9.61.2–62.I. Herodotus may have conflated the prebattle sacrifice to Artemis with other military sacrifices in which hepatoscopy occurs.

^{85.} Such sacrifices by Spartans: X. Lac. 13.8. By Athenians: Plu. Phoc. 13.1 (and perhaps Thes. 27.1 with $\tau\hat{\omega}$ $\Phi\delta\beta\omega$ $\sigma\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu$ 05). By Xenophon: X. An. 6.4.26.

^{86.} Herodotus confounds the two kinds of acts, using *sphagia* of acts in which entrails were inspected and rejection was thus possible (9.61). As shown in appendix B, other instances of divination very largely avoid this language. Yet Xenophon treats *sphagia* in the same way, using it of a river-crossing sacrifice (X. *An.* 4.3.18–19), even though elsewhere he uses *thuesthai* for such sacrifices (X. *HG* 44.7.2). Casabona (1966) 184 regarded *diabatēria* as commonly being acts of *sphagia*. Cf. Stengel (1896) 640, proposing *sphagia* before a stream was crossed, or a journey made, and *thusia* afterward.

^{87.} Suid. s.v. ἀκαλλιέρητον: θῦμα ἀκόσμητον.

^{88.} Sprinkling: E. *HF* 928, as in Eitrem (1917–19) 3.1–19. A body of relevant evidence: Wächter (1910).

away, as Artemis does from the dying Hippolytus in the play of Euripides.⁸⁹ The worshipper owed the god a comely appearance, just as a guest owes it to a host.

The clean, often white, clothes required for sacrifice should not be showy. When Alexander wanted to sacrifice while wearing purple, that showy and royal color, a philosopher in his entourage ridiculed him. ⁹⁰ The god would be displeased, the philosopher implied. Priests, however, might wear purple. Those closest to the god could dress better than the rest, an exception to the rule that worshippers must dress well but soberly.

Next came the requirement for a handsome creature. If the animal was not *teleios*, the worshipper should not offer it. If it did not meet some test of soundness, whether by bellowing, or eating, or bucking, the same was true. Lucian's passage about bellowing explains:

The farmer presents a plow ox, the shepherd a sheep, the goatherd a goat . . . but long after making sure that it is suitable. They don't wish to slaughter anything worthless. They lead the victim to the altar and kill it as it bellows pitifully and the god watches. . . . The sound is apparently a good sign. Wouldn't anyone agree that a god would like to watch all that? 91

The god plays the part of spectator, just as he has already played the part of host.

The spectator and host watches as worshipper and victim parade to the altar. As Xenophon says, sacrificial processions should be "very pleasing to the gods and the spectators," meaning that the gods and the spectators would have the same standard. Yet he also admits that the divine standard would be higher than a human one, for the gods would expect not just processions but cavalcades. The same held true of garlands. Worshippers were glad to wear them; in Sicily, 5,000 did when accompanying Dion to a riverside sacrifice. Yet the god might demand more than such a display. Plutarch tells of a celebrant who, when receiving bad

^{89.} E. *Hipp*. 1437–1439.

^{90.} White: Radke (1966) 80–87. Sometimes gray: *LSAM* 165–9 (punishment for not wearing white or clean clothes, but not punishment in the form of a rejected sacrifice: *BWK* 43, 55). Alexander: Plu. *Lib. educ.* 11b.

^{91.} Lucianus Sacr. 12.3: βοῦν μὲν ἀροτῆρα ὁ γεωργός, ἄρνα δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ αἶγα ὁ αἰπόλος ... πολύ γε πρότερον ἐξετάσαντες εἰ ἐντελὲς εἴη, ἵνα μηδὲ τῶν ἀχρήστων τι κατασφάττωσιν, προσάγουσι τῷ βωμῷ καὶ φονεύουσιν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ γοερόν τι μυκώμενον.... τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκάσειεν ἥδεσθαι ταῦτα ὁρῶντας τοὺς θεούς.

^{92.} Χ. Εq. Mag. 3.1–4, esp. 3.2: πομπὰς οἴομαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι.

^{93.} Plu. Dion 27.4-5.

news in the midst of a sacrifice, stopped and removed his garland. This celebrant took the news as a sign that the god disapproved of him. Now the celebrant paused and reflected. He had not prayed to be spared this bad news, he realizes, and so his prayers have not gone unanswered. With that he put his garland back on. God wants propriety, not just attractiveness. Aeschines tells a similar story, but about a worshipper without propriety, Demosthenes. After the assassination of Philip of Macedon, Demosthenes wore an unseemly chaplet and gave sacrificial thanks, behavior sure to anger the gods, or, as Aeschines says, to tempt fortune.⁹⁴

The spectator and host also wanted *euphēmia*, that quality expressed through both silence and well-chosen words. It was not a matter of expressing sociability, as the view of Vernant and Detienne would imply, or of repressing violence, as the view of Burkert would imply, but of preserving decorum, as shown in Sophocles's *Philoctetes*. At Troy, Odysseus explains, the Achaeans found their sacrifices "hindered":

If we put our hands to pouring a libation or making an offering, we were hindered. With his shouting and wailing Philoctetes always kept the whole camp in savage disorder.⁹⁵

Odysseus says that Philoctetes suffers from a diseased foot. When it flares up, the pain drives him to these outbursts. This excuse, however, makes no difference. An individual's lack of *euphēmia* hindered the sacrifices of the entire Achaean expedition, and so the Achaeans expelled him from their midst.

Although Odysseus does not say so, Philoctetes's offense was not irremediable. An oracle would later inform the Achaeans that Philoctetes would prove indispensable to their war effort. The obstacle was not the man, but his demeanor during libations and sacrifices. This demeanor was ominous, just as offerings that are *ou kala* are ominous. The same thought inspires Plato's question in the *Laws*:

Suppose an act of *thusia* had occurred and offerings had been burned according to law, and suppose, let's say, that someone or other comes and stands beside the altar and the offerings, a man's son or brother, and suppose

^{94.} Plu. *Consol. Apoll.* 119a; Dem. 22.2–3. Aeschines was retaliating against Demosthenes's charge that Aeschines prayed against Athens (Dem. 19.128), as at Martin (2008) 58–61.

^{95.} S. Ph. 8–11: ὅτ' οὕτε λοιβῆς ἡμὶν οὕτε θυμάτων / παρῆν ἑκήλοις προσθιγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγρίαις / κατεῖχ' ἀεὶ πᾶν στρατόπεδον δυσφημίαις, / βοῶν, στενάζων.

Another view of this episode: Detienne (1994) 24-25, 90-98, on the theme of odors offensive to the gods.

he utters every blasphemy. We'd say that with his talk he'd have brought despair and foreboding and doom on the man and the family.⁹⁶

In this passage, the foreboding and doom refer to the prospect that the offerings and also the worshippers will be rejected. The offender's talk works like a curse. The same holds true in the *Alcibiades II*, the source for the lines about divine displeasure in *Iliad* 8. *Dusphēmia* keeps gods from accepting even costly sacrifices.⁹⁷

Other sources manifest a concern for *dusphēmia* but without mentioning rejection. In Aeschylus, Eteocles complains that the women of Thebes are worshipping (although he does not say, sacrificing) in a disorderly fashion:

Is this what is safe or best for the community, and for the army that fights boldly at the walls—women falling before the gods that possess the community, shouting and bawling, conduct that is hateful to decent people?⁹⁸

If they do not behave better, he will see them stoned to death—a punishment implying that they threaten the community's survival. Women are the problem, Plato agrees:

Here is a fault found in all women, and in the sick, the desperate, and the hapless, either when they are at a loss or when they have some good luck. They sanctify the occasion—they pray by means of sacrifices, and they promise to establish cults to gods, spirits, and heroes. . . . They fill every house and village with altars and shrines in likely spots. 99

^{96.} Pl. Lg. 7.800b–c: θυσίας γενομένης καὶ ἱερῶν καυθέντων κατὰ νόμον, εἴ τῷ τις, φαμέν, ἰδίᾳ παραστὰς τοῖς βωμοῖς τε καὶ ἱεροῖς, ὑὸς ἢ καὶ ἀδελφός, βλασφημοῖ πᾶσαν βλασφημίαν, ἄρ' οὐκ, αν φαῖμεν, ἀθυμίαν καὶ κακὴν ὅτταν καὶ μαντείαν πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αν οἰκείοις φθέγγοιτο ἐντιθείς; Another view of this passage and of others in [Pl.] Alc:: Mikalson (2010) 60 with no consideration of Sophocles.

^{97. [}Pl.] Alc. 2.149c, 150a.

^{98.} A. Sept. 183–186: ἢ ταῦτ' ἀρωγὰ καὶ πόλει σωτήρια, / στρατῷ τε θάρσος τῷδε πυργηρουμένῳ, / βρέτη πεσούσας πρὸς πολισσούχων θεῶν / αὖειν, λακάζειν, σωφρόνων μισήματα.

^{99.} Pl. Lg. 10.909e: ἔθος τε γυναιξί τε δὴ διαφερόντως πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσι πάντη καὶ κινδυνεύουσι καὶ ἀποροῦσιν, ὅπη τις ἂν ἀπορῆ, καὶ τοῦναντίον ὅταν εὐπορίας τινὸς λάβωνται, καθιεροῦν τε τὸ παρὸν ἀεὶ καὶ θυσίας εὕχεσθαι καὶ ἱδρύσεις ὑπισχνεῖσθαι θεοῖς καὶ δαίμοσιν καὶ παισὶν θεῶν. . . . βωμοὺς καὶ ἱερὰ πάσας μὲν οἰκίας, πάσας δὲ κώμας ἔν τε καθαροῖς ἱδρυομένους ἐμπιμπλάναι. So also Men. Dysc. 261–262 with daily sacrifices throughout a deme. More worries: Ath. 8.364a, where raucous worshippers only "pretend" to sacrifice, προσποιούμενοι.

Women and sick men are multiplying places of sacrifice. Although Plato does not pause to say so, this kind of religious devotion does not meet the standard the gods set for *euphēmia*—that of calm and propriety.¹⁰⁰ The remedy is limiting sacrifice to public shrines where males and priests do the praying. This remedy did not lack for precedents: Solon and others discouraged women's disorderliness at funerals through legislation.¹⁰¹ Yet Plato's remedy takes the desire to check disorderliness and applies it to prayers and sacrifices, an innovation that points to his (if not his readers') fear of *dusphēmia*.¹⁰²

Dusphēmia was not mere loudness. At one point in a sacrifice, the killing of the animal, the god welcomed outbursts—the women's ololygai, as in Odyssey 3. Nor did the god welcome outbursts only at this point. In the Iliad, the Trojan women make this cry when presenting a robe to Athena, and in the Odyssey, ololygē occurs at the end of a prayer by Penelope. Women's cries punctuated certain rites. The alalai following a libation did likewise, but the worshippers were men. As the chorus in Aristophanes's Peace says, "Euphēmia, please. No babbling. Raise the ololygē." 105

When Herodotus praises those whom he thinks invented this cry, he notes that they do not cry violently, but "handsomely," *kalōs*.¹⁰⁶ In choosing this word, he implies that the cry met the same esthetic standard as the rest of the sacrifice. In contrast, Burkert thought that the *ololygē* marked an outburst. If the animal's death were the climax of the sacrifice, this outburst was to be expected. If, however, the animal's death was one of several phases, an outburst would be out of place, and a refrain like "Amen" or "Hallelujah" ought to be spoken instead. Bremmer's reassessment of the *ololugē* drew just this conclusion, from which

^{100. [}Pl.] Alc. 2.149c.

^{101.} Plu. Sol. 21 (prohibiting self-laceration and dirges, both associated with women), Dem. 43.62 (prohibiting women under sixty, save for close relatives). At Plu. Nic. 13, women's lamentations at the Adonia are deemed subversive, if not impious. Similar legislation outside Athens: Seaford (1994) 74–76.

^{102.} A doubtful example: Hes. Op. 775–776, $\mu\eta\delta$ ' ἱεροῖσιν ἐπ' αἶθομένοισι κυρήσας / $\mu\omega\mu\epsilon$ ύειν ἀίδηλα, i.e., mē dusphēmein, according to v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff ad loc. Other translations: Robertson (1969).

^{103.} Slaughter: *Od.* 3.450. Prayers *Od.* 7.767; so also E. *TGrF* fr. 351, to add to the examples at Bremmer (2008a) 136–137. Robe: *Il.* 6.301.

^{104.} As at Th. 6.32, although here the prayer as well as the cry is apparently collective. So also X. An. 4.3.19, where the male and female expressions occur after sacrifices prove acceptable. In this instance, the expressions resemble a concluding hymn, here, a paean.

^{105.} Ar. Pax 96-97, and Thes. 295-296, cited in this sense by Pulleyn (1997) 184.

^{106.} Hdt. 4.189.3.

another conclusion follows. Decorousness, not expressiveness, formed part of *hiera kala*.

The concern for decorousness also explains how *dusphēmia* affected animals. Chapter 2 showed that the worshipper wanted a lively animal, but also a decorous one; for example, an animal ought not to struggle too much.¹⁰⁷ The overwrought animal caused *dusphēmia*, the same as the diseased Philoctetes or Plato's demented women. Here as elsewhere—in wearing a garland, and walking in a parade, and going to the altar—the animal resembled the worshipper not because they were interchangeable but because both ought to be *kalos*.

Music had to pass the same test. Otherwise, the god might reject the sacrifice, as in Plutarch. The setting is a feast accompanied by a reputable piper, Ismenias. 108 The sacrifice does not go well:

When Ismenias was playing the flute at a sacrifice, the sacrifice had not yet proved acceptable, and the man who hired him took away the flutes and played himself in a laughable fashion.¹⁰⁹

Now the complication that makes this anecdote worth telling: the laughable amateur's playing accompanies better results. The sacrifice now proves acceptable, perhaps after a new victim is slaughtered, although not necessarily after hepatoscopy. A glance at the entrails for their smoothness and regularity may have sufficed. Plutarch goes on:

When the people there asked what had happened, the man who hired Ismenias said, "Playing in a pleasant way comes from a god." Ismenias smiled and said, "When I play the gods are pleased and take their time, but when you played they were in a hurry to be rid of the business, and so they accepted the sacrifice."

The gods wanted pleasant music: Plutarch knows this cliché. Euphony leads to better entrails and to divine acceptance. Only the minor miracle of divine

^{107.} Chapter 2 nn. 167, 166.

^{108.} Reputable: Plu. *Per.* 1, where Plutarch quotes the orator Antisthenes as saying that so good a flute player could not be good at anything else. As shown by *Q conviv.* 632c-d, quoted immediately below, Plutarch disagrees.

^{109.} Plu. Q. conviv. 632c-d: καὶ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου τῆ θυσία προσαυλοῦντος, ὡς οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει, παρελόμενος τοὺς αὐλοὺς ὁ μισθωτὸς ηὕλησε γελοίως· αἰτιωμένων δὲ τῶν παρόντων, "ἔστιν" ἔφη "τὸ κεχαρισμένως αὐλεῖν θεόθεν·" ὁ δ' Ἰσμηνίας γελάσας "ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὲν αὐλοῦντος ἡδόμενοι διέτριβον οἱ θεοί, σοῦ δ' ἀπαλλαγῆν αι σπεύδοντες ἐδέξαντο τὴν θυσίαν."

forbearance could account for unpleasant music proving adequate. Otherwise, Ismenias is right: the pleasant playing that the gods prefer takes time. Rather than just hear, the divine listener absorbs and enjoys what he hears. The god is a connoisseur, not a liturgist with a checklist. In Aeschylus, the god was a connoisseur and a judge at the same time. The sacrifice of Iphigenia, which was abnormal, as she was a human victim, was *anomos* in two senses of this word, "lawless" and "unmusical." ¹¹⁰

These features of sacrifice might provoke rejection, but not irreversible rejection. Better deportment, better music, or a better animal could all change the outcome. As the Sacred Law of Cyrene says, when speaking of purification, a worshipper who purifies himself, and the shrine, after a sacrifice has failed because of his choice of victim, may pay a penalty and be free to sacrifice again, with hope of success. Without likely knowing of this law, Athenaeus adapted it to private sacrifice. If a man invited company to the rite and "damned his children, upbraided his wife, made his slaves cry, and threatened people," then, this writer reasoned, the worshipper was "pretending to sacrifice." The worshipper ought to behave better and sacrifice in the true sense, with *euphēmia*. Then gods like Zeus, Poseidon, and Athena would accept his offerings, as in days of yore. 112

Whether in law or at the dinner table, this requirement differed from the moral and systemic requirements that inspired often irreversible, not to say catastrophic, rejection. Esthetic errors were venial, not mortal, sins. Now to the mortal sin.

Reasons for Severe Rejection

A sacrifice might prove *ou kalon* by being repugnant. In these instances, *kalon* was a social and moral term, linked to *agathos* and *hagnos*. Sometimes the two kinds of meaning overlapped, as with unclean hands. Sometimes the social and moral meaning stood alone. When Agamemnon and the Achaeans sacrificed purificatory hecatombs in *Iliad* 1, the cattle were not unsightly. The chief celebrant was unacceptable.¹¹³

^{110.} A. Ag. 150. Neither Aeschylus nor Plutarch, nor any other source, mentions divine dissatisfaction with inadequate dancing, but the standard ought to have been the same; cf. Henrichs (1996) discussing the demoralization of dancing worshippers who fear divine anger.

III. LSCG Supp. 115.26-31: Wrong: ou nomizonomenon.

^{112.} Ath. 8.364a, esp. καταρῶνται μὲν τοῖς τέκνοις, λοιδοροῦνται δὲ ταῖς γυναιξί, κλαυθμυρίζουσιν τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἀπειλοῦσι τοῖς πολλοῖς, and οἱ δὲ νῦν προσποιούμενοι θεοῖς θύειν.

^{113.} A similar survey: causes of Greek (and Western Semitic) divine wrath in Considine (1969) 88–96, 102–107, but with sacrifice treated only as a remedy (141–143).

In rejecting what he found repugnant, the god looked to two kinds of precepts, or *agraphoi nomoi*—first, moral and social norms, and second, beliefs about the gods' place in the world. The first corresponded to the worshipper and his request, the second to the god and the god's prerogatives. The god, however, paid as much attention to the first as the second, for the god and his fellow immortals were the authors of both kinds of precepts. ¹¹⁴ Both kinds inspire irreversible rejection, but also reversible rejection, if penance included better behavior and further sacrifice. Both were matters of context, not ceremony.

The *nomoi* relevant to rejection begin with murder. Zeus would not accept the sacrifice of a murderer, not even if the murderer were Demosthenes.¹¹⁵ Clytemnestra assumes as much when she asks Agamemnon what he will pray for as he sacrifices his own daughter—in other words, when he makes a sacrifice sure to be rejected.¹¹⁶ She might have asked the same question of Aegisthus, who meets with rejection in tragedy and in the *Odyssey*.¹¹⁷ Nor will Apollo prophesy to members of a faction that murders their opponent.¹¹⁸ Another such *nomos* prohibits incest: Asclepius will not accept the sacrifices of those guilty of this crime.¹¹⁹ Had Oedipus stayed on the throne of Thebes, his case would have been the same, for Apollo would have rejected any sacrifices he made for the city—partly because of parricide, but partly because of incest. The king had doubly unclean hands.¹²⁰

Second to murder and incest was dishonoring one's parents. As the fragment in Euripides says, the man who dishonored his parents would spoil any sacrifice he attended, and so he would also fail in any sacrifice of his own. Examples of this predicament appear in Greek myths; to name Oedipus suffices. A law attributed to Solon expressed the same attitude as these myths. Someone who failed to care for his grandparents suffered *atimia*, or disenfranchisement. Although the particulars of this punishment changed, it always included exclusion from communal shrines, and thus included a general rejection of the accused by the gods. ¹²¹

^{114.} E.g., the law or allotment of human mortality, as at E. And. 1271–1272. A list of laws: X. Mem. 4.3.19–24 with Naiden (2006a) 78-84.

^{115.} Ulp. ad Dem. 21.115. So also Nic. Dam. FGrH 90 F 6.

^{116.} E. *IA* 8.

^{117.} Od. 3.273-275.

^{118.} Heracl. Pont. fr. 50 ed. Wehrli (1969²).

^{119.} Incest: Philostr. VA 1.10.

^{120.} A different view of the balance between moral and physical qualities, favoring the latter: Chaniotis (1997).

^{121.} Plu. *Sol.* 22. So also Arist. *Pol.* 2.1262a, Pl. *Cr.* 51c'; in warning against overestimating divine interest in punishing human crime, T. Harrison (2007) 375–380 omits *atimia*.

Nomoi of xenia and supplication also motivated rejection. In the Odyssey, those violators of xenia, the suitors, who so far in the poem have never prayed or made offerings, make a prayer and an offering toward the end of book 20. They have gathered in the grove of Apollo to sacrifice a hecatomb, their first trip to a shrine. As before, the singer refuses to say that they perform these rituals, yet he softens enough to acknowledge several elements in an animal sacrifice: the holy place, the procession with the animals, conveyed by the words "they drove the animals"; the handling of the entrails, conveyed, but only tacitly, by the words "they roasted the rest of the meat"; and the apportionment among the worshippers. 122 Most revealing is the news that the suitors have employed a thuoskopos, a seer trained in inspecting entrails. What did Apollo make of this tardily acknowledged sacrifice? Nothing—until the suitors begin to eat, and Theoclymenus, the seer, notices that they are responding to the food as though their sacrifice has been rejected, not accepted:

Wretches, what evil has come over you? Your heads and faces and your knees below are wrapped in darkness, a wail has gone up, your cheeks are wet with tears. The walls and the handsome pillars are smeared with blood.¹²³

Plutarch would recognize this sentiment. The seer continues:

The sun has gone out of the heavens, and an evil mist has overtaken us.

The seer has done his duty, albeit not with entrails. Yet only one suitor realizes what has happened. Shortly afterward, he says that the suitors will punish Odysseus's helper, Eumaeus, but only "if Apollo is favorable to us." Apollo, however, proves favorable to Odysseus. Rather than help the suitors string Odysseus's bow, he helps Odysseus do so.

Rejection on grounds of violated *xenia* does not occur only in the Homeric poems. A myth about Heracles also turns on *xenia*. Heracles finds that the

^{122.} Od. 20.276–83, esp. 279–280; for the entrails, see also 3.65 and 3.470. Cf. 4.620–626, an interrupted act for which the singer supplies no divine markers.

^{123.} Οd. 20.351–354, 356–357: "ἆ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων / εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γοῦνα, / οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί, / αἴματι δ' ἐρράδαται τοῖχοι καλαί τε μεσόδμαι· 356–357: ἦέλιος δὲ οὐρανοῦ ἐξαπόλωλε, / κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλύς." Another view: Reinhardt (1948) 15, comparing these portents to 12.395–396 without considering rejection.

^{124.} Od. 21.364–365: εἴ κεν Åπόλλων / ἡμῖν ἱλήκησι.

Delphic oracle will not answer him after he kills his guest, Iphitus. ¹²⁵ In a much later source, the novel of Achilles Tatius, Zeus Xenios is the god who rejects. ¹²⁶ When the marriage sacrifices undertaken by the bride's father failed ominously, there was no doubt who was responsible—Zeus, for the failure occurred when an eagle snatched the animal victim from the altar. Nor was there any doubt why. As *manteis* explain to the father, Zeus had taken offense in the aspect of Xenios. The bride was half-sister to the groom, and the god preferred exogamous marriages. Pirates then interrupted a second attempt to sacrifice to Zeus. ¹²⁷ This god, having rejected the worshippers once, saw to it that they fail again.

The suitors and Heracles also confirm the tendency for the celebrant to be rejected on more than one ground. Heracles was guilty of murder as well as inhospitality, and the suitors were guilty of attempted murder, not just of consuming Odysseus's wealth. A complex source can make the same the point as a simple one.

When those who receive suppliants do wrong, they fail, too. When people of Sybaris committed this offense, Delphic Apollo refused to prophesy to them. He added that their children would suffer as well.¹²⁸ The people had denied a suppliant access to a shrine where he might take refuge and present his request to those in charge. No less reprehensible was locking out the suppliant, as happened on Aegina. According to Herodotus, a leader of the losing, democratic side in a civil war on the island went to the temple of Demeter to take refuge and found it locked. He stayed there, hoping to be treated as someone who had won the right to plead for protection. The winners in the war overtook him. Regarding him as a traitor, they dragged him from the door after cutting off his hand. Since Herodotus tells the story to be mirch the winners, he accuses them of sacrilege. This statement prejudices the question of whether the goddess thinks the doorway to her shrine is a place of refuge comparable to the altar or the divine image. Demeter soon obliges Herodotus, cursing the winners. When they sacrifice asking for relief, she refuses to accede to their request. They persist. So does she.129

Another law of sociability involved heralds. After the Spartans committed the sacrilege of killing Persian heralds, a curse laid on them prevented their sacrifices

^{125.} Apollod. 2.4.2.

^{126.} Ach. Tat. 2.12.2.

^{127.} Endogamy: Ach. Tat. 1.3.2. Pirates: 2.18.1-4.

^{128.} Ael. VH 3.43 with the complication that the victim was a poet, as in the case of Archilochus, discussed below.

^{129.} Hdt. 6.91.2. Persistence: $\epsilon \kappa \theta \dot{\nu} \sigma \alpha \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$, in other words, the undoing of the curse. So also ekthusima (Plu. Curios. 518b).

from yielding good omens.¹³⁰ Herodotus compares this rejection to that suffered by the Aeginetan oligarchs. Both groups of worshippers violated a *nomos*, fell under a curse, and could not sacrifice successfully. In addition, the rejected worshippers compounded murder with another offense, just as Oedipus had. In this set of circumstances, Herodotus envisages a pattern: first sin, then curse and the failure of sacrifice.

No one god would grant all requests, or respond to all worshippers, and so, to make sure they picked the right god, worshippers would often consult an oracle. In Herodotus, the Delphians did not know how to save themselves from the Persians. They asked the oracle, who recommended that they worship the Winds. (The Persians, in a similar quandary, did not know whom to worship and did not ask.)¹³¹ Sometimes the oracle would take the initiative and tell a consultant to remember some god, implying that the worshipper had forgotten that god.¹³² Heroes, too, could be neglected: the Athenians neglected the heroes of Aegina when attempting to conquer the island, so their military sacrifices met with rejection.¹³³ Or a god could be neglected in favor of heroes. Alexander the Great neglected Dionysus for this reason and his army suffered accordingly.¹³⁴ These examples involved communities, but more numerous examples involved individuals asking an oracle which god they should approach.¹³⁵ In just a few sources, the author or epic singer names the god to whom worshippers should sacrifice.¹³⁶

Just as worshippers needed to choose the right god, they needed to avoid the wrong god. In the *Iliad*, Apollo supports the Trojans, making Greek sacrifices to him useless.¹³⁷ In Thucydides, the hero Hagnon will reject the Amphipolitans' sacrifices, they reason, because he is on the side of the Athenians and they are on the side of the Spartans in the Peloponnesian War.¹³⁸ Heracles will not indulge cowards, and Thracian Ares will not indulge those who have not speared any offered victim.¹³⁹

^{130.} Hdt. 7.134.2.

^{131.} Hdt. 7.191.2. Other examples: Hdt. 7.178.1, Dem. 21.54-55.

^{132.} Paus. 5.4.6 (Olympian Zeus by the Elians), 4.94 (chthonic gods by the Messenians), Plu. *Arist*. 19.5 (nymphs by tribe Aeantis, whose troops presumably fought in the nymphs' vicinity).

^{133.} Plu. *Sol*. 9.1

^{134.} Arr. An. 4.8.4, although the result of the neglect was the death of a friend, and not the rejection of a sacrifice.

^{135.} As at Dodona, with the best dossier of questions asked by private persons: Eidinow (2007) 112 no. 1, 121 no. 3.

^{136.} Peisandros FGrH 16 F 10.

^{137.} Save when led by a non-Greek, as in *Il*. 1.438-474.

^{138.} Th. 5.11.1.

^{139.} Plb. 29.18.1, X. Eph. 2.13.2.

These requirements are explicit. Euripides supplies a case in which an explicit requirement gives way to an implicit one. In the *Suppliants*, Theseus berates Adrastus for making war on Thebes in spite of divine disapproval, and he says why the gods disapproved. First, Theseus asks:

Did you check with the *manteis* and look at the flames from the burnt offerings?¹⁴⁰

That was the explicit requirement that the gods imposed. After Adrastus says he did not check, Theseus says:

You took all the Argives on campaign in contempt for what the *manteis* said about the gods' wishes, and then you crossed the gods by the use of force, and you ruined your city.

"Force"—the gods of Theseus do not approve of aggression. That was the implicit requirement, not one imposed by all gods on all occasions but one that runs parallel with the tendency of Greeks who have been attacked to claim that the gods will not favor the attackers.) ¹⁴¹

Nor should the worshipper ask a god to set aside the allotment of life and death to mortals. Either some impersonal fate, or some dispensation made by one or more gods, would determine when a human life would end, and no sacrifice making a request to the contrary would succeed. Two Homeric examples make this point, one with a vegetal offering and one with an animal. Achilles pours a libation and prays for Patroclus's safe return from battle, but the gods decide otherwise, so the libation and prayer prove futile. Although the singer does not say so, Hector's many sacrifices of oxen served partly to fortify requests that he survive, and in the ninth year of the war the gods chose to deny these requests. Hector sacrificed successfully when asking for divine assurances of proper burial. This commonplace does not need much illustration either, but there is always Lucian, who says that if worshippers sacrifice to Hades to give thanks for the survival of a friend, the god rejects the thanks. In the future, he may wish to disappoint the

^{140.} Ε. Supp. 155, followed by 229–231: $\{\Theta\eta.\}$ μάντεις δ' ἐπῆλθες ἐμπύρων τ' εἶδες φλόγα; 229–231: ἐς δὲ στρατείαν πάντας Ἀργείους ἄγων, / μάντεων λεγόντων θέσφατ' εἶτ' ἀτιμάσας, / βίαι παρελθὼν θεοὺς ἀπώλεσας πόλιν.

^{141.} As shown in Chaniotis (2004a), surveying classical evidence for divine attitudes toward intercommunal disputes.

^{142.} *Il*. 16.249–252, 22.170–171 vs. 24.33–76.

worshippers.¹⁴³ And there is always elegiac poetry, ready to reduce a topic to a couplet. Solon says that sacrifice cannot prevail against fate, *ta morsima*:

No offerings nor bird of omen ward off fate—none at all.144

In adapting Homer's line that no bird of omen can ward off death, Solon added offerings, a civic as well as battlefield expedient.

Some worshippers violated a divine warning. When Odysseus's crew sacrificed to the Sun, they not only committed errors but also ignored the warnings of Circe and Odysseus. Circe's warning, which came from the Sun's granddaughter, effectively came from the Titan himself. The Phaeacians violated a warning not to be overly generous to sailors, and so Poseidon rejected them. Apollo issued a warning, too. According to Aelian, among others, the god told the Locrians that they would avert the anger of Athena only by sending maidens to serve her in her Trojan shrine. Their ancestor, Ajax the Lesser, had raped Athena's priestess Cassandra. We need not accept this report, and may instead suppose that Locrians had some custom of sending maidens to a temple of Athena nearby. We should accept the inscription that says that a plague occurred among them and that they went to the oracle for help. The god rejected them, for they had disregarded his warning. Communal memory loss was fatal.

Sacrilege merited punishment without a warning. After the Achaeans sacrifice for a safe voyage home, Ajax the Lesser, who had desecrated the temple of Athena, is struck by lightening. Odysseus's crew commits sacrilege when eating the cattle of the Sun and meets the same fate. In Herodotus, Alyattes commits the crime, letting a temple of Athena be destroyed as a result of his campaigning near Alyssae. Athena inflicts a sickness on him, and Apollo refuses to answer his request for an oracle. Herodotus's Spartans, who killed the Persian herald, afford

^{143.} Lucianus *D. Mort.* 15.1. The same point, but humorlessly: Apollod. 3.121, where Zeus rejects the thankofferings of those raised from the dead by Asclepius.

^{144.} τὰ δὲ μόρσιμα πάντως / οὖτε τις οἰωνὸς ῥύσεται οὖθ' ἱερά· [Sol. fr. 13.55–56 ed. West (1971–72)]; cf. $\emph{Il.}$ 2.859.

^{145.} Od. 12.356–365, 387–388, the only instance of sacrilege followed by rejection discussed in Parker (1983) 254 in the chapter on sacrilege, but Parker does not discuss the act of rejection; nor does Latte (1920) discuss any examples of rejection in his numerous remarks on sacrilege.

^{146.} Warning: *Od.* 13.172–174. Prayer (and sacrifice) to be spared: 13.184–187. Rejection of prayer to be spared: 13.158.

^{147.} Ael. fr. 50 ed. Domingo-Forasté (1994). So also E. *Alc.* 119–120, where the Pheraeans' proposed sacrifices would violate a divine allotment.

^{148.} Dispute about the nature of the desecration: Naiden (2006a) 152.

another example. By calling Archilochus a man sacred to the muses, Plutarch gave a tincture of sacrilege to the slaying of the poet. These examples all confirm yet another commonplace, the link between sacrilege and unsuccessful sacrifice. 149

Other prose sources provide more instances of a worshipper committing sacrilege and violating some other *nomos*. In *Apollonius of Tyana*, the Trojans have been making unsuccessful attempts to appease the hero Achilles, and when Apollonius speaks to him, Achilles explains why these attempts will go on failing: after he entered a temple to strike a bargain with the Trojans, they slew him, profaning the temple. Since the Trojans swore an oath not to harm him, they committed perjury, an additional offense. In Sophocles, Tiresias says that Creon failed to bury the dead, one offense, and that the scattered remains of Polynices have polluted the altars of Thebes, another. In Aeschines, the link between sacrilege and some other offense becomes tendentious: it was sacrilege, he said, to cultivate land sacred to Apollo at Crissa near Delphi, and it was worse not to prosecute Demosthenes, an Athenian delegate bribed to ignore what happened. Is a committed to the prosecute Demosthenes, an Athenian delegate bribed to ignore what happened.

Other wayward worshippers violated a god's wishes for a given shrine. At Argos, Hera did not want foreigners in the shrine. (The trouble is not the attack. A little later, Agis attacks the Eleans again, and encounters no earthquake.) 152

The Athenians warned other Greeks against failing to respect Demeter's wishes for the shrine at Eleusis on one annual occasion, the Proērosia, a festival before plowing. As an inscription relates, the Athenians and their allies contributed one six-hundredth of their barley and one twelve-hundredth of their wheat for the purpose of buying offerings for this festival. Turning from allies to other Greeks, the inscription says:

If anyone [from an unallied city] brings anything, let the officials receive it in the same way as otherwise [i.e., as from allies]. Using a sacred cake, let them sacrifice as the Eumolpidae advise. Using barley and wheat, let them sacrifice a *trittoia* led by an ox with gold leaf on his horns to each of the two goddesses, and a mature victim to Triptolemus, the god, the goddess, and Eubulus, and also an ox with gold leaf to Athena. Along with the

^{149.} A possible case, the fragmentary IG iv² 122 no. 36, where a worshipper commits some offense against Asclepius, and "suffers punishment" which is likely rejection, then likely repents and meet with acceptance.

^{150.} S. Ant. 1015-1018.

^{151.} Aeschin. 3.113-114.

^{152.} X. HG 3.2.26.

^{153.} IG i³ 78a.5-14.

council, let the officials sell the rest of the barley and wheat and make whatever dedications the Athenians prefer and erect them to the two goddesses, writing on them that they were defrayed by the *aparchai* from the harvest and the *aparchai* from the other Greeks.¹⁵⁴

So far, the inscription has described what Demeter and others would receive but not how she or they would respond to it. That subject comes next:

If the Greeks do this, and if they don't wrong the Athenians, Athens, or the two goddesses, let them prosper, with big, good crops.

The goddess has two criteria for this Eleusinian sacrifice before plowing: big contributions and justice for the city in charge. One is ceremonial, the other, political. If dissatisfied, the goddess of agriculture will ruin the crops.

Polybius summarized these examples in his unlikely story of the Aetolian adventurer Dicaearchus, who had served as a general to Philip V in the Cyclades. After he captured any town or place in the islands, Dicaearchus set up altars to two goddesses, Paranomia, or "lawlessness," and Asebeia, "impiety," and sacrificed to them as he would have to divine powers, *daimones*. The commander's misconduct offended "gods and men," and so, the historian says, he met with condign punishment at the hands of both offended parties. That, at least, is how Polybius chooses to describe Dicaearchus's death by order of the king of Egypt. Dicaearchus had attached himself to an Egyptian courtier, a Greek named Scopas, who had involved him in a palace intrigue. Is In this bit of moralizing, offenses against society and against the gods combine. Elsewhere, religious and civic virtues combine. Athens, say Sophocles and Lycurgus, excels in devotion to the gods, the family, and the homeland. The city is as pious as Dicaearchus is impious.

^{154.} IG i³ 78a.35-44 followed by 44-46: το̂ν πόλεον ἐάν τις ἀπάγει τὸς ἱεροποιὸς κα-/ τὰ ταὐτά. θύεν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν το̂ πελανο̂ καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι [ἐχσε]- / [γο̂]νται, τρίττοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερον τοῦν θεοῦν ἑκα[τέρ]- / [αι ἀ]πὸ το̂ν κριθο̂ν καὶ το̂ν πυρο̂ν καὶ το̂ι Τριπτολέμοι καὶ το̂ι [θε]- / ο̂ι καὶ τι θεᾶι καὶ το̂ι Εὐβόλοι ἱερεῖον ἐκάστοι τέλεον καὶ / τε̂ι ἀθεναίαι βὸν χρυσόκερον τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀπ- / οδομένος τὸς ἱεροποιὸς μετὰ τε̂ς βολες ἀναθέματα ἀνατιθέν- / αι τοῦν θεοῦν, ποιεσαμένος ἄττ' ἂν το̂ ι δέμοι το̂ι ἀθεναίον δοκε̂- / ι, καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τοῖς ἀναθέμασιν, ὅτι ἀπὸ το̂ καρπο̂ τε̂ς ἀπαρχε̂- / ς ἀνεθέθε, καὶ ἐλλένον τὸν ἀπαρχό μενον ' 44-46: τοῦ]ς δὲ ταῦτα ποιο̂σι / πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ εναι καὶ εὐκαρπίαν καὶ πολυκαρπία[ν, οἵ]τινες ἂν / [μ]ὲ ἀδικο̂σι ἀθεναίος μεδὲ τὲν πόλιν τὲν ἀθεναίον μεδὲ τὸ θεό.

^{155.} Plb. 18.54.8-11.

^{156.} S. OC 260-261, Lycurg. in Leocr. 15 with Mikalson (1983) 97-99.

If the worshipper committed some offense short of sacrilege, he might atone. In Homer, the Achaeans other than Ajax the Lesser failed to punish Ajax, the committer of sacrilege; one might call them accessories after the fact. So they sacrifice, meet with rejection, suffer losses and delays sailing home, then sacrifice again and meet with acceptance. 157 In Herodotus, Alyattes committed inadvertent sacrilege, Delphi rejected him, and he fell sick. In response, he made reparations, restoring a damaged temple. He recovered his health and then his access to the oracle. Herodotus offers two more examples of the pattern. The Aeginetan oligarchs, whose offense against supplication caused sacrifices in their community to fail, atoned by going into exile, and so Demeter relented.¹⁵⁸ Sparta, where the offense was killing a herald, must pay a higher price, offering up the lives of two of ambassadors, but the offer sufficed to allay the "wrath" of the hero Talthybius.¹⁵⁹ Because others who commit sacrilege in Herodotus fall ill and fail to recover, this trio of examples sets forth a rule. The rejected worshipper must atone, through suffering; he may have to make reparations; and he must sacrifice. 160 In his version of Agamemnon at Aulis, Sophocles crafts a rule of leniency for the hybris committed by Agamemnon against Artemis. The king must sacrifice again, the last step in Herodotus, but he must also provide a more valuable, human victim, a kind of reparation, Herodotus's second step. And the victim must be his daughter—an act of atonement surpassing the illnesses imposed on Alyattes and others. Once the king meets these three conditions, Artemis relents, and, through a miracle, allows him to sacrifice in the usual way, using an animal and not a human being.

Whatever the rule, it would not cover sacrilege as such. Ajax the Lesser, the crew of Odysseus—these worshippers must fail. A few worshippers were sacrilegious by definition. One, the "villainous" Nero, was rejected when he came to Delphi. Asclepius rejected another villain, who filched monies assigned to the god. 161 Nor was there any recourse for the killer of Archilochus, whose purifications would not mitigate deliberate homicide, *phonos ek pronoias*. 162

^{157.} Od. 3.159-161, 3.178-179 with a tactful change in the god addressed.

^{158.} Hdt. 6.91.1.

^{159.} Hdt. 7.37.1.

^{160.} Other illnesses: Hdt. 1.105, 1.161.1, 3.33, 149. Cf. the plague at Locris; Ael. fr. 47 ed. Domingo-Forasté (1994).

^{161.} Nero: Sopater p. 740, $\dot{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\lambda\gamma\hat{\omega}\nu$. Asclepius: Pl. Cur. 260–269, IG iv² 121 no. 7.

^{162.} The futility of purification for this crime: Parker (1983) 375–392. Futility of supplication by the offender: Naiden (2006a) 141–142; so also Ael. *VH* 3.43. A category of inexpiable crimes: Parker (1983) 144.

Few are the cases in which the worshipper might have satisfied the god's objections but refused. Creon leads this tyrannical group: had he allowed Polynices to be buried, Tiresias would not have reported unacceptable sacrifices. Had Demetrius Poliorcetes allowed an Athenian procession for Dionysus to remain just that and not turned it into a procession in honor of Demetrius and his father Antigonus, the sacred robe would not have torn, nor severe frost descended, nor hemlock sprouted around the altar. Had Clearchus, the tyrant of Heraclia, not murdered his opponents, their ghosts would not have haunted him at the altar and eventually put him to death. He offender is not a tyrant but a local magistrate, threats are milder. The decree of Telmessa praising Ptolemy the son of Lysimachus declared any magistrate who failed to sacrifice to him a "wrongdoer in the eyes of all the gods." That would spell religious troubles for the magistrate, but it fell short of a curse. He sacred the sacrification of the sacr

Leniency did not go so far as to eradicate rejection. Worshippers who failed to obtain leniency had to find some other expedient. Plato thought they tried to bribe the gods with offerings. Was this critic of sacrifice right?¹⁶⁶

Bribery as a Response to Rejection

Plato's view stemmed from his interpretation of Phoenix's speech in *Iliad 9*. After giving his list of sacrificial offerings, Phoenix tells Achilles:

The gods . . . can be swayed, even though their worth, honor and power are superior to ours. 167

Phoenix explains how:

People beseech them and win them over, thanks to smoky offerings, to gentle prayers, and to the pouring of libations and smoke from roasting meat.

^{163.} Plu. Demetr. 12.

^{164.} Memnon FGrH 434 F 1.1.4.

^{165.} TAM I 2.31-32: $\alpha \mu \alpha \rho \tau \omega \lambda o \lambda \delta \delta \tau \omega \sigma \alpha v / [\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega}] v \pi \alpha \nu \tau \omega v$.

^{166.} Other explanations for disappointed worshippers: *GGR* 1.386 concerned not with the consequences of choosing the wrong god, though this would be possible, but with slow changes in divine spheres of activity; cf. Parker (2005) 394, concerned with gaps in the pantheon. A third view: Bremmer (1994) 22–23, observing that Greek gods have personalities as well as powers, and implying that they might display these personalities by either accepting or rejecting.

^{167.} Il. 9.498–499, followed by 500–501: στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί, / τῶν περ καὶ μείζων ἀρετὴ τιμή τε βίη τε. 500–501: καὶ μὲν τοὺς θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχωλῆς ἀγανῆσι / λοιβῆ τε κνίση τε παρατρωπῶσ' ἀνθρωποι.

To remind Achilles that a prayer should have no hint of menace or a threat, Phoenix recommends "gentle prayer," plus the usual elements: libation, "smoky offering" apart from an animal victim, and a burned victim. Phoenix conceives each element from the god's viewpoint. Offerings go up in the smoke that the god sees and smells, prayers have a tone as well as a message, libations go down, and the animal is not something slaughtered, but served. Phoenix envisions the god mostly as a guest. Yet he does not forget that the god is also a judge. Sacrifices occur

whenever someone oversteps and does wrong. 168

Phoenix does not suppose that the divine judge can be bribed, only that the divine judge expects a manifold approach from a human petitioner. Homeric usage agrees with Phoenix. Only one celebrant in Homer, Theano, tells a god that she will make offerings if the god grants a request. Athena rejects this proposition.¹⁶⁹ Outside of Homer, no worshipper promises offerings on this condition.¹⁷⁰

Plato interpreted Phoenix's statement to mean a god would take a bribe. He objected in both the *Republic* and the *Laws*. In the *Laws*, he linked bribery to atheism and misgovernment:

Some think that the gods don't care about us and very many wicked people hold the notion that the gods accept a little in the way of sacrifice and adoration, help them steal great sums, and often spare them great punishments.¹⁷²

Even if there were not "very many wicked people" who thought like this, Hesiod and the Medea of Euripides were two who did. According to the Suda, Hesiod

^{168.} Ιl. 9.501: ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβήῃ καὶ ἁμάρτῃ.

^{169.} *Il.* 6.302–310. Outside of sacrifice, a related proposition, *da ut dem*, appears in vows, as at *Il.* 10.293–295. Different views of Theano's rejection: Morrison (1991) 152–156; and M. Lang (1975).

^{170.} Although at A. Ch. 255–258, worshippers sacrificing to a hero make this argument to a god. A late Roman Cypriot dedicatory inscription (SEG I.423) asks that the god allow the dedicant to be a $\epsilon \dot{v} \delta \alpha \mu \rho \nu \hat{\omega} \nu \dots \sigma o < \dot{v} > \theta \nu \tau \dot{\eta} \rho$, but this request falls short of a quid pro quo.

^{171.} Pl. R. 2.364b-e, Lg. 10.885b; general statement on gifts at Lg. 4.716d-717a. For supplication and Plato, see Naiden (2006a) 273-274, which also deal with gifts in relation to supplication.

^{172.} Pl. Lg. 11.948c: οἱ δὲ οὐ φροντίζειν ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς διανοοῦνται, τῶν δὲ δὴ πλείστων ἐστὶ καὶ κακίστων ἡ δόξα ὡς σμικρὰ δεχόμενοι θύματα καὶ θωπείας πολλὰ συναποστεροῦσι χρήματα καὶ μεγάλων σφᾶς ἐκλύονται κατὰ πολλὰ ζημιῶν.

said gifts persuade gods, and Medea said such was the common report, or *logos*.¹⁷³ Plato seized on this notion of persuasion and rendered it illicit. For him, persuasion meant an irresistible gift, a bribe.

After Homer, what worshippers attempt bribery, and with what success? Pimps do, without success. In Plautus's *Poenulus*, one says:

May all the gods bring unhappiness to any pimp who slaughters an animal for Venus after today, or sacrifices a grain of incense! The gods were very angry at me today and so I slaughtered six lambs but couldn't get Venus to give me a good sign. Since the struggle was hopeless, I went away angry, and decided not to set aside any entrails for her.¹⁷⁴

Other worshippers would expect the god to receive entrails and choose to send some sign. Not the pimp. He expects the god to pay for the entrails. Another character in comedy, no pimp perhaps but a man of the same opinion, complains about the cost of sacrificial bribery:

Do we fare as well as we sacrifice? Suppose I bring the gods a pleasing sheep I bought for 10 drachmas, plus flute-girls and myrrh and harp-players, Mendian wine, eels, Thasian wine, cheese, honey—a small fortune.... Then I get 10 drachmas worth of good out of it, provided the sacrifice turns out well.¹⁷⁵

Another worshipper would expect a sacrifice to be either accepted or rejected. Not the speaker of this Menander fragment. He expects a return on his money. Were the gods as greedy as he supposed, he would vindicate Plato.

Another character in Menander might be thought to chastise this speaker:

A man is crazy and lightheaded if he thinks he can win over a god by hustling up some sacrifice—a lot of bulls or kids, or some other creatures, for

^{173.} Suda s.v. $\delta\hat{\omega}\rho\alpha$; Hes. fr. 272 ed. West (1978).

^{174.} Pl. *Poen.* 449–456: Di illum infelicent omnes qui post hunc diem / Leno ullam Veneri umquam immolarit hostiam / Quiue ullum turris granum sacricauerit. / Nam ego hodie infelix dis meis iratissumis / Sex immolaui agnos nec poutui tamen / Propitaim Venerem facere uti esset mihi. / Quiniam litare nequeo, abii ilim ilico / Iratus, uotui exta prosicarier.

^{175.} Men. fr. 264.1-9 K-A: εἶτ' οὐχ ὅμοια πράττομεν καὶ θύομεν, / ὅπου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἠγορασμένον / δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα, / αὐλητρίδας δὲ καὶ μύρον καὶ ψαλτρίας, / Μενδαῖον, ἐγχέλεις, Θάσιον, τυρόν, μέλι, / μικροῦ ταλάντου; γίνεται τὸ κατὰ λόγον, / δραχμῶν μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἄξιον λαβεῖν δέκα / ἡμᾶς, ἐὰν καὶ καλλιερηθῆι τοῖς θεοῖς.

heaven's sake, or other business like making gold or purple gowns or ivory or emerald baubles.¹⁷⁶

Menander's Sententiae encapsulate the warning given by this speaker:

Sacrifice to a god if you aren't acting impiously in any way. 177

Lucian, that later purveyor of clichés, agrees. In his *Jupiter Confutatus*, a worshipper wants sacrifice reduced to an exchange between human and god, but the god, Zeus, objects. He wants honor rendered gratis.¹⁷⁸ With this riposte, the god taps yet another truism, that sacrifice is an honor mortals owe their betters.¹⁷⁹

We should not mistake honor for bribery. When Orestes says that Zeus should preserve him and his sister so that the house of Atreus may go on sacrificing to the gods, he is not telling Zeus to accept dead cattle and in return prevent the deaths of some worshippers. Orestes says that Agamemnon honored Zeus through sacrifices, and that if the children perish they will not be able to give Zeus his *geras*, his honorable portion. The worshipper assumes not that god can be bribed for one price or another, but that the god's demand for honor is and ought to be unslakable. In contrast, mortals' ability to satisfy the gods is doubtful. As Agamemnon tells Zeus in *Iliad* 8, he sacrificed again and again, but to no avail. Then, as Agamemnon prays, he realizes that his sacrifices, although inadequate to convince Zeus to protect the Achaeans, might be adequate to convince the god to let some Achaean soldiers escape. Will the god give any help in return for every effort? Isl

Nor should we mistake vows for bribery. Unlike a bribe, a vow was a kind of prayer, and so it could be rejected or granted. Athena rejected the vow made by Theano in *Iliad* 6 yet "heard" Nestor's vow in *Odyssey* 3.¹⁸² When fulfilled, a vow,

^{176.} Men. fr. 683.1-6 K-A: εἴ τις δὲ θυσίαν προσφέρων, . . . / ταύρων τι πλῆθος ἢ ἐρίφων ἤ, νὴ Δία, / ἐτέρων τοιούτων, ἢ κατασκευάσματα, / χρυσᾶς ποιήσας χλαμύδας ἤτοι πορφυρᾶς, / ἢ δι' ἐλέφαντος ἢ σμαράγδου ζώδια / εὔνουν νομίζει τὸν θεὸν καθιστάναι, / πεπλάνητ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ φρένας κούφας ἔχει.

^{177.} Men. Sent. 508 ed. Jaekel (1964): $M\eta\delta\grave{\epsilon}\nu\, \dot{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\hat{\omega}\nu\,|\,\theta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\bar{\iota}\sigma\iota\,\theta\hat{\iota}\bar{\iota}\epsilon$ so also 340.

^{178.} Lucianus J. Conf. 5; so also Lucianus Tox. 6, where sacrifice is an honor, and Prom. 14.

^{179.} I.e., *timē* vel sim.: oracle at Satyros *FGrH* 20 F 1.4; Draco apud Porph. *Abst.* 4.22, Isoc. 5.117, Plu. *Non poss. suav.* 1101f; *IG* v.2 265.8–9. For the Homeric turn of phrase "honor like a god," see Pucci (1998) 64 with n. 48.

^{180.} A. Ch. 255–261. A different view: Pulleyn (1997) 34, seeing reciprocity.

^{181.} Il. 8.236-244.

^{182.} *Od.* 3.385, the formula for prayers without vows or sacrifice (*Il.* 1.43, 5.121, 16.249, 16.527, 23.771, 24.314, *Od.* 6.238, 9.536, 20.120) and prayers with sacrifice (*Il.* 1.457).

unlike a bribe, gave thanks, or *charis*, for a god's grant of favor, which was also an instance of *charis*. Although a vow formed part of an exchange and in that sense resembled a bribe, it was an act of recompense. The unhappy pimps of comedy neither prayed nor offered recompense.

Animal sacrifice was both a prayer and an offering by a worshipper. The offering, tradition said, did not turn the prayer into a demand. Yet would the offering have no bearing on the prayer? The few writers who deal with this question say that the offering would have less bearing than the worshipper's character. Hesiod said that "a working man is much dearer to the immortals," meaning partly that his offerings, though modest, would meet with favor. The singer of the *Odyssey* eschews any such prejudice. He contrasts not the poor with the rich but the virtuous with the vicious, and he directs his implicit comparison toward the sacrifices of these two groups, with predictable results. Is Isocrates adds a nuance: although rites help both good men and bad, they help good men more. Aristotle restates the Hesiodic position. Is Plutarch contributes by restating this position from the point of view of a worshipper and by shifting attention from the worshipper to the request. If prudent, a worshipper will sacrifice and ask only for what is good. Is 5

The gods contributed in their own way. Attempts to bribe Apollo's Pythia were thought disastrous. Plistoanax had bribed the Pythia, his fellow Spartans thought, and so, after he returned from exile, they blamed the city's defeats on him—and thus blamed him for the implicit rejection of the city's sacrifices for victory. After another Spartan king, Cleomenes, bribed the Pythia, Apollo drove him mad. The source, Herodotus, regards upsetting Argive Hera as a lesser offense. Olympian Zeus was no less watchful. His statues at Olympia carried inscriptions stating the fines imposed on contestants who tried to bribe judges. Zeus would not let his minions take bribes of money. Why should he take bribes of flesh and bone?

If you bring no gift, what manner of man are you? If you are a wicked man, keep your gift. If you are a good man, bring the gift the recipient expects. As Apollo said:

^{183.} Hes. *Op.* 309; *Od.* 14.404–405, 415–416 vs. 3.144–146 (Agamemnon), not to mention the sacrifices of the suitors.

^{184.} Isoc. 2.20, Arist. EN 8.1163b.

^{185.} Plu. Is. et Os. 351c.

^{186.} Th. 5.16.3.

^{187.} Hdt. 6.84.3, where he mentions Demaratus, but not Cleomenes bribing the Pythia to harm this rival.

^{188.} Paus. 5.21.3-4, mentioning statues dedicated in 398 BCE. German excavators at Olympia found the bases of 16 such statues (*LIMC* s.v. *Zeus* [I. Leventi] 238).

Give me what I want. Don't give me what I don't want. 189

Worshippers dared not forget this commandment. Yet they also remembered that Apollo made other demands. At the start of the *Iliad*, Achilles wondered whether the Achaeans had offended Apollo by virtue of some vow or hecatomb—in other words, because they had not kept their word, or had asked for the wrong thing, or had failed to offer the right thing. Calchas answered that the Achaeans had done none of these. They had let their leader, Agamemnon, insult Apollo's priest. ¹⁹⁰ Their wrongdoing lay not within the confines of the rite but within the context. The Achaeans might alter the context by reparations made to the priest. They could not eradicate it through a bribe.

Rejection and Genre

Several times, this chapter has noticed the difference that author or genre makes to rejected sacrifice—how tragedians make room for women's offerings, but also for delayed offerings, how Herodotus echoes a Greek theme of sin and failure but forms his own rule for atonement and reparation, how Plato sees sharp practice among his contemporaries, whereas comic writers see it among pimps. These differences should not obscure several fundamentals. Reports of rejection are common, even prominent, and sometimes biased. Few question them, and only Xenophon repudiates them.

As shown in appendix A, Homer and Herodotus, Thucydides and Aeschines, Chariton and Plutarch all report rejection of sacrifices. The fifty-five acts listed in appendix A, which excludes negative extispicy, include sources from every period: eleven acts in Archaic sources, twenty-four in Classical, four in Hellenistic, and sixteen in Imperial, twelve of them before 200 CE. ¹⁹¹ They include every genre: eleven in epic, six in tragedy, four in comedy, and six in fiction, but also ten in history, three in oratory, and one in an epigraphical document, not to mention other prose sources—in all, only nineteen in verse, and thirty-six in prose. ¹⁹² All leading narrative writers find room for it. All three tragedians report it. Aristophanes does not, but in the *Peace*, he shows worshippers taking pains to avoid it. Herodotus and Thucydides report it, and Polybius alludes to it in his parable of

^{189.} Antikleides FGrH 140 F 4: δ βούλομαι δός, μὴ δίδου δ' δ μὴ θέλω.

^{190.} Il. 1.25-34.

^{191.} I.e. nos. 1-11, 12-35, 36-39 (counting Plautus as Hellenistic), and 40-55.

^{192.} Epic: nos. 1–11. Tragedy: 19–24. Comedy: 36–39. Fiction: 40–41, 43–46. History: 12–18, 25, 29–30. Oratory: 26, 32–33. Document: 34. Verse: 1–11, 19–24.

Piety and Lawlessness.¹⁹³ The kind of rejection that is hardest to detect, the denial of a worshipper's request, appears first in Homer and last in Chariton, by way of Herodotus, Sophocles, and Menander.¹⁹⁴

This evidence rebuts any impression that rejection is a literary as opposed to a historical phenomenon. The priests at Delphi turned away some consultants, and they did the same at Didyma, and at shrines of Asclepius, where they turned away *hiketai*.¹⁹⁵ By the same token, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon cannot have fabricated the rejections they report. At worst, they misreport. The comic writers who do invent instances of rejection are satisfying the imagination of civic audiences. Novelists who invent instances are satisfying the imagination of a widespread readership.

Of the thirty-six acts of animal sacrifice in the Homeric epics (a total including any animal slaughter with religious language, but excluding general statements about the suitors), ten or eleven meet with rejection, or almost one-third. In the *Iliad*, three do: Agamemnon's purificatory sacrifice by the shore in book 1, the Trojan sacrifices in book 8, and Hector's sacrifices mentioned in book 22. In the *Odyssey*, seven do: Odysseus's sacrifices mentioned in book 1; the homeward-bound Achaeans' sacrifices in book 3; Aegisthus's sacrifice and offerings in the same book; Odysseus's sacrifice to Zeus after quitting the Cyclops; the crew's sacrifice of the cattle of the Sun; the Phaeacians' sacrifices to Poseidon in book 13; and the suitors' sacrifice in book 20. A likely rejection occurs in the lying tale in book 19, when the Achaeans may have prayed to go home but were delayed. If we

^{193.} Plb. 18.54.8-11.

^{194.} Homer: nos. 1, 8, 10, 11. Hdt.: 13. S.: 21, 23. Men.: 37. Charito: 41. Others: 39, 43-44.

^{195.} Delphi: nos. 12, 13, 17, 28, 31, 40, 45, 47, 48, 52, 53. Didyma: 35. Asclepius: 34, 38, 52.

^{196.} Iliadic acts with animal victims, with rejections starred and oaths and chthonic act italicized: Il. 1.315-317*, 1.438-774, 2.305-306, 2.402-333, 3.245-302, 6.174, 7.313-325, 8.548-552*, 11.706-707, 11.727-730, 11.772-780, 19.250-268, 21.131, 22.171-172*, 23.128-257, 24.125, 24.621-627. Odyssean acts, with rejections starred and a chthonic act italicized: 1.60-62*, 3.5-11 and 32-33, 3.159-160*, 3.272-275*, 3.430-477, 4.474-476, 8.59-60, 9.46, 9.551-555*, $10.517 - 529 \sim 11.24 - 36$, $12.233 - 265^*$, 13.24 - 28, 13.182 with $184 - 187^*$, 14.72 - 79, 14.414 - 457, 16.452-454, 20.250-252 and 276-283 and 391*, 19.197-202*, 24.215 and 363-364. In these lists, hiereuein counts as religious language; bouphonein (Il. 7.466) and phrases including the direct objects deipnon (Od. 4.620-626) and dorpa (Il. 9.88-94) do not; and sphazein sometimes indicates for a meal (Il. 24.621-627, Od. 9.46, 23.304-305). So also Casabona (1966) 157-158, noting that hiereuein sometimes designates a holocaust (Il. 21.31, 23.147, Od. 10.524 = 11.32, 13.182, all but one included above). Homeric rejections comprise nos. 1-11 in app. A. Along with general statements about the suitors (Od. 1.92, 2.56, 4.320, 14.94, 17.180-182, 17.535, 20.312), these lists exclude intended but unaccomplished acts (Il. 6.94 \sim 6.275 \sim 6.309, 23.147, Od. 11.130-132 = 23.277-279 and Od. 14.28) and the representation of an act on the shield of Achilles (Il. 18.559).

turn to the four vegetal sacrifices, one fails, in book $6.^{197}$ If we turn to oaths, Zeus postpones granting the request made in *Iliad* $3.^{198}$

Herodotus is even harsher. In this author, six of fourteen animal sacrifices meet with rejection: Croesus and the Lydians' sacrifice to Apollo, who ignores their requests; Cleomenes's sacrifice to Hera, who attempts to scorch him; the frontier sacrifice performed by Cleombrotus, who meets with an eclipse; the negative extispicy before Plataea; and two multiple rejections, first, the rejection of Aeginetan sacrifices after the maiming of a suppliant, and second, the rejection of Spartan sacrifices after the execution of a herald. Herodotus adds civic rejection, but he does not differ from Homer about offerings other than animal sacrifice. Amid many acceptable dedications, his Aeginetans present a dedication that Delphic Apollo rejects. 200

In tragedy, rejection appears alongside acts of sacrifice that prove unsatisfactory for some other reason. In Aeschylus, only one act meets with rejection, Atossa's, but others raise some difficulty. Agamemnon's sacrifices at the palace hearth in Mycenae are acceptable but useless, and Clytemnestra's sacrifices in Mycenae are acceptable but insincere. [201] (Electra's libations in the *Choephoroi* have the rarest of problems: the *sacrifiante* does not know what to say. [202] In Sophocles, just four acts meet with rejection. Three fail in the usual way, Jocasta's and Clytemnestra's sacrifices to Lycian Apollo, and the sacrifices of the Achaeans in *Philoctetes*. The fourth, the sacrifice conducted by Tiresias, falls apart. Aside from these, Aegisthus's hearth sacrifice resembles Agamemnon's in Aeschylus, for it is acceptable but useless, and the sacrifices by the priest and the people at the start of *Oedipus Tyrannos* resemble Agamemnon's for the same reason. [203] Another sacrifice, by Ajax, never gets under way; in counterpoint; he slaughters sheep when mistaking them for men. [204] In both writers, rejection or difficulty terminates about half of

^{197.} *Il.* 6.297–310*, 9.206–225, *Od.* 9.231–232, 15.222–223 and 257–258 and 260. If the mixed sacrifice of Aegisthus (*Od.* 3.273–275) is added, two out of five fail.

^{198.} Il. 3.302: οὐδ ἄρα πὼ.

^{199.} Hdt., rejections starred: 1.19.2*, 1.50*, 6.81–82*, 6.91.2*, 6.108.4, 6.111.2, 7.117, 7.134.2*, 7.178, 7.189, 7.191, 7.219, 8.54, 9.10.3*. This list excludes acts of extispicy, and so so other lists in this section. These rejections comprise nos. 12–18 in app. A.

^{200.} Hdt. 8.122.

^{201.} A. Pers. 204–208 (cake), listed as no. 19 in app. A; A. Ag. 1054–1057 (by the king); A. Ag. 91–96 (by the queen).

^{202.} A. Ch. 87.

^{203.} S. OT 911-923 (no. 23 in app. A); S. El. 637-659 (no. 21); S. Ph. 8-11 (no. 22); S. Ant. 999-1022 (no. 20). Useless: S. El. 280-281, OT 1-5 and 14-22.

^{204.} S. Aj. 712-713, 220.

the sacrifices—the high failure rate observed by Albert Henrichs.²⁰⁵ In Euripides, too, there is only one act of rejection, inflicted on the people of Pherae when they sacrifice on behalf of Alcestis, but several other acts go wrong, notably Aegisthus's sacrifice in *Electra* and Hermione's in *Orestes*, and most of all, Heracles's in the play of that name.²⁰⁶

Xenophon's *Historia Graeca* reports three rejections out of nine, excluding an act of *sphagia*, and his *Anabasis* reports one rejection out of four.²⁰⁷ Thucydides reports a rejected vegetal sacrifice and a sacrifice that is impeded, or two instances out of a dozen of all kinds. Some of the successful sacrifices he describes form the background to military blunders.²⁰⁸ Thucydides, of course, says less about religious particulars than do poets or Herodotus, but aside from the acts of sacrifice he reports, he provides information by way of speeches and rumors. Peloponnesian speeches before the war imply that the gods would condemn, and reject the sacrifices of, those who failed to abide by oaths to allies.²⁰⁹ When the fleet sails for Sicily, the people talk of the ill omen of the Herms.²¹⁰ Toward the end of the Athenian expedition in Sicily, Nicias denies that the gods are abandoning his men. Instead, the general implies that their prayers and sacrifices will succeed.²¹¹ The difference between Thucydides and Xenophon, or Thucydides and Herodotus, is partly a matter of attribution.

Novelists report less rejection, but also less sacrifice. In the five extant novels, acts of rejection amount to only half a dozen: nothing in Longus and Heliodorus; one rejection in Achilles Tatius; two temporary rejections in Xenophon

^{205.} See Henrichs (2012) 184. A somewhat different view: Zeitlin (1965) and (1966) with no distinction drawn between failure and perversion.

^{206.} E. Alc. 119-120 (no. 24); El. 280-281; Or. 114, 1185, 1323; E. HF 922-941.

^{207.} X. HG with rejections starred: 1.4.12 and 18; 1.6.37, 1.7, 3.1.20–28, 3.2.26, 3.3.3–4*, 3.4.23, *3.5.5, 4.3.13–14. X. An.: 1.2.10, 4.6.27, *7.1.40, 7.8.3. These are nos. 27, 29, and 30. Act of *sphagia*: 3.4.23, X. Cyr. 3.3.21. A rejection in X. Cyr.: 7.2.19–20 (no. 28). In Xen. Mem.: 2.2.13. Interrupted: HG 5.4.4.

^{208.} A vegetal act: Th. 6.32.1 (listed as no. 25). Others: 1.126.4, 2.16.2, 2.71, 5.10.2, 5.11, 5.50.2, 5.53, 6.54.6, 7.73.2, 8.70.1. Blunders: Th. 5.10.2 (sacrifice distracting a general), 7.73.2 (sacrifice obstructing a muster). Hornblower (1992) notices none of these acts; save for *diabatēria*, neither does Pritchett (1971–91) 1.113–115.

^{209.} Th. 1.123.2.

^{210.} No. 25 with 6.27.3.

^{211.} Nicias: Th. 7.77.3-4, 3.3.3. Another view: Fisher (2010) 413, arguing that Thucydides minimizes the divine role in history, but noticing only two acts of sacrifice, 1.12.6.4 and 5.53.6, at 41 with n. 11.; preceded by Osborne (1994) 19-20; and Hornblower (1992) as well as his commentary at Th. 2.62. A balanced view, but with no attention to sacrifice as opposed to religion as a whole: Jebb (1880) 275-276.

of Ephesus; and three rejections in Chariton. ²¹² As all the novels take place in the Classical period, the same as Thucydides and Xenophon, the reason for this small number is not the period. Save for a sacrifice to Isis in Heliodorus, sacrifices in Phoenicia, Babylonia, and Egypt resemble those in Greek locales from Sicily to Asia, so the reason is not the locale. One reason is that fiction's protagonists—women, fugitives, and slaves—have less access to animal sacrifice. ²¹³ Another reason is that these authors tend to be schematic. Achilles Tatius limits himself to one rejection, one private and one civic acceptance, one interrupted act, and one human sacrifice, a sacrificial sampler. ²¹⁴ Xenophon of Ephesus balances rejection and acceptance, with two apiece: one temporary rejection leads to consulting an oracle, and another leads to appeasing Thracian Ares, who requires victims slain by the worshipper. Chariton, with just three acts of sacrifice, makes all of them rejections. This trio consists of one sacrifice at a household door, one act of domestic *thusia*, and one act of public and royal *thusia*. ²¹⁵ Most of the rejected worshippers are also rejected suitors.

Regardless of genre, rejection reflects traditional or authorial biases. In the *Iliad*, no Trojan sacrifices successfully, at least in acts performed in the present. ²¹⁶ In the *Odyssey*, no suitors sacrifice successfully. In Herodotus, Persians seem to, but this author adds that they obtained some request by chance, not by sacrifice, or he reports that the successful sacrifice ended in a miracle boding well for their enemies. ²¹⁷ In the *Historia Graeca*, by contrast, Thebans do not sacrifice at all, save for an exception that is worse than the rule: magistrates who fornicate at inaugural ceremonies. ²¹⁸ Polybius turns against Prusias of Bithynia. If this king sacrifices successfully, he spoils it by plundering the shrine. ²¹⁹ Philip V of Macedon does somewhat better. Sacrificing unobjectionably several times, he fails when he

^{212.} Acts of animal sacrifice in Longus, supposing that *thusia* alone designates an animal: 2.30.4–31.2 bis, 3.10, 4.24–25, 4.26.1. Heliod.: 2.25.2, 3.1–6, 4.16.8, 5.15.3, 5.28.1, 10.6.5. Ach. Tat., rejection starred: 1.1.2, 2.12.3*, 2.15.1–3, 2.18.1–4, 3.19.3 (no. 46 in app. A). X. Eph., rejection starred: 1.3.1, 1.5.6–8* bis, 1.8.1–2, *1.10.5, 2.13.2 (interrupted), 5.11 (nos. 41–43). Charito, rejections starred: 3.2.15, 3.7.7, 3.8.3–4*, 6.2.4* (nos. 40–41).

^{213.} Incense: Ach. Tat. 2.15.1-3, Charito 3.7.3, 6.4.2.

^{214.} Rejection: Ach. Tat. 2.12.3. Acceptance: private, 1.1.2; civic, 1.15.1–3. Interruption: 2.18.1–4. Human sacrifice: 3.19.3.

^{215.} Rejected suitor, royal setting: Charito 6.2.4. Rejected suitor, domestic setting: 3.7.3. Doorway: 3.2.15.

^{216.} Hector's past success: *Il*. 22.170-171.

^{217.} By chance: Hdt. 7.191.2. Miracle: 8.54-55.

^{218.} X. HG 5.4.4.

^{219.} Plb. 32.15.1-7.

misinterprets the entrails.²²⁰ In contrast, Arrian never turns against Alexander. Divination aside, all of Alexander's sacrifices proceed well.²²¹ None of the heroes of Plutarch's Greek lives sacrifices unsuccessfully, nor do the Socrates of Plato and Xenophon and the legendary heroes of Pausanias's regional histories.²²²

Once again, Thucydides resembles the rest. In his work, not one Athenian sacrifice fails, save on the eve of the Sicilian expedition.²²³ Even during the plague, when the Athenians must have sacrificed for relief, and failed, Thucydides will not say so. Instead he says that the people neglected religious worship.²²⁴ Yet nearly every sacrifice performed by Spartans fails.²²⁵ Thucydides, who consigns some rejection to rumors and the like, reports these Spartan failures *in propria persona*. In regard to rejection, he is the biased source Ernst Badian complained of.²²⁶

Bias notwithstanding, authors are almost unanimous in assuming that reports about sacrifices are true. In one exceptional case, Herodotus doubts whether the winds fell thanks to a sacrifice. ²²⁷ In another, Plutarch denies that an eclipse betokened rejection of sacrifices by Dion. ²²⁸ Yet only Xenophon says that a report of rejection is wrong. (Some Athenians noticed ominous birds during a festival just after Alcibiades's return, and supposed that the gods were objecting to him, but Xenophon corrects them.) ²²⁹

Xenophon is also the only source to report that worshippers avoided rejection by faking success. Unsurprisingly, Eteonicus, a Spartan general with trouble

^{220.} Plb. 5.14.8, 5.24.9 vs. 7.12.

^{221.} Annual sacrifices prior to the return from India, but excluding implied funerary sacrifices: Arr. *An.* 4.8.1, 4.9.5. Occasional: 1.11.1, 1.18.2, 2.5.8, 2.5.9, 2.24.6, 3.1.4, 3.5.2, 3.6.1, 3.7.6, 3.16.9, 3.25.1, 4.4.1, 5.3.6, 5.8.3, 5.20.1, 5.29.2; *Ind.* 18.11–12, 36.3. After the return: *An.* 6.28.3, 7.14.1, 7.24.4, *Ind.* 42.8–9. The Vulgate makes fewer reports, but likewise positive: Curt. 3.12.27, 9.1.1–2, and after India: 9.10.24–27; so also DS 17.21.6, 17.46.6, 17.74.4; Plu. *Alex.* 29, 31.4.

^{222.} Pausanias (nos. 45–47) reports mainly rejection a Delphi (5.21.5, 10.13.8), and Aelian reports it nowhere else (nos. 48–49). Philostratus VA 1.10, Athenaeus 3.98b, and Sopater p. 740 similarly report failure mainly at Delphi or at Ascelpius's shrine in Pergamum (nos. 52, 54–55).

^{223.} Athenian success: Th. 1.126.4, 6.54.6, 8.70.1. One failure: 6.32.1. Other successes: 7.73.2 (Syracuse), 5.50.2 (Spartans, albeit not at Olympia), 5.53 (Asine), 5.11.1 (Amphipolis).

^{224.} Th. 2.53.4.

^{225.} Th. 5.54.2, 5.55.3, 5.11.6.1 vs. 5.50.2.

^{226.} Badian (1995) 127, comparing the author to "the journalist working for, say, the *Washington Post*." Badian says nothing of sacrifice, for which see Hornblower et al. below.

^{227.} Hdt. 7.191.2.

^{228.} Plu. Dion 23.3-4, 29.2-3.

^{229.} X. HG 1.4.12, 1.4.18.

controlling his men, fakes a sacrifice of thanksgiving in order to prevent panic.²³⁰ Surprisingly, Agesilaus does the same after returning from Asia Minor. He was leading volunteers when news came of the defeat of a Spartan naval force led by Pisander:

When Agesilaus learned this news, at first he took it hard. Then he considered that most of his army . . . was not obliged to follow him if they foresaw trouble. He changed front and said that Pisander was reported dead, but had won the battle. He made a sacrifice of cattle because of the good news, and sent pieces of meat to many people.²³¹

Xenophon adds that the ruse succeeded. In a skirmish fought soon afterward,

Agesilaus's men won thanks to the report that the Spartans had won the sea battle.²³²

The king proceeded to Coronea, where he gained a victory.

Different as these celebrants are, and different as these examples are, they imply widespread fakery. Yet writers thought to be more worldly or cynical than Xenophon say nothing about it—not Thucydides, not Polybius, not Polyaenus. Perhaps these writers had seen less fakery than Xenophon had, or perhaps they had seen as much or more, but did not care so much. For all kinds of sacrifice taken together, Xenophon reports more rejection than any other author, and he is correspondingly alert to unwelcome possibilities.

The same theme of deceit appears in Xenophon's handling of a particular type of rejection—the rejection of acts of extispicy, commonly called divination. Although we have only some three dozen reports of it, it was surely the most common form of rejection, if only because sacrifice of this type occurred so often in time of war. It deserves some pages of its own.

^{230.} X. HG 1.6.37, followed by 2.1.1-5. So also Polyaen. 1.44.

^{231.} Χ. HG 4.3.13–14: ὁ οὖν ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκεν ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνεθυμήθη ὅτι τοῦ στρατεύματος τὸ πλεῖστον εἴη αὐτῷ οἶον ἀγαθῶν μὲν γιγνομένων.... ἐκ τούτου μεταβαλὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀγγέλ-λοιτο ὁ μὲν Π είσανδρος τετελευτηκώς, νικῷη δὲ τῆ ναυμαχία. ἄμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια καὶ πολλοῖς διέπεμπε τῶν τεθυμένων.

^{232.} Χ. ΗG 4.3.14: ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἁγησιλάου τῷ λόγῳ ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων νικώντων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.

So also Polyaen. 2.1.3. Plu. Ages. 17.5 lacks details.

The Rejection of Acts of Divination

When a god rejects an act of divination, the worshipper is commonly asking to make a crossing or an attack.²³³ The god commonly responds by deforming the liver of a slaughtered sheep. The god never explains his response, so the worshipper has no ground to appeal for leniency. Instead, the worshipper may repeat the sacrifice up to three times within one day, hoping the outcome will change.²³⁴ No less peculiar are the chronological and generic boundaries of the practice. Homeric poetry does not report divination, nor do the first six books of Herodotus. Polybius and fiction do not report it either, and Plutarch reports it only in his *Alexander*. Even if the importation of Near Eastern technique could explain the terminus post quem, it could not explain the terminus ante quem.

The peculiar features of this kind of rejection, especially the failure of the sources to assign reasons for it, have encouraged generations of scholars to conclude that divination was subject to manipulation by commanders or seers. An early expression of this view came from Arthur Darby Nock, who compared divination to oratory. Both, he said, were means of persuasion. Neither had a divine agent; both had human agents. ²³⁵ Other scholars went farther. Sometimes a means of persuasion, divination was at other times a trick commanders or *manteis* played on soldiers. ²³⁶ Still others have dissented, especially in recent years, and said that divination was neither a rhetorical device nor a trick but a kind of "imaginative interpretation." ²³⁷ In this view, the celebrant did not persuade or deceive others, but might explain events for his own purposes. Some scholars, including Burkert, have held that divination allowed the worshipper to avoid indecision and resolve disputes. The rite served a cognitive purpose. ²³⁸

^{233.} In app. B, discussed immediately below, all instances but nos. 12-19, 21, 24, 33, and 34, or two-thirds of thirty-seven instances.

^{234.} Change in result: nos. 14–15, 16–18, 20, 23. Three in a day: no. 15. Mesopotamian origin of this limit: Koch (2010) 45, saying that more frequent use of the rite was regarded as a "transgression." Cf. Greek attribution of the ritual to Egypt, if not to Prometheus, rather than to Mesopotamia: Flower (2008) 25.

^{235.} Nock (1942) 476, "Divination was comparable with oratory." So also Pritchett (1971–91) 3.78–81. Similar to Nock: Robin (1942) 101, "une technique en exemples."

^{236.} Trickery: Meyer (1925–58) 190–191 regarding X. An. 6.4.12–5.2, preceded by Dürrbach (1893) 377 n. 1, cited by Parker (2004a) 143. Parker also mentions Mitford (1808–18) 3.179–180, 192.

^{237.} Imaginative if pious interpretation: Parker (2004a) 144–146, preceded by Jameson (1991).

^{238.} Indecision: Burkert (1985) 111–114. So also Flower (2008) 105: "it aided decision-making, circumvented indecision, and arbitrated disputes."

Scholars who regard divination as persuasive or deceitful focus on the celebrant and thus adopt a sociological perspective similar to that of Vernant and Detienne. They sometimes add a historical perspective: in Homer, commanders relying on their own prestige had less need of persuasion or deceit, and did not resort to divination, but Classical commanders dealing with citizens and mercenaries had more need, and took up this practice. Hellenistic commanders, mostly monarchs, once again had less need, and dispensed with divination. ²³⁹ In contrast, scholars who regard divination as interpretive or cognitive focus on the worshipper's psychology. Burkert finds himself in this group. These scholars do not add any historical perspective, save for the observation that the bigger armies of later times made decision-making more demanding. ²⁴⁰

To test these views, appendix B presents thirty-seven examples of negative extispicy from Aeschylus through Polyaenus. Taken together, these examples qualify the assumption that extispicy differs from other acts of sacrifice, for although the sources and setting are distinctive, the role of the god is not. As Casabona observed, the god responded to these sacrifices as he did to others. Just as successful sacrifices were kala, the unsuccessful were ou kala. A few sources use the phrase ou kallierein, and perhaps add a bad omen.²⁴¹ A few others say that the god gave a signal, or words to that effect, or that *manteis* reported this result.²⁴² Most say that "the offerings did not prove kala," with the word kala sometimes understood.²⁴³ All this is sacrifice as usual—the usual offering, the usual recipient, and the usual standard of judgment. The sources treat divination as though it were the inspection of entrails during acts of thusia, as found in vase paintings and as adumbrated in Homeric allocation of the entrails to priests or kings.²⁴⁴ Also telling is the occasional switch from the report of ou kala to the interpretation of the altar fire or the interpretation of other parts of the animals.²⁴⁵ In divination as in other kinds of sacrifice, the god spoke copiously.

^{239.} As in Lewis (2001).

^{240.} A survey of comparable problems in rituals in other religions: Schieffelin (1998) especially 200–201, as well as Hüsken (2007) 349–359.

^{241.} Kallierein: no. 2, 5. Omen: 29.

^{242.} Signal: no. 13. Words to that effect: 11, 21. *Manteis*: 24, 37.

^{243.} *Gignesthai kala*: nos. 1, 4, 27. *Gignesthai chrēsta*: 5. *Kala* understood: 10, 14–16, 18–22, 26, 31, 34. Latin renderings of *ou kala*: 31, 32.

^{244.} The only other list of failures: Pritchett (1971–91) 3.73–80, giving fifteen instances (nos. 2, 4, 5, 14–19, 22–25, 31, 34).

^{245.} Liver: nos. 25, 36. Fire: 6; E. *Ph.* 1255–1259 (a successful sacrifice). Head: no. 29. Bladder and tail: schol. E. *Ph.* 1255.

Celebrants acknowledged these replies. Of the thirty-seven instances, only seven ended with the celebrants disobeying the divine warning, and three of these seven involved Alexander the Great. Two more involved Mardonius in Herodotus and Adrastus in Euripides's *Suppliants*. Only two involved commanders who were historical Greeks: the Spartans Anaxibius and Callicratidas. Anaxibius disobeyed and met with defeat, the same as Mardonius and Adrastus. Callicratidas disobeyed on the grounds that the negative extispicy concerned him and not his forces, but was defeated nonetheless.²⁴⁶ Only Alexander disobeyed successfully—his father, Philip, never disobeyed—and even Alexander did not always avoid defeat.²⁴⁷ Victorious at Gaza, he was frustrated, if not defeated, at the Tanais River in Scythia, and wounded at the siege of Malli.²⁴⁸ A divine warning was to be heeded. As Cleomenes says in Herodotus, a river might refuse to let an army pass.²⁴⁹ Only Achilles would argue with a river. A mere Heraclid would not.

To be sure, the rejected celebrant might try again. Among the thirty-seven celebrants in appendix B, seven tried again, often on the same day. In Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the army's leaders tried twice to learn whether the gods would favor their return to the harbor of Calpe.²⁵⁰ On the same day and the day after, the leaders tried three times to learn whether they should forage.²⁵¹ Another general, Cleander, commanding a Peloponnesian garrison at Byzantium, tried repeatedly, over three days, to learn whether to advance. So did another Spartan, Dercylidas, when in command in Asia Minor in the *Historia Graeca*.²⁵² Yet these instances form a minority. For the most part, the celebrant regarded divine rejection as final. Even if he tried again, he might find that the god showed more disfavor, and he would yield to the god's will. At Calpe, the leaders did just that. So did Cleander

^{246.} Alexander: nos. 30, 33, and 32 (in two of three sources). Mardonius: 3. Adrastus: 6. Anaxibius: 26. Callicratidas: 29.

^{247.} Philip: no. 28 (Aeschin. 3.132 with the complications involving Demosthenes discussed above).

^{248.} Gaza: no. 30. Frustration: 31 with escape of the enemy (Arr. An. 4.4.3) and sickness in camp (It. Alex. 85). Wound: 21. Another views of no. 31: Pritchett (1971–91) 3.80.

^{249.} No. 2. A similar view: Burn (1984) 229. A different view: Dover (1973) 64, supposing that disobeying a divine sign was a course of action that a commander would commonly consider. Yet Dover is describing an instance of "human sacrifice," and thus, strictly speaking, not an act of thusia.

^{250.} Nos. 14-15.

^{251.} Nos. 16-18.

^{252.} Nos. 20, 22.

and Dercylidas. Only in the remaining case, about foraging, did the leaders defy the god, and even here only one of them did. 253

An odd passage in Aeschines shows both that the rejected leader or magistrate might try again, and also that he ought to take rejection seriously. In *Against Ctesiphon*, Aeschines claims that Demosthenes was performing military sacrifices and had not yet succeeded. Demosthenes should have kept trying, Aeschines implies. Then, Aeschines says, the troops were going to depart anyway. Outrageous, he continues: if the god is unfavorable, the troops must wait. The upshot is not disastrous, as Aeschines implies, yet he has illustrated two commonplaces concerning rejected acts of divination. (Meanwhile, an act of rejection has occurred, but in the enemy camp.)²⁵⁴

If we ask whether the troops found the rite persuasive, we must answer yes, but not in the way Nock meant. The celebrant persuaded the men to follow his lead, and he did so partly by consulting the gods, just as other worshippers consulted oracles, but the god, not the celebrant, persuaded the army to take some course of action. If we ask whether the celebrant tricked his men, we must answer no. In none of the thirty-seven cases did the celebrant suppress the rejection and report the opposite to his troops. This evidence outweighs any statements that accuse generals of this trick, partly because the statements are few, and partly because they form a motif in late authors. The first, in Plutarch, says that Agesilaus gave orders to place letters signifying good omens on a sacrificial liver. (The liver would hold the markings, and the king would invite his soldiers to see for themselves.)²⁵⁵ Polyaenus picks up the motif but attributes it to Attalus of Pergamum.²⁵⁶ Frontinus attaches it to that likely target Alexander the Great.²⁵⁷

In contrast, the one early source for suppressing results, Xenophon, explains how a general would deal with a false accusation of trickery. In the *Anabasis*, his men suspected him of this, and to quiet their suspicions he invited them to attend a sacrifice. ²⁵⁸ Xenophon knew that the celebrant must not appear to contradict the god. This obligation accounts for the tricks played in the late sources, and also

^{253.} Neon, with 2,000 foragers (X. An. 6.4.23-24).

^{254.} Aeschin. 3.131 and 152 = no. 28.

^{255.} Plu. Apophth. Lac. 215d.

^{256.} Polyaen. 4.20.1.

^{257.} Front. *Strat.* 1.11.14. In Arrian, all four instances of divination vel sim. are negative (nos. 30, 32, 35, 36); so also in Curtius (nos. 30–33). Plutarch's only instance is also negative (no. 34).

^{258.} No. 14, repeating 13, at which they did not attend.

for the unscrupulous Alexander's action on another occasion when the results of extispicy proved unfavorable. Told he must take Tyre within a month or abandon the siege, Alexander added two days to the length of the month.²⁵⁹ He did not ignore the god's deadline.

If we ask whether the celebrant shaped the process, the view of Burkert and others, we must agree, but with reservations. As Burkert notes, the celebrant put forward the alternatives between which the god chose, typically between attacking and standing pat. Besides deciding whether to try again, the celebrant timed the rite. Some few did more. Alexander induced his *mantis* to find negative results positive, and Iphicrates delayed in obeying the god. Yet these exceptions appear in the Alexander historians and in Polyaenus. Such sources show not what most did but what the boldest or most devious did. They run parallel to the sources for trickery, which also mention Alexander. The power to shape, like the power to trick, was circumscribed. The power to put an end to indecision was shared. It belonged both to the commander and to the god.

All of these scholarly views tend to justify rejected sacrifices of this kind—to make them persuasive, imaginative, or useful. Yet these rejections cost lives. At Plataea, rejected acts of divination left the Spartans vulnerable to showers of arrows from the Persians—a celebrated case but accompanied by many others. If we ask one last question, which is why celebrants ran the risk of this sort of suffering, appendix B gives two answers. First, rejection was unavoidable. In Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the biggest source, twelve rejections rival successes. ²⁶¹ The second biggest source, his *Historia Graeca*, presents one-quarter rejections. ²⁶² Thucydides and Herodotus present more rejection than success, including rejection motivated by bias against Spartans and Persians. ²⁶³ (In contrast, Xenophon

^{259.} No. 34.

^{260.} Alexander: no. 32 (but cf. Arr. An. 4.4.3, It. Alex. 85). Iphicrates: 37.

^{261.} Twelve rejections: X. An. 2.2.3, 5.5.2, 5.6.16, 6.1.22–24, 6.4.13, 6.4.15, 6.4.19, 6.4.20, 6.4.22, 6.4.25, 6.6.35, 7.6.44, or nos. 10–21 in app. B. Seventeen successes: X. An. 1.8.15, 2.2.4, 3.5.17–18, 4.3.9, 4.6.23, 5.4.22, 5.6.29, 6.2.15, 6.4.9, 6.4.20, 6.5.2, 6.5.8, 6.5.21, 7.2.15–16, 7.6.44, 7.8.10, 7.8.20.

^{262.} Five rejections: X. HG 3.1.7, 3.4.15, 4.4.5, 4.7.7, 4.8.36, or nos. 22–26 in app. B. Fifteen successes: X. HG 3.1.19, 3.2.16 (unless interrupted at 3.2.18), 3.5.7, 4.5.10, 4.6.6, 4.7.2, 5.1.33, 5.3.14, 5.4.37, 5.4.49, 6.4.19, 6.5.12, 6.5.17, 6.5.18, 6.5.49.

^{263.} Thucydides, three out of five, with rejections starred: 4.92.7, 5.54.2*, 5.55.3*, 5.116.1*, 6.69.2; these three comprise nos. 7–9 in app. B. Herodotus, four out of seven with rejections starred: 6.76*, 9.19 bis, 9.36* bis, *9.61, 9.62; these four comprise nos. 2–5 in app. B. Spartan rejection in Thucydides: all three starred examples, vs. no examples of success. Persian rejection in Herodotus: 9.36, again versus no example of success.

shows Spartans both succeeding and failing, the same as others.) 264 Only tragedians are optimistic about divination. 265

Celebrants also risked rejection in the hope that as the army waited for a good sign, the situation might improve. When Dercylidas approached Cebren in Asia Minor, just after taking nearby places without a fight, the town's refusal to surrender made him angry, and he sacrificed in order to give battle. The sacrifices were rejected. Meanwhile, the townspeople convinced their commander that it was wrong to side with the brigand who now ruled the region and better to side with Dercylidas. At last the sacrifices turned favorable, and he advanced, only to find that the city would surrender. The Ten Thousand benefited, too. When they reached the Tibarenians, likely targets for plunder, the generals at first refused to accept the locals' hospitality. Plunder might provide more supplies. After the sacrifices proved negative for war, the generals reversed themselves, accepted the hospitality, and found themselves in a Greek colony just two days later. The plunder was unnecessary. 267

Waiting did not always prove easy. After the expedition decided to remain at Calpe Harbor, because of unfavorable sacrifices for their return home, Xenophon suggested that they sacrifice for good foraging. One soldier, assuming that the rejected sacrifices covered foraging, too, said there was good reason for these sacrifices to fail. A ship was coming that would bring supplies.²⁶⁸ This soldier thought this was one more case where rejection and delay would eventually pay. Not this time: no ship came, sacrifices for foraging failed repeatedly, and when an expedition went foraging nonetheless, it encountered an ambush.²⁶⁹

Like Plutarch, Xenophon is an unremarked expert on sacrifice. Whereas Plutarch, a priest and a student of philosophy, notices the god's role in this or that phase of sacrifice, Xenophon, a soldier and also a student of philosophy, notices the god's response to this or that worshipper, or this or that request; Xenophon's

^{264.} Spartan success: X. An. 4.6.23 (Cheirisophus), HG 3.1.19 (Dercylidas), 3.5.7 (Pausanias), 4.5.10, 4.6.6 (Agesilaus), 4.7.2 (Agesipolis), 5.1.33, 5.3.14, 5.4.37, 5.4.47, 5.4.49 (Agesilaus), 6.4.19 (Archidamus), 6.5.12, 6.5.17 (Agesilaus). Rejection: nos. 10 (Clearchus), 20 (Cleander), 22 (Dercylidas), 23 (Agesilaus), 25 (Agesipolis), 26 (Anaxibius). Others's success: X. HG 4.2.18 (Thebans), 6.5.49 (Iphicrates). Other failures: nos. 11, 14 (commanders of Ten Thousand), 18 (Cleanor of Arcadia).

^{265.} Tragic rejection: nos. 1, 6. Success: E. Heracl. 399-402, 672-673; Ph. 1109-1011.

^{266.} No. 22 with X. HG 3.1.18-19.

^{267.} No. 11 with X. An. 5.5.4. Similar: no. 25, where Agesipolis abandons his plan to built a wall, but only after he has succeeded in his campaign against Argos.

^{268.} X. An. 6.4.18.

^{269.} Failures: no. 16-18. Expedition: X. An. 6.4.23-24.

bent is ethical and practical, whereas Plutarch's is esthetic and ceremonial. Besides saying more about trickery than other writers, and more about rejection, Xenophon says more about the purposes of extispicy, mentioning not just attacks or advances, but whether a commander should accept a post, obtain supplies, join forces, or build a wall.²⁷⁰ By the same token, Xenophon alone says that extispicy might tell him to choose between alternatives that were not positive and negative, like joining forces as opposed to withdrawing, or remaining as opposed to withdrawing.²⁷¹ All this must have been common, but Xenophon alone says so.

Xenophon picked up gossip that Alcibiades spoilt the Pluntēria, and that Theramenes spoilt the Apatouria. He wrote that one of his heroes, Agesilaus, gave the spurious thanks, and that another, the pretender Cyrus, made the rarely noticed mistake of thinking sacrifices acceptable before a defeat. Zero Xenophon knew what might happen if a celebrant ran out of sheep. The sociological view of extispicy arises mostly from his work, for he says the most about leadership, and so does the psychological view, for he says the most about the soldiers' attitudes. Like Homer or the tragedians, he illustrates that sacrifice was a cultural artifact as well as a form of behavior.

Scholarly Evasion of Rejection

It bears repeating that Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne joined many other scholars in acknowledging that sacrifices might go awry. Gods sometimes rejected prayers. They often punished those who neglected to sacrifice. Gods also wished for polluted and sacrilegious persons to avoid shrines. Hepatoscopy sometimes proved unfavorable, and so generals had to manipulate this rite. Yet

^{270.} Nos. 13, 16-18, 21, 25.

^{271.} Nos. 21, 24.

^{272.} Alcibiades: X. HG 1.4.12. Theramenes: 1.7. Cyrus: An. 1.8.5.

^{273.} No. 18.

^{274.} Answerable and unanswerable in Homer: Lateiner (1997) 260–261, and Morrison (1991) 149. Tragedy: Mikalson (1989). General: Pulleyn (1997) chs. 2 and 10. An early view, but arguing that sacrifices made rejection of prayers harder: Beckmann (1932). An early view that regarded rejection as due to formal error: Ausfeld (1903). Burkert's views: chapter 1 n. 53 here.

^{275.} Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantell (1992) 187 on Hippolytus's errors; preceded by Frazer ad Apollod. 1.92 with refs. Among other examples: *Il.* 9.534–536, Arr. *An.* 4.8.2. A customary precaution: X. *HG* 4.5.11. General statement: DS 6.6.4, calling failure to sacrifice *asebeia*, and Thph. fr. 523 ed. Fortenbaugh (1992) comparing neglect of sacrifice and impiety.

^{276.} A summary: Parker (1983) 352-356.

each of these caveats is incomplete. Along with the rejected prayer came the rejected offering. Along with the error of neglect came offenses such as those Agamemnon committed against Apollo's priest. Along with the loss of access to shrines came the contretemps of a polluted or sacrilegious person sacrificing in spite of himself. Along with the manipulation of hepatoscopy came cases of delay, as in Xenophon. Along with error, neglect, and manipulation came rejection.

Why the oversight? Rejected sacrifices formed a minority of sacrifices, and the victims of the rejection seldom acknowledged them. If observers reported them, these reports might be misleading: Thucydides and Sparta offer one example, and Xenophon and Thebes offer another. When rejection was not reported, scholars would have to deduce it, as with the Delphic votive presented by the Syracusans after their victory at Himera. Pausanias found it in the treasury of the Carthaginians, the losers, where it evoked their rejected sacrifices before that battle.²⁷⁷ Even in the Homeric poems, where rejection is plentiful, lengthy descriptions of successful acts near the start of both poems monopolized attention. Scholars regarded rejection in tragedy not as one genre's version of an outcome but as evidence for the genre's uniqueness.

Even for writers not focused on epic and tragedy, rejected acts of sacrifice threw up obstacles. Because these acts were historical or legendary, they were less susceptible to sociological or anthropological treatment than acts that were routine. For example, very few mentioned victims. Of the fifty-five acts of rejection in appendix A, only one, the incident of the cattle of the Sun, had anything to do with any of the victims. Of the thirty-seven acts in appendix B, none concerned an animal's feelings, as opposed to its liver. Of the total of ninety-two acts in the two appendices, none had anything to do with the meat interesting to Vernant and Detienne.

How should a worshipper sacrifice, give thanks, and have his (or her) thanks accepted? Socrates asked Apollo. The god's answer did not overlook the rite, but it also considered the context. It covered individuals as well as groups, priests as well as laymen, incense as well as animals, yet it was two words long.

Rules, Rewards, and Experts

WHEN SOCRATES ASKED Apollo how to give thanks, the god answered $\nu \acute{o}\mu \dot{\omega}$ $\pi \acute{o}\lambda \epsilon \omega$ s, "according to the law of the community." The word for "law," *nomos*, comprehended the precepts on which acceptance depended and also statutes and customs. In the same vein, Lysias says:

I think it right to sacrifice according to the customs of our ancestors, in a way that benefits us, in a way that the people have voted for, and also in a way that they will be able to afford, public revenue being what it is.²

Of these four recommendations, the first, customs, or *ta patria*, refers to sacrifices by the polis, by groups, and by individuals. The second, with its word "benefits," refers to *hiera kala*. The third and fourth refer to the statutes of Athens. Lysias draws no distinction among these four, save that the polis must consider the "public revenue."

How would the community, group, or individual heed these several kinds of *nomos*? They would need knowledge of *ta patria* and of Athenian law.³ They would need free time, and, Lysias implies, they would need wealth. Most worshippers lacked these qualifications. An enemy of democracy, the Old Oligarch, explained that

as for sacrifices, . . . the demos realized that it was not possible for poor individuals to make them.⁴

I. X. Mem. 1.3.1.

^{2.} Lys. 30.19: ἀξιῶ πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θύειν, ἔπειτα ἃ μᾶλλον συμφέρει τῆ πόλει, ἔτι δὲ ἃ ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο καὶ δυνησόμεθα δαπανᾶν ἐκ τῶν προσιόντων χρημάτων.

^{3.} A different view: Jameson (1999) 338, supposing that knowledge of *ta patria* might be secret. Limited if not secret: Parker (1996a) 295–296, observing that there is little evidence for application of *ta patria* by experts assisting with legislation or testifying in court (as at And. I.II5–II6).

^{4. [}X.] Ath. 2.9: Θυσίας ... γνοὺς ὁ δῆμος ὅτι οὐχ οἶόν τέ ἐστιν ἑκάστω τῶν πενήτων θύειν.... θύουσιν οὖν δημοσία μὲν ἡ πόλις ἱερεῖα πολλά· ἔστι δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ εὐωχού μενος καὶ διαλαγχάνων τὰ ἱερεῖα.

The Oligarch then conceded that the demos had overcome this obstacle by delegating responsibility for sacrifices. In the Oligarch's words, the demos "assigned" them:

The community makes many sacrifices at public expense. The demos is the one who celebrates festivals and assigns the sacrifices.

The demos assigned these sacrifices to officials, and sometimes to experts. If the sacrifice were to occur in a shrine, these experts would likely be priests, meaning not clerics trained in sacraments but officials responsible for shrines.⁵ If the worshippers were providing the money, as the demos did, and as some groups did, they would watch over those who were responsible for sacrifices, rewarding them for success in this task, instructing them in their duties, and punishing them for missteps. Like the general who stood beside a *mantis* before a battle, the demos or group realized the risk in assigning sacrifices to others. No Greek supposed that trusting an expert would suffice (Greeks attributed this supposition to Indians).⁶ Experts, like officials, needed to be accountable, and, as Aeschines reports, they were—priests as much as magistrates.⁷

The demos and others wrote regulations for these purposes. Some were the Assembly resolutions to which Lysias refers. Since they were enforceable and contained sanctions, these resolutions were laws. Other regulations came from small groups, including Athenian demes. Since these regulations were enforceable, too, but through polis courts, they were bylaws. They contained less severe sanctions. Other regulations took the form of instructions given by individuals. They contained admonitions.

^{5.} For the somewhat narrow sense of the English term "priest," and for similar words in other modern languages, see Henrichs (2008) 5–8. The priest, or *hiereus*, defined by place of work, the shrine: Arist. *Pol.* 6.1322b. A different view: Chaniotis (2008) 33, seeing expertise as an exception found among hereditary priests. A stronger statement of the view that priests were not experts: Burkert (1985) 98, discussed below, preceded by Schoemann (1861–63 2) 2.392, denying that priests were "Vermittler," and Martha (1882) 10, saying that they performed "une service administrative."

^{6.} Arr. Ind. 11.3-4.

^{7.} Aeschin. 3.18 with Fröhlich (2004) 402–409 for the Hellenistic period; 373–396 showing that review occurred in some poleis that were not democratic.

^{8.} For enforceability and sanctions as criteria for law in an ancient or primitive society, see Pospisil (1971) 44–78, whose description I applied to regulation of supplication in Naiden (2006a). Pospisil gives two more criteria, general applicability and a description of rights and duties, but these two criteria have not occasioned disputes among scholars. Another view: Lupu (2009²) 6–9.

^{9.} Yet individuals could establish associations that would then be able to impose fines, such as LSCG 135.35, 53 (Thera, third-century BCE foundation of Epictata).

Whatever the form of the regulation, the regulator was delegating responsibility. The community did not need to gather, as in Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne. A deputation of priests and officials would. Among families and small groups, heads of household or parents would take responsibility. In the Classical period, polis sacrifices were not egalitarian, another view of these writers. Priests and others resembled the *archontes*, or magistrates, of the polis, and the mass of worshippers resembled the *idiōtai*, or populace. The distinction between priests and worshippers introduced a measure of hierarchy into sacrifice, just as the distinction between officials and the populace introduced the same quality into the polis. In any period, sacrifice by the polis resembled sacrifice by families and groups, and also by individuals. Laws about the former resembled bylaws and instructions about the latter. Sacrifice illustrated Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's observation that the individual, not the community, was "the basic, cultic unit" of ancient Greek religious practices. In an ancient Greek religious practices.

Communal Sacrifices on Others' Behalf

In arguing that Greek sacrifice, and especially Greek animal sacrifice, was a general gathering, Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne stressed communal sacrifices in Homer and also in Classical Athens, including sacrifices by tribes and the like, as well as by the citizenry. General statements about the "equal feast" of Homer and about "public feasting" in inscriptions point to these sacrifices. ¹² So does Plato's statement that the practice of sacrifice should make citizens familiar with one another and also make them cooperative. ¹³ In Polybius and Athenaeus, sacrificial feasting breeds ease and good feeling among participants. ¹⁴ Plutarch gives a notable instance: sacrifices as well as purifications performed by the seer Epimenides helped Solon bring peace to Athens. ¹⁵

Yet the evidence for these sacrifices does not justify the conclusion that they were always, or almost always, general gatherings. Rather, the evidence shows

^{10.} Archontes and idiōtai: Rubenstein (1998).

^{11.} Sourvinou-Inwood (1988) 264, reprised at Buxton (2004) 44, cited below, vs. the better known formulations in Sourvinou-Inwood (1990). The same view: Price (1999) 89.

^{12.} Homer: II. 1.468, 602, 2.431, 4.48, 7.320, 23.56, 24.69. Od. 8.98, 16.479, 19.425. $\delta\eta\mu o\theta o\nu i\alpha$: LSJ s.v. same. See also Parker (1996a) 78, 153, 173, 220 n. 8.

^{13.} Pl. Lg.~6.771d; so also Arist. EN~8.1160a, observing that some regular sacrifices occurred during seasons of rural idleness.

^{14.} Ath. 8.363d.

^{15.} Plu. Sol. 12.7–8 = Epimenides 457 FGrH T 4; so also Plu. Mul. Virt. 253f–54a, regarding civil strife in Miletus.

that they were often acts performed by priests and other representatives. These sacrifices took place *huper tinos*, "on behalf of" and "for the benefit of" others. ¹⁶ The meaning "on behalf of others" refers to the absence of the worshippers, or most of them. The meaning "for the benefit of others" refers to the service done these worshippers by the representative, whether a priest or magistrate, an officer of a group, or a family head—an expert, or only an experienced celebrant.

Numerous Athenian inscriptions mention the obvious person to perform a sacrifice on behalf of a community, and for its benefit—a priest. In the middle of the second century BCE, the priests of Asclepius, for example,

[sacrificed on behalf] of the council and the people and their children [and their wives] and then made a complete report to the council and said that their sacrifices proved . . . acceptable [kala].¹⁷

Here as elsewhere, sacrifices "on behalf of" also were "for the benefit of." A hundred years earlier, in 246 BCE, the priest was doing much the same thing "for the safety of the people." Another hundred years earlier, around 330, the priest of Dionysus sacrificed "on behalf of the council and people" and also for the "health and safety of their children and women and other possessions"—the longest and most complex of all formulas, but perhaps one the Athenians took for granted on many other occasions. The Demosthenic *Against Neaera* increases the number of participating priests to include the King Archon in his role as an Athenian *rex sacrorum*, sacrificing for the crops as well as the people; the King Archon's wife; and the priests of Heracles. This speech and Aeschines's *Against Ctesiphon* confirm the role of priests in making sacrifices of this kind, and provide evidence for the Classical period, but without formulae. The priests of the sacrification of the complex of the classical period, but without formulae.

^{16.} As observed by Parker (2005b) 66-67, 95-97; and Jameson (1999) 333. Incidental anticipation of these two scholars: Puttkammer (1912) 47 and Pulleyn (1997) 14.

^{17.} IG ii^2 974.13–16, θύσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ] / $[\tau]$ ῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδ[ων καὶ γυναικών τὰς θυσ]- / [ί]ας ἐν ἄπασιν ἀπήγγειλεν τεῖ βο[vλῆι γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ] σωτήρια.

^{18.} IG ii^2 775.13–15: $\tau \grave{a}$ $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ \grave{a} $\gamma a \theta \grave{a}$ $[\delta \acute{\epsilon} \chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota \ \tau \grave{a}$ $\gamma \epsilon \gamma o \nu \acute{o} \tau a \acute{\epsilon} \nu]$ / $\tau o i s$ $i \epsilon \rho o i s$ $\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\phi}$ $i \nu \iota \iota \epsilon \acute{a} \iota \iota$ $i \kappa a \iota$

^{19.} Priest of Dionysus: IG ii² 410.14 (c. 330 BCE). Other priests and the like sacrificing according to the "health and safety" formula:, 661.17-18 (283/2 BCE), 775.12-14 (247/6 BCE), 807.24-25 (mid-second century BCE), 976.2-5; ii² 47.25-31 supplies only the words $\dot{v}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho$ $\tau o\hat{v}$ $\delta\dot{\eta}\mu o\nu$ at the start of the fourth century.

^{20.} King Archon: [Dem.] 59.92, IG ii² 668.7–10, 282/281 BCE. Wife: [Dem.] 59.73. Heracles: 57.47.

^{21. [}Dem.] 59.92; Aeschin. 3.18.

An inscription from the late fourth century confirms the obvious supposition that where priests acted, so might their assistants, including *hieropoioi* working at the Panathenaea and the supervisors for the Eleusinian Mysteries.²² Here the priests coached the assistants. In the cult of Athena Nike, the exegete coached the priestess.²³ This evidence ranges from the fifth century to the second.

All these are regular, frequent sacrifices. Among them, those before Assembly meetings were perhaps the most important. In the late fourth century, these meetings occurred at least four times a prytany, or forty times a year.²⁴ The priest of Asclepius took charge of the Asclepiea and Epidauria, mentioned in the *dermatikon* accounts as among the biggest regular festivals.²⁵

Less obvious is the role of magistrates in making sacrifices *huper tinos*, yet the instances involving *prutaneis* are especially numerous. The longest formula for sacrifices *hyper tinos* appears in inscriptions concerning them. It begins:

The *prutaneis* of the tribe . . . have reported that before the meetings of the assembly they have sacrificed to Apollo Prostatērios, Artemis Boulaia, and the other gods to whom it is customary to sacrifice. ²⁶

This language recollects the sacrifices made by priests before meetings and also the praise of priests for sacrificing on behalf of the council and the people. The rest of the formula sounds familiar, too:

The demos have resolved that the sacrifices made for the health and safety of the council and the demos have proved good.²⁷

^{22.} Panathenaea: IG ii² 334.b.1–5. Mysteries: IG ii² 661.17–19, 283–82 BCE; 807.23–27, middle of the third century BCE. So also IG ii² 47.23–30, where the *epistatai* of Asclepius make sacrifices "on behalf of the people," but on instruction from the priest.

^{23.} IG i³ 78a.36-37, c. 422 BCE.

^{24.} I.e., four per prytany as at Arist. *Ath.* 43.3. On meetings of Assembly (at least forty per year), see E. Harris (2006) 81–120. Interpreting the phrase $\mu\epsilon\tau\dot{\alpha}\,\tau\dot{\alpha}\,i\epsilon\rho\dot{\alpha}$ to refer to sacrifices, Harris suggests that these were sacrifices occurring before the start of each meeting. Sacred business, but not sacrifices: Rhodes in Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 33.30–38.

^{25.} Dermatikon accounts: as at chapter 6 below.

^{26.} IG ii² 790.8–13, c. 235/4 BCE: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλ- / [0]υσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις . . . ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν ὧ- / [ν] ἔθυον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶι Τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Προστ- / [ατ]ηρίωι καὶ τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι τῆι Βουλαίαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις / [θε]οῖς οἶς πάτριον ἦν. So also Agora 15.89.14–15, 174.8–13, 187.38–42, 240.9–13, 249.6–10, from 254/3 to 125/4 BCE.

^{27.} IG ii² 790.8–13: δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι, v τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γε- / [γο]νότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἶς ἔθυον ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρ[ίαι] / [τῆ]ς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου. The "health and safety" formula for other magistrates: IG ii² 668.8 (282/1 BCE), 1011.68 (94 BCE).

The "good" sacrifices echo the priests' "acceptable" sacrifices. Other inscriptions add up to four parties to the list of beneficiaries: the citizens, women, and children, and their friends and allies.²⁸ We do not know how frequent these "good" sacrifices were, but they must have occurred at least once in a prytany, so they can be called regular sacrifices.

Whether under this formula or other, similar formulae, the *prutaneis* set an example for other officials.²⁹ Unsurprisingly, the steward of the tribe providing *prutaneis* sacrificed "on behalf of" the *prutaneis*, the council, and the demos; this inscription dates from 341 BCE.³⁰ Hellenistic trainers of ephebes and Classical demarchs sacrificed periodically and probably regularly "on behalf of (Athenian) allies," or "friends and allies."³¹ *Agonothetai* did, too.³² Xenophon says that hipparchs should sacrifice "on behalf of the demos" as well as themselves, and an inscription implies as much, so military commanders must be added to the list.³³ So must public doctors in the Asclepieum, but "on behalf of their patients."³⁴ The prescribed sacrifices may not be regular, as before, but they are routine.

The practice extended beyond Athens. A priest on Andros sacrificed "on behalf of the community," and the inscription includes a rhetorical flourish like the Athenian mention of "women and children," for it says that he sacrificed "on behalf of every inhabitant" of the island.³⁵ Another echo of Attic phrasing is sacrifice "on behalf of safety and understanding," not safety and health. It occurs in a diplomatic context.³⁶ The king of Sparta made sacrifices on behalf of his troops, such as frontier sacrifices, and on behalf of the troops of the Peloponnesian

^{28.} The full list: *Agora* 15.243.12. One or more of the four: *Agora* 15.167.11, 171.13, 194.8, 238.14, 246.11, 254.17, 261.14; *SEG* XL.107.6–10. A brief treatment of this aspect of these inscriptions: Dow (1937) 8–10, commenting on the mention of friends and allies, but regarding the mention of women and children as "rhetorical and insignficant." No comment on these terms: Rhodes (1972) 132. Frequent but not daily sacrifices by *prutaneis*: Schoemann (1819) 306.

^{29.} IG ii² 674.9-11, 920.2-4, 967.10-11, from 277 to the middle of the second century BCE.

^{30.} *Agora* 15.38.73-76. Dow (1937) 13-14 gives further information.

^{31.} Trainers: SEG XV.104.108–110 (friends and allies, 127/6 BCE); SEG XXII.110.3–9 (friends, but allies may be supplied, 79/8 BCE), IG ii² 1011.76–49 (allies, 104 BCE). Classical Demarchs: Dem. 57.24. Hellenistic: IG ii² 949.6–17.

^{32.} IG ii² 657.41-42, 287/86 BCE; 780.8-10 with the "health and safety" formula, 246 BCE.

^{33.} X. Eq. Mag. 1.1; SEG XXI.435.14-16.

^{34.} LSCG 40.9-13.

^{35.} IG xii 5.721.15–17, first century BCE. "All the inhabitants": $\pi \acute{a}\nu \tau \omega \nu \ \tau \acute{\omega} \nu \ \kappa \alpha \tau o i \kappa o \acute{u}\nu \tau \omega \nu$.

^{36.} Breyter and Lichtenstein (2005) 3.22.88-90 (Mylasa and Miletus).

League.³⁷ Back in Sparta, the ephors sacrificed on behalf of the ephebes.³⁸ A magistrate called the *stephanophoros* sacrificed "on behalf of" the community at Telmissos.³⁹ Assistants joined in, such as the *hieropoioi* on Cos.⁴⁰

Athens, as it happens, does not furnish an example in which the priest or other leader makes an offering of incense, but Miletus does. The priest of Dionysus will

make sacrifices to the dancing Dionysus in the theater and place incense [on the altar], take charge of the libations, and utter prayers on behalf of the community of the Prieneans.⁴¹

In the light of the temple inventories reporting *thumiatēria*, the lack of other examples in extant inscriptions is misleading. With its multiple types of censers, some gilded, some silvered, the Delian Artemisium of the Classical period may have had one of the biggest and richest inventories, but it was far from having the only one.

Delegation of responsibility did not put some iconostasis between priests and people. With few exceptions, the beneficiaries of these sacrifices were free to attend them and watch the priest or magistrate at work.⁴² The first illustration in this book, with its circle of worshippers approaching Athena, implies as much, for it shows that those conducting the sacrifice are fewer than those who follow along for a look—or a serving. These onlookers, though, were not obliged to participate, and if they did participate, they were not obliged to share in the work of sacrifice, which might be a privilege. As Antiphon says in the *Chorister*, performing sacrifices was one of his privileges as a councilor:

When I was a councilor I would go into the council chamber. That's where there is a shrine to Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia. The councilors pray

^{37.} So also the idealized king of X. Cyr. 8.5.26.

^{38.} Plb. 4.35.2, the ephebes being obliged to wait outside the shrine while the ephors sacrificed inside it.

^{39.} Halikarnassos 15.5-7.

^{40.} Iscr. di Cos 215.24-25, where they help the chief magistrate; first century BCE.

^{41.} LSAM 37.15–19: θύσει δὲ καὶ τὰς θυ- / σίας τὰς ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι τῶι Διονύσωι τῶι Μελ- / πομένωι καὶ λιβανωτὸν ἐπιθήσει καὶ σπονδαρ- / χήσει καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς εὕξεται ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως / τῆς Πριηνέων.

Similar: Plu. QG 292c, where a magistrate in Opuntian Locris collects and offers grain, evidently on behalf of the people.

^{42.} E.g., [Dem.] 59.78–79, where the formulae (perhaps including prayers) uttered at the marriage of the Basilinna to Dionysus were kept secret, but the attendant sacrifices were evidently conducted on behalf of the people of Athens. Speculation on the formulae: Carey ad loc.

there. I was one of them, I did that; I joined them in making sacrifices and praying on behalf of this community.⁴³

Antiphon (meaning the defendant for whom he writes) wishes to show that those prosecuting him are denying matters of common knowledge, not, of course, because the public was present but because sacrifices of this kind were public events. Other ex-officials or priests could have said the same. In *Against Meidias*, Demosthenes does. He sacrificed on behalf of the council and "the community," and says that that he was so conspicuous that his enemies were sure to have noticed.⁴⁴

Sacrifice *huper tinos* also embraced ambassadors and other religious representatives. Along with ambassadors going to such places as Delos, the Athenian resident at Delphi, the *hieromnēmōn*, did the same thing. These are Classical instances; another happened when an oracle-monger, and three others appointed to help him, sacrificed at the behest of Athens on behalf of (but hardly for the true benefit of) the subject territory Euboea. Unnamed officials performed the monthly sacrifices, or *epimēnia*, on behalf of Athens. At the Proērosia, in contrast, prominent priests and magistrates not only sacrificed for the sake of the plowing to come but also "on behalf of" all Greece. The priestess at Eleusis was one of these officials; the priest surely was, although all we know is that he made the proclamation. Here the evidence for the priestess comes about 150 years before the evidence for the priest, another reminder that the practice of sacrifice *huper tinos* extended over centuries. In the Hellenistic period, a city might send its ambassadors to a place like Alexandria, to sacrifice on the citizenry's behalf in the presence of the king.

^{43.} Antipho 6.45: ἐμὲ βουλεύοντα καὶ εἰσιόντ' εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον—καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ Διὸς Βουλαίου καὶ ἀθηνᾶς Βουλαίας ἱερόν ἐστι, καὶ εἰσιόντες οἱ βουλευταὶ προσεύχονται, ὧν κἀγὼ εἶς ἢ, ὁ ταὐτὰ πράττων, καὶ εἰς τἆλλα ἱερὰ πάντα εἰσιών μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης.

^{44.} Dem. 21.114–115, referring to *eisitēria* "on behalf of" the council, sacrifices to Nemean Zeus, and local sacrifices to the Two Goddesses. "Community": $\pi \acute{o}\lambda \epsilon \omega s$.

^{45.} Dem. 21.53, a missed occasion testifying to a custom.

^{46.} Dem. *Ep.* 3.30 and schol. Aeschin. 3.113 with an example at *Delph.* 3.2.67.1–2, 26 BCE; 214.33 (for Chians, 247/6 BCE).

^{47.} IG i³ 40.65-67, 447/6 BCE.

^{48.} Lycurg. 6.9 ed. Conomis; perhaps the priestess of Athena.

^{49.} Rest of Greece: schol. Ar. Eq. 729, Suid. s.v. $\Pi \rho o \eta \rho o \sigma i \alpha$ as at Deubner (1966) 68. Priestess: IG i³ 250a.5-9, 450-430 BCE. Priest: IG ii² 1363a.1-5, early in the second century BCE.

^{50.} IG xii 7.506 (Nicuria before Ptolemy Sōtēr).

Even more than the sacrifices made by Athenian magistrates in Athens, these sacrifices made by Athenians and others, both in Athens and outside it, were impossible for the beneficiaries to attend. Because they were sometimes intercommunal, these sacrifices imply a network of sacrifices of this kind, one embracing all leading poleis. Ambassadors from Priene, for example, made annual sacrifices at the Panathenaea at Athens. Other major centers like Miletus presumably attracted regular sacrifices, too. Insofar as the Proērosia was a Panhellenic, not local, festival it had a counterpart in the sacrifices on behalf of all Greece at the Delphic *theoxenia*. Here each community's representatives contributed to the sacrifices. One web of sacrifices complemented another, yet also may have competed with one another. To hold a sacrifice on behalf of others not only showed cooperation, it implied friendship, and so it had diplomatic value.

With the Hellenistic period comes the second kind of diplomatic sacrifice huper tinos, made for a foreign ruler. The practice must have had many Classical antecedents, such as Nicias ordering the Delians to sacrifice on his behalf in 425 BCE. This, however, was an occasional, not regular, sacrifice. Evidence for regular sacrifice of this kind comes mostly from third-century Athenian inscriptions. Besides sacrificing on behalf of the council and people, the *prutaneis* sacrifice on behalf of foreign hegemones. During the reign of Antigonus Gonatas, an agonothetēs sacrificed "on behalf of" this Macedonian ruler.54 Later in the Hellenistic period came sacrifices by unknown parties, probably officials, "on behalf of" Rome. 55 Like the sacrifices on behalf of friends and allies, those on behalf of hegemones were frequent, occurring at least once a prytany. Among persons without office, Attic stage workers ordered three persons to sacrifice "on behalf of the king and queen of Cappadocia."56 These are sacrifices that not only benefit an absent party, but also invert the solidarity that might be supposed to result from an act of sacrifice. This solidarity no longer embraces the beneficiaries or recipients of the ritual but instead embraces those who perform it to the exclusion of the beneficiaries, who in contrast to the performers are distant if not dead.

^{51.} Priene 33.30.85–86, early first century BCE. General statements: Phot. α 2934, Lex. Rhet. Cant. s.v. $\theta \epsilon \omega \rho \delta s$.

^{52.} Miletos 3.146b.88 (for Mylasa at Miletus, 209/8 BCE), SEG XXXVIII.812b.32-34 (for Cos at games on Cnidos, c. 200 BCE).

^{53.} Pi. *Pa*. 6.62–64 = Rutherford (2000) D6.62–64 with Kearns (1996). A mythic counterpart: D.S. 4.82.2 (Aristaeus on behalf of Greece during a plague).

^{54.} IG ii² 780.6–11 with Kirchner ad loc. (c. 246/5 BCE). Perhaps earlier IMT 187.32, from 279/4 BCE or 197 BCE.

^{55.} IG ii² 1000.13 (second half of second century BCE).

^{56.} IG ii² 1330.28-32, 163-30 BCE.

Like other forms of sacrifice *huper tinos*, this one was not exclusively Attic. The demos of Lesbos sacrificed "on behalf of" the Ptolemies, one of several examples of sacrifice on behalf of a *hegemōn*. ⁵⁷ Later came sacrifices "on behalf of" the emperor or emperors. ⁵⁸ These last must have been very common. A practice best attested in Attic shrines became an intercontinental diplomatic instrument. It served the interests of the Roman emperor no less than those of the Athenian democracy, or the Spartan kings.

It bears repeating that some sacrifices were general gatherings. A herald on Magnesia bade all citizens to attend. One community, Hellenistic Telmissos, even bade all its citizens to attend a sacrifice in honor of a Macedonian overlord, a sacrifice *huper tinos*. Sparta bade every person to attend, even noncitizens. This sacrifice was the Hyacinthia, a likely occasion for such a command. Yet the date of the source, the *Lakonika* of the historian Polycrates, is early Roman or even early Imperial, so the community may be only the tourist town of that era. The late date may also explain why the Spartiates will invite "their own slaves" but not the Helots. Slaves, of course, were never compelled to attend en masse, as opposed to attending at the beck of their masters.

Such commands aside, few communities issued general invitations. Three, Argos Cos, and Colophon, were large. 62 Several others—Eresos, Amorgos, Paros, and Phigalia, and Mycalensic Thebes—were small cities. 63 Panamara invited some others, as well as its own people. 64 Ceos let citizens come all day, implying that

^{57.} IG xii.Supp. 115.15–18 with Crampa (1969) 1.6.7–8; Iasos 5.1–2 $(\sigma\pi \sigma \nu \delta o \phi [o\rho \acute{u}a\nu -]/\epsilon \pi \epsilon \acute{u}\chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a\iota$ for Antiochus III). Parody: Lucianus Phal. 1.13, on behalf of a tyrant.

^{58.} E.g., SEG XI.923.29 (Gytheum); Robert and Robert (1955, 1958); Aphrodisias no. 29 with Price (1984) 210–215, noting the difference between these sacrifices and those made "to" the emperor.

^{59.} Herald: *LSAM* 33a.43, second half of the second century BCE. Telmissos: *TAM* II 1.28, 240 BCE.

^{60.} Polykrates FGrH 588 F 1 with Jacoby's remarks on the likely date. "Their own slaves": δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους. Visitors to Sparta fed, but no mention of slaves: Ath. 10.416d-f.

^{61.} Just two late inscriptions envision slaves attending: IG vii 2712.28, after 37 CE; xii.5 667.13, 251 CE.

^{62.} Schol. Pi. O. 7.152b, Parth. 13.4 (Argos); Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 62.23 (Cos, where the sacrifice begins with a herald's announcement in the agora, implying a general distribution; so also IG xii 5 647.9–11 at Coresia).

^{63.} IG xii, Supp. 122.10–16 (Eresos, 209–4 BCE); IG xii 7.390a.10–12 (Amorgos, second century BCE); IG xii 5.129.55 (Paros); LSAM 39.25–26, c. 350 BCE and Harmodios of Lepreion FGrH 319 F 1 (Phigalia); LSAM 39.11–25 (Mycalensic Thebes). Impossible to assess: a vaguely described Thessalian custom of inviting xenoi and slaves to eat at a festival of Zeus Pelōros (Bato of Sinope FGrH 268 F 5).

^{64.} I Stratonikeia 281.5-6 (end of second century CE).

few would be present at any time.⁶⁵ Another, Andros, provided for citizens to participate "on behalf of the health and safety of all the inhabitants." Even in this case, some will act on behalf of others.

On a smaller scale, the party responsible for the sacrifice, Hubert and Mauss's *sacrifiant*, might issue an invitation to all and sundry. Hesiod says:

When you are at dinner with many guests, don't be irritable. When people share, there is the most good will at the lowest cost.⁶⁶

In this passage, generosity with sacrificial meat passes over into good conduct toward guests. The bond among the diners is strong, but it is not a communal as opposed to a personal bond. The host, not the priest or magistrate, presides.

The Greeks regarded the delegation of responsibility as an advantage. The Athenian sailors who fought at Alyzia in 375 were glad, for example, that a festival called the Skira was taking place in Athens at the same time. The priestess of Athena, the priest of Poseidon, and the priest of Helios led a procession in which women participated. All present prayed on behalf of the absent sailors. That encouraged them. Fortified by these prayers, the sailors won the battle.⁶⁷

Smaller Sacrifices on Others' Behalf

Because they were smaller and poorer than poleis, associations, groups, and families did less sacrificing when beneficiaries were absent. Yet association officials and heads of families performed many sacrifices *huper tinos*, and so did individuals. There was no local or domestic sphere of sacrifice untouched—as Vernant and Detienne might suppose, unmarred—by delegation of responsibility. Instead, the polis, association, and family complemented one another. When priests and others sacrificed on behalf of the community, everyone benefited; when associations sacrificed on behalf of the community, and not just their own members, the same was true.

Groups like the Athenian *orgeones* often sacrificed on behalf of others. In the words of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, these groups "cooperated in making

^{65.} LSCG 98.17, second century BCE.

^{66.} Hes. Op. 723–724: μηδὲ πολυξείνου δαιτὸς δυσπέμφελος εἶναι / ἐκ κοινοῦ πλείστη τε χάρις δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

^{67.} Polyaen. 3.10.4.

sacrifices to the gods and heroes" but did so "privately," not in communal temples. The oldest likely example dates from the 460s BCE, but the societies of the *orgeōnes* and their ilk predated Athenian democracy, and even predated Solon. In one fourth-century inscription, the association praises a member who sacrificed successfully on its behalf:

Resolved by the *orgeones*. Since Serapion . . . was established as supervisor for the year . . . and has made the proper sacrifices in the shrine and sacrificed successfully on behalf of the association of the *orgeones* and their wives and children and the people of Athens, and has taken good and handsome care of the *orgeones* throughout the year, and has served the gods with his own money . . . ⁷⁰

Successful sacrifice (*kallierein*) and a concern for *to kalon*, as with the "good and handsome care," are familiar, as is sacrifice on behalf of wives and children. To these fundamentals this inscription adds a leader, in this case a supervisor, if not a priest, and his responsibility to sacrifice on behalf of an association and also the people of Athens. To meet this responsibility, the supervisor must contribute money and, evidently, the time and expertise needed for "proper" performance.

Like this one, another fourth-century inscription about *orgeones* overlaps with polis sacrifices. Here not one but two associations appear, both of Thracians residing in Attica. These worshippers of the Thracian goddess Bendis formed associations in Athens and the port of Piraeus. The association in Athens had already received permission to sacrifice from the polis:

In accordance with a prophecy from Dodona, the Athenian people gave the Thracians, and no other *ethnos*, the right to own and found a shrine, as

^{68.} DH *Din.* 10, 12. Recent literature: Parker (1996a) 111, 333–342, though without discussion of sacrifices *huper tinos*. See also Thomson (1949) 112, holding that the *orgeones* were originally village cults, an origin consistent with their later, complementary relation to polis cults.

^{69.} A resolution of the deme of the Skambonidai from about 460 BCE: IG i³ 244a.15–21, although here words such as *huper tinos* are missing, and the sacrifice on behalf of the deme at some unnamed festival must be deduced. Deme sacrifices pre-Cleisthenic: Whitehead (1986) 177.

^{70.} MDAI(A) 66 (1941) 228, 4.2–8: [ἔ]δοξεν τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν ἐπειδὴ Σεραπίων . . . / ἐπιμελητὴς κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὸν . . . ἐνιαυτ[ὸν] / τάς τε θυσίας ἔθυσεν τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι καὶ [ἐ]- / καλλιέρησεν ὑπέρ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ὀργεώνων καὶ παίδων καὶ γ[υναι]- / κῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ ὀργε[ώνων] / καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως ἐν ὅλωι τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι, ἐθεράπευσεν [δὲ καὶ τοὺς] / θεοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

the oracle of Dodona provided, and to hold a parade starting from the hearth in the Prytaneum.⁷¹

The polis had told the Athenian group to lead this parade into the Piraeus, and so the Piraeus group offered to help "the worshippers in the city":

So that the *orgeones* may plainly obey the polis law that bids the Thracians to hold the parade going into Piraeus and may plainly cooperate with the worshippers in the city, the *orgeones* resolve to help run whatever parade the city-dwellers like and to lead it from the Prytaneum into Piraeus. . . . Whenever there are sacrifices let the priest and priestess pray for the *orgeones* in town in the same way as for the rest.

This prayer confirms a sacrifice *huper tinos*. The need for the worshippers to be *hosioi* motivates the next instruction:

and let the whole *ethnos* be of one mind when the sacrifices to the gods occur, along with everything else that is fitting according to the customs of the Thracians and the laws of the polis.

The last clause refers to *hiera kala*, but also to "laws" including the one making the sacrifice possible. 72

Several kinds of groups—other associations such as *thiasōtai*, clans, tribes, brotherhoods, and demes—undertook similar sacrifices *huper tinos*. For example, the steward of the Athenian tribe in prytany sacrificed on behalf of his fellow tribesmen.⁷³ The rural deme Plothia had sacrifices on its behalf undertaken in the

^{71.} IG ii² 1283.4–16, 19–26. Background: N. Jones (1999) 257–262: ἐπειδὴ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δεδωκότος τοῖς Θραιξὶ μ- / όνοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τὴν ἔγκτησιν καὶ τὴν ἴδρυσιν τοῦ / ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὴν μ[α]ντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δωδώνης ... / καὶ οἱ ὀργεῶνες τῶι τε τῆς πόλεως νόμωι πειθαρ- / χοῦντες δς κελεύει τοὺς Θραικας πέμπειν τὴμ πομπὴν εἰ- / [ς Π]ε[ι]ραιᾶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῶι ἄστει ὀργεῶνας οἰκείως [δ]- / ιακείμενοι ... δεδόχθαι τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν ν [τὴ]- / [ν μὲν] πονπὴ[ν ώ]ς ἂν [ἔ]λωνται οἱ ἐν τῶι ἄστει συνκαθι[στάνα]- / ι τὴμ πομπὴν καὶ τήνδε <0 χὖν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου εἰς Π [ει]ραιᾶ] / πορεύεσσθαι ὅταν δὲ ὧσιν αἱ θυσίαι εὕ[χεσθαι] τὸν ἱερέα καὶ τὴν ἱέρειαν πρὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς ᾶς εὕ[χονται] / καὶ τοῖς ὀργεῶσι τοῖς ἐν τῶι ἄστει κατὰ ταὐτά, ὅ[πως ἂν τού]- / τῶν γινομένων καὶ ὁμονοοῦντος παντὸς τοῦ ἔθ[νους αἴ τ]- / ε θυσίαι γίνωνται τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα πρ[οσήκει] / κατά τε τὰ πάτρια τῶν Θραικῶν καὶ τοὺς τῆς πόλ[εως νόμου]- / ς.

^{72.} A different view of the overlap of deme and communal sacrifice: Whitehead (1986) 257, "a residue of activity . . . cannot be decisively assigned to the one or the other."

^{73.} IG ii² 1315.5-9, c. 211/ 10 BCE.

city of Athens.⁷⁴ Compact yet fragmentary, the Attic deme calendars do not identify any sacrifices as *hyper tinos*, yet many of these local sacrifices must have been of this type.⁷⁵ The same is true of the one surviving Attic tribal calendar.⁷⁶ Much the same must have happened outside Athens, even if only one inscription is very similar to these Athenian ones. "The neighborhood" in the vicinity of an altar of Zeus performed sacrifices (and perhaps other rites) on behalf of the surrounding community, Prusias.⁷⁷

Domestic sacrifices might seem less likely to be delegated. Not only were beneficiaries fewer and resources smaller, but absent beneficiaries ought to have been less common. Yet domestic sacrifices *huper tinos* occur in every kind of source. In his *Alexander*, Plutarch wishes to show the king's kindliness, so he reports that when Craterus was sick in bed, the king sacrificed on his behalf. (Alexander told Craterus to sacrifice, too, but did not think that would suffice.)⁷⁸ In the same spirit, Jocasta goes to Lycian Apollo on behalf of Oedipus, who remains in the palace. Two guilty mothers, Clytemnestra and Helen, send daughters to sacrifice on their behalf, a denial of parental responsibility found only in tragedy.⁷⁹ In Xenophon of Ephesus, in contrast, the parents sacrifice on behalf of their sick children, who presumably are not in the same room.⁸⁰ The worshipper's reason for acting on behalf of another is always practical. Alexander has had a dream; Jocasta has knowledge that Oedipus lacks; Clytemnestra and Helen fear for their lives; unlike their bedridden children, the parents are able-bodied.

These three sacrifices lack a meal, an objection that would be especially important for Vernant and Detienne. Another domestic sacrifice, in Menander's *Dyskolos*, supplies this feature. Here a mother of a middling family hopes to propitiate Pan in the wake of a dream. Her concern is not for herself but for her son, the victim of the god's hostility. Rather than occur at once, this sacrifice bobs in and out of the action over several hundred lines.

^{74.} IG i³ 258.25-27, c. 425-413 BCE.

^{75.} For these four calendars, see chapter 6 here. Cf. Parker (2005) 66, making the same point but only about worship in Attic demes; at 95–97 he does not draw a comparable conclusion about priests and magistrates acting on behalf of the polis.

^{76.} Of the Salaminioi, as at Lambert (1997) 86–88, ll. 84–93; this *genos* perhaps sacrificed *huper tēs poleōs* at the Oschophoria.

^{77.} IK Prusias ad Hypium 63.5–6: $\gamma \epsilon \iota \tau [i]$ - / $\alpha \sigma \iota \varsigma$.

^{78.} Plu. Alex. 41.6.

^{79.} Clytemnestra: A. Ch. 14-15, S. El. 426-427. Helen: E. Or. 114, 1185, 1323.

^{80.} S. OT 911-923, E. Or. 1185, 1323, X. Eph. 2.12.

^{81.} Men. Dysc. 412-417.

A butcher, not the mother, takes charge. He and a slave arrive outside a cave of the Nymphs to prepare, and by the time the mother comes with her daughter and another slave, the sacrificial victim, a sheep, has proved obstreperous. ⁸² Mother and company now go to the cave, but the butcher and the slave remain behind, trying to borrow a pot from the misanthrope of the play's title. ⁸³ Only at this point, after more than a hundred lines of preliminaries, does the act of slaughter occur offstage in the course of a brief speech by another arrival on the scene, the mother's son. As soon as this speech ends, the son and the slave assisting the butcher exchange a few words, during which the slave says the *thusia* is over and that the slave himself has done most of the work, including lighting the fire and chopping the *splanchna*. ⁸⁴ As for the praying, only some maids are said to do it—on instructions from the slave. His labors finished, the slave proceeds to announce lunch. Before eating, the son invites a friend. ⁸⁵

The beneficiary, then, has missed both the preliminaries and the act of slaughter. The same is true of others who could be called the incidental beneficiaries. The mother has attended, but even she does not do the work. Nor does the butcher, who does do the work elsewhere in Menander (including the prayer, not just the slaughter). Menander has fastened on the separation of the celebrant from the beneficiary, one found in all sacrifices *huper tinos*, and parodied it, making the former a slave and the latter a bon vivant.

Parody notwithstanding, the situation is banal. Like a polis or an association, a household operated on division of labor, including sacrificial labor, and with this division came delegation of responsibility. In the household, though, delegation was customary, not regulated. The hired butcher replaced the appointed priest, and the trip to the local cave replaced the sacred embassy.

Yet domestic sacrifices *huper tinos* did not exclude foreign travel. Ample records for these sacrificial journeys survive in the form of instructions, commemorations, or vows inscribed on stone and left in sanctuaries from the Classical period onward. These documents record or imply that the worshipper made some sacrifice on behalf of others, or instructed others to make sacrifices on his own behalf and that of his family. The worshipper or emissary was a pilgrim, as opposed to an intercommunal delegate or a devotee of a rural god.

^{82.} Men. Dysc. 430-441.

^{83.} Men. Dysc. 446-521.

^{84.} Men. Dysc. 545-550.

^{85.} Men. Dysc. 660, 610-616.

^{86.} Men. Kolax. fr. 1 ed. Sandbach.

The first such pilgrim known to us, Nicias, went to Delos in 415. After sacrificing, he gave money and instruction to the Delians to continue sacrifices on his behalf.⁸⁷ This example is doubly unusual. First, the worshipper arrives in force, and second, he departs having established a foundation for his own benefit. Yet there were many usual examples, the evidence for which is epigraphical and not literary. Such evidence begins not long afterward.

An Athenian of the second century BCE, Demon, made a pilgrimage to the same shrine, sacrificed there, and erected this commemorative plaque:

Demon . . . the son of Patron, gives thanks on behalf of himself, his children, and his household to Asclepius, Health, Apollo, Leto, and Artemis Agrotera, and also to all the gods and goddesses worshipped at common altars and temples.⁸⁸

Like a substitute for a sacrificial animal, this plaque alludes to some act of thanksgiving, perhaps with incense, perhaps with an animal. Whatever the offering, the donor visited Delos, performed *thusia*, and returned home. Plaques erected by other pilgrims to Delos confirm the sacrifice of an animal. These plaques either accompany a bucranium or mention some item such as sacrificial tables and butchers' stalls, a sacrificial washing place, or an altar. Such details tend to appear when the worshipper is not only commemorating a sacrifice but also making a vow of future sacrifices; for example, the three men from Iamnae who want "everything burned but the goatskin."

These plaques sometimes contain the divine instruction that so often prompts sacrifice, or the information that the pilgrim has fulfilled a vow.⁹¹ They often mention the common motive of thanks.⁹² Distinguishing them from other records of sacrifice is the group of family beneficiaries—self, wife, children,

^{87.} Plu. Nic. 3.5-7.

^{88.} ID 2387: Ἀ[σ]κληπιῶι καὶ Ύγιείαι καὶ Ἀπ[ό]λλωνι καὶ Λητοῖ / καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀγροτέραι καὶ θεοῖς συμβώμοις / καὶ συννάοις πᾶσι καὶ πά[σ]αις, Δάμων Πάτρωνος... ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ ὑπαρ-χόντων, χαριστήρια.

^{89.} Bucranium: $TAM\ IV$ 1.102. Sacrificial items: ID 2088, 2271, 2310; 2420; ID 2267–2268, IG xii.3.410. Other or several parts of a temple, sacrifice by the donor still being very likely: ID 2098, 2221, 2256, 2453, $SEG\ XXXI.731\ (188/7-90\ BCE)$. Surveys of valuable gifts: Linders (1987).

^{90.} ID 2308, θύειν πάντα πλὴν αἰγείου. So also X. An. 5.3.16, discussed below.

^{91.} Instruction: *ID* 2312. Vow: 2311, 2414, *IG* xi.4.1258. The largest survey: Schörner (2003).

^{92.} *ID* 2132, 2134, 2272, 2313, 2444, 2628.1.18–20, *SEG* XXXI.731.

household, or several of these.⁹³ The donor acts on their behalf as well as his own. Like Damon, he has the time, the money, and the god's ear. From the Hellenistic period onward, he has ready access to epigraphical resources.

Another kind of dedicatory inscription does not always contain the phrase *huper tinos* but conveys this meaning through an attached relief. In an Athenian example, four adults and two children appear in the relief, along with a servant leading either a pig or sheep. The inscription says that a woman named Lysistrata put up the relief "on behalf of her children." In this case, Lysistrata and others performed a sacrifice for the children's sake. Although the children may have been present at this event, as the relief shows them to be, they watched as their mother and several others worshipped. The mother may have been fulfilling a vow she made by herself. ⁹⁴ This division of responsibility appears seven other times in *Hiera Kala*, but without the words "on behalf of the children." The dedicant is usually the mother. ⁹⁶ In one case, several families appear to sacrifice on her child's behalf—or, less likely, on behalf of someone else for whom she prayed. ⁹⁷ In a few cases, no woman attends. A male does the dedicating, and may or may not have been a leading figure at the sacrifice, whether as *sacrificateur* or *sacrifiant*. ⁹⁸ Some other group may have replaced the family as beneficiary.

These sacrifices by individuals echoed those by associations. Demon likely spent his own money, just as Serapion did. Demon's status as head of the household also links him to Serapion, who was supervisor. The difference between the two men lay in their degree of independence. Demon was on his own, whereas

^{93.} Self and children: *ID* 2275, 2310. Self, children, and wife: 1719, 1720, 1783, 2053, 2087 (Serapis), 2088, 2114 (Isis), 2132, 2261, 2262, 2264.2272, 2453, 2616, 2628.I.18–20. Household: *I Stratonikeia* 48. In the catalogue of Schörner (2003): nos. 85 (self), 101, 114, 146, 534, 809, 1084 (self and children), 514 (and wife), 1195 (and brother), 157 (and parents).

^{94.} Hiera Kala R89 (Athens EpM 8793) with IG ii² 4613.

^{95.} Hiera Kala R44 (Piraeus 3), one dedicant, five worshippers plus a pig; R73 (Brauron 1151) one dedicant, 12 worshippers plus a bovine; R74 (Brauron 1152) one dedicant, seven worshippers, plus a bovine; R90 (Athens EpM 3942) one dedicant, three worshippers plus a bovine; R99 (Museum Worsleyanum) one dedicant, five worshippers, all adults, plus a sheep; R102 (Paros quarry of Hagios Minas), two dedicants, ten worshippers plus an animal; R206 (Nice Villa Guilloteau), one dedicant, two worshippers, both adults. Where the children are missing, a spouse acts of behalf a spouse or others. Other examples: *IG* ii²4592 with Athens NM 2351, one dedicant, ten worshippers, all adults; *IG* ii²4618 with Cook (1914–40) 2.1106 fig. 942, one dedicant, three worshippers; *IG* ii²4624.

^{96.} Likely mother: *Hiera Kala* R44, 73, 74, 89, 90, *IG* ii² 4618, 4624. Likely husband: R206. Unidentifiable male: R99, 102, *IG* ii²4592.

^{97.} Hiera Kala R73.

^{98.} Hiera Kala R99, IG ii²4592. A different view of this material: Parker (2005) ch. 2 ("Those with Whom I Sacrifice"; as opposed to those without).

Serapion received attention from his fellow worshippers. Priests and delegates in the service of the polis received even more attention from the demos. Yet the rationale for delegating responsibility remained the same. Plato explained this rationale in his *Statesman*. Calling priests *hermeneutai*, or "interpreters," he goes on:

The race of priests understands how, by means of sacrifice, to give our gifts to the gods and they know how, by means of prayers, to get us good things from the gods. That is what custom and law $[\tau \grave{o} \nu \acute{o} \mu \mu \rho \nu]$ provide. 99

Although Plato speaks of priests alone, he might also be speaking of a supervisor like Serapion, who "gave gifts" on behalf of an association, or a father like Demon, who gave them on behalf of his family. Plato might even be speaking of Menander's butcher or of the butcher Olympias sent to Alexander because of the man's knowledge of sacrificial customs. ¹⁰⁰ By the same token, when Plato speaks of "us" he might be speaking of a polis, a person, or any group in between. He is not speaking of communities as opposed to other worshippers.

When speaking of the role of individuals in Greek rites, Sourvinou-Inwood remarked:

The fact . . . that much ritual activity took place in groups must not be taken to entail that Greek religion is a "group religion" in the sense that group worship was the norm and individual cultic acts somehow were exceptional. In my view, the individual was without doubt the primary, basic, cultic unit in polis religion.

We may add that the individual often acted on behalf of others. Once we do, we shall not think of the sacrifices performed by the polis as a bigger or better version of sacrifices of other kinds.¹⁰¹ To use a Christian analogy, the polis will not seem like a congregation in a cathedral, and groups and individuals will not seem like worshippers in a parish church or chapel. Delegation of responsibility occurred at

^{99.} Pl. Pol. 1290a: τὸ τῶν ἱερέων αὖ γένος, ὡς τὸ νόμιμόν φησι, παρὰ μὲν ἡμῶν δωρεὰς θεοῖς διὰ θυσιῶν ἐπιστῆμόν ἐστι κατὰ νοῦν ἐκείνοις δωρεῖσθαι, παρὰ δὲ ἐκείνων ἡμῶν εὐχαῖς κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν αἰτήσασθαι. A similar view: Rowe (1995) linking this statement to the hieratic knowledge that Plato attributes to priests elsewhere.

^{100.} Ath. 14.659f.

^{101.} The model of diocese and parishes, i.e., wholes and parts, but in the parallel form of demes and *kōmai*: Parker (1996a) 329. The same model, but in the parallel form of phratries and *genē*: Lambert (1993) 17–18, but with reservations. This model for the Salaminians and *thiasai* belonging to this *genos*: Humphreys (1990) 247–248. The same model, with exceptions before Cleisthenes, but less so afterward: N. Jones (1999) 241.

each level, and worshippers at one level benefited from delegation at another. The setting for acts of sacrifice allowed for more such overlap. Worshippers at one level often used the same shrines or altars as worshippers at another. 102

Delegation of responsibility created a web of ties that differed from the solidarity posited by Vernant and Detienne. Solidarity depended on gatherings, but the web depended on intermediaries. Solidarity implied equality, but the web implied control over communication by these intermediaries, and so it implied hierarchy. A kind of solidarity flourished—a distinct kind, comprehending the god—and because it flourished, worshippers felt grateful toward priests, magistrates, and others. Our next topic is how worshippers expressed their gratitude.¹⁰³

Rewards for Officiants

To those acting on their behalf, the many gave praise, honors, and secure offices—and most of all, meat. These rewards went not only to priests, but to magistrates conducting sacrifices, to those assisting priests, and to public benefactors. A priest was one such prominent benefactor, a member of an elite. He attained this status in democratic Athens no less than elsewhere.

The inscription quoted in the first part of this chapter—the one in which the *prutaneis* sacrifice on behalf of the polis, its wives, and its children—praises the *prutaneis* as follows:

Since they made all the appropriate sacrifices in their term of office and did it well and generously and took care of the convening of the council and assembly and all the other things that the laws and decrees of the demos ordered them to do, the demos should praise the *prutaneis* of the tribe and crown them with a golden crown, according to law, for the sake of their piety toward the gods.¹⁰⁴

^{102.} So also Ismard (2008) 244-246, on local and regional cults at the shrine of Athena Hellotis and at the Eleusinion in Marathon; and local, regional, and civic cults at the shrine of Delian Apollo in the same town. Ismard (2008) ch. 3 gives further, sometimes speculative, examples.

^{103.} A similar view, but with no remarks on regulations: Stavrianopoulou (2007) 191 and Boedecker (2008) 243–244.

^{104.} Continuing note 26 here, 11.17-24: ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ $\pi[\rho v]$ - / τάνεις τῆς Π ανδιονίδος τάς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἀπάσα[ς ὅ]-σαι καθῆκον ἐν τῆι πρυτανείαι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, / [ἐπι]-[μ]εμέληνται δὲ καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ το[ῦ δή]- / [μ]ου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέταττον οἵ τε νόμο[ι καὶ τ]- / ὰ ψηφίσματα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου· ν ἐπαινέσαι [τοὺς π ρ]- / υτάνεις τῆς Π ανδιονίδος καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶ[ι στεφάν]- / ωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς π ρὸς το[ὺς θ εοὺς.

With praise of this kind come the common rewards of the priest's portion of the victim and of a commemorative stele. Other rewards included special clothing and special seats at the theater.¹⁰⁵ *Prutaneis* who sacrificed *huper tinos* received some of the same rewards as priests.¹⁰⁶

The priest of Dionysus at Priene, who received his allotment of incense for his animal sacrifices, also received rewards:

There will be food for him in the Prytaneum and the Panionium every day. He will receive the shoulder, tongue, and hide from every victim sacrificed by the community, and also the portions left beside the altar [i.e., on a table].... He will have a front seat at the theater, whatever dress he wants, and a golden crown of ivy.¹⁰⁷

Centuries before this inscription, Homer compared the honor given to priests with that given to kings. The singer's leading priests were rich. In Athens, meanwhile, priests received not only good seats and clothes, and golden crowns, but also harvest-sale proceeds, housing, expenses, and commutation paid in lieu of sacrificial portions.

Aside from conferring honors, the polis legislated so as to protect the priest's position, but here the evidence does not happen to come mostly from Athens. At Miletus, the city protected the position of the priestess as compared to other worshippers. At communal sacrifices, she, not they, went first in the procession. On some occasions at Erythrae, only priests or other unnamed officials might

^{105.} Clothing: Attic in Parker (2005) 95, and non-Attic in Stengel (1920) 47–48. Seats: Hysch. 2.666.

^{106.} IG ii² 674.14-15.

^{107.} Preceding note 41 here, ll. 6–15: εἶναι / δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐμ πρυτανείωι καὶ ἐμ Πανιωνί-/ ωι σίτησιν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας λήψεται δὲ ὧν / πόλις θύει σκέλος γλῶσσαν δέρμα παρὰ βω-/ μοῦ μοίρας ... εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ ἐμ προεδρίαι / καθῆσθαι καὶ στολὴν ἔχειν ἣν ἂμ βούληται καὶ / στέφανον κισσοῦ χρυσοῦν.

^{108.} Il. 5.78 (Dolopion), 16.603 (Onetor).

^{109.} Chryses, but also Dares (*Il.* 5.9) and Maron (*Od.* 9.201).

^{110.} Bread: SEG XXI.527.43–45 (363/2 BCE). Proceeds: IG ii² 1672.255–262. Housing: IG ii² 1672.74, 127, 305 (329/8 BCE). Expenses: LSCG 7.21–22, c. 330 BCE, if $\alpha\pi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$ refers to expenses, as suggested by Sokolowski ad loc. Commutation: SEG XXI.527.34–39. See Garland (1984) 86–108. Perhaps public meals: IG i³ 131.5 supp. nonnulli, but see Lewis ad loc. (430s or 420s BCE).

III. LSAM 48.1-4, 276-75 BCE.

sacrifice at the Asclepieum; individuals might not. 112 At Magnesia, no individual might sacrifice to Serapis anywhere. 113 In a few shrines—but Delphi was one of them—only the priestess or priest could enter the temple or some part of it. 114 The priest's right to lead the sacrifice seldom needed protecting, but if it did, the community would legislate. A half dozen surviving examples report fines levied on those replacing a priest. 115 Even sacrifices on behalf of others met with similar regulation: Miletus would not let any private person, as opposed to a priest or magistrate, sacrifice on behalf of the community. 116 As one example summarizes, unauthorized celebrants sacrificed in a way that was "ignorant" or "inexperienced." 117 The community could not prevent the ignorant or inexperienced from praying, for prayer might be silent, but the city of Labraunda forbade prayers by anyone but the priest and his assistants. 118

The community also gave the priest the power of enforcing regulations and collecting fines or, if the party to be chastised or fined proved recalcitrant, the power to ask the polis to impose the punishment or fine. Cos gave to priests a *praxis*, "a right to exact" a punishment or fine. ¹¹⁹ So did Euboea, Samos, Miletus, Oropus, and surely most places. ¹²⁰ If the occasion was a great festival, as at the Mysteries in Andania, *hieroi* chosen for the occasion could impose fines or corporal punishment. ¹²¹ No doubt in many other places the priest received a report from someone else, and then acted either on his own or with the help of magistrates, as at Lindos. ¹²²

Armed with such powers, priests would sometimes defy commanders at the head of their troops. When Cleomenes entered the *aduton* of the temple of Athena Polias in Athens, the priestess, citing a *nomos*, told him no Dorian should

^{112.} LSAM 24a.26-27, 380-60 BCE.

^{113.} LSAM 34.13-14, second century BCE.

^{114.} A priestess: Paus. 2.10.4 (Aphrodite of Sicyon).

^{115.} LSCG 36.13–17, 350–20 BCE; 119.4–9, fourth century BCE; LSAM 45.8–11, 380–79 BCE; LSCG Supp. 129.7–11, fifth century BCE, requires that the worshipper call out to the priest three times before proceeding.

^{116.} LSAM 24.6-7, 380-60 BCE.

^{117.} LSAM 36.20-24, $\alpha \pi \epsilon i \rho \omega s$; c. 200 BCE.

^{118.} Labraunda 30.18–21, $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\nu$ ì $\dot{\epsilon}\xi$ î $\nu\alpha$ ı $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ι $\tau[\hat{\eta}]$ / $[\sigma\alpha$ ι] τ ο $\hat{\nu}$ $\theta\epsilon$ ο $\hat{\nu}$.

^{119.} *Iscr. di Cos* 178.26–31, second century BCE; *SEG* LV.931.20–21, Cos 150–100 BCE.

^{120.} *LSCG* 91.6–8 (*epimēnoi*, first century BCE); 122.7–8 (third century BCE); *LSAM* 52b.11–13 (first century CE); Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 27.9–20 (c. 386–74 BCE).

^{121.} LSCG 65.76-79 (92 BCE, although the provision may be older).

^{122.} *LSCG* 137b.13-15 (first century CE).

do so.¹²³ The priestess was unarmed, but at Aulis, in Boeotia, the Theban magistrates who prevented Agesilaus from sacrificing there for a similar reason—no sacrifice by foreigners—were surely armed. These magistrates must have responded to reports from priests on the spot.¹²⁴ In each case, the commander tried to excuse his conduct. Cleomenes said that he was not a Dorian but an Achaean, thanks to his royal blood, and Agesilaus said that he was sacrificing on behalf of the Greeks, not himself or Sparta. Even more than any armed response, these excuses showed that priests or magistrates in charge of shrines commanded respect.

All of this—rewards for priests, regulations protecting them, a tradition of respect for priests and shrines—shows how the delegation of responsibility raised the status of priests. They lived better than worshippers, held a distinct legal position, and exercised a measure of autonomy. To justify this status, the polis described priests as *hosioi*, a term used at Delphi.¹²⁵ At Athens, priests displayed "piety toward the gods and munificence toward the people." Athens sometimes praised their "justice," as did Diodorus.¹²⁷ Besides saying that priests were honored like gods, the Homeric poems sometimes said priests resembled them. Thanks to his long hair and the laurel carried before him, the priest of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes resembled this god. By riding in a chariot drawn by deer, the priestess of Artemis at Laphrae resembled the goddess. By riding in a chariot drawn by oxen, the priestess of Hera at Argos did likewise. ¹²⁸ To acknowledge that priests received honor, as Durand did in *Cuisine of Sacrifice*, does not go far enough: these are great honors, unrivaled by any treatment given to conquering generals, the Spartan *gerousia*, or the Athenian Areopagus. ¹²⁹

The greatest token of the priest's status was his right to a special share of the meat. First, the priest received the god's share, save, of course, for what was burned. The grammarian Phrynichus even said that the general term for priestly prerogatives, *hierōsuna*, was also the term for the god's share—a mistake, since there were

^{123.} Hdt. 5.72.3; so also 6.81.

^{124.} Plu. Ages. 6.8-11.

^{125.} Plu. *QG* 292a.

^{126.} IG ii² 661.27-29, 690.8-9, 775.20-23.

^{127.} Eusebeia and dikaiosunē: IG ii² 354.22–23, SEG XLII.112.7–9 (c. 360 BCE). Dikaiosunē: IG ii² 1140.10, DS 11.40.7–9 with Petrakos (1997) 290.25–28. Virtue, or aretē: IG xii.5 863.16–18.

^{128.} Paus. 9.10.4; 7.18.12; Nilsson (1906) 43; Burkert (1985) 97 gives these three examples but without speculation as to the reason for the resemblance.

^{129.} Vernant and Detienne (1989) 104.

^{130.} Puttkammer (1912) 17; Le Guen-Pollet (1991) 16–17; Hiera Kala 154–155.

other prerogatives, too—but a confirmation of the priest's claim on the food.¹³¹ In the *Iliad*, Chryses received the *splanchna* in *Iliad* 1. Later, this portion often was the right leg of a sacrificial victim.¹³² Sometimes the polis guaranteed the weight.¹³³ The priest also received *trapezōmata*, that other, frequent kind of divine portion.

His honor was all the greater for being shared with select other persons. Magistrates got special portions, confirming the parallel between civic and shrine authorities. Civic benefactors got portions, implying a parallel between sacrifice and other benefactions. And priests' assistants got portions, putting the priest in the position of a patron or host.¹³⁴ This last is the least noticed yet most telling feature. Those who joined a priest at his work earned rewards, just as performing sacrifices earned them.

Most inscriptions and other sources describing Athenian civic sacrifices, our main concern, do not mention the division of meat. The same is true of sources for sacrifice elsewhere or in Homer. By the same token, zooarchaeological evidence for the division of meat is difficult to interpret. It can show what was eaten where, but it cannot show who ate it. 135 Yet some inscriptions and literary sources do mention the division of meat (including some sources about group distributions that run parallel to polis distributions). These sources begin with Plutarch's report of a law of Solon about *parasitoi*. This law apparently did not describe these assistants, but it

forbade anyone from acting as *parasitos* often. If it was a man's turn and he didn't want to, the law punished him. 136

The law opposed both excess and shirking one's duty. It assumed that parasitism, which gave worshippers a chance to dine with a god, was an honor that might sometimes become a burden.¹³⁷ It was nothing like the parasitism of Greek social life, in

^{131.} Phrynich. PS 77.5.

^{132.} Stengel (1920) 41–43 with many epigraphical examples, preceded by Puttkammer (1912) 47–56.

^{133.} Mylasa 1*7.5-7.

^{134.} A different view, but with stress on the same feature of sacrifice, the unequal division of meat: Grottanelli and Parise (1988). Agreeing with Detienne: Auberger (2010) 199–209.

^{135.} For this evidence, especially from Isthmia, see Ekroth (forthcoming). For reservations about "equality before the meat": Ekroth (2008b) 282–284.

^{136.} Plu. Sol. 24.5: . . . τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ έậ σιτεῖσθαι πολλάκις, έὰν δ' ῷ καθήκει μὴ βούληται, κολάζει.

^{137.} Ziehen (1942) 1379, preferring this meaning to "dining with a priest."

which the *parasitos*, far from being dutiful or honorable, was opportunistic and contemptible.

In Solon's time, parasitoi of this kind served the polis in some unknown place, perhaps the prytaneum.¹³⁸ By the fourth century, men of this description disappear from the sources, and other officials replace them, notably the *hieropoioi*. The context remains the same: meat for the assistants and for other honorable persons. At the Panathenaea, the ten hieropoioi set aside a portion apiece for themselves and for the ten stewards, five portions for officials, who were perhaps the *prutaneis*, perhaps three among the nine archons, and three more among the generals and taxiarchs—112 portions among 49 ideintifiable magistrates.¹³⁹ No other sacrifice yields so much detail, but at Eleusis the ephebes ate after assisting the Eumolpidai, and at an unspecified sacrifice to Asclepius the hieropoioi allotted shares for themselves and also for *prutaneis* and archons. Ill-defined "supervisors" also had a share reserved for them. 140 At games in honor of the Dioskouroi, the priest and the parasites were surely responsible for a three-way division of the meat among themselves (two-thirds) and the contestants (one-third).¹⁴¹ These sources do not say which parts of the animal the assistants and honorees received, but study of Athenian vase paintings suggests that they received (or shared) whole legs of cattle or sheep.142

Parasitoi elsewhere also got meat. In one place, Methone, *parasitoi* attended on archons and polemarchs, and got them food. The only source, Aristotle, does not say that the parasitoi got them meat, but if they did, the magistrates would have shared it. ¹⁴³ Aristotle's pupil, Clearchus of Soli, said that archons in most well-known cities had *parasitoi*. The context for this statement, Athenaeus, makes it certain that meat was eaten. ¹⁴⁴ Also certain is that this meat was not shared with the populace. At most, banquets like these were open to the celebrant, the assistants, "and whoever happens by." ¹⁴⁵

^{138.} The whereabouts of the *prutaneion*, and the use of the *tholos* and *Thesmotheteion*: Schöll (1872) 18-21.

^{139.} IG ii² 334.8-16. Reduce all receiving three portions to one portion, and the total number of portions is fifty-four.

^{140.} Hieropoioi et al.: IG ii2 47.32-38. epimelētai: 1360.

^{141.} Ath. 6.235b, citing an inscription.

^{142.} Tsoukala (2009) 34-36.

^{143.} Arist. fr. 510. Cf. Navarre (1907) 330, following Schoemann (1861) 2.399 in holding that these are civil, not religious *parasitoi*.

^{144.} Clearch. fr. 37 = Ath. 6.234f.

^{145.} LSCG 66.5-7, second century BCE.

As at Athens, these assistants worked under several names. At Delphi, they are "preparers" of communal sacrifices. At Halicarnassus, they are the *epimēnioi*, who must provide for other "diners and their wives" as well as for themselves. They got the heads and feet. In Acarnania, they were the *hieropoloi* of Zeus Karaos, recorded in an inscription that indicates their share in sacrificial meat by listing a *mageiros*, or butcher, below them. In Cos, as at the Little Panathenaea, portions go to officials, parade participants, and especially to a *thuaphoros*, or sacrifice-toter, and only afterward to the populace. On Myconos, the priest's "boy" got a tongue from every goat, but not from any bull. As in Athens, these assistants served other officials as well as priests. At Miletus, for example, assistants served a college of Molpoi, or sacred dancers. At Aegalia, some of the assistants were ephebes who got their mina's worth of pork. At Halicarnassus, magistrates' wives got portions, the same as a priestess.

Honorees figure as prominently. At Methymna, a benefactor gets 5 minas of meat, ten times the ephebes' portion. At Stratonicia, the honorees merely receive a double portion. The Hyllarima, the *epimēnioi* reappear, this time not to feed themselves (although perhaps they did) but to feed the honoree on behalf of the polis. One might give further examples, and a dissertation directed by Deubner does. One honor is conditional: a foreigner who conducts the festival of Melampus in Boeotia will receive his portion as long as he lives in the region. As in Attica, these instances do not always preclude meat for the populace (although some do, like one at Haliartus that reserves)

^{146.} Delph. 3.4 136.23–25 (c. 200 BCE) with portions for $\tau o \hat{i} s \, \check{\alpha} \lambda \lambda o i s \dots \check{\epsilon} \pi i \sigma \kappa \epsilon v \alpha \zeta \acute{o} v \tau [oi] s$.

^{147.} Halikarnassos 188.40-44, c. 300 BCE.

^{148.} IG ix.12 2.434, second century BCE.

^{149.} *LSCG* 151a.51–54, mid-second century BCE. More portions for parade participants et al.: *LSAM* 33a.43–55 (Magnesia, mid-second century BCE).

^{150.} SIG 1024.26-28, c. 200 BCE.

^{151.} Archontes: Plu. QG 292c (Opuntian Locris), LSCG 151a.3 (Cos).

^{152.} Miletos 10.37-38, the assistants being onitadai who received part of the haunches.

^{153.} LSCG Supp. 61.63-64.

^{154.} LSAM 73.22-23.

^{155.} IG xii.2 498.14-16; I Stratonikeia 3.11-12.

^{156.} Hyllarima 2.17-22.

^{157.} Puttkammer (1912) 39–41, citing *Syll*. 1025.54 (Cos), although he never refers to *parasitoi*.

^{158.} *IG* vii.219.

"everything" for magistrates). ¹⁵⁹ They set priorities. The many may well eat. The honoree will eat because the law says so.

This attention to assistants and honorees did not deprive the priest of his primacy. One kind of meat, the innards, belonged to the priest and those assisting him. Stengel described this Homeric custom a century ago, and showed how it persisted in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Other portions went to the place of honor, the table holding the god's *trapezōmata*. Legislation safeguarded the priest's share. In Miletus, the generals must sacrifice as the law provides, including giving priests their assigned portions. Otherwise, they must pay a fine of 12 drachmas to the priest of the shrine. On Cos, those who do not give portions to the priest must pay him, and the inscription adds that the priest can collect the money by legal process, as must have also been true in the previous case, even though it is not said.

Why this punctiliousness about meat, as opposed to clothes or crowns? Because meat was apportioned in the shrine, the other worshippers could observe the business. A stone stele in the shrine would be no less visible, but that honor was commemorative, not commensal, so the recipients would not share it in person. Portions of meat designated an elite. Yet this elite drew no criticism for constituting a kind of oligarchy. Nor did any polis try to break up this elite by making citizens eligible for any and all priesthoods. In Classical and Hellenistic Athens, some priests were chosen by lot, as many magistrates were, yet other priests were chosen from among certain clans, or <code>genē.165</code> Elsewhere, priests inherited or purchased their offices, whereas some magistrates were chosen by lot, as at Athens, so the two groups again differed.

Associations gave fewer rewards, but to the same kinds of person. As the inscription about Serapion shows, his fellows praised him for his piety and

^{159.} SEG XXXII.456.24–26, πάντα κὴ τὰν κωλίαν (c. 235 BCE).

^{160.} Stengel (1910) 73-78, citing Homeric examples beginning with *Il.* 2.427.

^{161.} LSAM 37.9-10, second century BCE.

^{162.} LSAM 52.11-14, first century BCE; so also 45.13, 45.18, 380/9 BCE.

^{163.} LSCG 161a.20-24, second century BCE.

^{164.} Privileged parasites, but with the privilege unearned: Zaidman (1995) 202. An older view, in which the privilege lay in being in the god's presence, as at an act of *theoxenia*: Ferguson and Nock (1944) 152.

^{165.} A survey: Blok and Lambert (2009) with attention to the question whether priests chosen from a *genos* were chosen by election, according to inheritance, or by some other method—their own preference being sortition from among elected candidates (96), as proposed by Aleshire (1994) 333–334.

zealousness, granted him a garland and a woolen fillet, announced these honors "in the shrine," and perhaps commemorated them on a stele. ¹⁶⁶ The association also might fine those responsible for an announcement for failing to make it. ¹⁶⁷ Other associations provided exemption from any fees for using a shrine, or substituted a golden crown for the garland, or gave honorees lifelong invitations to sacred meals. ¹⁶⁸ An association might allow a priest to stage his own inaugural sacrifice, comparable to those for magistrates. ¹⁶⁹

Attic demes, if not other groups, employed *parasitoi* as assistants. Men of this description assisted priests and magistrates in four demes or other localities—Pallene, Diomea, Marathon (Heracles), Marathon again (Delian Apollo), and Acharnae.¹⁷⁰ At Pallene, they assisted local *archontes*, at Diomea the priest. In the cult of Marathonian Heracles, they were subject to the Athenian Assembly, which selected them, even if they assisted unknown priests or magistrates. At Acharnae, they were subject to the *archōn basileus*, who appointed them, even if they assisted someone else. Whatever the arrangement, they got meat, and so, of course, did the priests or magistrates whom they assisted. Sacrifice on this scale mimicked sacrifice by the polis.

In *Greek Religion*, Burkert wrote not only that Greek priests were few but also that, save for a cripple or a noncitizen, "anyone can become a priest." This conclusion obscures the resemblance between priests and other benefactors. In Philippe Gauthier's view, such *euergetai* were diverse; in Paul Veyne's view, they were notables acting for an impoverished citizenry; in Richard Gordon's view, they legitimized central authority. In any view, the priest or other celebrant legitimized the worshippers in the eyes of heavenly powers. They did this service under governments small and large, and in systems that were centralized or not.

^{166.} MDAI(A) 66 (1941) 228, 4.11-12, 14-16.

^{167.} IG ii² 1263.43-45, 1273.21-23.

^{168.} *IG* ii² 1252.9–12; 1255.9, 1259.6–7, 1325.18–19 (crown only); 1315.23–25, 1329.23–28 (crown and announcement only); *Mylasa* 15.3–5, 17.10–11 (meals).

^{169.} IG ii² 1315.7 (Magna Mater).

^{170.} Pellene: Polemon fr. 78 ed. Preller; Themison FGrH 374 F 1. Diomea: Polemon fr. 78. Marathonian Heracles: Klei(to)demos FGrH 323 F 11, unless this refers to some other, unknown cult; Philochor. fr. 73 = Ath. 6.235d. Delian Apollo: Polemon fr. 78. Archarnae: Polemon fr. 78. Not Acharnae: Schlaifer (1943) 41.

^{171.} Burkert (1985) 98.

^{172.} Gauthier (1985) 7–16 with criticism of Veyne (1976); Gordon (1990) 224–230. A view similar to my own, but saying little of the regulations described in the next section: Dignas (2003) 39.

Instructions for Communal Officiants

With the rewards received by priests and others went corresponding obligations. In the words of the oracle, the polis or group wanted priests to sacrifice "according to the law of the community"; in Plato's words, "as $\tau \grave{o} \nu \acute{o}\mu\mu\mu\nu\nu$ provides." That proviso would ensure that sacrifice met the god's requirements and did not waste the public's money. It would also encourage priests to spend money of their own on sacrifices. As with the community, so with the group. It wished to please the god and spend wisely, and to encourage its officers to contribute funds. The head of family, or the individual worshipper, acted on the same two motives, but had to spend his own money. At all three levels, worshippers issued instructions to achieve these ends.

The character of these instructions depended on the power that issued them. The polis wrote directives, demanded information, and set forth a new goal for sacrifices, that they occur $h\bar{o}s$ kallista, not just acceptably, but as acceptably and as handsomely as possible. To enforce its wishes, it imposed sanctions. Groups wrote directives, too, but mostly in order to assure that sacrifices proceeded traditionally, kata ta patria. To enforce their wishes, they levied fines collected through polis courts. Their directives were bylaws, as opposed to the laws or decrees issued by the polis. Individuals wrote directives, but could not issue either laws or bylaws. They never issued sanctions and seldom levied fines. 173

Polis directives dealt with numerous subjects already noted in chapters 1–4: the order of parades and their times and routes; the qualities of sacrificial animals and the provision of incense; the honor of praying and of leading the sacrifice; the assignment of tasks and the apportionment of meat. Concern for these instructions led to frequent demands for reports about sacrifices. No session of the Assembly could occur without the *prutaneis* assuring the demos that the preliminary sacrifices had proved acceptable, so reports of this kind were even more frequent than the record suggests. In principle, every sacrifice made by any official on behalf of the Assembly or council or other public body ought to lead to a report assuring that body that it was in good standing with the gods and thus could conduct its business, as the decrees have it, in "health and safety." The same is true of any priest, for example the priest of Asclepius. He has belabored the point,

^{173.} Another view: Parker (2004b) 65–67, holding that some sacrificial laws were "black-tie rules," not rules resting on fear of divine disfavor. Cf. W. Harris (1989) 83, holding that regulations had little effect on religious practices and Gschnitzer (1989) 38 holding that the polis "am Ende doch das gaze Sakralwesen mit umspannt."

^{174.} As at note 17 here.

but Athenian priests were subject to *euthunai*.¹⁷⁵ Besides being queried, they were reviewed.

In the main, the polis wanted sacrifices to provide *hiera kala*, and wanted reports that priests and others had sacrificed so as to *kallierein*. Yet in Classical Athens the polis went farther, and ordered that sacrifices proceed *hōs kallista* not just handsomely or acceptably, but as handsomely and acceptably as possible. A decree of the 330s concerning the annual version of the Panathenaea (the "little" Panathenaea as opposed to the larger, penteric festival) illustrates this effect. Half of the fifty-odd surviving lines of this decree deal with raising money to beautify the festival, and the other half deal mainly with sacrifices *hōs kallista*.

After the preliminaries of time and place and proposer of the bill comes the instruction about money and beauty:

Let the sacrifice for Athena at the Little Panathenaea be as handsome as possible. For this reason, let the revenue available to the *hieropoioi* be as great as possible.¹⁷⁶

Hōs kallista is costly. As the Old Oligarch asked, how shall the people of Athens afford it? New income from "new land":

Let [unnamed officials] rent the new land ten days before . . . in two lots to the man paying the most . . . or the man who would.

Circumlocutions and lacunae here and elsewhere do not obscure the process by which a new standard of sacrifice depends on foreign expansion. The "new land" is Oropus, to which Athens has a doubtful title. The income will come from renting it to Athenians, who will treat the previous inhabitants as tenants or will expel them. These rents will pay for the victims. As later lines in the inscription explain:

using the 41 mnai from renting the new land, . . . let the *hieropoioi* . . . buy cattle. After dispatching the procession to the goddess, let them sacrifice all these cattle on the altar of Athena. ¹⁷⁸

^{175.} Aeschin. 3.18 with an example at SEG XXXIII.147.12.

^{176.} Agora 16.75.5–7, followed by 7–10: ὅπως ἂν τῆὶ Αθηνᾶι ἡ θυσία ὡς καλλιστίη ηι Πανα- / αθηνάοις τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ πρόσοδος ὡς πλε][ίστη γέν-] / [ηνται ἱεροποιο]ῖς . . . τὴν μὲν Νέαν μισθούτωσαν δέκα ἡμέρας πρότερον . . . κατα δικληρίαν τωι το π[λειστον] / [διδόντι. . . . ἢ ῶι ἂν.

^{177.} Roesch (1965) 213–214. Doubts about Oropus: Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 400–401.

^{178.} Agora 16.75.41-42, 226-5 BCE: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τετταρακόντα μνῶν . . . βοωνήσαντες οἱ ἱεροποιοί. . . . πεμψάντες τὴν πομπὴν τῆι θεῶι θυόντων ταύτας τὰς βοῦς ἀπάσας ἐπὶ τῶι βωμῶι τῆς Αθήνας.

This section concludes with details about the transfer of the income from the colonizers to the *hieropoioi*. Sacrifices depend on profits that individuals and associations could not receive.

The next section deals with sacrifices and other offerings. It begins by stating the purpose of the transfer:

so that ... the parade may be organized as well as possible ... [every] year on behalf of the people of Athens and so that the *hieropoioi* may in time to come manage everything else for the goddess's festival handsomely.¹⁷⁹

The superlatives may give the impression that the purpose of the resolution is to make new sacrifices. No: the sacrifices will be two in number, the same as before. The chief part of this section begins:

Let the *hieropoioi* make the two sacrifices, one to Athena Hygieia and the other in the old temple, the same as before. ¹⁸⁰

Change comes in the distribution of meat, with officials and priestly assistants receiving larger portions, as already noted, and in an increase in the number of cattle. Forty-one mnai, or about two-thirds of a talent, will have bought dozens (although not 100) animals. $H\bar{o}s$ kallista means more. It also means the best:

After selecting one of the most handsome animals, let them sacrifice it at the altar of Nike.¹⁸¹

After the sacrifice of the rest of the cattle, the *hieropoioi* are to make more distributions that close the section of the decree dealing with *thusia*.

Hōs kallista now reworks another part of the sacrifice, the public gathering, including:

the costs of the procession, the cooking, and the adornment of the great altar, and everything that is fitting. . . . The *hieropoioi* who manage the

^{179.} Ibid. 28–32: ὅπως αν.... ἡ πομπὴ παρασκευασμένη ὡς ἄριστα καθ ἔκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ... τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἀγομένην τῆι θεῶι καλῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον.

^{180.} Ibid. 33–35: θύειν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς τὰς μὲν δύο / [Θυσίας τήν τε τῆι] 'Αθηνᾶι τῆι 'Υγιείαι καὶ τὴν ἐν τῶι ἀρ- / [χαίωι νεῶι θυο]μένην καθάπερ πρότερον.

^{181.} Ibid. 45–46: θυόντων . . . / μίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶι τῆς Νίκης προκρί- / [ναντες ἐκ τῶν]καλλιστευουσῶν βοῶν.

Panathenaea are to make the gathering for the goddess as handsome as possible. 182

Marching orders follow:

Let them send off the procession at sunrise and impose lawful punishments on any persons who disobey.

Although this inscription does not say, the polis may have regulated the order of the procession, as on other occasions. Hōs kallista meant choreography and the mobilization of social resources, not just war and animals. Besides being costly, it must have been exhausting, and so it applied only to the greatest sacrifices—besides the Panathenaea, to the Attic Dionysia and the Mysteries at Eleusis, and to a penteric festival at the shrine of Amphiaraus at Oropus. 184

Athens did not monopolize either piety or wealth, and so lavish expense appealed to others, first to those who subscribed to a temple $h\bar{o}s$ kalliston in Phalerum, and then to communities outside Attica. In the Classical period the standard migrated to Eretria, and in the Hellenistic period it went on to Delphi, Amorogs, Cos, Ceos, and in Asia Minor to Pergamum, Magnesia, and Antiocheia. The richest of these places, Roman Pergamum, rivaled Athens in the number of instances. Only at Pergamum and Delphi did gatherings and

^{182.} Ibid.: [έ— / [ις δὲ τὰ μι]σθώματα τῆς πομπῆς καὶ τὸ μαγειρικὸν κα[ὶ] / κόσμησιν τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγαλοῦ καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα προς[ή] / [κει.../.... τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς διοι[κ] / [οῦντας τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποεῖν τὴν πα[ν] / [νυχίδα] ὡς καλλίστην τῆι θεῶι (52–58); τὴν πομπὴν πέμπε[ι]- / [ν ἄμα ἡ]λίωι ἀνιόντι, ζημιοῦντας τὸν μὴ πειθαρχο[ῦντ]- / [α ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίαις (58–60).

^{183.} LSCG Supp. 14.35-40, Thargelia, 129/8 BCE.

^{184.} Dionysia: IG ii² 713.9–10, 1186.10, MDAI(A) 66 (1941) 218, 1.12. Eleusis: IG ii² 709, Hesperia 16.170.67.15–17. Oropus: Petrakos (1997) no. 297.12–13. Much later, and only for victims: LSCG Supp. 14.27 (Thargelia, 129/8 BCE). Yet the casual use of the expression at Dem. 24.28 implies that other festivals might meet the same standard. A late variant: $\dot{\omega}$ 5 $\ddot{\sigma}\tau\iota$ $\kappa\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ for both sacrifices and preparations (IG ii² 1036.14, 78/7 BCE; perhaps 1034.11, 98/7 BCE; 1043.48, 38/7 BCE).

^{185.} *IG* i³ 130.8–9 shrine of Apollo (432 BCE).

^{186.} Eretria: Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 73.2–3. Delphi: *CID* 4.71.4, *Delph.* 3.3.238.3. Amorgos: *IG* xii.7 241.6–7. Cos: *Iscr. di Cos* 25.b.8; Ceos: *IG* xii.5 595. Magnesia: *LSAM* 32.12, 34, 42 (divine dress). Antiocheia in Cilicia: *LSAM* 81.6–9, c. 160 BCE, the latest of these).

^{187.} IvP I.246.14–16, 42–44 and IMT Kaikos 819.14–16 (138–33 BCE), LSAM 15.49 (129 BCE), IMT Kaikos 818.48–50 (129 BCE), MDAI(A) 29 (1904) 152, 1.37, 39 and MDAI(A) 32 (1907) 243, 4.46 (75–50 BCE).

parades, and not just sacrifices, meet the standard, as in Athens.¹⁸⁸ In Mangalia on the northern Black Sea, only a small temple could meet it.¹⁸⁹ At Ilium, only an altar and image could; at Didyma, only a bull could.¹⁹⁰

Wherever it appeared, it raised costs. At Athens, Theopompus said, sacrifice was the chief budget item, and Demosthenes complained that the Assembly was more willing to spend money on sacrifices than on war. In response, the Athenians struck a compromise between the desire for sacrifice $h\bar{o}s$ kallista and competing budgetary requirements. In the statement quoted at the start of this chapter, Lysias implies as much, and the *Rhetoric* of Anaximenes speaks about this compromise at length:

So that the most effective sacrifices may be introduced and kept up, let's define effectiveness. The most effective sacrifice is reverent toward the gods, limited in cost, useful in war, and exciting to watch. It will be reverent toward the gods if ancestral usage is not violated, limited in cost if some contributions aren't expended, and exciting to watch if lavish use is made of gold and other such reusable things. It's useful in war if cavalry and infantry are outfitted and provide escort. That's how we prepare the business of the gods as handsomely as possible. 192

"As handsomely as possible": Anaximenes has not forsaken the Athenian sacrificial standard, and his wish for a spectacle that is "exciting to watch" confirms this

^{188.} Parades at Pergamum: *IMT Kaikos* 819.14–16, *IvP* I 246.14–16. Sacrifice at Delphi: *CID* 4.71.4. Meal: *Delph.* 3.3.238.3.

^{189.} Mangalia: IScM III.35.14; late second century BCE.

^{190.} Ilium: *IMT Skamander und Nebantäler* 389.21–22 (311/10 BCE, the earliest date outside Athens). Didyma: *Miletos* 42.69–70. In Athens, such an animal was common: IG ii² 896.12 (186/5 BCE), 1028.17–18 (100/99 BCE), 1029.11–12 (95/4 BCE), *Hesperia* 16:170.67.15–16 (116/5 BCE), IG ii² 1043.26 (38/7 BCE).

^{191.} Theopomp. 115 FGrH F 213; Dem. 1.20.

^{192. [}Arist.] Rh. Al. 2.10–11: ἴνα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν κρατίστην θυσίαν εἰδῶμεν εἰσηγε ῖσθαι καὶ νομοθετεῖν, ὁριοῦμαι καὶ ταύτην. ἔστι γὰρ κρατίστη θυσία πασῶν, ἥτις ἂν ἔχη πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς ὁσίως {καὶ θείως}, πρὸς δὲ τὰς δαπάνας μετρίως, πρὸς δὲ τὰς θεωρίας λαμπρῶς, πρὸς δὲ <τοὺς> πολέμους ὡφελίμως. ἔξει δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς ὁσίως, ἂν τὰ πάτρια μὴ καταλύηται πρὸς δὲ τὰς δαπάνας μετρίως, ἂν μὴ πάντα τὰ πεμπόμενα καταναλίσκηται πρὸς δὲ τὰς θεωρίας λαμπρῶς, ἐὰν χρυσῷ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἃ μὴ συναναλίσκεται, δαψιλῶς τις χρήσηται πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολέμους ώφελίμως, ἐὰν ἱππεῖς καὶ ὁπλῖται διεσκευασμένοι συμπομπεύωσι. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκ τούτων κάλλιστα κατασκευάσομεν.

standard. He has, however, weighed it against available contributions and the needs of the army.¹⁹³

Other poleis declined to follow this standard. At Sparta, Lycurgus even made sacrifices cheap so that they would not be onerous. ¹⁹⁴ Custom had already done the same: for a victory, Spartans sacrificed only a cock. ¹⁹⁵ Sparta's foe, Epaminondas, opposed the new standard, too, when he contrasted *thuein*, moderate eating, with *hubrizein*, immoderate eating. ¹⁹⁶ Delphi settled the matter, or so Theopompus said. According to the oracle, the best sacrifices given to Apollo came from a farmer in Arcadia, one Clearchus, who

honored [his household gods] with incense, and barley cakes and other sacrificial cakes. He made civic sacrifices every year and never missed a festival. On these occasions he never served the gods by sacrificing cattle or bludgeoning victims, but by burning whatever he could find.¹⁹⁷

Porphyry, the source for this passage in Theopompus, quotes it in order to disparage animal offerings. Yet Clearchus is no vegetarian. He is an example of the Spartan virtue of frequency and of Epaminondas's motto of moderation—and a reminder that vegetal offerings were cheap. Give the god a cake here, give him one there—Asclepius might get three cakes in two spots in a single shrine. Fragments of Euripides agree. So does Priam, when he upbraids his sons for spending more on sacrifice than what was customary. So

It would not have surprised the Spartans that the practitioners of *hōs kallista* included not only cities that imitated Athenian regulations but also tyrants and kings who issued no comparable regulations and splurged on sacrifice for their

^{193.} A possible compromise: the lacunose *LSCG Supp.* 125, where some sacrifices by *orgeones* apparently occur $\dot{\omega}_S \, \kappa \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ but others apparently occur $\kappa] \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \, \tau \dot{\alpha} \, \tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \rho \iota \alpha$.

^{194.} Plu. Lyc. 19.8. Another view: Bremmer (2008a) 134, arguing that the Spartan aim was to restrict meat intake by soldiers.

^{195.} Plu. Ages. 33.6.

^{196.} Plu. Apophth. Lac. 192d with Non pos. suav. 1099c; Diogenes fr. V B 345 ed. Giannantoni.

^{197.} Theopomp. FGrH 115 F 344: καὶ τιμᾶν λιβανωτοῖς καὶ ψαιστοῖς καὶ ποπάνοις κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ θυσίας δημοτελεῖς ποιεῖσθαι, παραλείποντα οὐδεμίαν ἑορτήν ... ἐν αὐταῖς δὲ ταύταις θεραπεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ βουθυτοῦντα οὐδὲ ἱερεῖα κατακόπτοντα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αν παρατύχηι ἐπιθύοντα.

^{198.} Wörrle (1969) 185-187.

^{199.} E. fr. 327.6-7, 946 TGrF.

^{200.} *Il*. 24.262.

own ends. Jason of Pherae was one such offender, and the Antigonids of Macedon were a family of them. ²⁰¹ *Hōs kallista* implied tyrannical wealth, royal wealth, or wealth donated by foreign patrons like Ptolemy VI. ²⁰² (The Spartan critique will have missed another source, wealth from benefactors. That would undermine civic control of sacrifices.) ²⁰³ Some Spartan perhaps remarked on the rhetorical inflation that resulted when Athens sacrificed to Demetrius not only *hōs kallista* but also *hōs semnotata*—as handsomely and reverently as possible, and this to a human being. ²⁰⁴

Athens and other cities also reduced the cost of sacrifice by inducing priests and magistrates to spend their own money on victims and other expenses. No law compelled a priest to do so, but the polis would notice any such expenditures when granting honors. Perhaps the priests who spent their own money regarded this largesse as another way of acting hos kallista—not sacrificing as well as possible but spending as much as possible. Many priests and magistrates spent money in this way. In the third century, the priestess of Athena Polias did, and in the next century the priestess of Demeter did, and so did the priestess of the Nymphs.²⁰⁵ The stewards of the Athenian council received honors partly for this sort of spending in 276 BCE, 256/5, and two centuries later in 64, 46, and as late as 43, and before 19 CE—a range of dates implying that this practice was coextensive with civic sacrifice.²⁰⁶ A religious official, the theoros Callias, did so at the Ptolemaia in Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy II, and taxiarchs did.²⁰⁷ Outside Athens, the scanty evidence is widespread: Delphi, Cos, Miletus, Priene, Iasos, Sardis, Kaikos in Aeolia, and Sinuri in Caria, at dates ranging from the early third century BCE to 126/7 CE, for priests and priestesses, stewards of shrines, gymnasiarchs, theoroi, and agonothetai.²⁰⁸

^{201.} Jason: X. HG 6.4.29, a sacrifice of 1,000 cattle at Argos. Defending the total: von Reden (2007) 395. Antigonids: Plb. 26.1.10, and especially 30.25; D.S. 16.83.2 with a civic precedent at 11.72.2.

^{202.} ID 1518.22.

^{203.} IG ii 2 896.12 (an archon, but paying voluntarily).

^{204.} SEG XXV.149.16-18.

^{205.} IG ii² 776.19–20 (240 BCE), Agora 16.277.6–7 (180 BCE), SEG XXVIIII.135.5–7 (late Hellenistic).

^{206.} IG ii² 678.16, Agora 15.85.14, 266.11, 281.6-7, IG ii² 1048.6-7, Agora 15.304.4.

^{207.} Callias: SEG XXVIII.60.62–63 (270/69 BCE. Taxiarchs: Agora 16.185[1].b8–10 (275/4 BCE).

^{208.} Delphi: *ID* 1498.10–20, a priest, 160–50 BCE. Cos: Paton-Hicks 383.10–11, a steward of shrine, second century BCE. Miletus: *Miletos* 47.9–11, gymnasiarchs, c. 100 BCE. Priene: *Priene* 66.26–27, *theōros*, between 129 and 100 BCE. lasos: *I Iasos* 139.6–9, and *agōnothetēs*, 196–3 BCE. Sardis: *Sardis* VII, 1, 52.1.10–11 priestess, 126/7 CE. Kaikos: *IMT Kaikos* 818.49 (129 BCE). Sinuri: *Sinuri* 42.4–6, date unknown, but perhaps Hellenistic.

If officials would not defray the costs, benefactors might, but only in the Roman era.²⁰⁹

Hōs kallista did not affect every feature of sacrifice, and neither did polis instructions. No doubt for the reason that Plato gives—

Priests . . . know how, by means of prayers, to get us good things from the gods—

the polis did not issue instructions about how to pray, and so it could not punish any violations.²¹⁰ For this aspect of *thusia*, the polis trusted the priest or magistrate. Similarly, the polis did not issue instructions about how to inspect entrails or perform hepatoscopy, a task in many acts of *sphagia*. Yet we do know that the polis issued sanctions for misconduct unrelated to prayer or entrails.

Some sanctions were fines for evading priestly responsibilities. The Andanian Mystery Law, a 91 BCE redaction of a fourth-century original, begins with fines related to an oath sworn by priests and priestesses of the shrine. They must ensure that the Mysteries take place "in a way suitable for the goddess, and justly," and that they "do nothing improper or unjust that would invalidate the Mysteries." A hefty fine, 1,000 drachmas, falls on any priest or priestess who fails either to swear the oath or obtain a replacement. The college of ten magistrates who have chosen priests and priestesses must swear the same oath. Among other officials, five treasurers must pay double damages in case of any malfeasance, plus the same fine.

Other sanctions zeroed in on failure to enforce sacrificial regulations. The king archon of Athens paid a fine if he did not enforce regulations against disorderly conduct during the festival of the Two Goddesses, in other words, regulations against *dusphēmia*.²¹² Arcesina on Amorgos fined temple staff who did not keep foreigners out of Hera's shrine.²¹³ Or the polis might charge an unsatisfactory priest with *asebeia*, or impiety. In Arcadia, the priest would face this charge if he did not enforce regulations about modest dress in a shrine.²¹⁴

^{209.} IK Kyme 13.iii.72-76 after 130 BCE.

^{210.} Nor any instructions about the proclamations priests made at the start of festivals, as at IG ii² 1363a.4–6.

^{211.} SIG 736 sec. 1.

^{212.} Agora 16.56.s.36-37, from the mid-fourth century BCE.

^{213.} *LSCG* 101.

^{214.} I. Akrai 20.

Charges of *asebeia* could lead to much heavier fines, and perhaps worse punishments.²¹⁵ Although we cannot cite any law of *asebeia*, we can describe two cases, both involving Athenian priests or sacred officials.²¹⁶ The hierophant Archias committed impiety at Eleusis:

And was convicted . . . for sacrificing contrary to *ta patria*. . . . One of the charges: he sacrificed a victim that the harlot Sinope brought to him at the time of the sacrifices for the threshing floor. It wasn't customary to sacrifice a victim that day, or for him to do it. The priestess should have. ²¹⁷

The speaker goes on to regret that Archias was from a famously priestly line—a nod toward Plato's implication that the "race of priests" inherited the ability to act as *hermeneutai*. In the second case, an Athenian sacred ambassador to Delos, a *hieromnēmōn*, violated a law or custom at Delos providing that no private person might sacrifice there without the priest of the shrine.²¹⁸ The herald of the shrine reported the misdeed, and the ambassador, one Menesaechmus, was tried in Athens and convicted, too.²¹⁹

These two cases show that the law of *asebeia* on Delos forbade the violation of *ta patria* during an act of sacrifice at a civic shrine, and that the law of *asebeia* in Attica did likewise. Among violations of *ta patria* were sacrifices at the wrong time and sacrifices by unauthorized persons. Both violations must have occurred in other cases, too, for many regulations specify either the time of sacrifice or the celebrant. The two cases also show that the polis would hear charges against even the most prestigious priests or officials. They do not show how severe the

^{215.} A short and selective bibliography on *asebeia*, which has received far more attention than sanctions in "sacred laws": Lipsius (1905–15) 2.1.359 noting the lack of any citation of the text of any law; Derenne (1930) 12 seeing the law as originally and largely confined to harm done to a shrine or cult; Rudhardt (1960) and D. Cohen (1988) holding that *asebeia* was a matter of attitudes as well as conduct. The broadest statement on *asebeia*: the partly tautological Plu. *Per.* 32.1; so also the violations implied by the law of Draco at Porph. *Abst.* 4.22, e.g., $\theta \in obs$ $\tau \iota \mu \hat{a} \nu \dots \sigma \hat{\nu} \nu \in \partial \eta \mu \dot{\mu} \alpha$. The cultural background: Dover (1974) 250–254.

^{216.} Archias: [Dem.] 59.116, $\dot{a}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nu$. Menesaechmus: Lycurg. fr. 14 ed. Conomis, $\dot{a}\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\mu a$; with Din. fr. 43 ed. Conomis.

^{217. [}Dem.] 59.116: ἐξελεγχθέντα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀσεβεῖν θύοντα παρὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰς θυσίας, . . . καὶ ἄλλα τε κατηγορήθη αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι Σινώπη τῆ ἐταίρᾳ Ἁλώοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας τῆς ἐν τῆ αὐλῆ Ἐλευσῖνι προσαγούση ἱερεῖον θύσειεν, οὐ νομίμου ὄντος ἐν ταύτη τῆ ἡμέρᾳ ἱερεῖα θύειν, οὐδ' ἐκείνου οὕσης τῆς θυσίας ἀλλὰ τῆς ἱερείας.

^{218.} Lycurg. fr. 14 ed. Conomis: θύσαντος ἰδιώτου $[\tau\iota\nu]$ ὸς οὐ παρόντος $[\Delta\iota\sigma]$ δώρου καὶ θέντος; Diodorus being the priest, as at Fiehn (1945).

^{219.} Plu. Vit. X orat. 843d.

punishment might be, but since *asebeia* was an *agōn timētos*, the prosecutor might propose any penalty whatever, including death. In a case not involving priests or officials, the guilty party paid fines of 10,000 drachmas apiece.²²⁰

For the priest, or for the official acting as a celebrant, the standard of performance was high, and in Athens very high; personal contributions would eat into the perquisites; and the law of *asebeia* would punish what regulations did not. The elite paid an administrative, financial, and legal price for their status. Nor did the polis ease the burden by training priests. It rewarded, commanded, and punished them, or let them be; it did not give them a course of study or an apprenticeship, any more than it gave such support to its magistrates or generals.

Other Instructions

Groups and individuals could accomplish much less than a polis, especially Athens. Save in a few cases, they ordered sacrifice *kata ta patria*, not *hōs kallista*.²²¹ They dealt with fewer particulars, and often they relied on the polis for legal help, as provided by a law attributed to Solon. In spite of these differences, Sourvinou-Inwood's dictum holds good. Polis directives prove to be versions of those issued by groups and individuals.

Religious associations issued directives through bylaws. Although none survive, this accident is misleading, for numerous decrees that refer to these bylaws, or that amend them, do survive, especially for the associations known as *orgeones*. ²²² These decrees grant honors to supervisors like Serapion, but they also issue directives, or, to be exact, announce that the recipient of honors has complied with the directives given to him. ²²³

The association that made Serapion supervisor, for example, gave him instructions as to "proper sacrifice" and "handsome care" of the cult. In particular, it evidently told him to take care of the basins in the shrine. Decrees relating to other

^{220.} IG ii² 1635.134–140, where the charge was violence in a shrine. In Hyp. fr. A 1.4 ed. Blass and Jensen, the charge is the same.

^{221.} Hōs kallista for chairs belonging to an association: LSCG 48a.6–7. Demotic θυσία ώς καλλίστη: SEG XXVIII.103.5.

^{222.} The by-laws of a *genos* survive incorporated within the Praxiergidai decree, IG i³ 7, but this fragmentary document likely refers to an act of *thusia* only at lines a11–12. It does, however, have several predictable features: an oracle presumably given partly to prompt the sacrifice, a concern for the appearance of a *peplos*, and an instruction that sacrifice occur *kata ta patria*.

^{223.} Sacrificial decrees by *orgeones*: IG ii² 1252, 1255, 1283, 1315, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328 = LSCG 48, 1329, 1337, 1361, 2499, 2501; Agora 16.161.12–22; Hesperia 10:56, 20; MDAI(A) 66 (1941) 228, 4. Three more possible decrees: IG ii² 1259, 1289, 1361. Eleven conferring honors: IG ii² 1252, 1255, 1259, 1315, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1329, 1337, Hesperia 10:56, 20, MDAI(A) 66 (1941) 228, 4.

supervisors provide further detail: preparing sacrificial accessories, assigning priestly portions, and dividing meat among those in attendance, and, to turn from any one aspect of sacrifice to general requirements, acting as a host, conducting sacrifices *kata ta patria*, and complying with instructions in a cult calendar. Financial requirements include taking charge of association funds and avoiding overspending.²²⁴ The requirement to conduct sacrifices *kata ta patria* were less demanding than some polis requirements but included such essentials as the color of sacrificial animals and a table for vegetal offerings, the time and place for a sacrifice, and the identification of some group on whose behalf the sacrifice occurred. A few documents praise officers of associations or of similar groups for spending their own money.²²⁵

No resolution mentions *asebeia* as a punishment for failing to perform these tasks, still less for failing to make voluntary contributions. Instead, a few of them mention small fines. One imposes a 50 drachma fine for priestesses who do not prepare sacrificial accoutrements such as coverlets for thrones. A second imposes an unspecified fine for sacrificing in the wrong part of a shrine.²²⁶ A third imposes an unspecified fine on those who fail to publish the honors given to Serapion. Other, fragmentary resolutions may have done likewise.²²⁷

If instructions and punishments failed in their purpose, the association could turn to the polis courts. One decree shows *orgeones* resorting to a public arbitrator. ²²⁸ Similarly, fragments of a speech by Lycurgus imply that *geno* in charge of sacrifices sometimes took their business to polis courts. ²²⁹ Hence, perhaps, no resolution provides or even alludes to a procedure for dealing with an unpaid fine. Recourse to the courts of the polis goes without saying. ²³⁰

^{224.} Accessories: LSCG 48a.8–14. Priestly portions: IG ii² 1361.7–8. Meat: 1255.5–6, Agora 16.161[1].18–24, 16.161[2].18–24. Host: Agora 16.161[1].12–24. Kata ta patria: IG ii² 1283.25–26, 1289.8, 1325.23–24, 1326.15–15. Cult calendar: Agora 16.161[1].13–16. Taking charge of association funds: IG ii² 1252.12–14, 1325.23–24, 1326.10–13, 1327.8–14. Avoiding overspending: Agora 16.161[1].17, 16.161[2].17.

^{225.} Expenditure by a commander of a garrison at Rhamnous, with thanks from the deme: *Demos Rhamnountos* II 17.27–28, 235/4 BCE; Pouilloux, *Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, 15.27–28, 236/5 BCE; *SEG* XXVIII.107.6–7, c. 229 BCE. Outside Athens: *Teos* 33.10–12, from Ephesus, in which a summary honors *prostatai*.

^{226.} Fine for priestess: IG ii² 1328.8–14. Fine for sacrificing in the wrong place: IG ii² 1361.7–8. 227. MDAI(A) 66 (1941) 228, 4.17–19.

^{228.} IG ii² 1289.

^{229.} Lycurg. 7.1a–6 ed. Conomis. So also titles to speeches of Dinarchus 20, 21, 28, 74 ed. Conomis.

^{230.} These conclusions about the *orgeones* partly hold good for groups of *thiasōtai*, but there is less evidence. *Thiasōtai* punished for not announcing honors: IG ii² 1263.43–45, 1273.21–23. Accusations of violating by-laws: 1275.14–17, 1297.17–18.

The one statement about the legal standing of the associations, found in the *Digest* of Justinian, cites a supposed law of Solon:

Associates are those who are of the same group. The Greeks call such a group a *hetaireia*. The statute lets them make what bylaws they like, so long as they do no harm to anything in a public law. This statute seems to derive from a law of Solon, which says, "If an agreement is made by a deme or phratry members or [?] of sacred rites or sailors or tablemates or members of a burial society or of a *thiasos* or [those] engaged in piracy or commerce, it will be valid unless it contravenes polis regulations."²³¹

The attribution to Solon shows that at some early date—before the fourth century, if not as far back as the early sixth century—groups were free to write bylaws yet not so free as to contradict the community to which they belonged, and that the polis, in turn, would support the bylaws.²³²

A decree issued by an association that was a *thiasos*, and that happens to deal with funerary rites, not sacrifice, illustrates this mutually complementary relation. The "law" mentioned in this decree is a bylaw of the *thiasos*, a group of worshippers of Dionysus. After giving instructions about the conduct of funerals, the decree concludes:

If people act this way, it will do them much good, and the same is true for their descendants and their ancestors. Since the *thiasōtai* let the law prevail, let nothing be stronger than the law. If anyone does or says anything against the law, let any of the *thiasōtai* who wishes accuse him. If

^{231.} Dig. 47.22.4 (Gaius 4 ad l. xii tab.): Sodales sunt, qui eiusdem collegii sunt: quam graeci hetaireian vocant. his autem potestatem facit lex pactionem quam velint sibi ferre, dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant. sed haec lex videtur ex lege Solonis translata esse. nam illuc ita est:

έὰν δὲ δῆμος ἢ φράτορες ἢ ἱερῶν ὀργιῶν ἢ ναῦται ἢ σύσσιτοι ἢ ὁμόταφοι ἢ θιασῶται ἢ ἐπὶ λείαν οἰχόμενοι ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν, ὅτι ἂν τούτων διαθῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κύριον εἶναι, ἐὰν μὴ ἀπαγορεύσῃ δημόσια γράμματα.

Bibliography on the difficulties: Whitehead (1977) 88; Arnaoutoglou (2003) 44–58; and Ismard (2008) 44–57.

^{232.} Before the fourth century, i.e., before Isaeus, who confirms the common status of the *orgeones* and the demes (2.14).

he prevails against him, let the *thiasōtai* punish him however the association resolves.²³³

This bylaw bears the stamp of a law of the polis: first, the right of any member to bring an accusation, and second, a trial before the collective. Yet the polis presumably did not impose these two features. The association volunteered to adopt them.

If an association had less power to coerce than a polis, an individual had little. If he established sacrifices, as Nicias did, he must rely on the courts of the polis. Otherwise, he would have to issue admonitions to those who attended these sacrifices. The same went for those individuals who founded shrines, beginning with the first one known to us, Xenophon, who describes how he dedicated a shrine to Artemis after his safe return from the expedition of the Ten Thousand. He directed that the temple be a scale model of the Artemisium in Ephesus, that the statue of the goddess resemble the one in the Artemisium, but be made of cypress wood and not of gold, and that "the person owning and receiving the tithe" from temple lands "make a sacrifice every year and maintain the temple using any remaining income." The shrine is near Olympia, in Elis, on land given to Xenophon by the Spartans.

So far, Xenophon was seeing to the matter of *to kalon*. Missing only is some provision that the worshippers at this shrine meet the goddess's standard of conduct, but she was a huntress, and Xenophon made sure that he and his sons and also the local people conducted a hunt before the yearly sacrifice. Xenophon was doing what any worshipper or group might do—satisfy the goddess in her roles of connoisseur, judge, and temple resident.

He concludes his instructions by adding: "And if anyone does not do so, the goddess will deal with him," meaning the rejection of any sacrifices, but also punishment for the abuse or neglect of her property. Xenophon does not,

An overview: Tuplin (2004).

^{233.} IG ii² 1275.10–17: τa - / $\hat{v} \tau a$ δè ποιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐγγόν- / οις καὶ προγόνοις. ἐπειδὰν δὲ κυρώσωσι τὸν νόμ- / ον οἱ θιασῶται, μηθὲν εἶναι τοῦ νόμου κυριώτερ- / ον · εἰὰν δέ τις παρὰ τὸν νόμου ἢ εἶπει ἢ πράξει, κα- / τηγορίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι τῶι βουλομένωι τῶν θιασωτῶ- / ν, καὶ ἂν ἕλει αὐτὸν τιμάτωσαν αὐτὸν καθότι ἂν δο- / κεῖ τῶι κοινῶι. The first description of these associations as voluntary societies bound by law rather than by custom or family obligation: Foucart (1873) 5–7. A monograph on the relation of associations to the laws of Athens, but with sacrifice noted only at 304–305: Jones (1999).

^{234.} X. An. 5.3.12–13: TON EXONTA KAI KAP Π OYMENON THN MEN Δ EKATHN KATA Θ YEIN EKA Σ TOY ETOY Σ An Δ E TI Σ MH Π OIHI TAYTA THI Θ E Ω I ME Λ H Σ EI.

however, levy a fine or impose some other punishment. He lacks the power. At most, he might curse the offenders, and include imprecations that their sacrifices fail ²³⁵

Centuries later, at the start of the Common Era, another Athenian, a slave who labored in the mines at Sunium, unwittingly imitated Xenophon. He established a cult of the minor god Mēn Tyrannos, who had arrived in Greece in the Hellenistic period, and left instructions:

Xanthus Lucius the son of Gaius Orbius founded the shrine of Mēn Tyrannos, for the God luckily chose him to do so.²³⁶

Here Xanthus gives his version of the oracle in Xenophon. Next, the slave's notion of purity in the shrine:

Let no one impure enter. Purification for those who have had intercourse with a woman or eaten garlic or pork. Entry after washing from head to foot the same day.²³⁷

After further purification measures, comes Xanthus's version of protecting the privilege of a priest or other officiant:

Let no one sacrifice without the founder of the shrine being present.²³⁸

Xanthus also includes provisions for apportionment of the meat of animal victims. Next comes the sanction, which resembles Xenophon's "let her deal with it":

If anyone uses violence [in order to sacrifice], let his sacrifice be unacceptable to the god.²³⁹

^{235.} As in the curses described in Versnel (1985). Here, however, sacrifices are rejected in advance.

^{236.} LSCG 55.1–2: Ξάνθος Λύκιος Γαΐου 'Ορβίου καθειδρύσατο ἱερ[ὸν τοῦ Μηνὸς] / Τυράννου, αἰρετίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπ' ἀγαθῆ τύχη. A different view of this inscription: Parker (2004b) 69 n. 34.

^{237.} Ibid. 2–5: καὶ [μηθένα] / ἀκάθαρτον προσάγειν· καθαριζέστω δὲ ἀπὸ σκόρδων κα[ὶ χοιρέων] / κα[ὶ γ]υναικός· λουσαμένους δὲ κατακέφαλα αὐθημερὸν εἰσ[πορεύ] / εσθα<ι>.

^{238.} Ibid. 7–8: μηθένα θυσιάζειν ἄνε[v] / τοῦ καθειδρυσαμένου τὸ ἱερόν.

^{239.} Ibid. 8–9: ἐὰν δέ τις βιάσηται, ἀπρόσδεκτος / ἡ θυσία παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Unlike Xenophon, Xanthus repeats himself:

If anyone causes trouble or is officious, he will find himself in the wrong concerning Mēn Tyrannos, whom he will not be able to mollify.²⁴⁰

Here the dedicant refers to mollification by sacrifice. He is echoing the idea found elsewhere, notably in Herodotus, that sacrifice cannot expiate some offenses.

More ambitious than Xenophon, Xanthus provides for a table to hold portions for the god, calls for crowns and filets, and closes with the wish that Mēn be "propitious to those approaching him in good faith." These efforts do not keep the slave from being as vulnerable as the pupil of Socrates. Unlike the polis or an association, these individuals could not levy fines, or make use of arbitration. They made investments that only a god could protect.

In between Ephesian Artemis and Mēn Tyrannos, and in between Xenophon and the slave Xanthus, lay many other cases, few of which we can trace. An example from Hellenistic Ithaca happens to be the same as Xenophon's inscription, word for word.²⁴² This coincidence points to a formula for such privately founded shrines. Another foundation for the worship of Mēn, from Hellenistic Maeonia, in Asia Minor, instructs worshippers to "keep watch for nine days," presumably including sacrifices, while warning that failure to comply with the instructions will prompt divine anger.²⁴³ This example confirms the individual's reliance on divine retribution. So does a dedication made by several Athenian ephebes at a civic shrine to Pan. Here colored dress was not customary. The polis might have fined those who wore such dress or forbidden them to enter. On their dedication, the ephebes wrote only that "the god forbids it."²⁴⁴

These imprecations and warnings echoed the statements in Plato and the orators about evil worshippers spoiling the sacrifices of the good. Unlike the priest, who was well known and subject to review, the worshipper might be unknown as well as unavailable for review. How would the community protect itself against him?

^{240.} Ibid. 14–16: ὃς ἂν δὲ πολυ- / πραγμονήση τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ περιεργάσηται, ἁμαρτίαν ὀφειλέτω Μηνὶ / Τυράννωι, ἢν οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἐξειλάσασθαι.

^{241.} Ibid. 26: εὐείλατος γένοιτο τοῖς ἁπλῶς προσπορευομένοι.

^{242.} IG iv 1.654.

^{243.} LSAM 19. Or translate: "the religious association has ordered nine days of prayer," again presumably including sacrifices.

^{244.} SEG XXXVI.267.7. A polis law that begins with an imprecation adds a fine (SEG XXVI.1084).

Procul, Procul Este, Profani

It was a nice social problem. As the chief guest in a god's house, the community was responsible for every other guest. If another guest was obnoxious to the god, what should it do? If the worshipper was disorderly, the community would order the priest or other officials to fine or discipline him. If the worshipper was unsuitable, but not evidently so, the community established laws warning him to stay away. If the worshipper was unsuitable, and evidently so—if he or she was polluted, or sacrilegious—the community established laws letting the authorities remove this worshipper from the shrine.

Several regulations against disorderliness have already appeared in these pages—those fining the king archon for not suppressing it and those about the procession at the Little Panathenaea. In Athens, such fines are attested over half a millennium. Elsewhere, Ilium and Delphi contribute regulations. At the Mysteries in Andania, *rhabdophoroi*, or sergeants at arms, could discipline those who prevented the Mysteries from proceeding properly. The board of ten officials could tell them whom to punish, and the priests could punish the sergeants themselves. Delos fined (and ordered the priests to curse) those guilty of disorder in the shrine. At the priests to curse in the shrine.

To deal with the unsuitable, but not the flagrant, the polis published regulations resembling stop signs. Although the regulations would forbid a particular offense, the punishment for violating the regulation would be taken for granted, so it would go unstated. The most common topic of these regulations was the offense of being *anosios*, unfit to present oneself to the gods. For example, one regulation said that those who entered a shrine must be $\delta\sigma\iota\alpha$ $\phi\rho\nu\epsilon' \rho\nu\tau\alpha$, "thinking fit thoughts. This offense had two sides, transgression and impurity, the first making the worshipper *enagēs* and the second making him *ouch hagnos*.

^{245.} LSCG 13.27–28, 421–20 BCE; IG ii² 334.34–35, 335/4 BCE = LSCG 33.34–35; LSS 15.27–34, first century BCE; SEG XXI.494.28, unknown date.

^{246.} LSAM 9.30-31. Delphi: LSCG Supp. 38 b10-16.

^{247.} Oath of ten: SIG 736 sec. 10. Fines: 11. Rhabdophoroi: 10. Punishment: 25. More beatings: IMT Skamander und Nebantäler 183.28–29, second century BCE.

^{248.} SEG XLVIII.1037. A4 (ἀτακτῶς), B5 (fine); c. 180-66 BCE.

^{249.} Cf. Burkert (1985) 271, referring to "an inviolate state required when approaching a god," and thus preferring physical to moral factors.

^{250.} LSCG Supp. 82.2. Another view of this requirement: Lupu (2009²) 18.

^{251.} *Enagés*: Parker (1983) 7–8, referring to "offence directed against the gods and their rules." Cf. Vernant (1974) 131–135, regarding the *enageis*, or those subject to *agos*, as violators of a boundary between the human and divine. *Ouch hagnos*: Parker (1983) 147–151.

The first would cover murderers and other offenders who came to shrines for one purpose or another. It appears in the epic cycle, in which the outraged Achaeans order Ajax the Lesser to leave the altar to which he has come to escape pursuit.²⁵²

The second side, being *ouch hagnos*, appears mostly in inscriptions dating from the Hellenistic period or later.²⁵³ Reportedly older is a plaque Porphyry reported at the shrine of Asclepius at Epidaurus, the most famous of all shrines to this god:

Anyone going into the smoky temple ought to be hagnos. To be hagnos is to have thoughts that are hosia.²⁵⁴

As Bremmer noticed, scholars dating this plaque to the fourth century BCE do not reckon with the bulk of evidence showing that the category *ouch hagnos* comes later. But the chronological dispute does not obscure the reasoning found in these plaques. They begin with obvious signs of unfitness and progress to hidden or doubtful signs. First came the unwanted worshipper who was clearly so, and then the worshipper who was discoverably so, or possibly so.

The polis issuing this rule, Epidaurus (or the shrine acting on behalf of the polis) would have cared less about the relation between the categories than about warding off all persons who might vex the god. Other plaques devoted several lines or their entire contents to particular conditions that the fit worshipper must meet, including conditions relating to purity, such as recuperation from pregnancy or abstention from contact with corpses. They then ordered the worshipper to comply with these conditions, *hagneuein*. ²⁵⁵ Similar was a prohibition on bringing weapons into a shrine: the god's dislike of any contact with death encompassed a dislike of violence. ²⁵⁶

^{252.} Philostr. Her. 706-707.

^{253.} As noted by Bremmer (2002) 107 with refs.

^{254.} Porph. Abst. 2.19: ἀγνὸν χρὴ ναοῖο θυώδεος ἐντὸς ἰόντα / ἔμμεναι· ἀγνεία δ' ἐστὶ φρονεῖν ὅσια. Similarly, Clem. Al. Strom. 5.1.13. A view of this requirement centered on peculiarities of the cult at Epidaurus: Naiden (2005) 79–80.

^{255.} Pregnancy: LSCG 124.5–6, LSCG Supp. 119.11–12 with the governing verb hagneuein, 2. Similarly, contact with those who have given birth: LSCG Supp. 54.5. Both categories: LSCG Supp. 91.15 with Parker (1983) 354. Death: LSCG Supp. 119.4, LSAM 12.6–9, 29.3.

^{256.} LSCG 124.13, LSCG Supp. 91.6.

Other plaques or notices conceived *hagneuein* ethically. In Metropolis in Ionia, a plaque that must have appeared at the entrance to the temple of the Gallesian Mother began:

Let the worshipper be purified and rid [hagneuin or hagnizein] of his . . . for . . . days. Let him be purified and rid of pollution by his own wife for two days, and of pollution by a courtesan for three days.²⁵⁷

Now come the ethics:

He must not drag away [a suppliant?]

Two unreconstructable lines follow, and after that

He must not [do?] anything unjust. Let the Gallesian Mother not be propitious to anyone who acts unjustly.

This prohibition is both ethical and general. The last sentence adds the warning that the previous notices do not supply, but perhaps assume. The absence of any fine or other sanction also runs parallel to the previous notices. The stop sign may not warn of a fine, but whether there is a fine or not, the reason for the sign is not to raise revenue. It is to bring the addressee to a halt.²⁵⁸

If the polis thought the miscreant was identifiable, it ordered him or her expelled. In Athens, the king archon banned any accused murderer, from "what the law forbids," including communal shrines and ceremonies.²⁵⁹ The murderer's offense was not killing but entering the shrine while not *hosios*. If the king archon could not ward off the accused, any citizen could replace this magistrate and remove the accused from a shrine by means of *apagōgē*, or summary arrest.²⁶⁰ A range of offenses would render someone *ouch hosios*, the same as the accused

^{257.} LSAM 29.2–8, 12–14: [ἀγνεύ]εται ἀπὸ / [κήδους] ἡμέρας / [δώδεκα,] ἀπὸ / [γυν]αικὸς τῆς / [ἰδία]ς ἡμέρας δύ[ο,] / [ἀπὸ έ]ταίρας τρεῖς · / [ἰκέτην] μὴ ἀπέλκειν / ...μηδὲ / [δρᾶν] μ[η]θὲν άδι- / [κον ·] ὃς δ' [ἂν] ἀδική-[σηι,] μὴ εἴλως αὐ- / [τῶι ἡ] Μήτηρ [ἡ] Γαλ- / [λησί]α.

^{258.} The most ceremonial particulars, and no ethics: *LSAM* 20. Ethics and one particular: *LSAM* 35. Particulars only: *LSAM* 12, 14, 18, 119. Ethics and gender: *LSCG* 124 (traitors, castrati, and women).

^{259.} Arist. Ath. 57.2, Antipho 6.35, Dem. 21.158.

^{260.} Dem. 23.80, 24.105 with Hansen (1976) 99-108.

murderer. First came wanted men, then convicted felons of several kinds and the *atimoi*, or disenfranchised. Wanted men offended the gods protecting the city, convicted felons did so, too, and the disenfranchised did so for the same reason and also another: as outsiders, they would not share an insider's right to enter the god's house. Of these three categories, the first included felons caught red-handed, and the second included sundry violent criminals.²⁶¹ The third included military offenders, including draft-dodgers, deserters, and cowards, and social offenders, including male prostitutes and adulteresses.²⁶² Whatever the offender, the upshot was the same: first removal, then a trial.

A Demosthenic passage on this topic begins by repudiating the worshipper to be removed, an adulteress:

Judges, you should know that it is not only proper for a woman like that, one who has done what she has, to avoid all holy things—seeing and sacrificing and doing any of the ancestral, customary things on the community's behalf—and to avoid everything else in Athens.²⁶³

With this exaggeration, the speaker implies that the accused has lost her place in the community. He ranks her lower than a foreigner or a slave:

The law allows a foreign woman or a slave woman to come and look and pray, but not her—not in a communal shrine.

This comparison explains the fate of the offending worshipper:

If such women enter and break the law, anyone who likes may do anything at all to these women, without any penalty—anything except put them to death.

^{261.} Felons, or kakourgoi: Hansen (1976) 39-40 with refs.

^{262.} Hansen (1976) 61, 72–74, referring to the Classical period; for the Archaic period, only murder is certain. Other possible categories: Naiden (2006a) 178, reviewing the same legislation as it applies to suppliants.

^{263. [}Dem.] 59.85-86: ἴι' εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ μόνον προσῆκεν αὐτὴν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων τοιαύτην οὖσαν καὶ τοιαῦτα διαπεπραγμένην, τοῦ ὁρᾶν καὶ θύειν καὶ ποιεῖν τι τῶν νομιζομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πατρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ᾿Αθήνησιν ἀπάντων.... ἔξεστιν αὐτῆ ἐλθεῖν εἰς οὐδὲν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν δημοτελῶν, εἰς ἃ καὶ τὴν ξένην καὶ τὴν δούλην [ἐλθεῖν] ἐξουσίαν ἔδοσαν οἱ νόμοι καὶ θεασομένην καὶ ἱκετεύσουσαν εἰσιέναι... ἐὰν δ' εἰσίωσι καὶ παρανομῶσι, νηποινεὶ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ βουλομένου ὅ τι ἂν πάσχη, πλὴν θανάτου, . . . διὰ τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησεν ὁ νόμος, πλὴν θανάτου, τἄλλα ὑβρισθεῖσαν αὐτὴν μηδαμοῦ λαβεῖν δίκην.

The speaker adds that a woman who survives removal has no legal recourse:

That's why the law gives no legal remedy to a woman who has been outraged less than that.

The same fate would befall other worshippers in all three classes of proscribed persons.

After warnings and fines, and the attentions of the sergeants at arms, this response to those who are not *hosioi* seems harsh. The reason may be that the violator was easy to identify. Most violators were not. No magistrate or priest could identify Porphyry's impure of heart, or notice every impropriety. Only in one instance, on Delos, do the magistrates expect to catch offenders red-handed.²⁶⁴ Yet in a city with only some 10,000 or 20,000 citizens, the magistrates could hope to learn who was a draft-dodger or a known adulteress, and if they did not, others could make the Athens version of a citizen arrest. Outside Athens, we lack many examples of worshippers removed from shrines, but we do know that some suppliants were expelled on the ground that they were murderers or had committed impiety.²⁶⁵ All worshippers of these descriptions should have been expellable.

How often did worshippers find themselves expelled? Not as often as the speaker in the preceding speech implies, but neither so seldom as to make the law a dead letter. The expulsion of the ungodly was the ultimate measure the polis might take—and it was a measure the polis alone could take. Just as *hōs kallista* was the positive trademark of the polis, expulsion was the negative. Yet the motives for these two practices were not peculiar to a community, as opposed to a group or an individual. All worshippers wished to offer *hiera kala*, and all wished to avoid bad company. In the Classical period, the polis was on both scores the most enterprising worshipper. Earlier, the Homeric king had been. Later, the tyrant or Hellenistic monarch would be.

The Impact of Regulation

In this chapter political, legal, and economic changes have bulked larger than before. Taken together, these changes raise a doubt about the works of Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne, but also about this book, and about works on local religion

^{264.} LSCG Supp. 53.10-13.

^{265.} Murder: App. BC 5.1.4, 5.1.7. Impiety: And. 2.15. Arguable impiety: Ar. Thes. 726–727, 929–946. Unnamed capital crimes: Paus. 4.24.5–6, although this source objects to their then being killed $\vec{\epsilon} \nu$ $\vec{o} \vec{v} \delta \epsilon \nu \hat{n} \lambda \acute{o} \gamma \omega$. See Naiden (2006a) 147–153.

that concentrate on the Archaic and Classical periods. Sacrifice began to evolve as soon as magistrates came to replace kings, written laws came to supplement unwritten ones, and a standard of beauty came to compete with a standard of dutifulness. Some of this happened in the Archaic period, and some in the Classical period, but it continued, with further changes, into the Hellenistic period.

To begin with political and legal changes: in the Homeric poems, and in Hesiod, sacrifice is a matter of custom and precept, of *agraphoi nomoi*, not written laws; the difference between royal sacrifices and sacrifices by household heads is a matter of scale, whereas shrine sacrifices are less prominent. In the Classical period, if not the late Archaic period, sacrifice continues to be a matter of custom and precept but is regulated also; the difference among polis sacrifices, group sacrifices, and sacrifices by individuals is a matter of law as well as scale. In the Hellenistic period, tradition and regulation continue, but regulation becomes more detailed; if only because tyrants and monarchs are more ambitious, and because benefactors come to the aid of the polis, and especially to the poor.

Amid these changes, kings suffered more, priests less. In Homer, the king had been the leading celebrant thanks to his leadership in war, a responsibility that entailed sacrifices before and after battle, especially among his *hetairoi*; and thanks to his wealth, permitting largesse through domestic sacrifices, especially among his *xenoi*. In the Archaic period, the community superseded the king through the appointment of magistrates, the division of power among them, and the use of prosecution and review. Unlike kings, priests survived. In Homer, they were unregulated, the same as kings, and in the Archaic period they fell subject to regulations that turned them into civic officials, the same as magistrates. In the Hellenistic period, the ruler or emperor emerged atop a sacrificial pyramid in which the priest and the polis both found themselves subordinated, and so the priest sacrificed for the ruler's benefit. King, polis, empire—the priest found work under all these employers.

Then came the change in cost. As long as the most common group sacrifice was for a family or even a small royal court, sacrifice was cheap. The standard of dutifulness embodied by Lycurgus kept it so, and so did the use of local fragrances rather than incense. The importation of incense and the multiplication of civic festivals made sacrifice costly, and in Athens so did the new standard of *hōs kalllista*. The poor turned to vegetal sacrifice, which had always accompanied animal sacrifice but now largely replaced it. Vegetal sacrifice, in turn, could be commuted into small change, and so the word *pelanos*, a common vegetal offering, came to mean an obol or other small sum of money. ²⁶⁶ Along with higher costs came monetization.

^{266.} Ziehen (1937) 250, citing, inter alia, Suid. s.v. $\pi \epsilon \lambda \alpha \nu \acute{o}$ s.

Perhaps because of his psychological orientation, Burkert ignores these developments. For him, the original or early form of sacrifice is essential. For Vernant and Detienne, the Classical, democratic form of sacrifice is essential, and so they join Burkert in ignoring the Hellenistic period. Yet if sacrifice is often conducted *huper tinos*, ignoring the Hellenistic period is misleading. After 300 BCE or so, sacrifice *huper tinos* accelerated. We have more records not only of delegated responsibilities but also of rewards and instructions, especially from groups and individuals. Sacrifice *huper tinos* implied fewer of the communal feasts important to Vernant and Detienne. In Athens, a market in meat would provide another source of this food, and in Sparta, communal messes would. In both places, the supply of meat would be smaller than Vernant and Detienne suppose.

Markets and Messes

RECENT WRITERS WHO do not think that offerings needed to be acceptable think that meat needed to be acceptable instead. First, an act of sacrifice had to sanctify meat, especially beef, mutton, pork, and kid. This requirement implied a general dietary law—a sort of Greek kosher. Second, since worshippers ate together, the supply of sacrificial meat had to be large enough to feed not just families and groups, but whole communities, or at least the citizenry. This requirement implied frequent, large sacrifices in cities such as Athens. The first of these two requirements entered scholarship in the nineteenth century, at least for beef and the like. The second emerged later, in the writing of Vernant and Detienne. Both were of a piece with the notion that many or most offerings were animals, as discussed in chapter 2; that animals went to the slaughter willingly, as discussed in chapter 3; and that meat was shared equally, as discussed in chapter 5.

Together, these views aligned Greek meat with the Eucharist, another meal with sacred food and communal consumption. The effect on the god or goddess of the pagan ceremony was fatal. He or she either turned into an offering, the view of some earlier scholars, or absented himself or herself, as in Vernant, Detienne, and Burkert, who see the god as a nominal consumer. Rather than share and eat the god, the worshippers shared solidarity and ate the flesh of livestock. And they did so throughout Greece. Athens did not differ from Sparta, or from anyplace else.

With the same views comes a picture of the Greek economy. If all meat came from acts of sacrifice, little meat reached worshippers through markets. If meat was eaten collectively, the same was true. Even if food markets were allowed, at least from the Classical period onward, this picture does not find room for a market in meat from sacrificial animals, or a market in meat from other animals.¹

I. Substantivism: Finley (1973). Reservations, although not involving sacrifice: Morris (1994). Considerable exceptions: Osborne (2004) 39–54 with which cf. Osborne (1987). Osborne omits sacrifice, too, but his view of the importance of trade implies a concomitant view of the importance of livestock markets. A market for food implied by evidence for relevant occupations: E. Harris (2002) 98, listing twelve Classical Athenian occupations related to food production.

By the same token, livestock was for sacrifice rather than for sale.² This lack of markets suited the rest of the economy, in which gift exchange was more important than commerce, and in which sacrifice effected a nominal exchange of gifts between gods and humans, but an actual exchange between donors and recipients. In terms of a long-standing debate about ancient economies, this picture is substantivist, emphasizing social relations, including relations formed through sacrifice. Karl Polanyi drew the first such picture, in the 1940s. Moses Finley followed, as did the recent *Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*.³

The Greek language supplies several hints about these two views and this picture. Greek has a word for animal flesh, *kreas*, but not any words for beef, mutton, pork, or kid.⁴ Circumlocutions such as *boea krea* are rare.⁵ In this way, at least, Greek does not set livestock apart from other animals, and so it differs from English or French. In other ways, Greek does not fall short of these modern languages. It distinguishes between young and mature livestock and between gelded and ungelded males. The difference between Greek and modern languages concerns not animals in general but meat from animals regarded as sacrificial. Greek does not notice this meat.

The two chief verbs for animal sacrifice, *thuein* and *hiera rezein*, say little about meat. *Thuein* refers to burning, but not to spitting, boiling, or slaughtering, the tasks that distinguish meat from such offerings as cakes. *Hiera rezein* or *erdein* refers to multiple acts, but not to the particular acts of chopping or roasting meat. *Sphazein* refers to making blood flow by cutting or slashing, and so it does refer to animals, especially livestock, but it seldom refers to acts of sacrifice that yield meat. *Entemnein* and its cognates resemble *sphazein*. Like the nouns for beef and the like, these verbs invite skepticism toward any Greek rules about meat.

^{2.} Sacrificial herds, with the problem of reports of a tradition that working oxen were not to be slaughtered, McInerney (2010) 153–164, 180–181. An implicit argument against sacrificial herds: Sallares (1991) finding incentives for raising crops rather than for animal husbandry.

^{3.} Polanyi (1944) and (1957); Finley (1973); and Scheidel et al. (2007).

^{4.} LSJ s.v. κρέας, citing Od. 3.65 (beef), Ar. Pl. 1137 (mutton), and Zen. 4.85 (rabbit); so also LSCG 98.12, 151a.22, 151a.54, 156.32, LSCG Supp. 11.11 (beef); LSAM 24.21 (veal); LSCG 30.8, 98.12, LSAM 39.23 (mutton); LSCG 90.6 (goat); LSCG 98.12, LSCG Supp. 20.18 (pork).

^{5.} $\beta \acute{o} \epsilon \alpha \ \kappa \rho \acute{e} \alpha$ is rare save in medical writers, and does not refer to sacrificial meat at Hdt. 2.37.4, 2.168, Pl. R. 338c, E. fr. 907 TGrF, Pherecrat. fr. 14 K-A, Artemid. 1.70, Sext. Emp. Pyrrhoniae hypotyposes 1.78. Even rarer: $\sigma \acute{v} \epsilon \alpha \ (\kappa \rho \acute{e} \alpha)$: Lucianus Hist. Conscr. 20, again not referring to sacrifice.

^{6.} Casabona (1966) 7, on Homeric usage: "le caractère très concret de la langue invite à ne pas distinguer entre le sacrifice et les offrandes, $i\epsilon\rho\dot{\alpha}$ connotant confusément l'un et l'autre." Similarly, the rare post-Homeric phrase *erdein* followed by an animal victim in the accusative refers both to *thuein* and to performing holocausts (*LSAM* 42.4 vs. 44.10 and 50.15 with Casabona's comments at 58–60).

^{7.} Stengel (1920) 97 n. 9. Rare Homeric instances of *sphazein* and a meal: *Il*. 1.466–467, 23.29–32.

The first half of this chapter deals with the sacrificial origin assigned to beef and other meat. This half considers other species as well as livestock, several kinds of meals, and markets and messes as well as shrines. The second half deals with the amount of meat available at public sacrifices, including sacrifices in Athens, but also in other cities, in demes, and in other groups.

Sacrificial Meat from Livestock

Only in the late nineteenth century did scholars of religion turn their attention to communal meals of meat. Julius Wellhausen thought such meat meals were common among the ancient Semites, including the Israelites. William Robertson Smith thought such meals occurred among Greeks, too. From these two scholars, the communal meal of meat found its way to Greek scholars as diverse as Jane Harrison and Karl Meuli. Such a meal required a meat supply, and specialists in Greek religion found this supply in an unwritten *nomos* that the flesh of cattle, sheep, pigs, and goats might be eaten only after an act of sacrifice, that is, an act of *thusia* in which some part of the animal went to the god. In his *Griechische Altertümer*, George Schoemann had already given his imprimatur to this *nomos*. Scholars ranging from the French philologist Casabona to the duo of Vernant and Detienne and to the team of the *Archaeologia Homerica* have accepted this view, as have Indo-Europeanists and survey writers on ancient food and ancient animals. Beyond ancient studies lies the similar view that meat, a symbolic or significant food, is not consumed under ordinary circumstances.

^{8.} Wellhausen (1878) 76; Robertson Smith (1894²) 253–254. I discussed these passages in another sense in Naiden (2006b) 189.

^{9.} J. Harrison (1911) 136–137; Meuli (1946) 212. Harrison passed the idea down to English-language scholars; Meuli to Burkert, as immediately below. Another conduit: Gernet (1932) 242–285, preceded by Legrand (1912) 970.

^{10.} Or, as Casabona (1966) 158 put it, two acts, one of slaughter (*sphazein*) and one of combustion (*thuein*).

^{11.} Schoemann (1861) 2.234, distinguishing between domestic, sacrificial species and wild, unsacrificable species, followed by Stengel (1920) 105 with n. 8 and earlier Stengel (1910) 197–202. Similar: Hubert and Mauss (1964) 4, on the "sacred character of domestic animals."

^{12.} Casabona (1966) 81; so also Parker (2011) 131. Two associates of Vernant and Detienne: Durand (1989) and Berthiaume (1982) 81–93, but excepting *kenebrion. Archaeologica Homerica*: Bruns (1970) 46. Indo-Europeanist: Lincoln (1986) 84. Food survey: (1996) 22–23. The same view in a survey of ancient sacrifice: Gilhus (2006) 115.

^{13.} Fiddes (1991), e.g. 1.4, "More than a Meal." Douglas (2002) made no such claim in the preface; yet ch. 3, analyzing Leviticus, linked livestock, temples, and eating, and might have done the same with Greek *leges sacrae*.

Schoemann's *nomos* did not extend to other species, and Stengel observed that these others were seldom subjected to such treatment. Although he did not deal with animals such as geese, he said that hunted animals were never subjected to this treatment, and fish seldom were. ¹⁴ Nor did Schoemann's *nomos* extend to every situation. Neither he nor the others wrote about the pork served in the Spartan common messes, or bought in markets...

More than a century after Schoemann, Vernant and Detienne tightened the *nomos*. Detienne envisaged "the absolute coincidence of meat-eating and Greek sacrificial practice." These two writers also reconceived "sacrificial practice." For them, it was participatory, as in Burkert's formula that worshippers at a sacrifice

experience and bring death, honour the immortals, and in eating affirm life in its conditionality. 16

Before eating, the worshippers "experience and bring death," in other words, kill the animal or watch it being killed by the *sacrificateur*. Because of this feature, Greek practice differed from kosher or halal butchering.

Skeptics have been few. The most notable is Gunnel Ekroth, in an essay published in 2007.¹⁷ Unlike others, Ekroth asked not about exceptions to the rule—for example, exceptions for women, or exceptions in some localities—but about the rule itself. She said that livestock and other animals eaten in a shrine provided "sacred" meat. The manner of killing did not matter. If *thusia* occurred, however, the meat was not only sacred but also "sacrificial." In this view, the mise-en-scène has replaced the rite as the mark of holiness.¹⁸

In the light of Ekroth's objections, and others, Schoemann's rule needs amendment. In contrast, the participatory notion of recent writers merits rejection. Abundant evidence, some cited by Ekroth, shows that meat from livestock

^{14.} Stengel (1910) 197–202; at 197 he draws a further distinction between animals suitable for *thusiai* and those suitable for holocausts. The consumption of raw meat in Dionysiac cult, as at LSAM 48.2 with Dodds (1951) 276–281, was too rare to be relevant to the *nomos*.

^{15.} Vernant and Detienne (1989) 3.

^{16.} Burkert (1985) 53.

^{17.} Ekroth (2007) 252; exceptions for women in Osborne (1993b) 394 n. 11; exceptions found at a given site, as in Himmelmann (1997) 68–73. Gebauer (2002) 340–341, who accepts the rule, observes that meals portrayed on vases commonly lack any "sakral Zusammenhängen."

^{18.} Ekroth (2007) 269. An analogous view: Hubert and Mauss (1964) 40, on the temporary "consecration" of sacrifices. A similar conclusion, but without these categories: McInerney (2010) 193, saying that "meat remained primarily a commodity within the sacred economy."

and other meat were served together in shrines, in homes, and in other places where Greeks ate meat, notably butchers' stalls and wineshops. Some meat was preserved, and so it distanced the consumer from the worshipper. Some was ground into sausage, and so it distanced consumer and worshipper in another way. Some was stolen. Since regulation of the meat market limited itself to weights, much meat was doubtful. Some ancient Greek shoppers knew this, and so did Saint Paul.¹⁹

Cattle and sheep mostly obeyed Schoemann's rule. Worshippers got their beef and mutton by attending sacrifices, and often ate in shrine dining rooms. Unless a regulation forbade them, they might also take the meat from the shrine to their homes.²⁰ Priests and butchers got meat from acts of sacrifice, too, but under the regulations noted in chapter 5. These kinds of distribution, all within Schoemann's *nomos*, accounted for most beef, mutton, and the like.

Other meat did not result from acts of sacrifice. A source datable to the late 300s BCE, but misattributed to Aristotle, tells how Sicilian Greeks stopped sacrificing livestock, meaning cattle and sheep. The reason was commercial:

[The tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse] taxed people so much that they stopped raising livestock. The tyrant promised not to tax stock-buyers, but then, after many people bought tax-free, he ordered an inventory made when the time was right. Then he imposed a tax. Enraged at having been tricked, the people started slaughtering [sphazein] their livestock and selling [the meat].²¹

The people might have sold their livestock to those who would then sacrifice the animals, and in that case the animals would have obeyed Schoemann's rule.

^{19.} I Cor. 10:25. The last treatment of this problem in this passage: Isenberg (1975).

^{20.} I.e., most acts of sacrifice were not subject to a restriction such as *ouk apophora*. At Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 62.b4, for example, this restriction applies to victims sacrificed to Rhea but not Hera, the goddess of the next sacrifice on the calendar. Lupu (2009^2) 276 notes that the restriction usually applies to a single animal. A summary of the practice: Scullion (1994) 99–101, 103–112, showing that many or most of these restrictions applied to Chthonian divinities.

^{21. [}Arist.] Oec. 1349b, noticed by Berthiaume (1982) 69–70, to the same effect: $T\hat{\omega}\nu$ τε πολιτ $\hat{\omega}\nu$ διὰ τὰς εἰσφορὰς οὐ τρεφόντων βοσκήματα, εἶπεν... τοὺς οὖν νῦν τι κτ ησαμένους ἀτελεῖς ἔσεσθαι. Πολλ $\hat{\omega}\nu$ δὲ ταχὺ κτησαμένων πολλὰ βοσκήματα ώς ἀτελῆ έξόντων, ἐπεὶ καιρὸν ὤετο εἶναι, τιμήσασθαι κελεύσας ἐπέβαλε τέλος. Οἱ οὖν πολῖται ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξηπατῆσθαι, σφάζοντες ἐπώλουν. Ω ς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔταξε σφάζεσθαι ὅσα δεῖ τῆς ἡμέρας, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἱερόθυτα ἐποίουν ὁ δὲ ἀπεῖπε θῆλυ μὴ θύειν.

Instead, the cattle were slaughtered without ceremony. Only after the tyrant adopted a new policy did the people turn to sacrifice:

[Dionysius] responded by ordering that every day as many should be slaughtered as were needed. The people countered by sacrificing [hierothuta]. In reply, he forbade them to sacrifice females.

Each side was struggling to control the supply. Sacrificing the livestock was incidental. Nor do we need to wonder how the people managed to slaughter livestock without the tyrant's permission. A Greek proverb, "slaughtered like cattle in their stalls," answers this question. The proverb appears in a late source, Philo Judaeus, but without being identified as a proverb it also appears in the *Odyssey*, where Aegisthus kills Agamemnon, "as though someone killed an ox in a manger." It appears in Athenaeus as a proverb with Homeric coloring.²² It was no common way for an ox to die, but it was not unheard of.

This Aristotelian ranchers' boycott suggests an interpretation of another episode involving a tyrant and slaughtered livestock, this one from the *Politics*. Here Aristotle says that the tyrant Theagenes of Megara gained popularity after he

slaughtered the livestock of the well-to-do once he caught them grazing by the river. 23

If Theagenes were as aggressive as Dionysius, he slaughtered these animals immediately, so he could not have sacrificed them. Together these two episodes evoke a topos—the tyrant's trick of diverting cattle and sheep from sacrifice to slaughter. Yet even if we discount the bias found in these two sources, they cannot be altogether wrong about the willingness of Greeks sometimes to slaughter cattle and sheep without sacrifice.

The topos finds support not only in the proverb about cattle in mangers but also in the practice of selling carrion in the Athenian Agora and no doubt elsewhere.²⁴ A joke in Aristophanes about avoiding carrion confirms that it was for

^{22.} Philo Som. 2.144, $\tau \delta$ $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \nu \nu \tau \sigma \tilde{\nu} \tau \sigma$, $\beta \delta \epsilon s \epsilon \tilde{\epsilon} \tilde{\tau} \tilde{\tau} \delta \tau \eta \sigma \sigma \sigma \gamma \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon s$; Od. 4.535 with schol., 11.411; Ath. 8.349a. Another view: Henrichs (2012) 192, calling this sort of death "a violation of the sacrificial code."

^{23.} Arist. Pol. 5.1305a: Θεαγένης ἐν Μεγάροις τῶν εὐπόρων τὰ κτήνη ἀποσφάξας, λαβὼν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπινέμοντας. Α contrary view: McInerney (2010) 179.

^{24.} Erot. s.v. $\kappa \epsilon \nu \epsilon \beta \rho \epsilon \iota a$.

sale.²⁵ So does a fragmentary Delphic inscription of 480–70 BCE. It begins by mentioning at least one animal part, "the limbs," and then mentions "carcasses," or literally, "dead things," and concludes

[it is forbidden] to sell them. . . . Fine [for doing so]: an obol. 26

Since the inscription comes from the agora, this law forbids selling parts and carcasses in this location, or perhaps some part of it, and so it implies that these items were for sale elsewhere. The parts may have come from animals unfit for sacrifice, another, and possibly large, source of meat.

To judge from a passage in Longus, pigs escaped Schoemann's rule more often than cattle and sheep did. In book 4 of his novel, this author sets forth a meal of marsh birds, suckling pigs, and honey cakes. According to the rule, the birds should be a source of nonsacrificial meat, and the pigs should be a source of sacrificial meat. Yet Longus adds, "and many victims, too, were sacrificed to the local gods." The pigs are not among these victims, any more than the birds. (In contrast, goats in Longus go to the altar. 28). The god received no part of either.

Why this exception to Schoemann's rule? A pig was easy to roast whole, a common cooking method (just as a piglet was commonly a holocaustic sacrifice, not a sacrifice made by *thusia*).²⁹ The comic writer Diphilus mentions roasting "unskinned, whole piglets," while another comic writer, Sopater, makes a joke about a hog that conveys the same information: "A fatted hog will bellow if there's ever an oven about."³⁰ Pigs must have been among the species Posidonius does not mention when describing how at Daphnae King Antiochus VIII distributed "dishes . . . made of undismembered meat."³¹ Perhaps Posidonius meant

^{25.} Ar. Av. 538, fr. 693 K-A.

^{26.} CID 1.2: [-----] /[.]# $\tau a \rho #$ [...] /[τ] $\alpha \kappa \delta \lambda \alpha$? [...] / $\tau \alpha \theta \nu \alpha$ [σ] α [α]? / $\tau \epsilon \delta \epsilon$? $\pi \lambda \epsilon [\nu]$? / $\alpha \mu \alpha$ ' $\alpha \delta \epsilon$? [...] / $\alpha \delta \delta \epsilon$? Bosquet. "Carcasses": Jeffery (1955) 77. A different view: Berthiaume (1982) 88–89, saying such carcasses were "marginales."

^{27.} Longus 4.26.1. Victims: $i \in \rho \in \hat{\iota} \alpha$.

^{28.} Longus 3.10, using *apollunai* of slaying birds. Goats sacrificed: 2.30.5–31.2.

^{29.} Holocaustic, although not burned, at Thesmophoria: Burkert (1985) 242–243, where he assumes that the debris of these sacrificial victims was promptly removed. Cf. Clinton (1988) 77, saying that at the Greater Mysteries, at least, the debris was removed only twenty days later. Clinton takes into account another feature of a carcass of this kind: far more than cattle or sheep, it was vulnerable to prompt and nearly complete destruction by insects and vermin. So also Foutopoulos (2003) 75.

^{30.} Diph. fr. 90 K-A, χοιρίδια περιφόρινα . . . ὅλα; Sopater fr. 5.6: εἴ που κλίβανος ην, πολὺ δέλφαξ σιτευτὸς ἔγρυξεν.

^{31.} Poseidonios FGrH 87 F 21a: ἀναδόσεις ἐγίγνοντο ὁλομελῶν βρωμάτων.

sheep, too. Diphilus mentions "a stuffed, whole sheep with a skewer through it." ³² The ne plus ultra, Athenaeus says, was the marriage feast of Ptolemy Ceraunus: whole "geese, hares, goats... pigeons, doves, and partridges, and an abundance of other birds." ³³ Cast among species that Schoemann never had in mind, like partridges, the goats succumb to the same treatment as the lamb and sheep in Diphilus. At least no goat was modeled in wax. A bird was, at the order of Ptolemy Philopator. ³⁴

In these citations from Athenaeus's *Wise Men at Dinner*, the cooks receive no tribute for their labors, but one passage allows a cook to point out that serving up these dainties took skill. To serve a whole pig, this cook says, one must kill neatly. His method: to make a small cut under the shoulder and let the blood drain, then hang the pig before cooking. In an act of sacrifice, however, the cook would strike it so that the blood would spurt and reach the altar.³⁵ Slaughter and the subsequent dismemberment was a public spectacle. The cook's work occurred behind the scenes. His coup de theâtre lay in making the act of slaughter disappear.

Those Greeks who did not live in the country, like Daphnis, and did not employ cooks, either, could obtain nonsacrificial pigs in a market. Two versions of the *Life of Aesop* tell of the subject's errand to buy such pigs. One version, W, says that Aesop's master, Xanthus, told him to buy *hoti kalon*, "something handsome," for lunch, and so,

hastening to the market, [Aesop] went and bought the tongues of pigs that had been sacrificed.

Later, Xanthus told Aesop to buy something cheaper:

Not bothered, Aesop went back and again bought tongues.³⁶

In this version, some pigs are said to have been sacrificed and some are not. On the second day, Aesop bought the latter. Another version, G, agrees about the first day but not the second: On this day, G says, Aesop bought the tongues

^{32.} Diph. fr. 90 K-A: ὁλοσχερῆ ἄρν' ἐς μέσον σύμπτυκτον, ώνθυλευμένον,

^{33.} Ath. 4.128d: χῆνες καὶ λαγωοὶ καὶ ἔριφοι . . . καὶ περιστεραὶ καὶ τρυγόνες πέρδικές τε καὶ ὅσον ἄλλο πτηνῶν πλῆθος ἦν.

^{34.} Ath. 4.129b-c.

^{35.} Ath. 9.376c-d.

^{36.} V. Aesopi W 51, φθάσας δὲ εἰς τὸ μάκελλον πάντων τῶν τεθυμένων χοίρων ἢγόρασε τὰς γλώσσας. Cf. 54: Αἴσωπος δὲ μηδὲν ταραχθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ μάκελλον καὶ πάλιν γλώσσας ἀγοράσας both as in Perry (1952) 52.

of "all the sacrificed pigs." ³⁷ In this version, Aesop stuck to one kind of pig. Yet G acknowledges two kinds of pigs, the sacrificed and the unsacrificed. Otherwise, it would not specify "the sacrificed pigs." On this score, the two accounts agree.

W and G form an odd pair. The motive for mentioning the two kinds of pigs is unstated, and so is the motive for G to eliminate one of them.³⁸ Whatever the motive, these two versions deal with a paragon, Aesop, not with less astute shoppers like the Christians of 1 Corinthians, who told Saint Paul that they could not tell sacrificed animals from others.³⁹ Still less do these two versions, both probably of Imperial date, refer to Classical and Hellenistic conditions. Yet the distinction they draw appears in Classical sources about how birds may spoil sacrificial offerings. In Olympia, and perhaps elsewhere in Elis, kites that spared "sacrificial meat" did not spare meat in the agora.⁴⁰ The latter was meat of some other kind. To judge from Aesop, it may well have been pork, but it may have been beef.

Aesop's conversation with his master suggests why the god of the sacrifice would tolerate this practice. *Hoti kalon*, as Xanthus put it, ought to be cattle, the species that shed the most blood on the altar and yielded the biggest fires, bones, and skulls. Pigs ranked lower. They were less eligible for sacrifice, and so the god paid less heed to them. Writers like Longus paid less heed, too, omitting them from sacrificial menus. It took a biography of a slave to raise the subject of which pig was which. (Since Aesop did not buy mutton or kid, we cannot assess sheep or goats, but perhaps they ranked closer to cattle than to swine. Save in comic imaginations, roasting a whole lamb or kid must have been rare.)

No wonder that Schoemann and other scholars have never found any tradition or regulation against a pig's being stuck without ceremony, or against killing cattle in mangers, or against putting carcasses on spits. The rule that all meat taken from livestock must derive from an act of sacrifice was not a rule but a preference. Tyrants might ignore this preference for wicked reasons, country folk and urban slaves might ignore it for practical reasons, and cooks might ignore it for

^{37.} V. Aesopi G 51: especially τῶν τεθυμένων χοιριδίων τὰς γλώσσας ἢγόρασεν. Cf. 54: πάντων τῶν τεθυμένων χοίρων τὰς γλώσσας. Comment on G but not W: Kurke (2010) 219–222.

^{38.} Motive for the contrast: Isenberg (1975). Motive for G to eliminate the contrast: same and Perry (1952) 2.

^{39. 1} Cor. 10:25, 28, discussed below.

^{40.} As at chapter 4 above. "Sacrificial meat": $i\epsilon\rho\delta\theta v\tau\alpha$, [Arist.] Mir. 123.

professional ones. Divinities no more insisted on the consecration of every piece of meat than they insisted on the consecration of every cake or every item made of precious metal. Like Aesop's master, they insisted on *hoti kalon*. ⁴¹

Doubtful Meat

Detienne disagreed with Schoemann's rule, too, but not because the rule overlooked the occasional tyrant on the rampage or slave on an errand. Detienne wanted the rule extended to meat of all kinds:

All comestible meat must result from a sacrificial killing. 42

The polis would enforce this monopoly:

Rules specify that meat sold in shops may come neither from animals that have not been sacrificed nor from those that cannot be sacrificed.

Detienne also changed the reason for the rule. Schoemann and others thought a sacrifice was a gift, and ought to be valuable. The four most valuable species ranked as sacrificial, and other species did not. Detienne thought that a sacrificial monopoly on meat would unify those who ate it, whether they were fellow citizens sharing in a civic sacrifice or family members sharing in a domestic sacrifice. If Greeks violated these rules, that, in the words of Leslie Kurke, was "a dirty secret."

Detienne did not, however, cite these polis rules. To this writer's knowledge, rules about meat are very few. They cover giving false weight, and some cover prices. ⁴⁴ None cover origin. No rule, for example, says that carrion may not be sold. Nor does Detienne consider the reason for this lack of legislation—the difficulty

^{41.} Archaeological evidence for or against Schoemann's rule would need to come from a very large sample of pigs' bones in dining areas such as at the temple of Demeter at Corinth, where Bookidis et al. (1999) 43–44 concluded that some pigs were brought whole into the dining area, and thus not subject to *thusia*.

^{42.} Vernant and Detienne (1989) 13; so also Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantell (1992) 33–34; similarly, von Reden (2007) 394: "meat came to private households almost exclusively via sacrifices."

^{43.} Kurke (2010) 221.

^{44.} False weight: Machon fr. 4 ed. Gow, *Didyma* 5.4. Prices in the Classical period: Bresson (2000) 151–182, using Piraeus Museum 4268. Prices and other regulations in later antiquity: Drexhage (1997).

of distinguishing sacrificial meat from other kinds. First, a given kind of meat might or might not be of sacrificial origin, and so it would not surely be sacrificial. Second, sacrificial and other meat might be served together, and so the sacrificial would mingle with the profane. Third, meat might be preserved, ground, or stolen, and so its origin would be obscure. Some meat was ambiguous, some confused, and some dubious. All such meat was for sale, the same as carrion.

The first of these three problems concerns species of animals that were sacrificed part or most of the time, but not always. Besides pigs, these ambiguous species included geese. The poor sometimes sacrificed them.⁴⁵ Yet the numerous passages saying that Greeks bought or ate gooseflesh say nothing about a sacrifice. In Aristophanes, the only source providing a context, dead geese are for sale alongside eels.⁴⁶ The seller no more sacrificed the birds than the fish, another semisacrificial food.⁴⁷ The same is true of cocks, another favorite of the poor, and of hens.⁴⁸ Whatever the Greek practice, Roman sources distinguished sacrificial hens from others by color.⁴⁹ Dogs were sacrificed to Hecate, Enyalios, Ares, and Eileithyia, yet sometimes eaten without ceremony.⁵⁰ Asses were less commonly sacrificed, but were eaten the same way.⁵¹ Not one literary source says that

^{45.} Sacrificed: Diogenian. 3.50, Macar. 2.89, Apostol. 5.8, Suid. s.v. $\beta o \hat{v} \hat{s} \in \beta \delta o \mu o \hat{s}$ and $\theta \hat{v} \sigma o \nu$ (Athens); Paus. 10.32.6 (Phocis); Plu. *Apophth. Lac.* 210b (Sparta), *Soller. anim.* 959e, Lyd. *Mens.* 4.44 (unknown locations). Eaten without mention of sacrifice: Molpis FGH 4.454; Ar. *Ach.* 878, *Pax* 1004, *Av.* 1303; Ath. 2.65d, 4.128d.

^{46.} Ar. Ach. 880. Exceptional sacrifices of fish, including smoked fish in Phaselis: Call. fr. 405 ed. Pfeiffer.

^{47.} Sacrificed: chapter 3 note 102 above. Perhaps not sacrificed because bought in a market after being hunted: Ath. 12.521d. Not sacrificed because served whole: Ath. 4.135c-d. Three of many examples of fish eaten without mention of sacrifice: Ath. 1.4d, 1.27d, 4.147a,

^{48.} Cocks sacrificed: LSAM 67b.3, LSCG 51.5. The poor: Herod. 4.11–14. Cocks eaten with no mention of sacrifice: Hp. Morb. Sacr. 2. Hens, cocks, or guinea fowl sacrificed: Porph. Abst. 5.16, IG Bulg IV 2083.4–5; LSCG 60.5–6 (Epidaurus); Suid. s.v. $\beta o \hat{v} \hat{s} \hat{\epsilon} \hat{b} \hat{\delta} o \mu o \hat{s}$ and $\theta \hat{v} \hat{\sigma} o \nu$ (Athens); Paus. 10.32.16 (Phocis). Hens, i.e., kalaidia: LSCG 172.4. Hens eaten without division of parts, hence without sacrifice: Ar. fr. 17 K-A, Ath. 13.662d.

^{49.} Plin. NH 10.156.

^{50.} Hecate: Paus. 3.14.9, Plu. *QR* 290d, Theoc. 2.12. Enyalius: Plu. *QR* 290d, Paus. 3.14.9, *LSCG Supp.* 85.29–30. Eileithyia: Socrates of Argos *FGrH* 310 F 4. Puppies to Zeus: Hesych. s.v. Διάσια. Purification: Plu. *Rom.* 21.10. Eaten without ceremony: Roy (2007) 45–47, giving sources including Hp. *Vict.* 46.1–4; Peters and von den Driesch (1992) 117–119, citing archaeological evidence. The same conclusion: Ekroth (2007) 263. Mainoldi (1984) 52 concludes that sacrifice and consumption of this animal do not overlap.

^{51.} Sacrificed: Call. fr. 186.10 ed. Pfeiffer, EM s.v. 'Aνεμώτας. Eaten without mention of sacrifice: schol. Ar. V. 194, Hesych. s.v. μ εμνόνεια. Slaughtered without sacrifice: Lucianus Asin. 39, Porph. Abst. 2.25.

worshippers ate horseflesh, but archaeological evidence indicates the contrary, yet does not indicate that this meat was sacrificial.⁵² Taken together, the sources for these kinds of meat fall somewhere in between the two extremes of compulsory sacrifice and none at all. Greeks killed pigs, birds, and other animals that they found unsuitable for sacrifice.

For birds, sacrifice poses the most objections. Rather than be slaughtered, these animals suffered a blow through the beak into the head, as recommended in Athenaeus.⁵³ This kind of slaughter did not divide divine from human portions, the desideratum of Vernant and Detienne. Nor did spitting, a method of cooking well suited to all small animals, including birds and hares as well as pigs.⁵⁴ Nor did one way of eating them, which was to tear them limb from limb, as happens to goslings in Eubulus.⁵⁵ Nor, of course, did the use of birds in holocausts.⁵⁶ Just as birds were too dainty for divine portions, they were too dainty for the sacrificial ambience envisioned by Burkert. They were the stuff of dessert.⁵⁷

Profane desserts point to the second problem for Detienne's view. Amphibious species often mixed with beef or mutton, as in Longus. Add game or other meat that was never sacrificed (again hares), and three kinds of meat intermingled. In this circumstance, the worshippers would notice not so much the sacredness of the food as the abundance and variety of it. Aristophanes abounds in these mixed menus.⁵⁸

In *Peace*, the sacrifice of a sheep receives much more attention than the preparation of the other meat, from thrushes and hares. Yet the officiant, Trygaeus, and the other diners at the feast of the goddess will eat all three.⁵⁹ In the *Birds*, however, the preparation of other meat receives almost as much attention as the sacrifice of a goat. While this sacrifice is taking place offstage, the officiant, Pisthetaerus, examines and approves of an array of nonsacrificial birds—finches on a string, blown

^{52.} Among literary passages, Plu. *Pel.* 22.4 is telling, for the verb is $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\dot{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\mu\nu\nu$. Archaeological evidence: as immediately below.

^{53.} Ath. 14.663d.

^{54.} Archestrat. fr. 57, 62.

^{55.} Eub. fr. 14.2-7 K-A.

^{56.} LSCG 52.5, Lucianus J.Trag. 15 (cock).

^{57.} Molpis FGrH 590 F 2c, mentioning, inter alia, blackbirds and two kinds of doves—and this at Sparta.

^{58.} A synthetic account, dividing the evidence from the menus according to type of food: García Soler (2001) ch. 2.

^{59.} Choice of sheep: Ar. Pax 929-936. Other meat: 1191-1194, 97.

thrushes, and dead blackbirds with feathers tucked in their beaks.⁶⁰ In the *Acharnians*, the balance shifts to nonsacrificial meat. In this play, the hero, Dicaeopolis, is preparing for a feast to be celebrated in honor of Dionysus. A scene in which he buys some sacrificial pigs matches a scene in which he shops for sundry birds—ducks, francolins, coots, wrens, grebes, geese—and other animals—hares, foxes, moles, hedgehogs, cats, badgers, martens, otters.⁶¹ Less absurdly, he obtains thrushes, too, and soon is onstage cooking thrushes, hares, and eels purchased along with the birds. When a man appears with meat from a wedding feast—perhaps sacrificial meat—he rejects this meat while telling a slave to pour honey on some sausages, the contents of which are characteristically left unsaid.⁶² Fish, pork, and bird meat now ready, he proceeds to the festival of Choai, where a priest of Dionysus is waiting, along with offerings of perfume, cakes, and pastries, but no meat. Dicaeopolis will provide that, including pigeons not mentioned before.⁶³

The *Assemblywomen* goes farthest. At the first of two feasts in the play, the herald announces a menu of slices of fish, spitted hare, cakes, tidbits (*tragēmata*, presumably made with poor cuts of meat), and pea soup. ⁶⁴ After the lectures in cooking provided by Athenaeus, and the sausage of Aristophanes, this selection holds but one surprise: no identifiable beef, mutton, pork, or kid. At the second feast, the menu takes the form of a portmanteau word referring to the following animals or foods: a slice of fish, scales (evidently of fish), dogfish, head (perhaps of bass), leftovers, strong sauce, silphium, a pinch of salt, poured honey, a thrush, a blackbird, a ringdove, a pigeon, a hen . . . a rock dove, rabbit meat, and wings dipped in wine. ⁶⁵ Helter-skelter as it is, this passage (or word) confirms that the Assemblywomen's attention goes not to sacrificial meat but to sundry other food. Comic menus ran a gamut from much sacrificial food to none, from acknowledgment of the rite to indifference toward it.

Evidence for group dining in shrines confirms the comic pattern. Dining rooms or dining deposits near altars contain bones that come from the four species of sacrificial livestock, but also from other species, including the species missing from literary sources, the horse, and even the scarcely edible shoulder blade of

^{60.} Birds: Ar. Av. 1079-1082. Feast: 1688.

^{61.} Ar. Ach. 874-876, 79-80.

^{62.} Ar. Ach. 960-961, 998-1007, 1043, 1049.

^{63.} Ar. Ach. 1085-1093, 1104.

^{64.} Ar. Ecc. 842-845.

^{65.} Ar. *Ecc.* 1168–1178. The ellipsis: a corrupt passage sometimes emended to read "brains." Sommerstein ad loc. observes that this passage is about birds and fish, and at this point, only birds, and reads "roast coot." Similar but shorter list at the Amphidromia: Ephipp. fr. 3 K-A.

a lion.⁶⁶ In the rooms at the shrine of Demeter in Corinth, for example, identifiable remains are about half from pigs but half from other species, including sea urchins.⁶⁷ Some meals on this site may have been sacrificial, by being confined to pork from sacrificial pigs, and some may not, by excluding this sort of pork, and others may have been mixed. The date for the bones, around 400 BCE, shows that this kind of dining is not a Hellenistic or later development.⁶⁸ A comic passage, describing a public meal for phylarchs, is no less of a catchall: roasted *splanchna* confirming a sacrifice, sausage of no particular kind, and birds and foxes that were not sacrificed.⁶⁹

For household dining, Menander confirms the same pattern. In a fragment of his, the speaker, a householder, scolds his cook:

Cook, you are quite a bore. You've asked me three times now how many dishes we're having. We're sacrificing one piglet. We've set eight tables. Or two tables. Or one. What do you care?⁷⁰

One to eight tables, but one sacrificial animal: the gamut is Aristophanic. Another domestic menu, from the comic writer Ephippus, shows that the sacrificial item might be an afterthought. Here, the lady in question, nicknamed "Crow," is a prostitute on whom the master relies for meat. The speaker is instructing his slave what to buy:

Nothing pricey, just what decency demands.... Small eels from Thebes are sometimes for sale. Get some. A cock, a little dove, or a partridge. That sort of thing. If a hare has reached the market, bring it back.⁷¹

^{66.} Dogs: Chenal-Velarde and Studer (2003) 217; Gebhard and Reese (1997) 140; Leguilloux (1999) 451 with table 7. Horses: Pariente, des Courtils, and Gardeisen (1996) 819; Wolff (1978) 108–110. Lion: Stanzel (1991) 114 (Archaic Kalpodi).

^{67.} Bookidis et al. (1999) 33-35.

^{68.} A different view: Puttkammer (1912) 52, holding that banquets come to differ from sacrifices only in the Hellenistic period; follows this periodization, but for a different reason: declining consumption of beef.

^{69.} Mnesimach. fr. 4.12-15, 45-46 K-A.

^{70.} Men. fr. 409.1–15 K-A: μάγειρ', ἀηδής μοι δοκεῖς εἶναι σφόδρα. /πόσας τραπέζας μέλλομεν ποεῖν τρίτον /ἦδη μ' ἐρωτᾶις. χοιρίδιον εν θύομεν, /ὀκτὼ ποήσοντες τραπέζας, δύο, μίαν, /τί σοὶ διαφέρει τοῦτο; Similar gastronomic labors: Eub. fr. 63 K-A.

^{71.} Ephipp. fr. 15 K-A: ἀλλ' ἀγόρασον εὐτελῶς ἄπαν γὰρ ἱκανόν ἐστι.... ἐγχελύδια Θήβηθεν ἐνίοτ' ἔρχεται τούτων λαβέ, ἀλεκτρυόνιον, φάττιον, περδίκιον, τοιαῦτα. δασύπους ἄν τις εἰσέλθη, φέρε. {Β.} ὡς μικρολόγος εἶ. {Α.} σὺ δέ γε λίαν πολυτελής. πάντως κρέ ἡμῖν ἔστι. {Β.} πότερ' ἔπεμψέ τις; {Α.} οὐκ ἀλλ' ἔθυσεν ἡ γυνή. {Β.} τὸ μοσχίον τὸ τῆς Κορώνης αὔριον δειπνήσομεν. Similar menus: Nicostrat. fr. 6, Alex. fr. 115, Pherecrat. fr. 45, all K-A. A fancier version: Ar. fr. 520 K-A. A cut-rate version: Alex. fr. 194 K-A. Utopian versions: Pherecrat. fr. 137, Metag. fr. 6 K-A.

The slave replies:

You're cheap.

The master counters:

Well, you're a spendthrift. We've enough meat, anyway.

Now comes the only reference to sacrifice. The slave asks:

Did someone send us some meat?

The master answers:

No, but the lady in question has held a sacrifice. Tomorrow we'll eat the Crow's calf for dinner.

The calf is a stroke of luck. It comes to the diner at least a day late by way of a sacrifice that he apparently did not know of until after the fact.

This exchange in Ephippus taxonomizes an urban meat supply. Best is the assuredly sacrificial, fresh meat that the prostitute will be able to eat at her own house. Next comes the same meat, but a day later, when the master expects to eat it. It has doubtless been preserved in salt. Third comes the hare that the slave may buy. This kind of game was more often a gift than a purchase. Last comes another purchase, the possibly sacrificial domestic fowl. (The small eel was never a sacrificial victim. The Boeotians sacrificed the best, largest eels, presumably by a holocaust, but exported the rest.)⁷² As in Menander and Longus, livestock had some pride of place, but it did not have any great place of its own. We may speculate as to the reasons—too little livestock, or too much trouble in transporting them—but we should not doubt the result. Even when he ate the meat of sacrifice, a Greek was likely to eat fish and other meat also (not to mention vegetal food).⁷³ As Socrates says, it was greedy to eat your meat, or even your fish, as though it were as abundant as bread.⁷⁴

^{72.} Agatharch. FGrH 86 F 5, an annual gift of first fruits, and thus subject, like other sacrifices of fish or game, to Schoemann's (1861) caveat that these offerings resemble dedications (2.239).

^{73.} So also Moreno (2007) 18, 22, on preference for crop-raising, and 122, accepting long-distance transport of livestock. The larger issue of animal husbandry versus other agricultural pursuits: Howe (2008) 13–26. Cautions against speculation: Davies (2008) 345–346.

^{74.} X. Mem. 3.14.2–4. Meat or fish: $\check{o}\psi o\nu$. Bread: $\sigma\hat{\imath}\tau o\nu$. Moreno (2007) 22, quotes this passage in the same sense.

The preserved meat raises the third problem for Detienne's version of the *nomos*. Whether or not meats were mixed, some were ground into sausage or salted, so it would be hard to identify them as originating in an act of sacrifice. Aristophanes questioned the fare offered by Athenian sausage-sellers in the *Knights*, where their product consists of cow's gut and hog tripe as well as supposed "sides of beef." Less hostile sources report a similar range of meats for sale: salted gooseflesh, unspecified salt meat, some preserved in barrels, and imported Thessalian ribs. No one eating such meat could be sure where it came from, or always be sure what it was. The act of sacrifice that led to the meat being sold might have taken place some time ago, for sausage kept indefinitely. It might have taken place hundreds of miles away, in Thessaly. If the consumer was a Greek soldier abroad, sacrifice was not to be thought of. The soldier took what salted *opsa* he could get.

Nor could a consumer be sure about stolen meat. At least according to a misogynistic passage in Semonides, even victims destined for sacrifice could be stolen. Those who did not share in any thief's largesse might steal meat for themselves, from butchers' stalls and vendors' trays. At home, cooks stole from their employers, and that meat might end up elsewhere, too. Comic sources revel in this sort of meat, but the same caveat applies to this meat as to carrion. Jokes about such embarrassing food exaggerate, but they do not invent.

A Greek seeking ambiguous, mixed, preserved, or stolen meat could find it in the agora. We have already discovered some city-dwellers there, among them Aesop. Along with the occasional market at Olympia, we can specify three daily or frequent markets, in Athens, Corinth, and Alexandria. In Athens, shoppers headed for a place in the Agora, the *mageireion*, or meat district, as well as a market

^{75.} Ar. Eq. 356-357, 362.

^{76.} Salted gooseflesh, though of unspecified origin: *Anth. Pal.* 9.377.8. Unspecified salt meat: Aristom. fr. 12 K-A. Meat kept in a barrel and likely salted: Mnesimach. fr. 4.13 K-A. Ribs, $\chi \acute{o}\nu \delta \rho o\nu$: Ath. 1.27e.

^{77.} Indefinite age: Frost (1999) 245.

^{78.} X. Cyr. 6.3.31.

^{79.} Semon. 7.55–56, where an indecorous woman steals *athusta*. Was she any more culpable than the bystanders who tended to gather at sacrifices, the $\beta\omega\mu$ o λ o χ oi? (as at LSJ s.v.)

^{80.} Pherecrat. fr. 49 K-A, Thph. Ch. 9.2.

^{81.} Men. fr. 1072–1073 K-A; Euphro fr. 9.1–9 K-A (eranos meals). Stealing or wheedling: Euphro fr. 1.20–9 K-A.

^{82.} Athens: as at Wycherley (1957) ch. 4 with T. Shear (1975) 357–358, reporting a dining area with faunal remains and positing a nearby butcher shop. Corinth: Plu. *Tim.* 14.3, *opsopolia*, implying sale of meat and fish, with Broneer (1947) 239–241 finding a storage area for wine. Alexandria: Posidipp. fr. 341.

for carrion. 83 Besides bird-sellers, sheep-and pig-sellers plied their wares. (As Ehrenberg says, cattle-sellers are less likely, unless wholesalers are meant.) 84 Preserved meat like the Thessalian ribs was for sale. True of the domestic market, this would be all the more true of the traveling markets that sometimes served armies. 85

More meat came from shops called *kapēlia* that sold food to accompany the wine that was the stock-in-trade. ⁸⁶ In Byzantium, several sources say, people made their homes in wineshops; on Thasos, an obscure law either regulated or forbade selling wine in small measures. ⁸⁷ Outside cities, inns replaced shops. On the way from Athens to Macedon there were enough inns that Aeschines could spend the night in one and his rival Demosthenes could spend the night in another. ⁸⁸

In a shop or inn, meat provided *opson*, a relish that might also be fish. ⁸⁹ (Cooking this *opson* may have accounted for the proverbial smokiness of these places.) ⁹⁰ As for the content of *opson*, it would not likely be one of the better cuts. It might well be one of the worse, like trotters or other extremities. It might be preserved meat, like the Thessalian ribs, or ass and dog meat, as reported in Aristophanes, or it might be some novelty, like *mattuē*, a mess of ass meat, chicken, et cetera. ⁹¹ If it were carrion, it would need reinforcement: some cheese, some vinegar, some olive oil, and some more wine. ⁹²

In Athens, many frequented these shops. Plato's contempt for such places affords one proof. Isocrates's claim that they were unfit even for slaves affords

^{83.} Teles fr. 2.

^{84.} Ehrenberg (1943) 122 with refs., though he rejects a report of cattle-sellers $(\pi\rho\sigma\beta\alpha\tau\sigma\kappa\acute{a}\pi\epsilon\lambda\sigma\iota)$ at Plu. *Per.* 21.

^{85.} An overview: Pritchett (1971–91) 1.41–44, on traveling markets, i.e., food sold by sutlers, and, at 1.44–46, on local markets visited by armies.

^{86.} Hyper. fr. 138 ed. Jensen.

^{87.} Byzantium: Ath. 10.442c, Ael. VH 3.14. Also Maronea: Ath. 8.351e. Regulation on Thasos: IG xii.Supp. 347.2.12–15 with Salviat (1986) 149. Prohibition there: Davidson (1997). The law prohibits drawing wine from amphorae and other vessels; it is unclear whether it prohibits drawing wine from any vessel.

^{88.} Aeschin. 2.97.

^{89.} Opson: Aeschin. 1.65, also meaning the fish that was more commonly sold for the same purpose. Not all *kapēlia* sold wine by the drink, and thus not all would sell meat to go with it: e.g., Pl. *Lg.* 9.849d distinguishes the *kapēlos* from the *mageiros*. A discussion of the vocabulary: Davidson (1995) 205–206. Opson in inns: Thph. Ch. 20.9, where having a cook prepare opson turns a home into a *pandokeion*.

^{90.} Liban. *Progym*. 10.4.9.

^{91.} Ass and dog meat: Aristophanes: *Eq.* 1399. Novelties made of ass meat: Sophil. fr. 5. Chicken: Ath. 14.663d. Fourth-century origin of *mattuē*: Dalby (1996) 156.

^{92.} Machon fr. 4 ed. Gow, Didyma 482.33.

another.⁹³ The presence of wage-earners affords a third.⁹⁴ The Cynic Diogenes was realistic about them. After lunching in a wineshop, he stepped out and accosted Demosthenes. The orator refused to recognize him. Diogenes asked:

Demosthenes, are you ashamed to go into a wineshop? Your master—

Diogenes means the people of Athens—

goes into one every day.95

A realist of a different school was Porphyry. No law, he observed, prevented a man from spending his life in wineshops.⁹⁶

The supply for a meat market like that of Athens was as various as the market itself. The farmer who killed an ox in a stall was one source; the farmer who sold but did not sacrifice a pig was another; the foreign farmer was another; and so was the local thief. Shrines were only one more, although perhaps the most important. Regulations provided that priests or temple butchers might set aside poor cuts from sacrificial victims, such as hooves, and sell them to the public or shopkeepers. Middling cuts such as the guts, or *entera*, might go on sale the same way. So might heads, a good cut. In contrast, regulations forbade the sale of the honorary portions set aside for priests, *parasitoi*, and honorees, notably *splanchna*, and the other good cuts, or *krea*, that sometimes adorned altar tables. These must come from the other sources—and come they sometimes did, from as far away as Thessaly.

^{93.} Pl. Lg.11.918d, Isoc. 7.49. So also Plu. An seni 785d, about women needing to avoid them.

^{94.} Liban. Or. 25.37; [Arist.] Oec. 1343a, mistharnikai.

^{95.} Ael. VH 9.19: . . . "αἰσχύνη" ἔφη, "Δημόσθενες, παρελθεῖν ἐς καπηλεῖον; καὶ μὴν ὁ κύριός σου καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐνθάδε ἔσεισι."

^{96.} Porph. Abst. 4.18.

^{97.} Halikarnassos 188.45, where leftovers, $\kappa \dot{\omega} \delta \iota \alpha$, are to be sold by cult personnel.

^{98.} LSAM 52.5–6. A general statement to this effect: schol. Ar. Pax 717, endorsed by Puttkammer (1912) 36.

^{99.} LSAM 54.7–8, Didyma 482, LSAM 73.42–47 (if κώδια are heads).

^{100.} Prohibition: SIG 522.38. Similarly, if the worshipper paid the priest in cash and in return kept the priestly potion, that portion would not go on sale merely because the worshipper now possessed it; so, too, if the worshipper paid the priest cash with which to purchase a victim as LSCG 175.10–12. Exceptions: IG i³ 244.c.18, 21, Chios 2.6.

^{101.} Especially since we cannot be sure whether the supply of meat from shrines was steady, or how large it was, save in cases where the number of animals sacrificed at festivals was known, an issue discussed below. The irregularity of festivals: von Reden (2007) 406.

Had the law prohibited meat from sources other than shrines, this diversity would be less damaging to Detienne's view that the polis controlled meat markets. Yet as the story of Aesop shows, the law did not prohibit such meat. As already noted, it did little to regulate the sale of meat. Save for weight and sometimes price, the sellers were at liberty, and so were the customers.

Aristophanes's only wineshop scene, in the Frogs, depicts this sort of liberty from the seller's point of view. As the scene opens, the mistress of a wineshop, a two-story affair somewhere between Athens and the Underworld, recognizes that one of her customers has stolen from her. The thief, the god Dionysus, denies the charge, but the mistress replies that he ate sixteen loaves of bread, twenty pieces of boiled meat, plus garlic, smoked fish, and cheese, and then stole the mats. 102 She never says what this meat was, or where it came from, only what each piece weighed—half an obol, reason enough for her to excoriate the god. In the upshot, Aeacus arrives, with his own agenda, and the mistress's complaints go unheeded. Aristophanes has ridiculed a criminally free market in meat. The poet also holds out an alternative to this market. In the home of Persephone, the queen of the Underworld is preparing a meal for Dionysus's fellow traveler, Heracles-bread, lentil soup, rolls, cakes, and meat. She is roasting an ox whole, without thusia. 103 Persephone received her share of thusiai, so perhaps she wanted a different choice of cuts. Her guest would take what he could.

Aristophanes touches on several points. Schoemann's rule admits exceptions such as animals roasted whole. Detienne's tightening of the rule forgets commingled meats such as the twenty pieces likely are. Detienne also forgets about meateating at some remove from any act of sacrifice. The remove need not be hellish, as in the *Frogs*. It may be physical, as with Thessalian ribs for sale in Athens, or social, as when the master in Nicostratus dines with his Crow. Meat-eating in a city escaped the confines of any ritual.

Spartan Meat

In the Classical period, Athens was the largest city in Greece. Later, Corinth was. Alexandria, the third city where literary sources report a meat market, became the largest city in the Greek world in the Hellenistic period. Olympia, the festival known to have a market, was a comparable place. Did meat markets appear in smaller cities, or amid the majority of the Greek population that lived in the

^{102.} Ar. Ra. 550-551, 553-554, 559-560, 567.

^{103.} Ar. Ra. 505-507.

countryside? Or was a market a kind of luxury, found only in these four places and some few others like them?

For the countryside, we cannot answer these questions, save to say that sources like Longus impugn any sacrificial monopoly on meat. For smaller settlements, we mostly lack literary sources that can put archaeological evidence in a social as well as physical context. For one smaller settlement, Sparta, we do possess such sources, and they point to a counterintuitive conclusion: in this least mercantile of poleis, a meat market was indispensable. Without it, the common messes could not have fed meat to the citizenry. Like Athens, Sparta took the ritual out of meat-eating, but by regimenting rather than commercializing it.

Although seldom reported, Spartan temple and household sacrifices resembled those elsewhere in Greece. Another source of food was the common messes, or *sussitia*, which served one meal a day to all Spartiates, or 8,000 early in the fifth century and 3,000 or so by the end of the century. Others were fed, too, including visitors to Sparta. Plutarch says that citizens' wives sometimes stood at the doors of the mess halls, hoping for handouts from Sparta's Elders, who received double portions, and that Spartiate boys were encouraged to steal meat from the messes or the kitchens. In all, the population fed at the messes was at most somewhat more than 8,000—say, 10,000. At least, it was somewhat more than 3,000—say, 4,000. This range would hold good down till the fourth century, with its *oliganthrōpia*.

To provide food for this meal, each Spartiate made contributions of staples, including barley, wine, and either cheese or figs. Each Spartiate also contributed 10 Aeginetan obols a month for the purchase of meat, which consisted of one piece of pork per day—a small piece, weighing one-eighth kilogram. This piece went into each helping of a black broth prepared by kitchen staffs of supervising *mageiroi* and of *zōmopoioi* assisted by slaves called *diakonoi*. Along with the staples and the soup, the meal might include an additional dish, an *aiklon* that might consist of game contributed by messmates who had hunted that day. 107

^{104.} Temple *thysia*: as at the Hyacinthia, with Wide (1893), citing Ath. 4.139d for three days of festivities; see also Bruit (1990). Domestic *thusia*; Plu. *Lyc.* 12.4.

^{105.} Daily meal: X. *Lac.* 5.7, Plu. *Lyc.* 26.8. A similar view: Hodkinson (1983) 252. Eight thousand: Hdt. 7.234.2 with Cartledge (2002) 263–271, also discussing *oliganthrōpia*; estimates of 10,000 may be round numbers.

^{106.} Contributions including money for pork: Molpis FGrH 590 F 1, Plu. Lyc. 12.3, Dicaearch. fr. 87 ed. Mirhady. Weight: $\sigma\tau a\theta\mu \dot{o}\nu$ $\dot{\omega}s$ $\tau \dot{\epsilon}\tau a\rho\tau o\nu$ [$\mu\nu \hat{a}s$] (Ath. 4.141b). Mina and not talent or obol: Bielschowsky (1869) 24 and Lavrencic (1993) 44.

^{107.} Mageiros: Ath. 4.141e. Zōmopoios: Plu. Apophth. Lac. 218c. Diakonoi: Wide (1893) 278 with refs., although Wide supposes that these were more mageiroi, not slaves. Aiklon: Ath. 4.139b, X. Lac. 5.3.

If there were 8,000 portions of such pork, the demand at each sitting of the mess was 1,000 kilograms. If there were 3,000 portions, the demand was 375 kilograms. We do not know whether messes occurred while the army was on campaign, only that in one case a messenger from a commander arrived in Sparta and got a piece of pork, implying that he might not always get meat while abroad. 108 For these reasons, we would expect some messes to be skipped. We must also allow for messes being skipped on great feast days like the Hyacinthia. In all, we may guess that messes occurred most of the time, but much less than all the time—say, 250 days a year. The yearly requirement for pork would then be as much as a quarter million kilograms, in other words, 1,000 kilograms \times 250 days. If we once again guess there were only 3,000 portions, not 8,000, the figure falls the same way as before and amounts to 95,000 kilograms. Even if we assume that this ration was not provided as often as it should be for example, if we assume that half the time the citizen did not get his share and ate a vegetarian meal—the amounts are half as big, or at least some 45,000 kilograms a year.

How many pigs provide a given amount of meat, such as 1,000 kilograms? Michael Jameson, the first to deal with the issue, guessed that ancient Greek pigs might be as big as modern ones. ¹⁰⁹ He made this guess by using faunal remains, the study of which had begun only in the 1960s. ¹¹⁰ To assign an average weight, he used modern agricultural comparanda. He concluded that the average adult pig weighed 100 kilograms. The amount of meat would be about one-half, or 50 kilograms. This proportion of one-half occurs not only in modern but in medieval butchering, so it should apply to other premodern periods. ¹¹¹ Other scholars have anticipated or followed Jameson. ¹¹²

^{108.} Pork for the messenger: Plu. Ages. 33.7.

^{109.} Jameson (1988) 95, citing Sloan and Duncan (1978) 76, who used modern comparanda.

^{110.} Bibliography: Gebhard and Reese (1997) 126, nn. 2–3 with Reese 121–123 in the same volume. Earlier bibliography: Reese (1994) 194–197. Incidental interest in faunal remains before the 1960s: Hägg (1998a).

^{111.} I.e., according to the medieval butcher's stone, which is a weight of 8 pounds as compared to the farmer's (and layman's) stone of 14 pounds. The ratio of eight to fourteen is the customary ratio of meat and bone to total weight. Deduct bone from the ratio, and the ratio falls to one-half. The meat will include separable fat, but it will not include edible offal. See Gerrard (1971) 81, 84. Same ratio: Sloan and Duncan (1978) 76; and Jameson (1988) 105. The ratio of one-half may be discarded in favor of a precise ratio once a food utility index is developed for ancient animals; for such indices, see Metcalfe and Jones (1988); Rowley-Conwy, Halstead, and Collins (2002) 77–78; and Outram and Rowley-Conwy (1998).

^{112.} Sloan and Duncan (1978) 76; Frost (1999) 244.

Jameson's conclusions do not suffer only from the small number of studies available to him. When he used modern comparanda, he assumed that ancient animals were as heavy as modern ones. Similarly, other scholars thought ancient animals were as heavy as modern animals from Africa. ¹¹³ Yet weight varies from one period to another. A recent study, for example, shows that Hellenistic animals in Sicily were heavier than Bronze Age or Classical ones. ¹¹⁴ The reason was better fodder and other agricultural improvements. ¹¹⁵

Recent advances in zooarchaeology let us revisit the topic of how much meat a typical animal provided. A recent study—so far, the only one of its kind—sets forth a method for estimating the amount of meat on an animal of a given weight on the basis of faunal remains from the ancient Mediterranean basin. In Les mammifères postglaciaires de Corse, J.-D. Vigne described faunal remains not in Greece but in Corsica, and from late antiquity, not the Classical and Hellenistic periods.¹¹⁶ He nonetheless set forth a method adaptable to nearby times and places, and his coworker Pierre Villari has used this method in work on Bronze Age, Classical, and Hellenistic Sicily.¹¹⁷ Analyzing animal bones from Thapsos during the middle Bronze Age, Villari estimated that an adult pig weighed 49 kilograms. Villari also examined a Syracusan site with bones from the second century BCE and again estimated the weight of pigs at 49. (It was this study that found that Classical animals were smaller than Hellenistic ones because bones from the Classical period were smaller.)118 If the amount of meat is again reckoned as one-half, the figures for meat fall by 25 kilograms. Villari himself gave figures only for Thapsos, but they were even lower—20 kilograms for a pig, meaning 10 kilograms of meat.

The 1,000 kilograms of pork would require 40–100 pigs. The 375 daily kilograms of the end of the fifth century would again require 38 percent, or 16–38 pigs. Assume piglets, and not full-grown pigs, and the numbers rise. All Laconia would need to contribute to this supply, which must have moved on the region's wagon tracks. In Sparta, there must have been a stockyard, a facility like the storehouses that

^{113.} The same: Foster (1984) 74 n. 3. The same if as tall: Sloan and Duncan (1978) 76. The same as African: Rosivach (1994) 157, based on Dahl and Hjort (1976) 163–167.

^{114.} Villari (1989) 18. Similarly, slightly larger animals on Delos in the Classical and Roman periods than at Tiryns in the Bronze Age: Legouilloux (2000b) 95.

^{115.} Kron (2002) 64–65. Kron, however, thinks that in Magna Graecia cattle were growing larger as early as the Classical period: Kron (2002) 124–125.

^{116.} Vigne (1988) and (1989) 115-147.

^{117.} Ibid.

^{118.} Villari (1991) table viii; Villari (1989) 18.

Paul Cartledge supposed were required for barley and other mess contributions. Since Athenaeus says that some Spartan pigs were sold "in the morning," and since we know that each Spartan contributed 10 obols a month, we may estimate that every month a sum of up to 80,000 obols, or more than 2 talents, changed hands at a morning market for pigs. Unidentified Spartan officials spent the money, which was likely Aeginetan small change, and farmers from throughout Laconia, or perhaps middlemen, sold the animals. The existence of this market is no surprise: in Xenophon, the rebel Cinadon points to a Spartan agora. Cinadon's observing few Spartans suits a market where the sellers are Laconians from out of town. We need only add that pigs were among the items for sale, the same as grain. We do not need to wonder where the sellers came from. The Laconia survey estimated the Classical population of Laconia at 135,000–155,000.

The stockyard may also have served as a slaughtering pen, but it would not have served as a kitchen. That would have been inconvenient, especially since there was no central refectory. Instead, the messes comprised hundreds of facilities, as shown by Plutarch's report that each mess served only fifteen citizens.¹²⁴ Small and simple as these must have been, Sparta's butchers and cooks had statues of their heroes either in them or near them.¹²⁵ The location of these facilities is no better known than their number, but a likely stretch was the road leading from Sparta to Amyclae. One way to deliver the pigs to this locale would have been to bring them in ones and twos to convenient places, dispatch them, and then either prepare them on the spot or assign portions of the carcass to each mess—in particular, to the *mageiros*. Under his supervision, a kitchen would prepare the day's quota of broth.¹²⁶

^{119.} Tracks: Cavanagh et al. (2002) 211 n. 105 with refs. Barley: Cartledge (2002) 161, supposing they would be needed for the distribution of produce, hence of barley for the messes. So also Mitchell (1952) 288.

^{120.} Aeginetan bronze coins: Figueira (2002) 150. The limitations of iron money: Figueira (2002) 150–153. Like the other literature on messes already noted, Figueira (1984) does not discuss sacrifice.

^{121.} Pigs sold in the morning, or *orthragoriskoi*: Ath. 4.140b, citing three writers on Spartan constitutions. Cinadon: X. HG 3.3.5.

^{122.} Figueira (2002) 150-153.

^{123.} Cavanagh et al. (2002) 207-208.

^{124.} Fifteen per mess: Plu. *Lyc.* 12.3. The only other figure: ten, given at schol. Pl. *Lg.* 1.633a. According to Singor (1999) 79: 240 messes in the fourth century, after the decline in population. A different view: Lavrencic (1993) 100, favoring a central kitchen.

^{125.} Ath. 2.39c, although the text says $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ τ oîs $\phi\epsilon\delta\iota\tau$ íoιs.

^{126.} The nature of the kitchen that likely was near or even in the mess hall: Neumann (1906) 47.

This is Sparta at work: dozens and dozens of pigs in the streets, officials slinging their sacks of coins, plus a stockyard and slaughterhouse, and hundreds of kitchens serving thousands of bowls of broth, each with its piece of pork. To relieve the monotony, kings and a few notables received double portions, and Spartans who had taken game could contribute this meat to the meal, if not to the soup. It is a strange enterprise—one part Soviet war-communism, one part Boy Scouts. Is this enterprise also an occasion for sacrifice? Detienne would say yes, and would doubtless recommend the description of sacrifice in Burkert:

men and women stand[ing] around the altar, [as they] experience and bring death, [and] honor the immortals, and \dots eating.¹²⁷

Where is the altar by which the worshippers stand? No Spartan shrine was big enough to handle thousands of people, so the Spartans cannot have attended the sacrifice of so many animals. Nor would any of the Spartans be women. Women may have received meat snuck out of the mess, the same as their children, but they would have nothing to do with any other stage of the preparation of the meat not the slaughter, the rending, or the cooking. Even if we supposed that the market to which the animals were driven supplied victims for many altars, not one altar, and that Spartiates attended sacrifices at all these altars—a supposition unsupported by any source or any archaeological evidence—the Spartiates would not be attending as a community, so the solidarity evoked by Detienne and Vernant would be lacking. The same would be true of the meal following the sacrifice. It would be a common meal, but not a communal meal: No women, and no more, Plutarch says, than fifteen citizens per mess. These would include men either too young or too old to serve, so there was not even a communal meal for soldiers—a meal providing some ancient version of the small-unit cohesion of modern militaries. 128

Nor does the mess allow for that exception to sacrificial egalitarianism—the honorary portions given to a priest or other officiant. The Spartan king gets his double portion, but not an honorary portion, and he does not officiate. Nor does anyone else. The *mageiroi* take the lead, and they receive no reward for their labors. At the same time, the mess is not as egalitarian as the Athenian practices central to Vernant and Detienne. More Athenians were citizens of Athens than

^{127.} Burkert (1985) 53.

^{128.} Small-unit cohesion: Marshall (1942) 42–43, preceded by Ardant du Picq (1880) 86–92, although du Picq thought Greek cohesion inferior to Roman (13). Cohesion in Sparta by virtue of all members of an enomoty belonging to the same *sussition*: Whitby (2002) 122–123 with refs. at n. 50.

Laconians were citizens of Sparta. The Athenian citizens were tens of thousands out of a population of several hundred thousand, but the citizens of Laconia were 8.000 or less.¹²⁹

Comparison between Laconia and Attica suggests another reason to suppose that the 16–100 pigs were not sacrificed. In Athens, only two regular sacrifices, Artemis Agrotera and the Great Panathenaea, are sure to have involved more than sixteen victims. At the first of these, which took place at Agrai, the Athenians sacrificed 500 goats; at the second, 100 cattle. Other sacrifices involved hecatombs, but not necessarily of 100 animals. Most sacrifices in the state sacrificial calendar and the deme calendars involved only a few animals. Nor did the ancient Greeks think of Sparta as a city that would compete with Athens in matters of sacrifice. On the contrary, they thought of Athens as a place of big, costly sacrifices and of Sparta as a place with small, cheap ones.

This evidence lends weight to an argument from silence: no source ever speaks of *thusia* in connection with these myriad pieces of pork. In contrast, Plutarch says that if a Spartan absented himself from his mess and ate in his own home, the occasion might be an act of *thusia*. *Thusia* was domestic, not communal. Plutarch also says that if a Spartan made an additional contribution to the mess, he would first perform a sacrifice of the first fruits and then present his contribution. This, too, means that sacrifice was domestic. When mentioning these first fruits, Plutarch also mentions the *aiklon*, or game contributed to the messes. Other sources mention game as part of the Spartan diet, and recent archaeological evidence suggests that game was more common fare in rural areas like Laconia than elsewhere. Game, of course, was not sacrificed, especially in the sense meant by Detienne.

^{129.} Athenian population estimates: immediately below.

^{130.} Artemis Agrotera: X. An. 3.2.11–12. Panathenaea: IG i³ 375.7. Yet this hecatomb may have been nominal; McInerney (2010) 175 reckons that the 41 mnai spent on cattle for the Panathenaea according to IG ii² 334.23–24 yielded sixty cattle.

^{131.} Five animals, the biggest sacrifice in a deme calendar: *LSCG* 20b.35–36; also 18a.13–16, b.15–19, c.27–30, d.224–227, e.16–19, if these five entries refer to a single act of sacrifice, as supposed by Rosivach (1994) 63.

^{132.} Athens: Isoc. 7.29 (but not under Solon and Cleisthenes). Sparta: Plu. *Lyc.* 19.8. Criticism of Sparta: [Pl.] *Alc.* 2.148e.

^{133.} Plu. Lyc. 12.2–3: ἐξῆν γὰρ οἴκοι δειπνεῖν ὁπότε θύσας τις ἢ κυνηγῶν ὀψίσειε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἔδει παρεῖναι.... θύσας τις ἀπαρχὴν καὶ θηρεύσας μέρος ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον.

^{134.} Archaeology: and Ekroth (2007) 256–260, reporting more bones of game animals at Messene than elsewhere, citing for Messene Nobis (1997) 101–102.

The Spartan messes were not secular. When the butcher killed his pigs, he may have said a prayer over them. At table, the messmates may have poured libations. Yet this milieu differed from that of a sacrifice—for example, from the sacrifices of the phratries, the best known small groups of Athens. The members of the mess did not come from the same family, clan, or neighborhood, but the members of the phratry or other such group did. The mess gathered in a structure more or less like a tent, but the phratry gathered at a shrine. The messes served the same food, and scanty food at that, but the sacrificial diet of the phratries varied. The mess was frequent, but the sacrifices of the phratries were infrequent. No source mentions phratries or the like holding sacrifices at Sparta, but if they did, the mess either competed with them or replaced them, just as it competed with sacrifices at home, a competition regulated on the principle that the citizen would eat in his mess unless he wished to sacrifice an animal at his house. The mess must have arisen later than these communal or domestic sacrifices. It marked an innovation. It militarized eating.

Burkert, Vernant, Detienne, and other scholars of religion have nothing to say about Spartan messes or about other messes that may have served meat in the Spartan manner. One reason is the lack of evidence for Spartan religion as opposed to Athenian. (Robert Parker, for example, wrote an article about Spartan religion, and two books about Athenian.) Another reason may be doubts about how to classify settings like markets or messes. This doubt appears in an ancient source, although not in a source for early Greece. Instead, it appears in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. In this letter, Paul advises the Christians who are unsure about the meat market. He says:

Eat everything sold in the meat market. Do not pass judgment for the sake of your conscience.¹³⁷

^{135.} To judge from the only long passage on the subject, the Lyttian sussition (Dosiadas *FGrH* 458 F 2), but not the Cretan, with their public contributions (Arist. *Pol.* 2.1272a). In Dosdiades, the number of members of each hall or club is not mentioned, and neither is the kind or amount of meat, but each hall is run by a woman with three or four male assistants. The most recent treatment: Giuzzi (1997).

^{136.} Parker (1989) vs. (1996a) and (2005b).

^{137. 1} Cor. 10:25–26: Π $\hat{\alpha}\nu$ τὸ $\hat{\epsilon}\nu$ μακέλλ $\hat{\omega}$ πωλούμενον $\hat{\epsilon}\sigma$ θίετε μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. Speculation on Paul's motive: Koester (2005) esp. 347, distinguishing between meat eaten in a pagan shrine and meat resulting from a sacrifice but eaten elsewhere, as at 1 Cor. 10:27–11:1—an issue not relevant to the issue of identifying the source of meat in the Corinth market. Other views: Foutopoulos (2003) 4–48; at 239 he agrees that "sacrificial food may or may not have been the food encountered for purchase by a Corinthian Christian."

Paul's followers in Corinth had been shopping in the market and "passing judgment" on the meat for sale. They wished to avoid meat resulting from sacrifices. Paul answered that the distinction between sacrificial and other meat was unimportant.

The faithful had been looking for signs of ritual, and Paul said "stop." Even though scholars have been looking for rituals to analyze, not avoid, they might take Paul's advice. Scholarly writing that has not been theistic enough has also been too ritualistic, especially about meat.

Communal Feasting in Athens

To the notion that all meat was sacrificial, Vernant and Detienne added the notion that meat-eating was communal. There were exceptions, of course: meat set aside for priests and others, including *parasitoi*, meat taken away or burned, and Hellenistic, monarchical sacrifices for an elite. To these exceptions this chapter has added two more, meat sold in markets and rationed in messes. Exceptions aside, these two writers (and Burkert, too) regarded the communal feasts of Homer and Classical Athens as normative, and many have agreed with them. Whole communities ate meat, and they ate it together, even large communities, like Athens in the Classical period.

Assessing this view is a matter of calculation. First, how much meat does a sacrificial animal provide? Second, how many animals are eaten at a given sacrifice? Third, what is the size of each portion? Fourth, how many persons are entitled to eat? None of these four questions is easy to answer. Yet we do not need to answer exactly. As for Sparta, we need to ascertain the highest likely answer to each question. That answer allows for the most participants. We also need to ascertain the lowest likely answer, the one allowing for the fewest participants. We may accept both of these answers, and also accept anything in between. As we go from one question to the next, we shall combine answers and recalculate—the same arithmetic as for Sparta.

We have two consolations. We do not need to deal with every sacrifice, just the biggest. Nor do we need to start from scratch. We have guides, starting with

^{138.} For the impact of these exceptions, see Lupu (2009^2) 275–276, preceded notably by Ziehen (1939) 620. For how much was burned and to what end, see most recently Svenbro (2005). For another view of exceptions, see Zaidman (2005) 32 with evidence from Hesiod onward.

^{139.} Parker (2005) 165, "meat distribution... on a large scale," and 267; so also Ekroth (2007) 250 but without remarks about scale. Similar views in dictionary articles: Parker (1996b) and Bremmer and Heinze (1996) but with the reservation that "Verzehr des Fleischs kaum je erwähnt wird" (1241). Similar views in textbooks: Price (1999) ch. 2, although at 37 he criticizes Burkert (1985); and Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 34–36.

Michael Jameson, who aside from estimating adult pigs at 100 kilograms, estimated the average adult bovine at 200 kilograms, and the average sheep and goats at 40-60. The amount of meat would be about one-half, as with pigs, or 100 kilograms for bovines, and 20–30 for sheep and goats. 140 Thanks to the work of Vigne and Villari, these figures have proved high, the same as Jameson's figures for pigs. For his Bronze Age site at Thapsos, Villari estimated that an adult bovine weighed 157 kilograms. For his Hellenistic site at Syracuse, he estimated the weight of steers at 227 and sheep and goats at 27 kilograms. His remarks suggest a figure of 160–200 kilograms for cattle of the Classical period, and some 25 for sheep and goats. If the amount of meat is again reckoned as one-half, the figures for meat fall to 80–100 kilograms and to 12 kilograms, respectively. Villari himself gave figures only for Thapsos, but they were even lower—63 kilograms for bovines. The only other recent estimate of the size of ancient Greek cattle, one confined to cattle on Classical Delos, reinforces the conclusions of Vigne and Villari. According to this estimate, ancient cattle on the island were a little over three-quarters as big as modern ones.¹⁴² They would have provided about 78 kilograms of meat apiece. Here as with pigs, new research leads to smaller amounts of meat than in Jameson. The difference is 20 percent or more.

Recent advances have also answered the question of what parts of an animal were available for consumption. In the past, very few studies identified sacrificial bones, and scholars guessed that worshippers ate all large, fleshy parts of a victim. ¹⁴³ Now we have a dozen studies that meet the three criteria for sacrificial meals. First come two osteological criteria for these meals: burning of bones from some parts of the body, but not all parts, and butchering marks left on bones from other parts. ¹⁴⁴ The third criterion for a sacrificial meal concerns not the bones but the place where they are found. If it is at or by an altar, there can be no doubt that sacrificial meals could have occurred. If the place is elsewhere, for example, a shrine dining room, then the character of the meals is doubtful. Burned bones

^{140.} Following Jameson (1988): von Reden (2007) 395, who also follows his calculations for total meat consumption in the deme of Erchia (Jameson [1988] 105; von Reden ibid.).

^{141.} As at note 118 above. As shown, Villari deviates somewhat from the proportion of one-half edible portions to total weight.

^{142.} Leguilloux (2003) 251-257, fig. 27.4.

^{143.} Most common are studies not reporting the presence or absence of burned bones, and thus not saying whether a sacrifice occurred, e.g.: Kyrieleis (1993) 137–138, the evident but unreported explanation being the location of the site, some way from the altar. So also Stanzel (1991). Older work: Reese (1989) 69.

^{144.} Some but not all: Bergquist (1998) 60 observing that if bones from all parts of the body are burned, there is no "sacrifice *stricto sensu*." The same is true if all are butchered.

may not have come from the altar, and butchered bones may not have come from sacrificial victims. Some bones found in the dining rooms of the shrine of the Two Goddesses at Corinth illustrate this doubt. It is not clear where these bones come from. Other bones from Corinth illustrate the criterion of burning. Some pig crania are burned, some not, so some of the pigs may not have been sacrificed. 145

The new evidence for the consumption of fleshy parts of sacrificial victims comes from a dozen altars where the bones have been burned and also marked by butchering. For the late Bronze Age we have a study from Pylos, and for the Geometric period one from Eretria. 146 For the Archaic and Classical periods we have more, but only ten, including two from Athens, one from an altar west of the Painted Stoa in the Agora, and another from Aphrodite Ourania. 147 This evidence is imperfect in other ways, too. The only identifiable gods are Aphrodite (Athens, Miletus), Poseidon (Isthmia, Poseidonia), and Demeter (Cyrene), and almost all the sites are in major poleis. We may still say that forequarters of sacrificial animals are seldom found at or near altars. As Reese put it when describing the bones at Isthmia, "the absence of forequarters is remarkable." 148 It is not remarkable only at this site. At the altar of Aphrodite in Athens, Reese found "vertebrae (1909, 59.8% . . .), femurs (532, 16.7% . . .), ribs (84, 16% . . .), patellae (kneecap; 105, 3.3%) and horncore (84, 2.6% . . .)," totaling 98.4 percent. Reese does not mention any forequarters at this altar. In his work at Kommos, Reese found "mainly sheep and goat vertebrae and ribs" at one site, "sheep and goat femur, patella, vertebra, and rib fragments" at another, "only sheep or goat femur, patella, vertebra and rib fragments" at a third, "various sheep and goat bones but mainly the femur" at a fourth, and at the fifth (the only site with post-Classical remains) "mainly sheep or goat and cattle femora, patellae, vertebrae, and ribs." Once again he does not mention forequarters. At the altar attributed to Demeter on Mytilene, another of his sites, Reese found "307 bones, mainly sheep or goat femur fragments (40) and vertebrae (228 fragments, over 40 of them caudal)," or a total of 268, or 88 percent. Among the rest, he mentions no forequarters. 149

^{145.} Bookidis (1999) 50-51.

^{146.} Bronze Age Pylos: Halstead and Isaakidou (2004). Geometric Eretria: Chenal-Velarde and Studer (2003).

^{147.} In alphabetical order: Athens: Foster (1984); Reese (1989). Corinth: Williams (1970). Cyrene: Crabtree (1990). Ephesus: Forstenpointer (2003). Isthmia: Gebhard and Reese (1997). Kommos: work done by Reese and summarized by Reese (1989) 68–69. Kourion: Davis (1996) 181–182. Miletus: Peters and von den Driesch (1992). Mytilene: work done by Ruscillo summarized by Reese ibid. Poseidonia: Leguilloux (2000b).

^{148.} Gebhard and Reese (1997) 144.

^{149.} Reese (1989) 68.

Other investigators are less likely to draw conclusions than Reese, and sometimes provide less information, but they have discovered the same absence of forequarters. At the two areas with bones at the sanctuary of Apollo at Kourion, bones from the forequarters of sheep and goats amounted to 8, vertebra fragments and ribs to 13, and bones from the hindquarters to 413. Six of seven cattle bones came from the rear.¹⁵⁰ For the Artemisium at Ephesus, no figures are forthcoming, nor much description, but "in small ruminants a strong predominance of femora is obvious, while in cattle" the notable feature is "the frequency of caudal vertebrae." At Halieis, Jameson found "tibiae, metatarsals, and pelves." ¹⁵¹ Information about the altar near the Painted Stoa in Athens is inadequate, no distinction being drawn between hindquarters and forequarters, but bones from the spine and pelvis outnumbered bones from limbs by two and a half to one. 152 At one site, Poseidonia, the pattern does not hold, for here forequarters are no rarer than hindquarters.¹⁵³ Similarly, at the remaining Classical site, Corinth, is there no information. Yet the pattern is marked, and it appears in a different way at the two early sites. At the later of these two, Geometric Eretria, the story is the same as at Reese's sites: "only femurs, patellae, sacral and caudal vertebrae." At Bronze Age Pylos, the other early site, there are bones identified as coming from the forequarters.¹⁵⁴ This contrast shows that sacrifice at early Pylos conformed to a Homeric custom in which forequarters received no distinct treatment.

Even the curious case of the extramural sanctuary of Demeter at Cyrene partly confirms the pattern. There are no forequarters among the mass of bones from pigs found in a deposit beside a post-Classical retaining wall. These bones lack butcher's marks. Bones from forequarters appear at another spot, and some do have butcher's marks. Here we can be sure that once again forequarters differ from other bones, but we cannot tell who ate what or where they ate it.¹⁵⁵

^{150.} Davis (1996) 182.

^{151.} Jameson (1988) 93.

^{152.} Foster (1984) 74.

^{153.} Leguilloux (2000b) 346-347, observing a "déficit marqué des os des membres postérieurs . . . mais aussi de l'humérus."

^{154.} Chenal-Velarde and Studer (2003) 216; Halstead and Isaakidou (2004) 144. Cf. Hermary (2004) 123 noting the predominance of bones from the rear of the animals at Tamassos.

^{155.} Crabtree (1990) 118, 121 with comments of White at xvii. Stanzel (1991) reports a different, perhaps local phenomenon: the absence of caudal vertebrae, as opposed to either forequarters or other parts of the animal (forty-four for cattle, thirty-three for sheep and goats). As noted, Stanzel does not say whether these bones were burned or butchered. For the Hellenistic period, one study that does deal with burned, butchered bones reports missing thigh and pelvis bones, and thus missing meat from the rear, not the front, of the animal: Leguilloux (1999) 444–445.

Assuming that the forequarters were not comparatively larger or smaller in ancient times, we should reduce the amount of beef or veal by one-eighth to one-fifth and the amount of mutton or pork by one-fifth to one-fourth. If we revisit Villari's figures and subtract, the yield for cattle during the Classical period falls to 64–88 kilograms of meat, the yield for pigs to 40–44, and the yield for sheep and goats to 9–10. The difference from Jameson is now bigger than before. At a maximum, cattle yield 36 percent less meat, pigs 20 percent less, and sheep and goats 67 percent less. These estimates would hold good everywhere but Bronze Age Pylos, with its Homeric custom. Following Villari, the weights in this instance would remain 63, 20, and 10 kilograms.

Making this reduction does not imply that the meat from the forequarters went uneaten. It would end up at some other table, or if it found its way to a communal gathering, it would likely be reserved for certain diners. It did not, however, form part of the common stock. To use Detienne's words, there would be no equality before meat of this kind.

Finally, we must remember the ancillary factor, age. Here, the evidence from bones is less abundant and less clear. At the four sites where the age of animals is reported, most animals were juveniles. At the altar of Aphrodite Ourania, 77 percent were less than six months old. At the Artemisium in Ephesus, 50-70 percent were less than three years old. At Kourion, with less exact information, most were juvenile. ¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, most animals at the shrine of Aphrodite in Miletus were adults.¹⁵⁹ Using reports from more numerous sources, the authors of the section "Sacrifices" in the Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum concluded that most victims were full grown. Yet they concede that at some shrines most victims were not full grown, and they also concede that epigraphical sources show that many victims were not.¹⁶⁰ And so the evidence is what it often must be: inadequate for a bold conclusion but not inadequate for a cautious one. If we begin by observing that the average age of sacrificial animals cannot be known, and the amount of meat lost because of the sacrifice of juveniles cannot be known either, we can still venture a little farther, and say that the sacrifice of smaller animals was common enough to reduce the amount of meat available for consumption in every community, if not in every case.

^{156.} Beef or veal by one-eighth if only shin, clod, and sticking lost, one-fifth if brisket lost as well: Gerrard (1971) 265. Mutton or pork by one-fifth to one-fourth if both shoulders lost: 252.

^{157.} I.e., 100 vs. 64 kilograms for bovines, 50 vs. 40 for pigs, and 30 vs. 10 for sheep and goats.

^{158.} Reese (1989) 67; Forstenpointer (2003) 206; Davis (1996) 181–182.

^{159.} Peters and von den Driesch (1992) 121.

^{160.} Hermary (2004) 100.

So far, Jameson gives the high answer, 100 kilograms per bovine. The low answer comes from Villari and the new evidence about forequarters. This answer is 64 kilograms per bovine. The range we may accept lies anywhere in between. After remembering that calves and other species will run lower, we may turn to the other questions we must ask, beginning with the number of animals slaughtered at acts of sacrifice.

We often do not know the answer, just as we do not know how many pigs were slaughtered at Sparta, but a few times we do know, including times at which slaughtered animals are numerous. These times happen to be sacrifices we have already considered, especially several famed Athenian penteric festivals and some other polis sacrifices of the kind called *epithetoi heortai*. Among the penteric sacrifices, the most important occurred at Delos, where *hieromnēmones* represented the Athenians. The more numerous *epithetoi heortai* comprised sixteen sacrifices instituted in historic times, "in addition to" the older, traditional sacrifices. ¹⁶¹ One example of such a sacrifice was the festival of Artemis Agrotera. How many animals were sacrificed on such occasions?

We happen to know how many were sacrificed once at Delos: 109 cattle the most known to have been immolated at any Athenian public sacrifice. But the sacrifice occurred out of town, so only a few Athenians could partake of it. The second biggest sacrifice for which we have specific information is the annual sacrifice of 500 goats to Artemis Agrotera. Here many could partake, and Aristophanes shows as much when his Sausage-seller talks to Demos about this sacrifice.¹⁶² For goats, the range of meat per animal runs from Jameson's high of 30 to a low of 9-10 kilograms. Five hundred goats would provide from 15,000 down to 4,500-5,000 kilograms. Next come sacrifices for which we have general information, in particular, the slaughter of a hecatomb of cattle. Most notable is the Panathenaea, a penteric festival that also happens to be the only occasion for which an inscription confirms a sacrifice of this size. 163 If we assume that a hecatomb was always 100 cattle and apply the range of 100-64 kilograms, the supply of meat would be 10,000 down to 6,400 kilograms, or somewhat more than at Artemis Agrotera. A hecatomb, however, did not have to number 100 animals. A remark in Athenaeus, who says that Conon sacrificed a genuine hecatomb and not a nominal one, shows that nominal ones were common.¹⁶⁴ An inscription from Miletus refers to a

^{161.} Rosivach (1994) 52-56.

^{162.} Ar. Eq. 660-662.

^{163.} IG i³ 375.7.

^{164.} Ath. 1.3d; see also LSJ s.v. έκατόμβη.

"hecatomb" of just three—and this sacrifice occurs on a notable occasion, the *orgia* of the Molpoi, an important political association.¹⁶⁵

Since other sacrifices were much smaller, we should now pass to the third question we need to address—the size of a portion. Thanks to inscriptions that refer to "equal" portions, we will assume that equal or nearly equal portions were normal.¹⁶⁶ Making a guess as to what this portion weighed, Jameson said that it averaged half a kilogram, or about a pound. That happens to be almost the same as the portion given to ephebes on Amorgos. 167 The portion given to citizen males on Ceos is almost twice that.¹⁶⁸ (In most cases, of course, sacrificial records mention portions of meat without giving any weights or measures—for example, the "two pieces per person" for choruses at Phigalia.) 169 Given this lack of evidence, Peter Rhodes and Robin Osborne considered expenditures, not reports of portion sizes, and proposed two figures, one high (2 kilograms) and one low (a little more than a quarter of a kilogram). This disparity serves to remind us that an average portion in one place or occasion would not be the same as in another, but it confirms the range within which most information falls—about a kilogram. For the sake of caution, we might cut the serving all the way to a quarter of a kilogram, the low figure of Rhodes and Osborne.¹⁷¹ Some of this reduction might be due to boiling the meat, some to wastage, some to a scarcity of meat in towns as opposed to the countryside.

Now more arithmetic, using a range of 2 kilograms per person down to a quarter kilogram. At Artemis Agrotera, 15,000–4,500 kilograms of meat would feed a high of 60,000 people and a low of 2,250. The 10,000–6,400 kilograms for the Panathenaea would feed a high of 40,000 people and a low of 3,200.¹⁷²

^{165.} *LSAM* 50.19. The association in brief: Graf (1979a) 7–8.

^{166.} LSAM 72.42, for women at Halicarnassus; LSCG 20.20, for wives of Athenian *orgeones*. Equal size does not, of course, mean equal quality: Ekroth (2008b) 272–276.

^{167.} IG xii.7 515.63–65, reckoning this portion of 1 mina as 100 drachmas at 4.3 grams per drachma, as in the "Solonic" system (Gill et al. [1996]).

^{168.} *IG* xii.5 647.12–13, reckoning the 2 minas of this portion in the same way.

^{169.} Harmodios of Lepreion FGrH 319 F 1, where the pieces come from a total of six sheep.

^{170.} Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 63 and 81.

^{171.} Scullion *per litteras* reaches the same conclusion, but by making use of the half-obol's worth of meat to which Aristophanes refers (*Ra.* 553–554) and by assuming that the price of a bovine was 45 drachmas, as in the Thorikos calendar, and thus calculating that a bovine produced about 540 half-obol portions.

^{172.} Other estimates: Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 81, 20,000 fed at the Panathenaea; McInerney (2010) 175, at this festival. (All scholars have discounted or ignored Harpocration's report, s.v. $\epsilon \pi i \beta o \iota o \nu$, that each and every time a cow was sacrificed to Athena, a sheep was sacrificed to Pandrosos.)

The smaller sacrifices come nowhere near these figures. At the Hephaestia, three cattle were sacrificed for the metics attending, and an unknown number of cattle for others, and at the Eleusinia, which was another of the *epithetoi heortai*, seven animals were sacrificed, five of them goats.¹⁷³ By Jameson's calculations, the three cattle would feed some 1,200 people a quarter of a kilogram of meat, but by other calculations the cattle would feed only ninety-five people 2 kilograms apiece. The animals at the Eleusinia would feed even fewer.

Last come some sacrifices at which only one or two animals are sacrificed. Information about these comes mostly from the fragments of the Athenian sacrificial calendar.¹⁷⁴ Here, of course, few will eat. We should note that even though the state calendar is fragmentary, we know of twenty-three sacrifices of a single animal, just one sacrifice of two animals, and no sacrifices of more than two.¹⁷⁵ These twenty-three instances compare with five instances, all just reviewed, in which we know more than two animals were sacrificed or the public was invited. For regular sacrifices as a whole, then—for the *epithetoi heortai* and the traditional sacrifices—for Delos, the Panathenaea, and all their prestigious counterparts—we know that three-quarters of the time, those performing the sacrifice dispatched just one animal, and distributed food to a mere coterie.

We must not forget the people of Athens. How many were they? At the start of the Peloponnesian War, the population may have been as high as 300,000 or even 400,000. This number includes 50,000–60,000 citizens, the estimate of both Rhodes and Mogens Hansen; more than 10,000 male adult metics, Hansen's observation; wives and children for these two groups, or perhaps 150,000–200,000 free persons of all ages and both sexes; and a large slave population, if not one equal to that of all free persons.¹⁷⁶ These are high totals. Low totals have been proposed, too, especially for after the war, but none lower than the total that we may extrapolate using the only Athenian census, that of Demetrius of Phalerum in 317–7 BCE. Demetrius counted 21,000 citizens and

^{173.} Hephaestia: *LSCG* 13.25–32. Eleusinia: *IG* i³ 5 (assuming no animals are omitted from the inscription, as with Deubner (1956²) 91 holding that a *trittoa* was the chief offering at the festival and not part of the *proteleia*.

^{174.} A single goat was sacrificed at the Brauronia (Hesych. s.v. $B(\rho)\alpha\nu\rho\sigma\nu'i\sigma\iota\varsigma$).

^{175.} One of two cattle: LSCG Supp. 10a.50. Many of one: LSCG Supp. 10 as a whole with its many lacunae. See also the exiguous fragments of Hesperia (1941) 33c. 24–25, listing two sacrifices of individual animals of unknown species, and 35f59, listing a sacrifice of a ram. A new edition: IG i³ 238–241. Bibliography: Parker (1996a) 43 n. 4.

^{176.} Rhodes (1988) 271–277; calculation based on number of hoplites in 431. So also Hansen (1981) 23–29, reprised in Hansen (2004) 627 with refs. 300,000–400,000: so also Osborne to the author. Slaves equal to free: Hyp. fr. 33. The lowest total for slaves, one for the fifth century: 11,000, in Sallares (1991) 57.

10,000 metics—his census being the source for this figure—but did not count slaves.¹⁷⁷ In the light of this and other evidence, Osborne reckoned the fourth-century population as 150,000. Earlier, A. W. Gomme and John Traill reckoned it as about 100,000.¹⁷⁸

A range of 100,000–300,000 brings us to the end of our calculations. At the Artemis Agrotera, as few as 2,250 ate, or as little as 1 percent. At most 60,000 ate, or up to 60 percent. At the Panathenaea, a genuine hecatomb fed as little as 3 percent or as many as 40 percent. At most, some large part of the people may eat, but only if we prefer Jameson's estimates to the new ones of Villari, if we ignore the absence of forequarters among faunal remains at altars, and if we follow earlier scholarship and minimize the population of Athens. Otherwise, a tiny percentage may eat.

Even more telling is an inscription about the Little or annual Panathenaea, the modest version of the penteric festival. This festival provided meat for the citizenry, but only from two sacrifices out of four, and only after meat had been distributed to festival officials. Meat from the other two sacrifices was to be distributed among the parade participants from each deme. To So far, the inscription confirms the impression that little meat was available for the public. When it says that the meat for the parade participants was to be distributed in the Kerameikos and adds that this was the usual place of distribution, it makes another point: there was no large, permanent, designated public feasting place. The Kerameikos, or potters' quarter, had no room for such a place. One building, the Pompeion, was for festival parades, but any dining areas there were reserved for select groups. The public would have to go elsewhere, such as the Kerameikos, or the Dipylon Gate, where many animal bones have been found. They might well go home. Only a prohibition on the removal of meat, such as some inscriptions contain, could prevent them from doing so, but such prohibitions, though far from

^{177.} Demetrius: Ath 6.272c. Endorsing this figure: Ruschenbusch (1984); 30,000 citizens: Hansen (2006b) ch. 2.

^{178.} Osborne (1987) 46; Gomme (1933) 29; and Traill (1975) 67, both giving estimates for the late fourth century BCE. Hansen (2006a) 93, estimates only 75,000, based on the capacity of the Athenian economy, but does not endorse this estimate.

^{179.} Officials first: Agora 16.75.33-35. Each deme: 41-52.

^{180.} Agora 16.75.49-50.

^{181.} Hoepfner (1976) 127. Most recent treatment of the inscription: J. Shear (2001) ch. 3. Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 126–130 sees one difficulty: the portions set aside for officials and for parade participants do not square with communal meat meal. She does not see the other: the lack of a fixed communal eating place.

^{182.} Kerameikos: by Ziehen's supplement to IG ii² 334.24.

rare, do not appear in any of the civic inscriptions cited so far.¹⁸³ By the same token, some provision for *stibades*, or mats, would make it easier for them to stay in the shrine, but the inscriptions cited so far lack this, too.

No wonder the public is known to have been invited to only two sacrifices, this one and the Asclepiea. The feeding of thousands of people is atypical—and thus remarkable. Isocrates, who knew of a parade of 300 cattle, condemned this number as extravagant. To judge from Artemis Agrotera, he was right. Here the polis vowed to provide an animal for every enemy killed at Marathon, but at the time of the inaugural sacrifice it could find only 500, and thereafter contented itself with that number. (In contrast, when Aristophanes writes of 1,000 sacrificial heifers, he is exaggerating.) Yet the Athenians did not take an obvious measure to make more meat available. They did not stop slaughtering animals at holocausts, during oaths, and for other occasions at which no meat would be eaten. The Athenians did not wish to provide feasting at the expense of other practices. Nor did the Athenians make the best use of the meat they had. Besides having many cattle sacrificed at Delos, they once had five cattle and two pigs sacrificed at Dodona. Dodona.

Nor should we overestimate sacrifices of another kind—those given for, but not by, the demos. A few leading Athenians, especially Cimon, performed these sacrifices for the benefit of their fellow citizens.¹⁹⁰ Save for Conon's genuine hecatomb, none of these sacrifices could compare with Artemis Agrotera. Such affairs were rare, of course, and that alone gave grounds for Aristotle and Theopompus to criticize them.¹⁹¹ Yet by the standards of later times, or even of contemporary Syracuse, these sacrifices were modest. Dionysius the Younger, the tyrant of Syracuse, won fame for serving guests in rooms with thirty couches—in other words, rooms suitable for about sixty persons apiece.¹⁹² No Athenian could have matched that, if only because none had the rooms.

^{183.} Removal: $0\dot{v}\kappa\,\dot{a}\pi o\phi o\rho\dot{a}$, a phrase that does appear in inscriptions dealing with associations and the like.

^{184.} *IG* ii² 334.24-27, 47.32-39.

^{185.} Isoc. 7.29. A different view: Rosivach (1994) 54.

^{186.} X. An. 3.2.11-12.

^{187.} Ar. Eq. 660-662.

^{188.} Oaths: Priest (1964) 55.

^{189.} Dem. 21.53.

^{190.} Cimon: Arist. *Ath.* 27.3; Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 89 and Plu. *Cim.* 10.7, for meals at home, though without express reference to *thusiai*. Alcibiades: Ath. 1.3d-e.

^{191.} Theopomp. FGrH 115 F 89, Douris FGrH 76 F 10.

^{192.} Ath. 12.541c.

Feasts for the demos were not a social reality but an exercise in a kind of social rhetoric. Many would occasionally be invited, some would very occasionally eat, and yet, by an act of metonomy, the community would present itself to the god. This exercise would have struck an Athenian as acceptable to the god. The citizen observed a similar exercise when priests sacrificed on his behalf and a god received the offering, and he also observed it whenever a jury voted in the name of the people and a god took note of the jurors' oath. In all these ways, the Athenians practiced representative democracy, not direct democracy.

Feasting outside Athens

Does evidence from elsewhere in Greece corroborate these conclusions? Only one detailed cult calendar from another polis has survived, from Cos, where there are one sacrifice of four animals, one of three, six of two, and eleven of just one. ¹⁹³ The population of Cos at the time of the calendar is unknown, but a notional citizen population of 9,000 derives from Cos's tribal organization. ¹⁹⁴ Assuming that the entire population was four or five times that, a sacrifice of at most four animals would have to feed some 40,000 people. ¹⁹⁵ If this ratio runs parallel to those for Athens, so does the ratio of 17 sacrifices of one or two animals as opposed to two sacrifices of several or more. The Cos calendar, moreover, never guarantees that all the people will be fed. It says only that one important sacrifice will begin in the agora. ¹⁹⁶

Elsewhere, we find scattered reports of large sacrifices. One example, the shrine of Apollo at Claros, offers a parallel to the big sacrifice reported at Delos. Here (and so far, only here), archaeological evidence proves that large sacrifices took place routinely. As at Delos, those consuming the slaughtered cattle were not the citizens of a single polis but a diverse public.¹⁹⁷ These large sacrifices were in any event unusual. And how large were the sacrifices to which magistrates issued general invitations, as in chapter 5? At Mycalensic Thebes, each man in

^{193.} Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 87.13 (four animals, three of them sheep, every other year); lesser figures passim.

^{194.} Sherwin-White (1978) 161–165, detailing the possible differences between the notional and actual citizen population.

^{195.} Or some 150 kilograms by Jameson's (1988) reckoning (one ox at 88, and three sheep at 16 apiece).

^{196.} Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 62.23.

^{197.} The evidence takes the form of rings attached to blocks before the altar. Here numerous animals could be kept before being slaughtered. See de la Genière (1998), fig. 3.

charge of a flock of sheep brought a buck and also one lambkin out of every five, and that was enough to feed everybody. At Aegalia on Amorgos, one animal sufficed; at Phigalia, six did. A passage in Euripides suggests that the number was small. In *Ion*, Xeuthus feeds all the Delphians with calves that he could take in hand by himself. A

Dionysius of Syracuse points in a more promising direction: largesse from tyrants. Jason of Pherae reportedly once sacrificed 1,000 cattle at Delphi (assuming that so many animals climbed the hill to the shrine). ²⁰¹ No other tyrant is reported to have made so great a sacrifice, but some may well have done so. Just as the democracy surpassed traditional sacrifices in Athens, these rulers would wish to surpass traditional efforts elsewhere, for example, the more or less sizable hecatombs slaughtered annually at the Argive Heraeum, or at the Mysteries in Andania (though these were sheep, and the practice may come later). ²⁰² A decree concerning a sacrifice at Athena Itnia states in as many words the limit placed on popular participation at such events. On the one hand, "the polis is to accomplish" the sacrifice. On the other, the only animal slaughtered is "entirely" for several officials. ²⁰³

If we turn from great public sacrifices to those for some smaller group such as a deme, the four extant deme calendars provide the most evidence—far better evidence than that provided by the state calendar of either Athens or Cos. The picture, however, is the same as before: few sacrifices with more than one animal, and little meat to be distributed. The largest sacrifice in these documents is five animals, occurring only twice.²⁰⁴ Even a *trittoa*, a customary sacrifice of three animals, occurs only twice.²⁰⁵ The sacrifice of five, meaning an ox, three sheep, and a pig, provides a minimum of 135 kilograms of meat, or enough to feed

^{198.} LSAM 39.11-25 (Mycalensic Thebes).

^{199.} LSCG Supp. 61.55-58 (Aegalia); Harmodios of Lepreion FGrH 319 F 1 (Phigalia).

^{200.} E. Ion 1167-1168, 1132.

^{201.} X. HG 6.4.29. A credible anabasis for these creatures: von Reden (2007) 395.

^{202.} Heraeum: schol. P. *Ol.* 7.152, Parth. 13.4. Andania: *LSCG* 65.67. A hecatomb in Laconia consisted of an unknown species of animal (Str. 8.4.11).

^{203.} SEG XXXII.456.8, 24–25. "Entirely": πάντα κὴ τὰν κωλίαν.

^{204.} LSCG 20b.35–36; also 18a.13–16, b.15–19, c.27–30, d.224–227, e.16–19, if these five entries refer to a single act of sacrifice, as supposed by Rosivach (1994) 63. They occur in the same place and on the same day, if not at the same time. In what follows, no distinction need be drawn between sacrifices to gods and to heroes, as noted by Ekroth (2002) 166–168.

^{205.} SEG XXXIII.147.41-42, LSCG 20b.21.

540 people one-quarter kilogram apiece.²⁰⁶ If asked how far this much meat would go, we must turn to the question of the average membership of a deme. It is uncertain, of course, but like the population of Athens it is calculable. One hundred thirty-nine demes comprised a citizen population that Hansen estimated at some 30,000 in the mid-fourth century, so an average deme would enroll some 214 citizens. Include their families and slaves and raise the population to as much as 1,000, and the sacrifice of five animals will perhaps feed them all. (It will not, however, feed the average deme of the fifth century, which was up to twice as big.) In any event, this sacrifice occurs only twice in all four deme calendars. A *trittoa* of one ox, one pig, and one sheep might also feed them all, but these sacrifices also occur only twice. In contrast, over 100 sacrifices in the calendars involve one animal.²⁰⁷

Still more telling is the paucity of cattle, the only animal providing enough meat for a large household, let alone any other group.²⁰⁸ And there is another factor to consider: among animals sacrificed singly, juveniles amount to about one-quarter of the total.²⁰⁹ In sum, a deme almost always sacrificed one animal, sometimes sacrificed an animal with less meat, and seldom sacrificed the animal with the most meat. For a group averaging 200, the amount of available meat is not as small as in most sacrifices on behalf of the polis, but it remains inadequate. When demotic and other inscriptions report that portions of meat shall be reserved for benefactors as well as for the demesmen or association members, we should not assume that every demesman or member was sure to eat.²¹⁰ The benefactor was.

^{206.} An ox of 64 kilograms, a pig of 44, and three sheep of 9. Or, for Jameson (1988), as much as 204 kilograms (an ox of 88 kilograms, a pig of 44, and three sheep of 24 apiece), an amount that would feed some 800 at a quarter kilogram per person.

^{207.} A reckoning based on the Thorikos (SEG XXXIII.147), Erchia (LSCG 18), Marathon, and Tetrapolis calendars (both LSCG 20), including supplements. Some months are missing from the Tetrapolis calendar, and there are also some biennial sacrifices there and at Marathon, and some unclassifiable sacrifices at Tetrapolis. Each oblation to each god or hero has counted as a sacrifice with the exception of sacrifices to the "hero and heroine" at Marathon.

^{208.} A total of five, as at Rosivach (1994) 75, excluding the Tetrapolis.

^{209.} Exact totals being unobtainable because of the need for supplements. Jameson (1988) 101, counting only young sheep and goats, reckoned them as one-sixth at Thorikos and Erchia; Rosivach (1994) 31 ignores them and Ekroth (2002) 168 gives information but no ratios. My reckoning: four lambs, three kids, and six piglets at Thorikos, four lambs, one kid, and ten piglets at Erchia, either seven or ten piglets at Marathon, and just one juvenile animal in seventeen at the Tetrapolis, or about one-fifth of the total of some 160 per year.

^{210.} *IG* ii² 1204 (Lamprea), 1214.10–17 (Piraeus), 1231.9–15 (Eumolpidae), 1254.10–12 (*Paraloi*), 1330.35–36 (*technitai* of Dionysus).

A fortiori, we cannot envision frequent feasts for larger units like *trittues* and tribes. *Genē* like the Salaminioi, for whom a calendar survives, are of unknown size, but they are not likely to have been small enough to eat a common meal provided by a piglet, the animal that they sacrificed two-fifths of the time, or even a pig, the animal they sacrificed most of the rest of the time. An ox, with its 64 or more kilograms of meat, might feed them all, but they sacrificed this animal only once a year.²¹¹ (At the Panathenaea, some *phulai* or tribes sacrificed an ox apiece.)²¹²

The lack of information for these groups runs parallel to the lack of information for the other groups scholars have noticed—households and communities in the Homeric poems. Much as we know about sacrifices made by priests and kings, we know little about how many other persons were present, or how much meat was available to feed them. First, we lack zooarchaeological evidence about the size of animals at any arguably Homeric time or place, save for Pylos and Thapsos. Second, Homer seldom says how many animals are sacrificed, save for hecatombs of a doubtful number, for example, a hecatomb of apparently 50 at Iliad 23,146–147. Hecatombs aside, sacrifices are seldom said to include more than one animal—to be precise, only four times. ²¹³ The sacrifice of 81 oxen for the people of Pylos is notable, but it is exceptional. At only one other banquet, on Scheria, does Homer specify that as many as 20 animals are eaten. 214 Even in these two cases, we come upon a third common difficulty: we do not how many people were eligible to eat. In the familiar instance of the suitors, we know the number of diners, and we may assume—although the singer scarcely encourages us to—that they always sacrifice before eating, but we do not know how many animals they were consuming.²¹⁵ In another familiar case, that of the banquet on the shield of Achilles,

^{211.} Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 37.84-93. The ox: 86.

^{212.} IG ii² 2311.71–76, and perhaps more cattle in some similar way, 79–81.

^{213.} Number of animals known, where the number is larger than one: *Il*. 6.93, 274–275 (twelve oxen); *Il*. 23.144–148. (fifty rams); *Od*. 8.59 (twelve sheep, eight pigs, and two oxen), 13.24–26 (twelve oxen). *Il*. 6.93, 274–275 is also called a hecatomb, illustrating the unreliability of this word in Homer; see note 92 here. Other hecatombs especially likely to be less than 100: *Il*. 23.872–873, *Od*. 17.59–60, 19.367–368, all sacrifices by individuals and likely to be performed at home.

^{214.} Using Villari's (1989) figures, eighty-one oxen yield as much as some 5,100 kilograms. At a quarter kg per head, some 20,400 people eat. On Scheria (*Od.* 8.59–60) twelve sheep yield up to 240 kilograms, two oxen yield up to 126, and eight pigs yield up to 160, or up to 526 kilograms. At a quarter kilogram per head, some 2,000 people eat.

^{215.} A goat and two sheep a day, and sometimes more than one ox a day: Od. 14.96, 105–106, 17.535. Scarce Homeric encouragement: forms of *hiereuein* used of suitors' meals, Od. 1.56–58 = 17.535–536, 14.28, 14.94, 17.180–182, 20.250–252. No divine portion appears in these passages save for the last.

the problem is the opposite. We do not know how many partake of the meat but instead know that only one ox was sacrificed. (And we also know that Apollonius of Rhodes never specifies a sacrifice of more than two animals.)²¹⁷

No wonder that the *Contest between Homer and Hesiod* makes a joke of the subject. In this work, the two poets compete by answering questions such as how many Achaeans fought at Troy. In his reply, Homer blunders, for he tries to calculate how many Achaeans ate meat:

There were fifty hearths with their fires.

The rest of the answer, many readers have thought, sounds more like the Epic Cycle than the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*:

and fifty spits at each hearth, and fifty pieces of meat around each spit. So there were 300 Achaeans for every piece. ²¹⁸

Whatever the date of these lines, they point to the difficulty of calculating meat consumption in epic poetry: round numbers pile atop round numbers. Unlike Hesiod, Homer is not interested in problems of agricultural production. The larger the amount of meat, the less useful his verses prove to be.

Jameson and other scholars who have envisioned more meat in Athens, if not in Homer, have relied on the *dermatikon* accounts. (So do Rhodes and Osborne, who do not envision more meat.) These accounts do not report the number of sacrificial animals but instead report the value of the hides of those sacrificed at most of the festivals already noticed. The accounts cover the four years 334/3 to 331/o. Five months are missing from the first year, two months and perhaps part of a third from the second, seven months from the third, and three months from the fourth.²¹⁹ These gaps need filling, but since the value of the hides changed

^{216.} Il. 18.550-559 with the further issue of whether the mowers get any of the meat, for which see Rundin (1996) 190-191.

^{217.} A.R. 1.406-407, 2.490-496.

^{218.} Certamen 143–146: πεντήκοντ' ἦσαν πυρὸς ἐσχάραι, ἐν δὲ ἑκάστη /πεντήκοντ' ὀβελοί, περὶ δὲ κρέα πεντήκοντα· /τρὶς δὲ τριηκόσιοι περὶ ἓν κρέας ἦσαν ἀχαιοί. Readers' impressions: West (1967) 442 with n. 2.

^{219.} Hecatombaion through Maimacterion; Pyanopsion and Maimacterion and perhaps part of Skirophorion; Hecatombaion through Gamelion; Mynichion through Scirophorion. A chart to this effect: Rosivach (1994) 50–55, based mainly on IG ii 2 1496, the chief text for him and also for Parker (1996a) 78, who believes in numerous, large sacrifices but does not give estimates.

from time to time, figures for one year should not be used for another year, so the gaps should stay unfilled. Assuming no gaps, we would know the annual expenditure on hides, but another problem remains, assigning a price to the typical hide, especially cowhides. Without this additional calculation, we do not know how many cattle were being paid for. Vincent Rosivach used data for the hides of swine and arrived at a price of 4–10 drachmas for cowhides. He started with the price for swine hides, but only for finished hides, then reckoned the price of the raw hides of swine, and then—a third step—converted these prices into prices for cattle hides. Whatever the calculations, Rosivach's result, 724 bovines sacrificed a year, does not square with ancient reports. It would require an annual sacrifice of 261 cattle at the Diisōteria alone. This figure nearly equals the 300 cattle estimated by Isocrates.

Jameson used wheat and ox hide prices in the fourth-century CE edict of Diocletian and arrived at a price of 6–8 drachmas. This document lies far afield, and so do fourth-century BCE animal prices cited thirdhand by Plutarch. This writer is not sure how many animals are meant, or what sort. The best piece of information, from Lysias, is that the annual cost of the animals for the traditional sacrifices was more than 3 talents. Lysias, though, does not give a price for any species or kind of animal. The Athenian cult calendars give a few prices, but the price for the most important animal, a cow or ox, varies from 40 to 90 drachmas. These are prices not only in different places in Attica, but at widely different times within the Classical period.

Infrequent feasting, whether for the polis or other groups, does not mean no feasting whatever. Instead, it means that we should distinguish special occasions from ordinary ones. Nor are we speaking of feasting among groups small enough to be fed by a single animal, notably families. This sort of feasting begins with Homer, whose kings sacrifice single animals for families or for royal councils; it includes feasting by other small groups, like the household (if that is not a misleading term) of Eumaeus. 225 Yet the French writers do not regard family meals as

^{220.} I.e., the value of the hides for the sacrifices to Eirēnē and Agathē Tychē, and for the sacrifices at the Asclepieia, the Urban Dionysia, the Olympieia, and Diisōtēria. A further difficulty is that not all the hides may be those of cattle.

^{221.} Rosivach (1994) 70; Jameson (1988) 111. See also Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 138 n. 6.

^{222.} Plu. *Sol.* 23.3, citing Demetrius of Phalerum fr. 147 ed. Wehrli: sheep 1 drachma and oxen 5 drachmas.

^{223.} Lys. 30.19-20.

^{224.} Forty to 50 drachmas: SEG XXXIII.147.28-30. Ninety: LSCG Supp. 20b.20-21, 43.

^{225.} Council: *Il*. 2.402–441. Eumaeus: *Od*. 14.419–456.

a model. They regard feasts for the Athenian citizenry as a model. Epigraphical and literary evidence does not confirm many such feasts. Just as these scholars posited too much ritual, they have posited too much meat.

Meat and Markets

This chapter has tried to make two points: first, that some meat from livestock and other animals did not undergo sacrifice, and second, that meat from sacrifice, although sometimes abundant, could not feed most citizens in large cities, or even most members of groups like Attic demes. The first point reinforces Gunnel Ekroth's observation that meat cannot always be called sacrificial rather than ordinary or profane; and the second point tallies with the first, for on some occasions there was too little sacrificial meat. Yet these two points about the ancient Greek diet do not concern the rite of sacrifice only. They also concern Greek law, Greek cities, and the developments noted at the end of chapter 5.

First, the view that Greeks kept a kind of kosher, and would eat no beef or the like without a sacrifice: no Greek regulations says so, or says anything similar, nor does any divine precept provide *agraphos nomos* on this subject. To suppose that the Greeks kept this kind of kosher without laws to guide them is as absurd as imagining Hebrew kosher without laws or monastic diets without rules. Yet the Greeks never could have devised such laws or rules. Lacking anything like a Pentateuch or a clerical literature, they lacked any rubric under which to put a code like Leviticus or rules like those of the monastic orders.

Second, the view that large communities feasted on beef: the complications of city life undercut this view, which exaggerates distribution through rites and gifts and also exaggerates the difference between the shrine and the home or market. Meals of a mixed character occurred in both milieux. By the same token, this view underestimates the size of cities in the Classical period—and thus in the Hellenistic period, when cities were mostly bigger, even if Athens was no longer biggest. This view also fails to account for the monetization of meat-eating through markets and messes.

Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne say little about markets and messes, for in these two settings, meat might be a commodity or a ration, not a symbol of communion. The butcher might be just that, a butcher, and not a specialist in *thusia*. The celebrant might be no such thing, and only be a host, and the worshipper might only be a consumer. The more costly an animal sacrifice, the more likely this role change was, for some meat in the market was cheap, and so was pork in the mess.

With this change from worshipper to consumer came a change in the social role of sacrifice. It continued to be a rite performed by officials on behalf of

citizens, but it also became a rite performed by hosts on behalf of their guests, by kings on behalf of their subjects, and by the rich on behalf of their dependents. These beneficiaries were more likely to be present than citizens were, but they were also more likely to be present for the feast, and absent from the rite, and so the rite and the feast, linked in recent views of sacrifice, drew apart—so much so that in the Hellenistic period, *thuein* came to differ from *hestiazein*. The former was pious in connotation, whereas the latter was gratifying. Plutarch illustrates the change through an anachronistic anecdote about Croesus. The Lydian ruler ordered an emissary to distribute both meat and money at a Delphic sacrifice, but after distributing the meat the emissary returned the money to Croesus. The emissary did not understand the purpose of the feast that Croesus was providing.

Yet the gravamen of the critique of the views of Burkert and the two French writers remains their want of interest in the gods. The divine preference for a big animal let some small ones go unsacrificed. In Athens and elsewhere, meat from these animals was sold, and in Sparta it was rationed. Whatever a god's preference might be, pleasing him or her was more important than feeding a community, a rare occurrence. Sacrifice rendered "as handsome as possible" did not need to be as generous as possible. No Greek god said, "Give what you have to the poor, and follow me." The effort of Croesus notwithstanding, Greek sacrifice was not eleemosynary.

^{226.} Comic scenes, but also Plb. 4.73.3–4, 31.7.1–2; D.S. 19.22, where a sacrifice occurs at the center of four concentric circles of feasters, the largest being 13 stades in circumference; and Ephippos *FGrH* 126 F 5, where *hestiazein* is used of "all" the soldiers at Ecbatana under Alexander the Great.

^{227.} Plu. Ser. num. 556f. The emissary: the ever-alert Aesop, whom the Delphians put to death. True to the norms of sacrifice, Apollo punished them for punishing him (so also schol. Ar. V. 1446).

A Detective Story

IN *THE CUISINE of Sacrifice*, Marcel Detienne observed that sacrifice was "a category of the thought of yesteryear," and explained:

the notion of sacrifice . . . reveals the surprising power of annexation that Christianity still subtly exercises on the thought of those historians and sociologists who were convinced that they were inventing a new science.¹

Detienne gave no examples of this kind of "annexation," but his and Vernant's work, and that of Burkert, suggest several: the themes of the universality of sacrifice, of redemptive bloodshed, and of the victim's consent.

The notion of the universality of sacrifice has informed this book from the beginning. Nineteenth-century theories of sacrifice took universality for granted, and so did Walter Burkert. In response, Vernant and Detienne confined the rite to acts of communal *thusia* in the Classical period, especially in Athens, but even these writers assumed that communal, sacrificial feasts began far earlier, and that Athenian democracy changed rather than invented feasts of this kind. So strong an attachment to universal or widespread sacrifice unites the three modern writers that citing only Robertson Smith and Durkheim is misleading. The universality of sacrifice proves to be an old idea, found among the ancient Greeks, but also found in another guise among the Christian Church Fathers.

The notion of redemptive bloodshed has informed this book, too. Without it, the slaughter of animal victims would not lead to solidarity among worshippers, whether the solidarity is chiefly emotional, as with Burkert, or chiefly political, as with the two French writers. Here again, citing a writer such as Hubert or Mauss, who wrote of the need for a worshipper to destroy some valuable offering, such as cattle, is not enough to explain the appeal of this theme. Redemptive bloodshed is a cardinal feature of Christian theology. In contrast, ancient Greek

^{1.} Vernant and Detienne (1989) 20.

sources do not speak of it. To the offering that must be destroyed, or slain, they add offerings that must be put on tables, called *trapezōmata*, and substitutes for sacrifice not limited to votive tablets.

The victim's consent is one more notion that appeared in Christianity from the first, through the sacrifice of Christ, but did not appear in Greek thinking, save among Pythagoreans. Essential for Burkert, and accepted by the French, this notion crops up in Robertson Smith, and again in Meuli, but its appeal goes deeper. Attachment to this notion, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, points to an undertow in recent scholarship, an influence deriving, as Detienne says, from "the thought of yesteryear."

This chapter will pursue these themes from their points of origin, whether in ancient Greek writing or early Christianity, to the 1820s, when all three become what Burkert and the two French writers would encounter in Robertson Smith and Durkheim. This is a detective story, but not a story about any crime against the truth, or even a story about stolen goods. It is about missing intellectual property—Saint Paul's property, mostly, and where it ended up. This story is all the odder because much of it does not concern opinions about Greek sacrifice. Greek sacrifice interested the early Christian writers, and it interested writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but seldom interested writers in between. They dealt with the sacrifice of Christ, with the conversion of heathens, and with comparisons between Christ's sacrifice and the sacrifices made by the ancient Hebrews. Yet these writers who mostly overlook the Greeks remain part of the story. One of them, Thomas Aquinas, supplied the first statement that sacrifice was universal. Missionaries among the Indians agreed with Aquinas, and compared Indian and Christian practices. This implied comparing Greek practices, too. Theologians of the Reformation and afterward dealt with the theme of redemptive bloodshed, as embodied by the Mass. Over time, they reduced the element of bloodshed in this rite, and so they anticipated eighteenth-century writers who objected to bloodshed, including bloodshed among Greeks. Christ, that paradigm of the willing victim, reappeared in the eighteenth century as a new kind of victim, a patriot who sacrificed himself for the good of his country. Only in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the writing of de Maistre and Hegel, did these three themes reattach themselves to Greek sacrifice in particular, and by then the Greek god—the recipient of sacrifice, of bloodshed, and of willing victims had become a subject for Romantic musings. The scholars of chapter 1, Robertson Smith and Durkheim, worked at a time when, the Mass aside, sacrifice no longer included a god. Such gods belonged in the past. Europe had more or less freed itself from them, and was ready to analyze them at other times and places.

Pagan Indifference to Sacrifice

The Greeks of the Archaic through Hellenistic periods wrote little about sacrifice.² Some believed it was universal, but did not ask why. As examples from drama show, and as visual art and writers on hunting also show, the Greeks did not fasten on violence against animals, or on bloodshed. Although they had no notion of a willing victim, they worried about choosing a proper victim, or a proper offering in lieu of a victim. Whatever their theology, philosophers avoided criticizing sacrifice.

The Greek language, which lacked a *vox propria* for beef or mutton, also lacked terms that designated animal sacrifice as opposed to other kinds. The common word *thuein* came to refer to burning an offering, whether of flesh, other food, or incense. In Homer, it never referred to burning flesh, but instead to vegetal offerings or fumigation.³ Even later, Euripides uses *thuein* of the purificatory sacrifices, *katharsia hiera*, that Heracles wishes to perform to fumigate his house.⁴ Some cognates of *thuein*, like *thuma*, refer to either animal or vegetal sacrifice.⁵ It is not always clear which.⁶ Besides referring to several offerings, *thuein* referred to several acts and to sundry recipients. *Thuein* in the middle voice commonly meant to practice hepatoscopy, a rite without burning (and as Casabona noted, the active might serve for this purpose, too.)⁷ In Lucian, Hyperborean magicians raise spirits by *thusiai* performed by shedding blood without any burning.⁸ Elsewhere, there are *thusiai* for Hecate and *thusiai* described as

^{2.} Tresp (1914) gathers the scanty and fragmentary evidence for writers on expressly sacrificial topics such as *exēgētika*. After surveying this and other sources, Henrichs's pessimistic view (1998) 68: "wir paradoxerweise die Griechen in ihrer jeweiligen Eigenart erst dann voll und ganz verstehen, wenn unseren Distanz zu ihnen am grössten ist unde sie uns am fremdesten sind."

^{3.} Vegetal *thuein*: outside Homer (*Od.* 9.231–232), first at *h. Ap.* 490–492. *Thuein* as offering in general: Casabona (1966) 72. Similar view: Rudhardt (1958) 249, but stressing animal sacrifice. The first expression of this view: von Fritze (1894). An evolutionary version: Ziehen (1939) 587. One recent view: Zaidman (2005) also holding that the distinction between animal and vegetal was subject to sectarian manipulation. To the contrary: Stengel (1920³) 99.

^{4.} E. HF 932-937.

^{5.} *Thuma*: Casabona (1966) 305-310. *Thuēlē*: Stengel (1910) 7-9, Casabona (1966) 121-124.

^{6.} Two instances missing from Casabona (1966) and Stengel (1910): at DS 5.56, *thuma* is apparently vegetal, since the same sacrifice at Philostr. *Imag.* 2.7 is vegetal and unburned. *Thuma* is surely vegetal and unburned at Paus. 8.42.5.

^{7.} Casabona (1966) 82–83 for *thuein* with sacrifices seeking favor or information, with examples to which X. *An.* 5.4.22 and Plu. *Arat.* 43.6–8 may be added.

^{8.} Lucianus Philops. 14.

*sphagiai.*⁹ As for recipients, many inscriptions, and some literary sources, use *thuein* of sacrifices to heroes, a third category to add to spirits and gods.¹⁰ On the one hand, the notion of burning was prestigious. Burnt offerings were often costly, and the use of fire was sometimes dangerous. On the other, Greek thinking about sacrifice was not categorical.

Another common phrase, *hiera rezein* or *erdein*, dominates early references to animal sacrifice, especially with a meal, just as *thuein* dominates later references. Burkert assumes that the verb in this phrase refers to killing, and that the object refers to animals.¹¹ The verb may also refer to burning, and the object may be modified, as in a vegetal sacrifice that Homer calls *thalusia erdein*, with *hiera* understood.¹² More often, the verb refers not to burning or killing but to accomplishing, and the object refers not to an offering but to ceremonies. As Casabona observed, in such cases the verb refers to all phases of a sacrifice.¹³ *Hiera rezein* or *erdein* is what Lewis Carroll called a "portmanteau word," except that it is a phrase. *Hiereuein*, "to render sacred," is the corresponding single word. In later Greek, it predominates over the phrase, which occurs mainly in civic inscriptions. As before, the verb in the phrase may refer to killing, and the object may be an animal.¹⁴ The verb may also refer to accomplishing, and take some other object.¹⁵ Just as *thuein* had several meanings, *hiera rezein* had a general meaning.

Two other words deserve notice. Unlike *thuein* or *hiera rezein*, *sphazein* refers to a single act, throat-cutting. It applied to most acts of animal sacrifice, but only as a phase. In animal sacrifice followed by a meal, *sphazein* applied to the phase that Burkert thought most important, yet it did not give a name to this kind of sacrifice. It more often referred to battlefield and oath sacrifices. *Aparchai* (to

^{9.} Hecate: schol. Ar. Pl. 594. Sphagiai: Plu. Dion 27.4-5.

^{10.} Ekroth (2002) 166–168, preceded by Pfister (1909–12) 477–480 with examples to which Plu. *Thes.* 20.8 may be added.

^{11.} Although Graf puts this assumption into words in Graf (2012) 47.

^{12.} Il. 9.534-536, although it is possible that these thalusia included animals as well as first fruits.

^{13.} Casabona (1966) 50-51, although he notes that in the *Odyssey*, reference to ceremonies and reference to killing a victim merge into a single usage.

^{14.} E.g., LSAM 42b.4-5, 50.15, LSCG 113. IK Sestos 11.25, Halikarnassos 119.4.

^{15.} IK Sestos 11.3 (λ 01 β ά $_{\rm S}$), SEG XLI.1411.4 (θ ύ σ 0 λ $_{\rm A}$, meaning "ceremonies" or "sacrifices"), Didyma 581.15–16 (τ 1 μ 1 γ 1), Miletos 481.1–11 (δ 0 γ 1 α 1). Or, in the passive, take some other subject: LSAM 44.3–4 (δ 6 μ 0 α 1 α 1), 50.30 (δ 0 α 0 α 1), referring to killing but also to flaying.

^{16.} Casabona (1966) 158 gives two Homeric examples where a form of *sphazein* denotes animal sacrifice, *pars pro toto* (*Il*. 9.466–467, 22.29–32). This synecdoche is common in tragedy, for which see Henrichs (2012).

^{17.} Battlefield *sphagia*: Jameson (1991). Oath *sphagia*: Faraone (1993) 66–71 with the variant *tomia*.

use the noun) had less to do with destruction than either *sphazein* or *thuein*. This term for sacrificial offerings corresponds to English "first fruits" and thus shifts attention away from an act either of burning or of bloodshed. Besides the barley thrown at the altar during an act of animal sacrifice, *aparchai* denoted donatives of grain and other crops, and also of olive oil that might be sold to defray the purchase of sacred animals and dedications, and that might be commutable to money paid for these purposes.¹⁸ There were also *aparchai* for catches of fish.¹⁹

Just as none of these terms specifies animal sacrifice, none specifies a meal. In Menander, for example, the act of *thusia* ends before the meal begins. ²⁰ *Thalusia erdein* included no meal, and acts of *sphazein* included none. Neither did *aparchai*. For the two sacrificial elements important to recent writers, the language had little to offer.

Greek also had little to offer about the extent of sacrifice. Greeks thought it widespread, so they seldom bothered to describe it either among themselves or abroad. Homer, for example, assumes that Ethiopians sacrifice as Achaeans do.²¹ Herodotus goes farther and says that Egyptians, Indians, Persians, and Scythians perform *thusia*; he never reports that any people lack this rite.²² Strabo adds Gauls, Albanians, and Hyrcanians in the Caucasus, and nearby Armenians—a list lengthened by information gained under the Pax Romana, and accompanied by the same failure to say that any people lacks sacrifice.²³ (Theophrastus can name such a people, the Thoes, but adds that they have disappeared, for an angry Zeus has obliterated them.)²⁴ When these authors point out departures from Greek custom, they are describing local deviations. Herodotus says that Indians make human sacrifices of the elderly, Strabo that Indians drink wine only at sacrifices. The taste for the bizarre confirms the universality of sacrifice, but also its banality. Universality encourages Greek writers to be not analytical but ethnographic.

Lists of offerings in Homer and elsewhere point to Greek concern about choice. *Thuein*, Plato explains, is "gift-giving to the gods," in part a matter of choosing a

^{18.} Olive oil: LSS 5.59-61. Money: LSS 72.2-4. In a characteristic complication, *katarchē* in LSCG 29.6 may mean a sum of money, as suggested by Sokolowski ad loc.

^{19.} Ath. 7.297e (tuna at Halae).

^{20.} Men. Dysc. 558.

^{21.} Od. 1.22-5.

^{22.} Egypt: Hdt. 2.38-42. India: 3.99. Persia: 1.132. Scythia: 4.7, 60, 62-63.

^{23.} Phoenicians: Str. 3.5.5; Gauls 4.4.5; Romans 5.3.3; Thracians 7.3.4; Albanians 11.4.7; Hyrcanians 11.7.5; Armenians 12.3.36; Indians 15.1.53, 15.1.55; Persians, 15.3.16; Egyptians 17.1.37.

^{24.} Thph. de Pietate 3.5-18 ed. Pötscher.

gift.²⁵ This concern with choice also appears in the first tendentious statement about sacrifice, from the fifth-century philosopher Empedocles. The context is a poem entitled "Purifications" (*katharmoi*). Perhaps for this reason, Empedocles does not describe *thusia*. Instead, he praises the choice of offerings in the Golden Age:

Worshippers appeased Aphrodite by using images that were good for worshipping, pictures of animals, and perfumes created by clever workmanship, and by using sacrifices of pure myrrh and fragrant incense. They poured libations of yellow honey on the ground. . . . The unadulterated slaughter of bulls did not dampen the altar. Ripping out the life of a creature and eating its handsome limbs—people found that a very hateful thing. ²⁶

Gory and repellent, animal sacrifice stands apart from libations, vegetal offerings, and dedications. Driving this condemnation of animal sacrifice is Empedocles's belief in the reincarnation of human beings as animals. Animal offerings are the wrong sort of food to eat. Plato reports a similar view, but without endorsing it.²⁷ As James Rives has observed, the issue for these writers is diet, not sacrifice.²⁸

Worshippers edified by this denunciation might wish to switch from animals to incense and the like. For the poor worshipper, including slaves, and for women, this change in the sacrificial menu would not have been momentous. For the polis, it would, but this passage does not say whether poleis and other entities ought to abandon their animal sacrifices. Empedocles's criticism of sacrifice concerns the choice of gifts. The same holds true of the vegetarianism of the Pythagoreans.²⁹

Theophrastus, the source for this passage, quotes it in tandem with his own view, more or less apparent in Porphyry's *On Abstinence*, of a Greek switch from vegetal offerings to human sacrifice, and then to animal sacrifice.³⁰ In Theophrastus,

^{25.} Pl. Euth. 14c.

^{26.} D-K 31 B 128: τὴν οἵ γ' εὐσεβέεσσιν ἀγάλμασιν ἱλάσκοντο / γραπτοῖς τε ζώοισι μύροισί τε δαιδαλεόδμοις / σμύρνης τ' ἀκράτου θυσίαις λιβάνου τε θυώδους / ξουθών τε σπονδὰς μελίτων ῥιπτοῦντες ἐς οὖδας, /... ταύρων δ' ἀκράτοισι φόνοις οὐ δεύετο βωμός.... / ἀλλὰ μύσος τοῦτ' ἔσκεν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστον, / θυμὸν ἀπορραίσαντας ἐέδμεναι ἤια γυῖα.

^{27.} Pl. Lg. 6.782c-d. A different view: Burkert (1972) 125, seeing not a discourse on offerings, but sectarian religious history.

^{28.} Rives (2011) 191-192.

^{29.} Pythagorean reluctance to criticize communal *nomoi*: Iamb. VP 82, noted in Burkert (1983) 7 n. 33 with refs.

^{30.} Proph. *Abst.* 2.27.1–7, where the first stage contains numerous substages, and where one stage may overlap with another. An attack on this theory with respect to libations: Graf (1980) 212–213.

these stages, three in number, replace the two stages found in Empedocles, but the change is still for the worse. Theophrastus's history of sacrifice also resembles Empedocles in another respect. It is a history of offerings, not of any other aspect of the practice. It does not address the use of images, as Heraclitus does in his remarks on prayer; it does not address the allotment of portions, as Hesiod does in his account of the origin of sacrifice, and as Aeschylus does; and it does not address the communication between gods and humans, as Aeschylus does and as Plutarch does in several passages.³¹ The narrowness of Theophrastus likely reappeared in other vegetarian writers, notably the Cynics, who do not make general statements about *thusia* in the only two relevant fragments.³² The same narrowness appears in Pausanias, who agrees with Theophrastus about stages, but is not vegetarian.³³ None of these writers discusses sacrifice as such, or even *thusia* as such. They limit themselves to the long-standing Greek preoccupation with offerings. Within a notion of universality of sacrifice lay this emphasis on the diversity of gifts.

What if a god did not want a gift, and would not respond to one? Philosophers who believed in gods of this unresponsive kind might well have disapproved of sacrifice, rather than disapproving of this offering or that, yet a cardinal feature of ancient writing on sacrifice is that these philosophers avoid saying so. Protagoras, unsure whether the gods existed, said nothing about sacrifice. ³⁴ Epicurus, who held that the gods ignored humankind, did not shun festivals centering on sacrifice. Instead, he recommended festivals. There, he said, the worshipper "went about with the god's name on his lips all the time." This statement resembles Plato's declaration that sacrifice "is the noblest and best thing a good man can do, for it allows him to converse with the gods." Plato divided gods into two kinds, the responsive and the unresponsive. As Homer and Hesiod said, the gods of popular religion received sacrifices, but another god, the

^{31.} Heraclit B5 D–K, attacking the assumption that praying to a god's image is the same as addressing the god, with Origen's criticism at Cels. 7.62. Hesiod: *Th.* 535–541. Aeschylus: *PV* 493–499. Plutarch: as at chapter 3 and 4 here. A different view of B5: Adomenas (1999) 106.

^{32.} Xenocrates fr. 101 ed. Heinze; Bion fr. 76 ed. Gow.

^{33.} Paus. 9.8.2.

^{34.} Protag. B4 D-K.

^{35.} Philodem. de Pietate, fr. 27.757–772 ed. Obbink, especially 765–770: $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\delta[\dot{\epsilon}]$ $\tau a \hat{i}s$ $\dot{\epsilon}o \rho \tau a \hat{i}s$ $\mu[\dot{a}]\lambda\iota\sigma\tau'\ldots\beta a\delta\iota'\zeta o\nu\tau a\delta\iota\dot{a}$ $\tau\dot{o}$ $\tau\dot{o}\dot{v}\nu o\mu a$ $\pi\dot{a}\nu\tau a$ $\dot{a}\nu\dot{a}$ $\sigma\tau\dot{o}\mu'$ $\dot{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$. Alternatively, Epicurus held that the gods are projections, as at Long and Sedley (1987) 1.144–149.

^{36.} Pl. Lg. 4.716d: τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ θύειν καὶ προσομιλεῖν ἀεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ ἀναθήμασιν καὶ συμπάση θεραπείᾳ θεῶν κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον καὶ ἀνυσιμώ τατον πρὸς τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον.

Demiurge known to Platonists, did not receive them.³⁷ Yet this stance did not inspire any comparable originality in regard to sacrifice. In the *Laws*, the Delphic oracle, not any legislator, decides which sacrifices should be established in a new city.³⁸ Plato's Athenian surrogate proposes only to segregate some festivals by gender, and to segregate Chthonian festivals from festivals for Olympian gods.³⁹ That is all—nothing about purification, prayer, slaughter, libation, and rendering and cooking, just rules for music and dancing.⁴⁰ Plato largely agrees with the commonplaces found in the *Rhetoric* of Anaximenes:

When we speak of maintaining tradition, we begin with an argument from justice: it's wrong to depart from ancestral usage. All prophecies tell people to sacrifice according to ancestral usage.⁴¹

Anaximenes adds that it might be right to honor the gods more than before, by increasing the budget, but not to honor them differently from before. In the most famous instance of sacrifice and a philosopher, the trial of Socrates, Xenophon tells us that the defendant honored the gods the same as everyone else. To use the Greek term, Socrates "routinely worshipped," *nomizein*. The accusation that he did not worship (again *nomizein*) was false. ⁴²

In this hesitancy about sacrifice runs a vein of conservatism. Plutarch revered sacrifice because he was a priest and because sacrifice was ancestral. Lucian, who did not revere it, declined to imagine an alternative.⁴³ The writers preserving sacrificial lore were conservative by definition. And so the development of a conceptual

^{37.} Pl. *Tim.* 40a with his address to others at 41a–d. Since Xenophon's Socrates makes no mention of the demiurge, this Socrates has no corresponding reservations about sacrifice, even if this Socrates thought the gods unknowable, as claimed by Lorch (2009) 190–192, discussing X. *Mem.* I.

^{38.} Pl. Lg. 9.828a.

^{39.} Pl. Lg. 9.828c-d.

^{40.} Pl. Lg. 7.800d, about choruses performing after sacrifices.

^{41. [}Arist.] Rh. Al. 2.3: ώς δεῖ τὰ καθεστῶτα διαφυλάττειν, εὑρήσομεν ἀφορμὰς ἐκ μὲν τοῦ δικαίου λέ-γοντες· τὰ πάτρια ἔθη παρὰ πᾶσι παραβαίνειν ἄδικόν ἐστι, καὶ διότι τὰ μαντεῖα πάντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προστάττει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ποιεῖσθαι τὰς θυσίας.

^{42.} X. Mem. 1.1.2. If nomizein meant "believe" instead of, or as well as, "routinely worship," the accusation was entirely or partly one of atheism, and much easier to make, as it would be a matter of opinion. A discussion of these alternatives: Yunis (1988) 62–66.

^{43.} A different view of Plutarch, quoting Plu. *De E apud Delph*. 393b-c to show that Plutarch assigned receiving sacrifices and the like to an inferior divinity: Dillon (2002) 224-225. A similar view of Lucian: Graf (2011) 210, finding that Lucian "criticizes" but does not "subvert."

vocabulary for subjects as diverse as metaphysics and medicine did not accompany any such development for the practice of sacrifice. Even the vegetarians did not need such a vocabulary. They needed an *aetion* of sacrifice like what Porphyry provided. The ancients, who sacrificed more often than their Christian successors, wrote less about sacrifice than the Christians did. Christian fascination with the practices of others is the next stop in this journey from practice to theory.

Christian Fascination with Sacrifice

The effort of Empedocles and others notwithstanding, Christianity first drew attention to Greek animal sacrifice. Rejecting this rite themselves, Christians condemned pagans for countenancing it. Pagan counterattacks led to a polemic creating a new awareness of animal sacrifice as opposed to other kinds, and of Greek sacrifice as opposed to sacrifice among other peoples. Now, for the first time, an ample literature linked animal sacrifice to religious identity—a literature including the New Testament, the Church Fathers, Christian and pagan apologetics, and literary works like Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. The hero of this pagan hagiography deals with latter-day vegetarians and Egyptian sacrifice, not to mention kings and their white horses, and writes a book on the subject. He philostratus did not traffic in accusations of human sacrifice, but much of this literature did. The one link between this literature and earlier Greek writing was its lack of thoroughness. To read several hundred pages about animal sacrifice, as readers of this book have done, is far more than even Augustine ever obliged his coreligionists or antagonists to do. He

The Christian attitude toward Greek animal sacrifice was negative toward animals and positive toward sacrifice. Animal victims, said Paul, gratified devils, daimones, but not God:

The things which the gentiles sacrifice [thuein], they sacrifice to devils, not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils.⁴⁷

^{44.} Philostr. VA 1.1 (Pythagoras), 5.25 (Egypt), and 3.41 and 4.19 (the book, with which cf. Suda A 3420 ($\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\dot{\iota}$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\dot{\iota}$ $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\theta\nu\sigma\iota\hat{\omega}\nu$). The other important extant works: Porph. Abs. and Lucianus Sacr.

^{45.} For pagan accusations beginning with Pl. Ep. 10.96, 2, 7, see Henrichs (1970).

^{46.} In Aug. CD 6-10, which he said were meant to criticize pagan sacrifice (Rev. 43:1).

^{47. 1} Cor. 10:21-22, King James translation: ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄ θύουσιν δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ [θύουσιν]΄ οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι. οὐ δύνασθε ποτήριον κύριον πιεῖν καιὶ ποτήριων δαιμονίων, οὐ δύνασθε τραπέζης κυρίου μετέχειν καιὶ τραπέζης δαιμονίων.

Paul goes on to refer to better sacrifices, at the Lord's table:

Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils.

This better sacrifice was not animal, nor was it vegetal, as Greek critics of animal sacrifice would have preferred.⁴⁸ Furthermore, this better sacrifice was not a sacrifice in a literal sense. Paul does not liken it to slaughtering an animal, burning incense, or any other sacrifice that a pagan would have known.⁴⁹ Finally, this better sacrifice did not consist only of Jesus's death. It included his entire ministry. In a word, his life was a sacrifice. The life of any Christian who imitated Jesus could be a sacrifice, too. A sacrifice could take the form of many acts of devotion.⁵⁰ It need not take the form of a single act of destruction.

This teaching might give the impression that acts of sacrifice were multiple, as in paganism. No, said Paul: there has been only one genuine act of sacrifice, the value of which is eternal.⁵¹ With this restriction went another. Pagan sacrifice allowed for expiation by those who had committed wrongs knowingly—for example, by Alyattes, after this king burned the temple of Athena.⁵² Paul rejected this possibility. No deliberate sinner could sacrifice successfully, another reason for Christ's to be the only genuine sacrifice. This emphasis on the sacrificer's state of mind explained Paul's claim that God preferred the sacrifice of Abel to that of Cain not because Abel gave flesh and Cain only vegetal matter, as a pagan might suppose, pitting one offering against another, but because Abel sacrificed in a spirit of faith and Cain did not.⁵³

Paul valued sacrifice more than the Greeks had. For them, it fortified prayers or solemnized oaths. For Paul, the singular sacrifice of Christ was the chief sacrament. Faul also attributed a new dignity to this sacrifice. Rather than trafficking in food, drink, and water, the rite had needed only the body of Christ. Although bloody, the Christian sacrifice had not been an act of slaughter, like the killing of

^{48.} The same distinction between divine sacrifice and sacrifice to *daimones*, but with vegetal sacrifice for the gods: Porph. *Abst.* 2.36.

^{49.} Although he does liken the effect to that of knisē (Eph. 5:2, Phil. 4:18).

^{50. 2} Cor. 4:10-11, Gal. 2:20, Rom. 12:1.

^{51.} Heb. 7:27, 10:12.

^{52.} As at chapter 4 here.

^{53.} Heb. 11:4.

^{54.} Heb. 9:26, 10:11.

^{55.} Heb. 10:10.

an animal. It had been redemptive, as the pagan worshipper understood the killing of an animal to be if that was his purpose, but it had been uniquely redemptive, and made redemption by killing animals impossible.⁵⁶ Unlike the killing of an animal, it had been the choice of a willing victim.⁵⁷ It lacked burning, dismemberment, and a subsequent meal, but it featured crucifixion, disfigurement, and an antecedent meal.

Paul also changed the relation between sacrifice and prayer. In paganism, sacrifice built upon prayer. Both of these could be either retrospective, giving thanks, or prospective, making requests. In Christianity, sacrifice—Christ's sacrifice—owed nothing to any prayer, and it was retrospective only. In paganism, sacrifice was repeatable and variable. In Christianity, it occurred just once and took one form. In pagan sacrifice, the priest prayed, his most important task. In Christian sacrifice, the priest commemorated (or later, reenacted) an offering. The chief Christian prayer, the Lord's Prayer, was for all to make, not just the priest, so it was far more important than any Greek prayer. It was uniform, whereas Greek prayer was variable.

Paul had transformed thinking about sacrifice, and he had done so mostly without Greek precedents. The writings of Porphyry and others said nothing about any incarnate, sacrificial god, of course, but even the synoptic Gospels (and presumably their sources) said little about sacrifice. The common term for sacrifice, *thusia* and its verb, *thuein*, appears only four times in these gospels. It appears twice in passages alluding to Old Testament criticisms of sacrifice by the unworthy.⁵⁸ It appears once in a reference to a sacrifice of birds at the Jerusalem temple.⁵⁹ The fourth time, it appears in reference to the Passover, and only here does it apply to Christ. In this passage, Christ himself uses the term, but in synecdoche. Although saying that the bread for the meal is his body, he does not say that he is the Paschal victim.⁶⁰

This omission was remarkable. Although the writers of the Gospels saw Greek or Roman sacrifice all around them, they ignored it, not only as a parallel for the death of Christ but as an antitype. The one reference to the Passover shows where their concerns lay: they wished to view Christ's death in view of a Hebrew sacrificial precedent. Even this precedent concerned just one Hebrew act of sacrifice, and this one act did not form part of the chief corpora of sacrificial regulation in

^{56.} Heb. 9:22-23; so also Nebada 4.10.

^{57.} Eph. 5.2.

^{58.} Matt. 9.13, 12.7.

^{59.} Luke 2.24.

^{60.} Ev. Luke 22.7, 22.19.

Leviticus and elsewhere. To liken Christ's death to the Passover had no bearing on the many other sacrifices Jews performed down to the destruction of the temple. It was as irrelevant to all these acts as it was to the acts of pagans.

And so the field was open for Paul, who made much use of Greek sacrificial vocabulary. He used *thusia* in the general sense, the same as pagan writers, and he also used it of burnt offerings as opposed to offerings of any kind, called *prosphorai*, and he used it of animal sacrifice followed by a meal as opposed to animals slain in holocausts. Like Plato and other pagan writers, he conceived sacrifices as gifts, conveying this thought by hendiadys. He acknowledged that *thusia* gives off an aroma pleasing to the god, and that sacrifice may be acceptable. He knew the phrase *hiera erdein* in the form of *hiera ergazesthai*, and he linked sacrifice and libation. He avoided solecisms such as the statement in the *Acts of the Apostles* that the Hebrews performed *thusia* to a golden calf—in other words, burnt victims to a victim.

He differed from pagan writers in using these words figuratively. He wrote of a *thusia* in which nothing goes up in smoke, and no meal takes place, of a sacrificial gift that God does not receive, since Christ rises from the dead, of an aroma that is impossible, since nothing burns, and of an acceptable sacrifice that God could not refuse, since the victim was his son. He coined phrases a pagan would find self-contradictory, like "living sacrifice," a way to describe how worshippers might imitate the sacrifice of Christ through a life of devotion. When he used sacrificial words literally, he was referring to pagans, like the Corinthian priests of whom he uses the phrase *hiera ergazesthai*.66

Paul's writing on sacrifice lacks two features that appear in the Church Fathers, notice given to bloodshed and the doctrine of the Eucharist. His indifference to bloodshed appears in his advice to the Corinthian Christians, who wished to avoid pagan sacrificial meat. He objects to God receiving the gore, not to the gore itself. In contrast, the apologist Justin Martyr, writing a century or so after Paul, condemned pagan gore:

We have no need of streams of blood.⁶⁷

^{61.} General: Phil. 4:19, Heb. 5:1, 8.3, 9.9. Opposed to *prosphorai*: Eph. 5:2, Heb. 10:5, 10.8. Opposed to holocausts: Heb. 10:8.

^{62.} Heb. 5:1, 8:3, 9:9.

^{63.} Phil. 18, δεκτήν; so also εὐάρεστον, Rom. 12:1.

^{64.} Hiera ergazesthai: 1 Cor. 9.13. Libation: Phil. 2:17.

^{65.} Acts 7:41.

^{66.} Ro. 12:1, θυσίαν ζώσαν.

^{67.} Justin Martyr, Apol. 1.13.1, cited and translated by Daly (1968) 328.

Yet other authors emphasized the bloodshed attending the death of Christ. This bloodshed constituted a spiritual sacrifice, as in Paul, and as in Paul, this act of bloodshed was imitable. Imitation required martyrdom, a thought missing from Paul but found in writers from Ignatius onward.⁶⁸

Paul was far enough removed from the doctrine of the Eucharist that he associated Christ with the Paschal lamb only once.⁶⁹ Only Justin Martyr and later fathers said that Christ was the Passover sacrifice.⁷⁰ Irenaeus differed from Paul on another point, the purpose of the Last Supper. He called the bread of the Supper an "oblation," not a commemoration, as in the words quoted by Paul in 1 Corinthians.⁷¹ Hippolytus, agreeing, described this oblation as an act of sacrifice on the part of the communicants.⁷² With this formulation, the flesh of Jesus assumed the importance familiar from later Christianity, an importance that it lacked in Paul. Perhaps he was unwilling to envision Christians as worshippers making an oblation, and thus resembling pagans. And perhaps he lacked the turn of mind that let Saint Cyprian say that the communion chalice contained both Jesus and the worshipper, the first as wine, the second as water.⁷³ Although figurative, Paul's sense of sacrifice was not metaphysical.

Among Paul's figures of speech, the "odor of sacrifice" perhaps referred to incense as well as to the *knisē* of animal sacrifice. In Paul's time, though, the Christian liturgy did not include the use of incense, and incense remained missing for several centuries. Arnobius, for one, inveighed against it.⁷⁴ Then, in the fourth century, worshippers burned incense at funerals and during the transfer of relics, and at civic events in which Christian churches participated. In the fifth century, incense commonly appeared in the liturgy.⁷⁵ The contrast between the rejection of animal offerings and the acceptance of incense is unsurprising—unlike animal offerings, incense did not threaten Christ's monopoly on redemptive bloodshed—but it is

^{68.} Ignatius of Antioch, *Rom.* 2.2, 4.1, referring to his own martyrdom. Same reasoning: Shepherd of Hermas, *Simil.* 5.3.8, where fasting is a kind of sacrifice. Martyrdom as a sacrifice in its own right: Young (2001).

^{69. 1} Cor. 5:7. As Daly (1968) 219–221 observes, the synoptic Gospels contain no language as strong as Paul's. Cf. John 19.36, calling the crucified Christ a paschal lamb.

^{70.} Justin Martyr, D. cum Trypho III.

^{71.} Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 4.18.1, oblatio; cf. 1 Cor. 11.24. A tacit sacrificial comparison: Acts 8.32.

^{72.} Daly (1968) 311-372, showing that the Didache down to Hippolytus was conceived as a sacrifice made by the congregation.

^{73.} St. Cyp. Ep. 62.13.

^{74.} Arnob. Adv. gent. 7.26.

^{75.} Harvey (2006) 75–77, citing instances in the fourth century in which Christians using incense were mistaken for pagans.

surprising that this contrast took hundreds of years to emerge. This lapse of time perhaps shows how pagan incense seemed to be. The Christians had been battling not just animal sacrifice, but a sacrificial system, and they were willing to borrow from this system only when they had defeated it.

Paul's lack of any notion that sacrifice is universal met with much later correction, in Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas asked whether sacrifice expressed some aspect of human nature, or, in his terms, whether it satisfied some law of human nature. To answer this question, Aquinas took note of the practices of Christians, the ancient Hebrews, and others, including but not limited to Greeks and Romans. His definition of sacrifice was flexible, for he included not only any kind of burning or slaughter of an offering but also any kind of transformation. He also allowed for prayer as the chief part of sacrifice, for he regarded sacrifice as a sign of devotion or obeisance given by the worshipper to the god. Such a definition made pagans impossible to exclude from the practice of sacrifice.

His aim, perhaps, was to subordinate the practices of others to those of Christians, and thus ease the way to the conversion of the living and the pardon of the dead. Yet his analysis of sacrifice was no project of religious propaganda. He asked legal and scientific questions. For example:

Was sacrifice part of the law of human nature?

Yes. There is a sacrifice that is praiseworthy merely because we demonstrate our subjection to God when we offer it. 76

All peoples performed this sacrifice, even pagans unaware of God. Aquinas explained how the pagans differed from Christians "under the new law" or Hebrews "under the old law":

The duty of offering this sacrifice was not the same for those who were under the new or old law as for those who were not. Those who were under the law offered certain sacrifices according to the provisions of the law, whereas those who were not performed certain actions in God's honor, according to the customs of their neighbors.⁷⁷

To universalize sacrifice, Aquinas compared pagan "actions in God's honor" with Christian rites performed for a different being for a different purpose. In this respect, Aquinas reversed the attitude shown by Paul and the fathers, who wished

^{76.} Aquin. ST 2.2 q. 85 a. 1-2.

^{77.} Aquin. ST 2.2 q. 85 a. 4.

to contrast pagan and Christian, not compare them. (Augustine, for example, had contrasted Christian sacrifice with Greek, Roman, and Hebrew sacrifices.)⁷⁸ Aquinas turned away from religious polemic.

Aquinas owes much to Augustine, who regarded sacrifices as signs of devotion, but some to Aristotle, from whom he acquired the quasi-legal, quasi-biological conclusion that sacrifice conformed to laws of human nature. On both counts, he moved beyond Paul, who followed the Greeks in regarding sacrifices as gifts, not signs, and who had no notion of laws of human nature as opposed to Mosaic law or the law of Christ. Aquinas also moved beyond the early fathers, who had not departed from Paul's views. This shift was momentous. Aquinas applied philosophical criteria to the analysis of sacrifice, something the Greek philosophers had seldom done. From the sixteenth century onward, many would follow this precedent.

Aquinas sought to justify the Eucharist. Pagan Greeks would have wondered at this effort. The altar remained the place of sacrifice, the celebrant placed the offering there, incense burned, and worshippers watched. Yet the animals were gone, and the bread and wine were part of a meal more important than any Greek feast. Bloodshed was gone in one way, but not in another, for its redemptive effect was more important than before. The individual was mostly gone, for the new kind of sacrifice required a priest and implied a congregation. Variety was gone. Everywhere in Christendom, the elements of the rite were the same. The celebrant consecrated bread and wine that were transformed into the body and blood of Christ. The bread and wine remained in this form until consumed. These last two elements were as familiar from the ancient past as the transformation was unfamiliar.

Transformation and all, the Eucharist was unproblematic. Medieval philosophers wrote little about it, and many Christians attended only once a year. It was only one of seven sacraments, and perhaps less important than confession as well as much less frequent than prayer. Pilgrimage centered on the adoration of relics, not the performance of sacrifice, and Mary as well as the saints were inaccessible through sacrifice. Yet the Eucharist was the only sacrifice performed or permitted; it was Christ's chief benefaction; and it was the privilege of a priesthood ordained according to apostolic succession. It contained the modern themes of universality, bloodshed, and consent. For modern writers, it also contained two superfluous features, God and Jesus. When the Eucharist did become problematic, in the early modern period, what would become of these two?

^{78.} Aug. Adv. Faust. 20.18.

^{79.} Aug. CD 10.5.19.

Missionaries and Sacrifice

Greek sacrifice now disappeared from Christian writing. More pressing foes—Jews, Moslems, and heathens—demanded polemical attention. Yet the discovery of the New World would affect European views of the Greeks. Without using the word, missionaries regarded the Indians as "primitives," a new category, and they discovered a new kind of sacrifice among these peoples. In the nineteenth century, European imperialism put more peoples in this category, and the term "primitive" came into general use. Robertson Smith, for example, used "primitive" in this sense, whether in reference to tribal peoples of his own time or to ancient Greeks. ⁸⁰ That was the missionaries' eventual achievement: they created a category into which Greeks could fit.

To many aspects of sacrifice this new category of primitivism made no difference. It did not mean that there would be no god or gods to receive the sacrifices, or that sacrifices might not prove acceptable or otherwise. It had no relevance for sacrificial meals, and it did not invalidate Christian superiority. It did undermine Christ's role in sacrifice. Christ's sacrifice made literal sacrifice unnecessary, and it made animal sacrifice unnecessary; it made sacrifice voluntary, and it made atonement the purpose of sacrifice. Indian sacrifices differed on each of these points. How should the missionaries deal with these native practices?

This question came up in the defense of native peoples given by the Spanish monk Bartolomé de las Casas. In 1550, he presented a 500-page Latin discourse on native religion to a Spanish royal panel that convened in Valladolid.⁸¹ Had Las Casas prevailed before this panel, it would have recommended that the Spanish government cease persecuting native religions, and instead tolerate them during a transition to Christianity. Such a recommendation would not come easy. As Las Casas conceded, the Indians practiced literal, not spiritual, sacrifice, and practiced animal sacrifice. Above all, the Indians sacrificed human victims who, unlike Christ, were unwilling. They shed blood, but not in atonement. They shed it in order to please their gods. They practiced sacrifice, but without any place for Christ.

Las Casas began his defense with the Christian proposition that sacrifice was a central religious act. The next step, with a flavor of Aristotle: it was "natural" for sacrifice to include victims. It was also natural to prefer the most valuable victims, livestock and human beings. The motive for sacrificing these victims might be

^{80.} In the introduction to Robertson Smith (1894²) ix, 13; in reference to the Greeks, 31. So also *OED* s.v. *Primitive*, A2b. See also Durkheim (1901–2) 3–4.

^{81.} Las Casas (1974); Losada (1971).

atonement, as in Christianity, or other motives known since Greek antiquity, such as making a request. Now the third, big step: these two kinds of natural sacrifice existed not just among the Indians, but among the Greeks and Romans and many other peoples, from Scythia to ancient Gaul and Africa. It even existed among the Hebrews. Sacrifice was not only central and natural, but universal—in Las Casas's words, part of the *ius gentium*, the law of all peoples, a concept dating back to Roman ideas of the relations between the Romans and other communities, especially barbarians. 82 Las Casas had devised a new version of Aquinas's claim that sacrifice was universal.

The monk did not take this argument too far. For all their virtues, animal and human sacrifice must yield to Christianity. Sacrifice was not, however, an abomination for the Spanish to eradicate. It was an error for them to correct. The Spanish should guide the Indians from literal sacrifice to spiritual, from animal and human sacrifice to the sacrifice of Christ. To convert them was to reform their sacrificial thinking.

Las Casas's opponents at Valladolid replied as Paul might. Animal sacrifice was futile, human sacrifice was murderous; atonement was indispensable, and so was Christ. To convert was not to tolerate wrongdoing. In the Americas, the decision against Las Casas had a direct effect. Elsewhere in the Spanish empire, in the Netherlands, it had an indirect effect. There a rebellion against the Spanish soon broke out, intellectual life leaped forward, and Las Casas's arguments reappeared.

The new defender of the Indians was the Dutch Protestant Hugo Grotius, best known for his work on Roman law. In a 1617 theological treatise, he wrote that pagan, Hebrew, and Christian sacrifices resembled each other, and that animal and human sacrifice resembled each other, too. ⁸³ Addressing the issue of the human sacrifices that had outraged the Spanish authorities, Grotius held that human sacrifice was not necessarily murder. In the case of Christianity, the sacrifice of Jesus was not murder. God wanted not murder but an indemnification for the wrong done by human sins. To obtain this indemnification, God turned to Jesus, of whom he exacted a sacrifice. Grotius called this sacrifice not only an act of indemnification, but an indemnification by a third party (*satisfactio*, as in the title of this work, *de Satisfactione Christi*: "Third-Party Indemnification as Made

^{82.} Central and natural: Las Casas (1974) 222. Valuable victims: 232–233. Especially human victims: 234. Pagans and Indians: 238, but earlier 223–225.

^{83.} Grotius, *Defensio fidei catholicae de satisfactione Christi adversus Faustum Socinum*, ch. 5.9 [Amsterdam 1617] = (1650) 103. Another view of the relation between Las Casas and Grotius: Shuger (1994) ch. 2, dealing with human sacrifice to the exclusion of animal sacrifice, and envisioning a more modern outlook in these two authors.

by Jesus Christ"). This kind of indemnification derived from Roman law, the same as Las Casas's notion of universality. Grotius compared God to a Roman magistrate, a *rector*.

In the case of other religions, Grotius suggested a defense against any charge of murder. If the god of the sacrifice resembled a Roman magistrate, this god would demand compensation for human wrongdoing, and the consequent sacrifice would be justifiable. If the god did not resemble a magistrate, the sacrifice would be unjustifiable. The gods of the Aztecs, or of the Greeks, would no longer count as devils, as in Paul, but as more or less Roman rulers receiving more or less justifiable sacrifices—inferior offerings, but not worthless. In such a religion, animal or human sacrifice might be permissible. Christ would of course be missing.

In Las Casas and Grotius, animal sacrifice had become a characteristic practice of primitive peoples, and Greek animal sacrifice counted as an incidental example. Another missionary, Jonathan Edwards, who catechized the Indians at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, asked why God should have tolerated the practice of animal sacrifice, and answered that he not only tolerated it, but inspired it. Edwards did not mention Greeks, or primitives, either, but his account of Adam and Eve treated them as primitives, so he was dealing with the same theme as Las Casas and Grotius.

Edwards was not the first to speculate on God's attitude toward animal sacrifice. Justin Martyr, for one, had said that pagan and Hebrew sacrifice began when angels cohabited with mortal women, as in Genesis 6, and taught humankind sacrifice, incense-burning, and libation. Other early texts said that incense sacrifice began on the occasion of Adam's death. In both cases, God endorsed sacrifice in order to prevent idolatry. At Rather than a good, sacrifice was a lesser evil. Later, Christ's sacrifice remedied the evil. In his *Guide for the Perplexed*, Moses Maimonides drew a similar conclusion concerning ancient Judaism. On Mount Sinai, he said, God gave sacrifice to the Hebrews in order to compete with the attractions of pagan sacrifice—the same idea of a lesser evil. At least one contemporary of Edwards said that the Hebrews borrowed their sacrificial practices from their pagan neighbors. God approved, but via the prophets he warned the Hebrews not to overvalue sacrifice. This doubtlessly common speculation did not answer the question why a lesser evil should be necessary. Why did God allow animal sacrifice?

^{84.} Angels: Gen. 6:2–4, which does not mention sacrifice; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 2.5. Adam's death: *The Life of Adam and Eve* 40–43.

^{85.} Maimonides (1963) ch. 46.

^{86.} Spencer (1685) 3.1.

Edwards answered that God instituted sacrifice. In the Garden of Eden, Adam and Eve even wore the skins of animals sacrificed by the Lord. These sacrifices, though, were holocausts, not part of a meal.⁸⁷ Sacrifice was an offering, not an occasion for sharing—Edwards's way of rejecting the Eucharist. Edwards also said that human sacrifice began when the devil mimicked sacrifice that God had instituted.⁸⁸ By denying that God wanted a victim with a human body, Edwards attacked another aspect of the sacrifice of Christ. At most, Edwards would concede that the diabolical practice of human sacrifice contributed in some indirect way to Christ's execution by the Roman authorities. This execution was acceptable to God under Grotius's doctrine of third-party satisfaction.⁸⁹

Yet even before Christ, pagans who atoned through animal or vegetal sacrifice could attain salvation. Again Edwards was attacking the sacrifice of Christ, this time in regard to the claim that only this sacrifice was efficacious. A sacrifice conducted for the sake of atonement, he argued, might be efficacious no matter what was sacrificed, and no matter how. Heathen sacrificial atonement would be efficacious outside Christendom, and the sacrifice of Christ would be efficacious inside Christendom. In none of this speculation did Edwards mention Indians, but he did imply that they, like pagans, might sacrifice successfully without a Eucharist. The resemblance of pagans to Indians, present since Las Casas, now grew stronger. Edwards must have supposed it would make conversion easier.

Edwards gave up on the Indians, and betook himself to Princeton. Yet his failure to make many converts at Stockbridge did not make him any less of a prophet in regard to sacrifice. In putting the practices of heathens or pagans ahead of the Eucharist, he anticipated later eighteenth-century attitudes that culminated in the rites performed in honor of the goddess Reason. He also anticipated Burkert, who put Stone Age rites on a par with those of a civilized people, the Greeks. Just as the Church had supplied several modern themes, Edwards and the missionaries supplied a modern (because primitive) worshipper. 91

^{87.} Edwards, A History of the Work of Redemption [Northampton Sermons of 1739, 2.1.3] = (1957) 134–136.

^{88.} Ibid.

^{89.} Edwards, *Miscellanies*, entry 307 = (1994) 307.

^{90.} Edwards, A History of the Work of Redemption [Northampton Sermons of 1739, 2.1.4] = (1957) 137.

^{91.} A different view of the seventeenth century, in which orthodox scholars regarded pagans and heathens as similar to one another, but dissimilar to Christians and Jews: Gagné (2010) 131–137, referring to purification, not sacrifice.

Theologians and Sacrifice

Edwards's Calvinism raises the topic of theological critique of sacrifice. This sort of critique did not interest the Greeks. They had not questioned whether gods should receive sacrifices, should evaluate worshippers and offerings, and should either accept or reject them. Disagreement did arise about which offerings to prefer, and began early, in the Classical period, but this disagreement did not touch on fundamentals such as the worshipper's duty to choose the right offering for the occasion. Empedocles and others wished to simplify this duty. The worshipper no longer needed to ask, like Captain Kidd, "animal, vegetable, or mineral?" the last being an offering of some object made of stone or metal. The worshipper needed only ask "vegetable or mineral?"

Nor did theological critique begin with the Christian writers who claimed that sacrifice to Greek gods would be futile. These writers wished to substitute Christian sacrifice for pagan, but not to interrogate the rite. The same held true of Renaissance writers who universalized sacrifice. They wished to compare Christian to non-Christian, and so they presumed some basis for this comparison. The critique sprang from the Reformation, which led Luther, Calvin, and Socinus to ask whether their own God was a god of sacrifice, and if so, of what kind. These writers said nothing about pagan practices, and in that regard differed from missionaries, but their views of sacrifice might be applied to pagans, and in the seventeenth century they were, first by Socinus and then by Spinoza. 92

In Luther's time, Catholic teaching concerning the Mass lacked the sharpness of the doctrine approved at the Council of Trent some fifty years later. Instead, Catholic teaching preserved the unproblematic fundamentals of the medieval centuries.⁹³ During the Mass, the celebrant transformed the bread and wine. Thanks to this transformation, or "transubstantiation," the sacrifice of Christ was repeatable throughout time and throughout the world. Transubstantiation also gave Christ's sacrifice greater power. It showed Christians the path to salvation. Yet it was a peculiar procedure. Although transformed, the bread and wine retained their taste and shape. As "transubstantiation" implied, only their substance changed. What, though, was this substance, and was there any biblical warrant for it?

^{92.} Luther and Calvin showed no interest in the *prisca theologia* of the Orphica, Hermetica, and other texts sometimes thought to anticipate Christian theology; among these pagan sources, only the Druids were studied as practitioners of sacrifice, and this was human, not animal, sacrifice. See Walker (1954) 213–216.

^{93.} As summarized in the Catholic catechism, sec. 1376. See also the "Transubstantiation," ODCC.

Luther thought not. In his 1528 "Confession Concerning the Lord's Supper," he wrote that the bread and the body remained distinct from one another, as did the wine and the blood:

Concerning the Supper, why should we say, "This is my body," even though bread and body are two distinct substances?⁹⁴

Luther explained that the body and bread nevertheless united with one another:

A union of two kinds of objects has occurred. Christ's body and the bread are given to us by way of a sacrament, and so I shall call it a "sacramental union."

Luther insisted, however, that this union was ceremonial:

This is not a natural or personal union, like that of God and Christ. Perhaps it differs from the union of the dove and the Holy Ghost . . . but it is certainly a sacramental union.

So much for transubstantiation. Christ's person was not subject to this maneuver. The Mass was a ceremony, like the Last Supper, its biblical prototype.

Now Luther turned to another explanation for the Mass, one favored by some of his Protestant confederates. Under the doctrine of "consubstantiation," the body and the blood coexisted without any alteration of one into another. For Luther, the same difficulty resulted as with transubstantiation. The Bible gave no warrant for coexistence, any more than it did for changing one thing into another. Such notions were patristic, not biblical. Originally, they were Aristotelian, for Aristotle supplied the distinction between the substance of the bread, which did the changing or coexisting, and the accidents of the bread, like its taste and shape. Luther would have no patristics in his picture of the Mass, and no Aristotle, no changes or coexistence, no transubstantiation or consubstantiation—no compromise.

To explain his own view, Luther compared the bread and the body to an iron and a fire into which the iron was thrust. The iron grew hot, but remained an iron. This analogy confirmed that the bread remained, but implied that it seemed different in the eyes of the worshipper. The rite could impress, but not transmute. It could still be repeatable, as in Catholic teaching, but it could not be as powerful.

^{94. &}quot;Von Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntniss" [Marburg 1528] = (1883-2009) 26.442.

It no longer put the body of Christ in the mouth of the worshipper, and it no longer presented the body of Christ to God. The rite did not reach out either to the mortal or to the immortal, and so it no longer did what any ancient animal sacrifice did, which was to link worshipper and god by way of the offering. It might have other value, but it had ceased to have this value. In this respect, Luther's view narrowed the sphere of sacrifice.

Luther also took up Paul's notion that Christ made a sacrifice by conducting his ministry, and that worshippers could imitate him. Luther held that a worshipper who took holy orders did not make a sacrifice of this kind. Christ's sacrifice, Luther reasoned, is always efficacious. A vow to take holy orders might prove inefficacious. To call such a vow a sacrifice like the sacrifice of Jesus was mistaken. Again Luther narrowed the sphere of sacrifice, but of sacrifice in an extended sense. Holy life remained sacrificial, but holy orders ceased to be sacrificial.

Calvin and Zwingli now further narrowed the sphere of sacrifice. They agreed with Luther's rejection of transubstantiation, but not with his formula of a "sacramental union." They called the Mass commemorative. It was not a sacrifice at all, only a reminder of one. Sacramental union to the Hebrews, Calvin added that the sacrifice made by Christ did not need to be repeated. When Christ died on the cross, the time for efficacious sacrifice came to an end. This time had only begun during Christ's ministry, and so it was three years long. Calvin replaced Catholicism's perennial sacrifice with a sacrificial epoch. As for the sacrifice of living a holy life, Calvin eliminated it, save for Christ. In this regard, no worshipper could imitate Christ.

Calvin did not take a farther step, and propose Christianity without any sacrifice at all, but his near-contemporary, Socinus, did. ⁹⁶ Even more than Luther and Calvin, he argued against the Aristotelian apparatus with which Catholicism defended the Mass. Socinus found the Christ of the Gospels to be a prophet, a high priest, and even a king, but not a sacrificial victim. As a consequence, Christ's death could not redeem his worshippers. It was an execution, not a sacrifice. For this reason, the Mass was not a sacrament, only a commemoration, as in Calvin. In contrast, baptism remained a sacrament.

The elimination of sacrifice worked corresponding changes in Socinus's view of the church and of ritual. The church ceased to be a fellowship of believers and became a school for the study of the New Testament. As the church grew less important, the individual worshipper grew more important. The disappearance

^{95.} Calvin, Institution de la religion chrétienne [Geneva 1560], 12.628 = (2008) 2.1336.

^{96.} Osier (1996) ch. 1, citing the leading Socinian work, the Racovian Catechism; so also Strauss (1965) 65–66.

of sacrifice led to loosening and leveling in religion, as though an arch had lost a keystone, and part of the building had collapsed. Yet Socinus did not wish to destroy the rest. He regarded Christ as the son of God, so he avoided Unitarianism. Nor did he deny that the death of Christ aided Christians. By allowing himself to be executed, Christ gained God's approval, and thus could intercede with God on humankind's behalf.

Unlike the teachings of Luther and Calvin, those of Socinus never found an ecclesiastical home. Tolerated in Poland, where Socinus had moved from his native Italy, his followers lost the support of the king and fled, establishing themselves here and there in western Europe, including Amsterdam. In that city, Baruch Spinoza, a Sephardic Jew, would mount yet another attack on the rite of sacrifice, but unlike Socinus, Spinoza would address both ancient Hebrew sacrifices and the sacrifice of Christ. He drew conclusions about sacrifice in general, and not about the Mass in particular, and so he sought to explain the origins of the rite, beginning with Enoch, who "walked with God," and not Cain or Abel, who had brought God earlier sacrifices. Cain and Abel sacrificed as individuals, and did not sacrifice in some customary way, whereas Enoch presumably sacrificed on behalf of his family, and did sacrifice in a customary way. Spinoza regarded early sacrifice as a custom, his ground for preferring Enoch. This custom prevailed throughout the Near East.

The patriarchs made sacrifices to God not because God had a right to them, and commanded them, nor because the patriarchs had learned the universal fundamentals of divine law, but only because of the customs of that era. If they sacrificed at anyone's behest, they were acknowledging the prerogative of the community in which they lived, and to which they were obliged.⁹⁷

Elsewhere in this the fifth chapter of the *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*, Spinoza gives many examples of patriarchs sacrificing according to the customs of their neighbors, beginning with Abraham participating in a feast given by Melchizedek, king of Jerusalem, in honor of the "God most high," an epithet that does not recur in the Pentateuch, and that Spinoza thought identified a god other than Yahweh.⁹⁸

Spinoza implies that the patriarchs' sacrifices had nothing to do with the God of the Hebrews. If so, the patriarchal sacrifices were inefficacious—a startling proposition for either the Jews or Christians of his time. Spinoza does not say as

^{97.} Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [Hamburg 1670] sec. 5. Another view of the relation between Spinoza and Socinus: Preus (2001) 160–161, seeing Spinoza as a proto-anthropologist, and not a theologian.

^{98.} Gen. 14:18-20.

much, but he quotes several passages that place more stress on ethics than on ceremonies, especially prophetic passages denouncing the sacrifices of those who have violated the covenant. Chapters 4 and 6 of the *Tractatus* reject two means of verifying that sacrifices are acceptable: miracles and the consultation of religious experts, here prophets. Even more than Socinus, and far more than Luther or Calvin, Spinoza criticized ceremonies.

While rejecting sacrifices as way of communicating with God, Spinoza assigned them another purpose. Sacrifices served "to strengthen and preserve the political power of the Hebrews." Spinoza reasoned that sacrifices inculcated obedience to the God to whom the worshippers made prayers and gifts, but obedience stemming from a sense of devotion rather than fear. Devotion of this kind was not only proper to religion but also valuable in politics, for it unified the community. Writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, Spinoza anticipated Robertson Smith and Durkheim.

Turning to the Mass—and while expressing doubt whether Christ established it—Spinoza says that this and other sacraments were established

as outward signs of the universal church, but not as things that would tend somehow toward blessedness, or had some quality of holiness. ¹⁰⁰

Here the community to be preserved and strengthened was the church, not the Hebrews, and the role of the worshippers was to obey the canon law, not the Covenant. Yet sacrifice played the same part. It served a political purpose, not a spiritual one. It had nothing to do with God, and everything to do with stability.¹⁰¹

Even more than Socinus, Spinoza challenged the religions of the book. Both Judaism and Christianity erred in supposing that God was capable of receiving sacrifices, in a word, that God was anthropomorphic. They even erred in supposing that God was personal. Spinoza held that God was a substance—in fact, the only possible or conceivable substance. As he says in his *Ethics*,

Whatever exists, is in God, and nothing can exist or be conceived without God.¹⁰²

^{99.} Spinoza, Tractatus theologico-politicus, sec. 5.

^{100.} Ibid.

^{101.} Another view: Strauss (1965) 256-257, holding that Spinoza prefers the Christian to the Hebrew form of the sacrifice.

^{102.} Spinoza, Ethica ordine geometrica demonstrata [Amsterdam 1677], pt. 1, prop. 15 = (1995) 9.

For Spinoza, there is no recipient of sacrifice as distinct from any sacrificial offering, or as distinct from any worshipper. His monistic concept confounds all three. This monism challenged a supposition shared by not only Catholic theologians but also earlier philosophers down through Descartes. These thinkers all supposed that God had created plural substances and that these substances had plural attributes. The world had parts, and it had various parts. Otherwise sacrifice would be impossible, and so would a being like the Son of God. A fortiori, so would a pagan pantheon.

Spinoza did not mean to deny the diversity of the world as a worshipper would experience it. This diversity issued from the many-sidedness of God's monistic system:

The nature of God being what it is, infinitely many things must result [from his existence].¹⁰³

This diversity had allowed the ancient Hebrews to suppose that a worshipper could make a sacrifice to the Lord, and allowed Christians to suppose that Christ sacrificed himself for humankind, and that the Mass either reenacted or commemorated Christ's sacrifice. Yet this diversity was a delusion. God was one with his creatures, including any sacrificed creatures. Any meaning assigned to sacrifice would have to be human, not divine; as Spinoza thought, political and not religious.

Luther had trimmed sacrifice. For him, the Mass was something less than Christ's sacrifice, and vows were not sacrifices. Calvin reduced it more: sacrifice occurred only during Christ's ministry, and only Christ performed it. Socinus shrank it a little more still: Christ's sacrifice was an act of violence, but not a sacrament. Spinoza dismissed Christ's sacrifice, and turned to the Hebrew precedents only to declare them nugatory. There were no sacrifices at all, only customs serving a secular purpose, solidarity. Spinoza had made his own contribution to the modern amalgam—a new raison d'être for sacrifice, whether in Burkert or in Vernant and Detienne.

Pious Catholic or Protestant writers ignored Spinoza. Three eighteenth-century writers, Fénelon, Rousseau, and Hume, did not. They retained Spinoza's notion of the political value of sacrifice but reconceived it, envisioning patriotic self-sacrifice by individuals who would die for the sake of the community. They also expressed ever greater distaste for any kind of sacrificial bloodshed. Together, they imparted momentum to the subject of sacrifice, just as the trio of Luther,

^{103.} Ibid., pt. 1, prop. 16. Spinoza, Tractatus theologico-politicus, 1.16. = (1995) 11.

Calvin, and Socinus had. This new momentum would not lead to anything like the monism of Spinoza. Instead it would lead where the work of Edwards also led—to one of the characteristic moments of the French Revolution.

Greek Sacrifice in the Eyes of the Eighteenth Century

A prominent French clergyman of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, François Fénelon differed from Edwards or Las Casas on two counts. He examined animal sacrifice without reference to either Christian or Hebrew models, and he described Greek practices at length. Bishop though he was, he owed much to Spinoza—yet much to Homer, a blend found in his historical novel *Les aventures de Télémaque*. ¹⁰⁴

In this version of the *Odyssey*, Fénelon took Spinoza's idea that God did not demand sacrifices and adapted it to Homer, but a new Homer in which the gods dislike sacrifice. Fénelon's Athena does not abolish the practice, but she does reform it, all as part of her education of the novel's hero. Prompting her is an act of sacrifice in which Idomeneus sacrifices his own son, a story resembling that of Jephtha in Judges. Idomeneus had vowed to sacrifice the first thing he saw when coming home and had not considered that a human being, not an animal, might come into view. A *mantis* told Idomeneus to substitute a hecatomb of cattle, saying that the gods would not welcome an act of cruelty. Idomeneus's subjects protested, too. Once Idomeneus put his son to death, they forced him into exile, where he encountered both Telemachus and the young man's guide, Athena in the guise of Mentor. Athena believed that Idomeneus ought to repent by being a better ruler.

Regarding sacrifice, she recommended this reform to Idomeneus:

People no longer cut the throats of victims within the confines of the shrine. They no longer burned the fat of cattle and heifers there, or spilled their blood. People only brought their offerings to the altar. They had to offer what was young, white, flawless, and stainless. They covered them with purple bands with gold trim, gilt their horns, and covered them with the most fragrant flowers. After the creatures were brought to the altar, people sent them away to a remote spot, where they were put to death. ¹⁰⁵

Much about this scene is familiar—but not the killing of the animal in a "remote spot."

^{104.} A brief treatment of Homeric and Classical precedents for this novel: Davis (1979) 90–92. 105. Les aventures de Télémaque [1699] ch. 4 = Fénelon (1926)1.70–71.

Fénelon wants to spare worshippers' feelings. Rather than convert the Greeks, or even excuse them, he wants to civilize them. The implications of this change in attitude were several. To teach unbelievers a better kind of bloody sacrifice, the Christian kind, would now be disingenuous, for bloody sacrifice was repellent. To suppose that sacrifice did political good, as in Spinoza, was wrong, for the practice depraved the community. In another first, a modern European notices the esthetic aspect of sacrifice. Just as Homer's Athena enjoyed a gilded horn, so did the Athena of the eighteenth century. 106

Fénelon also departs from earlier writers in his attitude toward the relation between the Greeks and others, especially the Hebrews. Earlier writers did not think alike about the Hebrews, but they never criticized the Hebrews as being worse than the Greeks. By juxtaposing Idomeneus to Jephtha, another father who sacrificed a daughter, Fénelon makes this invidious comparison, for his Athena rejects the human sacrifice, whereas Yahweh accepted it. Humanity, not piety, is the new watchword.

If sacrifice should take place out of sight, where not even a god would see it, why sacrifice animals at all? In his *Social Contract*, Rousseau answered that men ought to forswear the rite:

There will always be gods as insensate as the multitude of mankind. To them the multitude will sacrifice trivial items in order to indulge itself in a thousand horrible and destructive passions, all in the gods' honor. The entire world would choke on blood and mankind would perish did Philosophy and the Law not restrain the furies of fanaticism, and if the voice of human beings were not stronger than that of the gods. 107

Philosophy and Law, the antigods or Titans of this struggle, would oppose any sacrifice to any divinity, Christian or pagan. Elsewhere Rousseau praises Christianity, but only for reducing the number of gods and the number of sacrifices. Not even this religion could prevent this needless ritual, one without the biblical sanction found in the missionaries, or the political value found in Spinoza.

Yet Rousseau did not wish to abandon sacrifice. One kind of sacrifice, the self-sacrifice of a patriot, was praiseworthy, as well was the "civil religion" to which this sort of sacrifice belonged. To explain this kind of sacrifice, Rousseau explained the new religion:

^{106.} For Fénelon's quietism, an attitude compatible with this dislike of violence, see Niderst (2004) 207–209.

^{107.} Rousseau, Du contrat social [Amsterdam 1762] ch. 2 = (1964) 3.285.

^{108.} Ibid. 3.287.

There is therefore a purely civil profession of faith of which the Sovereign should fix the articles, not exactly as religious dogmas, but as social sentiments without which a man cannot be a good citizen or a faithful subject.

In explaining the penalties for apostasy from this religion, Rousseau mentions self-sacrifice:

While the Sovereign can compel no one to believe in [these articles], it can banish from the State whoever does not believe in them—it can banish him, not for impiety, but as an anti-social being, incapable of truly loving the laws and justice, and of sacrificing, at need, his life to his duty.

Here the beleaguered rite of sacrifice might take refuge. There would be no god, no Christ, no animals, and no bloodshed, or at least no bloodshed at an altar. There would still be the voluntary victim found in Christianity. There would still be martyrs. They would be patriotic, not pious, martyrs.

Earlier thinkers had praised self-sacrifice, too. Thanks to his notion of God as magistrate, Grotius had dealt with temporal magistrates, who might ask a subject to sacrifice his life for his kingdom or country. Or a subject might make this self-sacrifice voluntarily, as in Rousseau. Into this kind of sacrifice or self-sacrifice flowed many Greek examples, notably that of Iphigenia at Aulis. In an adaptation of Euripides's play written well before Grotius, Erasmus allowed the heroine protest and self-pity, but later versions, such as that of Racine, did not allow her either: the ingénue of Erasmus has become a pagan martyr. ¹⁰⁹ Before Rousseau, this idea appears in a German theological dissertation quoting Grotius, and in Cotton Mather. Rousseau's civil religion, however, put this sort of sacrifice on a new footing. Instead of being an adjunct to patriotism, it became a sacrament in a new creed. Neither Grotius nor Cotton Mather had conceived civic self-sacrifice this way. No earlier writer had. Rousseau took this new step. He wanted to reform sacrifice, but not in the way that Fénelon had.

Hume, the third of the eighteenth-century critics of sacrifice, did not think sacrifice worth reforming. He found the rite not just violent or oppressive, but delusional:

^{109.} Erasmus, *Iphigenia in Aulide* [Paris 1506] = (1969) 193–359; Racine, *Iphigénie* [Paris 1674] = (2010) 505–573.

A sacrifice is conceived as a present, and any present is delivered to the deity by destroying it and rendering it useless to men; by burning what is solid, pouring out the liquid, and killing the animate. For want of a better way of doing him service, we do ourselves an injury; and fancy that we thereby express, at least, the heartiness of our good will and adoration. Thus our mercenary devotion deceives ourselves, and imagines it deceives the deity.¹¹⁰

This description would hold good for any and every sacrifice, from the patriarchs to the sacrifice of Jesus to the rites of the Indians and the fancies of French historical fiction. Sacrifice is nonsense, and the god who would receive it is not much better. He is a figment of speculation, like all religion:

Doubt [is] the only result of our most accurate scrutiny concerning this subject. But such is the frailty of human reason, and such the irresistible contagion of opinion, that even this deliberate doubt could scarcely be upheld, did we not enlarge our view, and, opposing one species of superstition to another, set them a quarrelling; while we ourselves . . . happily make our escape into the calm, though obscure, regions of philosophy. III

If this skepticism is novel, so is the tone. Rather than indignant or high-minded, Hume is contemptuous. $^{\rm 112}$

For his part, Hume did not write about civic self-sacrifice, but he praised ancient religious practices in terms that may allude to self-sacrifice. The sacrifices of the ancients, he said, made them bold and confident. They approached the god with gifts and won him over. Christian sacrifices, however, make men timid and doubtful. Rather than approach God and win him over, Christians rely on Jesus. Ancient men fought accordingly, and Christians, alas, fight accordingly as well. The same praise (and same possible allusion) appears in Machiavelli, who, like Hume, says nothing about the subject of civic self-sacrifice. 114

^{110.} Hume, Natural History of Religion [London 1757] sec. 9 = (1826) 476-478.

^{111.} Ibid., sec. 15 = (1826) 488-490. Hume's "Of Moral Prejudices," part of *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary* [1777] = (1987) 338-345, defends traditional usages but does not mention sacrifice.

^{112.} Distinguishing Hume's skepticism from the ancient variety, which was not contemptuous, and tracing it instead to eighteenth-century forebears: Anas (2000) 280.

^{113.} Hume, *Natural History of Religion*, sec. 10 = (182654) 478-480.

^{114.} Macchiavelli, Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio 1.11 = (1971) 93-95.

Self-sacrifice, of course, was not sacrifice as any ancient Greek would have understood the word. No Greek soldier ever sacrificed himself, even figuratively. He fought for *kleos*, or glory. As Lycurgus put it, he resembled an athlete contending for a prize. Both glory and a prize might come to him before his death, not after. Even after his death, he received glory thorough funeral orations. As for the self-sacrifice of Iphigenia, it occurred not in war, but at an altar, and so a Greek would not have compared it to the death of a soldier. Civic self-sacrifice, moreover, might include the victim's efforts up to his death, and not his death alone. This feature dated from the Christian sacrifice made in imitation of Christ, not from pagan sacrifice. The survival of sacrifice in this one form, the self-sacrifice of the patriot, did not run counter to the trend to diminish sacrifice—to reduce its theological importance, as with Luther and others, to relegate animal sacrifice to primitives, as with Las Casas and others, or to reform it, as with Fénelon and Rousseau, or to condemn it, as with Hume.

During the Terror, some French revolutionaries staged a diminished sacrifice. On November 10, 1793, the leaders of the Paris Commune visited the government of the Convention and called for a procession to Notre Dame, recently closed, like other churches in the city. According to the new calendar, the day was the 20th Brumaire, the Year Two. Inside Notre Dame, the organizers erected a temple with the words "To philosophy" inscribed on the entablature. One of the organizers, A.-F. Momoro, explained why there was no image of a god:

There is one thing that one must not tire of telling the people. Liberty, reason, and truth are abstract beings. They are not gods. . . . They are part of ourselves.

An opera singer dressed as the goddess Reason led a parade of girls garlanded with flowers. The girls sang a hymn asking the goddess to accept offerings brought to her altar. But there was no altar. The revolutionaries had done away with it, the same as the image. The ceremony featured incense and candlelight, like a medieval procession, or somewhat like a pagan one, but ushers handled the incense, not priests. If any animals were present, they were strays. The plentiful wine was not part of the ceremony.

Other sources describe more or less licentious behavior in the cathedral after the procession. None describes any sacrifice. There could be no sacrifice without an altar, nor any sacrifice to an opera singer. 116

^{115.} Lycurg. in Leocr. 49.

^{116.} Momoro as in Kennedy (1989) 343, here summarized. No acts of sacrifice appear among the visual evidence for the new religion in Gutwirth (1992) ch. 6.

Momoro and his fellow citizens would not countenance Fénelon's compromise, which preserved vegetal offerings, and they would not countenance his notion that a god might appear in disguise. Nor would they countenance any Christian sacrifice, a type that Rousseau did not quite foreswear. They did not display Hume's or Machiavelli's nostalgia, either. And so they reformed sacrifice out of existence.

Surely, this affair would mark the end of the dominance of sacrifice in Europe. The Eucharist would go on, but only among Catholics. The theme of universality would go on, too, but allow for unconverted primitives. The theme of bloodshed—yes, it would go on, but for much of Europe it would be symbolic.

Consummatum est. Yet sacrifice was not dead—not in its universality, its bloodiness, or its demand for willing victims who were not in uniform.

Reactionary and Romantic Sacrifice

In Catholic Europe, apologists no more accepted the death of sacrifice than they had accepted Protestant attacks on the Eucharist. After the Revolution, they mounted a counterattack against the eighteenth-century critique of sacrifice. Yet they did not limit themselves to reasserting the views to which Las Casas had bowed in 1560. The notion of self-sacrifice entered their thinking, notably that of Joseph de Maistre, a Savoyard nobleman whose reaction to the 20th Brumaire would be more important than the event itself.

De Maistre thought well of the ancients. Speaking of the human propensity to make sacrifices, he said:

That was the ancient belief. In different forms, it is still the belief of all the world. 117

Ancient animal sacrifice was good, he thought, for it was always bloodshed in payment of a debt to a god or bloodshed in appeasement of the god's anger. To justify this conclusion, he seized on the remark in Hebrews about expiation by blood alone and applied to it all ancient sacrifice. Unlike writers from Las Casas through Hume, he did not contrast one ancient or primitive society with another. He concentrated on the Greeks along with the Romans. The Greeks

^{117.} De Maistre, *Eclaircissements sur les sacrifices* [Paris 1821], ch. I = (1984) 3.285.

^{118.} Ibid. = (1984) 3.301.

^{119.} De Maistre's ecumenical approval of Aztecs and Gauls: de Maistre, *Eclaircissements sur les sacrifices* [Paris 1821], ch. 2 = (1984) 307, 314.

offered a comely precedent—massive, public sacrifices, communal and royal gatherings, and the occasional martyrdom, as of Iphigenia. Like Fénelon, de Maistre valued the esthetics of sacrifice.

De Maistre condemned the revolutionaries' performance for being bloodless. Sacrifice required bloodshed—the Bible said so, and so had many Catholic writers, notably Pascal. If that were true, de Maistre reasoned, sacrifice could not be a gift, as in Hume. Instead it must be a debt. De Maistre shared the view that Christ sacrificed himself in order to pay humankind's debt to God. Yet de Maistre was also thinking of self-sacrifice of the kind Hume or Rousseau admired. Those two had said the patriot paid with his death for the life he had lived among his fellows. De Maistre agreed, but added that the patriot should live under a Catholic monarch. That way he would die for king and Christ, and for their cause of counterrevolution. And the patriot would succeed, just as the king had succeeded. All sacrifices were not futile, as Hume supposed; some bloody ones were efficacious. All sacrifices were not primitive; some were reactionary.

The best sacrifice, though, was not that of a patriot or a reactionary. It was the self-sacrifice of the Catholic king, going to the guillotine for the sake of his religion and, of course, his own privileges. As before, de Maistre looked to the Bible and to earlier French writers, this time Bossuet, who praised self-sacrifice, or self-immolation, in his sermons to royalty. Bossuet never explained how the royal victim was to immolate himself. The revolution answered that question. The blood that the Terror would not spill in church or at a temple, it spilled in a place of execution—an improvement, de Maistre thought. Thanks to the guillotine, Christ and king were now closer to one another than before.

Yes, there was a civil religion, as Rousseau and the revolutionaries said, but it was universal, not revolutionary or republican. All government, de Maistre said,

is a veritable religion, with its mysteries, its ministers, and its dogma. 122

Sacrifice was the chief rite of this religion, a universal practice, but not in any sectarian sense. On this score, de Maistre was ecumenical. Modern Europe had not progressed beyond antiquity, he said, nor even beyond savagery. Nor had Europe progressed beyond bloodshed. The death of Louis XVI, a sacrificial

^{120.} Pascal, Lettre sur la mort de son père [Paris 1652] = (1964-92) 2.853-854.

^{121.} Bossuet, Premier sermon pour le jour de la purification de la Sainte Vierge, prêché devant le roi [1658] = (1841) 3:236-243. The tradition: Galy (1963) 131.

^{122.} De Maistre, *Étude sur la souverainété* [Paris 1794–96] ch. 10 = (1990) 376.

martyr, proved the contrary. De Maistre yielded to progress on just one count, the politicization of the willing victim.¹²³

The events of the 20th Brumaire did not arouse the contempt of reactionaries only. They also aroused the contempt, or rather, the condescension, of German philosophers of the early nineteenth century. 124 The most important, Hegel, rejected the revolutionaries' antisacrifice, but not for de Maistre's reasons. De Maistre had said that the revolutionaries had gone too far when they omitted the victim, but Hegel said they had not gone far enough. They should have turned the rite of sacrifice into a mental process. Sacrifice had always included that sort of process. The worshipper did not give a victim to a god but tried, in his own mind, to unite himself with the victim. He identified with the victim, even though he was putting the victim to death. 125 The worshipper sought a psychological gain, not a moral or material one. Rather than pay a price in blood, the worshipper would

renounce his own personality and with it \dots the return of his act into himself. He deflects the act into the universal—into the divine being rather than into himself.¹²⁶

The victim, no longer either a present or a debt, becomes a figment of the worshipper's mind, or, as Hegel says, "a symbol of the god." Now Hegel's next point: to appropriate this symbol, the sacrificer consumes it. That is the rationale for the sacrificial meal. The meal, Hegel explains, "cheats the act [of sacrifice] out of its negative significance." As he says in another passage, the meal achieves "unity with the divine being."

With this explanation, Hegel circumvented many of his predecessors. In the sixteenth century, Las Casas had tried to justify sacrifices made the wrong way to the wrong god; in the eighteenth, Edwards had tried to justify sacrifices made the wrong way to the right God. No, said Hegel: there is no wrong way or wrong god. The act of sacrifice requires a victim in whom the worshipper can see himself, but no single, unique victim such as Christ. Although Hegel was a Lutheran, and held

^{123.} Later French treatment of the theme, but by the left: Goldhammer (2005) ch. 3.

^{124.} Notably Schleiermacher, but note also Constant, *De la religion considérée dans sa source, ses formes, et ses développements* [Brussels 1824] 1.xxi = (1999) 1.136, "Les institutions sont de vaines formes, lorsque nul veut se sacrifier pour les institutions."

^{125.} To paraphrase Bataille (1988) 331.

^{126.} Hegel, *Phenomenologie des Geistes*, 7Ba [Berlin 1806] = (1977) 434, translation adapted from Miller.

posts in Lutheran universities, he was no less critical toward Luther and Calvin than towards Catholicism. The two reformers had reassessed the sacrifice made by Christ. No, said Hegel: there was no such sacrifice. In an act of sacrifice, the victim was a "symbol of the god," but the victim was not the son of God. Hegel also rebutted later writers, beginning with Grotius, who had said that Christ provided third-party satisfaction to God. No: the victim provided satisfaction to the worshipper, not god. This Hegelian doctrine would appeal to modern writers more than his metaphysics. Burkert and the French pair of Vernant and Detienne would differ only about what satisfaction the victim gave.

Hegel did not cite de Maistre, but he agreed with the French writer's rebuke of eighteenth-century critics of sacrifice. Past sacrificial practices had served the worshippers of the time. They formed part of a history with three periods: paganism, Catholicism, and reformed Christianity. Each period reported sacrificial intercourse with the universal being. In the pagan period, which for Hegel meant chiefly the ancient Greeks (another resemblance to de Maistre), the worshippers mistook the symbolic offering for a gift. They mistook the divine being for the recipient of a gift, and they mistook the sacred meal for a feast. They did, however, accent the esthetic aspect of sacrifice, important for Hegel as it had been for de Maistre and Fénelon:

The representation of the Greek gods had beauty for its law.... The Greek gods are, however, only representations for sensuous intuition or for picture-thinking; they are not yet grasped in thought.¹²⁷

By the last phrase, Hegel meant that the symbolic aspect of the sacrificial offering went unnoticed. 128

In the Catholic period, worshippers acknowledged this aspect. Hegel complained, though, that they persisted in regarding sacrifice as a gift, and so they grasped a half truth. They grasped the divine being, but they persisted in regarding him as a recipient—another half truth. By the same token, they rejected the notion of a feast but persisted in regarding the sacred meal as something edible. They grasped the inwardness of sacrifice but had not jettisoned externals. Religiously speaking, Hegel supposed that most Europeans still lived in this period.

^{127.} Hegel, *Philosophie des Geistes* [1830] = (1971) 20, trans. W. Wallace and A. Miller.

^{128.} A different view, J. Cohen (2007) 62–80, pointing out that Hegel allowed for a "tragic" phase in Greek religious development. In this phase, the worshipper achieved self-consciousness through the representation of human self-sacrifice on stage, even if the sacrificial offering remained a living being.

In the third and last period, Hegel said, worshippers were at last ready for a process instead of a rite. These worshippers were, of course, Lutherans, who could give up the illusion that the symbol was a gift, the being was a person, or the meal was a feast. No wonder that some Lutherans could not accept this praise for them and their churches. They did not wish to give up a personal God, his son's sacrifice, or the sacramental union (or even the consubstantiation) of the bread and wine. 129

Academics, though, recognized that Hegel's liquidation of sacrifice made sense for many philosophical systems of both the past and present. The demiurge of Plato, the unmoved mover of Aristotle—these beings would not batten on smoke, or answer an invitation to theoxenia. The gods of the Epicureans and Cynics were also indifferent to any offerings. To the extent that the God of the Church Fathers and of Aquinas was an absolute being, he, too, was removed from the particulars of sacrifice. Yet only Spinoza had said an absolute being would not need sacrifices, and Spinoza had hedged, for the sake of the benefits given by sacrifice to the Jews. 130 Now many philosophers would follow Hegel in putting distance between the absolute being and the particulars of sacrifice, or, if they did not posit an absolute being, in putting distance between their ideals or their cosmology and the particulars of sacrifice. These philosophers said little of sacrifice, prayer, and other rites. It would be idle to ask a Comte or a Herbert Spencer whether they believed in sacrifice or prayer; idle to ask Marx or Lenin; idle to ask Bergson; idle to ask Nietzscheans or utilitarians or logical positivists. Sacrifice could continue to have historical interest, but not contemporary, intellectual, or moral interest. Once a subject of controversy, it had become an academic subject.

This change displeased some of Hegel's contemporaries, especially the English and German Romantic poets and writers. Sacrifice was a large part of Greek paganism, alienation from which they regretted. Wordsworth complained:

For this, for everything, we are out of tune; It moves us not. Great God! I'd rather be A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn; So might I, standing on this pleasant lea, Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn; Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea; Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

^{129.} A similar view: Cohen (2007) 158–161 contrasting Christianity and "le savoir absolu."

^{130.} Strauss (1965) 92, would add that Hobbes, who says nothing about sacrifice, had the same view, all veneration of the gods being motivated by fear.

German poets also complained. Yet like some ancient writers, all these poets avoided the subject of sacrifice. They wished to see Proteus, but they did not wish to hear from Proteus what Menelaus did about sacrificing an animal to the Olympians. Like Fénelon, these writers did not like the sight of blood; like Hegel, they wanted a god who was abstract. Just as Hegel turned sacrifice into a mental process, they avoided sacrifice as a subject for any concrete, narrative treatment.

Just one passage in one of the German Romantics, Hölderlin, takes up the subject of sacrifice in a way that is even partly concrete. Among the German Romantics, Hölderlin wrote most about the Greek gods, and he wrote with a zeal that distinguished him from earlier German writers who chose Greek subjects—for example, from Goethe, who said that he was a polytheist only for poetic purposes.¹³¹ In Hölderlin's epistolary novel *Hyperion*, the protagonist, a young Greek of the late eighteenth century, attempts to free his country from the Ottomans. He finds his countrymen insufficiently Classical, but has the same opinion of foreigners who come to Greece to serve the cause of liberation. The contrast with Keats's poem of the same title is characteristic of the difference between Hölderlin and his contemporaries. Their Greeks are ethereal, whereas his are concrete. Like the novel's protagonist, Hölderlin is a pantheist, not a polytheist, but he needs the Greek gods for spiritual purposes, not just Goethe's or Keats's poetic ones. He cares more, and probes further.

And so, in the ode *Patmos*, he confronts sacrifice. The narrator imagines himself transported over the Alps to Greece. He glimpses the palaces of the gods on Olympus, where ivy grows in spite of the snow, before sweeping down to the island where Saint John wrote the Book of Revelations. The narrator regards John as a seer, and Christ as a demigod like Heracles. The mix of pagan and Christian enters into the poem's form, which has some Greek aspects. A description of the Last Supper is Dionysiac:

They sat together at the hour of feasting, amid the secrets of the vine, and in his great soul, the Lord decreed death and the last act of love—calmly, farsightedly.¹³²

Was this supper the occasion for the act of sacrifice known to Catholicism? The narrator will not say, but goes on:

After that he died.

^{131.} The comparison appears at Hatfield (1964) 142, quoting Goethe, *Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe, und Gespräche*, ed. E. Beutler (Zurich 1948–54), 9.608.

^{132.} *Patmos*, begun in 1802, as in Hamburger (1980) 462–487, particularly 485 followed by 475–476. Another view: Henrichs (1984) 217, observing that in *Patmos* the gods withdraw from humankind, this moment of intimacy notwithstanding.

What of the act of sacrifice on this occasion? The narrator will not say. Those at the supper depart, partly like Apostles, partly like the men sown with dragon's teeth at Thebes.

The version containing these lines breaks off. An earlier version takes up the topic of sacrifice, too, but only at the end:

For too long—too long—the honor due to the Heavenly has been out of sight.

"The Heavenly" does not refer to Jesus or the God of Christianity. As the narrator says,

Every one of the Heavenly ones wants sacrifice. When even one sacrifice was skipped, it never did any good.

Does the narrator recommend pagan rituals? He continues:

We have served Mother Earth and just now we have served the Sunlight without knowing it, but what the Father with power over everyone likes best is that the impregnable letter be tended to, and that what is around us be well understood.

In these lines, no Olympian god receives any sacrifice, or even any service. Instead, the poet gives honors to literature, "the impregnable letter." Confronted with sacrifice, Hölderlin retreats to estheticism, joining Wordsworth, Goethe, and Hegel, too.

Like Fénelon before them, these writers were humanitarians, reluctant to envision livestock as victims, but they were not reformers, pledged to put an end to the slaughter of animals. None of them protested the mechanization of slaughter-houses, the diminution of wildlife in Europe, or the decimation of species such as the North American bison and carrier pigeon. Although condemning human sacrifice, they did not object to the extermination of some American Indian tribes. They objected to this and other kinds of sacrifice, yet many of them approved of patriotic or civic sacrifice. This school has enrolled many pupils, including world leaders. All have called for "sacrifice"—by someone else, somewhere else. 133

^{133.} Objections from Rawls (1973) 3, arguing against a version of utilitarianism that permitted such sacrifices so long as the gains for others outweighed the loss suffered by the victim. So also Nozick (1974) 28–29. A critique of these two: Dupuy (1995) 50–51, where he observes that Rawls's assertion of human rights supposes a social situation in which sacrifice has lost its traditional value.

If Durkheim lives on, in some purgatory for writers, how much he must regret his remark that "there is no moral act that does not imply a sacrifice." ¹³⁴ He did not wish to link sacrifice to any and every "moral act." To him, the attack on the World Trade Center, or the defense of Verdun, would not have been acts of sacrifice—and as far as any Greek was concerned, he would be right. *Thusia* and *sphagia* occurred before or after battle, not during it.

A Summary and a Protest

In canvassing writers such as Las Casas or Edwards, we have journeyed far from Robertson Smith and Durkheim. Yet we have been visiting their ancestors. "Primitive sacrifice" derives from Las Casas, the first to compare Greeks and Romans with tribal peoples. Edwards added that primitive peoples did not need new rituals. Robertson Smith and Durkheim agreed. They disagreed only with Edwards's notion that sacrifice was coeval with humanity. Less expansively, they supposed that it was characteristic of primitive peoples from ancient times onward; Robertson Smith added that some civilized peoples were mostly primitive in their practice of the rite. Nor did Robertson Smith and Durkheim suppose that practitioners of one kind of sacrifice would convert to another kind, a hope Edwards shared with Las Casas. Instead they supposed that animal sacrifice marked a stage in social development, a stage Europe had very largely completed, whereas much of the rest of the world had not.

Robertson Smith and Durkheim also dispensed with the god who would accept a sacrifice. On this score, they looked to Rousseau and Hume. Durkheim also looked to the French Revolution, if not to the events of the 20th Brumaire, for the French revolution exemplified solidarity without religion, what Comte called "Sociolatry." Durkheim and his coadjutors Hubert and Mauss also admired eighteenth-century civic sacrifice. Hubert and Mauss, though, stripped civic sacrifice of the violence with which the eighteenth-century writers had invested it, and with which de Maistre had invested it, too, when converting it to reactionary purposes.

De Maistre was a problematic ancestor. He had regarded sacrifice as the paramount rite, not just for Christianity, but for other societies, and Robertson Smith

^{134.} Durkheim (1960) 328. For Bellah (1967) the danger does not arise from language of sacrifice alone, but also from other religious language used in politics, especially in the United States.

^{135.} Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* [1852] = (1858) app. A, where "sociolatry" is summarized as "love as the principle, order as the basis, and progress as the end." By "love" Comte means "live for others—family, country, humanity." The appendix then lists eighty-one annual festivals to promote "sociolatry."

and Durkheim agreed with him. De Maistre, however, glorified violence and redemption, both of which Durkheim abhorred. When Durkheim said that rituals created solidarity, and in doing so established a kind of equality, he contradicted de Maistre's view that sacrifice established the primacy of Christ and king. When Robertson Smith said that Hebrew sacrifice imitated polytheistic Arab practice, he contradicted de Maistre's view of Hebrew sacrifice as a precedent for Christianity. Without this precedent, Christian sacrifice lost its superior position, and so Robertson Smith proceeded to describe a sacrificial genealogy in which Christianity was no more the last item than Leviticus was the first. In this scheme, totemism came first; men ate their gods. Polytheism came next; men fed their gods. Monotheism came third, and eventually there were crackers and grape juice at the communion table. This was Hegel without the mental process.

Durkheim proposed a sequence of types of solidarity that also echoed Hegel. First came mechanical solidarity, a state of society in which sacrifice did not require experts, but in which the violation of rules was severely punished, even with death. Then came organic solidarity, in which sacrifice did require experts, but the violation of rules was mildly punished, as by fines. The first phase suited tribal societies; the second phase, early empires and city-states. Other writers, such as James Frazer, brought genealogy to bear on the Greek evidence, and split Greek religion into several phases: a magical phase found in some rituals; a religious phase found in other rituals and in the literature of the Classical curriculum; and a final phase, in which the inadequacies of paganism gave way to monotheism and eventually to science. 136 Once such a scheme gained acceptance, writers could reverse it, turning progress into regress. Writers who said little about Greek sacrifice, like Bachofen and Nietzsche, made this switch. They found paganism superior to Christianity. Jane Harrison made it, too, but did not praise pagans at the expense of Christians. Instead, she praised early pagans at the expense of later pagans. Early pagans had many rituals. 137 Later pagans, like Christians, had religion with few rituals.

Paul bequeathed to nineteenth-century social scientists ideas about the willing victim, redemption through bloodshed, and the sacred meal. That the god of the primitives would go willingly to his fate was a Pauline touch. That the victim's blood would redeem those who shed it was another. That the victimizers would eat their victim did not come from Paul, but early Church Fathers extended Paul's teaching about Passover, and bequeathed it to Christian theology, where sociologists (and erstwhile professors of theology like Robertson Smith) could find it. Paul provided these three essentials, which later writers developed.

^{136.} Frazer (1912) 713-714.

^{137.} Bachofen (1861); Nietzsche (1871); J. Harrison (1911).

It bears repeating that much in today's writers does not derive from Robertson Smith and Durkheim. Little as these two say about Greece, these two also say little about religious practices of individuals or small groups as opposed to large groups, about the distinguishing characteristics of communities like Athens or Sparta, or about the links between sacrifice and other practices, especially prayer. They could not have known how sociobiology would give new life to the theme of sacrificial violence, or how structuralism would recontextualize rituals. Nor could they have anticipated the notion of ritual coming under attack. In recent literature, rituals no longer need to serve functions like promoting solidarity, and they no longer need to repeat themselves.¹³⁸

Unlike Robertson Smith and Durkheim, some recent writers conceive sacrifice as a discourse, not a kind of behavior. 139 For scholars of this bent, the rite no longer consists of killing and eating, or of offering and praying, but of utterances and performances, no matter what kind, so long as they are formal, routine, and regular; in a word, so long as they are "ritualistic." By this definition, a sacrifice is textual composite, a more or less preserved script, like a script for a procession or a liturgy for a service. Other recent scholars have regarded sacrifices as practices, again no matter what kind, so long as they, too, are formal, routine, regular, and "ritualistic." ¹⁴⁰ By this definition, a sacrifice is not a script or a liturgy but an occasion for conflict or competition among the participants. They follow custom, but more freely than communicants would follow a script. The scholars in the first school do not deny that some participants in a sacrifice outrank others, but they do not emphasize conflict between them. The scholars in the second school emphasize rank and conflict both. For sacrifice, the consequences are perversely alike. The first school does not think sacrifice more important than other utterances and performances, and the second does not think it more important than other occasions for conflict.

Scholars holding these new views have not dislodged Robertson Smith and Durkheim from the background of sacrifice, or dislodged Burkert, Vernant, and

^{138.} Attack on functionalism: Evans-Pritchard (1961). Vulnerability of rituals to change that renders them illegitimate: Bourdieu (1991) 111–112. Vulnerability to change that lessens their power: Bell (1997) ch. 1.

^{139.} In regard to sacrifice, Bloch (1992), preceded by Bloch (1974) 77–78, linking religion to extreme authority; and Staal (1989) 433–455, incidentally discussing the 1972 original of Burkert (1983). For Bloch, the linguistic aspect of rituals reinforced the social structure; for Staal, it made no difference; in neither case did it change the structure.

^{140.} Practices as opposed to rituals: Bourdieu (1990) 96–97, where the former encompass and explain the latter. An explicit application of "ritualization" to festivals, if not sacrifice: Kowalzig (2007). An implicit application to some sacred laws, arguing that these laws control tensions among worshippers: Chaniotis (2006) 232.

Detienne from the foreground. Greek sacrifices, after all, were rites, not just ritualistic occasions. To some degree, they promoted solidarity, and they sometimes included slaughtering animals. Above all, they were theistic. The god might be explained away, but could not be ignored, or reduced to one more speaker or performer. If there was communication through sacrifice, and thus a discourse or practice, there was also communion, an experience distinct from any such form of expression.

Walter F. Otto marshaled this objection to scholarly atheism some decades before discourse and practices became watchwords. Otto, who in some ways was a Nietzschean, was also a Victorian (or prewar) student of cults as opposed to rituals, and addressed the topic of sacrifice in this spirit. He described communion between men and gods in three ways. First, rituals linked men to gods, and not to each other. In this regard, Otto rebutted Durkheim and the later three-some of Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne. Second, gods and men sometimes communed without a meal, a rebuttal to Robertson Smith, Vernant, and Detienne; often, they communed individually, not collectively. Third, gods laid down laws for men, as denied by Burkert. Vernant and Detienne ignored Otto, and Burkert made only a glancing reply to him. In his introduction to *Greek Religion*, Burkert wrote:

The work of Walter F. Otto is a challenging attempt... to take the Homeric gods seriously as gods, in spite of 2,500 years of criticism: the gods enjoy an absolute actuality as *Urphänomene* in Goethe's sense of the term. This path, which ends in a sublime private religion, cannot be taken by everyone.¹⁴²

Burkert was unfair to Otto. Otto did not convert Greek religion into a "private" one. Greek religion had always been mostly "private." Otto wished to "take the gods seriously, as gods," because he took the worshippers seriously, as human beings.

What does it mean to "take the gods seriously, as gods"? That is the last question this book will ask.

^{141.} Otto on gods and rituals: W. Otto (1933) ch. 11, the link between god and man being ritualistic ecstasy. Otto's notion of a divine presence in the world, rather than a presence at a rite: (1929) 217–218. On gods, laws, and morals: (1929) 316–318 (1956) 47–48. Burkert on laws: ch. 1 n. 35. A similar complaint on Otto's behalf, and on behalf of Kerényi (1971), but not against Burkert in particular: Henrichs (2010) 30–31. A different view of the developments reviewed in the last few pages: Bremmer (2010).

^{142.} Burkert (1985) 4.

The Demise of a Ritual

TAKING A GOD seriously differs from taking any human seriously. Zeus, for example, is not a subject reported in the sources, as Alcibiades is; he is a creature of words and pictures, a cultural and not an historical figure. Walter Otto thought that Dionysus represented something that had outlived Greek society, something that still might be apprehended, if not worshipped, something historical as well as cultural. Yet any such impression of a Greek god is transitory. Otto's Dionysus was one being, and the Dionysus invoked in the 1960s was another. Few devoted themselves to the first of these two beings, but many to the second.

What sort of knowledge do the words and pictures of a god impart? Knowledge about worship, but not knowledge resting on observation of any acts of worship—not anthropological or sociological knowledge. Just as we cannot treat Zeus as though he were Alcibiades, we cannot treat him as though he were the Virgin Mary, whose cult we may observe. The figure we are trying to observe is a mostly verbal phenomenon. Yet the evidence about him is harder to understand than any kind of speech. There are no lexica, grammars, or *Hilfsmitteln* for the study of Zeus. The scholar must master the material unschooled, like a child learning its native tongue. Words and practices, forms and meaning—all must be learnt together.

Among recent writers on the Greek gods, Fritz Graf and Albert Henrichs described this difficulty by referring to a linguistic distinction introduced by Kenneth Pike in the 1950s, but not applied to other disciplines until recently. Pike coined the terms "etic" and "emic" as a way to understand the difficulty facing investigators of alien linguistic phenomena. "Emic" comes from "phonemic," and "etic" from "phonetic." On the second page of his chief work, *Grammatical Analysis*, Pike explains the two terms through the example of the word "pack" in English. This word is a phoneme with several meanings. That is

I. Graf to the author in conversation in 2008; Henrichs (2008) 28 with n. 36 with refs. The same contrast, but using the terms "insider" and "outsider": Bremmer (2008a) 139–143. Different terms for the same problem: Runciman (1969) 150.

its emic aspect. It is also a word that can be pronounced in several ways, such as slowly or quickly. That is its etic aspect. The emic aspect is known to the native speaker; the etic aspect is fully known only to a linguist, or as Pike sometimes says, a technician. Applying this distinction not to words but to any kind of language and behavior—to what Pike calls "units"—he defines "emic" and "etic" as follows:

Emic (unit): An entity seen from the perspective of the internal "logic" or structure of its containing systems; with contradictive-identificational features, variants; and with distribution in . . . a universe of discourse.

(By "contrastive-identificational features," Pike means distinguishing features, or, as he says, those "that differentiate it from all others.") 2

Etic (unit): An entity seen, from the perspective of the analyst, before its systemic relations are adequately known; a member of a cross-cultural taxonomy.³

This, Pike's extended definition, attracted the attention of scholars outside linguistics. A book of essays resulted, but none of the contributors were Classicists in any specialty.⁴

For Pike, native speakers do not speak or behave without some purpose, no matter how wrong or strange the purpose may seem to observers or "technicians":

The expressed purposes of a community are assumed here to be highly relevant to the activity of the community, whether or not these purposes are the same as those deduced by anthropologically-trained observers.... The meanings expressed by native speakers are relevant to their verbal and non-verbal behavior at some point in the system of behavior, whether or not these naïve analyses are "correct" from the viewpoint of the trained linguist... purposes and meanings can affect behavior even if the verbalizations are not in a form approved by technicians.⁵

^{2.} Pike (1977) 2.

^{3.} Pike and Pike (1978) 16-17.

^{4.} Headland et al. (1990).

^{5.} Pike (1972) 101–102. Pike says "verbalized," not "expressed," but he regards behavior and language as complementary; hence the change.

So far, Pike is speaking of language and behavior (two phenomena he always links), but as he explains the validity of the emic or inside view, he uses a term evoking worship:

The discovery of meaning by a native speaker . . . [happens] in a manner which leaves him, as an adult, unaware of the process involved by which he reached his conclusions about those meanings. Hence he can be quite convinced of the independent existence of mystic meaning units in a particular language.

In this last sentence, Pike nearly identifies the gods or spirits in which native speakers believe, for these are his "mystic meaning units" par excellence, units that possess "independent existence."

Pike has explained why, as discussed in chapter 1, some scholars are "atheist in method." An ancient god is a "unit," a part of language and custom that is "seen from the perspective of the internal . . . structure." The analyst, however, does not deal with this unit, but with those that are "member(s) of a cross-cultural taxonomy" such as rituals, in particular the ritual of sacrifice. The native speaker, or worshipper, envisions honoring a god, commonly performing *thusia* for a god, whereas the scholar envisions a kind of behavior—behavior that need not be religious, let alone theistic. Honoring the god is emic; identifying a ritual is etic. The difference between the two involves a choice of words, and a choice between ancient Greek and modern languages, but it also involves two viewpoints.

Besides defending the purposes of the insider, Pike defends the insider's credibility:

A statement can be affirmed as true, only against background of belief of some kind about the participants involved, and the presumed experiences and beliefs and attitudes of the audience, and about the speaker's own memories (true or distorted), or understanding, or evaluations and judgments. That is, an emic statement occurs in an emically-perceived environment.⁶

Pike also warns that the testimony of the insider brings with it a danger for any outsider who accepts it and attempts to incorporate it:

As the emic structure takes over (in the description) from an etic set of categories, the semantic definitions of the terms may become broader.

^{6.} Pike (1977) 381.

Greek religion illustrates this shift: *thusia*, the chief emic term, is broader than *animal sacrifice*, the chief etic term. *Thusia* includes vegetal sacrifice and even drowning, as well as killing and burning.

Yet the etic approach faces its own danger. As Pike says, an "emic statement occurs in an emically perceived environment." No etic statement should disregard this environment. To return to Pike's example, no account of a speaker's pronouncing the word "pack" should disregard the speaker's use of the word. Yet Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne hold several views that disregard Greek commonplaces or practices. As noted in chapter 1, they assume that sacrifice is a ritual, but the worshipper conceived it as an episode in a relation with a god. As found in chapters 2 and 3, they pay no heed to esthetic or moral factors, but the worshipper did pay heed to them. They go on to say that the animal victim was supposed to go to its death willingly, or that some common Greek misapprehension, grounded on an ideological need, permitted this supposition, but the literary record mostly does not agree, and the visual record disagrees. As found in chapter 4, Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne also assume that sacrifices were efficacious, save where worshippers were polluted. The worshipper knew that the rite might fail for other reasons.

So much for the character of the rite. Concerning participation in the rite, and also concerning the consumption of meat, Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne again disregard Greek practice. As found in chapter 5, they say that sacrifice is a communal ritual, but Greek practice shows that it may be communal, familial, or personal. They also say that the community attends this ritual, but Greek practice shows that the community may delegate its participation to priests and others. As found in 6, modern statements about feasting fare no better than those about attendance. Epigraphical records do not allow for many communal feasts, and Greek marketplaces and messes allow for some nonsacrificial meat, and turn sacrifice from a quasi-liturgical obligation into an option.

Chapter 7 found that the modern view of the ritual of sacrifice, especially bloody, communal sacrifice, derives in part from Christianity, especially Saint Paul, and in part from concepts dating from the late nineteenth century. This ritual is an etic category, one subject not just to the criticisms just made but also to another, historical criticism. It pits pagan against Christian. One or the other must be superior, if only in principle; and so a few allegedly reactionary thinkers, like Nietzsche and Otto, took one side, and many avowedly evolutionary thinkers took the other. Sacrifice met with praise or dispraise, exaggeration or distortion. Meant to be a lens, the category of sacrifice became a blinder. It allowed the observer to ignore observations made by the observed.

If we put aside this blinder, we should beware of picking up another, such as "theology." This term, which is etic, too, implies a doctrine, a scripture,

and education, and so it would not suit Greek beliefs that were sometimes implicit, seldom recorded, and learnable without schooling. We have noticed some of these beliefs thanks to esthetic, moral, and systemic standards in sacrifice. Two other beliefs are fundamental. First, Greeks believed that the gods observed them, whether at sacrifice or elsewhere. Second, they believed that the gods also wished to observe themselves, through rituals, literature, and art—that the gods were vain as well as attentive. The first of these two beliefs contradicted the functionalism found in Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne, in which gods serve human purposes. The second of these two beliefs enriched the esthetic factor ignored by these three writers, but found in both Hegel and de Maistre. Both beliefs distinguish the Greek gods from the God of Christianity or Judaism. Both also point to an adjustment in the study of Greek sacrifice, but no small adjustment: to abandon the word "sacrifice," which Detienne identified as part of "the thought of yesterday."

People Watchers

Perhaps because they did not have so very much else to do—no worries about buying groceries or growing old—Greek gods spent much of their time watching humankind. In the *Odyssey*, when Zeus and Athena discuss the plight of Odysseus and Athena says Zeus has rejected the hero's sacrifices, they have both been watching, even if Homer does not say so. Athena helps Odysseus, but Zeus does not, and he gives no help when his own son, Sarpedon, dies in the *Iliad*. He looks on.⁸ Sometimes the gods watch while in disguise. They reveal themselves when they punish any wrongdoers they espy, but they travel incognito, at least to the unobservant. In *Odyssey* 3, Nestor realizes that Athena has just left, but no one else does.⁹ If a god is to watch undisturbed—in other words, as a spectator—invisibility is indispensable. Once humans recognize him, they will propitiate him, and interrupt the situation that he has come to view.

At the end of several plays of Euripides, gods appear ex machina in response to a catastrophe. Athena is the most watchful, appearing in two plays, one set in Delphi and one in Aulis. Apollo appears to save his favorite, Orestes, in Argos,

^{7.} A somewhat different view: Myanopoulos (2006) 92, allowing interaction between gods and humans, but minimizing "reflection"—in other words, explicit rather than implicit beliefs.

^{8.} *Il*. 16.430-434.

^{9.} Od. 3.371–379; so also [Hes.] fr. 164. Flückiger-Guggenheim(1984) gives other examples, but views these gods as guests, challenges, powers, and servants, not spectators.

and Thetis appears to save one of hers, the former mistress of Achilles.¹⁰ Or the goddess appears at the start of a play, and watches her predictions come true.¹¹ Pan does the same in Menander's *Dyskolos*, but this lesser god watches from outside the shrine of other divinities.¹² (Euripides probes this convention and asks, in the *Trojan Women*, what if two divine spectators disagree about what should happen.)¹³ In the novel *Chareas and Callirhoe*, Aphrodite's relation to the heroine resembles that of Athena to Odysseus, or of Pan to the misanthrope who inspires the title of *Dyskolos*. The god or goddess does not always respond to the votary's needs. Sometimes the divinity only watches, moving the votary to protest.¹⁴ In inscriptions, the divine spectator appears in a compact form—the word *theoi*, found atop countless publications of public documents. This word has several implications—divine witness, protection, and inspiration—but whatever the implication, it means that the gods take notice of human lawmaking.¹⁵ In a remark about the gods of the *Iliad*, Eduard Fraenkel summed up this theme: gods watch humankind as if attending a play.¹⁶

Watching a sacrifice might seem to be a small affair compared to a war, but worshippers embellished it with parades, music, fire, and smoke. For the last phase of a sacrifice, they offered artistic or athletic contests. Here worshippers strove against one another, as they did in love or war. They staged plays, as opposed to the sort of spectacle gods could treat as a play.

The gods did not just watch. Besides observing humankind, they judged it. Zeus judged good prayers from bad as he listened at the portal; Asclepius identified filchers of money; and Apollo answered some consultants and dismissed others. Poseidon made some ships sink and others, carrying the defendant, reach land. Because gods passed judgment, they knew when to accept sacrifice and when to reject it, and why and how, all without delay or confusion. Worshippers might wonder whether *hiera* were *kala*; the divine recipient knew.

In a word, a god was a *theōros*, a spectator, not a disinterested spectator (a *theatēs*) but one with a stake in the success of what he (or she) watched, and

^{10.} Athena: E. *Ion* 1553–1605, *IA* 1435–1489. Thetis: E. *And*. 1231–1272. Apollo: E. *Or*. 1625–1665.

^{11.} E. Hipp. 1-57.

^{12.} Men. Dysc. 1-49.

^{13.} E. Tro. 1-95.

^{14.} Od. 13.316-319; Charito 3.7.7.

^{15.} E. Harris (2006) 52-53; Naiden (2006a) 171-173.

^{16.} Fränkel (1921) 32; so also Griffin (1978) 1–3, citing Fränkel (1921) and also most of the Homeric passages in this section.

with expertise to match.¹⁷ The god far surpassed any human spectator in the variety of what he saw, in his powers of judgment, and in his power to observe at a distance. Yet in other ways the god resembled a human *theōros*. Like a *theōros*, the god was a visitor, not a resident. He formed no permanent tie with those whom he watched. Instead the god formed a renewable, often periodic tie. When he passed judgment, he seldom passed permanent judgment. Even the least acceptable worshippers might sometimes hope for better luck at another time or place, or with another offering or request. The god might wish worshippers well or ill, but he was not, in the fullness of time, responsible for them. Except nominally, he was not their father, and except for the Earth, no goddess was their mother; the gods did not create the world or any great part of it. Sometimes predicting the future, a god did not control it. *Moira* interfered, as when condemning Zeus's son Sarpedon. Unless a god was a chthonic divinity, any life after death was not his business. If the god was such a divinity, he did not give most of the dead any personal reward.

Above all, the god of the Underworld did not close the gap between himself, or any god, and human beings. Large on earth, that gap stayed large below. An exception such as Heracles proved the rule, which was that, save during epiphanies and sacrifices, gods and humans remained apart. This distance had an anti-eschatological effect. The Greek gods did not know or care about the end of the world, or of humankind. The gods confined themselves to shorter periods and fewer people. The Greek belief that any of their gods lived under other names in other nations did not go so far as to suppose that all their gods lived in all other nations. Although well traveled, the Greek god was chauvinist.

In contrast, the God of early Christianity, although no less observant, was less distant. He passed judgment on every act, and extended grace at every instant. He punished and gave rewards immediately, but also eventually, and in the end he punished and gave rewards permanently. He did not need frequent acts of sacrifice in order to visit humankind. Nor did he need acts of sacrifice in order to respond to humankind. His plan of salvation provided this response. Just as he was less distant than the Greek god, he was less constrained. He had created the earth and would bring it to an end; he had created humankind and would provide a final judgment that he would not assign to any chthonic being. He was no mere spectator. The death of his son made that role impossible. He was a solitary, and so he bore so many responsibilities that he would have found the role of spectator a luxury. If Lucian's Zeus, busy at the portals, had time off, his Christian counterpart did not.

^{17.} As observed by Nightengale (2004) 50-51. The contrary view, commingling *theōroi* and *theatai*: Goldhill (1999) 6-7. His extends his conception of citizens as cultural figures in Goldhill (1990).

In the time of the first or second temple, when Yahweh, like a Greek god, received animal sacrifices in a house of his own, the God of the Hebrews stood somewhere between Greek and Christian divinities. He passed judgment on every Hebrew act, and on some others, and extended protection to the Hebrews at every instant. He punished and gave rewards immediately, but until the appearance of belief in a messiah, he did not punish or give rewards permanently, and even then, he gave them mostly to Hebrews. Like a Greek god, he needed many acts of sacrifice to respond to his people, but like the Christian God, he had created the earth and would, according to some sects, bring it to an end. Even at a sacrifice, he acted not as a spectator but as a king receiving tribute. His covenant with the Hebrews made the role of spectator a luxury. He cared for them as meticulously as the Christian God sought to care for humankind.

The contrast between Greek and Hebrew sacrifice, though, was smaller than that between Greek and Christian. As Baruch Levine observed, the Hebrew worshipper wished to attract the deity, not repel him, and so some biblical sacrifices, like some Greek ones, expressly say that Yahweh has arrived on the scene, commonly in the form of a fire, as when Elijah sacrifices to the Lord during his confrontation with the priests of Baal.¹⁸ Once on the scene, Yahweh made many demands similar to those in Greek regulations—that the animal be flawless, that knisē go up to heaven, that animal sacrifice take place outdoors and vegetal indoors, the same as in Hesiod.¹⁹ The books of *Samuel, Kings*, and *Chronicles* point to more similarities between Hebrew and Greek practices—for example, the rejection of sacrifices committed by the sacrilegious. ²⁰ Prophetic warnings about the abuse of sacrifices stress moral and legal factors also found in Greek discourse on the rite. Two common words for sacrifice were the same: *thuein* and *gatar*, with its *hiph'il*, to make sacrifices smoke, and its piel, to make incense smoke. The noun from this verb, qetora, means incense, just as thusia originally referred to what was burnt and not necessarily to the flesh of animals.²¹

^{18.} Levine (1974) 22–27. God arriving in the form of fire, rather than receiving smoke, as elsewhere: Exod. 24.17, Lev. 9.22–24, Jud. 13.19–21, 1 Kings 18.38, 1 Chron. 21–26, as in Klawans (2001) 138–140.

^{19.} Flawless, or *tamim*: Lev. 1.3, 1.10; 3.1, 3.6, 3.9; 4.3, 4.23, 28, 4.32; 5.15, 5.18, 5.25. Similar: Lev. 22.22, 22.24, Deut. 15.21, 17.1. *Knisē* vel sim.: Gen. 8.20–21, Exod. 29.41; Lev. 1.9, 13, 17; 2.2, 9, 12; 3.5, 16; 4.31; 6.8, 14; 8.21, 28; 17.6; 23.13, 18; 26.31; Num. 15.3, 7, 10, 13, 14, 24; 18.17; 28.2, 6, 8, 13, 24, 27; 29.2, 6, 8, 13. Outdoors and indoors: Exod. 29.41, although here the scene is the tent of meeting, not a home.

^{20.} Sacrilege meaning *ma'al*: 1 Sam. 15.9, 15.21; 1 Kings 13.1–5; 2 Chron. 22.16–20; perhaps also Lev. 10.1–2. See Naiden (2006b) 206–208, 221.

^{21.} Other terminological comparisons: Gill (1966); McCarthy (1969) and (1973).

The divine fire, though, has no Greek parallel, and implies a difference of degree between Yahweh and any Olympian. The Hebrew God draws closer, veers more toward the elemental, and shifts the balance between two sacrificial emotions—joy and awe—away from the first toward the second. This difference militates against any divine interest in *ta kala*. One setting for *ta kala*, the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem temple, was mostly inaccessible. Just as the Christian God wanted nothing more than bread and wine, the Hebrew God, who did want more, did not want so much as the Greek worshipper had to offer. Besides illustrating the similarity between Greek and Hebrew practice, Hebrew sacrificial regulations illustrate this difference. They seek to impose uniformity.

Did the gods of another neighboring people, the Phoenicians, observe their worshippers as much as Greek gods did, and did they make esthetic as well as other demands? So little Phoenician literature survives that we cannot say. A few pieces of epigraphical evidence, all from Phoenician colonies, invite a guess. The victims mentioned in the surviving Carthaginian sacrificial tariffs include cattle, calves, rams, sheep, goats, lambs, and kids.²² As in Greece, these victims might be numerous.²³ Cakes figure, too. This range evokes Greek offerings, and so does the trio of types of sacrifice mentioned in the tariffs: sw't, in which the priest and the worshipper divide the victim, with no portion set aside for the god; kll, in which the priest receives a portion but the god receives the rest, which is burned; and šlm kll, in which the god receives the whole, which is also burned, except perhaps when fowl are offered, not beasts. Roman-era reliefs show that Punic or Phoenician worshippers fed and cared for the victims and then garlanded and toted them to the altar, or led them by the horns. Flute players led the way.²⁴ A half dozen passages in the Tanakh and in Greek authors confirm sacrificial dancing by Phoenicians or Semitic neighbors of ancient Israel.²⁵ No sacrificial prayers survive, but many votive and dedicatory inscriptions include prayer formulas that suggest what the priest or worshipper might say, such as "May you be able to hear his voice."26 Aramaic epigraphical formulas for dedications, if not

^{22.} CIS i.65 = KAI 69; i.167 = KAI 74. Comparable to the tariffs are Latin lists of victims offered in North Africa. These lists appear in votive inscription of priests. See LeGlay (1961–66) I 294 and II 63–64; and (1987) 217–219, 232–234. The Latin lists add bulls, cocks, and hens.

^{23.} TSSI iii.37.7-13 = KAI 43.

^{24.} LeGlay (1961-66) II 116-117 with pl. 2.

^{25.} Old Testament: Exod. 32.6, 19; Judg. 21.19–23, 2 Sam. 6.5; Ps. 26.6, 118.27; 1 Kings 18.26. Greek: Lucianus *Syr. D.* 43, Heliod. 4.17.

^{26.} Berthier and Charlier (1952–55) no. 2, 15, where the sacrifice is a "gift," הנתמ. Similar: CIS i.138 = KAI 63; LeGlay (1961–66) I 181, 195, 271.

for sacrifices, include a phrase '*l ḥyy*, that corresponds to the Greek *huper tinos* found in Greek inscriptions from the same time and place.²⁷

Yet nothing suggests that the Phoenician gods demanded *ta kallista*. The tariffs say nothing about the inspection of animals, and even imply that inspection would be unnecessary, for the priests sometimes sell the animals to the worshippers, who would not have to inspect them. Nor do the tariffs specify age, color, or physical traits. Whether or not the Phoenicians sacrificed young children, lambs sometimes replaced the infants, a practice of substitution that points away from any esthetics of sacrifice.²⁸

So far, we have considered sacrifice and the character of the god who received it, but we can say the same about all else that the god did. As a concatenation of several rites, sacrifice set a pattern for them—for prayer, purification, and song and dance in the god's honor. In all these rites, the god or gods were once again interested observers. The Greek god was a *theōros*, the Christian God a savior, and the Hebrew God a ruler. We can also say the same about other divine manifestations, such as epiphanies and miracles. For the Greek god, they provide occasions to receive a sacrifice; for the Christian God, occasions to receive thanks; for the Hebrew God, occasions for his people to repent.

In myth, the Greek belief in a divine spectator asserted itself in the chief story of the origin of sacrifice, in Hesiod. Before this time, gods and mortals dined together, but now they separated, and on humankind's behalf Prometheus made Zeus an offering meant to deceive him. Underneath the shiny and attractive fat lay not innards or meat but bones.²⁹ In this, the first act of sacrifice *huper tinos*, the delegate tried to keep the god from seeing what he would get—not only a trick, but an insult to divine powers of observation. In contrast, the first sacrifice of both Christianity and Judaism was not a trick played by a delegate. God received Cain and Abel, viewed their offerings, and made his choice of meat rather than cereal. The worshippers not only could not trick him, but had no chance to perform for him.

The Greek worshipper found performance indispensable. The divine spectator expected it. But the god also expected a performance in which he or she could watch himself or herself. Now we come to the second fundamental belief that divided Greeks from others.

^{27.} More precisely, $\dot{v}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho$ $\dot{v}\gamma\iota\epsilon\dot{\iota}\alpha$ s; see Dijkstra (1995), chs. 2–5, but also pp. 11–12, arguing against Near Eastern borrowing from Greece in regard to this formula.

^{28.} The controversy: González Wagner and Ruiz Cabrero (2007) 44-51, preceded by Picard (1989) 77-88.

^{29.} Hes. Th. 445-541. Vernant's view: (1974) 177-194 preceded by (1965) 2.5-15.

Images of the Spectator

When a Greek god arrived in his shrine, he came to a house of his own, often one decorated with exploits performed by himself and his fellow gods. He came in view of a statue of himself, or some other image, and in view of an altar of his own, or one he customarily shared. When the sacrificial procession began, he was, as it were, in the reviewing stand. When the worshippers prayed, they reminded him who he was, what he had done, and what he looked like. Like much else in the rite, the table offerings or *theoxenia* acknowledged that the god was anthropomorphic, but also acknowledged the god's superhuman power to arrive and depart, to switch from *knisē* to a human diet, and even to change size and sit on a couch rather than mount a throne or stand on a base. All this did the god an honor that an offering could not.

The greatest honor came from stories told in the choral and later, the dramatic, poetry recited after the most important sacrifices. Partly about human beings, this literature was partly about the god. From Homer onward, this addendum to sacrifice developed as much as the rite itself. The former progressed from *ta kala* to *ta kallista*, and the latter from short songs at local contests to two genres of drama at Athenian and then other contests that were Panhellenic. The two progressed for the same reason: competition, fueled by economic growth and polis rivalry, in the attempt to please the god and gain his support, especially in war.

This is not to say that poetic and dramatic contests were sacrifices or even rites. A poem or play need not be like a sacrifice, or even report one; *Philoctetes* does not, and neither does *Rhesus*. Nor does this explanation say how drama originated, or—another much-discussed topic—how dramatic or athletic contests functioned. Simon Goldhill, for example, thought that dramatic contests expressed Greek, civic identity; similarly, Moses Finley thought that they validated Athenian political institutions; Richard Seaford linked contests to the development of currency.³¹ None of these functionalist explanations bear on the god's response to the rite, or on the worshippers' response to the god. The god

^{30.} Among Classical Athenian contests, Osborne (1993a) 22–25 reckons the Anthesteria, Oskophoria, Lenaia, and Dionysia to be of Archaic origin, if not older, and the Panathenaea and Thargelia to be late Archaic. The Herakleia and the Pan race date from the early 400s, the Bendideia dates from the mid-400s. Whatever the gaps in our information, the number rises down through the end of the Classical period.

^{31.} Functions: Goldhill (1990, 1999); he might have added that at Arr. An. 3.5.2, 3.6.1, 3.16.9, are also athletic contests in funeral games: Meuli (1926), but with stress on the mourners' grief rather than on the rite. A recent, skeptical view of the relation of tragedy to ritual: Scullion (2002) and (2005).

responded as a spectator, and worshippers responded to the god both by performing for him and by also serving as judges.³²

The god's response to this display of his possessions, attributes, and deeds heightened the esthetic aspect of sacrifice. The god had more reasons to be pleased, or to be displeased, especially with poetry that revealed what the god's worshippers thought of him or her. Criticism by the gods—criticism in connection with sacrifice—begins with Athena asking Zeus why Odysseus's offerings meet with rejection, and Apollo's complaint that Hector's sacrifices may go for naught. In Euripides, of course, this criticism continues, and sometimes comes from worshippers, and again occurs in connection with sacrifice, when the chorus in the *Seven Against Thebes* complains that gods to whom they have sacrificed will abandon them and their city. Comic treatment of the gods includes much more of the same. In the *Birds*, Philetairus asks why *knisē* should go to the gods untaxed. In *Plutus*, Hermes tries to get sacrificial food for nothing and finds he must work as a slave in order to be fed.³³ The esthetic experience offered to the gods gave occasion for reflection as well as enjoyment. The divine spectator was one that the human worshipper, and artist, respected but sometimes challenged.

The Christian God had his share of temples and sculpture, literature and art. Yet Christianity also knew periods of iconoclasm without any ancient parallel. A belief, like the Greek one, that God appreciated beauty competed with a belief that he disparaged it. He was, after all, less anthropomorphic than his Greek counterparts, a being partly outside of time and space, transcendent rather than immanent. That quality would limit art, and would affect literature, in which epiphanies would involve beings other than God the father. To deal with an unrepresentable or hidden being, systematic theology would develop. The implicit instruction found in the act of worship would not suffice.

Complementing the appeal of iconoclasm was the prestige of scripture. No collection of ancient Greek writings possessed such prestige, or even such stability, nor did any Greek writing receive so much exegesis. The ancient writers have their scholia, but even the scholia to Homer amount to little compared to patristic commentaries on books of the Bible. The Bible, moreover, formed a canon, the consequence of which was a growing list of forbidden books. In the course of antiquity, pagan Greek literature acquired something like a canon—much-studied works, but without an institutional imprimatur—yet it never acquired any list of forbidden books. All this militated against any Christian expression of the artistic ambitions found in Greek worship.

^{32.} Judges in Athens: Pickard-Cambridge (1989) 64, 68–70. Olympia: Oehler (1913). Elsewhere: Reisch (1894) 871–874.

^{33.} Ar. Av. 187-193; Plut. 1126-1170.

Also important was a difference in worship itself. Greek offerings were *hiera kala*. The offering of Christ on the cross was hardly that. Neither God the father nor his worshippers could enjoy this spectacle. Nor could God the father feel the autobiographical pleasure afforded a pagan divinity. Angels praised him better than humans could, and in any event, he had heard all this praise before, thanks to his powers of omniscience. Unlike Zeus, he could not remember the joys of seizing power or seducing mortals, or the grief of losing a son like Sarpedon, doomed for reasons outside his control.

For Yahweh, much of the same holds true. Christian iconoclasm resembled, but did not match, the Hebrew prohibition on divine images, and the same was true for the prestige of scripture compared to the *Tanakh*. Once again, features of a revealed religion militated against artistic ambition of the Greek kind. Yet once again, another difference concerned worship. The Tanakh does not allow Yahweh as many adventures as the Greeks allowed their gods, if only because Yahweh was the sole god of his people, and the *Tanakh* did not accompany such diverse criticism of the divinity by his worshippers. No worshipper criticizes Yahweh's conduct relating to sacrifice; the averted death of Isaac evinces the opposite attitude. We should not exaggerate this contrast. As Fénelon implied, the sacrifice or killing performed by Jephtha resembled that performed by Diomedes. Just as some particulars of Greek and Hebrew sacrifice resembled one another, some moral problems arising from the rite, like the use of human victims, appear in both religions. Yet Fénelon points to another difference between the two. His Athena tells the Greeks to slaughter animals in a new way. In antiquity, the Delphic oracle recommended sacrificial changes. Yahweh did not recommend such changes. Prophets who criticized the abuse of sacrifices did not recommend altering or abolishing them, only centralizing them in Jerusalem.

By the same token, the prophets were not historians, not revisers of Yahweh's biography. If the worshipper did not know whether Yahweh created man and woman first, as in the second chapter of Genesis, and not last, as in the third chapter, no known Hebrew scribe championed one of these accounts to the exclusion of the other. The accounts remained joined, through editing that was as creative as Greek poetry, but creative in handling texts rather than traditions. The difference between the two religions lay elsewhere. The stock of Greek poetry grew, and new favorites replaced old, but the canon of the *Tanakh* ceased to grow. Then commentary on the *Tanakh* came to the fore. It did not add new episodes or drop old ones.

Hegel and de Maistre were right about the unique relation of Greek religion to the arts. We need only add that they missed the implicit beliefs that accounted for this Greek trait, first, the belief that the god was watching, and in part was watching sacrificial performances, and second, the belief that the god was watching a performance in which he or she, not just mortals, played a part. The first belief allowed the Greeks to view their gods as judges, and gave their religion

a moral aspect manifest in the rejection of some offerings—an aspect Hegel and de Maistre missed, just as Burkert, Vernant, and Detienne did. The second belief allowed the Greeks to view their gods not just as spectators but as passionate and expert spectators, connoisseurs, and gave their religion an esthetic aspect as well as a moral one. *Hiera kala* had both aspects.

Offerings, Not Sacrifices

If scholars have not written about these implicit beliefs, it is not for any want of curiosity about the gods. In his *Vie quotidienne des dieux grecs*, Detienne investigated food, drink, and other divine pastimes, but not any kind of belief.³⁴ Instead, the notion of a ritual of sacrifice has given scholars no motive to investigate beliefs about this practice. This notion, which made it harder to observe what the Greeks did, also made it harder to observe what the Greeks assumed. The recent emphasis on sacrifice as an utterance, performance, or practice did not overcome these difficulties. The etic concepts of ritual and sacrifice persisted, and the gods of sacrifice remained out of sight.

If "the ritual of sacrifice" is a blinder—a conceptual error and a historical complication—why retain it?³⁵ Rather than make "sacrifices" according to the category of ritual, Greeks made offerings according to need, often burnt offerings, as in the King James translation of the Bible. If this phrase resembles Greek thusia, the German Opfer, derived from the Latin for "working," resembles the less common Greek phrase hiera rezein. These two words have another merit. "Offering" presumes a divine recipient, and Opfer permits one. Christianity excepted, "sacrifice" has come to mean a rite without one. "Offering" and Opfer ought to replace "sacrifice." The former are still religious terms. The latter mostly is not. When it is, it refers to another religion. We need terms that apply to Greek religion, not its sometime rival—a religious diction, but not of a sanguinary hue.

Arthur Darby Nock, perhaps the leading English-speaking historian of pagan religion, told his literary executor, Professor Stewart of Harvard, that he wished to leave a little less religion in the world than what he had found.³⁶ Now we should put the religion back.

^{34.} Detienne and Sissa (1989), the only book of its kind.

^{35.} As asked by Watt (2007) ch. 1.

^{36.} A remark reported by the late Prof. Stewart to the author in 1997, but not found among the obiter dicta of Stewart (1972) 963–965. I used to stroll beneath the windows of Nock's old rooms, which Stewart said had been piled with books and papers. Perhaps Nock hid the religion there.

APPENDIX A

Rejected Offerings in Written Sources Including Plautus

This appendix contains a chronological list of the sources for the acts of rejection discussed in chapter 4, beginning with Homer and ending with Sopater, active before 337 CE. If acts of rejection appear in more than one work by a single author, these works appear in the same order as in LSJ. If more than one author reports an act, citations from the later authors are inset, as at no. 25. Acts of rejection by heroes are included, but acts involving Roman, Hebrew, or other foreign divinities are omitted, save for one act of rejection in Aeschylus's Persae and one in Plautus. Most entries refer to a particular act, but one act of prospective rejection is included (no. 24), as is an instance of repeated rejection (no. 26) and an instance of rejection of a type of celebrant, as opposed to rejection of an individual or a group (no. 34). Except for the last, general statements about rejection are excluded, as are statements from which some act of rejection might be inferred. Intended but unperformed acts are excluded as well, as are acts in which rejection is temporary, implied, likely, or alleged, and acts that are preserved in fragmentary sources.1 One act of a Christian character does not appear, either: when Delphi rejects Augustus because Christ has put her out of business, the emperor does not experience a rejection like any other.2

I Unperformed: the act in the presence of Peace at Ar. Pax 1017–1018. Temporary: Malalas Chron. 231. Temporary in part: Il. 2.424–425. Implied: Il. 21.130–131, where Achilles says that sacrifices to Scamander will prove useless, even if he does not say that the river has rejected any request to protect the Trojans; so also X. An. 7.8.5, HG 5.4.4. Likely: Od. 19.197–202. Alleged: Plb. 29.18.1. Fragmentary: IG iv 2 1.122 no. 36.

² Malalas Chron. 231.

Gesture/act/ words

Reason for

Citation/

Each act is schematized as follows:

Request

celebrant/god	•	C	of rejection	rejection
For example:				
1. <i>Il</i> . 1.315–317	Relief from	Hecatomb	Denial of request	Rejection of
Achaeans/Apollo	plague			Chryses

Offering

The citation runs from the beginning of the rite to the end, in other words, from the commencement of any procession to any concluding feast or games. If these and other elements in the rite are omitted, the citation confines itself to the verses or section that contain the word or words designating the rite, commonly a form of *thuein*. If the celebrant leads a group, he is mentioned, but they are not; if a group worships, but the source does not name a leader, the group is mentioned instead. The request is as stated in the source, or as deduced from circumstances, or left "unstated." If it can be deduced from other sources, a footnote appears. The offering may be an animal, whether accompanied by other offerings or not; or a dedication presumably accompanied by animal offerings (no. 7 and 17); or a libation poured by priest and accompanied by incense (no. 25). If no offering is reported, but a verb for making an offering is reported instead, the verb appears in this column.

The next item, the manner of rejection, may be manifested by a gesture (no. 2), by an act (nos. 38, 48), by a refusal to appear (no. 32), or by omens (nos. 14, 19–20, 46); or by an express (nos. 4, 12, 17, 46, 52) or implied statement or signal by a god or priest (nos. 31, 33, 35, 42, 47, 49, 50) or, less often, by another authority (nos. 30, 32). When not manifested in these ways, rejection is reported as refusal to accept or the like (nos. 3, 5, 6, 9, 37, 49, 51) or by terms for unsuccessful sacrifice (nos. 15, 16, 26, 29) or by a circumlocution (nos. 22). For the most part, rejection is founded on the denial of a worshipper's request only when the denial of the request is immediate. Commonly, this denial is explicit (nos. 10, 11, 21, 23, 36, 39, 41, 43–44), but in two cases it is implicit (nos. 1, 8). If denial of the request is delayed, this denial must take the form of condemnation of the worshipper (nos. 7) or must be made plain by the source (no. 36) or be notorious (nos. 13, 25).

The reason for rejection is as stated in the source, but otherwise is unstated unless it is notorious. If a *nomos* has been violated, particulars are given, for example, "violation of allotment," meaning *moira*. If homicide has been committed, the name of the victim appears.

Acts of extispicy with negative results appear not in this appendix, but in appendix B. However, one act of extispicy to which the god responded with an omen does appear (no. 18), as does one act in which the celebrant performed *thusiai* on behalf of his city and thus may not have limited himself to extispicy (no. 29). Two other acts are doubtful, for they may not have been limited to extispicy, either, but are included (nos. 26, 27).

In every column except the first, the words of the source are cited unless an Englishlanguage summary is easier to comprehend.

Citation/celebrant/god	Request	Offering	Gesture/words/act of rejection	Reason for rejection
1. <i>Il.</i> 1.315–317 Achaeans/Apollo 2. <i>Il.</i> 6.297–311 Theano/Athena	Relief from plague Harm Diomedes	Hecatomb Peplos	Denial of request ανένευε	Rejection of Chryses Unstated; see no. 3
3. <i>Il</i> . 8.548–552 Trojans/gods	Unstated	Cattle, sheep	οὐδατέοντο	απήχθετο Ίλιος
4. <i>Il</i> . 20.170–171 Hector/Zeus	Unstated ³	Cattle	Denial of request	Violation of allotment ⁴
5. Od. 1.60–62 Odysseus/Zeus	Unstated	ίερὰ ρέζων	οὐδέ νυ σοί περ ἐντρέπεται φίλον ἦτορ;	Maiming of Cyclops
6. <i>Od.</i> 3.143–147, 59–61 Achaeans/gods	Appeasement	Hecatombs	οὐ τρέτεται νόος	Hierosulia
7. <i>Od.</i> 3.273–275 Aegisthus/gods	Thanks	μηρί' ἔκηε ἀγάλματ' ἀνῆπσεν	Support for Orestes	Murder of Agamemnon
8. Od. 9.231–232 Odysseus/unstated	Xenia or protection	<i>ἐθύσαμεν</i> ⁵	Denial of request	Unstated
9. <i>Od.</i> 9.551–555 Odysseus/Zeus	Unstated	Ram	οὐκ ἐμπάζετο	Unstated ⁶
10. <i>Od</i> . 12.356-365, 87-88 Crew/gods	Appeasement	Cattle	Denial of request ⁷	Hierosulia

(continued)

³ Evidently including prayers for his own safety.

⁴ *Il*. 22.179–180.

⁵ Unstated vegetal offerings.

⁶ As suggested in chapter 4, one reason may be the maiming of the Cyclops, and the other may be Odysseus's misconduct as a xenos.

⁷ Denied in order to forestall the offended god's threat: δύσομαι εἰς Αἴδαο (Od. 12.383).

Citation/celebrant/god	Request	Offering	Gesture/words/act of rejection	Reason for rejection
11. Od. 13.184–187 Phaeacians/Poseidon	Appeasement	12 bulls	Denial of request ⁸	Violation of nomos ⁹
12. Hdt. 1.19.2 Alyattes/Delphic Apollo	Consultation	Unstated ¹⁰	οὐχ ἔφη χρήσειν	Hierosulia
13. Hdt. 1.50 Croesus/Delphic Apollo	ίλάσκετο	Animals, furniture, clothing	Denial of request	Unstated
14. Hdt. 6.81–82 Cleomenes/Argive Hera	Unstated	Unstated	έκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στεθέων φλόγα πυρὸς	Violation of nomos ¹¹
15. Hdt. 6.91 Argives/Demeter	Raise curse	Unstated	ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγένετο	Slain captives
16. Hdt. 7.133–134 Spartans/unstated	Unstated	Unstated	καλλιερῆσαι οὐκ ἐδύνατο	Slain heralds
17. Hdt. 8.122 Aeginetans/inadequate Delphic Apollo	Thanks	Spoils dedicated	πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἔφησεν [οὐχ] ἔχειν	ἀκροθίνια
18. Hdt. 9.10.3 Cleombrotus/unstated ¹²	Hepatoscopy	θυομένω	Eclipse	Unstated
19. A. Pers. 204–208 Atossa/daimones	Help for Xerxes	θῦσαι πέλανον	Ill omen	Unstated

⁸ Od. 3.157.

⁹ I.e., giving safe convoy and thus infringing on the powers of Poseidon (Od. 13.174); alternatively, denial of honor to Poseidon (13.143-145).

¹⁰ Customarily, a goat: Plu. Defec. orac. 437b.

¹¹ In this instance according to the Argives, but at Delphi according to Herodotus (6.84.3).

¹² To Zeus and Athena if diabatēria (X. Lac. 13.2).

20. S. Ant. 999–1022 Tiresias/unstated	Omen	θυμάτων	"Ηφαιστος οὐκ ἔλαμπεν οὐ δέχονται μηρίων φλόγα	Violation of funerary <i>nomos</i>
21. S. <i>El</i> . 637–659 Clytemnestra/Lycian Apollo	λυτηρίους εὐχὰς	θύμαθ'	Denial of request	Murder of Agamem- non
22. S. Ph. 8-11 Achaeans/gods	Unstated	οὔτε λοιβῆς ἡμὶν οὔτε (παρῆν ἐκήλοις προσθι	•	δυσφημίαις
23. S. OT 911–923 Jocasta/Lycian Apollo	λύσιν τιν'	ἐ πιθυμιάματα	Denial of request	Murder of Laius
24. E. <i>Alc</i> . 119–120 People/gods	Survival of Alcestis	Sheep	ἐπ' ἐσχάραν οὐκέτ' ἔχω τίνα πορευθῶ	Violation of allot- ment ¹³
25. Th. 6.32.1 Fleet/gods	εὐχὰς τὰς νομιζομένας	Libations	Attendant omen ¹⁴	Unstated
DS 13.3.2	Same	θυμιατηρίων καὶ κρατηρίων	Same	Same
26. Antipho 5.82 Voyagers/unstated	Diabatēria	Unstated	τὰ ἱερὰ μὴ γίγνεσθαι τὰ νομιζόμενα	Pollution
27. X. An. 7.1.40 Coirtiridas/unstated	Unstated	ίερεῖα	οὖκ ἐκαλλιέρει	Unstated

(continued)

¹³ E. *Alc*. 12–14.

¹⁴ Th. 6.27.3, the destruction of the Herms.

Citation/celebrant/god	Request	Offering	Gesture/words/act of rejection	Reason for rejection
28. X. Cyr. 7.2.18–20 Croesus/Delphic Apollo	Consultation	Unstated ¹⁵	οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο	Previous misuse ¹⁶
29. X. HG 3.3.3-4 Agesilaus/unstated	θυσιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως	Unstated	δεινότερα \dots τ \grave{a} $\grave{\iota}$ ερ \grave{a} ¹⁷	Unstated
30. X. HG 3.5.5 Agesilaus/unstated	Diabatēria	τεθυμένα ίερὰ ώς	<i>ἔρριψαν</i>	Foreigner
Plu. Ages. 6.6	Same	τὰ μηρία διέρριψο	ιν	Same
Paus. 3.9.4	Same	τῶν ἱερεῖων καιόμενα ἀπορρίπτουσιν		Unstated
31. X. Mem. 2.2.13 Magistrate/unstated	θυόμενα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως	τὰ ἱερὰ	οὖ εὖσεβῶς θυόμενα	Violation of <i>nomos</i> regarding parents
32. Is. 6.22 Philoctemon/Zeus	Phratry admission	τὸ κουρεῖον	\dot{a} πην $\dot{\epsilon}$ χ θ η	οὐεἰσεδέξαντο
33. Isoc. 6.31 Messenians/Delphic Apollo	Consultation	Unstated ¹⁸	οὐδὲν ἀνεῖλεν ώς οὐ δικαί αἴτησιν	αν ποιουμένοις τὴν
34. <i>IG</i> iv ² 1.122 no. 25 Sostrata/ Epidaurian Asclepius	Cure	Unstated ¹⁹	οὐθὲν ἐνύπνιον ἑώρη	Unstated

¹⁵ See note 10 here.

¹⁶ ἀπεπειρώμην αὐτοῦ εἰ δύναιτο ἀληθεύειν.

¹⁷ After second of three attempts; μ ó λ 15 κ α λ λ 16 ρ η σ α ν τ es after third, before interrupted by Thebans.

¹⁸ See note 10 here.

¹⁹ Customarily, a piglet: *SEG* XLIV.505, *I Perg*. III 161.2–8, 15–18.

35. Heracl. Pont. fr. 50 ed. Wherli Milesians/Didymaean Apollo	Consultation	Unstated	ό θεὸς ἀπήλαυνεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ μαντείου	μοι φόνος μέλει
36. Men. fr. 683.1–6 K-A Unstated/unstated	Unstated	ταύρωνἢ ἐρίφων	Denial of request ²⁰	Unstated
37. Men. fr. 759 K-A Unstated/unstated	Unstated	<i>ἔθυον</i>	οὐ προσέχουσιν οὐδέν μοι θεοῖς.	Unstated
38. Pl. <i>Cur</i> . 260–269 Pimp/Epidaurian Asclepius	Cure	Unstated ²¹	Uiderier procul sedere longe a me Aesculapium neque eum ad me adire	Perjury
39. Pl. <i>Poen</i> . 449–456 Lycus/Aphrodite	Unstated	Hostiis	Nec potui propitiam Venerem facere	Deosiratos
40. Charito 3.8.3–4 Dionysius/Aphrodite	Preserve marriage	Hecatomb	'Αφροδίτη, σύ με ἐνήδρευσας	Prior marriage
41. Charito 6.2.4 King of Babylon/Eros	Romance	θυσίας	Denial of request	Unstated
42. Plu. <i>Ser. Num.</i> 560e Calondas/ Delphic Apollo ²³	Consultation	Unstated ²²	ἐκβληθείς	ίερὸν ἄνδρα ἀνηρηκώς
				(continued)

20 εἴ τις δὲ θυσίαν προσφέρων, ὧ Πάμφιλε,/ταύρων τι πλῆθος ἢ ἐρίφων ἤ, . . . / εὔνουν νομίζει τὸν θεὸν καθιστάναι,/πεπλάνητ' ἐκεῖνος.

²¹ See note 19 here.

²² See note 10 here.

²³ So also D. Chr. 33.12.

Citation/celebrant/god	Request	Offering	Gesture/words/act of rejection	Reason for rejection
43. X. Eph. 1.5.6–8 parents of bride/ Chthonian gods	Cure	<i>ἔθυόν … ἱερε</i> ῖα	Sickness worsened	Oracle of Colophonian Apollo ²⁴
44. X. Eph. 1.5.6–8 parents of groom/ unstated	Same	Same	Same	Same
45. X. Eph. 1.10.5 newlyweds/Artemis	Safe voyage	θυσίαι	Capture by pirates	Oracle as above
46. Ach. Tat. 2.12.3 parents of betrothed/ Hera	Proteleia	θύματα	Interrupted by eagle	Will of Zeus Xenios
47. Paus. 5.21.5 Athenians/Delphic Apollo	Consultation	Unstated ²⁵	οὐκ ἔφησε χρήσειν	Unpaid fine
48. Paus. 8.2.3–4 Lycaon/Zeus	Unstated	Infant	ἐπὶ τῆ θυσία γενέσθαι λύκον	Choice of victim
49. Paus. 10.13.8 Heracles/Delphic Apollo	Consultation	Unstated ²⁶	οὐκ ἐθελῆσαί οἱ χρᾶν	'Ιφίτου φόνον
Apollod. 2.6.2	Same	Same	μὴ χρησμῳδούσης	Unstated
50. Ael. <i>VH</i> 3.43 Sybarites/Delphic Apollo	Consultation	Unstated ²⁷	ού σε θεμιστεύσω	Μουσῶν θεράποντα κατέκτας πρὸς βωμοῖσι,

²⁴ X. Eph. 1.6.2.

²⁵ See note 10 here.

²⁶ See note 10 here.

²⁷ See note 10 here.

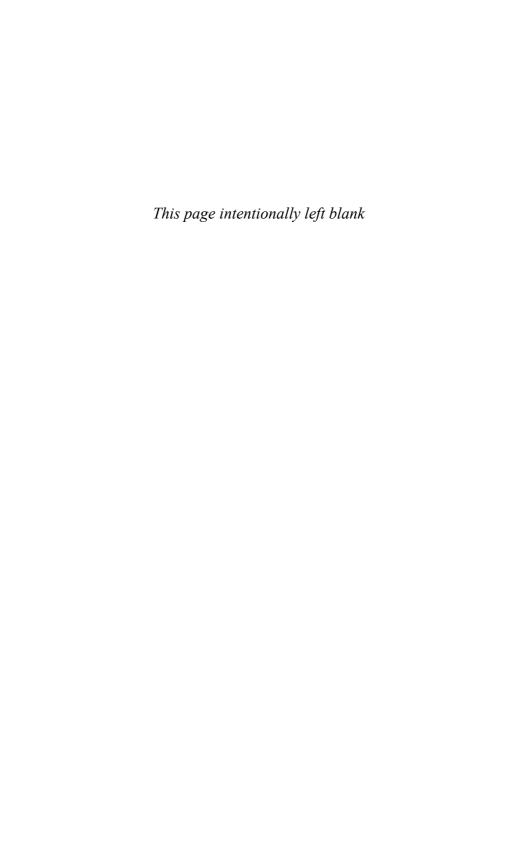
51. Ael. fr. 47 Locrians/Delphic Apollo	Consultation	Unstated ²⁸	οὔκουν ἐδέχετο αὐτοὺς τὸ μαντεῖον	Disobedience
52. Philostr. VA 1.10 Cilician/Pergamine Asclepius	Cure	Cattle, pigs	'Ασκληπιὸς ἐπιστὰς νύκτωρ "ἀπίτω" ἔφη	μιαρὸς καὶ κεχρημένος οὐκ ἐπὶ χρηστοῖς τῷ πάθει
53. Philostr. VA 4.16 Trojans/Achilles	σπονδὰς αἰτοῦσιν	θύουσί μοι καὶ ώραίων ἀπάρχονται	ᾶς ἐγὼ οὐ δώσω	τὰ γὰρ ἐπιορκηθέντα²9
54. Ath. 3.98b anonymous/Delphic Apollo	Consultation	Unstated ³⁰	οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ	"ἄχρηστον"
55. Sopater p. 740 Nero/Delphic Apollo	Consultation	Unstated ³¹	χρησμὸν οὖκ ἔλαβε	ἀσελγῶν

²⁸ See note 10 here.

²⁹ Regarding Polyxena (schol. Lyc. 323).

³⁰ See note 10 here.

³¹ See note 10 here.



APPENDIX B

Acts of Negative Extispicy in Written Sources Including Curtius

This appendix contains a chronological list, beginning with Aeschylus and ending with Polyaenus, for the acts of negative extispicy discussed in chapter 4. If such acts appear in more than one work by a single author, these works appear in the same order as in *LSJ*. If an act appears in more than one author, citations from the later authors are inset, as at no. 5. This list excludes *sphagiai*, save for an instance at which entrails were inspected before a river-crossing and a negative result occurred (no. 1) and an instance in which entrails were inspected during an attack and the same occurred (no. 5). This list also excludes the inspection of entrails when it occurs before a meal, or as part of an act of *thusia* that does not precede some military, political, or personal decision; and it excludes one act of extispicy that prompted an eclipse (appendix A, no. 18).¹ Successive acts by the same celebrant with the same intent are listed as a single item, but with a footnote. In Xenophon, such acts are divided among two or three items if some circumstance has changed, such as greater attendance (no. 15 versus 14) or the passage of a day or the use of an unusual victim (no. 16 versus 17 and 18).

Each act is schematized as follows:

^{1.} So also doubtful acts (appendix A here, nos. 26, 27, 29). Other classifications: Pritchett (1971) 3.83 holding that *sphagia* before battle was commonly divinatory, but according to a different method than in *thusia*; and Szymanski (1908) 89 holding that it was commonly divinatory by the same method; and Stengel (1886) 307–312 holding that it was common according to the method described at E. *Ph.* 1255.

Response
Obeyed
α οὖ Diabatēria αι καλὰ

The citation given on the left includes the celebrant, but not the army or other group for which he acts. If a soothsayer is said to assist the celebrant, his name appears in parentheses, or the word *mantis* appears, but in many instances the presence of an unacknowledged soothsayer should be assumed. The next column, reporting the result, consists of the words indicating negative extispicy. In the third column, the intent is that of the celebrant, and the alternative is to abjure this intent. Twice (nos. 13, 21) the alternative is to pursue some other course of action. In these cases, the alternative is stated after the word "or." Voyages and border- and river-crossings are described as *diabatēria*. In the fourth column, the response indicates whether the celebrant obeyed the gods' wishes, or took some other course of action, including manipulating the result.

Source and celebrant	Result	Intent	Response
1. A. Sept. 536–538 Argives (Amphiaraus)	σφάγια οὖ γίγνεται καλὰ	Diabatēria	Obeyed ²
2. Hdt. 6.76 Cleomenes	οὐ ἐκαλλιέρεε	Diabatēria	Obeyed
3. Hdt. 9. 36–38 Mardonius (Hegisistratus)	οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά	Attack	Disobeyed ³
4. Hdt. 9.36–38 Greeks (Tisamenus)	καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ οὖ·	Attack	Obeyed
5. Hdt. 9.61 Pausanias	οὐ ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά.	Attack	Obeyed ⁴
Plu. <i>Arist</i> . 17.7	οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει	Same	Same
6. E. Supp. 155–156 Adrastus ⁵ (Amphiaraus)	{Θη.} μάντεις δ' ἐπῆλθι εἶδες φλόγα; {Αδ.} οἴμα μάλιστ' ἐγὼ ἀσφάλην.		Disobeyed
7. Th. 5.54.2 Agis	τὰ διαβατήρια οὐ προυχώρει		Obeyed

^{2.} As shown at A. Sept. 577-594.

^{3.} Hdt. 9.41.

^{4.} Superseded by omen.

^{5.} Unlike no. 1, diabatēria not specified.

Source and celebrant	Result	Intent	Response
8. Th. 5.55.3 Spartans	οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τὰ διαβατήρια αὐτοῖς		Obeyed
9. Th. 5.116.1 Spartans	έγένετο τὰ διαβατήρια οὐκ έγίγνετο		Obeyed
10. X. An. 2.2.3 Clearchus	οὖκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά	Attack	Obeyed
11. X. An. 5.5.2 Generals (manteis)	γνώμην ὅτι οὐδαμῆ προσίοιντο οἱ θεοὶ	Attack	Obeyed
12. X. An. 5.6.16 Xenophon (Silanus)	έν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φαίνοιτό τις δόλος ⁷	Found city ⁶	Obeyed
13. X. An. 6.1.22–24 Xenophon	ό θεὸς σημαίνει μήτε προσδεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς μήτε εἰ αἰροῖντο ἀποδέχεσθαι.	Accept or reject command	Obeyed
14. X. An. 6.4.13 generals (Arexion)	οὖκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά	Return to Calpe	Obeyed
15. X. An. 6.4.15 Xenophon ⁸	οὖκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά ⁹	Same	Obeyed
16. X. An. 6.4.19 Xenophon ¹⁰	οὖκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά	Obtain supplies	Obeyed
17. X. An. 6.4.20 Xenophon ¹¹	θύματα ἐπελελοίπει	Same	Obeyed
18. X. An. 6.4.22 Cleanor	οὐδ' ῶς ἐγένοντο ¹²	Same	Obeyed ¹³

(continued)

 $^{6.\} Or,$ as Xenophon later explains, whether to consult the troops about the foundation or to abandon the plan.

^{7.} Thus Silanus; τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ according to Xenophon.

^{8.} Same day as previous; troops attend.

^{9.} Three attempts.

^{10.} Same day as previous.

^{11.} Day after previous.

^{12.} Using cattle. *Hiera* is the implied subject.

^{13.} Except by Neon, with 2,000 foragers (X. An. 6.4.23-24).

Source and celebrant	Result	Intent	Response
19. X. An. 6.4.25 unstated	οὐκ ἐγεγένητο τὰ ἱερὰ	Unstated	Obeyed ¹⁴
20. X. <i>An.</i> 6.6.35 Cleander	οὖκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά ¹⁵	Advance	Obeyed
21. X. <i>An</i> . 7.6.44 Xenophon	[Ζεὺς] ἀναιρεῖ αὐτῷ ἀπιέναι	Join forces or withdraw	Obeyed
22. X. HG 3.1.17 Dercylidas	οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερὰ ¹⁶	Advance	Obeyed
23. X. <i>HG</i> 3.4.15 Agesilaus Plu. <i>Ages</i> . 39	ἄλοβα γίγνεται τῶν ἱερῶν ἀλόβων φανέντων	Advance	Obeyed
24. X. HG 4.4.5 Corinthian oligarchs	τὰ ἱερὰ ὥστε οἱ μάντεις ἔφασαν ἄμεινον εἶναι καταβαί- νειν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου	Leave Acro- Corinth or remain	Obeyed
25. X. HG 4.7.7. Agesipolis 26. X. HG 4.8.36 Anaxibius	τὰ ἱερὰ ἄλοβα οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν γεγεν-ημένων αὐτῷ	Build wall Advance	Obeyed Disobeyed
27. <i>Hell. Oxy</i> . 7.4 ed. Bartoletti Agesilaus	μὴ γίγνεθαι καλὰ	Advance	Obeyed
28. Aeschin. 3.131 Philip II 29. DS 13.97.5 Callicratidas (unnamed <i>mantis</i>)	οὖκ καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἡ τοῦ θύματος κεφαλὴ κειμένη παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀφανὴς ἐγεγόνει,	Advance Attack	Obeyed Dis- obeyed ¹⁷
30. Curt. 4.6.10 Alexander (Aristander)	Interrupted by ominous bird	Attack	Disobeyed
Arr. An. 2.26.4 Plu. Alex. 25.3	Same Same	Same Same	Same ¹⁸ Same

^{14.} Followed by an act of *sphagia* preceding an attack made in response to an emergency.

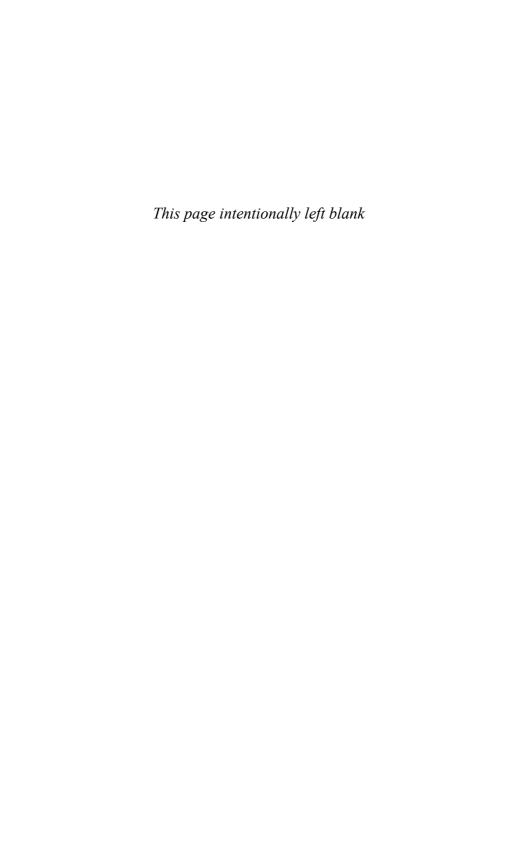
^{15.} During three days.

^{16.} During three days.

^{17.} On the ground that negative sign concerned only the commander.

^{18.} Only with respect to Alexander himself. The omen foretold danger for him, not defeat for the army. The verb, *thuein*, is active, whereas elsewhere Arrian uses *thuesthai* for divination, but the circumstances resemble those of divination.

Source and celebrant	Result	Intent	Response
31. Curt. 5.4.2 Alexander (Aristander)	Damnatis intempestivis sacrificiis	Attack	Obeyed
32. Curt. 7.7.8, 23 Alexander (Aristander)	Tristia exta	Diabatēria	Conclu- sion altered
Arr. An. 4.4.3	τὰ ἱερὰ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο	Same	Disobeyed
It. Alex. 85	Sacrificia creberrime	Same	Same
33. Curt. 9.4.27 Alexander (Demophon)	Vitae eius periculum ostendi	Attack	Disobeyed
34. Plu. <i>Alex</i> . 25.1 Alexander (Aristander)	A month allotted by Aristander	Capture of Tyre	Days added to month by Alexander
35. Arr. <i>An.</i> 5.28.4 Alexander	οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά.	Diabatēria	Obeyed
36. Arr. <i>An.</i> 7.18.2 Alexander (Peithagoras)	άλοβον τὸ ἡπαρ	ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας	Death
37. Polyaen. 3.9.9 Iphicrates (unnamed <i>manteis</i>)	τῶν μάντεων ἀπαγορευόντων	Unstated	οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπείθετο



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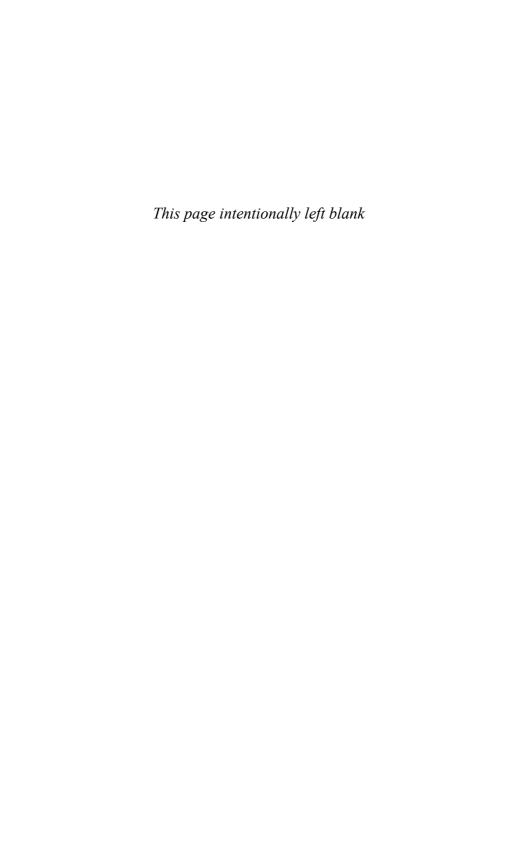
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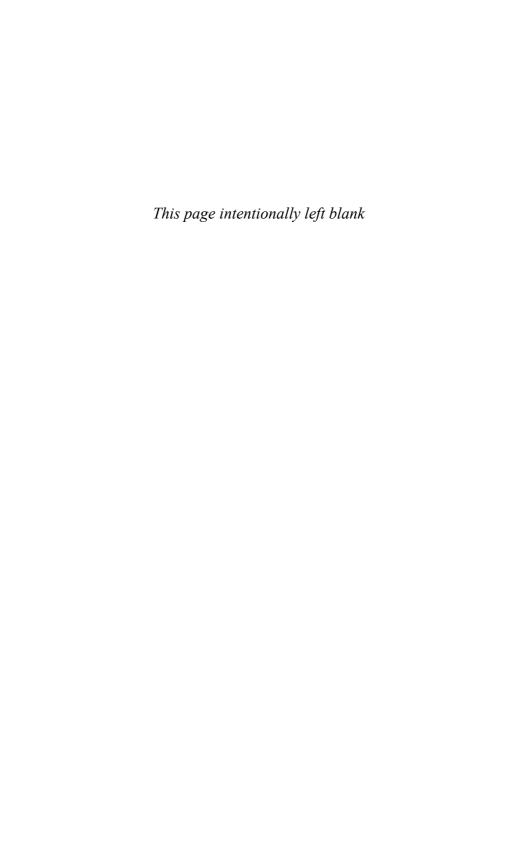
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