

Ancient Greek Religion HIST 7106 Spring term 2010

Modern reading on ten topics, preceded by a general bibliography; ancient material in translation will be distributed at the lectures.

Course description: this is an introductory course on ancient Greek religion, a basic understanding of which is essential for the study both of Greek history and of Greek literature (especially but not only poetry - epic, tragedy and the poetry of Pindar). But in this area the ancient literary sources take much for granted, so that we need to go to inscriptions for some of the material; translations of relevant texts (literary and inscriptional) will be provided where appropriate. The course will concentrate on primary evidence, but modern anthropological and comparative work will be exploited as well: Greek religion is a 'growth area' at present and some of the most exciting work being done in classical studies is on Greek religion broadly defined. There will be ten weekly classes of one and a half hours each. Topics covered will be:

- preliminaries
- introduction to Greek religion: concepts; sources; religion and society
- the gods
- heroes and heroization
- festivals and sanctuaries
- sacrifice
- prophecy, oracles and divination; necromancy; curses
- myth
- afterlife beliefs
- post-classical developments including ruler-cult.

Practical details

The teacher will be Simon Hornblower (s.hornblower@ucl.ac.uk, office hours Monday 10 - 11 and Thursday 3 - 4), and the classes will be held in History department room 114 (26, Gordon Sq, Thursdays from 11 till 12. 30 or a little after, starting Thursday 14th January 2010. (No class Thursday February 18th : Reading Week). The format will usually be as follows: the first 30-45 minutes will be spent discussing the printed **assignment** which was distributed in the previous week, and which will be concerned with that (i. e. the previous) week's lecture topic. Then there will be a 5-10 min. break. The rest of the session will take the form of a lecture by me. That is, we will cover two different topics every week, one as an **assignment**, one as a **lecture**. Obviously, week 1 will be different because there is no assignment.

No knowledge of Greek (or Latin) is required. **Class-specific lecture handouts** (in addition to this, the **Introductory handout and week-by-week bibliography**) will be given out every week, and these will translate all Greek. There are two pamphlet boxes in the History departmental office, containing a total of c. 50 items. These are signalled below (**pamphlet no. 00**). They are for borrowing and immediate return after copying.

Assessment will be by two **essays** totalling 5000 words, on topics taken from the essay question sheet provided at class 1. In addition, those taking the course will be expected to contribute actively to discussion of **assignments** when asked. (There will be no formal presentations). Essay 1 should be handed in to the History departmental office for stamping on the first day after the end of Reading Week, i.e. by 5 p.m. on Monday February 22nd. Essay 2 should be given in by 5 p.m. on Friday March 19^h, i.e. the last day of term. Essays should be double-spaced, in 12-point text. It is **not** acceptable to send essays by e-mail attachment, partly because they need (in your own interests) to be stamped as having been received.]

General bibliography

The best book-length introduction is S. Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks* (ask yourselves: why 'religions' in the plural?) 1999. (paperback). But for an excellent very short introductory account see R. Parker, 'Greek Religion' in J. Boardman, J. Griffin and O. Murray (eds.) *Oxford History of the Classical World* (1986) ch. 11. See also J. Gould, 'On making sense of Greek Religion' in P. Easterling and J. V. Muir (eds.) *Greek Religion and Society* (1985) 1-33 = Gould, *Myth, Ritual, Memory and Exchange* (2001) ch. 7 (**pamphlet no. 13**); E. Kearns, 'Order, Interaction, Authority:

Ways of Looking at Greek Religion', in A. Powell (ed.) *The Greek World* (1995) 511-529 (**pamphlet no. 18**) and 'Religious Practice and Belief' in K. Kinzl (ed.) *Companion to the Classical Greek World* (2006), ch. 15; and R. Parker, 'Law and Religion' in M. Gagarin and D. Cohen (eds.) *Cambridge Companion to Greek Law* (2005) 61-81 (**pamphlet no. 28**). J. Mikalson, *Ancient Greek Religion* (2005). R. Garland, *Religion and the Greeks* (1994) is a very simple introduction. There is plenty about ancient Greek religion in S. I. Johnston (ed.) *Religions of the Ancient World: a Guide* (2004); see esp. the thematic section at pp. 243 onwards, where different authorities treat topics like sacrifice, divination, rites of passage, sin pollution and purity, each in more or less the same order, starting with Egypt and ending with Greece, Etruria, Rome and Christianity.

Other useful and authoritative general books are:

- J. Bremmer, *Greek Religion: Greece and Rome New Surveys in the Classics no. 24* (1994, reprinted with addenda 1999). Short and cheap
- L. Bruit Zaidman and P. Schmitt Pantel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* (tr. P. Cartledge, Cambridge 1992).
- W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (tr. W. Raffan, Oxford 1985), a superb reference book, but also very readable.

The specific bibliographies below do not normally give extracts from the above general books, but you should always consult these. For instance, the section on 'priests' (week 2) does not refer specifically to Burkert's *Greek Religion* but pp. 95-98 of that book are important.

In addition, note that **Buxton** refers to a valuable collection of articles on Greek religion, R. Buxton (ed.) *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (2000). Some chapters have appendixes up-dating the originals.

There are many excellent articles on Greek religion and myth, including entries on particular gods, in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (1996), abbrev. *OCD*³. Some particularly helpful and/or academically outstanding entries are those on 'religion, Greek' (E. Kearns), 'pollution, the Greek concept of' and 'sacrifice, Greek' (both R. C. T. Parker), 'Apollo' (F. Graf), 'Dionysus' (A. Henrichs).

E. Kearns and S. Price, *Oxford Dictionary of Classical Religion and Myth* (2003, paperback 2004) is a cheap-format reference book containing the main *OCD*³ entries

on Greek and Roman religion/myth. D. Ogden, ed. *Blackwell Companion to Greek Religion* (2007) has useful individual chapters, referred to below; abbrev. **Ogden**. J. Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults: a Guide* (2007) is a useful introduction, arranged roughly god by god; mainly derivative.

Translated sourcebooks: E. Kearns, *Ancient Greek Religion* (2010), abbrev. **Kearns**, and referred to by section nos.; S. Instone, *Greek Personal Religion: A Reader* (2009). Note that much of the best evidence for many important aspects of Greek religion is epigraphic i.e. drawn from inscriptions, so that translated sourcebooks are essential as an accompaniment to translations of literary texts like Herodotus or Pindar.

See further week 2 below, end of section.

Week 1: Preliminaries general handouts given out, include. essay topics.

Scope of lectures (post-Homer to post-Alexander). What I aim to do.

Definition of religion. How different from magic? The anthropology of religion.

Books mentioned:

- E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* tr. K. Fields (1995)
- M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (1966)

How Greek was Greek religion?

- M. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (1997)
- W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (1992)

Week 2: Introduction to Greek religion; the sources: religion and society

Some definitions and key concepts such as pollution, purification, ritual.

- Kearns section 3. 3; 5. 1. 3-9
- The general works listed above; also the following:
 - C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'What is *polis* religion?' in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.) *The Greek City* (1990) 295-322 , reprinted in Buxton 13-37 (see also her 'Further Aspects of *Polis* Religion' in Buxton 38-55)
 - J. Kindt, 'Polis religion: a critical appreciation', *Kernos* 22 (2009), 9-34
 - R. Parker, *Miasma* (1983)
 - A. Bendlin, 'Purity and Pollution' in Ogden 178-189
 - M. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (2002)

- J. B. Connolly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (2007)
- M. Parca and A. Tzanetou (eds.) *Finding Persephone: Women's Rituals in the Ancient Mediterranean* (2007)
- J. North, 'priests' in *OCD*³
- R. Garland, 'Priests and Power in Classical Athens' in M. Beard and J. North (eds.) *Pagan Priests* ch. 3 and 'Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens', *British School at Athens Annual* 74 (1984) 75-123 (**pamphlet no. 12**)
- B. Dignas and K. Trampedach (eds.) *Practitioners of the Divine: Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Heliodorus* (2008), esp. 1-14 (A. Henrichs, 'What is a Greek priest?'), 17-34 (A. Chaniotis, priests as ritual experts - or not) and M. Flower 187-206 (the Iamidai – mantic family)
- R. Parker, *Athenian Religion, a History* (1996) and *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (2005)

Literary sources and religion (for authors not listed below see *OCD*³):

General:

- T. Harrison, 'Greek religion and literature' in Ogden 373-384

Pindar:

- C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (1964) ch. 2
- S. Hornblower, 'Pindar on Religion and Myth' in S. Hornblower and C. Morgan, (eds.) *Pindar's Poetry* (2007) 19-30 (**pamphlet no. 46**) and cf. 30-35, the Olympic truce
- S. Hornblower, *Thucydides and Pindar* (2004) chs. 3-4 (**ch. 4= pamphlet no. 44**)
- and see below week 9, Afterlife, and Sphyroeras as cited under week 6

Herodotus:

- J. Gould, 'Herodotus and Religion' in S. Hornblower (ed.) *Greek Historiography* (1994) 91-106, reprinted in Gould's *Myth, Ritual Memory and Exchange* (2001) 358-377
- T. Harrison, *Divinity and History: the Religion of Herodotus* (2000, paperback 2002)
- J. Mikalson, 'Religion in Herodotus', in E. Bakker and others (eds.) *Brill's Companion to Herodotus* (2002), 187- 198

- S. Scullion, 'Herodotus and Greek Religion', in C. Dewald and J. Marincola (eds.) *Cambridge Companion to Herodotus* (2006) 192-208

Thucydides (not a typical Greek in outlook):

- S. Hornblower, 'The Religious Dimension to the Peloponnesian War, Or, What Thucydides Does Not Tell Us', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 94 (1992) 169-197

- B. Jordan, 'Religion in Thucydides', *Transactions of American Philological Association* 116 (1986) 119ff.

- K. J. Dover, *The Greeks and their Legacy* ch.7 (Th. and oracles)

- W. D. Furley, 'Thucydides and Religion', in A. Rengakos and A. Tsakmakis (eds.) *Brill's Companion to Thucydides* (2006) 415-438

the following debate has general implications:

- S. West, 'The Aftermath of Plataean Perjury', *CQ* 53 (2003) 438-47 (**pamphlet no. 40**)

- reply by S. Hornblower, 'Thucydides on Plataean Perjury', in A. Sommerstein and J. Fletcher (eds.) *HORKOS: The Oath in Greek Society* (2007) 138-147 (**pamphlet no. 41**)

Xenophon (a very important source for normal belief/practice):

- Xenophon, *The Expedition of Cyrus* translated by R. Waterfield with valuable introduction and notes by T. Rood (Worlds Classics 2005)

- R. Parker. 'One Man's Piety: the Religious Dimension of the Anabasis' in R. Lane Fox (ed.) *The Long March: Xenophon and the Ten Thousand* (2004) 131-153 (**pamphlet no. 25**)

- H. Bowden, 'Xenophon and the Scientific Study of Religion' in C. Tuplin (ed.) *Xenophon and his World* (2004) 229-246 (**pamphlet no. 2**) **Tragedy and oratory:**

- J. Mikalson, *Honor thy Gods: Popular Religion in Greek Tragedy* (1991)

- R. Parker, 'Gods Cruel and Gods Kind' in C. Pelling (ed.) *Greek Tragedy & the Historian* (1997) ch. 8 (on both tragedy and oratory); *Athenian Religion: a History* (1996) 225; 'Through a Glass darkly; Sophocles and the Divine', in J. Griffin (ed.), *Sophocles Revisited* (1999), 11-30; 'Aeschylus' Gods: Drama, Cult, Theology', in *Eschyle à l'aube du théâtre occidental*, Fondation Hardt Entretiens 55 (2009), 127-64

- C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Tragedy and Religion: Constructs and Readings', in Pelling (ed.) (as above, previous item) 161-186, and now *Tragedy and Athenian Religion* (2003)

- See also Burkert 1966 (below, Sacrifice)
 - S. Scullion 'Nothing to do with Dionysus': Tragedy Misconceived as Ritual', *CQ* 52 (2002) 102-137
 - G. Martin, *Divine Talk: Religious Argumentation in Demosthenes* (2009)
- Pausanias** (C2 AD author of guidebook to most of mainland Greece in 10 'books', with strong emphasis on cultic aspects. Books 6 on Olympia, 8 on Arkadia and 10 on Delphi are specially important)
- C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (1985)
 - M. Pretzler, *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece* (2007) ch. 2

Inscriptions:

Inscriptions ('epigraphic' evidence) will be much used in the course of the term and I do not know of one single study in English which pulls together and discusses the epigraphic evidence for religion. J. Rives, 'Civic and religious life' in J. Bodel (ed.) *Epigraphic evidence: ancient history from inscriptions* (2001) 126-132 is short but may be found useful. You should think for yourself during the course about the way we use inscriptions. For a very good, largely inscription-based, study of one interesting aspect of Greek religion (personal names) see R. Parker, 'Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion' in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (eds.) *Greek Personal Names: their Value as Evidence* (2000) 53-79 (but on the phantom god Mandros, supposedly attested only in inscriptions, see P. Thonemann, *Chiron* 2006). P. J. Rhodes and R. G. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404-323 BC* (2003) translate and comment fully on many C4 BC Greek inscriptions of religious importance; note e.g. no. 1, the Labyadai decree from Delphi. On sacred laws, see R. Parker 'What are Sacred Laws?' in E. Harris and L. Rubinstein (eds.) *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece* (2004) 57-70 (**pamphlet no. 26**) and 'Law and Religion', in M. Gagarin and E. Cohen (eds.), *Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Law* (2005), 61-81; E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law* (2005), intro.

Week 3: The Gods

- Kearns pp. 1-7 and sections 1. 1 – 1. 2. 21. 3. 4 – 2. 2. 5
- K. Dowden 'Olympian gods, Olympic Pantheon' in Ogden 41-55
- S. Scullion, 'Olympian and Chthonian', *Classical Antiquity* 13 (1994) 75-119 (**pamphlet no. 31**)

- S. Scullion, 'Heroic and Chthonian Sacrifice: New Evidence from Selinus' *ZPE* 132 (2000) 163-71 (**pamphlet no. 32**)
- R. Parker, '*hws Hrwi enagizein* ['to sacrifice/make offerings as to a hero'] in R. Hägg and B. Alroth, eds. *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian* (2005) 37-45 (**pamphlet no. 27**)
- A. Henrichs, 'Sacrifice as to the Immortals' in *Greek Sacrificial Ritual* 2005 (see previous item), 47-60 (**pamphlet no. 52**)
- S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (1997) with Kearns section 3. 1.
- F. Naiden, *Ancient Supplication* (2006)

Some individual gods: (but note that, in studying Greek polytheism, an approach in terms of pairings, complementarity and opposites is better than concentration on single gods; see esp. Vernant 'Hestia/Hermes', below)

Zeus: K. Dowden, *Zeus* (2006) and F. Graf in *OCD*³

Apollo (and see below topic 7, Divination):

- F. Graf, *Apollo* (2009) [at 3-5 he tries to justify the 'one god' approach; see above on polytheism]
- consider esp. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides* with Parker, above on religion in Aeschylus; Euripides, *Ion*; Pindar, *Pythians* 3 (Koronis) and 9 (Kyrene). Contrast Hdt. 6. 86 and the Delphic precepts (Ai Khanoum handout)
- J. Davies, 'The Moral Dimension of Pythian Apollo', in A. Lloyd (ed.) *What is a God? Studies in the Nature of Greek Divinity* (1997) 43-64 (**pamphlet no. 6**)
- A. Bierl, 'Apollo in Greek Tragedy' in J. Solomon (ed.) *Apollo: Origins and Influences* (1994) 81-96 (**pamphlet no. 1**)
- K. Zacharia, *Converging Truths: Euripides' Ion and the Athenian Quest for Self-definition* (2003) ch. 3 'Apollo in the Ion' esp. 118-122
- A. Bowie, 'Athens and Delphi in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*', in S. Goldhill and E. Hall (eds.), *Sophocles and the Greek Tragic Tradition* ((2009), 208-31 and (independently) S. I. Johnston, ' "From Oracles, What Useful Words have ever come to Mortals?": Delphic Apollo in the *Oresteia*', in L. Athanassaki and others (ed.) *Apolline Politics and Poetics* (2009), 219-28

Dionysus:

- R. Seaford, *Euripides Bacchae* (ed., translation and commentary) 1996 and *Dionysus* (2006); T. H. Carpenter and C. Faraone (eds.) *The Masks of Dionysus* (1993) and see Henrichs in *OCD*³

- J. Gould, *Myth, Ritual Memory, and Exchange* (2001) ch. 11 'Dionysus and the Hippy Convoy'

Artemis:

- H. Lloyd-Jones, 'Artemis and Iphigeneia', *JHS* 103 (1983) 87-102 = *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion* (1990) ch. 24

- S. G. Cole, *Landscapes, Gender and Ritual Space* (2004) chs. 6 and 7

Athena:

- J. Neils, *Worshipping Athena* (1996)

- S. Deacy, *Athena* (2008) and (ed., with A. Villing) *Athena in the Classical World* (2001)

Pan:

- P. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece* (1988)

- E. Stafford, *Worshipping Virtues: Personification and the Divine in Ancient Greece* (2000)

- R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (1996), 163-8

Epiphany: see A. Henrichs in *OCD*³ and Kearns section 3. 2. A good test case is the (non-visual) 'epiphany' of Pan at Hdt. 6. 105 (= Kearns 3. 2. 7 and Instone no. 4); see S. Hornblower, 'Epic and Epiphanies', in D. Boedeker and D. Sider (eds.), *The New Simonides* (2001), 135-147

Polytheism as attested by literary sources:

- G. Howie, 'Greek Polytheism' in G. Davies (ed.) *Polytheistic Systems* (1989) 51-76 (**pamphlet no. 15**)

- B. C. Dietrich, *Death, Fate and the Gods*, 1965

Theoretical approaches to polytheism:

- P. Friedrich, *The Meaning of Aphrodite* (1978)

- C. Sourvinou-Inwood 'Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri', *JHS* 98 (1978) 101-121

- J.- P. Vernant, 'The Society of the Gods', in his *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece* 1990, pp. 101-119 (**pamphlet no. 33**)

Vernant, 'Hestia-Hermes' in his *Myth and Thought among the Greeks* (**pamphlet no. 34**)

Vernant and M. Detienne *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Thought and Society* section vii on the 'live bit' (**pamphlet no. 35**)

- R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (2005) chs. 17 and 18 'Gods at Work, I and II'

Week 4: Heroes

- Kearns sections 1. 2. 3 – 1. 2. 8; 3. 2. 4
- E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (1989) (**pp. 18-43 = pamphlet no. 18**)
- J. S. Rusten, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1983, 289-97
- J. Fontenrose, 'The Hero as Athlete', *CSCA*. 1 (1968) 73-104. (**pamphlet no. 10**)
- J. N. Coldstream, 'Hero-cults in the Age of Homer', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 96 (1976) 8-17
- I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (1987) ch. VI
- M. Popham, 'The Hero of Lefkandi', *Antiquity* 1982, 169-74
- R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: a History* (1996) 33-39
- S. Hornblower, *Commentary on Thucydides* 2 (1996) 449-456: Brasidas (but see C. P. Jones 2010, below, 93-6, appendix on 'living heroes?')
- B. Currie, 'Euthymos of Locri: a Case Study in Heroization in the Classical Period', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 122 (2002) 24-44
- B. Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-cults in the Archaic to Classical Periods* (2002) with reviews by B. Currie in *JHS* 2003, 238-240 and R. Gordon, *Greece and Rome* 50 (2003) 25-67f., both reviews in box
- B. Currie, *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes* (2005)
- Scullion and Parker under week 3
- G. Ekroth, 'Heroes and Hero-cults' in Ogden 100-114 (**pamphlet no. 22B**)
- J. Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults* (2007) chs. 14 and 15 and *Greek Heroine Cults* (1995)
- C. P. Jones, *New Heroes in Antiquity, from Achilles to Antinoos* (2010)

Week 5: Festivals and Sanctuaries/temples, including altars

- Kearns ch. 5 (sp. 5. 3) and 6
- F. S. Naiden, *Ancient Supplication* (2006)
- the general books above e.g. Price chs. 2 and 3, and OCD³ entries on Delphi, Olympia, Delos etc. (good bibliographies at end of each entry)

- S. Scullion, 'Festivals' in Ogden 190-203; and cf. Richer at 246-9 (Sparta) and K. Clinton at 343-356 (mysteries of Demeter and Kore)
- H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* 1977
- E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (1983)
- R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (2005) chs. 8-16; note esp. chs. 11 (Brauron) 13 (Thesmophoria and Adonia) and 16 ('Festivals, Rituals, Myths: Reprise')
(pamphlet no. 29 a-d)
- H. Versnel, 'Festival for Bona Dea and the Thesmophoria', *Greece and Rome* 39 (1992) 31-55
- W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* 1985, 242-6
- J. J. Winkler, 'The laughter of the oppressed' from *The Constraints of Desire* (1990) 188-209 **(pamphlet no. 38)**
- J. Oakley and L. Reitzhammer, 'A Hellenistic Terracotta and the Gardens of Adonis', *JHS* 125 (2005) 142-4 and plate 7
- C. Bell, *Ritual* (1997) and *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (1992)
- C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles: the Transformation of Delphi and Olympia in the Eighth Century BC* (1990)
- N. J. Richardson, entries in *OCD*³ on Olympic, Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian games, and in *Cambridge Ancient History* vol. 5² (1992) ch. 8d 'panhellenic cults and panhellenic poets'
- S. Hornblower and C. Morgan (eds.), *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons and Festivals* (2007), chs. by J. K. Davies (Delphi) and S. Instone (Olympia)
- J. Neils, *Goddess and Polis: the Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (1992)
- S. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.) *Placing the Gods* (1994)
- N. Marinatos and R. Hagg, *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (1993)
- H. Bowden, 'The Functions of the Delphic Amphictyony before 346 BCE', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 22 (2003) 67-83, but for a reply see
- S. Hornblower, 'Did the Delphic Amphiktion Play a Political Role in the Classical Period?', in C. Constantakopoulou and others (ed.) *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean* (2009), 39-56 (= **pamphlet no. 00**)

Week 6: Sacrifice

- Kearns section 3. 4. 12; 5. 2

- R. Parker 'sacrifice, Greek' in *OCD*³; but note that in ed. 4 forthcoming he will add the sentence: 'Recently it has been questioned whether 'sacrificial guilt' and the legitimacy of killing were important issues in the Greek experience of sacrifice at all'; see further below, Naiden and Peirce.
- M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant (eds.), *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks* (1989), tr. of French ed. of 1979). See esp. Detienne ch. 1 for a good clear statement of the standard structuralist line, now under challenge (see above)
- M. Jameson, 'Sacrifice and Ritual: Greece' in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger (eds.) *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome* (1988) 959-979
(pamphlet no. 17)
- J. N. Bremmer, 'Greek Normative Sacrifice' in Ogden 132-144
- E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion* 1956
- W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* tr. P. Bing, 1983 and 'Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 7 (1966) 87-121, reprinted in *Savage Energies : Lessons of Myth and Ritual in Ancient Greece* 1-36 **(pamphlet no. 4)**
- S. Scullion, as above, week 1 'Tragedy'
- M. Jameson, 'Sacrifice before Battle' in V. D. Hanson (ed.) *Hoplites: the Classical Greek Battle Experience* (1991) 197- 227 **(pamphlet no. 16)**
- R. Parker, 'Sacrifice and Battle' in H. van Wees (ed.) *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* (2000) 299-314 **(pamphlet no. 24)**
- M. Dillon 2008 (see final item in this section).
- H. van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (2004) ch. 9 'Rituals Rules and Stratagems'
- R. Osborne, 'Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece', *Classical Quarterly* 43 (1993) 392-405 = Buxton 294-313
- A. Bowie, 'Greek Sacrifice: Form and Function ' in A. Powell (ed.) *The Greek World* (1995) 463-82
- Fondation Hardt volume 27 (1981) on sacrifice (articles by Kirk, Henrichs in English, Burkert and Vernant in French). Kirk is **pamphlet no. 20**.
- Scullion and Parker under week 3
- P. Sfyroeras, 'Fireless Sacrifices: Pindar Olympian 7 and the Panathenaic Festival', *American Journal of Philology* 114 (1993) 1-26

- against the idea of a 'comedy of innocence' see F. S. Naiden, 'The fallacy of the willing victim', *JHS* 127 (2007) 61-73 (**pamphlet no. 43**)
 - against 'sacrificial guilt' see also S. Peirce, 'Death, Revelry, and Thusia', *Classical Antiquity* 12 (1993) 219-266
- [if you have French, read R. Parker's introduction – translated from English - to V. Mehl and P. Brulé (eds.), *Le sacrifice antique* (2008); also chapters by Georgoudi and – in English – M. Dillon, on military sacrifice]

Week 7: Prophecy, divination and oracles (and see above, topic 3, under Apollo)

- Kearns sections 4. 2. 1-7, 4. 4. 2-3, 6. 2
 - R. Parker, 'divination' in *OCD*³
 - P. Bonnechere, 'Divination', in Ogden 145-159
 - S. I. Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination* (2008)
 - E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (1976)
- (pamphlet no. 8)**
- H. W. Parke, *Greek Oracles* (1967) and *The Oracles of Zeus* (1967)
 - H. W. Parke and D. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (1956)
 - L. Maurizio, 'Anthropology and Spirit-possession' [on the Pythia], *JHS* 115 (1995)
- (pamphlet no. 50)**
- F. Graf, 'Apollo, Possession and Prophecy', in L. Athanassaki and others (ed.) *Apolline Politics and Poetics* (2009), 587-605
 - H. Bowden, *Classical Athens and the Delphic Oracle: Divination and Democracy* (2005)
 - R. Parker, *Polytheism* (2005) 104-115 (in pamphlet box)
 - J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (1978)
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- Sfyroeras, as cited under week 6
- F. Graf, 'The Locrian Maidens' in Buxton 2000, 250-270 (**pamphlet no. 14**), and J. Redfield, *The Locrian Maidens* (2003) 85-150
- R. Buxton on 'Wolves and Werewolves in Greek Thought' (pp. 60-79) and H. Versnel on 'Greek Myth and Ritual: the Case of Kronos' (pp. 121-152), both in J. Bremmer (ed.) *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (1987)
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- C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Death* (1995)
- K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* (1974) 261-8

Orphism:

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- R. Parker 'Early Orphism' in A. Powell (ed.) *The Greek World* (1995) 483-510.

(pamphlet no. 23)

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- G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (1971) 277ff
- H. Lloyd-Jones *Greek Epic Lyric and Tragedy* (1990) ch. 8 (Pindar) (**pamphlet no. 21**)
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- E. Eidinow, *Oracles, Risks and Curses among the Ancient Greeks* (2007): curses and curse tablets, mostly Athenian and Sicilian

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- A. B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire* (1988) 278-90; *CAH* 6 871-5
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